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PROLOGUE TO IMPERIALISM: SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS DURING THE
JULY MONARCHY

The University of Oklahoma

PH.D.

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SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS DURING THE JULY MONARCHY

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1980

PROLOGUE TO IMPERIALISM:
SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS DURING THE JULY MONARCHY

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PROLOGUE TO IMPERIALISM:
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overseas expansionism was one of the constant features in nineteenth-century French history as contemporary literature on the topic attests. Furthermore, the intensity and abruptness of expansionism during the Third Republic was not a glorious accident, but one whose taproots were set before 1870 as Christian Schefer's research demonstrates.¹ For example, hesitant first steps were taken during the Restoration (1814-1830), and these were followed by intensified strides undertaken during the July Monarchy (1830-1848), evidenced by the occupation of parts of Algeria in the 1830's, the acquisition of the Marquesas Isles in 1842, the establishing of a protectorate over Tahiti in 1843, and the collection of points d'appui in Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific. The most significant era of resurgent expansionism roughly

approximated the July Monarchy, and thus has furnished the periodization boundaries for this dissertation.

Although many scholars such as Henri Brunschwig, Hubert Deschamps, Georges Hardy, Charles Julien, Raymond Betts, Herbert Priestly and others have conducted studies in nineteenth-century French expansionism, scarcely anyone has concentrated on the July Monarchy. No doubt these decades are almost deceptively dormant compared to the last decades of the century, but the first tentative grids of the "new imperialism" were being drawn nonetheless. For that reason, the period deserves more investigation.

The men of July were heirs of a long tradition of colonialism which had never really died out. They were also heirs of the Napoleonic legacy which propagated a nostalgia for past glories. Inspired by this and other motives, both complex and manifold, expansionists looked beyond the borders of continental Europe during the reign of Louis-Philippe. At the end, they left a geographical framework upon which imperialists of the Third Republic established France's greatest colonial empire. Created by pragmatic men working in fits and starts, the construction of this framework involved scientists, businessmen, adventurers, private citizens and, more particularly, many naval officers and a few army officers engaged in scientific expeditions and other missions. Sometimes sponsored by private groups, but more often by ministries within the

government, dozens of these expeditions were completed which often increased French geographical and scientific sophistication about the non-European world. More importantly, footholds and even sovereign control were established in several of these new areas.

The highly publicized exploits of the English such as the voyages of Captain James Cook (1768-1771; 1772-1775; 1779-1789), and even Charles Darwin's voyage aboard the Beagle (1831-1836), have tended to outshine the saga of French voyagers. Nonetheless, there is much documentary literature which provides a rich account of the expeditions leaving the shores of France for all corners of the globe--extending from Iceland to Antarctica, from Africa and the Middle East to exotic atolls in Oceania. Considering the number of voyages and the sheer breadth of territory surveyed, this was an amazing feat accomplished in a very short period of time, 1830-1848.

Much of the primary focus of this dissertation will consist of a synthesization of the motives, actions, and accomplishments of French explorers and expansionists who acted with, and without, the approval of the French Foreign Office. To this date, no comprehensive analysis of the French global experience from 1830 to 1848 has been published. Works by Jean-Paul Faivre and Georges Malécot present detailed studies of the French voyageur record in the Pacific and Abyssinie respectively, but these publications

do not attempt to integrate distinct parts with the whole of the colonial experience of the July Monarchy. And while Christian Schefer's La Politique coloniale de la Monarchie Juillet is a brilliant exposition, he is not much concerned with the explorations and expeditions themselves.

By its very nature, the July Monarchy's expansionist record does not present a well-defined tableau. Rather, it is a spotty, erratic representation, more akin to one of Seurat's pointillist compositions since one must not search for details but must concentrate on the whole experience. Out of methodological necessity, then, the canvas for this dissertation must be large in order to capture the total expansionist spectrum. World-wide scientific expeditions, therefore, capture yet another dimension of the French experience.

Due to domestic political reverses and the reality of the naval power of mighty England, Louis-Philippe's government could scarcely engage in overt expansionism. Nevertheless, some expansionism was encouraged directly since the government allowed members of the armed forces to aggrandize French territorial possessions, e.g., Dupetit-Thouar's seizure of the Marqueses, Bugeaud's extended occupation of Algeria, and the navy's appropriation of Mozambique Channel islands. More significantly for our story, the government sponsored numerous explorations and scientific expeditions which more often than not

merged with or furnished excuses for more extensive forms of economic, political and cultural expansionism.

France enjoyed a distinguished tradition of state sponsorship of explorations, though this had led to a long history of rivalry with Great Britain. Sieur Robert Cavelier de La Salle and Jacques Cartier, whose tours de force preceded eighteenth-century triumphs, were important in launching the practice of extended voyages. In the eighteenth-century itself, the government sponsored Louis Antoine de Bougainville's circumnavigation of the world (1766), thereby challenging the British in the Pacific. This achievement was followed by a scientific expedition led by Jean de la Pérouse (1785-1788), which involved exploring the Pacific coast, gathering information on the prospects of establishing French whale fishery and fur trading industries, and in determining the location of the Solomon Islands. This voyage ended tragically when La Pérouse lost his life in a shipwreck on the reef of one of the Santa Cruz islands. Captain Nicolas Baudin circumnavigated the globe from 1800 through 1804. His was the first maritime venture patronized by the state in the nineteenth century. As the century advanced, more and more expeditions were to set forth when rivalry with Britain continued.

In order to explain the relationship of these voyages with the totality of the French colonial experience,

a search beyond the diplomatic record is required. Little can be found at the Quai d'Orsay. Archival records of the expeditions, particularly the Marine BB⁴ series, memoirs and publications of participants in the long voyages, and certain contemporary periodicals furnish valuable sources not usually included in the history of expansionism.

Valuable adjunct sources are the records of the Academy of Sciences and the Geographical Society of Paris, both agencies having been involved with French expeditions.

While there is little evidence of expansionist sentiment in the Academy of Sciences, this does not hold true for the Geographical Society. Consequently, one chapter of this dissertation will be devoted to the Society. In addition to these sources, the official naval periodical, Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, and other sundry journals are also important in chronicling France's expansionist activities. Although the Archives Parlementaires were searched, evidence for expansionism is sparse; the deputies did not talk a great deal about expansionism. There is a lengthy record of debate which ensued over appropriation of Algeria, but the talk was more about money than about colonialism or expansionism.

Expansionist rhetoric very seldom surfaced on the part of any public officials. It practically appears as if expansionism was ignored by the government altogether, and was largely a non-government affair. But the record

demonstrates that some powerful ministers such as Admiral Rosamel and Minister of Agriculture Cunin-Gridaine privately encouraged expeditions and even found funds for some of them. Louis-Philippe himself apparently encouraged several projects, playing a subtle and quixotic role which has been difficult to document. One can only surmise that the king, a prudent and peaceful man, used intermediaries such as the Duc Decazes to encourage French expansionists. As a parvenu monarch he could not easily ride out the storms of sticky diplomatic incidents that might be generated by his open support of ventures which the British might interpret as hostile to their own national interests.

Nonetheless, diplomatic incidents did develop as a result of French foreign policy and the aforementioned expansionist tendencies. A retrospective glance is in order. After England thwarted French colonial ambitions in the New World, France's expansionist aims turned back to the Old World during the Napoleonic period. From 1763 to 1815, two important geo-political shifts occurred: the French had lost almost everything in the New World and the British had lost her American colonies yet remained mistress of Canada, still controlled most of India, and had begun to settle Australia. Slowly, a swing to the East can be seen in British imperial policy, leading to the growing importance of the Red Sea area and the Levant. Subsequent Anglo-French rivalries developed there, and a frantic

scramble ensued to obtain footholds in the Mediterranean and along the coasts of Africa. A serious crisis occurred in 1840 when France's Egyptian protégé, Pasha Mehemet Ali, was forced to retreat from his drive to the East (Syria) when he looked to France for continued support. Faced with a choice, France had to submit to the realities of power politics, and so allowed the British a free hand with her old ally. Had the British not believed that the Pasha was a threat to their lifeline to India, the Eastern Question might have been a simpler affair. As it was, it would occupy most of the major powers for the rest of the century. England elected to save Turkey from Russian expansionism and Egyptian expansionism at all costs.

Other serious affairs erupted, notably the Pritchard incident in the Pacific. This episode grew out of a religio-political matrix which had long been developing. George Pritchard, a member of the London Missionary Society (this group had been in the Pacific since 1797) and also a representative of the British government, was driven from a position of influence at the court of Queen Pomare in Tahiti. He carried his case to London where the British public made him a martyr of the Protestant faith. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed in the government, and Lord Peel and Foreign Minister Guizot closed the incident, with the French agreeing to pay an indemnity. In the long run the French maintained control over the Society Islands,

and an important expansionist foothold was won. It was largely missionary zeal which propelled the French to the South Pacific in the first place and proper discussion of this is covered in Chapters I and II.

The July Monarchy's colonial policies were cautious for several reasons: attention was focused on internal political and economic developments, and France was restrained by virtue of the Anglo-French Ententes of 1833 and 1841. Moreover, there was the matter of Louis-Philippe himself and his own dynastic considerations.

The July Revolution was an affront to the 1814-1815 peace settlements and perturbed the monarchs throughout Europe. Alarming, the French had ousted a legitimate Bourbon and had replaced him with a quasi-legitimate member of the House of Orleans. Suffering the opprobrium of being the son of ducal regicide and of being a compromise candidate whose crown arrived by virtue of a revolution, Louis-Philippe managed to found a new dynasty in 1830 nevertheless. However, he was forced to govern by virtue of the revised Charter of 1830 which weakened his hand, and he was obliged to accept the title of "King of the French" rather than "King of France." Opposed by Legitimists, Bonapartists, and radical reformers who might have taken advantage of his rule during the early years of his reign, Louis-Philippe cooperated with grands notables

and the bourgeoisie and concentrated on domestic prosperity for his own dynastic survival.

In foreign affairs he rarely challenged the British throughout his reign. From the beginning, he made it apparent that he was concerned with not provoking the British when he accepted their proposals for maintaining the neutrality of newly-independent Belgium. Yet the British remained suspicious of French expansionist ideas, particularly when Lord Palmerston was at the helm as Foreign Secretary under Lord Grey (1830-34), Lord Melbourne (1834 and 1835-41), and Lord John Russell (1846-52). This attitude was not unreasonable since ambitious naval officers and private interests, especially merchants, sometimes forced decisions on the French government. Although there was no grand plan or systematic design, the government did play a passive, opportunistic role which could not be discounted.

I do not propose to investigate the strength of the expansionist movement compared with later periods in French history, or with that of other nations. Neither will there be an attempt to establish the existence of a certain government expansionist ideology for there was none. I will investigate significant expeditions and explorations, primarily naval ones, as well as the men who accomplished the task of creating an antechamber for full-blown imperialism of the late nineteenth century.

Naval officers constantly bombarded Paris with suggestions for this expedition or that voyage of circumnavigation, and scarcely a year passed without a recommendation to occupy this isle or to found that post on some isolated coast. These men sought promotions, and successful voyages often ensured another advancement in rank. Moreover, it was a drab era and some officers longed for adventure and for glory for France. The Naval Ministry appeared to sympathize with their desires and willingly propagandized in their behalf in the Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, acutely aware of the political repercussions which might result from overt expansionist moves, often granted subsidies when the expeditions were judged to be nonthreatening to the major powers. This was mutually advantageous. Foreign Affairs could place secret political instructions in the hands of these expeditions leaders whose missions then actually became a covert form of expansionism.

There was a virtual epidemic of expeditions and explorations, some of which were funded by more than one branch of government. For instance, merchants who owned ships sometimes found the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, and the Navy willing to cooperate in a search for new markets if they initiated delicate pourparlers in the Far East. Additionally, army officers proposed explorations and the War Ministry

responded, particularly when these missions were bound for Abyssinia and Algeria.

Explorers predominate over government officials. There were many. Anne Raffenel and René Caillié slashed the trail for the work which General Louis Faidherbe would complete in building French West Africa. Charles Lefebvre, Captains Galinier and Ferret, and M. Rochet d'Héricourt preceded those who acquired strategic Somali in the Horn of Africa. Jean Vaillant was the forerunner of Colonel Lyautey and Doudart de Lagrée in IndoChina, while Captain Guillain and Admiral de Hell prepared the way for General Joseph Gallieni and Jean Laborde in setting up permanent settlements in Madagascar. Abdel Dupetit-Thouars laid the cornerstone for French Polynesia; General Bugeaud and others began the subjugation of Algeria while Jules Dumont d'Urville claimed barren frozen land in Antarctica and named it for the king who demanded that he go there. In a period of less than two decades, these were not trivial steps in building an empire.

Most of the men under scrutiny probably did not regard themselves as imperialists, but in a sense they were. My justification rests on a reasonable premise. If one defines their experience as a subtle extension of the superiority of France and French civilization, then they were minimally cultural imperialists, even if not exclusively so. Often, they wrote about France's civilizing mission. Some

spoke of colonialism and fancied themselves latter-day Romans. And this should not be surprising. Educated in an age when the classics were still important, living in the final paroxysms of the Romantic Age, and heirs of the legacy of a recent French Caesar, how could they not compare themselves with the Romans?

In brief, there are many questions to be answered: who were these expansionists, what were their motives, what was their relationship with the government and "official" policy, and what did they accomplish? One thing is immediately clear. They were indefatigable technicians, some gallant, some not, who explored and plundered little-known areas of the world for their own reputations, for science, and for the glory of la patrie.

CHAPTER II

THE RESTORATION (1815-1830): SEEDBED OF EXPANSIONISM

European powers had not waited for the nineteenth century to rush to the conquest of new lands and markets. But, beginning in 1815, the movement took on an unaccustomed intensity. Imperialism declared itself.¹

This development describes France as much as any of the major European powers in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Although the French had lost the major part of their colonial empire after the second Treaty of Paris, thus ending nearly two-hundred years of rivalry with the English, it was not until the peace agreements of 1814-1815 that "recovery of colonial prestige became one of the leading affairs of the French state."² First, the few old colonies not stripped from France (Martinique, Guadeloupe, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, the five Indian comptoirs of Pondichéry, Karikal, Chandernagor, Yanoan, and Mahé, as well as Guiana, La Réunion, and the Sengalese comptoirs of Saint Louis and Gorée) were reoccupied promptly. To have been lackadaisical in this matter might have been interpreted as complete abandonment of these colonial remnants. An untenable

position, relinquishment of these holdings might have exiled France, denied her ships free navigation of the seas, and changed the French people into "the Chinese of Europe."³ Nothing better demonstrates the importance of these colonies than the alacrity with which Louis XVIII and his government pressed the occupying powers to evacuate French-owned territories. By 1818, the task was completed.⁴ Even so, French colonial holdings remained minuscule when compared with those held by England.

For much of the eighteenth century this had not been the case, and the French were chafed by these memories. It was natural, then, that the bourgeoisie turned to the fleet, for the navy had been a powerful external representative of French colonial power. The fleet had paraded the national colors, had been involved in exploration and discovery of new lands, and had protected French commercial interests. By 1815 businessmen, particularly a coterie of traders from the port city of Bordeaux, were leading a vigorous campaign to strengthen the fleet and to gain government support in recapturing markets lost during the Revolution and the Napoleonic era. They were successful in that they were instrumental in the appointment of Pierre Barthélemy Portal, one of their friends, to the high office of Secretary of the Navy. This appointment came about through their friendship with Élie Decazes, a royal favorite and nominally chief minister of the government during Augustin Dessoles' ministry.⁵

An advocate of increased naval power, Portal convinced the Chamber of Deputies by 1821 that a strong navy was indispensable for the defense and independence of France, even during peace times.⁶ Moreover, he argued that if there were no colonies, there would be no great navy and in this plea he was joined by Vicomte Joseph Lainé, Minister of the Interior.⁷ One should keep in mind that the Colonial Department was a branch of the Navy at that time and would so remain until 1894. The Chamber responded to the entreaties of Portal and Lainé and in 1821 voted a budget of 65 million francs for the navy, a generous gesture.⁸ Significantly, both men who had been so vociferous in behalf of the navy were from Bordeaux, the richest port in France during the Restoration.⁹

When General de Clermont-Tonnerre succeeded Portal shortly thereafter, he remarked that the existence of the fleet was assured at long last.¹⁰ But it was evident that the government had been evaluating the navy and its overall improvement also. Almost concurrently with the Chamber's financial gesture, Beautemps-Beaupré received permission to organize a corps of hydrographic engineers which, in conjunction with the navy, definitively charted the coastal waters of France and many portions of foreign seas, especially in the South Pacific where France would send many explorers.¹¹

Furthermore, perhaps out of nostalgia for the Empire when Napoleon created an enormous scientific commission which accompanied him during his Egyptian campaign, or perhaps out

of the tradition and knowledge that explorations went hand in hand with domestic popularity and colonial prestige, the government willingly sponsored naval expeditions many of which were formed as scientific ventures. This was not surprising. In the early part of the nineteenth century, France was permeated with the scientific spirit due in no small part to historical developments. As far back as 1671 the Paris Academy of Sciences had received funds from the government, unlike the British Royal Society.¹² In 1689 France began to promote scientific voyages when Louis XIV sent Joseph Donant Surian and others on a botanizing mission to Martinique and Haiti.¹³ Additionally, the great schools of Paris, the École normale supérieure, the École centrale des travaux, better known by the title École polytechnique, and the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, all contributed to the growth and diffusion of the scientific spirit in France.¹⁴ Many naval officers and high government officials attended the École polytechnique, particularly in the nineteenth century.

Moreover, legendary eighteenth-century navigators had already established a distinguished tradition of scientific voyages and exploration missions. For instance, Louis de Bougainville,¹⁵ during a three-year voyage (1766-1769), discovered new prizes for France and systematically completed valuable longitudinal surveys well before Captain James Cook's celebrated voyages were completed in 1780.¹⁶

Joseph de Galaud de La Pérouse directed the second great French expedition (1785-1788) and perished in a shipwreck on the reef of Vanikoro Island in the South Pacific. Commanding two frigates, the Astrolabe and the Boussole, he received orders to ascertain the location of the Solomon Islands, to determine the number and extent of British and Russian Pacific installations, and to collect commercial information.¹⁷ This was a good example of a combined mission which served as a vehicle of convenience for the government, science, and commercial interests. The trend continued in the nineteenth century.

Captain Nicolas-Thomas Baudin commanded the first great French maritime exploration patronized by the state in the nineteenth century when he circumnavigated the globe from 1800 to 1803.¹⁸ Baudin's own idea, the plans for this voyage were forwarded to the Secretary of the Navy as early as 1798. After the proposal was examined by a committee in March, 1800, it was forwarded to Napoleon I who quickly approved it and requested that the Academy of Sciences (now a branch of the Institut de France), draw up detailed plans for Baudin. The collection of anthropological data was heavily emphasized since the government wanted to establish a special museum consecrated to the study of and science of man. One can see here the first flourish in the genesis of the movement which led to the establishing of the present Musée de l'Homme.¹⁹ Preoccupied with his European adventure, Napoleon sponsored no other voyages which equalled Baudin's.

During the Restoration,²⁰ naval officers who proposed scientific expeditions or other missions received increasingly sympathetic hearings from the government headed by the Duke of Richelieu and, more so, from Count Villèle of Toulouse who was President of the Council for a number of years (1821-27). A former naval officer himself, he and his Secretary of the Navy, Aimé, Count of Clermont-Tonnerre, tended to patronize the fleet whereas Portal had been more attentive to the demands of private commercial proposals, especially those emanating from the Bordeaux lobby. Under Clermont-Tonnerre, the colonial administration was centralized and the influence of commercial interests was reduced.²¹

Louis-Claude Freycinet, formerly a member of the Baudin scientific expedition in 1816, proposed one of the first long voyages during the Restoration. One of the founding members of the expansionist-minded Geographical Society of Paris, a private organization with high government connections, Freycinet proposed an ambitious voyage. Since his was a scientific expedition, it is surprising that he invited no scientists to join him, but he recalled from his experiences with the Baudin mission that a group of scientists was difficult to control. He preferred naval officers, "marine savants," and this preference seemed to influence those commanders who followed him. Emphasizing the physical sciences and natural history, the Academy of Sciences drew up Freycinet's instructions for his voyage (1817-1820) to the South Pacific.²²

The Naval Ministry paid for his voyage and it was pronounced a success. While there were no significant discoveries, Freycinet's scientific reports were valuable and exhaustive and his natural history collections were impressive. These impressive acquisitions demonstrated the importance of the South Pacific and encouraged the government to dispatch other expeditions.²³ There would be one major difference: other commanders carried secret orders which requested political and commercial information. Freycinet's sole aim, on the other hand, had been scientific reconnaissance.

Interestingly, Louis XVIII was being praised publicly for his own support of naval expeditions by 1820:

One can say with all assurance that Louis XVIII has surpassed all that which has been accomplished by other sovereigns. Hardly five years have passed, and already under his orders vessels explore unknown shores where knowledge is imperfect. By his actions and support, he renders important services to geography, navigation, and commerce.²⁴

Since this flattery appears in the Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, an "official" naval publication, it may have reflected the political astuteness of the Naval Ministry more than the monarch's actual participation. A weary, old gentleman, frequently confined to a wheelchair, Louis XVIII was only four years from his deathbed in 1820. Nevertheless, he was commander-in-chief of the navy and throughout his reign his selections for Secretary of the Navy, particularly Portal and Aimé, were excellent in that both men were

instrumental in rebuilding the fleet and sponsoring numerous expeditions.

Commanders of these voyages usually received three sets of instructions: ministerial orders outlining the work to be accomplished and summarizing the itinerary judged to be the most advantageous;²⁵ Mémoires from the Depot of Maps and Plans which furnished information for safe passage (seasonal variations in climate, winds, currents) plus instructions for hydrographic work to be accomplished; and, directives from the Institut, particularly the Academy of Sciences, which governed the research responsibilities.

Captain Louis-Isidore Duperrey circumnavigated the globe (1822-1825) under orders from the Naval Ministry,²⁶ and the Moniteur reported that the government had expressed a desire in conjunction with Duperrey's mission to "have in the islands of Polynesia and Australia a few places where French ships could transplant civilization and its benefits."²⁷ This is an early harbinger of a theme which pervades the French colonial experience--mission civilisatrice.

While the major responsibility for Duperrey during this voyage was scientific in nature, he did receive instructions to search for a proper site for a colony on the west coast of Australia, and he was ordered to look for a docking basin where vessels could put into port for extensive repairs following long voyages.²⁸ This is one of the first indications that the French were beginning to consider a policy of points d'appui.

Dupperey's voyage created a commotion after the publication of one of his reports in the Moniteur which praised to the utmost the evangelical and civilizing work accomplished in Tahiti by English missionaries.²⁹ Catholic opinion interpreted this to mean that the South Seas were a bastion of heresy.³⁰ Religious zeal eventually led to a "war of the missions", a proselytizing war, in the South Pacific, although the government of Charles X hesitated before becoming involved seriously.³¹

Jean Rives, a French adventurer who had been secretary to Hawaiian King Liholiho, tried to convince the government that there was a dire Protestant threat in the Pacific. He met with little success at first. On the other hand, he was successful in convincing the Church that something must be done. He soon persuaded the leader of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in France to petition the Holy See to send Catholic missionaries to Oceania. Pope Leo XII (1823-29) responded to these pleas and charged the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, also known as the Picpus, with this arduous task. Theirs was the first Catholic missionary activity in South Pacific and set the groundwork for Gregory XVI's (1831-1846) "war of the missions" during the July Monarchy.³²

Expeditions continued when Baron Hyacinthe de Bougainville, son of the distinguished eighteenth-century navigator and former member of Baudin's team, set out in 1824

with orders to attempt to open official relations with Cochin-China, to show the flag, and to protect commerce (whaling fleets). Actually these orders served to cover a secret mission which entailed a thorough survey of the port of Singapore in order to determine its defense capabilities and to study the best means for an attack. These instructions were labelled "Very Secret" and were to be destroyed if they were likely to fall into other hands. English successes in the Far East had worried the French government for some time, and officials were particularly irritated with British encroachments in Singapore.³³

Bougainville was also commanded to complete a survey of the Swan River area on the west coast of Australia, a territory which the French had coveted for some time, evidently. Duperrey had received similar orders previously. Scientific research received lower priority compared with the two previous voyages since Bougainville's task was primarily political. Not unexpectedly, he failed to establish relations with Cochin-China, but the political, strategic, and commercial information which he brought to the government was of the first order and fulfilled the primary aim of his mission.³⁴ Moreover, his voyage again demonstrated that the French had embarked on a search for points d'appui, and his secret orders showed that the French feared Britain's expansionist aims.

This policy is also apparent in instructions issued to Jules Dumont d'Urville. They were: to make a search for

anchorage capable of receiving large warships "without which operations against the English possessions in Australia and the Far East are impossible;" to search for a proper place for the deportation of criminals; to make an examination of a portion of New Zealand along the northeastern coast.³⁵

The interest in New Zealand stemmed from the past adventures of Baron Charles de Thierry who claimed ownership of part of New Zealand on very tenuous grounds. After encountering many difficulties in pursuing his claim, he ceded the land to France and therefore the government charged Dumont d'Urville with a preliminary survey of the area.³⁶ The French knew that the English were preparing to cut through the Isthmus of Darien (former name for the Isthmus of Panama), and they eyed New Zealand for its strategic purposes--an important point d'appui, or perhaps more than that, since a canal would place it much closer to France in length of sailing time (six weeks). Furthermore, France might be able to seize the canal in case war occurred and from her points d'appui she could menace the English colonies and dominate American commerce.³⁷

It is conceivable that the Council of Ministers, ensconced in Paris and isolated from the realities of time and distance in the Pacific, seriously believed that the British would permit France to occupy territory claimed on Baron de Thierry's dubious grounds. It was not to be. Although the July Monarchy would try to follow through with a colonizing effort, the British quickly circumvented French designs.³⁸

Dumont d'Urville, one of the most celebrated mariners in nineteenth-century naval history, completed a three-year (1826-29) voyage which was the last major expedition accomplished entirely within the Restoration. The political significance of his journey was related to the importance which the government placed on Australia and New Zealand as sites for colonies and points d'appui. Dumont d'Urville's personal motives appear to have developed out of his interest in science, particularly botany, and out of his own restlessness. In his petition for a circumnavigation of the globe, he proposed many scientific tasks and, as a result, his voyage was one of the most important for science during the Restoration. Not only did he explore a number of Pacific islands, but he collected important ethnological information and brought back an amazing collection of natural history specimens.³⁹ Georges Cuvier, the distinguished scientist, was pleased immensely with the results of the voyage and the rich collections and reported to the Academy of Sciences that the Museum of Natural History now enjoyed an embarrass de richesses.⁴⁰

Although Dumont d'Urville followed instructions issued by the Naval Ministry regarding anchorage sites and sites for penal colonies, he was not optimistic about their future. He reported that all of Australia was under British control and that the possibilities for a colony in New Zealand were hazardous due to the hostility and barbarity of the natives.⁴¹

Even though Dumont d'Urville's voyage was the most important scientific expedition since that of La Pérouse, at this juncture it should be pointed out that members of scientific expeditions such as these should not be considered "scientists" in the theoretical sense of the word. In the main, they were carrying out the relatively pedestrian work of collecting data, whereas contemporaries such as Georges Cuvier, Jean Baptiste de Lamarck, Étienne Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, and others interpreted the data and did the theorizing which must lie at the heart of fundamental scientific achievements. The popularization of Baconian ideas on induction is probably the chief source of the erroneous notion that the scientist does nothing to the data except to let them fall neatly into a theoretical schema.

Dumont d'Urville's voyage was followed by the first scientific commission created by post-Napoleonic governments and the trend continued and, indeed, accelerated during the July Monarchy. Designated the Commission scientifique de la Morée, this unique assemblage had been created following a proposal designed by the Ministry of the Interior. Headed by Colonel Bory St. Vincent, the commission received its instructions from three branches of the Institut: the Academy of Sciences, Academy of Belles-Lettres, and Beaux-Arts.⁴² Although the members of the expedition returned with a large quantity of information, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire was not very complimentary in his report to the Academy of

Sciences. Remarking that the Morea was not a very exciting place [one supposes for scientific research], he granted that "should the government need to undertake military operations here," it would profit from the information which the commission gathered.⁴³ Interestingly, the government had placed a career army officer at the head of this scientific commission; however, this should not be surprising against the background of the Greek struggle for independence.

The expedition to the Morea and the voyages mentioned heretofore were inspired by a mélange of motives, yet there is a single thread--science--which ties them together in a single bond. Of the lengthy voyages funded by the Restoration government, nearly all were dispatched to the South Pacific and the Far East. Some of these expeditions kindled the desire for colonies and points d'appui, and the desire itself stimulated other voyages. The government gingerly supported a kind of tentative expansionism and resorted to secret instructions out of fear of British retaliation.

As this grave effort unfolded, the French attempted to solve a more immediate matter--the lack of manpower in the old colonies, particularly the sugar colonies, resulting from the abolition of slave trade in 1815.⁴⁴ French public opinion regarded these anti-slavery laws as a devious British plot conceived for the destruction of French commerce.⁴⁵

The prospect of a catastrophic loss of manpower in the Antilles colonies forced French authorities to consider

founding new colonies de culture (plantation colonies) with the aid of Chinese workers. The Dutch, Portuguese and the British had used this labor source successfully in the past. If this strategy did not produce good results, the government also considered alternative laborers such as Indians, convicts, soldiers, peasants, and even orphans.⁴⁶

Colonial plans were soon underway when a committee headed by M. Forestier, Counselor of State and Vice-President of the Committee for the Navy, met on 26 August 1816. The committee concluded that a colony could be developed and maintained on the east coast of Madagascar where foodstuffs would be cultivated by "naturels" who, like slaves, would be expected to commit themselves for fourteen years under the stewardship of colons sent from France. In 1817 while technicians were enroute to Madagascar to begin operations Count Molé, Secretary of the Navy, adjourned all activities due to unanticipated excessive costs.⁴⁷

Colonization of French Guiana was also attempted with disastrous results. Again, Chinese labor was determined to be the best available labor, and Baron Portal himself presided over a committee in 1818 which drew up plans to bring these workers to Guiana. The plan ended in failure due to stiff Chinese emigration laws.⁴⁸

Yet the government persisted after a colonial publicist, M. Catineau-Laroche, promoted a scheme which allowed a private company to bring French peasants to Guiana. When

this plan failed, the company recruited military men and apprenticed orphans, but to no avail. The hostile environment, disease, and primitive conditions defeated the colonial will of the French, and further settlement plans were temporarily shelved by 1824.⁴⁹

A similar fate awaited efforts to transform French holdings in Senegal into a permanent agricultural colony due to climatic conditions, flooding of the Senegal river, and the general antipathy to farming on the part of the Sengalese. Rather than persist in these efforts, the government decided to maintain a permanent base of operations (an interior point d'appui) which could be utilized by explorers wishing to penetrate the Sudan. This arrangement permitted future explorers during the July Monarchy to travel deep into the African heartland.⁵⁰

Alongside the government's attempts to develop colonies de culture in the interests of commerce, commercial houses in the Gironde promoted their own welfare with the aid of their best ally, Baron Portal. With his aid, several firms received government assistance in their search for new markets, and in their attempts to effect trade relations with countries in the Far East.

For example, the government, wishing to encourage shipowners to trade in the East, promised that with the exception of textiles, coffees and sugars taken aboard in China proper, the import duties would be reduced by fifty per

cent. A royal decision of 2 October 1817 then extended similar privileges to all ships which were outfitted before the return of the first ones which had taken advantage of the tariff offer.⁵¹ These tariff privileges provoked a certain amount of jealousy, and Baron Portal was accused of having arranged things for the sole profit of his friends, the Balguerries, who were important shipowners from Bordeaux.⁵² In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that most of those who enjoyed profits as a result of low import duties were Bordelais shippers as a whole since they traded with Eastern merchants almost to the exclusion of other ports.⁵³ Some twenty-five expeditions were sent to the Far East in less than two years after the government's inducements, and a great commercial future seemed assured.⁵⁴

But the dream soon faded. Preferential treatments failed to continue due to objections from sugar planters in the Antilles, and more importantly, Emperor Gia-Long, ruler of Cochin-China, grew increasingly uncooperative.⁵⁵ The French government dispatched two official missions to his court in Annam hoping to obtain an audience with Gia-Long since he owed France a political debt.⁵⁶ Achille Kergariou and Captain Courson de la Ville-Hélio both tried to win an audience and both failed. The old Emperor died in 1821 and was succeeded by his son, Minh-Mang who flatly refused to deal with the French throughout the Restoration and the July Monarchy. A military occupation of Cochin-China would eventually begin under Napoleon III.⁵⁷

And so the Restoration drew to a close. Little had been accomplished in the Far East and little was accomplished regarding territorial acquisition, yet the dream of expansionism had revived. Tentative first steps were taken when the government began to covet sites suitable for a penal colony in western Australia and for anchorages in Australian waters, and when France sought to investigate de Thierry's questionable claim to part of New Zealand. Using scientific expeditions and voyageurs carrying secret instructions, the government also searched for favorable points d'appui but found none worth the gamble. England was simply too powerful. France remained apprehensive about British naval retaliation and dared not challenge her in the South Pacific. Timorous on the water, the French were surprisingly aggressive on land when in 1829 Charles X's forces moved against the Regency of Algeria. On the other hand, the British were uncertain about the strength of the French commitment in Africa in the beginning and raised no serious objections. Consequently, the Algerian venture will be analyzed in chapters other than "The Restoration."

In tandem with the revival of the expansionist spirit, French missionaries were sent to the Pacific where they attempted to challenge the Anglo-Saxon Protestant threat. Other groups, commercial houses, were also willing to challenge British ascendancy when the government offered attractive tariff inducements for increased trade in the

East. Bordelais shippers joined the government in this struggle and so a minor commercial skirmish ensued in Cochinchina.

Other strategies were employed in the attempt to revive the commercial well-being of France, the state of France's commercial health having been impaired by the loss of slave labor in the productive Antilles colonies as a result of the abolition of slavery in 1815. The retroceded colonies were unproductive, yet out of desperation France turned them into laboratories for experimental agricultural schemes--colonies de culture. French bureaucrats still blindly followed the old mercantilistic philosophy of the ancien régime and were chagrined by failures in Senegal and Guiana.

Naval officers, anxious for promotions and fame, proposed voyages and expeditions, often in the name of science, and the government willingly sponsored many of them since political and commercial aims were so easily tied with these jounies. The Naval Ministry and the Institut cooperated with the government and publicized the results of these expeditions thereby deriving from them a certain amount of glory and glamor for the Restoration.

When the period closed, the old familiar motives were everywhere evident--God, glory and gold (commerce). But there was a new element--science--born out of the history and growth of science in France. If science interested the men of the Restoration, it fascinated the men of the July Monarchy.

CHAPTER III

THE JULY MONARCHY

France was a world leader in important scientific developments. The names of French men of science in the first half of the nineteenth century are great ones: Georges Cuvier, Jean Baptiste de Lamarck, Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Adrien Legendre, Gaspard Monge, Jean Fourier, Augustin Cuchy, J. L. Lagrange, Pierre LaPlace, J. Fresnel, André Ampère, Sadi Carnot, J. L. Gay-Lussac, and François Arago. Sooner or later, most of them participated in writing instructions for expeditions which the government sponsored. As has been shown in Chapter II, the French government had a long history of government sponsorship of exploratory voyages and scientific expeditions, but the process accelerated during the July Monarchy.

Four major scientific commissions were created by Louis-Philippe's government: Commission scientifique d'Islande et Gröenland (1835-36), Commission scientifique du Nord (1839-40), Commission scientifique d'Abbyssinie (1839-43), and Commission scientifique de l'Algérie (1840-42). Numerous

voyages and expeditions were subsidized by the government; the most celebrated was probably that of Dumont d'Urville who circumnavigated the globe for the second time (1837-40).

Louis-Philippe himself gave Dumont d'Urville the instructions which ordered him to proceed to the South Pacific in search of the magnetic South Pole. Thus it is to Louis Philippe that one must attribute the first idea of a voyage to Antarctica.¹

But Louis-Philippe's reign was not epochal when compared with other European rulers. Son of a regicide, not born into the direct line of Bourbon succession, his legitimacy was always in question. Jacques Chastenet recently wrote, "Louis-Philipard is a denigrating expression evoking bourgeois hypocrisy," and his comment speaks to the king's manner and appearance which created in the minds of many a sort of royal anti-hero whose bourgeois affectations made him a target for caricatures and ugly canards in the French press.²

Felix Ponteil hardly flatters the Orleanist sovereign when he concludes that "if ever there was a king who lacked a psychological sense, it was Louis-Philippe . . . who squandered the possibility of a brilliant career."³ Also it has been alleged that he was ill served by an unimaginative minister, François Guizot, during a decade which demanded imaginative leadership. A contemporary journalist stressed this attribute since "ce qui fait qu'en France il faut de l'imagination aux hommes d'état, c'est que le peuple en aura toujours plus qu'eux."⁴ It is possible that these

unflattering pronouncements, accompanied by the government's failure to rattle sabres with conviction in foreign affairs, have contributed to the relative lack of research in this period.

Although Louis-Philippe's lack of éclat and his juste-milieu foreign policy might be responsible for the surface appearance of a "flabby and futile" reign,⁵ his foreign policy did give France eighteen years of peace, and he maintained a throne in spite of his "illegitimate" appearance. In the long run, however, the monarch's flexibility and prudence in external affairs produced constructive results which have not been emphasized enough nor thoroughly explored heretofore.

Eighteen peaceful years were extremely important because France was given a respite from war so that explorers and military technicians could lay the foundations of her great empire at a crucial early date. Though this action is mentioned in the historical literature, it is not developed. Why not? Perhaps because few have searched beyond the diplomatic records and because the deeds of the grand period of late nineteenth-century imperialism have overshadowed earlier efforts no less important.

The idea that expansionism was an historical phenomenon in early nineteenth-century France is not new. Harrison Wright states that, "of all the continental powers only France undertook any serious overseas ventures for fifty

years after the Napoleonic wars; . . ."⁶ Georges Hardy believes that the French saw early that there were rich regions throughout the world which were held by isolated, backward peoples. The idea of taking possession of some of these areas while systematically exploiting others occurred to them even before they judged the situation to be commercially feasible.⁷ In order to carry out these aspirations, France chose to establish a chain of well-chosen bases along the most important maritime routes, a system which Hardy captions "le système des points appui."⁸

Hubert Priestley contends that as early as 1814 "recovery of her colonial prestige became one of the leading affairs of the French state,"⁹ and that "the conquest of Algiers [1830] was in reality the starting point of the new colonial empire of France."¹⁰ He also believes that both "historically and politically the position of France in all of North Africa is tied in with her relations with Algeria, for here is the key to French expansionism and control"¹¹

In Oceania, Priestley maintains that French Catholics became "unedifying agents of aggressive nationalist imperialism"¹² while Jean Paul Faivre claims that the "guerre des missions" constituted a veritable "cold war" between Protestant Anglo-Saxons and the French Catholics.¹³

Other assorted opinions amplify the expansionist theme. "An army impatient for glory and a navy which had a

sense of future realities" forced the government's hand in Algeria and pushed for settlements in Western Africa which became the "germs of our future colonies in French Guinea, the Ivory Coast and Gabon" and which were actually the "birth of French Equatorial Africa."¹⁴

Throughout the nineteenth century, France's typical agents of expansionism were "soldiers, technicians and teachers," according to one well-known work.¹⁵ But it should be emphasized that the navy bore the heaviest responsibility in the early decades of the century. Indeed, it could be argued that "naval imperialism" was a major factor in French acquisition of a series of archipelagoes in Oceania,¹⁶ as "army imperialism" had made a military fief of Algeria.¹⁷ This trend began during the Restoration when Portal in 1819 and Lainé in 1821 had argued that if there were no colonies there would be no navy. Hyde de Neuville, Naval Minister in 1830, stated this reason again on the eve of the July Monarchy.¹⁸

Jean-Paul Faivre contends that the naval ministers during the July Monarchy were almost all Admirals who were set upon expansionism¹⁹ while Tramond and Reussner point out that above all it was Admiral Claude Du Campe de Rosamel who, from 1836 to 1839, set up the practice of voyages of circumnavigation for this purpose.²⁰ Ubiquitous French expeditions and explorations, it must be admitted, furnished excellent excuses for colonial enthusiasts who did not wish to confront

England directly, but who indirectly opposed her by reconnoitring the globe and by establishing operational bases for the fleet on lonely archipelagoes.²¹

In order to acquire bases and to carry out the necessary explorations, the government had to provide increased funding for the navy. There is convincing evidence that the Orleanist government did--albeit slowly. For instance, in 1830 the total naval budget amounted to 65,270,000 francs with supplements which totalled 28,140,100;²² in 1840, the total allocation was 98,000,000 francs.²³ By 1842, a generous budget allowed the navy 131,601,000 francs²⁴ and by 1847 the budget increased to a new high of 145,338,140 francs.²⁵ A new category, Service Scientifique, appeared in the budget for the year 1844 which probably reflected the growing importance of scientific expeditions in the eyes of the government.²⁶

In addition to the budgetary figures, there are other ways of indicating how the French fleet developed and was improved by Louis-Philippe. For example, in 1836 the total number of ships amounted to 132 vessels;²⁷ this total included 122 unarmed ships, most of them consisting of small vessels.²⁸ By 1841 the total fleet consisted of 278 vessels which included only 68 unarmed ships;²⁹ and by 1847 there were only 60 unarmed ships in a total fleet of 294 vessels. Sixty-eight sailing vessels and 27 steamers were under construction as well, partly as a result of the Seven-Year Plan to increase

the strength of the navy.³⁰ As a result of this general up-grading, the French African Squadron was judged to have been one "of the best in the world by the British general staff."³¹

Soon after he was crowned "King of the French" Louis-Philippe began moving in a direction calculated to help the navy. On the fourth of September 1830, he extended amnesty to deserters from the navy, thereby giving equal treatment to all branches of the services--an earlier amnesty had been granted to army deserters.³² The École Navale was reorganized,³³ and physical qualifications for naval personnel were raised: "All naval personnel will be composed of men at least five feet in height (1 meter, 625 millimeters), not yet 23 years of age; they should have a 'robust' temperament, a large chest and sound teeth."³⁴ The École Polytechnique³⁵ was reorganized, and several battallions of military workers were created in order to furnish military labor for ports in France. The latter came about at the urging of Comte d'Argout.³⁶ In addition to these reforms, Louis-Philippe ordered the creation of a fifth section of the Naval Department--the Directorate of Subsistances.³⁷ The entire medical services of the navy were completely reorganized as well, and this unit became a more professional organization. Doctors in this branch of the navy sometimes accompanied scientific expeditions, and a good example of this type of medical/scientific explorer is Dr. Paul Gaimard who was active during the July Monarchy.³⁸

According to Henri Brunschwig, Anglophobia developed within the navy at the same time that it was being reconstituted under Louis-Philippe. He points out that within the naval ranks there was also an imperialistic attitude mingled "with an urge to expansionism purely for reasons of prestige and a morbid suspicion of Britain."³⁹

The French had good reason to believe that England regarded France as a threat to the continental balance of power, since Lord Palmerston's main foreign policy objective seemed to be the containment of France.⁴⁰ Anglo-French relations were characterized by two distinct phases from 1830 to 1846; the rise and fall of a "liberal alliance" from 1830 to 1841, sometimes referred to as the first entente; the rise and fall of the entente cordiale, sometimes called the second entente, from 1841 to 1846. In both "understandings" it is important to remember that no formal alliance was signed--old rivalries were simply too strong. The first understanding grew out of French cooperation with the Belgian struggle for independence but deteriorated with the fall of Count Broglie, the only French politician wholeheartedly committed to cooperation with England, in February 1836. His successors, Adolphe Thiers and Count Molé, were regarded by Palmerston as enemies of Britain since their policies brought an active and bitter rivalry over Spain. Their rivalry was exacerbated by the subsequent designs of Mehemet Ali in 1838 when his threatened annexation of Syria, approved in principle by

France, was interpreted by the English as the establishment of a Franco-Egyptian sphere which endangered British avenues to India. Conceivably, the French and Egyptians could control a large area stretching from the Levant to the Persian Gulf.⁴¹

The Mehemet Ali affair had profound repercussions on Anglo-French relations and brought about the fall of Thiers in 1841. Louis-Philippe wanted peace at all costs. With the New Sault-Guizot Government and the appointment of Lord Aberdeen as British foreign minister under the new Peel government in 1841, a new spirit of compromise and tact began a period of understanding which lasted until the fall of Peel in 1846. Thiers, in the meantime, led an opposition party which claimed that the "entente of Guizot and Aberdeen was a betrayal of the interests and honor of France."⁴²

Even though Guizot and Aberdeen cooperated in foreign affairs, it was Guizot who insisted that the French colonize Algeria and who said that he believed "that the interests of France and the dignity of the nation rendered it expedient to occupy certain ports . . . in various parts of the globe, . . ."⁴³ In pursuance of this policy the following were occupied: the Mayotte Islands (in the Comores); and the Marquesas Islands and one of the Society Islands (Tahiti) in the Pacific. Described by Tudesq as an "opportunist, above all in foreign affairs," Guizot annexed strategic points d'appui while publicly proclaiming that France desired no foreign settlements. He was no less a rival of England than Thiers whose style was less circumspect.⁴⁴

Missionary activity was important also--in fact, it was no less important than Thiers' support of Mehemet Ali and Guizot's "points d'appui" foreign policy. Although missionaries were first sent out to the Pacific during the Restoration, the struggle accelerated during the July Monarchy. Judging it equally necessary to use missionaries to counter-balance the British influence in the Pacific, France urged the papacy to cooperate. By 1834, the great missionary pope, Gregory XVI, had divided Oceania into two vicariats at 158° of longitude--east of that line territory was confided to the Picpus, while the west was confided to the Marists. There Catholic missionaries endeavored to set up official theocracies in the manner of the Protestants. Thus, the missionary spirit became a handmaiden of expansionism which laid the foundation for sterner rivalries of the late nineteenth century.⁴⁵

The complicated and delicate nature of French expansionism might lead one to conclude that great ministerial stability characterized the government. The reverse is true, at least in a sense, since there were seventeen prime ministers (presidents de conseil) in eighteen years. But this was deceptive since Louis-Philippe didn't always appoint new men when he distributed his 154 ministerial portfolios and under-secretary posts. In fact, only sixty persons held all of these offices. For example, Guizot served in eight different cabinets, Thiers in six; Count Henri de Rigny and Marshal

Soult served in five while Marshal François Sebastiani, Count Louis Molé, Duke Achille de Broglie, General Simon Bernard, Baron Tupinier, Duke Napoleon Montebello, Duke Antoine d'Argout and others served in at least three cabinets.⁴⁶

This relatively stable government survived a number of critical incidents even during its first few months in power; the Belgian independence movement, Polish and Italian revolutionary repercussions, and a slave rebellion in the West Indies. It also survived a Mexican confrontation in 1838, and the Pritchard Affair four years later--an affair which grew out of the "guerre des missions" and which was settled diplomatically.⁴⁷ The decision to colonize Algeria in 1840 and the Spanish Marriages in 1846 brought English displeasure, but the July Monarchy rode out the international tempest. Internally, the government was menaced by the possibility of a legitimist counter-revolution and was threatened by popular uprisings. More critically, Louis-Philippe survived at least four assassination attempts.

Yet it was during these very trying decades that the Orleanist government took the first steps in building the second French empire. Even before Guizot outlined his project for the acquisition of points d'appui, three naval officers had concluded preliminary negotiations for protectorates: Lt. de Vaisseau Auguste Bouët-Willaumetz on the coast of Guinea (1839-42); Contre-amiral Abdel Dupetit-Thouars in the Marquesas and in Tahiti (1838-1843); and Contre-Amiral de

Hell, Governor of Bourbon Island, at Nossi-Bé and Mayotte (Comores Isles) in 1841.⁴⁸ What becomes apparent is that Guizot announced a plan to the Chambers that was already taking place, a plan in which the navy was cooperating wholeheartedly. This may have accounted for the Chamber's approval of settlements in the Straits of Magellan, on the island of Basilian situated south of the Philippines⁴⁹ and also to Abyssinia. Unfortunately, all of these projects were sacrificed for the second entente and Brunswick harshly indicts Guizot for this turn of events.⁵⁰ It should be pointed out, however, that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to authorize voyages of exploration to Africa and to the Far East, and that Guizot himself proposed to Louis-Philippe the royal commission which forced the Chinese to give the French commercial arrangements which the English already enjoyed.⁵¹ In fact, the Treaty of Whampoa (1844) represents a turning point in the history of relations between France and the Far East, and particularly with Indo-China.⁵² Attempts to effect relations with the Indochinese government during the Restoration brought no rewards, but France managed to exploit the unstable situation following the first Opium War which forced open the Asian markets at long last.

There was no declaration of war in spite of the number of crises during the July Monarchy, and military men found it difficult to distinguish themselves for promotions. There was an important alternative which consisted of voyages in search

of ships lost at sea, circumnavigations of the globe, scientific expeditions and explorations for various ministries within the government.⁵³ One of the most promising areas which naval officers could ply the seas for exploration and scientific research was the South Pacific. And beginning in 1835 a number of ships departed for these waters commanded by such distinguished navigators as Louis Freycinet, Louis-Isidore Duperrey, Admiral Roussin, Hyacinthe de Bougainville, Cyrille Laplace, Auguste Vaillant, Abdel Dupetit-Thouars, and the indefatigable Jules Dumont d'Urville.⁵⁴ Although these men compiled a distinguished record, few territorial gains were made. They did set the foundations for men of another time, however.

France's greatest colonial conquest was, of course, Algeria; when Abd-el-Kader was taken prisoner 23 December 1847, France's bête noir was doomed and the future of her African empire was assured. French military men had definite expansionist designs on neighboring Morocco and Tunis, but England opposed this extension of French influence, and by the Treaty of Tangier 16 September 1844 France was forced to contain her expansionist dreams in north Africa.

But French interest in Africa remained strong. In 1843 Vice-Admiral Ange-René Mackau, Minister of the Navy and Colonies from 1843 to 1847, wrote a letter to Guizot which supported Prince de Joinville's opinion that France should be "mistress of Gabon."⁵⁵ François-Ferdinand d'Orléans, Prince

de Joinville, Vice-Admiral in the French navy and an ardent naval supporter, wrote a rather intemperate article in the Revue des Deux Mondes wherein he stressed the use of steam-powered vessels for military uses.⁵⁶ He also appeared to be an expansionist. At any rate, Mackau told Guizot that he concurred with the Prince's suggestion that the Gulf of Guinea would furnish a satisfactory center for France's civilizing and commercial missions.⁵⁷ At this juncture, it should be noted that explorations of the coasts of Guinea had been completed several years earlier at the request of the Chamber of Commerce of Bordeaux and under instructions from the Departments of the Navy and Commerce as well.

It was not surprising that the British objected to French aspirations in West Africa as they had objected to French expansionism in North Africa. Ambassador Cowley wrote Guizot explaining that commercial interests in Bristol and Liverpool were apprehensive about French occupation of certain points on the coast of West Africa. English merchants, he added, thought that French activities there might prove to be injurious to the trade which they had enjoyed for thirty years.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the French remained in West Africa although British objections slowed their plans to expand. Explorers, however, used the west African posts to launch explorations into the heart of Africa.⁵⁹

Abyssinia was one of the most intensively explored areas on the part of French military men and civilian

functionaries. But French interest in the horn of Africa developed rather late--not until 1835. Edmond Combes and Maurice Tamisier, two Saint-Simonians, took the first initiative.⁶⁰ On Combes' return to France, he contacted a group of shipowners in Nantes and discussed the possibility of setting up a commercial site on the Red Sea. Then he wrote to Marshal Soult, President of the Council and Minister of War, that he and a group of Nanto-Bordelaise shipowners wanted to foster French commercial interest in Abyssinia; they requested government aid.⁶¹ This same group had failed in Akaroa, New Zealand in 1840, but the government acquiesced and supported their commercial venture. Unfortunately, it was so badly prepared and conducted that it ended in failure.⁶²

One of the most important endeavors in conjunction with French interest in Abyssinia was the creation of the Commission Scientifique d'Abyssinia. Headed by Théophile Lefebvre, a career naval officer, and sponsored conjointly by the Naval Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce, the group received instructions which had triple aims: political, commercial and scientific. The July Monarchy was much interested in Abyssinia since it lay in the immediate vicinity of the communications and trade route between India and Europe by way of the Red Sea and Egypt. Furthermore, Abyssinia was just across the Red Sea from the Arabian Peninsula where England had already established a post at Aden.⁶³ It is fair to add here that although the author's archival

sources indicate that there was a political aim in Lefebvre's expedition in 1839, George Malécot, who has written a masterful study of this subject, concludes that there was no political aim.⁶⁴ But he has based his conclusions on the diplomatic record alone when he might have profited from research in the naval records, the Marine BB⁴ series particularly, housed in the National Archives of France.⁶⁵

One of the main causes of Anglo-French rivalry was that just when France was establishing herself in Algeria, England, thanks to the steamship, had acquired a new and more vital interest in the Mediterranean routes to India and the Far East. The route had been considered since 1823 when merchants in Calcutta and Bombay tried to promote steamship connections with England, but the feasibility of the Suez-Red Sea route was not shown until 1830 when the trip from Bombay was made in thirty-three days. In 1835, the French put into operation a steam packet from Marseilles to Alexandria. This is the same year France developed an intense interest in exploring Abyssinia and contemplated a commercial relationship with that country shortly thereafter.⁶⁶

French interest in Abyssinia was most intense from 1835 to 1845 during the July Monarchy. Throughout these years, not only the scientific commission, but many other teams feverishly investigated the practicality of commercial linkages with Choa and other parts of the Abyssian territory. Scientific interest also ran high and the records of the

French Academy of Sciences contain many reports of the findings of explorers, many of whom request that a special commission of experts draw up their instructions.⁶⁷

Charles Rochet d'Héricourt, former French consul at Djédda, was one of the most enthusiastic explorers of Abyssinia; he set out on three expeditions between 1839 and 1849 and eventually died of exhaustion in Africa.⁶⁸ The Department of War sponsored two officers, MM. Galinier and Ferret, to Abyssinia (1839-43) in order to "study the mores, religion, political institutions, resources, and to study commercial exchange," and they also asked that the Academy of Sciences draw instructions for detailed scientific research. They accomplished much good work and published two volumes of very detailed maps of northern Abyssinia on their return.⁶⁹ But the most famous team of all of these explorers consisted of two Basque brothers, Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie, who arrived in Massouah 17 February 1838 and spent almost twelve years, intermittently, carrying out scientific studies of the region.⁷⁰ The work of all of these men will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

For the moment, France gained nothing politically and commercially from all of these voyages, but in 1862 a treaty between Afar chiefs and the French government gained for France the region of Obock. This was followed by several other treaties with the Afars, the Issas and Ethiopia proper, so that by 1897 French Somaliland was a strategic entity on

the Red Sea. France now had a counterpoise to British-held Aden.

But French interest in Africa was not restricted to Abyssinia. French warships continuously inspected the northern part of the East African coast and much of this activity also included surveillance of the Mozambique Channel.⁷¹ By 1843, the French position in the Indian Ocean had improved considerably with the annexation of Mayotta in the Channel; by 1845, Captain Guillain, commanding an eighteen-gun brig, arrived in Zanzibar with instructions to foster friendly relations and to search for new trade opportunities for France.⁷²

Guillain's mind was on other things judging from his published documents. For instance, he reported that the African branch of the Indian Ocean could be dominated by the French, since "we possess along this route Bourbon, Sainte Marie, Mayotta and Nossi-Bé" and that "when we want Madagascar, we shall have it, an Australia all our own."⁷³ Continuing his expansionist declamation, he wrote that he believed that France could establish a series of secondary posts along the east African coast since her explorers had been active in the area for twenty years and knew it well.⁷⁴ He also pointed out that the Isle of Mayotte was ideally located so that it could serve as an important entrepot between Europe, Africa, and Asia. More importantly, for strategic reasons, it was equidistant from Africa and Madagascar and thus commanded

the Mozambique Channel; it has been described as a "little Gibraltar" by a British naval officer, he added not without some significance.⁷⁵

Baron Mackau, Secretary of the Navy, wrote to the Foreign Ministry to approve Guillain's exploratory work; he also recommended that further study of the area be continued. He promised that extracts of Guillain's work would be published in the Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, and that he would see that all Chambers of Commerce were informed of the results of the voyage.⁷⁶ He also added that it was very urgent that France get a most favored treaty from the Iman of Muscat and that French consuls be admitted in Zanzibar.⁷⁷

The French press congratulated consular agents for obtaining treaties with the Iman of Muscat which demonstrates that there was support for the government's action in East Africa. The Journal des Débats published an article which proclaimed France's equality--at last--with England and the United States as a result of her treaties with China (Whampoa) and the Iman of Muscat, both recorded in 1844. The article concluded that "the government is in advance of national commerce. It is she who shows the way and smooths the path; it is now up to private industry to respond to this appeal."⁷⁸ And then there was a final warning, "It will not be the fault of the government if the French pavillon does not feast with success in these latitudes."⁷⁹ Since the Journal des Débats was more or less an official organ, it is clear that the July

Monarchy was urging commercial expansionism and promising government support.

All of the foregoing brief discussion of French interest and exploration in Oceania, Abyssinia and the islands in the Mozambique Channel serves to remind one that France was extremely anxious to expand her influence even though England cast a jaundiced eye at these actions. The strategy of seizing points d'appui was an effective expansionist device and the resulting meagre gains were keystones for the grand empire of a later date. Algeria, annexed late in Louis-Philippe's reign, became the linchpin of the French African Empire.

Numerous expeditions were financed by the Orleanist government in France's quest for national prestige. There was a great outburst of interest about the subject of terrestrial magnetism and the July Monarchy created two scientific commissions: the Scientific Commission of Iceland and Greenland, and the Scientific Commission of the North. Both groups received elaborate instructions regarding terrestrial magnetism (recording detailed compass declinations and inclinations) and other geophysical requirements. As a result of the work performed by the French and scientists of other nations, errors on navigational charts were rectified, compass problems were solved, and the foundations of modern meteorology were effectively laid.⁸⁰

Although the work of important representative voyagers only will be investigated in this dissertation, it should be pointed out that there was a feverish explosion of far-flung expeditions. Some of these were lone travellers whose primary aim was commercial, some were missionaries, some travelled under government orders at their own risk. Some formed teams of scientific expeditions, and some went abroad for private reasons, but as they valued science, often requested instructions from the Academy of Sciences so that they could occupy their spare time constructively. A good example of the latter was M. Louis Duplessis who returned to Texas in 1848 in order to manage a large commercial business. He corresponded with the Academy of Sciences requesting instructions relating to natural history and "statistiques." A committee forwarded a very comprehensive list of duties which outlined more work than he had bargained for.⁸¹

Other examples were M. Charles Texier who was ordered by the Ministry of Public Instruction to survey the Propontide and the east coast of Turkey, particularly the sea of Marmara, and the coasts of Caramanie as well (1834-36). Since the straits were surveyed at the request of Admiral Roussin, French ambassador to Constantinople, there is good reason to suspect that this mission had political implications although Texier received published instructions to survey the area for geological, archeological and historical data.⁸²

There is one more category of voyagers not discussed in this chapter, but it should be mentioned for the purpose of illustrating the scope of the French voyageur experience during the reign of Louis-Philippe. This category is best illustrated by M. Perrott, a botanist by professional training, but one who held the unique position of naturaliste voyageur and was attached to the Naval Ministry. In the course of his career he made voyages for the ministry: for example, in 1818 he traveled to China and the Philippines and returned with products which were useful and which could be raised successfully in the colonies of Bourbon and Guiana. This is an excellent illustration of the attempt to introduce new foodstuffs in the plantation colonies. Perrott was sent in 1834 to Pondichéry as a botanist-agriculteur, in the service of the government, charged with the responsibility of managing a "vegetable plantation" and a botanical garden. Above all, it was the production of silk which occupied his time. According to published reports of the Academy of Sciences, the government aggressively sponsored this new industry since it was felt that it might replace the coffee and sugar industries which had fallen on hard times.⁸³

But it is above all the role of the navy which must be kept in mind, for without the navy there would have been no points d'appui. A navy constrained by politics, and whose metier of war suffered a long period of dormancy, was forced to discover an alternative mode of survival. The navy's

explorations and expeditions not only served the purposes of France's career military officers but assisted in the creation of an effective kind of expansionist strategy. Who were these intrepid wanderers who took the first "stammering steps" in rebuilding the second French empire--these naturaliste voyageurs, these savant-observateurs, these amateur politicians (Dupetit-Thouars), these loyal servants of France?

All of these questions remain to be answered in subsequent chapters where expeditions to many parts of the globe will be examined in detail. But first, there is another expansionist ally which deserves some attention--The Geographical Society of Paris.

CHAPTER IV

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS: EXPANSIONIST ALLY

While Donald McKay¹ and others² have written about the advocacy of expansionism by the geographical societies³ in existence during the Third Republic, scarcely anyone has been curious about the pioneer among these associations: The Geographical Society of Paris. Formally constituted by December 15, 1821, this society remained the only one of its kind for more than fifty years. Was there a nascent spirit of expansionism within this venerable group?⁴ If so, how was this sentiment expressed, who expressed it, and why was it desired?

McKay asked similar questions but, perhaps constrained by the traditional periodization of expansionism, he chose not to inspect pre-1871 issues of the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, the Society's official publication.⁵ Moreover, in developing his sub-thesis that governmental support of explorers was an important factor in French expansionism, McKay argues that France did not seriously subsidize "an exploration venture" until 1878.⁶ Again, had he examined

the Bulletins published before 1871, he would be aware that there was considerable support for these ventures and that the Geographical Society often publicized them.

Christian Schefer has argued successfully that a true colonial spirit existed during the July Monarchy although the public, and even the government itself, may have failed to recognize its existence.⁷ His thesis has great merit, and one could well apply it to the Geographical Society as a representative sample of the French expansionist spirit. First, a word about the society. Founded ostensibly to promote the advancement of geography, fewer than fifteen geographers may be identified among the founding numbers.⁸ Surprisingly, approximately 22 per cent of the members held noble rank and some of them enjoyed, or would enjoy eventually, positions of power and prestige in the Restoration government or the July Monarchy.⁹ Some 20 per cent of the members were functionaries in national or local governments while about 10 per cent were professional men (professors, doctors, lawyers, men of letters) and 9 per cent were members of the armed forces.¹⁰ Several bankers and merchants joined the society as did a few prominent foreigners.¹¹ Important intellectuals were also present at the society's inception: the Marquis Pierre LaPlace, who served as the first president of the General Assembly of the Geographical Society; the Vicomte de Chateaubriand; Baron Georges Cuvier; Baron Jean Baptiste Fourier; and Alexander von Humboldt who resided in Paris for many years.¹²

There were some predictable regional biases in the membership, in particular, a Bordelais coterie: the Duc de Richelieu, Vicomte Lainé, and Baron Portal d'Albarédes. Friendly to Bordelais shipping interests, all of these men enjoyed positions of high importance during the reign of Charles X.¹³ Other important members of this regional clique who joined the society at a later date included Count Louis Molé and the Duc Élie Decazes, both of whom became presidents of the group.¹⁴ Among the Bordelais shipping firms, the Balguéries enjoyed the most intimate connections with members of this group. This business house played an important role in extending French influence overseas through its commercial ties in the Orient and in South America. Thanks to Count Molé, the head of the House of Balguérie-Sargent received the cross of a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor early in the century for its contributions to the nation, and in 1825 the Geographical Society commended the firm of Balguérie-Stuttenberg for its service to geography.¹⁵ All of this suggests that the Geographical Society was not, strictly speaking, a professional association which remained aloof and completely detached from French national affairs.

Furthermore, the society's association with governmental officials, coupled with the complex nature of its founding membership, required that the Bulletins themselves be directed toward a non-professional clientele. Thus, the society's publications contained a wide variety of topical

material drawn from a number of sources: speeches of presiding officers, essays written by members, reviews of the progress of geography, activities of individual explorers or groups of explorers, expansionist articles from other journals, and official minutes of the formal meetings of the society. All things considered, a close inspection of the Bulletins, enables one to develop a profile of the expansionist attitudes of a diverse group.

Before embarking on a cumulative account of the expansionist attitudes contained in the Bulletins, certain mechanical procedures should be briefly stated. Two groups of officials presided over the Geographical Society: (1) officers of the General Assembly who met with the entire membership twice a year and, (2) officers of the Central Committee who held twice-monthly meetings and who ultimately bore responsibility for the mundane work of the society. No doubt chosen for their high rank, officers of the General Assembly lent great prestige to the society while guaranteeing entree to the Court. Presidents of the General Assembly had an official duty which required them to lead a delegation which regularly paid a New Year's call on their monarch.¹⁶

It has been pointed out that the membership of the Society derived from diverse groups. Many of the members were highly educated and well-traveled and appeared to be sincerely interested in fostering the progress of science.¹⁷ Yet the articles, speeches, and reports in the Bulletins

frequently stray from professional matters. For instance, alarm is often expressed concerning the growth of British influence resulting from her creeping expansionism in the South Pacific and over her attempts to gain tactical advantages in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. And, if there is one area which remained paramount in the eyes of the members, it is the threat of the British in Africa.¹⁸

First mention of the Geographical Society's interest in Africa occurred in 1825 when a summary of the progress of geography contained this statement: "Africa is always the country which first draws the attention of the friends of geography."¹⁹ This comment grew out of an expressed concern over English explorers in the Sudan and in other parts of Africa. The society's anxiety became demonstrably apparent when it began a public subscription that same year for a prize which was to be awarded to the first French explorer who reached Timbuktu, a Saharian entrepot on the Niger. On return, the prize recipient was obliged to supply French authorities with an accurate map of Timbuktu's precise location, to inform them of the nature and quantity of good exchanged there, and to provide advice to the government concerning the fostering of commercial ties with traders who frequented the entrepot.²⁰ M. René Caillié received the prize in 1828, and a few years later Louis-Philippe personally received him at the Tuileries and decorated him for his outstanding achievement.²¹

Interest in the exploration of Africa was not confined to the Geographical Society. Both Baron Damas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Count Chabrol du Crouzol, Minister of the Navy, contributed 2,000 francs each from their ministerial funds in response to the society's subscription for prize monies eventually awarded to Caillié. Chabrol, when presenting his contribution, commented that his great interest in Timbuktu grew out of the Naval Ministry's attempt "to open and support commercial relations between settlements in Senegal and the interior" of Africa.²² Chabrol maintained excellent relations with the Geographical Society and became president of the General Assembly in 1827. In his inaugural address, he informed the members that as chief of the Naval Ministry he could "vigorously push the progress of Geography" during his presidency.²³ Moreover, he predicted that the Society would become "one of the most useful institutions in which France can take pride" and assured the members that their association would continue to grow.²⁴

Baron Damas, speaking for the Foreign Ministry, also expressed his intense interest by letter to the society. He wrote that exploration of Africa would bring about "the progress of science, and of civilization," and that it would benefit "industry and commerce" as well. Voyages in Africa, he commented, merited "the interest and protection of the French government."²⁵

In 1826 the Geographical Society began another campaign for funds, this time for the exploration of French Guiana. Chabrol quickly responded because he said that the Naval Ministry knew nothing about this French colony. He was also responsible for insisting that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior contribute equal amounts "for the progress of science and the development of commerce and industry."²⁶ Campaigns for prize funds continued in the years to come, and the Geographical Society attracted a number of important patrons who were willing to subscribe to the prize funds.

By 1830, the Geographical Society had gained a very important patron: Louis-Philippe. Not only did he place his name at "the head of the membership list," he contributed money for the prizes awarded by the society, and he actively encouraged French explorers.²⁷ Interested in all kinds of expeditions, he frequently read proposals for explorations which were submitted to the Naval Ministry. For instance, he read plans for a proposed circumnavigation of the globe which had been submitted by Captain Jules Dumont d'Urville, one of the era's most outstanding explorers. After reading these plans, Louis-Philippe personally issued instructions that d'Urville's itinerary be altered to include an attempt to reach the South Pole during the voyage (1837-40).²⁸ A founding member of the Geographical Society, d'Urville made an attempt to carry out the king's instructions, and he was

elected president of the Central Committee shortly after his return from the Antarctic.²⁹ No doubt his success as a pre-eminent explorer was related to his election to office in the Geographical Society.

Louis-Philippe had another interesting connection with one of the presidents of the Society: Duc Élie Decazes, a member of the Bordelais coterie. Friendly to shipping interests in that region,³⁰ Decazes was the linchpin in the attempted colonization of Akaroa, New Zealand in 1838, a colony desired by Bordelais shippers. Although documentary evidence is scanty, scholars believe that Louis-Philippe was involved in this colonial venture and that Decazes served as his agent.³¹ In any event, Decazes, himself, was heavily involved in the Akaroan scheme for profit, so it is not surprising that while addressing the membership he emphasized that the Geographical Society should attempt to open new markets as one of its functions. But he also thought that unknown parts of the world should be sought out by explorers "for the love of humanity and civilization."³² For missionaries whom he called "pacific conquerors", Decazes emphasized a two-fold mission: they must "spread the seeds of truth and the germs of civilization,"³³ but they should also return to France with "a profitable plant for agriculture, a new tree for our forests, a useful animal for our farms."³⁴

On New Year's Day in 1834, Decazes led a delegation from the Geographical Society which paid a formal call on

Louis-Philippe and his family. Apparently this delegation received a special audience, a fact carefully noted in the Bulletin.³⁵ But Louis-Philippe remained responsive to other presidents of association as well. Count Montalivet, during his inaugural address in 1834, brought news of a donation from the king which served to underwrite the cost of publishing a fourth volume of memoirs; these publications were sponsored by the Geographical Society in order to encourage interest in future explorations. Montalivet also announced that the Duke of Orleans had contributed money in keeping with his father's interest in the society. While expressing his own sentiments, Montalivet praised the society for its contributions to the growth of French commerce and also emphasized the importance of geography for future explorers and for the military.³⁶

Baron Jean-Jacques Pelet, a Lieutenant-General in the French army and president of the Geographical Society in 1836, saw a direct connection between geography and military and political affairs. In fact, "geography dominates politics," he declared in his president's discourse.³⁷ But war, on the other hand, provided a service to geography, since military conquests permitted exploration of territories which had been closed to European travellers. Pelet took great care to point out to the membership that members of the royal family had participated in the Algerian Campaign, and he announced that "last year [1835] the prince royal carried the French

standard to the Atlas mountains," when the French army explored "Mauritanie césarienne" (the Magrib).³⁸ Pelet, the first president of the society to have introduced a strong military tone, seemed to suggest additional military conquests.

Francois Guizot, on the other hand, was more circumspect and allowed no political content to slip into his address to the General Assembly in 1837. Why he did not use this forum to accumulate support for the Algerian Colonial Society with which he was known to be sympathetic and which he had publicly supported remains a matter for speculation.³⁹ He did express approval of the work of French missionaries who made conquests "for science as passionately as they made conquests for God."⁴⁰ They were also important when France made her Pacific conquests (points d'appui), but Guizot did not emphasize this point for obvious reasons.⁴¹

In 1838, M. Salvandy, Minister of Public Instruction, was more candid in his presidential speech when he informed his audience that explorers were the first conquerors of a country and that "Africa appears destined to be returned to civilization by France."⁴² Although Salvandy stressed the familiar mission civilisatrice, his successors seemed to stress the commercial benefits which were likely to follow successful French explorations.

This is certainly true in the cases of M. Villeman, Minister of Public Instruction, and Laurent Cunin-Gridaine,

Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, both of whom served as presidents of the Geographical Society in 1841 and 1842 respectively.⁴³

By 1843, Oceania became a major topic of interest for the Society, and doubtless this was related to recently established French sovereignty over the Marquesas and Tahiti. Sabin Berthelot, Secretary of the Central Committee, wrote in his annual report that "the Polynesian region is becoming one of the great centers [of the world] where the interests of France, Russia, and the United States will come to a head."⁴⁴ He informed the membership that the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies had circulated a document which proclaimed absolute French control over ports in the Marquesas and Tahiti. Berthelot argued that the excellent location of these archipelagoes provided France with "lieux de relâche et de revitaillement."⁴⁵ France's gains in Oceania, he assured his readers, "should be considered the first step toward the future prosperity of [French] settlements in the South Pacific."⁴⁶

This intense interest in Oceania led to the republication of expansionist memoirs in the Bulletin. One of the most zealous was written by a member of the Chamber of Deputies, Louis Estancelin, and it was originally published in the Bulletin de la Société maritime de Paris, Cahier 5.⁴⁷ His article was, for the most part, a resume of documents forwarded to him by Captain Hurtel, a navigator in the French

navy. Since Estancelin was a strong Orleanist who enjoyed a close relationship with the royal family, it seems significant that the Geographical Society chose to republish his expansionist article.⁴⁸

Hurtel had informed Estancelin that he remained convinced that France could increase her commercial wealth by setting up powerful maritime bases in the Marquesas and in the Society Islands. Once this was done, then France should immediately form commercial ties with South America, Central America, and the northwest coast of North America. Estancelin repeated Hurtel's expansionist motives but changed the focus of the design. He agreed that France should emulate the Americans, British and Russians who were outstripping her in the Pacific, but the commercial ties which Estancelin proposed called for linkages between countries of the southern hemisphere and China. Once firmly entrenched in Polynesia, Estancelin was convinced that France could successfully exclude other countries from this lucrative trade route.⁴⁹

Without Estancelin's power and his active support, Hurtel's views quite probably would not have found a large audience. As it was, his expansionist appeal received coverage in the official journals of the Maritime Society and the Geographical Society and Estancelin also spoke about the same subject in the Chamber of Deputies as well.⁵⁰

By 1844, the building of strategic canals drew the attention of the Geographical Society. In a discourse to

the General Assembly in that year, Vice-President Adrien Cochelet⁵¹ told the assembly about on-going negotiations for the construction of canal through Lake Nicaragua. But he placed more immediate need on a canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, since his long experience as consul in Egypt convinced him that France could put this canal to better use. He reminded the assembly that Napoleon had seen the necessity for a canal in this area, a not so subtle reminder of Napoleonic expansionism.⁵²

The Mehemet Ali Affair no doubt had contributed to French preoccupation with the Red Sea. This preoccupation continued in 1845 when Viven St. Martin, secretary of the Central Committee, wrote in his annual summary that "the permanent settlement which the English now possess at Aden gives them particular interest in Somalia," a part of the Abyssinian territory which was separated from the Arabian peninsula only by the Gulf of Aden.⁵³ Since France had been sending, and continued to send, teams of explorers to Abyssinia, and since the British had defeated her Egyptian ally recently, exploration, expansionism, and politics seemed to form a tight web in the sensitive Red Sea area.⁵⁴

Other parts of Africa also drew the attention of the French, if one can judge from the frequency of reports in the Bulletins. The government encouraged deep interior explorations in west Africa, and subsidized explorers to east Africa as well, particularly to Zanzibar and Madagascar. The Sultan

of Muscat was hounded by French agents for commercial treaties and was nervously observed by the French when they occupied small islands in the Mozambique Channel as early as 1843.⁵⁵

But the theme of France's civilizing mission reoccurred from time to time. Baron Charles Walckenaer, while addressing the General Assembly in December, 1846, reminded the Geographical Society that, although France needed industry and wealth, she also need gloire. Declaring that the glory of discoveries was preferable to the glory of conquests, he recalled that if Alexander deserved and kept "the Great" as part of his name, it was because he brought civilization to Asia.⁵⁶

Count Louis Molé emphasized what had been clearly evident for some time when he made his inaugural address in 1847. In speaking to the General Assembly he asserted that, "we live in times when science itself can no longer be isolated from great civil and political associations."⁵⁷ As an important government official who presided over an organization devoted to the geographical sciences (he was President of the Council in 1837), he was the best demonstration of his own thesis. In closing his address, he told the members that they contributed a great service to France in that they were encouraging the zeal and devotion of explorers who were, after all, "the scouts of commerce . . . of civilization itself."⁵⁸

Until 1848 when Edmé-François Jomard became President-Elect of the General Assembly, all of the former presidents

had been grands notables. But Jomard was not a commonplace man; he had served as an officer of the Central Committee for many years, and he possessed proper professional credentials. But he repeated some familiar themes expressed by past presidents when he stressed the importance of Africa. He avowed that future French designs on that continent depended heavily on having correct geographical information.⁵⁹ Chauvinism characterized one of his speeches when he verbally chastized the award committee for giving prizes to foreigners. French explorers brought honor to France, and Jomard felt that they should never be discouraged by the Geographical Society. Moreover he was distressed about the great success of British explorers, and felt that France was falling too far behind her old rival.⁶⁰

No doubt Jomard, Baron Damas and Count Chabrol, the last two having been extremely interested in the success of the first explorer to reach Timbuktu, would have approved an ambitious project proposed by Dr. Dodichon, a French physician residing in Algiers. His proposal, printed in its entirety in the Bulletin, again emphasizes the use of the Geographical Society as a propaganda forum for expansionist interests.⁶¹ Dodichon proposed a trade union between Algiers and Senegal, having as its central entrepot the best of all selections--Timbuktu. Such a union, he wrote, would furnish France with an internal port in the Sudan which could serve three internal trade routes.⁶² If this union were carried out, France could

then dominate markets in Africa which were constantly threatened by the English. Oases in the Sahara, like archipelagoes in the Pacific, could be used as "points de relaches" for the desert port of Algiers, a port whose commercial possibilities were estimated to be 20 to 30 million francs annually. Dodichon, apparently well informed, pointed out that the Sudanese gold mines and luxury products (ivory and ostrich plumes) were of such great value that the Sudan could easily become "une Californie africaine."⁶³ Whether Dodichon's project was carried out is not particularly important. What is significant, however, is that the Geographical Society chose to publish his proposal in its entirety.

Although this chapter concludes with the reign of Louis-Philippe, one can generalize about the nature of the Geographical Society at this point. Clearly dominated by men who were not primarily interested in the progress of geography per se, the association was a microcosm of French élite interests. The clue to élitism emerges quite early. When one analyzes the founding membership, one finds that the society contained a preponderance of nobles, professionals, and intellectuals; less than 7 per cent were geographers. Moreover, presidents of the General Assembly were always grands notables who brought the organization great prestige at little cost. And while these men could have functioned as honorary figureheads, some of them chose to use the

Geographical Society as an expansionist forum when delivering their presidential addresses twice a year. Using this forum, they fashioned cultural, scientific, and commercial rhetoric to cover expansionist aims in a political era which demanded discretion. Thus, in a sense, a symbiotic relationship existed between those who used this forum and the Geographical Society which sought links with the highest political and commercial elite of France.

The Society through its sponsorship of voyages, through awarding prizes, through its Bulletin which served as an information clearing house, and through its elite membership connections created a nexus of interests which urged expansionism.

All of the usual motives for expansionism were expressed, but commerce seemed to dominate. Decazes, Villemain, Cunin-Gridaine, Chabrol and Damas expressed commercial justifications in their presidential addresses; Berthelot expressed this motive in his annual summary of the progress of geography. Moreover, the society published Estancelin's radical plan for French commercial domination of the South Pacific and Dodichon's plan for commercial domination of the Sudan.

Additionally, there were the usual political considerations and these were best expressed by Pelet and Cochelet, both of whom had served under Napoleon. Artfully recalling his exploits, they suggested that the English menace necessitated vigorous action on the part of France.

And of course, prestige and the civilizing mission served to justify expansionism. Louis-Philippe, obsessed with surpassing the southern record of the Englishman, James Weddell, ordered d'Urville to Antarctica. Others, Salvandy, Walckenaer and Mole, wanted to bring French civilization to the less fortunate.

In conclusion, the consequences of the nascent expansionist sentiment within the Geographical Society are important. As a representative sample of larger interests, the society participated in the systematic, yet unobtrusive, building of a foundation which the imperialists of the Third Republic utilized in building France's greatest empire.

CHAPTER V

AFRICAN NETWORK: EXPEDITIONS TO ABYSSINIA, ALGERIA, AND EASTERN AND EQUATORIAL AFRICA

Unlike the Pacific where primarily naval personnel explored the seas and the islands, conducted scientific expeditions, and procured points d'appui important in the history of French expansionism, Africa was invaded by different groups of Frenchmen. During the first half of the nineteenth century not only marine forces but army personnel, private entrepreneurs, and adventurers penetrated to the heart of Africa, seized operational bases, collected an impressive array of demographic and geographical data, surveyed the commercial possibilities of promising sites, and amassed quantities of scientific data about Africa. In so doing, indefatigable men prepared the way for French seizure and control of a network of colonial possessions from Equatorial Africa to Algeria. Many of these important preliminary steps began during the July Monarchy.

A short time before the inception of the reign of Louis-Philippe, Africa was a world sealed off from Europe by

Arab conquerors. Fortunately for the Europeans, the Arabs never unified their disparate subjects into one cohesive unit,¹ thus permitting a relatively easy seizure of Algiers by the French in 1829-30. This Mediterranean foothold enabled the July Monarchy to expand its control into a Regency for all of Algeria. This process began in 1840 when the French government opted for total control of Algeria, a move accompanied by the decision to send a large scientific commission to thoroughly explore much of the territory.

During the same decade, the French also thoroughly explored Abyssinia, reconnoitered the east coast of Africa, investigated the people and the lands surrounding the Senegal river, and made forays deep into the heart of the western Sudan. French expansionism in Africa had begun.

Although the best-known episode of French expansionism is the pacification of Algeria, there was also much interest in other parts of the continent. Let us first examine French attempts to penetrate Abyssinia since there were several significant explorations there.

Prior to government involvement private citizens explored Abyssinia. Edmond Combes and Maurice Tamisier, two St. Simonians living in Egypt, explored parts of Choa (1835-37) in northern Abyssinia.² Shortly before they completed their journey, M. Jules Dufey and Dr. Louis Aubert-Roche, two adventurers, had attempted to form commercial alliances with various chieftans in northern Abyssinia. However, animosity

on the part of Arab merchants already entrenched in Massawa and Zeyla, two important ports on the Red Sea, prevented the realization of their hopes.³

Undeterred by the failure of Dufey and Roche to get a commercial toehold in Abyssinia, Edmond Combes in 1839 succeeded in persuading businessmen from Nantes and Bordeaux to form a trading company for the same purpose. This task was not easy however. His cautious associates were reluctant to act without government assurances of support, and so Combes was obliged to undertake an aggressive campaign for state involvement. Writing to Marshal Soult, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council, Combes informed him of the company's Abyssinian venture and requested governmental assurance.⁴ Combes' associates, MM. Tochez and Nogues of Nantes, and MM. Hypolite Baba and Balguères of Bordeaux, also wrote Soult urging him to support endeavor. They proposed the purchase of Zeyla and promised that it would be retroceded to France once the success of the company was assured. In order to accomplish these aims they requested that a French garrison be placed at the company's disposal, and in order to purchase the port they requested that 6,000 muskets and 1,000 small arms be set aside to serve as collateral for negotiations.⁵

Probably influenced by a report that the Duke of Orleans held in high esteem the project proposed by Combes and his associates,⁶ Soult soon wrote to General Schneider, Minister of War, requesting prompt delivery of the arms. On

December 2, Louis-Philippe authorized the transfer of arms and Schneider shortly thereafter advised company officials of this good news.⁷ Moreover, two ministries provided some funding: Combes received 6,000 francs from Foreign Affairs and 6,000 francs from Agriculture and Commerce over a period of three years (1838-1840).⁸ The Naval Ministry provided instruments, tools, arms, and free passage on ships of state for company officials as well.⁹ The company's success seemed to be assured.

Arriving in Alexandria, Egypt in November, 1838, Combes immediately realized that he needed assistance in making arrangements to cross Egypt in order to reach the port of Zeyla. He called upon Adrien Cochelet, French consul in Egypt, and informed him of the company's plan to purchase Zeyla and requested his assistance. Cochelet was astonished that the French government had not advised him of this action, and he was also surprised that Combes did not know that Zeyla belonged to Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and thus could not be purchased from some unknown Abyssinian chieftan as had been assumed.¹⁰ This was the first hint that Combes' elaborate scheme might turn sour.

Now that the contemplated site was known to be unavailable, company officials settled for the purchase of Edd, an insignificant port on the Red Sea. However, local swindlers sold property over which they had absolutely no control, and this clumsy state of affairs eventually led to Soult's decision to withdraw all support.¹¹ He notified the

Nanto-Bordelaise group and Combes of his decision, while also informing them that the government arms should be re-exported and sold in South America.¹²

Ill conceived and too hastily planned, Combes' venture was probably doomed from the start. The undefined role which the government played may have contributed to over-confidence on the part of company officials, but their own naivete concerning Abyssinia was a major factor in the failure of the company. To make matters worse, for some forty years future commercial attempts in Abyssinia were discouraged by the bungling attempt of this company.¹³

Nonetheless, during those intervening decades the government's interest remained constant, and French exploration of Abyssinia intensified. Soult, for instance, ordered the exploration of the northern sector of Abyssinia in 1839 even while the Combes' group was trying to establish a commercial foothold in Zeyla. He ordered Captains Ferret and Galinier, two general staff officers, to proceed to the provinces of Tigré, Semien, and Amhara "to study the mores, customs, religions, political institutions, and natural resources," and also demanded that they assist the crew of the Ankober (the official vessel representing the Nanto-Bordelaise company) with their efforts to establish commercial ties with officials along the Abyssinian coast.¹⁴

Ferret and Galinier were less than successful in carrying out to the fullest extent the primary mission of

their voyage,¹⁵ but their zeal for science and the collections resulting from this were noteworthy.¹⁶ They evidently gave very little assistance to the crew of the Ankober. They were extremely critical of the actions of company officials and reported that the port of Edd, the port purchased when Zeyla was not available, was a worthless one. Reports criticizing the Nanto-Bordelaise company flowed constantly to Soult.¹⁷

Soult's behavior is interesting. Though reluctant at first to honor the overtures coming from the Combes' group, he moved forcefully once he learned that the Duke of Orleans was interested in the company. It may be, one suspects, that Soult had friends who invested in the company as well. One may pose several questions. Why did Soult agree to supply the company with arms and a garrison of French soldiers? Although the guns were to serve as collateral for the purchase of land which would be retroceded to France, the whole business was a very risky venture from the start. Why did he send Ferret and Galinier on an official mission with orders to assist men embarking on a harebrained quasi-official commercial attempt? A likely answer seems to be that he was apprehensive about the growth of British influence in the Red Sea area, and regarded this commercial venture as a base for a political counterpoise.

It is known that in 1839 Soult asked Jomard, member of the Institute and one of the founders of the Geographical Society, to advise him concerning the establishment of a

French consulate at Massawa, an Abyssinian port on the Red Sea. Jomard supported such a move stressing the importance of protecting French interests and French citizens in the Red Sea region; he also recommended that French naval cruises be undertaken in the same area as a countermeasure against the growth of British influence resulting from her occupation of Aden in 1839.¹⁸ Two consulates were soon established--one at Massawa and the other at Djédda: Alexandre Degoutin, Cochelet's protege, headed the former and Fulgence Fresnel, known for his scientific research in Egypt and in Arabia, headed the latter post in 1840.¹⁹ Clearly Soult intended to keep abreast of British activities and to thwart their designs vis-a-vis France's Egyptian friend, Mehemet Ali. And since the Pasha of Egypt was directly embroiled in the Eastern Question, France's African expeditions are related to the larger question of European diplomatic affairs.

There was no definite Eastern Question in the minds of European statesmen before 1830. Yet in less than a decade Mehemet Ali's attempts to dominate Sultan Mahmud II (and later his successor, Adbul Mejid) resulted in a situation in which war seemed imminent between France and Britain.²⁰ Under the Pasha and the French experts whom he brought to Egypt, this country developed into a very aggressive power while remaining a vassal to the Ottoman Sultan in name only. Mehemet Ali at the height of his power held Syria and was also in possession of Mecca and Medina; the latter acquisitions made it

appear that he intended to conquer all of the Arabian Peninsula. As early as 1837, Sultan Mahmud II, disturbed by his vassal's aggressive foreign policy, suggested that the British occupy Aden, for which they needed little encouragement. From the vantage point of the British, the Franco-Egyptian friendship threatened to develop a sphere of influence stretching from the Levant to the Persian Gulf. Foreign Minister Palmerston could not possibly permit the consolidation of this powerful bloc, given the extent of British holdings in India.²¹

The Mehemet Ali disruption threatened the entente between France and England which was already strained by the fact that there was no real community of economic interests between the two nations. The English ambassador to Paris had already warned the government that "two nations cannot continue to be united politically unless they are bound directly by the bonds of commercial affairs."²² French businessmen complained about British competition and demanded tariff hikes which did not set well with British competitors. By 1837 Palmerston was grumbling that France was jealous "of the commercial prosperity of England and desired to arrest the progress of that prosperity."²³

The Eastern Question reached crisis proportions when Mehemet Ali made it clear that he was going to declare his independence from Turkey. Sultan Mahmud opened hostilities first (April, 1839), but his forces were soon routed by those

of his Egyptian vassal. Palmerston, realizing that war was imminent, had tried since late spring of 1838 to persuade the other powers to unite in effective coercive measures against Mehemet Ali, but France resisted. Already anxious about Russian invocation of her rights under the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi,²⁴ Palmerston resolved to settle the affair once and for all in 1839. By the end of September, Britain informed France that Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Britain were going to act in this matter "whether France joins or not; but that on every account we shall deeply regret that France should not be a party to the proceedings."²⁵ Thiers, succeeding Soult as head of the government in 1840, continued to see no reason why he should compel Mehemet Ali to abandon territory to the Sultan. On July 15, 1840 Palmerston was able to sign a Quadruple Agreement with the other powers, and this appeared to be the turning point in the crisis. As a result, Mehemet Ali was forced to retire to his Egyptian dominions. Moreover, France was isolated and there was talk of war against England, but Louis-Philippe, dismayed at Thiers' reluctance to face facts, dismissed him and as result the Thiers' government fell in October, 1840. Throughout this affair, France continued to send explorers to Abyssinia.²⁶

So many explorers followed in the footsteps of Ferret and Galinier that it appeared that the French were obsessed with the land of the ancient Copts. Charlemagne-Théophile Lefebvre, a former associate of the d'Abbadie brothers during

a scientific mission to Brazil, began an aggressive campaign in 1838 beseeching the government to sponsor a large scale official scientific commission to thoroughly explore Abyssinia. He first wrote to Louis-Philippe,²⁷ and then to Count Mole, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to request that Mole persuade the king in his behalf.²⁸ Tenacious in his quest for a government subvention, Lefebvre persisted in his campaign by writing to Laurent Cunin-Gridaine, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture and a member of the Geographical Society, assuring him that the aforesaid expedition would benefit substantially French agriculture and commerce.²⁹ Cunin-Gridaine rallied to Lefebvre's cause and wrote to Admiral Rosamel, Minister of the Navy, telling him that he intended to subsidize Lefebvre's mission in the amount of 2,000 francs for the coming year. Swayed by Cunin-Gridain's action, Rosamel responded by announcing that he would provide Lefebvre with funds amounting to ten francs per day, and that he would also arrange free passage on government ships for the explorers and for their supplies.³⁰

Lefebvre headed the formally constituted Scientific Commission of Abyssinia, and he and two staff members from the Museum of Natural History, Drs. Petit and Dillon, arrived in Massawa on 6 June 1839. From there they travelled to Tigré where they met Chief Oubié who granted them permission to explore widely in his territory.³¹ Before Lefebvre did so, however, Oubié urged him to return to France with a

proposal for a commercial treaty granting France favorable treatment. Lefebvre agreed to do this, but he seized the moment to ask for the cession of the Bay of Amphilia, and when he arrived in France he not only had the concession document in his pocket, but he was accompanied by a delegation from King Oubie's court. Baron Roussin, now Minister of the Navy, welcomed them but Thiers, now Foreign Minister, put them off asking that they return after the first parliamentary session. A few days later the delegation was presented to Louis-Philippe who may have encouraged Lefebvre to press Thiers for ratification of the treaty.³² At any rate, shortly after his audience with the king, Lefebvre wrote a long report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs pointing out for the second time the advantages of an agreement with Oubie. Thiers finally allocated money for the purchase of gifts for Oubie and allowed Lefebvre's return to Tigre.³³

Concerned that the success of Lefebvre's mission was not yet assured, Baron Roussin wrote a letter reminding Thiers that the aim of Lefebvre's expedition was actually three-fold: "political, commercial, and scientific."³⁴ In another note which followed on the heels of the former, Roussin warned Thiers about the English threat and the necessity for recognizing the strategic importance of Abyssinia:

Since the establishment of communications between India and Europe by way of the Red Sea and Egypt, unexpected importance has been acquired by these countries, calling

attention to Abyssinia as well as the Arabian peninsula, where already England has laid the foundations of a powerful influence.³⁵

Lefebvre, now promoted to Lt. de Vaisseau and named Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, returned to Abyssinia full of hope, but he found that his associates had not fared so well. Dillon had died and Petit was discouraged and suffering from exhaustion. Things grew worse. By January, 1841 Lefebvre discovered that he had been duped by Oubié, and he had to inform his government that the ras of Tigre had ceded the Bay of Amphilia to France without having had the right to do so.³⁶

Yet Lefebvre's troubles had just begun. Hostility on the part of the French consul, Degoutin, and lack of confidence on the part of Combes (he was there representing the Nanto-Bordelaise group discussed earlier) which he expressed in correspondence to the government, caused Lefebvre's reputation to suffer. Degoutin reported that he was maligning the French government,³⁷ while Combes reported that Lefebvre's mission was a disaster.³⁸ On the other hand, Lefebvre was reproaching Combes for the superficiality of his own enterprise.³⁹

The entire situation appeared bound on a course of self-destruction. Not only were explorers in Abyssinia defeating their own efforts by jealous attacks on each other, but government officials could not agree on the true state of affairs. Every agency seemed to work at cross purposes.

In 1842, Cunin-Gridaine asked Guizot, now heading the Soult-Guizot government, whether or not Lefebvre had been given a political mission.⁴⁰ The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce received a stern reply from Guizot: "M. Lefebvre had no political mission. He has already erred by having Oubie cede territory which did not belong to him." He concluded by disavowing Lefebvre's authority to conclude a commercial treaty.⁴¹ Only two years previously Roussin had told Thiers that Lefebvre's mission was not only political, but was commercial and scientific as well! A plausible explanation for Guizot's conservative stance is that his foreign policy was by then related to the settlement of the Eastern Question in 1840. Moreover, Lord Aberdeen had replaced Palmerston as Foreign Minister and relations between France and England had entered the period of the second entente cordiale which would last until the return of Palmerston in 1846.

Guizot's letter also attacked Combes for his having compromised the dignity and name of France in the clumsy and fraudulent purchase of Edd.⁴² Lefebvre and Combes thus had two things in common: both suffered from the exigencies of French foreign policy vis-a-vis Britain, and both were stung by the duplicity of native chieftans in Abyssinia.

On Lefebvre's return to France in the summer of 1843, he was exiled to the Department of Maps and Plans where he dedicated himself to the writing of a multi-volume

work describing the work of the Scientific Commission of Abyssinia.⁴³ While his political and commercial assignments produced no spectacular results, his scientific achievements were quite another matter, and are wide-ranging. They included: data, recordings, collections in geography, physics, astronomy, meteorology, magnetic observations (Arago must have been pleased with these), barometric readings, mineralogy, botany, zoology, costumes and portraits of native peoples, ornithology, antiquities, inscriptions, commerce and production of foodstuffs, information on navigation in the Red Sea, notes on religion, politics, mores and laws of different groups in Abyssinia, as well as linguistic information.⁴⁴

The Academy of Sciences praised him and associates in its official publications. The Geographical Society of Paris recognized him for his outstanding contributions to science and in 1846 awarded him a gold medal, one of the society's highest honors.⁴⁵

Although Lefebvre's political ambitions were far from realized, other explorers were equally hampered by reluctant government support. Evidence of this may be found in a letter written to Napoleon III in March, 1863 wherein the brother of Charles Rochet d'Héricourt informed the monarch that his death in Djéd^éda resulted from privations and fatigue suffered in a third mission to Abyssinia. He had received minimal cooperation from his own government.⁴⁶ D'Héricourt summed up his brother's work succinctly:

My brother . . . was charged with a scientific mission by the Institute, and by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Commerce with the exploration of southern and northern Abyssinia. Three successive journeys were completed: the first two at his own expense between 1839 and 1846 . . . in the country of the Adels and the kingdom of Choa. No European travellers before him had crossed the Desert of the Adels, nor had given so detailed a description of Choa.⁴⁷

Northern Abyssinia first attracted d'Hericourt for good reason; he believed that Choa provided France an excellent opportunity to counterbalance the growth of English influence in central Africa. He argued in a memoir:

The civilizing of central Africa seriously preoccupies England: this power has just prepared at great expense . . . an expedition which is proceeding up the Niger At less expense and with a greater chance for success, France could bring civilization in the opposite part of intertropical Africa. She can easily accomplish this in Choa. The people who dominate this country, those belonging to the royal race, already share a point in common with us, religion. Who will dominate Choa, will dominate Abyssinia.⁴⁸

This indicates an extraordinarily sophisticated geopolitical twist based on France's familiar mission civilisatrice. It seems unfortunate, somehow, that French authorities did not recognize Rochet's virtuosity and that they did not take advantage of his long experience in Abyssinia. He constantly urged authorities to curry favor with Sahle Selassie, ruler of Choa and a Christian, by sending him gifts of arms and French luxury products in order to initiate commercial negotiations.⁴⁹ Although his views did temporarily attract the attention of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Agriculture, and War, all of whom did send gifts, these men grew reluctant

when d'Héricourt attempted to bind the two countries with a treaty of friendship and commerce from time to time.⁵⁰

But Rochet d'Héricourt did not undertake three arduous journeys to Abyssinia for the love of politics and commerce alone. He had great curiosity about the country in general, loved science, and like to travel. When he completed his first voyage at his own expense in 1840, the Academy of Sciences recognized his achievements in its official publication:

M. Rochet, guided by the love of science had conceived the project of extensively exploring Africa [Abyssinia]. Circumstances have prevented his realization of this aim in its entirety . . . he had few scientific instruments.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the society was very complimentary about his notes pertaining to geography and geology, pointing out that he had gathered data on a "country where until now no geologist has entered." Since Rochet was by that time proposing a second voyage, the members of the Academy encouraged him to continue his scientific work and promised him proper instruments.⁵²

Rochet left Marseilles January 1, 1842 on a second voyage with the blessings of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and War since he had convinced the government that Sahle-Selassie was interested in commercial ties with France. Rochet had brought gifts from the king of Choa to convince the French authorities.⁵³ On this trip he made detailed geographical, geological, meteorological, botanical, and zoological

observations, all of which were examined and noted by a special committee of the Academy of Sciences. The members of the committee pronounced the second voyage more fruitful than the first because the quantity and quality of the data was impressive and had been recorded with the aid of instruments furnished by the Academy.⁵⁴

But Rochet had other obligations during his second journey, one of which was to deliver gifts to Sahle-Selassie in order to promote French influence in Choa. After a dangerous trip to the king's court made so by English interference, he delivered elaborate gifts consisting of guns, cannons, sabers, fine cloth, an organ, carpets, and personal items.⁵⁵ His careful machinations resulted in the drafting of a commercial and political treaty which was signed by Sahle-Selassie. Portions of the treaty contained the right to request assistance from France should Choa be attacked by Muslim states, and in return the king agreed to respect the rights of French subjects in Choa. A tariff reduction was negotiated which provided the French with a most-favored nation advantage and French citizens were promised the right to buy and retain land and other forms of real estate in all territory controlled by the king.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed Rochet that they had not officially sponsored his mission nor had he been delegated the official power to negotiate treaties with foreign powers. The treaty could not be ratified.⁵⁷

Once again, timidity and a serious lack of communication and planning is evident within the government, although this may have been compounded by Rochet's overeagerness. Nonetheless, it is clear that while courageous men risked their lives and careers for the glory of France believing that the government was as audacious as they, these explorers were often disappointed. Perhaps the government's points d'appui expansionist policy was misleading, promising more than the authorities were willing to deliver when confronted with British objections. Certainly the British were apprehensive about French activities in Abyssinia and East Africa. In fact, so many French ships and explorers came and went that Governor Haines, the British representative at Aden, suspected the French of spying. He reported his concerns to the India Office in Bombay, and he was informed that any settlement, military or otherwise opposite Aden, would be considered highly detrimental to British interests.⁵⁸ This threat probably explained the nervous policy of the French since general British objections were well known.

Hope triumphed over experience when Rochet undertook a third mission in 1847. He responded to a request from the Minister of Commerce who called for the completion of detailed commercial reports about Abyssinia, and who at the same time hinted that he might initiate negotiations for treaties of commerce. Whether Rochet knew it or not, it appears that his third mission was ordered primarily to

serve as a "cover" for a delicate mission undertaken by Lefebvre. French colonies, the islands of Bourbon and Reunion, were suffering from a shortage of laborers as a result of the abolition of slave trade, and Lefebvre's second mission included instructions to search for Abyssinian free laborers who were to be recruited as immigrant workers. These negotiations with native chieftans in Abyssinia were very delicate since the true status of some of the workers remained in doubt.⁵⁹

The genesis of Lefebvre's mission came about as a result of one of his essays about Abyssinian immigrant laborers which was subsequently published in a multi-volume history of his first journey to Abyssinia.⁶⁰ Brought to the attention of high officials in the Naval Ministry, this plan was sanctioned by the government and placed in operation as a confidential mission.⁶¹

Meanwhile, Rochet d'Héricourt arrived in Abyssinia in 1847 confident that he had an important task to complete. He began sending voluminous commercial reports as ordered by the Ministry of Commerce. Unfortunately, and more importantly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not share Commerce's enthusiasm for these reports. They were indifferently received by Foreign Affairs since this ministry was for the time being more interested in Lefebvre's immigrant worker scheme. This was Rochet's third, and last, mission. He died in Abyssinia, exhausted, according to his brother, and no doubt disillusioned.⁶²

Lefebvre hardly fared better. According to Degoutin, Lefebvre succeeded in recruiting a contingent of workers which he brought to Massawa for transshipment to the French colony at the Ile de Bourbon. They never arrived there, however, because Lefebvre's entire operation was suspended due in no small part to the Revolution of 1848.⁶³

In the final analysis, both the government and individual explorers shared an intense interest in Abyssinia, however, only the explorers were prepared to take big gambles. The French government was prepared to send ships and men there for many reasons, one of the most important considerations being Abyssinia's proximity to Egypt and the sensitive Red Sea area where the British presence threatened France's friend, Mehemet Ali.

But the French were also interested in East Africa as a whole, since the Indian Ocean islands and shipping lanes were part of a larger regional rivalry between the British and French and other great powers. In 1844 France began an extensive and methodical reconnaissance of the waters off the eastern African coast from Cape Guardafui to the Mozambique Channel. One of the most representative of these voyages was that of Captain Charles Guillain who, in 1846, received command of the Duqu  dic with orders to explore in detail the coast of east Africa from the Bay of Logoa and Cape Guardafui to the western littoral of Madagascar. Guillain was advised by Captain Roman-Desfoss  s, commandant of the French naval division at Bourbon, that

the Naval Ministry was concerned about French commerce and the progress of science and that a thorough exploration of the African coast was thought to be in order.⁶⁴ Therefore, the Ministry of the Navy and the Ministry of Commerce were prepared to subsidize handsomely this voyage--they promised 10,000 francs.⁶⁵ Guillaian was also informed that the government was vitally interested in Zanzibar, controlled at that time by Syed-Said-ben-Sultan-ben-Ahmed, Sultan of Muscat. He was ordered to promote trade relations with the sultan and to convince him that this voyage was in affirmation of France's friendship and honorable intentions.⁶⁵

Guillaian left St. Denis (Bourbon) in August, 1846 and began a series of voyages which ultimately played a role in France's political jousts with England. Already dominating Aden and Muscat, two commanding points on the Arab seaboard, the British held superior positions. But the French tactical position in the Indian Ocean had improved also since Mayotta, one of the Comoro Islands, had been annexed in 1843. Equidistant from Africa and Madagascar, it commanded the Mozambique Channel and had been dubbed "a little Gibraltar" by a British sea captain, according to Guillaian.⁶⁷

Guillaian was bitter about the wrongs the British had dealt France: they had smothered her in India, and they had crippled her in the East Indies due to strong British

opposition toward slavery, the mainstay of the plantation system in the Indies. Guillian, an ardent expansionist, urged France to recoup her territorial losses by launching a move from Mayotta, the "little Gibraltar." Furthermore, in order to facilitate this struggle with England, he was convinced that knowledge was necessary concerning the moral, political and industrial life of countries in Africa and in the islands as well.⁶⁸ Thus, when the Naval Ministry ordered him to explore the eastern coast of Africa, he wrote:

I did not restrict myself to the study of commerce alone of these countries. . . . Geography, hydrography, and the ethnology of eastern Africa, an area so little known, were not forgotten by the personnel of this expedition.⁶⁹

Although Madagascar was not yet a French possession, Guillaumin eyed it eagerly:

The African branch of the Red Sea can be dominated by French interests, not only because we possess along this route Bourbon, Sainte-Marie, Mayotta, and Nossi-be, but because, when we want Madagascar, we shall have it, an Australia of our own. . . .⁷⁰

Furthermore, Guillian knew that if the Isthmus of Suez was opened, French possessions on the east coast of Africa would take on greater importance.⁷¹ Emphasizing the urgent need for French expansionism in the Indian Ocean he wrote:

It must not be forgotten that the Red Sea has its Gibraltar, the port of Aden which commands the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. If the position England has already acquired there is not neutralized . . ., the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez, instead of providing to the

ships of Europe direct entry into the Indian Ocean, will merely have extended to the end of the Red Sea the impasse which now closes the Mediterranean.⁷²

This was strong language, but was not published until 1856, well after the tense period surrounding the Eastern Question in 1840.

While naval officers may have indulged in expansionist rhetoric during the Soult-Guizot ministry, statesmen seldom did. For one thing, the government had made the entente cordiale with England (1841) the pivot of its foreign policy, and for another, government officials did not believe that France was powerful enough to make serious claims upon Madagascar at this time. Therefore, the French opted only for points d'appui and Admiral de Hell negotiated the acquisition of Mayotta and Nossi-bé, two of the Comoro Isles.⁷³

On the west coast of Africa, the same system was followed, particularly in "La Guinée."⁷⁴ Thus, in contrast to the French "hands-off" policy in Abyssinia, a modest expansionist policy emerged in the Indian Ocean and in West Africa. Operational bases were acquired which were expected to provide ports of call for French ships, entrepôts for French commerce, and centers of operations for naval squadrons.⁷⁵

Commander Louis-Edouard Bouët-Willaumez carried out such a policy when in 1839 he began negotiation with King Denis and King Louis, two native chieftans possessing

territory on either side of the Gabon River. By the end of March, 1841, he had fashioned treaties with both of them.⁷⁶ Assisted by an agent representing the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce, a Mr. Broquant, Bouët-Willaumez also negotiated a treaty with the chiefs of Garroway who conceded territory to France on the Gulf of Guinea.⁷⁷ By these acts, French Equatorial Africa was born.

There were English protests concerning these activities. Lord Aberdeen wrote to Count de Jarnac, French ambassador in London, that England opposed Bouët-Willaumez's efforts to extend French influence.⁷⁸ Ambassador Jarnac wrote to Guizot shortly thereafter explaining that England had no quarrel with French occupation of unoccupied parts of Africa; it was quite another matter, however, when France acquired comptoirs in native settlements. In the latter case, English trade with the native settlements was threatened by French activities. Jarnac urged Guizot to allow the British free and equal trading privileges in France's newly acquired comptoirs.⁷⁹

Lord Cowley, English ambassador to Paris, followed up on this matter by writing to Guizot, and stating the British reasons and concern for equal trading privileges:

Commercial establishments in Bristol and Liverpool are apprehensive about French occupation of certain posts on the west coast of Africa; they feel that this would likely prove injurious to the trade they have carried on for more than thirty years.⁸⁰

The English objections proved persuasive because the comptoirs acquired at Garrowy, Assinie and North Gabon from native chieftans were allowed to languish. The French never seriously monopolized trade there. At best, they were only tokens of expansionism.⁸¹

But in Senegal, an old French colony lost during the Napoleonic debacle, the July Monarchy instituted a policy of establishing total control. Returned to France in 1814, the colony served as an experimental agricultural colony where the production of cotton and indigo was encouraged. The results were deplorable since most of those involved were interested in making a quick fortune. When they could not compete with the cheap indigo produced in Bengal and brought to European markets by the British, and when the government reduced funds to encourage colonization on Senegal, a general flight of planters began. But there were other reasons for the failure to maintain productive plantations. Generally speaking, these can be attributed to extremely poor agricultural conditions--lack of rainfall, poor soil, etc.⁸² Farming was almost completely abandoned, but the colony remained important for other reasons.

For one thing, the colony served as an important embarkation point for French penetration of Equatorial Africa and the Sudan. Comments in the Bulletin of the Paris Geographical Society reveal that the French dreamed of a vast

network of trading centers stretching from Algiers to Timbuktu to West Africa. The riches of Africa could be exploited provided explorers opened the way.⁸³ That the government did not carry through on some of these once again raises the question of the fearfulness of direct government action.

Jean-Baptiste Ann Raffenel provides one of the most representative examples of French diligence in opening Senegal. Member of a commission sent to explore Senegal in 1843, he participated in the negotiation of a treaty of commerce with the Almay du Bondou, and in establishing a French comptoir on the Faleme River. On his return to France in 1844, he proposed another expedition along the Senegal River. The Naval Ministry approved his request very quickly, no doubt due to the successful completion of his previous mission.⁸⁴

After completing this journey, Guillain wrote the story of his expedition and found a sympathetic publisher representing railway interests.⁸⁵ The publisher's preface to Raffenel's history of his sojourn reveals an attitude which could very well represent interests not so unusual within the business community of Paris, and which for that reason is worth repeating. In brief, the attitude is that of all the West African rivers, the Senegal furnished the most advantageous route to the African interior for commercial purposes and perhaps political purposes. By way of

the Senegal, the Ghiobila and the Niger rivers could be reached; from the Niger, the French could penetrate 800 leagues into the heart of the continent and find Lake Chad immediately accessible. They enthused: "Masters of the Niger, we would be masters of Africa!"⁸⁶

Like his publishers, Raffenel held great expectations for French expansionism in Africa. Projecting a five-year plan, he believed that France in that period could establish trading factories from St. Louis, in the Senegal estuary, to the gateway of the Sudan--the Niger and other rivers. "We could increase our present commercial revenues a hundred-fold," he wrote, since the "factories will provide trade in iron, gold, copper, oils, skins and hides, dyes and prepared foods."⁸⁷ Moreover, Raffenel believed that in ten years French steamboats could travel up the rivers of the Sudan, show the French flag, and impress the African with the technological marvels of a superior civilization. In twenty years, "permanent relations" between Algeria and central Africa would be an accomplished fact. During the same period France should convert one-half of the population to the Catholic faith, so that she could exercise "a beneficial protectorate over an immense territory for the civilizing of its inhabitants and to the profit of our commercial interests."⁸⁸ All of this could be accomplished with three things, according to Raffenel: perserverance, will, and three million francs per year.⁸⁹

At another point within the text of this same publication, Raffene1 sounds almost St. Simonian. The "regeneration" of Africa seemed to obsess him, more so than the commercial exploitation of Senegal, and he was convinced that regeneration could come about when the French rescued the Negroes from barbarism by introducing them to the true God. That accomplished, perhaps in time "the stigmata of color will disappear and the two races will no longer have the barrier of prejudice separating them."⁹⁰

Baron Ange Mackau, Minister of the Navy and Colonies, outlined Raffene1's responsibilities in a letter dated April, 1846 in which he stressed the commercial aspects mentioned heretofore. He also called for a study of the political situation among the various populations of the Sudan, particularly those that might have a direct bearing on Algeria. He enclosed instructions from the Academy of Sciences, the Museum of Natural History, and the Depot of Maps and Plans, reminding Raffene1 that scientific data were important for industry and politics, as well as for science. And, as for as things of great interest to the Navy were concerned, Mackau requested all information concerning things of interest to French settlements on the west coast of Africa, "and above all to our comptoirs on the Gold Coast."⁹¹ Although Raffene1 was allocated 34,000 francs by the Ministries of War, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, and Public Instruction, he grumbled in his book that he had expenses which exceeded these funds by 5,000 francs.⁹²

After a voyage of sixteen months during which he covered over 1,000 miles, Raffene1 returned to France in June, 1848. He had been ill and did not reach east Africa as he had hoped. For science he had accomplished much; the second volume of his work describing this voyage testified to this. Furthermore, these results are noted in the records of the Academy of Sciences, and his work is important in describing the ethnography of the Sudan, among other things.⁹³

After having surveyed the region and having reflected on the best means for exploitation of the commercial possibilities of west and central Africa, Raffene1 recommended the formation of a private company similar to those "which can accomplish prodigious feats," e. g., the railroad companies in France. In setting forth his plan, Raffene1 showed himself to be a loyal propagandist for his publisher.

Raffene1 stressed the necessity of an established, wealthy company possessing a capital of some 20,000,000 francs which would be needed for the development of central Africa. By putting up this much capital, Raffene1 thought that the company could expect the government to furnish, when needed, the protection of forts and other company-owned buildings. Officers of the company would request military forces when judged necessary "in order to take possession of the countries which would be useful to the general prosperity of the company."⁹⁴

The company's responsibilities as outlined in the same plan were, the fostering of industry, the expediting of caravans, the development of commercial relations with the peoples of central Africa, and the supervision of the relations with the peoples of central Africa, and the supervision of the religious and intellectual education of the people. During the twenty years in which the company's capital outlay was being used for the commercial advancement of France, the state would have to agree to pay an interest rate of 5%. Any monies spent in the vicinity of the Niger River would bear an interest rate of 10% due to higher risk of loss. At the end of twenty years, the company was to be dissolved, and the state would then receive full rights in possession and enjoyment of the forts, churches, schools, and other improvements such as roads, canals, bridges, etc.⁹⁵

Raffenel's scheme bears some similarity to the Combes' scheme in Abyssinia and the Nanto-Bordelaise scheme in Akaroa (to be discussed in Chapter VI). The same modus operandi is apparent in all three: businessmen and the government were involved in commercial schemes which were attempted in little known territories. These similarities are important because they represent bourgeois contributions to the French colonial experience. Moreover, it appears that commerce and exploration, and scientific expeditions were wedded even at this early part of the nineteenth century.

This is true to some extent in Algeria, the most important African colony. Here the army, businessmen, and the government, and explorers worked together to maintain France's greatest colonial prize. The story of the seizure of Algiers is too well known to repeat except for these brief details. Charles X, angered by an insult to his consul by the dey of Algiers (a chief elected for life by pirate guilds), ordered an army expedition to seize Algiers in 1830. Less than three weeks later the July Revolution occurred and Louis-Philippe replaced Charles X. Reception of the seizure of Algiers was mixed: the Bourse scarcely reacted and the same was true in the provinces with the exception of Marseilles; in the parliament, there were diverse opinions with the opposition denouncing it as a political distraction fostered by Charles X. Most of these opinions were founded on total ignorance since there was actually little known about the territory of Algeria.⁹⁶ Before total conquest of Algeria was attempted, a scientific expedition rectified this state of ignorance. It is significant that scientists accommodated expansionists throughout the July Monarchy.

An African Commission, a commission to study the retention of Algeria, began its deliberations in September, 1833, and during the course of the next year several groups petitioned in behalf of the retention of Algiers and neighboring territory. Almost as soon as the committee began to meet, the Chamber of Commerce of Algiers forwarded a letter to the

members and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Signed by the President of the Algerian Chamber of Commerce and other members (President Nadaud, MM. Descous, Mercier, Floret and Berry), this strong note criticized commission members who had never set foot on Algerian soil. They urged the retention of the territory while calling for government support of businessmen in Algiers as well; they reminded the commission and the Ministry that the British government supported commerce while the French colonies were allowed to succumb due to neglect by the government.⁹⁷

At about the same time, the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce asked for some observations from the Algerian Chamber of Commerce, presumably to serve as an aide-mémoire in their recommendations to the African Commission. The Algerian body responded by charging the French government with being timid and indecisive; never had a state possessed at such a short distance from its continental territory a colony so vast and productive with so little support and attention. The Algerian Chamber urged that the Marseilles group exhort the government to protect plantations in Algeria, that it support Marshall Clauzel, build forts and stabilize the country.⁹⁸ M. Reynard, a member of the African Commission and a deputy from Marseilles to the French Chamber, represented his constituents' wishes well by strongly urging the retention of Algiers.⁹⁹

Other Chambers of Commerce also supported retention of this colony. John F. Laffey, for instance, states that the Chamber of Commerce in Lyon, the most "colonial" of the French chambers, actually began its imperialistic stance when members "vigorously supported the Algerian conquest."¹⁰⁰ In addition to Lyons and Marseilles, the department of Pyrenees Orientales supported the "conservation" of Algiers because it "could only favor French commerce and, notably, that of this department."¹⁰¹

There were also private commercial interests which urged the settlement of Algeria and the protection of property of those who had already settled there. One particularly interesting individual letter was written by M. Jean-Antoine Henri Hedde who wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs urging the government to protect the interests of property owners, and also presenting a plan for settlement based on raison sociale.¹⁰²

Under pressure from these groups and due to the heavy influence exerted by General Clauzel, interim governor of Algeria until 1834, and Deputy Reynard, the African Commission recommended taking possession of Algiers, Bone, Oran and Bougie--partial occupation, in other words. Presided over by the Duke Decazes, a friend of Charles X and now of Louis-Philippe, the committee may have been subjected to royal pressure as well. In any event, a royal ordinance of 22 July 1834 sanctioned the committee's recommendation for limited

occupation; and the "French Possessions in North Africa" were confided to the leadership of a Governor General.¹⁰³

Much discussion in Parliament followed and funds were finally voted for the occupation in 1835; the Provencale representation and the Marseilles press were particularly vocal in urging that this be done. Conquest was definitely assured on May 20, 1835 when Guizot announced that "France has conquered the Regency of Algiers and France will keep her conquest."¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless colonization until 1840 remained confused, incoherent and lacking in originality and full-scale commitment. Men were sent there without much direction and without control over difficult circumstances. France at times seemed to renounce her colony, but all of this changed with the arrival of General Thomas Bugeaud in December, 1840; his arrival ended colonial vascillation and the definite conquest of the whole of Algeria began. Also, in the field of colonial administration, Bugeaud ensured permanent control by setting up in every administrative region an administrative unit, the bureau arabe. It was made up of offices responsible for advising French military leaders on policy toward local inhabitants. Officers belonging to these bureaux knew Arabic, had studied the local customs, and were supposed to maintain close relations with the people whose affairs they were directing.¹⁰⁵

No doubt the large-scale Commission scientifique d'Afrique contributed to the breadth of knowledge of these bureaux officials and to others who dealt with France's largest colonial possession during the July Monarchy. As early as 1837 General Bernard, Minister of War, stated that "the moment had come to fill this lacuna." (the lack of knowledge about Algeria).¹⁰⁶ It seems appropriate that first concern about Algerian history, geography, culture, natural history, etc. should emanate from the War Department since this body, after all, was charged with the occupation and pacification of Algeria. Writing to the Academy of Sciences in 1837, Bernard informed the members that he would like to have instructions drawn up by a commission of scientists for an expedition which he planned to send to Algeria. He also informed the Academy that he had requested instructions from the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, and that the ministries of Public Instruction and Commerce and Agriculture had agreed to join him in supporting this venture.¹⁰⁷

The Academy of Sciences complied with Bernard's request and instructions in quantity and fine quality were written by members of the commission appointed to draw up the directives--and no wonder. Some of the finest scientists in France drew them up: François Arago, Adolphe Brongniart, Élie de Beaumont, de Freycinet and others. Many branches of science were included: zoology, botany, geology, geography, medicine, hydrography, physics, astronomy; art and history and

information beneficial for industry were not neglected either.¹⁰⁸

By 1839 instructions had been completed and the Chamber of Deputies allocated 75,000 francs for preparations for this expedition. Headed by Colonel Bory Saint Vincent, President of the Scientific Commission of Africa, the expedition arrived in Algiers early in 1840. While the Colonel was a courageous man, he was hardly the scholar possessing the necessary qualifications for the sophisticated research outlined by the Academy of Sciences. He had been awarded a chair in the Institute, however, because he had managed to collaborate with savants in the past and had published some of the results of prior expeditions.¹⁰⁹ He had hoped to edit the massive collective works of the Algerian expedition, but he was foiled by Prosper Enfantin, one of the members of his entourage. It may seem surprising to find Enfantin serving as a member of the expedition, but easy to understand once the background of his appointment is revealed. General Saint-Cyr, his cousin, arranged with the Minister of War for his appointment, and he was asked to participate in work concerning ethnography, history, culture and institutions of the country.¹¹⁰ As a matter of fact, there were a great number of St. Simonians among members of expedition, and there were also others who were already in Algeria.¹¹¹

Although there were less than twenty members of the expedition, and although they remained in Algeria only two

years, their work was impressive. Prodigious and thorough, the results fill many pages in the published records of the Academy of Sciences.¹¹² All of the results were published finally at government expense, and the collection in its final form consisted of twenty-five volumes and five atlases.¹¹³ Of all the expeditions which carried out scientific work in the nineteenth century, this commission appears to have had the most impressive record. This, of course, indicates the government's interest and commitment to the task of learning about a heretofore absolutely unknown land, as was the case in the Algeria of 1830 when France first seized the city of Algiers.

The British scoffed at French attempts to colonize Algeria. An article in a popular journal of 1849 informed the public that for "upwards of fifteen years she [France] has annually squandered from three to five million sterling upon an unproductive colony in North Africa."¹¹⁴ Why did she do it? According to the same article, rivalry with England, the feverish desire for colonies, and the supremacy of the seas were the motives for France's retention of her expensive colony.¹¹⁵

While this may be so, it is too simplistic. Agreed, that the French were English rivals; but they were more complex with respect to their expansionist motives. Their scenario consisted of a complicated plot written by a timid government, brave men, and military forces chafing for glory

whose motives were a macedoine of high ideals, economic imperatives, adventure, and love of science, national prestige, and--rivalry with England. Of the countries which fascinated them, it was Africa above all others which drew them with magnetic attraction, for here France's post-Napoleonic empire was first built upon the twin stanchions of Algeria and Senegal. Without her scientists and explorers, the French government would have suffered grave difficulties in solving the enigma of a mysterious land populated by exotic peoples. It took more than politicians and armies to build France's extraordinary African empire.

CHAPTER VI

THE PACIFIC: "A WHALER'S DREAM," "A VOYAGE OF PURE CURIOSITY," AND OTHER EXPEDITIONS

A renaissance of the French navy began during the Restoration, thanks to Baron Portal d'Albarédes who was Minister of the Navy and Colonies from 1818 until 1821. This development was accomplished due to a renewed interest in the Pacific which was motivated by: (1) commercial initiatives on the part of Portal and shipping interests in the Gironde; (2) France's desire to rebuild its economy, a design which could not allow rival powers to monopolize distant markets in such places as Latin America and the Far East; (3) scientific discovery and voyages of exploration suggested by naval officers who were supported by the savant corps in France.

Much of this interest and activity reflected the mercantilist policy of Portal and Bordeaux commercial houses, however few shipowners were willing to risk their vessels in costly voyages around the world. Thus, the initiative for trans-Pacific voyages came from the navy, particularly from naval officers who thought they could advance in rank after a

successful cruise.² Their belief was justifiable. Most of the important naval personnel of the nineteenth century had to their credit one or two cruises in the Pacific, and for certain ones (Admiral Fourichon), this constituted their entire apprenticeship.³

In 1815 there was no French presence in the Pacific, and subsequent moves to establish footholds or even small trading bases were almost always blocked by the British who enjoyed a preponderance of power in Far Eastern Pacific waters and also in the South Pacific. After the loss of her colonies in the New World, Britain's interest had shifted to the east, and no French action was tolerated which would jeopardize her designs in India, soon evidenced by the Mehemet Ali Affair. Likewise, no French action was tolerated which might threaten British interests in Australia, New Zealand, and even in the Chinese markets which Britain subsequently controlled after the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 following the Opium War. By virtue of this treaty, England forced the Chinese to cede Hongkong in perpetuity and she also secured the opening of five ports: Canton, Amoi, Fou-tchéou, Ning-po, and Shanghai.⁴

As early as 1823, the French were to become increasingly apprehensive about the lack of safe ports of call where ships could anchor if France were obliged to fight a naval war. The Naval Ministry had received letters from Admiral Roussin, commander of French naval stations in Chili and

Peru, who recommended that French naval forces abandon those ports where their ships were unprotected. Roussin, having learned about new hostilities in Spain as a result of the French precautionary invasion in 1823, feared an imminent war. His letters, and a report sent later that same year, were instrumental in persuading the Naval Ministry to formulate a new policy for ports, or points de relâches.⁵

Roussin's advice was timely. George Canning, the British Foreign Minister, was angered by French aggressiveness vis-à-vis the revolutionaries in Spain and actively supported independence movements in South America, movements which had been gathering strength since the Napoleonic era. Also, Canning was exploiting the weakness of Spain for another reason. Since high tariffs had been imposed on English goods in Continental markets, England had found new markets in South America and these markets had to be preserved. Should France become involved in South American trade wars, she would be in a very vulnerable position should she challenge England's new commercial sphere of interest, an interest backed up by the power of the British fleet. Safe ports for French ships were indeed necessary as commercial rivalry developed throughout the world.⁶

The French were equally concerned with the Far East, and had been since the Restoration when Bordelais shippers and the government had tried to open commercial relations with Cochin-China. This shift in French policy (in contrast with

the ancien régime) is reflected in orders which naval personnel received as they cruised China seas. Hyacinthe de Bougainville, for instance, was ordered to stand and fight should conflict arise when he was dispatched in Cochin-China in 1824 to attempt to open official diplomatic and trade relations with Gia-Long, to show the flag, and to protect French commerce. Furthermore, he received "very secret" orders which required that he closely observe English posts and settlements in the Far East, particularly Singapore, in order to determine their defense capabilities and to analyze the best means for an attack.⁷ It is clear that the French were devising long range strategies in the far East in response to British expansionism, and as a consequence of their own thirst for commercial and political domination.

As discussed in Chapter II, French efforts to open relations with Cochin-China ended in failure and England subsequently dominated traffic in Chinese waters from Singapore to Canton.⁸ Demands from Chambers of Commerce, particularly Bordeaux, led the government to create a consulate at Manila in 1835. Adolphe Barrot, the new consul, was charged with informing the government about commercial activity in China, Indochina, the islands of Java and Sumatra, the Molucca Islands, and Australia.⁹ Barrot, at his request in 1838, became Consul General of Indochina with consular jurisdiction over China, Indochina and Malaysia while his replacement, Eugene Chaigneau, became consul at Singapore,¹⁰ a new post.

Another factor in the growth of French apprehensiveness was the increasing tension between China and Britain. War seemed inevitable after the British passed the Government of India Act in 1833, an act whereby the monopoly of trade with China, previously confined to the East India Company, was abolished. Trade was declared open to all British subjects by this act, the management to be transferred from the East India Company's Supercargoes to a Chief Superintendent whose staff was chosen by the Crown.¹¹ As a result of this action and subsequent British expectations that the "hong" should no longer serve as intermediary between British Crown agents and the Chinese Emperor's traders, diplomatic incompatibility soon developed between these nations. Moreover, this tense situation was complicated by the British insistence on the importation of opium in Chinese markets. Open conflict developed off Chuen-pi at the entrance of the Bocca Tigris in November, 1839 when two British frigates overwhelmed a fleet of Chinese junks. This brought about the Treaty of Nanking, mentioned heretofore, the most important outcome of which was the end of Chinese commercial exclusiveness.¹²

Almost concurrently with the opening of Chinese markets, the British began to dominate much of the Pacific since Australia was almost exclusively under their control by 1840, and since by the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) they exercised permanent control over New Zealand. The French could not idly sit by while Britain enlarged her empire.

As the above British activities ensued during the Restoration and July Monarchy, the French navy was compiling a distinguished record of trans-Pacific voyages. During the Restoration particularly, one of the most efficacious ploys to ensure a trans-Pacific voyage was to propose it in the name of science. This is certainly true in the case of Louis Freycinet (1817-20) he published a seven-volume description of his voyage which attests to his interest in science, particularly in the realm of terrestrial magnetism, navigation, and hydrography. Moreover, the collections presented to the Museum of Natural History testify to the crew's energy in carrying out Freycinet's mission.¹³

After Freycinet's voyage, the Naval Ministry began to modify strictly scientific voyages to include political and commercial responsibilities. This alteration indicates a subtle shift in policy and first occurred in 1822 when Louis Duperrey was asked by the government to report on the feasibility of a penal colony in western Australia, a part of Australia not yet under full British control.¹⁴ However, Duperrey's expedition also assumed responsibility for scientific research including terrestrial magnetism, hydrography, meteorology, and natural history.¹⁵

As has been mentioned, Duperrey received credit for the arrival of French Catholic missionaries in the Pacific due to his letters praising the work of Protestant missionaries.¹⁶ For hydrography and geography he accomplished a

great deal, not the least of which was fifty-three new maps and charts which rectified a number of errors in waters surrounding the Society Islands and the Carolines, areas where the French would establish footholds during the July Monarchy.¹⁷ He was not able to discover a suitable site for a penal colony, however.¹⁸

Hyacinthe Bougainville's expedition in 1824 was also successful insofar as science was concerned, however he failed to gain an audience with the Emperor of Cochin-China as has been pointed out.¹⁹ On the other hand, he wrote a nine-page report describing European colonies in the Pacific in response to his secret instructions. In this account he prepared an analysis of the defense capabilities of selected sites in an area which ranged from Manila to Singapore in the Far East, and he also investigated the military strength of certain ports of South America, particularly Chili and Brazil. Bougainville expressed his views on port capabilities for the French navy and he was most impressed with the potential of the Anambas. Trade routes between India and China were also examined and described to the French government.²⁰

Although science was not emphasized primarily in Bougainville's expedition, it still remained one of the prime justifications for other Pacific voyages. Thus, even before Bougainville's return in June, 1826, Dumont d'Urville was bound for the Pacific in what has been termed the "most important French expedition since that of La Pérouse."²¹

In March, 1825 Dumont d'Urville returned from a trans-Pacific voyage with Duperrey during which he botanized and bore prime responsibility for all natural history collections. In less than a year after his return he began a long voyage of twenty-eight months, a voyage dedicated to science, sponsored by the French government, and initiated by Dumont d'Urville himself. He originally proposed an expedition to the coasts of New Britain, the Louisiades and New Guinea, but before his proposal was approved by the Naval Ministry, Admiral Paul Rossel added New Zealand, Tonga and the Loyalty and Fiji Islands to his itinerary. It was also understood that he would search for the remains of La Perouse's shipwreck in the South Pacific.²²

Roussin's warning about the lack of points de relâche was also heeded and Dumont d'Urville was ordered to search for mooring grounds capable of receiving large warships. He was also asked to recommend an appropriate site for a penal colony (France had long been interested in western Australia for this purpose) and to survey territory in New Zealand which bordered the Hokianga river.²³ The latter was claimed by Baron Charles de Thierry, a French adventurer living in England, who had offered to cede it to Charles X.²⁴

Dumont d'Urville returned from a very successful cruise in March, 1829, judging from the collections of natural history specimens, and the descriptions and observations of the crew which are discussed in great detail in an impressive

multi-volume work published soon after his return.²⁵ The Institut created a commission which reported immense results for science: 53 maps and sketches of coasts, ports, and mooring grounds; 1,226 drawings of individuals, their costumes and houses; 153 portraits detailing distinguishing characteristics of different races; 1,926 drawings pertaining to natural history; and various records pertaining to hydrography and astronomical observations. Geological collections included about 900 samples of rocks from 22 countries.²⁶

Captain Dumont d'Urville's voyage had unexpected results in Australia which grew out of Governor Darling's apprehension about the appearance of French ships in the waters off New Holland and in the harbors of New Zealand. Darling's correspondence with the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies is revealing: "Captain d'Urville would lead me to believe that the object of his expedition is solely for the purposes of general science." Furthermore, he also reported that he believed that the French had designs on New Zealand judging from Dumont d'Urville's erratic conversation when he expressed his surprise about the lack of British settlements there.²⁷ In London, the government became equally suspicious and instructions were issued which ordered a company of eighteen soldiers and twenty convicts to occupy Western Port²⁸ in western Australia, one of the areas which the French had surveyed. Although these actions seem premature, it is evident that colonial tensions were developing in the Pacific.²⁹

The French were equally suspicious of the British and for that reason Legoarant de Tromelin was ordered to return to France by way of the Sandwich Islands on completion of his tour of duty in South America in 1828. Commanding the Bayonnaise, Tromelin was asked to report on the safety of French nationals in the Sandwich Islands and to report to his government the state of political affairs insofar as France was concerned. It was thought that the status of French aliens remained very dangerous. Attempting to set up an agricultural and trading settlement, a group of missionaries had arrived some eight months prior to Tromelin's arrival. The London Missionary Society distrusted any hint of Catholic success in the Pacific islands and the French knew it--hence, the concern for the three priests and three lay brothers who remained in Hawaii. Tromelin, however, reported that they had been permitted to stay indefinitely and that they were still hopeful for the future. To ensure their success, he paid his respect to Queen Regent Kaahumanu and the British and American consuls.³⁰

As the first transition voyage between the reigns of Charles X and Louis-Philippe occurred (that of Cyrille Laplace, 1829-32), it became increasingly clear that politics and commerce had begun to dominate as motives for trans-Pacific voyages. Although science continued as a steady factor, it was no longer paramount; there was one major exception: Dumont d'Urville's last voyage, 1837-40.

The desire to re-establish French influence in Cochinchina inspired Laplace's mission to the Far East. His instructions were laid out very clearly by the Naval Minister, Baron d'Haussez: at Tourane, he was to try to negotiate commercial and diplomatic relations; he was to lend any support required to Eugene Chaigneau, a newly appointed vice-consul, in his attempts to try to gain the confidence of Mandarins in Tourane; he was to show the flag and protect French merchants; to gather information which would be of use to French commerce--local tariffs, pilotage regulations, an analysis of marketable products, regulations pertaining to port usage. Scientific instructions required that he perform elaborate hydrographic work which was prescribed by Daussy of the Hydrographic Service: to pay close attention to correct longitudinal measurements of Manila, the coast of Cochinchina, the Gulf of Tonkin, and the Anambas and Natunas which are located near the Malaccan Straits. These are all strategic points.³¹

In secret instructions, d'Haussez ordered that Laplace locate a port where French warships could moor safely if France were to fight England. D'Haussez pointed out that the Isle of Bourbon was without a good harbor and that the use of Pondichéry was too risky. He also felt that it would be useful to know about a relatively isolated area where warships might assemble for an important offensive action. He told Laplace that these orders were "of the highest interest

to the Royal Navy."³² Again, this is a continuation of the policy of points de relâche.³³

Laplace's diplomatic mission ended in failure, but the expedition was a political success other than in Cochinchina where Minh-Mang had refused to see Chaigneau. Laplace had given protection to French merchant ships, had shown the flag, and had obtained military and commercial information about various ports. He advised the government to forget about Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and New Holland (Australia) because he saw no advantages there for France, commercially or as "points of colonization."³⁴

Preoccupied with internal power struggles, Louis-Philippe's government sponsored no more Pacific voyages until Auguste-Nicolas Vaillant received orders in 1835 to transport consular agents to South America and the Philippines. Political motives had now superseded scientific motives for trans-Pacific voyages.

Writing to Captain Vaillant the 28th of December, 1835, Baron Duperre', head of the Naval Ministry, informed him that the first aim of his voyage should be the safe arrival of consular agents who had been ordered to Chili, Peru and the Philippines. With these instructions, the following orders were also transmitted to Vaillant: to show the national colors among the Sandwich Islands, along the coasts of China, Cochinchina, and in the comptoirs of the Indies--all in the interest of French commerce and national prestige.³⁵ Duperre' added:

In a word, you will conduct yourself in such a manner so as to give an accurate idea of France's power and of the vigilant solicitude of her government regarding the King's subjects who deal in commerce throughout the world.³⁶

Vaillant understood that while his voyage had no major scientific purpose he was expected to spend any free time in pursuit of scientific data. If he and his crew doubted this, they were assured by the instructions drawn up by the Academy of Sciences that this was indeed expected to be carried out.³⁷ Intense excitement developed concerning the scientific work since Charles Gaudichaud, a noted botanist, requested permission to join the crew.³⁸ Other savants petitioned to join as well: Yves Chevalier, geologist, and Benoit-Darondeau, hydrographic engineer. Yet, Surgeon-Major Joseph Eydoux was expected to handle most of the scientific duties even though these distinguished men were aboard the Bonite.³⁹

The Bonite carried other important passengers--nine consular officials; of these, Adolphe Barrot was the most important diplomatic officer.⁴⁰ At the request of French Chambers of Commerce the government had created a new consulate in Manila, and now Barrot had been dispatched to this post which was expected to become an essential Far Eastern "observatory" for the French.⁴¹

Diplomatic appointments serve as foreign policy barometers; and, the July Monarchy's new appointees were indicative of several trends. The increasing number of appointments to South America suggest that the July Monarchy had

decided to recognize the independence of all of Spain's rebel colonies, and that French commercial influence must be consolidated there. Barrot's new consular post revealed three things: the government's accelerated interest in Pacific commercial expansion; the persistent influence of the Bordeaux lobby; and the government's desire to be well-informed about political developments in an area where the British, and the Americans to some extent, were likely to exploit commercial opportunities.

Informed of the July Monarchy's anxiety, Vaillant kept copious notes in his journals and conscientiously relayed information to Paris throughout his journey. His judgments about the growth of trade with the Philippines were particularly optimistic but he warned that British competition was a major factor in the final analysis. Captain Vaillant recommended that a consulate also be established in Honolulu so that France could have an observation post on the whaling industry which was prevalent there; at least eight whalers called in that port per year. Moreover, Honolulu lay on a great trade route between China and North America as Vaillant could attest since he had frequently encountered merchants ships there as well.⁴²

In response to a request for his confidential views on the state of commerce at Canton, Lintin, and Macao,⁴³ Vaillant informed the Foreign Ministry about developments in a lengthy treatise accompanied by trade documents.⁴⁴ He

reported that harmony between the British and the Chinese had broken down in 1834 and that all commercial relations had ceased for two months; part of the difficulty occurred as a result of the Island of Lintin (in the Canton River) having become an entrepot of illicit opium trade. However, trade did resume in Canton, and when the Bonite arrived there on January 7, 1837, Vaillant counted fifty commercial firms, forty-nine of them shared by the British and the Americans, and one under Dutch ownership.⁴⁵ He announced that English trade with China amounted to "hundreds of millions" [francs] per year and he enclosed a copy of The Canton Register to impress upon the government his own concerns about the growing British commercial influence in the Far East.⁴⁶ The following statistics are revealing: Canton imported products in the amount of 32,426,623 Spanish dollars while exporting products in the amount of 24,877,799 dollars, a difference of 20% in trade figures--all for the benefit of the British balance of trade in the main. Furthermore, the importation figures for opium, in Spanish dollars, amounted to 17,904,248, or 56% of all British products imported there for one year.⁴⁷

This impressive account of trade activities was repeated as Captain Vaillant visited other ports during his voyage of some three years. Scientific data were equally detailed as subsequent publications reveal.⁴⁸ Vaillant's voyage is very important since it was the first survey ordered by the July Monarchy, and it was equally important for

displaying throughout the Pacific the new colors of France--the tricolor. Vaillant wrote the following when his journey was near completion:

I shall consider myself, therefore, very honored to have been the first captain of our Royal Navy to have made known, as at the Sandwich Islands, the Philippines, in China, in Cochin-China, at Singapore, and at Malacca, the pavillon of the King in this ravishing and important colony where one cannot ever recall that a French warship has been seen.⁴⁹ [Pulo-Penang]

But France had other loyal servants as well--her missionaries. Their activities were bound to French foreign affairs in the Pacific so extensively that Faivre describes the rivalry between French Catholics and Anglo-Saxon Protestants as a "cold war."⁵⁰ Charles Julien refers to their complicated rivalry in the Pacific as the "war of the missions."⁵¹

Missionaries were the first Westerners to establish permanent residences in Oceania, the British arriving first. The London Missionary Society took the first major step in 1797 when it sent an evangelical group of thirty-nine persons in Tahiti; twenty years later a number of British Protestant sects began to proselytize in Polynesia and Melanesia. Shortly thereafter, the American Board of commissioners for foreign Missions, often called the Boston Mission, became active in Hawaii and in parts of Micronesia.⁵²

On the other hand, the French were not seriously interested in Oceania until about 1825 after which time Duperrey's letters⁵³ seem to have been influential in catalyzing the Roman Catholics. In September, 1825, three Picpusian

priests arrived in the Sandwich Islands, presumably to counter-balance the Protestants. However, their attempts to set up permanent establishments were circumvented by the U. S. and British naval officers. In 1830 Pope Pius VIII, in response to the French government's request, readied a missionary group for service in southern Polynesia, but the fall of Charles X delayed the realization of this project.⁵⁴

In spite of its "liberal and anticlerical origins" the July Monarchy did not halt the activities of the missionaries, realizing that their services were useful to the state.⁵⁵ Monseigneur Pompallier, Vicaire Apostolic, received a letter from the French commandant of a naval subdivision of the South Seas advising him that the navy would render services to the missionaries if requested to do so. His letter contained very general statements, however transportation and protection of liberties had been provided to the priests in the past. It was reasonable to expect that these services were still available.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Louis-Philippe began to take a considerable interest in the missionaries' activities; in his view, the doctrine of the "Balance of Power" that had heretofore been confined to Europe must now be regarded with matters of policy in all parts of the world.⁵⁷

Trans-Pacific voyages resumed almost concurrently with the increase in scope and quantity of Catholic missionary activities under the July Monarchy. While the first voyage, that of Vaillant in 1836, was not specifically designed to

protect missionaries, he was ordered nevertheless to investigate the status of French nationals in the Sandwich Islands. King Kamehameha III was not particularly enthusiastic about French proselytism, but he told Vaillant that French priests could remain in Honolulu provided they gave no religious instruction to his people.⁵⁸ Likewise, Vaillant investigated the treatment of French priests in Macao and reached a similar agreement with the governor when he called at the Portuguese port.⁵⁹

But orderly agreements were not always worked out. Captain Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars, apparently France's most tempestuous commander, twice journeyed to the Pacific and constantly harassed the Tahitians and, to some extent, the Hawaiians. A fierce protector of French missionaries, Dupetit-Thouars quarreled with Queen Pomare IV in Tahiti and with King Kamehameha III in the Sandwich Islands. Both rulers were influenced by Protestant missionaries--George Pritchard, British consul and member of the London Missionary Society in the case of Queen Pomore, and Hiram Bingham, of the Boston Mission, in the case of King Kamehameha. Both were caught up in foreign intrigue but it was Queen Pomare who found herself a pawn in a political affair which grew out of British and French expansionist aims.⁶⁰

In command of the frigate, Vénus, Captain Dupetit-Thouars began his circumnavigation of the globe in December, 1836. The origins of his voyage grew out of the government's

desire to encourage the French whaling industry, which had had little success to date. Since Dupetit-Thouars had written and submitted a report to the government which informed them about the best means for revival of this important industry, he was the logical choice to send to the Pacific regions. During his cruise, the following requirements vis-a-vis the whalers were imposed: (1) to aid the sea-captains in maintaining discipline (crew desertion was high); (2) to offer assistance with regard to problems which arose in foreign ports.⁶¹

Although Dupetit-Thouars carried out orders devoted primarily to the whaling industry, he was also expected to gather as much scientific data as time permitted--temperature and barometric recordings, natural history, hydrography, etc. He was also required to review various sites for their capabilities concerning the revictualling and repair of a "croisière de guerre," and to collect information dealing with the prosperity and civilization of island peoples distributed throughout the Pacific.⁶²

Dupetit-Thouars reached the Sandwich Islands on July 7, 1837, and in a few days he was involved in a heated quarrel between the missionaries, the British and representatives of King Kamehameha III. Two missionaries, Father Bachelot (a French citizen) and Father Short (a British subject) had been ordered to leave the islands. Before the Vénus arrived, the British were pressing the case of Father Short. After analyzing the situation, Dupetit-Thouars agreed on joint action with

the British, presumably to reduce the influence of American missionaries. Rather than press the rights of French missionaries, Dupetit-Thouars decided to stress the rights of French citizens and his tactics worked. Kamehameha agreed that the priests could remain provided they made plans to leave at some time in the reasonable future. Also, after pressuring the authorities, Dupetit-Thouars extracted an agreement which promised freedom of entry and protection for French subjects other than missionaries. This was a significant gain for French commercial interests, including whaling fleet captains.⁶³

Although the skipper of the Vénus acted with sobriety in Hawaii, this was not to be the case in Tahiti where difficulties experienced by missionaries had received greater attention from the Naval Ministry. While in port at Valparaiso in 1837 Dupetit-Thouars received additional instructions from Admiral Ducampe de Rosamel, Minister of the Navy and Colonies. These new instructions called for the Vénus to return to the Society Islands, to Tahiti in particular where two Picpus priests, Fathers Caret and Laval, had been ousted by Queen Pomare IV. Dupetit-Thouars arrived in Papeete in August, 1837, and sent an ultimatum to the queen demanding that (1) a letter of apology be sent to Louis-Philippe; (2) 2,000 Spanish dollars be given to the priests; (3) that the French flag be raised and that a twenty-one gun salute be given in honor of the French national colors.

George Pritchard, a minister and the British consul, assisted the queen in carrying out this request. By September, Queen Pomare had signed a convention with the French guaranteeing liberties to all professions, including missionaries.⁶⁴

After Dupetit-Thouars returned to France in 1839, he reported out the advantages of the Marquesas Islands as a penal colony and as an excellent site for a point de relâche. In August, 1841, he was ordered to take possession of them and sailed once again to the Pacific. He did occupy the Marquesas, then went further than the Naval Ministry had instructed. He turned toward Tahiti which he also viewed as an important strategic port for France. There he protested the treatment of French subjects and demanded that Queen Pomare pay 10,000 Spanish dollars for an insult to French subjects; the money must be paid within forty-eight hours or he threatened to take provisional control of Tahiti. This was a high-handed action since the French commander had no government authority which allowed him to place the Society Islands under a protectorate. Nevertheless, the Moniteur, dated April 17, 1843, announced Guizot's acceptance of the protectorate since one assumes he did not feel politically strong enough to go against the tide of public opinion. In November, 1843, George Pritchard sent a blunt letter to the French which stated that French rule in Tahiti was against the wishes of the people, for Dupetit-Thouars had deposed Pomare and acted contemptuously. By March, 1844, Dupetit-Thouars had imprisoned Pritchard and with

that action plus the deposition of the Queen, an international confrontation seemed likely. Only the careful diplomatic work of Foreign Secretary Aberdeen and Prime Minister Guizot kept this political confrontation under control. Eventually, the annexation of Tahiti was withdrawn by France, but she continued to maintain the island as a protectorate once reparations were paid to Britain.⁶⁵

Clearly, Dupetit-Thouars' actions in 1843-44 at Papeete were born out of French expansionist dreams implemented by dangerous methods--the issuance of an impossible ultimatum for an insult to French subjects and the occupation of a helpless island government. Although heeled in by the British, the foothold for France's Polynesian empire had been secured by an arrogant sea-captain in the service of the French Royal Navy.⁶⁶

Brief mention should be made of two more expeditions, both of them associated with commercial demands and the protection of the whaling industry. Returning to the Pacific for the second time and commanding the frigate, l'Artémise, Captain Cyrille Laplace circumnavigated the globe from 1837 to 1840. Expressly, his orders were to render service to French commerce by obtaining information of value to shipowners and traders and by offering them the protection of French naval units; he was also obliged to search for excellent whaling localities. On his return, Laplace submitted reports which ranged from an analysis of the whaling industry to trade

surveys of the Middle East, the Far East, and South America. He also collected hydrographical and scientific data but this was not in any sense a major part of his orders.⁶⁷

Prior to 1837, the French navy had surveyed the Atlantic Ocean more than the Pacific in conjunction with furnishing information to commercial whaling interests. After 1837, whalers began to gravitate to the Pacific and, upon the request of shipowners from Le Havre to the government, Thomas Cécille was ordered to the South Pacific expressly to protect an industry which France considered worth reviving. Furthermore, all naval units stationed on the Pacific coast of South America were expected to do the same. Commanding the Herôine, Cecille sailed from Brest in July, 1837, and after a journey of twenty-five months he returned having successfully assisted twenty whaling vessels, and after completing important hydrographic tasks.⁶⁸

The last major trans-Pacific expedition during the July Monarchy was described as "a voyage of pure curiosity" by François Arago who unequivocally opposed Jules Dumont d'Urville's efforts to reach the South Pole. He publicly criticized d'Urville and refused to serve on the commission set up by the Academy of Sciences which was charged with the preparation of instructions for the scientific responsibilities of the expedition.⁶⁹ Arago may not have realized that it was Louis-Philippe himself who added the polar expedition to d'Urville's original itinerary--a scientific expedition in the South Pacific.⁷⁰

Dumont d'Urville, described as "the French Cook,"⁷¹ proposed his expedition to Vice-Admiral Rosamel, Minister of the Navy, in January, 1837. In his published account of the voyage, he explained his motivation:

Haunted by Cook's example, I often thought about that famous navigator's three voyages and nearly every night I was tormented by dreams in which I saw myself on my third voyage around the world.⁷²

Originally, d'Urville submitted a modest proposal to the Naval Ministry: to proceed through the Straits of Magellan, to explore the Solomons and other selected places in the South Pacific, to look for survivors from La Pérouse's Astrolabe at Vanikoro, and to carry out scientific research throughout the voyage.⁷³ Admiral Rosamel assured him that the proposal was not likely to be approved, but d'Urville was not easily discouraged. He wrote a letter to an old friend, M. Chaucheprut, then Rosamel's private secretary, and asked that he use his influence with the naval minister. Chaucheprut informed d'Urville that while Rosamel was very concerned about the cost of such an expedition, he had forwarded the proposal to Baron Tupinier,⁷⁴ Chief of Operations (Direction des Mouvements), and that the success of the expedition depended on the report that he would make. Tupinier approved.⁷⁵ However, d'Urville learned a startling fact; before the end of February, 1838 (he had submitted his plans in January), the project had been submitted to Louis-Philippe. The king, according to Rosamel, welcomed the proposal, having learned shortly before that an American whaler was preparing to sail

to the South Pole. Louis-Philippe was adamant about a French expedition being sent there as well.⁷⁶

When d'Urville received his instructions in August, 1837, he was told that two ships, not one, would be sent out under his command. His modest proposal had been expanded considerably. He was to sail for the South Shetlands, and from there to proceed as far south as possible in order to try to surpass the British claims of having reached 74° of latitude.⁷⁷ On completion of this task, d'Urville was to proceed through the Straits of Magellan, then to Valparaiso and across to Pitcairn and the adjacent islands, and then on to Raratonga and the Fijis. From there he was ordered to the New Hebrides, the Banks group, to Vanikoro, the Santa Cruz islands, and the Solomons. When he reached the northern coast of New Guinea, he had the option of sending the second ship, la Zélée, to France while his own ship, l'Astrolabe, named after La Pérouse's vessel, was to continue to western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand.⁷⁸

Before his departure in September, 1837, Rosamel presented d'Urville to the court. He reported that the king "talked to me for some time . . . and attentively followed details on a small map of the polar regions which I had taken care to bring."⁷⁹ Forced to examine his itinerary again, d'Urville reported that he finally "recognized that an attempt toward the South Pole would be a [thing] of grandeur and marvel" for the public.⁸⁰ He also noted that two powerful

nations were also planning expeditions to the South Pole, the United States "having already voted an enormous sum" [the Wilkes expedition] while the Royal Society of Sciences and the British Geographical Society were pressing England for the same kind of undertaking.⁸¹ Since none of these nations could entertain any thought of military advantage as a result of having attained the southernmost point of the globe, then one must conclude that the race to the pole had enormous prestige and nationalistic value. From the evidence at hand, it appears that there was a frenzied "South Pole contest"; d'Urville must have realized this when he had his audience with Louis-Philippe. Both may have been influenced by public opinion. But public opinion must have been influenced by the publicity which the Moniteur gave to naval voyages, not to mention the propaganda in the Annales maritimes et coloniales and the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Paris. Some of the voyages received international recognition and most of their results were published in multi-volume works often subsidized by the government.⁸²

Although Rosamel approved d'Urville's plans for a scientific voyage, he added that Louis-Philippe had "expressed his solicitude for the interests of French commerce," as well.⁸³ Thereupon, d'Urville was obliged to prepare a resource study and to collect information for the whaling industry. Moreover, there were other important commercial desiderate: harbors for French ships, markets for French

products, and protection for French vessels on the high seas.⁸⁴ What had begun as a "voyage of pure curiosity" now became a complex voyage for science, national prestige, and commerce.

At Rosamel's request, the Academy of Sciences set up a commission which was to prepare instructions for this expedition; and, although they complied, d'Urville stated that he felt that their directives were stated in "cold terms."⁸⁵ He was right. The instructions do have a carping quality: regarding the itinerary, the commission peevishly noted that the remaining lacunae called for a more limited voyage than the one proposed by d'Urville.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, they issued directives covering general physics, geography and navigation, geology and mineralogy, botany and zoology.⁸⁷ Since d'Urville had become a devotee of phrenology shortly before he proposed his project, and since he had met a M. Dumoutier at the Phrenological Society in Paris, he solicited authorization for this man to join the expedition. The Naval Ministry approved this request and Dumoutier took the title of "Phrenologist and Preparer of Natural History."⁸⁸ This is possibly the only time a phrenologist accompanied a scientific expedition. It is interesting to note that the Academy of Sciences issued no instructions for this gentleman.

During the voyage, the Astrolabe and the Zélée crossed the equator seven times, and the crews made two separate attempts to reach 75° South latitude in order to carry out the king's wishes. D'Urville only managed to reach 64° South

Latitude, but he did discover a new territory which he promptly named "Terre Louis-Philippe" in honor of his sovereign. Vainly, he tried three more times to surpass Weddell's claim even though he thought that Weddell had lied.⁸⁹ In January, 1840, at great peril to his crew, he returned to the polar region and attained 66° South latitude. During that attempt, he discovered new territory in Antarctica which he named "Terre Adélie" in honor of his wife.⁹⁰ All of these discoveries and achievements were highly publicized in the Moniteur.⁹¹

After a journey of thirty-eight months, d'Urville rendered an account of his scientific research, and his achievements received extensive coverage in official publications of the Academy of Sciences. Indeed, the cool tone found in the instructions is lacking in the reports of the results of the voyage in the Comptes Rendus.⁹² Perhaps the members now had learned that Louis-Philippe himself had had a hand in d'Urville's "voyage of pure curiosity."

In receiving recognition for his success d'Urville was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and the Geographical Society of Paris awarded him its gold medal for outstanding achievement. When the bust of this intrepid explorer was unveiled in the Louvre, Le Constitutionnel published an article which stated that d'Urville was "the navigator who has made the greatest contributions to geographical discoveries" in our times.⁹³ Not all of the French ventures were so successful.

Of all the French attempts in the Pacific Ocean, the effort to colonize Akaroa proved to be the most disastrous. It was also the most intriguing of undertakings since Louis-Philippe himself took more than a "lively interest"⁹⁴ in the enterprise and appeared to have been the force behind his government's decision to provide naval protection for the private company which eventually undertook the colonization of Akaroa for private speculative and commercial gain.⁹⁵

It is well known that Captain Jean Langlois, captain of a whaler who first conceived the idea of forming a colony at Akaroa in 1838, took his plans to friends who succeeded in winning over grands notables who were in Louis-Philippe's cabinet.⁹⁶ Field Marshal Nicolas Soult, President of the Council of Ministers, toyed with the idea of establishing a penal colony there for political prisoners but never followed through. Admiral Victor Duperre, Minister of the Navy and Colonies, was initially interested in Langlois' scheme but eventually withdrew.⁹⁷ Who, then, remained interested enough and powerful enough to insist on a compact with a private company which guaranteed that the government would provision and give naval protection to a private vessel which was filled with immigrants bound for Akaroa?

Faivre is convinced that the Duke Decazes, one of Langlois' original contacts with access to high government officials, was, without doubt, the chief spokesman for Louis-Philippe regarding Akaroa. And, as it turned out, the duke

himself became the kingpin of the whole Akaroan enterprise.⁹⁸

Buick states that Decazes persuaded the capitalists of Bordeaux and Nantes to invest in the founding of the "Compagnie de Bordeaux et Nantes pour la colonisation de l'Île de Sud de la Nouvelle-Zélande et ses dépendances," a company which attempted to colonize Akaroa for private commercial gain.⁹⁹ Although there is scanty documentary evidence otherwise, both historians believe that it is not unreasonable to assume that Louis-Philippe participated in the dubious affair.¹⁰⁰

In any event, a compact was finally arranged between the Nanto-Bordelais company and the government through which the July Monarchy promised to furnish supplies for the Comte de Paris, a private vessel, and to provide French immigrants to Akaroa with naval protection. The Naval Ministry ordered Captain Lavaud accompany the Comte de Paris under the protection of His Majesty's ship, l'Aube. The compact also stated that the government considered the property of the Akaroan immigrants as French property.¹⁰¹

But fortune did not smile on the enterprise, since the British outmaneuvered the French through secret machinations. By virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), Lord Palmerston conclusively prevented French colonization of Akaroa, but not before French immigrants were already bound for New Zealand. Too late, the Nanto-Bordelais company learned about the British preemptive diplomatic strike.¹⁰² Wisely, Louis-Philippe's

government did not challenge the British, and the private company and the Akaroan immigrants were left to fend for themselves. The July Monarchy did offer to transfer some of them to other French possessions, principally Tahiti, but most of them remained in Akaroa and accepted British protection.¹⁰³

By 1843, the British flag was permanently hoisted in New Zealand and the Nanto-Bordelaise speculators had liquidated their company.¹⁰⁴ Was its founding a deal between Louis-Philippe, some grand notables, Nanto-Bordelaise speculators and a few slick promoters with government connections? No hard and fast conclusions can be drawn from the documentary evidence. There is very little, although the question is an intriguing one.

Motivations for the dozen or more expeditions and a disastrous colonial attempt discussed in this chapter emanated from a *mélange* of desires. Expeditions were justified for the sake of scientific advancement, for commerce, for political advantage, for protection of missionaries, for national prestige and to strengthen the navy in a search for points de relâche and points d'appui. Underlying all of these however, there is one constant, Anglo-French rivalry was growing in the Pacific and tentative expansionism was the outcome. For France, naval officers took the boldest steps in exploiting the Polynesians and in setting the foundations for expansionism in Indo-China, although they were aided by French

commercial interests and by strenuous missionary supererogation.

Indirectly speaking, science must be judged a part of early expansionism in the Pacific since research provided an excuse for some expeditions, and since much of the data provided the French with a better understanding of the peoples, geography, and physical characteristics of that territory which comprises Oceania and Indo-China. Chafing for recognition, and inspired by a distinguished tradition of voyages completed during the eighteenth century, French explorers plied the Pacific with grim determination; only in a non-military sphere could they bring prestige to France and to themselves. One is reminded irresistibly of the space race between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. where success in a specific scientific field is full of opportunities for prestige, and, eventually, for military advantage.

The British, by opening China, by controlling Australia and New Zealand and other parts of the South and West Pacific waters, pushed the French to acquire footholds in the middle of the South Pacific where she met no strong resistance from other powers. Spurred by political, economic, and religious motives, the French government systematically encouraged expeditions. The truth is that the great, broad Pacific Ocean was large enough for prizes to be available for all, and there was little in it so valuable that it warranted serious aggression on the part of France.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Interest in science accelerated in the nineteenth century, and in France this development was partially responsible for some of the expeditions which were completed during the Restoration and the July Monarchy. For one thing, a quarrel arose between Georges Cuvier and Etienne Geoffroy St. Hilaire over the fixity of the species; Cuvier, who exercised a kind of dictatorship within the scientific community, supported the fixed form theory whereas Geoffroy St. Hilaire favored the evolutionary theory. Furthermore, Cuvier believed in the opposing view, the theory of transformism. As a consequence of this scientific quarrel and others, the Academy of Sciences issued frequent instructions which called for the collection of many forms of animal life, particularly of the ape family, fossils, soil and rock samples and other natural history items. If enough data from all parts of the world were collected, perhaps these questions could be resolved, thereby allowing science to better explain and describe nature.¹

There was also a great outburst of interest about the subject of terrestrial magnetism in the early nineteenth century which resulted in provoking a rash of scientific expeditions to Antarctica and the Arctic. In France, this probably accounted for Dumont d'Urville's detour to the Antarctic during his second circumnavigation of the world. Louis-Philippe, influenced by his friend, Humboldt, insisted that d'Urville proceed into Antarctic waters even though his ship was hardly suited to the rigors of this journey. Also, when the French government created two scientific commissions, the Scientific Commission of Iceland and Greenland, and the Scientific Commission of the North, both groups received elaborate instructions regarding terrestrial magnetism (recording compass declinations and inclinations) and other geophysical requirements. As a result of the work performed by the French and scientists of other nations, errors on navigational charts were rectified, compass problems were solved, and the foundations of modern meteorology effectively laid.²

It should be remembered that it was Napoleon I who first realized the value of science as a vehicle for transmitting French universalism into cultural imperialism. During his Egyptian campaign, the general was accompanied by a staff of scientists whose most enduring legacy is Egyptology. While no post-Napoleonic monarch led armies with scientists in tow, some of them did encourage extensive

scientific expeditions as well as other voyages. Certainly, Louis-Philippe did his part for these reasons. He had travelled a great deal during his exile and realized the importance of discoveries and the need to know more about unknown lands; he encouraged explorers, travellers, and voyagers to assist the government in protecting French missionaries; he seemed aware that these expeditions were important in French attempts to encourage and develop trade, not to mention the political gains which often ensued. Lastly, voyagers and their triumphs not only enhanced the monarch's prestige, but they allowed him to display the French pavillon in international waters.

For these same reasons, the ministries of the Navy, Agriculture and Commerce, War, Public Instruction, and Foreign Affairs also handsomely subsidized many of the naval and army personnel who initiated expeditions; naval officers submitted many requests because they usually got a promotion or other awards if successful in their missions. Sometimes, the government also helped private commercial groups such as the Nanto-Bordelaise company, as well as individual travellers who proposed missions which seemed likely to benefit either the government or certain of its officials. When instructions were issued, it is not surprising that there was considerable attention devoted to commercial and trade information.

In general, the July Monarchy has been characterized as one of the most materialistic periods of the century, since notables and haute bourgeoisie concerned themselves almost exclusively with acquiring wealth and pursued political influence only to gain more wealth. Alexandre de Tocqueville was one of their severest contemporary critics, describing Louis-Philippe's government as a "trading company" wherein the king, parliament, and administrative officials shared financial tidbits, exchanged inside information, and cooperated in transacting mutually profitable deals.³ Balzac, another critic, compared the economic life of the July Monarchy to a "basket of live crabs seeking to devour one another."⁴

Harsh words, but probably a representative contemporary perception of the monarchy and the rich. On balance, this rings true when one reflects on the convoluted affairs of the Bordeaux shipowners and businessmen and their friends in high places. It has been shown that both Portal and Decazes cooperated extensively with groups in Bordeaux and Nantes. With regard to this, two important examples were discussed: the Akaroan scheme and the attempt to purchase and develop a trading base in Abyssinia. In both affairs, Decazes seems to have operated as a financial eminence grise for the Orleans family; however it would be a mistake to reach definitive conclusions about this relationship, as the evidence is simply too flimsy. Nevertheless, this fragile

connection warrants mention since it seems to fall within the boundaries of the king's preferred mode of operation-- a policy of being prudent, peace-loving, and devoted to the task of increasing his personal fortune. As King of the French, he could scarcely risk England's wrath. In any event, most of the government's enterprises in conjunction with the Nanto-Bordelaise group were unsuccessful ventures, at times degenerating into opera-bouffes which fizzled out as they were under way.

But French overseas trade grew nevertheless, and gradually a policy of acquiring footholds and mooring places developed, a policy favored by the Naval Ministry and condoned by Guizot as well. Trade increased with the former colonies of Spain, and to a lesser extent in the South Pacific where island products were bought and sold in other markets. The Oceania to China trade route promised the greatest wealth, but those markets were pretty much closed to Europeans. From 1835 to 1838 Adolphe Barrot attempted to promote trade accommodations when his government established a consulate in Manila, their "eastern observatory" on commercial and political stratagems of other powers. But the French had to wait for the British to lead the way in forcing open the Chinese markets with the successful conclusion of the Opium Wars of the 1840's. Better days for French traders arrived late in the century (1874) when the government established a protectorate over Annam. In the meantime, a policy of acquiring footholds had to suffice.

The growth of trade and the struggle for new markets required the establishment of naval stations and outposts for merchants fleets where vessels could be reprovisioned; there was also the necessity for protecting whalers in the South Pacific, and, just as importantly, it was essential to aid the Catholic missionaries who had been active in the Pacific since 1825. Faivre views the struggle between Protestant Anglo-Saxons and the French Catholics as a nineteenth-century "cold war," a war for cultural domination, and, as it turned out, for political domination.⁵ Time after time, missionaries were embroiled in disputes in Oceania, and to a lesser extent in the Far East, and the French government often acted as if the national honor were at stake in succeeding years. Critical situations developed in the Society Islands, the Marquesas, and to a lesser extent in Hawaii, and in Indo-China. Some of these quarrels were resolved in favor of France, and footholds were acquired which furnished the bases for the building of the French Polynesian empire.

The account of French expansionism in Africa is rather different. First, however, a brief colonial retrospect should be introduced. As mentioned in Chapter II, there were other factors which intensified the expansionist mood of the navy, the government, and certain men of property due to an abrupt change in French colonial affairs soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Disappointments

and experiments developed as a result of the destruction of the "old system" of the ancien régime. This regime had indulged in a colonial system consisting of intensive agricultural factories (plantation colonies) which were designed to function within the mercantilist system of the eighteenth century. The best example of this was the "sugar factories" of the Antilles where slave labor produced sugar which supplied the metropole and which was sold in Europe at high prices. The Bourbons never thought of these islands as mere footholds for future expansionism because they were entirely economic ends in themselves. Unfortunately, the system was no longer tenable after the turn of the century, and old attitudes began to crumble. The loss of cheap labor as a result of the prohibition of slave trading and the competitive production of sugar from the sugarbeet in Europe destroyed the old system. Consequently a conflict arose between the doctrine of another time and the realities of the present. As the old system was undermined a new colonial attitude developed.⁶

France also had established comptoirs (trading factories) during the ancien régime. While some of these remained intact, others underwent frantic experimentation. In Senegal ambitious plans were initiated to turn the old trading posts into agricultural trial balloons. This gamble failed for many reasons, the least of which was the lack of a labor force. Similar experiments were introduced in

Bourbon, Guiana, and in Pondichery, but these too failed. Bizarre schemes were tried: the use of orphans, prisoners, and importation of foreign "free" laborers, but eventually these old comptoirs were turned into bases for expansionism. Gradually, the old plantation system of the ancien régime was slowly replaced by a mignon minceur expansionist policy consisting of a collection of footholds and mooring places throughout the world.

For many reasons the desire for growth pulled men this way and that, but French policy finally coalesced into one of fitful expansionism. A wide variety of people and institutions created this policy, but it was principally a product of the efforts of explorers and the Geographical Society. The Society became a kind of clearinghouse for various views and publications, and it furnished a "secure" forum for expansionist-minded men who ranked high in the government. But it is above all the explorers themselves who have been emphasized. Scarcely a year passed without naval officers, sundry travellers, army explorers, and others suggesting to Paris the occupation of this island or that post as a result of their travels. Some of them were doubtless aware of the intensification of the British interest in the Middle and Far East and hoped the Franco-British rivalry would encourage the government to subsidize them. The government itself, particularly the ministries of the Navy and War, often ordered expeditions on their own,

aware of the necessity for establishing analogous footholds as the British strengthened their holdings in India, Singapore, Canton, New Zealand, and Australia. Unable to gain anything in the Far East, the French had to move into Oceania, where they soon developed a sphere of influence.

But Africa became the field of great rivalry between the two powers, with the French creating a network of footholds in western Africa and a major colonial triumph in Algeria. France tried to dominate portions of eastern Africa as well, namely Abyssinia, but Britain could not let her gain a substantial foothold in the very strategic Red Sea area. Consequently, France had to settle for points d'appui in the Mozambique Channel, signed trade agreements with the Sultan of Muscat, and bided her time until she could safely seize Madagascar in the latter part of the century. The channel islands seized during the July Monarchy, however, furnished bases for future expansionism and the seizure of Madagascar.

Although the work of important representative voyagers was investigated in this study, there were others who were not so directly involved with expansionism. Some were lone travellers whose primary aim was commercial, some were missionaries, some travelled under government orders at their own risk. Some formed teams of sophisticated scientific commissions created by the government, and some went abroad for private reasons, but as they valued science,

often requested instructions from the Academy of Sciences so that they could occupy their spare time more productively.⁷

The elaborate Scientific Commission of Iceland and Greenland (1835-36) and the Scientific Commission of the North (1838-40) have been mentioned. Although the accomplishments of these commissions were outstanding regarding the wealth of scientific data which was recorded and collected, there are two facts which should be mentioned in these conclusions. One is illustrative of a man devoted to the service of his country and in the name of science, and the other demonstrates that there was international cooperation in scientific research at an early date.

Regarding the first, Dr. Joseph Paul Gaimard seems to have been not a rare phenomenon among French voyagers, and furnishes a representative example of a man who served France well through his scientific explorations.⁸ Another important example discussed in the text of this dissertation was the tragic Rochet d'Héricourt.

Regarding the second, Gaimard was the leader of the very important expedition to Scandanavia, Lapland, Spitzberg, and the Faroe Islands in 1838-1840, the Commission du Nord. Welcomed by the kings of both Sweden and Denmark, the expedition took on board members from each country, mostly naval officers, who joined the French in their research.⁹ This was a rare instance of international cooperation regarding joint scientific research, and indeed seems to have been a very early example of this phenomenon.

There is one more category of voyages not discussed in detail in the body of this dissertation which needs to be re-emphasized in order to completely illustrate the scope of the French experience during the July Monarchy. This category is best illustrated by H. Perrott, a botanist by professional training, but one who held the unique position of naturaliste voyageur and who was attached to the Naval Ministry. In the course of his career he made many voyages for the ministry: in 1818 he travelled to China and the Philippines returning with products which were useful and which could be raised successfully in the colonies of Bourbon and Guiana. This is an excellent illustration of the attempt to transfer the old plantation system to heretofore non-exploited colonies as a consequence of the deterioration of the old system in the Antilles.¹⁰

The names Gaimard and Perrott, while not as directly associated with French expansionism as those discussed at greater length in the body of this dissertation, nevertheless add luster in the saga of tireless French explorers who served their native country well during the reign of Louis-Philippe. And although most of the explorers were children of the materialistic environment of the July Monarchy, they were romantics as well judging from the rhetoric of their publications. While the lure of money, prestige, discovery, achievement certainly furnished them with sufficient motivation, they sometimes spoke of adventure

and travel based on a higher purpose. A good example articulated by Xavier Marmier, Gaimard's colleague in the Commission du Nord, follows:

The life of the explorer is one of the most sensible ideas in the life of man. One leaves the tent which one has pitched in a favorite spot and one [wonders] when he will return there. One bids adieu to one's cherished friends for a few days and that adieu is perhaps eternal; one goes forth, with impatient ardor, towards a remote point, and this objective, the subject of burning desire, perhaps can never be attained. God, who knows the measure of our efforts, is there and sets the limits. The consolation of man, in such uncertainty, is to dare with noble courage, and to persevere according to his own strength of intention which he has conceived and which he wishes to execute.¹¹

Thus, the account of French expansionism involved not only government officials and expansionist-minded bourgeoisie, but many voyagers as well who emphasized scientific research. In essence, they were an irregular band of self-seekers and noble spirits consisting of military personnel, commercial representatives, missionaries, and lone explorers who constructed a fragile grid made up of small units of territory around the world. At the forefront were the explorers and the leaders of scientific expeditions who were zealous in restoring the prestige of France and in furthering their own careers. Often travelling under secret orders, some of their deeds concealed the wishes of the Naval Ministry and others who could not afford to disagree with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as tensions with England mounted. So in a sense, it is the Navy which had a larger role than any other entity.

On the other hand, France's greatest colonial triumph came as a result of action taken by the army. Algeria, a colonial aberration to some and an army fief to others, nevertheless demonstrated to the world that France was capable of rebuilding her empire. And here again, scientific expeditions played an important role because a great scientific commission, one of the largest investigated in this work, was formed just at the time France opted for extended occupation of Algeria.

In conclusion, the old Anglo-Saxon paradigm for expansionism and colonization seems not to fit the French experience for they sometimes said "we are like the Romans," and seemed to think in terms of cultural and economic domination while opting for a far-flung network of strategic points.¹² In so doing, they embraced a gestalt of territorial aims and designs, the parts of which were greater than the whole, as the imperialists of the Second Empire and the Third Republic would discover. Importantly, scientific expeditions and voyages of discovery and the search for commercial profits were the sine qua non in developing a prologue to imperialism in the early part of the nineteenth century. Individuals rarely gained much, but the French nation gained the beginnings of an empire yet to be realized.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Christian Schefer, "La Monarchie de Juillet et l'expansion coloniale," Revue des Deux Mondes, 11 (September-October, 1912), pp. 152-153.

CHAPTER II

¹ Felix Ponteil, L'Éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libéral, 1815-1848, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1960), p. 421.

² Herbert Ingram Priestley, France Overseas. A Study in Modern Imperialism, (New York and London, 1938), p. v.

³ Joannès Tramond and André Reussner, Éléments d'histoire maritime et coloniale contemporaine (1815-1914), (Paris, 1947), p. 10.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Paul Gaffarel, La politique coloniale en France de 1789 à 1830 (Paris, 1908), p. 15.

⁸ Tramond and Reussner, p. 5; Jean-Paul Faivre, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842 (Paris, 1953), p. 235 says that Portal asked for 65 million francs, but got instead 50 million.

⁹ John Dunmore, French Explorers in the Pacific, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), II:50.

¹⁰ Tramond and Reussner, p. 5.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹² John Theodore Merz, A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 4th ed., 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1923), 1:99.

¹³ Arthur Robert Steele, Flowers for the King: The Expedition of Ruiz and Payon and the Flora of Peru, (Durham, N. C., 1964), pp. 14-15.

¹⁴ Merz, 1:112-113.

¹⁵ Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, Voyage autour du monde par les vaisseaux du Roi la "Boudeuse" et "l'Etoile", 2nd. ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1772). Bougainville's voyage was the first circumnavigation of the world for the French and marked French entry into the race for Pacific discoveries.

¹⁶ Precise measurement of longitude was still a problem for sailors in the nineteenth century. It could be solved if scientists could invent a chronometer which would keep the time accurately from the point of departure. Better instruments were designed by 1829, and in that year the Department of the Navy made them mandatory on all French ships. See Archives Nationales, Mar GG¹ 28, M. le Vicomte Toustain-Dumanoir to Minister of Navy, Hyde De Neuville, 2 May, 1829. Hereinafter Archives Nationales will be cited A.N. followed by appropriate entry.

¹⁷ Joseph de Galaud de La Pérouse, Voyage autour du monde, ed., L. A. Milet-Mureau, 2 vols., 1 atlas in folio (Paris, 1797), 1:25-53 and 2:15.

¹⁸ A. N., Mar 5 JJ 35, Journal du Capitaine du vaisseau Baudin.

¹⁹ A. N., Mar BB⁴ 995, Baudin au Citoyen Ministre de la Marine et aux membres de l'Institut, (Baudin's proposal).

²⁰ The best synthesis for the Restoration is Guillaume Bertier de Sauvigny's La restauration, 2nd. ed. (Paris, 1963). He is sympathetic to the Bourbons. The only reliable recent work for breaking new ground is by Félix Ponteil, La monarchie parlementaire, 1815-1848, 3rd. ed. (Paris, 1965). For the Bourbon monarchs, two recent biographies are acceptable: René de la Croix, Louis XVIII, portrait d'un roi (Paris, 1969) and Vincent W. Beach, Charles X of France (Boulder, Colo., 1971). Several older works remain important: Frederick B. Artz, France Under the Bourbon Restoration (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), Dominique

Bagge, Les Idées politique en France sous la restauration (Paris, 1952), Joseph Barthélemy, L'Introduction du régime parlementaire en France sous Louis XVIII et Charles X (Paris, 1904), and Christian Schefer, La France moderne et le probleme colonial: les traditions et les idées nouvelles, la réorganisation administrative, la reprise de l'expansion, 1815-30 (Paris, 1907). For general works see Ernest Lavisse, ed., Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la revolution jusqu'a la paix, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920-22) vol. 4: La restauration (1815-30 by Sébastien Charléty; Jacques Droz et al, Restaurations et revolutions 1815-71), vol. 9 of the Clio series (Paris, 1953). Charles Pouthas, Histoire politique de la restauration (Paris, 1953) remains a good source for political history.

²¹Dunmore, II:109.

²²A.N. Mar BB⁴ 998 and 999.

²³Louis Claude de Freycinet, Voyage autour du monde entrepris par ordre du Roi, exécuté sur les corvettes "l'Uranie et "la Physicienne" pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, et 1820, 5 vols. and 1 atlas (Paris, 1825-27). Freycinet's impressive hydrographic work comprises one single volume of the five volumes cited. See also "Voyage de découvertes et circonvallation exécuté en 1818, 1819, et 1820 par M. Louis de Freycinet," Annales maritimes et coloniales, partie nonofficielle, Mémoires (1820), pp. 996-1009 and "Détails sur la continuation du voyage autour de monde de la corvette l'Uranie, commandant par Capitaine Freycinet," ibid., pp. 1720-31. This naval periodical will be referred to hereinafter as A.M.C., Mémoires for partie non-officielle and as A.M.C., Lois for partie officielle. The official part consists of laws and regulations promulgated by the Naval Ministry.

²⁴Le Chevalier de la Poix Frémonville, "Mémoire sur l'état de l'hydrographie des mer boréales," A.M.C., Mémoires (1820), p. 6. Also see Moniteur universel, issue dated 5 December 1820.

²⁵Duperrey, Mar BB⁴ 1000; Bougainville, Journal de la navigation autour du globe de la frégate la "Thétis" et de la corvette "l'Espérance", 2 vols. (Paris, 1837), 1: 2-10 and Mar BB⁴ 1001; Dumont d'Urville, Mar BB⁴ 1002; Laplace, Mar BB⁴ 1004. See also A.N., Marine, Service Hydrographique, 5 JJ 58 to 109.

²⁶Duperrey, A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1000.

²⁷Issue dated 9 May 1822.

²⁸A.N. Mar BB⁴ 1000, Mémoire; of Service Hydrographique, 5 JJ 80-87.

²⁹Issue dated 2 April 1824 of report dated 14 October 1823. For a full published report of this voyage see L. I. Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde entrepris par ordre, du Roi, exécuté sur la corvette "la Coquille" pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824 et 1825, 6 vols. (Paris, 1826-30), and Duperrey, Mémoire sur les opérations géographiques faites dans la campagne de la corvette de S. M. "La Coquille," (Paris, n.d.). Duperrey assigned himself the task of completing the hydrographic work.

³⁰Charles André Julien, Histoire de l'Océanie, (Paris, 1942), p. 81.

³¹Jean Paul Faivre, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842 (Paris, 1953), pp. 288 and 440.

³²Ibid., pp. 288-289.

³³⁴Journal de la navigation, I:3-4 and 9; A. N. Mar BB⁴ 1001, Confidential Instructions dated 17 February 1824. See supra, note 25.

³⁴Ibid., diverse papers and reports.

³⁵⁴A.N. Mar BB⁴ 1002; see Schefer, La France moderne, p. 192.

³⁶Ibid.; Archives des Affaires Étrangères; Correspondance Politique, Mémoires et Documents, Nouvelle Zélande, I (1772-1839). Report to the Secretary of the Navy by Colonial Director, dated 22 October 1825. This archival source will be cited hereinafter as A.A.E., C.P., with the proper country pertaining.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸See infra, an account of the Akaroan adventure in Chapter III, "The July Monarchy."

³⁹A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1002

⁴⁰See Cuvier's report to the Academy of Sciences dated 27 October 1829, in Dumont d'Urville's Voyage de "l'Astrolabe" exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829, 10 vols. (Paris, 1830-34), I:xcix.

⁴¹A.N. Mar BB⁴ 1002.

⁴² Procès-verbaux des séances de l'Académie tenues depuis la fondation de l'Institut jusqu'au mois d'août 1835 (Hendaye, 1921-22) 9:313-318.

⁴³ Ibid., 317-318.

⁴⁴ Jean Baptiste Duvergier et al., Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlements, avis du Conseil d'état, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1834 et années suiv.), 19:385.

⁴⁵ Ponteil, L'Éveil des nationalités, 454.

⁴⁶ Archives des colonies. Le ministre au consul général à Londres, 23 mars 1818 cited by Schefer in La France moderne, n. 2, p. 191. Also see pp. 218, 220-222, and 305. Schefer believes that it is due to the influence of Count Thierry de Hogendorp that France was considering the founding of colonies de culture. Hogendorp, former War Minister for Napoleon after the French annexed Holland, lived in Paris from 1815 to 1816 and devoted his leisure time to colonial matters and speculations. He felt that all the necessary conditions for plantation colonies were to be found in Senegal factories and even better in the rudimentary French posts in Madagascar. See La France moderne, pp. 192-197.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 200-201.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 201-202.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 219-223; see also Précis sur la colonisation des bords de la Mana, à la Guyane française, imprimé par ordre de M. l'amiral baron Duperre, pair de France, Ministre d'Etat de la Marine et des Colonies (Paris, 1835).

⁵⁰ Schefer, La France moderne, pp. 207-215.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 226.

⁵² Archives parlementaires, 2nd series, 37:556 and 632 cited by Schefer, La France moderne, p. 228.

⁵³ Schefer, p. 228.

⁵⁴ Discours de M. de Saint-Cricq, directeur général des douanes, à la Chambre des pairs; 24 juillet 1822. Archives parlementaires, 2nd series, 37:597 cited by Schefer, La France moderne, p. 229.

⁵⁵Pierre de Joinville, Le Réveil économique de Bordeaux sous la restauration. L'Armateur Balguerie-Stuttenberg et son oeuvre (Paris, 1914), pp. 352-357 and 385-396.

⁵⁶France already had had a lengthy association with Cochinchina. Missionaries and traders had been active there since 1615. By 1748 the French had signed a trade agreement but the weakness of the French India Company prevented subsequent gains. In 1787 Nguyen-Anh (later named Gia-Long when he became Emperor), an exiled prince from the ruling family of Annam, signed an agreement with France which allowed him to reconquer his country with French help. Out of gratitude he granted the French considerable rights over Tourane Bay and the foundations of French Indo-China were laid; however, late eighteenth century wars prevented France from exploiting this advantage. In the nineteenth century, the French struggled to regain the lost momentum, but Gia-Long dragged his feet more and more. His xenophobic son, Minh-Mang, ended all contact with the French.

⁵⁷Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 276-281.

CHAPTER III

¹Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, series 4, 1 (1851), p. 317. Hereinafter this journal will be cited as Bulletin with appropriate series and volumes obtaining. To avoid confusion, be advised that there are usually two volumes for a single year.

²Chastenot, Une époque de contestation: la monarchie bourgeoise, 1830-1848 (Paris, 1976), pp. 15-16.

³Ponteil, La monarchie parlementaire, p. 125.

⁴"What makes it necessary for statesmen in France to have imagination is that the people will always have more than they." C. L. F., "De l'Amérique du Sud," Revue des Deux Mondes (1838) 31:69 quoted by Douglas Johnson, Guizot: Aspects of French History, 1787-1874 (London, 1963), p. 319.

⁵Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the Present, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1974), p. 194.

⁶Harrison Wright, ed., The "New Imperialism": Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansionism (Boston, 1966), p. vii.

⁷Hardy, Histoire de la colonisation française, 5th ed. (Paris, 1947), pp. 169-170.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Priestley, France Overseas, p. v.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹Ibid. Since the capital, Algiers, is only 700 miles from Paris, Priestly feels that its very proximity is very influential regarding French expansionist designs.

¹²Ibid., p. 56.

¹³Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 440.

¹⁴Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau, eds., Histoire des colonies françaises et de l'expansionism de la France dans le monde, 6 vols. (Paris, 1929-50), 4:102-104; 4:372.

¹⁵Ronald E. Robinson, Introduction to French Colonialism, 1871-1914; Myths and Realities, by Henri Brunschwig and translated by William Glanville Brown, p. ix.

¹⁶Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 338. "Direction des colonies" was a part of the Naval Ministry until 1802 when it became an under-secretaryship of state; then in 1894 it became a full department of the state with the title of Ministry of Colonies. See A. Duchêne, La politique coloniale de la France le ministère des colonies depuis Richelieu (Paris, 1928) and François Berge, Le sous-secretariat et les sous-secretsaires d'état aux colonies: histoire de emancipation de l'administration coloniale (Paris, 1962). Colonial administrators were first recruited in the main from the corps of naval officers during the July Monarchy.

¹⁷Bunschwig, La colonisation française du pacte coloniale a la Union française (Paris, 1949), p. 28.

¹⁸See supra, note 18 and note 19 Chapter II.

¹⁹Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 338.

²⁰Tramond and Reussner, Éléments d'histoire maritime, p. 23. Admiral Rosamel took part in the Algerian campaign as major-general de la flotte. The July Monarchy rewarded him for his services and then promoted him to the Admiralty Council in 1833. In that year he was elected to the Chamber

of Deputies by the Toulonnais and, when Comte Mole formed his cabinet in 1836, Rosamel received the portfolio of Minister of the Navy and remained in that post until 1839. It was he who ordered the blockade of the Mexican coast and the subsequent occupation of Vera Cruz. In 1839, Rosamel became a member of the Chamber of Peers.

²¹Hubert Deschamps, L'Union française, histoire, institutions, réalités (Paris, 1952), p. 13.

²²A.M.C., Mémoires (1829) 2:97. Supplemental credits, A.M.C. Mémoires (1831), p. 16. See supra, note 23, Chapter 11 for a full citation of this naval publication. The Annales (A.M.C.) were sanctioned by the Naval Ministry and were first published in 1814. Each year there was an official part which contained laws and ordinances, and a non-official part which contained relations and reports of voyages, letters, studies of naval problems, and parliamentary debates. Budget figures are inconsistent in that they may be published for a particular year in the official part, while in another year they may be found in the non-official part. The Partie officielle became the Bulletin officiel de la marine in 1848 while the Partie non-officielle became the Annales des colonies in the same year.

²³Pierre Bonnefoux and Francois Paris, Dictionnaire de marine à voiles et à vapeur, 2 vols. (Paris, 1848-51), 1:138.

²⁴A.M.C., Lois (1841), pp. 989-1002. This high figure reflects the aftermath of the Mehemet Ali affair and the demonstrations of force in Algeria.

²⁵Ibid., (1842), p. 1465.

²⁶Bonnefoux and Paris, Dictionnaire de marine, 1:137.

²⁷A.M.C., Mémoires (1836), pp. 552-60.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., Lois (1841), pp. 87-113; 243-53.

³⁰Ibid. (1847), 2:983-92. Also see Mémoires for the same year, pp. 810-852. Vice-Admiral Mackau had presented this program in 1846 and it was known as the "loi des 93 millions" which referred to the credits asked for, and received over a seven-year period. Thiers supported Mackau's request as did Lamartine; the law passed the Chamber unanimously.

³¹Claude Farrère, Histoire de la marine française (Paris, 1962), p. 332.

³² A. M. C. Lois, (1830), 2:167.

³³ Ibid., pp. 743-648, Article #104. The course of study was thorough. Under the heading "Arithmetic" students had to learn the theory of proportions, progressions, logarithms, and the new metric system instituted during the French Revolution. Also, students learned algebra, geometry, trigonometry and "statics." They were required to write in a legible manner, learn composition, have a good knowledge of French and to know Latin well enough to translate classical literature. They also had to learn English. They were required to know drafting, the principles of navigation and hydrography (this included knowing how to hoist sails, to take soundings, and construct charts.) Under the heading "Descriptive Geometry," naval cadets were expected to know how to make practical application of this subject with respect to naval architecture and to certain kinds of equipment used in port or aboard ship. For the subject "General Physics," cadets were compelled to know dynamics, hydrostatics, theories of heat, gas, "de la vapeur" (probably principles of steam power), electricity, terrestrial magnetism, the principal laws of light and, or in addition to, meteorology. They were also required to learn naval tactics, and the theory and exercise of cannon and firearms.

This severe curriculum trained naval personnel who were well qualified to undertake scientific research in the physical sciences particularly. They were frequently called upon to do so in all of the expeditions researched in this dissertation. There was little training in the biological sciences; therefore, ships' doctors were frequently required to undertake natural history and biological research in scientific expeditions. There was no hard and fast rule about the division of research, however.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 642-643. Extract of a letter from the Minister Secretary of State for the Department of War to all military commanders dated 21 September 1830 (Paris).

³⁵ Ibid., p. 680, Article #129. The École Polytechnique furnished engineering and artillery officers for the army and the navy. Graduates of this school were the best scientifically trained men in France at this period.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 717-718. Comte d'Argout had just been named Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Navy and Colonies.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 721-726. The Ministry had four other Directorates: Direction des ports, Direction des colonies, Directions de la comptabilité des fonds et invalides, and Direction du personnel. Each Direction was split into Bureaux, and Personnel had the largest number of these.

³⁸Gaimard accompanied Dumont d'Urville on his second voyage and also took part in the scientific commission created for the purpose of exploring northern European waters and parts of Scandinavia.

³⁹Henri Brunschwig, "Anglophobia and French African Policy," France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule, eds. Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis (New Haven and London, 1971), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁰Roger Bullen, Palmerston, Guizot and the Collapse of the Entente Cordiale (London, 1974), p. 5.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 7-49.

⁴²Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³Interview between Guizot and Henry Reeve on August 27th, 1844. Reeve reported on it to Lord Wharncliffe and his letter is in the Peel Papers, B.M. Add. MSS., 40,550, cited by Douglas W. Johnson, Guizot - Aspects of French History (1787-1874), (London, 1963), p. 292, note 3.

⁴⁴André-Jean Tudesq, Les grands notables en France (1840-1849). Étude historique d'une psychologie sociale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 1:550. On March 30, 1843, Guizot, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, publicly announced in the Chamber of Deputies that France was embarking on a policy of expansion overseas. While she had no interest in vast territories, France did intend to form by degrees around the globe a network of naval stations judiciously chosen. See Adolphus Ward and George Peabody Gooch, ed., The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-23), 2:263 for this summation.

⁴⁵Julien, Histoire de l'Océanie, pp. 81-90.

⁴⁶Charles Pouthas, "Les ministères de Louis-Philippe," Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (April-June, 1954), 1:108. See also Emmanuël Beau de Lomenie, Les responsabilités des dynasties bourgeoises (Paris, 1943), 1:98-104 quoted in Jean L'Homme, La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir (1830-1880): Essai sur l'histoire sociale de la France (Paris, 1960), p. 78, note 1. According to L'Homme, Admiral Rigny held diverse portfolios almost without interruption from 1831 to 1836; he was the nephew of Baron Louis who served as Minister of Finance several times. Count Molé, Minister of Justice under the First Empire, served twice as President of the Council. Numerous marshals and generals also served as high functionaries during the July Monarchy.

⁴⁷In 1836 the Jesuits were expelled from Tahiti on the initiative of the English trader-missionary, George Pritchard, but in 1838 a French naval squadron led by Abdel Dupetit-Thouars reversed this action. This is a case of foreign policy being made on the spot by naval personnel without awaiting orders from the Foreign Office. Eventually Dupetit-Thouars' action led to a dispute with England since he had subsequently annexed the island which he first occupied. Guizot offered an indemnity to Pritchard, renounced the annexation of the island but still retained it as a protectorate.

⁴⁸Hubert Deschamps, L'Union française, p. 12.

⁴⁹Adolphe Barrot was named consul to the Philippines in 1835, the first consul to be named to that post. This demonstrated the growing importance of the Far East in French affairs, particularly regarding commerce and politics linked in strategy. "From the beginning, the post of Manila is considered as the observatory for the Far Eastern world." See Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 374. Since the Spanish would object to an operational base in the Philippines, the French chose the isle of Basilin which was not yet dominated by an important world power.

⁵⁰Brunschwig, La colonisation française, p. 31.

⁵¹A. N., Mar BB⁴ 598, pp. 230-34.

⁵²Although Brunschwig views government edicts authorizing the Catholics to proselytize in the Chinese Empire as heavy-handed political acts, these very same provisions later furnished pretexts for French action against IndoChina leading to French occupation of Southeast Asia. See Brunschwig, La colonisation française, pp. 133-136.

⁵³Tramond and Reussner, Éléments d'histoire maritime, p. 22.

⁵⁴See Chapter VI, this dissertation.

⁵⁵Mackau to Minister of Foreign Affairs, François Guizot, dated 29 November 1842, Archives Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Afrique-Etablissements française du golfe de Guinée, I (1838-1862), p. 63 verso. This source will be cited hereinafter as AAE, Mém. et Doc., with the proper region obtaining.

⁵⁶Issue dated May 15, 1844.

⁵⁷ AAE, Mém. et Doc., Afrique-Etablissements française du golfe de Guinée, 1, p. 63 verso.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 92. Ambassador Cowley to Guizot, 24 September, 1844, Paris.

⁵⁹ See Chapter V, this dissertation.

⁶⁰ Georges Malécot, Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie de 1835 à 1870 (Paris, 1972), p. 10.

⁶¹ AAE, Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 70.

⁶² Malécot, Les voyageurs français, p. 40.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 25-32.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 31, note 2. Malécot cites AAE, Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 96 where Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote to the Minister of Agriculture, 25 September 1842. Guizot told the Minister of Commerce and Agriculture that "Monsieur Lefebvre n'a pas de mission politique de department."

⁶⁵ See A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1014, Letter #119 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris, dated 24 June 1840.

⁶⁶ Halford L. Haskins, British Routes to India (New York, 1928), pp. 92-96; 101-102; 109-126.

⁶⁷ Institut de France. Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, Paris. See the volumes for the years, 1835-45, passim. It should also be mentioned that the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Paris also carried articles concerning important expeditions and that prizes were often awarded by the Society. See Chapter IV, this dissertation.

⁶⁸ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique, Abyssinie, 61 (1839-1866), letter from Charles Rochet d'Hericourt to Napoleon III dated 16 March 1863 requesting that the manuscript of his brother's third voyage be placed in the emperor's hands, etc., and informing him of his brother's death.

⁶⁹ Galinier and Ferret, Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigre, du Semien et de l'Amhara, 2 vols. (Paris, 1947).

⁷⁰ Antoine d'Abbadie, Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute Ethiopie (Abyssinie), (Paris, 1866).

⁷¹Reginald Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders From Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Saïd, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1961), pp. 439-451.

⁷²Guillain, Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856) 1:xiv-xv; 2:x-xi speaks to the political and scientific aims as well.

⁷³Ibid., 1:xxv-xxxi. He was right; France occupied and annexed Madagascar in 1896.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 1:xi-xiv.

⁷⁶A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique, Muscate-Zanzibar, 3 (1842-47), pp. 25-28.

⁷⁷Ibid. The treaty was made on 17 November 1844. It should be noted that Guillain made a number of voyages for Governor de Hell who commanded the naval base at the Ile de Bourbon. When Mackau praised the work accomplished by Guillain he was referring to a voyage to Nossi-be and the west coast of Madagascar when Guillain commanded the Dordogne.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 149. An article is inserted in this archival volume which has been clipped from the Journal des Débats, but there is no date. However, from the news item itself, one can infer that this is an 1844 edition.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Roger Hahn, The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution: The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666-1803 (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 90-91.

⁸¹Institut de France, Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, 27, part 2 (1848), pp. 42-46. This source will be cited hereinafter as C.R., Ac. de Sc., with the proper volume obtaining.

⁸²C.R., Ac. de Sc., 2, part 1 (1836), pp. 277-281.

⁸³For a full report see ibid., 11, part 2 (1840), pp. 186-196.

CHAPTER IV

¹Colonialism in the French Geographical Movement, 1871-1881," The Geographical Review, 38 (1943), pp. 214-232.

²See Agnes Murphy, The Ideology of French Imperialism, 1871-1881, 2nd. ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 1-40; and Henri Brunschwig, French Colonialism (1871-1914)--Myths and Realities, trans. by William Glanville Brown (New York, 1966), pp. 25-29. Murphy unreservedly accepts McKay's thesis that there was an expansionist pressure group within the French geographical societies in 1871, and Brunschwig accepts, in turn, Murphy's interpretation of McKay's work.

³McKay, "Colonialism," p. 214. By 1871 there were in Paris two geographical societies, the Geographical Society of Paris and the Paris Society of Commercial Geography; others were in Bordeaux, Nancy, Lyons, Rochefort, Marseilles, Montpellier, and Douai.

⁴Expansionism as here defined is the extension of French commercial and political influence as well as cultural influence or mission civilisatrice. Early nineteenth French explorers were often fond of comparing themselves to the Romans. Here is an example from a contemporary: Anne Raffenel, Nouveau voyage, dans le pays des nègres suivi d'études sur la colonie du Sénégal et de documents historiques, géographiques et scientifiques, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856), 2:266. "Colonization as ordinarily understood is the transporting of a metropolitan family to a foreign country and the substitution of its work for the work of the pre-existing indigent family. This colonization we have never desired. Generally speaking, we would want to make of Africa . . . that which the Romans made of their colonies. The Romans, in order to assure their domination, imposed on their conquered peoples only their customs, for the taste for immigration was no more extensive among the Roman citizens than it is for the inhabitants of France. It was principally the patrician, the functionary, the administrator or the soldiers who were concerned with colonization. Like the Romans we also impose our customs on Africans, but what distinguishes us from the Romans is that we want to procure for the blacks the joys of a better life--that is the reason we undertake this great task." This is in part similar to a more modern writer, Ronald E. Robinson, who wrote the "Introduction" in Brunschwig's work, French Colonization. Robinson states that throughout "the century France's typical imperial agents had been soldiers, technicians and teachers rather than merchants and colonists." Ibid., p. ix. For other references or comparisons with the Romans, see: Bulletin, Series 2, 15 (1841), p. 214-15

"Discourse by Baron de les Cases," and Bulletin. Series 1, 16 (1831), pp. 71-72.

⁵Hereinafter cited as Bulletin.

⁶McKay, "Colonialism," p. 228.

⁷Christian Schefer, "La Monarchie de Juillet et l'expansion coloniale," Revue des Deux Mondes, 11 (September-October, 1912), p. 184.

⁸Bulletin, Series 1, 1 (1822-23), pp. 12-24.

⁹Ibid. Most of the presidents of the General Assembly held noble rank.

¹⁰Ibid. Some of the nobility overlap with those holding military rank.

¹¹Ibid. Prominent foreigners included His Royal Highness, Prince Christian Frederick of Denmark, Baron Alexander von Humboldt, Count James Ilinski, "Gentilhomme de la chambre de S.M. l'Empereur de Russie." Aside from this, there is an entry which refers to "Roschild, banquier," presumably one of the members of the great Rothschild family of international bankers.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid. See also Pierre de Joinville, Le Réveil économique de Bordeaux sous la restauration. L'Armateur Balquerie-Stuttenberg et son oeuvre (Paris, 1914), p. 447. See also Christian Schefer, La France moderne, pp. 147-148.

¹⁴Bulletin, 1, 1 (1822-23), pp. 12-24. All officers of the Geographical Society are published in Bulletin, Tables, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845 and 1866), edited by Eugene de Froberville and V. A. Barbie du Bocage. Refer to the page opposite the title page.

¹⁵Joinville, Le Réveil économique de Bordeaux, p. 368.

¹⁶Bulletin, Tables.

¹⁷The society was founded to aid the progress of geography, to encourage voyages in unknown countries, to propose and award prizes for discoveries, to establish a correspondence with other scientific societies, to publish

accounts of travel and discovery, and to publish maps. See "Extrait du règlement de la société." Bulletin, Series 1, 1 (1822-23), opposite title page.

¹⁸ Egypt and the Red Sea area became the locus of very serious concern. For example, Théophile Lefebvre, sent by the Army to explore Abyssinia, reported that the Mehemet Ali affair was the first step in English exploitation of the Middle East. Bulletin, Series 3, 4 (1845), pp. 332-333 and passim.

¹⁹ Ibid., Series 1, 3 (1825), pp. 137-139.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 133 and pp. 166-167.

²¹ Ibid., 10 (1828), p. 193. Caillie sought the 10,000 francs offered as prize money by the Geographical Society and he also stated that his principal object was to collect and accurately record all of the fact of whatsoever nature and "especially to notice whatever appeared conducive to the improvement of geography and our commerce with Africa." René Caillie, Travels Through Central Africa to Timbucktoo and Across the Great Desert, to Morocco, Performed in the Years, 1824-28, no trans. given. 2 vols. No. 36 of Travels and Narratives, ed. advisor, John Ralph Willis of Case Library of African Studies (London, 1968). 2:vii.

²² Bulletin, Series 1, 3 (1825), p. 133, letter dated 22 January 1835 from Damas to the Geographical Society; ibid., pp. 166-167, letter dated 3 January 1825 from Chabrol to the Geographical Society.

²³ Ibid., 8 (1827), pp. 242-243.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 248. Indeed the society was growing in membership. Only six years old, there was a 40% increase in members.

²⁵ Ibid., 3 (1825), p. 133.

²⁶ Ibid., 6 (1826), pp. 31-33. Letter from Chabrol to the Geographical Society, no month given, 1826; Joinville, Le Reveil économique, p. 368, states that since 1818 the French colonials had tried to ameliorate the deplorable economic situation then existing in Guiana. If explored, products for industry and agriculture might solve the economic problems once they were discovered.

²⁷ Bulletin, Series 1, 20 (1833), p. 410.

²⁸Jules-Sébastien Dumont d'Urville, Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes "l'Astrolabe" et "la Zélée," 10 vols. (Paris, 1841-47) 1:lxiv-lxv; C. Hartley Gratten, The Southwest Pacific to 1900, A Modern History: Australia, New Zealand, the Islands, Antarctica (Ann Arbor, 1963), p. 235.

²⁹Bulletin, 1 (1822-23), p. 16. A Lieutenant when he was a founding member of the Geographical Society, d'Urville had risen in rank to Contre-amiral when he became President of the Central Commission in 1842. See Bulletin, Tables, vol. 1, opposite the title page.

³⁰Joinville, Le Réveil économique, p. 447.

³¹T. Lindsay Buick, The French at Akaroa. An Adventure in Colonization (Wellington, New Zealand, 1928), pp. 50-51; and Jean-Paul Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 453.

³²Bulletin, Series 1, 20 (1833), p. 322.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., Series 2, 1 (1834), pp. 64-67.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 272-277, 340.

³⁷Ibid., 6 (1836), p. 259.

³⁸Ibid., p. 261.

³⁹Francois Guizot, Memoirs to Illustrate the History of My Time, trans. John M. Cole, 8 vols. (London, 1858-67), 4:413-414. See ibid., p. 13 of Historic Document Section, Document #VI, Filhon, President; Roses, "Vice-President; Charles Solvet, Vice-President of the [Algerian] Colonial Society to M. Guizot, Deputy, dated Algiers, May 27th, 1836.

"The colonists of Algeria remember with gratitude that during the dangers which last year so formidably threatened their existence, your credit and the power of our eloquence decided the success of their cause, which you identified with that of France." See also Johnson, Guizot, Aspects of French History, p. 292.

⁴⁰Bulletin, Series 2, 8 (1837), p. 264.

⁴¹Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 401-404; 439-442.

⁴²Ibid., 10 (1838), pp. 306-310.

⁴³Ibid., 18 (1842), pp. 394-395.

⁴⁴Ibid., 20 (1843), p. 335.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 336.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 337.

⁴⁷Portions of "Sur les possessions françaises dans la Polynésie et sur commerce dans l'Océanie," are reproduced in Bulletin, 20 (1843), pp. 337-339.

⁴⁸Ibid. Estancelin was régisseur des domaines for the Orleans family, and when Louis-Philippe came to the throne his political career soared. In the Chamber of Deputies, Estancelin specialized in commercial, maritime and colonial questions. See Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle; français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, etc. 15 vols. (Paris, 1865-76), c. v. Estancelin, Louis. This work hereinafter cited, Larousse, Grand dictionnaire.

⁴⁹Bulletin, Series 2, 20, (1843), pp. 338-339.

⁵⁰"Discours de M. Estancelin en faveur des expéditions lointaines," (Séance de la Chambre des députés du 27 avril 1836), Annales maritimes et coloniales, Mémoires (1836), pp. 873-880. Hereinafter cited A.M.C., Mémoires or Lois.

⁵¹Cochelet was named to the diplomatic service during the July Monarchy and served in many posts, including Mexico and Egypt. He left the diplomatic service to become a member of the Council of State in 1842 and remained there until 1848. Larousse, Grand dictionnaire, s. v. Cochelet, Adrien-Louis.

⁵²Bulletin, Series 3, 2 (1844), pp. 332-339.

⁵³Ibid., 4 (1845), pp. 260-261. "British occupation of Aden in 1839 established European imperialism in the Red Sea, and ongoing formal contact followed with the creation of consulates for Ethiopia, by the French in 1841, and the British in 1838," according to Donald Crummey in "Initiatives and Objectives in Ethio-European Relations," Journal of African History, XV, 3 (1974), p. 434.

⁵⁴The French government, the Academy of Sciences, the Geographical Society, the Navy and others published the results of the work of explorers who departed in a steady stream for Abyssinia: MM. Ferret and Galinier, Theophile Lefebvre, Rochet d'Héricourt, and Antoine d'Abbadie. See Georges Malécot, Les voyageurs français, *passim*.

⁵⁵See Charles Guillain, Documents sur l'histoire, 1:xi-xiv. Guillain made several expeditions to (1846-48) East Africa and the Indian Ocean and eventually got a treaty of commerce with the sultan. The French had annexed Mayotta in 1843 and according to Guillain, a British naval captain had described it as "a little Gibraltar." Equidistant from Africa and Madagascar, Mayotta commanded the Mozambique Channel.

⁵⁶Bulletin, Series 3, 6 (1846), p. 279.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 8 (1847), p. 250.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Series 3, 10 (1848), p. 257.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 260-261.

⁶¹"Projet politique, commerciale et scientifique d'Alger et Tombouctou par le Sahara par le docteur Dodichon, médecin à Alger," *Ibid.*, Series 3, 12 (1849), pp. 5-56.

⁶²(1) Djarra, le Galam and Bakel; (2) Haoussa and Sakatou; (3) Djénne and Sego.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 9.

CHAPTER V

¹Ponteil, L'Éveil de nationalités, p. 42.

²Georges Malécot, Les voyageurs français et les relations entre la France et l'Abyssinie, 1835 à 1870 (Paris, 1972), pp. 10-13. Both Combes and Tamisier were in Egypt from 1835 to 1837 in order to study the feasibility of opening the Suez isthmus.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 13-18. See also Bulletin 13 (1840) pp. 280-290 and A.A.E., Mém. et Doc. Abyssinie 13, report dated 8 September 1839. Further exploration might have been deemed unnecessary since a Scottish explorer, James Bruce, publicized his extensive travels in the previous century.

⁴A.A.E. Mem. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 150 and ff; ibid., Abyssinie 61, p. 8 cited by Malécot, Les voyageurs français, p. 33.

⁵A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 156, Baba, Balgueres et Cie to Minister, 25 September 1839, cited by Malécot, Les voyageurs français, note 1, p. 35. These same men were involved in the tentative colonization of New Zealand; see infra, Chapter VI

⁶Ibid., p. 155, cited by Malécot, Les voyageurs français, p. 34.

⁷Ibid., pp. 170-171, cited by Malécot, Les voyageurs français, p. 35.

⁸Ibid., p. 175, cited by Malécot, p. 36.

⁹Ibid., p. 226, cited by Malécot, p. 36.

¹⁰Malécot, pp. 36-37.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 38-40.

¹²A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 247, 22 November 1841, cited by Malécot, p. 40.

¹³Malécot, p. 40.

¹⁴Ferret and Galinier, Voyage en Abyssinie dans les provinces du Tigré, du Semien et de l'Amhara, 2 vols. (Paris, 1847-48), 1, Introduction, passim.

¹⁵Malécot, p. 43. Internecine warfare, particularly between Déjats-Oubié, the chief of Tigré, and ras Ali made it too dangerous for them to remain in Abyssinia. A ras is defined as the head of an army, and may be a prince or a duke according to Irving Kaplan et al, Area Handbook for Ethiopia (Washington, D. C., 1971), p. 110.

¹⁶C.R., Ac. of Sc., 19 (1844, Part 2), pp. 870-886, report by François Arago on the scientific results of the mission. Ferret and Galinier collected a tremendous amount of data pertaining to the fields of astronomy, meteorology, physical geography, and cartography. They prepared excellent maps of Tigré and Semien, noting the longitudes and latitudes of important capital cities such as Adowa, Axum and Gondar. The Museum of Natural History received huge collections of plants and animals, minerals, birds, and insects. Even so, Arago complained that they "supplied no single datum for terrestrial magnetism." See ibid., p. 881.

¹⁷ Ferret and Galinier, Voyage, 2:452 and ff.

¹⁸ Malécot, p. 43 citing A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 61, p. 15.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

²⁰ A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919, 3 vols. (New York, 1923), 2:161 and 178.

²¹ Ibid., 2:181-182.

²² Raymond Guyot, La première entente cordiale (Paris, 1926), p. 149.

²³ Charles K. Webster, Foreign Policy of Palmerston 1830-41: Britain the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question, 2 vols. (London, 1951), 1:455.

²⁴ This treaty, concluded between the Turks and the Russians, contained a separate and secret article which agreed that if Russia went to war with any European power, the Turks would close the Dardanelles. This clause in particular worried Palmerston, but the entire treaty of mutual defense irked him no end.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 173, quoting Palmerston to Bulwer, September 24, 1839.

²⁶ It should be pointed out that Soult was sponsoring both official missions (Ferret and Galinier) and quasi-official missions (the Nanto-Bordelaise endeavor) throughout the Mehemet Ali affair. Yet he appeared to have ignored Antoine and Arnauld d'Abbadie who explored Abyssinia for nearly twelve years. Nevertheless, their scientific work was so outstanding that they profoundly influenced Ethiopian studies in France throughout the nineteenth century. Antoine d'Abbadie corresponded with Soult in an attempt to influence the course of Franco-Abyssinian commercial and political affairs, but he was largely ignored. Unpopular among the French already in Abyssinia and suspected of being sympathetic with the British, the d'Abbadies nevertheless enlightened French authorities about conditions in Abyssinia as much as any other explorers. Records at the Quai d'Orsay indicate that they were frequently consulted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after 1848. For publications of their work see, Arnauld d'Abbadie, Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute Ethiopie (Abyssinie), Paris, 1868). Arnauld had planned to publish more than one volume, but unhappy at the welcome his first volume received, he refused to continue.

Some of Antoine's work can be found in the Bulletin, 20, 2nd series, and in other sources such as C.R., Ac. of Sc., 126 (1898, Part 1), pp. 173-181. "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Antoine d'Abbadie" (he was president of the Academy of Sciences in 1892); Bulletin, 13, 5th series (1867), and Bulletin, 15, 6th series (1878) passim, which contains prolific comments on the d'Abbadies' work; see also Gaston Darboux, Notice historique sur Antoine d'Abbadie (Paris, 1908), an extract from the Comptes Rendus of the Academy of Sciences.

²⁷ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 12, memoir dated 27 May 1838, cited by Malécot, p. 25.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Lefebvre to Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, 29 June 1839, A.A.E., C.P. Massouah 1, p. 44 ff., cited by Malécot, p. 26. Cunin-Gridaine was an industrialist and served as a deputy for the Liberal party in 1834. He was one of the 221 deputies who supported Louis-Philippe's accession to the throne in 1830, and by 1837 he was rewarded when he received his appointment to the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. He remained in that high office without interruption until the revolution of 1848, and "he consistently supported French expansionism." See Larousse, Dictionnaire, s.v., "Cunin-Gridaine, Laurent dit."

³⁰ A.A.E., C.P., Massouah, 1, p. 47, cited by Malécot, p. 26.

³¹ Charlemagne Théophile Lefebvre, Voyage en Abyssinie pendant les années 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, et 1843, 6 vols. (Paris, 1845-1849), 1:69-70.

³² Malécot, p. 28.

³³ Lefebvre to Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated June 3, 1840, A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 40 cited by Malécot, p. 28.

³⁴ Marine BB⁴ 1014, Roussin, Minister of Navy and Colonies, to Thiers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated 24 June 1840.

³⁵ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 62, Marine to Foreign Affairs, dated 28 June 1840.

³⁶ Ibid., Lefebvre to Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, dated 10 January 1841.

³⁷ Degoutin to Foreign Affairs, A.A.E., C.P., Massouah 1, p. 54, dated 26 August 1841, cited by Malécot, p. 30.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 44. Combes to Foreign Affairs, dated 1 September 1841, cited by Malécot, p. 30.

³⁹ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 82, Lefebvre to Foreign Affairs, Navy, Agriculture and Commerce dated 29 December 1841, cited by Malécot, p. 31.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 96. Commerce and Agriculture to Foreign Affairs, dated 19 August 1842.

⁴¹ Foreign Affairs to Commerce and Agriculture, dated 25 December 1842, *ibid.*, cited by Malécot, p. 32.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Voyage en Abyssinie, exécuté pendant les années.
. . . See Supra, note 31.

⁴⁴ C.R., Ac. of Sc. 8 (1839), pp. 160-163 for instructions relative to inveterbrates; for the results see C.R., Ac. of Sc. 18 (1844, Part 1), pp. 731-746 and C.R., Ac. of Sc. 20 (1845, Part 1), pp. 484-491.

⁴⁵ Bulletin, Series 3 (1846), 5:298.

⁴⁶ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 61, pp. 249-393. contains three incomplete notebooks which Rochet d'Héricourt wrote during his third and last voyage (1847-1849) in northern Abyssinia.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Charles Rochet d'Héricourt to Napoleon III, 16 March 1863. For other information on his journeys, see C.R., Ac. of Sc. 32 (1851, Part 1), pp. 215-241, article entitled, "Troisième voyage de M. Rochet d'Héricourt," séance of February, 1851. For earlier voyages, see d'Héricourt, Voyage sur la Côte orientale de la mer Rouge, dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa (Paris, 1841), and an article, "Considerations géographiques et commerciales sur le golfe Arabique," Bulletin, 2nd series 15 (1841), pp. 269-293.

⁴⁸ "Mémoire sur le Choa," A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 13, p. 270 and ff.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 290.

⁵¹C.R. Ac. of Sc., 12 (1841, Part 1), p. 923. The full report is entitled, "Rapport sur des observations de M. Rochet d'Héricourt concernant le géographique, physique, le meteorologie et la géologie de quelques parties des bords de la mer Rouge et de l'Abyssinie," C.R., Ac. of Sc., 12: 923-927. See also, *ibid.*, p. 732-735. "Observations faites durant un voyage dans le pays d'Adel et le royaume de Choa," and *Bulletin*, 2nd series, 15 (1841), pp. 269-293, "Considerations géographique et commerciale sur le golfe Arabique," by Rochet d'Héricourt for evidence of the extent of his findings even though he was hampered by the lack of scientific instruments. A note about the use of his name: his proper surname is Rochet, but he often signed his name Rochet d'Héricourt, hence the various usages in writing about this explorer.

⁵²C.R., Ac. of Sc., 12 (1841, Part 1), pp. 923-927.

⁵³Malécot, Les voyageurs français, pp. 61-63.

⁵⁴C.R., Ac. of Sc., 22 (1846, Part 1), pp. 798-814, "Rapport sur le second voyage en Abyssinie de M. Rochet d'Héricourt." Magnetic observations were often requested, even demanded by François Arago, an important physicist and member of the Academy of Sciences. See p. 801 for Rochet's faithful adherence to these instructions.

⁵⁵Rochet d'Héricourt, Second voyage sur les deux rives de la mer Rouge, dans le pays des Adel et le royaume de Choa (Paris, 1846), pp. 127-129; Malécot, pp. 60-63.

⁵⁶Rochet d'Héricourt, Second voyage, pp. 375-378.

⁵⁷Malécot, p. 71.

⁵⁸India Office, Bombay: Political and Secret Consultations, Secret Committee to Haines, 2 July 1840, cited by Thomas E. Marston, Britain's Imperial Role in the Red Sea Area (Hamden, Conn., 1961), p. 121.

⁵⁹Malécot, p. 78.

⁶⁰"Note sur l'immigration des travailleurs abyssins dans les colonies françaises," Voyage sur la Côte orientale, 2:141-148.

⁶¹A.A.E., C.P., Massouah 1 and Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer, Océan Indien 10⁴³, cited by Malécot, p. 77.

⁶²See Supra, note 47.

⁶³ Degoutin to Lamartine, July 1, 1848, A.A.E., C.P., Massouah 1:102, cited by Málécot, p. 78.

⁶⁴ Charles Guillain, Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie, et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale, 2 vols. and 1 atlas (Paris, 1845-57), 2:x. [Microfilm #DT/365/G9, University of Illinois.]

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. xi-xii.

⁶⁶ Ibid., xvii. France had signed a treaty with the sultan in November, 1844; Guillain promised to abide by this treaty.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 1:xi-xiv.

⁶⁸ Ibid., xiii-xiv.

⁶⁹ Ibid., xvi.

⁷⁰ Ibid., xxv-xxvii.

⁷¹ Ibid., xxv.

⁷² Ibid., xxv-xxix.

⁷³ Jean Gaillard, l'Expansion française dans le monde (Paris, 1951), p. 117.

⁷⁴ "La Guinée," called "Rivers of the South" under the ancien régime, was composed of territory between Portuguese Guinea and Sierra-Leone. Slave trading was an important business here. Between 1840 and 1845 the French concluded treaties with several chiefs which gave them protectorates over this area. See Gaillard, p. 80.

⁷⁵ Gaillard, p. 94.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 1, Établissements français du golfe de Guinée (1838-1862), pp. 10-13. Bouët-Willamez, commanding the La Malouine, explored the Ivory Coast waters, etc.

⁷⁸ Aberdeen to Jarnac, London, 3 September 1844, A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique 1, pp. 83-85.

⁷⁹ Jarnac to Guizot, London, 9 September 1844, ibid., pp. 90-91.

⁸⁰ Cowley to Guizot, Paris, 24 September 1844, *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁸¹ Gaillard, p. 82.

⁸² Jean-Baptiste Anne Raffenel, Nouveau voyage dans le pays des nègres suivi d'études sur la colonie du Sénégal et de documents historiques, géographiques et scientifiques, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie et librairie centrales des chemins de fer, 1856), 2:53-67. [The publisher is included in this citation in order to document opinions in the text of this dissertation.]

⁸³ See *supra*, Chapter IV., note 61.

⁸⁴ Raffenel, Nouveau voyage, Introduction, 1:i. Raffenel was also charged with the coordination of work of the first expedition which he made to Senegal; the title of the publication describing this journey is Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale (Paris, 1846).

⁸⁵ See *supra*, note 82.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:iii-iv.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:iv.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:v.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:194-195.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1:ii-iii.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1:iv, note 1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1:v; 2: passin and C.R., Ac. of Sc. (1855), séance of July 28th; Moniteur Universel 13 August 1855, hereinafter cited as Moniteur.

⁹⁴ Raffenel, Nouveau voyage, 1:196.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique/Algérie 11 (1825-30), pp. 264-267; Moniteur; issue dated 20 April 1830; Ponteil, L'Eveil de nationalités, pp. 467-468.

⁹⁷A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique/Algérie 9 (1832-47), pp. 201-206. "Note remise à Messieurs les membres de la haute commission d'enquête, le 14 septembre 1833."

⁹⁸Ibid., pamphlet enclosed in this volume entitled Observations présentées à la Chambre de Commerce de Marseilles sur la demande qu'elle en a faite au sujet de la colonisation d'Alger pour servir au mémoire qu'elle doit adresser à la Commission d'Enquête sur la colonie d'Alger (Marseilles: Imprimerie de Marius Olive, 1833). The report within the pamphlet is signed by M. Servie, "Négociant, Conseiler Municipal, et Propriétaire à Alger."

⁹⁹Ponteil, L'Éveil de nationalités, pp. 467-468.

¹⁰⁰"Roots of French Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Lyon," French Historical Studies, 6 (Spring, 1969), p. 80 quoting Maurice Zimmerman, "Lyon et la colonisation française," Questions diplomatique et coloniales, 9 (June 15, 1900), pp. 705-717 and 10 (July 1, 1900), pp. 1-21, and 708.

¹⁰¹A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Afrique/Algérie 9, p. 235. See "Extrait du procès-verbal des séances du Conseil général du département des Pyrenées Orientales; Conservation d'Alger," séance de 23 Juillet, 1834.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 236. See also the fifteen-page prospectus for the Compagnie Nationale d'Alger (J. Hedde, aîné et compagnie: Paris, 1834) which is inserted in this volume Afrique/Algérie 9. Hedde's prospectus was entitled Compagnie Nationale d'Alger sous la Raison Sociale. He maintained that Algeria awaited only settlers in order to become one of the most flourishing colonies in the world. He sought 3,000 persons who could contribute 100 francs each for the purchase of rural property on the Massif d'Alger and on the plains of Mitidja. If this were done, Hedde believed that he could found a new society based upon the patriotism of the French and upon raison sociale.

¹⁰³Ponteil, L'Éveil de nationalités, pp. 467-468.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 469; and Camille Rousset, Les commencements d'une conquête: l'Algérie de 1830 à 1840, 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Paris, 1900), 1:342. See Ponteil, p. 470 for his expressed opinion about the conquest; it is repugnant to him because he feels that those who argue for it only have crass economic reasons based on their own self-interest.

¹⁰⁵Rousset, 2:369 and 490-491; William B. Cohen, Rulers of Empire: the French Colonial Service in Africa (Stanford, 1971), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁶C.R., Ac. of Sc., 5 (1837), pp. 801-802.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸C.R., Ac. of Sc., 7 (1838), pp. 137-227.

¹⁰⁹Archives Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés (April-May, 1839), 124:683; the published works are entitled, Expedition scientifique de Morée, Section des sciences physiques, 3 vols. in 5 and 2 atlases (Paris, 1832-36), edited by Bory Saint Vincent.

¹¹⁰Marcel Emerit, Les Saint-Simoniens en Algérie (Paris, 1941), pp. 87-92. Enfantin believed that the colonization of Algeria was necessary, and as a partisan of racial integration, he hoped to civilize the Arabs by introducing them to European civilization. See ibid., p. 107 and ff. See also Prosper Enfantin, Colonisation de Algérie (Paris, 1843), passim.

¹¹¹Emerit, p. 93. Almost half of the expedition members were attracted to this philosophy or creed. With three of them (Louis Jourdan, Captain E. Carette and Dr. Warnier). Enfantin founded in 1843 the journal, l'Algérie.

¹¹²C.R., Ac. of Sc., 10 (1840, Part 1), pp. 781-787 and 850-853; 12 (1841, Part 1), pp. 901-902; 17 (1843, Part 2), pp. 19-26; 18 (1844, Part 1), pp. 1067-1071; 19 (1844, Part 2), pp. 201-205.

¹¹³Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie pendant les années 1840-42 (Paris, 1844-67), with various members of the expedition responsible for one or more volumes.

¹¹⁴"French Conquerors and Colonists," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (January, 1849), p. 20.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 31.

CHAPTER VI

¹ Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 245.

² Ibid., p. 239.

³ Ibid., p. 257.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 394-395; by 1840 Australia was held securely by the British and became an important factor in English expansionism in Oceania.

⁵ Archives Nationales, Mar BB⁴ 447. Letters from Roussin to the Naval Ministry dated May 28, 30, and 31, 1823 and report from Roussin dated December 3, 1823.

⁶ Frederick B. Artz, Reaction and Revolution, 1814-1832, Harper Torchbook ed. (New York, 1963), pp. 169-171.

⁷ Archives Nationales, Mar BB⁴ 1001, Instructions. Also see Chapter II, pp. 21-22, this dissertation. For some time the French had hoped to renew political contacts in the Far East, contacts that they had previously enjoyed as a result of having assisted an exiled prince from Annam in regaining his throne. With the assistance of Pigneau de Behaine, Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China, Cambodia, and Tonkin, Prince Nguyen-Anh in 1787 obtained the loan of two ships crewed by French volunteers and reconquered his country. Under the name of Gia-Long, the emperor granted the French considerable rights in Tourane Bay which included commercial privileges and anchorages for ship repairs. As a result of the revolutionary wars, France lost a golden opportunity to follow up on these advantages. Moreover, Gia-Long's successor and son, Minh-Mang, was very much opposed to any deals with Europeans; he had assumed the throne by the time Bougainville sailed to Cochin-China in order to try to effect commercial relations between France and Cochin-China. Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 251 and 278. Sir Thomas Raffles had purchased Singapore from the Sultan of Johore in 1819; for more about Singapore see Joel Wiener and J. H. Plumb, eds. Great Britain: Foreign Policy and the Span of Empire, 1689-1971--A Documentary History, 4 vols. (New York, 1972), 3:2276.

⁸ Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 371-372.

⁹ A.A.E., Correspondance Commerciale, Manille 1 (1820-41), hereinafter referred to as AAE., C.C. with proper region obtaining.

¹⁰ Ibid., and A.A.E., C.C., Manille 2 (1842-53)

¹¹ Ward and Gooch, Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 2:215.

¹² Ibid. Trade with China had been restricted to a factory at Canton, the single Chinese port to which British merchants, ordinarily residents at Macao, were allowed to resort during the winter season. All business had to be transacted through a guild of Chinese merchants known as the "hong".

¹³ Freycinet, Voyage autour du monde . . . 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820.

¹⁴ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1000.

¹⁵ Ibid. and Duperrey, Voyage autour du monde, 1:4-6.

¹⁶ See Chapter II, p. 22, this dissertation.

¹⁷ The commission's report is reprinted as the introduction to Duperrey's Voyage autour du monde. See also Institut de France, Procès-verbaux, vol. 8, seance of 25 August 1825.

¹⁸ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1000.

¹⁹ For some time the French had hoped to renew political contacts in the Far East, contacts that they had previously enjoyed as a result of having assisted an exiled prince from Annam in regaining his throne. With the assistance of Piegneau de Behaine, Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina, Cambodia, and Tonkin, Prince Nguyen-Anh in 1787 obtained the loan of two ships crewed by French volunteers and reconquered his country. Under the name of Gia-Long, the emperor granted the French certain rights which included commercial privileges and anchorages for ship repairs. As a result of the revolutionary wars, France lost a golden opportunity to follow-up these advantages since Gia-Long was succeeded by his son, Minh-Mang, who was opposed to any deals with Europeans. See Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 251 and 278-279.

²⁰ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1002, Rapport des colonies appartenant aux divers états de l'Europe.

²¹ Dunmore, French Explorers, 2:224. La Pérouse began a circumnavigation of the globe in 1785 only to perish in the South Pacific when his ship, the Astrolabe, and his escort vessel, the Boussole, were probably driven aground in a storm in 1788. However, his disappearance remained a mystery until Peter Dillon, an Irish sea captain reported

that he believed La Pérouse had perished on the island of Vanikoro in the Santa Cruz group which lie between the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides; Dillon reported this in 1826. Dumont d'Urville renamed his ship the Astrolabe in honor of La Pérouse whose misadventures had spurred one of the largest searches in naval history. D'Urville verified Dillon's claim to have found the old Astrolabe at Vanikoro.

²²A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1002.

²³Ibid.

²⁴J. Holland Rose et al., ed. Cambridge History of the British Empire, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1929-36), vol. 7, New Zealand, part 2, pp. 59-60.

²⁵Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829, 10 vols. (Paris, 1830-34).

²⁶Procès-verbaux des séances de l'Académie, 9: 291-298.

²⁷Darling to Under-Secretary Hay, Rose et al., Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. 7, part 2, p. 127 citing H.R.A., Series 1, 7:730.

²⁸Rose, Cambridge History, vol. 7, part 2, p. 127.

²⁹Ibid. The British abandoned their settlement in Western Port after little more than a year.

³⁰A.N., Mar BB⁴ 470 bis.

³¹A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1004; Cyrille Laplace, Voyage autour du monde par les mers de l'Inde et de Chine exécuté sur la corvette de l'état "la Favorite" pendant les années 1830, 1831, et 1832, 4 vols. (Paris, 1833-35) 1:xvii-xviii and 471.

³²A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1004, Document #299, letter dated 15 December 1829, d'Haussez to Laplace with additional instructions and requesting secrecy and prudence.

³³See Christian Schefer, La politique coloniale de la Monarchie de Juillet. L'Algérie et l'évolution de la colonisation française (Paris, 1928), pp. 382-389 for a good discussion of "le système des points de relâche." Schefer points out that this system was a compromise between the Naval Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ibid., p. 382.

³⁴ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1005.

³⁵ Jean-Anne-Amédée de La Salle, Voyage autour du monde exécuté pendant les années 1836, 1835, 1837 sur la corvette "la Bonite," commandée par M. Vaillant. Relation du voyage. 3 vols. (Paris, 1845-52) 1:xi, Letter from Minister of the Navy and Colonies, Baron Duperre to Captain Vaillant, commandant de "la Bonite" on the object of his mission, dated Paris, 28 December 1835.

³⁶ Ibid., 1:xiii. These orders are also repeated to Vaillant by the First Bureau (Movements), see A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1006, Folio #370.

³⁷ La Salle, Voyage autour du monde, 1:xiv-xv.

³⁸ Ibid; and C.R., Ac. of Sc., 1 (1835), p. 333. The Academy nominated a five-man commission which drew up elaborate instructions for botanical, geological and zoological research, the usual categories. Hydrography, physique du globe and magnetism remained of interest to the scientific community and instructions were issued concerning these categories as well. See *ibid.*, pp. 368-410.

³⁹ La Salle, Voyage autour du monde, 1:53.

⁴⁰ Ibid., and A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1006.

⁴¹ Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 373-374.

⁴² A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1007, Letter from Vaillant to Minister of the Navy, dated 22 October 1836, from Honolulu in Sandwich Islands.

⁴³ Ibid., Minister of Foreign Affairs to Vaillant, dated 12 January 1836, from Paris.

⁴⁴ Ibid., The Canton Register, dated October 25, 1836, p. 117 [an original issue in archives], see "Statement of the British Trade at the Port of Canton, from 1st of April, 1835 to 31 March 1836."; see also copies of O Macaista Imparcial, dated 10 November 1836, p. 179, article entitled "Ordem Imperial sobre o Opio,"; *ibid.*, 1 December 1836, pp. 203-205, "Memorial Contra o Opio - China,"; *ibid.*, 5 December 1836, pp. 207-208, "Memorial Contra o Opio [continued]". These are Portuguese newspapers and contain translations of original Chinese documents which protest the illicit opium trade.

⁴⁵ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1006, Vaillant to Minister of Navy, dated 7 March 1837.

⁴⁶ Ibid., see supra, note 44.

⁴⁷ Ibid., The Canton Register, p. 117, which shows that total imports are 173,482, 433 francs and total exports are 133,096,224 francs, verified by Vaillant in his letter to the Naval Ministry dated 7 March 1837.

⁴⁸ Vaillant was too busy to supervise the publication of aspects of his voyage, so Jean-Anne-Amédée de La Salle wrote a three-volume narrative of the journey. Other members of the expedition published various volumes; the total collection is contained in 15 volumes (11 volumes in published form) and three volumes of atlases. The Museum of Natural History received 3,500 specimens for its collection.

⁴⁹ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1007, Vaillant to Foreign Ministry, 7 March 1837 from Pulo-Penang.

⁵⁰ L'Expansion française, p. 440.

⁵¹ Histoire de l'Océanie, p. 81.

⁵² John W. Henderson et al, Area Handbook for Oceania (Washington, D. C.), pp. 6-11.

⁵³ See Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 288 and also A.N. Mar BB⁴ 1000, letter dated 14 October 1823.

⁵⁴ Julien, Histoire de l'Océanie, p. 81.

⁵⁵ Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 439.

⁵⁶ Ibid., citing A.N., Mar BB⁴ 573, Bureau of General Correspondence, #225, September 21, 1836.

⁵⁷ Ward and Gooch, Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 2:261.

⁵⁸ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1007, Vaillant to Minister of Marine, dated 22 October 1836 from Honolulu.

⁵⁹ A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1007, Vaillant to Minister of Navy, dated 7 March 1837 from Pulo Penang.

⁶⁰ J. R. Baldwin, "England and the French Seizure of the Society Islands," Journal of Modern History, 10 (March-December, 1938), pp. 212-231.

⁶¹ Abdel Dupetit-Thouars, Voyage autour du monde sur la frégate "la Vénus" pendant les années 1836-1839, 4 vols.

(Paris, 1840-43), 1:xi-xxii, for detailed instructions; see also 3:345-96 for a detailed report on whaling where Dupetit-Thouars discusses discipline, the best fishing grounds, ships, ports, and also relates important hydrographic details of interest to the industry.

⁶²A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1005; also Dupetit-Thouars, Voyage, 1:xi-xxii.

⁶³Ibid., 1:327-340.

⁶⁴Baldwin, "England and the French Seizure of the Society Islands," Journal of Modern History, 10:212-231; Dupetit Thouars, Voyage, 4:48.

⁶⁵Baldwin, "England and the French Seizure of the Society Islands," and Ward and Gooch, Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 2:182-185.

⁶⁶During the voyage of the Vénus, a great amount of work for the sake of science took place. While Dupetit-Thouars wrote the narrative about this voyage (four volumes), there are in addition: one volume devoted to zoology which was prepared by various savants; one volume devoted to botany by M. J. Decaisne; and five volumes devoted to physics--eleven volumes in all.

⁶⁷Laplace, Campagne de circumnavigation de la frégate "l'Artémise" pendant les années 1837-1840, 6 vols. (Paris, 1841-54) 1:xii; A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1008.

⁶⁸A.N., Mar BB⁴ 582.

⁶⁹C.R., Ac. of Sc. 4 (1837, Part 1), p. 998, séance of 36 June 1837. Arago, one of the members of the commission named, asked that he be replaced probably since he disapproved of d'Urville's efforts to reach the South Pole.

⁷⁰Moniteur, 11 November 1838; Dumont d'Urville [completed by MM. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Jacquimot]. Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes "l'Astrolabe et "la Zélée," exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839 et 1840, Histoire du voyage, 10 vols. (Paris, 1841-47) 1:lxvi.

⁷¹George G. Toudouze, et al, Histoire de la marine, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959) 1:279.

⁷²D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, 1:xiv; see also A.N., Mar GG³⁰ which contains a copy of La Renommée, vol. 2 (May, 1842). This literary review contains the necrologies of Dumont d'Urville, his wife and his son, all of whom died in a railway accident in 1842. This review states that

France's most distinguished nineteenth-century navigator retired in 1834, but that after the death of a beloved daughter as a result of a cholera epidemic, he wanted to return to the sea.

⁷³A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1009.

⁷⁴Baron Tupinier was a maritime engineer and a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and was an ardent advocate of a strong navy for France. He briefly served as Minister of the Navy and Colonies in 1830 and in 1839. He was also president of the Geographical Society in 1839.

⁷⁵D'Urville, Voyage au Pôle Sud, 1:1xiv-1xv.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷D'Urville wrote that he had never desired or imagined an Antarctic expedition since it had "never been in rapport with the direction of my tastes nor my studies." See Voyage au Pole Sud, 1:1xvii-viii. Furthermore, he believed that Louis-Philippe had read the journals of Weddell and Morrell who were both simple fishermen, according to d'Urville. Weddell claimed to have attained 74° South Latitude in a previous expedition; d'Urville believed that he was a liar. Ibid.

⁷⁸A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1009.

⁷⁹D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, 1:1xxiv; this occurred on May 19th.

⁸⁰Ibid., 1:1xviii.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Public opinion, in this case, would not apply to mass public opinion in the modern sense. Rather, government functionaries, notables, the educated classes, and naval personnel would be a part of the public opinion which might be interested in Dumont d'Urville.

⁸³A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1009, Instructions, Rosamel to D'Urville dated 26 August 1837.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵D'Urville, Voyage au Pôle Sud, 1:1xiii.

⁸⁶C.R., Ac. of Sc., (1837), Part 2, p. 133. The commission simply restated many of the same instructions given to Vaillant who had just returned from a voyage around the world while commanding la Bonite.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 134-155.

⁸⁸D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, 1:1xxvi. In his will, made aboard the Astrolabe 20 August 1839, d'Urville left his head to M. Dumoutier so that it could serve as the "subject of phrenological studies." Personnel Dossiers, Archives de la Marine.

⁸⁹D'Urville, Voyage au Pole Sud, 10:181. D'Urville to Minister of Marine, 19 February 1840 from Hobart-Town aboard the Astrolabe; ibid., 2:160.

⁹⁰Ibid., 8:138.

⁹¹See issues dated 2 August 1838; 11 November 1838; and 18 November 1840.

⁹²The most interesting thing about the scientific results is that anthropology now seemed to be a respected science. Serres, the academician reporting on anthropological results, saw "the determination of the types of mankind" as the key for anthropology. See C.R., Ac. of Sc. 13 (1841, Part 2) p. 645-46. Beauteemps-Beaupre reported that the crew brought seventy-three maps and forty-two sketches of ports and moorings grounds. See ibid., pp. 772-776. It should be pointed out that one of the most important members of these expeditions was the ship's artists.

⁹³Issue dated 14 October 1879. D'Urville's bust was placed in the La Perouse room at the Naval Museum in the Louvre. It was executed by the sculptor Oliva from a plaster cast which had been made some years previous to d'Urville's death in 1842.

⁹⁴T. Lindsay Buick, The French at Akaroa. An Adventure in Colonization (Wellington, N. Z., 1928), title of Chapter I of this book is "A Whaler's Dream." Buick uses this title to describe Captain Jean Langlois' dream which he first conceived while serving as the skipper of a whaler in the South Seas; his dream was to colonize Akaroa. Akaroa was to be built on a fine whaling harbor, Arkaroa Harbor, situated on the Banks Peninsula, South Island, New Zealand. When Langlois returned to France, he contacted friends who attempted to persuade the government to sponsor them, but they failed. The Duke Decazes eventually

interested Nanto-Bordelaise entrepreneurs in the project and plans were well along the way when the French learned that the British had already secretly occupied the area. It should be emphasized that the French were on very shaky grounds in the first place since Langlois claimed to have purchased the site from natives who owned the whole peninsula--or at least he thought they did. They did not own the land in all probability, and the purchase of the peninsula had never been ratified by the government when Langlois proposed his scheme. See Buick, The French at Akaroa, pp. 4-15; for Louis-Philippe's interest, see *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-30; Langlois first took his plans to the Marquis de Las Marismas Aguado, a personal friend of Marshal Soult, President of the Council of Ministers, and a friend of other high officials. He, in turn, introduced Langlois to Admiral Duperré, Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-30; Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 449-450.

⁹⁸ Buick, The French at Akaroa, p. 50; Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 453. Faivre cites A. N., Mar GG² 50, correspondence between Decazes and Lavaud, dated 30 December 1839, 29 January and 26 February, 1830 on which he bases his conclusions. I have examined documents in Mar BB 1010, 1011, and 1012 which contain scattered correspondence received by the principals in the Akaroan affair, but I have found little evidence of Decazes' relationship with Louis-Philippe. Still, the documents cited by Faivre are convincing and I believe that his argument is correct. It is also worth noting that Article 11 of the formal compact between Louis-Philippe's government and the Nanto-Bordelaise company contained terms which stipulated that once the company established its first settlement, it would "cede to the Crown of France 1/4 of all lands" acquired and that the Crown would have the right to "erect forts or any other kind of building useful for its service." See A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Nouvelle Zélande 1:320-324.

⁹⁹ Buick, The French at Akaroa, pp. 30-34. Duke Élie Decazes, founder of the metallurgical firm, "Forges de Decazeville," was a native of the Gironde with important business connections. He was also a former president of the Geographical Society, and was Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in France. Jean Langlois was also a Freemason and, no doubt, this connection accounts for

his freedom of contact with Decazes, a grand notable. See Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 448-449; Félix Ponteil, L'Eveil de nationalités, p. 635; Larousse, Grand dictionnaire, s.v., Decazes (Élie, duc).

¹⁰⁰ Buick, The French at Akaroa, p. 41, concludes that it was at the personal instigation of the king that the government agreed to provide naval protection for the company and its sixty-plus immigrant bound for Akaroa. Moreover, he believes that the company's plan to colonize Akaroa was a scheme for profit "justified by a veneer of colonization and patriotism." Ibid., p. 231. He is also convinced that this was to be the first of many such settlements and that they would have followed immediately had the first been a success. For Faivre's assessment, see note 98, this chapter.

¹⁰¹ Decazes held discussions with the government in November, 1839, concerning a compromise agreement between the company he represented and the government, Baron Duperre, Minister of the Navy and Colonies, appointed a commission consisting of three naval officers: Captains De Petit-Thouars, Cécille, and Roy. This commission signed an agreement which was approved by Louis-Philippe, Soult, Duperre, and Cunin-Gridaine, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. Both Decazes and Cunin-Gridaine were past presidents of the Geographical Society and both espoused French expansionism. See A.A.E., Mém. et Doc., Nouvelle Zélande 1:320-324. It is interesting to note that one of the investors in the Nanto-Bordelaise company was Balguerie and Company of Bordeaux, one of the most aggressive commercial houses during the Restoration. See A.N., Mar BB⁴ 1012 and also Chapter II, this dissertation.

¹⁰² Buick, The French at Akaroa, pp. 69-70.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 257-258.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 253.

CHAPTER VII

¹ Ponteil, L'Eveil des Nationalités, p. 536.

² Hahn, The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution, pp. 90-91.

³ Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, trans. Stanley Godman in collaboration with the author. 2 vols.

(new York, 1951), 2:721. This quotation was given by Hauser but he does not cite his source.

⁴Albert L. Guérard, France: A Modern History, (Ann Arbor, 1959), pp. 289-290.

⁵Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 440.

⁶Schefer, La politique coloniale, pp. 1-27.

⁷A good example of a man who travelled on private business terms but who requested instructions is M. Louis Duplessis who returned to Texas in 1848 where he managed a large commercial establishment. See C.R., Ac. of Sc. 27, (1838, Part 2), pp. 42-46; another example is M. Charles Texier who was ordered by the Ministry of Public Instruction to survey the Propontide and the east coast of Turkey (1834-36), see ibid., 2 (1838, Part 1), pp. 277-281.

⁸Archives de la Marine. Personnel dossier for Joseph Paul Gaimard, Surgeon, First Class.

⁹Paul Gaimard, ed., Voyage de la commission scientifique du nord en Scandinavie, en Laponie, au Spitzberg et aux Féroë, pendant les années 1838, 1839, et 1840 sur la corvette "la Recherche", 18 vols. Xavier Marmier wrote Relation du voyage, vols. 17 and 18 of this work. See Marmier, Relation, 17:1-3.

¹⁰C.R., Ac. of Ac., 11, (1840, Part 2): 186-195.

¹¹Marmier, Relation, 17:6.

¹²See supra, note 4, Chapter IV citing Raffenet, Nouveau voyage, 2:26.

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