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The British Consulate in the Government of Cochinchina Archives (1868-1899)

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1/ The British Consulate in the Government of Cochinchina Archives (1868-1899)

Christopher DENIS-DELACOUR

ABSTRACT: *In this study of early French colonization in Cochinchina, consular diplomacy emerges as a pivotal force shaping imperial dynamics. Analyzing consular practices, the research unveils complex interactions between European powers, local empires, and diasporic communities. Key themes include colonial governance, economic interests, diplomatic negotiations, and the role of consuls in navigating territorial sovereignty. Through meticulous archival analysis, the study sheds light on the nuances of imperial control and the fluidity of identities in a colonial setting.*

ABSTRACT: *In questo studio sulla prima colonizzazione francese in Cocincina, la diplomazia consolare emerge come una forza cruciale che plasma le dinamiche imperiali. Analizzando le pratiche consolari, la ricerca svela le complesse interazioni tra le potenze europee, gli imperi locali e le comunità diasporiche. I temi chiave includono la governance coloniale, gli interessi economici, le negoziazioni diplomatiche e il ruolo dei consoli nella gestione della sovranità territoriale. Attraverso una meticolosa analisi archivistica, lo studio fa luce sulle sfumature del controllo imperiale e sulla fluidità delle identità in un contesto coloniale.*

Introduction

As this paper nears its finalization, a workshop is scheduled to take place in Nantes in June 2024, titled *The Consular Sources - Towards a Social and Global History of International Relations*. As outlined in the call for papers, the objective of this workshop is to delve into the multifaceted realm of consular sources, exploring their diverse nature and extensive historical production¹. Indeed, consular studies intersect with disciplines such as international relations, social history, and global history, aligning with the ongoing scholarly momentum that has revitalized the study of consular institutions². Spearheaded by the international network *La fabrique consulaire*³, diverse

¹ As mentioned in the call for papers, we draw heavily upon the themes outlined for the workshop titled *The Consular Sources - Towards a Social and Global History of International Relations*, which will take place in Nantes in June 2024.

² Among the numerous publications that have contributed to the revitalization of consular studies in France: MÉZIN, Anne, *Les consuls de France au siècle des Lumières (1715-1792)*, Paris, Ministère des Affaires

research initiatives have significantly contributed to the field, fostering renewed inquiry into the roles of consuls in information dissemination, international trade facilitation, and the consolidation of modern bureaucratic states. The proposed thematic agenda to be discussed in Nantes highlights five key themes: the consular institution's role in international relations, its political significance in nation-state formation, its relevance to economic history through consular sources, its utility in understanding the social dynamics of expatriation, and its potential contribution to a global history narrative.

In addressing these problematics, the case of the British consulate in Saigon emerges as a pertinent focal point for investigation, offering varying degrees of interest and potential insights in alignment with the key themes raised by the conference in Nantes and upcoming research endeavors. The British consulate serves as a compelling example due to the intense rivalry between the British and French empires in South-East Asia, as well as the pre-existing connections between the British diplomatic network and the diasporas of Chinese merchants⁴. These British connections predate the establishment of French Cochinchina, thus extending the European competition between the two empires into the South-East Asian region⁵. Beyond diplomatic and military conflicts, the colonization of Vietnam also prompts inquiries into the identities and statuses of local populations⁶. Consequently, documents related to the British consulate are anticipated to offer insights into the foundation and competition of foreign consular service in the French colony. They also shed light on the complexities of local and international dynamics across various fields, necessitating a nuanced understanding of archive organization and classification.

The discourse surrounding the diversity of consular sources and access challenges is unsurprising, given the expansive geographical scope and intricate administrative nature inherent in consular services and roles. Accessing and comprehending consular papers can prove challenging, as they span multiple countries and administrations, often requiring investigation

étrangères, Direction des archives et de la documentation, 1997.

³ See the institutional website at URL: < <https://cmmc-nice.fr/recherches-2/programmes-consuls/la-fabrique-consulaire/> > [consulted on 11 June 2024].

⁴ PLATT, Christopher, Martin, «The role of the British Consular Service in Overseas Trade, 1825-1914», in *The Economic History Review*, 15, 3/1963, pp. 494-512.

⁵ This competition is well-known and described in recent and less recent studies. For instance: CHRISTIAN, John L., « Anglo-French Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Its Historical Geography and Diplomatic Climate », in *Geographical Review*, 31, 2/1941, pp. 272-282.

⁶ THÉNAULT, Sylvie, «L'indigénat dans l'Empire français: Algérie/Cochinchine, une double matrice», in *Monde(s)*, 12, 2/2017, pp. 21-40. It is worth noting that the Cochinchina decree predates the Algerian law on indigenous people by one month. The *indigénat* is often defined as a regime of exception based on rule by decree, enacted in often arbitrary and sometimes spectacular punishments, and concerned primarily with asserting administrative power. MAAN, Gregory, «What Was the Indigénat? The 'Empire of Law' in French West Africa», in *The Journal of African History*, 50, 3/2009, pp. 331-353. Concerning the British empire: KNAPMAN, Gareth, *Race and British Colonialism in Southeast Asia, 1770-1870: John Crawfurd and the Politics of Equality*, New York, Routledge, 2016.

across numerous archive sites. This complexity is exemplified by consular papers related to ex-Indochina: the colonial context followed by independence has rendered sources not consistently accessible or clearly classified as relevant to consuls and consulates, leading to uncertainty regarding the identification of overlapping documents⁷. Furthermore, the history of Vietnamese archives themselves merits consideration, offering insights into the intricacies of historical academic research in terms of source accessibility and comparison. These fundamental questions will inform our reflection and serve as preliminary considerations towards a comprehensive assessment of consular sources preserved in Vietnamese archives.

1. Archives and Documents: Dissemination and Locations

The issue of archive transfer emerged notably in France concerning its colonial possessions, particularly in the case of Indochina. Interestingly, bilateral agreements addressing archive sharing were reached only between France and Indochina, as well as France and India⁸. In contrast, in other regions, the process was unilateral and driven solely by France's initiative. The initial provisions regarding Indochinese archives were outlined in the agreement of March 8, 1949, stipulating that each government retains ownership of their respective archives, with their conservation and management subject to agreed-upon procedures. Subsequently, a commission was established to navigate the intricate matter of archive distribution between the newly independent state of Vietnam and France. This effort culminated in the signing of the June 15, 1950, agreement by Léon Pignon, France's High Commissioner, and Bao-Daï. The agreement delineated distinctions between archives of sovereignty and administrative or managerial archives. The former encompassed records related to high-level administration, law enforcement, military matters, overarching policies, and personnel records of French officials, considered as the property of the French government and repatriated. Conversely, the latter, originating from technical services, were permitted to remain in their respective locations in Vietnam. Therefore, concerning Indochina archives, documents are stored at the National Overseas Archives (ANOM Aix-en-Provence)⁹ or the National Archives of Vietnam. As an ongoing concern, access to these archives presents a challenge, with availability dispersed across various sites. Compounding this

⁷ We will provide further explanation on the specificity of the mentioned context. Other collective research on consular studies has noted that the colonial context, particularly in Asia, is comparatively less explored than its European counterparts, such as the Italian consular network abroad. AGLIETTI, Marcella, GRENET, Mathieu, JESNÉ, Fabrice (a cura di), *Consoli e consolati italiani dagli stati preunitari al fascismo (1802-1940)*, Roma, École française de Rome, 2020.

⁸ As mentioned in VACHIER, Lucette, «Les sources historiques pour la recherche asiatique au Centre des Archives d'Outre-mer (CAOM)», in *Moussons*, 99, 1999, pp. 89-93.

⁹ Research instruments, search engine, and general status of fonds at URL: < <https://recherche-anom.culture.gouv.fr/> > [consulted on 11 June 2024].

challenge is the need for comprehensive lists detailing institutions, administrative sectors, and historical epochs, essential for effectively identifying potential sources, understanding their nature, and pinpointing their specific locations.

For instance, the Admiralty Collection (up to the establishment of the Indochinese Union in 1887)¹⁰ and then the General Government Collection (until 1945) are stored at the ANOM. The files were produced by various departments of the central administration, covering all aspects of colonial management: general and provincial administration, political affairs, military affairs, diplomatic relations, public works, justice, education, economy and trade, tourism, culture, and fine arts. The documents consist of notes, reports, correspondence, and sometimes include iconographic documents such as plans, sketches, and photographs.

On the other side, the 4 National Archives Centers of Vietnam, overseen by the State Archives Administration, house a collection of archival materials in various languages and formats, and chronicle the political, economic, cultural, and social history of Vietnam from the 19th century onwards. Specifically, within the colonial-era holdings, one finds administrative records from both central and local governmental bodies, technical documents relating to architectural projects and infrastructure development, and a rich collection of maps produced by the Geographical Service of Indochina. More specifically, the Archive Center 2 in Ho Chi Minh City includes the Cochinchina Government Collection (thereafter GouCoch)¹¹ related to files dating from 1859 to 1945, with a significant portion consisting of administrative documents such as legal documents, correspondence exchanged between the Governor of Cochinchina and offices; organizational documents from general institutions such as Federal Council, Private Council, Colonial Council; political reports from provinces and services in Cochinchina and Saigon; and the technical and administrative archives mentioned previously.

This particular group of documents was of interest to us as the GouCoch documents encompassed the foreign consular services and the various contexts in which they intervened and negotiated with colonial authorities. The files remain mostly unexplored through the lens of consular studies. The archives are generally organized by folders, featuring titles related to administrative competencies, keywords/subjects, and periods¹². It is worth noting that a collaborative initiative supports research and document selection¹³. As previously mentioned, the

¹⁰ After the start of the so-called conquest of Cochinchina in 1858, a military regime was established. It was abolished in 1879 following the political victory of the Republicans in France; FOURNIAU, Charles, *Le contact franco-vietnamien : Le premier demi-siècle (1858-1911)*, Aix-en-Provence, Presses universitaires de Provence, 1999, pp. 57-129.

¹¹ In Vietnamese THỐNG ĐỐC NAM KỲ (TDNK), in French *Gouvernement de la Cochinchine*.

¹² A description of the content dating from 1915 can be found in TRAN, Văn, Ký, *Les archives du gouvernement de la Cochinchine : organisation, méthode de classement*, Hanoi, Imprimerie tonkinoise, 1915.

¹³ Research instruments, search engine at URL: < <https://vietphap.luutru.gov.vn/tructuyen/fr/danhmuchoso.aspx?intLoaihinhtl=1&idCQLT=2&intIdPhongLT=107> > > [consulted on 11 June 2024].

GouCoch archives are currently organized into folders and files, which may be nominal, related to specific administrations or cases, and may not necessarily follow a sequential numbering system. These files contain communications between various colonial administrations, residents, institutions, and individuals outside the colony. Documents exchanged between different administrations often include originals, annotated drafts, and internal discussions preceding the communication of final letters and decisions on a given subject or case. Consequently, exploring multiple files and folders is often necessary to gather documents related to the same period and subject. For instance, consular actions are not confined to files concerning consulate management; they can also be found in documents related to the management of foreigners, visits by foreign government representatives, property conflicts, and other matters, even if the consul's name or keywords related to consular service are not explicitly mentioned in the file title.

The folders concerning the foreign consulates in Saigon, which include the country information in their titles, include Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, England, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Japan, Siam, Spain, Sweden, and the United States. The chronological limits differ; some folders commence in 1877 and span several decades, while others hold documents pertaining to a more concise period during the 1940s. Overall, the GouCoch archives begin when the new civil regime was installed in 1879¹⁴. Another noteworthy aspect is the presence of folders pertaining to the French consulates in South-East Asia and East Asia. These folders mainly contain reports and exchanges between the Cochinchina government and the French consuls in Singapore, Rangoon, Bangkok, and other locations, covering a wide range of topics such as international relations, finance, cadaster, and economic intelligence.

Considering the dispersion of archive storage and the multitude of institutions and authorities upon which consular services rely, one may speculate about the duplication of records or their potential presence across various archival centers, questioning the 'uniqueness' of GouCoch historical records. Here, the author wishes to express gratitude to Anne-Laure Vella of the National Overseas Archives and Agnès Chablat-Beylot, the head of the diplomatic archives in Nantes, for their insights. They confirmed that this collection is unique and does not duplicate holdings in France, although similar topics can be found in other documents and resources, as will be discussed further in this article (including printed sources). Indeed, specific requests from foreign consuls in Saigon can be further explored in Paris and may consequently be found in the GouCoch documents in Vietnam and the diplomatic archives in France.

¹⁴ On May 15, 1879, Le Myre de Vilers was appointed the governor of Cochinchina and established a civil regime with new political and institutional goals. For example, the creation of a Colonial Council for Cochinchina, composed of six French citizens elected by their compatriots and six Asian subjects who were French nationals to manage the budget. He also ended martial law. FOURNIAU, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

For instance, on July 29, 1881, the Italian consul in Saigon addressed a letter to the Director of the Home Office, expressing dissatisfaction that the Minister of Marine did not recognize the Navigation convention established between France and Italy on June 13, 1862. This incident highlights the involvement of different institutions and administrations in the case, each producing related documents: the Cochinchina governor, the Minister of Marine in Paris, and the Italian foreign affairs department¹⁵. The consul's request aimed to exempt Italian-flagged ships from taxes associated with rice exports and to grant Italian merchants in the colony freedom from trading licenses. Essentially, Bauermeister (the consul) sought to afford the Italian flag and merchants the same local status and benefits enjoyed by the French. However, the response from the French government was unequivocal and succinct: both demands were rejected, with the 1862 convention deemed inapplicable in the colonies. The precise response from the French government to the Governor of Cochinchina on June 24, 1881, can be found in printed sources¹⁶. Bauermeister acknowledged the refusal, and after weeks of mild conflicts and jurisdictional disputes, he notified the colonial administration in July that he would inform the Italian government. Beyond the GouCoch archive folder pertaining to the Italian consulate, we can infer that letters, requests, and feedback can be found, shedding further light on this episode.

For heightened significance, it's imperative to meticulously choose and contextualize documents concerning foreign consular services, while also considering other pertinent collections. While challenges such as distance, time, budget, and access constraints may sometimes hinder this endeavor (with the added complications of Covid-19 restrictions, which initially challenged and constrained the objectives of this paper), it remains worthwhile to explore Vietnamese documents. Despite being largely unexplored from a consular standpoint, these documents provide valuable insights into the operations of this branch within diplomatic services¹⁷. Most notably, the role of the British consul as an intermediary between certain naturalized British Chinese merchants and French colonial regulations is detailed in the GouCoch archives. Here, the *méthode des faits*¹⁸ illuminates the flexible nature of imperial and colonial classifications and regulations. This flexibility also applies to the consular function in Cochinchina, which overlapped with commercial functions and evolved in response to

¹⁵ GouCoch, 24436, Dossier relatif à la gérance et aux activités du Consulat d'Italie à Saigon années 1880-1906.

¹⁶ LAFFONT, Etienne, *Répertoire alphabétique de législation & de réglementation de la Cochinchine*, vol. 3, Paris, A. Rousseau, 1890, p. 240.

¹⁷ To our understanding, and extensive study of the consular papers in the GouCoch archives has not been led.

¹⁸ Here, we echo the expression used by Hubert Deschamps, as quoted by Sylvie Thénault, which can be interpreted as a colonial pragmatism towards local authorities. THÉNAULT, Sylvie, *L'État colonial*, in SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre (dir.), *Les empires coloniaux. XIX^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, Points, 2013, pp. 215-256, p. 224.

international and local political contexts¹⁹. While the question of migration, circulation, and movement of the so-called Chinese initially arises through archives related to the British consulate in Saigon, consular action extended beyond the boundaries and duties of a foreign representative in sovereign territory.

2. Navigating Colonial Waters: Consular Role in the Early Days of French Colonization in Vietnam

The early stages of French colonization in Vietnam were characterized by a heterogeneity of situations and a dynamic induced by treaties and conquests in the late 19th century. Various studies highlight the continuity and specifics of consular practices between the early modern and modern periods, thus illustrating some fields in which we can notice diversity and/or common foundation²⁰. This dynamic is also observed in the context of overseas colonial empires. For example, the Far Eastern Service – China, Japan, Siam (Thailand), and Korea – was one branch of the British consular service. Established in 1834 and inheriting its role from the British East India Company, it conferred a specific role to the consul and its function²¹. Considering research on consuls in colonial contexts, Southeast Asia has garnered increasing interest, at the crossroad of historiographies on colonial societies and consular functions, as in the case of the Philippines²². However, Cochinchina has been relatively understudied from a consular perspective, even though exceptional policies, legal negotiations, and rivalry between empires have been characteristic features from the outset. These have influenced the roles and nature of various consular functions (whether European or non-European). Diplomacy in a colonial setting sometimes results in complex interactions between local empires and the diversity of their subjects.

As mentioned previously, the treaties and conquests of the late 19th century were of major importance regarding the presence of foreign consuls and the legal framework of their activity

¹⁹ In this specific case, the colonial context is not markedly different from European metropolitan spaces and the evolution of consular functions, which blend public and private interests; for instance AGLIETTI, Marcella, *Convertir le privé en public. L'évolution de la fonction d'information chez les consuls d'Espagne, XVIII^e- XIX^e siècle*, in MARZAGALLI, Silvia (dir.), *Les Consuls en Méditerranée, agents d'information. XVI^e- XX^e siècle*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2015, pp. 239-255. The European consular function in Cochinchina is also influenced by imperial policies and the evolving strategies of each empire, including expansion, withdrawal, and investment.

²⁰ Refer to the special issue of «Les Cahiers de la Méditerranée»: MARZAGALLI, Silvia, ULBERT, Jörg (dir.), *Les consuls dans tous leurs états: essais et bibliographie (avant 1914) : Les Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 93, 2016.

²¹ PLATT, Christopher Martin, «The role of the British Consular», cit. Also consult MULLIGAN, Michael, *Chapter 3: The East India Company: Non-State Actor as Treaty-Maker*, in SUMMERS, James, GOUGH, Alex (eds.), *Non-State Actors and International Obligations*, Leiden, Brill, 2018, pp. 39-59.

²² For example, the recent conference that took place on June 5 and 6, 2023, titled 'Los cónsules extranjeros en Filipinas y el Mar de China, siglo XIX', and organized by María Dolores Elizalde and the Grupo de Estudios de Asia y el Pacífico, IH-CSIC.

and nomination. Hence, the involvement of Spanish troops and the Spanish Crown from the very beginning of French conquest reveals the diversity of diplomatic and political issues²³. For instance, citing religious persecutions against missionaries, France sought the participation of the Spanish authority during the capture of Tourane (Da Nang) in December 1857. As a result, contingents consisting of Spaniards and Tagalogs, originating from the empire and dispatched from Manila, contributed to the initial phases of the conquest of Cochinchina. However, the peace treaty of 1862, concluded shortly after the capture of Saigon, clearly favored France²⁴. This treaty did not mention consular jurisdictions, despite the establishment of trade exemptions and the facilitation of the movement of French and Spanish nationals in the area. However, soon after a jurisdictional dispute between Manila and Saigon led to clarifications between the two colonial powers, suggesting that the consular role in a colonial setting differs from other spaces. In other words, the consul operates within an area of legal exceptions forged by colonial imperialisms²⁵. This distinction becomes particularly evident when in 1874 the French consul in Manila, in response to a case of seizure of goods, invoked the consular convention concluded on January 7, 1862, between France and Spain. However, the said convention was invalidated by the Superior Government of the Philippines, which declared it inapplicable in these “islands” under Spanish rule. The jurisdictional situation in Tonkin (Northern Vietnam) was just as perplexing, as France extended its control over local sovereignty beyond Southern Vietnam.

The Philastre Treaty of March 15, 1874, supplemented by a commercial convention on August 31, represents a significant step in the expansion of French dominance in Tonkin. This development led to the establishment of French consuls, endowed with judicial powers and a modest protective force, as stipulated in Articles 11 and 13²⁶. In addition to its impact on Tonkin, this treaty confirmed the irrevocable cession of Cochinchina by the Empire of Annam, whose sovereignty over the northern part of its territory is undermined by this “capitulation.” It involved the opening of trade along the Red River and in three cities: Hanoi, Haiphong, and Qui Nhon. However, the status of French protectorate raised international disputes, especially under the influence of England, as the term protectorate was not explicitly mentioned in the treaty. As a result, the legal authority of French consuls is called into question before the final conquest of Tonkin²⁷.

²³ FOURNIAU, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-65.

²⁴ The peace treaty between the Emperor of the French and the Queen of Spain on one side, and the King of Annam on the other, was signed on June 5, 1862. DE Clerq, Alexandre, *Recueil des traités de la France*, t. 8, Paris, Aymot, 1860-1863, pp. 414-417.

²⁵ Goucoch, 24416, Dossier relatif à l'application en Cochinchine de la Convention consulaire passée entre la France et l'Espagne du 7 Janvier 1862 années 1874-1877.

²⁶ FOURNIAU, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126.

²⁷ It is possible to reconstruct the journeys of these consuls. Goucoch, 24481, Dossier relatif aux activités des Consulats de France à Thinaï, Quynhon, Hue et Tonkin années 1874-1883.

In the Cochinchina context and the early establishment of colonial rule, it becomes evident that the jurisdictional domain was marked by uncertainties regarding the roles and functions of consuls. These roles were contingent on the configuration of empires present in Southeast Asia and the exceptional policies inherent in treaties, conventions, and other agreements. However, it is important to note that consular prerogatives were not fixed; these were influenced by changes in metropolitan politics while also being shaped by local and regional contexts. Among these influences, we can mention the new colonial trade, pre-existing trade flows, and the conflicts arising from them. Nevertheless, it is imperative not to overlook the personal interests of individuals holding consular positions.

Indeed, the case of the British consul in Saigon during the period in question — Charles Tremlett — naturally fits within the context of imperial imperatives and his local integration. A relevant analytical perspective is, therefore, to examine the mechanisms of his appointment, shedding light on elements such as his individual competencies, network, and influence. Furthermore, it is important to explore the interactions between Tremlett and the overarching political entities, meaning the institutions responsible for appointing consuls. A partial reconstruction of his activities can be considered through the study of reports and information exchanged between Consul Tremlett and the Foreign Office²⁸.

However, to comprehend the multiple facets of the consular function and the specificities of its local integration, an investigative approach encompasses the analysis of a variety of documents from different institutions with which a consul interacts. This also entails considering the multitude of individuals and interests involved in this process. It is important to note that the feasibility of conducting such research from a documentary perspective may vary depending on these interactions²⁹. When feasible, such an approach sheds new light on the consular function, providing a radically different perspective³⁰. It is also worth noting that, without claiming to be exhaustive, the various documents and archives which exist provide the opportunity to trace Tremlett's journeys in Saigon and analyze his connections with local merchants. In doing so, we are able to discern paramount issues related to one of the consular functions in a colonial setting.

²⁸ The reports of Consul Tremlett, which are quite interesting from a commercial and political perspective, are available in the printed sources of the *Commercial Reports Received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty Consuls*.

²⁹ Regarding the challenge of source «asymmetry»: ZAUGG, Roberto, « Le crachoir chinois du roi. Marchandises globales, culture de cour et vodun dans les royaumes de Hueda et du Dahomey (XVII^e-XIX^e siècle) », in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 73, 1/2018, pp. 119-159, pp. 121-122.

³⁰ For example, Angelo di Cazzaiti, the Ottoman consul in Naples (Italy). In fact, his name was Aggelos Katsaitis, and Mathieu Grenet's work trace his journey during the 19th century. GRENET, Mathieu, *La fabrique communautaire. Les Grecs à Venise, Livourne et Marseille, 1770-1840*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2016, pp. 310-313.

As for Charles Tremlett, we are aware of his arrival in Saigon in 1869, where he remained until his passing in 1903³¹. His background and the circumstances of his appointment suggest that he most likely served as an honorary consul³². Indeed, he did not travel to French Cochinchina with the intention of taking on consular duties, as the position was already filled. In 1869, the position of British consul was held by James George Caswell, who was appointed on August 11, 1868, and subsequently received an allowance to cover consular expenses from July 1, 1871, until his resignation on December 11, 1874³³. During this transitional period, three individuals served as interim consuls: William Gowen Hale from May 26, 1869, to March 26, 1870, Louis Hauschild from April 1, 1872, to July 13, 1873, and finally Charles Tremlett from February 4, 1874, to January 13, 1875³⁴. On that final date, Charles Tremlett was officially appointed consul, and he would serve in this capacity until the end of his life. However, scrutinizing his activities prior to 1874 is essential for grasping the full scope of his tenure.

We take little risk in assuming that Charles Tremlett was initially a part of the European trading houses and merchants, whether as an employee or a proprietor, who were engaged in the early development of the new colony³⁵. Among these actors, we can mention the German company Engler and Speidel, as well as the British trading house Hale, founded in 1858. The latter is of particular interest because it is established that Tremlett was its director, at least from 1896³⁶ until 1901. He collaborated with a member of the O'Connell family as an attorney-in-fact, and individuals such as Hunter Mac O'Connell, Yan-Kun Yeok, and E. Tian-Vatt held key positions within this company. Furthermore, in 1878, Tremlett was affiliated with the Saigon Chamber of Commerce³⁷. His involvement with the Hale trading house and within the local commercial apparatus is unsurprising. It was common for merchants and trading houses that contributed to the early days of French colonization to assume consular functions through one of their members. This is evident, for instance, with the Germans from the Speidel company, as well as later with the

³¹ CORFIELD, Justin, *Historical Dictionary of Ho Chi Minh City*, London-New York-Delhi, Anthem Press, 2013, p. 307.

³² For information on the specifics and diversity of the British consular network and function overseas, please refer to BYRD, Peter, «Regional and functional Specialisation in the British Consular Service», in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 7, 1-2/1972, pp. 127-145, pp. 129-133. There was also the possibility for career consuls to be trading consuls, meaning a consul authorized to engage in trade, blurring the line between private and public interest. PLATT, Christopher Martin, «The Role of the British Consular», cit., p. 498. Traditionally, British consuls were responsible for notarial acts, commercial intelligence, protecting maritime traffic and subjects of the crown, even though their prerogatives could vary depending on the geographical area (for example, a more political role in China). *Ibidem*, pp. 494-496.

³³ *The Foreign Office list and Diplomatic and Consular Handbook*, January 1876, p. 72.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 109, 113, 197.

³⁵ DE GANTÉS, Gilles, «Le particularisme des milieux d'affaires cochinchinois (1860-1910): comment intégrer un comptoir asiatique à un empire colonial protégé », in *Publications de la Société française d'histoire des outre-mers*, 6, 2008, pp. 735-754, p. 736.

³⁶ Printed sources provide information about his position. *Mémorial de la Loire*, 8 avril 1896 ; *Annuaire général de l'Indochine française*, 1901.

³⁷ *Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1878, p. 148

Genoese Pellas house, who respectively fulfilled the roles of the consuls of Germany and Italy³⁸. Examining the individual trajectories of these actors, beyond their roles as consuls, sometimes reveal their deep and long-term integration into the local community³⁹.

Nevertheless, holding the position of consul in Saigon during the first two decades of colonization primarily involves an affiliation with foreign trading houses while integrating into local commercial institutions. This unsurprising situation was prevalent in most secondary trading centers worldwide in the 19th century. Career consuls were few and assigned to major posts within the Levant Service and Far East Service. The General Consular Service had 150 members, while honorary consuls, who were not paid, and merchant consuls in less active commercial cities numbered 500⁴⁰.

As a result, the question of the diversity of interests arises quickly because the establishment of the colony of Saigon and Cochinchina was situated within a larger and ancient commercial space. Gilles de Gantés, for example, referred to this region as a *comptoir du réseau sino-britannique*⁴¹. The archives of the Cochinchina government regarding Consul Tremlett naturally reflect the position of the British Empire in the region. This includes the interconnections between Cochinchina and the networks under the auspices of local merchants.

Indeed, from a commercial perspective, Cochinchina and southern Vietnam initially formed a market integrated into the Chinese diasporas and their maritime routes⁴². Colonial domination is thus confronted with pre-existing commercial structures and circulation routes, while merchants, often referred to by the generic term Asians, had to adapt to new regulations in force. The GouCoch archives naturally reflect Tremlett's role in this commercial and diasporic competition.

³⁸ Concerning the Speidel company and the German consulate: BECKER, Bert, *France and Germany in the South China Sea, c. 1840-1930. Maritime Competition and Imperial Power*, London-Cambridge, Springer Nature, 2021. For the Pellas company and the Italian consulate: *L'Information d'Indochine, économique et financière*, 10 avril 1937, p. 2 and GouCoch, 25295, Dossier relatif au contrôle des étrangers d'Italie années 1927-1940 ; 25305, Télégrammes du Gouverneur général au Gouverneur de la Cochinchine relatif aux internés civils italiens et allemands années 1939-1940.

³⁹ This is especially the case for the Pellas, who are clearly torn between their obligations tied to Italian nationality and their family establishment in Cochinchina. A comprehensive study of the ways in which colonists and European communities integrated is yet to be conducted, utilizing a variety of sources that can elucidate the diverse contexts of their experiences, and serve as relevant case studies. PASSERON, Jean-Claude, REVEL, Jacques (dir.), *Penser par cas*, Paris, Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2005.

⁴⁰ BYRD, Peter, «Regional and Functional», cit., p. 129.

⁴¹ DE GANTÉS, Gilles, «Le particularisme des milieux d'affaires cochinchinois (1860-1910)», cit.

⁴² To take just one example: TANA, Li, *Hong Kong Rice Merchants and Saigon's Rice Exports, 1870s-1920s*, in CHOI, Chi-cheung, SHIROYAMA, Tomoko, VIANA, Venus (eds.), *Strenuous Decades: Global Challenges and Transformation of Chinese Societies in Modern Asia*, Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter Mouton, 2022, pp. 19-38. The importance of the congregations was also recognized in the mother country : *Annales de la Chambre des députés. Documents Parlementaires*, LXXXI, Partie 2, Paris, 1912, p. 1807.

3. Negotiating Identities: Consular Actions and Ethnic Communities

When comparing numbers and statistics, the European presence appears relatively insignificant within a developing colonial space. It is important to remember that, numerically speaking, the European presence at the end of the 19th century was minimal. However, its economic and social impact still proved to be substantial⁴³. In 1885, the population of Cochinchina was estimated at 1.792.933 people, in contrast to the presence of 2.707 Europeans (including 2.597 French)⁴⁴. This situation highlights that, despite being numerically limited, the European presence brought about significant repercussions.

Originally, European participation in trade beyond mother country boundaries involved collaboration with Chinese business communities. However, the later integration of Cochinchina into French Indochina between 1885 and 1887 favored an orientation towards economic development and imperial interests. This marked the end of an era of free trade that had prevailed under the administration of the admirals⁴⁵. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that intra-Asian trade routes retained their crucial significance. The example of the travels of Bordeaux merchants in Southeast Asia, as described by Étienne Denis, highlights the strategic role of trading posts like Singapore and Hong Kong. These accounts also underscore the influence of Chinese-origin merchants and the relationships established with British trading houses⁴⁶.

Participation in the circuits, markets, and territories of the Chinese diasporas required close negotiation with the communities in Saigon, as well as those in the British trading posts. This created a system that also posed challenges for the colonial administration in terms of controlling foreigners, their status, rights, and diplomatic representations. This tension is illustrated in the first known request made by Consul Tremlett to the Cochinchina government in 1877. This request was for the exemption of the head tax for «Chinese subjects of England», an exemption that was ultimately granted⁴⁷. Examining sources related to the consuls serving in Saigon⁴⁸, such

⁴³ This imbalance can be observed in other colonial contexts as well: SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre (dir.), *Les empires coloniaux*, cit., pp. 129-131.

⁴⁴ The other nationalities or ethno-national categories present were: 32 Italians, 29 British, 18 « mixed-race English», 10 Spaniards, 9 Dutch, 7 Germans, 2 Belgians, 2 «mixed-race Portuguese», and 1 Swiss. *Statistiques Coloniales*, 1887, Paris, Imprimerie Nationales, p. 10. Regarding the reliability of these statistics: BARBIERI, Magali, « De l'utilité des statistiques démographiques de l'Indochine française (1862-1954) », in *Annales de démographie historique*, 113, 1/2007, pp. 85-126.

⁴⁵ DE GANTÉS, Gilles, «Le particularisme des milieux d'affaires cochinchinois (1860-1910)», cit., p. 736.

⁴⁶ DENIS, Etienne, *Bordeaux et la Cochinchine sous la Restauration et le Second Empire*, Bordeaux, Delmas, 1965. He describes the connections with the ports in the Far East and the role of English merchants, particularly concerning the Saigon-Singapore link and W. G. Hale. *Ibidem*, pp. 323-324.

⁴⁷ Lettre du Directeur de l'Intérieur au consul, 9 mars 1877, GouCoch, 24422, Dossier relatif aux activités du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon années 1877-1896. The Director of the Interior (public safety) grants the consul's request, and the registered Chinese individuals at his consulate are exempted; namely Wee Wat Seng, Van Choun Heit, Van Chy An, Tung Eng Kee, and Tan Keng Seng, totaling 5 people.

requests are not found in other consular records⁴⁹. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that during this period, only the British consulate was involved in negotiations and discussions regarding territorial sovereignty and the free movement of its imperial diaspora⁵⁰.

All correspondences between the consul and the colonial administration, as well as intra-administrative exchanges related to this matter, were meticulously preserved within a numbered subfolder labeled 1 and titled *Demande émanant du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon tendant à faire exempter les Chinois sujets anglais de l'impôt de capitation - 1877*. These exchanges, in addition to providing information about the functioning of the colonial state⁵¹, testify to the ongoing negotiations around the colonial categorizations of identities. These documents shed light on the complexities of colonial diplomacy, interactions between colonial authorities and consuls, as well as the issues surrounding questions of identity and territorial sovereignty within this specific context.

On February 12, 1877, the Director of the Interior⁵² acknowledged the consul's request and issued his first response. He specified that if the «Chinese and other Asians» could provide documents proving their British nationality, they could be exempt from the capitation tax. In his summary of the consul's letter, he emphasized that the consul downplayed the impact of his request by stating that cases were rare and concerned individuals of great respectability. Furthermore, the consul asserted that obtaining British naturalization was difficult, making a significant increase in their numbers unlikely. Additionally, Tremlett articulated another concern: his request wasn't aimed at tax reduction, but rather at addressing the humiliating and vexatious requirement imposed on «English Chinese» to repeatedly present their cards during police requisitions.

In response, the Director of the Interior pointed out inconsistencies in the request. Firstly, while he considered studying the matter, he noted that it would always be extremely difficult to distinguish a British subject from others. The exemption from the capitation tax did not relieve British subjects from the obligation to present their papers during police requisitions.

⁴⁸ The intense relationship between the colonial authorities and the Chinese diaspora in Indochina, particularly in terms of the congregations, has been brilliantly identified and described in BARRETT, Tracy C., *The Chinese Diaspora in South-East Asia : The Overseas Chinese in IndoChina*, London, I. B. Tauris & Company, 2012. Another interesting study is LAFARGUE, Jean-André, *L'immigration chinoise en Indochine : sa réglementation, ses conséquences économiques et politiques*, Paris, Jouve, 1909.

⁴⁹ Among others and as mentioned previously, the records related to the consulates of Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Siam, Italy and the United States.

⁵⁰ The Spanish consulate simply requested two censuses of its nationals, with specific details about their origin, whether Spanish or Filipino. GouCoch, 24487, Dossier relatif au personnel, gérance et activité du Consulat d'Espagne à Saigon années 1880-1899.

⁵¹ Regarding the validity of the concept and the various perspectives and studies: THÉNAULT, Sylvie, *L'État colonial*, in SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre (dir.), *Les empires coloniaux*, cit., pp. 215-256

⁵² His name is Georges-Jules Piquet. *Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1876, p. 96.

Additionally, he mentioned that the capitation tax on «foreign Asians» was one of the colony's main sources of revenue, and accepting this request could lead to a decrease in income. Following this initial correspondence, we know that the Director of the Interior took steps to obtain further information, shedding light on the vulnerabilities and inaccuracies of colonial control.

He instructed the Chief of the 4th Bureau at the Directorate of the Interior⁵³ to request the services of Immigration to obtain the number of British Chinese entering the territory and the status of the so-called «naturalized French Chinese»⁵⁴. The responses were initially documented through short undated notes in the file. These notes indicate that individuals with special civil status, legally registered immigrant conferring certain privileges, were not listed in the immigration registers and were exempt from the capitation tax. Their number was estimated to be 5 or 6, with the names of only 2 known individuals: Ban Hap and Vang Kim Hoi⁵⁵. As for the «British Chinese», up to that point (probably in January or February 1877, although the note does not specify the exact date), only two individuals had presented themselves to immigration: Khui Khanh An, who arrived from Singapore on December 25, 1876, and left on January 30, 1877, and Huit Phat Thanh, also known as Wat Seng⁵⁶, who had a short stay between January 11 and 29, coming from the same place. Overall, this case concerns a small number of individuals, mainly from Singapore, whom the administration distinguishes based on their imperial affiliation. However, despite attempts to categorize them distinctly, there are overlaps, indicating that individuals may strategically position themselves within multiple colonial systems for various purposes.

This is the reason why the colonial immigration services took the initiative on March 21, 1877, to inquire with the Colonial Secretary's Office in Singapore about the naturalization process⁵⁷. The Singaporean office replied and informed that there was no strict rule in this matter. The previously mentioned reference (which could not be traced) to Section 3 of Ordinance VIII of 1867 did not provide clear information, but to the best of their knowledge, a Chinese person could have obtained a naturalization certificate with one and a half years of residence. However, in practice, the usual period of residence to obtain such a certificate was 3 to 10 years. Additionally, anyone residing in the colony could have submitted a petition to the Governor-in-Council for naturalization. This petition needed to provide details about the applicant's knowledge and

⁵³ His name is Frederic Didier. The 4th bureau is notably responsible for direct taxes, examination, and control of tax rolls, as well as issues related to the assessment and collection of these taxes. *Annuaire de Cochinchine*, 1876, p. 97.

⁵⁴ This is a colonial categorization that includes individuals mostly from the Chinese diaspora in Cholon and the merchant elite. LE, Anh Sy Huy, *Taming the Intractable : Chinese Migrants, Inter-Asian Interactions, and the Transformation of French Rule in Colonial Vietnam 1862-1940*, PhD, Michigan State University, 2021, pp. 205-206.

⁵⁵ Ban Hap is also known as Gan Tin Wee. DENIS, Etienne, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁵⁶ The spelling of names and their transliteration from Chinese characters to Chữ Quốc Ngữ (the Vietnamese romanized alphabet) is uncertain. BARRETT, Tracy C., *op. cit.*, pp. XVI-XVII.

⁵⁷ GouCoch, 24422, Dossier relatif aux activités du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon années 1877-1896.

beliefs, age, property, place of birth and residence, profession, trade and/or occupation, the duration of their residence, and accompanied by an oath and affidavit.

In practice, it was possible for an individual to claim dual imperial membership, reflecting the concern of a colonial administration struggling to control the Chinese diasporas. However, one of the factors influencing this situation in favor of the Chinese diasporas was the economic weight of exchanges between Singapore and Saigon. This dynamic can explain a less strict control over population movements and the initial approvals granted to the consul. It is important to note that this period was still under military rule, characterized by a policy of commercial openness.

Nonetheless, not all diasporas were treated the same way as immigration offices closely monitored capitation-related fraud. This was especially concerning Indians from the French empire who struggled to prove their French citizenship or who attempted to obtain British naturalization to evade this tax⁵⁸. The identification of specific Chinese diasporas seems to take a turn after the end of military rule in 1879, and the tone of the exchanges will evolve as the colonial administration continues to transform and reform itself⁵⁹. A substantial file titled *Consulat d'Angleterre, permis de circuler sans fanal 1881-1882* numbered 2, provides information about more tense negotiations while confirming the influence of the economic status of the management of foreigners⁶⁰. Indeed, the *fanal* (lantern) is understood as a means to ensure the security and control of the population. More precisely it concerns the gathering and the movement of Asians after 10 o'clock at night⁶¹, while colonial dominance and "pacification" are underway. Nevertheless, the use of lanterns also posed a constraint on commercial activities, and its application is far from being homogeneous. Opportunities for exemption were provided to «Asians», a general term used indiscriminately by the colonial administration, much like the occasional use of the term «Chinese». This was evident in the municipal order of May 16, 1874, concerning the police and roads of the city of Cholon⁶² which stated in Article 17 that every Asian

⁵⁸ The study of the presence of Indians in Cochinchina involves the role of administrations, religious congregations, and reflects the local presence and circulation between the French trading posts in India and Indochina. PAIRAUDEAU, Natasha, *Mobile Citizens, French Indians in Indochina, 1858-1954*, Copenhagen, NIAS Press, 2016. In 1877, the immigration offices' investigations regarding the identification of Indians in Cochinchine are much more active and significantly more complex and thorough than those concerning the English Chinese. GouCoch, 25099, Dossier relatif à la justification de leur qualité par les asiatiques et africains sujet anglais, français, à l'impôt de capitation des sujets hollandais années 1871-1885.

⁵⁹ The succession of supervisory institutions, status reforms, and the diversity of their implementation are particularly prominent in the context of the French Empire. THÉNAULT, Sylvie, *L'État colonial*, in SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre (dir.), *Les empires coloniaux*, cit., pp. 220, 224.

⁶⁰ GouCoch, 24422, Dossier relatif aux activités du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon années 1877-1896.

⁶¹ Article 7 of the decree of January 1, 1866, amends Article 11 of the decree of May 2, 1865, which prohibited Asians from moving in the streets after 10 o'clock at night. The amendment stipulates that: *ils seront seulement tenus d'avoir avec eux un fanal allumé* (they shall only be required to carry a lit lantern with them). *Recueil de la législation et règlementation de la Cochinchine 1^{er} Janvier 1880*, Saigon, Imprimerie Nationale, 1881, p. 490.

⁶² As for Cholon, the city serves as the hub for the Chinese community and their movements, and it will later be annexed to Saigon in 1931. GÉDÉON, Laurent, « Le rôle économique des minorités chinoises en Asie

must, in order to move about at night, be equipped with a lantern. The residents to whom the president of the delegation granted permission may be exempt from this requirement⁶³. The consular intermediaries also played a role in granting those exemptions.

On January 9, 1881, Consul Tremlett submitted a request for a permit to circulate at night without a lantern, along with a list of 31 names (see Fig. 1).

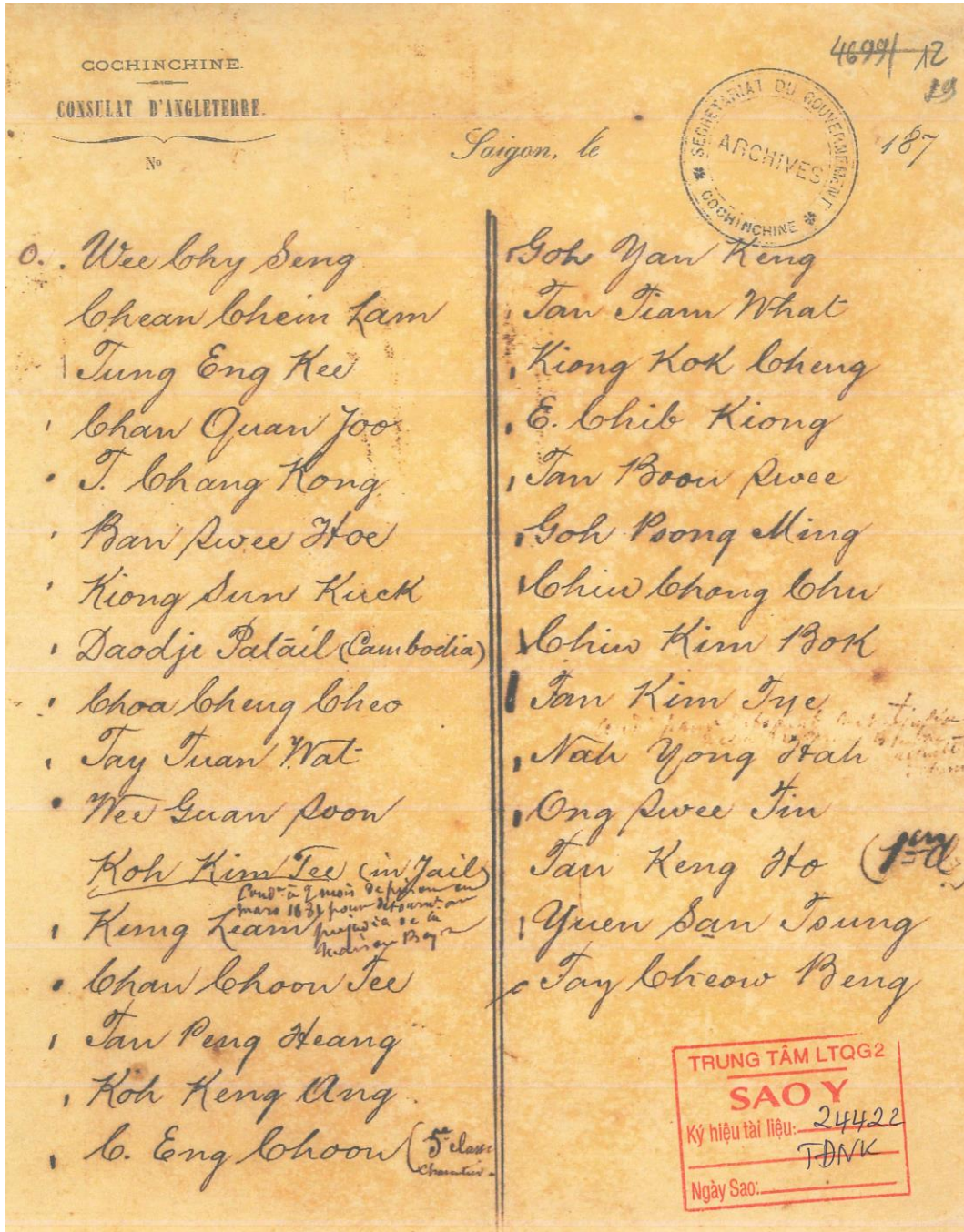


Fig. 1. Request for a permit to circulate at night without a lantern by Consul Tremlett.

du Sud-Est : le cas des Hoa du Vietnam », in *Études Interculturelles*, 3/2010, pp. 87-107.

⁶³ *Recueil de la législation et réglementation de la Cochinchine 1^{er} Janvier 1880*, cit., p. 495.

A note from the office of the Central Police Commissioner, dated April 13, 1881, confirms the dispatch of 30-night circulation cards allowing the request without lanterns to the «Chinese British subjects» to the head of the 3rd bureau⁶⁴. Only Khoa Kim Tee did not receive his card, as he was detained in the central prison for embezzlement of funds related to the Behre Company. It is noteworthy that Tan Keng Ho's name is also on this list. He is one of the founders of the Tan Keng Sing Brothers trading house, with Tan Keng Hoon, and established in 1861, specializing in ship consignment, construction timber commission, and import-export⁶⁵. The brothers were famous *peranakan* Straits Chinese⁶⁶ and major business partners of Gan Tin Wee in the Ban Hap et Cie opium farm, the largest colonial commercial operation from 1869 until its replacement by a government monopoly in 1881⁶⁷. It is also worth noting that Gan Tin Wee, also known as Ban Hap, led a syndicate of Fujian Chinese in Cochinchina⁶⁸. These men were leaders of the Hokkien-speaking community, and their enterprises fostered an economic interdependency between the French and Chinese communities until the early 1880s⁶⁹. Goh Yan Keng (Wu Xianqing) is also on the list. He was one of the founders of the English Chinese circle from Singapore in Saigon, located in Cholon at 105 *rue des marins*. This community-based circle was created in 1886 through the mediation of the English consul⁷⁰. It is essential to note that this list provides an insight into the closer ties that united the consul with Chinese British subjects. As mentioned earlier, Goh Yen Keng's name is on the list, and he is employed by W. Hale and Co., of which Tremlett is the director⁷¹. Ultimately, it is unsurprising to find that consular action is closely linked to the interests of the Singaporean diaspora. In this specific case, we observe a concrete example of the exercise of colonial power at the local level and the factors that influence decision-making. This challenges the traditional model of the center-periphery dynamic. To some extent, the micro approach adopted in the colonial context allows us to reflect on what has been described as translocality or transregionality⁷². The folder related to “*L'affaire du fanal*” therefore, encompasses

⁶⁴ This office is responsible for trade and navigation, relations with foreign powers, general policing, justice, prisons and deportations, and civil status. In 1880, its head is de Lanneau de Marey (*Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1880, p. 46), and in 1881, Chavassieux, a second-class administrator of indigenous affairs, is in charge of directing the office (*Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1881, p. 49).

⁶⁵ LOMBARD-SALMON, Claudine, HIÊP, Ta Trong, « De Batavia à Saigon : Notes de voyage d'un marchand chinois (1890) », in *Archipel*, 47, 1994, pp. 155-191, p. 158.

⁶⁶ SALMON, Claudine, « Regards d'un Peranakan de Singapour sur le Viêt Nam (1888) », in *Archipel*, 43, 1992, pp. 139-144.

⁶⁷ SAGES, Gerard, «Scaling the Commanding Heights: The colonial conglomerates and the changing political economy of French Indochina», in *Modern Asian Studies*, 49, 5/2015, pp. 1485-1525, p. 1495.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 1496.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1497.

⁷⁰ LOMBARD-SALMON, Claudine, HIÊP, Ta Trong, « De Batavia à Saigon : Notes de voyage d'un marchand chinois (1890) », *cit.*, p. 159.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

⁷² Cited in BERTRAND, Romain, CALAFAT, Guillaume, « La microhistoire globale : affaire(s) à suivre », in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 73, 1/2018, pp. 1-18. This relates to stories of kinship, social groups, or diasporas and can correspond to what they refer to as a «multi-sited» approach.

different geographical spaces and individuals, whose economical connections influence imperial structures and their institutions. Furthermore, when we apply the concept of 'social field' and power conflict to the colonial context, our case brings to light various scales that require consideration⁷³. Firstly, a clash between French and British conceptions of colonial control is evident. Additionally, at the local level, varying treatment and perceptions among social groups arose due to the involvement of Chinese movements in the colonial enterprise. These differences sometimes led the colonial administration to adopt firm stances, while at other times, they were open to negotiation or even policy revision.

This is the case with the successive changes in positions regarding this matter. While the request for a permit to travel without a lantern was initially accepted with relatively few administrative difficulties, one month later, on May 11, a new request concerning four other Chinese merchants naturalized as British subjects was received less favorably. Although the final response from the Director of the Interior was conveyed on May 19, the available documents allow us to reconstruct the elements and advice that contributed to his decision. Initially, he solicits the opinion of the indigenous court of the Cholon district⁷⁴ as well as the total number of exemptions from carrying the lantern. The response dated May 14 and signed by Chavassieux⁷⁵, indicates that a total of 32 exemptions have been granted for British subjects and 26 for Chinese admitted to residence in France. Additionally, Chavassieux mentions that the exemptions previously granted in 1877 (which we had no knowledge of in the previous subfolder 1 but are likely related to the capitation exemption) were based on the small number of five at the time, and this number keeps increasing. He concludes that, for a modest sum paid in Singapore⁷⁶, these Chinese can escape all tax obligations and police control. In his view, the administration's tolerance allows «Chinese subjects of England» to evade the regulations of the territory, which he considers a curiosity. He recommends reasoning with the consul, and he does not believe that this issue falls under foreign relations. Rather, for now, it is a matter of police and civil code. This document is interesting because it is annotated by the immigration offices, with comments such as «Yes, it's disastrous, but what can be done ?» or «this cannot continue». It is worth noting that the high economic status of these individuals is not mentioned in these specific documents.

The Director of the Interior also sought the opinion of the Mayor of Saigon regarding the consul's request. The response dated May 16 and signed by the Deputy Mayor, Dr. Julien Cardi.

⁷³ STEINMETZ, George, *Le champ de l'État colonial. Le cas des colonies allemandes (Afrique du Sud-Ouest, Qingdao, Samoa)*, in STEINMETZ, George (dir.), *Politiques impérialistes. genèses et structures de l'État colonial*, Paris, Seuil, 2008, pp. 122-144.

⁷⁴ At least the header of the note responding to the request suggests this.

⁷⁵ He was a third-class administrator for the Cholon district in 1880 (*Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1880, p. 51), and then became a second-class administrator for native affairs, responsible for the direction of the third bureau in 1881.

⁷⁶ He does not specify how many.

The municipal authorities believed they should not grant permission to Chinese subjects of England to travel without a lantern, for several reasons. Firstly, this exemption was denied to the Annamese, so it would be unjust, in their view, to grant to English subjects what is denied to French subjects⁷⁷. The last sentence in the response was added in parentheses afterward by the Director of the Interior with the annotation «a good reason to give to the consul». Furthermore, the municipal authorities emphasize that traveling without a lantern was also denied to «Indian English subjects», even though they are few in number and have been residing in Saigon for a long time. Finally, the letter concludes by explaining that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish one Chinese from another in the colony, and permits could be transferred between individuals when English subjects left the colony.

Beyond the questionable racial stereotypes⁷⁸, the classification of imperial subjects and their rights pose problems here. The movements between empires, through consular action, put the colonial administration in a bind with the diversity of individuals to control according to overly general and generalized systems. These movements would have required a refinement of the criteria for distinguishing different diasporas based on their functions.

Indeed, although the Director of the Interior issued a definitive response to the consul on May 19, 1881, this did not put an end to the discussions. Reiterating the arguments mentioned earlier, the Director announced that he would suspend the issuance of these special permits. However, it is relevant to question these arguments, given that the economic development of the area led to a *de facto* increase in the movements of foreign traders. This is especially the case for those part of Southeast Asian networks. If imperial competition revolved around trade, Cochinchina depended on interconnections beyond the limits imposed by colonial categorizations, and the Tan Brothers are a clear example of this co-dependency. In this context, economic status becomes an argument in favor of extending the classification of foreigners and their associated rights beyond a poorly suited colonial legal framework.

On May 28, Consul Tremlett expresses his acceptance of the decision to suspend the permits. Simultaneously, he requests that only the high-ranking merchants in the city (Saigon) be allowed to continue benefiting from these permits. He attempts to negotiate a privilege for what he refers to as the upper classes. Ultimately, Consul Tremlett skillfully maneuvered a negotiation. On June 1, the Mayor's office granted 10 free exemption cards per year (see Fig. 2 and 3), but with a precondition: the office wanted the names of notable Chinese or major merchants who would have benefited from these cards. Shortly after, on June 18, the Consul returned 26 cards that had previously been granted, excluding 4 of them (as the holders were absent from the colony). In his

⁷⁷ GouCoch, D24422, dossier relatif aux activités du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon années 1877-1896.

⁷⁸ More than physical criteria, Chinese merchants within the diasporas had multiple affiliations, aliases, and identities, making their control and identification arbitrary. LE, Anh Sy Huy, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

response, Tremlett expressed his gratitude to the Mayor's office for allowing ten Chinese subjects of the British Crown to be exempted each year. He also submitted a list of names, including Tan Keng Ho, Ang Thy Locke, Hee Thy Seng, Tau Loem Suee, Eug Luu Tin, Yoh Hong Ming, Kung Leam, Tay Chow Beng⁷⁹, Eung Choon, and Goh Yan Keng⁸⁰. He emphasized that a few of these were not strictly merchants but they are the first *compradores* of the European houses⁸¹. It was desirable they should have the privilege of moving about at night when their work was done⁸². The details provided by the Consul thus allow us to understand one of the practical reasons motivating British subjects to request this exemption: the ability to move freely, and most likely discreetly, to conduct their business.



Fig. 2, 3. Free exemption cards granted by the Mayor's office.

In practice, the commercial criterion associated with consular support made the Singaporean diaspora a distinct group from others in terms of legal status and freedom of movement (which one can assume was a competitive advantage). It was a coherent circle of influence including the Consul whose role was crucial as he facilitated the interaction between the French colonial legal framework on the status of individuals, an economic network, and the rights conferred by British naturalization⁸³. At that time, this naturalization appeared to be more advantageous because it generated a form of “exceptional policy” regarding the status of subjects of the French Empire and foreigners. In the following years, and until 1898, only a few minor issues arose regarding this

⁷⁹ We could identify him as a member of the congregations of Canton. SAGES, Gerard, *op. cit.*, p. 1499.

⁸⁰ The spelling of certain names may vary slightly in the documents, leading to uncertainty regarding their accurate representation.

⁸¹ Here, what motivates these requests becomes clearer in the documents and finally directly stated, as do the connections between the consul and the Chinese subjects of the British Empire, especially the merchants. A *compradore* can be understood as a businessman and intermediary between European houses and the Vietnamese. Many contemporary accounts describe them as such. TARDIF, Étienne, *La naissance de Dalat (Annam), 1899-1900 : capitale de l'Indochine*, Vienne, Ternet-Martin, 1949, Chapitre XVI.

⁸² Lettre du consul Tremlett au directeur de l'Intérieur, 18 juin 1881, GouCoch, 24422, Dossier relatif aux activités du consulat d'Angleterre à Saigon années 1877-1896.

⁸³ While the multiple identities and the opportunities they provide are recognized, consular action is not mentioned in the various processes. LE, Anh Sy Huy, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

agreement, and simple adjustments were needed⁸⁴. Ultimately, decisions made in the metropolis, combined with improvements in identification techniques, led to a reassessment of the movement of so-called Chinese subjects of the British Empire in Cochinchina. On a broader scale, the colonial state strengthened its control and refined its legal definition of foreigners, as well as its imperial strategy regarding the movements of diasporas. This also marked a remarkable change in the pace of colonial bureaucratization.

4. Consular Interactions and Colonial Power Dynamics

The beginning of Paul Doumer's tenure as Governor-General of Indochina (1897-1902) was marked by a reassertion of control over the colony. Notably this was done through a decree dated October 8, 1897, which envisaged the establishment of an anthropometric identification service⁸⁵. The mission of this service included, among other things, the regulation of Chinese immigration, and it was headed by Victor Joseph Pottecher as early as 1897. Very quickly, this new reformist agenda and the establishment of the service came into conflict with the Singaporean diaspora and its consul. In the background, it was the competition between the French and British empires that influenced some of the decision-making and revealed the shortcomings of an identification system that aimed to be restrictive.

On October 5, 1898, the Lieutenant Governor of Cochinchina⁸⁶ received a brief letter from Consul Tremlett⁸⁷. In this letter, the consul sought information to determine whether English subjects coming to Indochina to settle, or travel were required to have a passport. He requested a copy of the relevant regulations in order to comply with them. The beginnings of this issue and its developments are not found in a dossier specifically related to the English consul but recorded in a more general source that catalogues problems related to immigration and the identification of Asians.

⁸⁴ For example, the death of Ang Thy Locke, announced by the consul on September 26, 1882, results in a request to transfer his permit to a certain Seissat, an Indian British subject, for night-time travel without a lantern.

⁸⁵ While Ilsen About provides a brilliant description of the development of colonial identification techniques (such as the fingerprinting system) and the classifications of the Chinese in the colonial context (immigrants, congregations, categories of workers), the consular negotiations regarding the status of British subjects of Chinese origin are not mentioned. ABOUT, Ilsen, « Surveillance des identités et régime colonial en Indochine, 1890-1912 », in *Criminocorpus: revue hypermédia*, 2011, URL: < <http://journals.openedition.org/criminocorpus/417> > [consulté le 10 juin 2022].

⁸⁶ Since 1887 and the establishment of French Indochina, the Governor-General has been based in Hanoi, while the title of Governor of Cochinchina was abolished, not without protests. FOURNIAU, Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126.

⁸⁷ GouCoch, 25112, Dossier relatif à l'immigration et l'identification, délivrance de passeports aux Annamites et aux Asiatiques étrangers aux émigrants japonais années 1897-1899. The content of the consular source directed our focus towards the immigration services and prompted further research into the movements of the so-called Asian subjects and their administration.

Victor Joseph Pottecher's response to the English consul Tremlett's inquiry about the necessity for English subjects to carry a passport makes a distinction between Europeans and Asians, with a focus on the latter. Pottecher argued that the consul cannot ignore the fact that many Asian subjects of England are settling in Cochinchina, and they simply need to comply with the formalities imposed by immigration regulations. He implied that the consul was actually seeking to exempt non-naturalized English subjects from immigration rules. In other words, Pottecher suggested that the consul was testing different options in favor of Asians from the British Empire to avoid the regulations.

Considering the previous negotiations regarding carrying a lantern at night and tax exemptions, it becomes evident that the issue of Chinese identities played a crucial role in the establishment of colonial identification processes in Cochinchina and their legal basis. The case of the Singaporean diaspora is thus part of a broader context of implementing identification services in the French colonial empire and the processes that precede and follow it.⁸⁸ The available sources allow us to accurately and in detail reconstruct one of the stages of the institutionalization of the service.

The head of immigration, Victor Joseph Pottecher, began recalling the previous regulations, the current jurisprudence, and outlining the history of various consular requests. He referred to Article 8 of the decree of January 8, 1885, which specifically dealt with the exemption of «foreign Asians» from capitation if they can present naturalization documents from a non-Asian nation with consular representation in Saigon. While the text is not «absolutely precise», as admitted by the colonial administration, Pottecher mentions that a letter from the director of the Interior at the time (1884) shed light on its meaning. This letter, dated March 21, 1884, specified that following negotiations with the Consul of England, «honorable Asians» naturalized as British subjects and registered with the consulate could benefit from the exemption.

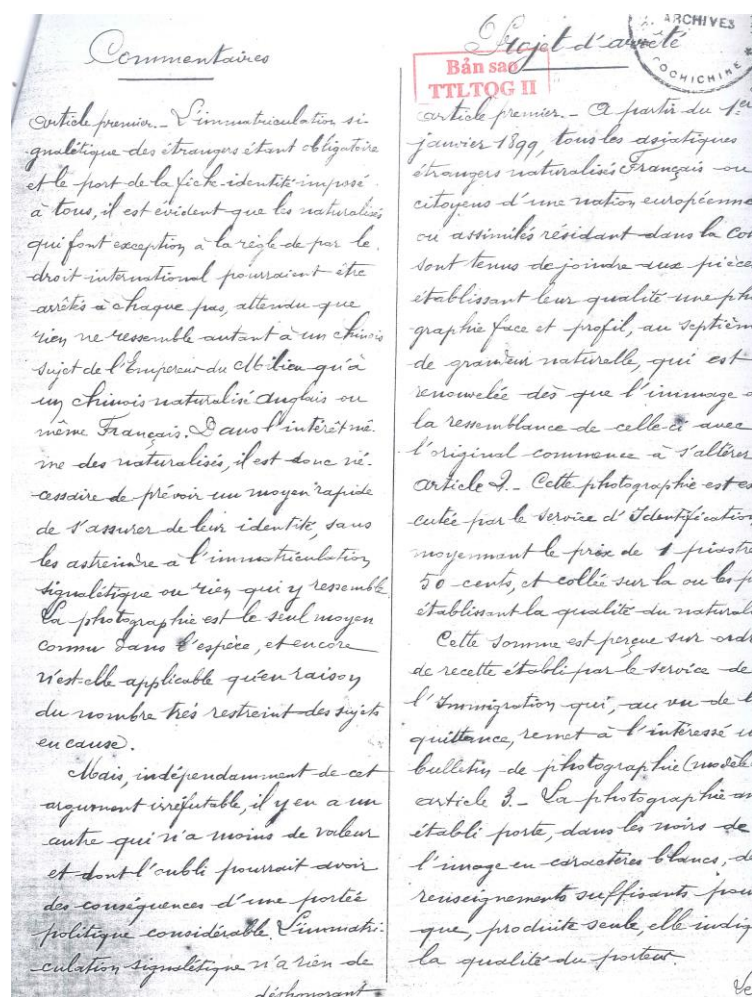
In other words, there is a direct link between the 1885 decree and the previous actions of Consul Tremlett. Pottecher adds, in his view, nothing changed in practice over the past 14 years. He suggests that the consul's request regarding passports does not stem from a regulatory issue known to Tremlett. On the contrary, this might be related to the current and new foreigner identification project under consideration, which raises concerns among Tremlett and the community of «English Chinese».

Indeed, the nature of the relations between Consul Tremlett and the Chinese representatives seems to be an underlying theme in Pottecher's response. Much as it was implicit in the earlier cases from the period of 1879-1882⁸⁹. Pottecher hypothesized that the so-called British subjects of

⁸⁸ ABOUT, Ilsen, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ In exploring these relationships, it is imperative to consider a broader range of archival sources beyond the GouCoch documents. While these materials offer valuable insights, a comprehensive understanding of

Chinese origin directly approached Tremlett to evade the imminent enforcement of identification measures⁹⁰. This observation unveils a tangible connection between the formulation of regulations and diplomatic interactions. Pottecher expressed concerns about the fact that the new regulations were still in the project phase. This situation prevented him from providing Tremlett with precise and up-to-date terms to counter, and Pottecher fears that diplomacy might intervene before the immigration decrees are officially signed, potentially jeopardizing their very existence⁹¹.



The presence of a copy of a draft in the dossier clarifies Pottecher's intentions and the elements behind his diplomatic concerns. This document, preserved in the records of the Cochinchina Government Secretariat in October 1898, is titled *Projet d'arrêté relatif à la photographie des Asiatiques étrangers ou citoyens d'une puissance européenne*⁹². The layout is presented in two columns: the right column contains a «Comments» section, while the left column contains the «Draft Decree» section, dated March 1898 and signed by Pottecher (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. *Projet d'arrêté relatif à la photographie des Asiatiques étrangers ou citoyens d'une puissance européenne*.

the British consulate's relevance requires examination of additional archival resources. The translation of letters from Chinese merchants may also be a direction to explore, encouraging the examination of Singaporean archives. For an example of the incorporation of non-European documents, refer to: LOMBARD-SALMON, Claudine, HIÊP, Ta Trong, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ He mentions certain information gathered over several months, without providing further details.

⁹¹ GouCoch, 25112, Dossier relatif à l'immigration et l'identification, délivrance de passeports aux annamites et aux asiatiques étrangers aux émigrants japonais années 1897-1899.

⁹² Lettre du 8 octobre 1898 de Victor Joseph Pottecher au lieutenant-gouverneur, GouCoch, 25112, Dossier relatif à l'immigration et l'identification, délivrance de passeports aux annamites et aux asiatiques étrangers aux émigrants japonais années 1897-1899.

It appears that this draft was prepared before the consul's request but was forwarded to the Lieutenant Governor to address the specific issue of British subjects of Chinese origin. These comments provide insights into this interaction between a draft preparing general regulation and the influence of specific constraints coming from a group of individuals of diasporic origin. It also allows us to relativize the traditional conception of the imbalance of power in colonial context.

The draft decree includes a rough outline of four articles, with a planned effective date of January 1, 1899. In summary, the first article stipulates that from that date onwards, all Asian citizens of a European nation must attach to their documents proving their status including a photograph of the face and profile, at a 1/7 scale of life-size. The second article specifies that this photograph must be taken at the identification service, at a cost of 1 piaster and 50 cents, and it must be affixed to the documents verifying the person's status. The third article states that the photograph must include, in the darker parts of the image, written information in white that is explicit enough to identify the photo's bearer. As for the fourth article, it starts with the title Execution Form, but is left incomplete.

The comments added to the draft by Pottecher (or potentially by other relevant parties) bring several important points to the discussion. First and foremost, they highlight the necessity of distinguishing between Chinese from the Chinese Empire, whether French or British subjects, as they resemble each other physically, making it crucial to ensure their identity. The idea of biometric registration is mentioned but faces resistance, particularly from the Chinese congregations of Saigon and the general population. The comments mention the risk that individuals might seek British consul naturalization to avoid such registration.

This point raises a significant political issue, which is the management of identities and national affiliations in a multi-ethnic context. The notes mention that among the 80.000 to 100.000 Chinese in Cochinchina, a considerable number might choose to claim British status, which would lead to diplomatic disputes with the Foreign Office. Here, the colonial administration grapples with the multi-ethnic nature of the Saigon-Cholon area. These global colonial spaces can be found in other cities in Southeast Asia where the transnationality of Chinese diasporas plays a crucial role⁹³. The response of the colonial administration to this complex challenge is to develop legal and administrative solutions to manage the diversity of populations and national affiliations within the French empire. This response proved ineffective, as the legal attempts to categorize individuals on a case-by-case basis, ultimately led to mass registration. In this context, Consul Tremlett is a key partner in supporting and negotiating existing merchant circulation practices, for a minority that span diverse spaces and empires.

⁹³GOH, Robbie B. H., *Contour of Culture: Space and Social Difference in Singapore, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2005, pp. 2-5.*

From this perspective, the letter from the Lieutenant Governor to Consul Tremlett dated October 29, 1898, outlines in detail the procedures and regulations that «Chinese British subjects» must follow if they wished to come or reside in Cochinchina. This letter clarified that although a passport was not required for foreigners in general, foreign Asians had to adhere to provisions of the decree dated February 19, 1890. According to this decree, they must be approved by one of the congregations recognized by the government in Saigon. Once approved, they were registered with the immigration office, which allows them to receive a renewable annual residence permit, containing information such as their matriculation number, names, first names, age, origin, residence, profession, and change of residence. To travel within the colony, they could obtain a temporary pass issued by the head of the congregation.

However, Articles 21, 23, and 26 of the matriculation decree provided exemptions for foreign Asians who could prove their naturalization by a document issued by a non-Asian nation with a consular representative in Saigon. These provisions seem to be directly related to past negotiations between Consul Tremlett and the colonial authorities regarding the exemption of foreign Asians from capitulation. Overall, this letter highlights the complex and detailed procedures that Chinese British subjects followed to enter and stay in Cochinchina. It left the consul responsible for communicating these measures to the Chinese involved while emphasizing the importance of administrative procedures for controlling population movements and national affiliations within the colonial empire. This contradiction was far from resolving diasporic issues.

As we conclude this investigation, taking into account the sources at our disposal, certain limitations come into view. The response from Consul Tremlett was missing from the documents, and at present, other consulted files have not yielded such an interaction between Tremlett's successor and the specific exemptions and other measures that Chinese British subjects of the empire could benefit from. Nonetheless, the currently available documents allow us to outline a long-term history of the presence of foreign Asians in Cochinchina⁹⁴. Regarding the photography project, no precise evidence of its implementation in 1899 has been found. However, it is almost certain that it was adopted in another form within a broader identification regulation, which underwent many changes between 1890 and 1912⁹⁵.

Most importantly, after 1899, we know that differentiation of identification processes based on social origin continued. Following protests, the «Chinese notables» (merchants, wealthier individuals) received personalized treatment and a discreet registration process from the immigration services⁹⁶. However, for other social categories, mass registration (measures, health

⁹⁴ For instance: GouCoch, 25508, Dossier de principe relatif à l'immigration des étrangers asiatiques année 1942.

⁹⁵ ABOUT, Ilsen, *op. cit.*

⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*

inspections, fingerprinting, etc.), were often accompanied by violence and humiliation was the norm. The taxes associated with this process were a crucial financial issue for Indochina. Following numerous abuses by immigration officials, Pottecher was replaced, and the system was streamlined. However, this did not mean the end of legal pressures surrounding the status of Chinese in Indochina. The question of distinguishing between British subjects and the Chinese continued to generate jurisdictional controversies beyond Pottecher's actions. In 1899, the Attorney General of Indochina determined that British subjects of Chinese origin should be considered as Chinese under Indochinese legislation⁹⁷. The racialization of criteria for the legal status of individuals was established through a decision by the Court of Indochina on October 27, 1910, which (in theory) revoked the status of British subjects to members of the Singaporean diaspora, despite their registration at the consulate⁹⁸.

Within this intricate system, the Singaporean diaspora and the endeavors of its consul find their place. Despite their modest numbers, this tightly bonded community has adeptly navigated to shape and sway the colonial administration's choices. Thanks to Tremlett's actions, they even challenged the systematic identification of movements of people classified as Chinese in Cochinchina. Therefore, it's unsurprising that the comparison between the French and English systems was a persistent theme from the early days of colonization. It is interesting to note that in 1906, after the abolition of the immigration and identification service, a notable Chinese figure, a merchant, and municipal councilor from Cholon named Ly Dang, was appointed as an advisor to the commission responsible for reorganizing the service. He advocated for following the English system in Singapore, which, according to him, promoted the prosperity of the English colony by easing the restrictions to the movement of individuals⁹⁹.

Conclusion

While not exhaustive, this examination of Consul Tremlett's activities through the GouCoch archives provides insight into the establishment of the consular position in Saigon. While our situation shares similarities with other contexts, it remains relevant with specific perspectives due to its colonial setting, an area of study that has received relatively little scrutiny¹⁰⁰. It encompasses merchant networks and local interests, highlighting the necessity of considering colonial administration, regulations, and competition within this underexplored historical

⁹⁷ HOFFEL, Ernest, *De la condition juridique des étrangers au Cambodge*, Strasbourg, Ch. Hiller, 1932, p. 108.

⁹⁸ DE BYANS, J., *La nationalité aux colonies*, in DARESTE, Pierre (dir.), *Recueil de législation & jurisprudence coloniales*, Angers, Burdin, 1911, pp. 9-20, p. 16.

⁹⁹ LAFARGUE, Jean-André, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰⁰ See for instance the geographical areas and historical timeline covered in: AGLIETTI, Marcella, GRENET, Mathieu, JESNÉ, Fabrice (a cura di), *op. cit.*

framework. More specifically, it reveals Tremlett's involvement in the colonial control of diasporas, negotiating local identities, imperial flows, and economic interests. The preexisting maritime trade and the significant presence of Chinese diasporas and merchants make Tremlett a crucial intermediary in facilitating merchant circulation and negotiating with the colonial administration.

This dynamic is reflected in the diversity of sources used in this paper, ranging from records of the governor, law enforcement documents, and immigration documents. Tremlett's interactions with the colonial administration were influenced by concerns about British competition, which positioned him as an agent of the British empire. These interactions had the potential to affect French colonial control and trade. Thus, what initially appears as a local discussion takes on international significance, particularly from the French perspective.

Finally, the fear of the British competitor makes Tremlett appears in the project discussions as an agent of the British empire likely to impact the French colonial control and trade. Indeed, the role of consuls places them at the center of debates in historiographical currents such as global history, *histoire connectée* and global microhistory. This is not coincidental, as we have examined in this article the early stages of colonization in Cochinchina, with a European perspective in an extra-European context, at a time when European domination of the world is accelerating and attempting to justify itself¹⁰¹.

When focusing on the consular role, it becomes clear that the analysis, *chemin faisant*¹⁰², must be multi-faceted. The Singaporean merchant diaspora, the colonial administration, and legal interactions between the mother country and the local context characterize the relationships between the actors and the spaces involved. While Roger Chartier has argued that actors did not necessarily think on a global scale, except for the elites, which includes consuls, it is essential to consider the global dimension of the consular function in colonial territories¹⁰³. This aligns with the concept of social field and power conflict in the colonial context, where multiple scales need to be considered¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, it is crucial to reflect on the methodology employed in this research, which includes archival analysis, historical contextualization, and interdisciplinary approaches. An interdisciplinary approach to studying consular networks could involve integrating insights and methodologies from fields such as sociology, anthropology, political

¹⁰¹ SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre, *Introduction*, in SINGARAVÉLOU, Pierre (dir.), *Les empires coloniaux*, cit., p. 15.

¹⁰² The general idea is to follow individuals journeys on different scales and the phrasing is not coincidental; the methodology and the questions pursued are reflected in: BERTRAND, Romain, *Histoire globale, histoires connectées : un « tournant » historiographique ?*, in CAILLÉ, Alain, DUFOIX, Stéphane (dir.), *Le « tournant global » des sciences sociales*, Paris, La Découverte, 2013, pp. 44-66.

¹⁰³ They are assumed to be capable of thinking on a global scale due to their social status, professional level, and connections. ROGER, Chartier, « La conscience de la globalité », in *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales*, 56, 1/2001, pp. 119-123.

¹⁰⁴ STEINMETZ, George, *op. cit.*

science, and economics to provide a comprehensive understanding. This might encompass examining the social dynamics within consular communities, analyzing the economic implications of consular activities, exploring the political contexts influencing consular behavior, and understanding the cultural factors shaping diplomatic interactions. This methodology contextualizes the findings within the broader field of historical research and underscores the significance of consular studies in understanding colonial dynamics¹⁰⁵.

Moreover, this research has implications for current debates in historical scholarship, particularly in discussions surrounding colonialism, globalization, and diaspora studies¹⁰⁶. By delving into the complexities of consular interactions and power dynamics, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of colonial history and its legacies. Looking ahead, there are numerous avenues for future research¹⁰⁷. This includes exploring the Singaporean perception of Tremlett and their discussions about his efficiency and contributions, which would require cross-referencing contexts and accessing documents produced by other stakeholders¹⁰⁸. Additionally, further investigation into Tremlett's correspondence with overseeing institutions and the selection of local consular representatives would enrich our understanding of consular dynamics in colonial settings¹⁰⁹.

In conclusion, while this study sheds light on a specific historical context, it also prompts broader reflections on colonial dynamics, diplomatic interactions, and the complexities of diasporic communities. By situating Tremlett's activities within a multifaceted colonial framework, this research contributes to ongoing discussions in historical scholarship¹¹⁰, and underscores the enduring relevance of consular studies in understanding the complexities of colonial history.

¹⁰⁵ WINDLER, Christian, *La diplomatie comme expérience de l'autre. Consuls français au Maghreb (1700-1840)*, Genève, Droz, 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Romain Bertrand mentions for instance the preference for the analysis and role of individuals who seem to meet the criteria of connected history. The danger is to overstate their role and overestimate their impact on a scale beyond the narrow scope of their activities. ROTHMAN, Nathalie E., *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism*, Ithaca-Londres, Cornell University Press, 2021.

¹⁰⁷ For instance, the presence of the consul activity in the ANOM's DPPC (Depot des papiers publics coloniaux).

¹⁰⁸ A source such as the one studied by Claudine Lombard-Salmon and Trong Hiệp Ta could provide a different perspective.

¹⁰⁹ This correspondence can be found in the United Kingdom: *The National Archives, FO - Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office, Division within FO - General Correspondence from Political and Other Departments, FO 27 - Foreign Office and predecessor: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence before 1906, France*.

¹¹⁰ For instance BARTOLOMEI, Arnaud, CALAFAT, Guillaume, GRENET, Mathieu, ULBERT, Jorg Ulbert (dir.), *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVII^e-XIX^e siècles)*, Roma, École française de Rome - Casa de Velázquez, 2017.

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