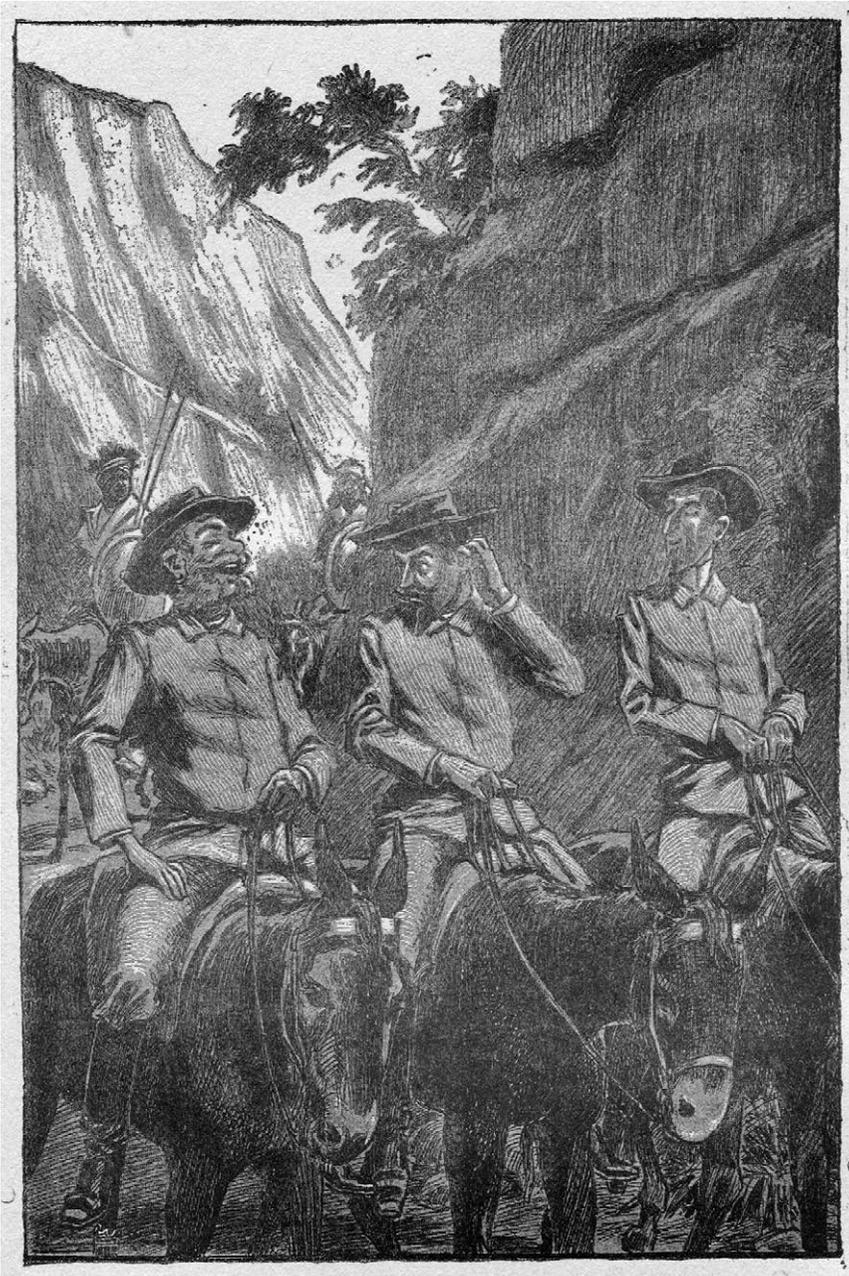


## French Reporters, Real and Fictional Transmitters of the Colonial Ideology (1890–1900)

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**Abstract:** Colonial reportage crucially raises the issue of the reporter's political engagement. An envoy of his homeland, the reporter must inform his readership about the state of the colonies, but often does so by putting forward information that is not neutral, structured according to a commonly admitted axiology liable to federate a gathering and to participate in the construction of the national identity. This article interrogates the way in which the figure of the reporter takes charge of the dissemination of the colonial ideology in the 1890s and 1900s, a period still marked by the conquests in Africa and the need to establish and stabilize the French colonial empire in the 1890s. I focus on two major reporters, Pierre Mille (1864–1941) and Félix Dubois (1862–1945), and examine their reports on the African colonies serialized in the general press. These examples will be compared to that of their fictional equivalent, the reporter of the geographical novel, as found at the same time in the novels of Jules Verne, Paul d'Ivoi, and Léo Dex. Comparing reportages and novels makes it possible to highlight views and representations that are common to both genres. In so doing, it will be possible to show that reportages and novels featured witnesses committed to the colonial project while colonial culture was still in the making. These two types of stories share an educational perspective and contribute to building narrative axes that participate in the dissemination of a republican colonial ideology, of which the reporter, real or fictional, stands as a prime ambassador.

**Keywords:** French reporters – colonial ideology – political engagement – Pierre Mille – Félix Dubois – African colonies – Paul d'Ivoi – Léo Dex – colonial reportage – nineteenth century



Léo Dex (pseudonym of Édouard Deburax), three reporters in Fachoda, Paris, Ancienne librairie Furne, s.d., 212.

Like war correspondence, colonial reportage crucially raises the issue of the reporter's political engagement. An envoy of his homeland, the reporter must inform his readership about the state of the colonies, but often does so by putting forward information that is not neutral, structured according to a commonly admitted axiology that is liable to federate a participation in the construction of the national identity.<sup>1</sup> As such I will explore the way in which the figure of the reporter takes charge of the dissemination of colonial ideology in the 1890s and 1900s, a period still marked by conquests in Africa and the need to establish and stabilize the French colonial empire. This expansionist phase corresponds with a period of impregnation<sup>2</sup> with the colonial culture in France, in which several mass cultural artifacts participate.

Both a press transmitter and a fictional character, the reporter will here be analyzed through the prism of two narrative genres, reportage and the geographical novel, both of which engage in a similar narration of the colonial ideology. Viewed in parallel, they make it possible to bring out certain convergences of representations in the social imagination. I will focus on two major reporters, Pierre Mille (1864–1941) and Félix Dubois (1862–1945), and examine their reports on the African colonies serialized in the general press. These examples of engagement will be compared to their fictional equivalent, the reporter of the geographical novel as found in the novels of Jules Verne, Paul d'Ivoi, and Léo Dex.<sup>3</sup> This article falls within the scope of recent work on French reporting during the colonial situation, which has thus far received inadequate critical attention.<sup>4</sup>

### A Figure Invested with Official Missions and Functions

The novelty of the colonial territories conquered at the end of the nineteenth century encouraged the undertaking of journeys that combined an informative purpose and an exploratory mission. In the 1890s, territories in Africa either were still unstable or only recently had been pacified. As a result, it frequently happened that reporters joined official missions, financed by government funds and in which soldiers and political figures took part. This was the case of Dubois and Mille, who both present an ambivalent professional status.

Dubois came into contact with the colonies via journalism. Having written on colonial issues from a distance for *Le Figaro* since the late 1880s, he made his first journey to Africa for *L'Illustration* in 1891, a journey that would give birth to *La Vie au continent noir* (Life on the Dark Continent).<sup>5</sup> Dubois accompanied an official mission led by Captain Brosselard-Faidherbe. Its aim was to “ensure effective occupation, and to take possession by means of treaties, of the territories coveted”<sup>6</sup> by France in West Africa, in the wake

of the Berlin Conference (1885), which had formalized European colonization of Africa. The mission's leaders, joined by Dubois and Adrien Marie, an illustrator for *L'Illustration*, as well as a civilian explorer, Georges Warenhorst, were accompanied by a small escort of fifteen infantrymen, a sergeant, and servants.<sup>7</sup> Dubois, apparently eager to conserve an ethos<sup>8</sup> of intellectual independence, is evasive about the actual circumstances of the journey in his reportage, contenting himself with a few allusions to the “chief” of the mission. It is only in the postscript that he mentions him, while making sure to distance himself from the official objectives:

Organized by the undersecretary for the colonies, this mission became the basis for ours. While Captain Brosselard-Faidherbe, with a lieutenant, and Mr. George Warenhorst, whom he had taken on, were drawing topographical maps and making scientific observations, we were looking around us at the vibrant life, in its familiar detail, we were jotting down what was being said and, what was no less eloquent, the silences.<sup>9</sup>

In the following report, on Tombouctou, Dubois's attitude becomes more complex as the reporter finds himself even more closely involved in the official milieu. It is for *Le Figaro* that he made the report in 1894, with the agreement of the newspaper's director, Antonin Périvier. The latter requested an authorization for Dubois from the undersecretary for the colonies, Maurice Lebon, who granted a substantial allowance worth 12,000 francs<sup>10</sup> to the reporter for a study mission of “the regions that recently came under French influence thanks to the occupation of Tombouctou.”<sup>11</sup> As various letters cited by his biographer show, Dubois received “official instructions”<sup>12</sup> from the new minister for the colonies, Théophile Delcassé. The reporter sought to camouflage the partiality of his role less than in 1891; he presented himself as a lover and promoter of French Sudan, of which he made himself not only the observer, but also the historian and archaeologist, collecting rare documents and making archaeological visits. It should be noted that his adherence to the colonial project was in large part the product of scientific curiosity rather than of expansionist ambitions.

Mille also presented a pronounced link with official milieu, although of another nature. His voyage to the Belgian Congo took place in the company of a delegation of sixty guests on the occasion of the inauguration of the Congolese railway. Moreover, Mille, like Paul Bourde (1858–1914), who signed the preface to his reportage when it was published in book form, combined journalistic and administrative functions. Indeed, some ten years older than Dubois and Mille, Bourde presented himself as a titular figure through his dual career as a reporter and as an important administrator for the early imperialism of the Third Republic. He debuted in colonial reportage by accompa-

nying a parliamentary mission to Algeria (1879) for *Le Temps*, then undertaking journeys to Tunisia (1880, 1889) and to Tonkin (1885) before occupying high-ranking posts in the colonies. Likewise, Mille became the “principal private secretary to the general secretariat of Madagascar” from 1895 to 1896 and, during the 1900 World’s Fair in Paris, was named “commissioner of the section of Côte d’Ivoire,”<sup>13</sup> in addition to his journalistic occupations.

Dubois and Mille’s situation of active political engagement seems to be the case for several late-nineteenth-century reporters with an interest in the colonial question. The reporter presents himself as a witness “enlisted among those who are working on the elaboration of new theories that are necessary to give our country a clear conscience of its new [colonial] destinies,”<sup>14</sup> or else as an “embedded” witness, to use the term that Marie-Ève Thérénty borrows from American journalistic practices in Iraq.<sup>15</sup>

During these same years, fiction took note of this engagement and developed plots in which the reporter took part in a mission, whether official or secret, on which rested the fate of the colonies. In Verne’s *L’Étonnante aventure de la mission Barsac* (The Surprising Adventure of the Barsac Mission), the reporter Amédée Florence accompanies, like Dubois, an official mission to French Guinea, whose members form “the high staff of the extra-parliamentary committee tasked by the central administration with making a study journey.”<sup>16</sup> What’s more, Florence is a reporter for a leading daily called—the title is rather eloquent—*L’Expansion française* (French Expansion). Likewise, in Dex’s *Du Tchad au Dahomey en ballon* (From Chad to Dahomey by Hot Air Balloon), a reporter character, Phocle, accompanies a military mission, the Goermain column, to Sudan, to the town of Kouka, an ally of France, which must fight against the rebel troops of a local chief. Two years before, in *Trois reporters à Fachoda* (Three Reporters in Fashoda), Dex had related the adventures of the French reporter Victor Olovant, entrusted by the Negus of Ethiopia with a secret document, which he had to carry to Fashoda, where none other than Captain Marchand, a striking colonial figure, was waiting for him; his political mission—which, however, he would fail to fulfill—was to prevent the annexation of Fashoda by the British. These novelistic fictions highlight the role of the press and of its actors in the colonial project. They convey a representation that is coherent with the official functions of the figures evoked above: in this time of expansion and impregnation with colonial culture, the reporter is not an infantryman, but he imposes himself on the general public and on the social imagination as an active member of the colonial project and a defender of French interests, placed at the heart of political intrigues, moving to the front line of colonization alongside the military and the explorers.

### An Educational Objective

Furthermore, the observations made by Mille and Dubois in their respective reports are similar: there is much to be done to promote and highlight the French colonies in Africa—whether the French Congo or the Niger valley—and an audience which the reporters, like their editorial teams and publishers, believe it is necessary to enlighten on colonial issues. The reporter is thus invested with the roles of making the subject accessible to readers and of educating them. The announcement of Félix Dubois’s departure for Tombouctou by *Le Figaro*’s editorial board provides an exemplary illustration:

At this time when colonial questions have developed so considerably, such a journey undertaken by a competent and experienced journalist could not but draw the attention of the general public, all the more so since the most elementary practical data about our colonies are lacking, since most of the country barely knows them by name, and since they ignore their resources, their aspect, their climate and their hopes for the future. . . . Mr. Félix Dubois hopes to fill this lack through an in-depth study.<sup>17</sup>

The reporter aims to combat the misapprehensions circulating in France<sup>18</sup> on the climate, resources, and customs, and on the efforts made and those remaining to be made.

This educational objective is underlined by the publication in book form of the journalistic tales of Mille and of Dubois, publishing events that were far from being applied systematically to *grand reportage*. It shows that colonial reportage is considered of public interest, sufficiently documented to have an impact on the public, and captivating enough to draw the attention of readers. Paul Bourde, in his preface to Pierre Mille’s reportage in the Belgian Congo, evokes the political role assigned to the reporter, witness, and guide of public opinion: “What a fortunate idea you had to pick up again the correspondences you had addressed to the *Temps*, to complete them and turn them into a book. They had proven to be a great success in the newspaper and they had the most useful influence on the still hesitant public about the value of our possessions in Equatorial Africa.”<sup>19</sup>

As early as 1879, Bourde had insisted on the role of transmitting colonial reportage in the public sphere and in political discussions.<sup>20</sup> Through both their conception of their role of transmission and the hybridity of their careers, Mille and Dubois appear as his heirs.

Moreover, it should be noted that Dubois’s *La Vie au continent noir* was published by Hetzel in the Bibliothèque d’éducation et de récréation (Educational and Recreational Library), alongside Verne’s *Voyages extraordinaires*. Likewise, Dex’s novels found a home in Furne’s series *Aventures scientifiques* (Scientific Adventures) or in Hachette’s *Bibliothèque des écoles et des familles*

(Library of Schools and Families). This fact shows that colonial reportage and the geographical novel were intended for an overlapping audience, just as they shared an educational objective that relies on entertainment and the narration of an adventure. Like reportage, the geographical novel seeks to convey information about the colonial territories: it is dotted with remarks on the country's fauna and flora, geography, and local customs. To illustrate this, we can compare the following two passages that both describe butter made from the shea, a tree from Western Africa. The first comes from Verne's novel *L'Étonnante aventure de la mission Barsac*, while the second comes from Dubois's reportage, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse* (Mysterious Tombouctou):

Millet . . . is a cereal similar to wheat. Mixed with the butter of the shea or *cé*, because the tree from which it is made bears these two names, it constitutes a quite passable sauce, on condition that the butter is nice. This butter is extracted from the fruit of the tree, a sort of nut or chestnut. It is obtained by a series of grindings and fusions, and lastly one purifies it by melting it one last time and, while it is boiling, adding a few drops of cold water. It then becomes very pleasant.<sup>21</sup>

Guided by our sense of smell, we soon found ourselves in front of a hut and in front of a large earthen pot in which a brownish mass was simmering. That is where the well-known aroma came from, and these were shea nuts that were being boiled to extract their vegetal butter. The fruits of the shea look like nuts, wrapped on the outside in a flesh that, to the taste, recalls the taste of the peach, and from which the locals prepare a dish.<sup>22</sup>

In each case, the author describes the extraction of the shea butter and its dietary use in a brief didactic sequence that momentarily interrupts the narrative thread. Although generally speaking reportage emphasizes the educational and informative objective while the novel grants the plot a prominent position, both share, in the late nineteenth century, the same desire to transmit to the readership exclusive knowledge on the new colonies, which must be accessible and integrated in a story. It is a question of stimulating the audience's curiosity and, beyond that, in an even more significant and propagandist manner, of nourishing a feeling of belonging with regard to the overseas territories through the prism of a colonial culture. For in spite of the political consensus that it generated at the end of the century, we must not lose sight of the fact that the colonial project was still mainly supported by specific political groups (the transverse "colonial party") and remained for the vast majority of French citizens "a distant, if not little-known fact"<sup>23</sup>—on this point, reporters, publishers, and press managers were right in their belief that there existed in the public a curiosity to be awoken and a lack of information to be filled. However, the active role they gave themselves also bears witness

to the fact that the colonial culture of which they wanted to be the producers reflects less the conceptions already shared by the metropolitan population than the republican ideals to be promoted.

### The "We" and the Others: A Shared Axiology

As supports for the dissemination of colonial culture, reportage and the geographical novel shared similar narrative mechanisms regarding republican colonial ideology. These enabled them to implicitly support "the values of colonization in their very structure,"<sup>24</sup> like the narratives of the weekly *Journal des voyages* (Travel Journal) studied by Matthieu Letourneux.

As a witness-ambassador, in the words of Géraldine Muhlmann, the reporter makes much use of the collective "we" and the possessive "our," through which there emerges a feeling of belonging and representativeness: Mille speaks on behalf of his nation of "our colony in the French Congo,"<sup>25</sup> of his "homeland,"<sup>26</sup> which he likes to recognize in the colonial territory, and lauds the "patriotism"<sup>27</sup> of the personnel in Brazzaville. Likewise, Dubois evokes "our moral and civilizing influence . . . , our political action"<sup>28</sup> in West Africa. Didn't the mission he joined seek to have the indigenous people sign the protectorate treaties and, at the same time, to distribute "red, white and blue flags"?<sup>29</sup>

To this French, white, adult, civilized, and civilizing "we" represented by the reporter, both Dubois and Mille oppose the indigenous, the barbarian, the savage, the child, the colonized. No allegory better embodies colonial ideology than the following statue described by Mille, located in the public garden of Léopoldville, "Civilization extending its hand to a beautiful savage," a "work cast in plaster for our arrival."<sup>30</sup> On several occasions, Mille evokes the struggles of the colonizers against the "countless barbarians," unfortunate pioneers who met a "terrible end in the cooking pots of cannibals."<sup>31</sup> Likewise seeking to highlight the merits of civilization, Dubois draws an extended metaphor that compares indigenous customs and life in the Middle Ages, the latter being understood "only in the way in which it is crude, brutal and rudimentary."<sup>32</sup>

Just as we can talk of a "witness-ambassador" in reportage, it seems appropriate to describe as a "hero-ambassador" the fictional reporter who likewise embodies a French agent of dissemination of the light of colonization. The fictional character intensifies and fixes in a single type the national and political dimension that characterizes the attitude of his real counterpart, in plots that are structured along the same axiology. Unlike the distinction between the national "we" and the colonized Other, the novel emphasizes the competitive relationship between the colonizing European nations, including France

and England, exacerbated at the end of the 1890s by the Fashoda Incident. In *Trois reporters à Fachoda* (Three Reporters in Fashoda), besides the Frenchman Victor Olovant, we find two other reporters, a Russian, Ivan Oursoff, and an American, Mr. Hinley. Each is defined by national stereotypes, according to the Gallo-centrism and imagology that dominate the representations of foreign peoples at the time.<sup>33</sup> Olovant, the Frenchman, is by temperament lively,<sup>34</sup> frank,<sup>35</sup> talkative, and pleasant.<sup>36</sup> Oursoff, for his part, is “patient and supple like all Slavs,”<sup>37</sup> superstitious and fatalistic,<sup>38</sup> while Hinley possesses “a typically Anglo-Saxon pride,”<sup>39</sup> a taciturn and phlegmatic character,<sup>40</sup> who likes order and correction.<sup>41</sup> Not only do the three reporters represent the features that are stereotypical of their compatriots, but on a broader scale they embody the relations between the respective nations: the spontaneous sympathy that unites Olovant and Oursoff<sup>42</sup> evokes the Franco-Russian Alliance, and Olovant’s distrust of Hinley<sup>43</sup> that of France towards a possible alliance between Anglo-Saxon countries, which would limit its colonial interests. Like d’Ivoi’s *La capitaine Nilia* (Captain Nilia), Dex’s novel is an exemplary case where the reporter character becomes the messenger of the French colonial project, through a novelistic project that bears a clear axiology: opposite the sirdar and the English stands the trio of reporters, representatives of the allied Western forces—Russia and America, led by France.

Whether a hero-ambassador or witness-ambassador, the reporter appears as a key figure of the dissemination of colonial culture. His political engagement is in part implicit and sometimes hidden, but nevertheless manifest when we go beyond the claims of objectivity, which the reporter otherwise expresses. If his fictional role can resemble in this respect that of other characters of the geographic novel, such as the engineer, the explorer, or the hunter,<sup>44</sup> his journalistic function gives him a greater influence and helps to inscribe him on a long-term basis in the social imagination as a transmitting figure of republican values. The reporter thus distinguishes himself with regard to other heroes of the colonial conquest, by his double role as actor and transmitter (taking part himself in the construction of his media image and discourse).<sup>45</sup>

The particularity of colonial reportage of the late nineteenth century is to bear witness to an almost unshakable adherence to imperialism, which enables Dubois to conclude *La Vie au continent noir* with these words: “The early enthusiasm for these mysterious lands, wonderfully lovely and rich, has not decreased. My faith in their destiny has remained intact.”<sup>46</sup> This univocal observation is linked to the engagements of reporters as well as the particularity of the fin-de-siècle moment, characterized by “the construction of a colonial consensus that contrasts, in the 1890s, with debates initiated ten years

earlier,”<sup>47</sup> for instance Pierre Loti’s sharp critique of the French army’s actions during the 1883 Tonkin Expedition. But it is also the case that French colonialism is still, in part, a project; the time had not yet come for the inter-war insurrections that would herald the wave of independences and would force reporters, even those most favorable to imperialism, to cast a critical gaze on the conditions in which it was implemented.<sup>48</sup> At the same time there would emerge a more engaged and dissident form of colonial reportage, written by intellectuals and women reporters, that would rattle the certitudes of the gaze cast on the Other.<sup>49</sup>

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## Notes

1. In this sense, the reporter presents himself as the “witness-ambassador” of his readership, as Géraldine Muhlmann has shown. Géraldine Muhlmann, *Une histoire politique du journalisme. XIXe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2004), 28–68.
2. Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire, “Avant-propos. La constitution d’une culture coloniale en France,” in *Culture coloniale, 1871–1931. La France conquise par son Empire*, eds. Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2003), 7.
3. Pseudonym of Édouard Deburax.
4. Among others, “Le reportage de presse en situation coloniale,” the symposium co-organized by RIRRA 21 and SIELEC (Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier, June 4–6, 2014).
5. Félix Dubois, *La vie au continent noir* (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1893).
6. Yves-Jean Saint-Martin, *Félix Dubois, 1862–1945: Grand reporter et explorateur, de Panama à Tamanrasset* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1999), 32.
7. Saint-Martin, *Félix Dubois*, 32.
8. The concept is understood in the sense of discourse analysis, which defines ethos, at the intersection of rhetoric and sociology, as the discursive construction of a self-image. The latter enables the utterer to trigger the adhesion of his reader but also, more broadly, to self-represent in the context of a “scenography” or of an utterance scene. A meaningful modality of reportage, self-representation is often the locus of a political or ideological investment; it can also be implicit and, as is the case here, involve the eclipsing of some information. On ethos and scenography, see Ruth Amossy, *La Présentation de soi: Ethos et identité verbale* (Paris: PUF, 2010) and Dominique Maingueneau, *Le discours littéraire. Paratopie et scène d’énonciation* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004).
9. Félix Dubois, *La vie au continent noir* (Paris: Hetzel, 1893), 298.
10. The sum was considerable. It represented a year’s salary for Dubois, knowing that the most famous reporters in 1905 earned (following the economic boom of 1896) between 1,500 and 2,000 francs per month and that journalists had a very variable pay scale that ranged from 150 to 3,000 francs per month for the highest rated columnists. Gilles Feyel, *La Presse en France des origines à 1944: Histoire politique et matérielle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Ellipses, 2007), 129–130.
11. Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer, FR ANOM 50COL20.
12. Saint-Martin, *Félix Dubois*, 51–56.
13. C.-E. Curinier, ed., *Dictionnaire national des contemporains*, vol. 6 (Paris: Office général d’édition de librairie et d’imprimerie, 1899–1919), 257.
14. Paul Bourde, introduction to Pierre Mille, *Au Congo belge, avec des notes et des documents récents relatifs au Congo français* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1899), xv (my emphasis).
15. Marie-Ève Thérénty, “Le grand reportage embrigadé: entre aventure et polémique coloniales (1881–1885),” paper presented at the symposium *L’Aventure coloniale* (Université Montpellier III / SIELEC, 15–16 May 2008).

16. Jules Verne, *L’Étonnante aventure de la mission Barsac*. Collection À tous les vents, vol. 772 (Bibliothèque électronique du Québec), 49, <https://beq.ebooksgratuits.com/vents/Verne-Barsac.pdf>. Verne began writing this novel in 1904. It was originally serialized in *Le Matin*, 1914, and published in book form by Hachette in 1919.
17. *Le Figaro*, August 22, 1894.
18. The formula paraphrases Félix Dubois: “. . . since my return, it has seemed to me that people had grave misapprehensions about these countries between the Niger and the west coast of Africa.” Dubois, *Continent noir*, 84.
19. Bourde, introduction to Mille, *Au Congo belge*, v.
20. Paul Bourde, *À travers l’Algérie: souvenirs de l’excursion parlementaire (septembre–octobre 1879)* (Paris: Charpentier, 1880).
21. Verne, *Barsac*, 135–136.
22. Félix Dubois, *Tombouctou la mystérieuse* (Paris: Flammarion, 1897), 73.
23. Arnaud-Dominique Houte, *Le Triomphe de la République. 1871–1914* (Paris: Seuil, 2014), 156.
24. Matthieu Letourneux, “La colonisation comme un roman. Récits de fiction, récits documentaires et idéologie dans le *Journal des voyages*,” *Belphegor* 9, no. 1 (2010), <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/47782>.
25. Mille, *Au Congo belge*, 8.
26. *Ibid.*, 61.
27. *Ibid.*, 65.
28. Dubois, *Continent noir*, 35.
29. *Ibid.*, 42.
30. Mille, *Au Congo Belge*, 116.
31. *Ibid.*, 116.
32. Dubois, *Continent noir*, 273.
33. Marc Angenot, “Gallicentrisme et imagologie des peuples étrangers,” in *1889. Un état du discours social* (Longueuil: Le préambule, 1989), 270–271.
34. Léo Dex, *Trois reporters à Fachoda*, drawings by E. Vavasseur (Paris: Ancienne librairie Furne, n.d.; 1st ed. Paris, Combet, 1901), 22.
35. Dex, *Trois reporters*, 60.
36. *Ibid.*, 62.
37. *Ibid.*, 11.
38. *Ibid.*, 204.
39. *Ibid.*, 7.
40. *Ibid.*, 15.
41. *Ibid.*, 11.
42. “[H]e was quite indifferent to the American Hinley, on the other hand he [Olovant] felt transported by a genuine wave of affection for his Russian companion.” Dex, *Trois reporters*, 22.
43. On several occasions, Olovant suspects Hinley of wanting to impede his maneuvers and of having concluded an agreement with the English forces in order to keep a watch on him. Dex, *Trois reporters*, 47, 105, 151.

44. On these three types of characters, see Matthieu Letourneux, *Le Roman d'aventures 1870–1930* (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2010), 97–107.

45. Unlike most of the figures studied by Edward Berenson (with the exception of Stanley, also a reporter), in *Les Héros de l'Empire. Brazza, Marchand, Lyautey, Gordon et Stanley à la conquête de l'Afrique* (Paris: Perrin, 2012).

46. Dubois, *Continent noir*, 300.

47. Houte, *Le triomphe de la République*, 137–138.

48. See my article “Des reporters français en Syrie (1925–1927), médiateurs des ‘confusions de l’Orient’,” in *Les Médiateurs de la Méditerranée*, eds. Christine Reynier and Marie-Ève Thérénty (Paris: MSH et Geuthner, 2013), 145–160.

49. Marie-Ève Thérénty, “L’autre de l’autre. Femmes reporters en contexte colonial dans l’entre-deux-guerres,” in *Le Reportage de presse en situation coloniale*, eds. Guillaume Bridet and Jean-François Durand (Paris: Keilash, 2016).