XIX\textsuperscript{th}
George Rudé Seminar
9-12 July 2014

Deakin University
Geelong Waterfront Campus

Program
9 July 2014, Wednesday

Opening Reception and Keynote Address

Atrium, Sally Walker building
Entry via Western Beach Road

5:00 - 6:15  Reception

6:15 - 6:30  Welcome.
Professor Jane den Hollander, Vice Chancellor of Deakin University

6:30 - 7:30  Keynote Address

Pamela Pilbeam (Royal Holloway College, University of London)
Algeria - a second Australia? The Saint-Simonians and Colonisation
Chair: Greg Burgess
10 July 2014, Thursday

Percy Baxter Lecture Theatre (D2.193)
Enterance 1 (Costa Hall Entrance)
Gheringhap Street

8:30 - 9:30  Registration

9:30 - 10:30  **Keynote Address** (D2.193)

*Marisa Linton* (Kingston University)

*Virtue or Glory? Dilemmas of Political Heroism in the French Revolution*

Chair: Peter McPhee

10:30 - 11:00  Morning break

11:00 - 12:30  **Parallel Sessions 1**

**Session 1A: The French Revolution in Global Context** (D2.193)

Chair: Tim Tackett

*Rethinking the French Revolution and the ‘Global Crisis’ of the Late-Eighteenth Century*

Peter McPhee (University of Melbourne)

*National Pride and Republican Grandezza: Brissot’s New Language for International Politics in the French Revolution*

Thomas Lalevée (Australian National University)

*The Vaccination of Napoleonic France*

Michael Bennett (University of Tasmania)

**Session 1B: Discourses of Resistance and the Eternal France** (D2.194)

Chair: Vesna Drapac

*Sartre as Player in the Discourse of Resistance*

Dennis McEnnerney (Colorado College)

*Women’s Resistance and the Journal of the Communist Resister, Lucienne Maertens*

Amy Morrison (University of Adelaide)

*La France Eternelle: The Persistence of an Ideal of Moral Conservatism from Vichy to the Present*

Debbie Lackerstein (University of New South Wales, Canberra)
12:30 - 1:30 Lunch

1:30 - 3:00 **Parallel Sessions 2**

**Session 2A: War and Refugees** (D2.193)
Chair: Jean Anderson

'It is Quite Impossible to Receive Them': Saving the Musa Dagh Refugees and European 'Imperial Humanitarianism'
Andrekos Varnava (Flinders University)

Absent Voices. Refugee Narratives and Collective Memory in Postwar France
Greg Burgess (Deakin University)

The Soldier's Death: From Valmy to Verdun
Ian Germani (University of Regina)

**Session 2B: Eighteenth-Century Transformations** (D2.194)
Chair: Marisa Linton

The Origins of Modern Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century France
Bryant T (Tip) Ragan (Colorado College)

The Candle and the Guillotine: Jean-Jacques Ampère and Civil War, Lyon, 1793
Julie Johnson (University of Melbourne)

The French Revolution and the Modern Classical Guitar, 1789-1815
Kirsty Carpenter (Massey University)

3:00 - 3:30 Afternoon break

3.30 - 5:00 **Parallel Sessions 3**

**Session 3A: Shifting Identities and Topographies of France** (D2.193)
Chair: Carol E. Harrison

L'Etranger des sociétés savantes françaises (XIXe-début XXe s): un monde si étrange?
Reine Claude Grondin

Rebuilding Family and Nation: Jewish Youth and the Politics of Reconstruction in Postwar France
Daniella Doron (Monash University)

The Death of Cannelle and the Reinvention of the Pyrenees
Martyn Lyons (University of New South Wales)
Session 3B: Family and Work in late Nineteenth-Century France (D2.194)
Chair: Tip Ragan

Mother’s Work, Child Labour: Reconsidering Child Labour Reform in France
   Esther Redmount (Colorado College)

Family Business: from Paris to the Antipodes. How the Pereire Family Controlled their Business Empire and Why it Failed
   Helen Davies (University of Melbourne)

Léon Laurent-Pichat and his Kin: Family Life and Republican Politics in the 1860s and 1870s
   Susan Foley (University of Melbourne)

Reception and Keynote Address

Auction Room, National Wool Museum, 26 Moorabool Street; Behind Waterfront Campus Conference Venue.

5:00 - 6:00 Reception

6:00 - 7:00 Keynote Address
Philippe Minard (Université de Paris 8)
   Le spectre du Colbertisme dans l’histoire de France.
   Chair: David Garrioch
11 July 2014, Friday

Percy Baxter Lecture Theatre (D2.193)
Entrance 1 (Costa Hall Entrance)
Gheringhap Street

8:30 - 9:30 Registration

9.30 - 10.30 **Keynote Address** (D2.193)

Simon Kitson (University of Auckland)
The Other Side of D-Day: French Civilian Experience of the Battle of Normandy
Chair: Colin Nettelbeck

10:30 - 11:00 Morning break

11:00 - 12:30 **Parallel Sessions 4**

**Session 4A: The Body, the Carceral and the Colonial** (D2.193)
Chair: Robert Aldrich
Debating the Convict Stain: French Penal Colonization and the Legacy of the Australian Model in the Late Nineteenth Century
Briony Neilson (University of Sydney)
La relégation des récidivistes en Guyane française, XIXe-XXe siècle : d'une utopie pénale à une réalisation carcérale
Jean-Lucien Sanchez (CESDIP)
Leprosy and the French Colonial Imagination in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century New Caledonia: La lutte contre la lèpre
Ingrid Sykes (La Trobe University)

**Session 4B: Punishment & Policing in Old Regime France** (D2.194)
Chair: Philippe Minard
Stone Crosses and Satisfaction in Early Modern France
Stuart Carroll (York University)
Execution Ballads in Early Modern France
Una McIlvenna (University of Sydney)
Lurks and Perks in the Eighteenth Century: Policing the Workforce in a French Naval Dockyard
Hamish Graham (University of New South Wales)
12:30 - 2.00  Lunch (Sixth Floor, Sally Walker Building)

**Lunchtime Talk:** Doug Munro (University of Queensland)
*The Politics of George Rudé’s Appointment to the University of Adelaide*

2.00 - 3.00  **Keynote Address** (D2.193)

Jean-Yves Mollié (Université de Versailles-Saint Quentin en Yvelines)

*1914-1918 : La mobilisation des intellectuels au service de la guerre*

Chair: Chips Sowerwine

3:00 - 3:30  Afternoon break

3:30 - 5:00  **Parallel Sessions 5**

**Session 5A: French Contexts of Australian History** (D2.193)

Chair: Tim Verhoeven

‘A Romance of Australia and New Caledonia’: the Development of Australian Nationalism(s) and Imperialism in the Pacific in Relation to the French Colony, 1853-1914

- Alexis Bergantz (Australian National University)

French Australians and de Gaulle’s Free French movement

- Margaret Barrett

French-Australian Relations: Towards the Mapping of an Historical Overview

- Colin Nettelbeck (University of Melbourne)

**Session 5B: God over the Atlantic: France and America** (D2.194)

Chair: Kirsty Carpenter

*Catholic Attitudes to War and Peace at the Time of the Munich Agreement*

- Vesna Drapac (University of Adelaide)

‘An Encouraging Precedent’: the United States and the Separation of Church and State in France, 1832-1905

- Tim Verhoeven (Monash University)

God and Liberty between France and America: Edouard Laboulaye, Paris en Amérique and the Statue of Liberty

- Carol E. Harrison (University of South Carolina)
5:30 - 6:30  **Plenary Session: Origins of French Colonial Empire** (D2.193)

Chair: Ingrid Sykes

*Marseille, ville sans nom: Revolutionary Origins of French Imperialism*
Ian Coller (Latrobe University)

*How a Jewish-Algerian Trading House (almost) Caused the Invasion*
Julie Kalman (Monash University)

7:30  **Conference Dinner – Baveras**

Cunningham Pier, Western Beach Road (opposite conference venue)
http://www.baveras.com.au
12 July 2012 Saturday

Percy Baxter Lecture Theatre (D2.193)
Entrance 1 (Costa Hall Entrance)
Gheringhap Street

8:30 - 9:30  Registration

9:30 - 10:30  **Keynote Address** (D2.193)

**Timothy Tackett** (University of California, Irvine)

*The Crisis of March 1793 and the Origins of the Terror*
Chair: Ian Germani

10:00 - 10:30  Morning break

10:30 - 12:00  **Parallel Sessions 6**

**Session 6A: France and the Asia-Pacific: Colonialism and Ethnography** (D2.193)
Chair: Briony Neilson

‘No More Uncivilised Than our Peasants of Lower Brittany’: Regional and Oceanic Ethnographies in the Era of the French Revolution
Nicole Starbuck (University Adelaide)

*Asian Monarchs in Paris: The Visits of Asian Sovereigns to the French Capital, 1897-1922*
Robert Aldrich (University of Sydney)

‘A French Window in India’: Assessing French Culture in post-French India (1954)
Emmanuelle Guenot (University of Sydney)

**Session 6B: Urban Cultures in Eighteenth-Century France** (D2.194)
Chair: Helen Davies

*Charmet and the Book Police*
Simon Burrows (University of Western Sydney)

*The ‘Great Altercation’ between the Trois Petites Loteries and the Comédie: Luxury, Consumption, and Power*
Robert Kruckeberg (Troy University)

*Bourgeois Protestants in Eighteenth-Century Paris*
David Garrioch (Monash University)
12:00 - 1:00  Lunch

1:00 - 2:30  **Parallel Sessions 7**

**Session 7A: Social Change in War and Peacetime** (D2.193)
Chair: Pam Pilbeam

*Reform or Revolution: The Socialist Movement in France (1871-90)*
  Mira Adler-Gillies (University of Melbourne)

*The Specter of Debacle at the 1878 Exposition Universelle*
  Elizabeth Gralton (University of Western Australia)

*An Alsacien Occupé: the Wartime Art of Gil Baer*
  Jean Anderson (Victoria University, Wellington)

2:40 - 3:40  **Closing Roundtable**

3:40 - 4:30  Annual General Meeting of the George Rudé Society
ABSTRACTS
Mira Adler-Gillies  
(University of Melbourne)

Reform or Revolution: The Socialist Movement in France (1871-90).

Modern French socialism was born in the aftermath of the Paris Commune, a period in which competing and contested conceptions of socialist theory, practice and identity were vigorously debated. It was during the formative years of 1871-90 that an enduring framework emerged through which socialist identity would be subsequently understood. The historiographical orthodoxy has characterised this period as a moment of rupture in which Marxism infiltrated the French socialist movement. The 'immortel congrès' at Marseille in 1879 is traditionally read as the decisive moment when French socialists abandoned the federalist ideal of association in favour of revolutionary collectivism. However, a closer examination of the debates and ideological struggles of the period suggests otherwise. This paper will argue that the period was underpinned by the continuity of an intellectual and political tradition: the mutualist, federalist, Proudhonian tradition remained a powerful and enduring ideological force during the 1880s. This strand of socialist thought found its most coherent articulation in the journal, the Revue socialiste, in which independent socialists such as Benoît Malon articulated an indigenous, libertarian French socialism. This paper will re-examine this intellectual tradition in the two decades following the Paris Commune to demonstrate an ideological continuity that has been routinely either neglected or negated in the historiography of the French left.

Robert Aldrich  
(University of Sydney)


European royals frequently passed through fin-siècle and early twentieth-century France, on state visits to Paris, to tour world’s fairs and for holidays on the Côte d’Azur. Visits by reigning non-European monarchs, however, were less common. This paper examines the visits of three monarchs from eastern Asia: the king of independent Siam (in 1897 and 1907), and the hereditary rulers of two French colonial possessions, the king of Cambodia (in 1906 and 1922) and the emperor of Vietnam (in 1922).

The visits took place at the height of both imperialism and fascination with the exoticism of Asia. Spectators, politicians, journalists and artists marvelled at the costumes, retinues and activities of the visiting royals, but behind the pomp and circumstance lay serious business: an effort by the French to display European civilisation and progress, and French power, to the visitors – evidenced by
obligatory receptions at the Elysée Palace and the Eiffel Tower – and, on the part of the Asians, an attempt to show themselves as modern and modernising rulers. There were darker aspects, too: conflict between France and Siam about French expansion in Southeast Asia, the desire to welcome a docile Vietnamese ruler after the French had deposed and exiled three of his predecessors, and an idealised image of the kingdom of the Angkor Wat and Khmer culture. Reports of the visits alternated tropes of wonderment at the panoply of Asian courts, ill-disguised racist stereotypes and big-power and colonialist bravado, bespeaking the ambivalence of the French towards Asia and its people.

Alexis Bergantz
(Australian National University)

‘A Romance of Australia and New Caledonia’: the Development of Australian Nationalism(s) and Imperialism in the Pacific in Relation to the French colony, 1853-1914.

In the late nineteenth-century, the Australian colonies viewed New Caledonia in shifting and sometimes contradictory ways. Some saw it as a missed opportunity or a threat to British imperial hegemony, but also as a trading partner and a little France Australe. Significantly, since the opening of the French bagne in 1853, it was also seen as a hotbed of moral contagion damning the entire Pacific region and the colonies’ claims to moral respectability. Scholars of the British Empire have in recent years started to move from the new imperial history’s concern about the relationship between metropole and colony to more inclusive and nuanced histories of the networks between the different constituents of the empire. Yet the centrality of the British imperial system has only just started being problematised, and the webbed dimension and complexity of the connections between the French and British empires and their respective colonies are yet to be fully fleshed out. Further, despite recent calls for transnational histories and for broadening our understanding of national histories and national cultures through the study of the circulation of people and ideas on a more global scale, the cultural relationship between the French colony of New Caledonia and the Australian colonies has remained largely unexamined. From the outset the French colony jeopardised the idea of a British lake in the Pacific, but its importance in the shaping of the Australian nation needs to be further acknowledged. Drawing on the Australian press and popular novels this paper investigates the (trans)local connections between the French outpost and the Australian colonies. This brings to light the significance of New Caledonia in the development of Australian nationalism(s) and imperialism, which was welded to anxieties about moral respectability and territorial sovereignty.
Jean Anderson  
(Victoria University of Wellington)

An Alsacien occupé: the Wartime Art of Gil Baer

Oldest son of painter Léopold Berr and Elisabeth (née Bloch). Gilles Berr was born in Strasbourg on February 17th 1863. He was active as an illustrator, under the name of Gil Baer, from perhaps 1883 until 1928, and died in Paris on April 17th 1931. Although he was a prolific illustrator of somewhat frivolous themes (eg. Les Heures de la Parisienne, Les Petites Frileuses), he is also of interest for his work on military subjects (eg. illustrating books on aviation such as Les Aérostiers militaires by G. Bethuys in 1889 and Aérostiers et aviateurs, Georges Espitallier, 1914).

In this year of the centenary of the beginning of World War I, this paper will focus on Baer’s participation in publisher Rouff’s Patrie series. This self-described ‘Alsacien occupé’ made a very considerable contribution to the 154 issues that appeared between 1917 and 1920, providing cover art for around 30% of the titles. Using a range of Baer’s covers as illustrations, and with a particular focus on comparing those depicting Alsatian subjects with the better-known work of Oncle Hansi (Jean-Jacques Waltz, Colmar, 23 February 1873–10 June 1951), I will reflect on the propagandistic elements of this ‘art of war’ in an attempt to develop a pictorial vocabulary used in such representations.

Margaret Barrett  
(Freelance editor and independent scholar)

French Australians and de Gaulle’s Free French movement

This paper examines how French citizens in far off Australia responded to the news of France’s capitulation to the Germans in June 1940. A few days after the announcement of the armistice, a Sydney Frenchman, André Brenac, heard General Charles de Gaulle on shortwave radio challenging the French everywhere to fight on against the Germans. Inspired by de Gaulle’s words, Brenac persuaded other expatriates, at a meeting called by their consul-general, Jean Trémoulet, to follow the General’s lead. An organising committee was quickly formed and an Australian branch of the Free French movement, one of the earliest in the world, began to take shape. The movement spread from New South Wales to the other eastern states, while in Western Australia a tiny band of enthusiasts threw in their lot with de Gaulle. The Sydney French, by opting for de Gaulle, had spurned their consul-general’s tepid response to the crisis, and in the following months Trémoulet and his fellow Vichy consul in Melbourne set out to undermine the movement –
initially by hinting at reprisals in France for the relatives of those who joined. Consular pressure deterred some of the French, and dissension within the growing organisation discouraged others, but a substantial proportion became paid-up members, and even those who refused to join helped to raise considerable funds for the Gaullist cause. This paper enlarges on the story of the Free (later, Fighting) French in Australia, examines the level of commitment to de Gaulle among French Australians, and takes issue with the views of a French–Polynesian researcher in the same field.

Michael Bennett
(University of Tasmania)

The Vaccination of Napoleonic France

In his address on 14 July 1800, Lucien Bonaparte, Minister of the Interior, invoked the spirit of the storming of the Bastille in the cause of national regeneration and mobilisation. He recalled the moment when ‘the sacred fire burst forth and coursed through the arteries of the body politic; millions of arms rose up; the word “liberty” resounded on all sides’. Elsewhere in Paris, under Lucien’s patronage, preparations were being made for the arrival of an English physician bringing Edward Jenner’s cowpox virus (petite vérole des vaches, soon rebadged as ‘vaccine’) as a preventative of smallpox. By 1801 cowpox inoculation (that is, vaccination) was well established in the capital and was being introduced in all the départements of France. The main mode of dissemination was bras-à-bras, with the pustules on the arms of children vaccinated one week providing vaccine for the next group of children. The scale of mobilisation was impressive, with the number of vaccinations rising rapidly from tens of thousands annually to hundreds of thousands. The population of Napoleonic France literally came ‘arm-to-arm’.

This paper explores the spread of vaccination in France, especially the connection between the new prophylaxis and the Napoleonic regime. In outlining the potential of vaccine to eradicate smallpox to Napoleon, Dr Guillotin, asked rhetorically whether it was not the destiny of the Consulate to ‘succeed in glories of all sorts, in all the advances that can add to the distinction of France, and to bring happiness to the world’. In seeking to generalise the practice from 1803, Minister Chaptal instructed the prefects to establish comités de vaccine in their départements and set forward a ‘union of measures which embrace every part of France’. In declaring war on smallpox, he adopted the language of a Napoleonic general: ‘we must dispute every inch of ground with the enemy whom we wish to exterminate.’ The concordat bishops and clergy were promptly recruited to preach sermons on the new prophylaxis. The vaccination cause proved a vehicle of ralliement and amalgame. Napoleon’s personal interest in smallpox prophylaxis was widely assumed, not least by Edward Jenner who had some success in his appeals to
Napoleon on behalf of friends in French captivity. Nonetheless Napoleon never sought to make vaccination compulsory and some prefects were admonished for over-exuberance in seeking compliance. The birth of a son and heir provided Napoleon the opportunity to lead from the front. The vaccination of the King of Rome in May 1811 was meticulously organised and news of the operation’s success was immediately relayed by semaphore across the empire prompting prefects from Milan to Brussels to exhort their citizens to follow the emperor’s act of paternal solicitude. In 1812 the tally of vaccinations in France reached three quarters of a million, over 80% of the number of live births. It was an achievement not matched for sixty years.

Greg Burgess
(Deakin University)

Absent Voices. Refugees of Post-War France

Recent histories of post-war refugees have attempted to let their voices speak of their experiences of displacement. The aim for Peter Gatrell in his Making of the Modern Refugee (OUP, 2013) is to write refugees into history, for without their self-definition they enter history as displaced persons, victims of conflict, or subjects of national and international relief efforts - always defined by abstract and remote criteria, by those outside looking in. Individual voices are rare, however, as the experience of displacement has silenced them. Such voices as there are, Gatrell further argues, have been engulfed in a collective narrative in which a ‘mythico-history’ of nation emerges to make sense of displacement and to ground the displaced in national memory. This paper considers these reflections on refugee voices in the context of post-war France. These voices are largely absent, so how can refugees be written into this history?

Simon Burrows
(University of Western Sydney)

Charmet and the Book Police

On 7 September 1778, Modeste Monnot, Inspecteur de la librairie at Besançon called at the shop of Jean-Félix Charmet in search of contraband works. Charmet is already well known to book historians as a dealer in illegal books, many of which he sourced from the notorious Société typographique in Nauchâtel. But what Monnot and his associate M. de Saint-Agathe found in Charmet’s shop on that September
day still comes as a shock. It calls us to rethink our understanding of the French book trade in the later Enlightenment.

**Kirsty Carpenter**  
(Massey University)

*The French Revolution and the Modern Classical Guitar 1789-1815*

Before the French Revolution the guitar was a charming, but obscure, musical instrument. In 1815 the six-string romantic ‘Classical’ guitar was played throughout Europe. The guitar enjoyed popularity previously unknown in Moscow, Vienna and Italy, and during the Restoration it underwent a further ascendancy in Paris and London. Musical historians find it hard to account for why the modern instrument came of age when it did, and very few make mention of the emigration, émigré guitarists, or the armies of the revolutionary period. Guitars were confiscated and documented in Paris as property of émigrés and they were often replaced in emigration.

The guitar was a portable instrument that was at the same time an objet d’art and a personal treasure that gave an outlet to the emotions of revolution or counter-revolution much in the same way that writing novels provided a release and an escape into the imaginary (often one where the rituals of Ancien Régime life, if not society, remained largely undisturbed). The emigration and the dispersal of those involved in luxury trades explain why the guitar came into its own after and had a receptive public. When guitarist and composer Fernando Sor arrived in London in 1815, he had a ready and informed audience. This paper traces the exodus from France of instrument makers and performers who were responsible for raising the profile of the instrument through teaching and performance in places like Marylebone where, but for the Revolution, they would not have gone. These musicians established a climate in which the repertoire for the six-string modern instrument that became part of musical culture of the nineteenth century could flourish.

**Stuart Carroll**  
(York University)

*Stone Crosses and Satisfaction in Early Modern France*

This paper considers the practice of satisfaction for murder. Contrary to traditional histories of the criminal law, execution for non-heinous homicide remained rare
and during the *Ancien Régime* murder continued to be satisfied more commonly by other means. This paper considers the changing meanings of satisfaction through examples of *croix expiatoires*, a practice which outside Germany has been largely ignored by the historiography.

**Ian Coller**  
(La Trobe University)

*Marseille, ville sans nom: Revolutionary Origins of French Imperialism*

In 1793, after the so-called ‘Federalist Revolt’ in Marseille, the city was declared ‘Ville sans nom’ for a period, and broken up into three municipalities. This act was not simply a punishment but a strategic response to Marseille’s long-established pretensions to extraterritoriality. Marseille claimed an ancient republican tradition, enshrined in legal arrangements between Marseille and Provence, and then later with the Kingdom of France. Marseille had its own Mediterranean archipelago of extraterritorial communities in the Levant and North Africa, known as the Échelles. While the Marseillais participated enthusiastically in the Revolution, and even radicalised it through their intervention in Paris in 1792, within a year a competing conception of sovereignty brought them into conflict with the central Jacobin administration. This paper will explore that conflict and its implications for the emergence of French imperialism in the Mediterranean.

**Helen Davies**  
(University of Melbourne)

*Family Business: from Paris to the Antipodes. How the Pereire Family Controlled their Business Empire and Why it Failed*

The great surge in industrial development in France from the 1830s presented huge challenges to the established order of family business enterprises. Rapidly evolving industries required radically different organisational structures and management models to address the new demands. Managing an increasingly assertive workforce was only one of the challenges confronting family capabilities. This is a case study that focuses on one family of the *grande bourgeoisie*, the Pereires, whose wealth from railways and banking investment under the Second Empire reached incalculable dimensions. The paper will explore how the extended family was drawn into play in the effort both to control and maintain the empire’s expansion, which was ultimately doomed with the collapse of its centrepiece, the *Crédit Mobilier* bank.
Vesna Drapac  
(University of Adelaide)

*Catholic Attitudes to War and Peace at the Time of the Munich Agreement*

Hitler’s demands for the complete cession of the Sudetenland to Germany on 22 September 1938 led to an international crisis. There was a widespread fear of war with the mobilisation of troops in Czechoslovakia and partial mobilisation in France on 24 September. The Munich Pact allayed people’s anxiety and Catholics could not help but notice that its signing on 29 September had coincided with three anniversaries related to St Thérèse of Lisieux (1873-1897): the centenary of the foundation of the Carmel at Lisieux, the entry of Thérèse into the Carmel in 1889 and her death in 1897. This happy convergence precipitated a flood of letters to Lisieux documenting people’s gratitude to the ‘Little Saint’ or the ‘Rose of Peace’: due to her intercession the peace had been saved.

Canonised in 1925, Thérèse was the most popular saint of the modern era. Her intense ‘spirituality of the ordinary’, or her ‘Little Way’, explained in her writings published posthumously as a book – *Histoire d’une Ame* (1898) – inspired devotees from all over the world. They wrote to the Carmel at Lisieux much as if they were writing to Thérèse herself, leaving an intimate record of their emotional and spiritual lives and their daily preoccupations. During the Great War Thérèse was described as the saint, or the ‘little sister’, of the poilus and thousands of letters to the Carmel documented graces received and a multitude of miracles. But the voluminous correspondence from the interwar period has not been studied and it is this material that informs my paper. It analyses Catholic attitudes to war and peace through the correspondence received by the Carmel of Lisieux after the signing of the Munich Pact. It explores the extent to which the letters support or call into question the stereotypes of Catholic behaviour at this time.

Susan Foley  
(University of Melbourne)

*Léon Laurent-Pichat and his Kin: Family Life and Republican Politics in the 1860s and 1870s*

As republicans assumed power in 1870 following the fall of the Second Empire, Edmond Adam reportedly declared to his wife: ‘Do you know what worries me Juliette? As I see my young [male] friends ascending [to power], I see no women following them; Gambetta, Challemel, Spuller, Ranc, and so many others, have no
wives ... If cafés support the spirit of opposition, I seek in vain the domestic hearths that will preserve the Republic once it is established.’

We know that the Third Republic was indeed ‘preserved’, but what role did ‘domestic hearths’ play in securing it? A study of the personal papers of Léon Laurent-Pichat (1823-1886) allows us to consider that question. Laurent-Pichat – journalist, editor and poet – was elected to represent Paris in 1870 and became a Life Senator in 1875. He had no wife, though he was the father of an illegitimate daughter; he was, at first glance, one of those whose lifestyle might have aroused Adam's concern. Nevertheless, Laurent-Pichat was a family man, and his family was united by strong bonds of affection as well as by shared political sentiment. A case study of Laurent-Pichat and his kin demonstrates how emotional relationships based in the family nourished and sustained political networks in the 1860s and 1870s. It highlights the significance of the family as a fulcrum of republicanism, both materially and metaphorically, even when that family failed to replicate the nuclear idyll that Adam seems to have envisaged.

David Garrioch
(Monash University)

*Bourgeois Protestants in Eighteenth-Century Paris.*

Following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Protestants were formally excluded from the institutions that defined certain Parisians as 'bourgeois'. While the status of 'bourgeois' was legally defined, it was also determined by office-holding in guilds, confraternities, parish vestries, and other city institutions and by particular social practices that were in some cases - such as charity - closely linked to these institutions. By the late-eighteenth century, particularly in Paris, this had all changed. New institutions and social practices shaped what it was to be 'bourgeois', and as a consequence well-to-do Protestants were able to (re-)join the club. This has implications both for the history of urban social structures and for that of religious toleration.

Ian Germani
(University of Regina, British Columbia)

*The Soldier’s Death: From Valmy to Verdun*

In a path-breaking article written in 1975, André Corvisier identified some of the key turning points in the representation of the death of the soldier since the end of
the Middle Ages. In particular, he noted the eighteenth-century transition from the idealisation of the soldier's death as the culmination of a noble lifetime of military prowess to its celebration as a simple act of patriotic self-sacrifice. The late-nineteenth century gave rise to more realistic depictions of battlefield deaths and greater efforts to memorialise them. This trend culminated in the First World War with the vast expansion of honours and monuments to the dead, and with a more documentary style, influenced by photography, of depicting the soldier's death.

This paper revisits the work of André Corvisier, with particular attention to the representations of the soldier's death from the periods of the French Revolution and the First World War. It argues that the cult of voluntary self-sacrifice received its first significant expression during the wars of the French Revolution, with public tributes to the acts of patriotic devotion performed by citizen-soldiers. Nevertheless, although temporarily eclipsed during the most radical phase of the Revolution, an older ideal of the warrior's death resurfaced under the Directory and Napoleon and representations of the deaths of prominent generals were a synthesis of old and new traditions. The ideals of a noble death and of patriotic self-sacrifice survived down to the First World War, when they were subjected to bitter attack by writers such as Henri Barbusse, who gave voice to the poilu's anger against those 'in the rear' who persisted in the belief that a soldier's death could ever be beautiful. Although some artists, notably Otto Dix, gave visual expression to Barbusse's vision, others continued to insist upon the soldier's death as transcendent, resorting to religious symbols to sanctify the dead and, thereby, to offer consolation to the living.

Hamish Graham
(University of New South Wales)

Lurks and Perks in the Eighteenth Century: Policing the Workforce in a French Naval Dockyard

A generation ago historians of labour relations in eighteenth-century Europe regraded the textile trades as the most prevalent sites of workplace theft, as urban-based 'merchants' sought increasingly to police the homes of rural outworkers: the spinners, weavers and knitters of wool, cotton and silk. For many scholars a key to understanding the decline and eventual disappearance of workplace conflicts over 'customary' perks during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century was the development of industrial discipline, and the ways in which the factory system enhanced the capacity of owners and employers to specify and enforce their exclusive rights of property.

However Barry Godfrey and others have recently questioned this view, in particular by demonstrating how the owners of Yorkshire woollen mills continued to struggle against widespread workplace appropriation well after the 1840s. In this paper I
offer a French angle on these debates by considering some surviving evidence from one of the largest, most complex and most heavily-policed workplaces in pre-industrial Europe: a naval dockyard, specifically Rochefort (Charente-Maritime).

**Elisabeth Gralton**
(University of Western Australia)

*The Spectre of Debacle at the 1878 Exposition Universelle*

The Paris *Expositions universelles* of the nineteenth century were touted as temples of peace. They were celebrations of technological and industrial achievements that would facilitate communication, mobility and trade between peoples. The 1878 Exposition in particular was cited by its republican organisers as proof that France had overcome the humiliation of the events of 1870-71 and was ready to triumphantly re-enter the world stage. The republican rhetoric of peace and relèvement, however, did not prevent the ghosts of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune from haunting it.

In spite of its official ‘forgetting’ of the debacles of 1870-71, the first Exposition of the Third Republic inevitably triggered particular memories for its right-wing observers. Commentary in the legitimist, Catholic press sought to discredit the Exposition of 1878 by associating it with its predecessor: the ‘decadent’ 1867 Exposition of Napoleon III, which was so closely followed by the collapse of the Second Empire. Retrospectively, the Exposition of 1867 seemed to be a glitzy and debauched prelude to an inevitable and catastrophic downfall. Journalists evoked the memory of 1867 in their descriptions of 1878, emphasising the characteristics that they felt were shared by the two Expositions in order to depict the fledgling Republic as a modern Babylon revelling in its own glory and blithely unaware of impending doom.

**Reine-Claude Grondin**

*L’Etranger des sociétés savantes françaises (XIXe-début XXe s) : un monde si étrange ?*

Dans le prolongement de ma thèse, je me propose d’explorer les productions des sociétés savantes en m’appuyant sur la bibliographie réalisée par Robert de Lasteyrie. J’envisage dans un premier temps, d’identifier les territoires de « l’Etranger » par opposition au « chez-nous », en insistant particulièrement mais pas exclusivement sur la place accordée à l’Empire colonial. Par conséquent, existe-t-il, comme l’ont enseignée nos savants, une France extravertie qui serait maritime s’opposant à une
France tournant le dos au monde, voire gallo-centrée ? Quel le place est réservée aux « petites patries » dans ces territoires de la globalité ? Y aurait-il, pour reprendre une terminologie contemporaine, un Etranger proche, un Etranger intime ?

**Emmanuelle Guenot**
(University of Sydney)

*‘A French Window in India’: Assessing French Culture in Post-French India (1954)*

The Franco-Indian Agreement of 21 October 1954, which marked the de facto transfer of the four French Indian territories of Pondichéry, Karikal, Mahé, and Yanaon to the government of India provided a set of articles that outlined issues of nationality, administration, justice, records and education. Articles XXIV to XXX dealt specifically with French culture which was to be maintained through French language teaching at existing educational establishments, the recognition of French Indian qualifications by the Indian government, and the creation of a research institute. No longer viewed as a total abandonment, the handover allowed France to transfer the territories with some dignity while preserving French influence. The research institute became a new panacea, a respectable way to transform an unceremonious withdrawal into a more glorifying post-colonial achievement. From the viewpoint of the Indian authorities, the maintenance of French culture was considered a small concession against India’s refusal to hold a referendum, and would soothe the fears of a French Indian population that was surrounded by four hundred million non-French Indians.

In view of the changes that the Agreement embodied, this paper will explore the origins and the role that the Institute was designed to fulfil as France’s formal presence in Asia waned, and how India perceived the transformation of a colonial administration into a research institute. Since the Agreement allowed for the preservation of French culture in French India, the paper will also assess the extent of French cultural influence in French India, and evaluate the level of French education in the territories in order to establish whether French culture was a myth or a reality, and to determine whether it could sustain the changes generated by the withdrawal.
**Carol E. Harrison**  
(University of South Carolina)

*God and Liberty between France and America: Edouard Laboulaye, Paris en Amérique, and the Statue of Liberty*

In the 1863 novel, *Paris en Amérique*, a mesmerist transfers the city of Paris, with all of its residents, to the state of Massachusetts just in time for the US Civil War. The author, Edouard-René Lefebvre de Laboulaye, was the most prominent French scholar of the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. His novel’s alter ego/hero, René Lefebvre, makes the trans-Atlantic voyage that Laboulaye himself never made, and in America the Frenchman discovers a patriotism grounded in religious devotion that, he confidently asserts, will see the Union safely through fratricidal conflict.

Although scholars are familiar with Laboulaye’s liberalism, his Catholicism is less well known, largely because historians of France are conceptually ill-equipped to explain the coincidence of progressive politics and religious devotion in the same person. *Paris en Amérique* and Laboulaye’s other major projects of the 1860s, most notably a three-volume *Histoire des Etats Unis* and the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor, share a common interest in the role of religious liberty in shaping a functioning democracy. Laboulaye re-located Paris in New England because of his admiration for the sons of the Puritans who had successfully negotiated their transition to a modern regime of constitutional liberty. He hoped that French liberals would similarly recognise the role of religious devotion in holding together a society of free individuals. The Statue of Liberty extends the argument of the novel: her radiant crown, her torch, and her tablet derive from the iconography of faith. The design expresses Laboulaye’s hope that religious devotion without confessional orthodoxy might form one of the elements of ‘sympathy’ between France and America and a common foundation for political liberty.

**Julie Johnson**  
(University of Melbourne)


The fourth anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was celebrated in revolutionary Lyon by a newly constituted municipality that claimed to have restored order after the escalating violence of the previous year. Although recent historical work, particularly that of Côme Simien, shows the factors that led to revolutionary violence in the local context, a closer study of the attempts to tackle the problem of day-to-day violence has not received as much attention. This paper looks at the
attempt of one functionary, Jean-Jacques Ampère, elected justice of the peace from 1791 to 1793, to maintain law and order.

Ampère’s experience as an enlightened supporter of change, who was nevertheless intimately involved in the imprisonment and trial of the Jacobin minority, is equivocal. His is an example of the ‘liminal experience’ of someone faced with sudden transformation that Timothy Tackett suggests needs further analysis. To make sense of what motivated Ampère’s decisions in these two years will help explain the escalation of violence and civil war in Lyon and elsewhere. I will consider the triggers of violence, the fear of counter-revolution, and the slow habituation to violence that developed in popular riots. I will consider the impact of various episodes in 1791 and 1792, such as the attack on the castle of Poleyrieux (next to Ampère’s own house), which may have ended in cannibalism. Extremist language and agitation amongst the Chalier-Jacobin grew with these fearsome examples of popular violence. I will suggest that this led to a more temperate reaction among the elite of local society, who were wary of the machinations of royalists and refractory clergy but wanted order and calm to prevail. Ampère appears to have come to support these modérés but was mostly concerned with his duty of applying the law. The experiences of Ampère show the buffeting of an enlightened man trying to maintain justice in a time of violence.

Julie Kalman
(Monash University)

How a Jewish-Algerian Trading House (almost) Caused the Invasion

The House of Bacri and Busnach was a little Jewish trading house run by two Sephardic Jewish families, based in the Regency of Algiers. The Bacris and Busnachs were middlemen. Over four decades, they provided French consuls in Algiers with loans, access to the ruling Dey, help and advice. They negotiated the purchase of enslaved citizens and cargoes from captured ships. They brokered peace. They also provided France millions of francs’ worth of wheat, on credit. The debt, which took more than two decades to be paid, damaged relations between France and the Regency so badly that scholars see it as the part of the cause of the French invasion of Algiers. French consuls, ministers and bureaucrats have left thousands of pages of correspondence that feature Bacris and Busnachs. Bacris and Busnachs were central to French ambitions and fortunes in Algiers, and they were at the centre of the political relationship between France and Algiers. The Bacris and Busnachs suggest that Jews were intrinsic to imperial designs and desires in many ways, and the story of France in the Regency of Algiers is not complete without them.
Simon Kitson  
(University of Auckland)

*The Other Side of D-Day: French Civilian Experience of the Battle of Normandy*

When D-Day is discussed it is usually in terms of the Allied operation. We are informed that some 6,939 ships, 11,680 aircraft and 159,000 men took part in this operation. We learn that the assault, which had been preceded by an elaborate deception plan, took place in three phases: there was an airborne assault by British and American paratroopers, followed by an aerial and naval bombardment with a final phase consisting of the actual landings on the beaches. It is common knowledge that there were five beach landings: Utah and Omaha beaches for the Americans; Sword, Juno and Gold for the British and Canadians and that Omaha beach was a particularly difficult nut to crack. But what of the French, and in particular French civilians in all of this? Very few authors address this. One of the people who is best at this is actually Anthony Beevor in his account of D-Day, but civilians tend to disappear in the middle of his narrative. Indeed ‘disappearing’ is quite an apt word for civilian presence in the battle—it was not always obvious as the local people only emerged from their hiding places once the battle was over. Indeed official photographers considered them so marginal to proceedings that you will struggle to find many photographs of them. In this, the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Normandy, my paper will try to offer an account of the experience of Liberation for these civilians.

Robert Kruckeberg  
(Troy University)

*The ‘Great Altercation’ Between the Trois Petites Loteries and the Comédie: Luxury, Consumption, and Power.*

Historians have now firmly established that a Consumer Revolution did indeed take place in eighteenth-century France. And one aspect, often overlooked, of this growth in commerce and consumerism was the explosion of interest in lotteries. Indeed, lotteries became so predominant that Louis-Sébastien Mercier, a noted social and moral commentator in eighteenth-century France, claimed that the lotteries had a devastating effect on families, and referred to these supposed debilitating losses as ‘odious conquests by the state on its citizens’. Mercier implies a power dynamic in which the state forced itself upon the people through the popular consumption of lottery tickets. For Mercier, there is a definite political overtone to the lotteries, and in this way, Mercier links the new consumerism of the day with the state. In this paper, I too will link consumption and politics through the lotteries, but I will
argue that the lotteries inverted the power dynamic between the state and the people as consumers giving consumers a new political voice.

I will examine an event referred to as the ‘Great Altercation’ by contemporaries. This alteration pitted the three privileged lotteries of Paris, all charitable, against the privileged theatres of Paris. The theatres demanded a price increase in lottery tickets with the profit to benefit the theatres during the economic and fiscal crisis occurring in the late 1740s at the end of the War of Austrian Succession. Pitted against the theatres were the lottery administrators who argued consumers simply would not stand for such a price increase meant to benefit the actors rather than orphans and religious organisations supported by the lotteries. The debate revolved around discourses of luxury, charity, consumption, politics, and ultimately power—of both the state and consumer. I will use this paper to argue that Mercier was wrong. The lotteries were not ‘odious conquests by the state' but rather an example of how the Consumer Revolution was potentially empowering. In fact, at the very rumour of the ticket price increase, sales plummeted and royal policy changed. The paper will be about the Great Altercation, but it will address the Consumer Revolution and its political implications.

Debbie Lackerstein  
(University of New South Wales, Canberra)

La France Eternelle: The Persistence of an Ideal of Moral Conservatism from Vichy to the Present.

French society is today wracked by division and protest. Comparisons with the political turmoil and extremism of the 1930s are frequent in the light of current discontent with the major political parties and the far right’s push into the mainstream. Economic recession and an uncertain future are no doubt reasons that underlie the unrest. However, the deepest divisions and most violent protest in recent times have resulted from government attempts to introduce laws that govern moral and civil values: education, same sex marriage, and adoption. In challenging times and when the old wars over French national identity revive, we are reminded that, despite its progressive and revolutionary traditions, there is a deep and enduring conservatism in France. This paper will explore that conservative moral vision of national identity and its persistence from Vichy to the present in the ideal of La France Eternelle.

Thomas Lalevée  
(Australian National University)
Between October 1791 and April 1792, Jacques-Pierre Brissot waged a relentless campaign for war. In public speeches he put forward a forceful argument for the relationship between patriotism and the Revolution, and he did so in a novel way. Tying the principles of universal individual rights and national sovereignty to patriotic virtue, he made the case for a new type of republican grandezza: an outward-looking emancipatory spirit that promoted national pride and the regeneration of mores.

Historians have generally regarded Brissot’s the push for war by Brissot and his allies as a strategy to unseat the king and transform France into a Republic. Brissot himself admitted that this was his goal, but only when Louis XVI had been deposed. This paper proposes a contextual reading of Brissot’s belligerent rhetoric focusing on the development of his political thinking from the 1780s to 1791. By reading the history of his politics forward, rather than backward, it aims to reconstruct Brissot’s conception of republican grandezza, a conception which reversed the earlier pacifism to which the National Assembly had pledged itself, but which effectively appealed to republicans and monarchists alike.

Marisa Linton
(Kingston University)

Virtue or Glory? Dilemmas of Political Heroism in the French Revolution

The concept of heroism was integral to the political culture of the French Revolution. All citizens - especially soldiers - were meant to show heroism in the face of the successive internal and external crises confronting the Republic during the first two years of its existence. Political leaders were meant to be especially heroic and to offer a lead to the rest of the population. Since they were entrusted with political power, their behaviour and motivation were subject to particular constraints and rigorous public scrutiny. Expectations of how a man in the public eye should act were derived from contemporary models of political heroism. Two models were particularly significant: the man of virtue, and the man of glory. The man of virtue was meant to be self-abnegating and devoted solely to the public good. The man of glory could also seek the public good, but it was assumed that his primary motivation was the desire to advance his own ambition, status and reputation. Glory was also associated both with the old regime concept of honour, and with military renown. The experience of actual betrayal by political leaders and revolutionary generals made the idea of a leader seeking personal glory unacceptable. Revolutionary leaders had little choice but to present themselves as
motivated by virtue, and eschewing glory. During the Year II any leader who was accused of being motivated by ambition and the desire for glory risked falling victim to the ‘politicians’ terror’ that decimated the revolutionary leaders.

**Martyn Lyons**  
(University of New South Wales)

*The Death of Cannelle and the Reinvention of the Pyrenees*

On All Saints’ Day 2004, a hunter in the Vallée d’Aspe (Pyrénées-Atlantiques) shot and killed Cannelle, the last female brown bear indigenous to the Pyrenees. The incident provoked a nationwide uproar. In the conseil des ministres, President Chirac mourned ‘a great loss for biodiversity’ and, according to Le Monde, the event was experienced as a national catastrophe. Between 3 and 5,000 demonstrators protested outside the Panthéon in favour of protecting ‘la grande faune’. Within six months a petition in favour of protecting les grands prédateurs had gathered 120,000 signatures. Why had the death of one animal sparked such severe reverberations that even the President of the Republic felt obliged to comment? The hunter, once the embodiment of Pyrenean endurance, ingenuity and masculinity, was now cast as the villain, while his victim was transformed from a public nuisance into a popular heroine. How had this dramatic role reversal occurred? In presenting the historical context of the controversy surrounding the ‘re-introduction’ of bears into the Pyrenees, I emphasise the macho culture of hunting and the democratic right to carry arms traditionally claimed by the people of Béarn. I suggest that the importance of the bear lies in its ability to crystallise, more sharply than any other issue, the continuing conflict between an ailing pastoral economy on one hand, and the rising force of the ecological lobby on the other. In briefly examining this conflict, and some of the historical influences that inform it, we can identify the death of Cannelle as a turning-point in popular mobilisation in support of animal protection. The media war surrounding Cannelle, which was clearly won by the ecologists, also revealed something else: the Pyrenees themselves were once more being re-invented, and the brown bear, ursus arctus, was central to France’s newly-constructed image of the region.

**Dennis McEnnerney**  
(Colorado College)

*Sartre as Player in the Discourse of Resistance.*
It has been almost 35 years since Jean-Paul Sartre died, and about 60 since he became a renowned figure at the end of the Second World War. For most of that time, critics of Sartre tended to assume that his actions, particularly in the form of his philosophical writings, were freely intentional and that their evaluation, whether positive or negative, was determined by how well in the critic's eyes Sartre helped or hindered the achievement of a good and ethical life, which, for most moderns has involved establishing solid foundations that help people securely place themselves in the world.

For some critics, then, Sartre was the great authentic experimenter, who helped people see how they could take responsibility and be creative. Meanwhile, for others, he was the pied piper of nihilistic rebellion, who undermined any sense of responsibility, or the self-limited Cartesian rationalist, who reproduced a narrow and misleading sense of the self as disembodied mind.

Following the Second World War, however, movements and philosophies emerged embracing change and difference, struggle and deconstruction. In the wake of these developments, it is perhaps now increasingly persuasive to approach Sartre more as an element in the unfolding of a mutation in modern culture than as a freely creative (or destructive) actor. This paper contributes to this other way of understanding Sartre, as a dynamic player in the unfolding of attempts to make sense of life after the Second World War. Drawing on sources in contemporary critical philosophy and following on Susan Suleiman's creative reading of Sartre of 'memoirist of Occupied France', this paper investigates Sartre's role as enunciator of resistance, as a powerful and sometimes unintentional mouthpiece for his culturally insurgent milieu.

Peter McPhee
(University of Melbourne)

Rethinking the French Revolution and the ‘Global Crisis’ of the Late-Eighteenth Century

Like contemporaries, historians have long reflected on the intellectual and cultural similarities and differences between revolutions in France and the Americas and upheavals in Ireland, Poland and elsewhere. The concept of the “Atlantic” or “democratic” revolution – first articulated in the 1950s by Jacques Godechot and R.R. Palmer and long seen as sterile because of its perceived reflection of Cold War politics – has been revivified by recent histories of the republic of letters, of women’s cultures, and above all of slavery and imperial crises from our own perspective of the globalizing world of the twenty-first century. Was the French Revolution only one dimension of an international crisis created by the imbalance between imperial states’ perceived military and commercial needs on the one hand and their financial resources and expertise on the other?
Jean-Yves Mollier
(Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines)

1914-1918 : La mobilisation des intellectuels au service de la guerre.

Vue d’aujourd’hui, la mobilisation quasi unanime des intellectuels européens au service de la guerre en 1914 paraît en grande partie incompréhensible. Le « court XXe siècle », comme l’a brillamment intitulé Eric Hobbsbawn, a certes connu de nombreux conflits armés mais le sentiment général qui a dominé les années 1919-1939 puis 1945-1991 a plutôt été le pacifisme que le bellicisme. Évident si l’on songe au refus de « mourir pour Dantzig » en 1939, à la dénonciation de la torture en Algérie dans les années 1950 ou au refus des bombardements américains au Vietnam vingt ans plus tard, cet humanisme profond qui a conduit écrivains, artistes et étudiants à s’opposer aux volontés bellicistes de leurs gouvernements pendant près d’un siècle rend, en retour, plus difficilement compréhensible l’armement moral des clercs au service de la guerre à l’orée du premier grand affrontement mondial. Si l’on se souvient qu’en 1914, Sigmund Freud pouvait écrire : « toute ma libido est offerte à l’Autriche-Hongrie », lui qui, après 1919, allait dénoncer l’utilisation de la psychiatrie pour repérer les déserteurs et la dérive fascisante de ses collègues, on comprend qu’un fossé sépare notre perception de l’événement de celle des contemporains. C’est donc à essayer de reprendre le dossier de la mobilisation du front intellectuel européen au service de la guerre au lendemain de l’assassinat de Jean Jaurès, le 31 juillet 1914, que l’on s’efforcera dans cette communication. À la lumière des travaux publiés depuis une trentaine d’années qui opposent deux écoles historiques, l’une insistant davantage, après George Mosse, sur le procès de « brutalisation » des sociétés occidentales, et l’autre sur les contraintes étatiques dans la mobilisation de millions d’hommes, on essaiera de revisiter ce chantier de l’histoire avec la volonté d’interroger l’entrée en guerre des intellectuels, réputés capables, depuis l’affaire Dreyfus, de refuser la raison d’État au nom des valeurs universelles.

Amy Morrison
(University of Adelaide)


Women’s roles in resistance networks have been established in the historiography of France in the Second World War for over three decades. Academics such as Claire Andrieu, Margaret Collins Weitz and Paula Schwartz have shown that women were
important actors in many different areas of resistance activity. The widespread inclusion of women in communist resistance networks in particular, and women’s leadership of all female groups, are aspects that still remain to be researched. I discuss the varied roles performed by women as members of communist resistance networks to show that women were essential members of resistance groups and that the women’s groups were used to complement the tasks performed by active units. Without the support of women working within their own groups as part of the larger communist resistance networks, active units would have had difficulty sustaining their resistance activities alone. This paper will build on the existing scholarship through the analysis of the journal of Lucienne Maertens, a member of the communist resistance and leader of various women’s groups. Recently donated by her family to the Musée de la Résistance Nationale, her journal is a source newly available to historians. Using Maertens’ journal this paper will consider women in leadership roles and their interactions with those women operating under their direction.

Briony Neilson  
(University of Sydney)

*Debating the Convict Stain: French Penal Colonisation and the Legacy of the Australian Model in the Late Nineteenth Century.*

Even after the abolition of British convict transportation to Australia, the allure of setting up a penal colony in the South Pacific based on the model of Botany Bay continued to cast a spell on the French. Colin Forster has noted the curious fact that France decided to adopt penal transportation precisely when the British were winding it back, sending convicts first to French Guiana and later to New Caledonia. This decision to set up a penal colony in New Caledonia had significant consequences: the proximity of the colony and the subsequent arrival on Australian shores of escaped French common criminals and political prisoners provoked concern about geopolitical security and moral respectability, while also furthering questions about the legitimacy of transportation as a component of a penal system within a civilised society. While Australia may not have provided a concrete model for direct imitation, it did nonetheless provide a foundational reference point for France and other European powers in the second half of the nineteenth century. As the Australian colonies attempted to cast off any remaining traces of the convict stain, penologists throughout the Western world debated the morality, utility and viability of convict transportation, questioning the extent to which it was consistent with Western codes of civilisation. Drawing on the records of both French and international penal reform organisations, this paper will reflect on the legacy that
the British experiment was seen to provide in the decades after convict transportation to Australia ended, while French transportation took off. In so doing, it will cast light onto the expectations of and rationale for penal colonisation held by its practitioners—past, present, and aspiring.

**Colin Nettelbeck**
(The University of Melbourne)

*French-Australian Relations: towards the Mapping an Historical Overview.*

Australia’s relations with France remain something of a hidden treasure in Australia’s history: highly significant across a range of areas, but seldom documented in any comprehensive way. France’s engagement with Australia is, likewise, long-standing and multi-faceted, but only patchily studied in historical terms. Defining French-Australian relations as dealing not only with bi-lateral diplomacy, but as including historical contacts, commercial links, and ongoing complex exchanges between the two cultures, this paper will argue the importance of establishing clear parameters for an historically-informed field of intercultural study. With serial focus on a number of key ‘land-mark’ factors—including French voyages of discovery, the Gold Rush era, military alliances and conflicts, the wool trade, and institutionalised cultural exchange mechanisms—it will rehearse existing scholarship, and make proposals about which areas of future work are most urgent.

**Pamela Pilbeam**
(Royal Holloway)

*Algeria – a Second Australia? The Saint-Simonians and Colonisation.*

Saint-Simonians were prominent in both the conquest and settlement of Algeria. They were involved first, as officers in the conquest and military government. Next, former Saint-Simonians, often army officers, were dominant in the government’s 1837 Scientific Commission into Algeria, which was modelled on Napoleon’s study of Egypt. It studied ethnography, geography and geology. Third, Saint-Simonians publicised Algeria in their popular illustrated papers and in several learned journals and societies that they founded. Finally Saint-Simonians dominated investment in mines and became settlers.

From being a major imperial power in the mid-eighteenth century, by 1830 France possessed only a handful of small islands. Eager to rival Britain, Algeria became a
target on which a new empire, focussed on the Mediterranean, could be constructed. The French imagined Algeria as a second Australia, an empty land, full of rich agricultural and mineral resources. The Saint-Simonians took a pivotal role in this exercise in self-deception. This will be the focus of this paper.

Bryant (Tip) Ragan
(Colorado College)

The Origins of Modern Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century France

Since the publication of Michel Foucault's Histoire de la sexualité (1976), scholars have found a great deal of archival and literary evidence to support his contention that ‘homosexuality’ is an invention of the modern West. Foucault's chronology, however, has been questioned somewhat: for instance, whereas he focused primarily on discursive changes in the nineteenth century, historians such as Randolph Trumbach, Jeffrey Merrick, and myself have found that many of the new ways of thinking about sexual relations between members of the same sex were already in evident in England and France in the eighteenth century. But a mystery remains. Why did this new identity emerge?

This paper analyses the various changes in the eighteenth century that provided what I take to be the primary building blocks for a modern conceptualisation of homosexuality. Various topics will include: the emergence of new forms of subjectivity; the impact of the commercial revolution on the self; the growth of new forms of surveillance (internal and external); the critiques offered by enlightened philosophes; and the rise of the rise of republican political culture. This line of argument, then, posits that the history of homosexuality is not some colorful sidebar to the story of modern development, but is instead integral to the most fundamental shifts in the birth of modernity. These trends involve implicit and explicit claims about liberty in the sexual marketplace. They build, too, on Daniel Roche’s notion that materialism and commercialism change social and personal relations in the eighteenth century. My discussion is based on a wide range of sources, from policing reports to philosophical treatises.

Esther Redmount
(Colorado College)

Mother’s Work, Child Labour: Reconsidering Child Labour Reform in France
Child labour is a durable feature of the economic landscape. That there are tasks for children to perform in agricultural societies is not surprising. The transition to manufacturing, especially in the areas of textiles and glass-making, does little in its early stages to disrupt patterns of child labour. There are still tasks that young workers can perform. The family's need for the income of its youngest workers is magnified by the rise of a wage economy. Narratives of the abolition of child labour emphasise its evolutionary nature. Changes in technology eliminate a need for the small inexperienced workers on the factory floor. Rent-seeking behaviours by other agents foreclose this form of cheap labour in order to enhance the demand for adult services or the substitution of capital for labour. Humanitarian motives join those of unionised workers or factory owners to keep children out of the labour market. As an economy develops and grows wealthier, families may also find they can forego the earnings of their children.

Children are at the centre of historians’ attention. Childhood as a distinct stage of life grew from the attention of historians to social reformers’ focus on children as a worthy cause in their own right. But the narrative of the abolition of child labour obscures how critical the mother and child relationship and the complexity of family life and social norms are to any labour supply decisions of the family. The real cost of the abolition of child labour to the family is not its foregone wage alone. When children were prohibited from working, women’s work and wages were also lost. This lay at the heart of family resistance to child labour laws. By re-examining the testimonies and the data collected in various inquiries of the nineteenth century (for example, the Législation sur le travail des enfants dans les manufactures, 1875), I intend to show that women’s labour force participation (and the factors that enable or retard it) was key to understanding child labour and its ultimate disappearance.

Jean-Lucien Sanchez
(École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales)

La relégation des récidivistes en Guyane française, XIXe-XXe siècle: d’une utopie pénale à une réalisation carcérale.

Ma proposition de communication traite de la colonisation pénale de la Guyane française à travers l’exemple des relégués. De 1887 à 1953, plus de 17 000 relégués furent exilés en Guyane française. Condamnés en vertu de la loi du 27 mai 1885 sur la relégation des récidivistes, ces hommes étaient essentiellement des délinquants récidivistes coupables de délits de vol simple et de vagabondage. L'objectif était d'éliminer socialement du sol de la métropole des délinquants considérés comme « incorrigibles » et de les interner à perpétuité sur le sol d’une colonie. À l’image du modèle de colonisation pénale conduit par la Grande-Bretagne, la relégation avait pour but de permettre à la colonie d'obtenir une main-d'œuvre abondante et bon marché et de favoriser l’éclosion d’une colonie de peuplement.
Pour ce faire, les relégués furent installés, en Guyane, sur le territoire pénitentiaire du Maroni, c'est-à-dire dans la partie de la colonie réservée aux installations du bagne. Ce choix va avoir des conséquences dramatiques quant au projet élaboré par le ministère de la Marine et des Colonies. Car, confrontée à un taux de mortalité très élevé, l'administration pénitentiaire coloniale décide de bouleverser le projet de colonisation initial. Au lieu d'un village de colons, les relégués vont construire pendant plusieurs décennies un pénitencier. Ainsi, d'un projet de colonisation reposant sur une autonomie relative, les relégués vont être traités comme des forçats, c'est-à-dire comme des transportés, condamnés en vertu de la loi du 30 mai 1854 sur l'exécution de la peine des travaux forcés.

Sur la base d'une iconographie fournie, je souhaiterais présenter, à travers l'exemple de l'installation des relégués en Guyane, les modalités et les résultats de cette utopie pénale conduite par la France en Guyane française.

Nicole Starbuck
(University of Adelaide)

‘No More Uncivilised than our Peasants of Lower Brittany’: Regional and Oceanic Ethnographies in the Era of the French Revolution.

From the early 1790s to the Napoleonic era, French naturalists directed unprecedented attention to the environment and people immediately before them. Imbued with the sense that the Revolution commencing in 1789 had created a new, united, society, they set out across the regions of France both to chronicle the diversity and discover the natural equality of Man. At the same time, French maritime expeditions continued to explore distant lands. Recent research reveals that these Revolutionary voyages had a character of their own. Notably, their companies looked at ‘natives’ with a more penetrating gaze and more defined expectations. This paper considers how far those views were influenced by the Revolution’s theme of national regeneration and principle of equality, as well as contemporary debates about human rights and political reforms. It compares two national ethnographies - La Vallée’s Voyages dans les départements de la France and the Mémoires de l’Academie Celtique – with the d’Entrecasteaux and Baudin expeditions’ observations of Man in the South Seas.
Ingrid J. Sykes  
(La Trobe University)

*Leprosy and the French Colonial Imagination in late-Nineteenth and early-Twentieth Century New Caledonia: La lutte contre la lèpre.*

This paper will explore the leprosy epidemic that struck New Caledonia in the late-nineteenth century. It will reveal the ways in which French colonial thinking was shaped by the spread of the disease. There is still controversy over the source of the epidemic. It is clear, however, that the dramatic rise of the disease among the Kanak population from 1872 coincided with the most intense period of French colonial intervention.

The historian Adrian Muckle, has demonstrated that the *Indigénat*, the administrative apparatus used by French colonial administrators to govern and repress the ‘natives’ (the *indigènes*), was an important way for the colonists to inscribe their way of thinking on the colonial landscape of New Caledonia. Yet when disease struck, administrators, doctors and missionaries were forced to reimagine the colonial environment as a space of sickness rather than rule or control. New Caledonia, in particular, offered a number of possibilities for the administration of contagious bodies, both Indigenous and European. The most important debate centred on the issue of whether all patients should be shifted to one or more of the smaller islands or whether they should be confined to their racially inscribed areas on the *Grande Terre* under closer medical supervision. The body of the leper forced French colonials to negotiate new conceptual relationships between the colonial subject and the French imperial space.

Timothy Tackett  
(University of California, Irvine)

*The King’s Trial and the Coming of the Terror*

The trial of king Louis XVI by the National Convention four months after he had been overthrown in the Paris insurrection of August 10, has been the subject of immense scholarship over the years. Memoirists, historians, political scientists, and political philosophers have all weighed in on the nature of the trial and the rationales of the Conventionnels in finding the king guilty of treason and in condemning him to be executed on January 21, 1793. In his provocative new book, *The Terror of Natural Rights: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution* (Chicago, 2009), Dan Edelstein devotes a substantial treatment to the question. A specialist in French literature and intellectual history, Edelstein links the deputies’ position on the king to French natural right theories, and especially to ‘the radical vein of natural republicanism’ said to have dominated their thinking at the
time of the trial. Belief in this theory led them to apply the category of ‘hors la loi’ to the king, representing him as a kind of monster, an ‘enemy of the human race’, who was outside the bounds of civilised society, and thus not subject to normal laws or the decrees of the rights of man. Subsequently, this same mode of thinking, Edelstein argues, came to be applied to opponents or perceived opponents of the regime in general, who were henceforth subjected to ‘the merciless punishment [prescribed for] prisoners whose crimes violated natural right’. It was thus, ultimately, a central cause of the Terror.

This paper reflects on Edelstein’s interpretation, based on two sources rarely or never previously examined: 1) the day-to-day correspondence of the deputies during this period—much of it preserved only in manuscript; and 2) an analysis of the language used by the deputies in their speeches, based on the newly available digitised version of the document collection of the Archives parlementaires. It concludes that the motives enunciated by the deputies were substantially more complex than those described by Edelstein. The paper will then offer reflections on the ways in which the king’s trial can, indeed, be linked to the coming of the Terror.

**Una McIlvenna**  
(The University of Sydney)

*Execution Ballads in Early Modern France*

Across early modern Europe the news of crime and punishment was broadcast via the medium of song. This paper explores French execution ballads, or complaintes, as they were often known, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Looking at stylistic features in the complaintes, such as the vocabulary, choice of tune and visual presentation, it asks how these features worked together to encourage the audience to respond emotionally to the often brutal destruction of the condemned’s body. Attention is given to how complaintes changed over time, particularly after the introduction of the guillotine, and to how French traditions compared with those of other countries. Exploring (and singing) the songs about the famous executions of Louis XVI, Damiens, and Mandrin, as well as the executions of less well-known folk, I demonstrate how song and performance were integral to the everyday spectacle of violence, crime and punishment in early modern France.

**Andrekos Varnava**  
(Flinders University)
'It is Quite Impossible to Receive Them': Saving the Musa Dagh Refugees and European 'Imperial Humanitarianism'.

Note: This paper is co-written with Trevor Harris, Professor in British History, University of Tours, France.

In 1933 Franz Werfel, the noted Austrian-Bohemian novelist, published his epic novel *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* on the Musa Dagh Armenian resistance to the Ottoman ‘deportation’ policy which reached them in the summer of 1915. The novel also told the story of the evacuation of the Musa Dagh Armenians by the French navy, but did not do so in detail, nor did it talk about the aftermath. To date historians have not fully documented the story of this dramatic evacuation, an operation which was both an early example of humanitarian action, and yet also of the rejection of refugees. Within the contexts of humanitarianism, imperialism, and the Great War, this paper has two principal aims. The first is to reconstruct and explore the evacuation of the Musa Dagh Armenians and their settlement in Egypt in the summer of 1915 – until the men formed the nucleus of the *Legion d’Orient* in October 1916. The second aim is to compare, on the one hand, the French and British reactions to, and treatment of, the Musa Dagh Armenians in 1915 and 1916, and, on the other hand, the British and French reactions to the publication of Werfel’s novel in 1933.

Tim Verhoeven
(Monash University)

‘An Encouraging Precedent’: the United States and the Separation of Church and State in France, 1832-1905

In France today, laïcité is celebrated as a cornerstone of the Republic and a key to social cohesion. It is also regarded as uniquely French. To highlight the distinctiveness of French laïcité, scholars routinely employ a contrast with the United States. Put simply, separation of Church and State in the United States is seen to enshrine the freedom of religion from state interference, whilst French laïcité aims above all to protect the state from religious meddling. This conceptualisation emerges repeatedly, for example in the controversy over the banning of headscarves in 2007, and is usually attributed to the contrasting historical trajectories of the two nations. Scholars have pointed in particular to the bitter battles between French republicans and the Catholic Church in the late-nineteenth century which had no parallel in the United States.

A study of the debates over the separation of Church and State in nineteenth-century France, however, reveals a much more complex picture of engagement between the two nations. Throughout that period, Church and State were formally
separate in America but formally intertwined in France. From Alexis de Tocqueville’s visit in 1831-32 to the passing of the iconic 1905 law on separation, French writers, travelers and legislators studied the American model of separation and argued over its applicability to France. One key clause of the 1905 Law, Article 4, was in fact modelled on American legislation. Recognising this history challenges the modern-day conceptualisation of alternative models of secularism springing from distinct historical experiences. It also brings a much-needed cross-border dimension to our understanding of the historical evolution of French laïcité, challenging assumptions of its exceptional character.