

Tourism and Colonization in Indochina
(1898-1939)

Tourism and Colonization in Indochina
(1898-1939)

By

Aline Demay

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

Tourism and Colonization in Indochina (1898-1939),
by Aline Demay

This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2014 by Aline Demay

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-6699-7, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-6699-6

For Jean-Clément

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Acronyms and Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	1
Chapter One.....	11
The Origin of Tourist Practices in Indochina (1856-1910)	
Chapter Two	43
Indochinese Resorts, a New Reading of Space	
Chapter Three	87
Tourism: Instrument of Colonisation and Preservation	
Chapter Four.....	115
Comings and Goings in Indochina, Tourist Accessibility and Mobility	
Chapter Five	143
Palaces and Bungalows, Accommodations in Indochina	
Chapter Six.....	173
Tourist Sites as Marketing Tools	
Chapter Seven.....	201
The Democratization of Indochinese Tourism	
Conclusion.....	221
Select Bibliography and Sources	225
Notes.....	243

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

Fig. 1-1 Cap Saint-Jacques Harbour	30
Fig. 1-2 Do Son Beach.	36
Fig. 2-2 View of Cha Pa.	67
Fig. 2-3 Dalat Lake.....	80
Fig. 2-4 Volleyball on H.Tourrès square in Cha Pa	81
Fig. 2-5 Villas on the southern slope of Tam Dao.....	82
Fig. 2-6 View of the agricultural station of the Val D’Emeraude, Bockor.....	83
Fig. 2-7 Villa Mangin in Cha Pa.	84
Fig. 3-1 Organigram of private and public tourist organisations in Indochina	98
Fig. 3-2 Central Office of Indochinese Tourism.	101
Fig. 3-3 Ha Long Bay.	109
Fig. 3-4 Hunting Caravan.	112
Fig. 3-5 Gaur Trophy.	113
Fig. 4-3 Bungalow at the Angkor ruins.	122
Fig. 4-4 TEMI bus to Angkor	123
Fig. 4-5 The Grand Hotel in Siem Reap.	124
Fig. 5-1 List of Specifications Studied	144
Fig. 5-2 The Bockor Palace.	162
Fig. 6-2 Climbers at the Fan Si Pan summit.....	181
Fig. 6-3 Dalat golf course	181
Fig. 6-4 Images d’Angkor brochures.....	184
Fig. 6-5 Hue brochure.....	186
Fig. 6-6 Ha Long Bay brochure.....	188
Fig. 6-7 Tourism and Transportation Pavillon of the Indochinese Section at the 1931 Colonial Exhibition in Paris).	192
Fig. 7-1 Visits by instructors to the OCTI in 1938	207
Fig. 7-2 Tourist Group at the Angkor ruins.....	209
Fig. 7-3 Strollers on an Indochinese beach in 1936.....	214

Maps (see colour centrefold)

Fig. 2-1 Resorts in Indochina

Fig. 4-1 Mobility and Tourism in Indochina 1900-1940

Fig. 4-2 Tourist networks on the southern Indochinese peninsula
at the end of the 1930s

Fig. 6-1 Range of Tourist Sites in Indochina

Fig. 8-1 Tourism in Indochina at the end of the 1930s

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the result of a thesis co-directed by Laurence Monnais and Rémy Knafou. I would like to thank them for accompanying me throughout this project that spanned two disciplines (history and geography) and two universities (University of Montreal and University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne).

I would also like to thank my editor, who expressed interest in my research during the second year of my research. His confidence in my work carried me throughout the various stages that led to the current book.

My deep thanks as well to my two translators, Ly Lan Dill and Ames Hodges, for the quality of their work, their suggestions, and their flexibility.

My research was made possible thanks to the support of several institutions: the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO), the Institut de recherche et d'études supérieures du tourisme (IREST), and the Centre d'Etude de l'Asie de l'Est (CETASE).

My gratitude goes to my friends and fellow researchers for their generosity and assistance: Mitch Aso, Catherine Bertho-Lavenir, Christian Culas, Michèle Dagenais, David Del Testa, Erich DeWald, Philippe Duhamel, Philippe le Failler, Hazel Hahn, Andrew Hardy, Maie Gérardot, Christopher Goscha, Maria Gravari-Barbas, Caroline Herbelin, Eric Jennings, Jean-François Klein, Philippe Peycam, Stephanie Ponsavady, Georges Rossi, Isabelle Sacareau, Trinh Van Thao, and Colette Zytnicki

I am deeply grateful to Lucette Vachier, former conservator of the Indochina archives of ANOM, who was kind enough to classify seven linear meters of archives from the sub-series L.8 Tourism-Sports and Hunting, which had never been consulted since they had been brought back to France following the convention signed by French authorities and Bao Dai. My thanks also go to the archivists of the National Archive Centres 1, 2, and 4 in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and Dalat, as well as those of the National Archives of Cambodia in Phnom Penh.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Georges Rossi who, thanks to his cooperative program in tourism and planning between the University of Bordeaux III and the province of Lao Cai, allowed me to carry out research in Vietnam for the first time and to discover the colonial archives.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends who provided their encouragement and support during all of these years: Anne-Marie, Vincent, Véronique, Marie-Françoise, Yvan, Andie, Géraldine, and Marie.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	National Archives of Cambodia in Phnom Penh
ANOM	National Overseas Archives in Aix-en-Provence
ANV1	National Archives centre No 1 (Hanoi)
ANV2	National Archives centre No 2 (Ho Chi Minh City)
ANV4	National Archives centre No 4 (Dalat)
BOTA	Official Tourism Bureau Annam
GGI	Government General of Indochina
GC	Government of Cochinchina
IDEO	Far East Press (Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient)
JOIF	<i>Official Journal of Indochina</i>
OCTI	Central Tourism Office of Indochina
PV	Minutes
TCF	Touring Club of France
RSA	Superior Residence of Annam
RSC	Superior Residence of Cambodia
RSL	Superior Residence of Laos
RST	Superior Residence of Tonkin
RSTNF	Superior Residence of Tonkin (New collection)
SGHI	Indochinese Society of Luxury hotels (Société des grands hôtels indochinois)

INTRODUCTION

How did tourism develop in a territory caught in the midst of colonial expansion? How did tourism and colonisation interact? Were these two processes linked? These are a few of the issues that need to be addressed to understand just how important tourism was for colonial policies in Indochina.

Colonisation and tourism

To study tourism in Indochina during the French colonisation, it is necessary to combine both historical and geographical approaches. The concepts and methods developed by geography are used here to analyse tourism in a bi-disciplinary study.¹ This study falls squarely within the parameters of historical geography, defined as "*a retrospective geography that studies space at a given moment in the past. Thus, it is the object that is specific and not the method.*"²

For the past twenty years, colonial studies have undergone a revival that has been analysed and defended by authors such as Frederick Cooper and George Balandier.³ The 1950s-1970s were symbolized by the political use of social science to defend modernization and as a relay for anticolonial movements that supported the independence of colonised territories, especially during the war in Algeria. During the 1980s, the fields of analysis of colonialism were renewed and expanded into what is known as the new trends.⁴ Themes previously considered peripheral such as sports, medicine, and hopefully tourism, have proven their wealth. Approaches have also aggregated around gender studies,⁵ adding complexity to the relationship between dominator-dominated⁶ and the emergence of a colonial culture. In France, this renewal has been slower to unfold. The early 2000s (debate around the issue of torture in Algeria in 2002 and the February 23, 2005 law on positive colonisation) began by calling into question the objects of colonial studies. It offered the possibility of moving away from a finalising vision of history and its incriminating discourse in order to concentrate on the study of political, social and cultural phenomena.⁷

Historians of the colonial period are increasingly interested in colonial tourism, especially specialists of Maghreb.⁸ However, comparing North Africa and Indochina is difficult due to very different patterns of settlement. Research into Indochinese tourism is just beginning.⁹ The most prominent scholar on the subject is Eric Jennings, with a bibliography that includes an article on the Langbian Palace in Dalat¹⁰ and most recently a book about Dalat.¹¹ His book on hydrotherapy in the French colonial empire is pioneering research; however, for technical reasons, it does not refer to Indochina (hydrotherapy was not developed in Indochina). Nonetheless, his innovative exploration of colonial spa culture is essential because, for the moment, it is the only published study that describes health tourism in the French Empire. A wealth of research exists in English on the spas and hill stations in Asia. Nora Mitchell¹² has focused on Kodaikanal to analyse the medical role of resorts and their transformation into an enclave of British colonial society. Anthony King¹³ explored the three main variables of the development of climatic resorts: culture, technology, and the relationship of domination. Dane Kennedy¹⁴ chose an ethnographic approach to study the history of British climatic resorts in colonial India. Vikram Bhatt¹⁵ and Aditi Chatterji¹⁶ analysed the spatial consequences of establishing hill stations, while Graeme Westlake¹⁷ provided an introductory overview to the question. Other colonies have also been studied, for example Malaysia in the writings of Robert Aiken¹⁸ and the Philippines in an article by Robert Reed.¹⁹ In general, although their approaches vary, the authors all focus on the origin of the resorts (built to remedy the fatigue and physical strain of a tropical environment), the intervention of the state, the importance of communication, connecting with highly colonial cities, landscape and architectural transformations, the switch to tourist practices of leisure, and retreat from colonial society. The following work represents ground-breaking work on tourism in general (discovery, leisure, and recreational practices) in Indochina, and even the French colonial empire. As such, there is no pre-existing specialized research on which to base the current work and few bibliographic references.

Tourism Studies group together several disciplines and approaches. The focus here is on spatial and temporal approaches, without neglecting approaches coming from other disciplines such as sociology.

The social component of tourism has been highlighted by sociologists such as MacCannell²⁰ and John Urry²¹ who developed the idea that tourism is a cultural construction, summarized in the concept of the "*tourist gaze*." This assessment is exacerbated in a colonial context. In fact, I begin with the premise that tourism as practiced during the colonial period does not exist as such before the arrival of the French. This does

not prove that it did not exist but rather that practices were different from those imported by the colonists. The transformation of sites to allow these new tourism practices upholds this hypothesis. This infrastructure was the result of a new vision and new uses of the territory according to social, economic, and cultural models that were different than those of the populations already living there.

Certain historians have also taken an interest in the history of tourism, which has led to the fast growth of this sub-discipline of the social sciences. Tourism is merely a product of a given society and is part of the historical process, where it participates in the construction of the nation-state, as Marguerite Shaffer has shown, for example, in her study of the American nation.²² This approach helps explain the role of tourism in building an Indochinese identity as a whole and even specific Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian identities.

Geographers, meanwhile, have a spatial approach to tourism. By studying the impact of tourism on a given area, they define typologies, models of development, and spatial logics specific to tourism. The colonial context highlights these spatial impacts. The all-powerful State considers the space as new and plans it according to its needs and its techniques. Geographic analysis thus helps us understand the mechanisms for implementing and structuring a colonial territory.

Defining the terms "colonial tourism" or "tourism in a colonial situation"

I would argue that the term "*colonial tourism*" is misleading and could bring about the same missteps that occurred with colonial architecture,²³ that is to say, the establishment of a fixed discipline. The term "*tourism in a colonial situation*"²⁴ seems more appropriate and less reductive. It allows us to independently consider an object, tourism, as it interacts with a historical environment and context.

Indeed, the term "*colonial tourism*" tends to oppose colonists and colonised and to make tourism a vector of oppression. And yet, tourist spaces are designed to bring about a meeting with the Other and alterity is part of what fuels the activity. Alterity can result from a difference in social classes (between colonists) or a difference in culture (between colonisers and colonised). Tourism was not conceived as a tool of oppression, even if it did help smooth out Indochina's image by highlighting the civilizing mission and the preservation of sites while reducing exploitation and oppression. It allowed a segment of the Indochinese community to flourish in aseptified areas, without constituting places

devoid of all contact, as evidenced by the presence of affluent Vietnamese in Dalat or the Vietnamese middle classes in Cap Saint-Jacques (Vung Tau). Tourist facilities also encouraged movement within the colony, facilitating the movement of all Indochinese including the colonised populations that were able to exploit the new means of communication available to them.²⁵ Similarly, the colonised gradually appropriated tourism practices. The purpose of this demonstration is not to prove that oppression did not exist in the colonial system, but to warn against the shortcuts the expression can generate in French colonial studies. This holds especially true in the following study, given that its focus is on the use of tourism to further colonisation. It would be highly tempting to perceive this instrumentalisation as a tool of oppression. Tourism served colonisation, but was not a tool of direct domination and oppression, as evidenced by the colonised peoples' appropriation of practices, an appropriation defended by the authorities. However, the colonised used tourism for more political goals. It was used as an excuse for political trips and contributed to the emergence of national identities for the countries of the former Indochina.

Furthermore, the term "*tourism in a colonial situation*" is more in line with a historical geography approach. Indeed, the peculiarity of tourism in Indochina stems from the political context of the tourist area (the colony) and not from practices. The latter are not unique to Indochina, but were imported from Europe and adapted to the Indochinese environment. Some claim that the beginnings of tourism are found in the Grand Tour (eighteenth century) while others defend the idea that tourism dates back to Antiquity.²⁶ I favour the former. The Grand Tour was a journey undertaken by Anglo-Saxon noblemen from city to city, allowing them to expand their social and scientific knowledge of the various European states. The eighteenth century marked the true beginnings of tourism with the addition of coastal resorts and the development of places of sociability and entertainment. From this stance, tourism as it was practiced in Indochina during the colonial era could not have existed before the arrival of the French and was the subject of a transfer. It was the result of its location (the colonised territory) and the transfer of practices that had begun in the eighteenth century in Europe.

The definitions used to analyse tourism are geographical and were produced by two French geographers, Rémy Knafo and Mathis Stock:

*"a system of actors, practices, and spaces that are part of the 'leisure' of individuals who are in movement and living outside of their daily environment."*²⁷

The official definitions of the UNWTO (World Tourism Organization)²⁸ have been deliberately put aside for they are more interested in quantifying economic activity than understanding the underlying process. It should be noted that several dissatisfied researchers have developed their own definitions. This intellectual proliferation has multiplied definitions and has unfortunately become a source of confusion in determining the object.²⁹

Similarly, the notion of colonisation is understood both from a historical perspective (the colonial period that interests us is part of what experts have called the second colonisation), but also from a geographical point of view (in terms of: settling into a space, transforming it, and structuring it). This geographical approach allows us to capture the spatial consequences of the implementation of tourism as well as their complementarity with general planning policies.

Issues and hypotheses

My goal is to demonstrate that tourism is a major and indispensable player in colonial policies. The knowledge mobilized to demonstrate this, will shed new light on Indochinese colonisation and the mechanisms through which tourism is enacted in general. It is based on four assumptions:

First, tourism helps produce a country's identity and its communication. It evoked the colony in a fun and entertaining way. It also legitimized the new political regime: the French Indochinese Union. Secondly, tourism worked to master the territory in spatial terms. The colonial state divided the space to make it accessible and to facilitate possible intervention, but also to inhabit it and to exploit it better. With the amounts that were allocated to the construction of communication channels and accommodation, tourism would contribute to building tourist resorts *ex nihilo*. It is a symbol of territorial location, the appropriation of place, and the control of environmental constraints. Third, tourism contributes to the development of a society. Creating resorts, establishing facilities to practice recreational activities in large cities helped recreate an environment and lifestyle similar to that of the Metropole. In addition, the enactment of tourism in specific sites promoted the appropriation, through discovery, of the Indochinese territory. This is an important point: a colony is only effective if it reaches a minimum number of colonists and develops social ties and shared values. The birth of a colonial society is essential to maintaining group cohesion and sustaining its authority. Finally, the last hypothesis is that tourism is a component of a country's economic activity. Colonies

should theoretically be independent of, and even enrich, their homelands. Tourism was seen as a source of foreign currency for the colony.³⁰ Its potential was significant. In 1913, authorities estimated that 20,000 American tourists had sailed past Indochinese shores on their way to visit Manila or Java, and only 250 had stopped in Indochina.³¹

Actors occupy a central place in this work and my focus is on the State at all administrative levels (the Ministry of the Colonies, the General Governments, local authorities). This interest is justified by the political context. In a colonial situation, the State is omnipotent; it is responsible for planning, economic exploitation, the well-being of its populations, and the asserting the colony's identity in comparison to other states. Developers (hotel owners, travel agencies) are also of interest when incorporated into state policies. The third actor is the tourists themselves. Tourists fall into several groups depending on their economic characteristics, their cultures, and their expectations. A first division, widespread in tourist studies, differentiates between foreign and national tourists. A second division, inherited from the traditional divisions found in colonial history, opposed colonists and colonised, and, to a lesser extent, the inhabitants of the Metropole and the colonists. I have established four separate groups: foreign tourists, tourists from the Metropole, colonial tourists, and finally tourists from the colonised community. These groups are not in opposition; the distinction helps to provide a more precise understanding of their practices, the places they visit, as well as to assess the impact of colonial policies on them. Foreign, metropolitan, and colonial tourists play a major role because they are the focus of state tourism policies whereas tourists from the colonised populations are targeted relatively late (in 1935) by the state policies that are at the core of my analysis. The study of foreign, metropolitan, and colonial tourists also helps discuss the transfers of practices they originated and the consequences in terms of development.

The tourism practices used hereinafter were defined by the MIT:

"Tourism practices are what a tourist does during his or her trip, combining the enactment of his or her intentions and the answers he or she gives to the suggestions made by a place."³²

These practices can be combined into three groups: discovery, initiated by the Grand Tour; leisure; and recreation. The last two are the result of the liberation of the body and the development of well-being. This was a long-term evolution. It started with the invention of sea bathing during the eighteenth century (in 1720 in Brighton, England) and led to the affirmation, during the second half of the nineteenth century, of the

entertainment function to the detriment of the therapeutic function. This demedicalisation encouraged the development of warmer waters (Europe's northern beaches lost their appeal in favour of France's southern beaches), and the development of sociability and entertainment. The transfer and adaptation of these practices in Indochina led to the enactment of tourism in colonial places.³³

Tourism is seen as an activity that created places. Sites were prepared or built to develop tourism. Either the site fully existed before its tourist development with a population and economic activities that ensured the survival and development of the society on-site, or tourism created the site *ex nihilo*, that is to say it developed places that were barely if at all developed by their societies. This does not mean that there were no human establishments, customs, and practices, but the arrival of tourism helped in a way to "give birth" to the place.³⁴ The implementation of tourism required a new reading of geographical and cultural characteristics: landscapes, mountains, seas, beaches, and monuments. In general, the colonial state equipped the sites to comply with the needs of its colonists, making this particular theme particularly significant.

Outline

From 1898 to 1939, tourism in Indochina developed immensely. The first visible signs began under Paul Doumer's General Government³⁵ which sustained and enhanced colonisation by launching a public works program that included the establishment of hill stations. 1898 is a symbolic date. It corresponds to the promulgation of a decree (April 16, 1898) by Paul Doumer opening a credit of 30,000 piastres to build a road from Dalat to the Annamite coast. While tourism does not stop with the Second World War, the Japanese invasion, Indochina's support of the Vichy government, and the rise of separatist claims distinguish this particular period from the developments of the previous period. During these forty years, three moments stand out: 1898-1920 (transfer of tourism practices and the building of hill stations), 1920-1930 (the tourist development of Indochina), 1930-1940 (promoting tourism abroad and within the colony). While my focus is on Indochina as a whole (excluding the territory of Kwang Chou), I will also examine tourist organisation and the differences in how each territory was considered. France created the Indochinese Union to gather the different territories it had conquered within a common political entity. Initial contact between France and Vietnam dates back to the 1620s-1630s with Jesuit missionaries like Alexandre de Rhodes. The first military intervention was in 1858, led by

Admiral Rigault of Grenouilly who took possession of Tourane and Saigon. The French army then gradually conquered the central and eastern territories of Indochina. France conquered Cochinchina in 1862 following the Treaty of Saigon, Cambodia in 1863, Annam and Tonkin with the Treaty of Tien Tsin on June 9, 1885, and Laos in 1893. They were all combined to create the Indochinese Union.

Tourism, as per the definition used here, is a legacy of European practices gradually implemented since the eighteenth century in Europe, especially in France. At its beginning, colonisation brought with it different types of transfers including tourism practices such as discovery, leisure, and recreation, which are the subject of the first chapter. This chapter lays the analytical foundation at both the methodological level (it defines tourism practices) and the historical levels (the chronological limits of our study were exceeded to better understand how these practices were put in place).

The second chapter focuses on leisure. This practice, in flux when it transferred, was the first implantation to be orchestrated by the state. What were the political, geographical and health criteria that decided the establishment of leisure resorts? The answers lie in a new reading of the territory. Their progressive demedicalisation and their growing tourist functions after the First World War are retraced in Chapter 2. The second chapter ends with the role played by resorts in the prosperity of the colonist community and thus in the process of colonisation.

Starting in the 1910s and especially in the early 1920s, along with the introduction of leisure practices, authorities, under the helm of Sarraut,³⁶ began implementing a tourism policy aimed primarily at the international tourists who were most interested in discovering new territories. Thanks to its economic potential, tourist organisation was integrated into Sarraut's program to develop the colony that was designed in the early 1920s. In line with this policy, the 1930s were marked by the implementation of a conservation policy to safeguard tourist attractions and oversee their use. Chapter 3 aims to demonstrate that authorities considered tourism as an instrument of Sarraut's policy of economic development.

The establishment of tourist organization, as defined by Sarraut, was comprised by two successive phases: development and propaganda, understood today as communication and publicity. The study of the development phase is covered in the next two chapters. Chapter 4 focuses on mobility and accessibility for tourists in Indochina, mobility both within the country (construction of communication channels and rest houses) and beyond (links between Indochinese ports and international shipping routes). The following chapter examines the various hotel

offerings, analysing their construction, management, and the role of state institutions. Both chapters begin in the 1920s (beginning of development policies) and continue until the 1930s, in order to track the changes in the management of accessibility and accommodations. Both emphasize the General Government's instrumentalisation of tourist mobility to provide infrastructure within the country.

The penultimate chapter is devoted to propaganda. This second phase of tourism organization intensified in the late 1920s and during the 1930s. Communication campaigns focused on specific landmarks selected by the authorities to represent Indochina and its tourist sites. Chapter 6 will allow me to present the sites put forward by the colonial state and understand the role played by tourism in the general communication about Indochina.

This study closes with the attempts by authorities during the 1930s to democratize access to tourism for middle class colonists and the wealthier members of colonised society. This final chapter shows how the authorities once again used tourism to achieve other goals. By promoting leisure and the discovery of tourist sites, they improved living conditions for the middle class and helped create a sense of identity and belonging to the Indochinese Union. In this, the authorities were partially successful. The promotion of tourist activities led some colonised individuals to feel an emerging sense of belonging, albeit less to the Indochinese Union (the colonial structure) than to their own countries (Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos), giving rise to their own calls for nationhood.³⁷

The corpus of sources

The exploitation of tourism by the colonial state required focusing research on administrative archives and materials printed thanks to State assistance.³⁸ From the beginning, it was clear that administrative records were to play an important role, especially since most had never been consulted even though they constituted a specific series:³⁹ the L series *Commerce-Industry-Tourism* (sub-series L.8 *Tourism-Sports and Hunting*). It illustrates the importance of the available documentation and is further proof of the consideration with which the authorities handled this activity. To this series, I added the D Series, *General Administration* (sub-series D.63 *Police of Public Places, Games Morals*), and the S Series *Sanitary Services and Public Assistance* (sub-series S.3 *Sanatoria*). These series (L, D, and S) were systematically consulted in the territorial collections, the collections of the General Government of Indochina (central administration) and the collections of various residences of Tonkin, Laos, Cambodia, and

Annam (regional administration). Not all collections are kept in the ANOM (Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence). Certain archives can be found in Vietnam's National Archives Centre No. 1 in Hanoi, No. 2 in Ho Chi Minh City, and No. 4 in Dalat) and the National Archives of Cambodia in Phnom Penh. In addition, ANOM also kept ministerial collections from the French Overseas Agency (Agence française d'outre-mer), the High Council of the Colonies (Conseil supérieur des colonies), and Public Works.

Colonial era novels did not provide any more information than the archives in terms of the role of tourism in colonial policies. This repetition was already highlighted during the colonial era by Engène Pujarniscle, the author of *Le Bonze and le pirate* (1929) who gave a satirical recipe for an Indochinese novel:

"You walk the characters through Hongay (description of the ruins) by way of Hue (description of the tombs). When crossing Hanoi or Saigon (description of native streets), they are surprised by the funeral procession of a mandarin (another description). They are invited by a rich Annamite or an opulent Chinese person (list of dishes: shark fins, swallows' nests, etc.). If the author had the bright idea of starting his characters in Marseille, he can add to this rich collection of descriptions, those of the departure, of the ship and the stop-overs."⁴⁰

Other researchers are tackling this subject using literary references⁴¹ and the addition of yet another discipline to our bi-disciplinary approach would have extended it past the limits of this current work.⁴²

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN OF TOURIST PRACTICES IN INDOCHINA (1856-1910)

"I am now eager to resume my tourist narrative"
—Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'exploration en Indochine*⁴³

During the conquest of Indochina, tourism was developing in Europe and North America, and the leisure, recreation, and discovery practices that were still being elaborated at the time were naturally transposed to the colonised territories, which adapted and expanded them depending on their environment.⁴⁴

The practice of discovery was a legacy of the Grand Tour, introduced by the English aristocracy in the eighteenth century. It grew, spread, and took on new forms with the birth of the colonial empires and the modernization of transport. At the end of the nineteenth century, this practice was changing rapidly and in the colonial context it coincided with the conquest and discovery of territories. Discovery and colonisation go hand in hand: tourist discovery motivated both explorers and colonists, while the discoveries of explorers recounted in their travelogues, fed the imagination of tourists and elicited their readers' desire for discovery as future tourists. The close proximity between the strategies for conquering a territory and exploration, similar to practices of tourist discovery, remains constantly ambiguous. As such, some explorers could be seen as proto-tourists.⁴⁵

Leisure practices, at the heart of colonial life in Indochina, resulted from a three-part transfer: the transfer of European medical practices extolling the virtues of water and air; the transfer of seaside resorts that were already undergoing profound changes in Europe; and the transfer of British mountain sojourns in the hill stations of India. The last was an adaptation of European practices to Indian geological and climatic conditions.

In resorts, leisure was often associated with recreation. Their development encouraged the emergence of European-style sociability. Do Son, nicknamed the "Trouville of Tonkin" is particularly revelatory in this regard.

Discovery: Proto-Tourists and Tourists

Tourist and political practices of discovery in a colonial context shared so many traits that certain explorers can be seen as proto-tourists. What distinguished proto-tourists from tourists were both their motivation and the temporality of their discovery. Furthermore, these proto-tourists sometimes inadvertently contributed to developing tourism in sites described in their travelogues.

Tourist discovery and territorial conquest

In the colonial context, the development of discovery tourism is inseparable from conquest, which makes it difficult to distinguish between tourist discovery and the exploration of land for political purposes, what could be called "political discovery." As Isabelle Surun has already pointed out, the links between exploration and colonisation should be reassessed as *"a meeting of partners and not as an unequal confrontation constitutive of irreducible otherness."*⁴⁶ It should first be noted that the term "discovery" in both contexts is problematic, since the discovery is, by definition, the action of discovering what is unknown and ignored. This nuance introduces the idea that there are several levels for understanding the term depending on the scope of the discovery. One discovers for oneself, in the case of tourists, or for a group or a nation, as in the case of explorers. It is thus difficult or impossible to use the term in its first meaning and makes discovery more relative by placing it in the context of individual or collective knowledge.

Tourist discovery is an individual discovery, one that is experienced anew by each tourist; it represents a new practice of place.⁴⁷ Tourism specialists associate its beginnings with the Grand Tour of young, European aristocrats as early as the eighteenth century. It was intended for *"education through discovery of the wonders of the Renaissance and Antiquity in situ."*⁴⁸ This practice of the Grand Tour contributed to the creation of tourist sites consisting of cities, monuments, and both natural and cultural sites. It took hold in Europe then spread to the rest of the world, especially the colonial world. This expansion was made all the easier as it occurred during the conquest of colonial empires accompanied by a horde of explorers, whose travelogues fed the exotic imaginary that was being elaborated around these territories.

In the colonial situation, political discovery serves the project of conquest. Western explorers discovered places that were already known to local inhabitants. In Indochina, colonisation began in 1857 with the

establishment of a colony in southern Cochinchina. It was followed by a period of conquest (1858-1885) that included exploratory missions. Control over territory is essential for colonisation. In order to colonise a place, settlers need to know their environment as well as the prevalent social and political structures.⁴⁹ To acquire this knowledge, explorers observe and describe the characteristics of the geographical environment, topography, flora, fauna, and people. They can be geographers, like Francis Garnier:

"What a dry task it is to be a geographer, and how monotonous it is to contemplate a compass and a watch! (...) Unfortunately! the more varied the landscape, the less leisure I had. Here is a mountain, quick record it, there a river, what is its name and where does it come from? a village, put it on the bank! rapids, where the channel is and where is the water deepest?"⁵⁰,

Ethnographers like Auguste Pavie who collected the clothing of most of the peoples of Indochina and endeavoured to understand their habits and customs; and naturalists like Jules Harmand:

"I crossed the mountain in search of plants and trees in flower or in fruit which would increase the wealth of my herbarium, capturing and killing without mercy those lizards, snakes, insects, and birds who were careless enough to show themselves to my eyes."⁵¹

Using local guides, explorers sought to understand how inhabitants managed this environment, their resources, the organisation of their social hierarchies, what places were inhabited, what their names. Auguste Pavie's notes bear witness to this insatiable appetite for knowledge:

"The mahout had never had to answer so many questions. Although I was not surveying the road, I had to have the name of each hamlet, those of mountains near or far, as well as those of the streams, their sources, their directions, and endless details related to the entire country: geography, history, legends, etc."⁵²

Gradually, through the information collected by explorers, colonisers acquired the knowledge necessary for greater territorial control, enabling them to establish their colonisation.⁵³ It was assisted by the use of modern technologies that contributed to the scientific and physical control of space. Among these technologies, maps, common to both explorers and tourists, became an essential tool for developing a strategy for conquest with the final aim of controlling space. It allowed them to visualize the

space, identify resources, people, and geographical constraints, estimate travel times, and create routes.

In the colonial situation, the ties between tourist discovery and political discovery were inseparable and influenced each other, creating a certain ambiguity between the status of tourist and explorer.

From proto-tourist explorers to tourists

Are explorers tourists who do not know it and conversely do tourists dabble in exploration? Though tourists borrowed from explorers, the opposite is less clear; even if certain explorers did call themselves tourists, as shown in the quote from Francis Garnier that opens this chapter. However, explorers and tourists share similar discovery practices. The former were often the starting point for the establishment of tourism in many sites, which would become dedicated to discovery as well as leisure and recreation.

Placing tourist practices and exploratory practices side by side may seem provocative; however, it reflects a certain reality. This approach does not minimize the intrusive, even brutal nature of some exploratory expeditions, or imply that every traveller who engages in discovery tourism is a potential conqueror. Explorers are certainly not fully tourists, but the similarity in certain practices tends to qualify them, if not as tourists, then at least as proto-tourists. The prefix *proto* is useful for introducing a nuance: without diminishing the touristic dimension of explorers, it insists on the primacy of these practices. The role of discovery in colonial context is difficult to establish. Many explorers, following in the footsteps of predecessors, were given the mission of furthering exploration. Like tourists, explorers explore areas that are known by others; their discoveries are relative and vary depending on the knowledge of social groups. Some explorers investigate areas that are totally unknown to their community (for example, to the European or Western community), and others explore territories that have already been travelled by missionaries⁵⁴, or by their predecessors: explorers whose accounts they read.

Generally, explorers are given missions with a specific purpose, but they also linger, like tourists, visiting the places described by those who came before them, and thus engaging in tourist practices. Indeed, despite their names, exploratory missions in the nineteenth century were rarely carried out in *terra incognita*, and were often undertaken to extend previous explorations. Thus, when Jules Harmand reached Bassac in early February 1877, his notes recount how his aim, above all, was the search

for Wat Phu, the monument visited in 1867 by Doudart de Lagrée and described in his travel accounts. Jules Harmand indicates that he simply visited the monument, choosing not to give a description, judging that the one by Doudart de Lagrée is perfect.⁵⁵ It seems difficult to associate his visit to this site, which was already known to the Western community, with an offensive act of conquest; it appears more as an act of individual tourist discovery. Missions of exploration, whatever their motives, cannot therefore be conceived of in practice as homogeneous in their relationship with power. The wish of explorers to engage in tourist activities is reflected in their writings, like those passages in which Francis Garnier complains of lacking time to enjoy the pleasures of the trip fully. In his notes, he recorded

"After a hectic and noisy day spent amid the feverish activity of a mind excited by incessant work and constant attention, how sweet it was to capture a moment of rest, and contemplate at leisure one of those scenes before which I was not allowed to dream for a second during the day! (...) How I envied those of my colleagues whose other occupations did not deprive them, at least, of the attraction of travel and the pleasure of seeing new landscapes unfold before them, with no other concern than admiring them ! (...) I was not permitted even a second's distraction. This constant gymnastics, this enduring geographical concern, which has been my lot for two years, has made what I call the scenic joys of travel so foreign to me that I would do it all again willingly just to experience them at my leisure."⁵⁶

The sentiments expressed in this passage reveal the deep-set motivations shared with tourists, like the taste for travel, observing landscapes, and the pleasure of discovery.

Multiple references and the desire to visit sites described in the accounts of voyages by previous explorers, show that there was a community of tourist and political discoverers. Auguste Pavie, after returning to France, turned his home into a gathering place for "Asian" and "African" explorers.⁵⁷ Alexandre Yersin sought advice from Jules Harmand before embarking on his second mission of exploration. Francis Garnier had a monument built in 1867 in honour of Henri Mouhot. Explorers used travelogues as tools to prepare their trips and as tourist guides, to enhance their missions with sightseeing opportunities. This community of explorers functions like the community of tourists, sustaining themselves with travelogues like tourists consuming guidebooks and wanting to see what previous explorers described, while furthering the exploration of previously known territories. Under certain circumstances, explorers can therefore be treated as tourists: explorers one

day and tourists the other.

There are differences, however, that remain between both groups. The two key differences being the political implications of their travel and their mobility. Explorers are professionals whose discoveries serve political or military purposes, causes, institutions, or nations. Because they are on a mission, because they are attracted by the rewards, their approach is more professional. Tourists, on the other hand, discover more often for themselves, and the story of their stay will not be passed down to posterity; their approach is more intimate, more akin to personal well-being. Explorers engage in geographical and cultural discovery of little known or unknown territory in the context of a mission, contributing to the enrichment of general knowledge, while tourists engage in the same "discovery excursions" on familiar ground to enrich their own experience. Take Yersin who, having undertaken his first explorations for his own pleasure, without supervision, mentions in his notes on his seven-month journey to Moi [Degar] country, that he spoke to the Governor General Jean-Marie de Lanessan⁵⁸ so that his next trip would have a practical and useful outcome. The governor put him in charge of studying a road project leading from Saigon into Moi countries and, more generally, to establish a report on the country's resources, the possibilities of raising livestock, and exploit its forest and mining resources.⁵⁹ Their mobility also differed. Explorers were limited by the lack of (Western) maps, poor knowledge of the terrain, and the lack of modern channels of communication. However, given the lack of specific guidelines for these expeditions, explorers were relatively free to choose their own routes; even if the regions to be explored were defined, the means to access them were left up to their judgment. It should also be noted that explorers did not know what they would find; they used local trackers as guides, but they moved into unknown lands, unlike tourists who followed in their footsteps and turned them into marked trails that linked together tourist sites, qualified as places "to see."

Explorers, through their publications and missions, contributed to the emergence of a tourist imagination, one that is notably based on historical sites. They also revealed places where resorts would later be established.

Publishing travel accounts, in particular in widely read magazines like *Le Tour du monde*, led to the creation of a tourist vision of Indochina. And by extension, these writings participated in constructing an image and an identity for the future Indochinese Union. Among the most famous include the writings of Francis Garnier.⁶⁰ In 1873, he published the *Voyage d'exploration en Indochine*, an account of the exploration of the Mekong from 1866 to 1868, as well as six articles and brochures from 1871 to 1874