**The Settler Colonial Ideal in Nineteenth-Century France: From Revolutionary Shipwreck to Settler Colonial Shores.[[1]](#footnote-2)\*[[2]](#footnote-3)\***

In 1863, in an attempt to revive the fortunes of the family from whom he had been separated for nearly twenty years, the Frenchman, François Raynal, set sail from Sydney, Australia on a seal-hunting and mineral-prospecting expedition. Wrecked on the Auckland Islands (Motu Maha) – over 450 kilometers south of Aotearoa New Zealand’s South Island (Te Waipounamu) – in January 1864, Raynal and his four European and American travel companions endured twenty months as castaways. As time wore on, they built a home, wrote a constitution and elected a leader. Against all odds the men survived their ordeal and were eventually rescued by Captain Cross, a settler on Stewart Island (Rakiura), and his Māori neighbors, whose names Raynal did not record in his later account of the experience.

Published in 1869 in the journal *Le Tour du monde*, and in full by Hachette in the last months of the Second Empire,Raynal’s account was praised by journalists as a tale of the triumph of faith and human ingenuity over the calamitous forces of nature, winning the prix Montyon of the Académie française for its contribution to the moral elevation of readers.[[3]](#footnote-4) The work outlived the pious modernities of the Second Empire and Moral Order, maintaining its appeal for readers under an anti-clerical republican regime. By 1895, Raynal’s account was in its seventh edition, and reprints continued to appear in the years before the First World War.[[4]](#footnote-5) Refashioned by the writer Jules Verne, moreover, the account provided a principal source of inspiration for the novel, *L’Île mystérieuse*, itself already in its twenty-fifth edition by 1881, and reprinted throughout the period.[[5]](#footnote-6)

Raynal dedicated his emotional account to his mother:

“Mother, be comforted, dry your tears, leave behind your mourning clothes […] Against all hope, your son has returned.”[[6]](#footnote-7)

This article interrogates the notion of filial return, situating Raynal’s account in relation to a series of French castaway testimonies that explored the possibilities for post-revolutionary social reconstruction in the uninhabited and settler colonial spaces of European empires. These texts, the article argues, contributed to the elaboration of a settler colonial ideal which revived French confidence in the ability of white male bodies to restore political, social and emotional order following cycles of revolutionary violence. While the settler colonial ideal responded to the specific instabilities of post-revolutionary France – notably the crisis in paternal authority initiated by the Revolution – it was constructed across empires, through the interaction of French shipwreck survivors with the sailors, administrators and settlers of the British Empire, and wider “Anglo-World,” as defined by James Belich.[[7]](#footnote-8) Reaching its most confident expression in the 1860s, in conjunction with criticism of Napoleon III’s Arab Kingdom policy in Algeria, opposition to penal colonization in New Caledonia (Kanaky), and the demographic decline of Indigenous peoples in various regions of the world, the settler colonial ideal was strong enough to endure the realities of French settler colonial underdevelopment, underpinning the dominant models of white masculinity that persisted into the twentieth century.

The uninhabited and settler colonial territories of nineteenth-century European empires were linked in imperialist imaginaries by what Patrick Wolfe identifies as the exterminatory logic of settlement, which anticipated the disappearance of Indigenous peoples from lands settled by Europeans.[[8]](#footnote-9) The testimonies of French shipwreck survivors in these spaces of empire - much like the child novels and family melodramas analyzed by Lynn Hunt - offered nineteenth-century writers and readers “a way of thinking about the problem of regenerating society,” following the French Revolution. As Hunt explains, the execution of the former King destabilized dominant political imaginaries according to which the monarch embodied paternal authority, leading to a protracted struggle across the century as French people sought to restore a balance between despotic paternal authority, and disorderly fraternal freedom.[[9]](#footnote-10) As monarchies, republics and empires rose and fell, the testimonies of castaways, who were forced to reconstruct social relations in the wake of disaster, engaged with these wider questions.

The gendered nature of French seafaring in the era, and the context of imperialist expansion in which many shipwrecks took place, further framed this question in gendered and racialized terms. Authorized forms of mobility across empires, as Jennifer Boittin demonstrates, were long circumscribed by these intersecting factors, provoking a strategy of “passionate mobility” amongst independently mobile women of the twentieth century, whose movements traced affective responses to an imposed fixity.[[10]](#footnote-11) Castaway narratives contributed to the legitimization and delegitimization of forms of mobility through the construction of gendered and racialized communities of sentiment. In consistently emphasizing the suffering and solidarity of white men across lines of class and nationality, castaway testimonies presented settler colonial space as an “emotional refuge” within a nineteenth-century “emotional regime” that, according to William Reddy, imposed increasing restrictions on the expression of the passions.[[11]](#footnote-12) In these spaces of refuge, the expression of white male suffering encouraged the rehabilitation of compassionate masculine authority, and promised to restore the lost balance to French political life. Raynal’s return to France not as an authoritative father, but as a loving son, expressed increasing confidence in a settler colonial ideal that was paternalist though not directly paternal.

The channeling of revolutionary passion into empire building has been noted by historians, who have described how the ostensible moral victory of abolition – first in 1794 and then in 1848 - legitimized the civilizing mission of the Third Republic.[[12]](#footnote-13) Moral and affective justifications for colonial expansion also motivated monarchists, as early to mid-century claims to civilized modernity were increasingly articulated in terms of “amity” amongst Christian kin.[[13]](#footnote-14) As Matt Matsuda argues, across the century, “the most compelling of civilizing narratives was that which reconfigured possession into passion, and drew the legacies of sentimentalism into the age of the nation: imperialism registered in languages of *love*.”[[14]](#footnote-15) The affective dynamics of empire building, as Edward Berenson observes, were also highly gendered, as the nineteenth-century concern for manly self-discipline led to a preference for “peaceful conquerors.”[[15]](#footnote-16) Gendered affective dynamics also framed settlement within the French colonial empire, shaping settlers’ processes of political and cultural identification in Algeria, as well as the attempts of French authorities to intervene in these processes through, for example, the medical and political management of settler expressions of nostalgia.[[16]](#footnote-17)

The failure of French settler colonies, in comparison to the durable establishment of autonomous white dominions across the British Empire, has, however, obscured the significance of what Belich has described as the “settler revolution” to French thinking about the relationship between political authority, empire and race in the nineteenth century.[[17]](#footnote-18) The question of how French imperialists navigated the emerging Anglo-World, formed by the outward expansion of anglophone migrants from Europe, has received little attention from historians. In parallel, histories of whiteness, focusing primarily on North America and the dominions of the British Empire, have had little to say about the role of other European empires, and the transimperial construction of racial thought.[[18]](#footnote-19) Examining interactions between travelers across the British and French colonial empires not only addresses this oversight, but contributes to the study of whiteness in the French context, where, as Mathilde Cohen and Sarah Mazouz explain, significant ideological restrictions continue to limit the study of race.[[19]](#footnote-20) Whiteness, these scholars argue, must also be understood in relation to the practice of French colonialism and the legacies of slavery in the Francophone world.[[20]](#footnote-21) What Françoise Vergès refers to as the conceptualization of the French nation as “an ideal parent associated with whiteness and Europe” occurred across the nineteenth century, under monarchical, imperial and republican regimes, and in relation to other imperial powers.[[21]](#footnote-22) This article serves to examine some of the interactions between French historical actors and the Anglo-World, with the aim of furthering historical understanding of racial thought in the French colonial empire, and the transimperial construction of whiteness.

It was in observing the rise of the Anglo-World that French thinkers evaluated their own colonial ventures, particularly in the context of violent military rule in Algeria from 1830 to 1870, and penal colonization in New Caledonia (Kanaky) from 1864. In this context, economists and political writers including Alexis de Tocqueville, Jules Duval and Lucien-Anatole Prévost-Paradol increasingly championed settlement as the most compassionate form of colonial rule.[[22]](#footnote-23) Although, as Jennifer Pitts notes, Tocqueville deplored American settlers’ treatment of Indigenous peoples, he accepted “a narrative of progress in which the expulsion and eventual annihilation of the indigenous people appears inevitable.”[[23]](#footnote-24) As the narrative of inevitability spread amongst European and North American thinkers in the 1850s and 1860s, carried by scientific racism and the decimation of Indigenous populations in North America, Algeria and the Pacific, settlement was increasingly viewed by liberal reformers as the most effective means of ensuring, “the exploration and exploitation of the globe,” a process which Duval defined as, “the supreme mission of humanity on Earth.”[[24]](#footnote-25)

Frustrated by the obstacles to development in French colonies, Duval and others advocated for free settlement as a means to restore the imbalance of paternal authority and fraternal freedom that had persisted since the Revolution. The restoration offered by settlement was not that of the autocratic monarch, but of the compassionate, paternalist citizen engaged in the guidance of offspring societies that would themselves accede to self-government, and racial reproduction. A colonizing people was, Duval explained, “like a man whose full education and virile pursuits have honed all his faculties to the greatest possible degree: his role in the world is a measure of his superiority.”[[25]](#footnote-26) The familial model of settler colonialism advanced by French settlers and their champions in the 1860s was thus predicated on what Tyler Stovall has referred to as “white freedom,” or “the belief (and practice) that freedom is central to white racial identity, and that only white people can or should be free.”[[26]](#footnote-27) Settler self-government, Duval insisted, did not distance the colonial offspring society from its metropolitan parent, but produced, “enduring bonds of community based on affection, interest and habit.”[[27]](#footnote-28)

The French attraction to settler colonial freedom anchored in forms of compassionate paternalism is apparent in the accounts of shipwreck survivors who traversed the British Empire and wider Anglo-World. Maritime empires, as Carl Schmitt observes, sought to bring order to the seemingly disorderly freedom of the lawless sea: the resulting order was, as Stovall argues, inherently racialized.[[28]](#footnote-29) The accounts of French shipwreck survivors made apparent the emotional dynamics of this process, linking the struggle for white freedom on the seas to the racialization of suffering and compassion. Shipwreck narratives in the Western tradition, notes Carl Thompson, are marked by “a sense of danger, crisis, suffering,” as well as an “association between shipwreck and processes of (positive) transformation and renewal.”[[29]](#footnote-30) Shipwreck, adds Jennifer Oliver, creates meaning in texts in ways that are historically and culturally specific.[[30]](#footnote-31) In the nineteenth-century accounts produced as French people struggled to stabilize domestic politics and reconfigure colonial relationships, authors belied concerns about paternal authority, and interrogated the capacity of white male bodies to restore order. They indicate the extent to which the “desire for the coast,” which Alain Corbin sees emerging in the mid-nineteenth century, was also driven by specific desires for settler colonial shores, aroused by contemplation of the emergent Anglo-World, and hope for political regeneration.[[31]](#footnote-32) Through the explicit *mise en scène* of the risks of maritime exploration compensated by the rewards of lands made safe by white men, castaway narratives sustained these desires. Their analysis suggests the importance of broadening what Frances Steel has described as the “terracentric” horizons of historians of empire, and recognizing the role of the sea in the affective dynamics of colonial expansion, and in settler colonial attachments to the land.[[32]](#footnote-33)

The texts analyzed in this article form part of what Thompson describes as the “immensely popular” genre of “real-life shipwreck accounts.”[[33]](#footnote-34) They nevertheless share many of the tropes of the widely-read literary Robinsonades of the same era, in particular an appeal not only to God, but to man’s own ingenuity for his salvation.[[34]](#footnote-35) The celebration of the suffering and compassion of white bodies, beyond boundaries of class or imperialist rivalry, reflected the operation of whiteness not only as a wage, but as what Ella Myers describes, following W.E.B. Du Bois’s formulation of whiteness as religion, as “an all-encompassing, lived faith.”[[35]](#footnote-36) The circulation of recurring tropes gave substance to a racialized settler colonial ideal, constituting an affective infrastructure of whiteness. In her study of narrative as emotional practice in the British Empire, Jane Lydon notes how settler narratives encouraged metropolitan readers to identify with frontier experience: “these interpretive schemes,” she observes, “define some lives as more distinctly human than others, telling readers who belongs within a shared community and is therefore worthy of concern.”[[36]](#footnote-37) In a similar fashion, the castaway testimonies encouraged their readers to feel compassion for white shipwreck survivors, and pity, if not indifference, towards Indigenous people. The reader found themself in the position of the spectator of shipwreck as studied by Hans Blumenberg: at one with the shipwrecked, carried not only by “the demiurgical, Robinson Crusoe longing of the modern age,” but by the upswell of racialized compassion that this longing set in motion.[[37]](#footnote-38)

The affective infrastructure of castaway testimony not only supported the development, across the century, of physical infrastructures for shipwreck prevention and relief but was itself supported by the developing technologies of the mass press.[[38]](#footnote-39) With the progressive liberalization of the press in France from the late 1860s, and under the Third Republic, newspapers brought the survivors’ testimonies to a greater number of readers as sensationalist reports lamented the loss of white lives at sea. Pre-existing tropes were more widely diffused than ever before, as sea travel itself transformed, with steam-powered commercial liners instigating “a revolution in deep-ocean transport.”[[39]](#footnote-40) Rising numbers of white women and children on sea voyages, and the concerns for their safety engendered by frequent maritime disasters, served to reinforce the settler colonial ideal, offering further possibilities for the narration of white male heroism. These narratives withstood the failures of French settler colonies, providing an emotional anchor and a moral compass for French masculinity even as the republican government abandoned further settlement projects in Algeria and New Caledonia (Kanaky).

Whiteness, notes Bill Schwartz, did not come to be consciously inhabited by the occupants of the metropole until stories of the frontier, “where white lives could be more fully realized than at home,” came to circulate freely across imperial space.[[40]](#footnote-41) The inter-imperial crossings of castaways suggest that racial imaginaries were not constrained by national frames: narratives were generated by French people’s encounters with territories of the British Empire and wider Anglo-World, and served to shape ideas across empires. These points of inter-imperial contact proved crucial to the conceptualization of race in France, and suggest the racial foundations of later forms of Franco-British co-imperialism.[[41]](#footnote-42) The tenets of transimperial whiteness, as revealed in shipwreck testimonies, were well established by the time Raynal published his account in 1869-1870. The first section of this article traces the elaboration of these tenets in a range of published testimonies preceding Raynal’s account. The second section examines what became of the settler colonial ideal in France in the absence of prosperous settler colonies on the British model, finding its confident assertion in press reports on the major sea disasters of the late nineteenth century.

The rise of the settler colonial ideal

If colonial settlement, as Pernille Røge demonstrates, had been central to the economic and political strategies advocated by the Economistes of the Ancien Regime and their revolutionary followers, it fell from favor in the first years of the nineteenth century as Napoleon Bonaparte resurrected the structures of a mercantilist colonial system based on the labor of enslaved people.[[42]](#footnote-43) Subsequent decades, argues David Todd, were characterized by informal imperialism implemented by elites who espoused counter-revolutionary values. While these elites sometimes advocated limited colonial settlement, they eschewed the larger-scale operations on which contemporary British and American expansion depended, for reasons at once demographic, strategic and ideological.[[43]](#footnote-44) The economic and commercial structures of a protectionist empire in which transnational lending took precedence over investment in colonial infrastructure further deterred widespread settlement.[[44]](#footnote-45)

For French reformers of the early nineteenth century, including Claude Henri de Saint-Simon and those he inspired, post-revolutionary social inequalities were inextricably tied to the failure of the nation to expand its influence overseas. According to Saint-Simon and his collaborators, economic stability was among the ‘“numerous shipwrecks of the Revolution,”’ which had left French workers as castaways in their own land:

“He has survived the shipwreck, *he has reached land*! But behind him rages an untamed sea which seems ever ready to submerge his shores, and which would not spare even the field claimed through the most legitimate labor.”[[45]](#footnote-46)

According to Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry, writing in 1817, the best “means of avoiding a second revolution in France,” was to address social inequality and restore national pride through “a political link" with England.[[46]](#footnote-47) This alliance, the authors anticipated, would allow France, “in its relations with the rest of the globe, to share all the advantages enjoyed by England,” bringing prosperity to all and obviating social tensions. In particular, “the empire of the sea,” through which England exercised direct domination of Asia and Africa, and exterted “the most widespread, significant and striking influence on the rest of the human species,” would “be shared with the French nation, expanding commerce, building industry and opening navigation.”[[47]](#footnote-48) British liberals, Saint-Simon and Thierry believed, would save French revolutionary castaways, and restore national and global order through a shared civilizing mission.

The testimonies of actual castaways who had been shipwrecked during the Restoration bore out these hopes of salvation by the British, and reflected the particular frustrations of those who believed in the civilizing effects of settlement. Survivors of the infamous wreck of the *Méduse* - lost in 1816 while transporting French soldiers and administrators to Senegal, restored to France by Britain - criticized figures of French authority, comparing them with British men, whom, in the context of abolitionism, were presented as examples of compassionate masculinity.[[48]](#footnote-49) Admiration for this displaced form of authority reflected a concern to substitute the paternalist for the paternal. Some early testimonies presented compassion as a universal quality to which people in colonized territories might, if shown benevolent paternalism, likewise aspire. As settler expansion intensified, however, the narration of shipwreck racialized compassion as a property of whiteness, still attainable for the French, but beyond the grasp of autochthonous or enslaved people. Following the invasion of Algiers in 1830, compassion was identified by French shipwreck survivors as an identifying feature of peoples engaged in the settler revolution.

Much has already been written about the *Méduse*, its terrible raft – as depicted in the 1819 work of Théodore Géricault – and the ensuing political scandal.[[49]](#footnote-50) While Doris Kadish has analyzed the abolitionist critique of survivors, and identified the concern with paternal authority in the account of Charlotte Dard, the role of testimonies in the transimperial construction of whiteness has not yet been noted.[[50]](#footnote-51) The comparison repeatedly drawn by Dard between the “inhumanity” of French officials, and the “virtuous” British officials who “generously” cared for her family, served not only to underline her concern for French masculine authority, but revealed her belief that an apparently compassionate British model was to be emulated.[[51]](#footnote-52) The British soldiers and administrators that feature in her account are presented as not only kind to the shipwreck survivors, but to Arab and African people. The first British man Dard encounters is Mr. Carnet, whom she sees riding across the desert with a group of nomads, in “Arab clothing.’[[52]](#footnote-53) The initial confusion – for Dard as for the reader - surrounding Carnet’s racial identity points towards a feature of the account that would be lost in later shipwreck testimonies: the universality of compassion. During their trek across the desert, Muslim nomads become the shipwreck survivors’ “protectors and friends.”[[53]](#footnote-54) “The Moor Amet” sheds tears when learning of the shipwreck, showing his “compassionate and generous” nature.[[54]](#footnote-55) For Dard, the care taken of her by the enslaved African man, Etienne, is also motivated by an emotional connection, and she looks to him as a benevolent protector in her own father’s absence.[[55]](#footnote-56)

While Dard’s account, written as a critique of slave labor and the unfeeling regime that tolerated it, presented settler colonial space as a setting for the reconstruction of compassionate paternalism, it did not draw an exclusive link between white bodies and compassion. This perspective found its parallel in Géricault’s composition, in which, as Ken Lum observes, “the grouping of [black and white] bodies on the raft can be read unitarily as a community.”[[56]](#footnote-57)

A painting of people on a boat

Description automatically generated

Figure 1: Théodore Géricault, *Le radeau de la Méduse*, 1818-1819, (oil on canvas; 4.91m x 7.16m; Musée du Louvre).

In Dard’s account, white bodies, when separated from this community, appear as threatening in ways similar to those identified by Toni Morrison in her classic analysis of the early settler colonial literature of the United States.[[57]](#footnote-58) Having been “combed, washed, cleaned and pomaded by black maids,” in the home of a British family in Saint-Louis, Dard dons clean white clothes, and is immediately struck by the contrast with her tanned skin; becoming white destabilizes Dard more than the trauma of shipwreck itself, and she remarks, “amidst all our misfortunes, my soul had retained all its strength; but this sudden change of situation affected me so much that I thought I would lose my intellectual faculties.”[[58]](#footnote-59)

Subsequent shipwreck testimonies followed Dard’s admiration for British paternalism, but indicated changing relationships to whiteness. In 1825, the waters around the sub-Antarctic Crozet Islands claimed the *Aventure*, which had set out on a seal-hunting mission from Mauritius – a territory which had passed from French to British control during the Napoleonic Wars. Washed up on East Island, Captain William Lesquin and six other Europeans endured seventeen months in snowy desolation. Lesquin’s account of the experience focuses on his relationship with Mr. Fotheringham, the British fishing captain, with whom he joins forces to try and subdue the “inhumanity” of the remaining crew.[[59]](#footnote-60) They succeed in establishing compassionate authority over their social inferiors following the death of one of the men, and the collective realization of a need for solidarity in the face of existential threat.[[60]](#footnote-61) Following the death, observed Lesquin, the crew “strongly implored us to return to live with them, with such beautiful promises of deference and respect, that we could not help but condescend to their desires.”[[61]](#footnote-62)

Compassionate authority was exemplified for Lesquin by British Captain Duncan, who welcomed the castaways aboard his ship with “all possible humanity.” His kindness, Lesquin felt, was all the more striking given the almost inhuman appearance of the castaways: “our dirty faces, our long beards, and the animal skins which covered us,” he feared, “would seem to deprive us of our right to call ourselves men.”[[62]](#footnote-63) The experience of Gaud Housite, second in command of the *Nathalie*, which sank off the coast of Newfoundland in 1826, echoed that of Lesquin. Having spent days stranded on drift ice, Houiste and two compatriots “barely maintained a human form.”[[63]](#footnote-64) Yet the “generous” Captain Witheway looked after the men, setting an example for his crew, “those good Englishmen,” who “wept like children” on finding the French survivors.[[64]](#footnote-65) The paternalism of the British captain was emphasized in Houiste’s account by his description of the “touching sensitivity” of the captain’s wife, whose separate but complementary presence established gendered family dynamics aboard the British vessel.[[65]](#footnote-66) As in Dard’s testimony, the actions of the British captain were juxtaposed with the “indifference” of French counterparts who refused to take Houiste aboard. These men had, Houiste lamented, “deadened in their hearts that very natural and very French sentiment, which brings man to empathize with the suffering of his fellow men.”[[66]](#footnote-67) Despite this experience, Houiste still anticipated the rehabilitation of his countrymen, and sought to set an example. According to the paratext of an 1852 re-edition of his testimony, Houiste succeeded in winning the admiration of the men he had rescued, who “honored him as the most cherished and respected father.”[[67]](#footnote-68)

If testimonies published in the era of post-revolutionary disappointment concurred in their representation of British men as agents of compassion, and their representation of French men as capable of being spurred to such sentiments, they disagreed about the universal quality of this emotion. The examples of indigenous kindness foregrounded by Dard were absent in the testimonies of Lesquin and Houiste, whose ships were lost, respectively, off the uninhabited Crozet Islands, and Newfoundland, where the extinction of the Beothuk Indians was reported just three years after the loss of the *Nathalie*.[[68]](#footnote-69) In these conditions, the men’s sense of whiteness was transformed. While both men, castaway in icy environments, made frequent reference to the oppressive nature of the empty, white landscapes, they emphasized the ways in which they overcame the hostile climate, incorporating it into their survival. Lesquin’s escape from a snowdrift, which almost buried him alive, marked a new engagement with his environment and a shift towards attempts to master its resources.[[69]](#footnote-70) Houiste similarly turned the desolate environment to his advantage, using small blocks of sea ice as rafts to bring himself and his compatriots to shore.[[70]](#footnote-71)

A further testimony, published in 1833, following the French invasion of Algiers, highlights a growing uncertainty surrounding the universality of compassion. In these years, as Jennifer Session explains, colonial expansion provided a framework for “a new model of constitutional kingship” in which Louis-Philippe claimed sovereignty as the patriarch of a dynasty fighting to bring civilization to North Africa. This claim, Sessions shows, was increasingly contested by the French people, who reframed colonial expansion as a project of “patriotic fraternity,” in which the suffering of ordinary soldiers justified the civilian settlement of the conquered territory.[[71]](#footnote-72) If this conflict helped legitimize the project of colonial expansion, it also grounded that legitimacy in familial models of authority that gave racialized definition to suffering and compassion. These changing terms of reference were evident in Jules Lecomte’s account of the wreck of the Franco-American whaling vessel, the *Woodrop-Simms*, off the coast of Angola in 1832. Lecomte, an experienced sea captain and author of maritime adventure novels, was well placed to mediate between the French survivors of the wreck - ship’s surgeon, L. de St-Mars, and sailor Stanislas Billard – and the reading public. He had, he claimed, himself, “intensely empathized with the misfortune” of the survivors.[[72]](#footnote-73)

Like earlier accounts, that of Lecomte emphasized the relationship between the French survivors and their anglophone counterparts. St-Mars and the American Captain Swain worked together to ensure the survival of the men. Leaving “a detailed account of the shipwreck […] in French and in English,” in a bottle tied to a flagpole, the men set out for the Portuguese settlement of Port Alexander.[[73]](#footnote-74) Along the way the survivors were assisted by local African people. This assistance, however, was not appreciated, provoking fear and suspicion.[[74]](#footnote-75) Lecomte repeatedly emphasized the incomprehensibility of African expressions of emotion, which he presented as an obstacle to any wider community of sentiment.[[75]](#footnote-76) Their interlocutors’ attempts to communicate elicited only "disappointment at finding nothing useful, and being able to make nothing of these men.” What could such men possibly offer them, the survivors wondered, when – naked apart from animal skins – they seemed barely to resemble men at all?[[76]](#footnote-77) In a reversal of the scenes in which Lesquin and Houiste were recognized as men despite their supposedly inhuman appearance, the shipwreck survivors themselves failed to acknowledge Africans as fellow men.

Later in the text, when an African guide falls from a cliff into the sea, the fleeting possibility of compassion is marked by the whitening of his body in the foam, but is ultimately foreclosed by his demise and the necessity of white survival:

He let go of the rocks to which he desperately clung and we glimpsed his black body rolling in the white foam… then a shout rising above the noise of the waves to the poor men still hanging over the abyss […] …A few minutes of indescribable dread passed… […] Then the survival instinct kicked in.[[77]](#footnote-78)

The racialization of compassion continued in the shipwreck testimonies published following the abolition of slavery across the French colonial empire in 1848. Abolition, coinciding with the defeat of Abd al-Qadir in Algeria, brought renewed debate about settlement. For its champions, the fears that Tocqueville had expressed in the 1840s regarding the mistreatment of Indigenous peoples were more than amply compensated by the benefits, identified by the same author, of national renewal.[[78]](#footnote-79) It was on this basis, as well as that of the principle of free labor, argued Duval in 1858, following French occupation of part of the Indochinese peninsula, that schemes proposing the development of Algeria by contracted Asian laborers should be met with the “most absolute refusal.”[[79]](#footnote-80) The introduction of an alien workforce, “destined to live outside of family and of property,” could only harm social cohesion in the colony, as well as the proper familial bond between the colony and the metropole. Instead, Duval insisted, the migration of European peoples with similar models of family and inheritance to those of the French should be encouraged.[[80]](#footnote-81)

Finding these objectives threatened by Napoleon III’s self-presentation as benevolent father to Muslim and Jewish communities in Algeria, supporters of settlement insisted on the emotional and political stability inherent in a model of colonial expansion premised on racial reproduction through white settlement.[[81]](#footnote-82) According to Duval, the founding of colonies of settlement not only proved the fertility of the parent civilization, but constituted the most reliable form of colonial organization, minimizing the use of force and encouraging mutual understanding between parent and offspring societies.[[82]](#footnote-83) By founding settler colonies in the supposedly uncivilized spaces of the earth, a people marked their durable victory over nature, entering into the dynamic of human history.[[83]](#footnote-84) This belief underpinned what Margaret Cook Andersen identifies, in later decades, as “the myth of the prolific settler,” which anticipated the longevity of the parent civilization through the future reproduction of offspring societies themselves.[[84]](#footnote-85)

Racial reproduction through settlement allowed for the reconceptualization of the family and the State as structures that simultaneously allowed paternal authority and fraternal freedom. In pointing to self-governing settler colonies, such as in Canada and Australia, essayists admired how the authority of the parent civilization was mitigated by the considerable autonomy of the offspring societies. In these settler colonial families, writers noted, bonds of blood produced feelings of mutual affection that could withstand the loosening of administrative ties. Neither the autonomy of these colonies, nor indeed the independence of the United States, suggested Prévost-Paradol, had divided “the Anglo-Saxon race”; rather, this race had been strengthened by possibilities for global domination brought by the freedom of the offspring.[[85]](#footnote-86) Such views, shared by Duval, underpinned support for regional “*self-government*” in France and its Algerian territories.[[86]](#footnote-87)

Storm and shipwreck loomed large for Duval and Prevost-Paradol as metaphors for the failure of white civilization, should paternalist government and settler colonial autonomy not be prioritized. In a democracy, observed Prevost-Paradol, authority "can only be passed on in an irregular fashion, amidst storms”; the storm was to be weathered if the government’s “protection” was to be enjoyed by all citizens, rather than just a privileged elite.[[87]](#footnote-88) Duval went further, comparing the Sahara desert to an “ocean of sand, dotted with islands that are sometimes isolated, sometimes grouped in archipelagos, amongst which fleets of caravans weigh anchor, navigating along the coast, from cape to cape, or on a long haul across the Sahara to Sudan, between reefs of sand and the dangers of storms, escaping shipwreck only to fall into the hands of pirates: the Tuareg.”[[88]](#footnote-89) The “free occupation of settlers on their lands,” argued Duval, would allow the safe navigation of this “veritable Pacific ocean,” opening trade routes and subduing a nomadic people whose “tepid” relationship with Islam afforded them French “indulgence, if not yet sympathy.”[[89]](#footnote-90)

These views converged with those expressed by many British and American thinkers who subscribed to racial explanations of historical change.[[90]](#footnote-91) Their expression by French essayists in the 1860s and 1870s was lent urgency by the contemporaneous process in Britain and the United States of the “fracturing of whiteness into a hierarchy of plural and scientifically determined white races,” evaluated, as Matthew Frye Jacobson explains, according to their perceived “fitness for self-government.”[[91]](#footnote-92) Unlike their anglophone peers, who vaunted the unique capacities of Anglo-Saxon peoples, however, French essayists made the case for a more expansive definition of a civilizing white race. Racial reproduction, underlined Prévost-Paradol, had led to “Anglo-Saxon” domination of Oceania and the Americas; the same process might yet confirm French domination in North Africa.[[92]](#footnote-93)

For proponents of colonial expansion in the 1860s, therefore, settlement held the promise of regenerating masculine authority through paternalist racial reproduction. It had been made possible by the apparent pacification of Algeria, and the annexation of New Caledonia (Kanaky) in 1853. Calling on the Emperor to grant the greatest possible administrative freedom to French settlers across the colonial empire, the essayist Henri de Suckau invoked the familial analogy to link settler autonomy to racial regeneration. In keeping too tight a hold on colonial affairs, Suckau claimed, the government risked raising “one of those families in which the children are sheltered and spoiled, making them incapable of taking care of themselves in the outside world, or of living anywhere but at home.”[[93]](#footnote-94) Endowed with greater freedom, and equipped with the natural intelligence of the white man, however, the “gallic race” would prove itself as a pioneer of civilization. In these conditions, suggested Suckau, Frenchmen overseas would attain the same ‘“whiteness of complexion”’ that signified the vigor of the Anglo-Saxon. [[94]](#footnote-95)

Suckau’s contribution indicates ways in which contemporary thinking on settler autonomy was informed by longer-term narratives about the reconstruction of family relations. In 1869, one year before presenting his study of “initiative and liberty in matters of colonization,” Suckau had published a French translation of *The Swiss Family Robinson*, a tale of a family shipwrecked on a journey to Australia, in which a father guides his sons to autonomy.[[95]](#footnote-96) Johann Wyss’s 1812 novel had first been translated into French immediately following its publication, with three new editions appearing before 1820.[[96]](#footnote-97) The annexation of New Caledonia (Kanaky), in 1853, inspired related titles.[[97]](#footnote-98) Re-editions and imaginative updates regularly appeared thereafter, indicating the popularity of a tale described by literary scholar, Jacques Dubois, as a “paternal novel and a paternalist novel.”[[98]](#footnote-99) If, for Dubois, Wyss’s original work was concerned with, “questions of the good government of society rather than those of dominating the globe,” Suckau’s interest in offering yet another translation of the novel suggests that by the 1860s these questions, and those of paternal authority, had become linked in the political imaginary.[[99]](#footnote-100) He offered his interpretation less as a translation than as an “imitation,” replacing lengthy passages with a “more vivid and animated dramatic form” that he felt better corresponded to the sensibilities of the modern reader. Taking it upon himself to “rectify some slight scientific errors, replace certain descriptions, scenes and episodes,” Suckau offered an active translation that mirrored the message of creative autonomy he admired in the original text.[[100]](#footnote-101) For the translator, Wyss’s work was a testimony to the very qualities encouraged by settlement: “religious devotion, morality and science allied with a love of family life and the contemplation of the admirable works of nature.”[[101]](#footnote-102)

These same qualities were celebrated in Raynal’s account of his experience as a castaway on the Auckland Islands (Motu Maha). Following the sinking of the *Grafton*, Raynal and his companions found themselves not only fighting for survival, but confronting questions of social and political organization. “Assuredly,” recalled Raynal, “since the shipwreck we had lived together in union and concord, I may even say in a veritable fraternity; yet it sometimes occurred that one or the other of us would let himself be taken by a change of mood, let slip an unkind word which would naturally produce an equally sharp retort. Habits of bitterness and animosity, if they took root amongst us, would have the most disastrous consequences.”[[102]](#footnote-103) Without some form of constitution, Raynal realized, the men risked being carried away by their passions, descending to a terrible state of savagery, like the cannibal islanders who haunted his text and the wider French imaginary of the Pacific.[[103]](#footnote-104) Pacific Islanders would, it was believed, “eat the unfortunate victims of shipwreck that the storm washed up on the shore, be it their own father or mother.”[[104]](#footnote-105) Faced with this terrifying prospect, Raynal proposed a plan: “My idea was to choose amongst us not a master or a superior, but a *head of family*, who would temper the legal and unassailable authority of the magistrate with the affectionate attention of a father – or, rather, an older brother.”[[105]](#footnote-106)

British-American Captain Musgrave, the eldest of the group, was elected to this role. As “President of our little Republic,” Musgrave was expected to “maintain order and union gently, though firmly,” to arbitrate disputes, lead hunting expeditions, and make decisions according to the will of the majority. Any abuse of his authority would result in his destitution.[[106]](#footnote-107) In eschewing paternal authority for the paternalist authority of “an older brother,” the castaway community established the basis of harmonious fraternal relations. These exchanges were exemplified by the “evening school” created by the men, in which the literate instructed the illiterate, and each man taught the others his native language. “These new relations,” noted Raynal, “unified us even further; the alternate elevation and lowering of each of us in relation to the others placed us all on the same level, creating a perfect equality amongst us.”[[107]](#footnote-108)

In eliminating paternal authority, however, the community seemingly foreclosed the possibility of racial reproduction. This possibility was restored by the explicitly settler colonial formation of their egalitarian society, in which the physical and moral regeneration of white men was achieved through endogenous processes dependent not only on the absence of European women, but on the erasure of Indigenous populations. The erasure was effected in Raynal’s account through attempts to associate the castaways’ experience with the indigenization of other settler colonial societies. The castaways named their settlement “Epigwait” – a term which Musgrave claimed to have “borrowed from the language of the Red Indians of North America, meaning *shore-side* or *near big water.*”[[108]](#footnote-109) Elsewhere in the text, it was the indigenizing claims of the Pākehā that were referenced. Having built a makeshift vessel, Raynal, Musgrave and Maclaren set sail for Stewart Island (Rakiura), in the hope of raising a rescue party for the remaining men. As they approached the coast, “a beautiful scene, the ideal of a calm and happy life” appeared before them: “on the beach, a white man was walking; a large Newfoundland hound, which he stroked from time to time, walked beside him. On the threshold of a hut, a group of Māori […] talked and moved about.”[[109]](#footnote-110) The white man’s mastery of the Māori – presaged by that of his dog – was confirmed during the rescue operation, in which Captain Cross directed his compliant subalterns. Musgrave’s later encounter with Toby, a Māori chief, clarified the basis of racial authority:

He understood the superiority of these Europeans and the advantage there was for him and those of his race to show them respect, and to retain amongst them this small group of good, peaceful, virtuous men who were educated in the arts and the sciences, representatives of a civilization which was out of his grasp, but before which he bowed in naïve admiration.[[110]](#footnote-111)

Toby’s inability to grasp European civilization – including its manly virtue – indicates Raynal’s racialization of compassion as a sentiment shared exclusively amongst white men. It also frames the sentiment shown by these men towards Toby and other Māori not as compassion – shared amongst equals - but pity. In Aotearoa New Zealand, pity motivated what Damon Salesa has described as the “tender obliteration, by means of racial crossing and civilization” of Māori[[111]](#footnote-112). Captain Cross embodies this process in his marriage to “a local woman”: the ambiguity of the French designation “une femme du pays,” in this context, where she might be “white” or “native” – according to the terms otherwise used by Raynal – indicates if not her European origin, then her cultural whitening, and that of the couple’s children, by the dominant cultural and racial status of her settler husband.[[112]](#footnote-113)

Throughout his account, Raynal presented himself as the equal of Musgrave in embodying settler colonial masculinity.[[113]](#footnote-114) In many ways, Raynal suggested, he was more self-sufficient than the other men: “my companions were all experienced sailors,” he noted, “but I was the only one of us to have lived the life of a pioneer during many long years in an uncivilized land, such as the Australian interior – a tough school where you learn to count only on yourself, to get by on your own efforts, and to fight all the time against a still virgin and rebellious environment.”[[114]](#footnote-115) Through these claims Raynal presented French men as just as capable as their anglophone counterparts of transforming the world through settlement. In putting his skills to the service of his fellow shipwreck survivors, moreover, and framing his actions in racialized terms, Raynal contributed to the transimperial cultivation of white compassion.

A settler colonial ideal without settler colonies?

Following Raynal’s return to France he was praised by journalists in distinctly settler colonial terms as an example of “the energetic and enterprising race of pioneers.”[[115]](#footnote-116) As the Second Empire gave way to the Third Republic, bringing a civilian administration in Algeria, and a debate on free settlement in New Caledonia (Kanaky), many in France looked forward to the realization of the settler colonial ideal. In 1874, economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu published *La colonization chez les peoples modernes*, arguing for the further settlement of Algeria and the establishment of limited settler autonomy.[[116]](#footnote-117) Leroy-Beaulieu went on to become the leading proponent of colonial expansion under the new regime, and his book was regularly reprinted. Later editions, however, focused less on settler colonies than on colonies of commercial exploitation.[[117]](#footnote-118) In the context of fears about national depopulation, and in light of major Indigenous insurrections in Algeria and New Caledonia (Kanaky), as well as the failure of state-funded settlement schemes, a republican “civilizing mission” took shape in which white settler offspring were replaced by Indigenous surrogates, to be culturally whitened but prevented from accessing self-government. This new arrangement was expressed in later editions of Leroy-Beaulieu’s book which referred to newly-claimed possessions in Africa as “colonial embryos,” but stated that their growth would be “much slower and more drawn out” than that of “settler colonies [which] could, in a century or a century and a half, move through the stages of childhood and adolescence.”[[118]](#footnote-119)

The failure of the French to establish prosperous settler colonies on the British model, however, did not spell the end of the settler colonial ideal. The rehabilitation of the white male body across the century had instead made it possible, in the context of relative political stability, for French thinkers to conceptualize the spread of white civilization through the action of compassionate white men alone. The paternalists of the civilizing mission did not claim direct paternal authority, maintaining both freedom and compassion as privileges of whiteness, and sanctioning pity or indifference towards Indigenous and diasporic populations. The racialization of compassion, and a confidence in the ability of French men to embody it, was evident in the shipwreck testimonies of the fin de siècle. The growth of passenger travel, in conjunction with the expansion of the mass press, provided new opportunities for shipwreck survivors and journalists to narrate white compassion. The changing demographics of sea travel, however, also invited changes to the dominant narrative, as white women and children became the principal figures of suffering, while white men confirmed their paternalism in acts of protective heroism.

These tropes were evident in the reports on a series of sea disasters which befell the liners of the French *Compagnie générale transatlantique* of the end of the century. A first loss occurred in 1873, when the *Ville du Havre* was struck by a British vessel during the night on the crossing from New York to Le Havre: the press reported the loss of 108 passengers and 118 crew members.[[119]](#footnote-120) A second incident involving a company liner occurred in 1897, when the *Ville de Saint-Nazaire* sank in bad weather between New York and Fort-de-France, with all but four lives lost.[[120]](#footnote-121) One year later, the *Bourgogne* sank off the coast of Nova Scotia, struck by a British vessel whilst travelling through fog; 61 passengers and 104 crew members were saved amongst the almost 700 people aboard. The scale of the *Bourgogne* disaster led to an international outpouring of grief, as the President of the United States and dignitaries from various European countries sent their condolences to the French President.[[121]](#footnote-122) These shipwrecks once again put French sailors in contact in with their counterparts of the Anglo-World, as captains and crew from French, British and American vessels worked together in dangerous rescue operations, and plans for international accords on maritime safety and rescue were mooted.[[122]](#footnote-123)

Reactions to these shipwrecks framed the loss of the passenger liners as family dramas, emphasizing the suffering of wives who had lost husbands, mothers who had lost children, and daughters who had lost fathers, as well as that of adolescent men, who now found themselves “quite alone in the world.”[[123]](#footnote-124) A poem published in Le Havre presented the real victims of the 1873 disaster as “the poor blonde-haired orphan girl,” and the “pale, grief-stricken widows” now left to fend for themselves.[[124]](#footnote-125) A similar poem printed following the wreck of the *Ville du Saint-Nazaire* imagined a delirious woman collapsing into the arms of “the brave captain.”[[125]](#footnote-126) Press illustrations highlighted this transition of the locus of suffering, with the bodies of male castaways now largely replaced by those of white female passengers and their children, and male figures instead depicted assisting the stricken women.

A page of a book

Description automatically generated

Figure 2: “Episodes du naufrage,” *Le Monde illustré* (Paris), December 13, 1873. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

While the suffering of white men was not effaced, that of white women and children was foregrounded, as in the following image from the widely-diffused illustrated supplement of the *Petit journal*.

A painting of people lying on the ground

Description automatically generated

Figure 3: “Naufrage de ‘la Bourgogne’. – Les cadavres à l’île de Sable,” *Supplément illustré du Petit journal* (Paris), August 7, 1898. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The emphasis on the suffering of white women and children alongside that of white men not only enabled the framing of manly suffering as a form of heroic sacrifice, but confirmed the racialization of compassion. The illustration from the *Petit journal*, depicting the bodies of white men, women and children washed up on Sable Island, contrasted with Géricault’s earlier depiction of the shared suffering of black and white bodies on the infamous raft of the *Méduse*. The absence of black bodies, and the flattened composition, illustrated how the frontiers of a community of sentiment had been redrawn across the century in line with a gendered and racialized settler colonial ideal. One report on the *Ville de Saint-Nazaire* disaster briefly noted that two black men had been among those who died in a lifeboat. In contrast to other victims, however, neither their names nor their family ties were given.[[126]](#footnote-127) A second report extrapolated on this detail, imagining an unnamed “black, a humble ship reject, a poor, beaten dog” in the lifeboat of first-mate Nicolaï, finally finding his purpose as the “vigorous, strong arm, the silent actor in this Shakespearean scene, of which the first-mate was the soul, the thought and the life!”[[127]](#footnote-128) In dehumanizing black shipwreck victims these reports effaced them from the community of sentiment, and legitimized the emotional dynamics of a white civilizing mission. These dynamics would be exposed and rejected in Aimé Césaire’s later, decolonial rewriting of the Shakespearean drama, in which Prospero’s crossing from paternalism into violence against the black slave, Caliban, is met with the latter’s declaration that he will “vomit” Prospero’s “white toxin”, before he makes his escape, singing of freedom.[[128]](#footnote-129)

Within the racialized community of sentiment evoked in the press reporting on sea disasters, survivors and journalists focused on the capacity of French, British and American men to bring relief to the suffering of white women and children. A male passenger of the *Ville du Havre*, writing to the *Temps*, described his assistance to a woman and her four children as they tried to escape the sinking ship; his actions were mirrored years later on the *Bourgogne*, as M. Achard led his wife and two children to a life boat.[[129]](#footnote-130) The example was set for these men by the sea captains that presided over the rescue operations. The compassionate authority of these men was praised in testimonies and reports which underlined their “admirable and honorable conduct,” their “humanity and devotion,” and the calm with which they carried out their duties until – like Captain Deloncle of the *Bourgogne* – they made the final sacrifice, or – like Captain Surmont of the *Ville du Havre* – they brought those they had saved safely ashore, where they broke into tears.[[130]](#footnote-131) American Captain Urquhart, who had taken survivors from the *Ville du Havre* aboard the *Trimountain*, was thanked in a moving letter, published in the *Figaro*, for his “kind sympathy and tender attention […] towards the women, who arrived aboard exhausted, and having lost almost everything.”[[131]](#footnote-132) The words echoed those of Captain Surmont’s report, which had thanked British Captain Robertson, of the *Loch Earn* – the other vessel involved in the collision – for the way in which he and his crew had, “put everything at our disposal in the most generous way. The women were the object of particular care, and the Englishmen gave away nearly all their own clothing, seeing that many of us were barely dressed.”[[132]](#footnote-133) The ability of these men to create an environment in which those rescued “live[d] just like a family,” exemplified the compassionate paternalist authority to which French men had come to aspire through their interactions with the Anglo-World.[[133]](#footnote-134)

According to most journalists reporting on the disasters, French men were the equals of their anglophone counterparts. Although some troubling rumors circulated of disorder on the *Bourgogne*, where women and children were said to have been pushed aside by male passengers and crew, and despite continued fretting about “the superiority of Anglo-Saxons” amidst a perceived crisis of French manliness, these anxieties were but undercurrents in the larger torrent of reporting, which confirmed French men’s compassionate heroism.[[134]](#footnote-135) When the rumors resurfaced over a decade later, amidst concern about French men’s preparedness for a seemingly inevitable conflict with Germany, journalists continued to offer the men of the Anglo-World as models to be followed, and to express faith in the ability of French men to live up to the settler colonial ideal. Perhaps what was needed, suggested the *Petit journal illustré*, in 1910, was no longer the rehabilitation of compassion, but an “education in sang-froid” capable of stemming the new tide of emotion.[[135]](#footnote-136)

The nineteenth-century testimonies of French castaways and shipwreck survivors reflected a preoccupation with the problems of masculine authority and social reconstruction in the wake of the Revolution – itself described in metaphor by contemporaries as a shipwreck. The encounters of shipwrecked French people with the men of the emerging Anglo-World, in uninhabited and settler colonial spaces of European empires, in the context of abolitionism and the settler revolution, led many to embrace compassionate masculinity as a solution to the ongoing imbalance of paternal despotism and disorderly fraternal freedom in France. Joining their anglophone counterparts in the compassionate mission to spread civilization, survivors suggested, would enable French men to exercise paternalism without paternity. Although settler colonies themselves were increasingly conceptualized by French thinkers in the 1860s as the offspring of European parent civilizations, the expectation of white freedom – by which colonies would accede to autonomy or independence without breaking affective ties with the metropole – allowed for racial reproduction without despotism. The contemporaneous expectation of Indigenous extinction obviated the question of compassion across racial lines, encouraging pity or indifference towards Indigenous peoples, and confirming compassion as a currency of white exchange within a racialized, imagined community of sentiment. White freedom and white compassion converged in the settler colonial ideal.

Confidence in the ability of French men to embody the settler colonial ideal grew throughout the century, in line with colonial expansion in Algeria and the Pacific. When the celebrated castaway François Raynal wrote of returning to his bereft mother at the end of the Second Empire, readers could be reassured of the capacity of the sons of France to restore national and global order. The transition from paternal to paternalist authority not only allowed for the establishment of affective relations with the substitute fathers – or older brothers, as Raynal would have it[[136]](#footnote-137) – of the Anglo-World, but also legitimized a conceptualization of empire building in which the actions of European paternalists could “whiten” colonized surrogates, without giving them access to the political freedoms afforded to settler colonial offspring. Neither domestic unrest nor settler colonial failure could steer the Republic off course, and consolidation of the regime brought the affirmation of white paternalism, as well as the wider diffusion of its narratives in the mass press. In these narratives, and in the context of commercial sea travel, the suffering of the white male body was exceeded by that of white women and children, and the emphasis on the heroism and sacrifice of white men effected a simultaneous reification of dominant understandings of gender and race.

The belief that compassion distinguished civilized from uncivilized peoples persisted into the twentieth century, when anthropologists like Lucien Lévy-Bruhl – drawing on the writings of nineteenth-century travelers and missionaries – took cultural reactions to suffering, including that of shipwreck victims, as a basis for the definition of “primitive mentality.”[[137]](#footnote-138) The longevity of the settler colonial ideal, and its ability to endure in the absence of autonomous French settler colonies, invites reflection on what settler colonial theory posits as the “antithetical” opposition of colonial and settler colonial forms.[[138]](#footnote-139) As people and narratives travelled across and between colonial empires, they traced the boundaries of affective communities in which both settler and metropolitan actors became emotionally invested.

1. \* With thanks to Sabrina Bouarour, Briony Neilson, Anna-Louise Milne and Leon Hughes for their comments on an early draft of this paper. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. \* [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. "Les naufragés des Aucklands," *Le Tour du monde: nouveau journal des voyages* July (1869), 1-48 ; François Edouard Raynal, *Les naufragés ou vingt mois sur un récif des îles Auckland*, (Paris: Hachette, 1870); Auguste Nisard, "Bibliographie," *Journal officiel de l’Empire français*, January 24, 1870; Christiane Mortelier, "La source immédiate de *l'île mystérieuse* de Jules Verne," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 97, no. 4 (1997), 589-98: 592-593. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. François Edouard Raynal, *Les naufragés ou vingt mois sur un récif des îles Auckland*, (1870; reprs., Paris: Hachette, 1895 and 1912). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. Mortelier, "La source immédiate de *l'île mystérieuse* de Jules Verne," 591; Jules Verne, *L’île mystérieuse*, 25th ed. (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1881); Jules Verne, *L’île mystérieuse* (Paris: Collection Hetzel, 1909). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. François Edouard Raynal, *Les naufragés ou vingt mois sur un récif des îles Auckland* (Paris: Hachette, 1870), i. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution,* 178, 185. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. Jennifer Boittin, *Undesirable: Passionate Mobility and Women’s Defiance of French Colonial Policing 1919-1952* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, 5; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 315, 218. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,1997), 16-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Andrew Arsan, “There Is, in the Heart of Asia, … an Entirely French Population,” in *French Mediterraneans: Transnational and Imperial Histories*, ed. Patricia Lorcin and Todd Shepard (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2016),76-100, 81-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. Matt K. Matsuda, *Empire of Love: Histories of France and the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Thomas Dodman, *What Nostalgia Was: War, Empire, And the Time of a Deadly Emotion* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 148-186; Charlotte Ann Legg, *The New White Race: Settler Colonialism and the Press in French Algeria, 1860-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 63-107. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Bill Swchartz, *The White Man’s World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: US Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1981); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, (New York, London: Routledge, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. MathildeCohen and Sarah Mazouz, “Introduction: A White Republic? Whites and Whiteness in France,” *French Politics, Culture and Society*, 39, 2 (2021): 1-25, 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Cohen and Mazouz, “Introduction,” 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. Françoise Vergès, *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and métissage* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 184-189; Dodman, *What Nostalgia Was*, 164. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. Jules Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale de la France* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1864), 445. "l’exploration et à l’exploitation du globe"; "la mission suprême de l’humanité sur la terre." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale de la France*, 445. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. Tyler Stovall, *White Freedom: The Racial History of an Idea* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale de la France*, 470."prolongera la communauté d’existence par l’affection, l’intérêt et l’habitude." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. Carl Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of the* Jus Publicum Europaeum (New York: Telos Press, 2006), 43; Stovall, *White Freedom*, 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. Carl Thompson (ed.), *Shipwreck in Art and Literature: Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to the Present Day* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. Jennifer H. Oliver, *Shipwreck in French Renaissance Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
31. Alain Corbin, *Le territoire du vide: l’occident et le désir du rivage* (1988; repr., Paris: Flammarion, 2018), 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
32. Frances Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c. 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
33. Thompson, *Shipwreck in Art and Literature*, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
34. Susan Reid and David Stuart Reid, *Men as Islands: Robinsonades from Sophocles to Margaret Atwood* (Bethesda, Dublin and Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2015), 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
35. Ella Myers, “Beyond the Psychological Wage: Du Bois on White Dominion,” *Political Theory* 47, 1 (2018): 6-31, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
36. Jane Lydon, *Imperial Emotions: The Politics of Empathy across the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
37. Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence*, trans. Steven Rendall (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
38. Comité maritime international, *The Travaux préparatoires of the 1910 Collision Convention and the 1952 Arrest Convention* (Antwerp: Comité maritime international, 1997), 6-12; Delphine Rauch, "Les sociétés de sauvetage en mer au secours des naufragés au XIXe siècle: construction d’une cause nationale, entre engagement philanthropique et contrôle étatique," *Comité histoire de la sécurité sociale de la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur*, edited by Olivier Vernier, 25-26 (2021-2013): 31-43; Archives diplomatiques (hereafter AD), 422QO 472, Minister of Navy and Colonies to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris, April 10, 1888. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
39. Steel, *Oceania under Steam*, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
40. Schwartz, *The White Man’s World*, 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
41. Martin Thomas and Richard Toye, *Arguing about Empire: Imperial Rhetoric in Britain and France, 1882-1956* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
42. Pernille Røge, *Economistes and the Reinvention of Empire: France in the Americas and Africa, c. 1750-1802* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 2-3, 239-240. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
43. David Todd, *A Velvet Empire: French Informal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021), 10, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
44. Todd, *A Velvet Empire*, 15; Stéphane Becuwe and Bertrand Blancheton, "Les colonies sucrières françaises, victimes de la libéralisation commerciale internationale des années 1860?," Outre-mers 101, no.382-383 (2014): 201-214, 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
45. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, Camille Saint-Aubin and Augustin Thierry, *L'industrie ou Discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques dans l'intérêt de tous les hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et indépendans. Tome 1* (Paris: "au bureau de l’administration, rue Gît-le-Cœur," 1817), 147, "nombreux naufrages de la Révolution." Translation mine; Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon et al., *Œuvres de Saint-Simon & d'Enfantin. Volume 44, précédées de deux notices historiques et publiées par les membres du Conseil institué par Enfantin pour l'exécution de ses dernières volontés* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1878), 241, 434, “Il est à l'abri du naufrage, il a pris terre! mais derrière lui mugit une mer indomptée qui semble toujours prête à submerger tous ses rivages, et qui n'épargnerait pas le champ même qui fut payé du travail le plus légitime." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
46. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon and Augustin Thierry, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou De la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale* (Paris: Adrien Egron, 1814), 96-97. "moyens d’éviter en France une seconde révolution"; "un lien politique." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
47. Saint-Simon and Thierry, *De la réorganisation de la société européenne* 68-69, 97. "L’empire des mers"; "action […] sur le reste de l'espèce humaine […] la plus générale, la plus grande, la plus étonnante dont l'histoire fasse mention"; " devenu commun à la nation française, étendra le commerce, accroîtra l'industrie ouvrira la navigation." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
48. *Journal des débats*, September 13, 1816; Charlotte-Adélaïde Dard, *La chaumière africaine, Histoire d’une famille française jetée sur la côte occidentale de l’Afrique à la suite du naufrage de la frégate* la Méduse (Dijon: Noellat, 1824). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
49. Dominic Le Brun, *La Méduse: les dessous d’un naufrage. Les survivants témoignent* (Paris: Omnibus, 2018), xxi-xxxii; Le Brun (ed.), *Les Naufragés: Témoignages vécus XVIIe siècle – XXe siècle*, (Paris: Omnibus, 2014); Huet, “The Face of Disaster” ; Ken Lum, “On Board The Raft of the Medusa, 1999.” In *Everything Is Relevant: Writings on Art and Life, 1991-2018* (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2020), 35–41. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
50. Doris Y. Kadish preface to Charlotte Dard, *La chaumière africaine ou Histoire d’une famille française jetée sur la côte occidentale de l’Afrique à la suite du naufrage de la frégate* la Méduse (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005), xi. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
51. Dard, *La chaumière africaine,* 1824 edition, 41-42, 164-165. "inhumanité," "vertueux, " "généreusement." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
52. Dard, *La chaumière africaine*, 1824 edition, 133. "costume arabe." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
53. Dard, *La chaumière africaine*, 1824 edition, 119. "nos protecteurs et nos amis." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
54. Dard, *La chaumière africaine*, 1824 edition, 122. "Le Maure *Amet*" ; "humain et généreux." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
55. Dard, *La chaumière africaine*, 1824 edition, 207-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
56. Ken Lum, “On Board The Raft of the Medusa, 1999.” In *Everything Is Relevant: Writings on Art and Life, 1991-2018* (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2020), 35–41, 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
57. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the dark: whiteness and the literary imagination* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
58. Dard, *La chaumière africaine*, 1824 edition, 56. "peignées, décrassées, nétoyées et pommadées par les négresses domestiques" ; "Au milieu de nos infortunes, mon âme avait conservé toute sa force; ce changement subit de situation, m’affecta au point, que je crus que mes facultés intellectuelles allaient m’abandonner." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
59. Guillaume Lesquin, *Relation du naufrage de la goëlette L’Aventure, de l’île de France, commandée par M. Lesquin* (Nantes: Mellinet-Malassis, 1827), 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
60. Lesquin, *Relation du naufrage de la goëlette L’Aventure*, 46-47. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
61. Lesquin, *Relation du naufrage de la goëlette L’Aventure,* 47. "nous engagèrent si fortement à retourner demeurer avec eux, par de belles promesses de déférence et de respect pour nous, que nous nous décidâmes à condescendre à leurs désirs." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
62. Lesquin, *Relation du naufrage de la goëlette L’Aventure*, 51. "toute l’humanité possible"; "nos figures couvertes de suie, nos longues barbes et les peaux qui nous couvraient, semblaient nous avoir ôté le droit de prétendre au titre d’homme." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
63. Gaud Houiste, *Naufrage du navire la Nathalie* (Coutance: J. V. Voisin, 1827), 48. “à peine conservions-nous un reste de figure humaine." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
64. Houiste, *Naufrage du navire la Nathalie*, 49, 47. "généreux"; "ces bons Anglais"; "pleuraient comme des enfants." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
65. Houiste, *Naufrage du navire la Nathalie*, 48. "touchante sensibilité." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
66. Houiste, *Naufrage du navire la Nathalie*, 48. "indifférence"; "avoir étouffé dans leur cœur cette sensibilité si naturelle et si française, qui porte l’homme à compatir aux souffrances de ces semblables." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
67. H. Prévault, *Les naufrages les plus célèbres* (Lille: Librairie de J. Lefort, 1852), 151. " le venèrent à l’égal du père le plus cheri et le plus respecté." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
68. Donald H. Holly, “The Beothuk on the Eve of Their Extinction,” *Arctic Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (2000): 79–95, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
69. Lesquin, *Relation du naufrage de la goëlette L’Aventure*, 16, 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
70. Houiste, *Naufrage du navire la Nathalie*, 42-43. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
71. Jennifer E. Sessions, *By Sword and Plow:* *France and the Conquest of Algeria* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 70, 126-129. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
72. Jules Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims sur la côte occidentale d’Afrique* (Paris: Librairie du Palais royal, 1833), i. “vivement senti toutes les sympathies de malheur.” Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
73. Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims*, 28. “un récit bien détaillé du naufrage […] en français et en anglais." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
74. Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims*, 28, 33-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
75. Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims*, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
76. Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims*, 44. “‘déception que de ne trouver rien d’utile, et de pouvoir rien faire de ces hommes." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
77. Lecomte, *Naufrage du baleinier franco-américain Woodrop-Sims*, 47. "Il se détacha des saillies où il se tenait de son mieux, et l’on aperçut son corps noir rouler dans la mousse blanche…. puis un cri que le fracas des lames laissa venir jusqu’aux malheureux encore suspendus sur l’abime […] .… Il s’écoula quelques minutes d’une inexprimable angoisse… […] Puis le sentiment de la conservation prit le dessus." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
78. Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
79. Jules Duval, *De l’immigration des Indiens, des Chinois et des Nègres en Algérie* (Paris: Typographie Hennuyer, 1858), 3. “plus absolue réprobation.” Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
80. Duval, *De l’immigration des Indiens, des Chinois et des Nègres en Algérie*, 8; Duval, *Les Colonies et la politique coloniale de la France*, 450. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
81. Charlotte Ann Legg, *The New White Race: Settler Colonialism and the Press in French Algeria, 1860-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 74-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
82. Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale*, v, 469, 473. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
83. Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale*, v-vi. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
84. Margaret Cook Andersen, *Regeneration through Empire*: *French Pronatalists and Colonial Settlement in the Third Republic* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 15-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
85. Lucien-Anatole Prévost-Paradol, *La France nouvelle* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1868), 405. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
86. Prévost-Paradol, *La France nouvelle*, 79 ; Duval, *Les colonies et la politique coloniale*, 474. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
87. Prévost-Paradol, *La France nouvelle*, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
88. Jules Duval, *L'Algérie et les colonies françaises*, (Paris: Guillauman, 1877), 129. “un océan de sables parsemé d'îles tantôt isolées, tantôt groupées en archipel, où appareillent des flottes de caravanes, qui naviguent en petit cabotage de cap en cap, ou en long cours du Sahara au Soudan, entre les écueils de sable et les dangers des tempêtes, n'échappant au naufrage que pour tomber aux mains des forbans, les Touaregs." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
89. Duval, *L'Algérie et les colonies françaises*, 15, 129, 135-136. "libre installation des colons sur leurs terres"; "véritable océan Pacifique"; "tièdement"; " l'Indulgence, en attendant la sympathie." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
90. Marilyn Lake, “The White Man Under Siege: New Histories of Race in the Nineteenth Century and the Advent of White Australia,” *History Workshop Journal* 58 (2004), 41-62: 44-45; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*,2. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
91. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
92. Prévost-Paradol, *La France nouvelle* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1868), 407-408. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
93. Henri de Suckau, *De l’initiative et de la liberté en matière de colonisation* (Paris : Challamel Ainé, 1870), 15. "ces familles dans lesquelles on soigne et on gâte trop les enfants, ce qui les rend incapables de se diriger seuls dans le monde et de vivre ailleurs que chez eux." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
94. Suckau, *De l’initiative et de la liberté en matière de colonisation*, 21, 12. "race gauloise"; "blancheur de teint". Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
95. Johann Rudolf Wyss, *Le Robinson suisse*, trans. Henri de Suckau (Paris: Bernadin-Bêchet, 1869). [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
96. Wyss., *Le Robinson suisse*, trans. Henri de Suckau, iii; Johann Wiss [sic], *Robinson Suisse ou journal d’un père de famille naufragé avec ses enfants*, trans. Isabelle de Montolieu (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1814); Johann Rudolf Wyss, *Le Robinson suisse*, trans. Mme de Montolieu (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1816) *;* Johann Rudolf Wyss, *Le Robinson suisse, ou Journal d'un père de famille naufragé avec ses enfants*, trans. Mme de Montolieu (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1820). [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
97. J. Morlent, *Les Robinsons français ou la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (Tours: Ad. Mame et Cie., 1856), 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
98. Jacques Dubois, "Du roman au mythe: un Robinson hédoniste et helvète," *Etudes françaises* 35, 1 (1999), 25-42:27. "paternel et […] paternaliste ". Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
99. Dubois, "Du roman au mythe: un Robinson hédoniste et helvète,"28. "questions de bonne gestion de la société bien plus que de domination du monde". Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
100. Wyss, *Le Robinson suisse*, trans. Henri de Suckau, i-ii. "imitation"; "a forme plus vive et beaucoup plus animée du drame"; "rectifier quelques légères erreurs scientifiques, et de remplacer certaines descriptions, certains tableaux, certains épisodes". Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
101. Wyss, *Le Robinson suisse*, trans. Henri de Suckau, iv. "le culte de la religion, de la morale et de la science, uni à l’amour de la famille et à la contemplation des œuvres admirables de la nature." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
102. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 149. "Assurément nous avions, depuis notre naufrage, vécu ensemble dans l’union et la concorde, je puis même dire dans un véritable fraternité ; cependant il était arrivé quelque fois tantôt à l’un, tantôt à l’autre d’entre nous, de s’abandonner à un mouvement d’humeur, de laisser échapper une parole désobligeante, qui naturellement provoquait une repartie non moins vive. Or d’habitudes d’aigreur, d’animosité, s’établissant parmi nous, pouvaient avoir des conséquences désastreuses." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
103. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 31. See Matsuda, *Empire of Love*, 115-116; Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
104. Œuvre pontificale missionnaire de la Propagation de la foi, *Annales de la propagation de la foi* (Lyon: Imprimerie de Pélagaud, 1842), 192. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
105. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 149. "Mon idée était de choisir parmi nous, non pas un maître ni un supérieur, mais un *chef de famille*, tempérant l’autorité légale et indiscutable du magistrat par la condescendance affectueuse d’un père – ou plutôt un frère ainé." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
106. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 149-152. "le président de notre petite république"; "maintenir avec douceur, mais aussi avec fermeté, l’ordre et l’union." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
107. Raynal, *Les Naufragés,* 157. “école du soir"; "‘Ces nouveaux rapports nous unirent davantage ; en nous élevant et nous abaissant tous alternativement les uns vis-à-vis des autres, ils nous mirent de niveau, ils créèrent entre nous une parfaite égalité." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
108. Raynal, *Les Naufragés,* 154. "‘emprunté à la langue des Peaux-Rouges de l’Amérique du Nord, signifie : *près de la rive*, ou plutôt *auprès des grandes eaux*." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
109. Raynal, *Les Naufragés,* 298. “un tableau ravissant, l'idéal de la vie tranquille et heureuse"; "Sur la plage un blanc se promenait; un gros terre-neuve, qu'il caressait de temps en temps, marchait à ses côtés. Sur le seuil d'une des huttes, un groupe de Maoris […] dans des attitudes variées, causaient en gesticulant." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
110. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 313. "Il a compris la supériorité de ces Européens et l’avantage qu’il y a pour lui et pour sa race à les traiter avec égards, à conserver au milieu des siens ce petit groupe d’hommes bons, paisibles, vertueux, instruits dans les arts et dans les sciences, représentants d’une civilisation dont la portée lui échappe, mais devant laquelle il s’incline avec une naïve admiration." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
111. Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
112. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 298, 301. "blanc"; "naturel." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
113. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 255, 269. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
114. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 32. "Mes compagnons étaient tous habitués à la mer, mais j'étais le seul parmi nous qui eût mené la vie de pionnier, pendant de longues années, dans un pays non civilisé, comme l'intérieur de l'Australie, rude école où l'on apprend à ne compter que sur soi, à tout tirer de sa propre industrie, à lutter sans cesse contre une nature encore vierge et rebelle." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
115. Auguste Nisard, "Bibliographie," *Journal officiel de l’Empire français*, January 24, 1870. "un vrai homme parmi nos modernes"; "la race énergique et entreprenante des pionniers." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
116. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (Paris: Guillaumin, 1874); Dan Warshaw, *Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and Established Liberalism in France* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991), 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
117. Warshaw, *Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and Established Liberalism in France*, 97; Paul Leroy Beaulieu, Prefaces to the sixth, fifth, fourth, third and second editions in *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, 6th ed., (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1908), i-xxi. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
118. Paul Leroy- Beaulieu, ‘Préface de la cinquième édition [1902]’, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes*, 6th ed., (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1908), vi. "embryons coloniaux"; "bien autrement lente et prolongée"; " "les colonies de peuplement [qui] peuvent, en un siècle ou en un siècle et demi, franchir les étapes de l’enfance et de l’adolescence." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
119. “La naufrage de la Ville du Havre," *La Presse* (Paris), December 2, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
120. "Cable français," *Le Moniteur de la Martinique* (Fort-de-France), March 23, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
121. "Le Naufrage de ‘La Bourgogne’," *Le Figaro* (Paris), July 8, 1898; "Bourgogne Disaster," *The Standard and Diggers’ News* (Johannesburg), July 12, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
122. Comité maritime international, *The Travaux préparatoires of the 1910 Collision Convention*, 6-12; AD, 422QO 472, Minister of Navy and Colonies to Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris, April 10, 1888; AD, 422QO 471**,** Minister of Foreign Affairs to Minister of the Navy and Colonies, Paris, Dec 31, 1887. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
123. "Le Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre," *Le Temps* (Paris), December 3, 1873. “absolument seul au monde." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
124. Anon., "Le Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre," (Le Havre: T. Leclerc, 1873), 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
125. Louis-Optimus Padovani, "Naufrage de la ‘Ville de Saint-Nazaire’," (Ajaccio: Imprimerie nouvelle Robaglia & Zevaco), 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
126. "La Ville-de-Saint-Nazaire," Le Figaro (Paris), April 2, 1897. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
127. "L’occasion fait le héros," Le Figaro (Paris), April 4, 1897. "nègre, humble rebut du bord, pauvre chien battu"; "bras vigoureux et fort, l’acteur muet de cette scène à la Shakespeare dont l’autre, le capitaine était l’âme, la pensée et la vie!” Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
128. Aimé Césaire, *Une Tempête* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1969), 86-91. "vomir" ; "blanche toxine." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
129. "Le Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre," *Le Temps* (Paris), December 3, 1873; "Nouveaux détails," *Le Figaro*, (Paris) July 9, 1898. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
130. "La Ville-de-Saint-Nazaire," *Le Figaro* (Paris), April 2, 1897. "belle et honorable conduite," "l’humanité et le dévouement." Translation mine; Photograph of Captain Deloncle, *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), July 24, 1898; "Le Naufrage de la ‘Ville-du-Havre’," *Le Monde illustré* (Paris), December 13, 1873. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
131. "Le Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre," *Le Temps*, December 3, 1873. "la chaleureuse sympathie, les tendres attentions dont le capitaine a entouré les dames, arrivées à son bord épuisées et presque dénuée de tout." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
132. Anon., *Horrible catastrophe. Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre en pleine mer le 21 novembre 1873. 226 victimes!*, (Lyon: Imp. Nigon, J. Gallet, 1873), 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
133. "Le Naufrage de la Ville-du-Havre," *Le Temps*, December 3, 1873. "[nous] vivons tout à fait en famille." Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
134. "Détails sur le naufrage," *Le Figaro* (Paris), July 8, 1898; Edmond Demolins, *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons ?* (Paris: Anthropos, 1998 ed., first published 1897); Jacques Reynaud, *Les Français sont-ils inférieurs aux Anglais? A propos d’un livre récent de M. Edmond Demolins: A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons ?* (Verneuil: J. Gentil, 1898). [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
135. Ernest Laut, "Catastrophes maritimes," *Le Petit journal illustré* (Paris), February 27, 1910. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
136. Raynal, *Les Naufragés*, 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
137. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *La Mentalité primitive* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1922), 322-331, 330. “mentalité primitive.” Translation mine. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
138. Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 11-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)