French History and Civilization

Papers from the George Rudé Seminar

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Edited by
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Image on front cover "Agar, de la Comédie-Française, chantant la Marseillaise," in Louis Fiaux, *La Marseillaise: son histoire dans l'histoire des Français depuis 1792* (Paris: Libr. Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1918). Reproduced with the permission of Special Collections, Information Division, The University of Melbourne.

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Preface

Three or four generations hence, when historians look back at the work of their predecessors, this inaugural publication of *French History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar* could well serve as an exemplar of the historical profession in the very early twenty-first century. The essays themselves demonstrate the high quality of research produced by scholars from eight different nations on three different continents. The study of French history has become a truly global endeavor. Further, the issue of French identity running through many of the papers in the volume could provide our future historians numerous avenues by which to explore the theoretical influences on current scholarship. Or these historians might investigate how the theme of identity in this volume resonates with contemporary debates over immigration policy and headscarves or over the European Union and agricultural subsidies. Whether future scholars look to this volume to make use of its scholarship or treat the volume itself as primary source to be deciphered, they will find that the first issue of *French History and Civilization* continues the tradition of internationalism and outstanding scholarship associated with George Rudé and the seminar which bears his name.

The publication of this volume, however, also points to a different issue shaping the historical profession of the early twenty-first century: the integration of new digital technologies into our professional lives and work. From the punch-card computers of the 1960s which few could use, digital technologies have grown into a standard component of our professional lives. Our future historians might find the advent of the digital technologies of communication as important an innovation for contemporary historical scholarship as the latest theoretical turn. As these technologies spread announcements of conferences and provide information on new publications, we are drawn more and more into an international community of scholars of the history of France. In this spirit, the directors of the Rudé Seminar have chosen to enrich us all by developing *French History and Civilization* as a web-based publication, ensuring its easy access by historians across the globe. On behalf of H-France, I can express our pleasure at being asked to provide assistance in this task and at entering into a collaborative process for the publication of *French History and Civilization*. We hope that this and future volumes will give honor to the physical and scholarly wanderings of George Rudé.

David Kammerling Smith
H-France Editor-in-Chief

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Introduction

French History and Civilization is a new journal published by the George Rudé Society, presenting to a wider audience selected papers from the George Rudé Seminar, held biennially in the major cities of Australia and New Zealand. The seminar is a unique forum for historians and cultural scholars with French connections in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, also attracting eminent international visitors from France, Britain and North America. This first issue of the journal is the result of a particularly well-attended conference hosted by Melbourne and Monash Universities in 2004, reflecting the strong tradition of French historical study at these two universities and the attraction of the culinary and oenological delights of Melbourne and its surrounding countryside. The vibrant intellectual exchange in the conference rooms of the University of Melbourne was matched only by the camaraderie in the restaurants of Lygon Street (Melbourne's Italian quarter) and the wineries of the Yarra Valley.

The task of editing this inaugural issue as a fully peer reviewed publication was lightened by the sense of exchange and collaborative intellectual work which emerged from the conference. As a consequence, we have chosen to emphasize the underlying themes which we observed across the wide variety of papers presented. It is only natural that these papers should ask common questions about French identity at a time when this identity is less than ever a self-evident proposition. We have chosen to group the papers loosely under four broad themes, which place side-by-side those papers which seem to speak to one another in important ways: 'Borders and Boundaries;' 'Insiders and Outsiders;' 'Cultural Identities: Sound and Image;' and 'Embodied Identities.' The first of these collects the numerous papers which dealt with the changing political and geographical limits of France, whether these were the boundaries of "sections" in revolutionary Paris, the physical separations of the Channel and the Atlantic, or the more complex boundaries of French ethnic and political identities in the borderlands with Spain, Belgium and Algeria, and even as far away as the Pacific. 'Insiders' groups together the many papers dealing with the formation of French people, from counterrevolutionaries to Catholic boys and Fourierist women; 'Outsiders' conversely considers categories generally excluded from the 'centre' of French history – migrants, visitors, Jews, refugees. In our section on 'Cultural Identities' a series of diverse reflections on French song, cinema and art provides new insights into the role of particular cultural experiences and traditions in French history and identity. Lastly, 'Embodied Identities' incorporates an important theme of the conference, investigating the role of gender and sexuality in defining modern French culture, and particularly the political role of feminine and homosexual identity formations in French life.

This inaugural issue is introduced by a reflection on George Rudé, the historian for whom the Seminar is named, and who formed a generation of scholars in Australia. Our opening essay comes from an equally eminent scholar of the French Revolution, Alison Patrick, whose many decades of contribution to the study of French history in Australia are in great measure responsible for the continuing vibrancy of scholarship in this region. The editors would like to thank David Kammerling Smith, Michael Wolfe and the rest of the editorial team of H-France for their generosity in agreeing to host "French History and Civilization" as an online journal for this and future issues, an unrivalled opportunity to present this rich collection of essays to the widest possible audience.

The Editors

Ian Coller
Helen Davies
Julie Kalman

A Scholar "In Exile:" George Rudé as a Historian of Australia

James Friguglietti

From 1960 to 1970 the historian George Rudé lived and taught in Australia. Born in Norway, raised in England, and educated at the universities of Cambridge and London, Rudé had little reason to settle on the other side of the world, first at the University of Adelaide and later at Flinders University. While in Australia, however, he produced some of his finest scholarship. Much of his work was devoted to the topic that he had been investigating since the early 1950s: popular protest in eighteenth-century France and Britain. But from 1960 onward, Rudé generated a series of books and articles dealing with the history of Australia. This was a topic that he almost certainly would never have addressed before he arrived in Adelaide. This paper will discuss a subject that has never been explored in any previous account of his long career—his contributions to Australian history.

Can it be fairly said that the decade when Rudé called Australia his home was spent "in exile"? Writing in 1986, the English scholar Paul Preston unhesitatingly described him as "the exiled doyen of our social historians."[1] Rudé's close friend, the American sociologist Harvey J. Kaye, adopted Preston's characterization and amplified upon it. "Exiled," Kaye explained, "denotes the fact that he spent almost his entire university teaching career not in Britain but in Australia and Canada." "Doyen," Kaye continued, "addresses his original and continuing contributions to the field of social history over three and a half decades and the influence which they have had on the development of the discipline."[2] Rudé himself accepted the idea. In a tribute to his late friend Albert Soboul published in 1982, he spoke in a self-deprecating fashion of

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James Friguglietti, Professor of History Emeritus at Montana State University-Billings, took his doctorate at Harvard in 1966. A specialist in the history of the French Revolution, he has contributed numerous articles dealing with major French and British historians of the period to American and French journals. His major study, *Albert Mathiez, historien révolutionnaire (1874-1932),* was published in 1974. He is preparing a life of the historian Alphonse Aulard.

[1] Paul Preston, "Review of *Criminal and Victim: Crime and Society in Early Nineteenth-Century England*," by George Rudé, *British Book News,* Feb. 1986, 95.

[2] Harvey Kaye, "A Face in the Crowd," *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, 31 Mar. 1989, 13. Kaye used this same expression in his *The Face of the Crowd: Studies in Revolution, Ideology, and Popular Protest. Selected Essays of George Rudé* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1988), 1, and his obituary "Professor George Rudé," *Independent* [London], 16 Jan. 1993, 12.

his "exile," declaring it to be "one of the most pleasant."[3] So "exile" is an entirely appropriate term to describe his lengthy stay in Adelaide. But what compelled him to settle in Australia? How did this very British academic adapt to his new residence, and how did he, a specialist in French and British history, become an authority on Australia? What follows is at least a partial answer to these questions, based on familiar printed sources, recently discovered documents, and correspondence with his friends and colleagues.

By the late 1950s George Rudé had established himself as a reputable scholar who specialized in the social composition and violent agitation of the popular classes on both sides of the English Channel. His writings appeared in a variety of journals, notably the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* edited by his mentor Georges Lefebvre. In France, Rudé made frequent visits to the Archives nationales and archives of the prefecture of police in Paris in search of original sources. Using this fresh material, Rudé in 1950 earned his doctorate from the University of London for his dissertation "The Parisian Wage-Earning Population and the Insurrectionary Movements of 1789-91," written under the direction of the eminent historian Alfred Cobban. Simultaneously he consulted records at a wide variety of English depots, including the Public Record Office and Guildhall Library. His article "The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims," published in 1956, was awarded the prestigious Alexander Prize by the Royal Historical Society. Three years later Rudé's path-breaking study *The Crowd in the French Revolution*, an extensively revised version of his dissertation, appeared under the imprint of Oxford University Press.[4]

Yet despite these impressive credentials, Rudé found it impossible to locate a position at a British university. This failure was due, in large measure, to his membership in the British Communist Party, which he had joined in 1935. In 1949 he was compelled to resign from St. Paul's School in London because of his Party activity and had to accept positions as a history master, first at Sir Walter St. John's School and then at Holloway Comprehensive School.[5] Some friends of Rudé have blamed his thesis advisor Alfred Cobban, a political conservative, for blocking any university appointment, but formal proof has never been offered.[6]

Rudé decided to seek a post abroad, specifically in Australia. In 1958 he applied for one at the University of Tasmania. Although the appointment committee recommended him for a lectureship there, the vice-chancellor, Keith Isles, delayed a decision because of Rudé's Communist Party ties.[7] Fortunately Hugh Stretton, head of the History Department at the University of Adelaide, thought highly enough of his credentials and arranged to offer him a position there. Despite the potential opposition of the school's governing council, which included some "cold warriors" among its members, Stretton secured Rudé's appointment in 1959 as a senior lecturer.[8] In

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[3] George Rudé, "Albert Soboul. Un témoignage personnel," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 54 (1982), 558.

[4] See Hugh Stretton, "George Rudé," in Frederick Krantz, *History from Below: Studies in Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé* (Montreal, 1988), 45-46.

[5] See James Friguglietti, "The Making of an Historian: The Parentage and Politics of George Rudé," in *Revolution, Nation and Memory: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar in French History, Hobart, July 2002*, ed. Greg Burgess (Hobart, 2004), 17-19.

[6] Eric Hobsbawm makes this accusation in Christopher Hill, *George Rudé, 1910-1993: Marxist Historian* (London, 1993), 8. Rudé himself never publicly blamed Cobban and contributed an article, "The Growth of Cities and Popular Revolt, 1750-1859," to the Festschrift dedicated to him. See J. F. Bosher, ed. *Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban* (London, 1973), 166-190.

[7] Stretton, "George Rudé," 45.

[8] Ibid.

February 1960, he and his wife Doreen sailed to Australia to begin their new life "in exile." Rudé's good friend, the historian Christopher Hill, would later remark that it was "very fortunate for George that he did get to Adelaide, one of the most liberal and exciting universities in the Commonwealth."[9]

The prospect of removing to Australia did not cause Rudé as much apprehension as might be imagined. Rudé must have learned much from his father-in-law, John de la Hoyde, about life in South Australia. The elderly man lived with George and Doreen Rudé in their home on the banks of the Thames for several years until he died in 1958. Born in London in 1884, de la Hoyde had emigrated with his wife and young children to Adelaide before World War I. During the conflict he served in the Australian army and then returned to his position as a clerk.[10] For her part, Doreen de la Hoyde had been educated at a Catholic convent school in Adelaide. Married in 1940, George and Doreen must have discussed her long stay in South Australia so that he was knowledgeable about conditions there before the couple arrived in 1960.

From the time he began teaching at the University of Adelaide, Rudé followed a double track. He continued to pursue his research and writing in French and British social history, particularly the study of those who participated in popular unrest—riot, rebellion, revolution—what came to be known as "history from below." During his years in Australia, he published several notable works including *Wilkes and Liberty* (Oxford, 1962); *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964); *Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815* (London and Glasgow, 1964); *The Eighteenth Century, 1715-1815* (New York, 1965); *Robespierre* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1967); and *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century: Studies in Popular Protest* (London, 1970). In addition, he produced a series of articles that dealt with popular unrest, most of them appearing not only in such European journals as *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, *Past and Present*, and *Economic History Review*, but also in such Australian periodicals as the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association and *Historical Studies*: *Australia and New Zealand*. Seen from this perspective, Rudé was simply continuing the scholarship that he had engaged in while living in Britain.

Yet he soon realized that his enforced "exile" in Australia would enable him to undertake serious research that was closely connected to his earlier work concerning popular unrest. Rudé grasped that he could investigate the fate of British criminals, both common law and political, who had been transported to Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By early 1961 he had begun to read extensively in the literature about prisoners taken to Australia, including a lengthy study written by Manning Clark, "The Origins of the Convicts Transported to Eastern Australia, 1787-1852," published in *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* in 1956. Writing to Manning Clark on 21 February 1961, Rudé commented that "it was foolish of me really not [to] have sought out and read your paper before embarking on my investigation into 'political' and 'social' convicts transported to N.S.W., V.D.L. etc., because you so clearly deal with the background and the English historical context all of which are particular problems." Rudé continued by saying that he had found useful information in Sydney but thought that Hobart "will prove to be more fruitful in one respect at least: there

[9] Hill, *George Rudé, 1910-1993: Marxist Historian*, 18.
[10] John de la Hoyde, letter to the author, 12 Aug. 2003; death certificate for Annie Bridget de la Hoyde, 31 Oct. 1916; birth certificate for John de la Hoyde, 21 Mar. 1919. Registration Office, Adelaide, South Australia.

[are] the records of the convicts' own statements or 'confession,' which supplements … the official description of the nature of the crime committed." He added that he had read considerable microfilm from the Tasmanian archives and hoped to return there in 1962.[11]

But what exactly did Rudé hope to find in the Hobart archives? He explained in a lecture given in July 1970 that he was investigating the history of the "non-Common Law;" that is, the "social and political offenders" who had been transported to Australia from Great Britain and Ireland between 1788 and 1868. Rudé observed that two Australian scholars had already been carrying out extensive work on prisoners sent to Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land. One, L. L. Robson, published *The Convict Settlers of Australia* in 1965; the other, A. G. L. Shaw, issued his *Convicts and the Colonies* the following year. Rudé sought to learn more about the fates of those convicted of social and political crimes in Britain and Ireland. His aim was to explore the interaction between the convicts and their Australian environment. Rather than simply take samples of convicts as Robson and Shaw had done, Rudé wished to examine *all* possible case histories, scrutinizing the general pattern of transportation and studying specific cases in depth.[12]

Rudé sought to differentiate between common law offenders and socio-political offenders. The former committed certain crimes for their own personal benefit, while the latter acted with others to attain social or political goals. Among those whom he classified as political criminals were machine breakers, food rioters, administrators of illegal oaths, and active rebels, particularly Irishmen.

Having determined which crimes he would include in his study, Rudé went on to identify the men and women convicted and transported to Australia. Here is where his labors began in earnest. According to Rudé, some 165,000 cases would have to be examined to separate "common law" from "socio-political" criminals. From his careful scrutiny of the convict registers at Hobart, Rudé calculated that some 5,500, about 3 percent of the total, could correctly be classified as "socio-political" protesters.[13]

Most of these convicts, including virtually all the Irish rebels, were sent to New South Wales, along with some 300 non-Irish "socio-political" offenders. (The latter included an assortment of such types as Swing rioters, Luddites, Scottish Jacobins, Cato Street conspirators, Tolpuddle Martyrs, and Chartists.) A smaller contingent of "socio-political" criminals were shipped to other destinations—Victoria, Moreton Bay, and Fremantle.[14]

Thanks to the assistance given him by the archivist Peter Eldershaw, with whom he developed a close friendship, Rudé was able to gather from the detailed administrative records kept at Hobart, especially the "conduct registers," a mass of detailed personal information about each convict. This included such data as the criminal's name, occupation, religion, birthplace, literacy, marital status, size of family, crime committed, date and place of trial, sentence, and physical features.[15]

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[11] Canberra, National Library of Australia, Manning Clark papers, George Rudé to Manning Clark, 21 Feb. 1961. MS 7550, box 4. 1961 (i). The author wishes to thank Mr. Graeme Powell, manuscript librarian, for his assistance in gaining access to the papers.

[12] George Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian. Eldershaw Memorial Lecture, Hobart-Launceston, 14-15 July 1970," *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 4 (Oct. 1970), 113.

[13] Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 116-117.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 118. Rudé's correspondence with the Tasmanian archives in 1960-61 concerning the convict records there as well as a list of some 635 convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1840-53 as

Also at Hobart, Rudé delved into "particular instance" records, which provided letters written by convicts to their families and friends back home, lists of grants of land, newspaper cuttings, and ships' passenger lists.[16] Finally Rudé located among the Tasmanian convict records the prisoners' own statements about their offenses, "confessions" that sometimes merely repeated the reasons for their conviction but occasionally denied the charges laid against them.[17]

On the basis of this mass of data Rudé could construct detailed case histories for many individuals, from their birth, education, political and social activities through their arrest, sentencing, transportation and ultimate fate in Australia. Some of these mini-biographies, such as those of George Loveless, John Frost, and Zephaniah Williams, would later appear as entries he contributed to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.[18]

In his memorial tribute to Peter Eldershaw published in 1970, Rudé worked to rescue these socio-political figures from anonymity and, by quoting their own "confessions," individualize them. Of Dennis Collins, a laborer from York, England, Rudé recorded that he had been transported to Australia for life because he had thrown a stone at King George IV in 1833. "He did not deny the offence," Rudé observed, "but he added that 'the reason I threw the stone … was that I petitioned the King to restore my pension and he refused.'"[19]

Rudé eventually incorporated his numerous discoveries in the archives into his book *Protest and Punishment*, published in 1978, after he had already left Adelaide for Montreal. The result of fifteen years of research in Australia, Great Britain, Ireland, and Canada, the volume was dedicated to Peter Eldershaw, "to whom I owe a particular debt."[20]

But how did Rudé's study of convicts transported to Australia differ from those of his predecessors? Rudé himself provided the reasons in the introduction to *Protest and Punishment.* First, he concentrated not on all the "convict settlers" but only on those convicted of rebellion or protest against social conditions or institutions in their homeland. Second, Rudé identified individual protesters and developed detailed case histories about them. Finally, he gave a new dimension to their lives by providing a political, social, and economic context for their crimes of protest and then explaining how they fared in their Australian exile.[21] It might also be noted that Rudé included Canadian convicts in his study, this the result of the years that he spent teaching at Sir George Williams University and Concordia University in the 1970s. Indeed, Rudé devotes an entire chapter to Canadians, both English and French speaking, who were condemned and transported to Australia because of their involvement in the armed rebellion of 1837-38 against British rule.[22]

Chartists, Rebeccaists, and Irish rebels of 1848 may be found at the Archives Office of Tasmania, "Chartists" file. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Ian Pearce, State Archivist, and his staff for making this valuable file available to him.

[16] Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 118.

[17] Ibid., 118-119.

[18] See the entries on Thomas Burbury, John Frost, George Loveless, Thomas Francis Meagher, John Mitchel, William Smith O'Brien, and Zephaniah Williams in vols 1 and 2 of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. Douglas Pike (Melbourne, 1966-1967).

[19] Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 119.

[20] George Rudé, *Protest and Punishment: The Story of Social and Political Protesters Transported to Australia*, *1788-1868* (Oxford, 1978), v.

[21] Ibid., 1-10.

[22] Ibid., 82-88.

Protest and Punishment, Rudé's most important study undertaken while living in Adelaide, was reviewed by two Australian academics. Writing in *Historical Studies*, Eric Richards, who had been Rudé's colleague at the University of Adelaide, found much to admire. He praised the author's attention to individual cases, close analysis of types of protest, exploration of industrial and political conditions responsible for unrest, and correlation of individuals' occupations and class with their participation in criminal activity. Richards commented that the "convict records of Australia … exerted a magnetic attraction for [Rudé's] method of writing the history of protest." But he lamented the "almost endless flow of minutiae about individual convicts," "documentation for its own sake," and the author's "unsurprising" conclusions about the protesters, which, he believed, were "unlikely to cause much adjustment of our knowledge of convictism in Australia." Richards softened his criticism by declaring that *Protest and Punishment* was "undoubtedly a labour of love."[23]

For his part David Philips of the University of Melbourne was even more critical, styling the volume a "great disappointment." He lamented what he called the "rigid framework" that underlay the study—its separation of the "nice" social protesters from the "nasty" criminals. Rudé, he argued, had engaged in "elaborate quantitative manipulation" that used a "biased" sample of cases so that the totals of convicts transported to Australia was unrepresentative of those originally involved in protest. Philips sharply admonished Rudé for "making statistical generalizations" from the samples that he had studied. While he concluded by praising the "great contribution" that the author had made to this area of history, Philips repeated that Rudé had allowed himself to become "imprisoned in … rigid categories of 'protesters' versus 'common-law offenders,' thereby depriving himself of the opportunity to use his potentially interesting source material with greater subtlety.[24]

If both reviewers found inadequacies in Rudé's study, they also, unknowingly, touched upon the likely reason underlying his fascination with convicts transported to Australia. Richards' comment that the work was a "labour of love" helps explain why Rudé concentrated his research on those condemned to exile. It might even be said that his scholarly interests went well beyond usual academic inquiry. Not until he had been compelled to leave Britain because of his political beliefs and activities did he begin to explore the careers of those convicted and deported for their unlawful actions. No doubt his Marxist-oriented approach to history prompted him to examine the plight of the lower classes condemned for their political, social, and economic protests. True, as well, was Philips' casual comment that Rudé reserved his greatest sympathy for the "nice" criminals, those much like himself, whose only criminal conviction occurred in October, 1936, when he was fined 5 pounds for having participated in the Cable Street protests against Oswald Mosley's blackshirts.[25] Of upper-class origin, well educated, and well traveled, Rudé had nothing of the "common" criminal about him. Yet he found himself "transported" to Australia

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[23] Eric Richards, review of *Protest and Punishment* by George Rudé, *Historical Studies*, 19, no. 74 (April, 1980), 140-141.

[24] David Philips, review of *Protest and Punishment* by George Rudé, in *English Historical Review*, 95, no. 375 (April, 1980), 140-141.

[25] William Fishman, "A People's Journée: The Battle of Cable Street (October 4 1936)," in Krantz, *History from Below*, 391. Rudé noted that he had been arrested and fined in a questionnaire prepared for the British Communist Party in 1952. Labor History Archive, Manchester, England.
Communist Party of Great Britain Archives, CP/Cent/Pers/6/05. George Rudé file. The author thanks Mr. Stephen Bird, archivist-librarian at the Labor Party Archives, for assisting him in obtaining access to this important file.

because of his political ideas and activities on behalf of the British Communist Party. He could readily identify with those thousands of involuntary emigrants to Australia and would devote years of intense research to investigating the fate of those who had preceded him there.

Rudé might have confirmed his sense that he was indeed a "political prisoner" had he known that he was being carefully monitored by the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) because of his long membership in the British Communist Party. From the moment that he first applied for a teaching position at Hobart in 1958 until he left Australia in 1968 to take a position at Stirling University in Scotland, ASIO gathered information about his activities, both academic and political. Reports from informants as well as newspaper cuttings were meticulously collected and arranged in his file. Significantly, nothing subversive about him or his wife Doreen was ever uncovered. One government agent in fact notified his superiors that "history books of which he is the author and reports of his class work at schools in England all show that he is objective in his approach to his teaching subject and has not let his own personal politics intrude in any way." ASIO appeared unaware that Rudé had left the British Communist Party when he sailed for Adelaide and never joined the Australian organization.[26]

In addition to the case histories that Rudé incorporated into his *Protest and Punishment*, Rudé contributed several articles on transported criminals to the newly-published *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. For the first two volumes, which covered the period 1788-1850, he wrote seven articles. All dealt with prisoners transported to Australia in the nineteenth century. Most sprang from the respectable middle class who had fallen afoul of the law because of their political activism, whether involvement in Young Ireland, Chartism or criminal acts connected to Luddism. One (George Loveless) was a ploughman who became a "Tolpuddle martyr" convicted for taking "unlawful oaths" when he helped form the Friendly Society of Agricultural Laborers.[27]

The articles that Rudé prepared were all factual and dispassionate as befitted a reference work. But in a personal letter to editor Douglas Pike, written in March 1964, he did express his feelings. Rudé observed that he had "run into difficulties with my Young Irelanders. For one thing I find them a bore."[28] Yet one of the Irishmen whose life he chronicled, Thomas Francis Meagher, enjoyed a dramatic career. After being transported in 1849 to Australia, where he spent three years in exile, he escaped to the United States, fought for the North during the Civil War, was selected by President Abraham Lincoln to serve as territorial governor of Montana, and accidentally drowned in the Missouri River in 1867. A county in Montana is named in

[26] National Archives of Australia, Australian Security Intelligence Organization, Series A6 119/90, 1958-1967. ASIO file, folio 14 (memorandum dated 5 Jan. 1960). Not until Feb., 1967, did an informant report to his superiors that "[w]hile it is true that Rudé has an extensive record of membership of the Communist … there has been no indication of his participation in Communist Party activity since his arrival in Australia," ASIO file, folio 63 (memorandum dated 3 Feb. 1967). The author is grateful to Prof. Peter McPhee of the University of Melbourne for obtaining a copy of the Rudé file.

[27] "George Loveless" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne, 1967), 2: 132-133. The corrected typescripts for his entries are found in the George Rudé file, Canberra, Australian National University, Australian Dictionary of Biography. The author wishes to thank Mr. Darryl Bennet of the staff of the Australian Dictionary of Biography for graciously providing access to the Rudé file.

[28] George Rudé to Douglas Pike, 3 Mar. 1964. Rudé file, Australian Dictionary of Biography.

his honor, and an impressive equestrian statue of Meagher stands before the state legislature building in Helena.[29]

Besides doing research on transported criminals, Rudé also found time to review books produced by his Australian colleagues. Soon after his arrival in Adelaide, he was assigned two significant works to critique: the first volume of Manning Clark's *A History of Australia* and Geoffrey Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance*.

Writing of Manning Clark's volume, he ably summarized its thesis concerning the Catholic, Protestant and Enlightenment contributions to Australia's development. Rudé also carefully assessed his premise that fatal "flaws" marked the principal explorers and administrators and drove them to destruction or acts of folly and despair. He did display skepticism concerning the sources that Manning Clark used, but admitted that he was "unfortunately unqualified" to judge the author's use of them. Then, after raising questions about the book's treatment of transported convicts, Rudé warmly praised it because, as he concluded, "it opens new vistas and because of the discussion and controversy that it will inevitably provoke."[30]

Rudé was no less judicious in reviewing Blainey's *Tyranny of Distance*. He praised Blainey's "shrewd historical sense and eye for paradox" that enabled him to challenge conventional interpretations of Australia's past. Rudé particularly found illuminating the author's belief that the convict system helped to make the continent predominantly masculine, a place of "mate-ship, egalitarianism, love of sport and beer," and even the cause of the separation of the sexes at social gatherings. Rudé closed his review by observing that historians would "profitably learn from this excellent and challenging book."[31]

It should be pointed out that Rudé, always the gentleman, never savagely attacked any book he reviewed. He would carefully summarize its contents, point out weaknesses or errors, but never sought to destroy an author's reputation. Too, Rudé always managed to say something positive about a book, not taking advantage of his critique to demonstrate his own superior knowledge. Likewise he placidly accepted criticism of his own work such as that offered by Richards and Philips. Rudé never dashed off letters to the editors of journals to defend his writings or belabor his critics. He simply accepted hostile reviews as part of the price of being a practicing historian.

Receiving a chair at Adelaide and becoming quite popular with both students and faculty at his University, Rudé would seem to have settled in nicely in Australia. But however productive his stay and enjoyable his life, he seems to have chafed at his isolation from the British archives where he had worked so diligently in the 1950s. In 1967 Rudé sought to escape his "exile" and return to Europe. In March of that year he accepted the offer of a foundation chair of history at the newly established University of Stirling in Scotland.[32] According to Hugh Stretton, George and Doreen were not enthusiastic about "gritty Scottish society" and requested the University to convert his

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[29] George Rudé, "Thomas Francis Meagher," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2: 217-218.

[30] George Rudé, review of *A History of Australia*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie,* by C. M. H. Clark, *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 10, no. 40 (May 1963), 515-527.

[31] George Rudé, review of *The Tyranny of Distance. How Distance Shaped Australia's History,* by Geoffrey Blainey, *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 15, no. 2 (Nov., 1967), 66-68.

[32] *The News* [Adelaide], 11 May 1967, quoted Rudé as saying that one of the main reasons he was leaving the University of Adelaide was that he wanted to be "nearer his research work for his European history books."

appointment to a visiting professorship for a single year.[33] The irritated administration refused to do so and demanded that he teach for at least one semester, which he did during the spring of 1968. When he sought to rescind his unwise decision, the University again refused him.[34]

Soon Rudé returned to Adelaide, but this time as Professor of History at Flinders University. Most of his scholarship now focused less on Australian history than on general problems such as "The Study of Revolutions" (1968), published in *Arena* and originally delivered as a memorial lecture sponsored by the Melbourne University Labor Club in honor of the radical historian Brian Fitzpatrick. But his most important publication was "The Archivist and the Historian," the Eldershaw Memorial Lecture that he delivered twice in Tasmania in July 1970 and later printed in the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Tasmanian Historical Research Association. In it Rudé honored the memory of the young archivist who introduced him to the rich documentary holdings in the Tasmanian State Archives in Hobart and who died prematurely at age forty in 1967. Rudé used the occasion to describe his development as a research scholar as well as sum up his extensive work on convicts transported to Australia. He discussed his methodology and presented numerous case histories of the "socio-political" prisoners who had been exiled to New South Wales and Tasmania. He characterized them as either "Village Hampdens" or "Artful Dodgers," that is, political radicals or economic criminals. Once again, he repeated his belief that, on the whole, most appeared to be "men of considerable quality and worth" who deserved to have their names and activities recorded. He concluded his lengthy address by promising his audience that he would write a book on the subject, one entitled "Social Protest in England." The volume eventually appeared as *Protest and Punishment*.[35]

When it was published in 1978, Rudé had left his Australian "exile" behind him and was teaching at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University) in Montreal where he arrived in 1970 and remained until 1987. The volume ably synthesized years of research and confirmed his status as a leading authority on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century social history, what came to be known as "history from below." The volume was, as Eric Richards had described it, "a labour of love." Two indicators offer proof of Rudé's devotion to his subjects. During his years in Canada he paid a visit (pilgrimage?) to the grave of the "Tolpuddle martyr," George Loveless, located in a cemetery outside of London, Ontario. "The tomb," he observed, "bears a simple inscription, redolent of filial piety but discreetly omitting all reference to the part he played as a champion of human rights."[36] Similarly, while living in Montreal Rudé visited the Côte des Neiges cemetery to locate the graves of the Canadian rebels of 1837 who had returned from their exile in Australia.[37]

Using information that he had gathered during his years at Adelaide, Rudé in 1974 published two final studies dealing with transported convicts: an article on "Early Irish Rebels in Australia" appeared in *Historical Studies*, and an entry on the Irish exile Kevin Izod O'Doherty was contributed to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Thereafter, he confined himself largely to studying the questions of revolution and popular ideology, with occasional forays into the familiar territory of the French Revolution.

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[33] Stretton, "George Rudé," 47.
[34] Letter to the author from R. B. McKean of the University of Stirling, 16 Jan. 2003.
[35] Rudé, "The Archivist and the Historian," 128.
[36] Rudé, *Protest and Punishment*, 212.
[37] Alan H. Adamson, "George Rudé in Canada" in Krantz, *History from Below*, 57.

While resident in Canada Rudé did not sever all his ties to Australia. Far from it. He returned from "exile" several times. In 1972, 1978, 1980, and 1985 Rudé taught at the University of Adelaide as a visiting scholar. On the last occasion, the University awarded him the title of Honorary Professor. In 1975 he served as a visiting professor at the Australian National University and the following year held a similar position at Latrobe University. In recognition of his scholarship his numerous Australian friends and colleagues organized the George Rudé Seminar, which first met at Melbourne in 1978 with Rudé attending. The Seminar proved so successful that in 1980 it reconvened at Adelaide where he was the guest of honor. Eight years later, when the Seminar gathered at Melbourne to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution, Rudé participated. This proved to be his final trip to Australia. His once robust health deteriorating, Rudé died in 1993.

The years that George Rudé spent "in exile" in Australia were extraordinarily productive. Certainly he had not found it easy to leave Britain with its rich storehouses of documents for unfamiliar scholarly territory. Yet, surprisingly, he quickly rose to the challenge, bringing his powerful intellect to the study of transported criminals. Rudé thus both complemented and completed the work that he had been conducting on "socio-political" criminals. Certainly the near decade he spent at Adelaide proved to be one of the most productive of his entire career in terms of publications.

Thus, we can agree with a comment made by Hugh Stretton, who, after surveying his colleague's work at Adelaide, concluded that "perhaps his Australian exile was not so regrettable after all."[38]

[38] Stretton, "George Rudé," 54.

The Price of Revolution

Alison Patrick

As Patrice Gueniffey has noted, interest in the Terror as a French revolutionary phenomenon has waxed and waned, but has never disappeared, though focus and emphasis have changed from time to time. In preparation for the French 1789 bicentennial, Mitterand decided that France, unlike the United States, would not treat its revolutionary decade as a serial story, but would celebrate national liberation in a lump, with Chinese students wheeling empty bicycles at the head of the Bastille Day procession as a reminder that some countries had not yet caught up. This decision made it possible to avoid divisive areas, freeing the heirs of the Revolution to commemorate whatever they chose, but outside Paris, foreign visitors might find themselves puzzled by the range of local traditions which presumably shaped the festivities. (Exactly why did the Arles school children produce an exhibition of *émigré* biographies?) It would at least seem from the size and complexity of Gueniffey's book that re-visits to the Terror are likely to continue.[1]

One realizes with surprise that one part of the story has still not had much attention. The normal focus has been on the development of Terror as an instrument of government policy, on the numbers and character of those affected by it, and on the crisis of Thermidor and its sequel. Gueniffey has a good deal about the political maneuvers that culminated in the events of Prairial, placing Robespierre in the centre of the stage, and the Thermidorians naturally get their share of notice. What is still

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[1] Patrice Gueniffey, *La Politique de la Terreur* (Paris, 2002).

missing is any sustained analysis of the implications of the great debate on revolutionary justice which took place during the trial of the King.[2]

This was the only occasion when every deputy in a revolutionary assembly was required to cast a vote on a major constitutional issue. Nearly all the deputies voted, over 40 percent published some explication of their votes, as they were specifically entitled to do, and another 20 per cent made some individual comment, while the Convention's *bureau* republished the voting-lists from the *appels nominaux*. The deputies seem to have been fully aware of what they were doing. The King's trial, designed to maintain the rights and liberties first secured in 1789, was also in conflict with those rights and liberties, and each man gave his individual twist to the disputes over the policy to be followed. The accumulation of agreement and contradiction is massive, and there can here be no attempt to survey the whole field. However, it may be useful to disentangle the main threads, because the responses of *conventionnels* to the decisions asked of them in 1792-3 are suggestive of the price they were prepared to pay for revolution.[3]

Most of the revolutionary rhetoric centered on four crucial questions. Could the King be tried? How was he to be tried? What should be the verdict? How, if at all, was the verdict to be validated? From the Convention's first session, until Louis's execution, an increasingly anguished debate lasted intermittently for four months.

The Convention's standing orders were sketchy enough to allow any orator to follow any line of argument he chose, with the result that the assembly fell into a muddle, uncertain what it was arguing about.[4] Nor did the defeat of a motion prevent its supporters from repeatedly adverting to it in debates arranged on other topics, or introducing new pamphlets on issues long settled, or manipulating the agenda for political reasons—all very time-consuming. It is noticeable that no time worth mentioning was spent on the usual task of trials, namely establishing the guilt or innocence of the accused; the frequent references to the King's crimes were made with a presumption of guilt. When the vote was taken, it matched what could already have been read in the pamphlets published during the weary months of debate. In the 748-strong assembly, seven men were ill, twenty were away *en mission*, and fourteen abstained, leaving 707 to vote. Present or absent, not a single man was willing to judge Louis innocent. It was the closest the deputies ever came to unanimity.[5] But they had to go further. Could their king be made to pay for his crimes?

A mass of uncertainties related to the terms of the Constitution of 1791, to the so-called "law of nature," and to the "sovereignty of the people" and its implications. "The person of the King is sacred and inviolable" was an absolute statement. How did an explicit right to invulnerability square with the doctrine that all men are created equal? The argument here continued to the end. Barailon was almost alone in

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[2] Modern Revolutionary histories do not give the rationale of the trial much space, the outcome being taken for granted. Michael Walzer, ed., *Regicide and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1974) reprints some major speeches, but focuses on divine right, which was very seldom even mentioned. David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial* (Berkeley, 1979) has interesting detail which deserves further analysis.

[3] A full account of the surviving pamphlets (a good many seem to have been lost) would fill several volumes, with much repetition but also constant divergence as points that appear similar are distinguished or differently justified. Those included in the notes are intended to suggest the flavor of the argument, but cannot convey its whole scope.

[4] François Mont Gilbert, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.).

[5] *Appels nominaux ... sur ces trois questions: 1. Louis Capet est-il coupable de conspiration contre la sureté genérale de l'état? 2. Le jugement de la Convention sera-t-il soumis à la ratification du peuple? 3. Y aura-t-il un sursis, oui ou non, à l'exécution du décret qui condamne Louis Capet?* (Paris, 1793).

claiming that the whole discussion was a waste of time and that Louis should be simply locked up until more important affairs had been disposed of. Others insisted that the constitution existed and must be accepted ("The traitor Louis has slaughtered his people," wrote Duchastel. "And so, what have they proved? That the law is absurd, but not that it was not passed.") The most moving comment came from Jacques Chevalier, a poor farmer who said simply that he did not care what the King had said or done; he, Chevalier, had been a local official, and in that capacity, he had taken an oath of allegiance to nation, law and king, by which oath he, Chevalier, was bound. For him, the King was indeed untouchable, and he abstained from all part in any trial whatever. For various reasons, about a score of colleagues did the same.[6]

The Convention's great majority, who did not share such scruples, faced their own dilemmas. It was all very well to label the doctrine of inviolability a blasphemy, as Audouin did. Outraged protestations could not change the Constitution, even if the Constitution did violate the principle of equality. Lecointre claimed not to understand "this justice that smiles as it strikes down a humble offender, and kowtows to a famous criminal," but no matter what Louis had done or allowed to be done, the Constitution said that while he was king his person was sacred and inviolable, and since his dethronement he had been unable to do anything of significance. True, in June 1791 he had repudiated the oath he had taken alongside his people on Bastille Day, 1790, but in September 1791 that same people had wiped out the past by accepting his constitutional oath, thus giving him the full rights of a constitutional king. Between September 1791 and August 1792 his kingship protected him; after 10 August 1792 he had had no power to act. Whether or not the Constituent had made a mistake, said Morisson, its decision was law.[7]

And yet… *if* the King was inviolable, his person was indeed sacred. But kingship was a public office, and every citizen in public office had to take an appropriate oath of obedience to the law. At the king's accession or when he reached his majority, he had to swear

> to be faithful to the nation and to the law, to employ all the power delegated to him to maintain the Constitution decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790 and 1791, and to have the laws executed.

Without this oath, or if he retracted it, he could not hold office.[8]

A string of speakers agreed that Louis had never been entitled to his post, because he had never honestly taken the oath nor intended to accept the obligations it imposed. Couthon insisted that this dishonesty must cost him the throne and specifically included perjury on his own list of accusations. Oudot and Massieu were amongst those claiming that even as king, Louis could not be above the law he had sworn to obey. Robert Lindet and Lozeau argued that he had consistently used royal

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[6] Jean-François Barailon, *Considérations sur la necessité d'ajourner le jugement de Louis Capet et de sa femme* (Paris, n.d.) (two other speeches by Barailon run the same line); G.S. Duchastel, *Opinion ... sur cette question: Quelle est la peine que le peuple français doit infliger à Louis?* (Paris, n.d.); J. Chevalier, *Opinion ... sur l'affaire du ci-devant roi* (Paris, n.d.). Noel would not vote because his son had been killed at Genappes, and Lafon because he had not arrived in Paris in time to hear the debates. Cf. *Appels nominaux* (note 5, above), regarding voting in the Vosges and the Corrèze.

[7] J.-P. Audouin, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.); Laurent Lecointre, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Melun, 1792); Charles-Louis Morisson, *Opinion ... concernant le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.) (Morisson published three speeches, all to the same effect).

[8] For constitutional provisions, see John Hall Stewart, *Documentary Survey of the French Revolution* (New York, 1950), 240-5.

power to undermine the state. Anthoine and Finot pointed to natural law as the foundation of equality and justice. At this point, various lines of argument converged, for a public official betraying his trust was a traitor, and under the new *code criminel*, treason remained a capital crime. Some formalities there must certainly be. Saint-Just and Robespierre got little support for the assertion that Louis was as much an enemy as a foe on the battlefield and should be executed out of hand; a trial was needed both in the cause of justice and for its symbolic importance to Europe's remaining tyrants. Had Louis been killed at the Tuileries, said Osselin, his death would have been understood as "merely a catastrophe of the ordinary kind," but a trial would make it plain that even a king could be brought to account for murder.[9]

But a trial by whom? Various deputies suggested trial by the Parisian criminal court, or by a group of judges selected by the departments, or by judges selected by neighboring republics. All these projects failed, either because they embodied retrospective justice or because the judges concerned had been appointed by virtue of a constitution that did not give them the necessary powers. By natural law, however, power resided ultimately in the sovereign, and the Convention, elected by the people, exercised that power. It had a status that the English Long Parliament could never have claimed in its dealings with Charles I. After weeks of wrangling and a committee's report, a majority accepted that the Convention alone could try the King.[10]

Two difficulties emerged from this. On the one hand, there was the problem of process. The new *code criminel*, for which Le Peletier had been the *rapporteur*, had given the accused new rights, but in this unique case those rights went unprotected. Méaulle said bluntly that there was no way in which ordinary jury rights could be made to apply, and as he and his colleagues struggled through the preliminaries, there were repeated irregularities. Louis was allowed to defend himself, appearing before the deputies to do so, and he was allowed more defenders than the law prescribed, but far too little time was allowed for anyone to scrutinize the many documents, or for his counsel to give proper attention to the elaborate defense which was duly placed before the deputies.[11]

The second problem was that many deputies felt they were being made to ignore basic revolutionary principles. The decision that the Convention should become a court to try the King ignored the principle of the separation of powers and

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[9] Georges Couthon, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.); Charles-François Oudot, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Jean-Baptiste Massieu, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Robert Lindet, *Attentat et crimes de Louis* (Paris, n.d.); Paul-Augustin Lozeau, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.); François-Paul Anthoine, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis* (Paris, n.d.); Étienne Finot, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de ci-devant roi* (Paris, n.d.); Louis-Antoine Saint-Just, *Opinion concernant le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, 1792); Maximilien de Robespierre, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, 1793); Charles-Nicolas Osselin, *Discours sur l'inviolabilité et sur le mode propose par le comité de legislation pour le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, 1793).

[10] The arguments for this were hammered out in a committee headed by Jean-Baptiste Mailhe, *Rapport et projet de décret ... au nom du comité de legislation*, 7 Nov. 1792. For a sample of other views, see Jean-Antoine de Bry, *Le ci-devant roi sera-t-il jugé?* (Paris, n.d.); Nicolas-François Enlart, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Gustave Déchezeaux, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, 1793); Dominique-Vincent Ramel de Nogaret, *Que doit faire la Convention nationale sur le procès de Louis Capet?* (Paris, 1793); Jacques Boilleau; *Opinion ... sur le procès du ci devant roi* (Paris, n.d.)

[11] Jean-Nicolas Méaulle, *Discours ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Jordan, *The King's Trial*, chaps. 6-8.

(said Saurine) had created "a dangerous example of a new despotism." It was claimed that if the deputies acted first as accusers, then as jurors ruling on guilt, and finally as judges giving the sentence, the resultant confusion of powers would make them no better than murderers. Some evaded these difficulties by sidling past any matter of principle, declaring themselves statesmen to be moved by political considerations alone. Others who wanted to make the King pay for his duplicity simply did not like the idea of becoming the judges who sentenced him.[12]

These discomforts helped to support a last-minute proposal that the outcome of the trial should be validated by the sovereign people. *After* the Convention's vote, Louis's ultimate fate should be decided by an *appel au peuple,* an appeal to the sovereign people through France's six thousand electoral assemblies. This indeed allowed the deputies to see themselves as statesmen, who were presenting the electors with the evidence and leaving them to reach whatever verdict they chose.[13]

The *appel* proposal produced a flood of last-minute pamphlets. Nearly thirty men had spoken, jeered Carra, and sixty more waited to speak, on a matter that could have been settled on 10 August by any Frenchman with a pistol in his hand. There was a sharp division between those hoping that responsibility—especially responsibility for an irrevocable sentence—would be shared between politicians and the public, and those who believed that the Convention should complete a task that its electors had given it. Additionally, there were those who could not like either solution.[14]

The case for the *appel* was elegantly put by Vergniaud, Gensonné, Brissot and others, with emphasis on its expediency. It would consolidate the Republic, in that citizens would unite to support it, which would make foreign intervention less likely, and it would also show that the Convention was not controlled by Parisian radicals. (It seems interesting that nightmare recollections of the September massacres did not prevent Vergniaud from devoting eight pages of a sixteen page pamphlet to sustained anti-Parisian invective.) The *ad hominem* abuse was mostly from the right. Those urging justice, in opposition to naked expediency, angrily stressed also the dangers of royal intrigue and the threat of civil war, since some Frenchmen had not yet lost all respect for royalty.[15] The best debater's speech was probably Barère's, deftly persuading a doubtful audience to move to the same side as Marat, but one of the most impressive came from Pierre-Louis Prieur. Whatever was done to the King, he said, responsibility rested with the deputies, as had been shown by tacit public approval of the Convention trial. The legal sentence for treason was death. In the existing crisis, any line of action was dangerous, but

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[12] Jean-Baptiste Saurine, *Opinion ... prononcée au moment du troisième appel nominal* (Paris, n.d.); see also Mont Gilbert, *Opinion* (note 4, above).

[13] Jean-Louis Carra, *Discours contre la défense de Louis Capet; dernier roi des Français* (Paris, n.d.); Barailon, *Considérations* (note 6, above).

[14] Cf. François-Nicolas Buzot, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Marguerite-Élie Guadet*, Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis, ci-devat roi* (Paris, n.d.); Bathélemy Albouys, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.). Albouys claimed to have originated the idea of the *appel au peuple.*

[15] Jacques-Pierre Brissot, *Discours sur la procès de Louis* (Paris, n.d.); Armand Gensonné, *Opinion sur le jugement de Louis* (Paris, n.d.); Pierre Vergniaud, *Opinion sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.) For criticisms of Girondin intrigue, see Armand-Benoît Guffroy, *Discours ... sur ce que la Nation doit faire du ci-devant roi* (Paris, n.d.); and J. Pinet, *Réflexion sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.).

> by applying the law, we shall have carried out the duty that our constituents have imposed on us, the tyrant will be punished, freedom and equality will be secured, the republic will triumph, and if we must bear any responsibility, at least it will not be that of having taken steps which might have compromised the peace and safety of the country.

Jean-François Ducos put his reasoning in a different way. To him, a vote for the *appel* would be a betrayal of the system of representative government: "under which I hope to live and die." He added sadly, "Of all the sacrifices I have made for my country, this alone deserves to be remembered, that I sentenced a man to death." It is often forgotten that a number of others shared his repugnance; indeed, in the Constituent Assembly Pétion, Le Peletier and Robespierre had all voted against capital punishment. Dusaulx's plea, "blood calls for blood. It is time to stop the shedding of it," was made to an audience in which it could be expressly hoped that this death would be the last.[16]

In the final choice between expediency and revolutionary justice, justice won a narrow victory. It could be claimed that the Declaration of Rights was upheld: in cases of treason, all those convicted could meet an equal fate. But the trial had been unorthodox, to say the least. What kind of justice? What was the issue between King and Convention?

Let us return to the oath with which Louis was faced and to the comment of Girault, a deputy said to have made no impression whatsoever on the Convention. This may be true enough, but in his single speech on the trial, Girault did point out that Louis had no choice about the kind of king he was, being born and educated under the ancien regime. He could not in conscience take the oath required of him by the Convention because he was already bound to his people by duty of another kind.[17] If this sounds like the dilemma facing the non-juring priests from 1791 onwards, it was. They too were bound by conscience to do their best to oppose a régime they could never accept; the clerical oath was not for them. It follows that the gulf between revolutionaries and their most dedicated opponents was unbridgeable. Those on the far side were "outside the sovereign," rooted there, not merely because of what they had wished or intended or done, but because of what they were.[18]

Timothy Tackett's book on the clerical oath maps more than a score of departments where, during 1792, non-jurors were being illegally forced from their parishes because the authorities believed that their very presence in the parish was subversive. A fortnight after the monarchy fell, the Legislative Assembly accepted the rationale of this policy when it ordered the priests to take a civic oath or be deported.[19] By similar logic, the *conventionnels* who were unwilling to execute Louis

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[16] Bertrand Barère, *Discours sur le jugement du procès de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.); Pierre-Louis Prieur, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.); Jean-François Ducos, *Opinion sur le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.); Jérôme Pétion, *Opinion ... sur le roi* (Paris n.d.) (see also Pétion's *Opinion sur le question s'il existe ou non une Convention nationale* (Paris, n.d.); Michel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI, ci-devant roi des Français* (Paris, n.d.); Jean Dusaulx, *Opinion sur le jugement de Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.).

[17] C.J. Girault, *Opinion ... sur le jugement de Louis XVI*. Cf. Auguste Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1916-20), "Girault."

[18] The papers of the *comité des recherches* (e.g. AN D XXIX) are full of correspondence with local authorities who found the problem of "subversion" insoluble even if a priest concerned was expressly opposed to violence. Cf. Archives nationales D XXIXbis 22, commune of Lisieux.

[19] See Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: the Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, 1986) 277; also Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror*

XVI seem virtually unanimous in wishing to see him either jailed for life or exiled as soon as might be (with the war's end, probably), and meanwhile, closely confined. A revolutionary state could find no place for those whose conscience bound them to oppose it. It followed that anyone resisting such a régime had no rights. Ordinary criminals could be dealt with in the ordinary departmental criminal courts, and so they were, even under the Terror. Political suspects were dealt with by political agents *en mission* or by revolutionary courts, as Louis XVI had been, because their offence lay outside the normal system of justice. By 1794 Saint Just could say, "The people are the revolutionaries. The rest are helots or nothing." Freedom of speech disappeared, and more and more citizens were excluded from the electorate on suspicion which required no proof. On the eve of Thermidor, an ever-higher proportion of clergy and nobles were among those being guillotined, and in the provinces thousands of suspects were in prison or under house arrest. If one traces the shape of Terror from the Law of Suspects through Prairial to the 1799 Law of Hostages, the methodology becomes increasingly complex and savage, but the aim does not change.[20]

When the choice imposed by revolution is a matter of conscience, it recognizes no compromise. The evidence against the King at the time was on the slender side, but the deputies' instincts were sound. Like many of the non-juring priests, Louis was at bottom under threat for what he symbolized and might wish to promote. Intentions, however dangerous, are difficult to prove, and Terror reduces the need for proof by presupposing intention. Why did both Danton and the Girondins believe that if Louis came to trial he would be executed? Surely this had little to do with evidence and everything to do with the fact that, as Robert Lindet and others saw it, his behavior before and after Varennes, and indeed since Bastille Day, was all of a piece. Kings, said Tom Paine morosely, are all the same.[21]

In 1793, public oaths were taken seriously, and it seems odd that François Furet's Bicentennial *Dictionnaire* does not even list them in its index, whereas in Soboul's rival publication, S. Bianchi points to their precedent in ancient Rome. Roman citizens and their office-bearers had sworn a symbolic oath which marked their admission to the *civis*.[22] In revolutionary France, from 1791, oaths became a political weapon, emphasizing conflicting loyalties and thus serving to divide the community rather than unify it. Despite much effort, it proved impossible to find one that the Republic's recalcitrant clergy would accept; nor was it easy, in some areas, to get dissident citizens to pledge their loyalty to a Nation whose authority they did not respect. It was to be some time before Napoleon imposed his own solution to the problems of post-revolutionary consensus. In 1793 there were no right answers. The Revolution, which had brought equality to Frenchmen, had now produced Frenchmen who were no longer potential citizens; all men were not equal. That was part of the price of revolution.

During the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation (Gloucester, 1966); John McManners, *French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime (*Manchester, 1960), chap. 15.

[20] See John Hall Stewart, *Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, 477-481, 528-531, 745-752. For Saint-Just, see Robert Palmer, *Twelve who ruled* (Princeton, 1960) 255.

[21] Thomas Paine, *Opinion concernant le jugement de Louis XVI* (Paris, n.d.) and his *Opinion sur l'affaire* de *Louis Capet* (Paris, n.d.). For problems with public feeling, see AD Maine-et-Loire 1L 976 (6 Feb. 1792), or 1L 357.

[22] François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1988); A.M. Soboul, ed., *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1989).

The local experience of Revolution: the Gobelins/Finistère Section in Paris

David Garrioch

Viewed from afar, the French Revolution falls easily into a series of binary oppositions: revolutionary and counter-revolutionary; conservative and radical; bourgeois and popular; Paris and provinces. Such opposites were the stuff of revolutionary rhetoric and provided ready ways of making sense of a complex reality. Yet, as every historian of the Revolution knows, on the ground things were much more complicated. In the provinces, revolutionary labels like "Jacobin" could cover a range of political views and were often ways of aligning one local faction with the group that was in power at the centre. This happened even in Paris itself.

Historians often use these oppositions in order to explain the Revolution to students and to general readers. Yet when the oppositions used are invested with moral qualities, or when alignments are made between different descriptive categories, binary oppositions betray the historical reality they claim to represent. An example is the correspondence often made between "radical" politics, the "popular movement," and revolutionary violence. None of these terms is clear-cut. What was "radical" in 1789 was not necessarily so in 1793. Individuals and groups who expressed "radical" views at one moment did not always do so consistently, and nor were they necessarily "radical" on every issue. The way the term "popular movement" has commonly been used is also a problem, as recent studies of the post-1795 religious revival have demonstrated. Whereas dechristianization was long associated with the "popular movement," particularly in Paris, and the re-opening of churches with counter-revolution, there is now ample evidence that the religious revival was more "popular" than dechristianization.[1] Similarly, recent writing has shown that hostility to women's involvement in politics was by no means a monopoly of counter-revolutionaries or even of bourgeois moderates. In Paris, women were excluded from the revolutionary clubs not only in most of the more conservative sections in the west of the city but also in most of the city-centre sections, including the Gravilliers Section, one of the most radical of all. Women were also excluded in the Montreuil Section in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, although the faubourg was (and remains) almost

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[1] Olwen Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), chap. 3; Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred. Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca and London, 1990), esp. 198-214; on Paris, David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 190-95.

synonymous with radical politics. Market women, who led the "popular" revolution in October 1789, seem to have been particularly hostile to the feminist claims of the Revolutionary Republican women.[2]

The alignment of different descriptive categories is even more problematical in relation to violence. For conservatives, the level of popular involvement is not only self-evidently linked to radicalism but also to violence.[3] Yet the term "revolutionary violence" lumps together spontaneous crowd violence and insurrection, organized insurrection, and the institutional violence of arrest and imprisonment. To link all these forms of "revolutionary violence" with political radicalism and with the "popular movement" ignores the fact that some of the most extreme institutional violence took place after the Prairial risings (May 1795) and was directed against the former radicals.[4] Furthermore, while there is a connection between insurrection and political radicalism, and to a lesser extent between crowd violence and "popular" participation in the Revolution, there is no necessary correlation between the areas of Paris where "radical" policies were supported and those where institutional violence was greatest. In the politically radical Gravilliers Section some 300 people were imprisoned during the Terror, whereas in the Finistère Section in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, which was also one of the more consistently radical sections, at the peak of the Jacobin repression only thirty-two citizens were in prison and only a handful more were arrested subsequently.[5]

The term "popular movement," connoting both a political stance and plebeian support, also needs to be used with care. In a broad-brush sense there is a connection between the socio-economic composition of each section and the strength of the "popular movement." The wealthy areas on the Right Bank were on the whole moderate and were among the leaders of the conservative reaction of the later 1790s. Their bourgeois composition makes it hardly surprising that they should have sought to defend property and resist democratic change. The eastern faubourgs, on the other hand, much poorer, were fairly consistently radical throughout the revolutionary period. It has been suggested, therefore, that the faubourgs were radical because of the high percentage of poor people in the population and because the bourgeois were too few to retain control as the Revolution became more democratic.[6]

But the correlation between the socio-economic composition of the sections and their political stance is not always so clear. For example, in 1790 the Théâtre Français section was eleventh in the city in the proportion of active citizens in the population, falling between the Observatoire Section and the Gobelins Section. Yet the Gobelins area was to remain consistently radical, whereas the Théâtre Français,

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[2] Dominique Godineau, *Citoyennes tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Paris, 1988), 203, 266.

[3] William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1989), esp. 271; and Jean Tulard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris. La Révolution* (Paris, 1989), esp. 244-48.

[4] Richard Cobb, "Note sur la répression contre le personnel sans-culotte de 1795 à 1801," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 26 (1954): 23-49.

[5] On Gravilliers, Richard Andrews, "Paris of the Great Revolution, 1789-1796," in *People and Communities in the Western World*, ed. Gene Brucker (Homewood, Illinois, 1979), 97; and Albert Soboul and Raymonde Monnier, *Répertoire du personnel sectionnaire parisien en l'an II* (Paris, 1985), 311; on Finistère, David Garrioch, "Revolutionary Violence and Terror in the Paris Sections," in *The Sphinx in the Tuileries and Other Essays in Modern French History*, eds. Robert Aldrich and Martyn Lyons (Sydney, 1998). See also the figures given by Tulard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris. La Révolution*, 330, which reveal the largest numbers of arrests during the Terror to have been in the central sections.

[6] See for example Raymonde Monnier, *L'Espace public démocratique. Essai sur l'opinion à Paris de la Révolution au Directoire* (Paris, 1994), 132-33.

having been at the forefront of the popular movement from 1791 to 1793, in 1795 did not participate in the Prairial uprising and in the Year IV sided with the "counter-revolutionary" insurrection of Vendémiaire.[7]

The explanation for this is partly, as Raymonde Monnier has pointed out, that the political position of particular sections depended not on the composition of the population as a whole but on that of the minority of militants and the support they could mobilize at each stage of the Revolution.[8] Yet even this does not explain all the differences in the way the revolution was experienced in different parts of Paris. After the Prairial insurrection the repression of former militants was draconian in the Gravilliers Section but extraordinarily mild in the Gobelins/Finistère Section and in the adjoining Observatoire Section. The Jardin-des-Plantes/Sans-Culottes Section, the third section comprising the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, on the contrary saw many more arrests after Prairial. From the social composition of these sections or of their committees, one would not expect such differences.[9] There were in fact many factors determining the revolutionary experience of each area, and its socio-economic character was only one variable. Geography and topography, traditions and loyalties inherited from the ancien régime, and the experience of the revolutionary years themselves were also important. I wish to illustrate this with the example of the Gobelins, later the Finistère, Section.

The Section initially took its name from the Gobelins Manufactory, which produced furniture and tapestries for the various royal palaces. It lay in the southeastern part of Paris, in the Faubourg Saint Marcel, renowned as one of the poorest areas of the city and, together with the Faubourg Saint Antoine, one of the areas that most consistently supported the "popular movement." And indeed, from the beginning of the Parisian Revolution it was politically radical.

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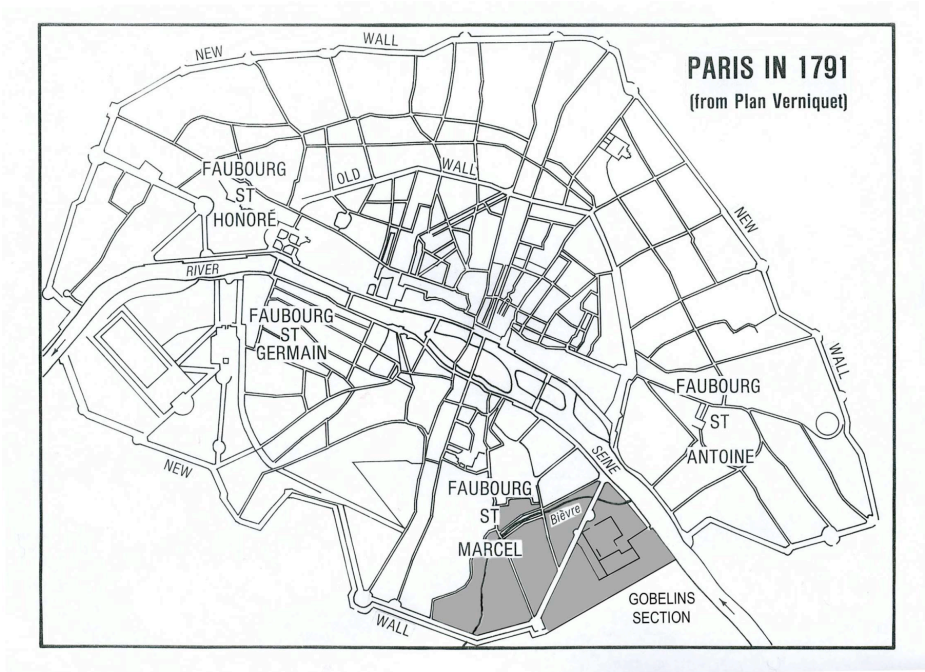
[7] Monnier, *L'Espace public démocratique*, 123-24.

[8] Ibid., 126. Albert Soboul makes this distinction in some parts of his classic *Sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II. Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire, 2 juin 1793—9 Thermidor an II* (Paris, 1958), but not in others.

[9] Garrioch, *Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 203; and Kåre D. Tonnesson, *La Défaite des Sans-culottes* (Oslo, 1978), 335. On Jardin-des-Plantes, George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959), 166.



Even before the creation of the sections, in November 1789, the Saint-Marcel district was the first to demand government control of grain prices and action against speculators. It was one of the first to admit "passive" citizens to its meetings. Subsequently the Gobelins Section played a key role in the insurrections of 20 June and 10 August 1792 and was among the minority of sections that admitted women both to the popular society and to the general assemblies.[10] It was precocious in its social and economic demands, already in January 1792 condemning free trade and the "vile hoarders and foul capitalists" who profited from it at the expense of the poor.[11] Right through to the last popular uprising of the Revolution, in Prairial, *an* III (May 1795), it was one of the centers of revolt.

One of the key factors determining the political stance of the Gobelins Section was its geographical position and its topography. It was on the fringes of the city, and as Louis-Sébastien Mercier commented in 1782, "If one makes the journey into that country it is through curiosity; nothing obliges you to go there."[12] It contained few tourist attractions, other than the Gobelins Manufactory itself, and its key industries—tanning, starch-making, brewing—made it even smellier than the rest of the city. The main reason why these industries were there, apart from the peripheral location, was the Bièvre River, a narrow, slow-running, and heavily polluted waterway that created

[10] R.B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes* (Manchester, 1983), 69; Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris 10065, no. 163, extract from deliberations of District of Saint-Marcel, 7 Nov. 1789; Louis Mortimer-Ternaux, *Histoire de la Terreur*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1863-1881), 1: 136-37, 144; 2: 229, 439, 450; and Godineau, *Citoyennes tricoteuses*, 116, 202-3. The Faubourg Saint-Marcel has been studied in detail by Haim Burstin, from a social, economic and demographic perspective in his *Le faubourg Saint-Marcel à l'époque révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1983) and from a political perspective in *Une Révolution à l'oeuvre: le faubourg Saint-Marcel (1789-1794)* (Paris, 2005).

[11] Quoted in Marcel Reinhard, *La chute de la Royauté* (Paris, 1969), 510.

[12] Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, 12 vols. (Amsterdam: 1782-1788), 1: 269.

a significant physical barrier, since there were only three narrow bridges leading towards the city center. Physical distinctiveness was accentuated by a historical awareness of separate identity. The abbey church of "Saint-Marcel-lès-Paris" (Saint-Marcel near Paris) lay at the center of what had once been a settlement outside Paris. Even though the old city gate at the top of the rue Mouffetard had long disappeared, people still referred to it and talked about going "into Paris."[13] The *cahiers* of the Third Estate dealt not only with national and Parisian issues but mounted a vigorous defense of local interests, protesting against a plan to divert water from the Bièvre and against the extra tax that inhabitants of the faubourgs had to pay towards the cost of maintaining military barracks and requesting both urgent measures to relieve poverty and the construction of a new bridge over the Seine.[14]

The Faubourg Saint-Marcel was relatively distant from the centre of Paris, and while there were several possible routes none was straightforward. It took perhaps half an hour to walk through winding, crowded streets from the city centre, and this was normally the maximum pace at which news traveled. It was somewhat faster than the speed of rumor, which might be news but might not. Thus, at the dramatic moments of the Revolution, no-one was really sure what was happening elsewhere in the city. To receive confirmation of rumors or of orders might take an hour, two hours. At these times, individual and collective decisions had to be made in isolation. We can see this on a number of occasions during the 1790s. On 25 June, not long after the failed *journée* of 20 June in which the Gobelins Section had played a significant role, there were rumors that the National Guard units opposed to the Court were to be disarmed. Scouts reported that the Faubourg was surrounded by troops loyal to the Court and in response the local National Guardsmen barricaded themselves in the abbey cloister and posted sentries in the environs—the bridges over the Bièvre were an obvious point, as no-one could approach without coming across one of them.[15] These actions were a clear reflection of the problems of communication within the city and the acute sense of isolation of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel.

Another example is the events of the night of 9-10 Thermidor. Once again, there were conflicting rumors about what was happening at the Hôtel-de-Ville and at the National Convention. The Sectional Assembly was in session all evening and opinions were divided on how to respond to the limited information available. Groups and individuals were sent off to the center of Paris to try to find out what was going on and a detachment of the National Guard went to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Once again, the National Guard was drawn up in battle order and sentries were posted on the bridge over the Bièvre. At 12.30 on the morning of 10 Thermidor a member of the rebel Commune, a local man named Antoine Gency, arrived with fifty National Guardsmen and arrested the Section's Revolutionary Committee before going to the Sectional Assembly to demand that they give the order to march on the Convention in support of the Commune. It was sheer chance that he had failed to arrest two members of the Revolutionary Committee who had been to the Convention in search of orders and sheer chance that instead of going back to the headquarters of the Revolutionary Committee they had gone directly to the Sectional Assembly, arriving only minutes before Gency. Had they been delayed, or had he come earlier, there was every chance that the Finistère battalion of the National

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[13] Archives Nationales [henceforth AN] Y13290, 17 Aug.1788.

[14] AN Ba 64A, dossier 4, no. 23, "Cahier du Tiers Etat du District de Saint Victor" and no. 30, "Cahier du District de Saint Marcel."

[15] Jacques Godechot, "Fragments des mémoires de Charles-Alexis Alexandre sur les journées révolutionnaires de 1791 et 1792," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 24 (1952): 181-82.

Guard would have sided with the Commune, lending not only its guns but also its considerable moral authority.[16] This may or may not have influenced the course of the Revolution, but it would certainly have had a dramatic impact on the local leadership!

If the decision to march or not to march was taken in isolation, it was nevertheless not taken entirely in ignorance. By 9 Thermidor the Revolution had been under way for five years, and the local leaders of the Revolution had a lot of experience behind them. They relied on their knowledge of what had happened in the past and of the likely consequences of each possible course of action. And they made educated guesses about how others would respond, drawing on knowledge about individuals and groups elsewhere in the city. These judgments were sometimes based on acquaintanceship or even familiarity, since many members of the political elites knew each other.[17] Leading members of different sections met in delegations, sometimes as municipal representatives, through the National Guard, and in dealings between section committees. Some of the *sans-culotte* leaders from different parts of the city were already acquainted before the Revolution. The brewer Antoine-Joseph Santerre, for example, best known as commander of the Paris National Guard at the time of Louis XVI's execution, knew at least two of the leaders of the Gobelins Section, in addition to his own brother who lived there, as prominent members of the pre-revolutionary brewers' corporation. His brother-in-law, Joseph Etienne Panis, was a prominent member of the Arsenal Section.[18] There were many familial and personal ties across the city.

Networks and levels of support within the section were also significant. On the night of 9-10 Thermidor the escape from arrest of two members of the local Revolutionary Committee was fortuitous, but it was by no means a foregone conclusion that they would be able to sway the Assembly against the formidable Antoine Gency. He was an intimidating figure who brought the added prestige of a Municipal sash. Yet in the end, his defeat was not simply a matter of chance. Gency was deeply unpopular in the Section, where he had behaved in an extraordinarily arrogant manner. He did not have a strong power base there, and while at first he was able to exploit the uncertainty of many citizens, once his opponents returned with news directly from the Convention there was little chance of him winning the night.

Within the sections, where at the most agitated and democratic moments of the 1790s up to 400 citizens attended meetings and voted, the small number of office-holders and local power-brokers were well known to each other. They knew whom they could rely on for support and often who would oppose them. They knew where their friends and enemies lived, what jobs they did. This has often been overlooked even in studies of the sectional movement, which often neglect not only pre-revolutionary connections but even family ties within the sections, and neighborhood and friendship are even less often studied.[19] Yet the creation of a local power-base relied heavily upon

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[16] AN F7*2519, fols. 18 verso-32, enquiry into events of 9 Thermidor.

[17] A point made forcibly by Gary Kates, commentary on Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Anne Hildreth, and Alan B. Spitzer, "Was There a Girondist Faction in the National Convention, 1792-1793?" *French Historical Studies* 15 (1988): 543-546.

[18] Acloque and Hannen had both been officials of the brewers' corporation in 1780: France Weber, "La famille Santerre et la brasserie parisienne au XVIIIe siècle," *Le brasseur français* 704 (20 May 1905): 4; 706 (3 June 1905): 4; and Raymonde Monnier, *Un bourgeois sans-culotte. Le Général Santerre* (Paris, 1990), 32.

[19] Richard Cobb and Richard Andrews have shown the importance of such factors. Cobb, *The Police and the People* (Oxford, 1970), 122, 198-200; and *Reactions to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1972), 116-121; and Andrews, "Réflexions sur la conjuration des Egaux," *Annales: ESC* 29 (1974): 73-106

personal connections. Work ties too created nodes within individual sections, some of them quite powerful.[20] Nor should we overlook the role of female power-brokers, who were often active in charity work, were sometimes employers, and often able to wield influence through their own family and personal networks.[21] Women revolutionaries were particularly important in the Gobelins/Finistère Section where they were sometimes present in significant numbers at sectional meetings. These different connections often provide the key to understanding the political stance of individuals and of collectivities within the city.

Many ties, of course, were formed during the Revolution itself, through work on committees and in the sectional assemblies. The importance of the National Guard has been little emphasized in studies of revolutionary Paris, yet for men National Guard service was one of the most significant bonding factors in the whole revolutionary experience. Working closely with a brigade, doing twenty-four hour shifts two or more times a month, occasionally under enormous pressure, was a remarkably testing activity in which a man's personal qualities quickly became known. Very strong loyalties were created between officers and men. It was this loyalty that made the men of Jean Vedrenne's brigade support him in 1795, even though he was clearly guilty of participation in the insurrection of Prairial, and despite the fact that some of those who spoke on his behalf were politically opposed to him.[22]

In some instances, revolutionary institutions were partly shaped by a pre-existing culture. Each company of the Saint-Marcel battalion of the National Guard was based on a particular neighborhood, a violation of the 1789 regulations which stipulated that each company was to be drawn from across the whole area of the district. Thus the bonds between guardsmen were also those of neighborhood. Neighborhood ties also operated within the Revolutionary Committee of the Gobelins/Finistère Section in the *an* II: five of its twelve members lived in the same street and six of them were in the same National Guard unit.[23] Not surprisingly, there was a culture of familiarity in revolutionary politics that influenced the way people behaved, helping sometimes to build alliances and sometimes to create opposing factions.

I am not suggesting that the Gobelins/Finistère Section formed a "local community" in the sense in which I have used the term in my study of pre-revolutionary Paris.[24] The sections were artificial creations which cut across the boundaries of parishes and districts. They were too large and their population too diverse for them to form social communities of that sort. Each section did, nevertheless, come to form a political community. By the *an* II, the most politically active citizens within each section had

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(esp. 88). See also Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984), 192-195.

[20] As Haim Burstin has shown in the case of the Gobelins manufactory: "Travail, entreprise et politique. La manufacture des Gobelins pendant la période révolutionnaire," *Revue du Nord* 5, spécial hors-série (1989): 369-79.

[21] Godineau, *Citoyennes tricoteuses*, 213. On a number of occasions the Section named women as emissaries to the National Assembly, the Commune, and to other sections: for example, AN D III 256 (4), 25 Apr. 1792.

[22] AN F7 4751, doss. Jouzeau. One of the few to study the National Guard has been Dale Lothrop Clifford, "The National Guard and the Parisian Community, 1789-1790," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 849-878. See also Raymonde Monnier, "La garde citoyenne, élément de la démocratie parisienne, in *Paris et la Révolution*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Paris, 1989), 147-59; David Andress, *Massacre at the Champ de Mars* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), esp. chap. 3; and Garrioch, *Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 168-71.

[23] AN F7 4794, cartes de sûreté; Clifford, "National Guard," 856; Garrioch, *Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 68.

[24] David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge, 1986).

formed loyalties and antagonisms that made all of them feel part of a single unit to which they felt an allegiance. I mention antagonisms as well as loyalties because both were important in the transformation of each section into a tiny polity. This sense of allegiance was demonstrated in the Finistère Section in June 1793 when the widow of a former member of the Paris Parlement, de Montulé, who ran a dyeing-works in the Gobelins quarter, was arrested by the Croix Rouge Section. Although she was an obvious suspect, not a conspicuous patriot nor linked to any of the revolutionary leadership, the Finistère Revolutionary Committee defended her on the grounds that her detention would cost the jobs of local people. This may have been true, but it seems a strange consideration to sway revolutionary zealots concerned to root out counter-revolution.[25] The affair seems to indicate a feeling that outsiders should not be allowed to interfere in the Section's affairs.

Rejection of interference from other sections was fairly common in revolutionary Paris. But as I have suggested elsewhere, in the Gobelins/Finistère Section there was a political culture, a set of unwritten rules for the conduct of local affairs, which was relatively benign. The example of the Widow Montulé, or later of Jean Vedrenne and others, and more generally the very low levels of violence and of imprisonment, bear this out. One might have expected an area with a very large indigent population and a small elite of wealthy merchants to have been riven with social tensions and to have experienced a considerable amount of violence and repression. And indeed this was the case in the neighbouring Jardin-des-Plantes Section, which was socially very similar. In the Gobelins/Finistère Section, on the other hand, it is conspicuous that those who suffered most during the Terror or in later reprisals were those who had themselves denounced or betrayed other local people.[26] One figure who conspicuously broke local solidarities was Antoine Gency, through his use of his municipal authority to intervene in sectional affairs and through his unforgiving persecution of individuals whose counter-revolutionary opinions were known, but who were keeping quiet and were therefore unmolested by the local militants. It was his unbending pursuit of his opponents which eventually led to his arrest. He was probably too deeply compromised, as a member of the rebel Commune, to have escaped execution, but would he have been arrested by the National Guard of his own Section if he had not forced them to choose, by attempting to arrest his enemies in the Sectional Assembly at the very height of the crisis?

One should not romanticize this political culture. It is not that everyone in the Section got on famously or that they all felt loyalty to each other. On the contrary, local disputes were bitter and denunciations were common. The Revolutionary Committee and the surveillance committee of the popular society, particularly in *an* II, were often ruthless in their pursuit of enemies of the Revolution, readily sacrificing individual justice to the cause of revolutionary patriotism. For this they were repaid in kind by the moderates who assumed control in *an* III. Nor should we underestimate the effect that two months in prison could have on the health and livelihood of an individual and his or her family.[27] Yet however much the leaders of the day felt that their enemies in the Section deserved punishment, there seems to have been pressure from local opinion to keep it within bounds.

This local culture, while providing limited protection for local people, ensured that outsiders and strangers enjoyed no such leniency. Not only were they more readily

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[25] AN F7* 2517, fol. 15.
[26] Garrioch, "Revolutionary Violence."
[27] Raymonde Monnier, *Le Faubourg Saint-Antoine (1789-1815)* (Paris, 1981), 135, 145.

suspected, but if deemed guilty should be punished severely. When members of the Gobelins/Finistère Section declaimed against merchants they were not thinking of the large number of independent shopkeepers and even rich wholesale merchants in their own midst, although occasionally one of them might prove to be guilty. They were targeting other people's merchants. As one member of the Section explained, late in 1793, there were "the decent rich who owed their wealth to their work and to useful and legal speculation; and the guilty rich whose gold came from intrigues and criminal activity."[28] It was far more likely, in their view, to be in other sections that the hoarding and speculating was going on. It was in the surrounding villages that grain wagons destined for Paris were stopped and unloaded. The harshest punishments were called down, by men who were often far from poor themselves, upon the selfish rich of other parts of Paris or of France. This was by no means confined to the Gobelins/Finistère Section. It is noteworthy that a third of those arrested in the Gravilliers Section during the Terror were non-residents of the Section.[29]

Yet such a culture was particularly unsurprising in the Faubourg Saint Marcel, given its sense of a separate identity. The political traditions of the area, as well as its geography, encouraged a sense of separateness. Because the Bièvre was so important to the local economy, until 1790 the maintenance of the river and its banks was overseen by three "syndics" elected by the local water users from among their own number. This local administration helped to reinforce a strong local identity, but on the eve of the Revolution it became politically significant when a proposal was made to divert water from the river to supplement the city's water supply. The syndics mobilized local opposition, printed a pamphlet, and presented their case to the Forests and Waters administration, the Parlement, and the Royal Council.[30] Even before 1789, dependence on the Bièvre had created a long tradition of co-operation between local employers, giving them experience of local government and of political action.

Another aspect of the pre-revolutionary political culture of the Faubourg Saint Marcel, which may have been important in fashioning its revolutionary experience, was its Jansenist religious tradition. The Jansenists favored giving the laity a far greater role in parish affairs and some had even suggested the election of priests by their congregations. The similarity of some of their prescriptions to those adopted in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy has often been pointed out, and although the new parish boundaries caused some discontent, the Constitutional Church met with no opposition from the population of the Faubourg Saint Marcel. When the parish clergy swore loyalty to the new Constitution early in 1791, their congregations were uniformly supportive of those who took the oath and wildly hostile to those who refused. This was a common enough pattern in Paris but particularly comprehensible in a quarter with a strong tradition of Jansenism. It was to re-surface in 1795 with the re-opening of the churches.[31] Whereas congregations in many parts of France refused to have anything to do with the Constitutional clergy, in the Faubourg Saint Marcel they were welcomed back warmly. The one non-juror priest who obtained permission to run a church there under the Directory, Louis Bertier, also a bane of Jansenists, received less support from the locals in refurnishing the church than did the new constitutional *curé* of Saint Médard.[32] The

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[28] Quoted in Soboul, *Les Sans-culottes parisiens*, 506, note 5.
[29] Andrews, "Paris of the Great Revolution," 97. For further examples see Richard Cobb, "Some Aspects of the Revolutionary Mentality," in *New Perspectives on the French Revolution* ed. Jeffry Kaplow (New York, 1965), 305-337 (esp. 320-321).
[30] Garrioch, *Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 56-61, 146.
[31] Ibid., chap. 8.
[32] AN F19 4145, inventories of Saint Marcel, Year X and of Saint Médard, n.d, [c.Year X].

Jansenist tradition may have predisposed the local population to accept a Church which gave them a high degree of control over the clergy and over parish affairs, in defiance of a Papal authority which had long condemned their beliefs. Jansenist understandings of the parish as a community of souls may also have helped to fashion a communitarian understanding of popular sovereignty. Certainly, Jansenism promoted a more significant role for lay women than orthodox Catholicism, and the Gobelins/Finistère Section was one of the areas where women played a significant role both in the popular society and in the Sectional Assembly.[33]

In a variety of ways, therefore, the pre-revolutionary political culture of the area may have shaped responses to the Revolution. But my primary concern is not with the ways in which this area of Paris was different. Rather, I have been pointing to the range of factors that influenced the way the Revolution was experienced in each part of the city. While the socio-economic characteristics of a section may have predisposed it to adopt a particular political stance on certain issues, we should not assume that it would be radical or conservative on every issue. Nor should we assume that political radicalism or the strength of support for the "popular movement" determined the level of violence experienced by the population. Geography and topography, the networks of family, trade and friendship, and the pre-revolutionary traditions and political culture of each area all played a role. Furthermore, the example of the Gobelins/Finistère Section illustrates the way in which reactions to successive revolutionary events were in part determined by the experience of earlier ones; by local memories of the key players and of their earlier behavior. The experience of this Section during the Terror, when relatively few people were imprisoned or executed, directly affected the response of the local elite to the later Prairial insurrection.[34] The trajectory of this and of other areas of Paris was not predictable in 1789, any more than the outcomes of the Revolution itself.

[33] Suzanne Desan has also emphasized the influence of Jansenism on the Revolution at the local level in the Yonne: *Reclaiming the Sacred*.
[34] Garrioch, "Revolutionary Violence."

Frontiers, Ethnicity and Identity in the French Revolution:

Catalans and Occitans

Peter McPhee

We know an enormous amount about the ways in which regional populations participated in and responded to the French Revolution,[1] but far less about shifts in self-definition, about the ways in which people defined themselves individually and collectively. Most historians who have addressed the issue agree, however, that the French Revolution was a critical period in the forging and contesting of collective identities among the linguistic and ethnic minorities who together made up a majority of French people.[2] Their argument is predicated on two general propositions.

First, France before 1789 was a society in which people's main allegiance had been to their particular region or *pays*: France had a unity only because of the monarchy's claim that this was its territory and the people its subjects. Most people did not use the French language in daily life and looked to elites in provincial capitals such as Toulouse, Rennes and Grenoble to defend them against the increasing claims of the royal state for taxes and conscripts. The strength of local loyalties was reinforced by economic practices which sought to meet the needs of the household and exchanged produce mainly within local markets. Since the twelfth century, the cost to the monarchy of establishing territorial control over France had been to accept a patchwork of regional and local privileges, exemptions and rights. On the eve of the Revolution, every aspect of the institutions of public life—in administration, customs and measures, the law, taxation and the church—was still marked by regional exceptions and privileges: provinces also had their own law codes, degrees of self-government, levels of taxation, and systems of weights and measures.

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1 Much of this information is synthesized by Michel Vovelle, *Découverte de la politique. Géopolitique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1993).

2 See, for example, Peter McPhee, *A Social History of France 1789-1914* (London, 2004), chap. 5; and the essays in Pierre Nora, ed., *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, *The State*, trans. Mary Trouille (Chicago, 2001). The brilliant study by David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), emphasizes the pre-revolutionary roots of nationalism but sees nation-building to have been an elite project alone.

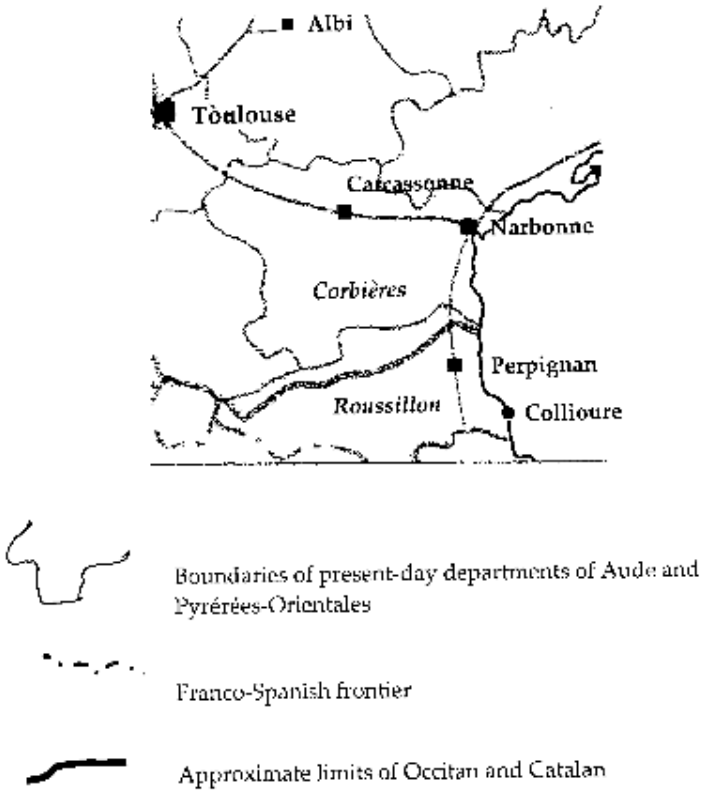

Figure 1 – Languedoc-Roussillon

Second, in 1789-91 revolutionaries reshaped every aspect of institutional and public life according to principles of rationality, uniformity and efficiency. All French citizens, whatever their social background and residence, were to be judged according to a single uniform legal code, and taxed by the same obligatory proportional taxes on wealth. The years of Revolution and Empire engendered a new political culture of citizenship and the celebration of national heroes drawn from antiquity or the revolutionary struggle itself. Most obviously, the practice of popular sovereignty at a time of national military crisis underpinned the shift from subject to citizen. Not only was the Revolution a turning-point in the uniformity of state institutions, but, for the first time, the state was also understood as representing a more emotional entity, "the nation," based on citizenship. In the process, many ethnic and linguistic minorities came to accept themselves as part of a nation of French citizens. It is for this reason that the French Revolution is so often seen by historians as the seed-bed of modern nationalism, the classic example of Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined community" as the basis of national identity.[3]

While recognizing the significance of the French Revolution, Peter Sahlins has seen the origins of popular assumptions about national identity—at least in the border lands between the French and Spanish Cerdagne—as the result of local communities maneuvering for advantage along State territorial boundaries: in part a process "from below."[4] Historians from within ethnic and linguistic minorities have, however, tended to see this as a process of "francisation d'en haut," often characterized as imposed and even destructive.[5] This is the case throughout the frontier regions of France, but this paper takes as its case-studies the contiguous regions of the Corbières, part of France since the thirteenth century, and the Roussillon, incorporated only after the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. (Today these regions are known administratively as the southern part of the department of the Aude, and the Pyrénées-Orientales.)

The major debate among historians of the Roussillon today concerns when and how the region became *francisée:* what have been the processes by which the specific ethno-cultural identity of Northern Catalonia has been eroded by institutional, linguistic and economic *francisation* from Paris? The question goes to the very core of the history of this region and is inextricably linked both with the current situation of the Roussillon within the European Union and with the ways in which this fashions the dialogue of historians with the past. Most local historians see the *francisation* accelerated by the Revolution as exclusively a repressive and linear process imposed on the region from the outside and "from above." Michel Brunet, for example, has evoked an image of internal colonization:

> Before 1789, the state organization of the monarchy was only a distant and relatively benevolent entity which it was customary to side-step: [afterwards] the French nation became concrete in dramatic fashion … with methods prefiguring those of the well-intentioned colonizers of the following century.[6]

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3 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

4 Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), esp. chaps. 4-5.

5 A useful collection covering all linguistic minorities is the special triple collection of *Les temps modernes* 324-325-326 (1973).

6 Michel Brunet, "Les armées de la Révolution et la population roussillonnaise, 1791-1794," *Annales du Midi* 83 (1971), 225-233; see, too, *Le Roussillon. Une société contre l'Etat 1780-1820* (Toulouse, 1986), esp. 537-46.

Jean Villanove has decribed the Revolution similarly, as a disaster pure and simple, "une inquisition laïque," during which republican terrorists waged war on Catalan identity as much as on the Spanish army.[7] For Roland Serres-Bria, the famous act of collaboration with the Spanish army by most of the inhabitants of the border community of Saint-Laurent-de-Cerdans in 1793-94 was a deliberate strategy designed to free the Roussillon from this secular, oppressive, republican yoke.[8] Its decision to side with Spain is for Brunet "the ferocious defense of ancient customary village freedoms against the violent intrusion of the modernity of the Jacobin state."[9] The implication of such arguments is that the tragedy of the period lies in the failure of the Spanish army to win the war.

Such a view is also expressed by historians of Languedoc, albeit less frequently, and is placed in the context of the annexation of the region after the crushing in the thirteenth century of the Albigensian heresy, the religious activities of the Cathars. According to Henri Jeanjean, "a well-defined ethnic entity, Occitania, was conquered militarily by another ethnic entity. This military conquest would be followed by the systematic destruction of the culture of the colonized who would be, moreover, exploited economically."[10]

This is how many local historians view the past, but how did the rural population among ethnic minorities define themselves within the French polity at that time? Was there a phenomenon of "francisation d'en bas" as well as one from above? Equally important, how did they define members of neighboring ethnies? This paper looks at the evidence of how Catalans and Occitans viewed each other—and themselves—across the frontier between Languedoc and Roussillon, and how they represented the Catalans south of the border.

The paper is based on the evidence in the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789, both in the Corbières region of Lower Languedoc and just across the linguistic border in the Roussillon.[11] There is a fundamental methodological problem in such a study, and not just because of the well-known limitations to the *cahiers* as transparent statements of rural attitudes. They vary sharply in detail: the few lines in a mixture of French and Catalan from the parish of Serrabone in the foothills of the Pyrenees contrast with the elaborate statements from Estagel and Portel. In addition, almost all of the *cahiers* from the Corbières have been lost: we have complete or partial lists of grievances from twenty-nine of the 129 communities.[12] Most importantly, those at the centre of the story are prevented from speaking directly to the historian not only because the great majority of them were illiterate; their views have to be read through the filter of a French language few understood readily and fewer still spoke. As the Amis de la Constitution of Carcassonne put it early in the Revolution, "In the town and surrounding villages, the people understand French; but the majority speaks patois. In more distant places, only patois is spoken, and French is less understood."[13]

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7 Jean Villanove, *Histoire populaire des Catalans*, vol. 3 (Perpignan, 1981), chap. 5.
8 Roland Serres-Bria, *Itinéraire catalaniste pour le Roussillon* (Saint-Estève, 1989), esp. 146-64.
9 Brunet, *Le Roussillon*, 195.
10 Henri Jeanjean, *De l'utopie au pragmatisme? Le mouvement occitan 1976-1990* (Perpignan, 1992), 18.
11 Etienne Frénay, ed., *Cahiers de doléances de la province de Roussillon (1789)* (Perpignan, 1979); Gilbert Larguier *et al*, eds, *Cahiers de doléances audois* (Carcassonne, 1989).
12 Peter McPhee, *Revolution and Environment in Southern France: Peasants, Lords, and Murder in the Corbières 1780-1830* (Oxford, 1999), 42.
13 *Poètes audois dans la tourmente. André Chénier, Venance Dougados, Fabre d'Eglantine* (Carcassonne, 1993), 17.

Despite a lively sense of regional identity in the Corbières communities, however, the rural *cahiers* express an assumption of French citizenship within a regenerated nation. There were frequent hopes expressed for a reformed and permanent provincial Estates, following the model of the Dauphiné, but none of the *cahiers* implied that Languedoc should enjoy a measure of special autonomy. Like others who have studied them, such as Emily McCaffrey and Gilbert Larguier, I have found words like "patrie," "nation" and "citoyen" studded throughout the *cahiers*. Assumptions of a secular citizenship as the basis of a regenerated public realm inform the *cahiers* at every turn. The peasants of the Corbières had developed an understanding of society as composed of people of equal dignity, articulated in the repeated call from practicing Catholics that the king accord his "non-Catholic subjects the civic status and prerogatives of French citizens," which was based on "civil and individual liberty for all citizens." The citizens of Ornaisons, for example, reminded themselves that, "animated by a truly National spirit, let us recall that we are to concern ourselves, not with the respective pretensions of the three orders, but with the rights of all citizens."[14] Georges Fournier in fact suggests that "French" is the key word in these *cahiers*, indicating not only the *pays* but also the king, his subjects, the people, the nation and the *patrie*, already profoundly marked by a sentiment of attachment.[15]

Occitans were conscious of the ancient linguistic and territorial division which separated them from the Roussillon, and occasionally still described themselves as living on a frontier, which they had until 1659. The southernmost Occitan parish, Leucate, fulminated against the inhabitants of the Catalan village of St. Laurent and asked why they had to pay to fish in the *étang de Salses* while the privileged Catalans did not. This feeling of "otherness" became particularly acute after the declaration of war on Spain on 7 March 1793. On the suggestion of the district of Quillan, the Committee of Public Safety ordered the formation of a legion of "Braconniers montagnards" from the districts of Quillan and Lagrasse. Resplendent in brown and green uniforms, these 1,800 men were specifically charged with guarding the gorges leading from the Cerdagne and Capcir down the valley of the Aude. As the military situation in the Roussillon rapidly deteriorated, this "Légion des Corbières" was dispatched south, much to the chagrin of most of its soldiers, who had assumed they would never be too far away to help with the coming harvest. The Legion was stolidly reluctant to go any further than Estagel and Maury, on the southern edge of the Corbières. Throughout the period of the military crisis, the inhabitants of the Corbières exhibited a preparedness to enroll in the army, even as volunteers, equally matched by a prudent desire to defend the highlands rather than descend to the plain of the Roussillon.[16]

But if Occitans were ambiguous about whether their neighbors in the Roussillon were really French, they had no doubts about the Catalans south of the territorial border, seen both as part of a different nation and as an economic threat to the textile industry. The *cahier* of Montlaur insisted that local wool was as good as

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14 McPhee, *Revolution and Environment in Southern France*, 47.

15 Emily Chester [McCaffrey], "Identité régionale et identité nationale. 1789 dans le Roussillon et le Bas-Languedoc," (MA diss., University of Melbourne, 1995); Gilbert Larguier, "Nation, Citoyen, Patrie. Vocabulaire et concepts des cahiers de doléances du Languedoc et du Roussillon," in *L'an I de la liberté en Languedoc et en Roussillon. Actes du colloque de Béziers* (8-9 Dec. 1989) (Béziers, 1990), 50-72; Georges Fournier, "Le Languedoc et la guerre avec l'Espagne (1793-1795)," in Jean Sagnes, ed., *L'Espagne et la France à l'époque de la Révolution française (1793-1807)* (Perpignan, 1993), 112.

16 McPhee, *Revolution and Environment in Southern France*, 97-101.

that of England or Spain, while that of Montolieu stressed that Languedoc wool should be used in local textile factories rather than that from Spain. That of Portel-des-Corbières claimed that "the Spanish are involved in a trade which is ruinous for France."

While the *cahiers* of the Corbières reveal an acceptance of the French state, this after all was a region which had been part of the kingdom for over five centuries. What of their Catalan neighbors to the south who had been incorporated in the French state for only 130 years? There, too, linguistic particularity was obvious. As the abbé Chambon expressed it in 1790, "Country people do not know how to speak French … To destroy [the Catalan language] it would be necessary to destroy the sun, the cool of the evenings, the type of food, the quality of water, in the end the whole person."[17]

The evidence suggests, however, that Brunet's "benevolent" monarchy had succeeded before 1789 in laying the ground-work for the acceptance of the idea of the French polity. Ever since 1700, for example, all public acts in the Roussillon had to be written in French. As in Languedoc, there was an ingrained assumption of belonging to a French polity. This is revealed in the economic demands of the parish *cahiers* of the Roussillon. That of St-Michel-de-Llotes demanded "That trade should be free throughout the kingdom;" that of Mont-Louis asked "That obstacles to commerce and trade in the interior of the kingdom should be removed, that every subject should have full and complete freedom to transport or have transported merchandise from one province to another." One of the communities on the very frontier with Languedoc—Vingrau—insisted both that the two provinces should be divided by "visible and permanent" markers and that all taxes and charges should be uniform throughout the kingdom

Unlike Michel Brunet, according to whom Catalans always opposed integration into France and wished for independence, Emily McCaffrey has stressed the Catalans' willingness to surrender taxation privileges and has concluded:

> The appeal for a single national taxation system is revealing in that it demonstrates that Roussillonnais were prepared to sacrifice their privileged fiscal position as a *pays d'état* so that the national taxation system might be more simple, more just for all the king's subjects and for the State. All the evidence suggests then that the Roussillonnais wanted to participate in the construction of a new national political life.[18]

The *cahiers* also reveal, like those from Languedoc, a sense of otherness towards Catalans south of the border, of belonging to a kingdom with natural borders. The community of St-Laurent-de-Cerdans—which was to welcome the Spanish invasion in 1793—requested a ban of the export of iron ore to Spain: "while our community is becoming impoverished, Spain is rising up and becoming rich."[19] The parish of l'Ecluse complained that "Straw continues to go to Spain. It's only six months ago that the export of wheat was banned … and that only when there was almost none left." In the process, these communities were defining their fellow Catalans as Spaniards and therefore as "other."

In Collioure, similarly, longstanding competition with fishing and trading ports south of the border had deeply ingrained an assumption that their Catalan-

17 Jean Sagnes, ed., *Le Pays catalan* (Pau, 1983), 571.
18 Chester [McCaffrey], "Identité régionale et identité nationale," 44.
19 Peter McPhee, "Counter-Revolution in the Pyrenees, Spirituality, Class and Ethnicity in the Haut-Vallespir, 1793-1794," *French History* 7 (1993): 313-43.

speaking neighbors were "Spaniards;" the people of Collioure were French Catalans. Here there is a significant contrast with Languedoc, for the "French" were also seen as different. The Colliourencs who gathered in the former church Notre Dame des Anges to hear the Jacobin constitution of 1793 translated into Catalan—and who approved it unanimously—were, whether they realized it or not, also voting to be part of the French nation, centralized, secular and uniform, but through the medium of their own language. Unlike Occitans, however, they did not see themselves as "French," just as they referred to people from the Corbières as *gavatx*. After the horrific experience of the Spanish occupation in 1793-94 the Société Populaire appealed to Paris in these terms in August 1794:

> For too long the soil of this commune has been infected by the impure presence of the slaves of the Castillian despot, but finally three months ago it was returned to our dear homeland. Many thanks be given to the genius of the French who seconded and supported the energy of our brave brothers in arms.[20]

A similar conclusion has been reached for the Cerdagne (or Cerdanya), in the mountains to the west of the Roussillon. In Peter Sahlins' words:

> The experience of the Cerdanya under the Old Regime suggests that the adoption of national identities did not necessarily displace local ones, and that the process of nation formation was not simply the imposition of politics, institutions, or cultural values from the top down and the center outward. Rather, the evocation of national identities … was grounded in local economic interests, and in a local sense of place.[21]

The evidence considered in this paper suggests that in Lower Languedoc and Roussillon, similarly, assumptions of "Frenchness" had become accepted before the Revolution of 1789: neighboring regions were different—as in the Catalan term of "gavatx" for those from the north—but it was those from south of the border—even if they spoke Catalan—who were the "other." *Francisation* was thus a process which occurred from below—a change in self-identity—as much as it was the result of the integrating policies of the state and of the capitalist economy.

On the other side of the country, in Alsace-Lorraine, David Hopkin has found a remarkable absence of the *patrie* in popular attitudes to the army in his case-study of this eastern frontier region, incorporated into France only in 1766.[22] Soldiering was everywhere evoked in popular imagery, but as an alternative passage to manhood rather than as service to a regime, or even to the nation. But, as in other frontier regions, francophone peasants here had long come to define their identity in opposition to the "other," in this case German speakers, whatever side of the border they were from: they did not need the state or the army to teach them about national identity.

There is no shortage of evidence of pejorative attitudes and attempts to eradicate local languages and customs during the years of military crisis after 1792. The emotional power of the nation-state often led revolutionaries in Paris to claim

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20 Peter McPhee, *The French Revolution in a Mediterranean Community: Collioure 1780-1815* (Melbourne, 1989), 86.

21 Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 164-65.

22 David M. Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870* (Woodbridge, Sussex, and New York, 2003).

that French alone was the "language of liberty" and that minority languages were part of the archaic ancien régime which had been overthrown. In fact, however, popular attitudes to the Revolution among the ethnic minorities who together made up a majority of the population varied from enthusiasm to outright hostility across time and place.

The hopes expressed for the Estates-General by Occitans and Catalans may have been a type of maneuvering, but their *cahiers* do suggest that their hopes for the future were indeed invested in reforms to the French polity. Certainly, the Revolution and Empire everywhere had a profound impact on collective identity, on the *francisation* of the citizens of a new society. The years after 1789 represented an acceleration of the process of *francisation*, whereby they came to perceive themselves as citizens of the French nation as well as Alsatians, Bretons, Catalans, Occitans or Basques. This occurred regardless of whether speakers of minority languages were enthusiastic or hostile towards revolutionary change.

The cultural shift which I have been investigating is of fundamental importance, since it involves the way people understand who they are. Unlike autonomist local historians, I have argued that this process did not begin in 1789, nor was it unidirectional: it came from below as well as above and was incomplete. Finally, this cultural shift should not be exaggerated, especially in the Roussillon, where there was a more durable sense of ethnic distinctiveness. For all ethnic and linguistic minorities, this "double identity" was limited to an acceptance of national institutions and the vocabulary of a new, French politics. There is little evidence that popular cultures and minority languages were thereby eroded. French remained the daily language of a minority of people and France a land of great cultural and linguistic diversity throughout the nineteenth century.

"Fraternising with the Enemy:" Problems of Identity during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

Peter M. Jones

Problems of identity across the watershed of the ancien régime and the Revolution have been an ongoing theme of my research. However, the paper I would like to present today takes a rather different tack from the one I usually adopt. It barely touches upon the apprehensions of ordinary people and is not at all concerned with those of country dwellers. Instead, it explores the attitudes and reactions of elites—highly educated and highly mobile elites—in an international rather than a purely national context.

The origins of my paper lie in a train of thought set in motion at the start of the year when I was invited to give a lecture on Dr Joseph Priestley, the radical theologian and natural philosopher, the bicentenary of whose death in America occurred in February 2004. A triangle of reference points frame Priestley's life. At the apex is Birmingham where he resided for ten years before being expelled in 1791. Considered a dangerous religious and political fanatic, his house was burned to the ground in a "King and Country" riot. At the corners can be found revolutionary France, the country which offered him refuge and citizenship in 1792, and Pennsylvania, America, where he eventually found asylum in 1794, albeit asylum of a somewhat grudging character.

In addition to the Priestley undertaking, two other considerations have influenced this paper. It is inspired in part by a reflection or meditation on my own curious relationship to the Commonwealth of Australia, a country whose citizenship I hold despite not having been born here and not having even set foot on its shores until I was in my thirties. This, in turn, prompted the further reflection that the patron of our colloquium, George Rudé, might also have had much to say about the problems of identity since his life, too, was lived within a triangle of reference points: Norwegian parentage, English upbringing and French intellectual preoccupations. Cicero once

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declared that "no man can be the citizen of more than one country," but I am afraid that Priestley, Rudé and even yours truly all testify against the truth of this assertion.

Let us proceed, however. What I intend to do is to tell a story—not the story of Priestley, interesting though it is, but the story of the intellectual and political "voyage" of William Russell, his companion and collaborator. Russell's story—one might almost call it an odyssey—is even more dramatic and pregnant with implications than that of his mentor. Hopefully it will enable me to contribute some observations on the fluid and problematic issues of identity, belonging and citizenship during the period bounded by the High Enlightenment and the rise of the European nation states. I will begin with the minimum of necessary background information. Then I will sketch in the story of William Russell as briefly and factually as possible. Finally, I will turn to the nub of the matter: the issues that it seems to me to raise.

The period that we are concerned with can be roughly encompassed by the dates 1760 to 1820. Russell, incidentally, was born in 1740 and would expire in 1818. This period of European history witnessed almost incessant international conflict. Yet, paradoxically, it was also the setting for a remarkable growth in international trade and social intercourse between Europe's elites. As is well known, Britain and France waged war against each other between 1778 and 1783; between 1793 and 1802; and between 1803 and 1814. Less well known is the fact that France and the infant republic of America were also at loggerheads between 1797 and 1800; and that Britain was engaged in hostilities with the American republic as well as with France between 1812 and 1814.

Yet despite nearly endemic warfare (and perhaps because of it), the second half of the eighteenth century produced an intensification of European sociability. Levels of geographical mobility without precedent marked out these decades as grand tourists, merchants and businessmen, skilled craft workers, settlers and of course refugees and prisoners of war moved with increasing rapidity and frequency from country to country. Peter Sahlins's recent work on aliens provides some quantitative underpinning for this migratory ebb and flow, and it pretty much confirms what we know from piecemeal literary sources.[2] In the 1770s the Paris chief of police kept tabs on around 3,800 foreign travelers visiting the French capital each year, he informs us.[3] We know, too, that between eight and ten thousand Americans came to France between 1784 and 1814,[4] and that France exported nearly 80,000 refugees to Britain alone between 1789 and 1814.[5] These figures do not include the involuntary movements of prisoners of war. During the peace negotiations in October 1801, the British government disclosed that it was holding 14,000 French prisoners of war.[6] They were released without waiting for formal ratification of the treaty. France, for its part, was detaining 500 British hostages and around 12,000 English and Irish prisoners according to the Minister of War in 1810.[7]

My point is that elite mobility—whether voluntary or involuntary—was throwing what it meant to be English or French or American into sharp relief during

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[2] J.-F. Dubost and P. Sahlins, *"Et si on faisait payer les étrangers?" Louis XIV, les immigrés et quelques autres* (Paris, 1999); and P. Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, 2004).

[3] Sahlins, *Unnaturally French*, 9.

[4] W. L. Chew III, "Life before Fodor and Frommer: Americans in Paris from Thomas Jefferson to John Quincy Adams," *French History* 18 (2004), 28.

[5] Colin Nicholson, *Strangers to England: Immigration to England, 1100-1952* (London, 1974), 80.

[6] J. G. Alger, *Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives, 1801-1815* (Westminster, 1904), 12.

[7] H. A. S. Smith, "English Queensware and its Impact on the French Pottery Industry, 1774-1814," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Keele University, 2002), 2: 316 note 5.

these years, especially when we bear in mind that such mobility was also being catalyzed by the pressures of international conflict and a pandemic of political revolution. Sahlins who approaches this subject from a rather different angle does not hesitate to dub what was taking place a "citizenship revolution"—a transition from the cosmopolitan citizenship admired by the *philosophes* to a form of citizenship aligned with the relatively new concept of nationality.

I do not think that I would choose to use this phrase because it seems to me to simplify a complex cultural shift and also to render it rigorously uni-directional. However, I do take his point that something momentous was taking shape in these decades. When the frequency of use of the term "citoyen" shoots up in the ARTFL database from 3.8 per one hundred thousand words to 14.8 per one hundred thousand words in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century, something is definitely going on.[8] I agree, too, with those authors of the "surveillance and punishment" school[9] that governments—from the mid-1790s—were making a determined effort to render their peoples "legible." I borrow the term from Jim Scott.[10] If citizenship and nationality (a still fuzzy concept) were coming into alignment towards the end of the period in question, it surely had much to do with mobility, travel and the surveillance of travel, not to mention the making of issues such as property transmission and the sources of political authority within states more transparent.

What light does William Russell's extraordinary career shed on these matters? Born into a family of wealthy Birmingham merchants in 1740, Russell's ancestral Presbyterianism seems to have matured into full-strength Unitarianism around the time when Dr Joseph Priestley took up residence in Birmingham as minister to the New Meeting chapel. That is to say in 1781. Even among English Dissenters as the non-conformists were called, Unitarianism passed for an extreme creed, though. It presupposed a denial of both the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. To orthodox churchmen and the Hanoverian Establishment, of course, it was anathema.

Russell was Priestley's right-hand man in the New Meeting, and he bankrolled the numerous petitions that Birmingham Dissenters submitted to Parliament in the late 1780s for the removal of the political disabilities imposed upon them by the Test and Corporations Acts. When the French Revolution broke in 1789 virtually the whole of the Dissenter community of the town hailed this happy development as the dawn of a new age. Priestley and Russell were in the forefront of the agitation and lent their support to the local enthusiasts for French-style *liberté* when they decided to mark the second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille with a celebratory dinner. That night, 14 July 1791, and for several days following, the town descended into uncontrolled rioting. The New Meeting chapel was ransacked and burnt, as were most of the other Dissenting places of worship. Priestley's house, library and laboratory were razed to the ground, also Russell's house and about a dozen others belonging to prominent Dissenters.

Joseph Priestley fled Birmingham as is well known. The fulsome tributes and commiserations he received from revolutionary France, including the offer of citizenship both for himself and his son William, actually made matters worse. In

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[8] Sahlins, *Unnaturally French*, 12 note 35.

[9] See J. Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge, 2000); and J. Caplan and J. Torpey, eds., *Documenting Individual Identity: the Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton, 2001)

[10] J. C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London, 1998).

April 1794 he set sail for America and a life of political exile. William Russell, too, decided to slough off his allegiance to Britain and to quit his native country. He identified strongly with revolutionary France—more strongly even than Priestley. But unlike Priestley, Paine, Bentham and many other European sympathizers, he had not been considered prominent enough in the cause of freedom to warrant the gesture of citizenship. In the summer of 1794 he, too, quit the shores of Albion with the intention of heading for America. Family considerations, reports of the Terror and no doubt religious scruples appear to have decided him to avoid France.

Six days out from Falmouth their vessel—an American merchantman—was overhauled by a frigate of the Brest squadron, and William, his son Thomas and his two daughters Martha and Mary were taken prisoner by those whom Martha, in her diary, described as the "good republicans."[11] They spent much of the next four months in a prison hulk moored in Brest harbor within sight and sound of the town's guillotine. But then the penny dropped in Paris, and an order to release them was dispatched by the Thermidorian Comité de salut public. William and his family traveled to the capital; they made contact with the much depleted English community; visited the sights; and the girls even attended sessions of the trial of Fouquier-Tinville. Their father, meanwhile, made use of his stay in the capital to purchase a considerable monastic property near Caen that had originally been offered for sale as a *bien national*. Finally, in the early summer of 1795, the interrupted voyage to America was resumed on board a vessel plying out of Le Havre.

On arriving in America the Russells made haste to visit Priestley in his log cabin in the backwoods of Pennsylvania (150 miles west of Philadelphia). The scheme that had been mooted earlier to found a free Unitarian community on the banks of the Susquehanna River swiftly proved to be quite impracticable, and the Russells settled instead in Middletown, Connecticut. There both William and his son Thomas applied for American citizenship—even though the Promised Land was scarcely living up to expectations. Unitarianism was no more acceptable in Connecticut than it was in England; in fact denial of the Trinity was forbidden by law. Moreover, the family soon became embroiled in the escalating tensions between Federalists and Jeffersonian democrats because of their unconcealed pro-French leanings.

Once the state of quasi-war between Directorial France and the American republic had eased in 1800, William Russell resolved to return to Europe and more precisely to France. He urged the elderly Priestley to accompany him. Unitarianism as a creed had a strongly millenarian thread to it, and Russell was not alone in interpreting Bonaparte's coup d'état as the coming of the new Messiah. They would, he suggested to Priestley, form a Unitarian congregation in Paris and spread the gospel of Rational Christianity. Priestley wisely decided not to risk the sea-lanes, but the Russells abandoned America and the family dispersed in different directions.

William arrived in France in June 1801 alone, although he was eventually joined by his son. His daughters were back in England by this time; in fact one of them was married. However, he was now entering his sixties and hampered by increasing deafness. This hardness of hearing and the absence of family rendered him a solitary figure and accentuated the meditative and prophetic turn of his mind. He went to live on his new property—a former convent of the *Prémontré* Order with a large agricultural estate attached to it. There he passed himself off as an American citizen from Philadelphia which was more or less true. But he was also, whether he liked it or not, a British subject from Birmingham, England.

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[11] S. H. Jeyes, *The Russells of Birmingham in the French Revolution and in America, 1791-1814* (London, 1911), 61.

If he had not planned all along to reside permanently in France, two discoveries on his arrival from America would certainly have given him pause for thought. First, the discovery that he owned a valuable property worth around 30,000 francs in rental payments per annum, and second that it was actually a violation of English statute law for a British subject to own real estate in France. This made a putative return to England when the peace window of Amiens opened up in 1802 a problematic matter to say the least. A further complication was the fact that the Montagnard Convention had also ordered the confiscation of British-owned property, a decree not rescinded until the very end of 1794. All in all, then, a retreat into the ambiguities of American citizenship seemed the safest option. Whenever anyone enquired, both William and his son Thomas insisted that they were American citizens. They lived quietly and unobtrusively on their property, receiving quarterly rentals from tenant farmers and feeding the neighborhood poor. The only incongruous public action indulged in by the Russells at this time (1801-2) was to open up the Premonstratensian abbey for local Protestant worship!

Of course, it is possible, even likely, that in returning to France father and son had determined upon another transfer of allegiance. The evidence that points most powerfully in this direction is the fact that William applied for French citizenship by naturalization in 1807. His son did the same two years later. William's application file contains a letter of support written by Jules Sabonadier, pastor and president of the Consistory of Caen, which describes him as a passionate supporter of the Empire. In the light of his biblical meditations relates Sabonadier, "il voit dans notre auguste monarque ["Sa Majesté" is prudently crossed out] un envoyé de la Providence."[12] But maybe the pair was just suing for French citizenship in order to safeguard the transmission of the property in anticipation of the father's death. However, in view of the third-party evidence and what is known of William Russell's spiritual and political trajectory I am inclined to take the protestations contained in his letter of acknowledgement of the grant of citizenship rather seriously. In that letter he eulogized this "Grand Homme que la Providence a choisi dans sa munificence pour être le glorieux instrument de ses sages et bienfaisantes dispensations."[13]

By 1809 (the year of Thomas's naturalization), therefore, the Russells had superimposed one atop another three different identities. Whether they liked it or not they were by fact of birth British subjects since English law made it impossible to relinquish "subject" status. However, they had turned their backs on Britain and embraced the young American republic instead. Then, having abandoned life in America, they had proceeded to petition for French citizenship. While there may have been some doubt about the validity of their claim to American citizenship (the new Citizenship Act of 1795 required a prior declaration of intent and five years' residence),[14] there could be none about the letters of French naturalization issued on behalf of the Emperor.

Let us leave the case of William Russell and his son at this point. The end of their story can safely be held over to the conclusion. What issues does it raise in the mind of the cultural historian? For a start it demonstrates the plasticity of identity in an age still largely innocent of the modern concept of nationality. In these years the

[12] Calvados, Archives départementales, M 3039, *Police: étrangers*.
[13] Ibid.
[14] F. G. Franklin, *The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States from the Revolutionary War to 1861* (New York, 1971 [1906]), 69.

boundaries of "identity" as far as Europe's elites were concerned were still poorly marked out. Identity remained fluid, contingent, functional, even plural, therefore.

The custom and practice of citizenship, meanwhile, was slipping from the grasp of the jurists and becoming contractual and volitional. Individuals were learning how to vindicate the right to choose their loyalties or allegiances and, to judge from the case of the Russells, with a degree of success. This may prove to be a gross generalization, of course, but I doubt whether the Russells were alone in their consecutive enthusiasms and skilful maneuverings. In 1814 Bourbon France agreed in the Treaty of Paris to pay reparation for the property losses sustained by foreigners as a consequence of the Revolution and Bonaparte's hostage law of 1803. The British Commissioners for Claims found themselves dealing with numerous petitions emanating from individuals with multiple loyalties; indeed with multiple citizenships.[15]

Yet at the same time the idea of the "foreigner" or—in this context—the alien, was being re-conceived. Prior to 1789 the distinction between natural-born subject and alien was being dismantled as Peter Sahlins and others have argued. Nevertheless, from the mid-1790s, all three of the governments mentioned in this paper began to worry intensely about "foreign-ness." But they appear to have worried about it in a kind of semantic void, since the overarching concept of nationality had not yet been formulated. The nearest the British Commissioners for Claims could get to the concept when assessing the merits of petitions for compensation was to invoke something they described as "national character."[16]

What then of cosmopolitanism? Did it survive the Revolution, or rather the Enlightenment, as some investigators have ventured to suggest?[17] Not according to Sahlins, if I have understood his recent book correctly. Yet I am not so sure that all the evidence points neatly in one direction. When Jeremy Bentham was offered French citizenship in October 1792 as one among a decidedly mixed bag of foreign sympathizers with the Revolution, he hesitated. Apparently he was concerned lest the offer should conflict with his British "subject" status, and he pondered whether it would be possible to be a royalist in London and at the same time a republican in Paris. Nevertheless, Bentham wrote back to J.-M. Roland, the Minister of the Interior, insisting that he regarded all Frenchmen as brethren.[18] Ten years later these misgivings would not deter him from voting in the Life Consulship plebiscite when visiting Paris during the peace interlude. François Chabot, the rabble-rousing deputy in the Legislative Assembly, would further fudge the issue when referring to foreign patriots—in this instance Joseph Priestley—as "cosmopolitan and therefore French."[19]

My feeling is that the Revolution, or to be more precise the traumatic episode presided over by the Montagnard Convention, bequeathed a strain of visceral nationalism, but that cosmopolitanism made a partial comeback during the period of the Consulate and the Empire. However, Napoleonic cosmopolitanism was a kind of technocratic cosmopolitanism. After 1803 British hostages and prisoners of war learned swiftly that the best escape routes from detention were either to seek letters of naturalization from the hand of the Emperor or to seek release or exchange in the

[15] See, for example, Public Record Office [now renamed National Archives], FO 27/190.
[16] Ibid., *Statement for the Consideration of His Majesty's Government* [c. 1818].
[17] See M. Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: the Treatment of Foreigners, 1789-1799* (Oxford, 2000).
[18] A. T. Milne, ed., *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 4, *October 1788 to December1793* (London, 1981), 401.
[19] Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship*, 137.

name of a common scientific culture. In effect, therefore, to pander to the scientific pretensions of the regime. The link-man in this endeavor was of course Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society—a figure well known in Australia as a result of his participation in Captain Cook's first voyage of discovery to the South Pacific.

For want of time these rather speculative comments on the lessons to be learned from the extraordinary life of William Russell will have to serve as a conclusion. Russell, incidentally, managed to satisfy the French courts as to his status and sell his property in Normandy. He and his son retired to England in 1814 on the cessation of hostilities. He died in 1818 at Upton upon Severn in Worcestershire. How he satisfied the legal authorities of his native land I do not know—probably by means of a technical admission of guilt. What can be said of the so-called "citizenship revolution"? When did it finally come to pass? I think that we can say that it was certainly consummated by 1831, for on 29 December of that year an Englishman disembarked from the Channel packet at Boulogne and proudly identified himself to the customs officer as Francis Horatio Nelson Drake.[20]

[20] B. V. J. Meringo, "Travellers through France: Records of Cross-Channel Passengers at Boulogne, 1822-58 and Related Records Elsewhere," *Genealogists' Magazine* 22 (1987), 178.

Revolutionary Emigrés and Exiles in the United States:

Problems of Economic Survival in a New Republican Society

Thomas Sosnowski

The French Revolution in its many phases, including the Reign of Terror, encouraged many "citoyens" and "citoyennes" to abandon their homeland and to seek refuge often in distant lands. During the 1790s, at least ten and perhaps as many as twenty-five thousand took up residence in the fledgling United States.[1] Included in this migration were thousands of settlers from St. Domingue who also sought refuge from the Toussaint L'Ouverture revolution. They were welcomed by Americans, especially in cities with established French communities: New York, Boston, Charleston, and especially Philadelphia. But they, like most immigrants, faced numerous problems upon arrival—language, lodging, and work. Here we will focus on the economic activities of some of these émigrés during their American sojourn.

The migration of émigrés to the United States began in the early 1790s and persisted at least until 1797. They were monarchists, constitutionalists, and republicans—each escaped different phases of the Revolution, especially the Reign of Terror. French aid during the War for American Independence as well as Rousseauean literature made the new trans-Atlantic republic an attractive choice for many émigrés. Here sojourned an admirable array of intellectual, social, and political luminaries, as well as a host of lesser known and unknown Frenchmen whose lives were endangered by revolutionary developments in France and St. Domingue. They created clubs and associations, while establishing businesses to serve their ethnic needs, so similarly to other immigrant groups who arrived in the United States in the following centuries.[2]

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[1] Fernand Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française*, 1789-1815 (Paris, 1924), 1: 105.

[2] For an introduction to the émigrés in America, consult the following works: Frances Sargeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800* (Baltimore, 1940); Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton, 1957); Bernard Faÿ, *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1925); Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750-1848* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927); Roger Kennedy, *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1789-1820* (New York, 1989).

Many of these émigrés were truly exiles, who looked upon their residence in the United States as temporary. Some of them, however, changed their commitment to return because of the longevity of their sojourn, marriage, success in business, or simply inertia.[3] Forced to emigrate with celerity, many had little or no money. Some displayed ingenuity in their choice of jobs; others were not as successful in adjusting to a new society and economy. And yet some succeeded in avoiding any work by carefully watching over their limited financial resources.

The most noticeable group of émigrés were the luminaries whose past or future fame would make them objects of detailed studies. They included La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Châteaubriand, Louis-Philippe, Mme de la Tour du Pin (du Gouvernet), Moreau de St.-Méry, Volney, and, of course, Talleyrand. These émigrés and others established close contacts with one another, often through Moreau de St-Méry's bookstore in Philadelphia. Many maintained journals or diaries or later published memoirs about their experiences. Some also wrote commentaries on their sojourns, adding substantially to the "voyage" literature so popular in this era. They were, in the words of one historian, "explorateurs malgré eux."[4] These writings provide a good starting point for our research on this group.

Several émigrés arrived in the Unites States with some sources of income and never apparently sought employment. For example, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt received some money from time to time from his family, even though his wife, still resident in France, had to divorce him legally in order to maintain some of the family property.[5] For him and some contemporaries, a form of eighteenth century "money-laundering" must have been used. Psychologically depressed because of his misfortunes and worried about the fate of his family and friends, he understood the necessity of remaining active.[6] Although he established himself in the French community of Philadelphia and often socialized with Americans, especially the distinguished Chew family, he kept himself busy by studying and writing. His first work was *Les prisons de Philadelphie* in which he praised the reforms which he saw in operation there.[7] Nonetheless, after more than a year, he began his travels—to release himself from anxiety and depression. The result was his *Voyages dans les États-Unis de l'Amérique* which fills eight volumes.[8] He traveled as far south as South Carolina and in the north through New England, and even parts of Canada. De Tocqueville he was not, but thoughtful and perceptive he was (although some contemporaries thought him plodding and boring).[9] When the political climate in France improved, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt returned to his homeland where he published his chef-d'oeuvre.

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[3] See J.G. Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Philadelphia and London, 1907); Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), esp. 59.

[4] Baldensperger, 1: chap. 2.

[5] See "Lettre à Madame de Liancourt" in La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Journal de voyage en Amèrique et d'un séjour à Philadelphie*, ed. Jean Marchand (Paris, [n.d.]), 125-131.

[6] To become acquainted with the personality and motivations of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, read his *Journal* which he apparently never edited.

[7] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Les prisons de Philadelphie par un Européen* (Paris, *an* VIII).

[8] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, 8 vols. (Paris, *an* VII) was translated into English as *Travels through the United States of America* (London, 1800). This article uses the latter edition.

[9] To become acquainted with his personality, consult Thomas C. Sosnowski, "La Rochefoucaul-Liancourt's Exile in America," *Selected Papers, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* 25: 568-575. Also useful for the European perspective is Ferdinand Dreyfus, *La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, 1747-1827* (Paris, 1903).

The most well-known émigré was the former bishop of Autun, Talleyrand. Similar to his friend, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, he could depend on private resources during his American sojourn. From time to time, he traveled to various parts of New York and Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, however, was his focal point. There he entertained often at the residence of Théophile Cazenove, his friend and business consultant.[10] In his *Mémoires* he excoriated Americans as an uncivilized lot, but the cynic can be detected in his letters and others works. Even though Americans were boorish in his estimation, their land could be a source of additional revenues for he speculated in real estate in upstate New York (i.e. the regions north and west of Albany) and Maine, hence the special relationship with Cazenove. He even encouraged Mme de Staël to join in these ventures. Even more bizarre was the expression of his plans for American citizenship in order to continue with his business activities.[11] This did not materialize for he was soon to return to France where his meteoric rise to power quickly led to his role in giving birth to the XYZ Affair and so-called Quasi-War or undeclared war with the United States.[12] U.S. neutrality proclaimed by George Washington during the French revolutionary wars undermined the treaty of alliance between France and the new U.S. which was signed in 1778 during the U.S. Revolution. The addition of a trade agreement (Jay's Treaty) in 1795 with the United Kingdom which was favorable to the British aroused anti-American sentiment in France and Francophobic activities in the U.S. leading to an undeclared, naval war on the Atlantic Ocean by 1798.

Another group of nobles, led by the Count of Noailles, organized an alternate way of life in the U.S. With the assistance of the almost ubiquitous Cazenove, an agent of the Holland Land Company, and Robert Morris, another speculator whose financial talents greatly aided the Republic during its struggle against Britain, they purchased a large tract in remote, north central Pennsylvania on the banks of the Susquehenna River. This they named Azilum and here they tried to create a frontier version of palace and salon society. For example, their "Grande Maison" was a two-storey structure which measured sixty by eighty feet (18.29 by 19.51 meters) and boasted large fireplaces and many a large window—surely not the ordinary domicile on the frontier! Here the French settlers, if we can call them that, gathered at least once per week in their best attire to maintain the traditions of the salons. Noailles and his comrade, Omer-Antoine Talon, tried to develop the image of gentlemen farmers, while also introducing some small measure of "industrial" activity with the production of spirits and potash. But the venture by these nobles was only marginally successful, in part because of their lack of skills, their inability to work with the Americans, and their desire to return to France as soon as possible.[13] In addition, one cannot overlook Le Ray de Chaumont and the development of his "grand" community in northern New York, near present day Watertown (very close to the Canadian border) called Castorland which attracted some twenty families between 1796 and 1800. The nomenclature (*castor* means beaver in French) was, in itself, sufficient propaganda to whet the economic appetites of some settlers, since furs were still popular in European

[10] See La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Journal*; Talleyrand, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1957), 1: chap. 8.

[11] Consult *Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter, 1794-96: Unpublished Letters and Memoirs*, trans. and eds. Hans Huth and Wilma J. Pugh (Washington, 1942), 96.

[12] For more information on the Quasi-War, consult Thomas C. Sosnowski, "Bitter Farewells: Francophobia and the French Émigrés in America," *Proceedings, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*, 21: 276-286. Also see Alexander DeCondé, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797-1801* (New York, 1966).

[13] See Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America* (New York and London, 1968), 2: 350-1 where he predicts failure. Also consult La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage*, 157-70.

fashion and would remain so for several decades. One article referred to "intrigues practiced by great American proprietors to seduce French adventurers to this country and to sell them territories to which they cannot prove their right."[14] It implicated Robert Morris in these underhanded business dealings. At this time, it is difficult to ascertain if these French purchasers were exiles or truly adventurers. It must be noted that this same area is where Joseph Bonaparte invested significantly in real estate a quarter of century later and which he visited annually for over a decade.[15]

The most unusual, if not the most admirable, of this group of noble émigrés was Mme de la Tour du Pin. She and her husband barely escaped France during the Reign of Terror and arrived in the United States with limited funds with which they purchased a farm outside Troy, New York, near Albany. Unlike the nobles at Azilum, Madame and her husband truly farmed the land with their own hands and during their first year with the assistance of several slaves whom they were required to manumit by state law in 1795.[16] She even did her own cooking with the help of a cookbook, *La cuisine bourgeoise*. On one occasion while she was attempting to butcher a lamb for dinner, she was interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Talleyrand who said: "On ne peut embrocher un gigot avec plus de majesté." Surprised, but not upset, she invited him and his companion Beaumetz to partake of the repast.[17] Mme de la Tour du Pin and her husband accepted the challenges of their changed status and made the best of a difficult situation, even with a sense of humor.[18]

Finally, some others did not "work" but traveled extensively. For example, Louis-Philippe, i.e. the Duke of Orléans, and his two younger brothers arrived in the United State with extremely limited funds. However, instead of seeking employment, they followed the lead of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and traveled. His diary gives a taste of his interests and American experiences, but unfortunately he made no additional entries after he reached Kentucky, well before the end of his travels. What remains of this diary includes some transliterations of an Indian language in Tennessee as well as a careful account of his financial budget.[19] Another traveler was Colbert-Maulevrier whose *Journal* remains an interesting commentary on his travels beyond the Appalachians and into Canada. Both he and the Duke de Montpensier, Louis-Philippe's brother, added visual interpretations with their own watercolors.[20] Included with these "explorers" was Constantin Volney who apparently depended on personal sources of income for he devoted himself to the study of the geography of the United States which he brought together in his landmark *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis*.[21] To this list, one might add an early émigré, Lézay-Marnésia,

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[14] Claire Bonney, *French Émigré Houses in Jefferson County* (Basel, 1985), 21. Important to this study is Thomas J. Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era: The Life of Jacques-Donatien Leray de Chaumong, 1725-1803* (Providence, 1995). The article in question appeared in the Boston *Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal*, 22 June 1795. It should be noted that there was a precedent for these accusations in the sale of lands for Gallipolis, Ohio in 1789.

[15] Schaeper, *LeRay de Chaumont.*

[16] Marquise de la Tour du Pin, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778-1815* (Paris, 1914), 2: chap. 1-3.

[17] Mme de la Tour du Pin, 2: 31-2.

[18] A good biography of her fascinating life should be examined: Alix de Rohan Chabot, *Madame de la Tour du Pin. Le talent du bonheur* (Paris, 1997).

[19] Louis-Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America*, trans. Stephen Becker, and ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York, 1977).

[20] Louis-Philippe, *passim*.

[21] Constantin-F. Volney, *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803); also published in English as *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* in 1804 and reprinted in 1968. In order to assess the significance of his work, read Anne Godlewska, "Geography under

whose travels to the Ohio region in the early 1790s resulted in a proposal to establish a utopian (for him, that is) settlement, Saint Pierre, with "une monarchie libre et si bien organisé"—a truly aristocratic milieu.[22] Many an historian seems to have heard of Châteaubriand and his American voyage in the early 1790s. However, what he did and where he went was greatly distorted by his romantic ruminations, his extensive readings, and the passage of time before he wrote his memoirs.[23]

A special case has to be made for Moreau de St.-Méry. Here was a talented government official who had to develop other skills for economic survival. His first job was that of a shipping clerk in New York City: "In spite of my age, my unsettled health and my ability, M. Guerlain put me in charge of the outdoor work at his place of business."[24] Later, he described his work in the following manner: "this sort of galley-slave labor gave me plenty of time to dwell on its distressing features; and my morals as well as my body suffered from it."[25] He quit this job and organized a partnership with the German noble, the Baron de la Roche, to open a bookstore in Philadelphia, an arrangement that did not remain amicable.[26] Eventually, he was able to buy his partner's share. His business, which also included the publication of books and the émigré newspaper, the *Courrier français*, appears to have been successful, at least according to the evidence in his *Voyage*. But another exile, the Chevalier Pontgibaud de Moré who returned to the United States to seek his bounty for his service to the War for American Independence, gave a different evaluation: "Nor was I particularly astonished either to learn, some months later [after visiting the business establishment], that he was bankrupt, but I may remark that he failed for twenty-five thousand francs, and I would not have given a thousand crowns for all the stock in [his] … shop."[27] It must be added that his store was also a gathering site for a number of the émigrés who lived in Philadelphia or were passing through. Mme Moreau de St-Méry would sometimes break up these gatherings which lasted until very late at night because her husband had to be refreshed to face a day's work the next morning![28] In this situation, one notices a conflict between two opposing forces: commercial prosperity and the desire to maintain a comfortable social enclave with his ethnic colleagues.

One path to a successful American sojourn can be seen in the activities of Brillat-Savarin, the noted gastronome and author of the *Physiologie du gout ou*

Napoleon and Napoleonic Geography," *Proceedings, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* (1989), 1: 282-302.

[22] Claude-François Adrien, Marquis de Lézay-Marnésia, *Lettres écrites des rives de l'Ohio* (Fort Pitt and Paris, *an* IX [1801]) in *Nineteenth-Century Literature on Microcards* (Louisville, Ky, 1956) was written in the early 1790s.

[23] René de Châteaubriand, *Travels in America*, trans. Richard Switzer (Lexington, Ky, 1969) is apparently a collection of some thirty years of reading. Many of the places he claims to have visited in 1790, like Chillicothe, Ohio, did not exist in the U.S. of 1791.

[24] Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique*, ed. Stewart L. Mims (New Haven, 1913) has been translated by Kenneth Roberts and Anne M. Roberts as *Moreau de St-Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798* (Garden City, N.Y., 1947) which has been used in this paper. For this quotation, see page 124.

[25] Moreau de St-Méry, 127.

[26] Ibid., 196-203.

[27] Chevalier de Pontgibaud [de Moré], *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence*, trans. and ed., Robert B. Douglas (New York, 1898), 128-9.

[28] Allen J. Barthold in his "French Journalists in the United States, 1780-1800," *The Franco-American Review* (1937), 1: 224 relates a story about Mme Moreau de St-Méry breaking up parties with Talleyrand because of the morning's work schedule. She said to him: "Vous ferez demain le paresseux dans votre lit jusqu'au midi, tandis qu'à sept heures du matin votre ami sera forcé d'aller ouvrir son magasin."

Méditations de gastronomie transcendante. Here was someone who was willing to speak the language of Americans and dress like them, while modeling his behavior on theirs. He experimented seriously with American food and found reason to popularize at least one American delicacy—the turkey. He called himself a "dindonophile"![29] As for his income, he tutored Americans in French and often played in an orchestra. These two activities were common for the émigrés, since occasionally there were notices in the newspapers advertising their tutorial services and skills.[30] Similarly, John Bernard, in his recollections of his work with the American theatre in the first decade of the nineteenth century emphasized the importance of the French émigrés in raising substantially the quality of American culture, both in music and drama.[31] This Briton also declared: "One of the ruling amusements of the Carolinas was dancing, the French having apparently inoculated all classes in this taste in its most confirmed state."[32] In reality, they tutored the American aristocracy in this fine art and, indeed, took advantage of its strong cultural base which developed during the colonial era among Southern plantation owners.

A large percentage of the French aliens in the United States in the 1790s were refugees from St. Domingue who settled conspicuously in the Atlantic seaports. Charleston, especially, opened itself to receiving large numbers of these dispossessed (perhaps subconsciously the white elite realized that they could have the same problem in their state since their substantial slave population made up approximately two-thirds of South Carolina's population). Many arrived with few possessions and little or no money. They, who lived in comparative ease as owners of plantations in France's wealthiest colony, were now poverty-stricken. Cities like Charleston and Philadelphia raised money to assist them. Even the new U.S. government allocated some funds for this effort.[33] Of course, numerous American families opened their homes to them. In addition, the émigrés of Philadelphia organized the French Benevolent Society in 1793 with the sole purpose of assisting their countrymen.[34] The members, who had to be French, paid two dollars for membership and could solicit funds from non-members.

However, this charity could not last indefinitely. But as one of these refugees relates: "Misfortune was as relentless to us as a raven to the victim it attacks, not leaving a moment of respite. Long illness, fruit of our suffering and exhaustion, assailed us all at once." Then it was time to work. Again, they seemed to follow the example of the émigrés from France—some performed on musical instruments.[35] As for others, let us examine the words of a Creole from St. Domingue: "one is a gardener, another a school teacher; this one makes marionettes, that one gives

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[29] [Anthelme] Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du gout ou méditations de gastronomie transcendante* (Brussels, 1835), 280, 131.

[30] I examined a variety of newspapers in the Early American Newspaper series on microcard for the 1790s, but especially *Minerva, National Gazette, Boston Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal,* and *American Mercury*. For a good introduction to the French language newspapers, consult Samuel Joseph Marino, "The French Refugee Newspapers in the United States, 1789-1825" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1962).

[31] John Bernard, *Retrospections of America, 1797-1811*, ed. Mrs. Bayle Bernard (New York and London, 1969, reprint of 1887 edition), 262. Also see Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Charleston! Charleston: The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), 184.

[32] Bernard, 207.

[33] *National Gazette*, 13 Feb. 1792. Important for this topic is Winston C. Babb, "French Refugees from Saint Domingue to the Southern United States, 1791-1810," (Ph.D. diss.: University of Virginia, 1956).

[34] *National Gazette*, 9 Mar. 1793.

[35] Althéa de Puech Parham, ed. and trans., *My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions, a Creole of Saint Domingue* (Baton Rouge, 1959) 102.

concerts; some teach dancing, others sell confections; the shrewdest ones go into business, and some have already become well enough known to be considered illustrious personages. For you know that here gold is the first title of nobility."[36] Already it was apparent to him and others who visited the U.S. at the end of the eighteenth century that social class status depended heavily on wealth, not birth. Among the most ingenious was a certain Frenchman who established a bathhouse in Philadelphia, as well as a M Collot whose ice cream was highly regarded.[37] Not all were successful. Mme de la Tour du Pin visited some refugees who settled near the Hudson River who barely eked an existence out of their lands.[38] And La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt hinted that those who were recent exiles from St. Domingue, now dispossessed, were the successful ones, while the Creoles could not adjust as easily.[39]

What we have examined so far points out the complexities of exile life in America for these French. As refugees from France and St. Domingue, they were forced into situations that they little understood; indeed, some were even unwilling or unable to understand the adjustments that had to be made. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt examined this problem a few times in his *Voyages* and decried those who remained depressed. For example, in assessing the activities of a certain M de Boui in upstate New York, he reflected: "May he live there, if not happy, at least content; but it is greatly to be feared, that the peevishness of his temper, which this unfortunate man has contracted, will dry up every source of promised happiness and comfort which this world might yet afford."[40] Although the Duke was psychologically depressed, he did not permit that condition to paralyze him as it did others. Action, especially with a sense of humor and determination, was required always. Both he and Mme de la Tour du Pin criticized strongly the lazy sort, the ones who were unwilling to try.[41] Dwelling on their misfortunes was not their ideal existence. Evidently many would not accommodate themselves to their changed economic and social status.

It appears as if, and this one expects, certain nobles who took refuge in the United States were able to refrain from "labor" because of outside sources of income, even though this might not have been substantial. Obviously, the tradition which frowned on "labor" and punished it with derogation remained strong among them. Influenced most probably by the vogue of travel literature at the time and nascent romanticism, they traveled around the States, even to remote areas like the Ohio River Valley and Tennessee. Some were forced out of economic necessity to work like Moreau de St-Méry, but not willingly. However, it must be noted that in his case, he arrived with some substantial possessions including a pianoforte. The Chevalier de Pontgibaud is especially poignant: "But a man must live, and the most curious spectacle was to see these Frenchmen, fallen from their former greatness and now exercising some trade or profession."[42] The ambiance of pre-revolutionary France made nobles consumers of goods and services, not producers. The threat of derogation, coupled with social pressures, strengthened this situation which was undermined, if not overturned, by their refugee status.

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[36] Parham, 180-1.
[37] Moreau de St-Méry, 323.
[38] Marquise de la Tour du Pin, 2: 36.
[39] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage*, 3: 518.
[40] Ibid., 1: 288-9.
[41] Ibid., 1: 290; Marquise de la Tour du Pin, 2: 36.
[42] Pontigibaud [de Moré], 128.

The vast majority of these émigrés remain unknown to us today. It is interesting to examine newspapers of the 1790s and discover how little it said about this large group of foreigners. Instead they focused on the developments in France, but there is seldom a comment about those who escaped and lived among them.[43] Occasionally one sees a notice for a French tutor.[44] Evidently everyone knew what was happening in these relatively small American cities that the newspapers did not have to report much local news. What appeared important to them came from Europe —especially France, Britain, and even Poland—and sometimes the commentary they could produce about American politics.

This paper examined, in part, the experiences of some well-known exiles, but more research remains to be done. What happened to the "unknown" refugees must be uncovered through the examination of city directories, ship registers, and even census data—a task beyond the time restraints of this presentation. The census becomes problematic since the first one took place in 1790 and then as required by the Constitution was repeated decennially in 1800—and this was after many of the exiles returned to their homeland. The experiences of those from St. Domingue should also be re-explored and especially in the context of American slavery in Virginia and South Carolina where so many sought asylum.

As indicated earlier, many of the émigrés returned to France as soon as it was safe. Those who depended on their families for survival quickly bid farewell to the United States. Some, like Noailles, were never comfortable in frontier America, and while continually pining their fate, gave up their business and agrarian pursuits to sail east to Europe. The XYZ Affair and the Francophobia it engendered gave additional impetus for the departure of these French aliens. Indeed, Volney and Moreau de St.-Méry felt that they were forced to leave with the endangerment of their lives and property.[45]

This episode also symbolizes the role of asylum that the United States has played a number of times in the past two centuries. The sincere welcome given to these French refugees was demonstrated with financial and moral support. Many of them responded by sharing their talents, especially seen in the theatre and music. But even some of those who did not "work" shared their talents by their detailed studies of the early American Republic, such as La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and Volney. Even Louis-Philippe fondly recalled his American sojourn when he became the King of the French. Of course, Talleyrand never forgot the Americans with their "primitive" behavior and the supposed slights he felt—most probably this was the source of the XYZ Affair. Many retained an exile mentality and rushed to return to the *patrie,* while others slowly adjusted to their new surroundings, giving some credence to Crèvecoeur's famous description of "What is an American?" in the early 1780s: "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world."[46] His prophecy could also be claimed by Canadians and Australians two centuries later.

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[43] Refer to note 30, above.

[44] For one example, see the Philadelphia *Minerva*, 13 June 1795. One can also find announcements in the French language newspapers like Moreau de St-Méry's *Courrier françois*, 2 Nov. 1797.

[45] For one study, consult Sosnowski, "Bitter Farewells."

[46] J.Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*, ed. Albert E. Stone (New York, 1983), 70.

A Cordial Encounter? The Meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin (8-9 April, 1802)

Jean Fornasiero and John West-Sooby

The famous encounter between Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders in the waters off Australia's previously uncharted south coast has now entered the nation's folklore. At a time when their respective countries were locked in conflict at home and competing for strategic advantage on the world stage, the two captains were able to set aside national rivalries and personal disappointments in order to greet one another with courtesy and mutual respect. Their meeting is thus portrayed as symbolic of the triumph of international co-operation over the troubled geopolitics of the day. What united the two expeditions—the quest for knowledge in the spirit of the Enlightenment—proved to be stronger than what divided them.

This enduring—and endearing—image of the encounter between Baudin and Flinders is certainly well supported by the facts as we know them. The two captains did indeed conduct themselves on that occasion in an exemplary manner, readily exchanging information about their respective discoveries and advising one another about the navigational hazards they should avoid or about safe anchorages where water and other supplies could be obtained. Furthermore, the civility of their meeting points to a strong degree of mutual respect, and perhaps also to a recognition of their shared experience as navigators whom fate had thrown together on the lonely and treacherous shores of the "unknown coast" of Australia.

And yet, as appealing as it may be, this increasingly idealized image of the encounter runs the risk of masking some of its subtleties and complexities. National rivalries and personal ambitions may well have been temporarily transcended, at least in appearance, but this does not mean that they somehow became irrelevant or redundant. Nor should we allow ourselves to imagine that such concerns suddenly disappeared from the preoccupations of the two navigators and of the expeditioners

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who accompanied them. Particularly revealing in this regard are the records of the encounter left by those who participated in it. Indeed, a close reading of these written accounts reveals a number of discrepancies which have not to date been considered significant enough to warrant detailed analysis. This is undoubtedly because many of the inconsistencies can rightly be deemed to be the result of communication difficulties between the English navigator and his French-speaking counterpart. In consequence, historians have not generally been tempted to question the reliability of the accounts nor the motives of those who compiled them. Even Frank Horner, in his scrupulous retelling of the encounter,[2] quashes any hint of unreliable reporting that his own analysis appears to bring out; he is quick to refute his own observation that Flinders "does less than justice to Baudin" by adding that this is "through no fault of Flinders."[3] This intriguing detail alone, in our view, justifies a close re-examination of the eye-witness accounts, and of the anomalies they reveal. Only then will we be able to determine whether there were significant undercurrents to the encounter between Baudin and Flinders and whether it was experienced by its protagonists as being as cordial as is popularly believed.

The two meetings themselves were intimate affairs. Apart from the two captains, the only other participant was the botanist from the *Investigator*, Robert Brown, whom Flinders took with him to serve as interpreter.[4] In the event, Brown's expertise in French was not put to great use: the conversations, as Flinders notes in *A Voyage to Terra Australis* "were mostly carried on in English, which the captain spoke so as to be understood."[5] However, Flinders' assessment may be a little generous, since Brown was moved to comment on the "extreme badness of [Baudin's] English"[6] and to highlight several details of the Frenchman's conversation which he did not fully comprehend.

Written records of the meetings, the first of which took place late on the day of 8 April 1802, the second early the next morning, over breakfast, were made by all three participants. The most influential and frequently cited description of the encounter is that to be found in *A Voyage to Terra Australis*. It is important to remember that this narrative was compiled by Flinders several years after the event, during his imprisonment on Mauritius, and later, in England, after his release from detention in 1810. However, Flinders' official narrative is generally taken to be a reliable account, as it was based upon an entry he made at the time in his captain's log and it contains no major variations from this primary source.[7] Robert Brown also provides a useful eye-witness account in the notes he confined to his diary immediately following the encounter.[8] On the French side, Baudin's sea log is the

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[2] Frank Horner, *The French Reconnaissance. Baudin in Australia, 1801-1803* (Melbourne, 1987), 216-222.

[3] Ibid., 216.

[4] Describing the encounter in his official account, Flinders explains: "As I did not understand French, Mr Brown, the naturalist, went with me in the boat." Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis; Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802 and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship, the* Investigator, 2 vols. and Atlas (London, 1814), entry bearing the date of 8 Apr. 1802.

[5] Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, entry dated 9 Apr. 1802.

[6] See T.G. Vallance, D.T. Moore and E.W. Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator: The Diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801-1805* (Canberra, 2001), 178.

[7] The manuscript of the Captain's log kept by Flinders on the *Investigator* is to be found in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. A microfilm copy is held in the Flinders University Library (AJCP reel 1586, piece no. 75).

[8] Brown's record of the encounter is to be found in T.G. Vallance, D.T. Moore and E.W. Groves, eds., *Nature's Investigator: The Diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801-1805*, 177-182.

only first-hand account,[9] but there is also the letter he sent to the French Minister of Marine some months later, from Port Jackson, in which he reports on the encounter with Flinders.[10] The description given by François Péron in the official account of the French expedition, the *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes*,[11] is of no value to us here: as Péron was not a direct participant in the meetings, his description of them simply draws on the information contained in Baudin's log—information which, on a number of key points, he blatantly misrepresents to suit his own purposes.[12]

Of the various discrepancies that emerge from a comparison of the accounts left by the two captains and by Robert Brown, a certain number can be attributed uncontroversially to misunderstandings based on language difficulties. When Baudin notes, for example, that Flinders gave him the map "of a harbour that he had discovered on an island only 15 or 20 leagues away and that he had named Kangaroo Island,"[13] it is fairly clear that he has conflated two separate items of information. Unless he had misconstrued the status of Nepean Bay, on the north coast of Kangaroo Island, the harbor in question is almost certainly that of Port Lincoln, on the Eyre Peninsula. Baudin similarly misplaces the site where Thistle and his crew were lost: "As I told him of the accident that had befallen my dinghy and asked him to give it all the help he could, if by any chance he came across it, he told me that he had met with a similar misfortune on his Kangaroo Island, where he had lost eight men and a boat."[14] The men were lost, in fact, off Cape Catastrophe at the foot of Eyre Peninsula. Baudin also makes mention of a "companion ship" from which he believes Flinders became separated "during the equinoctial gale."[15] As Count Alphonse de Fleurieu speculates,[16] this probably refers to the *Lady Nelson*, which Flinders could well have mentioned in the course of the conversation as he outlined his future plans, and which Baudin must have misunderstood to be already engaged in surveying work with the *Investigator*. These factual errors suggest, firstly, that Baudin was still very much preoccupied with his own losses—the disappearance of his large dinghy under the command of Maurouard, with the geographer Boullanger on board, and the separation from his consort ship the *Naturaliste*—to the point of overlaying his story onto that of Flinders. They also indicate that the French commander did not always have an accurate understanding of what was being said to him in English.

In addition to these errors of fact, there is a notable difference in tone when we move from Baudin's account to that of Flinders. The record left by Flinders, both in

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[9] Nicolas Baudin, *Journal de mer* (entry dated 19 Germinal—9 Apr. 1802). The manuscript of Baudin's sea log is held in the Archives nationales, Paris, Marine 5JJ 36-40, 5 vols. The State Library of South Australia holds a microfilm copy of this sea log and other papers relating to the Baudin expedition (ARG 1 series).

[10] This letter, dated 11 Nov. 1802, is to be found in the Archives nationales, Paris, BB Marine 995.

[11] F. Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes exécuté par ordre de Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le* Géographe*, le* Naturaliste*; et la goélette le* Casuarina*, pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804,* vol. 1, *Historique* (Paris, 1807).

[12] For an account of these, see F. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, chap. 1.

[13] Baudin, *Journal de mer* (entry dated 19 Germinal—9 Apr. 1802). All translations of original French documents are our own.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] On a visit to South Australia in 1911, Alphonse de Fleurieu, the descendant of Count Charles-Pierre Claret de Fleurieu (the French navigator and former Minister of Marine who drew up the itinerary for the Baudin expedition), compiled some papers concerning the meeting of Baudin and Flinders in Encounter Bay. These papers, which are held in the library of the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, housed within the State Library of South Australia (RGMS 107c), include notes of his own in which he comments on various points raised in the descriptions of the encounter given by Baudin and Flinders. The comment relating to the *Lady Nelson* is to be found in note 6.

his captain's log and in his official narrative, is reserved and factual, whereas that of Baudin is lively and enthusiastic. This contrast is not in itself especially significant: readers of *A Voyage to Terra Australis* quickly become used to Flinders' detached, matter-of-fact tone, while in contrast Baudin's sea log contains many musings that make his feelings and emotions more transparent and immediate. Nevertheless, in this particular instance, the different tenor of the two accounts, apart from reflecting fundamentally different writing styles, is indicative of the contrasting attitudes and expectations of the two captains as they prepared to meet. Flinders, despite being fully aware of who Baudin was and what he was doing in these waters—or perhaps *because* of this knowledge (a rival explorer and hydrographer was a far more menacing proposition, in terms of his ambition and his fledgling career, than a hostile enemy)—appears guarded during their first meeting. He maintains a formal and deferential attitude towards Baudin, insisting, for example, on inspecting the French commander's safe-conduct even though he knows that the Admiralty has granted him one. Baudin, on the other hand, according to Flinders' account, returns the English captain's passport "without looking at it" and seems happy to dispense with formalities on this occasion. This unexpected encounter has provided him with the opportunity of sharing his experiences and discoveries with a man whose exploits he knows and admires, and Baudin refers to their meeting with an enthusiasm bordering on excitement.

It is useful to keep these contrasting attitudes in mind when considering the more problematic discrepancies between the accounts of Flinders and Baudin. Among these, the most significant, and the most potentially damaging for Baudin, is the question of when he became fully aware of the identity of his interlocutor. According to Flinders, it was only at the end of their second meeting that the French commander thought to ask him his name:

> At parting, the captain requested me to take care of his boat and his people, in case of meeting with them; and to say to *Le Naturaliste*, that he should go to Port Jackson so soon as the bad weather set in. On my asking the name of the captain of *Le Naturaliste*, he bethought himself to ask mine; and finding it to be the same as the author of the chart which he had been criticising, expressed not a little surprise; but had the politeness to congratulate himself on meeting me.[17]

This is in stark contrast to Baudin's account. In his sea log, Baudin records his pleasure at coming across the young explorer, whose work he judges worthy of greater recognition:

> The English captain, Mr Flinders—the self-same Flinders who discovered the Strait which ought to bear his name, but which has most inappropriately been called Banks Strait—came aboard, expressing his delight at making such a pleasant encounter, though he was extremely reserved about everything else. As soon as I learnt his name, I paid him my compliments, informing him of the great pleasure it gave me to make his acquaintance and of all that we had done systematically up till then in terms of geographical work.[18]

The difference here is irreconcilable and, unfortunately, the account of the third party who was present at the discussions does not provide us with the definitive means of

[17] Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 9 Apr. 1802.
[18] Baudin, *Journal de mer*, 18 Germinal—8 Apr. 1802.

resolving it. Nonetheless, Robert Brown does confirm that there was a degree of enthusiasm in Baudin's attitude to Flinders' work. He states that Baudin had praised, not criticized, Flinders' chart before he knew the captain's name.[19] While his account also seems to indicate that Baudin was not immediately aware of the exact identity of his counterpart, it does not point to the kind of social blunder that Flinders seems to be attributing to Baudin.

Although language difficulties must certainly provide part of the explanation for the conflicting accounts, it is difficult to dismiss the notion that one of the captains may have misrepresented the facts to his advantage—and that this may well be Flinders. Firstly, it is highly implausible that Baudin, who, despite the legend, was a courteous man,[20] would have allowed himself to conduct not one but two meetings in the company of an English officer without manifesting any curiosity about his identity. What is very believable, on the other hand, is that, on the point of bidding farewell to his fellow explorer on the second day, Baudin might have sought to verify the name that he thought he had understood at their first meeting, but which he had not seen written down and of whose English pronunciation he may have been unsure.[21] The fact that he had not felt the need to inspect Flinders' passport and that he had not seen his name in written form would tend to confirm this. We need to recall, also, that Flinders would encounter precisely the same problem of pronunciation exactly eighteen months later, on the occasion of his fateful visit to Mauritius while en route for England. In an ironic turn of events, this time it was he who did not recognize his name when asked by the French authorities if he was Mr "Flandaire." His indignant denial was at the heart of the misunderstanding that led to him being imprisoned by Governor Decaen. At the very least, then, it would appear to be careless of Flinders to imply that Baudin was only interested in knowing his name as they prepared to depart or that he had criticized his charts (rather than praising them, as Brown had said) before he knew his name. At worst, this could be construed as a conscious attempt to portray the French commander as socially inept and disrespectful. Either way, and in view of their different attitudes before and during their encounter, it is Baudin who emerges as the least formal, more expansive and more cordial of the two.[22]

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[19] R. Brown, 179.

[20] See Horner, 43, for the description of Baudin's "courteous and refined behavior" that was made in a letter to Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu by the young naturalist, André-Pierre Ledru.

[21] This is also the view of Frank Horner, who states: "Flinders would hardly have failed to give his name when he first came aboard, as Baudin said he did. Baudin must have thought he caught the name, without identifying it as Flinders, and asked it again before Flinders left, in order to make certain. No doubt he thought it unnecessary to record a social gaffe on his part." Horner, 221.

[22] It is worth recalling, as a pointer to Flinders' state of mind as he prepared to meet Baudin, that on approaching the as yet unidentified ship, the captain of the *Investigator* "cleared for action, in case of being attacked" (*A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 8 Apr. 1802). This precaution seems excessive, given that Flinders, as he notes in his captain's log, thought it more likely at the time that he had encountered an English merchant ship. However, Flinders maintained his wary vigilance even after he had ascertained that he was in fact dealing with the *Géographe* under the command of Captain Baudin, whose mission he knew to be peaceful in nature: "We veered round as *Le Géographe* was passing, to keep our broadside to her, lest the flag of truce should be a deception." (*A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 8 Apr. 1802). No doubt the recent hostilities between their two nations played some part in Flinders' watchful approach, but on this occasion, as on many others, he preferred to observe a rigid formality. His maneuver and the motivation behind it certainly point to a very different state of mind compared to that of Baudin who, being unaware of the existence of the Flinders expedition, was probably more entitled to be cautious and mistrustful than his English counterpart. Baudin's relaxed frame of mind, in contrast to Flinders' formal correctness, can also be seen in their attitudes to checking one another's

If the records of the famous meeting that we have highlighted do not themselves provide the definitive answer to some of the questions we have raised, there is also interesting evidence to be gleaned from the encounters that followed and from the reaction to these that Flinders inscribed in *A Voyage to Terra Australis*. Several entries in this text, that understandably serves as an act of self-justification after Flinders' misadventures in Mauritius and the misrepresentation of his discoveries in the official account of the French voyage, incontrovertibly give weight to Frank Horner's perception that Flinders' *Voyage* "does less than justice to Baudin." However, we would add that the injustice done to Baudin is perhaps more conscious, or at least more systematic, than Horner has implied. We shall concentrate on three incidents where Flinders is either in sympathy with the view expressed by Baudin's sworn enemies or shows concern for their situation, in spite of the knowledge that two of these same men, François Péron and Louis Freycinet, were responsible for the misrepresentation of his discoveries that had so deeply wounded him.

In our first example, Flinders presents the entry of the *Géographe* into Sydney Harbor as an unmitigated catastrophe, thereby implicitly supporting the version published by François Péron of Baudin's poor management and inhumanity towards his crew. Flinders is careful not to comment explicitly on the question of responsibility for the ship's sad plight—a plight that Péron declares to have already been in evidence at the time of the April encounter, but that Flinders did not note at that time. During the difficult entry into port, however, Flinders makes it clear that the ship was so disabled and so undermanned as to be unable to reach anchorage without assistance—from the British, including himself and his crew. This account obviously places the Englishman in a much more flattering light than Baudin. However, it is flatly contradicted by the evidence to be derived from more impartial sources. Unlike other commentators, who readily grant Flinders the status of independent witness to this incident,[23] Horner finds his reporting to be troubling. While Horner does not suggest that Flinders's wildly inaccurate figures on the number of men fit to serve on deck are anything more than an honest mistake, he rejects the idea, heavily embroidered upon by one of Flinders's early biographers, Ernest Scott,[24] that Baudin's ship was "so disabled as to need assistance in coming to anchor,"[25] a notion that is contradicted by the independent evidence of the ship's log and the matter-of-fact journal of one of the French officers, Ronsard.[26] The *Géographe*'s depleted and weary crew were indeed grateful for the assistance offered them after the difficult passage through the heads in heavy weather, but they had certainly not been at the mercy of the waves. Flinders's reason for dramatizing the event may well have been to contrast the hospitality that the French received in Port Jackson with the poor treatment to which he was subjected by the French in Mauritius, but his description of the inglorious arrival of the *Géographe* became an important element in the folklore concerning Baudin's incompetence, which successive generations of Flinders's biographers repeated uncritically and unquestioningly. The consequence has been that

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passports or to dressing up for their meeting. Flinders appeared in full uniform, while Baudin is described by one of his hostile officers as "looking like a robber" (quoted by Horner, 219).

[23] Sydney [sic] J. Baker, on citing Flinders' evidence to damn Baudin, goes so far as to say that Flinders' testimony represents "an impartial view by an outsider." See "A Madman in the South Seas," *Nation Review*, May 30-June 5 (1975), 866.

[24] Ernest Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders R.N.* (Sydney, 1914).

[25] Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 240.

[26] Ibid.

the myths continue to circulate,[27] since Flinders's story provides the main source of information on Baudin to the general reading public.

The second type of comment on Baudin that Flinders makes in his official account is perhaps more directly damning—namely, his allusions to Baudin's so-called failings, that include the accusation of poor hydrographic practice or the mention of Henri Freycinet's less than flattering remark about his commander's preoccupations in Tasmania.[28] In these instances, Flinders's judgments echo those of the constant and sworn enemies of Baudin: the two Freycinet brothers, Louis and Henri. As career naval officers, of noble origins, they did not accept that the ex-merchant seaman was a fit commander for a grand scientific expedition. They contested his navigational decisions and deplored the departures he made from his instructions, however justified, as well as his lack of cartographic skills, even though with two hydrographers and Louis Freycinet on board, the cartographic work of the expedition was in very good hands. New research has also shown that it was the Freycinet brothers who persuaded François Péron that Baudin was a dangerous incompetent and inspired many of the untruths about the commander[29]—particularly his so-called errors in navigation—that the scientist was to include in the official account.[30] Since their professional jealousy extended to Baudin's reputation as a scientific voyager, it is in this context that we should also view Henri Freycinet's comments on Baudin's predilection for chasing butterflies as opposed to pursuing his charting. The impression given by the comment is that the French had failed on both counts: to make scientific discoveries that were of any importance or to complete the discovery of the south coast in a timely fashion. For Flinders to give credence to Henri Freycinet's disloyal and patently misleading remark[31] amounts to an acceptance of the judgment on Baudin that underlies it, and also constitutes another discreet affirmation of his own superior claim to success in the charting of the unknown coast. This attitude is effectively relayed through the diary of Robert Brown, in which

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[27] The following recent publications serve as characteristic of the tendency to voice criticisms of Baudin that have currency among Flinders's biographers, even though they have been convincingly refuted by historians of the Baudin expedition, notably Frank Horner: Jonathan King speaks of the "inferiority of the French charts" and "French incompetence" in "Nine Years in a Leaky Boat," *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, Sept. 29-30 2001; James Griffin refers to Baudin's poor leadership in "Voyage to the Depths," *The Weekend Australian*, "Books Extra," Nov. 24-25, 2001; Stuart Macintyre, in his introduction to the re-edition of Ernest Scott's 1914 study of Matthew Flinders, repeats without question or reference to later scholarship Scott's opinion that Baudin's reconnaissance was "dilatory and careless." *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Sydney, 2001), 5.

[28] Flinders reports the remark as follows: "Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the south coast before us." (Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 1: 192-193). See also Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 356, 220.

[29] Michel Jangoux, "Les zoologistes et botanistes qui accompagnèrent le capitaine Baudin aux Terres australes," *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 41 (2004), esp. 77-78.

[30] Even Miriam Estensen, the most critical of Flinders' biographers, has cast doubt, like her subject, on Baudin's skills as a navigator and seaman: Miriam Estensen, *The Life of Matthew Flinders* (Crows Nest, NSW, 2002), 203. The accusation of navigational errors—namely, the decisions responsible for the expedition's slow progress along the African coast—was made by François Péron in the official account of the expedition: Péron, *Voyage de découvertes*. Oscar Spate and Frank Horner have clearly demonstrated that Péron's accusations are completely unfounded and that Baudin's navigation across the Atlantic was in no way unusual or deficient: Oscar Spate, "Ames damnées: Baudin and Péron," *Overland*, 58 (Winter 1974), 54; Frank Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 93-95

[31] For a discussion of this remark and a refutation of its implications, see J. West-Sooby, "Baudin, Flinders and the Scientific Voyage," in *Actes du Colloque Baudin-Flinders de l'île Maurice*, M.S. Rivière and V. Hookoomsing, eds., forthcoming, 2004.

Baudin's charts and discoveries are denigrated, under the stated influence and advice of Flinders himself.[32]

We can determine from such examples that Flinders is not averse to showing Baudin in a bad light, but should we assume that his act was deliberate? On the one hand, Flinders was bound to Baudin by the professional solidarity that dictated the lending of assistance to a fellow mariner in need, although their difference in age and rank had not encouraged intimate friendship between them. On the other hand, Flinders was much closer in career terms to the Freycinets. Flinders and his men enjoyed socializing with the French officers and scientists in Port Jackson.[33] The fact that Flinders, in writing up his account, tried to excuse Péron for misrepresenting his own findings is further evidence that the Englishman seemed to have felt some warmth towards the French zoologist and otherwise accepted him as a reliable source—all of which suggests that Flinders may well have been persuaded by Péron's, and the Freycinets', vilification of the French commander.[34] In Mauritius, Flinders was also befriended by another of Baudin's officers, Charles Baudin, who is known to have been critical of his commander.[35] It is by no means impossible that the Englishman, who felt that his talents had gone unappreciated by none other than Captain Bligh, could identify with the resentment that the young Frenchmen bore their commanding officer.[36] During his enforced residency in Mauritius, he may also have heard the stories that circulated about the colorful past of the French captain and the accusations of shady dealings.[37] While a sense of honor and due respect for rank prevented Flinders from expressing forcefully the doubts he may have felt about the competence or qualities of Baudin, neither his narrative choices nor his omissions regarding the Frenchman can pass for entirely innocent. Baudin's case does not seem to have attracted the sympathy of Flinders, who was understandably absorbed by his own plight, even though he knew the Frenchman to be held in great esteem by a mutual friend, the Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidley King. Conversely, Flinders has conciliatory words to say on behalf of Péron, the rival whose dishonest claims about the extent of the French discoveries on the south coast he knew to have

[32] R. Brown, 178-179.

[33] John Franklin, a midshipman on the *Investigator*, reports on the good relations between the French and English officers at Port Jackson in a letter to his mother: "now I feel the want of a knowledge of French, for there are two national ships on Discovery here and I'm not able to converse with them in French, but am obliged to refer to unfamiliar Latin. They are a pleasant good lot of men, and would instruct you if they were able." (Letter dated 21 July 1802, from the Flinders University Library microfilm records pertaining to the Flinders expedition, AJCP Reel M379—typed transcripts of letters.) We are grateful to Gillian Dooley, Special Collections Librarian of the Flinders University Library, for providing us with this and other archival documents from the Flinders expedition.

[34] Flinders chose to believe (*A Voyage to Terra Australis*, 1: 193) that what Péron had written about the French discoveries on the unknown coast was dictated by "over-ruling authority and smote him to the heart."

[35] Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 84.

[36] Paul Brunton, in *Matthew Flinders. Personal Letters from an Extraordinary Life* (Sydney, 2002), 29, mentions how Bligh's lack of respect for his achievements continued to rankle with Flinders.

[37] There is no doubt that Baudin did transport to Mauritius items of commercial interest, including a printery, as Bory de Saint-Vincent alleged. How "shady" these transactions were is perhaps another question. Although trading itself was a clear breach of Baudin's instructions, Horner adds that Baudin "was so open about what he was doing that we cannot help thinking that the practice may have been common enough at the time for the participants to feel able to count on the silence of their subordinates." Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 129.

been so detrimental to his reputation.[38] The evidence points to a conscious attempt on Flinders' part to defuse the pain that this personal betrayal had caused him by deflecting responsibility on to a distant and, for all he knew, disreputable figure.

Is there not after all something inevitable about Flinders embracing, albeit at a distance, the paradigm of rivalry? It was he who knowingly had entered into a race with Baudin and, for a man of his temperament, only winning it was good enough.[39] In that context, we can understand why his account of a manifestly unwelcome brush with his rival would so discreetly undermine his counterpart's reputation, while promoting his own by purporting to be so cordial. On the other hand, it was not likely that Nicolas Baudin, the more genuinely cordial of the two navigators, who knew nothing, upon his departure, of Flinders' mission, would have considered himself to be in a race, or in the same race as his young English counterpart.[40] Because his scientific brief was so important in his own eyes, he was not as deeply preoccupied with the colonial prize that was at stake in the race undertaken by Flinders.[41] Rivalry sits firmly within the colonial framework, within a value system and a context espoused by Flinders, who was vitally interested in the future of New South Wales; but it was this very system that was ultimately rejected by Baudin, as we know from his famous letter to Governor King in which he showed himself to be so skeptical of the benefits of colonization, particularly to indigenous peoples.[42]

To judge the achievements of both men by the standard of their commitment and service to colonial expansion is surely no longer in the spirit of our times. On that score, too, Baudin deserves a far more even-handed treatment than history, borne along by the equally self-serving narratives of Matthew Flinders and Baudin's enemies, has so far refused to grant him.

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[38] The most potentially damaging act of Péron, of which Flinders was unaware, was to suggest to Governor Decaen that Flinders' mission was a political one; this untruth had a direct consequence on Flinders' fate as a political prisoner in Mauritius. Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 322.

[39] Flinders' competitive streak is well attested in his correspondence. See, for example, in Paul Brunton, Flinders' letter to Sir Joseph Banks, dated 24 May 1801, in which Flinders states his intention "to accomplish the important purpose of the present voyage; and in a way that shall preclude the necessity of any one following after me to explore." Cited in Brunton, *Matthew Flinders*, 69.

[40] If Baudin's expectations of glory were high, it was also because these expectations were widely shared. His expedition was predicted to rank alongside the great voyages of discovery, not only by Jussieu, in a letter of 20 July 1798 to the Minister of Marine—cited by André-Pierre Ledru, *Voyage aux Iles de Ténériffe, la Trinité, Saint-Thomas, Sainte-Croix et Porto-Rico*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1810), 307-308;—but also by Louis-François Jauffret, who claimed Baudin to be the "successeur de Cook et de Bougainville et de La Pérouse"—cited by J. Copans et J. Jamin, *Aux origines de l'anthropologie française. Les mémoires de la société des observateurs de l'homme en l'an VIII*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1994), 68. Under the portrait of Baudin issued at the time of the expedition's departure, there is an inscription by Péron comparing Baudin to Cook and Bougainville. See Horner, *The French Reconnaissance*, 80.

[41] Baudin clearly saw himself as first and foremost a scientific voyager. His writings prior to the voyage to Australia reveal both his disdain for politics and his passion for the natural sciences. The journal of his voyage to the Caribbean is particularly striking in that regard. See Nicolas Baudin, *Journal de la flûte* la Belle Angélique *armée au Havre et commandée par le citoyen Baudin*, Paris, Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Ms 49-50.

[42] See F.M. Bladen, ed., *Historical Records of NSW* (Sydney, 1897), 5: 826-830.

Back to the Future:
Politics, Propaganda and the Centennial of the Conquest of Algeria

André Lambelet

On April 25, 1929, French President Gaston Doumergue signed a decree forming a Propaganda Committee; the purpose of this committee was to associate "all of France with the commemoration of the Centennial of Algeria."[1] Doumergue's decree tacitly recognized the French public's indifference toward the colonies: left to their own devices, the people of the *Métropole* might have let the anniversary pass unnoticed.[2] Addressing the committee's opening meeting in June 1929, Minister of the Interior André Tardieu explicitly acknowledged this lack of interest. Even as he insisted that the "Centennial of Algeria is a great event, not only of Algerian history, but of French history," and that the centennial "is a date that it is important that the country as a whole celebrate appropriately," Tardieu lamented,

> The French are sadly uninformed about our colonial empire. Too often they lack knowledge of its material and moral worth. It would have been a pity to have the celebration of the Centennial take place only overseas, and to have the people of the *Métropole* miss its full significance.[3]

Tardieu complained that the French public did not properly appreciate Algeria's "material and moral" contribution to France.

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[1] Commandant P. Pollacchi, Pierre Eugène Marie Joseph Deloncle, and Paul Crouzet, *Cartes-index, glossaire, documents, annexes, rapport général*, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie*, vol. 12 (Alger, 1930).

[2] On French popular indifference to colonialism, see Raymond F. Betts, *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory 1890-1914* (New York and London, 1961), 2-3; and Robert Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion* (Basingstoke, 1996), 234-35. On another effort to overcome this indifference in the early 1930s, see Charles Robert Ageron, "Exposition coloniale de 1931. Mythe républicain ou mythe impérial?" in *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris, 1984), 561-591.

[3] André Tardieu, speaking to the opening session of the committee, June 5, 1929, cited in Pollacchi et al., *Cartes-index*, 53.

This paper argues that the colonies' moral contribution to France was to undermine the ideology and practice of republicanism. The conquest, establishment and exploitation of the colonies provided opponents of republicanism with the means to challenge republican ideas about the universality and perfectibility of human nature. These opponents used their long experience at the margins of Greater France to insist on the primacy of their own conservative understanding of human nature. The propaganda campaign upon which the French government embarked in 1929 suggests that by the late 1920s, opponents of universalist republicanism had used their colonial experience to move from the margins to the center of the Third Republic. The celebration of the centennial, then, was not only a celebration of France's work in the colonies; it was also—surreptitiously—a celebration of the triumph of an anti-republican ideology at the heart of the Third Republic itself.

The Propaganda Committee was an unwieldy group of more than ninety men, most of whom had lived and worked in Algeria or had held important colonial posts. It included current and former colonial officials, including the nine sitting deputies and three sitting senators from Algeria; the former Governor-General of Algeria and member of the Académie française, Jules Cambon; and the venerable old senator and former minister of the colonies, Adolphe Messimy. These men were united by the conviction that French colonization of Algeria was good for France and good for Algeria, and they accepted the goals set for them by the general secretary of the Propaganda Committee, General Féraud: to "create durable and favorable public opinion in metropolitan France for Algerian France," and to show the colonies were "the true school where all our doctrines of humanity and progress concerning colonial matters have been formed and confirmed."[4]

In its choice of committee members, the government placed its confidence in a particular kind of man: a man with "experience" in Algeria, a man who "understood" Algeria, a man who had "acted on Algeria." (No Arabs or Berbers sat on the Committee.) At its first session, the Propaganda Committee selected a *Comité restreint* with a much more manageable membership of twenty-two. It was in this subcommittee that the nature of the propaganda to be disseminated was discussed. An even smaller committee, the *Comité d'exécution*, which carried out the work decided upon by the *Comité restreint*, was composed of thirteen members drawn from the *Comité restreint*.

The members of the Committee and its subcommittees spared little effort in their efforts to demonstrate Algeria's importance. Tardieu urged them to avail themselves of all "modern means of publicity," including radio and newspapers. As Féraud remarked, however, "Articles pass; books remain."[5] Most of the work focused on a series of books, on subjects ranging from the history of Algeria (pre- and post-conquest), the government of Algeria, art, tourism, industry, and the *œuvres indigènes de l'Algérie*. These would form the core of the propaganda effort, and, the members of the Committee believed, would not only serve to propagate the message of the importance of France's Algerian colony, but would also serve as a basis for subsequent lectures and discussions.

Because of the urgency of the task, the books were not to break new ground or produce new research. Instead, they were to be produced as quickly as possible so that they could be put to use during the centennial year. And, indeed, the books were produced speedily: they were ready for distribution by early 1930. (In a report to his

[4] General Féraud, preparatory study, cited in Ibid., 59.
[5] Ibid., 60.

superiors at the Ministry of War, General Azan smugly noted that his contribution, *Les grands soldats de l'Algérie*, was the first to be completed.)[6] Nonetheless, the books, intended for a large and diverse audience, were generously illustrated with maps, engravings, and black-and-white photographs. (Volume 4, *Art Antique et Art Musulman en Algérie* contained eighty-one illustrations.) Despite the rush, the books, which ranged from forty-eight to one hundred and forty pages in length, were well written and reasonably well documented.

One hundred thousand copies were published in the first run in Paris; more were published in Algiers, to be distributed throughout Algeria. To ensure that no one in France lacked access to the *Cahiers*, the committee called upon the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of War, the Ministry of the Navy, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of the Colonies, and French diplomatic missions throughout the world to help disseminate its message. In January 1930, Minister of War André Maginot ordered garrison commanders to furnish lectures based on the pamphlets to officers and troops throughout the centennial year. Lecturers were to choose subjects drawn from the books that would, as he put it, "make listeners know and appreciate Algeria." The pamphlets would then be furnished to unit libraries, to non-commissioned officers' messes, or other military libraries.[7] The Ministry of the Navy issued a similar circular—but added that the books were to be carried aboard warships so they could be distributed in the countries where the ships made port calls.[8] Public schools—*lycées*, *collèges*, along with primary schools—were all to play a role: the Minister of Public Education instructed teachers to give talks on the "great works" accomplished in Algeria, and on the opportunities that the Mediterranean still offered for future development.[9]

One of the noteworthy aspects of the *Cahiers* was their unanimity on some fundamental assumptions about Algeria and its inhabitants.[10] Not surprisingly, all of the books declared that the conquest—in the long run—had been good for Algeria. They all accepted the premise that Algerians were incapable of ruling themselves. And they all agreed that the French presence in Algeria was a manifestation of what Féraud referred to as the "doctrines of humanity and progress concerning colonial matters." Most significantly, the *Cahiers* revealed a remarkable unified vision of human nature.

Before we explore what Féraud and the authors of the *Cahiers* took human nature to be, we should remember that the ideas of "humanity" and "human nature" had formed the terrain on which struggles between Left and Right had been fought. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, republicans and their opponents quarreled over the duration of military service, clashed over public education, and collided over the role the Church would play in France. Yet, though each of these contests was important in its own right, each was also part of a larger confrontation over the attributes of human nature. Republicans believed that human nature was malleable; they also believed that it could be improved. Republican institutions—particularly the schools and the military—would help mold French

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[6] General Azan, "Note pour Monsieur le Ministre de la Guerre (général chef du Cabinet) sur les résultats acquis par le Comité du Centenaire de l'Algérie," Vincennes, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, 14 Jan. 1930, N° 29 8/11/C, 1 K 74 carton 2.

[7] Maginot circular, 25 Jan. 1930, in Pollacchi et al., *Cartes-index*, 63.

[8] Traub circular, 1 July 1930, in Ibid., 64. The Ministries of Public Instruction.

[9] Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts à MM. les Inspecteurs d'Académie, 15 Apr. 1930, cited in Ibid., 65.

[10] See the Appendix for a complete listing of the titles and authors.

subjects into good and virtuous French citizens. Schools would not merely fill their pupils' heads with knowledge; they would imbue those pupils with republican virtues.[11] Compulsory military service would not merely train conscripts to win wars; it would transform them into mature citizen-soldiers. Good and virtuous citizens would in turn help strengthen a good and virtuous republic. If French citizens shared universal traits with the rest of humanity, it was through the republican institutions of the French Third Republic that their humanity would find its highest expression. Thus, in the eyes of republicans, the Republic was the national expression of the enlightened self-interest of the French people.

Conservative opponents of the Third Republic, by contrast, believed that human nature was fixed, unchanging. Humanity was weak, corruptible and self-interested. To many conservatives, democracy and the Third Republic represented the surrender of altruism and virtue to the politics of selfishness (or *égoïsme*). One of the functions of good institutions—the army, the Church and Catholic schools—was thus to serve as a bulwark against the vagaries of human nature and the corrosive influence of democracy.

In the 1890s, Pope Leo XIII had invited Catholics (in the encyclical *Au milieu des sollicitudes*) to accept the Republic. Leo made it clear that the form of the regime (i.e., monarchy or republic) was not the Church's concern; the defense of religious interest was. Conservatives could, Leo indicated, come to terms with the republic, but this did not mean that they had to accommodate themselves to the *ideology* of the republic. As a political movement in the 1890s, the so-called *Ralliement* failed.[12] Yet, by severing the cords that bound Catholicism and monarchism, the Church sought to reclaim a place in French public life independent of the dynastic ambitions of an outdated monarchy. The *Ralliement* also marked a broader ideological shift: its adherents no longer accepted that the form of regime would necessarily dictate the content of laws it would pass.

By the late 1920s, though, the staying power of the Republic's institutions was hardly in doubt. Yet the *Cahiers* implied that the proponents of the *Ralliement* had been on target: acceptance of the Third Republic did not necessarily mean acceptance of the premises that traditionally underpinned republican thought. It is in this sense that the *Cahiers* reflected the triumph of a conservative vision of human nature. While French republicanism theoretically rested on the notions of the universality and perfectibility of human nature, the *Cahiers* suggested the un-republican idea that Algerians were incapable of change.

In *L'Algérie jusqu'à la pénétration saharienne*, the first of the *Cahiers*, Jean Marie Bourget, the military editor of the influential *Journal des débats*, pointed out that before the French arrived, ethnic and political divisions in the region had not fallen along the lines that marked what were now Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. Since there had been no "Algeria" as such, "Algerian patriots" could literally not exist.[13] More to the point, although Phoenicia, Rome, and Islam had for a time unified the peoples of North Africa, those attempts at unity had merely been a "perpetual beginning" because

[11] Mona Ozouf, *L'école, l'église et la république (1871-1914)* (Paris, 1982).
[12] Jean-Marie Mayeur, *La vie politique sous la troisième République 1870-1940* (Paris, 1984), 149.
[13] J. M. [Jean Marie] Bourget, *L'Algérie jusqu'à la pénétration saharienne*, vol. 1, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930).

> the permanence of certain fundamental characteristics of the populations of North Africa has imposed a similar trajectory on all the civilizations that have taken root there.[14]

Bourget, consciously or not, thus undermined the central claims upon which republicans had based their vision of the state: that human nature was universal, and that human beings could be improved. Bourget refused to draw the obvious conclusion: that if these fundamental characteristics existed, they would also scuttle French ambitions in Algeria. He insisted that the French conquest was different. Why? Because the demands of modern times required that France intervene; because France was the most powerful force in the Mediterranean; and because "circumstances imposed [upon France] the civilizing mission that others had previously fulfilled."[15] It apparently did not occur to Bourget that these two principles—the fundamentally recalcitrant character of the indigenous Algerian population, and the new French civilizing mission—were incompatible, or that the reasons for French intervention had applied equally to previous conquerors of North Africa.

Bourget's observation that Algeria had not existed in its modern form helped justify the French presence in North Africa. It was echoed and even amplified in other volumes in the series. In Volume 5, *Le gouvernement de l'Algérie*, Louis Milliot asserted that it was a "primordial fact" that, before the conquest, Algeria had been in a "quasi-inorganic state."[16] Thus, the French conquest had freed the *indigènes* from the yoke of Turkish oppressors, but also from the more fundamental problem of anarchy. In his account of the "pacification" of the Sahara, General Octave Meynier explained, "the *indigènes* of the Tell and of the remotest Sahara, liberated from anarchic tyranny and endemic misery by our intervention, will be able to gauge the good that French intervention has brought them—by the peace, the justice, and the well-being that it has introduced everywhere."[17]

How could the "well-being" be assessed? In his *Evolution de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1930*, M. E. F. Gautier declared it could be quantified: the population of *indigènes* had grown far more rapidly under the tutelage of the French Third Republic than ever before:

> This growth alone provides more eloquent testimony than would any long essay. It should be better known than it is. It is decisive. From 1872 to 1930 the indigenous population more than doubled; this is a brute fact, perfectly undeniable.[18]

The notion of stable government provided an obvious justification for the French presence in North Africa, but a justification that did not require the French to impose the stamp of "civilization" on the indigenous populations themselves.[19]

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[14] Ibid., 9.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Louis Milliot, *Le gouvernement de l'Algérie*, vol. 5, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930), 6.
[17] Général Octave Frédéric François Meynier, *La pacification du Sahara et la pénétration saharienne (1852-1930)*, vol. 2, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930), 5.
[18] M. E. F. Gautier, *L'évolution de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1930*, vol. 3, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930), 29.
[19] The *Cahiers*, it should be noted, did not whitewash the origins of the 1830 invasion; Bourget acknowledged that the conquest might have been the result of a government trying to distract attention

Even the last volume in the series, Jean Mirante's *La France et les oeuvres indigènes en Algérie*, which one might have assumed would tout the values France had brought to Algeria, focused heavily on the material and demographic benefits Algerians had gained from the French presence. Mirante devoted ten of his ninety-five pages to statistics and tables showing that the rate of *indigène* population growth had soared under French administration. And while he devoted more than twenty pages to the schools the French had created, Mirante accepted the notion that for French civilization to take root would be a glacially slow process. The shaping of *indigène* minds "could not be improvised in a day."[20] The best way to affect the *esprit* of the *indigènes*, Mirante advised, was to adapt schooling to local needs. But those local needs, in his reading, were overwhelmingly technical and practical: how to fertilize fields, plants trees and build.[21] The higher intellectual aspirations of the *indigènes* warranted little mention, perhaps because, in keeping with the views expressed in the other *Cahiers*, the *indigènes* were not collectively ready to assume the full weight of French civilization.

In this sense, the *Cahiers* were yet another mark of the profound evolution of the French justification of colonial policy under the Third Republic. Critics of colonialism asked how a nation that officially subscribed to the principles of human equality and freedom could nonetheless build up an enormous colonial empire. They asked how French republicans could reconcile their universalist and liberal views with the practice of colonialism. One answer was that French colonialists saw colonialism, not as the subjection of the weaker by the stronger, but as the submission of the less advanced to the more advanced. In other words, French colonialism could be justified with a doctrine called—unblushingly—the *mission civilisatrice*, or the civilizing mission. The principles of the "Rights of Man and Citizen" were indeed "universal"—but the people in France's colonies were not ready, were not mature enough, to exercise these rights. Colonial subjects could, the theory went, demonstrate their maturity by embracing the superior laws, language, culture, and political ideology of France. This justification for French colonialism, as Alice Conklin has pointed out, "rested upon certain fundamental assumptions about the superiority of French culture and the perfectibility of humankind."[22] By 1895, this civilizing mission had become, Conklin tells us, "the official ideology of the Third Republic's vast new empire."[23] Up until the Great War, the form that this civilizing mission took was a policy of *assimilation*. Briefly put, assimilation was the idea that colonial subjects could be "made into Frenchmen."[24] By its nature, assimilation implied uniformity and centralization; local customs were to be replaced by standardized French practices, and local elites by French officials.

By contrast, *association*, the policy that displaced assimilation after the Great War, did not seek to make the colony in the image of France or its subjects in the

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from its domestic politics, and other contributors to the *Cahiers*—while lauding the results of Charles X's invasion—also conceded that Charles X's difficulties at home prompted him to launch the invasion. Bourget, *Pénétration saharienne*, 30; General Paul Azan, *Les grands soldats de l'Algérie*, vol. 4, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national metropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930), 7.

[20] Jean Mirante, *La France et les oeuvres indigènes en Algérie*, vol. 11, *Cahiers du centenaire de l'Algérie* (Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie, 1930), 66.

[21] Ibid., 91-92.

[22] Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 1.

[23] Ibid., 11.

[24] Betts, *Assimilation and Association*, 8.

image of Frenchmen. Instead, proponents of association "emphasized the need for variation in colonial practice."[25] By the 1920s, the logic of association had replaced assimilation throughout the French colonial empire. Of course the change in colonial doctrines was not isolated from changes in metropolitan France. Conklin argues that the study of French colonial policy not only helps us understand French colonial practices, but that the colonies act as a kind of mirror for changes in the Third Republic as a whole. Conklin, looking at the French experience in West Africa, suggests that the shift from assimilation to association "reveals the fate of the Third Republic." "The Third Republic," she notes, "had acquired a decidedly illiberal orientation, which only became more pronounced in the 1930s."[26]

The illiberal message of the *Cahiers* was that the great triumph of the conquest of Algeria had been to create a space in which *European* settlers could create a new and prosperous society. France and the European settlers it brought with it had, quite literally, *created* Algeria. The French conquest did offer benefits to the indigenous populations: it provided stable borders, a unified political identity, and, above all, an antidote to anarchy and tyranny. While the original inhabitants of the Sahara were the fortunate recipients of this *pax gallica*, it was the hard work of the European settlers that had made the gift of peace, justice, and wellbeing possible. "The sons of the first *colons*," Meynier declared, "and, next to them, the European emigrants from different countries, will proudly show off the fruits of labor that is already one hundred years old."[27] As Gautier giddily put it, "A new European race is born."[28] And, he continued, "It is clear that Algeria has its own power of assimilation. No cleavages can be detected among the bloc of European *colons*."[29] Ironically, it was on these *European* settlers that the real power of assimilation could be felt—not on the *indigènes*, who remained stubbornly apart.

If these views, expressed in a government-sponsored publication, seem to confirm the demise of assimilation (at least as far as the *indigènes* were concerned) of the Third Republic, the work of General Paul Azan, author of *Les grands soldats de l'Algérie*, suggests that this illiberalism was not merely a reflection of changes within the *Métropole*. Indeed, the colonial experience and its celebration in 1930 and 1931 provided a means to disseminate a message that ran counter to the universalist ideas dear to earlier republicans. How this worked can be understood by examining not only Azan's contribution to the written corpus of the Committee, but his previous writings and his role on the *Comité restreint*.

Azan was a formidable figure. After his graduation from Saint Cyr in 1897, he served in Algeria for five years, and developed an abiding interest in its people and history. Beginning in 1902, he was attached to the army's historical section, and simultaneously managed to earn a doctorate from the Sorbonne. He was a prolific writer, authoring more than twenty books during his career, many of them focused on Algeria and its relations with France. He could also boast of combat experience, not only in North Africa, but also during the Great War. (He lost partial use of his left arm after being hit by a shell burst in 1915.) He served as chief of the French Military Mission to the United States in 1917, and set up an officer training program at Harvard. (Harvard awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1917). After the war, he served

[25] Ibid., 106.
[26] Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, 250.
[27] Meynier, *Pacification*, 5.
[28] Gautier, *Evolution*, 20.
[29] Ibid.

in Turkey, Tunisia, and Algeria, before being named chief of the army's historical service in March 1928.[30]

In a report dated January 14, 1930, Azan wrote that his principal mission as a member of the Propaganda Committee was to make certain that the "army not be neglected, that that its role be presented in an exact way."[31] As far as the publications themselves were concerned, Azan declared that they provided "an important propaganda element; the Army must seek to gain a moral advantage." To make fullest use of that propaganda element, Azan used his position on the *Comité restreint* to insist that *Les grands soldats* be doubled in length from the forty-eight pages originally planned; the committee acquiesced. (As it turned out, Azan's book weighed in at 128 pages—two and a half times what had originally been planned.) Azan also repeatedly sought official backing from the Propaganda Committee for another project, a book he had written focused exclusively on the Algiers expedition of 1830. Here, however, the *Comité restreint* drew the line, worried, according to Azan, that an official reminder of the conquest itself might cause offense to the *indigènes*.[32]

The book that did appear with the imprimatur of the Propaganda Committee, *Les grands soldats de l'Algérie*, might just as easily been seen as a potential irritant to *indigène* sentiment. It was an unapologetic homage to the men who had made the work of the *colons* possible: the great soldiers of the Algerian conquest and pacification. Azan began his book with a blunt declaration:

> Civilization, with all of its attendant disciplines, has never been imposed on backward countries except by force. It is also thanks to its armies that France, which among nations appears so particularly penetrated by sentiments of humanity and generosity, has been able to impose the reign of peace in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.[33]

Azan's formulation was new neither to him nor to the larger French colonial enterprise, nor did it differ in substance from what his fellow contributors said about the replacement of primordial anarchy with French law and order. Azan simply declared more plainly what others had long thought about France's relations with the people of its colonies. What was remarkable, though, was how long and how consistently Azan had rejected the doctrine of assimilation.

Azan had staked out his position many years earlier. In 1903—well before the advocates of assimilation had run out of steam—Azan (then a mere lieutenant) fulminated against the doctrine of assimilation. Assimilationists had got Algeria all wrong, Azan insisted. Assimilation would "not provide moral uplift to the *indigène*."[34] He repeatedly insisted that the *indigènes* were essentially different from Europeans in general and the French in particular. Those who wanted to impose an egalitarian government on Algeria missed the salient point that Algeria, because of its Islamic foundations, *already* resembled a kind of "socialist collectivism," one which, he declared flatly, was "incapable of progress."[35] "That is why," Azan concluded,

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[30] Vincennes, Service historique de l'Armée de Terre (SHAT), Personnel dossier: Azan, Général de division Paul Jean Louis.

[31] Fonds Azan, Le Général, Chef du Service historique [Paul Azan], N° 29 8/11/C, 14 Jan. 1930, SHAT: 1 K 74.

[32] Fonds Azan, Le Général, Chef du Service historique [Paul Azan], Service historique, N° 29 8/11/C, 14 Jan. 1930, SHAT: 1 K 74. Azan's book on the Expedition was published, but by Plon, not the Committee, as *L'Expédition d'Alger 1830* (Paris, 1930).

[33] Azan, *Grands soldats*, 5.

[34] Paul Azan, *Recherche d'une solution de la question indigène en Algérie* (Paris, 1903), 19.

[35] Ibid., 21.

> It would be inhuman to bring to these people, who have achieved their ideal and rejoice in an astonishing tranquility of the soul, the unwholesome and corrupting seeds of our unhealthy *inquiétude*.[36]

If the policy of assimilation posed a threat to the tranquility of the Algerian soul, it also posed a deadly threat to France itself. The Algerians, he declared, reproduced far more rapidly than the French. Azan thus painted a doomsday scenario in which hordes of Arabs overran France:

> Imagine them with the same level of education as we have. They live in our cities, they attend our schools, they possess factories, they produce engineers, historian, scientists, they think and act as we do, they pay the same taxes. Isn't it then legitimate to give them the same rights? Then we would have to make them voters, they would elect representatives of the country in the way we do, whom they would naturally choose from amongst their own race; then it would come to pass that it is no longer Arabs who are governed by the French, but the French governed by the Arabs.[37]

For Azan—as for the *colons*, and, indeed, many of his military colleagues serving in Algeria—the specter of this potential reversal of roles relegated assimilation to the ash-heap of history. Ironically for someone who insisted that Arabs could not be assimilated, it was the *similarity* between Arabs and French, the common quest for power, that made Arabs such a threat to France. To avoid the role reversal Azan dreaded, the French had to govern their Algerian subjects with an iron hand: "There is one principle that one must absorb to administer the *indigènes*, which is that they only like and only respect force; they *want* to be governed."[38]

This justification of force was linked to Azan's forceful (and precocious) rejection of assimilation, and provided a theme to which Azan would remain faithful in all of his writings about the Algerian colony henceforth. In 1925, in a piece arguing for the conscription of North African soldiers, Azan rejected the idea that North African conscripts should be treated in the same way as French conscripts. Again, he declared that those who thought the *indigène* and the French conscript were similar were wrongheaded. The reason he gave, though, was astonishing:

> The mistake is a very generous one and a very French one: it has already been committed by those who drafted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen," rather than more modestly drafting a "Declaration of the rights of the French citizen." It is not possible to mold humanity according to a single formula, even an excellent one, because the races do not change with the sound of a few phrases, but take many centuries to evolve.[39]

In 1930, in his homage to the great soldiers of Algeria, Azan warned that "races" evolve slowly. But this time, he did so not as a mere writer of military history, but as a key figure in the celebration of the conquest of Algeria. He devoted chapters to General de Bourmont; Bourmont's successor, Marshal Clauzel; the sons of Louis Philippe (the dukes of Orléans and Nemours; the prince of Joinville; and the duke of

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[36] Ibid., 22.
[37] Ibid., 26.
[38] Ibid., 50. [Emphasis in original.]
[39] Paul Azan, *L'armée indigène nord-Africaine* (Paris, 1925), 38. For a discussion of Azan's proposals, see James J. Cooke, "Paul Azan and l'armée indigène Nord-Africaine," *Military Affairs* 45.3 (1981): 133-38.

Aumale); to Marshal Bugeaud; and to Bugeaud's lieutenants, the generals la Moricière, Changarnier, Cavaignac, and Bedeau. His treatment of these soldiers—in keeping with his declared aim of making certain that the army's role was not neglected—was hagiographical. He praised Bugeaud for adopting new methods of warfare (the notorious "flying columns") better suited to the conditions in Algeria, and though Azan noted that the "razzia" consisted of pillaging "dissident tribes," destroying herds and crops, and taking hostages, he explained that these methods had been merely been "borrowed from local practice" and were, besides, necessary to reach an enemy who went into hiding. And, he declared, they were "much more humane than those of the Turks or of Abd el Kader."[40]

Azan's comparison of Bugeaud's methods to Abd el Kader's did not imply a lack of respect for *indigènes* military leaders. Azan devoted a chapter to three of these: Mustapha ben Ismaël and Yusuf, who had served the French, and Abd el Kader. Azan praised the fighting abilities of all three, and pointed out that in defeat and after years of imprisonment in France, even Abd el Kader had come to describe himself as a French patriot. Yet Azan also noted that Abd el Kader's eventual conversion to the French cause could not be a model for other *indigènes*: "Men belonging to the *indigène* elite may, if they are well guided, gain great profit for themselves and for their country from a stay in France. But, for men lacking sufficient preparation, such a stay will only cause them to lose to lose their innate qualities and suffer disastrous moral deformations."[41] Azan approvingly cited Abd el Kader's assessment of the effects of premature education: "Science may be compared to rain from the sky. When one drop falls into an open oyster, it produces a pearl; when it falls into the mouth of a viper, it produces poison." Azan emphatically added, "This truth is applicable to all countries and to all races."[42]

For Azan, the central tenets of French republicanism were fatally flawed. Human nature was not, after all, universal; and if it could be changed, as he seemed to concede, that change could only be observed over the course of centuries. The promise of French republicanism, and of the policy of assimilation, had been that the introduction of French civilization would shepherd subject peoples into the dawn of a new, liberal age. That promise was one neither Azan nor the other writers of the *Cahiers* were willing to make.

In 1903, Azan's blistering attack on assimilation, though not unique, was still on the margins of French colonial thought. By 1930, the same critique, though still subject to controversy, was no longer marginal. The evidence presented by experienced colonial officers like Azan did seem to demonstrate that the population of the colonies was fundamentally different from that of the *Métropole*. Azan and his fellow contributors to the *Cahiers*, like other "expert" writers on Algeria, could assert that Arabs and Berbers resisted change; that civilization had to be imposed by force; and that France's mission was not to make Arabs into Frenchmen, but, on the contrary, to contain and harness the power and the threat that the Arabs represented.

The publication of the *Cahiers* in 1930 may be understood, not just as an effort to inform the French public about the virtues of the colonies, nor as an expression of colonial sentiment, but as the manifestation of the transformation of the Third Republic. Men with ideas like Paul Azan's found confirmation for their ideas and shelter from radical republicans in the colonies. Over the years stretching from the turn of the century to the 1930s, they learned that the institutions of Third Republic

[40] Azan, *Grands soldats*, 66.
[41] Ibid., 57.
[42] Ibid., 57-58.

and the universalist, liberal ideology of republicanism were not coterminous. The anti-universalist critique of liberal republicanism gradually insinuated itself within the institutions of the Republic itself. By the 1920s, Azan's startling declaration that the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen" had been a mistake caused hardly a ripple. The inclusion of Azan's work in the official commemoration of the centennial of the conquest of Algeria was thus not only the reflection of a growing illiberalism in French political thought in the 1920s and 1930s; it was the triumph of a long-standing attack on the core of republican ideology.

Appendix: The *Cahiers du Centenaire de l'Algérie*

Vol. 1: Bourget, J. M. [Jean Marie]. *L'Algérie jusqu'à la pénétration saharienne*. 95 pp.
Vol. 2: Meynier, Général Octave Frédéric François. *La pacification du Sahara et la pénétration saharienne (1852-1930)*. 62 pp.
Vol. 3: Gautier, M. E. F. *L'évolution de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1930*. 95 pp.
Vol. 4: Azan, General Paul. *Les grands soldats de l'Algérie*. 128 pp.
Vol. 5: Milliot, Louis. *Le gouvernement de l'Algérie*. 48 pp.
Vol. 6: Berque, A. *Art Antique et Art Musulman en Algérie*. 144 pp.
Vol. 7: Bonneval, General de. *L'Algérie touristique*. 62 pp.
Vol. 8: Dhé, Colonel, and Jean Denizet. *Les liaisons maritimes, aériennes et terrestres de l'Algérie*. 59 pp.
Vol. 9: Blottière, Jean Ernest. *Les productions algériennes*. 95 pp.
Vol. 10: Deloncle, Pierre Eugène Marie Joseph. *Le vie et les moeurs en Algérie*. 122 pp.
Vol. 11: Mirante, Jean. *La France et les oeuvres indigènes en Algérie*. 111 pp.
Vol. 12: Pollacchi, Commandant P., Pierre Eugène Marie Joseph Deloncle, and Paul Crouzet. *Cartes-index, glossaire, documents, annexes, rapport général*. 71 pp.
Published by the *Comité national métropolitain du centenaire de l'Algérie*, 1930.

Images of French Catholicism and Belgian Protestantism: The Mid-Nineteenth Century British Perception of Religion in France and Belgium

Pieter François

According to most mid-nineteenth century British travelers, France and Belgium in many respects strongly resembled each other. In other respects, however, they were perceived as fundamentally different. The degree of similarity between the British images of France and Belgium could reflect some profound similarities or differences between the two countries. It could also be a reflection of British expectations. British travelers simply expected or assumed both countries to be similar or different. The British perception of religion in mid-nineteenth century France and Belgium offers an excellent example of this second possibility. British views on religion in France and Belgium were built at the same time around some solid observations and historical facts, on the one hand, and reflected a strong British wishful thinking and, therefore, the British home-context, on the other. For the historian this second option is often more interesting and challenging. Whereas the religious situation in France and Belgium was relatively similar—Catholicism was in both countries the dominant religion—the travelers' interpretation of this situation was very different. Why, for example, were the French always included in the description of Catholicism, whilst the Belgians were most frequently absent in the image of Belgian Catholicism? Why was Catholicism seen as an essential part of the French national identity but considered as a hostile element to the "true" Belgian national identity? Why was France so readily identified with its Catholicism by British travelers, while they ignored, even denied, this link in Belgium's case? Many travelers even went one step further by claiming that the Belgian national identity was essentially a Protestant one and that Belgium would in the nearby future become a Protestant country.

In the mid-nineteenth century, travel to the continent, and especially to nearby France and Belgium, became popular with the British (upper) middle classes.[1] This resulted in a new type of travel which differed significantly from the travels of the already established upper class travelers. Generally the stays were shorter and the budgets smaller. On the other hand the railway had made the pace of traveling much

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[1] Besides France and Belgium, the Rhine valley, Switzerland and Italy were also popular travel destinations.

faster so that more could be seen in a shorter period. As a result the travels were often conducted in an energetic, or even restless, atmosphere.[2] New and efficient travel guides were published to help the ever-growing number of often-inexperienced travelers. These travel guides give us also an idea of the number of travelers. Retrieving the exact number of travelers is difficult as the passport system was only gradually becoming compulsory.[3] Popular travel guides such as *Murray's Handbook for Belgium and the Rhine* or *Belgium and Holland. Handbook for Travellers*, the English version of Karl Baedecker's famous travel guide, were both printed in approximately twenty editions during the nineteenth century.[4] Even Henry Addison's *A week in Brussels*, a much less popular and influential travel guide, sold more than 10,000 copies in the 1840s.[5]

If travel guides played an important role in the preparation of travel, setting up a travel account played an essential part in preserving the travel experiences. A travel account was also an excellent way to share these experiences with relatives, friends or the wider reading public. By writing a travel account the middle class travelers believed they were taking part in an aristocratic tradition. Writing, and especially publishing, a travel account, therefore, also has to be seen as a lasting proof of the financial wealth that made the continental tour possible. Finally, many travelers, especially when they were the first travelers of their group of relatives and friends, were genuinely convinced they were undertaking a groundbreaking or even historical visit that deserved an official account. For contemporary critics of British middle class travel the omnipresent British traveler and his account were, however, a source of annoyance:

> They have afflicted our generation with one desperate evil; they have covered Europe with Tourists, all pen in hand, all determined not to let a henroost undescribed, all portofolioed, all handbooked, all "getting up a Journal," and all pouring their busy nothings on the "reading public," without compassion or conscience.[6]

The many travel accounts (for Belgium alone there are a couple of hundred published accounts preserved and many more unpublished) does not only reflect the popularity amongst travelers to set up an account. The published accounts also give a clear indication of the popularity of travel literature as a genre. In the mid-nineteenth century travel accounts came second only to novels in popularity in Britain. Partly as a result of this popularity the travel guides and accounts are an excellent and representative source of the views, ideas and attitudes of the mid-nineteenth century British middle classes. Travel literature as a source of historical research always

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[2] For an introduction to nineteenth-century British travel on the continent, see: Rudy Koshar, "What Ought to Be Seen: Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33.3 (1998): 323-340; Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (New York, 2001), 271; and Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours; A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (London, 1998), 401.

[3] Marjorie Morgan, for example, states that approximately 50,000 people crossed the Channel annually in the 1830s. By 1913 this number had risen to 660,000. Morgan, *National Identities*, 14.

[4] John Murray, *Murray's Handbook for Belgium and the Rhine; With Travelling Map* (London, 1852), 276; and Karl Baedeker, *Belgium and Holland; Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig, 1875), 270.

[5] Anonymous [Henry Addison], *A Week in Brussels; The Stranger's Guide to the Capital of Belgium; Containing a Variety of Useful and Entertaining Information for the Tourist and the Economist, by an Old Resident* (Brussels and London, 1846), 102.

[6] "Modern Tourism," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 64 (August 1848), 185; quoted in Morgan, *National Identities*, 18.

contains information on both the observed and the observers and reflects both the French and Belgian context as well as the British one.

This article is divided into three sections. In the first section the general British perception of continental Catholicism and the way the travelers' judgments fit in this framework are analyzed. The second and third sections focus on travelers' interpretations of Catholicism in France and Belgium respectively. Both sections deal also with the perception of Protestantism in both countries, as this Protestantism played a crucial role in the British interpretation of French and Belgian Catholicism.

Travelers' views on Catholicism in France and Belgium

Protestantism was a core element of British national identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[7] The self-perception of the British was built around the intertwined elements of Protestantism: the love of freedom, constitutionalism, local government, enlightenment, rationality, cleanliness, prosperity and industriousness. The continental other, most often the French, formed an integral part of this self-perception. They were associated with the exact opposite of British/English values: with authoritarianism, centralism, Catholicism, superstition, poverty, bad manners and dirtiness. Catholicism, as a result, was associated with the other, with foreign elements, and therefore, was condemned.

The long struggle for the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 enforced this anti-Catholicism even further. The consequences of this important legal breakthrough for British Catholics were rather negative in the short term. Public opinion on both sides had been mobilized and radicalized in the long years preceding the Emancipation Act. Anti-Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century was, therefore, more outspoken than in the preceding and following decades.[8] The travel accounts provide excellent examples of this forceful condemnation as the vast majority of the travelers had Protestant backgrounds. Both Anglican and non-conformist travelers were very common. The specific Protestant denomination did not result in different judgments of religion in France and Belgium. Travelers from all Protestant denominations condemned continental Catholicism equally forcefully. Moreover, in traveling through the Catholic parts of the continent the travelers rallied behind a common Protestant identity. Marjorie Morgan, in her analysis of British travelers on the continent in the nineteenth century, claims convincingly that as long as travelers traveled in Catholic regions Protestantism and Catholicism were viewed as two monolithic and opposing religions and that there was little room for further differentiation.[9] However, whilst visiting Protestant parts of the Continent, this dominant dichotomy was partly abandoned, and divisions between the specific Protestant denominations became apparent. As a result views on the observed religious situation split accordingly.[10]

The first and main observation of the travelers was, of course, the strength and dominance of Catholicism in both France and Belgium. Obviously the travelers did not approve. They brought forward three major points of criticism. Firstly, they claimed that Catholicism promoted superstition and idolatry whereas Protestantism

[7] Linda Colley, *Britons; Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, 1996), 464.
[8] John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991), 2, 106.
[9] Morgan, *National Identities*, 271.
[10] Other sources, like the British press reports, also support the centrality of this dichotomy between Protestantism and Catholicism. Further diversifications are rare.

stood for education and rationality. Catholicism was seen as a synonym for spectacular rituals in an elaborate setting. Most travelers were impressed by the striking effect of the richly decorated churches or the beauty of the singing. At the same time they were convinced that this had nothing to do with true religion and that it remained, therefore, superficial. As a result unfamiliar aspects of the rituals were at the centre of their scorn. The traveler Grantham claimed, for example, that the high speed of the singing of the endless Ave Marias revealed that the unfortunate believers all wanted to go home quickly.[11] Another anonymous traveler targeted the rich church decorations by claiming he mistook the elaborate outfits of the gesticulating priests for moving tapestries, tapestries that were obviously intended as a last trick to keep the ignorant believers amazed.[12]

The negative effect of Catholicism on moral behavior was equally strongly criticized. The traveler Daniel Wilson, for example, denounced this lack of morals in the French Catholic Church forcefully:

> And what is the general moral effect of this system? It neither sanctifies nor saves. A depth of vice, glossed over with outward forms of decency, eats as doth a canker. Voluptuousness, impurity, dishonesty, cunning, hypocrisy, every vice prevails, just as Popery has the more complete sway. The dreadful profanation of the Sabbath has by prescription become fixed. All the holy ends of it are forgotten, unknown, obliterated. It is the habitual season of unrestrained pleasure.[13]

Finally, British travelers perceived the French and Belgian Catholic Churches as essentially preoccupied with money and power. The wellbeing of the believers was not thought to be the central concern. This resulted in the image of an extremely greedy continental Catholic Church. The fact that travelers had to pay to see the finest pieces of art in the churches was considered proof for this view of a wealthy, greedy and complotting church. The disappointment resulting from the fact that these paintings and sculptures were covered during mass led to the strongest condemnations.

In the description of the French and Belgian Catholic Churches the similarities outnumber the differences vastly. The only major difference is that the British condemnation of Belgian Catholicism is even more forceful. Flanders especially was perceived as one of the most Catholic regions of Europe. Besides the enormous strength of Catholicism in Belgium, it reflects in the first place that religion in Belgium was a very crucial issue for the British travelers, that there was much more at stake. Whereas the interpretation of French Catholicism is a relatively straightforward one, the travelers took great pains to construct an original interpretation of Belgian Catholicism. The great similarity in observation and description of Catholicism was, therefore, abandoned the moment the travelers tried to make sense of Catholicism.

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[11] Lewes: East Sussex County Record Office, *Grantham family of Barcombe Place*, ACC 4789/86, 128-129 (1855).

[12] T. Brightwell, *Journal of a Tour made by a Party of Friends in the Autumn of 1825, Through Belgium, Up the Rhine, to Frankfort and Heidelberg, and across the Eastern Side of France to Paris* (Norwich, 1828), 2.

[13] Daniel Wilson, *Letters from an Absent Brother, Containing Some Account of a Tour Through Parts of The Netherlands, Switzerland, Northern Italy, and France, in the Summer of 1823*, vol. 2 (London, 1824), 252.

French Catholicism

The travelers' interpretation of French Catholicism was relatively straightforward. As France was still seen as the most important contrast to Britain, it was by definition associated with everything to the opposite of what was considered typically British. Besides being perceived as authoritarian, corrupt and ignorant, France and the French were obviously also Catholic. Catholicism was believed to be an integral part of the French national identity. Not surprisingly French Catholicism was perceived by the travelers as a monolithic power with few internal differences and subdivisions. Furthermore, the image underwent few changes during the nineteenth century. Changes in the religious situation had only a limited impact on the travelers' image of French Catholicism. The same stereotypical elements were repeated time after time. More forceful condemnation in the mid-nineteenth century was also in tune with a general increase in anti-Catholicism.

The existence of French Protestantism was not considered problematic to the claim that Catholicism was a core element of French national identity. In fact, the image of French Protestants played an instrumental role. It was incorporated in such a way that it actually strengthened the image of a Catholic French national identity. Most travelers contrasted the French Protestants very favorably with their Catholic compatriots. Matilda Betham-Edwards, for example, frequently compared her experiences in ultra-Catholic Brittany with those in the Protestant enclaves in Eastern France:

> We find a toleration here absolutely unknown in most parts of France, and a generally diffused enlightenment equally wanting where Catholicism dominates. Brittany and Franche-Comté, offer a striking contrast; in the first we find the priest absolute, and consequently superstition, ignorance, dirt, and prejudice the prevailing order of the day; in the last we have a Protestant spirit of inquiry and rationalistic progress, consequently instruction making vast strides on every side, freedom from bigotry, and freedom alike from degrading spiritual bondage and fanaticism.[14]

According to the British travelers this existence of a Protestant minority meant that the French were familiar with religious alternatives. The fact that the French chose Catholicism overwhelmingly therefore, could not be attributed to ignorance. As a result the travelers believed strongly that Catholicism was deeply engraved in the French national identity. This specific image of the Protestant minority reinforces, therefore, the close association between France and Catholicism.

Belgian Protestantism

The travelers' unique framework for interpreting Belgian Catholicism can only be understood against the background of the generally very favorable British view of Belgium and the Belgians in the mid-nineteenth century. As a result of the crucial role Britain played in the independence of Belgium after the 1830 Revolution, British public opinion considered Belgium as their own creation and, increasingly, as their prosperous child on the continent. Belgium was perceived as a "little Britain" or "little

[14] Matilda Betham-Edwards, *Holidays in Eastern France* (London, 1879), 106-107.

England" on the continent[15] and all typical British/English qualities were attributed to Belgium. For travelers, the Belgians loved freedom, constitutionalism, local government and enlightenment. Belgian history was read as a continuous struggle for freedom, and the Belgian monarch King Leopold was praised in the first place for his close ties with Britain. Furthermore Belgium seemed to follow Britain on the path of industrialization. Only the final British quality, Protestantism, seemed lacking.

From 1830 onwards, British travelers were often surprised to see that Belgium was Catholic and that nothing of what they called "the Protestant legacy of the sixteenth century" had survived.[16] This strong Belgian Catholicism was highly problematic for general British sympathy for Belgium. British travelers, however, made use of two important strategies to make sense of the religious situation in Belgium. These strategies enabled them to play down the apparent Catholic outlook of the country. Firstly, they depicted the Belgian Catholic Church as foreign to the true Belgian society. The Catholic Church was not seen as an essential part of the Belgian national identity but as imposed upon the Belgians by force of arms since the sixteenth century. The Belgian Catholic Church was perceived as governed by the Pope who made good use of the Jesuits to implement his policy in Belgium. It is striking that the Belgians as a people were often absent in the most negative descriptions of the Belgian Catholic Church. If travelers visited a French city one day later, the same criticism of Catholic ritualism was repeated, but this time Catholic rituals took place in a church packed with believers.

British travelers were familiar with the concept of a foreign Catholic Church, and they borrowed extensively from the existing language and concepts to describe Catholicism in Britain.[17] The dichotomy between a "true" national identity and a foreign Catholic Church was, therefore, a familiar and plausible framework of interpretation for the travelers. Not all problems however, were solved by this dichotomy. In fact the main problem was simply taken to another level. How could this foreign Catholic Church so easily dominate Belgian politics if it was not part of the Belgian national identity? Travelers were convinced that Belgian national identity was still in process of awakening. It was only in cities that a sense of national identity was beginning. The countryside lagged behind and was considered by the travelers as backward. Only the "modern" Belgians in the cities were compared with the British and could count on their sympathy. For the traveler John Trotandot this division of Belgian society was evident:

> Here and there I had peeps of real Belgian life and of quaintly dressed old Belgian people in all their picturesqueness of costume and primitiveness of habits. But modern Belgium is a second edition of England. The people are thoroughly English in appearance.[18]

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[15] Both the concepts of "little Britain" and "little England" were used interchangeably; however, referring to political elements "little Britain" was more popular, while "little England" was more frequently used when referring to cultural values.

[16] In the 1840s, for example, there were only fifteen thousand non-Catholic believers in Belgium of which half were of foreign nationality. See H. Heugh, *Notices of the State of Religion in Geneva and Belgium* (Glasgow, 1844), 169.

[17] Sheridan Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church in England, 1780-1940," in Sheridan Gilley and W.J. Sheils, eds, *A History of Religion in Britain; Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 346.

[18] John Trotandot, *Roaming Abroad, being Recollections of a Run through parts of France, Switzerland, Belgium and the Vaterland* (Crewkerne, 1878), 104-105.

Whereas the cities were believed to be ready to overthrow Catholic dominance, the countryside was believed to be firmly in the grasp of the Church. This countryside elected, however, the majority of the parliamentary representatives and was, therefore, perceived as one giant rotten borough in the hands of the priestly party.

The second important strategy was to depict the Belgians as resistance fighters. The travelers, and the British press, were extremely sensitive to any form of opposition to the Catholic Church. This resistance received much attention and the amount of upheaval was greatly over-estimated. Not surprisingly anti-clerical resistance in Belgium caught also the attention of Punch:

> The faithful Belgian clergy have been cast—not by any means having got themselves—into the hot water of persecution. They have been hissed and hooted, and subjected to other atrocious torments. An infuriated mob has outraged those venerable fathers with horrid cries of "A bas les couvents!'" and "Vive la Constitution" and still more barbarous shouts and yells.[19]

One important reason why the British believed they were witnessing the birth of an anti-Catholic resistance was their inability to interpret Belgium's strong and complex liberal-Catholicism. Furthermore travelers confused anticlerical resistance with anti-Catholicism. For travelers this resistance and the strength of liberal Catholicism were further proof of their belief in a Protestant Belgian national identity. This Protestant national identity however, had been suppressed by consecutive governments of the Catholic Spanish and the Austrians. The Belgians had, however, remained "hidden" Protestants, and the travelers believed that after the 1830 Revolution this Protestantism would awake in no time. Travelers saw anti-clerical resistance in the Belgian cities from this perspective. Whereas John Trotandot had claimed that the "modern" Belgians looked English, George Sala, journalist, travel writer and art critic, went one step further and claimed that the Belgians had "a Protestant look:"

> And I have never been able to get rid of the idea that, after all, Roman Catholicism is an exotic in Flanders; that its redundance—for there is no country where it is so repulsively prominent—is forced and artificial; and that in this temperate, methodical, cabbage-bearing, cattle-breeding land, the hips and haws of Protestantism should have been indigenous. The people have a Protestant look.[20]

The strength of the British confidence in the ultimate Protestant victory is striking. The traveler Lundie was, even as late as 1880, very optimistic about the prospects:

> [Y]et when the gospel is preached, it becomes evident that the villagers have no great confidence in their own superstitions, or in those who have encouraged belief in them. Romanism has flung a blight upon the moral life of Belgium: but conscience is awakening, liberty is beginning to assert itself. A death-struggle is now in progress between the power of Ultramontanism and the power of which the nation is beginning to feel conscious with itself. There may be wavering in the lines of the true and the brave, but it cannot be doubtful on which side victory will ultimately be secured.[21]

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[19] *Punch, or the London Charivari* 32 (1857), 235.
[20] George Augustus Sala, *From Waterloo to the Peninsula; Four Months' Hard Labour in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Spain* (London, 1867), 99.
[21] R.H. Lundie, *Seed-corn in Belgium, being a Visit to the Belgian Churches* (London, 1880), 16.

By 1850 the initial optimism was dented. Travelers no longer believed that victory would be effortless, the logical outcome of an awakening Protestant national character. British support was increasingly seen as an essential factor for success. There was a great need for precise knowledge of the religious situation in Belgium. The many tours made by clergy from the late 1840s onwards and their detailed accounts of religious affairs must be understood from this perspective. They were well aware that these original views were too optimistic and that the Catholic Church was much stronger than expected.[22] The idea that the Belgians could be converted to Protestantism and the language in which these attempts were formulated were, once again, not new. British travelers could copy the attitudes and views on the Irish religious situation of the 1820s to the Belgian situation.[23] Both the naivety of an easy mass conversion to Protestantism and the growing frustration and disappointment afterwards were very similar.

By the 1860s, and certainly by the 1870s, the vast majority of British travelers no longer believed in the Belgians as "hidden" Protestants or in a Protestant Belgian national identity. This shift, however, was not in the first place the result of a growing incongruence between the actual religious situation in Belgium and the British perception of it. This incongruence was already highly visible in the 1830s. What did change, however, was the general framework in which Belgium was understood. Whereas in 1830 Belgium could count on general British sympathy, by 1860 this was replaced by a strong British feeling of disappointment in Belgium. Belgium was increasingly perceived as the political and economic pawn of France. During the 1860s Belgium, therefore, lost its unique place in the British imagination and fitted from that date neatly in the "normal" continental perception. The Belgian constitutional system was no longer considered a perfect copy of the British and the freedom loving character of the Belgians was questioned. In short, Belgium was seen increasingly as an authoritarian, centralistic and bureaucratic state, and of course, a Catholic one as well.

Conclusion

The British travelers' perception of religion in France and Belgium differed fundamentally. The condemnation and rejection of French Catholicism is a reflection of strong Victorian anti-Catholicism. As France was still considered the most important contrast to Britain, its Catholicism was contrasted unfavorably with Britain's own Protestantism. The perception of religion in Belgium should be understood from a different perspective. The image of Protestant citizens in a Catholic country was determined by general British attitudes towards Belgium. This image enabled the travelers to praise Belgium and the Belgians and condemn, at the same time, Belgium's Catholicism. As a result the travelers' interpretation of a relatively similar situation was completely different once they crossed the border between France and Belgium. The travelers' perception of French Catholicism was relatively stable throughout the nineteenth century. The perception of religion in Belgium,

[22] The following travel accounts reflect this new attitude: Heugh, 250; Benjamin Webb, *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology or Church Notes in Belgium, Germany, and Italy* (London, 1848), 593; E. Morgan, *Voice from the Continent; or, Interesting Observations on Remarkable Places, Health, and Religion, in Belgium, Germany, and on the Rhine* (London, 1861), 76; and Lundie, *Seed-corn in Belgium*, 80.

[23] For an excellent introduction to British attitudes towards religion in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, see Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade*, 366.

however, made an important u-turn. For political and economic reasons the main motive to perceive the Belgian national identity as Protestant disappeared in the 1850s and 1860s, and travelers perceived Belgium increasingly as just another Catholic continental country. From the 1860s onwards travelers' perceptions of religion in France and Belgium was once again very similar.

Tuning into Politics: Flora Tristan's Songs for the *Union ouvrière*

Máire Cross

In mid-nineteenth-century France political song composition and singing were common forms of political expression and communication: the popularity of the Marseillaise as a musical template and the published works of lyricist and poet Pierre Béranger are testimony to the prolific nature of political song writing.

There remains little evidence of the oral practices and of the lesser-known amateur songwriters or what inspired them to write but I have come across an unusual trace of how this collective activity functioned as propaganda. A network of activist-composers emerged from the formerly obscure Tristan story of feminist socialist activism but whose voice is now dim. Some of these activists were once better known and were militant over a longer political period beyond the July Monarchy whereas Tristan's very brief political career militated against her legacy.

In 1843, in her bid to increase the sales of her book *Union ouvrière* among the laboring classes, Flora Tristan included in the first edition a call for an anthem for the organization she intended to create. That summer, after the publication of the first edition of *Union ouvrière*, Tristan was clearly in harmony with the workers' customs of singing for politics when she organized a song competition to be judged by Béranger. She wanted the songs to broadcast her message of love in her call to all men and women workers to form one great union. The competition ended in acrimony but she included her preferred songs in the subsequent editions of *Union ouvrière*. Although the other proposals did not make it to print, some of them have survived. In this essay I shall examine Flora Tristan's encounters with political verse. This presents an opportunity for closer analysis of how Tristan was adjudicated by those grass-roots social activists who were tuned into politics through singing.

For those unfamiliar with Flora Tristan the following is a brief account of her life.[1] Born on 7 April 1803, Flora Tristan was of Spanish-American and French

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[1] For a recent work on Flora Tristan's political importance see Máire Cross, *The Letter in Flora Tristan's Politics* (Basingstoke, 2004).

descent and was reared by her widowed and dispossessed mother with only dim memories of her father and his aristocratic wealth. By the age of seventeen she was married to her first employer, André Chazal, a lithographic artist, but by 1825 she was separated from him and had left her three young children in care to take employment as a lady's companion. She lived at various temporary addresses in order to flee her husband's persecution, especially after she began earning from her writing that began and flourished with travel and politics. Her works are noteworthy for their mixture of an emancipatory agenda for women and the socialist perspective of her day.

Tristan wrote and published her first extensive work, *Nécessité de faire bon accueil aux femmes étrangères* in 1835 while preparing her first major work on her Peruvian voyage, *Pérégrinations d'une pariah*, published in 1838. Then followed a novel, *Méphis*, in 1839, and her London travel journal, *Promenades dans Londres*, in 1840. Her very first public political campaign had been a petition to parliament in 1837 for the restoration of divorce. When she submitted her second petition for the abolition of the death penalty in 1838 she was recovering from an attack by her husband who had shot her in September of that year. At the time of her death in Bordeaux in November 1844 while on her tour of France, Flora Tristan had become a familiar figure in the socialist intellectual milieu in Paris and had succeeded in working within the rapidly expanding workers' political networks in the provincial towns of France.

We turn now to some contextual comments on the specificity of the history of workers' songs before examining the songs composed for *Union ouvrière*. Political songwriting of the lower classes has a peculiar and unique position within the history of musicology. From among the surviving expressions of political consciousness, written evidence of oral activities is rare, but an archaeological search is vital to trace worker identity through eye-witness accounts of festival rites, pamphlets, diaries and letters.[2] Singing performance, however, is a particularly elusive form of political communication. The Tristan example provides a degree of visibility in the letters accompanying some of the songs in question. Where printed traces of the construction of political singing (such as these letters) survive, it is possible to examine its impact as a collective activity. Evidence from the July Monarchy and Second Republic indicates that political activities involving singing were crucial; the role of the song in fostering ideas and influencing workers' politicization was possibly as important as that of the newspaper, then in the process of rapid expansion in circulation terms and in numbers of publications.[3]

The actual content of a song when written for propaganda to coax into action or to induce feelings of political solidarity and well-being, in particular those of unity and harmony, is a sharp contrast to the power struggles among songwriters. The song lyrics can reveal very little about the way tensions and points of debate were negotiated. In the songs for Tristan's song contest the content is quite bland. However, the idealism is in contrast to the tensions present in the process of composition and publication. Behind the scenes of a performance the manner in which songs were proposed, accepted and negotiated with political actors is far more colorful. Even better for finding the various tensions of a group is the occasion of a

[2] "Le regard de l'historien sur le passé demeure assujetti aux mots de ceux qui en furent les témoins et les acteurs." Jean Claude Caron, *Eté rouge. Chronique de la révolte populaire en France (1841)* (Paris, 2002), 35.

[3] For studies of nineteenth-century singing activities of the popular classes see the work of Marie-Véronique Gauthier, *Chanson, sociabilité et grivoiserie au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1992); Edward Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-wing Politics in France, 1830–1852* (Princeton, 1984).

song contest where much is at stake for the participants. Singing was a daily ritual for many and as such contained its own rules and conventions. Flora Tristan challenged some of these conventions by intruding into the space of composers.

As well as the difficulty of finding traces of an oral tradition there are two factors that reduce further historical evidence of political singing. Firstly, although we have access to some worker autobiographies, their bias towards emphasizing the world of work and their survival in the face of adversity has left little room for references to daily political-cultural activities, such as singing at work.[4] Written evidence of political singing has emerged from an exceptional phase of enthusiasm generated for a new regime or a new idea rather than from daily rituals where singing is taken as given. This was the case for the early years of the First Republic, for Tristan's political program and for the early months of the Second Republic.[5]

Secondly, while song collection was of interest to musicologists contemporary to Flora Tristan, collecting evidence of the political and historical context of urban singing was less so. Certainly Leterrier sees the interest in folk-song tradition crowding out the history of urban social activities around singing. Neglect of urban singing can be attributed to a specific cultural context:

> l'intérêt pour la musique populaire est connexe de la promotion du peuple-nation et du peuple poète, propre au romantisme. Elle exclut comme des êtres dénaturés les poètes-ouvriers trop touchés par les artifices de la civilisation.[6]

This romantic notion about rural ethnicity coincided with the expansion of music teaching and musical practice and with the development of a musical public, the emancipation of artists' careers from aristocratic patronage of the ancien régime, the dramatic transformation of musical performance and an increasing accessibility of music as part of high culture to the bourgeois masses throughout the nineteenth century.[7]

The history of popular songs under the July Monarchy with their demise during the Second Empire is one linked to political repression as well as to cultural taste. Leterrier suggests that the decision to collect the songs, freezing them out of their natural political habitat of protest and subversion, added to their neglect:

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[4] Mark Traugott, *The French Worker: Autobiographies from the Early Industrial Era* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1993), 27.

[5] Two articles give an indication of how widespread this activity was in republican contexts. The first traces the historiographical shaping of the history of popular music activities. The second describes a song competition held during the Second Republic. Sophie-Anne Leterrier, "Du patriotisme musical. Le concours de chants nationaux de 1848," *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 15.2 (1997): 67–80; Sophie-Anne Leterrier, "Musique populaire et musique savante au XIXe siècle. Du 'peuple' au 'public,'" *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* 19 (1999): 89–103.

[6] Leterrier, "Musique populaire," 89.

[7] Needless to say the class chasm in music performance and composition is a vast subject that is not under discussion here. Suffice it to say that as music became more and more erudite it diversified into genres and became hierarchical with its professional performance in public and different rites for amateurs, who played less and less in public but who became listeners in the expanding audience culture. Music in high culture was both scholarly and a cultural commodity: printed, published and sold as an elitist product for formal highly ritualized performances in opera and concert hall with mass audiences, thus becoming more and more distant from popular musical culture in its places of performance, composers and circulation. For recent works that include the history of French songs over a long period see Hugh Dauncey and Steve Cannon, eds., *Popular Music in France from Chanson to Techno: Culture, Identity and Society* (Aldershot, 2003); David Looseley, *Popular Music in France: Authenticity, Politics, Debate* (Oxford and New York, 2003).

> L'entreprise de "patrimonialisation" de la chanson populaire avait reçu un tour officiel avec l'arrêté de Salvandy du 21 mai 1845, créant la "commission des chants religieux et historiques de la France."[8]

This consigned popular songs to a specialized educated audience so that although they were preserved to some extent, they were also cut off from their source, that of popular and spontaneous expression. Without that source they lose an essential dimension. The preservation of Tristan's songs can be appreciated in the light of the end for which they are designed: propaganda.

Where were these songs likely to have been performed? What of the lower classes' musical tastes? What was the entertainment for *le peuple*? The importance of singing and dancing in popular music was crucial. For instance, popular music was performed in the street and in drinking establishments, cafés and *limonadiers* (mentioned in one letter to Tristan) and in dance halls—all disreputable and rowdy—"dans les goguettes et guinguettes"[9] in the work-place and at popular banquets that were to become part of the political opposition scene towards the end of the July Monarchy. At the beginning of the 1830s in Paris "la musique de rue faisait vivre 271 musiciens ambulants, 220 'saltimbiques,' 106 joueurs d'orgue de barbarie, 135 chanteurs, selon la préfecture de police."[10]

The police records exist as a result of surveillance policies of any meeting of the members of the *classes dangereuses* that could pose a threat to law and order. Circulation of songs in public was severely controlled and special permission was necessary to distribute any publication in large numbers. There were few crossovers from high to low culture—of them Béranger was emulated as the people's poet. Lamartine was a popular reference too. The distinctive characteristic of urban singing according to Leterrier was that the products were ephemeral, for a specific occasion and limited in circulation.

Evidence of singing in Tristan's correspondence strikes a familiar chord when comparing it with other historical moments, particularly with regard to the discrepancy between the aims and achievements of contest composition and clashes between authority of artistry and political purposes of ceremonial songs. The consequence of launching a contest and the desire to use singing for propaganda was unpredictable in Flora Tristan's experience and at other moments. There were many factors that determined the duration of a song's popularity over which the song composer had little control.

However ephemeral in popularity or in history, political songs could spread rapidly.[11] Music and political ideas became associated in a novel way that began in the 1789 revolution. Henceforth waves of popular political singing and songwriting coincided with waves of democratic participation in political life.[12] The First Republic used song for political propaganda in its new rituals with choral performances during public ceremonials. Indeed public singing became so frequent that Danton was reported to have complained about the "singing mania" of the Convention.[13] The mania proved short-lived, beginning in *an* II and ending in 1798 when the practice of

[8] Leterrier, "Musique populaire," 102.
[9] Ibid., 92.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] See Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics 1787–1799* (Ithaca, 1996).
[13] Leterrier, "Du patriotisme musical," 67.

daily singing of civic songs decreed by the Directoire died out. Enthusiasm for singing vanished as quickly as it had appeared.[14]

Another similar short-lived craze for singing occurred in the spring of 1848. Songwriting asserted the deeply-held right to express a political view and in a culture with a strongly developed oral and singing tradition, the song was a logical form for voicing a new agency of citizenship participation. When Hippolyte Carnot, the Minister for Public Instruction, organized a song competition in March 1848, he was re-enacting the tactics of the First Republic to inculcate patriotism and republican virtue into its citizens through singing. He was also able to build on the further impetus that had been given to the idea of music in the service of citizenship by the Saint-Simonian movement. Music and social ideas were merged in a new dynamic during the 1820s and 1830s. Saint-Simonians attracted musicians as members or influenced their ideas.

As well as the idea of making Art more democratically accessible, the activity of singing was considered to be an important means or tool with which to convey social ideas.[15] Flora Tristan's call for song compositions for her organization *Union ouvrière* emulated the work of the Saint-Simonians and that of worker-poet Agricol Perdiguier. Already in her novel Méphis she had experimented with the idea of using Art for a social purpose. Her evidence also matches the culture of song contests within the republican framework of 1789 and 1848 as it illustrates the characteristic of collective political singing: its ephemeral existence.

The moment of Flora Tristan's interest in political propaganda singing was a critical one as it was at the height of her involvement with worker-socialist movements between 1842 and 1844 and coincided with the publication in 1843 of her book *Union ouvrière*. The second and third editions followed in rapid succession in 1844. As well as the new prefaces added by Tristan, the major alteration to the later editions was the addition of an appendix of verse and songs composed to promote the union of working men and women that Tristan wished to create. One of these songs, *La Marseillaise de l'atelier*, with music composed by A. Thys, was cited on the front cover of these later editions of *Union ouvrière*.

The story of Flora Tristan's interest in political song begins on 23 March 1843, when she called unannounced on Pierre Béranger, whom she knew by reputation. She recorded that she was assuming she would receive a sympathetic response because of his lifelong opposition to the conservative Monarchy and his sympathies for the popular classes: Tristan wanted to commission a composition from Béranger to publicize the workers' union she was envisaging. Her account of the poet's reactions features prominently in the opening pages of her journal:

> Il prit l'épreuve, regarda le titre et dit: "le titre est beau—mais ce que vous me demandez là a un caractère de grandeur, d'énergie, d'enthousiasme qui est au-dessus de mes forces." … Je voulus insister—c'était même stupide de ma part, je le sentis après. —"Ecoutez, me dit-il avec beaucoup de bonhomie, s'il me vient quelque bonne inspiration là-dessus, je le ferai avec bien du plaisir, mais je ne vous promets rien. — Mais je dois vous le dire, depuis longtemps je n'ai plus beaucoup d'heureuses inspirations."[16]

[14] Ibid., 68.
[15] Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago and London, 1986).
[16] Flora Tristan, *Le Tour de France. Etat actuel de la classe ouvrière sous l'aspect moral, intellectuel et matériel, journal inédit de Flora Tristan,* ed. Jules-L. Puech, preface by Michel Collinet (Paris, 1973), 24. See also *Le Tour de France. Etat actuel de la classe ouvrière sous l'aspect moral, intellectuel et matériel, journal inédit de Flora Tristan,* ed. Jules-L. Puech, preface by Michel Collinet, with a new

There was an interesting outcome to her call on Béranger, perhaps not quite what was anticipated. Although she realized during her visit that she would not succeed in obtaining a song from Béranger, she was heartened that he had understood the object of her request. In fact he made a contribution to her efforts in a different manner: he was to be the judge of the entries for a song composition contest that she held in the summer of 1843. The writer Eugène Sue offered to provide the gold medal.[17]

Tristan's call for a song with the "fine" title "Union" later brought in several compositions for the contest, both from known activists—Poncy, Carpentras, Celabon, and Langomazino—and from anonymous and unknown authors. A less comfortable outcome emerged from the song contest, for although she received an enthusiastic response from some activists she antagonized others; there ensued a blazing row over the winning song involving one songwriter, Ferrand, who signed himself as the grand master of the Ordre des Templiers and member of the song composers' society, *La lice chansonnière.*

The contest received adverse publicity in a leading music journal *L'echo lyrique*, which accused her of having duped the songwriters and using them as a stepping stone for her own purposes, to which Tristan replied giving her interpretation of the dispute:

> Monsieur, Je vous prie, et au besoin je vous requiers, de vouloir bien insérer cette lettre dans votre prochain numéro. … Dans l'Echo Lyrique du 3 septembre, en rendant compte du concours de l'ordre lyrique des Templiers, vous dites: "Nous serons moins indulgents à l'égard de Mme Flora Tristan, qui fait un appel à nos poètes et n'accepte leurs oeuvres que sous bénéfice d'un inventaire, se réservant le droit de juger en dernier ressort et les pièces du concours et le jury lui-même, pour sauter à pieds joints sur ce précepte de droit: Donner et retenir ne vaut." Cette phrase prouve, monsieur, que vous n'avez pas été bien informé; voici l'exacte vérité. Il avait été convenu avec le chef de l'ordre lyrique des Templiers que je jugerais les pièces sous le rapport du fond, et que Béranger les jugerait sous le rapport de la forme. Lorsque j'eus examiné les chants destinés au concours, je déclarai que pas un seul ne remplissait pas les conditions posées par le programme, et qu'en conséquence je pensais qu'ils n'étaient pas dans les conditions à pouvoir concourir. En osant me prononcer avec cette franchise sur la valeur des chants, je savais à quelle colère à quelle haine je m'exposais, car le grand-maître de l'ordre des Templiers était lui-même un concurrent.[18]

The most bitter opponent in this dispute was indeed this grand master, Ferrand, who tried unsuccessfully to muster support from the singing fraternity against Tristan. In her letter to the *Echo lyrique* Tristan denied interfering in the competition when she

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introduction by Stéphane Michaud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1980); *Flora Tristan's Diary: The Tour of France 1843–1844,* trans, annotated and introduced by Máire Cross (Berne, 2002).

[17] Flora Tristan, *Union ouvrière*, [1843, 1844, 1844] followed by *Lettres de Flora Tristan* [1844 3d ed.], introduction and notes by Daniel Armogathe and Jacques Grandjonc (Paris, 1986), 272. See also *The Workers' Union*, 1844 edition trans and with an introduction by Beverly Livingston (Chicago and London, 1983).

[18] Letter from Flora Tristan to the editor of the *Echo lyrique*, 7 Sept. 1843, first published with annotations in Stéphane Michaud, *Flora Tristan. Lettres* (Paris, 1980), 188, and subsequently without annotations in Stéphane Michaud, *Flora Tristan. La paria et son rêve* (Fontenay/Saint Cloud, 1995), 179–81, but with annotations in the re-edition *Flora Tristan. La paria et son rêve*, with preface by Mario Vargas Llosa, (Paris, 2003), 216–18.

judged that none of the songs had fulfilled the requirements. Instead she justified her altruistic search for a song by putting the union first:

> Il me semble, monsieur, qu'un acte semblable de ma part prouve évidemment que j'ai l'intention de servir la classe ouvrière, et non de me servir d'elle pour m'en faire un marche-pied, comme vous l'avez dit.[19]

This contest involved a debate with other workers, some of whom declared their support for Tristan against Ferrand as we see from the following letter from Auguste Desmoulins:

> Je puis … vous dire sans anticiper que généralement on est disposé à suivre le plan de l'union que vous avez tracé, et pour cela je me fonde sur ce fait que chaque fois qu'un mot insolent ou injurieux a été prononcé contre vous, il a été repoussé par les murmures du plus grand nombre.[20]

The row with Ferrand quickly died down however and unlike her visit to Béranger is not mentioned in her journal. The medal provided by Sue was awarded to Thys for his musical composition and his composition duly appeared in the later editions of *Union ouvrière*; there was no agreement to award a prize for the lyrics composed. After the successful publication and distribution of the third edition of *Union ouvrière* with the winning song advertised on the front cover, the only further mention of songs in Tristan's journal that she wrote until her illness and death in November 1844 was in a performance context during the summer of 1844. The story of Tristan's interest in political song is a short one, for the actual process of composition was incidental to her great political dream of a workers' union.

Brief as it may be, the significance of Tristan's foray into songwriting is important for many reasons, three of which shall now be discussed. In the short term it provides evidence of channels of communication in political culture that otherwise would have gone unrecorded. Secondly, it is indicative of Tristan's qualities as a political negotiator when she tuned into political songwriting. Finally, it is aligned with other political moments of organized singing that are worth highlighting for the longer-term view of the development of political communications through song in spite of or as a result of changes of regime in nineteenth-century France.

Evidence of performance, composers and circulation in Tristan's work

Firstly to the historical evidence of political songs that emerges from Tristan's work: thanks to her journal and correspondence we can trace some of the background to the collection of songs for the *Union ouvrière* that have been given little attention to date by her biographers.[21] Jules-L. Puech gave the fullest account of what he termed "the song incident."[22] Tracing the network of correspondents who wrote to Tristan about the matter he regretted the breakdown in communication between Tristan and the

[19] Letter from Flora Tristan to the editor of the *Echo lyrique*, 7 Sept. 1843, in Michaud, *Flora Tristan. Lettres*, 189.
[20] Letter from Auguste Desmoulins to Flora Tristan, 29 Aug. 1843, first published in Stéphane Michaud, *Flora Tristan. La paria et son rêve* (1995), 178–9.
[21] For a recent bibliography on Flora Tristan biographies see Máire Cross, *The Letter in Flora Tristan's Politics*, 27.
[22] Jules-L. Puech, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan* (Paris, 1925), 156.

militant workers. He related the competition for a song by giving prominence to the disputes it caused. More recently Dominique Desanti presented Tristan's contacts with the song composers in an embellished account of her visit to a song club reconstructed from her letters and journal:

> Le fidèle docteur Evrat l'accompagne et un nouvel admirateur, un typographe juif disert, ironique et fiévreux, Rosenfeld. Nul ne semble se soucier de la Femme Messie, même après qu'elle a, timidement, dit quelques mots sur son projet: écrire un livre, une sorte de petit catéchisme exposant les lignes de "l'Union ouvrière" avec un chant, une sorte de Marseillaise du travailleur, qu'elle voudrait mettre au concours. Quelques applaudissements, des murmures, des "pourquoi pas," puis la séance continue et la présence de la dame provoque ou, au contraire, retient les refrains égrillards, selon les chanteurs. En tout cas on la regarde.[23]

In fact there is very little to go on by way of concrete evidence of what happened at these meetings beyond the Tristan papers. Some of the information about Tristan's encounters with songwriters comes in a letter from Vinçard in which he provided her with practical information about the venue of workers' song groups seemingly in answer to a question she had put to him from which Desanti constructed her account:

> Maintenant voici madame les renseignements que vous m'avez demandés les ouvriers ont au moins cinquante réunions de plaisir par semaine dans Paris que vous puissiez en voir et en étudier trois ou quatre cela vous suffira très certainement Je vais donc vous citer les quatre qui pourront vous servir de type la Lice chansonnière faubourg St Denis chez M. Boulanger limonadier No 23 tous les jeudis a 8 heures du soir la Pipé chez Mr Levasseur md de vin rue phélipaux tout en face la rue royalle St martin tous les samedis a 8 heures 1/2 9 heures du soir les Templiers rue St martin tout en face le corps de garde de la mairie du 6me arrondissement chez un limonadier tous les lundis a 8 heures du soir les bons vivans chez Mr Charpine Limonadier boulevard du temple à l'enseigne du Capucin, presque au coin de la rue d'angoulème.[24]

Where Puech saw the song incident as informative for an understanding of Flora Tristan's relations with the workers' milieu, Desanti emphasized this same incident as a feminist victory. She considered one of Tristan's great achievements was the breaking down of the gender, social and cultural barriers between her own and the workers' worlds. But what of the songs and the composers with whom Tristan was in contact and through whom their efforts came into print? We could see the song incident as an equally edifying moment for evidence of Tristan's understanding of composers, performance and the circulation of July Monarchy political songs. Furthermore the Tristan papers provide significant evidence of the mentality and circumstances of the production of this genre. Through Tristan's connections she had encountered the July Monarchy phenomenon of the worker-poet. Some of these young worker-activists were already active in other socialist groups and went on to play leading parts in the Second Republic and beyond.[25] Some on the other hand faded into obscurity.

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[23] Dominiqe Desanti, *Flora Tristan. La femme révoltée* (1972 and 2000), 237-8.

[24] Castres, Fonds Puech, Unpublished letter from Vinçard to Flora Tristan, Mar. 1843. Original orthography of manuscript retained.

[25] Puech believes that Desmoulins composed lyrics for a song entitled, *l'Union, chant des travailleurs* that was only published subsequently in 1848. See Puech, 160.

Although her first choice in March 1843 was the most established poet Béranger—the professional poet—weeks later she had been in touch with the worker-artists. By the summer of 1843 other enthusiastic responses came from unknown amateurs. Tristan was competing for the attention of the precocious workers who could articulate working-class culture.[26] This was after all a particularly rich period in the growth of protest politics, social ideas and associational life that would culminate in the 1848 Revolution. Alongside the idealism of the big ideas came many bitter disputes about tactics. The same went for those who sought to articulate their ideas in song and verse. In fact the differences were as much about the competition and tensions among the songwriters as about the politics of one militant woman and her union activists, as we can see from her letter to the *Echo lyrique*.

Tristan's attention to the actual performance of political singing in her journal is scant. This silence contrasts sharply with her account of her quest for songs in her book, *Union ouvrière*. The fact that she did not mention the song dispute in her journal is all the more significant as she used her journal frequently to relate political tensions as much as successes in her campaign. In addition to the Béranger encounter mentioned earlier, two telling entries in the journal reveal Flora Tristan's thoughts about composers and more obscurely about performance.

Her critique of Poncy the worker turned poet was scathing. When a letter from Audemar arrived informing her that Poncy had left town to avoid meeting her she lamented:

> Voici une lettre qui m'est précieuse, elle me confirme ce que j'avais deviné de Poncy … Voilà les poètes. —Gens tout à fait inutiles. Dans 200 ans la mission que je remplis aujourd'hui sera le "noble sujet des chants des poëtes" mais pendant que je l'aurai remplie, pas un ne m'aura aidée. —Ces gens là remplissent une place, mais certes ce n'est pas la première ! Alors ils habillent magnifiquement ces choses et les présentent au public qui les accepte avec enthousiasme … Dans 2 ou 400 ans les poètes chanteront "Flora Tristan, la première femme qui alla par le monde" "porter la loi nouvelle" —Cet acte de Poncy et la lettre sont un événement heureux, cela me donnera l'occasion de me prononcer sur la valeur des poètes dits populaires—et des ouvriers poètes.[27]

In this case her greatest disappointment was that "the lad was lost to the bourgeois;" he seemed unable to offer a total commitment to the union that Tristan expected.[28] Nonetheless it was his poem and not a song that headed the published choice in the *Union ouvrière* second and third editions. Particular performance of songs is not mentioned other than in the euphoric description of a successful workers' banquet organized on behalf of the *Union ouvrière* where she seemed delighted with the inclusion of a song—expressing regret that she had no time to give a full account of the evening's proceedings:

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[26] For the theme of class and the snare of culture, see Neil McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness*, *Social Art and the French Left, 1830–50* (Princeton, 1993), 315–333.

[27] *Le Tour de France*, Collinet edition, 179.

[28] From the evidence of her diary and comments written on letters she received, we know that she was particularly harsh in her judgment of artists whom she considered to be disloyal to their working-class origins if they did not devote themselves completely to the emancipation of their own class through their art. For a discussion of Tristan's expectations of workers' commitment to their own liberation see Susan Grogan, *Flora Tristan, Life Stories* (London and New York, 1998), 129–32.

> Le 11 août nous eûmes notre banquet. —Au lieu de 40 que j'avais demandé, il y en avait 80 ou 100. … Il y eut là un mouvement impossible à décrire! Oh! dans ce monde tout vient de l'amour! —tous s'aimaient comme de bons frères. (A faire le temps et la force me manquent.) La peine que ce pauvre Roussel se donna pour faire souscrire—le désordre que deux ou trois individus immoraux mettaient—laide qu'on peut obtenir du chant—et mille autres choses dont je me rappellerai.[29]

We can only speculate as to how Tristan would have edited this first draft of her journal that was published posthumously. Her own publication might have included some of the "song incident" letters since they do constitute a strong theme of conflict and machinations.

Evidence of Tristan's qualities as a political negotiator

We turn now to the second reason for the importance of the songs: evidence of Tristan's qualities as a political negotiator when she tuned into songwriting. She had recognized that the song was an ideal propaganda machine to broadcast the essential message of union in the name of fraternity. Tristan's journal—her private account of her political campaign—is an account of her opinions off the record. Her public record of the song contest comes in *Union ouvrière*. This is a much more formal presentation of the organization of a political campaign. A page-long explanation to her readers about the desire for inclusion of a song in an undated untitled section comes immediately after the preface, though tantalizingly there is no hint of where she found her inspiration. Out of those submitted she chose three for her appendix in *Union ouvrière*: a poem, *l'Union. Au peuple* by Poncy who insisted he was no song composer:

> Voici mon travail: je suis persuadé d'avance qu'il ne vous plaira pas. Ce n'est pas un chant que vous attendiez de moi, c'était une chanson: la Marseillaise de l'union ouvrière. Je ne sais pas faire les chansons. Quand j'ai essayé, j'ai fait des vers tiraillés et la chute des couplets était ridicule.[30]

Poncy's poem is followed by the two songs that won the most votes in the song contest, "la Marseillaise de l'atelier," music by M.A. Thys and lyrics by Gallinove, a painter, advertised on the front cover, and "la Marseillaise de l'union ouvrière" by Leclair, a student.

The songs have the last word as they form the final section of her book. The three compositions mention the theme of unity as the most valued message above all. Fraternity follows, as do the themes of glory to labor and equality in marriage. Women as audience are mentioned in the two songs, as are the other main themes of her *Union ouvrière*, the call for a defender to represent the working class in parliament, palaces for the workers' social needs, and equality for women. Poncy's poem is much less politically specific with the romantic depiction of swallows braving the raging seas. His use of imagery of nature providing examples of perseverance and solidarity before danger omit specific references to the *Union ouvrière* and to women, but still contain the key themes of the call for unity of the noble "peuple." In contrast to her scornful opinion of Poncy in her journal entry of 1844 mentioned above, Poncy's talents are praised in the official version:

[29] *Le Tour de France*, Collinet edition, 200.
[30] *Union ouvrière*, 269.

> J'avais demandé à M. Poncy un chant: il me l'envoya et la lettre qui l'accompagnait ajoute un nouveau mérite à ce précieux don. —Elle prouve que le poète est réellement un ouvrier maçon et que l'ouvrier maçon est un grand poète. [31]

His letter that she cited in full is a direct testimony to the extraordinary effort on his part to produce literary work, which ennobled him as a worker-poet:

> [J]e travaille tout le jour comme un damné et que le travail des bras ne me laisse que les très courts loisirs du soir à consacrer à mes travaux littéraires, heureux que je suis lorsque le sommeil ne s'en empare pas.[32]

The contrasting presentation of this particular worker-poet betrays a distortion of the voice of the worker on the part of Tristan. Like all *journaux intimes*, her diary is highly selective. In the formal discourse of *Union ouvrière* the other worker-poets' voices were silent as Tristan had made her selection from those compositions she had received using criteria that had little to do with musicality or literary values. However her song appendix in *Union ouvrière* provided a rare outlet for fellow authors who responded to Tristan and reveal how she manipulated the responses to suit her cause.

A closer reading of her correspondence permits us to read the song entries which she had rejected and examine the extent of her success in calling for a song. Other voices that did not pass her filter for publication in her book survive intact thanks to her letter writing. Within this epistolary space we see how Tristan sustained new contacts who had emerged through political singing. As we saw from the results of the song contest tuning into political communication was an unpredictable affair. New loyal friends and allies materialized; among them Louis Langomazino who corresponded with Tristan in August 1843 and sent her a song that has survived as did the draft of the banquet toast to her union.[33]

A blacksmith and militant in Toulon, Langomazino became a vital contact for her propaganda tour of France: in August 1844 he was her leading contact and mediator with the Arsenal workers in Toulon during her visit. In his song there a several clues to his future political allegiances: a union of workers to end poverty, dignity and honor to workers, Christian sentiments of fraternity, pacifism, and omitted from the three chosen songs included in the song appendix of *Union ouvrière*: universal suffrage:

Sainte Union sous ta blanche bannière
Rallie enfin les pauvres ouvriers
Que l'un pour l'autre ils aient un cœur des frères,
Que désormais la hideuse misère
Déserte enfin leurs modestes foyers.
Montrons, Français, aux malheureux d'Irlande
Qui sont unis sur leur aride lande
Plus de poignard, le peuple se relève
Sommes nous point les Français doux et bons?

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] "Vive l'UNION OUVRIERE! Vive Mme. Flora Tristan qui l'a enfantée! Que tout noble cœur se rallie à ce cri sous la bannière de la fraternité, que tout noble cœur s'inspire de vos paroles harmonieuses et marche fièrement dans la voie de salut vers le but que vous nous faites appercevoir à l'horizon." Castres, Fonds Puech, toast by Louis Langomazino to Flora Tristan, 4 Aug. 1844.

N'avons-nous point dans notre conscience
Un long remords d'affreuse souvenance?
Laissons rouiller nos gueules de canon …

A l'œuvre donc, marchons avec courage
Car l'avenir s'avance radieux;
Nous obtiendrons l'universel suffrage,
A l'œuvre donc. Notre immortel ouvrage
Ira s'inscrire au grand livre des cieux
Avec transports . . .

In his first letter he was enthusiastic in his response to her political message in *Union ouvrière* and wrote to invite Tristan to Toulon:

> Madame, J'ai lu votre ouvrage intitulé Union Ouvrière: votre parole sympathique pour tout ce qui souffre a excité dans mon cœur une profonde émotion et dans le paroxisme de mon admiration, j'ai relu ce que je venais de lire, j'ai chanté ce que vous aviez chanté.

Langomazino was sacked for his militancy in the munitions workers' strike in 1845.[34] This was to be the first of many political conflicts in which he became embroiled. A proponent of universal suffrage and education for all, he was implicated in the socialist republican struggle against Louis Napoleon in 1851 and was exiled for his pains to Tahiti where he remained for the rest of his days and became a leading pillar of society serving as a high court judge. He died in Papeete in 1865. His contact with Flora Tristan was one of his first forays into writing for politics in newspapers and for clubs.[35]

Langomazino's song was not dissimilar to many of those written in the heady days of the Second Republic and it also bears a strong resemblance to the winning songs placed in the song appendix of *Union ouvrière*. There is not enough evidence to explain why it did not win the prize. Neither do we know if it was ever performed or circulated. Langomazino's enthusiasm for her project expressed in his first letter endured beyond the initial epistolary encounter and her visit to Toulon.

This example is in sharp contrast to Ferrand's relationship with Tristan. In a sequence of six letters dating from June to September 1843 Ferrand moved from eulogy of Tristan's idea to consideration of legal action against her for breach of promise. The dispute was over authority. Ferrand felt his seniority was challenged as a senior song composer. Ironically there remains little trace of Ferrand in biographical records of worker-poets. There are several letters from him in Tristan's papers, but no song.[36] His skills as a songwriter were thwarted by the political communicator Flora Tristan who had her own ideas about an appropriate song.

[34] See Maurice Agulhon, *Une Ville ouvrière au temps du socialisme romatique. Toulon de 1815 à 1851* (Paris and The Hague, 1970, 1977), 163–77.
[35] See Dominique Lecoeur, *Louis Langimazino (1820–1885). Un missionnaire républicain de la Provence aux îles Marquises* (Mane, 2002), 16–40.
[36] Castres, Fonds Puech, see Flora Tristan correspondence.

Political and historical context of Flora Tristan's song for the *Union ouvrière*

In the wider impact of political singing of the working classes in the nineteenth century Flora Tristan's involvement was similar to other political moments of organized singing. In 1848 the time was ripe for singing for the Republic due to a number of factors: enthusiasm for the Revolution from among the musical fraternity, the spread of the practice of political singing, and singing for social purposes in the popular milieu.

In the early days of the new Republic musicians and artists found a voice to organize meetings to request an improvement in their living conditions and they also became political actors through their music teaching of patriotic songs, music events for the public ceremonies and their participation in the organization of a song contest. Carnot's patriotism was thus shared by musicians. Among the members of the jury were former Saint-Simonians but the majority were chosen for the most part from among prominent musicians rather than politicians. They included Auber, Adam, F. Halévy and Félicien David. Alfred de Musset was appointed as the sole poet. The jury choice was important for the success of the competition, something Tristan would have appreciated.

Although there was some reluctance on the part of prominent musicians and poets to take part, there was no shortage of candidate song composers. A bronze medal was the offered prize for the best entry. Unfortunately only thirty or so entries survive, but enough for Leterrier to have done an analysis of their thematic content. The most common key words in the lyrics are: the end of tyranny, glory of the Republic personified by the people, the nobility of work and workers, the arrival of the true Christian age of fraternity, and peaceful means of revolution. Three songs refer to nations by name in the way that Langomazino had invoked the example of Ireland trying to shake off its fetters of slavery. Three nations—Italy oppressed by Austria, Poland by Russia and Ireland by England—are called to free themselves from tyranny. References to Christianity are general and diverse. The First Republic and its flag are frequently mentioned. In short the songs are representative of the spirit of 1848 but they have much in common with the Tristan songs.

The form of the songs is quite conventional, written in rhyming verse. Musically the most common form used was that of an anthem "hymne" for solo voice or choral works for four-part harmony male choir, or for choir and solo. Those who only submitted lyrics often only suggested the form of anthem, prayer or song. The model of the Marseillaise was often used, as we saw in *Union ouvrière*, but classical music influence is more common than that of popular song.

The entries were from the pens of the professional classes and for this reason lacked the raw enthusiasm of militants. The most frequently cited occupation was that of education, then Law. Few were workers. One worker entrant was lauded for his efforts in the same way that Poncy was made respectable. Commercial traveler Dufriches-Desgenettes undertook to write accompanying letters providing very precious details about his education, his background and his opinions about republicanism.

Polyphonic politics and discordant harmonies

Divergent attitudes existed in 1848 about what constituted the music of the people and how it should be performed. One of the jury, Adam, lamented the lack of rhythmic

popular songs with which to accompany work or marching.[37] Many professional musicians did not submit the entry requested, or if they did they sent in a romantic or sentimental piece deemed unsuitable for a new national anthem for a public festival celebrating the Republic. However at least eight hundred pieces were submitted. Unfortunately the problems of the Republic overtook the song contest.[38] Nonetheless several prizes were given with separate prizes for music and for lyrics. According to Leterrier, "sur 3000 chansons, 150 seulement eurent une musique nouvelle."[39] The most enthusiastic lyric writers were obscure, often from republican backgrounds. Many of the musicians on the other hand who lived from composition were less interested in conducting propaganda for the Republic and thus, suggests Leterrier, may well have offered their compositions to other regimes for similarly organized contests or ceremonial occasions. Musicians—in the majority on the jury—awarded prizes to fellow musicians. The exception was a special category for prizewinner Dufriche-Desgenettes, the republican commercial traveler:

> [E]nfant du peuple, voyageur de l'industrie, c'est sur les grandes routes de France et de l'étranger, et souvent à bord d'un navire de commerce, que le modeste poète, songeant au pays qu'il aime, songeant à Dieu, a écrit ces poésies morales et populaires, dédiés aux marins, aux travailleurs, et qui mériteront, à tous les titres, d'exciter la verve de nos musiciens.[40]

The conclusion of the jury that sought musical excellence in the musical establishment and in the heroic people's poet was that:

> Ce concours n'aura donc été stérile ni pour l'art musical, ni pour les lettres, ni pour nos fêtes nationales. A côté de noms déjà connus, il a mis en lumière des noms nouveaux. Cet appel à tous, qui laisse à chacun la liberté de l'inspiration, l'égalité de l'effort, la fraternité du but, éveille plus d'intelligence qui s'interroge et souvent révèle à lui-même le talent qui s'ignore.[41]

Taken from the musical establishment, the jury wished to encourage the people's singing enthusiasm but gave the prizes to their own members, the experts. Patriotic enthusiasm without musical talent was not rewarded. There was no follow-up to this contest in 1848. The efforts of the entrants sank almost without trace. The winners had been promised a fully-financed paid public performance of their work, but this never occurred. The demise of republican aspirations of the early months put paid to that. Tristan's brief song competition had been equally fraught with tensions that had come to the surface in the correspondence. It illustrates the conflict between musicality and the political aspirations of propaganda that Tristan discovered in the workers' musical fraternity.

Although she had a very definite idea for the song with a fine title, "Union," she could not control the rivalry among musicians. Yet music could indeed reach the hearts and minds of the people in a way that no other political propaganda could. Eight hundred entries for an official song contest in 1848 would suggest that there were many would-be poets in the making. That their compositions fell short of

[37] Leterrier, "Du patriotisme musical," 77.
[38] Ibid., 78.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 79.
[41] Ibid., 79–80.

standards set by those running contests signified a discrepancy between musicality and political propaganda.

Conclusion

The Second Republic built on the training of the July Monarchy socialists such as those of Flora Tristan's song contest. For music to reach an audience and serve a political purpose it needed composers and performers well versed in political principles.

The song incident came right in the middle of a period of Tristan's most intense political activity through meetings and correspondence with known and lesser-known worker-activists. The success of Tristan's contacts depended on her remarkable ability to organize her propaganda and meetings with key figures throughout her political campaign.

The songs are the most concrete evidence of the common terrain and barriers of political ideas: on the one hand the common ground of principles and on the other the points of disagreement over organization. She saw the idea of a song for *Union ouvrière* through to publication, no mean feat in gender terms since the vast majority of song composers and singing clubs were male dominated. The song incident is important because of the cross-section of respondents and also because of the timing of the event.

The spring and summer of 1843 saw her preparing for her propaganda tour of France. The song contest elicited a response from the provinces through letters. Songs became part of her propaganda tactics. Letters were the vehicle for songs and as such provided the background to the political song beyond lyrics and music.

It came at a critical moment in Flora Tristan's politics when she was hovering between acceptance and rejection, between political and apolitical workers, between known and unknown songwriters, between existing organizations and individuals, between bourgeois philanthropists and intellectuals and the workers' intelligentsia from Paris and those of the provinces, between an advanced organized elite and apolitical workers or isolated individuals scattered throughout France. The collection of letters by worker songwriters is testimony that they and Flora Tristan were finely tuned into the politics of communication in late July Monarchy France.

The Globalization of French Sound: French Convents in Australia

Ingrid J. Sykes

Recent studies of European colonization have offered important insights into the nature of imperialism. According to Michael Adas, it was the use of "superior technology—the surveying instruments and firearms—that set the Europeans off" from the non-Western peoples.[1] But imperialism is not simply a process of confrontation or dialogue with an exotic other, but also a process of cultural transfer, in which constructions of the other are an existing part of a domestic identity and are transported to a new location such as Australia. Aspects of this self-reflection can be seen in the use of musical technology in convents in France during the nineteenth century. During this period, French convents were understood and defined themselves as "other" by creating an enclosed secluded space as a refuge from secular modernism. The French *congréganistes* saw music as a key component of their cultural difference. As an important part of the secluded convent sphere, cutting-edge acoustical technologies were successfully transported globally by the French convent community where they have often remained. Ultimately the convent's aim was not only to enforce the French tradition of cloistered women in the global environment, but to ensure the survival of the specialized French convent musical culture and its sonic technological approach while it was under attack in France during the period of the separation of Church and State.

The case-study which I will refer to is that of the *Maison* and *Pensionnat* established by French Sacred Heart nuns in Glen Iris, Melbourne in 1888. It has an extensive archive containing House and School Journals dating from its establishment as well as an extensive archive of musical material brought from French houses much of which remains in the organ tribune at the school, still currently operating on its

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[1] Michael Adas, "The Machine as Civilizer," in *European Imperialism, 1830-1930: Climax and Contradiction*, eds. Alice L. Conklin and Ian Christopher Fletcher (Boston, 1999), 67-74.

original site as a Catholic Independent school. Although the major archives associated with the Sacré-Coeur order in Poitiers and Roehampton reveal a much more extensive picture of the order, particularly through their complete listings of all nuns (and their biographies), the material in the archive in Melbourne provides a particularly rich picture of a distant French convent community and highlights the importance of music in the convent's global expansion.

Often assumed to be of Irish origin, the establishment at Glen Iris was, in fact, thoroughly French. A product of the re-establishment of the enclosed teaching *congrégation* by Napoléon I, the community, founded by Madeleine-Sophie Barat, had been approved in 1807 with the title "Dames de l'instruction chrétienne."[2] Their official aim at their establishment was "the free instruction of poor young girls and the education of ladies in continental France and the Colonies."[3] Les Dames du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus as they became known around 1815 had strong right-wing Catholic support throughout the nineteenth century. The Restoration government facilitated their growth firstly, by removing the suppression of the Jesuits, the then Catholic ally of the *congrégations*, and secondly by enabling the purchase of the Sacré-Coeur "Mother House," the Hôtel Biron (now the Musée Rodin) in the rue de Varenne, Paris.[4] Sacré-Coeur is listed amongst the largest convent orders at counting in 1823 and 1861, the dates marking the period of the Restoration and the middle of the Second Empire.[5] By the beginning of the Third Republic, the Sacré-Coeur community was considered the second richest *congrégation* in France.[6]

In keeping with the agenda of leading Catholic thinkers such as Félix Dupanloup and Maxine du Camp, Sacré-Coeur enforced female enclosure.[7] Considered crucial to the formation of the image of the "pure" nun who might morally and sexually protect and influence the younger female generation,[8] Sacré-Coeur Constitutions stated that "the entrance door shall be kept closely shut and shall open only from the inside."[9] It was therefore impossible to leave the convent without being noticed. In addition a portress noted anyone entering or leaving the convent space.[10]

Sound played an important role in the creation of the enclosed convent space. The Hôtel Biron site was dominated by a range of disparate sounds resonating around the enclosed compound. Behind the expansive reception room was a maze of echoing corridors. These extended in two different directions from the front leading backwards

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[2] For a detailed description of the edicts facilitating the re-establishment of the enclosed teaching *congrégation* in the early nineteenth century see Claude Langlois, *Le catholicisme au féminin: Les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1984), 68-73.

[3] "Les Soeurs ou Dames de l'instruction chrétienne d'Amiens, ont pour but l'instruction gratuite des jeunes filles de la classe indigente, et l'éducation des demoiselles, tant dans la France continentale, que dans les Colonies." Archives de l'Archevêché de Paris 4R 8.

[4] Langlois, *Le catholicisme au féminin*, 354, 476.

[5] Ibid., 334-335.

[6] Ibid., 384.

[7] See Félix Dupanloup, *Nouvelles oeuvres choisis. Controverse sur l'éducation des filles* (Paris, 1874), 3: 196-197; and Maxine du Camp, *La charité privée à Paris* (Paris, 1885), 10-15.

[8] For the implications of convent enclosure for female students in the convent *pensionnat* see Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1981), 168-181.

[9] Archives of Sacré-Coeur, Roehampton, *Constitutions and Rules of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus [1833-]: With separated revisions in accordance with Canon Law 1922* (Roehampton, 1924), 108. Apart from small revisions denoted in brackets (not applicable to this study), these constitutions are identical to the original nineteenth-century constitutions of the order accepted by Gregory Pope Pius XVI 17 June 1833.

[10] Ibid., 446.

to two separate buildings. In between was a large garden and grotto with ceramic statues and a fountain. The two sides of the courtyard created a lively acoustical barrier and footsteps and human voices could be heard clearly. The chapel, positioned at the side of the courtyard, contained a new French organ which could be heard throughout the compound. Along with the organ was the convent bell which was rung in association with the sonic ticking of the mechanical clock.[11]

Like Chateaubriand's first Christian monasteries which contained "divine music mixing with the sound of cascades and springs,"[12] the nineteenth-century convent was a sonic Eden. Sound was used as a sensory stimulant within the enclosed compound to depict paradise, with its heavenly and natural elements. The emphasis on silence, *le silence de Dieu*, contributing to the feeling of the convent as a place of refuge from the secular world, was not in conflict with the sonic environment of the convent space. It was a silence "full of sonorous realities" and a place where "certain sounds reinforce[d] the experience of silence."[13] Cutting-edge mechanical sonic technology, the *orgue de choeur* models of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll and Joseph Merklin purchased by the convents, enhanced the communicative power of the sounds within the convent space.[14] They brought to fruition the idealized religious musical experience described by Chateaubriand, the sound of nature "murmuring" and "breathing" in enclosed spaces. As in the larger convent space itself, the sound palette produced by the nineteenth-century convent organ depicted the God-created universe, an "imitation of the symphony of solitude."[15] The reflection of the natural was achieved through the sounds of the stops (individual sound colors) such as the open harmonic flute (*flûte harmonique*), *hautbois* and *trompette*. The high wind pressure of the organ created a vague impression of wind in the trees. These sounds intermingled with the mechanical noise of the organ that implied a divine, non-human presence. Other sounds became reflections of the celestial voices, privy only to the ears of the nuns. The most widely used of these was the named *voix céleste* stop, literally "celestial voice."

Although many of the sounds on the new organ were taken from previous models, the nineteenth-century organ design incorporated new mechanisms that made the sonic effect more powerful and more immediate to the ear. Cavaillé-Coll had applied a mechanism, the Barker Lever action, developed from principles of

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[11] I base this description on having visited the site as it is today as well as other Sacré-Coeur convent sites such as the Poitiers house which has changed relatively little since the nineteenth century.

[12] "[M]usiques divines se mêlaient au bruit des cascades et des sources." François-René de Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme. Quatrième partie, livre troisième*, chronology and introduction by Pierre Reboul (Paris, 1966), 2: 118.

[13] Camille Mauclair, *La religion de la musique* (Paris, 1909), 53-55.

[14] For lists of convent orders purchasing models of these organs by these builders see Gilbert Huybens, "Paris Communautés, Ecoles, Théâtres, Facultés," *Aristide Cavaillé-Coll: Opus List*, trans. and ed. Peter Swift on behalf of the International Society of Organbuilders (Lauffen and Neckar, 1985); and Michel Jurine, *Joseph Merklin, facteur d'orgues européen. Essai sur l'orgue français au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1991). Joseph Merklin was born in Oberhausen 1819 and died in Nancy 1905. He presided over one of the largest organ factories of the nineteenth century and was the chief rival to Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. Decorations for his achievements included that of the *Chevalier de la légion d'honneur*. Initially trained by his father in Freiburg, and then with Friederich Haas and E.F. Walcker, Merklin began his business in Brussels in 1843 joining Friederich Schütze in partnership in 1853 as the Société anonyme. The firm opened a branch in Paris in 1855 on acquisition of the Daublaine-Callinet and Ducroquet firms. Merklin left the Société anonyme in 1870 for a new life in Paris and began organ building in Lyon in 1872, the Belgian connection continuing under the name of Pierre Schyven. The firm built large instruments for St-Eugène and St-Eustache, Paris, the French cathedrals of Arras, Blois, Bourges, Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, Lyon, Montpellier, Moulins and Rouen.

[15] Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme. Fragments*, 483.

contemporary steam engineering to his large instruments, consisting of "pneumatic assisting motors interposed between the keys and the pallet pull-down wires."[16] This mechanism was primarily designed to conquer the inertia of previous mechanical actions and enabled the instrument to maintain a large reservoir of air under pressure, dramatically enhancing the tonal power of the instrument. The *voix céleste*, was at the time a radically new and innovative acoustical sound, using the power of higher-wind pressure and "narrow-scaled pipes" to give a "sharp heterodyne effect."[17] The pipe was tuned deliberately sharp or flat producing an ethereal, shimmering quality. It resembled no obvious earthly sound and would have become known to the nuns after repeated hearings.

Mechanically-produced expressivity offered by the new instrument played an important role in the construction of nineteenth-century French convent identity. The pneumatic motors of the Barker Lever action heightened the performer's ability to manipulate different types of sounds through various mechanical devices. These mechanical devices enabled greater spatial manipulation of the various voices emanating from the organ. Combination pedals, a feature of the Cavaillé-Coll organ, enabling the player to manipulate by foot various groups of sounds without lifting the hands from the keyboard, were keenly used in religious spaces. The convent listener reveled in the crashing reed sounds from a different part of the instrument without warning, or an immediate transition from flutes to the *voix céleste* from a different set of pipes. The *récit* stops could be coupled to the *grande orgue* giving an enhanced, richer sound and were enclosed in an expressive swell box operated by a swell pedal (facilitating greater loud/soft changes). A powerful *tremblant* mechanism (literally "trembling" device) could be applied to this set of stops. The loud *basson et hautbois* could be operated suddenly using a foot lever. In the convent, the sounds of the organ were recognizable as a logical form of discourse to the nuns who had "left" the world for a position within a more heavenly sphere. Music was conceived as a separate speech, a divine language that could only be fully understood in association with the convent environment that produced it. The creation of "pure" musical sound was heightened by the acousmatic[18] nature of the organ performance, where the performer was invisible, and by the increased dislocation between the sound production point (the pipe) and the point of creation (the key).

The sense of otherness created within the nineteenth-century French convent space facilitated its own successful transition abroad.[19] Convent enclosure and its particular sensory construction had ironically led to an international type of freedom for this group of women. As the French nuns arrived in Melbourne, they brought with them numerous objects of their enclosed environment, including the organ and its performance practice, in order to produce a sensory replica of the convent as it was in France. The clock on the south face of the main building was transported from the Sacré-Coeur house in Bordeaux, the oak stalls from Angoulême, the marble altar

[16] Peter Williams and Barbara Owen, *Organ*, The New Grove Musical Instrument Series (London, 1988), 294.
[17] Ibid., 290.
[18] For a full definition of the term "acousmatic" see Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision*, trans. Claudia Gorbman with a foreward by Walter Murch (New York, 1994), 32, 221. Also see Simon Emmerson's discussion of acousmatic dislocation in '"Live' versus 'Real-Time,'" *Contemporary Music Review* 10.2 (1994): 95-101. See my recent article "Sonorous Mechanics: The Culture of Sonority in Nineteenth-Century France," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 1.1 (2004): 43-66, for more information on the sonic convent space.
[19] For the full extent of the expansion see Margaret Williams, *The Society of the Sacred Heart* (London, 1978), 382-384.

came from Lille, and an 1889 Merklin organ was disassembled in Marseilles, transported, and carefully reassembled in Melbourne in 1905.[20] In addition, a number of Sacré-Coeur hymns and hymn books transported from France can found in the organ room of the convent, some hand-written on French manuscript paper and some copied on arrival. These objects attain considerable "authentic" impact precisely because they are presented within the enclosed unit of the replicated convent space. Separated successfully as an other in France, the convent context can be described as a kind of "spore," a well-wrapped package of identity that could be transported easily to a distant land.[21]

The Merklin organ was not the first French style instrument to have made its way to Australia. Manufactured by the Merklin-Schütze warehouse in Belgium in 1870, another organ was originally destined for "Melbourne Cathédrale" although it was eventually placed in the Anglican church of St John's, Toorak.[22] French organ building technique also heavily influenced the Australian organ builder George Fincham in his design of the 1880 Royal Exhibition Building organ.[23] Yet the two French convent organs which made their way to Australia—in addition to the Melbourne Merklin organ, Sacré-Coeur also transported an 1890 Puget organ (built by the Toulouse firm of family builders established by Théodore Puget) from their convent house in Bordeaux to their Sydney house at Rose Bay in 1903—are significant in their contribution to the imperialist transportation of the French convent "package." Transportation of these instruments was in one sense a way of re-creating as authentically as possible the pure enclosure of the convent space for those in many other parts of the world. More importantly however, it created the ultimate model of divine communication in which an acoustical language, like a series of electronic impulses, was "communicated" from convent to convent. A sonic "network" reinforced the unity of the order expanding across increasingly vast distances and eventually weakened the convent's authentic base in France.

Globalizing the convent community was at the heart of administrative restructuring as the convent orders spread. From as early as 1830, Barat campaigned for a moveable "Mother House" within a federal system of individual self-governing communities called Vicariates. The formation of a "union" of convent houses within which the Superior General could move freely created acute tension between the congregation and the Archbishoprics of Paris and Rome throughout the nineteenth

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[20] "The French Connection," in *Sacré Coeur: Burke Road 1888-1988*, eds. Kathleen McCarthy and Denise Pitney (Melbourne, 1988), 52-59. Michel Jurine has commented that this instrument corresponds to the model no. 4 in the *Merklin et Cie* catalogue of 1880. The date on the pipework markings include Gambe = 26 Août 1889; Bourdon G.O. = 10 Août 1889. Although sadly underperformed correctly today, the organ is little altered from the original, apart from the more recent addition of electric blowing and a sympathetic restoration in 1984 by George Fincham and Sons, Melbourne.

[21] For further discussion of the French nineteenth-century convent as other see chap. 3 of Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London, 1996). Also see the discussion of gender and difference in relation to female travel in Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London, 1991); and to the construction of the other at the 1889 Exposition universelle, Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor, 1996), 289-317.

[22] Jurine, *Joseph Merklin*, 2: 425. My thanks to John Maidment of the Organ Historical Trust of Australia for this information.

[23] See John Maidment's work "The 1880 Melbourne Exhibition Organ" which provides the background for the following publication: John Maidment, "As Perfect as any Organ in the Colonies," in *Victorian Icon,* ed. David Dunstan (Carlton, Australia, 1996), 79-88; and Maidment, "An Ignominous End for the Organ," in *Victorian Icon*, 416-417.

century. Although Barat's dream of a moveable "Mother House" was never achieved, she was eventually successful in the establishment of the international Vicariate.[24]

The Melbourne house was one of the many international houses that contributed to this global network of French convent sound. Along with the arrival of the Merklin organ in Melbourne was the French organist Marie Chevreux. Her biography describes how she had renounced "a remarkable aptitude for piano music"[25] cultivated by her father, for a particular kind of organ music when she entered the convent of Sacré-Coeur at Laval. Born in 1848, Marie Chevreux was first educated there by the Soeurs d'Evron taking her final vows for the Sacré-Coeur community in 1880. In 1885 she left her position as organist at the Conflans house for Sydney, traveling for a brief period to the Timaru community in New Zealand. She returned to Melbourne in 1899, and died there in 1908. She brought into the Melbourne convent a copy of *Les bonnes traditions du pianiste* containing fifteen technically-advanced piano works by Mendelssohn, Chopin, Hummel, Mozart and Field. Yet the volume was laid aside when she reached Melbourne.[26] Her biography shows that she aspired to perform her own simple handwritten improvizations on the Merklin organ, many of which remain in bound French manuscript books in the Melbourne house tribune.[27]

Chevreux is one of many French religious women who re-created and maintained an important French cultural practice overseas. Data taken from the central archive of Sacré-Coeur in Poitiers and at the house in Roehampton prior to the beginning of the closure of Sacré-Coeur houses in France until its end in 1909 suggest that convent musical culture overseas provided an effective counterbalance against its decline in France. Between 1902 and 1909 Sacré-Coeur organist numbers in France dropped from forty-eight to three. Global numbers however, remained relatively stable (fig. 1). Although the long-term effect of early twentieth-century globalization on French organ culture is still to be fully explored, convent expansion did, at least in the short-term, maintain the French convent musical experience in the face of rapid decline within France. And the richness that these sonic mechanical objects still bring to the modern-day Australian cultural experience is a powerful reminder that French imperialism did not only involve the sizing-up and cataloguing of an exotic culture using European technology. It was also a long-distance and deeply penetrating cultural transmigration of a specific French technological practice.

[24] For more details see Jeanne de Charry, *The Canonical and Legal Evolution of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus from 1827-1853* (Rome, 1991).

[25] Archives of Sacré-Coeur, Roehampton, "Melbourne: Pensionnat," Lettres Annuelles, Troisième Partie (1906, 1907, 1908), 511-515.

[26] Félix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, "Concerto, op. 25 Allegro," *Les bonnes traditions traditions du pianiste*, vol. 6 (Paris: Durand, n.d.) marked "Marie Chevreux rscj," Archives of Sacré-Coeur, Melbourne.

[27] Chevreux's *Offertoire de Noël* is discussed in my forthcoming book *Women, Science and Sound in Nineteenth-Century France* (Frankfurt, 2005).

FIGURE 1: Catalogue of Organists compiled from the "Catalogue de la Société de Sacré-Coeur de Jésus" 1896-1909
Numerical Representation of Organists according to Year and Country

Country	1896	97	98	99	1900	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09
Africa	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Argentine	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	2	2
Australia	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	4	5	4
Austria	5	5	5	6	6	5	5	6	7	6	6	6	5	4
Belgium	4	5	5	5	5	5	6	10	11	14	12	14	14	12
Bohemia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brazil										1	1	1	1	1
Canada	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Canada Ouest	2	2	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Chile	6	5	5	8	7	6	6	6	5	6	6	5	6	5
Colombia													1	1
Cuba	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
Egypt													1	2
France	49	50	50	49	46	48	48	35	21	12	13	6	5	3
Holland	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	4
Hungary	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
Ireland	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Italy	10	9	9	9	11	11	13	16	15	18	15	15	15	16
Japan													1	1
Malta								1	1	1	1		1	1
Mexico	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
New Zealand	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1	1	2	3
Peru	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Poland								1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Prussia														
Puerto Rico	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1
Sicily									1		1	1	1	1
Spain	9	9	9	9	9	10	10	13	14	15	17	17	15	15
UK	3	5	5	5	4	5	6	4	7	8	11	7	8	9
Uruguay													1	1
USA	27	24	23	27	24	26	25	23	25	26	27	25	23	29
	141	**138**	**136**	**142**	**137**	**141**	**147**	**145**	**134**	**138**	**141**	**127**	**131**	**136**

From *La Nouvelle Vague* to *Histoire(s) du Cinéma*: History in Godard, Godard in History

Colin Nettelbeck

How can one speak about the manner of speaking that Jean-Luc Godard has been practising for nearly fifty years now? Wouldn't it be necessary to argue not just with words, but with sounds and images, too?
Alexander Horwath[1]

Since the beginning of his cinematographic career in the 1950s, Jean-Luc Godard has maintained a crucial and prominent role as both a major filmmaker, and an uncompromising commentator on the nature and direction of French cinema production as a whole. He is also without question the most persistent revolutionary of cinematographic language of his time, not just in France but worldwide—with "language" here understood as embracing everything from audio-visual techniques and the direction of actors to the construction of over-arching narrative frames and style. Godard's own cinema language is full of complexity and has always been in flux—occasioning a level of obscurity that leaves many viewers perplexed, impatient, and even bored. That has not prevented him from being the world's most influential film-maker of the last half-century.

The focus of this particular study is on the relationship between Godard and history, and, through the case study of Godard, it examines the tensions between recent French history and cinema more generally. Along lines of investigation similar to those adopted by, among others, Antoine de Baecque, Christian Delage and Vincent Guigueno,[2] it explores the potential historical value of cinema as an artistic activity situated at the intersection of subjective expression and the power of the camera to register the external world with objective accuracy. It is hinged on a double

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[1] Alexander Horwath, "The Man with the Magnétoscope: Jean-Luc Godard's monumental *Histoire(s) du cinéma* as SoundImage Textbook," *Senses of Cinema* 15 (July-Aug. 2001), http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/01/15/godard_horwath.html (first published 1998). I am grateful to Kate Ravenscroft and Eleanor Davey for their research assistance and their help in the preparation of this paper.

[2] See Antoine de Baecque and Christian Delage, eds., *De l'histoire au cinéma* (Brussels, 1998); also Christian Delage and Vincent Guigueno, *L'historien devant le film* (Paris, 2004).

perspective, whose two aspects have been called respectively—in a *clin d'oeil* to a habitual Godardian rhetorical trope—"History in Godard" and "Godard in History."

By "History in Godard" is meant the ways in which Godard's films can be considered as a form of testimony about the time of their making. From this viewpoint, the sound-image artifact has the status of a kind of historical document or "trace," which can serve in the construction of historical narrative about the particularly transformative period in French history that followed the Second World War and that corresponds to the time in which Godard has worked. Like any historical trace, a film must be scrutinized for its reliability—a process complicated by the subjective quotient in the object itself. But is the subjectivity of an artist necessarily any more suspect than that, for instance, of a letter from Napoleon to Josephine?

France's postwar era has been a time of rapid and extreme political change, as the particular tribulations of reconstruction and decolonization became entangled with the more global cleavages of the Cold War. Socially and intellectually, too, most prewar habits and patterns were violently shaken and even destroyed. It is hard to overstate the impact of the birth-control pill, for example, on sexual mores; but the developments of Marxist- and psychoanalytically-based philosophies were also powerful agents in what was to become a systematic dissolving of familiar and shared patterns of meaning, after which the world of the past would become literally unrecognizable for postwar generations.

All this is the material of Godard's films—from his very first feature film, *A bout de souffle* (1960), and early works like *Le petit soldat* (1960), *Les carabiniers* (1963), *Pierrot le fou* (1965), *Masculin féminin* (1966) and *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle* (1967). It is even more obviously so in the films of his most politically engaged era, in the lead-up to 1968 and its aftermath: *La chinoise* (1967), for example, *Weekend* (1967), or *Tout va bien* (1972). If much of his more recent work—*Passion*, *Prénom Carmen*, *Je vous salue, Marie*, *Soigne ta droite*, *Nouvelle vague*, the epic *Histoire(s) du cinéma* and *Éloge de l'amour*—is more symbolico-metaphysical, and hence more oblique in its integration of contemporary socio-political preoccupations, it is not for all that, as we shall see, removed from historical pertinence.

At the very least, Godard appears to be an historical witness that one cannot afford to overlook in reflecting on the more profound changes that have occurred in France since the mid-twentieth century. In proposing Godard's very substantial body of work as having important metonymic value in relation to French history, we cannot entirely ignore the somewhat problematic nature of Godard's own "Frenchness," given that he is half Swiss, and has regularly spent much of his life in Switzerland. But it is not hard to argue that it is, overwhelmingly, the French experience that is at the core of his creative preoccupations. The vast majority of his films are set in France, and it is the "French" cinema—however blurred the edges of that reality may be—that has been the base for most of his work. Another potential problem with the metonymic idea is the diversity of Godard's films: this is not work that can be readily organized according to any obvious underlying unity of purpose, or even described in terms of a coherent evolution. It is, rather, a moving mosaic, betraying often quite sharp ideological and aesthetic shifts, and marked by unpredictable forays into the technology of sound and image production. And yet we can ask whether the very turbulence of the opus, with its multiple loose ends and scattered contradictions, is not in itself a reflection of the uncertainties of the times. On this level, too, history finds its way into Godard.

As for "Godard in History," this is intended not only to allow an evaluation of the historical place that the filmmaker deserves to occupy, but, more pointedly and more controversially, to account for and to scrutinize the ways in which Godard sometimes actually sets himself up as a proto-, or quasi-historian, claiming direct historical status for his filmic essays and narratives. In the specific field of cinema history, Godard is well served. As Colin MacCabe states in his recent biography, the attention paid to Godard's thought and work over the years has been prolific and global.[3] No other film director has had as much written about him. In more general histories, however, even those devoted specifically to culture, the acknowledgement of Godard's importance is much more sporadic, and often enough completely absent. In relation to May 1968, for example, Godard's work offers unparalleled insights into the charged atmosphere and ideological tangles of the time. Nonetheless, it receives widespread but scattered attention in Pascal Ory's *L'entre-deux-mai*, but notably less in Le Goff's *Mai 68: l'héritage impossible*. Charles Sowerwine alludes to the significance of a film like *Weekend* in relation to the anti-consumerist movement, but his emphasis remains on the political protests; and Godard does not feature at all in the studies by Joffrin or Ross.[4]

More revealing still is Godard's relationship with history as an epistemology—his attempts to claim historical value for his films. How, for instance, should a historian treat the filmmaker's 1972 comments to Robert Phillip Kolker about *Tout va bien*?

"In fact this movie is just a newsreel. In a way we summed up the last two years in France in an hour and a half."[5] Critically, Godard's claim is not just about himself. Through his total identification with film, it is also a claim for *cinema as history*—both as agent (seeking to change the world) and narrator (documenting the stories of the changes wrought). From the viewpoint of most historical approaches, Godard's utterances (verbal and filmic) can appear closer to those of an iconoclastic seer or a prophet: they are full of paradox and shadow, and of aphoristic generalizations that can as often be irritating as illuminating. One has only to open either of Alain Bergala's collections of Godard's interviews and reflections to realize how close one is to a mystical realm.[6] But to dismiss them too readily for that reason would be to overlook some serious questions that he raises about the nature and operations of historical narrative. With the aggressive intrusion of the work of Godard, recent French history is not in a safe place. Its definitions and parameters are questioned, and while its value in the quest for truth and understanding may be ultimately affirmed, this only happens through and after a process of systematic subversion.

The starting point for this study is the celebrated—but relatively under-discussed—work by Françoise Giroud, called *La nouvelle vague. Portrait de la jeunesse*, which appeared in book form in 1958.[7] Famously, this book was to give its name to the new movement in French cinema, which over the following two years

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[3] Colin MacCabe, *Godard: A Portrait of the Artist at 70* (London, 2003), 375.

[4] Pascal Ory, *L'entre-deux-mai. Histoire culturelle de la France, mai 1968 – mai 1981* (Paris, 1983); Jean-Pierre Le Goff, *Mai 68. L'héritage impossible* (Paris, 1998); Charles Sowerwine, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics and Society* (Basingstoke, 2001); Laurent Joffrin, *Mai 68. Histoire des événements* (Paris, 1988); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago, 2002).

[5] "Angle and Reality: Godard and Gorin in America," from *Sight and Sound* 42.3 (1973): 130-33, reproduced in David Sterritt, ed., *Jean-Luc Godard Interviews* (Jackson, 1998), 61.

[6] Alain Bergala, ed., *Jean-Luc Godard par Jean-Luc Godard*, vol. 1, 1950-1984 (Paris, 1985), and vol. 2, 1984-1998 (Paris, 1998). These volumes have almost biblical or *I Ching* value for Godardians.

[7] Published by Gallimard in the "L'air du temps" collection.

saw the emergence of an extraordinary array of innovative filmmakers.[8] Giroud's own preoccupations, however, had little to do with the cinema. The opinion survey out of which she built her book was conducted in 1957 for the weekly *L'express*. It was a—rather approximate—attempt to take the temperature of the generation of eight million French people then aged between eighteen and thirty. The overall result was a surprisingly conservative picture of the France of the time. While unhappy with the current political regime, and concerned about the situation in Algeria and international security, these young men and women were overwhelmingly committed to the freedoms of democracy and confident in their benefits; they were largely pacifist and they believed in love and marriage; although conscious of social injustices, they were confident that these could be overcome and indeed described themselves as reasonably happy with their lot. There is little in this snapshot that anticipates either the revolution that was about to occur in French cinema—though theoretically Godard and Truffaut could both have been in Giroud's sample—or the powerful political confluence that was to destroy the Fourth Republic and shape the structures of the Fifth by sweeping Charles de Gaulle back into presidential office. In fact, the generation described by Françoise Giroud can be seen as representing the "before" in relation to which we can best evaluate what happened afterwards. They were the blank wall on which the writing had not yet appeared—writing which would affect them less than their younger siblings, or those born a few years later and who would reach the age of twenty in 1968.

The "writing" in question is in part De Gaulle's complete refashioning of France and its position in the world through a paradoxical process that married conservative, traditionalist nationalism with a thorough modernization of the economy, and that espoused a discourse of long-term continuities even as it set in train what Henri Mendras would later aptly call the "Second French Revolution."[9] But the writing was also that being done by a fearlessly experimental and self-assertive cinema, which was staking out for itself a predominant place in the nation's cultural life. By modeling revolutionary ways of seeing and behaving, the popular culture medium of cinema offered a readily accessible and stimulating counter-discourse to what was emanating from political circles. Alain Touraine, in his early reflections on May 1968, stressed the powerful impact of the graffiti explosion during that time, reading it as the most profound cultural expression of the whole liberation movement.[10] By then however, the cinema, Godard at its head, had been playing an analogous role for a decade already.

The political dimensions of the conflict between the Gaullist state and cinema were explicit. De Gaulle's efforts to control cinema included direct ministerial responsibility for censorship—and Godard suffered from this repressive mechanism on a number of occasions.[11] More symbolically, and more durably, the Cinémathèque affair in February 1968, in which Henri Langlois, the founding director of this unique institution, was summarily and clumsily fired from his position, led to a gathering of filmmakers into a powerful lobby-group within the French political framework.[12]

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[8] Led by Godard and Truffaut, the New Wave included such pillars of the future French cinema industry as Eric Rohmer, Jacques Rivette, Claude Chabrol, Agnès Varda and Alain Resnais.

[9] Henri Mendras, *La seconde révolution française, 1965-1984* (Paris, 1988).

[10] Alain Touraine, *Le communisme utopique. Le mouvement de mai* (Paris, 1972), 216.

[11] See, for instance, MacCabe, *Godard*, 201-03; also Jean-Michel Frodon, *L'âge moderne du cinéma français. De la Nouvelle Vague à nos jours* (Paris, 1995), 142-53.

[12] Frodon gives a lively account of these events, 220-40; see also Sylvia Harvey, *May '68 and Film Culture* (London, 1978), 14-27.

Godard's contribution here was critical, and it can be seen as long-lasting, for it is possible to see in this set of events the origins of the ongoing social and political influence of film-makers as a group—what Jean-Pierre Jeancolas calls a "cinéma de la responsabilité."[13] Although in the Langlois Affair, film-makers were protesting about something that concerned them directly, their collective action already had wider social implications of the kind that would, over the following decades, see them crystallize into a direct political force over such matters as immigration policy and education.

It would be silly to assert that de Gaulle's vision was entirely retrogressive or that productions of French cinema in the 1958-1968 decade were devoid of conservatism. There was no facile dichotomy at work. Rather, this period, with its pressure-cooker turmoil, marked the birth of the new order, whose contours are still being defined today. There is almost total discontinuity between the young France of Giroud's survey and the new political, social and artistic realities that came into being even as the book was being published.

Denial and obfuscation about the realities of the French experience and behavior during the Second World War, and the concomitant creation of the myth of a French identity and dignity based on the resistance were integral to de Gaulle's program, and it would be many decades before that particular story was being satisfactorily told with any consistency. The argument here however, is that the de Gaulle era was also, and no less, the era of a new French cinema which, in its openness of form and spirit, not only *allowed* for the confrontation and working through of this traumatic material, but actually facilitated it. In other words, the cinema, during the Gaullian period, was a serious force of opposition, and, as such, it deserves much greater historical attention than it has so far received. It should not be forgotten that the first really telling blow to the Gaullian myth came neither through politics nor the admirable work of Robert Paxton,[14] but through the cinema, with Marcel Ophuls' *Le chagrin et la pitié*. As Jean-Michel Frodon has put it:

> Paradoxe très moderne d'un travail de vérité comme celui effectué par Ophuls, et qui, en jetant bas le mensonge de l'Histoire officielle, ouvre la possibilité de remettre en cause l'Histoire elle-même, ses élans, ses tragédies, ses atrocités, mais aussi ses promesses de temps meilleurs.[15]

Despite the constraints on its release, the film had an audience of more than 600,000 spectators in Paris. From *Le chagrin et la pitié*, there is a direct cinematographic line back to Resnais's *La guerre est finie* (1966), Godard's *Les carabiniers* (1963) and *Le petit soldat* (1960) and *Hiroshima, mon amour* (Resnais 1957). There is no doubt that Paxton's *La France de Vichy* produced a huge shockwave in France; but it was not any larger than that produced by Louis Malle's equally corrosive *Lacombe, Lucien*, which drew huge audiences to the French cinemas in the same 1973-1974 season. In other words, as much as a revision of de Gaulle's version of history was right and necessary, the conditions of that revision,

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[13] See Jean-Pierre Jeancolas, "Un cinéma de la responsabilité: esquisse de cartographie du cinéma français vivant en 1998," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 36.1 (Jan.-Apr. 1999): 12-25.

[14] Paxton's *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (London, 1972) was translated into French as *La France de Vichy, 1940-1944* (Paris, 1973). Marcel Ophuls' film was shot during the twilight of de Gaulle's reign, and after being banned from television (an interdiction that was to last until the Mitterrand government of 1981), was allowed a limited release in cinemas in 1971 (cf. Frodon, *L'âge moderne du cinéma français*, 267).

[15] Frodon, *L'âge moderne du cinéma français*, 269.

evident in the probing subversions of French cinema, were coexistent with the myth itself.

Does this suggest a possible basis for considering the period as a whole in terms of a fundamental continuity? It would be a brave, perhaps rash, person who proposed such a viewpoint. As we know, the historiography of post-war France is still multiply fractured along numerous and complex lines. Given the enormity of the events and the changes that have derived from them, this is not surprising. French historians have engaged in sharp and mostly unresolved debates about the national experience of the Second World War and how to account for it, with irreconcilable differences about the nature of the experience itself—that is, what should be included in the story—and about the ways in which the story should be constructed. These conflicts have had enduring consequences for the concept of French identity—Braudel's masterwork notwithstanding[16]—and without consensus about identity, historians are inevitably on shifting ground.

A key flaw in the Gaullist myth was, precisely, its arrogant determination to ignore the specific memories of so many key participants in the events for which it sought to account; not just those collaborationists who had made bad political choices, but whole sections of the population whose experience was in fact crucial to understanding the realities of the period, and therefore to building a stable future. These included most egregiously the 65,000 Jews deported to the death camps—very few of whom survived, but whose memory was never lost to their families, friends and acquaintances. But there were also other deportees, there were returning prisoners of war, and there were many tens of thousands of young men press-ganged into the *Service du travail obligatoire*. And of course, while de Gaulle, on his return to power in 1958 made the claim of understanding the "Françaises" as well as the "Français," his story of the French experience of World War II largely omitted French women altogether.

Revision and re-revision of the original post-war Gaullian version of events has not led to any durable narrative synthesis. Rather, as room has had to be made for material omitted or suppressed—such as the extent of the collaboration, the legitimacy of the Vichy Government, the persecution and deportation of Jews, and the almost complete ignoring of the place of women—the impossibility of elaborating a single narrative has become more evident. Tensions between memory and forgetting (and the problematic nature of accepting memory as historical testimony), the lack of availability (and sometimes of reliability) of archival material, the recriminatory and contentious climate amongst survivors, and, above all the longer-term social, political, and religious shifts within France and in global organization, are some of the contextual forces that have resulted in an increasing compartmentalization and fragmentation of historians' work.[17]

In the face of this historiographical uncertainty, Pierre Nora, in *Les lieux de mémoire*,[18] has produced one way of coming to terms with the chaotic unraveling that followed the collapse of the Gaullian myth, by projecting history as a way of

[16] Fernand Braudel, *L'identité de la France* (Paris, 1986).

[17] Some examples of different attempts to reconcile history and memory—and to articulate the tensions between them can be found in Henri Rousso, *Le syndrome de Vichy, de 1944 à nos jours* (Paris, 1987, 1990); Eric Conan and Henri Rousso, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris, 1994); Annette Wieviorka, *L'ère du témoin* (Paris, 1988); Gérard Noiriel, *Sur la 'crise' de l'histoire* (Paris, 1996); Jean-Marie Guillon and Pierre Laborie, eds., *Mémoire et histoire. La Résistance* (Toulouse, 1995); for some of the problems associated with accounting for the experience of women see for instance Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy et l'éternel féminin* (Paris, 1996).

[18] Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1997).

reconstructing the past through the perspective of the present. In doing so, he has created a kind of symbolic miniature—albeit a sizeable miniature!—of contemporary French history-writing, calling upon a very large number of specialist historians who offer reflections on their field. Among the roll-call of participants are Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff, François Furet, Mona Ozouf, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Madeleine Rebérioux, Alain Corbin, Michelle Perrot, Jean-Marie Mayeur, Jean-Pierre Rioux, Pierre Birnbaum, Catherine Maire, Christophe Charle, René Rémond and some dozens of other distinguished historians who in real life might seldom find themselves in each other's company. (One has only to recall the sharp exchange between Pascal Ory and Marc Fumaroli over *L'Etat culturel*, for instance, to admire Nora's reconciliatory powers.[19])

The work is itself a memorial to the eclectic pluralism of a kind of history that, in the end, leads less to any comprehensive overview, than to what one senses could have been an infinitely expandable collection of ingredients that Nora felt should not be left out. The pluralism is apparent in every aspect of the composition of the work, from the recourse to a multitude of authors through an organization process that at every point bursts through the seams that have been rather artificially stitched through it. Perhaps in homage to the Gallic tradition of tripartite presentation, it is arranged in three huge sections. The first two are devoted to the concepts of "La République" and "La Nation," but if these concepts are intended to offer some semblance of familiarity and unity, the detailed content included under the rubrics, while not perhaps completely arbitrary, challenges rather than confirms any sense of wholeness. The last major section of the work is called "*Les* France," and very explicitly, through some four dozen disparate chapters, explores the multiplicity of conflicts and divisions characterizing French life, as well as the fragile nature of even the most persistent traditions.

This is perhaps less history per se, than history in the making, a kind of kaleidoscopic user's manual for would-be historians of a culture whose changes are too numerous and profound to offer purchase to any single linear narrative. The historian of present time—as Nora styles himself—thus becomes a documentalist for some future historian of what will then be, plausibly, a more readily approachable and understandable past.

For all its inclusiveness, *Les lieux de mémoire* suffers from some notable omissions, one of which is any sustained treatment of the visual arts, and of photography and cinema in particular. In fact, only one chapter of any substance is fully devoted to an artistic work as such: Antoine Compagnon's treatment of Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu.*[20] Despite this, the Nora model and approach do appear to offer a way of bringing Godard and cinema more fully into history. In part this is because Godard's work itself is structurally analogous to the processes at work in *Les lieux de mémoire*. This is the case if one considers the collection of individual films that make up his opus—whose diversity and aleatory development have been sketched out above. It is even more evidently so in the work that encapsulates most fully his vision and method, namely *Histoire(s) du cinéma* (begun in 1989 and developed over the following decade).

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[19] Fumaroli published *L'état culturel. Essais sur une religion moderne* (Paris) in 1991, and Ory's riposte appeared in "Où sont la culture et la mesure?" *Lu* (Oct. 1991), 8. See Colin Nettelbeck, "*L'immoraliste* turns ninety—or what more can be said about André Gide? An essay on cultural change," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 39.1 (1992), 120-21.

[20] Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3: 3835-69.

Like *Les lieux de mémoire*, *Histoire(s) du cinéma* is an epic undertaking, plural in its conception, simultaneously hugely ambitious in its scope and disarmingly modest in its execution. Godard believes in the cinema as a privileged—perhaps the most privileged—way of apprehending the passage of time. In undertaking to narrate the stories and histories of cinema, he also seeks to show just how indispensable cinema is in the preservation and narration of various critical events of the recent past. In fact, Godard's position could be summed up in this way: *given* the imperative to historicize present experience in order to be able to make sense of it, the camera is a more reliable instrument than the pen; and hence, cinema must offer a better record and account than books. Godard's constant recourse to the reading aloud of printed sources is a sign of his respect for the written word; but it is also an affirmation of cinema's ability to include print media in a way that they cannot reciprocate.[21]

This idea goes back to Astruc's late 1940s claims for the powers of the "caméra-stylo," and it underpins all of Godard's work which, as MacCabe rightly insists, is informed by the Bazinian aesthetic.[22] The fundamental vocation of cinema is nothing less than to transmit the truth. Now, Godard is obviously not so naïve as to believe that the vocation is always fulfilled. *Histoire(s) du cinéma* shows numerous examples of cinema betraying itself, from the crassnesses of Hollywood hegemony and Nazi use of propaganda to the failure of the New Wave to live up to the "vérités premières" that it discovered. But Godard's faith seems ultimately unshakeable, and is expressed in a language consistently shot through with spiritual, almost mystical vocabulary: the cinema is a phoenix, always able to rise from the ashes and to undertake again its redemptive work. Nièpce and Lumière, the pioneers of photography and cinema, redeemed western painting from its original sin of perspective. Godard's own enterprise, for its part, seeks to redeem a cinema dominated by facile storytelling—what he calls "une industrie de l'évasion"—that excludes humanity from its history rather than permitting participation in it.

Histoire(s) du cinéma shares with *Les lieux de mémoire* its sense of the impossibility of transmitting the whole story or a story of wholeness, while recognizing that the fragmented nature of the present can be endowed with meaning *only* by opening up passages to the past. More obviously than Nora and his team of historians, however, Godard situates himself at the heart of his narration; as well as hearing his voice, we frequently see his image as he constructs a moving collage of image and sound, where single frames or short clips are superimposed or folded into repetitive sequences that play alternately on the viewer's intellect, emotions, memory and curiosity. In this way, subjectivity is shown to be utterly integral to the whole enterprise. Fiction and documentary are not so much mixed as made to coexist in a simultaneity of epistemological equality. Each is different from the other, but each is able to suggest meaning in terms of the historical framework that, like some kind of immense fractal jigsaw puzzle, progressively fills out. The picture thus constituted has no claims to comprehensiveness. MacCabe, again, signals several important omissions, such as the Hollywood blacklist of the McCarthy era.[23] Godard's choices

[21] An intriguing case-study of the subordination of written text to image-based history, if space permitted, would be *L'oeil de Vichy*, which Claude Chabrol, one of Godard's New Wave colleagues and strongest supporters, made in 1993. The film, scripted by key Vichy historians Robert Paxton and Jean-Pierre Azéma, is a chronological narrative fabricated largely from Vichy propaganda documentaries and newsreels, which are turned on their heads in a stunning indictment of the regime. Just why Chabrol came so late, relatively, to this story, would require a study in itself, but it is probably related to the deep ambiguities that emerged during the late years of Mitterrand's presidency.

[22] MacCabe, *Godard*.

[23] Ibid., 296.

are subjective in the strongest possible sense: that is, they derive from the unfailing and undisguised presence of himself as subject in the whole composition process. As Horwath has astutely remarked, not only does Godard believe "that history consists of unfinished, incomplete, suddenly interrupted sentences," he has steadfastly refused to entertain any postmodern idea of the "death of the subject," and on the contrary maintains faith in "a cinema that conjoins the individual with the world."[24]

Whether, or to what degree, *Histoire(s) du cinéma* can be considered as history, or an alternative to history—or whether, as we suggested with Nora's work, it is the stuff from which history can be made—is open to a discussion beyond the scope of this article. That such a discussion should take place, however, seems incontrovertible. This particular work, and indeed Godard's work as a whole, poses an urgent challenge to the ways in which we think about the meaning and processes of history. Its conceptual foundation, with its nexus of subjectivity and documentary authenticity, together with its rich lode of historical traces, are such that any history of twentieth century France that ignored them would be unforgivably the poorer for doing so.

There is an excellent example of Godard the historian (or proto-historian) at work in his 2001 film *Éloge de l'amour*. In the episode in question, real-life historian Jean Lacouture is inserted into a fictional narrative in which representatives of Steven Spielberg arrive in a remote French village to buy the memoirs of an old couple of former resistance fighters. One of the Spielberg representatives is none other than Cordell Hull Jr, and while the point that Godard makes is a polemical one—that because the Americans have no past they need to steal European memory—the deeper comment here is historical, and that on two levels. Firstly, he is saying that the French have lost the capacity to give a meaningful account of their own history, and secondly, he is claiming that the content of that history is the subject of American appropriation. The link to Cordell Hull, Roosevelt's Secretary of State, situates the Second World War as the key moment of transformation, a point that he had already made in *Histoire(s) du cinéma* in relation to the American takeover of world cinema.[25] This also ties in with the part of the *Éloge de l'amour* that deals with the quest to restore to their rightful owners the huge numbers of works of art stolen by the Nazis during the Occupation period. The attempt to right an historical wrong is precisely the vocation that Godard sees for cinema in its capacity to redeem reality from its incomprehensibility.

Once again, this seems to be analogous to the kind of history that we find in *Les lieux de mémoire*, where the sense of the transitory is in constant tension with the desire to hold on to those products of time which, sometimes mysteriously, contain meaning for the community that produced them. In his essay on Proust, Antoine Compagnon asks how on earth "this homosexual and snobbish Jew could have become the uncontested model of the great writer in France?"[26] We could ask a similar question about the rich, quasi-delinquent Protestant boy from Lausanne in relation to French cinema. In a thoughtful article on Fellini's *La Dolce Vita*, Julien Neutres sees Fellini as having become "un véritable monument," thanks to his ability to create a common mythology through the articulation of individual and collective

[24] Horwath, "The Man with the Magnétoscope."
[25] "Si la première guerre mondiale avait permis au cinéma américain de ruiner le cinéma français, avec la naissance de la télévision, la deuxième lui permettra de financer, c'est à dire de ruiner, tous les cinémas d'Europe."
[26] Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3: 3856.

experience.[27] Something similar has happened with Godard. His work is already in itself a *lieu de mémoire*, and as such should be of keen interest to historians of contemporary France. But Godard, like Proust, is also a creator whose vision of history, in its blend of fiction and document, in its non-linear pluralisms, and in its insistence on the presence of the subject, presents permanent resistance to any historiography that leaves out or understates the work of the imagination, or that, in its ambition to create stories of general or holistic application, ignores the specificities of individual experience.

[27] Julien Neutres, "Le cinéma fait-il l'histoire? Le cas de *La Dolce Vita*," *Vingtième siècle, revue d'histoire* 83 (July-Sept. 2004), 62. My thanks to my colleague John West-Sooby for drawing my attention to this piece.

Against the Amnesiacs: The Art Criticism of Jean Bazaine, 1934-1944

Natalie Adamson

In his treatise on the practice of painting published in 1948, *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui*, Jean Bazaine argued that the purpose of painting is not simply to capture the simulacral surface appearances of an object, but to give a viable form and authentic meaning to a life that is experienced as a symbiotic engagement with the exterior world and with interior, or spiritual, imperatives. To this end, Bazaine opened his argument with a condemnation of "what is commonly known as naturalism in painting:"

> It is this refusal or this impossibility of a permeable universe: an art without *abstractions*, that is to say deprived of profound contact with the universal, a flesh that is no longer armed with signs that surpass it. The decadence of an art, like that of man, always consists of this passage from the object-pretext, crossroads of forces, to the object as an end in itself, to a closed economy, to the object that has become so dumb that it devours its own feet, to the object-catoblepas.[1]

Bazaine's *Notes* articulated the premises of a "third way" route for painting that could transcend the stylistic and ideological conflict between abstraction and realism and maintain the essential connection between representation and nature; and in doing so, revivify the French national tradition. The appeal of his arguments to many artists during the 1950s stemmed from his advocacy of a practice of painting founded in the subjective engagement of the person with the world, retaining pictorial

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[1] Jean Bazaine, *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1948), reprinted in *Le temps de la peinture (1938-1989)* (Paris, 1990), 83. Bazaine's italics. The catoblepas is described in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a species of a savage buffalo-like beast of African origin, referred to ancient Greek texts and their translations.

autonomy and avoiding the partisan group politics and inflexible ideals that plagued the interpretation of painting in the post-war period.

Bazaine was not a newcomer to the practice of writing about art. The ideas sustaining his treatise, as well as his poetic eloquence and ability to craft a persuasive polemic, were introduced in a series of art critical texts written between 1934 and 1944, written for the monthly journal *Esprit* and the weekly newspaper *Temps présent*. This essay returns to these early texts in order to consider how Bazaine's art criticism operated within an agenda of critique and renovation of the avant-garde, and contributed to a significant group effort by artists and intellectuals to reframe the possibilities for art in a post-industrial society. Surprisingly, Bazaine's art criticism has only occasionally been mentioned by art historians. On first glance, this may be because his paintings and art critical texts seem best situated within the domain of modernist aestheticism: his adamant anti-Surrealism, the privilege bestowed upon painting and the character of its tradition, and his concentration on issues of light, color and form, could place him comfortably amongst conservative modernists fighting for the autonomy of art and adhering to an aesthetics of formal purity.[2] However, slotting Bazaine into the category of "return-to-order" reactionaries ignores the ways in which his art criticism participates in the *prise de conscience* that characterizes the crisis years between 1929 and 1939, engaging artists and intellectuals in attempts to revise the political and cultural structures of bourgeois, technocratic democracy and to propose a "new order" for modern society.[3]

Moreover, the inclusion of regular commentary on contemporary art in *Esprit* and *Temps présent* has been only summarily noted by historians of the "non-conformist" intellectual movements of the 1930s with which these publications are associated.[4] Yet, it is clear that art criticism was viewed as a means of reflecting on the role of the artist and the functions of art in the building of a harmonious civic society. In particular, the philosophy of Personalism elaborated by Emmanuel Mounier and the program of critique and social reform set out in *Esprit* proposed a radical reconstruction of French society where the artist will play a key role. Consequently, this essay argues that setting Bazaine's art criticism within the context of its production for two significant press forums that were defined by their progressive Catholic outlook and "third-way" political positions, reveals the formation of an alternative circuit between modernism and politics whose nuances have yet to be fully explored.

Through a sequence of exhibition reviews, Bazaine pursued the goal of establishing a viable pictorial and political opposition to Surrealism and to the geometric abstraction promulgated by the groups *Cercle et Carré* and *Abstraction-*

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[2] The most influential interpretation of the division between the avant-garde and modernism has been proposed by Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis, 1984) with the important foreword by Jochen Schulte-Sasse, vii-xxxix.

[3] See Bernard Ceysson, "Peindre, sculpter, dans les années 30 en France," in *L'art dans les années 30 en France* (Saint-Etienne, 1979), 16-17; and Jean Laude, "La crise de l'humanisme et la fin des utopies," *L'art face à la crise. L'art en occident, 1929-1939* (Saint-Étienne, 1979), 317-318.

[4] The term "non-conformist" derives from Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle's study, *Les non-conformistes des années 30* (Paris, 2001 [1969]). Michel Winock, *'Esprit.' Des intellectuels dans la cité 1930-1950* (Paris, 1996), 159, only briefly mentions a "group of artists" in the milieu of Personalism that met at a café on Place Saint-Sulpice. This group may have been the one described by the former Futurist painter Gino Severini, who in the 1920s was known for his classicism and sacred art. Severini describes an attempt in 1932 to write an arts manifesto for *Esprit* in *Témoignages. 50 ans de réflexion* (Rome, 1963), 244-250. He lists the artists and art critics involved in addition to himself, as Marc Chagall, André Baudin, Gilles de la Tourette, Edmond Humeau, Ivan Denis, Pablo Gargallo, Suzanne Roger, and Pierre Courthion.

Création. At the same time, this new route for painting, yet to be fully defined, issued a challenge to *pompier* and "return-to-order" modes of realism, whether associated with left-wing politics or with the academy. It was also intended to contribute towards the reinvigoration of the sterile, anachronistic formulas of *art sacré* in offering new, possibly non-realist, modes of representing spiritual experience. Although his own painting would only make the transition from figuration to a fully "non-figurative" style between 1941 and 1944, Jean Bazaine used his exhibition reviews as a means of establishing the premises of these tasks for modern painting. The ideal was to retain the benefits of tradition for painting whilst allowing it the freedom to extend into new realms of non-figurative representation. The move to non-figuration was not conceived of as a purely pictorial transition but a strategy of liberation that would enable the practice of painting to act once more as the binding glue between the individual and society. The social and political implications of this re-orientation of pictorial style are highlighted in this essay by the inclusion of excerpts from a largely unpublished set of letters from the painter and critic Marcel Gromaire to Bazaine and by a preliminary discussion of Bazaine's war-time articles for the *Nouvelle revue française* and *Comoedia*.[5]

Bazaine's decision to not only paint but to write about painting entailed an understanding of art criticism as a polemical and pedagogical tool. Later in life, Bazaine denigrated the value of his early art critical texts.[6] Notwithstanding his retrospective disavowal of the desire to write about art, opposing it to painting itself, Bazaine wrote a sequence of nine exhibition reviews for *Esprit* between 1934 and July 1938.[7] In addition, he contributed a regular column of art criticism to the progressive Catholic newspaper *Temps présent*, starting with the second issue of 12 November 1937 through to November 1938. During the 1920s, he was as engaged with literature and writing as with painting, studying for a degree in literature, art history and history of religion at the Sorbonne. In 1930, he exhibited his work for the first time at Galerie Jeanne Castel in a group of independent, modern painters that included the young French "expressionist" Jean Fautrier, the slightly older painter of powerful realist works, Marcel Gromaire, and the Russian-born former constructivist, Ivan Pougny. Also in 1930, Bazaine met Micheline Fumet, sister of the erudite young editor Stanislas Fumet, who provided a further introduction into the bohemian world of Montparnasse artists, composers and writers.[8] Fumet's own writing on art, including a preface for Bazaine's first solo exhibition at Galerie Van Leer in 1932, would also provide an important model for Bazaine, with its emphasis on the artwork as a spiritual manifestation and the importance of form and technique.[9] And, around this time, either through Gromaire, or through the Fumet family, Bazaine came into contact with the Catholic philosopher Emmanuel Mounier, who founded the journal *Esprit* in 1932, and who became a close friend.

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[5] Some excerpts of letters from Gromaire to Bazaine are reproduced in the invaluable exhibition catalogue edited by Marie-Odile Briot, *Marcel Gromaire 1892/1971* (Paris, 1980). The Archives Bazaine contains the full sequence of letters that date from 1938 to 1963.

[6] Jean Bazaine to Roger Lesgards and Vonick Morel, *Couleurs et mots. Entretiens avec Jean Bazaine* (Paris, 1997), 13.

[7] See the bibliography by Jean-Pierre Greff appended to *Le temps de la peinture (1938-1989)* (Paris, 1990 [2002]).

[8] Micheline Fumet met Jean Bazaine in 1930 in Brittany and subsequently left her husband to live with him. They married in 1944 following her first husband's death during the war. Stanislas Fumet was also close to Gromaire, whom he met prior to World War I.

[9] See Fumet, *Le procès de l'art* (Paris, 1929); and *Histoire de Dieu dans ma vie* (Paris, 2002); and further, Marie-Odile Germain, dir., *Stanislas Fumet ou la présence du temps* (Paris, 1999).

In what may be considered his first art critical text, written in 1928 as part of his university studies and titled "La densité dans le dessin et dans la peinture," Bazaine argued that the quality of *densité* in the pictorial work of art has two aspects: firstly, the reconstitution on the canvas of concrete objects from the world, and secondly, the depiction of the *truth* or essential character of the objects. The challenge for the artist is to negotiate the two modes of apprehending the object; for Bazaine, the exterior appearance of the object is less important than obtaining a deeper, interior understanding: "*True* density in art is thus felt and founded upon belief, much more than it corresponds to reality."[10] Though he does not specify the exact nature of this "belief," Bazaine suggests that the painter should act as an active filter or medium through which the essential, spiritual grain of the natural world becomes a visible, tangible reality, over and above surface appearance.

The emphasis placed by Bazaine on the revelation of a spiritual essence in nature, and his admiration for the philosophical works of Henri Bergson, especially *L'évolution créatrice*, made his candidature for the job of exhibition critic for *Esprit* an appropriate one.[11] The role of the art critic, Mounier stated in 1934, should be a directive and combative one, seeking "to provoke contact between the artist and the public, guiding the public, and even if he cannot claim to direct the inspiration of the artist, he can nonetheless help him in the necessary struggle against his blind spots, weaknesses, and complacencies. … In all these cases, criticism must be a work in the second degree."[12] Bazaine's initial review followed Mounier's guidelines and indicates his participation in a widening circle of intellectuals and writers linked to the desire of the neo-Thomist philosopher, Jacques Maritain, to instigate a "new Christianity." He discussed an exhibition of recent work by Marek Szwarc, a Polish-born artist who met Maritain in 1922 and subsequently converted from Judaism to Christianity. Szwarc was a welcome guest at the apartment of Stanislas Fumet as part of a circle of Catholics dedicated to integrating Judaism and other religious traditions within a universal conception of Catholicism.[13] Bazaine's commentary on Szwarc's sculptural reliefs depicting Biblical episodes in beaten copper (*cuivre de l'estampage*) focused on the values of authenticity and seriousness indicated by the artist's reversion to an artisanal technique dating back to the Middle Ages. For Bazaine, the strength of Szwarc's reliefs was concentrated in the linear clarity obtained by the special properties of the shiny, hard, metal and a reduction of the composition to simplified, inscribed lines that indicate the subject-matter with the utmost legibility.[14] His praise of Szwarc's work sets up the artist as a model to be emulated in the move by Maritain and other progressives within the Church to renovate the forms and the content of religious art. Bazaine himself, in his second review, railed against the dishonesty and sterility of much contemporary *art sacré*, whose decadence "began the

[10] Archives Bazaine, Jean Bazaine, "La 'densité' dans le dessin et dans la peinture," *Travaux des étudiants du groupe d'histoire de l'art de la faculté des lettres de Paris* (Paris, 1928), 31. Bazaine's italics.

[11] Viveca Bosson suggests that it was Bazaine's interest in and debt to Bergson that brought him into contact with the *Esprit* milieu in Jean Tardieu, Jean-Claude Schneider and Viveca Bosson, *Bazaine* (Paris, 1975), 36.

[12] Emmanuel Mounier, "Préface à une réhabilitation de l'Art et des Artistes," *Esprit* (Oct. 1934), 21.

[13] Philippe Chénaux, "Fumet éditeur," in Germain, 41; and *L'école de Paris 1904-1929, la part de l'Autre* (Paris, 2000), 363.

[14] Bazaine, "L'exposition Marek Szwarc," *Esprit* (May 1934), 339.

day where it [sacred art] named itself as such, that is to say, it became a form of art, and no longer the complete expression of the life and preoccupations of man."[15]

Bazaine's evocation of a world to come when the spiritual and the material worlds will be united, with the work of art the emblem of such unity, should be read alongside Mounier's "Préface à une réhabilitation de l'Art et des Artistes" in the October 1934 special issue of *Esprit* that bore the title "L'art et la révolution spirituelle." The revolution envisaged by the writers and artists of *Esprit* entailed the theorization of a re-organized, organic community whose social structure no longer depends upon monetary and utilitarian values, class oppression, or mercenary individualism. In outlining the philosophy of Personalism, Mounier asked for a community that privileges the unique attributes of each *person*, against the selfish isolation of the *individual*, within a societal collective working for common goals: the world to come to which the artist can contribute in a preparatory sense and art appears as the paradigmatic example of a spiritualized form of experience and labor.[16] Mounier asks that art play a crucial communicative role in acting as the interface between inner life, or poetic life and the physical world. In this action, art will function as a kind of natural prayer, in contrast to abstract art that loses itself in games of pure form, art that is produced only for an elite minority, or realist art that is instrumentalized by the state as propaganda.

Mounier's manifesto preceded a roster of articles by various critics that treat each art as a singular medium (literature, poetry, theatre, painting, architecture, music, cinema), for, he says, it is only through an examination of the specific properties of each art that an artistic reform compatible with the "movement of spiritual reform" can be achieved:

> While waiting for the Host, it is necessary to put back a bit of order in the House of the Arts … to rediscover the direction of each artistic essence is a preliminary task of putting things in their place, perhaps accentuating distinctions for a while in order to see clearly, to avoid misrecognition of the resonances between one order and another, without giving in, above all, to the academic superstition of the "genres." Which today is a task of urgent priority.[17]

Mounier's arts manifesto sought to establish the Personalist position as a new and authentic voice for change and as an avant-garde intent on societal and aesthetic revolution. He clearly distinguishes the principles of his group from Surrealism, which he praises for its rebellion against mediocrity and conformism, but criticizes for its decline into either anarchy or bending the knee to Moscow. He also damns the Association des Artistes et Écrivains révolutionnaires (AEAR) for their adhesion to Communism and its cultural policies.[18] As an alternative, Mounier proffers the seductive but elusive goal of a socially and politically renovated world in which the artist, as a free *person*, becomes the paradigmatic emblem of "an inner life within a

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[15] Bazaine, "Note sur l'art religieux 'Moderne'—A propos de quelques expositions," *Esprit* (July 1934), 658-9. On the efforts to modernize sacred art, see Père P.-R. Régamey and Père M.-A. Couturier, "Bilan de l'époque 1920-1940," *Art sacré* 3-4 (Mar.-Apr. 1948): 49-80.

[16] The thought of Charles Péguy was an important influence on Mounier. Regarding Péguy's reflections on art, see David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism: Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (New Jersey, 1994), 51.

[17] Mounier, "Préface," 35.

[18] The hostile opposition between the Catholic milieu of *Esprit* and *Temps présent* and the Communist milieu is made clear in the journal of the A.E.A.R. See Gérard Servèze, "Notes sur la revue 'Esprit,'" *Commune* 1 (July 1933), 76-85.

community life."[19] Like the Surrealists, Mounier offers a strong critique of the dual oppression of the artist by liberal capitalist society on the one hand and by fascism on the other. But his manifesto is also a radically conservative "return-to-order" maneuver that situates self-awareness in a pre-technological world and reminds artists of their responsibility to their specific skills and imposed limits of their chosen art. Bazaine's name is found, along with Szwarc and Gromaire, in the list of signatories to Mounier's call-to-arms/call-to-order that signified, indicated Mounier, "a common will for revolt and research."[20]

After a short hiatus that seems due to his involvement in Popular Front initiatives,[21] in September 1937 Bazaine dedicated his appraisal of the Exposition Universelle's policies on painting to his fellow painters and critics-in-arms, Gromaire, Goerg, Labasque and Vérité.[22] In addition to writing for *Esprit*, he also contributed a regular column to the new weekly Catholic newspaper, *Temps présent*, edited by Stanislas Fumet.[23] First up came a lively review praising two anti-academic salons and rallying the public around young modernist painters such as Maurice Estève, Maria Elena Vieira da Silva, André Marchand and Charles Walch.[24] Two months later, Bazaine let loose with a powerful attack on Surrealism, co-authored with Maurice Morel, on the occasion of the Exposition surréaliste at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts. The attack functions on several levels: artistic, political, and ethical. Although the authors make no mention of factors aside from artistic ones, Bazaine's involvement in the effort to rejuvenate sacred art and the Catholicism of *Esprit* and *Temps présent* implies a repudiation of the anti-religious attitude of the Surrealists and of their particular methods of accessing and representing "interior life."[25] Another aspect of Bazaine's distaste may relate to the association of the Surrealists with the

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[19] Mounier, "Préface," 6.

[20] Ibid., 23.

[21] Bazaine and Jean le Moal created a large foyer mural, "L'eau et le ciel," for a prototype *Auberge de Jeunesse* that was funded through the 1937 Exposition Universelle. The decoration of the youth hostel was entrusted to artists from the "Mai 1936" group, a militant SFIO cultural collective whose libertarian and pacifist bent led to conflict with SFIO leaders. See Ory, *La belle illusion. Culture et politique sous la signe du Front populaire, 1935-1938* (Paris, 1994), 115-116, 357, 406-7, 779. Bazaine also worked on costume and décor designs for the theatre during this period: see Jean-Pierre Greff, ed., *Bazaine et le théâtre* (Bourges, 1992).

[22] Bazaine, footnote to "Préface à une chronique de peinture," *Esprit* (Sept. 1937), 801. See then, "La peinture à l'exposition," *Esprit* (Dec. 1937), 450-455.

[23] *Temps présent* was founded in late 1937 to succeed *Sept*, a newspaper run by the Dominicans and suppressed by the Holy Office in August 1937 for reasons of interior discipline to do with the newspaper's attitude towards the Spanish Civil War. See Aline Coutrot, *Un courant de la pensée catholique. L'hebdomadaire 'Sept' (mars 1934-août 1937)* (Paris, 1961), 290-305, who notes that while the episcopate was favourable to *Temps présent*, the newspaper's content and editorial line were independently directed. It claimed an apolitical, "catholique d'abord," stance that rejected party politics.

[24] Jean Bazaine, "Les surindépendants et le salon du temps présent," *Temps présent* (12 Nov. 1937), 4. Bazaine's praise is related by contrast to the venerable Salon des Indépendants, whose academic nature he criticizes in "Les Indépendants," *Temps présent* (25 Mar. 1938), 4.

[25] Père Maurice Morel was known for his writings on Georges Rouault. In 1937 Bazaine made his first design for a stained glass window for a private chapel, *Les instruments de la passion* (realized by J. Hébert-Stevens). This initiated the life-long creation of mosaic and stained-glass designs for churches and chapels, including the Eglise d'Assy alongside Braque, Léger, and others (1942-47), a monumental mosaic for the church at Audincourt (inaugurated in 1951) and seven windows for the Saint-Dominique chapel in Paris (1994-1995). See Jean-Pierre Greff, *Jean Bazaine—vitraux et mosaïques* (Berne, 1994); and Greff, "L'art sacré en France depuis 1939: conditions et significations d'un renouveau," in *Asse Bazaine J. Bony .. Collot Gutherz Elvire Jan Lautrec Le Moal Manessier C. de Rougement—Maquettes de vitraux de la Cathédrale et oeuvres récentes* (Musée de Saint-Dié, 1988).

A.E.A.R and Communism. But most importantly, in both this article and in a second review for *Esprit*, Bazaine argued that Surrealism gave nothing to painting with its reliance on a recondite naturalism, its weak, literary narratives, and its fabrication of a falsely pre-established real that claimed to represent the world of dreams and the unconscious. Surrealism thus avoided the intrinsic tasks of painting involving the genuinely pictorial problems of color and space. In direct relation to this failure, Bazaine and Morel state that the crime of Surrealism was its exhibitionist betrayal of the original intention (an intention parallel to that of the *Esprit* group) to produce "the total liberation of man and the immediate social consequences that that would entail, and, finally, a revelation of the unknown." The grudging admiration expressed for certain works and efforts of the Surrealists recedes before the verdict that their "bits and pieces constructed in an epoch of disgust ... finish up at the decorators, the ad-man's, the hairdresser's, and the fashion designer's. When one thinks of what they've done with all that they touched, with such a craving for of purity, such indignation, one wants to cry out: *A d'autres*!" [26]

Two months later Bazaine lauded an exhibition of medieval illuminated manuscripts, likening their surface to wall murals and stained glass in the perfect match between means and expression, color and ornament. In the realism of later fifteenth-century manuscripts, Bazaine diagnosed a decline rather than an advance, which he argued turned the illuminated page into an "illustration" as opposed to "a sumptuous arrangement of lines and colors which become one with the paper and the letters."[27] In this evaluation, Bazaine explicitly indicates that the way forward to an authentic revitalization of French painting, a tradition stretching back its origins to such manuscripts, stained glass, and murals, might diverge from the conventions of naturalism and revert to the foundational elements of color and the planar structure of non-illusionistic space. This radical suggestion is tempered by its situation within a powerful strand of conservative tradition-making during the 1930s that glorified the French medieval period and claimed an unbroken genealogy of French art built upon an implicit and untainted set of universal principles that had been present throughout the ages.[28] Beyond the aesthetic, the making of this tradition was driven by nostalgia for an imagined perfect community, a world before the machine age where men are united by one faith and artists work in tandem with artisans in a harmoniously integrated society. Nonetheless, Bazaine's advocacy of non-naturalistic principles of representation posed a significant alteration to the conventions and principles of an ancient French tradition many art historians and artists believed to be founded in realism. Bazaine was suggesting that non-figuration, rather than being a rupture in tradition, could in fact recover and restore the foundational, traditional values of painting.

The stakes of Bazaine's challenge to the realist tradition and its concurrent political and ethical implications are highlighted by documents surviving from his

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[26] Bazaine and Maurice Morel, "Faillite du surréalisme," *Temps présent* (28 Jan. 1938), 4. Bazaine reiterated his opposition to Surrealism in "Exposition surréaliste," *Esprit* (Mar. 1938), 950-952 (an article appreciated by Gromaire, in a letter to Bazaine dated 8 Mar. 1938), in articles such as "Peinture et réalité," *Figaro* (30 Dec. 1944); and at length in *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui* (1948) re-printed in *Le temps de la peinture* (Paris, 1990): 86-92. For a detailed analysis of this issue, see Jean-Pierre Greff, "Jean Bazaine et le 'repoussoir' du surréalisme," *L'ecrit-voir* 11 (1988): 62-75.

[27] Bazaine, "Les enlumineurs français," *Temps présent* (4 Mar. 1938), 4.

[28] See Bernard Ceysson, "L'histoire et la mémoire. Tradition et modernité," in *L'art en Europe. Les années décisives, 1945-1953* (Geneva, 1987): 36-47; Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *L'art de la défaite, 1940-1944* (Paris, 1992), 248-54; and Jean-Pierre Greff, "Les arts du Moyen-Age, source du XXe siècle," *L'écrit-voir* 13 (1990).

friendship with Marcel Gromaire. Gromaire's robustly figurative images of nudes, peasants and workers, were seen to be anchored in the "northern" line of artists whose dedication to realism, nature, and the quotidian objects and experiences of human life, constituted an ethical foundation for art.[29] In May 1934, alongside Bazaine's review of Szwarc in *Esprit*, Gromaire published a feature article titled "L'art, invention du concret." Like Mounier, Gromaire decried the state of "extreme disorder" of society that is equally manifest in the domain of art. At the heart of this disorder, he argues, is the loss of a real connection to "the extraordinary concreteness of life, this quivering pulp."[30] He holds responsible the debility of academic art teaching and the funereal museums and damns the "illusory discovery" of abstract art that he argues is propped up by Kantian delusions of meaningful geometry, poetic and literary fantasies, and the ultimate sin of individualism. Extolling the virtues of the unknown medieval artists of Vezelay and Chartres, and the examples of Fouquet and Poussin, Gromaire argues instead for a return to an art taking inspiration from "the immense concreteness of nature in which we bathe, surpasses and escapes us" whereupon the painting becomes an authentic participatory experience and "an approximation of palpitating life."[31] This argument contains a formidable paradox: art must be concrete, which is to say, in Gromaire's terms, a direct and recognizable representation of the real, an emblem of genuine spiritual connection with the objects of the world, and at the same time an approximation of this palpitating pulp which is life. The crux is the degree of abstraction that a painting can sustain in order to depict a recognizable reality and simultaneously faithful to painting's status as a pictorial proxy or approximation of that reality. The painter must strive to achieve what Gromaire called the "sur-concret" —a deeper reality than that supplied by the inherited pictorial tradition of mimesis.

Though Gromaire boldly questioned the pictorial laws of realist representation in public debates, his own paintings reveal no doubt as to the capacity of line and volume to legibly render the experiences of the world for the benefit of a collectivity.[32] But, in Bazaine's experimental watercolor and ink works from 1934-1937, where the figure is re-worked in traced lines and washes of color, the solid veracity of the subject becomes an object of doubt. Paintings such as *Jeune fille au bouquet* (1938) begin to articulate the limits of naturalistic realism, repudiating the traditional Beaux-Arts skills of drawing, modulated color and smooth facture for a roughened, smudged surface and a figure delineated in rudimentary form, produced not by line but through the abrupt junction of colors. Turned towards us, the oval head of the *jeune fille* startles, for she is seemingly bereft of features; she has dark blue hair across which a jagged triangle of red falls, one eye indicated by a blur of red paint, a yellow jaw line and where the right eye would be, a blur of pale blue that suggests a shaft of blinding light falling across the face. Her body is similarly composed in a mosaic of red, blue, white and yellow smudges, blocks and streaks that interleave with

[29] See Briot, and further, Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-garde* (New Jersey, 1993); and Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928* (New Haven, 1987), 65-67, 203-10.

[30] Marcel Gromaire, "L'art, invention du concret," *Esprit* (May 1934), 250.

[31] Ibid., 253. His deployment of the term "concret" contradicts the usage of the word by the *Art concret* group who were advocates of pure abstraction where "un élément pictural n'a pas d'autre signification que 'lui-même.'" See no. 1 of the journal, *Art concret* (1930).

[32] See Gromaire's contribution to the first debate in the "Querelle du réalisme" held at the Maison de la Culture in Spring 1936, reprinted in Serge Fauchereau, ed., *La querelle du réalisme* (Paris, 1987): 56-69; vis-à-vis the position of artists associated with *Esprit*, see also the statements by Edouard Goerg and Jean Labasque (pp. 69-85, 135-148) and Goerg, "Liberté de l'artiste," *Esprit* (Dec. 1936): 476-483, followed by an editorial statement supporting the views of the three debaters.

the predominantly red and blue ground. Shards of white light bounce off the surface of the girl's outer form, the shattered shallow space of the wall and floor, and the spiky, jagged leaves and blooms of the bouquet. The shift away from naturalism was continued in the series of still-lives dating from 1937-1938. As Bazaine commented a little later, "An object, such as it is, poses the great problem of form, so deeply anchored within itself, in a pure state, in an *abstract* state, in an elementary and direct way without possible cheating."[33] The irrevocable turning point came in a series of paintings of the human figure made during 1942-1943, such as *The Swimmer* (1943), where Bazaine progressively worked out the dissolution of corporeality through the fragmentation of space and form. A pleading letter from Gromaire in July 1942 apologized for his harsh criticism of Bazaine's new efforts while seeking to direct him back to the essential principles of realism: "I very much regret it if I have upset you, but I believe that we owe each other absolute sincerity; of course, you are right—art (even that by children and from the cave era) is abstract, always, in its means; but I believe that its goal must be a form of concreteness, *sur-concret*, that differs with each sensibility."[34]

Gromaire and Bazaine's discussion about the problems of figurative and non-figurative representation continued unresolved and bore a significant relation to the defeat of France and the beginning of the Vichy regime. Despite expressions of despair and fatigue, both artists conceived of the war as a crucial rupture with a corrupt and disappointing society that had run its course. Their debate speaks to an ill-defined but unceasing desire for a "communal effort" dedicated to finding the right pictorial catalyst for the return of French society to a spiritual, collectively oriented and socially just structure.[35] In February 1940, Gromaire wrote to Bazaine: "You are right, one must go on now more than ever in spite of everything. Each spiritual current is necessary and must be made as effective as possible." [36] A few months later Gromaire encourages Bazaine: "We have a great task to fulfill if events permit. We will need your help."[37] This statement was made just after the establishment of the Vichy state on 10 July 1940. Its tone of prognostication would seem to fit with the initial hope of many that the war had provided the opening for a political and spiritual revolution that would produce a new kind of national community for France.[38]

This "great task" of building an organic community where new forms of modern art would be reintegrated into the daily lives of the people and the lamentable chasm between artists and artisans would be closed remained a cherished but unfulfilled utopian hope. For a moment perhaps, Bazaine and a number of colleagues from *Esprit* thought that the cultural organization Jeune France, funded by the Vichy government in the un-occupied zone, would provide the impetus for the initiation of collective projects. His leadership of the "Arts plastiques" section resulted in some employment for several artists and in the exhibition *Vingt jeunes peintres*, also known by the title *Jeunes peintres de tradition française*, at Galerie Braun in May 1941. This exhibition was, for Bazaine, a positive result that enabled modernist paintings to be shown in occupied Paris.[39] However, despite this small success, the association with

[33] Bazaine, "Le décor et l'objet," *Nouvelle revue française* (May 1941), 735.
[34] Archives Bazaine, Gromaire to Bazaine, 3 July 1942. My italics with the original French word.
[35] See Daniel Lindenberg, *Les années souterraines 1937-1947* (Paris, 1990).
[36] Archives Bazaine, Gromaire to Bazaine, 16 Feb. 1940.
[37] Archives Bazaine, Gromaire to Bazaine, 26 July 1940.
[38] Regarding the discussion on the views and actions of Mounier and *Esprit* in relation to the Vichy regime, see Winock, "*Esprit*," 210-234, 436-447.
[39] Bazaine, interview with Natalie Adamson, Clamart, 27 Jan. 2001. Bazaine lists the participants in "Tour d'Horizon," *Nouvelle revue française* (Aug. 1941), 225.

Jeune France had rapidly soured as Bazaine realized the impossibility of independence under Vichy strictures. In October 1941, he offered his resignation to the director, Paul Flamand.[40] The organization was suppressed by the government shortly afterwards for contravening its cultural mission.[41]

At the same time as he organized the Galerie Braun exhibition, Bazaine exhibited alongside the painter Edouard Pignon at Galerie Jeanne Bucher in Paris and resumed his activity of art criticism. *Temps présent* had ceased to appear and the connection with *Esprit* seems to have been weakened by distance or disaffection, so Bazaine required an alternative venue.[42] Through the intercession of André Lhote, art critic for the *Nouvelle revue française*, Bazaine asked to place his articles in this elite literary journal. After publishing its last number in June 1940 with Jean Paulhan as editor, the *NRF* was revived six months later and continued to appear until June 1943 as an "apolitical" publication under the editorship of the right-wing writer Drieu la Rochelle.[43] Bazaine published a sequence of eight articles in the *NRF* between April and December 1941. They include an innocuous review of an exhibition of Matisse and Dufy drawings, an article highlighting the false premises of Maurice Vlaminck's violent attack upon Picasso, a biting critique of the lack of quality in the modern painting on show at the opening of the Musée d'Art Moderne, and a direct attack upon the intention of the authorities to control the activity of artists through corporatization. Bazaine recalled that Drieu la Rochelle turned a blind eye to such flagrant critiques of the Vichy regime.[44]

Bazaine's wartime articles make it clear that he intended his reformulation of the relationship of modernism to tradition in painting to respond to a "common effort" whereby painting can mean something important and spiritual to the national collective. But, effecting a visible betrayal of tradition in the views of a realist painter such as Gromaire, and a sin of decadence with regards to Vichy taste, the kind of painting Bazaine envisages as a renewal of a nation's spiritual resources was one that built upon and extended the achievements of avant-garde painters such as Matisse, Bonnard, Braque, Dufy, Rouault, and Picasso. Bazaine's first article in the *NRF*, entitled "Guerres et évasions," did not hesitate to revive a tone of combat in the face of resignation to military defeat and the demise of the Third Republic:

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[40] Archives Bazaine, Bazaine to Paul Flamand, 10 Oct. 1941.

[41] Laurence Bertrand-Dorléac, *L'art de la défaite 1940-1944* (Paris, 1993): 223-243, judges that Jeune France could not be described as "resistant" but contained many "intransigeants" holding to earlier values of apolitical communitarianism. Henry Rousso, "Vichy. Politique, idéologie, et culture," *Cahiers de l'institut d'histoire du temps présent*, 8 (June 1988), 18-19, describes Jeune France as "une espace de liberté" but that those who profited from such spaces "le font au prix d'une vision borgne du régime."

[42] The last number of *Temps présent* appeared on 14 June 1940. Fumet began a successor, *Temps nouveau* in Lyon in Dec. 1940 that was shut down by the Vichy government in Aug. 1941. A letter from Gromaire to Bazaine dated 16 Feb. 1940 indicates that Bazaine had written and submitted an article to *Esprit* but it does not seem to have been published. After moving to Lyon, the last number appeared in July 1941. John Hellman, *Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left* (Toronto, 1981), 153, describes the line of *Esprit* in 1940 as anti-democratic and notes that Maritain was sending his essays elsewhere.

[43] Letters from Bazaine to André Lhote contained in the Archives André Lhote detail the role Lhote played in helping Bazaine to establish himself as both a painter and a critic. On the *NRF* see Jean Paulhan, *La vie est pleine de choses redoutables*. *Textes autobiographiques* (Paris, 1989), 255.

[44] Bazaine, interview with Natalie Adamson, Clamart, 27 Jan. 2001. Bazaine was able to see documents detailing the corporatization reforms thanks to the poet Jean Follain, son-in-law of Maurice Denis who was designated president of the Comité d'études chargé des arts graphiques et plastiques until his firm withdrawal from the office. See Bazaine, "Masques corporatifs," *Nouvelle revue française* (Dec. 1941), re-printed in *Le temps de la peinture*, 33-37; and Bertrand Dorléac, *L'art de la défaite*, 159-163.

> Each war trails after itself its own contingent of amnesiacs. This is not a sufficient reason for all those who in France have still a bit of courage and freedom of thought to appear to have suddenly forgotten that French painting was for the last thirty years our only act of presence in the world and one of the rare living ferments of our time.[45]

Bazaine fired this challenging barb towards those people—art critics, bureaucrats in the arts administration, curators, and fellow artists—whom he saw as deniers of the achievements of the avant-garde. He envisaged the war as an electric-shock therapy for the collective conscience, returning the artist to a civic purpose and to the essential questions and traditions that require constant rebirth in order to remain alive. The amnesiacs, he says, are those people who submit to the war as an excuse for living basely, retreating behind the "return to" slogans such as a "false realism where one shamefully escapes into illusion." Bazaine's fear is of a mediocre and conformist art, bereft of tradition, purged of identity, and "spoiled by prejudices, tangled in its pride at being neither red, nor white, nor Jewish. Nothing. Not even French."[46]

In addition to his pointed remarks about the conservative prejudices of the arts world under the Vichy regime, a number of Bazaine's articles were written as publicity, manifesto, defense, and exegesis for the diverse works presented in the Galerie Braun exhibition in May 1941. Following two lengthy articles explaining the goals of the new generation of young painters, Bazaine could not refrain from responding to the inquiry "Où va la peinture française?" launched by the critic Gaston Diehl in the broadsheet daily newspaper *Comoedia* in November 1942. Refusing the consolidation of the *Jeunes peintres* as any kind of a school, Bazaine stated that it is the individual confronted by experience which creates art, not "these 'team efforts' that are so in fashion where one finds yet again a feeble reaction, a ruse on grandeur."[47] Group or not, Bazaine's aim was to establish the *jeunes peintres* simultaneously as legitimate successors to avant-garde innovators of the past *and* as genuinely modern innovators in their own right. To this end, he posits the 1930s and the war as an amnesiac period in which the lessons of the masters were temporarily occluded, including the Cubists, until discovered anew by Bazaine's generation.[48] Bazaine's second major article for *Comoedia*, after another text on the proposed Beaux-Arts reforms was refused, deployed an overtly patriotic didacticism to explain that the exultant rainbow of colors and spatial distortions of the Jeunes Peintres should be understood as a message of revolt against the Vichy regime and the edicts controlling artistic style and production.[49] In a time of national crisis, the combined rhetoric of colors and words was seized upon by pro-Resistance artists, writers, and the small public for this art, who celebrated red and blue as the attributes of an imperishable France over and beyond the German Occupation.[50]

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[45] Bazaine, "Guerres et évasions," *Nouvelle revue française* (Apr. 1941), 617.
[46] Ibid., 621.
[47] Bazaine, "La peinture d'aujourd'hui," *Comoedia* (24 Dec. 1942), 6.
[48] Bazaine, "Recherches des jeunes peintres," *Formes et couleurs* 6 (Lausanne, 1943), 42-3.
[49] Jean Bazaine, "La peinture bleu-blanc-rouge," *Comoedia* (30 Jan. 1943), 1. The rejected article was "A propos d'un décor," reproduced in Greff, *Bazaine et le théâtre*, 55-57.
[50] The problems raised by Bazaine's arguments and the rise to prominence of the Jeunes peintres group, especially after the war in the context of what Henry Rousso has called "resistancialism," are discussed by Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *L'art de la défaite*, 244-260, Michèle Cone, "'Abstract art' as a Veil—Tricolour Painting in Vichy France," (1992) in *French Modernisms: Perspectives on Art Before, During, and After Vichy* (Cambridge, 2001), 81-99; and Natalie Adamson, *The Identity of the École de Paris in Painting and Criticism, 1939-1964* (PhD Dissertation, University of Melbourne, 2003), 52-85.

After 1944, Bazaine did not return to writing a regular column of art criticism although he continued to respond to surveys and inquiries. His major postwar text, *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui,* presented a summative account of his arguments for a practice of painting that is able to surpass the insufficiencies of naturalism and abstraction as representational devices for the *interior* of perceptive experience. Bazaine deploys the language of Bergson, Péguy, Mounier, and Gromaire to demand a form of painting that derives its power, not through premeditated ideological motivations, but through a phenomenological act of engagement with the world that he names *incarnation*: "this power of interiority and of surpassing the visual plan—implied in the process of creation—does not vary according to the degree of faithfulness with which the work of art depicts exterior reality, but according to an interior world which englobes the exterior and opens itself completely to the 'pure rhythmic motifs of being.'"[51] *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui,* and Bazaine's last major text, *Exercise de la peinture,* evoke a practice of painting as a spiritualized engagement with nature and as a site of memory where a sense of national belonging is sublimated into color and rhythm and the obscure parameters of a French national tradition may be discerned.[52]

This essay argues that Bazaine's art criticism performs a series of maneuvers that straddle the categories of progressive and traditionalist in seeking to create an alternative circuit engaging modern art with politics and positioned against and in relation to other avant-garde groups during the 1930s. Bazaine's choice of *Esprit* and *Temps présent* itself is fraught with interpretative problems stemming from the questionable position of these journals on the "left."[53] Certain elements in their intellectual presentation—the ties to the Church, the reference to an organic hierarchy within society, the nostalgia for a pre-industrial world—take *Esprit* at least to the point of concurring with the initiatives of the Vichy regime. Bazaine's adherence to the notion of a French tradition that can be, at least in some facets, defined by its visible, stylistic attributes, refers back to an essentialist and nation-defined conception of art-making that in its more extreme forms sought to exclude any foreign-born influences. But, at the same time, Bazaine fought for a modernized tradition of painting that rejected the pictorial and ideological prejudices constraining the acceptance of non-figurative art, and established a personalist and libertarian ethics for painting that would reintegrate the individual within the wider community. The ideas that Bazaine advanced in his art critical texts remind us that we must take account of the central position, political and aesthetic, of the complex forms of traditionalism which permeate the modern and which propose alternative forms of avant-garde intervention into the social and political sphere.

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[51] Bazaine, *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui*, in *Le temps de la peinture*, 105.
[52] Bazaine, *Exercice de la peinture* (Paris, 1973).
[53] On *Temps présent*, see Yvon Tranvouez, "Chrétiens de gauche ou gauche catholique? A propos de l'hebdomadaire *Temps présent* (1937-1947)," in *Histoire et politique. Mélanges offerts à Edmond Monange* (Brest, 1994): 339-351; and Étienne Fouilloux, "*Sept* et *Temps present*. Des 'rouges chrétiennes?'" *Lettre* 231 (November 1977): 2-5.

Pratiques du suicide à Paris pendant la Révolution française

Dominique Godineau

Le 6 juin 1793, une domestique de vingt-cinq ans se jette dans la Seine parce que, dit-elle, elle a eu "bien du chagrin, la perte de ses parents, et finalement s'ennuyant partout, n'ayant pas d'autres sujets [de désespoir] qu'un ennui continuel de sa propre personne."[1]

Deux ans plus tard, le 16 juin 1795, un jeune homme de vingt-huit ans se tire un coup de pistolet dans la bouche, désespéré, écrit-il, de voir les royalistes triompher.[2]

Ce sont là deux suicides figurant parmi les centaines que l'on trouve dans les papiers des commissaires de police parisiens pendant la Révolution, et que je voudrais présenter ici. Ce travail s'inscrit dans une recherche plus large que je mène actuellement sur les pratiques du suicide en France au 18e siècle, de la Régence à l'Empire, la formule "pratiques du suicide" englobant aussi les réactions provoquées par le geste (qu'il soit "réussi" ou non), la façon dont il est perçu, expliqué, jugé et pris en charge par l'entourage et les autorités, ainsi que tout ce qui a pu le précéder ou le suivre. Le propos n'est donc pas de faire une étude psychologique ou simplement sociologique du phénomène mais de saisir, à travers les cas analysés, ce qu'il peut révéler sur les relations sociales, les structures mentales et culturelles, sur le rapport au monde et les sensibilités populaires, sur les attentes et les désillusions (affectives, sociales, politiques) de ceux qui tentent d'échapper à la vie—et d'en mesurer les évolutions sur un siècle, et les écarts ou rapports avec le discours lettré.

Avant la Révolution, le suicide est en France, comme dans la plupart des pays européens, un crime juridique, celui "d'homicide contre soi-même;" dans certains cas, un procès est ainsi fait par les tribunaux laïcs au cadavre et/ou à la mémoire du défunt. S'il est reconnu coupable de s'être volontairement détruit (ce qui exclut la folie), la peine peut toucher sa mémoire ("éteinte, supprimée et condamnée à perpétuité"), son corps (traîné sur une claie face contre terre dans les rues, pendu par les pieds à une potence et "jeté à la voirie:" enterré en terre profane) et ses biens (confisqués). Mais,

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[1] Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris (APP), AA 220, f. 274.

[2] APP, AA 188, 28 prairial III.

dans les faits, ces peines tendent à disparaître dans les dernières décennies de l'ancien régime.

Par ailleurs, le suicide acquiert au 18e siècle un véritable statut de "question de société." L'apparition du mot *suicide* en 1734 dans la langue française[3] rend ainsi compte de l'ampleur nouvelle prise par le débat sur ce sujet: de Montesquieu à d'Holbach, tous les philosophes et hommes de lettres des Lumières ont écrit sur lui.[4] Ils s'interrogent sur sa légitimité: a-t-on le droit de se tuer, la mort volontaire est-elle ou non un crime commis envers Dieu, ou envers la société (à qui le suicidé retirerait un de ses membres), ou encore ne relèverait-elle pas de la pathologie médicale? Même ceux qui réprouvent le suicide demandent à la fin de l'ancien régime sa dépénalisation, assurant que, si le geste est condamnable, celui qui le commet ne l'est pas mais est plutôt à plaindre. Enfin, les chroniqueurs[5] et les autorités s'inquiètent de l'augmentation du nombre de suicides, imputée selon les auteurs au déclin de la religion et des mœurs ou aux crises économiques et politiques: dans tous les cas, il apparaît aux contemporains comme un symptôme, un reflet des dysfonctionnements de leur société.

Il est très difficile de vérifier si le nombre de suicides a effectivement augmenté comme les hommes du 18e siècle en avaient le sentiment. Mais il est sûr que l'époque a vu, non pas la "banalisation" du suicide, qui n'est jamais banal, mais son inscription dans le paysage social, au moins dans les grandes villes: il est devenu "public," on en parle, il est moins caché qu'au début du siècle. C'est une forme de mort à l'idée de laquelle on s'habitue, qui devient progressivement envisageable, pour soi-même, pour les autres. Cette "publicité" (dans le sens: porter à la connaissance du public) fournit d'une certaine façon des modèles: modèles du suicide quotidien, celui du voisin, d'une connaissance, qui redoublent les modèles littéraires du suicide héroïque à la romaine ou, moins présent semble-t-il en France que dans d'autres pays, du suicide "romantique" symbolisé par le jeune Werther de Gœthe (1774).

C'est donc sans heurts et sans débats que les révolutionnaires dépénalisent le suicide: le Code pénal de 1791 ne le met pas dans la liste des crimes poursuivis par la loi, et le Code des délits et des peines de 1795 précise que la mort éteint toute poursuite. Quelques fonctionnaires de police restent cependant encore persuadés pendant plusieurs années que le suicide est un délit, tels ces dirigeants de la police parisienne qui en décembre 1794 écrivent avoir cru

> qu'il existoit une loi portant peine infamante contre celui qui, étouffant la voix de la nature, essaye de s'arracher la vie; nous avons cru que l'insensé qui s'arroge le droit meurtrier de se suicider, devoit être puni, afin d'arrêter par la crainte d'une mort morale, ceux qui concevroient la pensée de priver la société d'un de ses membres en se frappant d'un coup mortel.[6]

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[3] Sous la plume de l'abbé Prévost, dans son périodique *Le Pour et le Contre*. Le mot est emprunté à la langue anglaise, où il a été créé au 17e siècle à partir du latin.

[4] Pour une présentation détaillée de ces écrits et du débat: Albert Bayet, *Le suicide et la morale* (Paris, 1922); Robert Favre, *La mort dans la littérature et la pensée française au siècle des Lumières* (Lyon, 1978); Georges Minois, *Histoire du suicide. La société occidentale face à la mort volontaire* (Paris, 1995).

[5] Par exemple Louis Sébastien Mercier ou le libraire Hardy qui, dans son Journal tenu de 1764 à 1789, a noté près de 300 cas de suicides, étudiés par Jeffrey Merrick in "Patterns and Prosecution of Suicide in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *Historical Reflections/Réflections historiques*, 16.1 (1989): 1-41. (Je remercie David Garrioch de m'avoir signalé cet article).

[6] APP, AA 95 f. 687-693, 4 nivôse an III.

La majorité des commissaires sait néanmoins très bien que le suicide n'est plus un délit légal. Ce qui n'empêche pas que, comme pendant l'ancien régime, quand ils ont connaissance d'un suicide (ou d'une tentative), ils dressent un procès-verbal, font examiner le corps par un médecin et interrogent les témoins et les proches pour s'assurer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un meurtre. Même si une partie des procès-verbaux des commissaires a disparu, ceux conservés aux Archives de la Préfecture de Police à Paris contiennent donc des centaines de cas de suicides. En pratiquant des sondages, par années et par quartiers, j'en ai dépouillé presque deux cents pour la période révolutionnaire—dont les deux tiers concernent des suicides et un tiers des tentatives. J'ai complété ces dossiers par les mentions de suicides, parfois très détaillées, notées dans les rapports de police, et par les indications relevées dans l'inventaire des papiers des commissaires.[7] Ces archives fournissent de nombreuses et précieuses informations sur les suicides, les suicidés, leur entourage, mais il serait illusoire d'y rechercher un reflet précis et entièrement fidèle de la réalité: il ne s'agit pas là de statistiques "scientifiquement" dressées mais de documents de police qu'il faut manier avec prudence, en étant conscient de leurs limites, dues notamment au type même de la source—qui minore ou majore certains aspects—et au fait que la série des procès-verbaux est incomplète.

Les suicidés

Malgré ces réserves, il ressort clairement que les suicidés sont majoritairement des hommes. Cette donnée se retrouve dans différentes études portant sur d'autres périodes ou d'autres pays,[8] qui donnent, avec assez peu de variantes, un rapport d'environ 30 femmes pour 100 hommes—soit un peu moins d'un quart de femmes parmi l'ensemble des suicidés. C'est la proportion que j'ai trouvée pour l'ancien régime, celle également que Richard Cobb a calculée pour la période du Directoire.[9] Mes résultats sur la Révolution donnent un pourcentage plus élevé de femmes (40 femmes pour 100 hommes): cette différence s'explique probablement par le fait que dans mes sondages j'ai privilégié l'an III (septembre 1794-septembre 1795), marqué par une terrible disette de pain; or il semble que, en général, la part des femmes augmente lors des graves crises économiques[10]—pendant le seul an III, le rapport est d'ailleurs de cinquante-sept femmes pour 100 hommes. Comme l'ont aussi souligné d'autres études, l'écart entre les deux sexes diminue (soixante-dix femmes pour 100 hommes) si l'on tient compte des tentatives—nous reviendrons plus loin sur ce dernier point.

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[7] APP, *Documents à consulter pour l'histoire de la Révolution française*, inventaire chronologique établi au 19e siècle.

[8] Par exemple: Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Le suicide au Moyen Age," *Annales ESC*, janv-fév (1976): 3-28; Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990); Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages: The Violent Against Themselves* (Oxford, 1999); Laurent Haeberli, "Le suicide à Genève au XVIIIe siècle," in *Pour une histoire qualitative. Etudes offertes à Sven Stelling-Michaud* (Genève, 1975): 115-129; Jeffrey R. Watt, *Choosing death: Suicide and Calvinism in Early modern Geneva* (Kirksville, 2001); Barrie Ratcliffe, "Suicides in the City: Perceptions and Realities of Self-Destruction in Paris in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques*, 18.1 (1992): 1-70. Si le travail sociologique d'Emile Durkeim (*Le Suicide* (Paris, 1897, 1930)) est très daté, celui de Maurice Halbwachs (*Les Causes du suicide* (Paris, 1930, 2002)) reste d'une grande utilité.

[9] Richard Cobb, *Death in Paris* (Oxford, 1978). Cette étude est fondée pour l'essentiel sur les registres de la Basse-Geôle (la Morgue), une source très différente de la mienne.

[10] Halbwachs, *Les Causes du suicide*.

La différence entre les sexes est également nette en ce qui concerne l'âge des suicidés, les femmes se suicidant plus jeunes: alors que presque un suicidé masculin sur deux a entre trente et quarante-neuf ans, 47.5 pour cent des suicidées ont moins de trente ans—et ce pourcentage s'élève à 55.8 pour cent si l'on ajoute les tentatives. Plusieurs de ces jeunes femmes sont des adolescentes craignant la colère de leurs parents, des domestiques ayant perdu leur emploi, des femmes abandonnées par leur ami, parfois alors qu'elles sont enceintes. Les tentatives de suicide des jeunes de moins de trente ans correspondent souvent à des gestes impulsifs effectués dans un accès de désespoir ou de fureur. Les suicides et tentatives d'hommes de plus de soixante ans, non négligeables (17.5 pour cent), sont attribués aux souffrances de la maladie ou à la misère.

La situation matrimoniale des suicidés est, elle, quasi la même pour les deux sexes: 37 pour cent des hommes et des femmes sont mariés, ce qui est bien entendu largement inférieur au pourcentage de personnes mariées dans l'ensemble de la population. Si ce chiffre souligne le poids de la solitude et de la fragilité affective, économique, sociale, voire institutionnelle,[11] l'on doit préciser que, même sans être mariés, plus de la moitié des suicidés des deux sexes ne vivaient pas seuls (célibataires habitant avec leurs parents, un frère, une sœur, un cousin …).

La répartition par catégories socio-professionnelles est *grosso modo* la même que celle trouvée pour l'ancien régime, à ceci près que les rubriques "nobles" et "ecclésiastiques" ont quasiment disparu alors qu'elles représentaient respectivement 6.2 pour cent et 2.5 pour cent des cas masculins avant 1789 (mais étaient inexistantes pour les femmes). Environ la moitié des suicidés appartient au "petit peuple,"[12] sous la Révolution (49.7 pour cent; 55.7 pour cent en ajoutant les soldats) comme sous l'ancien régime (47.2 pour cent; 54.2 pour cent avec les soldats): sur-représentation des plus démunis ou simple reflet de la composition très populaire de la population parisienne à cette époque? Quoi qu'il en soit, cette prépondérance populaire est nettement plus marquée pour les femmes que pour les hommes, puisque plus de deux suicidées sur trois (70 pour cent) appartiennent au "petit peuple:" ce fort pourcentage rappelle les difficultés d'existence des femmes du peuple à Paris, moins qualifiées que les hommes, moins bien payées, touchées au premier chef par le chômage ou les crises alimentaires—il n'est peut-être pas non plus impossible que les suicides et surtout les tentatives de Parisiennes d'un milieu social plus "élevé" soient plus discrets, accomplis dans la maison et non sur la voie publique, et par conséquent échappant plus facilement aux commissaires. Enfin, on remarque l'importance des domestiques (une femme sur cinq): comme l'a souligné David Garrioch lors de la présentation orale de ce travail, ce sont fréquemment de jeunes provinciales sans famille proche à Paris, peu intégrées dans de solides réseaux de sociabilité—de plus, leurs employeurs signalent systématiquement leurs suicides aux autorités.

[11] Il est beaucoup plus difficile de camoufler en mort naturelle le suicide d'une personne vivant seule.

[12] Je regroupe sous ce terme les salariés de l'artisanat et du commerce, les domestiques, les "petits métiers" (marchands ambulants, balayeurs, etc.), les métiers de la terre (jardiniers des faubourgs) et les chômeurs, auxquels on pourrait éventuellement ajouter les soldats. On sait la difficulté de construire des catégories socio-professionnelles pour le 18^{e} siècle, toute classification pouvant être critiquée sur certains points, celle-ci comme les autres.

Les suicides

Etant donné la disparition de documents pour certaines années, il serait très hasardeux de dresser une courbe de la répartition des suicides sur l'ensemble de la période révolutionnaire. L'on voit néanmoins se dessiner un pic pendant l'an II et, surtout, une très forte hausse pendant l'an III, liée à la crise économique qui devient véritable famine en mai 1795: c'est alors que les observateurs de police notent que "le suicide n'a jamais été aussi commun"[13] et que, quasi quotidiennement, une ou plusieurs personnes se jettent dans la Seine, désespérées de ne pas avoir de pain. Enfin, un troisième pic émerge pendant la crise économique des années 1801-1803. L'on remarque également une répartition saisonnière, identique à celle notée par Richard Cobb: le printemps est la saison où l'on relève le plus de suicides (33.5 pour cent), suivie par l'été (27.5 pour cent), l'automne (20.8 pour cent) et l'hiver (18.5 pour cent).

Les résultats concernant le mode de suicide sont différents selon que l'on s'intéresse aux hommes ou aux femmes, aux suicides réussis ou aux tentatives. Ainsi, plus d'un homme sur trois se tue avec une arme à feu (pistolet ou fusil), alors qu'aucune femme n'utilise ce moyen: plus répandu que pendant l'ancien régime (17 pour cent des suicides masculins), il ne concerne plus seulement des hommes aisés, mais reste réservé aux adultes, les jeunes gens de moins de trente ans n'y ayant pas recours. Un homme sur cinq et seulement une femme sur dix se servent d'une arme blanche, soit pour se trancher la gorge avec un rasoir, soit pour se donner des coups de couteau dans la poitrine; s'ouvrir les veines est par contre une forme très marginale de suicide, dont les auteurs sont des lettrés et des prisonniers qui, de plus, ne s'ouvrent pas les veines des poignets mais des bras, pieds ou genoux. Les femmes "préfèrent" quant à elles sauter par la fenêtre ou se noyer en se jetant dans la Seine ou dans un puit. La noyade dans la Seine est d'ailleurs très certainement minorée par nos documents, pour les hommes comme pour les femmes: lorsque l'on retire un noyé de la Seine, pour que le commissaire sache s'il s'agit d'un accident ou d'un suicide il faut qu'il y ait eu des témoins ou, ce qui est assez rare, que des proches viennent le reconnaître dans les heures qui suivent, avant que le cadavre ne soit amené à la Basse-Geôle.[14] Au contraire, quand un individu est repêché vivant, il est habituellement conduit devant le commissaire, ce qui explique la part prépondérante—et cette fois-ci probablement majorée par la source—de noyades parmi les tentatives. Enfin, un peu moins d'un homme ou d'une femme sur cinq a mis fin à ses jours en se pendant, et quelques-uns en avalant du poison (opium, eau-forte qui provoque une longue et douloureuse agonie, émétique). Il est possible que, comme l'ont suggéré certains chercheurs,[15] la sous-représentation des femmes parmi les suicidés soit accentuée par le fait que, proportionnellement, elles utilisent plus que les hommes des procédés pour lesquels la chance de survie est plus grande (noyade).

En général, les commissaires cherchent à déterminer les causes de la mort. Ainsi, les récits des témoins et des proches, les lettres laissées par certains suicidés ou les interrogatoires de ceux dont la tentative n'a pas abouti donnent-ils un aperçu des

[13] Archives nationales (AN), F1cIII Seine 16, 26 floréal an III.

[14] 90 pour cent des suicides étudiés par Richard Cobb à partir des registres de la Basse-Geôle sont des noyades dans la Seine: la chose n'est guère étonnante puisque y étaient déposés les cadavres non identifiés ou non réclamés par des proches (en l'occurrence repêchés plusieurs heures ou jours après leur suicide). En conclure, comme le fait cet auteur, que "la noyade était la façon la plus simple et la plus commune de mettre fin à ses jours," "la forme de suicide la plus courante dans la capitale" est un peu trop rapide (Cobb, *Death in Paris*, 10-14). Ces différences de pourcentages soulignent surtout à quel point les résultats sont dépendants du type de source étudiée.

[15] Halbwachs, *Les Causes du suicide,* chap. 3.

motifs des suicides. Aperçu et non image nette car plusieurs commissaires se contentent de noter les faits sans véritablement enquêter; d'autre part, l'enquête, quand elle est bien menée, révèle que plusieurs raisons s'entremêlent souvent. Enfin parce que le suicide s'inscrit dans une histoire personnelle, dont les archives ne retranscrivent que des bribes. Une partie des raisons profondes qui conduisent un individu à mettre fin à ses jours demeure dans des zones inatteignables pour le commissaire, la famille, les voisins, et à plus forte raison pour l'historien. Toutefois ce que les témoins présentent comme une explication plausible donne à l'historien des indications sur ce que les contemporains considéraient comme un motif de désespoir suffisant pour expliquer le geste. Cela signifie aussi qu'entrent ici en ligne de compte l'image que l'on a de soi ou d'un proche et celle que l'on veut laisser, images dont la construction s'appuie aussi sur les représentations sociales et culturelles du genre, du groupe social, et donc sur certains stéréotypes: lorsque plusieurs raisons s'entrecroisent, les proches s'attarderont par exemple peut-être plus sur l'une d'elles pour une femme et sur une autre pour un homme.

Il faut bien entendu faire une place à part aux 10 pour cent de suicides accomplis sous l'emprise de la folie, pendant une crise de démence, en particulier paranoïaque, quand un individu, homme ou femme, est persuadé qu'il est espionné par des mouchards ou poursuivi par des assassins ou des policiers. Ces crises paranoïaques ne sont d'ailleurs pas propres à la période révolutionnaire: l'on en trouvait également, dans des proportions équivalentes, avant la Révolution.

Dans un tiers des suicides (et des tentatives) sont évoquées des difficultés matérielles, sous trois formes assez distinctes: être endetté et ruiné suite à de mauvaises affaires; être sans travail; être dans la misère, sans pain. Ces trois états sont invoqués selon des temporalités différentes. Ainsi est-ce surtout dans la société affairiste du Directoire que l'on se tuerait parce que l'on a fait un investissement désastreux qui a conduit à la faillite: ces suicidés sont majoritairement des hommes, parmi lesquels l'on ne trouve pas que des hommes d'affaires professionnels mais aussi des petits bourgeois emportés par la fièvre spéculative de cette période. En revanche, c'est évidemment pendant les crises économiques, de l'an III ou des années 1801-1803, que des hommes et des femmes du peuple souhaitent en finir avec la vie parce qu'ils disent être dénués de tout et ne pouvoir donner de pain à leurs enfants.

Quinze pour cent de ceux qui se tuent (ou tentent de le faire) ont des ennuis avec la justice, qu'ils soient en prison, ou soupçonnés de vol, ou sur le point d'être arrêtés pour un quelconque délit – ces "pratiques," qui concernent plus les hommes (18 pour cent) que les femmes (9 pour cent), ne sont pas liées aux événements révolutionnaires, mais étaient également bien représentées dans les archives de l'ancien régime.

Les tourments affectifs d'ordre privé (amours malheureuses, relations familiales conflictuelles) apparaissent dans un peu plus d'un cas sur dix (12 pour cent), plus souvent pour les femmes (18 pour cent) que pour les hommes (8 pour cent). Là non plus l'on ne relève pas de différence sensible avec l'ancien régime, la nouveauté révolutionnaire étant pourtant représentée par les suicides de divorcé(e)s, et notamment d'hommes n'acceptant pas le divorce demandé par leur femme—deux d'entre eux se tuent sous les yeux de leur ancienne épouse, pour la punir disent-ils, et un autre après l'avoir assassinée.

Les problèmes d'ordre psychologique sont également parfois (8.5 pour cent: 13 pour cent pour les femmes et 6 pour cent pour les hommes) invoqués par les témoins ou les intéressés: non pas la folie avérée mais plutôt ce que l'on appellerait aujourd'hui "dépression" et qui est signalé dans les documents comme du "dégoût" ou

"ennui" de la vie, du "chagrin," une "humeur mélancolique," un esprit "sombre," "taciturne," une "tête faible," etc.

Enfin deux autres thèmes reviennent qui concernent chacun un homme sur dix, et presque pas leurs compagnes: les souffrances dues à la maladie (11.5 pour cent des hommes, 3 pour cent des femmes) et le contexte politique (10.7 pour cent des hommes, 1.5 pour cent des femmes).

Les réactions de l'entourage

Il est très rare, exceptionnel même, qu'un individu, homme ou femme, soit complètement isolé, sans lien aucun avec sa famille, son voisinage ou ses camarades de travail, dont les témoignages figurent quasiment toujours dans les procès-verbaux des commissaires. Fréquents sont d'ailleurs les suicides découverts, voire empêchés, parce qu'un voisin—en fait dans la plupart des cas une voisine—s'inquiète de ne pas avoir vu telle ou telle personne depuis un jour ou plus et aille faire part de ses craintes au commissaire. Ces voisins savent ensuite où et comment prévenir la famille du suicidé, même si celui-ci est un célibataire non originaire de la capitale; et dans les heures qui suivent la découverte du corps, un frère, une sœur, un cousin, une tante, etc. du défunt se présentent au bureau du commissaire. On voit ainsi se dessiner des réseaux, plus ou moins lâches, qui entourent ceux qui vivent seuls.

Les habitants des immeubles populaires parisiens vivent sous le regard des autres,[16] ce qui pouvait parfois s'avérer lourd, mais est ici synonyme d'attention, de sollicitude, de surveillance: est ainsi formée une toile d'araignée, qui se veut protectrice, autour de ceux qui ne vont pas bien, qui paraissent fragiles parce qu'ils ont des chagrins, ou sont depuis quelque temps d'une "humeur sombre" et répètent qu'ils ne supportent plus la vie, ou parce qu'ils sont sujets à des crises de démence. Ils sont alors surveillés par le voisinage qui tente de les distraire, de les soulager, en discutant ou se promenant avec eux; dans quelques cas, il est même précisé que des voisins suivaient discrètement dans la rue celui sorti avec un "air égaré." Ces documents permettent de voir comment, tant bien que mal, les personnes atteintes de troubles psychologiques sont prises en charge par l'entourage, en l'absence d'institutions adéquates—du moins tant que les troubles ne sont pas trop violents car ceux qui en sont atteints sont alors conduits à l'Hospice de l'Humanité, ci-devant Hôtel-Dieu, pour, dit-on, y être soignés.

Dans l'ensemble, la population ne montre pas de réprobation marquée, de condamnation du suicidé, mais plutôt de la compassion. Celle-ci est parfois présentée, en pleine période déchristianisatrice, comme relevant d'un comportement de "charité" chrétienne, qui "ne permet pas d'abandonner"[17] quelqu'un qui souffre, même si on ne le connaît pas. Lorsque le suicide se produit ou est découvert, il provoque d'abord chez les témoins de l'effroi, puis des sentiments qui mêlent incompréhension et désir de rationaliser, de trouver une explication. La curiosité n'est pas non plus absente: on va voir le corps du suicidé et les commissaires notent-ils souvent qu'il y a foule devant sa maison ou dans sa chambre—peut-être d'ailleurs comme cela se produirait pour un "simple" meurtre.

On va le voir et on en parle. En période de crise, comme celle du printemps de l'an III (1795), cette publicité inquiète fortement les autorités, qui redoutent alors, non

[16] Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence, pouvoirs et solidarités à Paris au 18e siècle* (Paris, 1986). David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley, 2002).
[17] APP, AA 89, f. 46-47.

sans raison, que les opposants ne fassent un usage politique de la multiplication des suicides pour attiser la colère contre le gouvernement. Ainsi les policiers qui envoient quotidiennement des rapports aux autorités sont-ils alors très sensibles à la question et, à côté des propos entendus dans la rue, notent soigneusement tous les suicides dont ils ont eu connaissance, par les commissaires ou par la rumeur. Ce rapport entre suicides et Révolution se retrouve d'ailleurs à d'autres occasions.

L'impact des événements

Il se fait d'abord sentir indirectement, dans la chronologie des motifs évoqués ou dans les notes laissées par certains suicidés, qui permettent de mesurer la politisation de la population parisienne. Un garde national qui se tue le 9 juillet 1790, parce qu'il a des soucis financiers, regrette ainsi dans sa lettre de ne pouvoir assister à la Fête de la Fédération à cause de sa mort imminente: "faut-il que mon malheur soit assez grand pour que je ne puisse me trouver au Pacte fédératif du 14 juillet."[18] En l'an II, deux hommes qui se suicident pour des motifs qui n'ont rien à voir avec la Révolution précisent cependant qu'ils meurent républicains et démocrates.[19] À l'inverse, il est frappant de voir à quel point le politique cède la place aux sentiments privés sous le Directoire, où plusieurs suicidés insistent fortement dans leur dernière lettre sur l'amour qu'ils portent à leur femme "adorée," ou écrivent qu'ils embrassent en pleurant leur famille, leurs amis. Ces lettres révèlent à la fois l'envahissement du privé par le politique en 1789-1795, puis son net recul à partir de 1796, avec un repli sur la sphère privée et des formules plus sentimentales. De même, alors que jusqu'en 1794 plusieurs recommandent leur âme à Dieu, cette référence disparaît ensuite, parfois—mais pas toujours—au profit de l'Être Suprême.

Par ailleurs, des suicides sont directement liés, ou du moins attribués par les contemporains, aux événements. En octobre 1788, le libraire parisien Hardy supposait déjà que l'évêque de Grenoble s'était volontairement donné la mort par dépit de ne pas avoir été élu aux Etats généraux après que ses "intrigues" anti-réformatrices eurent été "démasquées." En mai 1789, il attribue de nouveau la mort de l'ancien garde des sceaux Lamoignon à un suicide causé "peut-être" par la peur de voir les Etats généraux réunis. Et les deux derniers suicides qu'il mentionne découleraient également d'après lui des événements: celui d'une domestique "à qui les troubles actuels avaient fait tourner la tête au point qu'elle s'était précipitée dans un puit" le 17 juillet 1789, et celui, en août 1789, d'un agent de change ruiné par la première vague d'émigration de plusieurs grands princes à qui il avait prêté des sommes considérables.[20] Il s'agit bien entendu là des interprétations de Hardy, mais on trouve également dans les archives des suicides (ou des tentatives) que leurs auteurs eux-mêmes relient au contexte politique, comme cet ancien militaire désespéré en l'an II "de passer pour suspect"[21] ou cette femme qui tente de se jeter à l'eau parce que, dit-elle, elle est femme d'émigré.[22] La veuve de l'ancien ministre Duport-Dutertre (guillotiné en 1793) écrit le 30 octobre 1794 ne plus pouvoir vivre sans lui et ajoute: "au moins je ne tremblerai plus pour ceux qui me sont chers et je n'appréhenderai pas

[18] AN, Y 10011, 9 juillet 1790. Je remercie Déborah Cohen de m'avoir communiqué ce document.
[19] APP, AA 216 f. 367, AA 201 f. 104-106.
[20] BNF mss, Simon Prosper Hardy, "Mes Loisirs, ou Journal d'événemens, tels qu'ils parviennent à ma connoissance," fonds français 6687, pp. 113, 324 bis, 396, 418.
[21] APP, AA 80 f. 30. Cf aussi AA 80, f. 87, AA159 f. 205.
[22] Archives de Paris, D10 U17, 15 messidor an VI.

à chaque instant le malheur de les perdre."[23] On peut mesurer par ces mots l'angoisse qu'a pu représenter la Terreur pour ceux qui vivaient dans la crainte d'être arrêtés ou de voir des proches guillotinés.

Les suicides de dirigeants politiques

On sait que de nombreux dirigeants révolutionnaires, de tous bords, tentèrent avec succès ou non de mettre fin à leurs jours. Le 30 octobre 1793, lors du procès des Girondins, le député Dufriche-Valazé s'enfonce un couteau dans la poitrine à la lecture de la sentence de mort—il sera guillotiné mort ou moribond. Il est suivi dans les mois qui suivent par plusieurs autres personnalités de la Gironde, en prison ou en fuite: Clavière (qui se poignarde en prison le 8 décembre 1793), Roland (15 novembre 1793), Condorcet (qui s'est probablement empoisonné en mars 1794), Barbaroux (qui tente de se suicider le 18 juin 1794 avant d'être arrêté), Buzot (18 juin 1794), Pétion (18 juin 1794). À l'autre bord de l'échiquier politique, l'Enragé Jacques Roux se poignarde en plein tribunal le 14 janvier 1794 et recommence, cette fois avec succès, un mois plus tard dans sa prison (10 février 1794).

Robespierre s'est-il lui-même donné un coup de pistolet dans la bouche dans la nuit du 9 au 10 thermidor an II à l'Hôtel de Ville ou a-t-il été blessé par un gendarme? Si cette question divise les historiens, il est en revanche certain que son frère Augustin —"Robespierre le jeune"—tenta alors de se donner la mort et que Lebas y réussit.

Les suicides en 1795 des "derniers Montagnards" sont bien connus. Après l'échec de l'insurrection populaire des 1er-4 prairial an III (20-23 mai 1795), plusieurs députés montagnards sont arrêtés sur ordre de la Convention, qui décide le 8 prairial (27 mai) qu'ils seront jugés par la Commission militaire établie quatre jours plus tôt. Plutôt que d'avoir le déshonneur de passer devant la Commission militaire, deux d'entre eux se poignardent avant le procès: Rühl qui était en arrestation chez lui (10 prairial/29 mai) et Maure le 15 prairial (3 juin). Mais le geste de ces deux députés a été éclipsé par celui, plus spectaculaire, plus illustre et plus porteur de sens politique[24] des "Martyrs de Prairial," les six Conventionnels Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoy, Soubrany, Bourbotte et Du Roy. Emprisonnés ensemble, ils avaient fait serment de se tuer s'ils étaient condamnés à mort par la Commission militaire: de fait, quelques minutes après leur condamnation à la peine capitale le 29 prairial (17 juin 1795), Bourbotte se poignarde sur le perron du tribunal en s'écriant "Voilà comment l'homme libre sait se soustraire à l'échafaud de la tyrannie," et ses cinq camarades se suicident collectivement dans leur cellule avec un poignard, qu'ils se passent après s'en être chacun frappé. Romme, Goujon et Duquesnoy décèdent sur le coup tandis que Du Roy, Bourbotte ("presque mourant" selon le rapport du médecin) et Soubrany ("mourant") sont menés sur le champ à l'échafaud pour y "subir la peine de mort, conformément au … jugement."[25] Si leur geste est à la fois "banal" et "extraordinaire" par sa mise en scène, son caractère collectif et "pictural,"[26] et par les écrits laissés, sur le moment il passe assez inaperçu. Mais très rapidement, les six Conventionnels acquièrent leur titre de "martyrs" et deviennent un véritable modèle pour les révolutionnaires de gauche, et notamment pour Babeuf, qui les évoque au cours de

[23] APP, AA 148 f. 323.
[24] Sur ce sens politique: Françoise Brunel, "Présentation de Goujon," in *Les martyrs de Prairial. Textes et documents inédits*, eds. Françoise Brunel et Sylvain Goujon (Genève, 1992).
[25] AN, W 547 d. 43.
[26] Brunel, "Présentation de Goujon," 35, 37.

son propre procès en mai 1797 dans une grande harangue devant le tribunal: "Illustres victimes … vous dont nous ne cessons d'honorer les mânes par nos chants quotidiens! … Nous avons dû vous remplacer après votre chute; tombés comme vous, nous devons vous imiter et paraître devant nos persécuteurs, inébranlables comme vous."[27] Et quand, quelques jours plus tard (le 7 prairial an V / 26 mai 1797), Babeuf et son compagnon Darthé furent condamnés à mort par la Haute Cour de Vendôme, ils tentèrent tous les deux de se poignarder (et furent guillotinés le lendemain).

La liste est longue.[28] Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait beaucoup d'autres périodes historiques pendant lesquelles la mort volontaire soit apparue comme le geste de référence, l'issue honorable et quasi attendue devant l'échec et la défaite politiques. Il est en ce sens symptomatique que, quelques jours après le 9 thermidor an II, le bruit courait dans Paris qu'un député montagnard proche de Robespierre, Jullien de la Drôme, se serait suicidé:[29] la rumeur est totalement fausse, mais indique bien que cela était pensé comme de l'ordre du possible, voire du probable.

Différentes raisons peuvent être avancées pour tenter d'expliquer cette sorte d'épidémie. On ne peut ignorer que la période a développé une certaine familiarité avec la mort, par le biais des exécutions et plus encore de la guerre, ou des slogans—"Vivre libre ou mourir," qui est souvent ce que disent les suicidés politiques par leur geste; "La fraternité ou la mort." A aussi joué la valorisation du suicide héroïque, à la manière des Romains Brutus ou Caton, auxquels se réfèrent très souvent les révolutionnaires. Ces modèles antiques ont été portés par la littérature du 18e siècle,[30] dont ont été nourris les dirigeants révolutionnaires pendant leurs années de formation. Pendant la Révolution, ils sont glorifiés dans les discours, l'iconographie (quasiment pas un salon de peinture de la décennie 1790 où ne soit exposée une toile représentant un suicide de Romain). Tout comme le sont certains contemporains, tel l'officier Beaurepaire qui, ayant préféré se tuer plutôt que de se rendre aux Prussiens, fut panthéonisé en septembre 1792 avec cette épitaphe: "Il aima mieux se donner la mort que de capituler devant les tyrans."

Plusieurs dirigeants révolutionnaires ont prononcé ou écrit des phrases équivalentes à celle-ci avant de se suicider. Certains mots y reviennent de façon lancinante: liberté (l'assimilation de la mort volontaire à un acte de liberté a couru tout le 18e siècle, depuis le suicide de Roxane dans les *Lettres persanes*), honneur, refus de laisser (ou de voir) le "crime" (= les ennemis) triompher, refus d'un jugement considéré comme inique, refus de laisser à ses ennemis "la satisfaction de répandre son sang," comme l'écrit Romme. C'est là aussi façon de retourner sa défaite et sa mort contre son adversaire, en mourant libre, de sa propre main—attitude qui explique pourquoi sont guillotinés des hommes moribonds: pour bien signifier qu'ils ont été vaincus et qu'ils n'échappent pas à la loi.

En dehors de ces justifications héroïques, construites à partir de modèles valorisants, la densité de la vie politique est aussi, me semble-t-il, un autre élément explicatif de tous ces suicides politiques: densité des événements, des affects, des passions, des enjeux, qui a pu user les individus[31] et les conduire à des formes

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[27] Publié par Buonarroti in *Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf* (Bruxelles, 1828), et cité par John Renwick, "Les 'Martyrs de Prairial:' légende bleue, légende blanche, légende rouge," in *Gilbert Romme (1750-1795). Actes du colloque de Riom 19 et 20 mai 1995*, ed. Jean Ehrard, (Paris, 1996): 239-251.

[28] Et non exhaustive.

[29] AN, F1cIII Seine 16, 18 thermidor.

[30] Robert Favre, *La Mort dans la littérature et la pensée française.*

[31] Qui avaient peut-être pour certains une "vocation suicidaire antérieure," comme le suggère Patrice Higonnet à propos de Goujon, dont il assure qu'il aurait écrit dans sa jeunesse d'un "roman suicidaire:"

paroxystiques de désespoir. Sur bien des points, cette densité a bouleversé le rapport au présent et au futur: car si les révolutionnaires vivent intensément le présent, ils le vivent toujours dans la pensée du futur, ils vivent pour le futur. Or, si la défaite au présent est telle qu'elle ne permette plus, même momentanément, d'envisager le futur, d'y croire, le désespoir peut devenir effroyable, insupportable. Les dirigeants révolutionnaires qui se sont suicidés ne s'attardent cependant guère sur leur désespoir, sentiment qui n'a rien d'héroïque et qui ferme la porte au futur. Il est par contre beaucoup plus palpable dans les suicides politiques de citoyens ordinaires.

Suicides politiques de Parisiens

Les révolutionnaires célèbres ne sont en effet pas les seuls à avoir voulu se tuer pour des raisons politiques. J'ai ainsi trouvé une petite vingtaine de suicides de citoyens peu ou pas connus, depuis ce lieutenant de la garde nationale qui n'aurait pas supporté la fusillade du Champ-de-Mars le 17 juillet 1791[32] à cet adjudant qui tente de se suicider après l'échec de l'insurrection royaliste du 13 vendémiaire an IV (4 octobre 1795).[33] Mais la majorité d'entre eux sont concentrés après le 9 thermidor an II et surtout après l'insurrection de prairial an III.

Après Thermidor, deux militants et fonctionnaires révolutionnaires tentent ainsi de se suicider, en laissant des lettres qui révèlent l'étendue du désarroi de ces hommes sincères, qui disent n'avoir rien à se reprocher, avoir le cœur pur mais avoir été égarés, trompés par les Robespierristes: "je ne puis vivre étant soupçonné" écrit l'un d'eux, qui termine par "Vive la République. Guerre aux rois. Mort aux tyrans. Paix au peuple."[34] La crainte d'être arrêtés et de perdre leur honneur a probablement joué dans leur geste. En revanche, un graveur qui ne semble pas très connu dans sa section pour son engagement politique se coupe le cou après s'être raté d'un coup de pistolet, parce que, écrit-il, "la liberté est perdue, je meurs pour elle."[35] À ces hommes, on peut peut-être ajouter la femme du menuisier Duplay: hôtesse de Robespierre, belle-mère de Lebas, elle fut arrêtée avec toute sa famille après le 9 thermidor et mourut en prison, à la suite d'un suicide d'après certains historiens.[36]

Mais c'est surtout après Prairial an III que l'on dénombre le plus de suicides politiques. Pendant le printemps 1795, le peuple parisien avait terriblement souffert de la faim, et les suicides d'hommes et de femmes sans pain s'étaient multipliés; et cette crise économique s'était accompagnée d'une répression politique contre les sans-culottes. L'on sait que cette situation tendue et sombre déboucha sur les journées de Prairial an III (mai 1795), dont le mot d'ordre était "Du pain et la Constitution de 1793." L'échec de ce mouvement—première insurrection populaire à ne pas être victorieuse depuis 1789—anéantit littéralement le peuple parisien, aspiré pendant

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"Du suicide sentimental au suicide politique," eds. Elizabeth Liris et Jean-Maurice Bizière, *La Révolution et la mort* (Toulouse, 1991): 137-150.

[32] D'après *Le Journal du soir* du 22 juillet 1791, cité in Jean-Paul Bertaud, *La vie quotidienne en France au temps de la Révolution* (Paris, 1983), 142.

[33] Signalé dans l'inventaire des procès-verbaux des commissaires, ce dossier a malheureusement disparu.

[34] APP, AA 80 f. 87 (Despréaux, ancien musicien de l'Opéra, commissaire civil et juré au tribunal révolutionnaire); AA 250 f. 183-188 (Benoît, ancien épicier et membre de la Commune du 10 août). Cf. aussi F1cIII Seine14, 9 frimaire.

[35] AN, F1cIII Seine 13, 15 thermidor.

[36] Claude Mazauric in Albert Soboul, *Dictionnaire historique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1989), 920.

plusieurs semaines par le sentiment d'être écrasé par la défaite politique et la misère sociale et économique. Dans les jours qui suivirent entre mille et deux mille personnes furent arrêtées dans Paris, sans que personne n'ait plus la force de s'y opposer: "les hommes regardent [les arrestations], les femmes se taisent."[37] Dans ce contexte, quelques militants se suicidèrent, terrassés par la défaite et/ou la peur d'être arrêtés. Le 5 prairial (24 mai), un des insurgés, Tinel, compagnon serrurier du faubourg Saint-Antoine délivré par la foule deux jours plus tôt, se coupe le cou dans le grenier où il s'est réfugié, puis, entendant la police arriver, se jette du toit d'un immeuble de cinq étages en criant qu'il ne sera pas guillotiné—il le sera pourtant le lendemain, après avoir miraculeusement réchappé à sa chute.[38] Deux jours plus tard, Boutry, gendarme du faubourg Saint-Antoine et Vainqueur de la Bastille, se tire un coup de pistolet lorsque la police entre chez lui pour arrêter sa femme,[39] et un compagnon graveur du faubourg Saint-Marcel se coupe la gorge croyant qu'on allait l'arrêter.[40]

Le cas le plus spectaculaire et le plus horrible est celui de Denel, ancien membre de la Commune du 10 août, militant très actif du faubourg Saint-Antoine déjà emprisonné après le 9 thermidor: lorsque les policiers pénètrent chez lui le 16 prairial an III, ils découvrent les corps de sa femme et de quatre de ses enfants empoisonnés et massacrés à coups de marteau. Lui-même est découvert quelques jours plus tard à l'hôpital et raconte que, le 7 prairial (26 mai 1795), étant persuadé qu'il serait arrêté et que les royalistes allaient l'emporter, il avait acheté de l'émétique et demandé à sa femme qu'elle l'oublie car il était "un homme perdu." Toujours d'après lui, elle lui aurait alors "sauté au col sans autres observations et dit qu'elle voulait que nous périssions tous ensemble." Elle serait aller payer leurs dettes chez les commerçants du quartier, aurait fait une omelette avec l'émétique et du vert-de-gris et ils auraient allumé plusieurs foyers de charbon dans la chambre pour s'étouffer. Ensuite, poursuit-il dans son interrogatoire, il se serait réveillé, aurait voulu se tuer à coups de marteau sans en avoir le courage, aurait soigné une de ses filles encore vivante et se serait enfui en essayant encore plusieurs fois par la suite de s'empoisonner—il est effectivement conduit à l'infirmerie de la prison "attendu l'état où l'ont mis les différents poisons pris." Bien qu'il ait une réputation d'homme violent avec sa famille, que l'affaire soit assez obscure et son témoignage sujet à caution, plusieurs points rendent son récit en partie plausible: quoi qu'il en soit il est jugé pour assassinat et condamné à mort.[41]

Dans les mois qui suivent, on trouve encore quelques suicides liés à l'abattement et à la détresse politiques: la veille du suicide collectif des six Conventionnels montagnards, un jeune homme s'était tiré un coup de pistolet dans la bouche;[42] quelques jours plus tard (4 messidor/22 juin) une concierge de soixante ans se pend;[43] fin septembre (11 vendémiaire an IV) un colleur de papier de trente-six ans se coupe la gorge.[44] Aucune de ces trois personnes n'étaient des militants connus mais, d'après leurs proches, depuis Prairial l'un "était chagrin," l'autre avait "l'esprit inquiet et taciturne," et la troisième "l'esprit taciturne et mélancolique," montrant

[37] AN, F1cIII Seine 16, 7 prairial.
[38] Il était accusé d'avoir le 1er prairial porté au bout d'une pique la tête du Conventionnel Féraud, tué par les insurgés. AN, F7 4775/30, W546, F1cIII Seine 16, 2 et 6 prairial.
[39] AN, F7 4614, F1cIII Seine 16, 8 prairial.
[40] AN, F1cIII Seine 16, 8 prairial.
[41] APP, AA 219 f. 125-131, AA 266 f. 229-236; AN F7 4669. Cf. également AN, F1cIII Seine16, 17 et 28 prairial.
[42] APP, AA 188, 28 prairial III.
[43] APP, AA 210, 4 messidor III.
[44] APP, AA 211 f. 3.

"beaucoup d'inquiétude et du chagrin" et répétant que la misère ne finirait pas. Le jeune homme avait laissait un petit mot d'explication qui disait:

> Dans les circonstances actuelles, voyant que soit-disant (sic) la majorité des honnêtes gens est heureux et trouvant qu'au contraire, il n'y a que ceux qui n'ont pas eu de confiance à la révolution qui le sont, je me suis abrégé les jours pour que ma chère mère et mes frères ne soient pas si malheureux, car ils n'en ont pas trop à présent, d'autant plus qu'il n'y a que les coquins, les agioteurs, les spéculateurs de la misère publique, et les royalistes qui triomphent dans ce moment-ci.
> Signé L. Pillon, le 28 prairial l'an 3ème de la république jusqu'à présent.

En long, dans la marge de ce petit billet d'environ 5 sur 15 cm, il avait rajouté ces derniers mots:

> Je souhaite un bonheur parfait à tous.

***

Même s'il est probable qu'il y ait eu d'autres suicides politiques, qui m'aient échappé[45] ou dont la trace ait été perdue, il faut toutefois rappeler en conclusion qu'ils ne représentent pas la majorité des morts volontaires pendant la Révolution et que, bien évidemment, l'écrasante majorité des révolutionnaires ne se sont pas suicidés. Reste que ces gestes de désespoir, que celui-ci soit politique ou non, nous disent beaucoup sur cette période. Ils nous disent à la fois comment, d'une part, la vie "non révolutionnaire" a continué pendant la Révolution, avec ses espérances et ses douleurs de toute sorte, insupportables pour certains. D'autre part, ils nous disent aussi comment les événements révolutionnaires et l'espoir qui les accompagnaient ont pu être vécus avec une intensité dramatique pour quelques-uns, comme dans le cas du jeune Louis Pillon qui, croyant dans la Révolution, est désespéré de la voir trahie et finie, mais dont le dernier mot est celui de bonheur, ce qui est bien dans l'esprit des Lumières, et aussi de la Révolution.

[45] D'autant que cette recherche n'est pas achevée.

TABLEAUX

Les suicides dans les procès-verbaux des commissaires de police parisiens (1791-1811)

Répartition par sexe

	Suicides (S)		**Tentatives** (TS)		**S + TS**	
Hommes	200	*71.4pour cent*	77	*58.8pour cent*	277	*67.4pou cen*
Femmes	80	*28.6pour cent*	54	*41.2pour cent*	134	*32.6pou cen*
Total	280		131		411	
Pour 100 hommes :	40 femmes		70 femmes		48 femmes	

Âge

	HOMMES			**FEMMES**		
Ages	**Suicides (57 cas)**	**Tentatives (23 cas)**	**S & TS (80 cas)**	**Suicides (40 cas)**	**Tentatives (21 cas)**	**S & TS (61 cas)**
10-19	*pour cent 12.3*	*pour cent 8.7*	*pour cent 11.2*	*pour cent 20.0*	*pour cent 19.0*	*pour cent 19.7*
20-29	*14.0*	*17.4*	*15.0*	*27.5*	*52.3*	*36.1*
30-39	*21.1*	*13.0*	*18.7*	*20.0*	*14.3*	*18.0*
40-49	*28.1*	*26.1*	*27.5*	*12.5*	*4.8*	*9.8*
50-59	*10.5*	*8.7*	*10*	*15.0*	*0*	*9.8*
60-69	*10.5*	*17.4*	*12.5*	*5.0*	*4.8*	*4.9*
70 et +	*3.5*	*8.7*	*5.0*	*0*	*4.8*	*1.7*
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*

Situation matrimoniale (suicides et tentatives)

	Femmes		**Hommes**		**Total**	
Mariés	24	*37pour cent*	35	*pour cent 37.6*	59	*pou cent 37.*
Célibataires ne vivant pas seuls	10	*15.4*	15	*16.1*	25	*15.*
Célibataires vivant seuls	16	*24.6*	20	*21.5*	36	*22.*
Divorcés et séparés	6	*9.2*	7	*7.5*	13	*8.*
Veufs et veuves	9	*13.8*	9	*9.7*	18	*11.*
Seuls. sans plus de précision	0	*0*	7	*7.5*	7	*4.*
Total	65		93		158	

Catégories socio-professionnelles (suicides et tentatives)

	Hommes		**Femmes**		**Total**	
Nobles	0	*pour cent*	1	*pour cent 1.9*	1	*pour cent 0.6*
Bourgeois	11	*11.5*	4	*7.5*	15	*10.1*
Fonctionnaires révolutionnaires	10	*10.4*	1	*1.9*	11	*7.4*
Soldats	9	*9.4*	0	*0.0*	9	*6.0*
Boutiquiers	13	*13.5*	5	*9.4*	18	*12.1*
Maîtres artisans	16	*16.7*	5	*9.4*	21	*14.1*
Compagnons. garçons. ouvrières	14	*14.6*	15	*28.3*	29	*19.5*
Domestiques	10	*10.4*	11	*20.8*	21	*14.1*
« Petits métiers »	7	*7.3*	7	*13.2*	14	*9.4*
Métiers de la terre	5	*5.2*	1	*1.9*	6	*4.0*
Chômeurs	1	*1.0*	3	*5.7*	4	*2.7*
Total	96		53		149	

Moyens utilisés

	Suicides						**Tentatives de suicide**					
	Hommes		**Femmes**		**Total**		**Hommes**		**Femmes**		**Total**	
Pendaison	16	*pour cent 17.6*	9	*pour cent 18.8*	25	*18 pour cent*	1	*pour cent 2.1*	0	*pour cent 0*	1	*po ce 1.*
Arme à feu	31	*34.1*	0	*0*	31	*22.3*	7	*14.9*	0	*0*	7	*8.*
Arme blanche :	19	*20.9*	5	*10.4*	24	*17.3*	19	*40.4*	7	*21.9*	26	*3*
– se couper le cou	12		3		15		6		1		7	
– se poignarder	6		2		8		10		6		16	
– se couper les veines	1		0		1		3		0		3	
Défenestration	13	*14.2*	22	*45.8*	35	*25.2*	1	*2.1*	5	*15.7*	6	*7.*
Noyade :	8	*8.8*	11	*23.0*	19	*13.6*	18	*38.3*	19	*59.3*	37	*4*
– Seine	6		5		11		18		19		37	
– puit	2		6		8		0		0		0	
Poison	4	*4.4*	1	*2.0*	5	*3.6*	1	*2.1*	1	*3.1*	2	*2.*
Total	91		48		139		47		32		79	

Becoming a Counterrevolutionary: A Conservative Noble in the National Assembly, 1789-1791

Timothy Tackett

In recent years historians have increasingly come to appreciate the role played by the different conservative factions within the National Assembly at the beginning of the French Revolution. Several of the alignments or clubs on the Right—the "Monarchiens," the "Impartials," the "Capuchins"—are known to have been surprisingly well organized as voting blocks and active in Constituent debates. On occasion during the first year of the Revolution these groups succeeded in electing Assembly presidents and secretaries, taking control of key committees, and substantially influencing the shape of certain legislation. At the time of its creation toward the end of November 1789, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution was intensely aware of the organization of the Monarchiens and even used them as a model in shaping their own "club." Though the strength of the conservative factions would diminish after the summer of 1790, as increasing numbers of conservative deputies ceased attending or abandoned the Assembly altogether, organized alignments on the Right would persist in the political dynamic of the Constituent through the dissolution of that body in September 1791.[1]

Unfortunately, however, the evolution of the politics and ideas of these conservatives has always been more difficult to follow than that of their patriot colleagues. For the most part, historians have had to rely on the speeches pronounced in the Assembly by certain conservative deputies, on the few newspapers to which such deputies contributed, and on a certain number of personal memoirs. Invariably such documents concerned only that small minority of conservatives who published or

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[1] On the Monarchiens, see Jean Egret, *La révolution des notables. Mounier et les Monarchiens* (Paris, 1950); and Robert Griffiths, *Le centre perdu. Malouet et les "Monarchiens" dans la Révolution française* (Grenoble, 1988). See also the author's *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789-1790)* (Princeton, 1996), esp. chaps. 6 and 8.

who spoke in the Assembly.[2] As for their memoirs—those of Malouet, Reynaud de Montlosier, or of the marquis de Ferrières, for example—almost all were written twenty or thirty years after the events they described, a period during which memories were profoundly influenced and modified by the later experiences of the emigration and the Terror.[3] Moreover, memoirs rarely convey the immediacy found in personal letters or diaries, nor do they allow us to follow the evolution of political ideas from week to week or month to month.

To date, however, only very few series of letters written by conservative deputies have ever been located. Unlike the patriot deputies, the conservative nobles and clergymen seldom wrote to local municipalities, intermediary commissions, or other institutional bodies. For this reason, their letters have rarely found their way into public archives. Indeed, until recently only five significant series of correspondence by nobles on the Right had been identified: those of the marquis de Villemort, the marquis de Ferrières, Garron de La Bévière, Le Clerc de Lassigny de Juigné, and the co-deputies Banyuls de Montferré and Coma-Serra.[4] Among these five, only the letters of Ferrières are truly extensive and cover a substantial portion of the Constituent period. But despite the considerable interest of this marquis from the Saumurois, he was far from typical of the conservative nobles in general. He was very much an individualist who published extensively before the Revolution and studiously avoided signing most of the protests by the Right during the Constituent. He never emigrated and fully cooperated with the government of the Terror, even serving as a municipal official in Marsay from 1793 to 1796.[5]

It is for this reason that the recently discovered correspondence by the noble deputy and lieutenant-génénral of Poitiers, Pierre-Marie Irland de Bazôges is particularly interesting and important.[6] Unlike Ferrières, Irland would come consistently to identify himself with the conservative opposition sitting on the Right of the Assembly. Indeed, according to a report published at the time of the Restoration, few Constituent deputies ultimately participated in more formal protests against Revolutionary decrees—fourteen of a possible total of fifteen.[7] The ninety letters preserved in the correspondence, written to Irland's noble colleague and closest

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[2] Among the deputies of the Constituent Assembly, 116 are known to have published before the Revolution. During the Assembly, seventy-one deputies are known to have pronounced two-thirds of all the speeches (Tackett, 54, 232).

[3] Pierre-Victor Malouet, *Mémoires*, 2 vols., ed. Baron Malouet (Paris, 1868); François-Dominique de Reynaud de Montlosier, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1830); Marquis Charles-Elie de Ferrières-Marçay, *Mémoires*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1825).

[4] By "significant" I mean only those series containing a minimum of ten letters: Claude-Jean-Baptiste de Garron de La Bévière, letters to his wife: Archives départementales de l'Ain, 1 Mi 1. Marie-Mesmin du Bouex, marquis de Villemort, "Lettres du marquis de Villemort au comte François d'Escars (1790-1791)," ed. Henri Calvet, *Archives historiques du Poitou,* 52 (1942), 5-167; Charles-Elie, marquis de Ferrières-Marçay, *Correspondance inédite*, ed. Henri Carré (Paris, 1932); Louis-Jean-Baptiste Le Clerc de Lassigny de Juigné, letters to his wife and mother: private archives of the château de Saint-Martin, Taradeau (Var); and Michel de Coma-Serra et Raymond-Antoine de Banyuls de Monferré, letters to the correspondence committee of Perpignan: Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, C 2119.

[5] See Ferrières-Marçay, *Correspondance inédite*, introduction by Henri Carré.

[6] The letters were cited occasionally in Marquis Marie de Roux, *La Révolution à Poitiers et dans la Vienne* (Paris, 1910). I was subsequently able to locate them in the private archives of Michel Beauchet-Filleau, with the assistance of the director of the Archives Départementales des Deux-Sèvres where they had recently been deposited and are now held in the Fonds Beauchet-Filleau, unclassed register of "lettres politiques, 1788-90." They will be published in 2005 by the Centre vendéen de recherches historiques in La Roche-sur-Yon, edited by Katherine Turley.

[7] See *Déclarations et protestations de messieurs les députés des troix ordres aux Etats-généraux de 1789, contre les décrets de l'assemblée dite "constituante"* (Paris, 1814).

friend, Henri Filleau, allow us to follow the political and psychological itinerary of an exceptionally thoughtful and articulate conservative over nearly the entire period of the Constituent: to examine, in short, how one individual *became* a counterrevolutionary.[8]

Relatively little is known of Irland's life and career before the Revolution. Despite his surname, he descended not from an Irish but a Scottish family, a family present in Poitiers since the fifteenth century and ennobled in the sixteenth.[9] His direct ancestors seem to have held the office of lieutenant général from one generation to the next since the late sixteenth century. Over this period the Irlands had amassed a substantial fortune and Pierre-Marie himself could claim a marriage dowry worth nearly 160,000 livres—over three times larger than the average noble dowry in Poitou and over six times greater than the average dowry for commoners in the Constituent Assembly.[10] His marriage to the daughter of a prominent local baron indicates the extent to which this *robe* family was well integrated into the older Poitevin nobility.[11]

During his years as an ancien régime magistrate, Irland had earned a certain notoriety for his support of the monarchy in its struggles against the parlements. At the end of Louis XV's reign he had backed the Maupeou reforms and opposed "l'égoïsme des parlementaires." He had also endorsed the edicts of May 1788, more than delighted to see the creation of a "Grand Bailliage" in Poitiers at the expense of the Paris Parlement. That summer he was invited to Versailles for special consultations with Loménie de Brienne concerning the political situation in Poitou. In March of the following year he was elected alternate deputy to the Estates General, actually taking a seat in the National Assembly at the end of August 1789, following the resignation of the duc de Luxembourg. Despite his position as a "backbencher" who rarely spoke in the Assembly and who was never elected as an officer or committee member, Irland would take a passionate interest in virtually everything that happened in Versailles and Paris. His letters to Filleau were often written rapidly, jotted down on his lap while attending the meetings. He excused himself for "mon griffonnage et même la négligence de style."[12] Nevertheless, with his analytical mind and his legal and professional background, his correspondence provides an exceptionally thoughtful account of Assembly debates as viewed from a conservative perspective.

In fact, when Irland first arrived in Versailles, and for several months thereafter, he was clearly prepared to cooperate with the Revolution and to follow the rules of the new representative political system. There was no obvious indication that he adhered to an "aristocratic" ideology. Indeed, in a rather remarkable "profession of

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[8] For unknown reasons, the last ten weeks of the correspondence have been lost. By comparison, the correspondence of Ferrières to his wife is more ample overall—with 166 letters—but includes two six-month periods during which his wife was in Paris and no letters were written. Irland wrote continuously throughout the period.

[9] Most of the biographical information in this paragraph was kindly passed to me by Katherine Turley. See also Edna Hindie Lemay, *Dictionnaire des Constituants, 1789-1791*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991), 1: 465-66.

[10] The average noble dowry in Poitou was about 50,000 livres. Irland himself brought a dowry valued at 134,000 livres. His bride also brought a permanent rent of 1,200 livres—suggesting an additional capital of about 24,000: information from Katherine Turley. On dowries of commoner deputies in the Estates General, see the author's *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 40.

[11] Note also that Irland's grandfather was both *lieutenant général* and *chevalier de Saint-Louis*, suggesting that he may have served for a time as an officer in the military.

[12] Letter of 4 Sep. 1789. Though Irland hired a secretary, most of his letters to Filleau seem to be in his own hand.

faith" penned in mid-January 1790, he insisted that he was a moderate, "ni aristocrate ni démocrate." The ideal government for France, he argued, would be "une monarchie tempérée par les lois." And in his opinion, "l'aristocratie comme la démocratie est éloignée d'un tel gouvernement."[13] For the time being he continued to believe that a compromise could be worked out within the context of the Assembly. As all of his co-deputies of the nobility from Poitou, he was critical of the intransigence of the comte d'Antraigues and the vicomte de Mirabeau, when the two announced on 4 February that they could only swear a restrictive oath to the new Constitution: "nous n'avons pas cru devoir mettre au jour une opinion qui pouvait être la pomme de discorde, lorsque nous désirions tous la paix."[14] Apparently under the influence of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*, he professed great admiration for the parliamentary government of England.[15] Given his earlier support of Maupeou and Brienne, it is not surprising that he also condemned the ancien régime French parlements when several of them attempted to assert their independence from the National Assembly.[16]

Moreover, in the early months of the Constituent, Irland showed himself to be remarkably flexible and tolerant toward other deputies whose opinions he did not share. He praised the oratorical talents of both the Monarchien Lally-Tolendal and the "democrat" Mirabeau.[17] At the beginning of 1790 he also displayed a certain equanimity toward the Jacobins: "Je ne blâme pas ... ceux qui sont du club," he wrote, even if "leurs principes sont différents des miens." Insofar as he was critical of the Friends of the Constitution, it was mainly because, in his view, they were engaging in a politics of factionalism. "Ces assemblées partielles," he wrote, were unacceptable: "rien n'était plus propre à mettre la division entre les membres." Even as late as the winter of 1789-90, he firmly announced that he belonged to "no party."[18] And he hoped and believed that he would be able to participate in the new regime that was being created, once the Constitution had been completed. "Dans le nouvel ordre de choses," he wrote, "d'un instant à l'autre, je pourrais encore être appelé à la vie publique."[19]

The apogee of his involvement in the affairs of the Constituent Assembly—and one can say much the same for many other deputies—was clearly between November 1789 and February 1790. During this period, in the midst of debates on the new divisions of the French territory into departments and districts, he became passionately committed to promoting the advancement of his home city of Poitiers as an administrative and judicial center. Nearly all the letters written at this time make reference to the complex negotiations and horse trading between the different regional factions and sub-factions. Throughout these discussions he worked particularly closely with his colleague from the Third Estate and fellow citizen of Poitiers, René-Antoine Thibaudeau.[20]

Yet we must also not underestimate the possible differences which, even in 1789, separated Irland from the patriots on the Left. In the first place, several of his

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[13] Letter of 18 Jan. 1790.

[14] Letter of 8 Feb. 1790. Compare his assessment of the intransigent speech of Duval d'Eprémesnil: letter of 1 Oct. 1790.

[15] Letter of 14 Sep. 1789.

[16] Letters of 9 Nov. and 18 Dec. 1789.

[17] Letters of 18 and 26 Sep. 1789.

[18] Letter of 18 Jan. 1790.

[19] Letter of 8 Jan. 1790.

[20] See esp. the letters of 6, 9, and 20 Nov. 1789.

letters to Filleau give evidence of an exceptional emotional attachment to the person of the King, an attachment which seemed even to intensify over time. Already, in the midst of the October Days, he had rushed to the palace with a small group noble gentlemen and remained standing for over seven hours to protect Louis from what he felt was the dire threat of the Parisian crowds. Such an action was all the more remarkable in that this *robe* noble who had spent most of his life on a court bench was probably relatively inexperienced in the use of arms. Though he lamented in his correspondence Louis XVI's "faiblesse" and "défaut d'énergie," he never abandoned the ideal of a quasi-feudal relationship between the King and his nobility, an ideal to which he felt all gentlemen were bound by the ties of honor and fealty.[21] In the second place, Irland never accepted the concept—most clearly formulated by the abbé Sieyès—that each deputy represented the entire nation. In his own mind, he would always remain the representative only of the nobility, and more specifically of the nobles of his province. Although he did occasionally make reference to "l'opinion publique," he always returned in the end to the small group of gentlemen who had elected him. "Tous les députés," he wrote in April 1790, "tiennent leurs pouvoirs de leurs [électeurs] et ils les tiennent d'eux seuls." And he was frequently critical of the deputies of the patriot majority who, in his view "sont accoutumés à fouler aux pieds leurs mandats, à substituer leur propre volonté à la volonté connue de leurs commettants."[22] It was on the basis of this very limited conception of representation, that he would later justify his numerous formal protests against votes by the Assembly's majority—protests always strongly condemned as illegal by the patriot deputies.[23]

In any case, the spring of 1790 would mark a sharp and dramatic change in Irland's attitude toward the policies of the majority in the Constituent. The origins of this growing disaffection with the Revolution are complex. Undoubtedly for Irland, as for many other as yet uncommitted deputies, conflicts concerning the reform of the Church would serve as a catalyst. Unfortunately, we have very little evidence concerning his attitudes toward religion on the eve of the Revolution. During the first weeks of his presence in the Assembly, the new deputy from Poitou did not take an inordinate interest in the questions of the Church. He announced without commentary the decrees abolishing religious vows and granting civil rights to Protestants. He displayed no particular emotion when proposals for the sale of church lands were first introduced in October 1789: "plan ... que je ne crois pas sans mérite, mais qui a besoin d'être analysé."[24]

It was only in the midst of the great debates on ecclesiastical lands at the beginning of November that he began to have misgivings. The speeches of the abbés Maury, Boisgelin, and Montesquiou clearly impressed him: "soit par la force du raisonnement, soit par les autorités qu'ils avaient citées, soit par la force de leur éloquence." Significantly, however, he was influenced less by religious objections than by reasoning based on legal principals and questions of property. After listening to the speeches of the three ecclesiastics he announced that the law placing Church property "à la disposition de la nation" was "contre le principe sacré de la

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[21] Letters of 4 Mar. and 27 June 1791.

[22] Letter of 30 Apr. and 5 Oct. 1790. Cf. also his letter of 26 Sept. 1789.

[23] On this "ancien régime" concept of representation, see Ran Halévi, "La monarchie et les élections: position des problèmes," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 1, *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford, 1987), 387-402.

[24] Letters of 25 Sept. and 12 Oct. 1789.

propriété."[25] When the Assembly broached the question once again in mid-April 1790, Irland was ready to take up the defense of the Church with a carefully considered theory of property which he had never mentioned before and which he might almost have taken from the early writings of Rousseau: "La loi qui est la base du pacte social," he wrote, and "la loi de la propriété ... a été le but des hommes qui, en quittant l'indépendance qu'ils tenaient de la nature, ne l'ont sacrifiée en se réunissant que pour s'assurer à jamais la conservation de ce qui restait de la propriété de chacun."[26]

Yet the critical turning point for Irland came in mid-April 1790, when in the midst of the debates on church property the Carthusian monk Dom Gerle suddenly proposed that Catholicism be declared the official state religion. The proposal set off an extraordinarily passionate debate between the two sides of the Assembly hall. As the great majority of the nobles, Irland was outraged by the defeat of Gerle's motion: "Quel étrange abus d'éloquence, du raisonnement et des mots!" he concluded concerning the declaration of the majority: "Aucun peuple de l'univers peut-être n'en a fait un semblable." And for the first time in his correspondence he openly associated himself with what he described as an "assembly" of the deputies on the Right. With the other noble deputies from Poitou he would subsequently take part in the coalition meeting in the hall of the Capuchins and sign on 19 April the first of his formal protests against the decrees of the Assembly.[27]

From this point on, he came increasingly to subscribe to a whole set of ideas—one might say "ideology"—promoted by the leaders of the Capuchin faction. For the first time the threat to religion was enunciated as a central reason for his opposition. He now began arguing that the revolutionaries not only wanted to seize control of all Church land but to destroy the Catholic religion. He made few comments on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy itself, whose theological implications were beyond his competence. But on several occasions he attacked the oath imposed on all clergymen with cure of souls on 27 November 1790. He was deeply unhappy over the religious schism that would divide the country in early 1791: "Ainsi la religion catholique n'est plus la religion de l'Etat. C'est la secte des novateurs qui jouit de cette prépondérance; [quant] à la religion catholique romaine, elle est rabaissée au niveau des sectes protestantes."[28]

And nevertheless, based on his correspondence, the religious policy of the Constituent was never the sole, and perhaps not the most important issue pushing Irland toward a break with the new regime. One can identify at least three other questions which engendered feelings of particular anger and opposition on his part. In the first place, Irland was vigorously opposed to the Assembly's policies on the judiciary, first elaborated shortly before the Dom Gerle Affair. As the former chief magistrate of a *sénéchaussée* tribunal strongly devoted to his profession, he was never able to accept the new jury system for criminal justice. "Toutes les anciennes idées," he lamented "sont bouleversées."[29] And he was even more unhappy that the Constituent opted not to create regional courts of appeal in certain departmental *chef-*

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[25] Letter of 2 Nov. 1789.

[26] Letter of 10 Apr. 1790.

[27] See his commentary on the "Décret concernant la motion sur la religion catholique," preceding his letter of 15 Apr. 1790. See also his letters of 20 Apr. and 3 May 1790. According to his letter of 19 Apr., "fidèle à mes principes," he had refused to formally join the Capuchin "club." But it is obvious that from this point on he attended and closely adhered with vertually everything this association did.

[28] Letter of 15 Apr. 1791. See also those of 29 Oct. 1790 and 6 Jan. 1791.

[29] Letter of 10 Apr. 1790.

lieux. With the demise of the parlements, he clearly hoped to see a decentralized judiciary that would favor Poitiers, in the manner of the Maupeou parlements or the "grands bailliages" of chancellor Lamoignon. He was thus bitterly disappointed that Poitiers' new courts would have even less preeminence than under the ancien régime and would be essentially coequal to those of all other departments. He was convinced that the nation would never be able to find a sufficient number of men with the requisite "lumières, l'instruction, l'expérience dans l'art de juger." In sum, the Revolution's judicial legislation was based on "ces principes exagérés de liberté et d'égalité dont se sont voilés des démagogues." It would bring "une vraie calamité pour la France entière, puisque notre vie, notre honneur, notre état et nos propriétés ... se trouvent livrés par ce décret à l'ignorance, à l'impérité, à l'inexpérience."[30] In May 1790 he linked himself once again with the "Capuchin" faction of deputies in formally protesting the Assembly's judiciary policies.[31]

In the second place, Irland was extremely unhappy with the decree of 19 June 1790 abolishing the hereditary nobility. To judge by the amount of space devoted to the subject in his letters, this act was even more disturbing to him than the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It was, in his opinion, "le décret le plus ridicule, le plus injuste et le plus illégal qui soit encore sorti de l'Assemblée."[32] Along with almost all the other nobles of the Poitou delegation, he signed another formal protest, in which a whole series of arguments were mobilized against the law. Nobility, in Irland's view, was as much a form of property as were the lands of the Church, and in this respect, it was "inviolable et sacrée." But he also convinced himself that a hereditary nobility was integral to the whole monarchical system, so that without the nobles the position of the king himself would be threatened. When he accepted his mandate as deputy, Irland had sworn an oath to protect the nobility and "aucune puissance humaine" could ever prevent him "de remplir religieusement l'engagement sacré" which he had contracted.[33] To the very end of his tenure as deputy he would always use the feudal titles of individual nobles when referring to his colleagues, ostentatiously rejecting the Constituent's decree on such usage.

In addition, once Irland came openly to identify himself with the Right, he revealed himself increasingly unhappy with what he felt were the manipulative political tactics, the "tyranny" through which patriots were now winning legislative victories on nearly every front. During the spring 1790 he began complaining of the lack of "freedom" within the Assembly and the use of dubious parliamentary manoeuvres employed to block the deputies on the Right from speaking. He was convinced that it was this "défaut de liberté" which had prevented the Dom Gerle motion from being passed. He was thus particularly angry when several patriot political leaders forced deputies who had signed protests against the majority to resign their Assembly offices of president or secretary. The "tyrants" on the Left, wrote Irland, "ne connaissent et ne veulent connaître aucun coupable dans ceux qui tiennent à leur parti, comme ils veulent pouvoir juger criminels les innocents accusés qui ne sont pas de leur parti." The comte de Virieu, prevented from becoming President because of his protests in the Dom Gerle Affair, was "une des victimes de la persécution qu'on exerce sur ceux qui n'opposent que l'honneur à l'infamie."[34] By the same token, Irland became convinced that the "majority" was mobilizing the Parisian

30 Letters of 10 Apr., of 10 May, and 23 July 1790.
31 See above, note 7, *Déclarations et protestations*.
32 Letter of 2 July 1790.
33 Letter of 28 June 1790.
34 Letters of 16 Apr., and 13 Nov. 1790, and of 21 Jan. 1791.

crowds to intimidate the conservatives. He was horrified by what he conceived as the "anarchy" of Paris. He had always held a very low opinion of the common people, "ces furies" as he called them in October 1789. Now, in his view, "tel est l'effet ... de cette indépendance absolue et de cette licence effrénée dont [on] a laissé le peuple se saisir sous le masque imposant de liberté, [que] celui de Paris est devenu pis que les hordes de sauvages."[35]

Thus, despite his earlier commitment to never take part in any partial "associations," by the late spring of 1790 Irland was entirely and self-consciously identifying himself with what he described as the "minority" of the Assembly, a group composed of the majority of the deputies of the clergy and the nobility, plus a handful of individual members of the Third Estate. He virtually cut all ties with those deputies of the Poitou delegation who did not take part in this faction—notably with his former friend and colleague, Thibaudeau, whom he now described as an "enragé."[36] His earlier flexibility and pragmatism seemed entirely to disappear. By 1791 the confrontation between the minority and the majority in the Constituent was portrayed as a kind of Manichaean struggle between good and evil, between "honor" and "infamy." Henceforth, he began linking most of the patriots' actions with the supposedly "abstract and empty" philosophy of the Enlightenment. We will probably never know if Irland had read Edmund Burke—extracts of whose *Reflections on the Revolution* had already appeared in French translation in 1790.[37] But a great many of his ideas might easily have reflected the thought of the Anglo-Irish statesman. "Nos philosophes modernes," he wrote in May 1791, "ont fait disparaître [la religion et la loi]. Les insensés n'ont pas voulu voir que les abstractions et les raisonnements tirés de l'égalité et de l'indépendance de l'état de nature étaient inapplicables à un vieux corps politique."[38]

In fact, he argued, the supposed patriot appeal to "reason" was nothing but unreason, prejudice, and self-interested passion. "Il a été un temps," he wrote to Filleau in September 1790, "où ... j'aimais à penser que la raison l'emporterait. Je voyais encore des motifs d'espoir. Mais j'avoue qu'il ne m'en reste plus." And Irland became progressively more pessimistic for the future. "Je crois que la France est perdue, les impôts mal payés, l'esprit du peuple perdu; la licence la plus effrénée substituée à une police exacte et existante sous le nom de liberté; l'irréligion ayant déchiré son masque, devenue elle-même persécutrice."[39] He had the impression that he and his friends on the Right were being assailed from all sides. He was "placé dans cette minorité qui est l'objet de la haine des uns, celui de la censure des autres, et qui n'a de consolation que dans l'estime du petit nombre assez juste pour apprécier la difficulté des circonstances."[40]

It was in this state of mind that he came, in the end, to withdraw all allegiance to the new government and to place all his hopes in a future counterrevolution. At times he seemed to embrace a *politique du pire*: "On pense généralement que plus les rouages de la machine sont mauvais, moins elle pourra rouler." But already in the spring of 1791, before the king's "flight to Varennes," he had come to accept the need for an invasion of France by foreign armies in order to purge the country of the

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35 Letter of 13 May 1791.

36 Letter of 15 May 1790.

37 Edmund Burke, *Réflexions sur la Révolution de France. Extraits du livre de M. Burke* (London and Paris, 1790).

38 Letter of 13 May 1791. Cf. the letter of 30 May 1791.

39 Letters of 2 Sept. 1790 and of 28 Jan. 1791.

40 Letter of 14 June 1791.

Revolutionaries. In April of that year he heard rumors that Austrian troops were approaching the frontier and were planning to act within the month. "C'est bien tard," he wrote. He repeated much the same hope in the days after Varennes.[41] Even a humiliating national defeat by the Empire seemed to be a lesser evil than the continuing domination by "the Jacobins." Although we have unfortunately lost Irland's letters for the final ten weeks of his mandate, it was clearly in this state of mind that he signed a whole new series of protests: against the "imprisonment" of the royal family after Varennes; against the Constitution voted by the Constituent in early September; and even against the King's signing of that Constitution, which Irland and his colleagues were convinced had been coerced.

Indeed, at the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly, Irland seems immediately to have emigrated and enlisted as a simple "volunteer" in the army of the princes being organized beyond the Rhine—his lack of military experience preventing his obtaining the status of officer. Here he would serve with six colleagues from the Constituent delegation of nobles from Poitiers—as well as with his correspondent Filleau—he and his noble friends remaining together in the counterrevolution as they had once voted as a unit in the Constituent. He returned to France only in the first decade of the nineteenth century when he finally accepted a reconciliation with the Napoleonic regime.[42]

When Irland de Bazôges was seated as a deputy in Versailles in late August 1789, he had clearly been prepared to accept the great foundation acts of the French Revolution: the creation of a sovereign National Assembly, the destruction of feudal and corporate privilege (on August 4), and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Soon after his arrival, as we have seen, he had announced his desire both to take an active part in the New Regime and not to affiliate himself with any faction. As late as January 1790 he had continued to maintain that position. But by the late spring, even before the suppression of the nobility, his attitude toward the Revolution, the whole tone of the letters had changed dramatically.

Why and how did this happen? Ultimately, Irland's testimony is more revealing of the chronology than of the precise reasons for his transformation. Clearly, the critical moment was the great debate surrounding the Dom Gerle Affair in mid-April 1790. Irland claimed at the time that the failure to declare Catholicism the state religion offended his religious beliefs, and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Yet it is also true that he had never previously shown himself to be particularly devout, and that he had been seemingly unperturbed by earlier Church transformations.

In my view, two other factors came into play to make the Dom Gerle episode a particularly pivotal experience. First, when Irland witnessed the debate, he was already deeply frustrated with the failure of his efforts to achieve the judicial reforms he had worked for and concerning which he had given his one and only major speech before the Assembly. In this respect, the defeat of mid-April helped focus the accumulated anger and resentment he already felt over other issues. Second, the Dom Gerle debates represented a moment in which particularly intense group pressures were exerted on the deputies. We know that the leadership on both sides of the Assembly lobbied vigorously, pushing all members to take a stand, to demonstrate their solidarity for or against everything accomplished by the Assembly since the

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41 Letters of 19 Apr., and of 4 and 25 July 1791.

42 Henri Beauchet-Filleau, *Tableau des émigrés du Poitou aux armées des princes et de Condé* (Poitiers, 1845), 36, 121. Irland served as mayor of Poitiers from 1807 to 1811 and died there in 1818 at age sixty-eight (Lemay, 1: 466).

previous summer. It thus became the major polarizing event of the first year of the Revolution. We also know that the other noble deputies from Poitou, with whom Irland was very close and to whose opinions he was extremely sensitive, all opted for the same position. In the emotion of the moment, and with the collective support of his friends and colleagues, he was persuaded to drop his self-imposed rule against association with factions and begin attending the conservative Capuchin club. Once he had implicitly chosen sides and had committed himself to this faction, his whole orientation, his very rhetoric was transformed, as he was rapidly socialized by the Capuchin group and adopted their ideological positions. Thereafter, he ceased all talk of political independence and fully identified himself with the "minority," meeting and collaborating with them on virtually all protest petitions through the end of the Constituent, and embracing the politics of counterrevolution.

In previous studies focusing primarily on the liberal, patriot contingents within the Constituent, I have stressed the importance of the revolutionary process, of "the school of the Revolution"—as one commoner deputy described it—in the progressive radicalization of deputy positions. During the first year of the Revolution many patriot deputies evolved political positions and ideologies which they would scarcely have imagined only a few months earlier. The case of Irland de Bazôges suggests that a similar if opposite process also occurred among the conservative deputies. It seems clear that for most of the representatives neither radicalism nor counterrevolution was "scripted" in May 1789, but that both were profoundly affected by the complex, dynamic, and creative process developing during the Revolution itself.

Marat: Historian of the French Revolution?

Joseph Zizek

In mid-October 1792, Jean-Paul Marat—newly-elected member of the National Convention and fiery proprietor of *L'ami du peuple*—issued a prospectus for his collected political writings.[1] Among the works on offer was *L'école du citoyen*, which the prospectus billed as a "philosophical history of the Revolution, from the opening of the Estates-General to the National Convention," and which was promised for delivery in February 1793 as a work with a mission:

> This history offers the tableau of the enemies of the *patrie*, conspiring to place the people back under the yoke; it shows the constant plotting of the court and its supporters; it shows the dark machinations of the counter-revolutionary majority of the first two Legislatures ... This history traces the Constituent Assembly's deceitful policy to restore the monarch's powers and re-establish despotism. This history recapitulates the vices of the Constitution [of 1791], vices which have ever since been France's misfortune, and it shows the measures needed to establish liberty and public happiness on an unshakeable foundation.

This new work, the Prospectus promised, would comprise the "choicest morsels" from *L'ami du peuple*, including "more than 300 predictions, published by the author well in advance, dealing with key figures and events of the revolution." Leaving modesty behind, the advertisement concluded:

> we do not fear to present *L'école du citoyen* as an indispensable book to all the French who desire to learn of their rights, to know the schemes put into play to mislead the people, enslave it "constitutionally," reduce it to misery ... [and] deliver the State to the disorders of anarchy and everywhere ignite the fires of civil war.[2]

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[1] Marat's newspaper went through several title changes in its lifetime—for example, it was renamed *Le journal de la république française* in September 1792—but I will refer to it as *L'ami du peuple* in this essay, since that is the appellation by which newspaper and journalist are both best known.

[2] *Oeuvres politiques et patriotiques, de Marat l'ami du peuple, député à la Convention nationale, proposées par souscription. Prospectus* ([N.p.], [n.d.]), 3; reprinted in Jean-Paul Marat, *Oeuvres politiques, 1789-1793*, eds. Jacques de Cock and Charlotte Goetz, 10 vols. (Brussels, 1989-1995), 4918-22 [Hereafter cited *OP*. In the interest of consistency, citations in this essay are made to this edited collection; volume numbers have been omitted in accordance with the editors' own citation practices, in which page

L'école du citoyen was never published, and we do not know whether this failure left its potential subscribers bereft or relieved. No manuscript survives—the last record of its existence comes from a property inventory taken after Marat's death in July 1793—and its content and substance remain matter for conjecture.[3]

Yet its very absence, however tantalizing, also makes *L'école du citoyen* an effective marker. This vanished work testifies, on the one hand, to the ingredients that made Marat an infamous figure during the Revolution: denunciation, paranoia, extreme verbal violence. But it also indicates, on the other hand, an unexpected ambition: Marat's desire, declared publicly and repeatedly, to offer his readers a "history" of contemporary events.[4] This seems surprising for several reasons. Marat identified himself as many things during a checkered eighteenth-century life, but he never claimed to be a historian. While contemporaries during the Revolution called him everything from "prophet" to "cannibal," they never went so far as to accuse him of writing history. Indeed, Pierre Lacretelle, one contemporary who did become a reputed nineteenth-century historian, unkindly described Marat as a creature "on whose forehead heaven seems to have written: flee this crazed atrocity [of a human being]!"[5]

Modern scholarship, while neither endorsing nor escaping Marat's "black legend," has chosen to emphasize his singularity and explore the political styles that he helped inaugurate. Influential interpretations thus present Marat as, variously, an exemplar of the democratic possibilities of revolutionary journalism, a precocious "herald" of the Terror, a formative voice of denunciation, and a proponent of "classical republicanism."[6] These interpretations have done much to transform our understanding of Marat and his place in revolutionary culture; but I would also argue that these interpretations become even more illuminating if we add to them an appreciation for Marat as the exemplar of a distinctive kind of revolutionary historical "sensibility." Despite the fact that it is impossible to recapture precisely what he intended for *L'école du citoyen*, it is possible to use Marat's journalism to sketch a

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numbering is cumulative across volumes and page references to the *guide de lecture* are denoted by "*"]. While this critical edition represents an admirable achievement, I have observed the *caveats* advanced by Olivier Coquard, *Marat* (Paris, 1993), 490-91. A prospectus for *L'école du citoyen* appeared earlier, in March 1792, but at that time the work was not framed as a "histoire philosophique," even though the language of revelation was essentially the same; for the earlier prospectus, see *OP*, 3817-21.

[3] Jacques de Cock notes that the post mortem inventory of Marat's possessions describes a work supposedly entitled "L'école du citoyen, ou Histoire secrète des machinations de la Cour, de l'assemblée constitutante, du Club monarchique, des généraux et des principaux ennemis de la liberté qui ont figuré dans la Révolution." See A.N. F7/4385; cited in *OP*, *1183-97. The most plausible hypothesis, advanced by Olivier Coquard and supported by Marat's own fleeting references, is that this vanished work represented a compendium of articles drawn from his prior journalism. See Coquard, *Marat*, 473 note 5.

[4] Marat's earliest acknowledgement of a project for an "Histoire de la Révolution" comes in a letter of 28 Jan. 1790, describing the documents placed under judicial seal at his residence. Repeated hints of this project, which Marat sometimes defined as "mon histoire," appear in Marat's legal correspondence; see *OP*, 646-7. Marat was not alone in the ambition to write a history of the Revolution; radical journalists such as Louis-Marie Prudhomme, proprietor of the *Révolutions de Paris*, repeatedly advertised the intention to produce a "philosophical" history of the Revolution.

[5] Charles de Lacretelle, *Histoire de France au XVième siècle*, 12 vols. (Paris and Strasbourg, 1821-1825) 10: 8; cited in Coquard, *Marat*, 368.

[6] For examples of these perspectives, see (respectively) Jeremy Popkin, *Revolutionary News: the Press in France, 1789-1799* (Durham, 1990); Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur. Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789-1794* (Paris, 2000); Antoine de Baecque, *Le corps de l'histoire. Métaphores et politique (1770-1800)* (Paris, 1993); and Keith Baker, "Transformations of Classical Republicanism in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001): 32-53.

portrait of the tasks and responsibilities that he envisioned for history and for the revolutionary historian. Two distinct issues deserve emphasis: first, Marat's journalism reveals a powerful (and powerfully strange) conception of revolution as a process unfolding in time; second, Marat's depiction of this unfolding process raises vexing questions about the relationship between the revolutionary journalist and his presumably revolutionized audience. Marat's journalism provides an extraordinary example of the possibilities, as well as the limits, of contemporary attempts to make "historical" sense of the Revolution.

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Enough of Marat's career as an eighteenth-century man of letters has been recovered to suggest that it was marked neither by dramatic success nor by Darntonian distress. Marat, like many compatriots, built upon the ingredients of an intellectual life in the ancien regime to articulate new individual and public identities in Revolution. Marat's self-refashioning began on 12 September 1789, with the launch of the newspaper that would become *L'ami du Peuple.* (Initially entitled the *Publiciste parisien*, his journal took its more familiar name within its first week). From the outset, Marat and his newspaper were simultaneously traditional and innovative: Bill Murray, for example, argues that *L'ami du peuple* showed the persistence of the "pamphlet style of attack," and, indeed, the paper seems "little more than pamphlets delivered in (more or less) weekly installments."[7] Jeremy Popkin has shown that, unlike many of the newspapers founded in 1789, *L'ami du peuple* intentionally minimized the role of the National Assembly by privileging Parisian concerns over the reportage of political debates; but more important, the newspaper creatively melded typographical and narrative traditionalism with an unremitting verbal violence, in which conspiracy, suspicion and denunciation figured prominently.[8]

Marat's revolutionary journalism, controversial from the outset, quickly drew attention for its attacks on the Constituent Assembly and its scurrilous treatment of men such as Necker, Lafayette, and Brissot. Marat was, in return, targeted by judicial proceedings as early as January 1790; the next three years of his career were marked by a growing political mystique bred of exile, clandestine operation and affiliation with the Cordeliers Section. In this climate, what is perhaps most surprising about Marat's early denunciations is that they were, in effect, historical. His vicious attacks on men such as Necker and Lafayette—and I shall touch on these very briefly—routinely took the form of capsule "histories" of public (rather than private) behavior since the outbreak of the Revolution. Marat's notorious excoriation of Necker in February 1790, for example, dwelt primarily upon the minister's presumed attempts to "starve" the people since returning to power; Necker's pre-revolutionary career was in this light relevant only as evidence of the constancy of his ambitions.[9] It is not

[7] Bill Murray notes that Marat and Hebert remained proponents (on the radical side) of "the pamphlet style of attack." See W.J. Murray, "Journalism as a Career Choice in 1789," in *The Press in the French Revolution*, *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 287*, eds. Harvey Chisick, Ilana Zinguer, and Ouzi Elyada (Oxford, 1991), 170.

[8] Modern readers frequently find disorienting the narrative and temporal structure of Marat's journalism (and revolutionary journalism more generally), since it was based on what would today be called "burying the lede." On such themes, see the excellent discussion in Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, 146-51. Tellingly, Marat first published his famous "principles of denunciation" on 13 Nov. 1789; see *OP*, 297-98.

[9] *OP*, 582-618. In his litany of accusations against Necker, Marat claims to be acting as a prescient yet impartial observer, judging Necker in advance of posterity: "je ne serai ici qu'un historien fidèle qui aura

surprising that Marat was willing to minimize the indictment value of deeds prior to 1789—after all, this was a man whose pre-revolutionary career had involved stipendiary service to the comte d'Artois's household—but he was also unwilling to make the connection between "private" corruption and political malfeasance that has become a central aspect of scholarly understandings of eighteenth-century discourse.[10] Indeed, Marat apologized to his readers for venturing into the details of Lafayette's private life in the course of a savage indictment of "Motié" in 1791, and even his apostrophe to Louis XVI after the latter's flight to Varennes focused explicitly on public rather than private misdeeds.[11] Although Marat's indictments-by-capsule-biography deserve more study, even a cursory engagement with them reveals a historical sensibility in which the equation of private corruption and public malfeasance is minimized rather than emphasized.

Yet if Marat eschewed such proxy condemnations, he supplied something else. Marat turned the problem of regenerating a newly-liberated people into a project that was simultaneously pedagogical *and* historical. Granted, the pedagogy was strange. After all, one of the most striking features of a newspaper that dubbed itself "friend" of the people was its hectoring tone. *L'ami du peuple* plaintively and repeatedly deplored the frivolity of the French, their seeming passivity, their inability to secure the gains won in 1789, and their consequent vulnerability to omnipresent conspirators. Such statements are inescapable in even the most casual reading of Marat's journalism. But there is often more to this complaining than initially meets the eye. To take one example from many: on 8 November 1790, Marat discussed the proper means to form "public spirit" to ensure the triumph of liberty:

> In order for the people to exercise its rights, the people must know them: it is a matter of instruction. In order for the people to avoid the traps laid for it, the people must perceive them: it is a matter of education.[12]

Initially, Marat's diatribe seems to echo the familiar eighteenth-century distinction between imparting skills (*instruction*) and forming citizens (*éducation*)—but wait. Marat offered a striking description of the task of fashioning a free people:

> The people understands things poorly; it rarely sees things as they are, even more rarely does it grasp their totality, and it almost never calculates the sequence of events [*suite des événéments*]. This is the result of the people's lack of enlightenment. … In order for the people to avoid being placed once more under the yoke, it is necessary for it constantly to be ready to evaluate its rulers at their deeds. Freedom will only be fully guaranteed once public spirit is mature; that is to say, when the people knows its rights and duties, when it understands men and the passions that actuate them, when it has the appropriate understanding of the agents of power to penetrate their schemes and perceive the traps they set. This is the point to which publicists must bring the nation.[13]

Marat effectively suggested that revolutionary pedagogy—communicating an

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devancé son siècle," *OP*, 588.

[10] In this sense, Marat eschewed the contemporary indictments based on connections between private depravity and public corruption; for an influential interpretation of such connections, see Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: the Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, 1993).

[11] *OP*, 1841-45, 1985.

[12] *OP*, 1723.

[13] *OP*, 1724-25.

understanding of the "suite des événements"—was the security of liberty, but that such pedagogy faced obstacles. This awareness perhaps explains Marat's vitriol against Necker, his attacks on the Chatelet, his exposés of Lafayette's military ambitions and even his tiffs with other patriotic journalists; what was at issue was the belief not only that the people were being played for dupes, but that the "people's friend" was being persecuted precisely because of the truths he sought to proffer and the education he sought to provide.

Yet Marat invested both the pedagogical and the historical projects with a sense of urgency tempered by pessimism. Marat repeatedly argued that, in winning liberty in 1789, the French had merely been lucky; the problem of securing that liberty was at the foundation of Marat's constant tone of martyred resignation, a tone that became more pronounced after the Royal Family's abortive flight to Varennes, and persisted well beyond the fall of the monarchy. Driven into hiding by a decree of accusation in 1791, Marat was, by July 1792, pessimistically tracing the "plan of the revolution totally squandered by the people." He insisted that, after three years' struggle for liberty, France was more enslaved than ever, and he stressed the consistency of politics under old and new regimes: "Cast an eye on the theatre of State. The decorations alone have changed; it is always the same actors, the same costumes, the same intrigues, the same measures." Marat offered a sketch of the divisions that had plagued the Revolution from its inception, suggesting that the people's political ignorance left it helpless before the "Machiavellianism" of its enemies: "From the outset, the revolution has been for the Court and its adherents, nothing but an enduring pretext for seduction, fiscal predation, corruption, schemes, traps, assaults, assassinations, poisonings, and disastrous conspiracies." Marat summed up by inscribing the Revolution in the context of a much longer-term struggle:

> The foundation of liberty has ranged against it the very dispositions of the human heart … The tendency of constituted authorities to despotism is, alas, only too natural, but nothing in the world is as difficult as returning men to freedom.[14]

Powerful reinterpretations of Marat by Patrice Gueniffey and Keith Baker have recently revisited this fusion of anxiety, lassitude, and pessimism. Gueniffey, for example, reads Marat's violent denunciations as an expression of the "exteriority" of people from power; that is to say, Marat incarnated the fundamental impossibility of grounding revolutionary liberty in institutional legality. The relationship between people and government remained structured by the logic of denunciation, violence, and the virtuous purge (provocatively, Gueniffey suggests, "from 1790, Marat thus writes in advance the history of the *an* II)."[15] Baker has argued, on different but converging grounds, that Marat represented a crucial stage in the transformation of the political idiom of "classical republicanism." The anxieties and even the tenor of Marat's revolutionary journalism, Baker convincingly notes, were prefigured by his initial venture into political writing, *The Chains of Slavery*, originally published in England in 1774 as part of the Wilkesite agitation for Parliamentary reform.[16] What changed after 1789, Baker argues, is that the collapse of the ancien regime removed the institutional and intellectual constraints on what had formerly been a "discourse of

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[14] *OP*, 4088-89, 4101, 4104-5, 4116, 4118-19. On the importance of these arguments, see Louis Gottschalk, *Jean-Paul Marat: A Study in Radicalism* (1928; Chicago, 1967), 112-13.
[15] Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur*, esp. 74-77.
[16] *Chains of Slavery* was expanded in late 1792 and republished in French in early 1793. See note 19 below.

opposition," enabling Marat's fear of popular lassitude and corrupting governments to be projected into the unbounded revolutionary future as the recurrent denunciation of omnipresent enemies.[17] There is no doubt that these remain powerful reinterpretations of Marat's significance, although these readings can helpfully be tempered by the awareness that conspiratorial mentalities among revolutionary elites were gradually (rather than suddenly) elaborated, and that institutionalized practices of denunciation often departed in significant ways from Marat's language of suspicion and excess.[18]

It may also be useful to reappraise Marat's conspiratorial sensibility by analyzing it in terms of the historical modalities that Marat claimed to perceive in the Revolution's own workings.[19] To return, for a moment, to *Chains of Slavery*; it is well known that Marat eventually reedited this text (probably in late 1792) and added sections designed to make it relevant to the experience of a country in revolution. Both the original and edited versions contain striking indictments of the role played by corrupted men of letters—particularly historians—in supporting despotic princes; but one of the explicit additions made to the edition of 1793 used the recent experience of revolution to meditate on the danger of historical amnesia to a people: "once peoples cease to know the history of their governments, they form the falsest ideas concerning government; these false ideas contribute greatly to despotism."[20] The key point, Marat insisted in his newspaper (in language strikingly evocative of the *Chains of Slavery*) was that it was not enough to cherish liberty; one had also to instruct the people, one had to "uncover the artifices" of politics, but this was difficult precisely because of the way despotism worked:

> It is not by sudden exercises of power [*coups d'autorité*], or by attempts at violence, that the enemies of the *patrie* initially work to destroy it; they do so by ruses, by

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[17] Baker, "Transformations of Classical Republicanism," esp. 43, represents perhaps the most persuasive recent interpretation of *Chains of Slavery*, a text that has long elicited questions. Louis Gottschalk, for example, saw *Chains of Slavery* as precocious evidence of Marat's commitment to popular sovereignty; Gottschalk, *Jean-Paul Marat*, 19-21. Michel Vovelle similarly regarded it as an essential—but ahistorical—step towards the formulation of a "theory of insurrection." See Vovelle, "Introduction" in *Marat: Textes choisis* (Paris, 1963), 15-16. By contrast, Olivier Coquard reads *Chains of Slavery* as an important but uneven synthesis of arguments drawn from Rousseau and Montesquieu; see Coquard, *Marat*, 71-80.

[18] Timothy Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789-1792," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 691-713; Colin Lucas points out that the language of excess is not a good description of denunciatory process, particularly as the latter was colonized by committees during *an* II; see Lucas, "The Theory and Practice of Denunciation in the French Revolution," *Journal of Modern History* 68 (1996): 768-85. For influential discussions of the extent to which conspiratorial mentalities were a shared eighteenth-century sensibility, see Gordon Wood, "Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Causality and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (1982): 401-41; and Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: the French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001). See also Barry Coward and Julian Swann, eds., *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: from the Waldensians to the French Revolution* (Aldershot, 2004), which unfortunately could not be consulted for this essay.

[19] It can be argued that "classical republicanism" was historically minded in its pessimism and its emphasis on corruption, but the political idiom itself did not define precisely how a historical sensibility could or should be deployed from within the process.

[20] Marat, *Les Chaînes de l'esclavage. Ouvrage destiné à développer les noirs attentats des princes contre les peuple, les ressorts secrets, les ruses, les menées, les artifices, les coups d'État qu'ils emploient pour détruire la liberté, et les scènes sanglantes qui accompagnent le despotisme* ([Paris], *an* I [1793]), 283; reprinted in *OP*, 4165-4663.

> incredibly calculated artifices, by traps concealed behind the veil of the common good.[21]

It is possible, in fact, to make the case that Marat viewed this vulnerability precisely as a failing of historical vision (and here the hectoring tone returns): "blind people, leaderless, unguided, lacking judgment, lured astray by the whims of adroit deceivers! Idiotic people, unable to learn in the school of adversity, for whom the lessons of experience will be forever lost! Childish people."[22]

Marat, in effect, described the historical problem of liberty as coupled: on the one hand, the people could not, without aid, "read" the meaning of unfolding events; yet on the other hand, the historical patterns that gave meaning to those events were occluded, deliberately masked by evildoers who misled and deceived the populace. Marat's condemnations of frivolity and lassitude thus effectively posed the question: how were the French to remember and act upon the bitterly won lessons of experience? Marat's answer was to make an exemplary figure of the patriotic journalist, who served simultaneously as privileged interpreter of history and as severe instructor of the public. Marat remarked in late November 1792 that with despotism apparently destroyed and Louis XVI imprisoned, "everything seems to proclaim the triumph of the Republic; nevertheless, the *patrie* is far from triumphing and liberty is far from assured." Responding to the confident declarations of those who proclaimed victory, Marat insisted, "all this might convince the superficial observer, but the *philosophe* versed in the history of revolutions and the politics of Courts is far from being comforted by these glittering appearances!"[23] By March 1793, Marat was reiterating earlier demands for severity with claims that the *patrie* was at the abyss, but also pointing to his own status as observer at the disposal of the people:

> I am accustomed to writing according to what I feel. For it is the spectacle of new arbitrary acts, ceaselessly reiterated, that has so many times spurred my demands, deepened my despair, and led me to demand what I feel are the only measures that can end our woes … Behold the key to all of my behavior. According to the histories of the different peoples of the globe, the lights of reason, and the principles of healthy political life, I have demonstrated that the only way to consolidate the Revolution is for the adherents of liberty to crush their enemies.[24]

Yet if Marat claimed interpretive expertise as a philosophically informed observer of history, able to extract lessons from the experiences of other nations, this did not resolve the problem of how to communicate the Revolution's historical lessons. How could a historical truth about the Revolution be demonstrated? An early indication is visible in Marat's open letter to his journalistic competitor, Camille Desmoulins, in May 1791. In that letter, published in his newspaper, Marat defended

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[21] *OP*, 4104.
[22] *OP*, 2334. This notion was reiterated constantly by Marat; see especially *OP*, 2255, 4116-21.
[23] *OP*, 5119-23. See also the open letter of the Paris deputies reprinted by Marat in *OP*, 5715-7. A similar equivocation is apparent in Marat's strident critique of misplaced mercy (sparing conspirators, for example) and his championing of harsh measures, including a temporary dictator and larger and larger harvests of traitorous heads. Such calls, Marat insisted in late September 1792, were grounded on his political experience: "tout homme instruit de l'histoire des révolutions sent l'indispensable nécessité." *OP*, 4751.
[24] *OP*, 5876.

the effectiveness and importance of precocious denunciations, inveighing against the mentality that required absolute proof:

> In order to judge men, you [Desmoulins] always need proof positive, clear, and precise. For me, their inaction or their silence on great occasions is sufficient. In order to believe in a conspiracy, you demand judicial evidence; for me, it is enough to see the general course of events, the relationships between enemies of liberty, the comings and goings of certain agents of power.[25]

Mona Ozouf has seen this episode, I think persuasively, as an example of the inductive and hence boundless nature of denunciation.[26] Yet this is not enough to exhaust Marat's meaning; what is perhaps more significant is that his inductive reading of conspiracy is *historical*. For Marat, the true significance of events is revealed only as part of a process unfolding over time, and, because conspiracies by their nature share premeditation and duration, this recognition depends on historical awareness, an ability to see and render connections across time. But this also meant that a truly powerful historical sensibility was by its very nature specialized. Marat repeatedly differentiated between observational facts that could easily be apprehended by everyone—such as a simple sequence of events—and facts that required deeper powers of penetration, which required the observer to plumb hidden motivations and distinguish feints from real blows.[27]

Ultimately, Marat's confidence in reading the secret undercurrents of events led him to underline his own singularity. In early 1793, he modestly noted that, when the Revolution arrived he was "perhaps the only person in France" to recognize the conspiracies then unfolding, and, if his message was not properly heard at the outset, that was because "the truths which I published were not within the grasp of ordinary readers … most often, it was only after events proved me right that the public justly gave me credit, and dubbed me 'prophet.'"[28] Marat's confident self-presentation as an observer able to unveil the deep secrets of the political world became, ultimately, an instrument that he (and others) could use to inscribe falsity in *any* revolutionary career—the litany of idols smashed by Marat included Necker, Lafayette, Louis XVI, Dumouriez and Brissot. But it also became, in Marat's hands, an argument for the indispensability of the crusading journalist-historian. It is striking that Marat's own claims to trustworthiness were grounded in resistance to the conspiratorial history unfolding around him: Marat's use of a Rousseau-like language of suffering, poverty and simplicity, and his declarations of heartfelt identification with the people, are perhaps best read as a means of immunizing the journalist himself from accusations of complicity in the process of misleading the people.[29] Marat's historical vision served to propagate a distinctive pedagogical vision but also to buttress a newly fashioned

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[25] *OP*, 2826. This was a constant theme to which Marat returned in late 1792; see *OP*, 5052.

[26] See Mona Ozouf, "Marat" in *Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution,* eds. François Furet and Mona Ozouf, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 250.

[27] For examples of this reasoning, which evolved over time, see *OP*, 494, 661, 917, 1225, 1241, 2037, 2275.

[28] *OP*, 5586. At least one correspondent repeatedly addressed Marat with the salutation "prophet." For a sensitive reading of this metaphor, see Jean Massin, *Marat* (Paris, 1960), 5.

[29] Marat's most coherent response to charges of corruption, extremism or aspirations to dictatorship can be found in his famous "Portrait de L'ami du peuple, tracé par lui-même," of 14 Jan. 1793; see *OP*, 5497-5503. For an early declaration of persecuted virtue see *OP*, 1726. In this sense, too, Marat's pessimism and severity can be seen as a rhetorical lever used to claim credibility in the face of powerful, omnipresent conspirators.

revolutionary identity: the journalist-observer, astutely on guard for the nation, whose credibility was vested in virtuous devotion.

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To return to my title: it seems clear, on the one hand, that to call Marat a "historian" of the French Revolution is patently ludicrous, if by that we mean the term in any familiar acceptation. But if we expand "historian" to encompass a sensibility that traces connections, posits causation and offers a set of interpretive protocols … well, under those conditions the appellation makes limited sense. It is possible to see in Marat's journalism a powerful conception of the revolution as a series of human-scale events, unfolding in a finite period of time, whose real meaning can only be inferred accurately by the philosophic, historically-minded observer. Marat's conception of history was unremittingly voluntarist, but it was also double-edged as a result. Events with human causes were in principle intelligible and communicable to a people striving for liberty. Yet Marat articulated a practical tension embedded in any voluntarist vision of history: if the patterns of despotism could be grasped by the savvy gaze of *L'ami du peuple*, it was much harder to communicate these lessons to an oblivious people, ignorant of the deep meaning of events aimed against it. Popular lassitude was cultivated, if not created, by human action, as the Revolution's own enemies worked to hide the nefarious history they were making. How, then, in the face of this dilemma, could the patriotic writer teach a proper "reading" of history? Marat's response was to invoke the "marche générale des affairs," a pattern well suited to the day-to-day periodicity of the newspaper. By emphasizing patterns and sequences, Marat opportunely reiterated prior warnings, singled out "prophecies" that had come true (and conveniently elided those that had not), and constructed a scaffolding of reliability. This strategy can be glimpsed in Marat's representational metaphors, which communicate linkages of past and present that are visual as much as verbal. The keywords of the prospectus for *L'école du citoyen* are here once more illuminating: to present a "tableau," in which conspiracies are "developed" and political maneuvers are "traced," in a book that is proclaimed "indispensable" and "instructive." Even if *L'ami du peuple* was not a historian, he was fabricating an unusual kind of history for his audience, one designed simultaneously as description and diagnosis.

This is why Marat's historical sensibility matters. While Marat was in no sense a representative figure—precisely the opposite—he does show us the surprising ways in which conspiratorial anxieties, denunciations and discursive violence re-inscribed history in the revolutionary political universe. These fears and anxieties also reinserted the historian in the history: Marat's interpretive vision, by its very nature, made the "philosophic" observer a participant in an intricate chain of events and meanings. In Marat's hands, history became a powerful mode of thinking—pessimistically, fearfully, coercively, self-righteously—about the extraordinary demands that the Revolution placed upon patriots and peoples entrusted with its defense. To a revolutionary audience seeking to understand those demands, whether to exhort their achievement or bemoan their neglect, Marat offered a vision suffused by the intractable connection between the Revolution's historical perils and its future possibilities.

Protecting Catholic Boys and Forming Catholic Men at the Collège Stanislas in Restoration Paris

Carol E. Harrison

In 1804, a few years after the Concordat eased tensions between France and the Catholic Church, Claude Rosalie Liautard opened a Parisian school for boys in which "religion, natural basis of all public and private virtues" would also underpin the curriculum. By February 1805 Liautard was declaring himself overwhelmed with success in the form of forty-five pupils, and the fall of the Empire meant that the beginning of the 1816 school year saw 350 pupils in the *pension* Liautard, rue Notre Dame des Champs. Under the Restoration the school was renamed the Collège Stanislas, and it became one of the most successful Catholic schools in Paris.[1]

Liautard was both an opponent and a product of the Revolution. His parentage is uncertain; he appears to have been illegitimate, possibly the child of influential parents since he was raised in Versailles on the margins of court life in the last years of the ancien régime. Educated at the Collège Saint-Barbe and then at Polytechnique among its first pupils, he was well placed to take advantage of revolutionary change. He refused to swear his hatred of royalty at Polytechnique and left the school, shortly afterward entering the newly reopened seminary of Saint Sulpice in 1802. When he opened his own school, Liautard, still a few weeks away from ordination, was about thirty, and in a position to exploit any loopholes that the Empire might offer devout Catholics.

The headmaster Liautard was at the older end of a generation of Catholics who, without having been actively involved in the revolutionary dismantling of the ancien regime Church, found themselves faced with the question of how to be Catholic in post-revolutionary France. Although Liautard, like many priests of the early nineteenth century, frequently invoked the ancien regime, his goal was to establish a new model for Catholic instruction. Education, Liautard believed, was particularly important to the project of rechristianizing France because it was an area where revolutionary principles had established deep institutional roots in the form of

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[1] Georges Sauvé, *Le Collège Stanislas. Deux siècles d'éducation* (Paris, 1994).

the Napoleonic University. At Stanislas, Liautard took on the University, the revolutionary bastion that "prevent[ed] the healing of wounds to the social body."[2]

Families, Liautard believed, especially families that wanted to raise devout sons, were the victims of the University's ambitious grasp on French schoolboys. Recently, scholars have turned their attention to the family and the Revolution, looking both at representations of family and political power and at the legal reorganization of the family with the consequent redistribution of power among its members.[3] Liautard was aware of both and disapproved of both in equal measure. If we understand the Revolution as a "struggle ... over the moral economy of the family,"[4] then it is imperative to consider the counter-Revolution in similar terms. Men like Liautard understood themselves as restoring order to an institution ordained by God but perverted by the revolutionaries' destructive impulses. Stanislas was a necessary first step toward the creation of a nation composed of Christian families based on principles of hierarchy, deference and affection.

Although Liautard maintained that his goal at the Collège Stanislas was to remove education from the clutches of the State and return it to fathers, his attitude toward the family was ultimately ambivalent. He believed that, at its foundation, the Revolution had been an attack on the family, and he complained that the Restoration was insufficiently zealous in its efforts to reverse revolutionary damage. Liautard's essays on the University insisted that there could be no true restoration of French social order until education was returned to the authority of fathers and the wisdom of the Church. On the other hand, in his daily management of school affairs, Liautard demonstrated a mistrust of actual families. Real fathers often failed to measure up to the ideal of paternal authority, and Liautard firmly believed that boys belonged in the "paternal" atmosphere of his school rather than the paternal atmosphere of their fathers' homes. Finally, Liautard's pedagogical style often departed from the paternal altogether. The headmaster's rapport with his pupils derived from a language of fraternity, in particular, from a romantic notion of intensively cultivated friendship. Affection and trust, nurtured in the secluded, protected setting of the boarding school, was the foundation of an education that prepared boys to be both independent young men and obedient Catholics.

Liautard takes on the University

Liautard wrote obsessively about the University, both under the Empire and, especially, during the Restoration. His files are full of texts in which he, often under the alias of Andronicus, "headmaster ruined by University statutes," rails against the educational bureaucracy. Many of these pieces are cast as dialogues with well-meaning fathers or with young men striving, against the odds, to get a good education. Liautard wrote these dialogues in the voices of fathers and sons because he believed that the University's greatest fault was to ignore paternal authority and thus to teach

[2] Archives du Collège Stanislas [hereafter ACS], "Réponse du Correspondant" 102 ter II 3-4. On the foundation of the University, see Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (New York, 1994), chap. 7.

[3] See especially Lynn A. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1992); and the recent work of Suzanne Desan, including "'War Between Brothers and Sisters:' Inheritance Law and Gender Politics in Revolutionary France," *French Historical Studies* 20.4 (1997), 597-634; and "Qu'est-ce qui fait un père? Illégitimité et paternité de l'an II au Code Civil," *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* 57.4 (2002), 935-64.

[4] Desan, "War Between Brothers," 632.

students to disregard filial obligation. Even with his independent school, Liautard could not escape the University. Under the Empire, students in independent schools were required to attend classes at a *lycée impérial*, dressed in uniform with only the buttons indicating the name of their school. With very bad grace, Liautard sent as few of his pupils as he could get away with, grumbling that the order made every private *pension* look like a military camp.[5] When the Empire fell apart, Liautard was confident that the University—"shameless daughter of irreligion, despotism, and tax policy, who will never be the daughter of our kings"[6]—was on its way out. He thus felt truly betrayed when the restored Bourbon monarchy adopted this bastard child and maintained the structures of Napoleonic education. In particular, he raged against the renewed requirement that boys from his school attend classes at state institutions.[7]

Liautard connected the University on the one hand to the Revolutionary reorganization of the family and, on the other, to the Napoleonic military machine. The bureaucratic apparatus of the University broke down the natural ties of affection and obedience that united fathers and sons and taught boys abstract notions of patriotic duty in their place. One fictional father who appears in a Liautard dialogue, "Jean Chardin," recounts his own education and his efforts to educate his son against the backdrop of Revolution. Chardin, an elderly gentleman, had a good start in life, enrolling, like his own father before him, in a Jesuit school.[8] The young Chardin even followed the Jesuits to Russia when they were expelled from France. His mother recalled him, however, and enrolled him at Louis le Grand, where he shared a school bench with Robespierre and Desmoulins. Clearly, Mme Chardin was the wrong person to have charge of a boy's education, being occupied with running through her fortune in directing a salon. A resilient young man, Chardin himself became a teacher, and it was from this vantage point that he witnessed the Revolution and its generation of young men "thrown into the path of every error, accustomed to seeing every crime, to whom a thousand echoes whispered that bad is good and good is bad!"

The Chardin family story in the post-revolutionary period becomes a melodrama in which the Napoleonic University threatens the life and happiness of Jean's son, "Xavier." In a boarding school under the Empire, Xavier was nearly killed when undisciplined Bonapartist students decided to punish him for his royalism. Surviving that experience to reach young adulthood and be enrolled at the law faculty in Lyon, Xavier, in tears, approached his father.[9] He admitted that he had not attended class for over a month: hardly anyone went, he explained, sometimes not even the professor. In his next appearance, Xavier was pale and agitated, weeping again, and Jean Chardin feared that his son had "abandoned his honor." Xavier's honor was intact, but the spectacle of his fellow students' vice had bruised his spirit. In particular, his cousin "Adraste" had become a gambler and attempted suicide; when Xavier and his father visited, Adraste was ripping off his bandages and refusing medical attention. Within a few days Adraste and his grief-stricken mother were sharing the same tomb. Xavier provided the moral of this melodramatic tale: "These schools are perdition! Oh Father, two thousand young men, in the turbulence of

[5] Copy of the order with Liautard's marginal comments. ACS 102 ter II-3-9, 13 Aug. 1812. See also the draft letter from Liautard to Olivier, ACS 102 ter II-2-6, n.d., in which the headmaster explains that he stopped sending pupils to the *lycée Napoléon* in the waning days of the Empire.
[6] "Extrait d'une lettre de Strasb. a M.A.," ACS 102 ter II-2-6, 9 Dec. 1814.
[7] Draft letter from Liautard, ACS 102-I-6-1, 28 Jan. [1824?].
[8] "Jean Chardin au rédacteur de la Quotidienne," ACS 102 ter II-3-4, 1828.
[9] "Explication entre Jean Chardin et son fils Xavier au sujet des cours de facultés," ACS 102 ter II-3-4, 1828.

adolescence with its violent passions, stacked up in Paris! No authority imposes itself, no surveillance holds them back; they have no family for shelter, no friends, no acquaintances … from whom to ask advice. … How can one struggle with oneself, against the most heart-breaking sloth?" Jean Chardin and Xavier did their best to fulfill the natural obligations of fathers and sons—guidance, love and wisdom on the one hand, obedience, respect and devotion on the other. These were difficult roles to play, however, when the State persisted in denigrating the father-son relationship.

The University that drove Xavier to tears and Liautard to distraction was the product of the systematizing and centralizing spirit of a general or a tax collector instead of the caring sensibility of a father or a true educator. Liautard's fundamental complaint about the University was that it set military discipline in place of family affection. The revolutionaries' confidence that they had attained perfection led them to "toss all their institutions into the same mold,"[10] and, once Bonaparte came to power, that mold was military. The *lycées* were like "academic barracks,"[11] and their logic was fiscal, not pedagogical: under Napoléon "the monopoly of education was added to that of coffee and sugar."[12] Depressingly, Liautard saw little difference in the public schools of the Restoration. In one 1828 dialogue, Andronicus slipped into a *collège royal*—not difficult, because the teachers there were more or less interchangeable, and no one knew anyone else. He observed the pupils: "bleak, expressionless faces, identical postures … they could have been Prussian soldiers drilled by the father of Frederick the Great." He wondered "if Sparta had come to Paris, if these youth had French blood in their veins, if they were really at that carefree stage of life when the days pass … without worries over the future."[13] Liautard concluded that no matter how many different institutions the Ministry of Public Instruction created, there was no concealing the fact that they were all essentially the same: "the same mania for generalization, for making everything derive from a single principle."[14]

In particular, Liautard despised the system of competitive examination: the *lycée* sacrificed nine-tenths of its pupils in order to train a handful of prize-winners. Some pupils came out as "skillful writers of essays, Latin and Greek machines" while most stultified in their mediocrity.[15] Not all pupils could excel academically, but when *concours* set the agenda, average students would be "sacrificed to the glory of the school."[16] Fathers would never abandon sons with merely ordinary intelligence, but public schoolmasters "limit[ed] themselves to calculating the pupil's chances of success, setting aside the rest." Students who misbehaved might even be let off the hook because of their academic talents.[17] The official justification for requiring Stanislas boys to traipse across town to attend classes at a *lycée* or *collège royal* was that they needed "emulation"—that without exposure to the talents of the public schoolboys, their education would lack the competitive spirit.[18] Liautard rejected the

[10] "Considérations sur l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-1, 13 Feb. 1816.
[11] "Etude de M Liautard sur l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-2, n.d. [after 1822].
[12] "Considérations sur l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-1, 13 Feb. 1816.
[13] "Elèves de l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-4.
[14] "Considérations sur l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-1, 13 Feb. 1816.
[15] "Etude de M Liautard sur l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-2, n.d. [after 1822].
[16] Ibid., 8-9.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 7. On emulation and education, see Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999), chap. 1; Alan Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton, 1987); Paul Seeley, "Virile Pursuits: Youth, Religion, and Bourgeois Family Politics in Lyon on the Eve of the French Third Republic," (Ph.D. diss., University

emulation system as an "outdated method,"[19] but he also believed that emulation was merely an excuse to drive private schools out of business, particularly since the University refused to allow him to hold prize-giving ceremonies—a staple of the emulation system—in his own school.[20]

It was no wonder, Liautard claimed, that the eight- or nine-tenths of the State's pupils left entirely to their own devices learned nothing but "discontent and rebellion."[21] Most schoolmasters were mere flunkies, paid a pittance to keep an eye on the ordinary boys that the school had no real intention of educating. Even though these were not the brightest students, they knew perfectly well they could get away with going to sleep in class and with insults and mocking language.[22] Liautard relished accounts of the schoolroom riots and mini-revolutions that occurred periodically during the Restoration.[23] It was outrageous, he protested, that his boys should have to attend lessons at Louis-le-Grand, the school that was "so famous for its revolts and for its sinister principles."[24] Liautard's alter ego, Andronicus, declared himself unsurprised that the public institution to which he was forced to send pupils was "undergoing a siege … that the beds, the tables and the benches have become offensive and defensive weapons, that the schoolmasters have only escaped death by precipitous flight."[25] According to Andronicus, schoolboy revolutions were simply neglected boys' revenge on authority, not political statements; the sons of political conservatives were often more active than the sons of liberals.[26] The University had to understand, Andronicus said, that youth who were "deaf to divine hymns … were already consumed by the science of dissimulation, by the tactics of conspiracy."[27]

Napoleonic education, Liautard claimed, was like a disease-ridden family: "fathers infected with a scrofulous virus transmitting it to their children, and degenerate families passing down no heritage but the most shameful diseases."[28] Bourbon kings failed to realize that their schools had been marked by the "double leprosy of Jacobinism and impiety;" only total destruction of the University, not merely reform, could effect a cure.[29] The transformation of a revolutionary society of individualized citizens into a Christian society of families had necessarily to pass through schools. The Collège Stanislas, with its instruction grounded in the affection

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of Michigan, 1995); Jean-Claude Caron, *Générations romantiques. Les étudiants de Paris et le Quartier Latin, 1814-1851* (Paris, 1991).

[19] "Elèves de l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-4

[20] In towns with a *lycée* or a *collège royal*, prize ceremonies in private *pensions* were illegal. "Commission de l'Instruction publique: extrait du registre du Jugemen de la commission," 20 Nov. 1819. The ceremony at Stanislas was especially egregious because it included a student play satirizing mutual teaching, a method especially associated with "emulation." ACS 102 ter II-2-6 and "Histoire d'Andronicus" in ACS 102 ter II-3-4. Liautard also complained that the *concours* were unfair to pupils from Catholic schools because the exams were in the hands of teachers trained under the Convention, Directory or Empire who bore a grudge against private pupils. Liautard to the Grand Master of the University, ACS 102 ter II-2-6, 6 Nov. 1822.

[21] "Etude de M Liautard sur l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-2.

[22] ACS 102 ter II-3-3. See also "Professeurs des collèges royaux," ACS ter II-3-4, 1828.

[23] Agnès Thiercé, "Révoltes de lycéens, révoltes d'adolescents," *Histoire de l'éducation* 89 (2001): 59-93. Although focusing on students in higher, rather than secondary education, Jean Claude Caron's *Générations romantiques* offers a useful account of political ferment among the Parisian *jeunesse des écoles*.

[24] "Etude de M. Liautard sur l'Université," 6.

[25] "Elèves de l'Université," 102 ter II-3-4, 1828.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] "Considérations sur l'université," ACS 102 ter II-3-1, 13 Feb. 1816.

[29] Ibid.

and deference due to paternal authority in the Catholic family, was the model that Bourbon kings should adopt.

The Collège Stanislas: what kind of father did boys really need?

In place of the University's competitive logic and military discipline, Liautard proposed schools with a "gentle and paternal regime" where "the headmaster's strictness would be tempered by that indulgence to which children are accustomed at their mother's breast."[30] Only a system that respected paternal authority would, in turn, induce boys to respect paternal and also political authority. Given Liautard's insistence that the Napoleonic system had taken the father out of a child's education, Stanislas—a Parisian boarding school—was not an obvious solution. Stanislas pupils did regularly refer to Liautard as their "second father" and to the school as a family—but what of their original fathers and families?[31] Liautard's writings on education have a certain *Emile*-like quality to them: fathers were their children's natural educators, except for those boys fortunate enough to have Liautard/Andronicus as their tutor.

In the re-creation of an education based on paternal affection and filial obedience, Christian principles, naturally, were fundamental; teachers should have to pass tests of "wisdom, virtue, [and] religion" so as to produce a teaching corps that, Liautard specified sarcastically, "could genuflect with holy water, without affectation and without looking too awkward."[32] Although Stanislas included a *petit séminaire*, the school focused on training boys for secular careers. Certainly many vocations emerged from the school, but Liautard primarily served a clientele who did not want their sons to become priests. When parents inquired about the school, Liautard emphasized not only religious training and academic subjects, but also instruction in music, dance, horseback riding and fencing.[33] Young men leaving Stanislas were ready to enter *le monde.* Although Stanislas avoided the Restoration puritanism that attacked dancing in particular, religious observance did regulate life at the school. Prayers, pious readings, and catechism instruction punctuated daily life; Liautard emphasized that the more consistency a child was subject to, the more his "character will become flexible and his temper amiable."[34] It was important that daily religious observance not become a chore, however, as Liautard believed his school should avoid "boredom with God." "Religion that one absorbs through all the pores" was better for young boys than one that took the form of tiresome lessons or threatened punishments.[35]

Although the place of religion at Stanislas indicates attentiveness to the wishes of fathers, Liautard's management of the school suggests that he (and, perhaps, the parents who sent him their children) mistrusted families' capacity to prepare their

[30] "Réponse au Correspondant," ACS 102 ter II-3-4.
[31] See e.g. the verses addressed to Liautard by his students in ACS 102 ter II-2-9.
[32] "Etude de M Liautard sur l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-2.
[33] The prospectus for the school (ACS 102 I-1-1, 19 July 1805) is careful to detail the secular learning that pupils could expect (in particular, mathematics, useful sciences and *arts d'agrément*) in addition to the religious foundation. See also Liautard to Mme la comtesse de Charpin, ACS 102 I-8, 21 Oct. 1828. Liautard was also convinced that educating future priests with their future flock was beneficial both for the individuals and for the Church. "Réponse au Correspondant," ACS 102 ter II-3-4.
[34] Liautard to Mme la comtesse de Charpin, ACS 102 I-8, 21 Oct. 1828. See also Liautard's "Réunion des différens règlemens de la maison," ACS 102 ter II-2-1.
[35] Liautard to Mme la comtesse de Charpin, ACS 102 I-8, 21 Oct. 1828.

sons for the future. Isolating pupils in a boarding school was absolutely crucial to Liautard's project, and he preferred to avoid day pupils who had too much contact with the world beyond school walls. Liautard expected to receive boys by the age of eight, often from the distant provinces; he anticipated that they would know how to read but not much else.[36] Older pupils were disruptive because they had tasted too much freedom at home to adapt to school life and they might bring "dangerous knowledge"—adolescent sexuality—into the school.[37] Liautard viewed anything that entered his school from outside—books, advice, visitors or knowledge—with suspicion. His management of the institution makes it clear that he expected boys to learn filial devotion and Christian piety at Stanislas rather than at home.

Parents were often the source of indulgence that made boys difficult to teach. According to the school's 1845 rules, parental visits were limited to the noon recess each day.[38] Too much family affection produced homesickness and made it difficult for a boy to fit in at school. Thus close attachment to their mother and to each other meant that one pair of brothers was "quite extraordinarily good" during recess, but Liautard informed their mother that they needed to loosen those family ties and accustom themselves more to the society of others.[39] Vacations were troublesome: the headmaster exhorted his pupils to enjoy their time at home, but there was always "much ground to be regained" when boys returned.[40] In a letter to one father, Liautard declared himself disappointed in the son's rudeness: "I search vainly for those lessons in manners that he ought to have received during the vacation."[41] Another boy's ill behavior was such that Liautard believed his example to be "dangerous to his schoolmates" and suspected that he had acquired his taste for "liberty and pleasure" during the vacation.[42] That same year, Liautard complained of another problem child, Gustave, whose father had assured the headmaster that he would return his son to school just as he was at the start of vacation. Back in Paris in the autumn, however, Gustave revealed himself much changed; his "adolescence was making itself felt; the fire is catching," and Liautard was afraid that "it might soon be impossible to put out the flames." Liautard blamed Gustave's frequent *exeunt* permissions and suspected that the family friend with whom he dined, Mme de Pasture, allowed him to wander around town unaccompanied.[43]

Excursions into town—strictly limited and only permitted to visit family or approved friends—were particularly disruptive of school discipline. As Gustave's case suggested, puberty was bad enough if it took place within the school walls, but the stimulus of the outside world exacerbated it considerably. Liautard generally believed that parents authorized far too many *exeunts* and pointedly reminded them that they should not undermine his work by allowing their sons too much freedom. In

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[36] For Andronicus' view of day pupils, see "Elèves de l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-4. Stanislas' prospectus informed parents that pupils must know how to read but be no older than nine (ACS 102 I-1-1). The Baron de Carra de Vaux recognized that his status as a day pupil was exceptional, a favor Liautard did for his parents. See his letter (1 May 1879) in the alumni file, ACS 189 (dossiers d'élèves), fasicule 1802.

[37] See e.g. letter to M Garrigues [?], ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 140 letter 965, April 1809; letter to M Viala, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 271 letter 2588, Sept. 1810.

[38] *Collège Stanislas, Règlement, 1846-47* in ACS 159. This is the earliest set of rules that I have found.

[39] To Mme Lacombe, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 73 letter 453.

[40] To M de May, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 47 letter 252, Nov. 1808.

[41] To M de Changy, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 87 letter 557. See also the letter to M d'Ayguesvives [?] about Alphonse, whose vacation apparently turned his thoughts away from his upcoming first communion. ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 88 letter 574.

[42] To M Ghilin [?], ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 70 letter 437.

[43] To M de Moyenneville, ACS 166, minutier Liautard , p. 72 letter 448.

1808, for instance, Liautard informed a father that his son's homesickness was a much less serious problem than his frequent excursions "with all sorts of persons." Clearly, Liautard thought that the boy had too many family friends for his own good.[44] As an activity that necessarily took pupils outside the school walls, equestrian lessons required strict rules, particularly forbidding any pauses in front of restaurants or cafes.[45] One reason why Liautard objected so strenuously to sending his pupils to classes at a public institution was because they had to walk across town and consort with boys from different schools. Although Stanislas employed a man to walk the boys to class, they were still vulnerable. Liautard claimed that the public school pupils slipped the Stanislas boys forbidden books—*Emile* and *La pucelle d'Orléans*—the latter of which, in particular, was likely to fan those flames of adolescence.[46]

Even in the sheltered, Christian atmosphere of the Collège Stanislas, boys might suffer depression and despair. In October 1810 and January 1811 two pupils at Stanislas, Onésime de Musset and Antoine Ramé, like the unfortunate fictional Adraste, committed suicide. Both incidents involved Liautard in correspondence with the prefect of police. In these letters Liautard, anxious to exculpate himself and Stanislas, suggested that the suicides had occurred because the school had *insufficient*—not excessive—control over the boys. In both cases, parents—Onésime's overly-indulgent father and Antoine's misguided mother—interfered in their sons' education to disastrous effect.

Onésime was fifteen when he arrived at Stanislas; this was far too old, but Liautard had reserved Onésime's slot because no one who knew of the father's talents and his love for his children "would be surprised that … having been for Onésime *the most tender* of fathers, he would have hoped to have become the best of teachers and the most appropriate to form his intellect and his heart."[47] Indeed, such was the attachment between father and son, Liautard tells us, that from Onésime's tenth birthday to his departure for school they were never separated, and "all the respect that the father enjoyed because of his fortune, his reputation, his amiable character, was paid out to the son in all the caresses, indulgence, and adulation that self interest … will encourage people to lavish on the children of the rich." Even after Onésime's enrollment, his father came virtually every day and often took the boy on excursions outside of the school—an unusual privilege in the *pension*. M. de Musset might have thought of himself as a model attentive father, but Liautard makes it clear that he spoiled his son.

With such an indulged childhood, it was not surprising that Onésime, although naturally a good boy who even supported a poor family with his pocket money, should have had difficulty adjusting to school. "Even the most reasonable and least spoiled pupils," Liautard explained, had difficulty accommodating themselves to "no longer having any resources other than their intellectual talents and the qualities of their heart." When M. de Musset decided that it was time for Onésime to grow up a little and began withholding some treats, the boy despaired and wrote to his mother saying that he would kill himself if they left him in the *pension* any longer. Shortly after, he did so, acting with clear premeditation and great *sang froid,* Liautard recounted. The headmaster professed himself unsurprised that M. de Musset blamed the school's discipline; Liautard told the prefect that he had concealed some parts of

[44] To M Carmier du Vivier, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 29, letter 190, 1808.
[45] *Collège Stanislas, Règlement 1844-1847*, ACS 159.
[46] Liautard to the Grand Master of the University, ACS 102 ter II-3-8, 3 or 4 July [1822].
[47] "Eclaircissements donnés a Monsieur le Préfet de Police," ACS 102 ter II-2-8.

the sad story from his client, because he knew that this loving father would be sorry to feel that he had hastened his son's demise.

Antoine Ramé, by contrast, was perfectly happy at the *pension* Liautard. Antoine, like Onésime, seems to have entered the school as an older pupil; he was about twenty in 1809 and had been enrolled for three years when his mother removed him from Liautard's care and sent him to the seminary at Saint Sulpice.[48] As a seminarian, Antoine experienced "episodes of madness" and was placed in a *maison de santé*. He begged to return to his old school, and his mother implored Liautard to take him back. Liautard reminded Mme Ramé that she had withdrawn Antoine—he refers at one point to an *enlèvement*—against his own advice and the wishes of the boy's father. Both Liautard and the father believed that a young man should take his time to choose a career, particularly if he were contemplating a religious vocation. But his mother was blind to the wisdom of this course, and Liautard believed that she blamed his school for her son's condition. The headmaster scolded her: "We made your son … a model of all virtues, especially obedience, simplicity, and humility, and because six months after having left us his mind goes, you hold us responsible."[49] Believing, however, that the remedy to Antoine's malady could only be found in "the same house where he had tasted such pure happiness, where he had his friends, a headmaster [*directeur*] with such great influence over him," Liautard readmitted him. The damage was already done, however, and while Antoine was happy to be back at Stanislas, it was "a mad happiness that seemed inevitably to degenerate into imbecility."[50] Shortly afterward, Antoine killed himself in the school building.

It is not surprising that Liautard denied responsibility for the deaths of Onésime de Musset and Antoine Ramé—two suicides within less than six months were potentially a disaster for a pension that relied on the confidence of parents. Nonetheless, it is interesting that Liautard assigned blame to parents. One standard culprit for suicide in the romantic era—disappointment in love—was not available to Liautard. The effervescence of city life, theatre and *mauvais livres*, and political agitation, however, were all part of the repertoire of romantic suicide, and all might have served the headmaster's analysis.[51] But Stanislas, in so far as it was possible, sheltered boys from the temptations of the city and from the feverish politics of the day. Parents, who allowed their children too much license or pushed them into careers, were less aware than Liautard of the dangers that might ensnare youth.

The failings of families thus justified Liautard's belief that, in a model school, the headmaster would have "an *immense authority*" over his teachers and his pupils.[52] When Liautard in the early 1820s described this model school and proposed that the Minister of Public Instruction should choose a dozen schools to act as models and to create a "regenerated teaching corps" within twenty years, he clearly had Stanislas in mind. The Catholic family—and the future of a French society composed of Catholic families—needed the boarding school and the priest-schoolmaster to instruct its sons.

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[48] Liautard to the prefect of police, ACS 189, dossier d'élèves, fasicule 1789, n.d.
[49] ACS 189, dossier d'élèves, fasicule 1789, 9 Nov. 1810.
[50] Liautard to prefect of police, ACS 189, dossier d'élèves, fasicule 1789, 29 Jan. 1811 and n.d.
[51] Lisa Lieberman, "Romanticism and the Culture of Suicide in Nineteenth-Century France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33.3 (1991): 611-29. See especially Lieberman's remarks on Catholic and anticlerical interpretations of suicide.
[52] "Etude de M Liautard sur l'Université," ACS 102 ter II-3-2, emphasis in the original.

Fraternity and Friendship

So what are we to make of this apparent ambivalence about the restoration of paternal authority to boys' schooling? Despite Liautard's praise for paternal authority as the basis of education and society, he preferred his own authority to that of his pupils' fathers. It is noteworthy, however, that his rhetoric was often fraternal rather than paternal; the headmaster often chose to exert his authority in the guise of a wise elder brother or a dear friend. In his letters to his pupils, Liautard never presented himself as the stern headmaster-priest that one might expect from reading his critique of godless revolutionary education. He communicated with pupils who were at home sick or on vacation in informal, nearly egalitarian terms, full of good will and helpful advice, but never authoritarian. Liautard appears to have been—or at least to have aspired to be—a participant in the cult of romantic friendship that Gabrielle Houbre has described between early nineteenth-century schoolboys.[53] As sincerely as Liautard believed that paternal authority needed strengthening in the wake of Revolution, he was nonetheless deeply committed to a view of society—and his school—as fraternal.

Family metaphors at Stanislas did not always focus on the stern, paternal relationship between master and pupil. Liautard attributed the success of his school to the fact that he "took as much care of the children as the most tender and intelligent mother, without her natural weakness."[54] His successor as headmaster, the abbé Lagarde, chose to represent Liautard seated under a tree with the youngest pupils in a circle at his feet, reading the daily spiritual meditation. Lagarde attributed the success of the school to Liautard's close rapport with his pupils and his desire to live among them, without too much formality. Thanks to Liautard's empathy, Stanislas' boys experienced the "community life of a religious family, a perfected, almost deified, imitation of the natural family."[55]

Liautard's correspondence with his pupils, either recent graduates or boys at home, indicates that he saw their relationship in just such an intimate, informal light. He regularly closed letters to pupils "je vous embrasse comme je vous aime," much as he ended letters to close friends.[56] If these boys associated fathers with distant figures, imposing discipline and occupying a future world of adult responsibility rather than a present one of affection, then Liautard was no father.[57] Advising one pupil that he should not limit his social relations to his close friends, Liautard sympathized with his shyness. Moreover, instead of his usual thundering against the profligate company of public schools—a strategy unlikely to help a timid boy—Liautard suggested that, since the boy was forced into the public *lycée*, he ought to profit from those advantages it did offer, most especially the chance to "accustom young men to living with people of all conditions, [and] … characters," after which "one need never be awkward in company."[58] He urged pupils not to prolong their vacations: "pack your bags: your laundry will be clean, your desk as well, and I will be there with the best

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[53] *La discipline de l'amour. L'Education sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'âge du romantisme* (Paris, 1997), chap. 2.
[54] *Mémoires de M l'abbé Liautard* (Paris, 1844), 57.
[55] M l'abbé de Lagarde, *Histoire du Collège Stanislas* (Paris, 1881), 108.
[56] See Liautard's correspondence with Armand d'Hautpoul, ACS 102 I-1-2.
[57] On the distance or absence of fathers as a source of power in the household, see Houbre, *La Discipline*, 47-8; Michèle Perrot, "The Father Figure," in *A History of Private Life*, iv, *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, 1990), 173; and Michèle Ménard, "Le Miroir brisé," in *Histoire des pères et de la paternité*, eds. Jean Delameau and Daniel Roche (Paris, 1990), 365-8.
[58] To M de Chabannes, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, pp. 10-11, 1808.

will in the world."[59] Similarly, the headmaster's reports to parents adopted an affectionate tone toward weaker pupils: after a disappointing term Liautard wrote to one father that his son's "heart has been wounded; these internal injuries heal slowly. He has here, however, everything he needs to recover: good friends who offer only good examples, two or three teachers who take particular care of him, and a headmaster who can … inspire him with emulation."[60]

Liautard's letters also suggest that he used friendship—particularly couched in Christian terms—as a disciplinary tool with his pupils. He informed one inquirer that Stanislas did not use corporal punishment; in fact, he said, any punishment at all was rare, first because the rules of the school were such as to make misbehavior difficult and second because boys imbued with religious principles behaved themselves of their own accord.[61] Liautard teasingly scolded boys who neglected to write him[62] and advised others to "pray a little, and for me, and love me as I love you."[63] A child might take the wrong path, like poor Eugene who "isn't worth what he once was," but Liautard believed that because he was nonetheless "upright, sincere, and, also I think, one of my friends" he would eventually straighten out.[64] The headmaster offered parents instructions on handling their sons, suggesting, for instance, that one mother correct her son's distraction and daydreaming "but adroitly and indirectly, so that he doesn't know that I have written to you."[65] Friendship, Liautard hoped, contributed to the moral and spiritual development of boys, and in practice the headmaster seems to have assumed that boys needed affectionate brothers at least as much as they needed obedience-imposing fathers.

We cannot, of course, actually know whether or not Liautard succeeded in winning his way into his pupils' hearts as he believed he did. Even in the files of the old boys' association, where the letters are almost completely laudatory, there are hints of pupils who found themselves "a bit disoriented in a big institution where we found theologians of whom several later became bishops" and who found Liautard preoccupied with politics rather than with the daily management of the school.[66] It is certainly possible that the headmaster's attempts at brotherly comradeship struck his pupils as ridiculous.[67] Whether or not the headmaster succeeded in acting the role of his pupils' loving elder brother, it is significant that he chose to imagine the social world of his school in those fraternal terms.

The experience of the Collège Stanislas suggests that Liautard, for all of his talk about the restoration of the rights of fathers, was himself very much a child of the Revolution and the Romantic era, and that fraternity came more easily to him than paternity. In spite of Liautard's own legitimist political position, with its implication that the clock ought to be turned back to the pre-revolutionary period, his view of the

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[59] To M le Cordier, fils, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 166 letter 1249, Sept. 1809.
[60] To M de Rangouse, ACS 166, minutier Liautard , pp. 147-8 letter 999.
[61] To M Faget, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, pp. 150-1 letter 1002, May 1809. Liautard did expel students for misbehavior on a fairly regular basis, however. See Houbre's comments on Catholic education and the emphasis on a schoolroom regime that provided no opportunities for misbehavior, *La Discipline*, 70-2.
[62] To M de Buisseret, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 32 letter 198; to M Gustave de Moyenville, p. 182 letter 7.
[63] To Leon d'Archiac, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 2 letter 154, Sept. 1808.
[64] To M de la Toison, ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 49 letter 271.
[65] To Mme Dieriex [?],ACS 166, minutier Liautard, p. 215 letter 2091, May 1810.
[66] Francis Joseph de Miollis to the director, ACS 189, fascicule 1807, 18 Dec. 1874.
[67] See the "récollections" in which one schoolboy, at least, chides himself for making fun of his teachers, especially priests and especially in front of younger pupils. "Des devoirs auxquels j'ai manqué," ACS 102 ter II-2-3, 1820.

proper functioning of the miniature society he governed within school walls was clearly tinged with the language of fraternity. Without affection between master and pupil, he argued, "a community is nothing but a herd of prisoners or slaves."[68] The pupils and headmaster of the Collège Stanislas suggest ways of analyzing the experience of post-revolutionary Catholics that result in a picture that is more complex than simple nostalgia for the ancien régime, more satisfying than an image of counter-Revolution as mere reflexive opposition to anything that "Revolution" might stand for. The model of "family" that Liautard proposed to create at Stanislas was aimed explicitly at the new regime. In addition to fathers who demanded obedience, it contained sons who, in the course of their Catholic schooling, learned to combine the deference due to legitimate authority with the autonomy and egalitarianism they might expect as adult men and citizens.

[68] Liautard, quoted in Lagarde, *Histoire du Collège Stanislas*, 108.

Cowardly Bourgeois, Brave *Bourgeoises*, and Loyal Servants:

Bourgeois Identity during the Crisis of 1846-47

Cynthia Bouton

On 13 January 1847, a riot erupted in the small French town of Buzançais in the department of the Indre after some women intercepted several grain carts passing through town. What began as a classic subsistence movement triggered two days of food rioting and class hostilities. In a key incident, the son of a landowner shot and killed a protester; a crowd then beat the shooter to death. Local elites cowered before the crowds and utterly failed to halt the riot's course. Disorder soon spread throughout the region. The July Monarchy mounted a stringent repression, including military occupation, highly publicized trials, and unusually severe sentences (three hangings), all designed to discipline both rebellious populace and cowering local elites. The riot immediately received media attention during the Europe-wide crisis years, 1846-47, focused polemics in the political press, facilitated factional critiques of the government, and contributed to the debates preceding the Revolution of 1848.[1]

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[1] For secondary sources that discuss the Buzançais riot in some detail, see Yvon Bionnier, *Les Jacqueries de 1847 en Bas-Berry* (Châteauroux 1979; mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Tours, 1977), 44-64, 98-99, 136-37; Solange Gras, "La crise du milieu du XIXe siècle en Bas-Berry," 2 vols., thèse de 3e cycle (Université de Paris X - Nanterre, 1976); Philippe Vigier, *La vie quotidienne en Province et à Paris pendant les journées de 1848 (1847-1851)* (Paris, 1982), 35-53; Roger Price, *The Modernization of Rural France: Communications Networks and Agricultural Market Structures in Nineteenth-Century France* (London, 1982), 179; Ernest Labrousse, ed., *Aspects de la crise et de la dépression de l'économie française au milieu du XIXe siècle, 1846-1851* (La Roche-sur-Yonne, 1956); Peter McPhee, *Social History of France* (London, 1992), 174-5; Nicolas Bourguinat, *Les Grains du désordre. L'état face aux violences frumentaires dans la première moitié du XIX siècle* (Paris, 2002), 9-11, 446-50. Bourguinat, like Vigier, introduces his book with Buzançais. The important primary sources are located in the Archives nationales (AN): BB19 37, BB24 327-347, BB 30 432; Archives d'histoire de la guerre (ADG), E5 155, E5 158; Archives départementales du Cher (AD Cher), 2 U 338,

Inspired by exciting and provocative recent work by French historians such as David Garrioch, Carol Harrison, and Sarah Maza,[2] I explore bourgeois identity at mid-nineteenth century through a close study of this riot. However much historians may grapple with the slippery abstractions of the terms "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie," at least two groups of people had no trouble identifying them in the stark realities of 1847—the rioters and the July Monarchy magistrates charged with maintaining order. Indeed, the affair forced participants to negotiate crucial aspects of bourgeois identity and solidarity.[3] I would like to explore how the tensions generated by the crisis of 1846-47, the experience of riot and repression, and the subsequent trial of twenty-six rioters reflected and shaped social identities at the end of the July Monarchy. [4] Not only did rioters specifically target households they had identified as "bourgeois," but the government itself largely shared their perception of who constituted the bourgeoisie, and although rioters and July Monarchy *grands notables* held sharply contrasting views of bourgeois responsibility for public order and for social welfare, they converged in their condemnation of male bourgeois performance during the crisis. Indeed, July Monarchy spokesmen took advantage of the public trial of the Buzançais rioters to teach a lesson in identity formation and solidarity.

Located in a grain-producing region in the center of France on the river Indre, in 1847 Buzançais had a population of just over 4000 inhabitants.[5] Its industrial activity included wool production, metallurgy (iron forges and smelting mills along the Indre river), and modern, export-oriented grain mills.[6] Agriculture occupied over forty percent of its population in the 1840s and powerful, non-noble proprietors controlled vast quantities of land. Industry employed thirty-three percent of the population and counted several entrepreneurs among its highest tax-payers.

The economic crisis of 1846 struck the Indre harshly. Between March 1845 and March 1847, wheat prices rose almost 200 percent,[7] and bread prices doubled in less than a year.[8] Fall and winter brought rising unemployment and lower pay.[9] In

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2 U 367; Archives départementales de l'Indre (AD Indre), 2 U 70, 3 U 1 549, M 2565-69. Specific references will appear below.

[2] Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999); Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

[3] Dror Wahrman has argued for England that "the political process opens up new spaces and new configurations, often rapidly and unexpectedly and then confronts participants with the pressing need to renegotiate their positions vis-à-vis these new configurations." *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1789-1840* (Cambridge, 1995), 10. The events associated with the Buzançais affair appear just such a instance.

[4] In this I am influenced by E. P. Thompson's well known definition of class: "class happens when some men, as a result of common experience (inherited or shared) feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs." *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 9.

[5] For general information on Buzançais during this period, see especially, Yvon Bionnier, "Aspects économiques et sociaux des émeutes de la faim dans l'Indre en 1847," 2 vols., mémoire de maîtrise (Université de Tours, 1977), 1: 57; and Ernest Badin, *Géographie départementale classique et administrative de la France. Département de l'Indre* (Paris, 1847); Gras, "Crise."

[6] The Indre River was not navigable, but provided considerable power for several bolting mills (the largest, belonging to Cloquemin, employed ten workers) and iron forges (such as the nearby Bonneau forges, which had employed 140 workers in 1840). Moreover, a woolen industry relied on small shops and domestic industry and employed almost fifty percent of all industrial workers.

[7] The mixture called *méteil* which formed most of the common people's diet had risen just over 175 percent. Gras, "Crise," 1: 155.

[8] Most towns in the Indre retained the *taxe du pain*, a regulation that fixed the price of bread relative to grain prices. Municipal officials could also block price rises during crises, usually with promises to

these circumstances, hundreds of desperate people in the Indre applied for assistance. Departmental and local authorities, like most of their national counterparts, responded slowly and inadequately, largely preferring private to public forms of relief. Linking assistance to work, many communities turned to charity workshops (*ateliers de charité*), which they funded through borrowing, and with subscriptions from local elites.[10] Demand for work quickly outstripped the capacity of workshops to supply it, despite wages that were half the rate in normal times.

By mid-January 1847, recriminations resonated throughout the town. For example, during a poorly provisioned market several days before the riot broke out, women complained that the "bourgeois were hanging on to their grain, and even with money, no one could get any."[11] A man announced before a crowd assembled at a sack of grain that "he had just bought a new axe with which he planned to break down the doors of all bourgeois [houses]."[12] Male workers in the charity workshop cursed "the bourgeois for their hard-heartedness"[13] and declared that "it was necessary to kill" the "dirty bourgeois" and "to hang them" because they "want us to starve to

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permit slightly higher prices for a while after the crisis had abated. Thus, bakers could recuperate some of the loss they had suffered during the crisis. On the regulation of baking, see Judith Miller, *Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, 1999), 282-3.

[9] During the winter, male agricultural day-laborers, who usually received 1.50-1.75 francs for their work received only 90 centimes, while the price of bread rose from between forty-five centimes per kilogram for the cheaper *pain bis* to sixty-five centimes for wheat. Thus a day's labor paid for two kilograms of bread at most. The textile workers suffered as consumption of consumer goods declined, while food prices rose. Marcel Bruneau et al., *Aspects de la Révolution de 1848 dans l'Indre* (Châteauroux, 1948), 6; Gras, "Crise," 1: 408. However, the forges—less linked to food prices—continued to employ many workers. This may explain why skilled forge workers stayed at work rather than join the rioters.

[10] At the beginning of 1847, the workshop in the departmental capital, Châteauroux, supported a third of the working population in sixteen different shops doing road work. (Bruneau, 6) Just five weeks before the Buzançais riot erupted, municipal authorities finally decided to open local workshops. They first fixed the price of a day's labor at one franc (when in normal years those who could find work usually got 1 franc 50 centimes). Nonetheless, more people rushed to work than resources could support. Rather than increase subventions, authorities concluded instead that some of those seeking support from the workshops "were not really in need." So, in order to drive them away, they reduced the price of a day's labor to 75 centimes. Despite this, over one hundred men were working there on the eve of the riot. They then justified their actions by consoling themselves that the "really miserable" individuals also received a bread allocation on Sundays. See AD Indre, Information (26 janvier 1847): Pierre Charles Guesnyer, maire of Buzancais, N° 6, 2 U 70. This is consistent with prevailing July Monarchy liberal notions of assistance. Timothy B. Smith emphasizes how officials and elites "believed that workers needed an element of uncertainty, of insecurity, in order to ensure that they would not remove themselves from the labour market." "The Ideology of Charity, the Image of the English Poor Law, and Debates over the Right to Assistance in France, 1830-1905," *The Historical Journal* 40.4 (December 1997), 1007. This is even more starkly put by G. V. Rimlinger: "in France the feeling was still that the poor had to be threatened with the possibility of starvation to be kept industrious." *Welfare policy and industrialization in Europe, America, and Russia* (New York, 1971), 46.

[11] AD Indre, Information (21 Jan. 1847): Silvain Dion, gendarme, 2 U 70. All the testimonies may be found in the same carton. Hereafter, where the source is not noted, it is this carton. Although many were assigned numbers, others were not. I have included numbers where they appeared. A property-owner and municipal councilor (and victim) reported a similar scene: "for some time there had been agitation among the people, especially the women on market days. They blamed proprietors for the price rises in grain and one heard groups utter such menacing words as: "the (dirty) bourgeois, it is necessary to kill them." Information: Jean Brillaut-Bénard, propriétaire, 67 ans, n° 36 (23 Jan. 1847).

[12] Information: Pierre Frédéric Gaulin, propriétaire, 58 ans, n° 42 (23 Jan. 1847). The rioter was Bienvenu, one of the three to be excuted.

[13] Information (21 Jan. 1847): Silvain Dion, gendarme.

death."[14] Another man specifically threatened to "skin" the proprietor (and future victim), Chambert. During his trial he explained: "I'm a skinner. … In the charity workshop we often spoke of killing Chambert and all the bourgeois because life had gotten too expensive."[15]

Rising prices, unemployment and insupportably low pay in the charity workshops heightened and focused social tensions; continual grain shipments through town finally triggered a reaction. On Wednesday 13 January, women from a working-class suburb joined with male workers from the nearby charity workshop, diverted several transiting grain carts to the town hall, and demanded local distribution of their contents at a reduced price.[16] While local authorities worried over the situation, a crowd assembled to guard the grain overnight. They lit fires and fortified themselves with booze generously supplied by a sympathetic innkeeper who encouraged them to "pillage and beat up the bourgeois."[17] Other groups sounded the tocsin and made house visits throughout the night to rally support, declaiming that they would "reduce the price of bread" and "also harass the bourgeois."[18]

First thing Thursday morning, over 200 people turned against the owner of the town's largest bolting mill, Pierre Cloquemin. Cloquemin's modern mill produced and exported large quantities of flour, but as a wholesaler, he refused to sell any to locals. Rioters assaulted the mill itself, breaking the waterwheel and millstones,[19] and threatening one of Cloquemin's workers because "he sided with the bourgeois."[20]

After devastating the mill, the crowd descended upon the residence of Frédéric Gaulin, a notorious "bourgeois" proprietor and grain merchant who had for many weeks faced mounting popular wrath at the market because of the high price of his grain.[21] They invaded his granary, accosted Gaulin himself, forced him to hand over 800 francs, and seemed poised to kill him until his wife interposed herself. When the crowd hesitated, the Gaulins escaped.

As the morning passed, some of the town's principal proprietors fled to the town hall seeking protection and counsel, but most cowered in their homes. Rioters outside demanded that everyone with surplus grain agree to sell at a reduced price until the next harvest. Indeed, they had this "engagement" put into writing and forced the mayor, the justice of the peace, and other leading grain-producers present to sign

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[14] Information: Charles Bonnault, propriétaire, 72 ans, n° 43 (23 Jan. 1847). See also his testimony at the trial. Printed trial report: "Affaire des Troubles de Buzançais" AD Indre, 2 U 70 (hereafter cited, "Affaire"), 25.

[15] Interrogation (instruction): Pierre Laumont, 70 ans, écorcheur, n° 22 (20 Jan. 1847).

[16] They were from the largely working-class *faubourg* of Hervaux, to the southwest of the town. There were 103 men in the workshop at the time of the grain transport interception.

[17] Several sources refer to this episode: Information: Angelique Sallé, femme Bidault, 46 ans, journalier, mère d'un des inculpés, d. Buz., n° 8 (26 Jan. 1847), and her testimony at the trial, "Affaire," témoin n° 15, p. 17; AD Indre, Interrogatoire: Louis Bidault-Sallé, 18 ans, couvreur (mis en liberté); Acte de l'accusation (7 Feb. 1847), M 2565.

[18] "Affaire," témoin n° 21, François Lucas, journalier, p. 19. Their exact words were: "Nous ferons enrager les bourgeois."

[19] They invaded the main building, whose six stories included the apartment where Cloquemin himself lived. They threatened to kill him, seized his grain and flour but scattered much of it on the ground, shattered windows and doors, smashed furniture, set several fires that the beleaguered brigadier of the *gendarmerie* rushed to extinguish, and divvied up almost 7000 francs they found stored in a desk and an iron cask. According to one of Cloquemin's sons the sum was 6,983 francs 50 centimes. Information (20 Jan. 1847): Charles Fernand Cloquemin, négociant, n° 98.

[20] "Affaire," témoin n° 21, François Lucas, journalier, p. 19.

[21] Information: Pierre Frédéric Gaulin, propriétaire, 58 ans, n° 42 (23 Jan. 1847).

it.[22] Those not present soon received a visit from crowds that carried the engagement and demanded assent to it.[23]

The presentation of this "engagement" already signed by the mayor and justice of the peace, and backed by a simmering crowd, persuaded most to sign. However, at least nine hesitated, and rioters responded with violence that included physical threats, occasional scuffles and retribution directed at houses and their contents.[24]

One individual offered violent resistance and he paid for it with his life: Louis Chambert, the forty-year-old son of one of the largest property owning families in town.[25] Amid the morning turmoil, two men carrying the "engagement" entered the Chambert house, encountering his mother.[26] As she signed, another man, Venin, burst into the house demanding money. During a scuffle, Chambert got a gun and fired point blank. Venin collapsed, mortally wounded. Hearing the shot, a larger crowd broke into the house. During the fray, a female servant, Madelaine Blanchet, whisked Mme Chambert away, at one point throwing herself on the old woman's body to protect her from harm. Chambert himself fled up the main street, into a saddler's shop to hide. There, his pursuers found him, dragged him into the street, and battered him to death. Scores of people watched—some rioters, some "bourgeois;" some from the street, others from attics and behind shuttered doors—but no one intervened to stop the assault.

Was Chambert "bourgeois?" Several rioters clearly thought so. The skinner had specifically named Chambert in his promise to skin any bourgeois who needed skinning.[27] A fifty-four year-old veteran of many a French upheaval, François Légéron, announced just outside Chambert's door that "today is Mardi-Gras and tomorrow Lent; we will kill the bourgeois and bury them like during carnival!"[28]

In the mid-afternoon, the Prefect arrived from Châteauroux with magistrates and a detachment of twenty-five dragoons. People pled their case to the Prefect; they explained that they and their families could not eat at such high prices and begged him

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[22] It read: "I, the undersigned, agree to sell to the public all the wheat that I posses at 1.50 francs the décalitre and barley at 1 franc. The undersigned proprietors agree from now until the harvest to give grain to the people at 3 francs the double décaliter." In French: "Je, soussigné, m'oblige à vendre au public tout le froment que je possède à 1 F 50 c. le décalitre, et l'orge à 1 F. Les propriétaires soussignés s'obligent d'ici la moisson à donner le blé au peuple à raison de 3 F le double décalitre." Lettre du 2e avocat général à Châteauroux sous le couvert du procureur du roi, M Robert de Chenevière, à M le Garde des Sceaux (17 Jan. 1847), AN, BB19 37; and Lettre de Raynal, avocat général de la cour Royale de Bourges (20 Jan. 1847) n° 6, AD Indre, 2 U 70 (which contains the actual engagements and signatures).

[23] The village drummer paraded the streets proclaiming the concessions.

[24] Indeed, the presentation usually began with a polite request to sign, with threats escalating when proprietors hesitated or refused. See for example the testimony of Etienne Geay de Montenon, the richest inhabitant of Buzançais, who explained that he was told that quite simply "that the way to avoid pillage was to sign the engagement." He signed and thus avoided disorder. Information: Etienne Geay de Montenon, 64 ans, propriétaire, Buz., n° 9 (25 Jan. 1847).

[25] This according to the tax-based electoral lists. His father Louis-Joseph Huard-Chambert, paid 1,204 francs for the *cens*. The Huards had produced a long line of local lawyers and municipal administrators. See *Annuaire administratif, statistique, historique et topographique du département de l'Indre* for 1846 and 1847.

[26] The father, Louis-Joseph Huard-Chambert, a retired military *officier*, lived in a separate house in town.

[27] See above.

[28] "C'est aujourd'hui le mardi-gras et demain le mercredi de cendres; nous tuerons les bourgeois et nous les enterrerons comme le carnaval!" "Affaire," accusé n° 8: François Légeron, père, p. 6. Witnesses claimed that he had said earlier, "I have already seen three revolutions; at the first sign I'll turn a scythe around and we'll see." ("voilà deja trois révolutions que je vois; à la première je mets un faux à l'envers et nous verrons."). See also trial report's version of this exchange (n° 61), p. 28.

to sanction the sale of grain at three francs. In the end, the soldiers downed their weapons and withdrew; the Prefect decided against quashing the engagement. He even handed over his purse and its money to women demanding help and insisted that the mayor do the same. Then, authorities retreated into the town hall. Later that night the Prefect and his band returned to Châteauroux, leaving the people of Buzançais to work out their troubles by themselves.

During the night and next morning, bands went door-to-door to demand charity of local elites (a logical consequence of elites' long-standing attachment to private, face-to-face charity). But the worst of Buzançais's riot had spent itself. That afternoon, authorities offered the confiscated grain for sale at the promised lower price. A National Guard unit finally organized itself[29] and, together with the gendarmes, timidly patrolled the turbulent town until reinforcements finally returned on Sunday.[30]

Although rumors circulated in Buzançais that "all the bourgeois had been pillaged,"[31] not all had merited the same treatment. Not surprisingly, rioters resented most those bourgeois who controlled subsistence and access to it through their political, economic, and social power. Rioters treated more respectfully those who acquiesced to their demands swiftly and sympathetically, who employed them fairly, such as Ratier, a manufacturer and *propriétaire*,[32] and those who took their paternalist responsibilities seriously, such as the former magistrate, Montenon.[33] Of course the people did not always agree. For example, one large crowd hotly debated whether to include an *épicier* (Flaubert's quintessential bourgeois), among their targets.[34]

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[29] Despite efforts to rally the *garde nationale*, nothing happened until the worst of the rioting was over, a pattern common to many food riots. This hesitancy was exacerbated by the fact that the *garde*'s weapons were not only sequestered, but without ammunition. Indeed, the July Monarchy had largely deactivated them. The reorganization of the National Guard after 1835 widely disarmed their members in order to diminish their political menace. On this see, most recently, Georges Carrot, *La Garde National (1789-1871). Une force publique ambiguë* (Paris, 2001), 260-1.

[30] However, by this time, the disorder had spread. Other riots erupted throughout the region: at Châteauroux, Niherne, Villedieu, Mézières, Vandoeuvres and beyond.

[31] Procès-verbal de transport à Buzançais, flagrant délit, par Paul Français Edouard Patureau Mirand, juge d'instruction de l'arrondissement de Châteauroux (14 Jan. 1847), AD Indre, 2 U 70.

[32] When a group of people escorting the "engagement" to reduce grain prices arrived at the house belonging to M. Ratier, they backed off when women cried out "don't go in, M. Ratier has always employed us fairly." He signed the document and they left him and his family in peace. Information: Etienne Geay de Montenon, 64 ans, propriétaire, Buz., n° 9 (25 Jan. 1847). In French: "n'entrons pas chez M Ratier qui nous a bien fait travailler." Buzançais documents refer to five different Ratiers, all living in proximity to each other. Two of these list their occupations as "wool merchant" while the others designate themselves as "proprietors." Of course, neither title necessarily represents all of the possible occupations performed by these households. It seems most likely that the women were referring to the wool merchants, who continued to conduct a significant business in the first half of the nineteenth century in this region.

[33] The household that held the largest quantity of grain (750 hectoliters), headed by M. Burnin, does not figure in any record from this period. He emerged unscathed. Another large holder (500 h.), M. Turquet, a lawyer on the electoral lists, also avoided trouble. The second largest holder, Ratier-Pinault *fils* (with 730 h.), part of a veritable dynasty of Ratiers in town, signed the engagement, as did his father, and the rioters left him alone. See the father's testimony: Information: Jean-Baptiste Ratier-Pinault, proprietaire, 75 ans, d. Buz, n° 40 (23 Jan. 1847). The former magistrate, M. de Montenon (and the largest tax payer in town, with 500 h.) signed and the group left. That evening he invited back the man who had carried the engagement. De Montenon thanked him for his behavior and gave him five francs. Information: Etienne Geay de Montenon, 64 ans, propriétaire, Buz., n° 9 (25 Jan. 1847).

[34] The *épicier*, named Lecomte, was also a small time grain trader, or *blatier*. In the end, most decided he merited harsh treatment. In another example, workers for a tile-manufacturer, Richard, (a man they openly classed "bourgeois") left his factory untouched, but departed en masse to join the tumult, toting some of his tools. Another crowd threatened the forge owner, Tourangin, with pillage if he did not

In the end, sixty-seven townsmen signed the "engagement," but only nine experienced a significant degree of violence. In effect, rioters not only knew who the "bourgeois" were more generally, they distinguished specifically—using the criteria of the crisis of 1846-47—between them. This distinction required a nuanced judgment based on normative standards other than simply wealth, property, local political power and even proximity to the grain trade.

The rioters' words and deeds thus identified the Buzançais bourgeoisie. Most were non-noble property owners (usually of agricultural property), who lived in town; some lived on their *rentes*, some engaged in commerce, the professions, public office, and manufacturing. Many combined several functions: manufacturing and agriculture, or agriculture and the professions, for example.[35] Obviously, the Buzançais bourgeoisie identified by rioters in 1847 resembled their ancien regime predecessors: landed and further empowered by public office. Indeed, some families had venerable ancien regime bourgeois antecedents. For example, the Huards (Chambert's mother's family) had long supplied municipal *officiers*.[36] And, of course, attacks on bourgeois property—what William Beik has called "retributive violence"—had often occurred during earlier protests.[37]

Yet, this bourgeoisie also differed from its predecessors in significant ways. For all its apparent similarities with the past, it had none of the legal privileges of corporate status that had given its non-noble bourgeois predecessors their particular identities (and security) in the ancien regime. A bourgeoisie of "profit, rente, and talent,"[38] it had to maintain and advance its status in new ways. Moreover, Buzançais's bourgeoisie shared not only the benefits of a position sheltered from immediate need, but also the exterior signs of the "bourgeois life style:" bourgeois houses, personality (including pianos, a quintessential bourgeois symbol, which rioters targeted specifically), servants, and cultural capital (such as education).[39] This bourgeoisie especially united around the enjoyment of private property as capital, and lots of it, property that empowered them over others: as employers, of course, but also as gatekeepers to subsistence through the market, paternalism, wages, and through public assistance. July Monarchy electoral law also put departmental and municipal office and jury duty firmly in their control.

Although Buzançais protesters did not cast their struggle as a clash between workers and the owners of the means of production (as a few workers and their spokesmen did at mid-century),[40] they did see it as a struggle between the propertied and the propertiless, the rich and poor, and in this they proclaimed the bourgeoisie of

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close shop so that his workers could join them. Although a few downed tools, most refused. Work continued and trouble passed Tourangin by. Alexandre Pamphile Tourangin, *maître des forges* à Bonnau, d. Bonneau, commune de Buzancais, n° 17, (24 Jan. 1847).

[35] These included commerce (the miller Cloquemin), the professions (the former magistrate and property owner Montenon, as well as Cloquemin's sons, one of whom was a notary, another a lawyer), public office (Chambert's mother's family supplied many an adjunct mayor to the town) and manufacturing (the wool merchant Ratier). Many large-scale *propriétaires* owned grain-producing properties on which they also had working tile ovens, forges, and tanneries.

[36] Another Huard currently served as adjunct to the mayor, and another as priest. The Gaulins had supplied several generations of *procureurs fiscaux*. Eugène Hubert, *Le Bas-Berry. Histoire et archéologie du département de l'Indre.* Vol. 3*, Canton de Buzançais* (Paris, 1908), 405, 425-31.

[37] See William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: the Culture of Retribution* (Cambridge, 1997); and Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 2001).

[38] As Jean-Pierre Chaline describes for Rouen, *Les Bourgeois de Rouen. Une élite urbaine au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1982), 378.

[39] Only the *tuilier*, Richard, claimed he could not sign his name.

[40] See early work by William Reddy and William Sewell. (Sewell, 282).

Buzançais their foremost enemy. This discourse is new to the history of subsistence movements, and is further evidence of how working-class consciousness developed through the "bread-nexus" before organizing around the wage-nexus. For centuries, food rioters had denounced and rioted against "hoarders," "speculators," and "egotists;" they had specifically mentioned bakers, millers, merchants (*blatiers*), and producers (the ancien regime's *fermiers* and *laboureurs*). During the Revolution, they sometimes lumped these targets with "aristocrats." It is true that they had occasionally targeted specific "bourgeois" for attack. But, to my knowledge, they had never before associated their distress with the bourgeoisie generally. This marks a significant shift in conceptualizing social relations and identities and contextualizing the politics of provisions, what Marc Steinberg has called a "discursive repertoire for collective action."[41]

The rioters' negative assessment of the Buzançais bourgeoisie had its counterpart in the critiques by the July Monarchy's magistrates. In the eyes of neither rioters nor the government did local elites meet the standards expected of them. To the rioters' denunciation of bourgeois "hardness," Assize Court magistrates found bourgeois behavior "not very charitable." That criticism proved only the first of many in a trial that the government clearly hoped would educate the local bourgeoisie, jurors, and the trial's national audience in both proper character and solidarity in the face of disorder as much as it aimed to punish the rioters who had inflicted it.

In fact, in the Buzançais Affair, national spokesmen for the "Bourgeois Monarchy" (effectively Tudesq's *grands notables*)[42] tasked themselves with teaching the bourgeoisie—specifically cowardly, egotistical bourgeois men—how to be correct bourgeois. In this they used public shame (gendered shame) to drive their lesson home, a shame broadcast by the public forum of a trial, reinforced by the national political press, which spread the message well beyond Buzançais and the department of the Indre, to all of France.

From the outset of their investigation of the Buzançais affair, the magistrates recognized that more had transpired than in a traditional food riot. They worried, of

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[41] Marc Steinberg, "The Roar of the Crowd: Repertoires of Discourse and Collective Action among the Spitalfields Silk Weavers in Nineteenth-Century London," in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, ed. M. Traugott (Durham, 1995), 57-87; and his *Fighting words: Working-Class Formation, Collective Action, and Discourse in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Ithaca, 1999).

How this new interpretive scheme emerged is an important question, and a subject of my work in process. Contemporaries thought it the work of external forces. One local notable hypothesized that constant communication with people in Tours (with its "prédications communistes") might have influenced local workers. Information, Etienne Geay de Montenon, 64 ans, propriétaire, Buz., n° 9 (25 Jan. 1847). On another occasion this same notable worried that the miller, Cloquemin, had been responsible for disseminating "dangerous ideas," probably anti-clerical ones. Finally, Raynal reported that he had information that a mysterious man, "dressed as a bourgeois," had turned up, predicted the riot, and handed out money to encourage workers to participate in it. Lettre de Le Raynal, Le Premier avocat général en mission du parquet de la cour royale de Bourges au garde de sceaux, 25 Jan. 1847. "Un homme jeune, vetu en bourgeois, coiffé d'un chapeau rond, de bonne mine, occupé à ranger des papiers sur le parapet d'un pont; que cet homme l'avait engagé à retourner à Buzançais où devaient passer dans la journée des voitures de boé venant de Châtillon-sur-Indre, qu'il lui avait annoncé que ces voitures seraient arrêtés et qu'il y aurait du bruit, qu'il lui avait offert une poignée d'écus pour le décider à revenir sur ses pas, qu'il s'exprimait avec facilité, qu'il plaignait la misère du peuple, mais qu'il ne disait de mal ni du gouvernement ni des propriétaires."

[42] A.-J. Tudesq specifically includes among his *grands notables* these types of magistrates, from the Minister of Justice to the magistrates of the Royal Court at Bourges. *Les Grands notables en France (1840-1849). Etude historique d'une psychologie sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964).

course, about profound class hatreds and the possible influence of communism,[43] as well as the context, triggers, and consequences of such an explosion. They especially fastened on the issue of the obvious break-down of authority. This concern appears first throughout the correspondence between the prosecutors of the Royal Court at Bourges who investigated the case and the Minister of Justice. It continues throughout the trial, particularly in comments from the judge's bench itself.

Right from the start of his investigation, Louis Raynal, the Avocat-Général of the Royal Court at Bourges, held the Buzançais bourgeoisie in large part responsible for the tensions that seethed in their town. He wrote: "In Buzançais, a city of almost four thousand souls, there is a fairly numerous bourgeoisie, which is divided by miserable coteries and although quite rich not very charitable."[44]

This assessment of the atomized character of provincial bourgeois society echoed a common trope of contemporary political discourse and literature.[45] Yet, this very failure of solidarity proved literally disastrous in Buzançais. Moreover, the absence of sufficient charitable impulses intensified tense antagonisms. Raynal emphasized that having belatedly organized charity workshops, municipal councillors had then undermined them by lowering the daily wage just at the time that grain prices had risen. Although consistent with current liberal thinking about public assistance, this strategy proved fatally counter-productive.[46] Raynal concluded that,

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[43] See the debate over the communist threat in the correspondance in "Il ne vaut pas se le dissimuler, C'est la guerre du pauvre contre le riche, c'est le maximum imposé par la terreur, le pillage, la menace, c'est du communisme pratique," cited in AN, BB19 37, "Lettre du premier avocat général à Châteauroux sous le couvert du procureur du roi, M Raynal, à M le Garde de Sceaux," (21 Jan. 1847, 11 heures du soir); and in the testimony collected by the examining judges. A previous riot of November 1846 in Tours reportedly had ties to Etienne Cabet's communist movement and the revolutionary traditions of Auguste Blanqui. In this light, food riots threatened to lead to the abolition of property. On Tours see AD Indre-et-Loire, 1 M 174, "Lettre du maire de Tours au préfet de l'Indre-et-Loire," (24 Apr. 1847); AD Indre-et-Loire, 3 U 3 1732, Tribunal de Première instance de Tours, N° 475; AD Indre-et-Loire, 3 U 3 1732, *Le Voile soulevé sur le procès du communisme à Tours et à Blois* (n.p., 1847). The magistrate, Raynal, found the riot profoundly disturbing. He wrote to the Minister of Justice that Buzançais was: "un mouvement si curieux en lui-même, si peu attendu, si grave dans les conséquences pour l'avenir. … C'est là assurément un des faits sociaux les plus importants de notre époque. … il marque une phase nouvelle dans les questions sociales." AN, BB19 27, "Lettre du du Raynal le premier avocat général du parquet de la cour royale de Bourges au garde des sceaux," (Jan. 1847).

[44] AN, BB19 37, "Lettre (22 Jan. 1847) du Raynal, le premier avocat général du parquet de la cour royale de Bourges au garde des sceaux." The "coteries" were of several types. Religion divided them (Catholics around Montenon and anti-clericals around Cloquemin—Voltairiens), as did politics. The majority of municipal councilors—fifteen in all—were "adhérents du système de gouvernement," but a sizeable number—six—belonged to the "opposition démocratique modérée." One was simply designated "démocratique," and two (including the mayor) had no affiliation noted. AD Indre, M 1397, "Tableaux des conseillers municipaux de la commune de Buzançais (élections de 1843 et 1846)." Other communities managed to overcome such difficulties and undertake great acts of charity. See for example, Pierre Lévêque, *Une société en crise. La Bourgogne sous la monarchie de juillet. La Bourgogne au milieu du XIXe siècle (1846-1852)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1983), 1: 33-35.

[45] This was a common theme in Balzac and Stendhal, just to mention the most obvious. Yet this denigration of provincial society also functioned to obscure real political divisions by characterizing all disagreements as matters of personal animosity and self-interest. On this point see Christine Guionnet, "Elections et apprentissage de la politique. Les élections municipales sous la Monarchie de Juillet," *Revue française de science politique* 46.4 (août 1996), 557. On this, see also Maza, *Myth*, and Priscilla Ferguson, *The Battle of the Bourgeois: The Novel in France, 1789-1848* (Paris, 1973).

[46] Both rioters and July Monarchy *grands notables* may have diverged sharply about the quantity, timing, and purpose of poor relief, but they largely agreed about its desirability and their paradigms emerged from similar origins. Roger Price and Timothy Smith have emphasized how French elites of many political persuasions clung tenaciously to an "ideology of charity" that recognized "certain

"the workshops assembled a large number of poor workers who, as is often the case, discussed the miseries of the poor and the hardness of the rich."[47] Thus, investigating judges quickly located in the bourgeoisie of Buzançais a cause for the eruption that intersected with popular perception, *l'égoïsme.* This critique they directed not just against certain individuals, but against the bourgeoisie generally.

The first opportunity for educating the bourgeoisie in its proper duties presented itself at the trial in February. The police had arrested twenty-six rioters and the Royal Court at Bourges convoked a special session to try them collectively on various counts of murder and the destruction of property. From the first witness, the President of the Court, Claude-Denis Mater, castigated local bourgeois for their cowardly and dishonorable behavior. After Buzançais's brigadier of the gendarmerie, Désiré Caudrelier, revealed in his testimony that he had had to stand alone against the violence, the President declaimed: "My God, it emerges from the brigadier's deposition, that during the insurrection most bourgeois had hidden themselves."[48] He observed to Caudrelier, the courtroom and the nation that: "if men of heart and honor on whom your city depends had acted like you did, we would not have to regret these great and irreparable miseries."

He repeatedly asked witnesses where they had been during the riot and what they had done. Many simply watched from the street, but did not act. One man admitted he had hidden in his granary; another ran to his cellar; many rushed to hide behind closed doors.[49] The President flayed one man with: "you stayed on the second floor of your house while one of your fellow citizens was tracked [and] assassinated, and you did not budge! You lack humanity, sir, humanity, courage, and you did not do your duty."[50]

President Mater lectured Buzançéen notables: "in moments of trouble, there is one place where all good citizens should rally, that place is the *Mairie*. If the notable inhabitants of Buzançais had acted this way, if they had rallied around the chief of the city, there would have been no pillage or murder in the town."[51]

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limited responsibilities towards the poor," but that also insisted it should remain temporary and personal in character: temporary so as not to encourage dependency; personal so as to maintain networks of (hopefully deferential) dependents, and as Tocqueville explained, build a "moral tie" between "these two classes whose interests and passions so often conspire to separate them from each other." Roger Price, "Poor Relief and Social Crisis in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France," *European Studies Review* 13.4 (Oct. 1983), 424, 448; Timothy Smith, "The Ideology of Charity," 1002-3; Alexis de Tocqueville, "Memoir on pauperism" (1835) cited in S. Dresecher, ed., *Tocqueville and Beaumont on Social Reform* (New York, 1968), 18, quoted by Smith, 1006. Traditions of face-to-face paternalism also profoundly informed nineteenth-century common peoples' demands for assistance, and unpinned centuries of food riots (and not deference) during subsistence crises. Indeed, despite efforts to assure that the "poor man never gets the idea that he can claim it as a right" (Smith (1997) quoting François-Marie-Charles, Comte de Rémusat, *Du paupérisme et de la charité légale, lettre adressée à MM les préfets du Royaume* (Paris, 1840), 57), food riots had generally evinced this attitude, even if rioters themselves had rarely used this precise language of rights. They did use it during the Revolution, when revolutionaries articulated the right to public assistance and to existence as basic rights.

[47] AN, BB19 37, "Lettre (22 Jan. 1847) du Raynal, le premier avocat général du parquet de la cour royale de Bourges au garde des sceaux."

[48] Trial Report, témoin n° 1 (Désiré Caudrelier, brigadier of the gendarmerie), 12.

[49] Trial Report, témoin n° 12 (Louis Baguet), 16; témoin n° 13 (Jean-Baptiste Larry), 17; témoin n° 17 (Edouard Trotignon), 18; témoin n° 55 (Louis Willach), 27; témoin n° 76 (Joachim Thuilier-Fiot), 31.

[50] Trial Report, témoin n° 55 (Louis Willach), 27. When one witness asked if he could be excused from the proceedings to protect his 1000 franc *ferme* invested in a pottery establishment from possible assault, the President addressed him a strong rebuke: "no one opposes your departure, go hide yourself." Trial Report, témoin n° 13 (Jean-Baptiste Larry), 17.

[51] Trial Report, témoin n° 3 (Théophile Gaulin, justice of the peace), 13.

While Mater sometimes harangued particular witnesses, he cast many of his moral judgments and aspersions at the broader audience. When a witness explained that he had been "passing down the street while rioters pillaged Chambert's house," the President retorted: "Everybody was passing through the streets while others pillaged houses. It was like a holiday! … Better to get together to oppose evil."[52] During the second day of hearings, a witness's testimony prompted him to declare: "many witnesses here attended [the riot] as spectators at least, because they can tell us what happened. Shouldn't one be surprised to see so many inhabitants promenading in the streets and watching it take place, or even, hiding themselves to as not to be seen?"[53] He reminded them: "it is something to not do bad, but that is not enough. It is also necessary to do good, or at least to prevent bad from being done."[54]

While the court found many examples of craven conduct, it found few worthy of praise. Aside from the brigadier, it could identify only one other man who had fulfilled his civic duties by resisting rather than watching the riot. Charles Griffon, *maître d'hôtel* in Buzançais, tried to stop rioters from beating the miller's son with a club. In response, they inflicted several blows and forced him to withdraw. The President applauded his efforts: "these blows honor you rather than dishonor you."[55]

The court did find laudable behavior in unexpected places, however. Indeed, to the shameful behavior of local bourgeois, President Mater contrasted the conduct of a female servant, Madelaine Blanchet, a domestic in the Chambert household, who proved undaunted by threats that had cowed the bourgeoisie. While blows rained down *chez* Chambert, Madelaine loyally flung herself athwart Mme Chambert's prostrate body, declaring that she would rather die herself than see her mistress injured. Indeed, even after rescuing Mme Chambert from the tumult, she defied more bluster and blows to return to the house and salvage the few possessions that survived the assault. President Mater described Madelaine as a "poor girl who had courageously covered her mistress with her own body."[56] He taunted the men, saying that "if twenty men in Buzançais had acted with as much resolution much evil would not have happened." He told her that "the Court congratulates you on your courage and your devotion" and described her behavior as "noble and generous."[57] The *procureur-général* Didelot continued the same theme in his closing statement. Her example, he stated, contrasted sharply with general cowardice. He continued:

> Whether terrified or indifferent, so many citizens, so many young and vigorous men let the riot follow its course, and offered no resistance to the assassination; while most hid in granaries, in basements, there emerged a humble girl of nineteen, who alone showed more courage than all this overwhelmed population."[58]

President Mater further lauded the courage of several other women: a working-class mother and several *bourgeoises*. A day-laborer, Angélique Sallé, had plunged into the riot to try to stop her son from participating in it. For this, she received recognition

[52] Trial Report, témoin n° 86 (Constant Prudhomme), 32.
[53] Trial Report, témoin n° 11 (Pierre Gauluet), 35.
[54] Trial Report, témoin n° 25 (Etienne Richard), 37.
[55] Trial Report, témoin n° 31 (Charles Griffon), 21.
[56] Trial Report, témoin n° 26 (Georges Coulon-Cormier), 10.
[57] Trial Report, témoin n° 70 (Madelaine Blanchet), 29-30.
[58] Trial Report, réquisitoire du procureur-général, 43.

from Mater who proclaimed that "she had shown more courage than most of the inhabitants of Buzançais."[59] Examples of brave bourgeois women existed as well, such as Mme Gaulin, who had held off rioters long enough for her family to escape.[60] The day after the worst rioting, charitable *bourgeoises* braved caustic comments and physical threats to hand out alms to the needy poor. The magistrates emphasized these acts of "bravery" to the courtroom, sharply contrasting them to the pusillanimous male conduct.

The Magistrates exploited the opportunity presented by the trial, and the publicity it received, to make their case before a larger public: in the courtroom and before public opinion represented by the political press. In the courtroom, the President played to the many spectators—urban and rural, common and elite—who amassed each day to hear the trial.[61] The trial record reported reactions in the courtroom. For example, when the President, Mater, praised the valiant efforts of brigadier Caudrelier, spectators responded with "general indications of agreement."[62] They emitted a "sharp sensation" when he lashed local notables for failing to rally around the Mayor,[63] "astonishment" when he demanded why the national guard had not rallied to the call,[64] "sensation" when he denounced a witness for his lack of humanity and courage in failing his duty to resist violence,[65] and even more "sensations," "emotions," and "movements" when he shamed individual witnesses and hounded local bourgeois for their lack of solidarity and refusal to perform their duties.[66] At other times, the courtroom "laughed," sometimes "hilariously," at the President's acrimony directed at local cowardice, as when Mater told one departing witness to go hide himself away again.[67]

During his closing speech, the *procureur-général* spoke to the nation as much as to the bourgeoisie of Buzançais, the jury, or even courtroom spectators:

> We are distressed, but we are even more ashamed to see such crimes committed in an era such as ours, in a country that prides itself with legitimate pride on its civilization, its gentleness, and its humanity! … How did such fatal events occur in the middle of a population of almost four thousands souls, without encountering any resistance, any obstacle from honest citizens? The inhabitants of Buzançais have forgotten that the government cannot send a garrison into each commune, and that the population that is the surest guardian of order is that which guards itself.

[59] Trial Report, témoin n° 15 (Angélique Sallé, femme Jean Bidault), 17.
[60] AD Indre 2 U 70, Pierre Frédéric Gaulin, propriétaire, 58 ans, d. Buz., n° 42, 23 Jan. 1847.
[61] Trial Report (25 Feb.), 1, reports "even before the hour assigned for the opening session, the environs of the Palais de Justice was surrounded by a large crowd, composed in large part of people from the countryside. Animated groups stationed themselves in the former and new marketplace. [Inside], the place reserved for the magistrates, jurors, witnesses, and lawyers was increased at the expense of the part reserved for the public. Magistrates, functionaries, lawyers in their robes and several women occupied the space reserved. The space for witnesses and jurors was barely sufficient to contain them; approximately sixty people, mostly belonging to the working classes or country folk, pressed into the place left over."
[62] Trial Report, 12.
[63] Ibid., 13.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 27.
[66] Ibid. See for example, responses, 27 and 40.
[67] Ibid., 17.

> We do not know what to be more surprised about, the audacity of the brigands or the spinelessness, the heedlessness, of men whose interest and duties were to rally against the riot that threatened their properties, their families.

Thus, the magistrates manipulated notions of honor, duty, and masculinity that contemporaries increasingly associated with the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie.[68] They invoked defense of property and law and order concerns to recall the bourgeoisie to their interests and, more generally, to foster solidarity among the propertied.[69]

This shame the magistrates leveled at all who had failed or who might fail to do their duties, knowing that the political press would broadcast this message widely in their reports. Indeed, the press reported on the over 300 riots that offered a seemingly endless array to choose from; however, they focused on the Buzançais affair and recounted every dimension of it, from the riot through the courtroom trial to the final execution of three rioters. Many historians have highlighted the efforts of July Monarchy politicians, journalists, novelists and activists to "call consciousness into existence."[70] Buzançais's public trial and media dissemination furnished abundant material to support this argument.

Of course, the Buzançais bourgeoisie did not call themselves bourgeois. When pressed to self-identify, they usually referred to themselves as "notables."[71] More generally, they saw themselves as beleaguered defenders of property. Even the court magistrates encouraged local bourgeois to think more universally, invoking a language of citizenship, public service and humanism. I, myself, don't find this surprising. As David Blackbourne and Geoff Eley found for Germany in the nineteenth century, the creation of an openly assertive, positive class consciousness becomes much harder to achieve when its exponents find themselves trying to imagine themselves in the face of a simultaneous and increasingly potent, articulate, and hostile set of negative images.[72] I'm inclined to agree with historian of the

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[68] And as described by Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: the Bourgeoises of the Nord in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1981); Vincent E. Starzinger, *The Politics of the Center: The 'Juste Milieu' in Theory and Practice, France and England, 1815-1848* (New Brunswick, 1991, 1965); Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Oxford, 1993); William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814-1848* (Berkeley, 1997); and Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, among others.

[69] They clearly sought to buck up the jury in particular. The *avocat général* Raynal feared early on that "This class from which the jurors come has [already] shown itself so divided … that it is hard to trust them … jurors taken from here do not, by any means, present the conditions for an impartial and firm justice." AN BB19 37, also cited in Bionnier, *Jacqueries*, 95.

[70] Jeremy Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835* (University Park, 2002), 2, 82, 102. On this see also André-Jean Tudesq, "Le journal, lieu et lien de la société bourgeoise en France pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse, 1750-1850; Geselligkeit, Vereinswesen und Bürgerliche gesellschaft in Frankreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz, 1750-1850*, ed. Etienne François (Paris, 1986), 261-73; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2d ed. (London, 1991), 77; Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Moment Guizot* (Paris, 1985), and Maza, *Myth*.

[71] Just before the trial in February, they published a "Rapport" in the departmental paper, *Le journal de l'Indre,* in which they referred to themselves as "notables habitants." AD Indre, M 2565, "Rapport sur les événements accomplis dans la ville de Buzançais les 13, 14, 15 janvier 1847 et jours suivants." The signatories were twenty-five *propriétaires*, eleven *entrepreneurs et commerçants*, and ten *membres de professions libérales*.

[72] David Blackbourne and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German history: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984).

Parisian bourgeoisie, Adeline Daumard, who argued that "the representatives of the bourgeoisie knew themselves as bourgeois, but most of them would not have thought of presenting themselves as such."[73] Indeed, the Buzançais notables clearly recognized that they were the flesh and blood "bourgeoisie" of rioter word and deed.

However, I'm not sure they had achieved in mid-century Buzançais the self-confidence Daumard ascribes to their Parisian counterparts.[74] I'm more inclined to see—through the lens of popular protest and the documents it generated—what Patrice Higonnet refers to as a "more cautious" bourgeoisie, even as late as 1847. Cautious in the wake of episodic eruptions of revolution (Buzançais elites equated the "engagement" with the Revolutionary *maximum*) and popular revolt that threatened their property and the empowerment that followed from having it, and cautious before a growing hostile rhetoric emanating from politics, literature and the common people.

The Buzançais affair also shows how unstable bourgeois solidarity could be and how much it required constant maintenance. During the first half of the nineteenth century, and the July Monarchy in particular, the French sought new ways to represent their society ("a new social imaginary" as Sarah Maza has most recently called it)[75] in the wake of the Revolution that destroyed ancien régime corporate paradigms. But collective identity was also forged in the fire of experience: revolutionary experiences, contentious political experiences, and in the everyday forms of resistance. Many historians have focused on how the experience of protest helped shape working-class or sans-culotte identities; fewer have considered its implications for the bourgeoisie.[76] Colin Lucas has suggested that after the Thermidorian repressions of the disorders of Germinal and Prairial, "the era of the property owners' unadulterated fear of the 'dangerous classes'… had begun … and provoked the final defection of the bourgeoisie from a culture based on notions of community."[77]

Indeed, Raynal predicted what followed, when he told the Minister of Justice that this episode "would rally to central authority all men who have an interest in the maintenance of order. In this respect it could terminate or simplify political questions."[78] In fact, the Indre became one of the most stalwart departments of "order." An August 1847 departmental report asserted that the experience had furthered a "common agenda:" "We have seen men of all opinions … put away their resentments and unite in a common front against disorder."[79]

The experience of Buzançais confirms calls by recent historians to consider how both experience *and* representation contributed to forging new social identities, and how these were not static, but constantly under construction. As Carol Harrison has observed, "class is a process and performance."[80] In Buzançais in 1847, the performance of riot and trial exposed the difficulties involved in building bourgeois identity and solidarity.

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[73] *La Bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1963), xi.
[74] "La bourgeoisie est dans toute sa force, elle a confiance en son destin." Daumard, xii.
[75] Maza, *Myth*, 10-12.
[76] More recent work on protest might help rebalance this, such as that by Jill Harsin, *Barricades: The War of the Streets in Revolutionary Paris, 1830-1848* (New York, 2002).
[77] Lucas, "The Crowd and Politics between Ancien Régime and Revolution in France," *JMH* 60.3 (1988), 457.
[78] AN, BB 19 37, Lettre (Jan. 1847) du Raynal le premier avocat général du parquet de la cour royale de Bourges au garde des sceaux,.
[79] AN F1c VII Indre, Rapport du sous-préfet du Blanc au Conseil d'arrondissement, août 1847. Gras argued that during the plebiscite of 1851, the Indre proved itself more Bonapartist than the rest of France. "Crise," 1: 549.
[80] Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 8.

Fourier and the Fourierists: A Case of Mistaken Identity?

Pamela Pilbeam

Charles Fourier and his followers, the Fourierists, shared little, apart from their name. The objective of this paper is to explain why this was so.

Fourier's ideas are tolerably familiar, those of his followers far less so. Fourier has been the focus of a number of studies, the most detailed being that of Jonathan Beecher,[1] although, apart from a fourteen-page pamphlet in 1827,[2] none of his writings were translated into English until 1996.[3] The Fourierists have attracted far less attention in modern times. In recent years there has been a small biography of their leader, Victor Considérant, in French and a major study by Beecher.[4] There have been no modern translations of the writings of the Fourierists although Considérant alone wrote fourteen full-length accounts of their ideas in the 1830s and 1840s and at the time there were a substantial number of English commentaries on Fourierism published in England and America.[5]

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[1] J. Beecher, *Fourier. The Visionary and his World* (Berkeley, 1986).

[2] C. Fourier*, Political Economy Made Easy. A Sketch Exhibiting the Various Errors of our Present Political Arrangements. Presented to the London Cooperative Society by the Translator* (London, 1828). This was translated by the Owenite, William Thompson.

[3] G. Stedman-Jones and I. Patterson, *Fourier: Theory of Four Movements* (Cambridge, 1996).

[4] J. Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (Berkeley, 2001); Michel Vernus, *Victor Considerant, 1808-1893* (Dôle, 1993).

[5] Z. Gatti de Gamond, *The Phalanstery or Attractive Industry and Moral Harmony* (London, 1841); A. Brisbane, *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association* (New York, 1847). De Gamond was a Belgian Fourierist who joined the French movement in the early 1830s and took part in Arthur Young's attempt to create a Fourierist community at Le Citeaux. Fourierism became popular in America and was publicized by A. Brisbane, *Social Destiny of Man or Association and Reorganisation of Industry* (New York, 1840). In addition there was Godwin Parke, *A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier,* 2d ed., (New York, 1844). Hugh Doherty, an Irishman who started as a follower of Robert Owen, did his best to gain support for Fourierism in England. He wrote *Charles Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry* (London, 1841), and also *False Association and its Remedy* (London, 1841).

Fourier's first book, *Théorie des quatre mouvements,* was published in Besançon in 1808. His next major work came in 1822,[6] and a third full-length book in 1829.[7] His two basic ideas constituted radical social revolution. He started from the premise that the most important reform needed to change modern society was the liberation of women from monogamous marriage, followed by the restructuring of "civilized" society into autonomous, profit-sharing *phalanges*. He assumed that once both were achieved man's natural goodness would re-emerge and universal harmony would prevail. There would be no further need of restraints on the individual, neither human nor divine. Indeed, Fourier did not believe in an interventionist deity.

Fourierists, who emerged as a movement led by Victor Considérant when the Saint-Simonian movement fragmented at the end of 1831, revered Fourier, but few could ever have read his works.[8] Their ideas quickly diverged from those of their master. While continuing to assert the need to liberate women, and attracting the support of a lively group of women on the strength of this mantra, with a tiny number of exceptions, Fourierists proclaimed the virtues of monogamous marriage and the traditional family as the basic of social organization. The *phalange* was diluted into the commune which was lauded as a basic element in society, but Fourierists looked to the state to initiate social reform and eliminate poverty. Thus Fourierists asserted a stronger, more bureaucratic state, quite the opposite of their master. The Fourierists did not believe in natural virtue, but assumed that strict moral codes would continue to be essential to police society. Finally, Fourier's rather dismissive ideas on the supernatural were replaced by a Christian God, almost a Roman Catholic one, which Fourier would have deplored. This paper will focus on these three issues which were fundamental to both Fourier and his followers, that is, women, social organization and morality, to try to understand why their ideas were so different.

"The extension of the privileges of women is the basic principle of all social progress," asserted Charles Fourier in 1808. Fourier was the most radical feminist of all. He was convinced that society would not improve until women were emancipated, both in their working and private lives.[9] His motives were practical. He completely rejected the almost universal view at the time that child rearing and family matters were necessarily the center of a woman's universe. He regarded them as the enslavement of women. He asserted that confining women to perpetual mothering was uneconomic, making them life-long domestic servants, preventing them making their rightful contribution and thus holding back the rest of society. Curiously, he cited Japan and Tahiti as societies which respected women and were thus economically more advanced than Europe. Fourier had no doubt that nature intended sexual equality. Women were confined to the home, but only one in eight were natural homemakers. There was no reason in nature why women should not be doctors, teachers, writers, dressmakers or athletes.[10] Contemporary society forced poorer women into prostitution because they were denied the chance to undertake adequately paid work.[11]

If anyone claimed that women were not capable of doing the same work as men, Fourier rebutted them by pointing to the superior abilities of women when they were

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[6] C. Fourier, *Traité de l'association domestique-agricole*, 2 vols. (Paris and London 1822).
[7] C. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire* (Paris, 1829).
[8] Fourier liked to have fun with his readers, inventing words to make fairly simple social analyses sound complex and swopping between page numbering systems as well as typefaces.
[9] Fourier, *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* (Paris, 1808), 180.
[10] Fourier, *Traité*, 2: 363-4.
[11] Fourier, *Théorie*, 205.

rulers and not burdened with domestic responsibilities, such as Elizabeth I, Catherine II and Maria-Theresa.[12] The subjection in which women lived in contemporary society trapped them into appearing empty-headed and frivolous, but, he wrote, this was because their natural, non-monogamous instincts were repressed. Men also suffered from their determination to keep women in the home because they had to do all the earning.[13] In Fourier's *Harmony*, women would be able to work according to their capacity and strength. Communal meals and childcare would liberate women and everyone would benefit.

Fourier believed that the second most corrupting force in civilized society after capitalism was monogamous marriage. He decried marriage as slavery for women and a sexual prison for husband and wife, against which both partners constantly rebelled by lies and deceptions. He was convinced that all husbands were cuckolds and classified them into seventy-two types, short-horned, long-horned and so on. Cuckoldry had become a major concern since the introduction of the Civil Code of 1804. A husband was obliged to bequeath his property equally among all his surviving offspring, legal and illegal. Contemplation of the resulting deceit led to numerous hilarious cartoons and plays depicting cheating wives/husbands.[14] Fourier argued that all adults should be free to change sexual partners in response to their desires. "Il y a fausseté partout où il y a un régime coercitif; la prohibition et le contrebande sont inséparable, en amour comme en marchandise."[15] Unlike some contemporaries he believed that both women and men possessed sexually passionate natures which were frustrated in traditional marriage.

Fourier was the only utopian socialist to plump for a sexy paradise. He praised sexual diversity, variety, even recommending philanthropic sex for those insufficiently appealing to attract partners.[16] He recognized three sexes, male, female and an indeterminate or sometimes immature third category.[17] In *Harmony*, the immature of both sexes were to be chaste. Fourier was convinced that sex would distract the young from study, even from work, and tempt them into frivolity, idleness and expense. However from around sixteen years, Fourier encouraged a sex life for everyone. He argued that a multiplicity of partners would add to the sense of harmony and well being in the *phalange*. People would retain fond feelings for each partner, and the uncertainty of paternity would make all possible male parents feel a sense of attachment to the offspring. Harmonious sex was not for nighttime and intimate pairing, but for daytime occasions along with huge convivial meals. (He never seems to have thought that the two might be mutually exclusive.)

Fourier's ideas on the liberation of women challenged conventional bourgeois morality but at the time they caused no storm of moral indignation because almost no-one read any of Fourier's main published works and his *Nouveau monde amoureux*, the sexual parallel of his study of industry, was not published until 1967.[18] When the liberal journalist Reynaud published the first comparative study of the early socialists in 1841, he had nothing but praise for Fourier's utopianism. He clearly had no notion

[12] Ibid., 202-3.
[13] Fourier, *Traité*, 2: 334.
[14] P. Mainardi, *Husbands, Wives and the Problem of Marriage in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London, 2003), 21-46.
[15] Fourier, *Traité*, 2: 363.
[16] S. Debout-Oleszkiewicz, ed., *Le nouveau monde amoureux* (Paris, 1999).
[17] Fourier, *Nouveau monde industriel*, 195.
[18] A recent new edition by the Fourier enthusiast, S. Debout-Oleszkiewicz.

of Fourier's ideas on sex.[19] There were signs later in Fourier's life that the criticism of rather puritanical female friends, some of whom helped to pay his bills, modified his hostility to monogamous marriage. In 1829, he conceded that marriage could be acceptable if it developed by degrees, becoming permanent only after the birth of children, because love and paternity were the last of the passions to be fitted into the *phalange*.[20] He was obliged to deny that he had ever recommended "libertés en amour," and acknowledged that promiscuity carried the risk of syphilis.[21]

If Fourier's notions of sexual liberation were virtually unknown, those of the Saint-Simonians were a very different matter. Led by Prosper Enfantin, who had clearly read, though did not acknowledge Fourier, they vigorously and publicly espoused women's rights and particularly trial marriage. Sisters and wives of engineer, lawyer and doctor members, including Claire Bazard and Eugénie Niboyet, shared the leadership. A much more radical move for the time was the campaign to attract worker members. A number of young girls working for a pittance in the needle trades signed up, including Jeanne Deroin and Suzanne Voilquin. The Saint-Simonians offered them a faith, literacy, a way out of their poverty—and love.

Although Enfantin and some of the other Saint-Simonian men enjoyed the benefits of sexual liberation, Enfantin himself was no enthusiast for sexual democracy. At the end of 1831, while continuing to insist that they should seek out a female "pope" to share his throne, he removed women from positions of authority within the movement. Some of the dispossessed women, including Eugénie Niboyet, as well as Lucie Schmalzigang and Angélique Arnaud moved on to become Fourierists.[22] A group of the working girls, including Désirée Véret, Marie-Reine Guindorf, Suzanne Voilquin, Jeanne Deroin and Pauline Roland started up the first-ever newspaper written by and for women, called initially *La Femme libre*. They published a copy when they could scrape together enough cash and it ran on and off for two years. They wrote about the feminist issues that concerned them most; a woman's right to education and a living wage; equality within marriage, but not temporary or trial marriage. In some cases, their disappointment with Enfantin's change of position led to tragedy, as in the case of the suicides of Marie-Reine Guindorf and Claire Démar. Démar had been a passionate Saint-Simonian. In *Appel d'une femme* she proclaimed her Saint-Simonian faith:

> L'individu social complet c'est l'homme et la femme; cependant nous sommes les esclaves des hommes … mais nous ne voulons pas être les très humbles servantes, car nous sentons clairement que nous sommes nées libres comme l'homme ... Nos droits, enlevées par la justice brutale, le glaive, nous voulons les resaisir par le justice-femme, c'est à dire par la persuasion et l'amour, l'amour qui apprendra de nous à n'être plus qu'une faiblesse ou une débauche, mais à être digne de l'homme et la femme, exaltant en lui et avec lui *sagesse, force* et *beauté;* car ces trois aspects forment le nouvel amour qui doit embrasser le monde; l'amour, qui est la vie, la vie qui est Dieu; Dieu qui est l'amour universel.[23]

The suicides and single mothers shocked the bourgeois monarchy. In 1832 Enfantin and Michel Chevalier were jailed for a year for undermining morality. The

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[19] L. Reybaud, *Études sur les réformateurs contemporaines ou socialistes modernes. Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen* (Paris, 1841).
[20] Fourier, *Nouveau monde industriel*, 182-3.
[21] Ibid., 283.
[22] L. Adler, *A l'aube du féminisme. Les premières journalistes (1830-1850)* (Paris, 1979), 91-96.
[23] C. Démar, *Appel d'une femme* (Paris, 1832), 6-7.

Saint-Simonian idea of the "new woman" made superb copy for cartoonists and playwrights. *Le Royaume des femmes ou le monde à l'envers* took place on an unknown island on which a Parisian artist arrived by balloon. It was run by women with a lascivious queen, Nellora. The chorus sings

> La femme est pleine de valeur
> De force et de science
> Elle est soldat ou procureur
> Elle fait tout
> Et son amant
> Fait la soupe et garde l'enfant

The predatory chief minister seduces Reyonsed, a poor artisan. His mother challenges the offending lady to a duel.[24]

Meanwhile, former Saint-Simonian women became a significant force in Fourierism. They made sure that Fourier's rejection of monogamy was reversed and traditional concepts of the family were re-asserted. Jeanne Deroin may have asserted in her Saint-Simonian *profession de foi* the equality of men and women, the right to terminate a marriage and that for a wife to take her husband's name was as bad as branding a slave across the forehead with the owner's name, but she and her husband formed a life-long attachment. Clarisse Vigoureux, a wealthy widow from Fourier's home city of Besançon, was one of his most energetic champions, as well as his main financier. She composed an adulatory account of Fourierism, which bore little relation to Fourier's actual ideas.[25] She squared her own puritanical morality with Fourier's views on sex by arguing that if nature did leave women free to rove, their modesty would keep them monogamous. In a review of the Belgian Fourierist Gatti de Gamond's summary of Fourier's ideas, which retained some aspects of Fourier's own feminism, she remarked that anyone who believed that liberation could lead to sexual immorality did not understand women.[26]

Even Gatti de Gamond, although she envisaged the possibility of divorce, actually stressed life-long marriage and the primacy of mothering. The moral role of women was no longer associated with sleeping with multiple partners and instilling some vague sociable spiritual cement in the community in the process, but in advocating a spiritual morality. De Gamond's feminism was practical. She robustly blamed women themselves for their lowly status, not the Civil Code or men. In a series of articles in Leroux's *Revue encyclopédique* in 1833 she insisted forthrightly "La condition de la femme n'est pas heureuse; mais la faute n'est-ce pas à elles seules? Les femmes sont dans un état de dépendance et d'infériorité à l'égard des hommes; mais n'est-ce pas qu'elles s'abaissent volontairement?"[27]

For de Gamond, who later became an inspector of girls' schools in Belgium, the answer lay partly in women accepting that they had responsibilities within society as well as in the home. Above all, she stressed the need for education, criticizing Guizot, whose law providing primary education for boys was under debate in parliament at the time, for failing to provide schooling for girls and training colleges for women

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[24] C.L.F. Desnoyers, *Le royaume des femmes ou le monde à l'envers, pièce fantastique en 2 actes*, performed at the Ambigu-Comique in 1833 with much singing and dancing.
[25] C.Vigoureux, *Paroles de providence* (Paris, 1835).
[26] *Le phalanstère. Journal pour la fondation d'une phalange agricole et manufacturière associée en travaux et en ménage,* 1 Oct. 1838.
[27] Gatti de Gamond, "2ème Lettre sur la condition des femmes au XIXe siècle: Education spontanée," *Revue encyclopédique* (Mar. 1833), 125.

teachers. "Le pacte social impose l'obligation à la société de donner à chacun des ses members une éducation morale et des moyens d'existence."[28] She also campaigned for "the right to work" for women, so that they could be considered for well-paid jobs and professions. Fourier's preference for sexual liberation as enjoyment and fun was decried by Hippolyte Carnot, former Saint-Simonian and son of the republican of the 1790s, as "immorales et absurdes."[29] Fourierists staunchly defended the family as the cornerstone of the phalange.[30] De Gamond's version of Fourier was popular. In less than two years an abridged and even more simplified English translation appeared.[31]

Eugénie Niboyet, transformed into a Fourierist, set up short lived newspapers and literacy classes for girls in Lyon where her husband worked. Although she herself enjoyed a lively public existence as a writer and charity worker, she always asserted the primacy of motherhood. "Aux hommes la politique, les lois, la defense du pays … aux femmes la sacerdoce de la morale, le culte de la famille, le maintien du devoir."[32] It was by rearing and educating her children that she expressed her equality.[33] Although this sounds very smug, Niboyet was still aware that poorer women struggled to feed, never mind educate, their children and that they faced destitution when they could no longer work. Other bourgeois Fourierist women, such as Anaïs Ségalas, also later moved away from concern with social reform into the fashion and marmalade type of women's writing.[34]

That Fourier's ideas on sexual liberation were buried is comprehensible in the social climate of the 1830s and 1840s when the "immorality" of the poor was so actively deplored and statistical surveys showed an increase in both prostitution and syphilis, but what of his ideas on social organization? Why did the Fourierists damn the *phalange* with faint praise and smother it in a doctrine of the "organization of work?" This actually elevated the right of the state to run the economy, almost the exact opposite of what Fourier preached. Fourier's *phalange* was to be a profit-sharing group of about 1620 psychologically compatible individuals. They would share all work, but not the land on which the phalange was constructed. The property-owner would also take a percentage. Fourier was no communist egalitarian. He argued that the economy of the *phalange* would be more efficient if large-scale communal production was undertaken. Fourier constantly sought patrons to offer land on which a *phalange* could be constructed and always argued that his project was not utopian, but a practical solution to contemporary economic problems.

The first opportunity came in 1832. Financed by Clarisse Vigoureux, a Fourierist periodical was founded which advertised the *phalange* as a practical and profitable investment. About 1.5 million francs would be needed to buy land, but a tenancy would be adequate at first. A further million francs would be needed for buildings, although it was assumed that at the outset people would work and live in large, moveable tents. The total initial outlay would be four million francs. The editors explained that the money would be raised by founding a company and selling the shares.[35] Fourier's own contribution was minimal. He favored a location near Paris because he assumed that it would attract a lot of visitors, who might then be

[28] Gatti de Gamond, "3ème Lettre. Education publique," *Revue encyclopédique*, Apr. 1833, 421.
[29] H.Carnot, "Réunion de l'Ouest," *Revue encyclopédique,* Mar. 1833, 320.
[30] M. Briancourt, *Visite au phalanstère* (Paris, 1848), 79.
[31] Gatti de Gamond, *The Phalanstery or Attractive Industry and Moral Harmony*.
[32] E. Niboyet, *Le vrai livre du femme* (Paris, 1863), 17.
[33] Ibid, 72.
[34] A. Segalas, *Almanach des dames et des demoiselles* (Paris, 1854).
[35] "Programme de la Fondation proposée," *Le phalanstère*, 1 June 1832, 7-10.

encouraged to invest in the commune. A devoted supporter, the member of the Chamber of Deputies, Baudet-Dulary (1792-1878), who spent his entire fortune trying to set up *phalanges*, persuaded his friend Devay to offer his rather decayed estate of 455 hectares at Condé-sur-Vesgré, near Rambouillet, south-west of Paris in return for shares in the founding society. Baudet-Dulary bought some adjoining land to make the commune 750 hectares in total. The plan was announced in the *Phalanstère* in November 1832.

There was considerable initial enthusiasm, particularly among former Saint-Simonians. At first they hoped to create a joint-stock company, but found few takers. Thus they created a *société anonyme*, a more precarious arrangement, to which the two men contributed all the land, to a total value of 280,000 francs. Nearly one million francs were to be raised by selling shares and the opening was planned for March 1833. For reasons of economy the two men ignored Fourier's magic size and planned for six hundred members, calling their venture a "societary colony." By February they had recruited two hundred members and only a few shares had been sold. Devay himself paid the workers for clearing the land and the opening was delayed. The colony was beginning to take shape in June 1833,[36] but the land was poor, sandy and neglected and the existing buildings were in a bad state. By December only just over a third of the required minimum shares had been sold.[37] A scheme to specialize in chicken production the following year came to nothing. Baudet-Dulary was forced to pay off the shareholders; his total loss amounted to just under five hundred thousand francs. Fourier was predictably scornful of the failure. The estate was turned into, and remains, a Fourierist retreat.[38]

In the 1830s, Considérant and other Fourierists continued to press the case for the reform of society through the social and economic structural transformation, but gradually the concept was diluted into praise of basic communal organization. By 1837 for Considérant the commune was "l'atelier social, l'élement alvéolique de la province, de la nation, de la société générale. ... L'organisation de la commune est la pierre angulaire de l'édifice sociale, quelque vaste et quelque parfait qu'il soit."[39] Whereas the term *phalange* would have sounded alien and rather military to contemporaries, a commune was simply the traditional basic political unit in France. Just before Fourier's death in the same year, a group of influential Fourierists including Ordinaire, Fugère. Taudonnet, Gingembre and the Irishman, Hugh Doherty organized a meeting to try to persuade Considérant to return to Fourier's first principles. They wanted to turn their movement into a more formal organization with a set of rules proclaiming that Fourierism was a social science, with a library and an annual conference on Fourier's birthday with prizes and an *essai pratique* to work towards the organization of work (which last phrase they and Considérant always wrote in capital letters). They criticized Considérant for being a dithering dictator and a poor organiser,[40] but in reality they were no more precise. Although Louis Blanc was at the meeting, he was not part of the organising committee.

The divisions among the Fourierists persisted and although affiliates called themselves Fourierists or the *école sociétaire* or sometimes *phalanstériens* they were never again a united movement. In some ways this was an inevitable consequence of the resistance of the Orleanist monarchy to the existence of associations. Legislation

[36] *La réforme industrielle ou Le phalanstère*, 14 June 1833.
[37] Ibid., 16 Dec. 1833.
[38] J. Beecher, *Fourier,* 454.
[39] V. Considérant, *Destinée sociale* (Paris 1837), 28-9.
[40] *Institut sociétaire. Aux phalanstériens: Commission préparatoire* (Paris, August 1837).

in 1834 had extended the Penal Code's ban on formal associations. Divisions within Fourierism ran deeper and were personal. Considérant remained the main editor of the periodical, which gave no direction to Fourierism, but contented itself with frequently changing its name and printing enormous jaw-threatening extracts from Fourier's rightly-unpublished works. He refused support for other experimental communities. The English philanthropist Arthur Young bought the former abbey at Citeaux and tried to construct a *phalange*, but only Gatti de Gamond went to help. Considérant was highly critical. Leroux set up a community at Boussac, with the financial backing of George Sand and the literary skills of Pauline Roland, but he did not claim that this was a *phalange.* Considérant turned Fourierism into a timid war of words against poverty, in which the state, not individual philanthropists, would guarantee work and provide jobs. Timid because he effectively sloughed off socialist ideas to adopt a statist policy, the extension of the role of the state in the economy, a process launched in the seventeenth century by Colbert and developed in the eighteenth by Turgot.

Fourier himself detested politics and had about as much enthusiasm for the state as Proudhon. Under Considérant's influence, his followers welcomed engagement with the Leviathan. They floundered in a number of directions, suggesting that the idea of *phalange* could be instituted to end slavery in America and Russia, would be ideal for Belgium and an excellent way to organize French colonization of Algeria.[41] Fourierists promoted the idea that France would benefit by developing new colonies, and tried to enlist one of Louis-Philippe's sons, the Prince de Joinville, in a Fourierist take-over of Madagascar. Colonies would contribute to the development of trade and the growth of the economy, and offer a safe location for surplus and turbulent people,[42] a concept a million miles from Fourier. Many Fourierists became almost indistinguishable from Orleanists. In their transformation they abandoned the utopianism of their master in favor of a limited reformist creed. That Fourierism became state-orientated reformism is not all that surprising. The change was implicit when rebel Saint-Simonians joined Considérant at the end of 1831. Many of these new converts were practical men, government engineers and doctors, looking for achievable social reform, which was why they had abandoned Enfantin. They were used to action within the framework of the state and forgot their earlier dreams.

Fourier assumed that society would be instantly harmonious if the individual was liberated back to a "natural" state. His disciples, on the other hand, adopted a high moral tone and urged the sacrifice of the self in the interests of altruism. Fourier spoke of the passions, his followers of democratic humanitarianism. Fourier occasionally referred to divine providence in a distant cosmic tone. His followers used more intimate terms to describe the Almighty.[43] Fourierists still insisted that their ideas on human destiny constituted a social science,[44] but God now had pride of place. Considérant noted that man's "attractions" were God-given, were the revelations of Universal Harmony and the raison d'être of creation.[45] On the title-page of his *Destinée Sociale*, published in 1837, Considérant recorded, "Les destinées sont les résultats présens, passés et futurs des plans établis par Dieu, conformément aux lois mathématiques."[46] Considérant divided the "law of universal unity for man" into three

[41] Gatti de Gamond, *Fourier et sa système* (Paris, 1839).
[42] D. Laverdant, *Colonisation de Madagascar* (Paris, 1844), 10, 13, 162.
[43] Gatti de Gamond, *Fourier et sa système*.
[44] V. Considérant, *Études sur quelques problèmes fondementaux de la Destinée sociale* (Paris, 1837), 61.
[45] Considérant, *Description du phalanstère* (Paris, 1848), 10.
[46] Considérant, *Destinée sociale*, 9.

parts: the unity of man with himself, the unity of man with God and the unity of man with the Universe.[47] Fourierists mainly retained the anti-clericalism common to most radicals. However some Fourierists drew close to social Catholicism, urging the clergy to take a lead in addressing social problems. In 1843, Victor Hennequin wrote in the Fourierist newspaper, *Démocratie pacifique*, "Deux puissances existent: l'esprit moderne et la foi catholique; on ne peut pas les détruire: il faut donc les unir."[48]

The energetic and influential women affiliates, usually the main organizers of local groups, had a profound influence on Fourierist ideas on morality and religion. Gatti de Gamond argued that Fourierism had little significance without a return to God. "The societary system may easily be reduced to the simple limits of an industrial agricultural farm,"[49] whereas a true *phalange* would strive to improve itself and its members and would involve God and morality, "A societary state can ... be introduced only by the growth of a higher nature in man."[50] Clarisse Vigoureux,[51] a close friend of Fourier's, in whose house he lodged in Paris, was particularly insistent in defining God as their active, directing moral force. Eugénie Niboyet was notably active in social reform. She became secretary to the *Société pour la morale chretienne*, whose members demanded prison reform and visited inmates. It included other former Saint-Simonians such as Carnot and traditional philanthropists like Lamartine and the Duke de Liancourt-Rochefoucauld.[52]

Fourierists everywhere stressed Christ and a personal God as the central element in the *phalange*. Harmony would no longer be the automatic consequence of the free exercise of man's passions, but a quintessentially Christian quality in which freedom was not the first consideration. True to the bourgeois background of most Fourierists, the ladies were convinced that nature needed correction and *phalansterian* man had to accept discipline and restraint. A personal God was required to justify the moral codes of the *phalange*. The Fourierist women believed the popular contemporary feminist notion that women had a special role in disseminating spiritual morality.[53] They were also convinced that women were more effectively protected, if not fully liberated, by moral codes governing love and the overarching example of the spiritual love of God. Gatti de Gamond wrote "Love is the most powerful of the attractions … and yet what does love, the gift divine, become in the society where all the passions, turned from their natural courses, are dark and cruel?"[54]

Although Fourierists, like some other early socialists, resisted engagement in July Monarchy politics, Considérant and *La démocratie pacifique* became increasingly critical of the Guizot government and supported the Banquet Campaign (1847-8). After the February Revolution, Fourierists appeared to be the most successful group among the early socialists. Fourierist women, including Niboyet, Deroin and Roland, launched a newspaper and club with the same name, *La voix des femmes*. They demanded education for girls, nurseries for the babies of working mothers, improved pay for women, the revival of a law legalizing divorce and votes for women. Carnot, appointed Minister of Education, made another Fourierist, the playwright, Legouvé, professor at the Collège de France, with the task of delivering a

[47] Considérant, *Description du phalanstère,* 10.
[48] Victor Hennequin, *La démocratie pacifique*, 16 Nov. 1843.
[49] Gatti de Gamond, *The phalanstery,* 144.
[50] Ibid., xiv.
[51] C.Vigoureux, *Paroles de providence* (Paris, 1835).
[52] M.Thibert, *Le féminisme dans le socialisme français de 1830 à 1850* (Paris, 1926), 202-3.
[53] E.Legouvé, *Histoire morale des femmes* (Paris, 1848).
[54] Gatti de Gamond, *The Phalanstery*, 122.

series of lectures on the role of women in modern society.[55] Considérant was made a member of the Luxembourg Commission, elected to the Assembly and joined its Constitutional Committee. Initially his proposal that a "right to work" be written into the constitution of the new republic was accepted. However the optimism of the republic was short lived and, although the right to work was debated by the Assembly at length, it was conclusively excluded. Proposals to improve the status of women were abandoned, suggestions that a divorce law be re-established and women be given the vote were lampooned, not least in the cartoons of Daumier and de Beaumont.

For Fourier, if he had lived, the worst betrayal would have been 13 June 1849, when Considérant helped Ledru-Rollin to lead a protest against the Legislative Assembly's foreign policy and was subsequently forced into exile. Fourier always condemned revolution as a solution to society's ills. Considérant and Fourierism had lost their way. Considérant later set off on an abortive quest to found experimental communes in America. Without him Fourierism as a movement disintegrated. About the only common element that had remained between the master and his disciples was the belief that man was shaped by his environment and that the physical structure of the *phalange*, or commune, should reflect a communal purpose. The confidence of Fourier and his disciples that architecture could help reform and shape society did not die. Haussmann acted on it in his radical restructuring of central Paris in the 1850s, but instead of utopian philosophy, his objectives were profit and the avoidance of revolution. Likewise Louis-Napoleon's enlistment of former Fourierists/Saint-Simonians in his economic policies reflected only the shell of their fraternal aspirations.

The shift from utopian dreams to capitalist profit, from women's liberation to a firm restatement of monogamous domesticity, from rationalism to faith and above all the renunciation of the belief in the innate natural goodness of man, were less a matter of a philosophical change of heart than the effects of lived experience. The optimism of Fourier and other utopians was part of the Romantic Movement, whose poetical, musical and artistic exponents still uplift the spirit. However the writers who hoped thus to remake society and political systems discovered that actual politics was far more complex than trying to construct a *phalange* or *Icarie.* The problems of industrializing, urbanizing society left their mark in repeated economic crises in the first half of the nineteenth century. The events of 1848 were cataclysmic and catastrophic for idealists. After the February Revolution, itself an accidental product of combined political and economic crises, along with other socialists, Fourierists were obliged to pin their hopes on what survived of a Romantic belief in the essential brotherhood of society now to be achieved through universal suffrage. This proved to be a terrible disaster. Instead of a republican assembly, the nine million adult males, voting directly for a parliament for the first time, chose mostly wealthy very conservative notables who had sat in the assemblies of the previous constitutional assembly. The vast majority in this constituent assembly had no faith in a republican future and totally abhorred the prospect of radical social reform, particularly of a socialist hue. The assumed "natural" alliance of working people and republicans was shattered in June 1848 when the Parisian artisans rebelled against the Assembly's

[55] These were immediately published, frequently reprinted during the rest of the nineteenth century and were revered by former Saint-Simonian/Fourierist women like Niboyet and Deroin. E. Legouvé, *Histoire morale des femmes*. Curiously Legouvé's father had dabbled in mildly feminist poetry and Amable Tastu, who was associated with the Fourierists, presented Gabriel Legouvé as the star of her two-volume collection of writings about women (and some by women), Mme. Dufrénoy and A.Tastu *Livre des femmes* (Ghent, 1823).

decision to close the National Workshops which had been set up, not as a socialist, but as a temporary expedient, to tide workers over the serious economic depression. Worse still, in December 1848, the mass electorate elected Napoleon's nephew as president of the fast-disintegrating democratic republic.

Louis-Napoleon, the new president, emasculated democracy by creating a plebiscitary regime, and used the machinery of the state to drive all republicans, and especially socialists, out of public affairs and in many cases into exile for the remainder of his rule. Ironically, coercion was barely needed. Ange Guépin, a doctor in Nantes and former inspiration for Saint-Simonian, Fourierist and republican initiatives, wrote in 1871: "We have given the vote to *political minors*, to illiterate peasants who only think of money."[56]

[56] Loire-Atlantique, Archives départementales, 19J9, Oct. 1870.

Selection, Exclusion and Assimilation: The *Projet Lambert* of 1931 on the Reform of French Immigration Policy

Greg Burgess

The emergence from about 1926 of a new literature concerned with immigration into France is surely the first sign that there was a crisis of policy and public opinion in France's relationship with its foreign population.[1] This "crisis of immigration" was motivated by three distinct issues that converged more or less simultaneously: economic decline and a sharp rise in the number of unemployed; the realization, through the daily experience of many French people of the size of the foreign population; and, through the works of sociologists and demographers, the reminder of France's demographic stagnation. In the minds of commentators and critics, the interrelationship of all three was clear: while the French population remained stagnant, the French nation itself was in decline, especially in comparison to population growth elsewhere in Europe. As unemployment rose among French workers, popular opinion turned against immigrant workers. It is not an exaggeration to call this a "crisis of immigration," as the mood of public opinion so well captured and analyzed by Ralph Schor, and the direction of public policy—equally well studied by historians such as Jean-Charles Bonnet and Gary Cross, among others—turned on the urgency with which the "problem" of immigration was perceived in social, demographic and political terms.[2] The full consequences of this crisis would be realized in the 1930s as France resisted the demands made on it by the refugees from Nazism and experienced a quite profound spread of xenophobia and antisemitism. Yet as early as the mid 1920s there was a palpable sense of vulnerability, of national weakness, and even of social crisis emanating from this acute awareness of the

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[1] The more commonly cited authors from this period include Michel Paon, *L'immigration en France* (Paris, 1926); Georges Mauco, *Les étrangers en France* (Paris, 1934); and René Martial, who published a series of works on race and immigration in the 1930s, such as *L'immigration continentale et transcontinentale* (Paris, 1933); and *La race française. Le sol. Les racines. La souche. La croissance et les greffons* (Paris, 1935).

[2] Ralph Schor, *L'opinion française et les étrangers, 1919-1939* (Paris, 1985); Jean-Charles Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics français et l'immigration dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Lyon, 1976); Gary S. Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France: The Making of a New Laboring Class* (Philadelphia, 1983).

foreign presence. As a consequence, immigration was pushed forward as a matter of political significance and as an important focus of popular consciousness.

The new literature concerned with immigration articulated this vulnerability, and France's apparent powerlessness in the face of mounting problems. But more than this, it introduced a new debate about the principles on which France's status as a nation of immigration and asylum should rest. The threats could only be challenged, it seemed, by the rigorous enforcement of the exclusionary practices at that time taking hold in public policy. Certainly, both public policy and popular opinion faced the rise in unemployment in the late 1920s in quite simplistic terms: the removal of foreign workers could only mean jobs for unemployed French workers. But this conceals the more complex and sometimes contradictory framework of the regulation of foreign labor as new restrictions were imposed on the issue and renewal of identity cards and work permits for foreign workers. The purpose was to remove foreigners from those sectors of the labor market with high levels of unemployment. But foreigners in general, more than just foreign workers, were the targets of exclusion, and they had neither protection from, nor legal remedy against abuses or errors of administrative measures to rescind their entitlements to live and work in France.

Certainly, there is a long history of concern and suspicion over the impact of immigration on France.[3] But from the mid 1920s, foreigners were once more reconceptualized on a number of levels. Recognition of immigration as a problem recast immigrants in the popular imagination and as objects of political and social interest. In popular opinion, they were perceived as competitors for jobs, for housing, limited social welfare and other benefits. Popular antipathies were stirred by economic stress, bringing out attitudes dormant during less stressful times. In public policy, foreigners were redefined to fit into the economic constraints of the labor market. Foreign workers, who were essential in the period of post-war reconstruction, were now impediments to economic progress and the full employment of French workers. Restrictions on work permits, even their revocation, reclassified foreign workers as "undesirables," which legitimized their exclusion from sectors of the labor market in which there was high unemployment and legitimized their expulsion from the country. Political opinion also shifted its perception of foreigners as they attempted to balance the demands of business, workers and public opinion. Foreigners became the focus of ideological divisions between the left and right over the regulation of labor. As Ralph Schor and Gary Cross have both demonstrated, large business organizations maintained the need for an unregulated labor market and a continued demand for foreign workers, while socialists and trade unions were critical of the lack of protection for French workers. Communists, quite distinctly, viewed the expulsions of foreign workers as evidence of capitalist abuse of the proletariat.[4]

The reconceptualization of foreigners is also evident among historians who have recently become more attentive to the voices of racism among commentators and the participants of political debates. Sometimes with an eye quite consciously looking ahead to the Vichy years, they have revealed a racial purpose during this crisis of immigration, and have exposed tendencies towards racial selection behind the façade

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[3] Arthur Desjardins, "La Loi de 1849 et l'expulsion des étrangers," *Revue des deux mondes* 50 (1882): 657-680, for example, distinguished between foreigners and French nationals on racial grounds, which therefore justified keeping them under special police measures of surveillance. Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers* (Paris, 1991), 27, comments that the history of immigration in France began the moment it became a "problem" in the mid-nineteenth century.

[4] Schor, *L'opinion française*, 243 and 493; Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France*, Chap. 7.

of "civic" and "republican" models of integration, assimilation and naturalization.[5] By stressing one of a number of concerns in popular opinion, these historians have recast the foreigner as a racial "other" in whom the anxieties of the time are invested, and through which racism is brought in from the margins.

The purpose of this paper is to examine one response to the "crisis of immigration," a draft law to reform immigration policy put forward by Charles Lambert in 1931. Commentators on and critics of immigration agreed on the need for policy reform to overcome its more negative aspects. Both a critic of policy and a political actor with the aim of changing it, Lambert envisaged a coherent and systematically regulated regime based on a statute that set down conditions of entry and residence, and gave a definite legal status to resident foreigners. This would replace the existing system, which was unregulated in law and public administration except by policing and expulsion. His draft law requires critical evaluation because its aims are consistent with the dominant discourse of exclusion and suggests racial sentiments while expressing preoccupations about the decline of the French nation. He recasts the foreigners in exclusionary terms, but the focus of his attention is on reinvigorating the French nation itself, which vitally needed new settlers to fill the demographic gaps. His law therefore poses what seems to be a contradiction. Its intent is the legitimization of exclusion, while it upholds civic and republican models of integration, assimilation and naturalization. How close then were the ideas of exclusion and assimilation? How, indeed, does Lambert reconcile what seem to be opposing tendencies?

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A radical-socialist deputy from the Rhône since 1920, Charles Lambert had gained a substantial reputation for his expertise on immigration matters. As the author of the 1927 naturalization law, the intention of which was to facilitate assimilation by reducing the mandatory period of residency from ten to three years, he was described in *Le temps* as "the most active, the most eloquent propagandist" on naturalization.[6] He built upon his reputation, firstly by launching the journal *L'amitié française* to promote his views on immigration, naturalization and assimilation, and by publishing a commentary on the 1927 law, *La France et les étrangers*, which included further elaboration of his ideas on immigration which shaped his 1931 draft law.[7] In 1929, the radical-socialists in the parliament selected him for the post of president of the Immigration Commission, in which capacity it seems he presented his proposition of 1931.[8] He put his proposition, whose title translates rather awkwardly as "a draft law

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[5] Gérard Noiriel, *Les origines républicaines de Vichy* (Paris, 1999), chap. 3; Paul Lawrence, "Naturalization, Ethnicity and National Identity in France between the Wars," *Immigrants and Minorities* 20 (2001): 1-24; Patrick Weil, "Racisme et discrimination dans la politique française de l'immigration 1938-1945/1974-1995," *Vingtième siècle* 47 (July-Sept. 1995): 77-102; Weil, *Qu'est qu'un français? Histoire de la nationalité française depuis la Révolution* (Paris, 2002), 81; Clifford Rosenberg, "Albert Sarraut and Republican Racial Thought," *French Politics, Culture and Society* 20 (2002)., 97-114. Pierre-André Taguieff, "Face À l'immigration. Mixophobie, xénophobie ou sélection. Un débat français dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Vingtième siècle* 47 (July-Sep 1995): 103-131.

[6] Quoted by Bonnet, *Les Pouvoirs Publics*, 79.

[7] Ibid., 81. Charles Lambert, *La France et les étrangers. Dépopulation, immigration, naturalisation* (Paris, 1928).

[8] Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics*, 79

to introduce a statute on foreigners and to organize rationally foreign immigration," to the Chamber of Deputies on 11 February 1931.[9]

This draft law was in two parts. One proposed the creation of a ministerial office, or High Commission, responsible for all matters pertaining to immigration, naturalization and the residence of foreigners. This office of High Commissioner for Immigration, Emigration and Naturalization (*Haut commissaire d'immigration, d'émigration, et de naturalisation*) would consolidate the diverse activities of the various ministries changed with these responsibilities. The second part was his statute on immigration, which set out a comprehensive legal regime regulating entry conditions and residence entitlements.

Immigration policy, Lambert complained, had hitherto been administered to serve industrial and agricultural purposes, but lacked any grounding in law and was not guided by general principles for the benefit of French national interests. The High Commission would turn these priorities around. When examined critically, however, it is apparent that Lambert's statute had only one purpose, that of legitimizing the barriers between foreigners and the French state that had been consolidated over the previous years of restrictive and exclusionary directions in public policy. Indeed, Lambert's language is consistent with the dominant public discourses of exclusion. "The efficacy of the existing barriers are weakened," Lambert explained, because there was no screening at the border. This led to the "invasion" of "disparate elements" from which France was protected only by the "most imperfect system of identity cards, which does not permit the actual eviction of undesirable arrivals."[10]

Lambert's statute would therefore set exclusion on more secure foundations than the arbitrary nature of policing and the restrictions on work permits. Two identity cards only would replace the existing system, thereby rationalizing residence entitlements and benefits. One card would be issued to those "who live without work," and another to those who "occupy paid employment." These simple classifications, Lambert emphasized, would benefit the state because they would provide the government and its administration with the ability to eject "undesirables, suspects, and the useless (*inutilisables*)." The system's main purpose therefore was quite explicitly to aid the work of the municipal and prefectoral services in removing these foreigners without the constant intercession of associations and organizations acting on their behalf. That, he said, only caused delays and incurred costs.[11]

One striking feature of Lambert's proposition is the degree to which he set apart foreigners, linguistically as well as conceptually—striking because his reputation on immigration policy, his advocacy of assimilation in his journal *L'amitié française*, and his recognition in 1928 by the president of the Lyons section of the Ligue des droits de l'homme, an organization that intervened on behalf of foreigners facing expulsion for his assistance to foreigners all suggest a more inclusive approach to the question of immigration.[12] Lambert described the frontiers as barriers, and those who crossed them as "invaders" and a "threat" (*menace*). The state's function in

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[9] AN, C 14963. Dossier, Étrangers: Projet de loi tendant à donner un statut aux étrangers et à organiser rationnellement l'immigration étrangère (session de 1931, séance 11 février 1931).
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Lambert was made honorary member of the Foyer national pour la protection et la naturalisation des étrangers created in Lyon in 1928, among the founders of which was the president of the Lyon section of the Ligue des droits de l'homme, and the President of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce. Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics*, 82.

regulating immigration should therefore be that of implementing selection and screening to identify and eliminate undesirables.

Control of entry was only one part of a solution to the problem of immigration; another was the implementation of a means of legitimate discrimination so that undesirable foreigners already living in France could be removed more expeditiously. Therefore, a second striking feature is the manner in which Lambert proposed strengthening the barriers between France and its foreign population. As a result, discrimination would be set into law and in the function of state institutions. The two broad permit categories, those employed and those not employed, would give the state greater authority over a foreigner's conditions of residence. Evidence of desirability, and therefore of an entitlement to remain, would be based on personal worth, either through wealth, allowing one to live independently, or, more importantly, by the ability to work in an occupation where there was a need for labor. Otherwise, there was no entitlement to residence, and a foreigner would therefore face expulsion. The aim, quite simply, was administrative convenience and the facilitation of removal.

The administrative structures Lambert proposed would therefore have brought discriminatory and exclusionary practices into the arms of the state and would have even deprived those subject to its force the protection of individual rights against abuses. Lambert, in fact, was silent about the increasing evidence of abuse through indiscriminate expulsion and the arbitrary exercise of police powers against foreigners in the application of harsh regulations pertaining to the renewal of work and residence permits. Instead, he was critical of the delays and costs incurred by representations made on behalf of individuals facing expulsion. As his statute set exclusionary measures on surer legal ground, the lack of protection seems a significant omission, and is seemingly contrary to the civic and republican model of integration, assimilation and naturalization on which his reputation rested. How can this be explained?

Exclusionary migration practices, it must be noted, had become the international norm by 1931. Lambert's preference for selection and screening was consistent with new trends in the immigration policies adopted in the United States during the 1920s. Indeed, Lambert looked to the US quota system as his model for selection and screening.[13] The US model, Lambert believed, was far preferable to France's indiscriminate policy as it ensured better outcomes, and was now much more necessary since the US had closed its doors to the mass migrations of earlier decades. Europe had fewer outlets for its peoples, and protective barriers had spread during the late 1920s as other countries experienced deteriorating economic conditions, and imposed controls to restrict immigrant arrivals.[14] Immigration restrictions were therefore a broad international reaction against the movement of peoples in this time

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[13] Introduced in 1921 and revised in 1924, the US quota system restricted immigration to a percentage of the resident foreign population. Originally 3 percent of the figures of the 1910 census, then in 1924 the quotas were set at 2 percent of the 1890 census. Not only did the quota system dramatically reduce migrant numbers, it also changed the source of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, which dominated the later figures, to the more traditional countries of northern Europe. John Higham, *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, revised ed. (Baltimore and London, 1984), 54-5; John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport. Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge, 2000), 117-21.

[14] A contemporary study of the trend towards immigration restriction in the 1920s was made by Egidio Reale, "Le problème des passeports," *Recueil des cours de l'académie de droit international* (Paris, 1934), 91-188.

of economic stress. France was particularly vulnerable to new migration flows excluded from the US because of its indiscriminate policy.

Lambert's intent, therefore, was to remodel French immigration policy after US policy, by changing unregulated entry to selection at the point of departure, and by introducing post-arrival screening to test health and character. His proposal for a High Commissioner to administer immigration would have revived his short-lived post of 1926 as High Commissioner for Immigration and Naturalization under the premiership of Edouard Herriot, an office quite consciously modeled on the American Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.[15] His draft statute was shaped by what he believed to be the beneficial outcomes of US immigration restrictions.[16] It was a system that above all distinguished the relative worth of immigrants and their potential benefits to the country.

This is one explanation. Another is that Lambert's reputation on immigration matters rested almost entirely on the issue of assimilation, which is as much to do with exclusion as integration. The purpose of his 1927 naturalization law was to aid the assimilation of long-term foreign residents in order to replenish the French nation after the bloodletting of the Great War.[17] His draft law of 1931 was the next step in assimilating France's foreign population. By better regulating immigration and therefore selecting the better elements—separating the wheat from the chaff, as it were—and by encouraging their assimilation, public policy would better serve French national interests. The two laws of 1927 and 1931 can therefore be seen as two steps in the one direction, that of strengthening the French nation not by ridding itself of its foreigners, but by making them French.

This process could only begin through measures for selection and screening. Lambert, however, does not detail how this would be implemented, nor does he suggest criteria for selection apart from his vague classification of undesirable foreigners. Perhaps he believed that the deputies would be familiar with the ideas he had put forward in his publications. These show that he envisaged, firstly, selection on socio-economic grounds. The removal of foreign workers was a response to high unemployment among French workers, but there remained serious shortages of labor in important sectors of the economy, above all in agriculture. France, therefore, could not do without foreign workers and was mistaken in an indiscriminate policy that saw to their removal.

Moreover, foreign workers could resolve a serious demographic problem in the countryside. Rural depopulation, Lambert observed, was a "calamity" that had spread with "terrifying rapidity." The settlement of young people who would work the land and therefore fill the demographic gap must therefore be the aim of sound migration policy. The young would bear families and through them France would be renewed. "France," Lambert said on another occasion, "has no need for bankers with

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[15] Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France*, 173. Cross comments that this office existed for only six weeks, falling with a change of government, and therefore had no time to change the direction of French immigration policy. Nevertheless, it had existed long enough to demonstrate how inconsistent the American model was with the French model, as it ignored France's unique nature as a country of immigration with long land borders that made it extremely difficult to apply external controls on entry or screening at entry.

[16] Lambert, *La France et les étrangers*, 95-107.

[17] Ibid., 48-9.

an international outlook; it needs young people and farmers. With them, it will become again a great country."[18]

From where would these young people be drawn? On this question certain racial sentiments emerged, but it must be stressed that Lambert was no advocate of racial selection, nor did he go so far as Georges Mauco shortly afterwards to propose a hierarchy of more or less assimilable people.[19] Certainly, Lambert stressed how selection must be judicious, so as to avoid "mixing races that can't mix." This excluded Asians and Africans (*des asiatiques ou des africains*), as the "rénovation" of the French race required the "assimilation of similar individuals." They would therefore come from Europe: Latins—Spaniards and Italians—were ideal, but so too were other Europeans, Belgians and Dutch, Scandinavians and Slavs—Czechs, Poles, Russians. They were all "prolific and strong," and would have a beneficial influence on the French race.[20]

This was not so much a hierarchy as a catalogue of peoples who already made up sizable proportions of France's foreign population.[21] It is indeed noteworthy that Lambert's proposals, so consciously modeled on US immigration policy, which set quotas for racial selection, should stop short of a French policy itself based on overt racial discrimination. Lambert, in fact, rejected the "brutal hostility" displayed in the US selection.[22] Nevertheless, French policy was exclusionary, and Lambert sought to consolidate this, so that some implication of discrimination between more or less desirable peoples is unavoidable.

Lambert's dismissal of Asians and Africans as unassimilable exposes an issue of immigration in this period that is still poorly understood. He notes that indigenous peoples of the colonies were excluded from the total number of foreigners resident in France, although there were some 120,000 North Africans employed in mines, factories and other manufacturing industries. They were, however, outside his interests and had no role to play in his ideas of rejuvenating the French people.[23] This immediately opens up problems of race, empire and colonialism and their influences on republican thought in the interwar period. For the purposes of this paper, it would suffice to identify two problems of the consciousness of the empire: one, that of considering colonials at the same time as assimilated and excluded, so that migration from the colonies was of an altogether different character to migration from other countries; second, and more fundamentally, that of identifying who could and who

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[18] Quoted by Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics*, 83-84.

[19] Weil, "Racisme et discrimination," *passim*; Weil, *Qu'est qu'un français*, 82-5; Lawrence, "Naturalization," 11; Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford, Calif, 1999), 79.

[20] Lambert, *La France et les étrangers*, 75.

[21] Ibid., 47. Lambert provides a table of resident foreigners by national origins at 1 Jan. 1925. Out of a total foreign population of 2,845,214, the six most represented nationalities were Italians (807,695), Spanish (467,156), Belgian (460,352), Poles (310,265) Swiss (146,273) and Russians (91,461). Czechoslovakians (39,591) were ranked tenth, other Slavs (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 20,555, Bulgarians 2,874) combined ranked fifteenth, Dutch (14,727) eighteenth, and Scandinavians (11,908) twentieth.

[22] Ibid., 75.

[23] Lambert simply says that they need not concern him: "nous n'aurons pas à nous occuper au cours de cette étude" (Ibid., 46.) On colonial immigration at this time see Cross, *Immigrant Workers in Industrial France*, 123; and Schor, *L'opinion française*, 164.

could not become French, a problem which by its nature characterized assimilation and exclusion on racial grounds.[24]

Even though racial sentiment is evident, Lambert's idea of selection turned ultimately on the identification of undesirables, the criteria for which, in the economic and demographic conditions of the time, was largely socio-economic. In this way, Lambert holds firmly to the civic and republican models of integration, assimilation and naturalization and avoids too great a shift to racial selection that historians have noted in other critics of immigration. In this socio-economic context, undesirable foreigners were those who could not make a contribution to the nation; it was, therefore, necessary that they be removed while the assimilation and naturalization of the more desirable elements were encouraged. There was no conflict, therefore, between Lambert's advocacy of exclusionary measures and the republican values upheld by the Ligue des droits de l'homme, for example. Both upheld key republican principles, as Jean-Charles Bonnet notes: the uncontested superiority of the French political regime over the regimes of immigrant source countries, the pre-eminent dignity of French thought, and the universal character of French culture.[25]

We must be cautious, however, that this socio-economic dimension is not interpreted in such a ways as to conceal racial imperatives. Lambert's emphasis on the rejuvenation of the French nation through the selection of the better immigrants who would fill important socio-economic gaps can clearly be read in a racial way. The very idea of selection itself suggests racial considerations, whether they are consciously expressed or deeply unconscious. Certainly, within a couple of years, with the advent of the Jewish emigration from Germany from 1933, as Vicki Caron notes, this socio-economic dimension acquired a distinct racial character, and indeed Lambert's own comment that France had no need for international bankers when its rural population was in decline would then have assumed quite a different meaning to that which this paper suggests he originally intended.[26] It is the contention of this paper, however, that race was not a dominant idea shaping Lambert's proposals, and indeed more broadly on proposals for immigration policy. Racial ideas are nevertheless suggested in many ways, often unconsciously, and can appear to us like so much static in the background that interferes with our perceptions of this period. If we must be cautious, it is to avoid too anachronistic an interpretation of contemporary attitudes of race.

Sensitivity to France's foreign population implied anxieties for the French nation itself, whose decline seemed symptomatic of racial weakness. Assimilation was essential to France's struggle against demographic stagnation, and therefore these anxieties carried over into certain anxieties about the racial composition of its foreigners. Lambert committed himself to selection of the finer elements. Their

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[24] Elizabeth Ezra states that the colonial dilemma in interwar France rested the internal conflict between the inclusiveness of assimilation and the exclusiveness of association. The difference of the colonies—that they were not and could not be made French—separated them, and separated the colonials from peoples of other nationalities. Elizabeth Ezra, *The Colonial Unconscious. Race and Culture in Interwar France* (Ithaca and London, 2000), 6-7. Ralph Schor observes furthermore that the inclination of conceiving of immigration as a means of strengthening the French nation made the French resistant to peoples from distant lands and particularly to peoples of a different physical appearance (*type physique national*). Schor, *L'opinion française*, 164.

[25] Bonnet, *Les pouvoirs publics*, 73.

[26] See also Vicki Caron, "The Antisemitic Revival in France in the 1930s: The Socioeconomic Dimension Reconsidered," *Journal of Modern History* 70 (March 1998): 24-73, on how language such as this assumed an antisemitic character in the 1930s.

selection and their assimilation were vital, and this, Lambert believed, should be the aim of sound policy as only this would reinvigorate the French nation. The alternative was invidious and destructive xenophobia, which discouraged potentially fine citizens. "Instead of a stupid policy of xenophobia," he once commented, "let us welcome with an open heart, after taking all precautions, those who come to us. Let our land not be ungrateful, but let it extend a warm smile (*qu'elle soit douce et souriante*) and tomorrow … these millions of foreigners will be millions of good French men and women."[27]

The three key problems that Lambert's proposed law sought to remedy—the insufficient barriers at the frontier, the lack of screening and the menace of indiscriminate foreign arrivals—describe a France in trepidation behind frail borders, suspicious of those who approached it. His is one anxious voice among many that were raised in response to the immigration crisis of the late 1920s and 1930s. Attention to assimilation, however, generated its own anxieties, and these were further propounded by Lambert's conceptual framework of national weakness and the need for the reinvigoration of the French nation. By separating foreigners from the state behind the barriers of a legal statute that would aid the identification and elimination of undesirables—a vague and undefined term that was nevertheless deeply rooted in France's history of immigration—he had legitimized the classification of immigrants as a 'threat' and their entry as an "invasion." He had therefore constructed a rationale for xenophobia since the relative worth of all foreigners could be judged with suspicion.

[27] Quoted by Bonnet, *Les Pouvoirs publics*, 84.

Egypte-sur-Seine: The Making of an Arabic Community in Paris 1800-1830

Ian Coller

"Arab Paris" is today evident to the most transient visitor to the capital, thanks to the many hundreds of thousands of Parisians who draw their origins from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere; even the most Francophile tourist must be struck by the proliferation of Arabic restaurants, cafés, bookstores, cultural centers and religious establishments. It is curious to note then, that until very recently historians have paid almost no attention to the historical origins of this Arabic population and culture. For the most part, they have assumed it to be a very recent phenomenon, implicitly belonging to the domain of the sociologist rather than that of the historian. Thus, the history of an "Arab Paris" in the nineteenth century is an almost entirely blank space. The earliest reference available is the visit to Paris of the Egyptian Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, and his account of his five year stay in Paris from 1826 to 1831, entitled *Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz*.[1] Tahtawi was, of course, only the first in a long series of Arab visitors to Paris throughout the century, many of whom had a significant influence on the cultural, scientific and political development of their homelands.[2] In terms of the history of Paris and its population, however, such "visitors" represent in themselves only a relatively temporary and evanescent phenomenon: a handful of students, diplomats and travelers spending a few brief moments in Paris before returning to their homelands. In this sense, "Arab Paris" in the nineteenth century has been considered no more than an interesting sidelight,

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Ian Coller is completing a doctoral thesis on the Arabic presence in early nineteenth-century Paris in the History Department of the University of Melbourne. The author would like to thank Peter McPhee for his unflagging enthusiasm for this project, which has given me that rare space in which my research could develop in quite unexpected ways. Chips Sowerwine has lent his vast knowledge to inspire me with new directions in interpreting the material, and David Garrioch's incisive and encouraging comments have been invaluable in helping me to refine and extend the paper. I would like to thank, too, all those who offered valuable comments and suggestions at the conference. All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.

[1] Tahtawi's account was recently translated into English for the first time by Daniel L. Newman as *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826-31)* (London, 2004).

[2] For a comprehensive list, see Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (Princeton, N.J., 1963). Albert Hourani provides the fullest account of the influence of many of these figures in *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (London and New York, 1970). For a more detailed account of the North African dimension of this encounter, see Béchir Tlili, *Les rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident, en Tunisie au XIXème siècle, (1830-1880)* (Tunis, 1974).

bearing only a marginal relation to the arrival of later, more numerous, Arabic populations.[3]

Contrary to most expectations, however, Tahtawi described his arrival in France in 1826 both as an encounter with the strange and as a meeting with the familiar. "In the city of Marseille," he wrote, "there are many Christians from Egypt and Syria, who accompanied the French during their retreat from Egypt."[4] Scholars have certainly noted on occasion this unexpected description of an "Egyptian" community in Marseille.[5] Yet no historian has attempted to describe or account for this population in any detail.[6] The only substantial description of this community was written in 1866 by Léon Gozlan, a journalist who had grown up in Marseille:

> Not wanting to separate, because to separate is to be destroyed, and they wanted to remain Egyptians of Alexandria, Egyptians of Cairo, Syrians of Jaffa and Aleppo, they searched for, and found, in this admirable city of Marseille, a predestined spot, a stretch of plain, half green, half browned, which recalled for them at once the banks of the Nile and the sands of Giza, and there they built, to the left and to the right, small white houses of two stories at most.[7]

Between Gozlan's childhood memories of the 1810s and the mid 1820s, this diverse Arabic community in Marseille had undergone a significant transformation, from a very visible and clustered population around the Cours Gouffé in the centre of the city, to the more scattered, and apparently assimilated group whom Tahtawi encountered in 1826. The most prevalent assumption, whether overt or unstated, has been that these people simply evaporated at the close of the Napoleonic period, through some odd combination of assimilation, assassination and repatriation. At most, they have been understood as a dwindling remnant of the Empire, confined to the Mediterranean littoral. This picture is in urgent need of revision. Indeed, I would suggest that this community continued to be a vibrant and diverse French-Arabic community, the first of its kind, throughout the century. Moreover, this picture is not simply a Marseillais one, but to a significant extent a Parisian one, also.

When Jean-François Champollion arrived in Paris from Grenoble in 1807, as a young and avid student of Oriental languages, he discovered there what he called in a letter to his brother a "colonie Egypto-Orientale"[8] into which he was introduced through the graces of Dom Raphaël de Monachis. This Melkite (or Greek Catholic) priest was born Rufa'il Zakkur in Egypt: he had accompanied Napoleon from Rome, where he was studying in 1799, to become the only Arabic member of the *Institut*

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[3] Cf. Pascal Blanchard, Eric Deroo, Driss El Yazami, Pierre Fournié and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris Arabe. Deux siècles de présence des Orientaux et des Maghrébins* (Paris, 2003).
[4] Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris*, 154.
[5] Anouar Louca, *Voyageurs et écrivains égyptiens en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris 1970), 58; idem, "Les cinquante jours à Marseille de Rifa'a al-Tahtawi," in *L'Orient des Provençaux dans l'histoire* (Marseille, 1984), 325-9. Alain Silvera, "The First Egyptian Student Mission to France under Muhammad Ali," *Middle Eastern Studies* 16.2 (1980): 1-22.
[6] Pierre Echinard and Emile Témime devoted a few pages to the "Egyptian Refugees" in their history of migrations to Marseille, *Migrance. Histoire des migrations à Marseille. Tome 1. La préhistoire de la migration (1482-1830)* (La Calade, Aix-en-Provence, 1989), 111-121, and the catalogue of an exhibition mounted in Marseille in 1983 added some additional information drawn from the Departmental archives, and those of the Chamber of Commerce.
[7] Léon Gozlan, "Les refugiés égyptiens à Marseille," *Revue contemporaine* 149 (1866): 31-47.
[8] Cited in Pierre Labrousse, *Langues d'O, 1795-1995. Deux siècles d'histoire de l'Ecole nationale des langues orientales* (Paris, 1995), 62.

d'Egypte.[9] After migrating to France in 1803, he was appointed by imperial mandate to the post of *professeur-adjoint* at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Champollion owed much of his fluency, not only in Arabic, but also in Coptic—a skill to which he attributed his success in comprehending the system of hieroglyphics—to his experience amongst this group of native speakers.[10] As one of the few outsiders who could cross the barrier of culture and language, it is unfortunate that Champollion did not remain in Paris long enough to offer any further observation on this population in the later years of the Empire and the early Restoration. Still, his remarks provide us with an indication that even in this very early period, the Arabic population in Paris, although relatively small, was numerous enough, and sufficiently permanent, to be considered a "colony" rather than simply a collection of disparate individuals. Still, this description does not give us a sense either of the precise numbers involved, nor of the mode of "community," if any, which characterized this population.

We may perhaps draw a more meaningful picture from a letter which appears among the correspondence of the "Egyptian Refugees" conserved at the archive of the Ministry of War at Vincennes. In July of 1811, Georges Aïdé wrote to the Ministry to complain of the behavior of a young man, Joubran Mehenna, who had insulted and threatened him in the Tuileries Gardens.

> Recently, taking an afternoon walk in the Thuileries, I saw this young man seated next to Mr. C., and on my passing by chance behind him he took it into his head to utter a number of inanities full of rude and contemptuous expressions, to which Your Servant did not deign to respond for fear that it might lead to troublesome and unpremeditated extremities.
>
> That same evening he met with M. Elias Pharaon, who asked him to explain the motive for the vulgar things he had said about me, to which he made no reply. … This young man is known to be very quick-tempered, and, to add to his offences, he took the liberty to make evil remarks to one Michel Sabbagh, and to one Joseph Athaya, and also to Antoine Sioufi, who was violently beaten and duped by him. He even went so far as to beat a woman, followed by several equally wicked acts.[11]

Aïdé, born in Mount Lebanon, had been living in Cairo at the time of Napoleon's occupation of Egypt, and served the French administration as a customs official. He was aboard the first boat carrying hundreds of soldiers, civilians and their families from the port of Aboukir in Egypt to Marseille, where they formed what the French henceforth referred to as the "Depot of Egyptian Refugees." This Arabic population in Marseille numbered at first in the hundreds, and continued to increase through births and later arrivals throughout this period: in 1817, it has been estimated at around one thousand, or 1 percent of the city's total population.[12] While the bulk of this population had certainly arrived from the ports of Egypt, their designation as

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[9] Charles Bachatly, "Un membre orientale du premier institut d'Egypte, Don Raphaël," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* XVII (1935), 237-60.

[10] "I am going to visit a Coptic priest at Saint-Roch, rue Saint-Honoré, who celebrates Mass … and who will instruct me in Coptic names, and the pronunciation of Coptic letters." Champollion was referring to Yuhanna Chiftichi: Anouar Louca "Yuhanna Chiftichi," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. Aziz S. Atiya (New York and Toronto, 1991), 519.

[11] Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, Vincennes (henceforth AMG) XL/37d.

[12] Edouard Saman, "L'église Saint-Nicolas de Myre de Marseille et les collaborateurs orientaux de Bonaparte," *Marseille* (1981); and Georges Reynaud, "Les données de l'état civil et du cadastre (1801-1833)," in *L'orient des Provençaux*, 368-70.

"Egyptian" was effectively an administrative fiction. In fact, like Aïdé himself, the largest group amongst these arrivals were not Egyptians, but Syrians, many from the region around Acre in Palestine. Alongside the majority of Egyptians and Syrians were individuals drawing their origins from Armenia, Greece, the Ionic Islands, the Sudan, Ethiopia, the Maghreb and the Arabian Peninsula. However, such regional identities functioned alongside other identifications, and particularly religious groupings. Melkite Catholics, Arabic by language and rite, formed the largest group, but the colony also included many Copts, some Greek Orthodox, and a small number of Muslims. If the identity of "Egyptian" is thus difficult to sustain, the status of "refugee" needs a similar re-evaluation. The reasons for Aïdé's decision to leave for France appear to be far more complex than the simple designation of "refugee" might imply. In his file is included a correspondence with the princely rulers of Mount Lebanon, who encouraged him to return to Syria, now that political changes had removed the reasons for his exile: in this correspondence they refer to him consistently as an "expatriate" and an "émigré," never as a "refugee."[13] Indeed, Aïdé, by including this correspondence in 1806, was emphasizing to the authorities that he had remained in France by *choice* rather than through fear. This was important, as he based his claim to the continuance of his state pension on the considerable losses he had suffered and not simply on his penury. Thus, while identifying himself as a "refugee" in administrative terms, Aïdé considered his claim on the government to be more in the way of restitution than charity: and indeed, the pensions administration awarded him well over five thousand francs per year, testifying to some considerable degree of approval for these claims in the right channels. Later, in 1810, a change in the pension regulations significantly increased the income of large families such as Aïdé's by providing pensions for those children born in France from Egyptian parents. This gave the Aïdé family (including his wife, five children and a servant) a total annual income of over ten thousand francs, and the wherewithal to contemplate a shift to the capital.

On his arrival in Paris, Aïdé installed his family in the Rue St-Honoré, close to a number of other earlier arrivals from Marseille, including priests such as Yuhanna Chiftichi, who had been given permission to provide religious services to his countrymen at St Roch,[14] and the Melkite Catholic priest Isa Carus, who had come to Paris from Italy in 1801.[15] Near St-Germain l'Auxerrois, one of those Aïdé mentions in his letter, a young man from a prominent Palestinian family, Mikhail Sabbagh, had been living in a *hôtel garni* for almost a decade, working as a copyist of manuscripts at the Bibliotheque Impériale.[16] Addresses provided in the correspondence of the refugees cluster particularly around the Rue St-Honoré and the church of St-Roch, in the districts of the Tuileries and the Palais Royal: many were clearly drawn, like Aïdé, to live close to others who shared language, culture, and often family ties. Frequently, several families lived at the same address: at number 355, for example, Aïdé's family

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[13] AMG XL/37l. The political, cultural and economic dimensions of the Arabic migration are considered in detail in my thesis, *Arab Paris: The Making of a Community 1800-1830* (University of Melbourne, forthcoming). Cf. Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt, 1725-1975* (Stuttgart, 1985).

[14] See AMG XL/37j, and Anouar Louca, "Champollion entre Bartholdi et Chiftichi," in *Rivages et déserts. Hommages à Jacques Berque* (Paris, 1988), 209-25.

[15] AMG XL/37j. Isa Carus published a pamphlet recounting his misadventures during the Revolution: *Isa-Carus, prélat du rit grec catholique aux âmes sensibles* (Paris, 1804).

[16] AMG XL/37j; see also the note on Michel Sabbagh in Jean Pierre Louis Humbert, *Anthologie arabe, ou Choix de poésies arabes inédites, traduites en français, avec le texte en regard, et accompagnées d'une version latine littérale* (Paris, 1819).

shared a roof with Lotfi Nemr, another Egyptian notable from the exodus of 1801, and Joseph Ataïa (whom he mentions in his letter), soon to be married to the daughter of Gabriel Sakakini, one of the heads of a large family engaged in commerce in Marseille, Livorno and Egypt. Yet this was not always the case—indeed, a second group of addresses clustered around the Hôtel des Invalides, where a number of former soldiers (several of them sustaining terrible wounds) were located close to the military hospital. In the poorer districts of the Left Bank, close to the old Rue de la Harpe, what seems to have been a more disparate and less affluent population was scattered: once again, however, a number of these men and women frequently occupied rooms in the same building. Thus, the population could be said to be clustered around main centers, but not concentrated in any one location: indeed, addresses are given in the Faubourg St-Germain, in the Marais, and as far distant as Passy and Charenton.

In the absence of any reliable census information, it is difficult to establish any truly definitive numbers for this population. According to the register of refugee pensions drawn up by the War Ministry in 1811, twenty-seven individuals were paid at Paris, in contrast to the 431 refugees paid at Marseille.[17] However, it is quite evident that a number of individuals resided in Paris while making arrangements for the collection of their pension at Marseille. Others did not appear on the pension list, either through ineligibility, or because they had other means of support. Further, this list precedes the significant increase in movement toward Paris which can be observed after 1811. A more comprehensive, if still incomplete, estimation can be made on the basis of the correspondence of the Pensions Bureau, which provides more than one hundred addresses in Paris, many representing families of up to ten. This at least provides a firm base for the projection of a potential population figure in the low hundreds: a relatively tiny proportion of the population of the capital, but still a far more significant presence than has been previously imagined. Moreover, and most importantly perhaps, there is no evidence of a significant drop in the population over the period between 1815 and 1830. Indeed, if any movement can be observed, it is a tendency to congregate more heavily in the St-Roch/Palais Royal districts, suggesting rather a consolidation of the population than its dispersal or reduction.[18] Thus, it seems clear from the documents that a small but significant Arabic population was present in Paris throughout these early decades of the nineteenth century, and that this population continued to grow slowly across the period.

The difficulty of generalizing from this evidence is compounded by a factor which quickly becomes evident from the hundreds of letters which request permission for travel to and from Paris, either for short periods or as an official change of residency status. At first, it might seem from this correspondence that the majority of the Arabic population in Paris at this time was relatively transitory, arriving frequently for brief visits, and departing again just as precipitately. The documents themselves may heighten this impression, since the "refugees" did not write routinely, but rather in cases where issues arose with the regular payment of their pension, where they (extremely frequently) desired an augmentation, or where they required permission to alter their status. Still, these factors notwithstanding, a survey across the range of correspondence cannot but communicate a remarkable sense of mobility throughout the period. Yet this should not be taken to indicate a rootlessness or impermanence;

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[17] AMG X^{ab} 35.

[18] These observations are based on my own analysis of the distribution by *quartiers* of addresses drawn from the correspondence of the Pensions Bureau.

very few are the dossiers which suggest any degree of wandering or vagrancy. Instead, the mobility of these men and women remained firmly fixed between the two poles of Marseille and Paris. The refusal of the pension bureau to sanction payments elsewhere had a natural tendency to concentrate the population in these two cities. Moreover, I would suggest that this initial "refugee" population quite rapidly reconstructed itself as a migrant community, reconstituting elites which served to maintain the coherence and continuity of the community—a process in which Marseille and Paris played equally important roles.

The formation of these elites was actively sponsored by the Napoleonic bureaucracy, both through the formation of the "Council of Egyptian Refugees" at Marseille, and through the creation of a new military corps from the remains of the Coptic, Syrian and Greek battalions which had fought alongside the French in the campaigns of Egypt and Syria.[19] These soldiers, officially designated "Mamelouks"—despite the negligible presence among them of members of the slave-caste of elite soldiers known by that name in Egypt—played a conspicuous role in the orientalizing iconography of the Napoleonic propaganda machine. Their officers, retired or in active service, tended to remain in Melun, although they often had close family ties with the larger population in Marseille. They were in constant communication with the capital, only some fifty kilometers away. From 1802 onwards, they appeared regularly in military parades in the capital, and visited frequently, as the registers of foreigners in the period record.[20] Priests such as Mikhail Sabbagh's brother Yusuf traveled regularly to Melun from Paris in the exercise of their functions.[21] From 1806 onwards, an increasing number of these men retired on army pensions, significantly higher than those of the "refugees," and many of them moved to Paris, alone or with their families. There, they joined the small colony of Arabic-speakers, most of whom were priests or young intellectuals sponsored by the influence of functionaries whom they had they served as interpreters in Egypt.

Joubran Mehenna, the rambunctious young man described in Aïdé's letter, arrived in Paris at this time, accompanied by several other former soldiers from Egypt who shared the same address in the newly-built market area of St-Honoré (built over the demolished convent where the famous Jacobin club had met in the revolutionary years). Joubran's progress to Paris can tell us much about the gradual accretion of this presence in the capital: in a letter to the Minister of Police in 1811, he claims to have been living in Paris for seven years, thus dating his arrival to 1804.[22] His earliest correspondence begins in 1807, when he was requested to provide an account of the reasons for his presence in the capital to the War Ministry, and he writes:

> I received the letter which Your Highness did me the honor of addressing me and in which he asked the reason for my stay in Paris. I undertake to respond to this question by assuring Your Most Serene Highness that my first arrival in Paris was with the aim of accompanying from Marseille Madame Rennot [Renno] who had come from Acre to see her son, and that was by the order of the Inspector and Commandant Valliant. Invited by our chiefs, as stated in the certificates which I had the honor of transmitting to you, I accompanied her to Melun and from there returned to Marseille where I stayed for a short time. But wanting to learn the French language and not at all

[19] G. Guémard, "Les auxiliaires de l'armée de Bonaparte en Egypte (1798-1801)," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* 9 (1927): 1-17. Jean Savant, *Les Mamelouks de Napoléon* (Paris, 1949).
[20] AN F/7/2249.
[21] AMG XL/37j.
[22] AN F/7/6475.

> desirous of acquiring either the language or the accent of Marseille, I was forced to come to Paris to continue my instruction. According to orders, I send every month my *certificat de vie* and another to my language teacher at Marseille, orders given to me so that I should be in accordance with the laws of this country.[23]

Thus, it seems that Joubran took the opportunity of a commission allowing him to travel to Paris in order to familiarize himself with the capital. He appears to have been drawn immediately to the life and culture—and perhaps the freedom—of Parisian life, and returned without permission. From other documents it appears that in 1808 he followed the army to Spain as a *vivandier,* then returned to Paris with no real means of support. In the atmosphere of largesse which succeeded the marriage of the Emperor and Marie-Louise, and the birth of an Imperial heir, Joubran succeeded in gaining admission to the pension list. Still, he seems to have struggled to support himself in the capital: there is no clear evidence of how he managed to survive.

The sudden arrival of a new, wealthier elite in Paris in 1810 and 1811, in the wake of the alteration to the pension system, seems to have stirred considerable resentment amongst those men who had come to Paris in the preceding years, alone or with their families. Jean-Louis Clément, for example, a merchant of French origin born in Syria, wrote to the ministry:

> In truth, Your Excellence can rest assured that since we have been in France we have not had any enjoyments, whether those of the Theatres big or small, Public Balls, Caffés, going out in a carriage or other pleasures that one permits oneself from time to time for recreation. And all through an economy of the most severe kind, unlike that of a certain favored refugee who enjoys between himself and his wife and two very young children around ten thousand francs.[24]

Although he does not mention Aïdé by name, this description of the family of the "favored refugee" fits Aïdé's circumstances very convincingly. Indeed, by 1815, after the birth of another child in Paris, the Aïdé family was receiving 10,413 francs 45 centimes, according to George's own estimate.[25] One may infer from Clément's complaints that at least some of these new arrivals did have the resources to enjoy the pleasures of the capital (something one would never deduce from their own protestations of penury in their petitions to the ministry).

Aïdé's denunciation of Joubran Mehenna also makes it clear that the Arabic community living in and around Paris was in close and frequent contact—the list of his misdeeds includes violent confrontations with Youssef Ataïa and Mikhail Sabbagh, whom I have mentioned earlier, and with Antun Sioufi, an armorer who was at this time living in the Rue des Brodeurs, near the Invalides, after spending a period of sickness, lying on a mattress in a corner at the Persian Embassy.[26] On the same street was living at the same time a young woman, Louise Virginie, one of the numerous African women from Egypt who had been brought to France as domestic servants or mistresses of the French officers.[27] At about this time, she moved to live with Joubran in the Rue du Four St-Germain, having lived previously at an address close to that of Antun Sioufi. It is irresistible to speculate from these facts on the

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[23] AMG XL/37d.
[24] AMG XL/37j.
[25] AMG XL/37l.
[26] AMG XL/37k.
[27] AMG XL/37m.

possible motive behind Joubran's violent encounter with Antun Sioufi, which George Aïdé described in his letter. At any event, Joubran's relationship with Louise-Virginie did not last: the following year he married a young woman from the Yvelines, Anne-Victoire Précieux. In 1816 he moved with his young family to her small village of Montainville, returning to Paris only after her death in 1825.[28] By then, George Aïdé, his pension reduced to a considerably more modest degree by the Restoration, had returned to Marseille, where he could live more cheaply, and marry his daughters within the community.

Neither George Aïdé nor Joubran Mehenna succeeded in carving out a settled life for themselves in Paris: the difficulties of the capital were manifold, and the expenses ever multiplying. Yet there were those who did succeed: Yusuf 'Atiya married a daughter of the wealthy Sakakini family from Marseille, and her father moved to Paris along with his daughter, followed by several other members of the family.[29] Throughout the 1830s they lived in the Rue du Four Germain, an address which would certainly suggest a relative degree of affluence. It is unfortunate, however, that as individuals succeeded in French society, their traces became far more widely dispersed and difficult to discover. Still, the pension accorded to the refugees, far from being a stigma to be avoided, seems to have functioned for most as an important and prestigious sign of belonging to this "Egyptian" group, an identity which continued to carry considerable symbolic importance well beyond the fall of the Napoleonic regime. The factors sustaining this ongoing maintenance of Arabic identity and culture are too complex to analyze here.[30] However, it is crucial to recognize that this community continued to exist, albeit in changed form, through the Restoration and into the July Monarchy.

The failure to trace the existence of this early Arabic community beyond the limits of the Empire is in part due to the events of July 1815, and a widespread misinterpretation of their consequences. With the onset of the White Terror in the Midi, the large and visible Arabic community of Marseille was targeted by Royalist militias for their allegedly "fanatical" devotion to the Emperor. People of color, particularly women, were attacked first, and the bulk of the community was forced to flee into the mountains for safety. Those few historians who have reported these events at all have made the assumption that this effectively closed the "Egyptian" chapter in the history of Marseille, leaving only a remnant of a devastated population to melt away into the social fabric, or return to their countries of origin. The bloody events of 1815 did no doubt result in a diminution of the Arabic population of Marseille, although this was in some part reversed by the arrival of Melkite Catholics fleeing Greek Orthodox persecution in the Levant from 1817 onwards.[31] Significantly, the exodus from Marseille did not inspire, for the bulk of the Arabic population, any desire to return to those countries from which they had departed more than a decade earlier. In 1816, the new government offered the enticement of a full year's pension to those among the refugees who would return voluntarily. While a number of the poorer members of the community did take up this offer, it is notable that a majority of them returned to France, either immediately or over the succeeding years, and several were actually re-admitted to the pension lists, particularly after the change of regime in

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[28] Arch. Dep. Yvelines, AMG XL/37D, *Etat Civil, Table Décennale 1823-1833*, 15.

[29] Abdallah Naaman provides an account of the Sakakini family (and several other families from this early period) in his *Histoire des orientaux de France du Ier au XXe siècle* (Paris, 2004), 474-6.

[30] This question is explored at length in my doctoral thesis.

[31] Joseph Haijar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815-1848)* (Paris, 1970); Saman, "L'église Saint-Nicolas de Myre."

1830. Thus, beyond the immediate violence and death which struck the community in Marseille, the events of 1815 had two important consequences for the Arabic presence in France, and in Paris in particular. It is evident from the archives of correspondence that many of the refugees chose to follow the well-worn path to the capital, joining relatives and associates, or blending less visibly into the *population flottante* of a vastly larger urban fabric. At the same time, however, the violence visited upon the highly conspicuous population of Marseille must have promoted a far greater degree of discretion, indeed, invisibility even, as a corporate group of "foreign" citizens within the French nation. It was this fact which struck Rifa'a al-Tahtawi in Marseille in 1826: he noted that all of the Egyptians and Syrians wore French clothes, that the few Muslims among them had converted to Christianity, and that many no longer spoke or understood Arabic.[32] Yet in Paris, Tahtawi was taught by two key figures from the second generation of French Arabs, Joanny Pharaon (the son of that Elias Fir'aun who was mentioned in George Aïdé's letter) and Joseph Agoub, a successful writer and teacher whose "orientalizing" poetry would influence both Lamartine and Tahtawi: the latter, founder of the translation movement in modern Egypt, chose Agoub's *La Lyre Brisée* as his first task of French-Arabic translation, published in Paris in 1827.[33]

The importance of France and French culture in the Arab world is abundantly evident even today: conversely, Arabic culture and the Arab world play an obvious—if not yet fully accepted—role within contemporary France. This shared, plural cultural space has a history which reaches back two centuries and more: indeed, the history of the Arabic community in France is only one of many elements of cultural interconnectedness which may reveal a far looser and more porous boundary between "Europe" and the Arabo-Muslim Mediterranean in cultural, political and human terms. In examining this history without imposing the more rigid framework of national boundaries and identities, a very different picture begins to emerge, not only of this small community whose existence has hardly been suspected. The existence of an Arabic-speaking population in Paris at this early period sheds a new light on the ever-increasing flow towards Paris of students, travelers, writers, exiles and others from the Arabic-speaking world throughout the nineteenth century After 1830, this increasingly includes Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians, in addition to Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians and Egyptians. I would argue that the interaction between these groups within an Arabic-speaking milieu in the French capital were an important source for the evolution of a common Arabic—if not yet fully Arab—identity in the nineteenth century, and thus a neglected ground for understanding the emergence of Arab nationalism in the twentieth century. At the very least, the interaction between second and third generation Arabic migrants, a steady flow of new arrivals, and a passing stream of visitors from the Arab world, contributed to the vibrancy of a Paris which has been—at least in some part—Arab Paris, for more than two centuries.

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[32] Tahtawi and Newman, *An Imam in Paris*, 154.

[33] Joseph Agoub/Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, *Nazm al-'uqud fi kasr al-'ud. La Lyre brisée, dithyrambe de M. Agoub, traduit en vers arabes par le cheykh Réfaha* (Paris, 1242/1826).

"Rothschildian Greed: This New Variety of Despotism"

Julie Kalman

On 23 July 1846, the *Charivari* recounted an incident, "unbelievable, and consequently, true"[1] of the topic given as the subject in the Latin *prix d'honneur* for the general junior high school competition:

> "Charlemagne, wishing to build a canal that would link the Rhine and the Danube via the Raab and the Main, assembles his valiant knights.
> "He tells them: that *peace* is a glorious thing, stability an excellent guarantee, and that *conservatives* are good people…
> "That the best way to guarantee peace is to *create routes of communication*;
> "That, for this reason, he has built roads, and wishes to build a canal…
> "That, if he does not finish it, *one day it will be finished*.
> "That he believes that one day, with the advances in *knowledge and industry*, *more rapid means* will be invented, and that, through the *union of fire and water* … some way to cleave open space and join *people and continents in a universal alliance* will be discovered."[2]

Was it by chance, the *Charivari* wondered, that the subject had been given by Baron de Rothschild? Was it not, the paper went on to ask, a delightful thing "to see the system of endless subservience and the trickery of the Stock Exchange of 1846 prophesied by Charlemagne?"[3]

It was with this unusually censorious tone that the *Charivari* linked the rail system, the Stock Exchange, and Baron James de Rothschild. In this article, I will seek to throw some light on the reasons behind these links. In order to do this I will revisit and examine criticism of Rothschild and his co-religionists as "kings of the era" from what we could loosely call the left wing, that is, writers such as Pierre Leroux, Charles Fourier, his disciple Alphonse Toussenel, and the lesser-known pamphleteer Georges Mathieu-Dairnvaell.[4] Where figures such as Toussenel, Fourier

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[1] *Le charivari*, 23 July 1846. All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] In 1846, Friedrich Engels described Mathieu-Dairnvaell as "a man nobody knows:" "a working man," "the whole of whose property consists of the suit of clothes he wears." Friedrich Engels, "Government and Opposition in France," *The Northern Star*, 5 Sept. 1846. Mathieu-Dairnvaell described himself as

and Leroux are concerned, the historiography of anti-Jewish attitudes during the late July Monarchy has tended to marginalize itself. Numerous researchers have explored and commented on the writings of these men, and their lives and their attitude towards Jews are well known.[5] But while every historian of nineteenth-century France knows that Alphonse Toussenel described the Jews of his world as the Kings of the Era, little or no effort has been made to place men such as Toussenel in the context of this very era. What was it specifically about the state of his times that drove Toussenel to write? What was it about this era that led to such depth of passion? What was it that so outraged the journalist in the *Charivari*?

There is no doubt that many sensibilities were offended by the cold, hard pragmatism espoused by the July Monarchy. Traditional relationships and spheres of influence were eroded or changed during this time, and indeed, Rothschild's detractors did not focus on stockholders and thus the Stock Exchange by chance. It was during the 1840s, in many ways a time of rapid evolution in France, that the nation, "in many respects," entered the modern era of stock movement.[6] Speculation was characterized by a dumbstruck Pierre Leroux as "the right to make a profit … from the sole fact of accumulated wealth, *without participating in any way in the useful employment of this wealth*."[7]

Perhaps one of the greatest conceptual changes of this time had to do with the new understanding of land, where relationships between landlords and tenant farmers became based around money alone—a cash rent in exchange for land, animals and tools. All through the July Monarchy those who thought national pitted their interests against those who were historically inclined to think local. Thus "technocrats" whose principal interest was the nation, and whose interests to a large extent matched those of capitalists, challenged the ascendancy of those whom Tudesq has labeled "notables," "whose wealth essentially was derived from land and whose social pre-eminence rested on this, their family name, and their local networks of influence."[8] This new view of land was particularly evident in the development of a rail network, a key issue on which notables—concerned primarily about the use of land in their respective regions—diverged from bureaucrats and capitalists. The 1833 law on

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"a writer without name, position, title or rank, not even a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur or a member of the French Academy, an *obscure scribbler*." Georges Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Jugement rendu contre J. Rothschild, et contre Georges Dairnvaell, Auteur de l'histoire de Rothschild I^er^, par le tribunal de la saine raison, accompagné d'un jugement sur l'accident de Fampoux* (Paris, 1846), 7.

[5] See for example Robert Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1950), 118-125; Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), chap. 9; George Lichtheim, "Socialism and the Jews," *Dissent* 15 (1968): 314-322; Edmund Silberner, "Charles Fourier on the Jewish Question," *Jewish Social Studies* 8 (1946): 245-266; idem, "The Attitude of the Fourierist School towards the Jews," *Jewish Social Studies* 9 (1947), 339-348; Zosa Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Anti-Semites in France," *Jewish Social Studies* 9 (1947), 46-55; Robert Wistrich, "Radical Antisemitism in France and Germany 1840-1880," *Modern Judaism* 15 (1995): 112-119. For alternative approaches, see Jack Bakunin, "National Socialists and Socialist Antisemites," *Patterns of Prejudice* 11 (1977): 29-33, and Victor Glasberg, "Intent and Consequences: The "Jewish Question" in the French Socialist Movement of the Late Nineteenth Century," *Jewish Social Studies* 36 (1974): 61-71.

[6] Christopher Johnson, "The Revolution of 1830 in French Economic History," in *1830 in France*, ed. John Merriman (New York, 1975), 166.

[7] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes ou Y aura-t-il toujours des pauvres?* (Paris, 1897), 3: 36. Original emphasis.

[8] Johnson, "The Revolution of 1830," 147. See also André-Jean Tudesq, *Les grands notables en France (1840-1849). Étude historique d'une psychologie sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), 2: chap. 2, II: "Les Notables et les chemins de fer," 627.

compensation for land appropriated by the state for railways defined land as "a commodity whose value was simply its market price," as opposed to the historic understanding of land as an object of sentimental value; a thing to which one could be attached by virtue of generations of use.[9] By the mid-1840s a rail network was being constructed throughout France, joining together "people and continents" as the *Charivari* had put it, by powering through lands which were now a commodity, but to which some peasant or noble family perhaps still felt a sense of attachment. Thus for many the heartlessness of the era was epitomized precisely by the railway.

On 8 July 1846, two weeks before the *Charivari* article appeared, at 3.05 in the afternoon, a train traveling from Paris to Lille was nearing the village of Fampoux, between Arras and Douai. Without warning, the locomotive and its tender skipped the rails, and five or six carriages ran down a bank and into a marsh. Available information put the number of dead at seventeen. The number of wounded was said to be between five and fifteen. Newspapers recounted the horror of families awaiting their loved ones in the station at Lille, as news of the accident spread through that city, and told graphic tales of the accident with descriptions of heroic efforts of survivors and details of the dead and wounded. Thus, for example, a journalist from the *Echo du nord*, by the name of Lestiboudois, was in the second submerged carriage as the dying passengers desperately grabbed on to one another, and he described how he broke the glass of a window, and was pulled from the water, his hands covered in blood, at the very moment when his strength was about to give way.[10]

This was not the first major train accident to occur. In Meudon, on 8 May 1842, fifty-seven people were killed, mostly burned alive, and more than one hundred were seriously injured, when two trains collided. But Fampoux differed from Meudon in that the former was caused by a derailment, rather than a collision, so that blame was laid on the company as a whole and not on an isolated driver or operator. And indeed, if reactions in the press are to be believed, the accident unleashed a wave of public outrage. A torrent of righteous fury was vented against Baron James de Rothschild as owner of the Northern line, for it was on his shoulders that responsibility for the deaths of innocent French men and women could be squarely laid. Rothschild was depicted as having placed speculation and profit above the safety and, indeed, the lives of French citizens.[11]

What had gone wrong? The Revolution of 1789 had unleashed individualism, and whether writers were for the Revolution, such as Pierre Leroux and Alphonse Toussenel, or against it, like Charles Fourier, they felt that this individualism had gone awry. From the complex web of competing ideologies that characterized the years following 1789, one vital notion that emerged was that all Frenchmen were equal individuals, and that no Frenchman could claim privilege or difference on the basis of membership of a specific corporation (or religion), since all Frenchmen were expected to feel overwhelming loyalty to the great corporation that was the nation. In other words, citizens were to live out a sort of cooperative individualism. Yet if the Revolution of 1830 completed of that of 1789,[12] it was perhaps in that it promoted a world of competitive individualism, where man was "morally sovereign, and could

[9] McPhee, *A Social History of France, 1780-1880* (London, 1992), 121. See also Johnson, "The Revolution of 1830," 174-175.
[10] From *L'echo du nord*, reproduced in *La réforme*, 11 July 1846.
[11] *La réforme,* 14 July 1846. On train accidents in nineteenth-century France, see François Caron, "Le rôle des accidents de voyageurs dans la gestion des chemins de fer en France," *Entreprises et Histoire* 17 (1997), 85-93.
[12] McPhee, *A Social History of France,* 120.

choose to follow the dictates of his own conscience."[13] This was anathema to early socialists who believed that the ideal citizen should be an individual who cooperated with his fellows, rather than competing with them.[14] For Mathieu-Dairnvaell, the new era was one of "selfish and brutal" individualism.[15] Fourier envisaged utopian societies based on co-operation. But in the materialistic atmosphere of the July Monarchy, competitive individualism translated easily to capitalism, or, as Toussenel and others were to describe it, "financial feudalism." Indeed, for these men, medieval feudalism had never truly come to an end, but had merely metamorphosed into a new form. Variously described as industrial, financial, or mercantile, this was a system where, as with its forebear, the powerful few cemented their position at the expense of the powerless majority. The feudal lord had been replaced by the banker, who waged war on his fellow men by means of lucre, so that where men were once killed by the sword, now they succumbed to hunger.

Indeed, one of the features of this time that so outraged these men was the uneven struggle between honest working French citizens and the capitalist juggernaut, precisely characterized by the circumstances of the Fampoux accident. Leroux and his fellow writers saw themselves as lone battlers, the champions of the little man and his cause.[16] In fact, so many saw the world of the July Monarchy as disastrous that outpourings of outraged morality such as those expressed in reaction to the accident in Fampoux were common by the later years of the regime in both newspapers and pamphlets.[17] Perhaps it would not have been so difficult for men like these writers, who saw the working classes at the mercy of capitalists' needs for a cheap labor force and for stability, unions and mutual-aid societies disbanded, the master given word over his worker, the spread of practices such as *marchandage*, concentrations, mergers and collusion, and growing competition from an influx of cheaper labor and more efficient methods of production, to believe that in their world, workers indeed lived on in servitude and grinding poverty, with merely a change of master. And the new masters were none other than the Jews, "cunning and despoiling,"[18] and, as

[13] Lichtheim, "Socialism and the Jews," 317.
[14] Ibid. See also Pamela Pilbeam, *Republicanism in Nineteenth-Century France, 1814-1871* (London, 1995), 182-183.
[15] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Guerre aux fripons. Chronique secrète de la Bourse et des Chemins de fer,* 3d ed. (Paris, 1846), 37.
[16] Sartre described the antisemite as envisaging a Manichean dichotomy in which he represented good, and the Jew evil. In the eternal struggle of one force against another, the role of good was quite naturally to destroy evil, and thus the antisemite saw himself as committing necessary evils for the sake of good, in the name of the people. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive* (Paris, 1954), 59.
[17] Echoes of this criticism can be found, for example, in Marx's *Class Struggles in France*, where he described the July Monarchy as being ruled by a "finance aristocracy," which "made the laws, was at the head of the administration of the State, had command of all the organized public powers, dominated public opinion through facts and through the press," and exploited the construction of the railway. Bankers such as Rothschild ruined financial reforms that were not in their interest. This was the nation of the 'Stock exchange Jews.'" Karl Marx, *Class Struggles in France 1848-1850* (New York, 1969), 33-37. Alexis de Tocqueville also spoke about "moral decay." (*Chambre des deputes. Annales du parlement français* 27 Jan. 1848 (1849), 108-9, quoted in Pilbeam, *Republicanism*, 152). In 1856, de Tocqueville wrote of the power of money. It had become "the chief means by which to distinguish between people," and the desire "to enrich oneself at any price," if unchecked, demoralized and degraded the entire nation. Alexis De Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the Revolution,* eds. François Furet and Françoise Mélonio, trans. Alan Kahan (Chicago, 1998), 87. Tocqueville made no specific mention of Jews.
[18] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1:31.

Leroux, Toussenel, and Mathieu-Dairnvaell all put it, the kings of the era.[19] These men had much to say about the involvement of Jews in what for them was this disastrous situation. Georges Mathieu-Dairnvaell, who used the accident in Fampoux as the background to his attacks on Rothschild, was, and still remains an elusive figure. Nonetheless his words seem to have resonated with readers of the day since all of the four pamphlets he wrote went through more than one edition, and his pamphlet *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild I^er^, roi des juifs* sold more than sixty thousand copies, was widely translated, and went through twenty editions in 1846 alone: a feat all the more impressive given that the capital was flooded with similar works.[20] For them, the spirit of "avarice and cupidity" that reigned in France was none other than the "Jewish spirit."[21] In Fourier's eyes, the granting of citizenship to the Jews was "the most shameful" of all society's recent vices.[22] For not only had they been emancipated by the Revolution, they were now thriving on the immoral individualism it had unleashed. In this time, when individualism and egotism reigned, the Jews, egotists par excellence, were triumphant. Wherever they prospered, stated an angry Fourier, neatly separating Jews from the body of the nation, it was "at the expense of the citizenry."[23]

Indeed, Fourier produced a vivid image of the Jew, who, having no ties to the nation, allowed himself to pillage it like a pirate.[24] For not only was the competitive and individualistic Jew the antithesis of everything these men envisaged as characterizing the nation, *their* nation, the Jew himself subscribed to this notion, treating the sacred *patrie* with the utmost contempt. The Jews shunned the honest and patriotic labor that was agriculture. But it was no wonder that the Jew did not work the land, for why would a man who had no sense of attachment to the nation choose a career that involved hard manual labor and financial uncertainty?[25] The Jews preferred to devote themselves to what for Fourier were "mercantile depravities."[26] For not only did Jews not work the land, they also owned the railways that took the land from honest French citizens, and at no more than its market price.

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[19] Ibid., 2:148; Alphonse Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque. Histoire de la féodalité financière* (Paris, 1847). It is unclear who of the three was the first to coin this phrase. Leroux published a lengthy essay which bore this title in the *Revue sociale* in Jan. 1846. Toussenel's pamphlet was published in 1847, and Mathieu-Dairnvaell used the epithet to describe Rothschild. See for example Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Jugement*, 11.

[20] According to Engels, "some thirty pamphlets," both for and against Rothschild, had been published. Engels noted that the public had followed the exchanges between Mathieu-Dairnvaell and Rothschild "with the greatest interest." Engels, "Government and Opposition in France." (Rothschild had two pamphlets published in his defense. These were A. Deprez, *Guerre aux Juifs! Ou la vérité sur MM. De Rothschild, par A.D.***, Avocat, ancien Directeur de la Bibliothèque ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1846); and J.B. Mesnard, *Dix jours de règne de Rothschild I^er^, roi des juifs, ou Notes pour servir à l'Histoire de la Fondation de la Monarchie de ce Souverain* (Paris, 1846).) Journalist and public servant Cerfberr de Medelsheim also noted in his work on the Jews that "Lately, numerous different brochures and works that are against the Jewish monopoly have attracted the attention of the public, which showed proof of the interest it had in this discussion through the multitude of copies which were quickly sold." Cerfberr de Medelsheim, *Les Juifs*, *leur histoire, leurs moeurs* (Paris, 1847), preface.

[21] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1:31.

[22] Fourier, *Le nouveau monde*, 421, quoted in Silberner, "Charles Fourier," 250.

[23] Fourier, *Publication des manuscripts*, 3:36, quoted in Silberner, "Charles Fourier," 249.

[24] Ibid., 2: 228, quoted in Silberner, "Charles Fourier," 249.

[25] Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque*, 75.

[26] Fourier, *Le Nouveau monde*, 421, quoted in Silberner, "Charles Fourier," 249.

But if the Jews were the kings of the era, Rothschild was king of the Jews.[27] By the 1840s, Rothschild was clearly fixed in the popular consciousness as a synonym for "wealthy."[28] But he could represent much more, for Rothschild, banker *and* Jew, personified the "Jewish spirit,"[29] and thus his very era. The man variously described as "James the Great,"[30] "the rich son of Israel,"[31] "the divine Rothschild," and "the noble Jew,"[32] was a calculating, competitive, heartless power, with no sense of national loyalty; he was most certainly not a cooperative citizen. Satirists underscored Rothschild's foreignness by emphasizing his heavy Germanic accent. Mathieu-Dairnvaell made much of his Teutonic origins.[33]

In mid-nineteenth century France, where so many still competed to impose their understanding of terms such as nation, and citizen, the terrain was fertile for the creation of a *bouc-émissaire*. Political writers such as Toussenel and Leroux, seeking to document their times, created what I call the Rothschild-Jew, on whose back were laden all of society's ills. Freed from the moorings of common humanity, he became a superbly efficient receptacle for all that lay beyond the bounds of the ideal world of those who created him. But was it central to the identity of this scapegoat that he be Jewish? Or was Rothschild's Jewishness incidental to his other qualities that so perfectly characterized the era's evils? Were attacks on Rothschild such as the one in the *Charivari* antisemitic? After all, those who released his bounds did so consciously and deliberately. Thus, just like the *Dictionnaire*, they argued that when they wrote about Jews, they were using the term Jew as it was understood in its "popular" usage; that is: "*Jew, banker, trader*,"[34] or "*salesmen* or *second hand dealer in silver*."[35] The "Jewish spirit" was one of "*gain,* of *lucre*, of *profit*, of the spirit of *business* and of *speculation*,"[36] so that Jew was a title reserved for any shrewd speculator who earned it. In this sense, Leroux could argue that while he might have a healthy dislike for

[27] Mathieu-Dairnvaell described him as James Rothschild I, "king of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Oceania and other places, and especially king of the Jews!" Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rotschild I^er^, roi des juifs, par Satan*, 15th ed. (Paris, 1846), 16.

[28] On 10 July 1846, the *Charivari* announced that one Van Gend—apparently the owner of a mail-coach service—had put up a placard challenging Rothschild to a race from Paris to Brussels, promising to get there in eighteen hours, and for less than the railway charges. "When Mr de Rothschild sees the placard," the author tells us, "he won't be able to avoid squinting. I pray to God that I will not be on the boulevard des Italiens at that moment! The sight of a man squinting is always disagreeable to me, even when he is a multi-millionaire." On 27 July the *Charivari* made reference to an advertisement that "appeals to the public's cupidity, and it is perfectly right to do so. Every notice beginning with the words *one hundred thousand francs to be won* is read by all the paper's subscribers, even by Mr de Rothschild." (Original emphasis).

[29] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1: 24.

[30] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Histoire*, 10.

[31] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Guerre*, 31.

[32] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Rothschild I^er^*, 18.

[33] Mathieu-Dairnvaell wrote Rothschild's speech thus: "Ma chournée de chasse gommence pien." (*Ma journée de chasse commence bien.*) Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Histoire*, 27.

[34] Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque*, 4. Under "Juif" in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* could be found the following definition: "'JEW:'" We do not put this word here to represent the name of a Nation, but rather, because It is used figuratively in certain sentences in the Language. Thus a man who practices usury and who sells goods at exorbitant prices is called a *Jew: He is a Jew, he makes loans at fifteen percent; That merchant is a real Jew.* It is used, in the familiar style, to describe all those who demonstrate a great greed for money and ardor in making it. It is said proverbially that *A man is as rich as a Jew*, to mean that he is very rich, etc., etc." Quoted in Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1:24.

[34] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Rothschild I^er^,* 35-36.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1:24. Original emphasis.

what he called the "Jewish spirit," this had nothing to do with the Jews themselves."[37] And in Toussenel's world, Jew and Protestant were "*one and the same thing*."[38] Yet Toussenel's work was not entitled *Les protestants, rois de l'époque*, and in the end all authors returned to the Jews. Indeed, the fact that the identification of the Jew as representative of the evils of the era was not incidental is demonstrated by the difficulty all four had in maintaining a clean separation between the Jew as metaphor and Jew as human being. All of these men were insistent in their view of the Jews as a great people. Leroux would have awarded the Jews the "prize for humanity," had such a thing existed.[39] But the Jews were also damned by their history, and this is where the Jew as human being and Jew as metaphor tended to become one. For from the medieval image of the Jew as usurer, the depiction of the Jew as banker could follow as though it were a natural progression.[40] Mathieu-Dairnvaell used the name *Jew* deliberately as a punishment, because one part of the Jewish population, had "remained Jews of the Middle Ages," and continued to deserve the name. Leroux made a similar leap, criticizing the Jews of his world for their continued crucifixion of Christ, through "speculation and capital."[41]

This legacy of Catholic teaching evident in the discussions of all these men best underscores the importance of the Jewishness of the Rothschild-Jew. French men and women had lived through forty years of revolutionary upheaval and were now faced with the challenge of making sense of capitalism.[42] Those who sought comfort in angry criticism of the system could draw on a Catholic worldview that, for many, had only been superficially uprooted by the Revolution. For such people the Catholic overtones evident in the censure of the kings of the era would have made it all the more resonant. And Mathieu-Dairnvaell, Toussenel, Fourier and Leroux all clearly understood their world through their adherence to Catholicism. For Leroux the present world was one where Economic Science had entered into battle with the Gospel. Chapters in his work were entitled "The law of nature of economists is against the law of God;"[43] or "Political economy orders for poor children to be killed, the Gospel orders for them to be saved."[44] Toussenel, too, was a religious man and faith informed his understanding of his world. Thus his greatest wish was to see the people

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque*, 178. Original emphasis.
[39] "because as a people they have taken on and made themselves the guardians and propagators of "the two most precious of all truths … *the unity of God* and *the unity of the human spirit.*" Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1: 31. Original emphasis. Sartre argued that the antisemite envisaged the Jew as an "indivisible totality," where the whole was greater than the sum of its parts, and all the Jew's characteristics were governed by his innate evil. Thus, according to Sartre, the antisemite could willingly acknowledge that the Jew was intelligent and hardworking. This cost the antisemite nothing, for he also believed that these qualities got their value from their possessor. Evil was the Jew's essence, so that in fact the more virtues he had, the more dangerous he could be, since his virtuous façade could effectively mask his true nature. Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive*, 40.
[40] Katz argues that anti-Jewish sentiment was also transferred from "the marketplace of the Alsatian town to the scene of the economic transactions in Paris." Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction*, 127. In reference to Leroux, Graetz has argued that a "slippage" occurred: "the people despised and vilified because of its rejection of the Christian Messiah, presented in its weakness as the manifestation of Evil, was becoming a powerful, threatening people, a people ready to extend its power to everyone. This mutation was neatly condensed in the slogan, "Rothschild, king of Jews," The new myth rested on the old even as it brought about a shift in it. Michael Graetz, *The Jews in nineteenth-century France: from the French Revolution to the Alliance israelite universelle*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Stanford, 1996), 84.
[41] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 1: 22.
[42] Lichtheim, "Socialism and the Jews," 320.
[43] Leroux, *Malthus et les économistes*, 2: 166.
[44] Ibid., 2: 156.

emancipated from financial feudalism, for this would allow them to find their faith again.[45] In the eyes of Mathieu-Dairnvaell, who set up Rothschild and his fellows against "carpenters,"[46] the Jew was still clearly the other, the one who did not belong, in a Catholic nation.[47] Even Fourier, who disliked the Church, based his "whole system" "on a set of unquestioned assumptions concerning God and the nature of Divine Providence."[48] For Fourier, as for Mathieu-Dairnvaell, Jews were clearly a discrete group within society. This was how, for example, they could continue to hate Christians.[49]

These men, among them the founders of socialist thought in France, were—consciously or not—clearly able to comfortably combine their modern criticism of Jews with "standard" Catholic antisemitism, and for all of them, and particularly for Fourier, who read very little, such "standard abuse" is as strong as possible an indication of the continuing pervasiveness of Catholic thought in France.[50] These socialist thinkers created a Rothschild-Jew rooted in traditional Catholic imagery. It is little wonder that works such as that of Mathieu-Dairnvaell were so resonant with the population. But while the Rothschild-Jew sprang from Catholic teaching, these men loosened his chains and allowed him to go far beyond his modest origins.

Historians of nineteenth-century France have allowed the antisemitism present in the writings of men such as Leroux and Fourier to remain the domain of the specialists in such sentiment.[51] There is a need to bring it into the mainstream. It is certainly the case that beyond their antisemitism, it is only possible to group men such as Fourier and Leroux in the loosest sense. As Pilbeam has pointed out, at this time there were as many brands of socialism as there were socialists,[52] and not all those who wrote to expose the evils of the regime and to propose a replacement for it incorporated Jews into this scheme. Moreover, while negative attitudes to Jews most certainly feature in the works of Leroux, Toussenel and Fourier, and they were even

[45] Toussenel was also a royalist, for in his eyes, the only way to remedy the current situation was to return to monarchy and a government monopoly. For Toussenel, the solidarity of the monarchical principle and the people was such that "the history of the miseries and prosperities of the France nation were merely the copy of the history of the good fortune and unhappy times of its kings." Toussenel, *Les juifs, rois de l'époque*, 42.
[46] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Guerre*, 9.
[47] Mathieu-Dairnvaell, *Jugement*, 16.
[48] Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World* (Berkeley, 1987), 196.
[49] Silberner, "Charles Fourier," 247.
[50] Pilbeam argues that the republicans of the 1840s were in fact "far from hostile to religion as such," believing that society needed a spiritual foundation. Pilbeam, *Republicanism,* 17. Had socialists such as Buchez and Cabet had their way, France would have experienced a reinvigorated primitive Christianity, which would surely have brought with it all the exclusivity of the Restoration.
[51] See for example Pilbeam, *Republicanism,* chaps. 5-7; Roger Price, *A Social History of Nineteenth-Century France* (London, 1987); Maurice Agulhon, *1848 ou l'Apprentissage de la République 1848-1852* (Paris, 1973); Bernard Moss, *The Origins of the French Labor Movement* (Berkeley, 1976); John Merriman and Elise Kenney, *The Pear: French Graphic Arts in the Golden Age of Caricature* (New Haven, 1991); and McPhee, *A Social History of France*, chaps. 6-9. Tudesq did note the existence of "sentiments of hostility based on long habit and on causes both religious and economic;" although he believed that this "latent antisemitism" was more the domain of what he called the popular classes, particularly in rural areas, than of notables. He also argued that Jewish notables were welcomed by Orleanist notables due to their economic power, rather than by reason of their liberalism. Tudesq, *Les grands notables en France*, 1: 447-8. In his weighty tome on Charles Fourier, Jonathan Beecher sets Fourier's anti-Jewish writing in the context of the "assumptions and prejudices of his age," and sees this particular sentiment as evidence of weakness of Fourier's critique of commercial capitalism, in that he "remains on the moral level." Beecher, *Charles Fourier,* 196, 203-4.
[52] Pilbeam, *Republicanism,* 156.

innovative, at the same time, this antisemitism is not the principal aspect of their works. Nor was antisemitism the natural corollary of anti-capitalism for all socialist writers in July Monarchy France. Nonetheless, more than a few of them saw it thus, and it is important to acknowledge this, and to seek to understand why they chose the Rothschild-Jew to play the role of evildoer in their tales of woe. Old and new myths regarding Jews were ever-present in July Monarchy society. Members of the public were fed with reminders of such myths: the title alone of Halévy and Scribe's opera *La Juive*, or of Eugène Sue's highly successful novel, meant that throughout the July Monarchy notions of the *belle juive* or of the "wandering Jew" presented themselves to the nation's consciousness.[53] And the most visible of Jews in France was clearly a highly accessible target, even if not all those who attacked him, such as the *Charivari*, made his religious affiliation clear. But did they need to? After all, the pamphlets of Mathieu-Dairnvaell, of Leroux and Toussenel, were busy making this connection explicit in their works that sold so well. From their writings, sternly moral, comes a strong message of horror at competitive individualism unleashed. Those who sought someone on whom to lay the blame for the current situation could easily choose to see Rothschild looming large on their horizon. For them, it would seem, none symbolized this new regime better than those who were seen to have derived the most benefit from it. This was the epoch of the "Jewish spirit," and greed, deceptiveness, dishonor, and cold-heartedness, all characteristics of the competitive individual, were all familiar Jewish qualities to such men. Moreover, these qualities no longer needed to be contained within the Jew. Rothschild's attackers made him into a symbol, a "new variety of despot,"[54] and this was a role that he could play to perfection, for Rothschild, who in fact never became a French citizen, was the anti-citizen personified. He was visibly (and audibly) foreign. He was fabulously wealthy and powerful. He could be shown to care nothing for innocent French men and women; to stand firm against the tide of the national will. And most importantly, perhaps, he was Jewish.

[53] While there is a certain amount of ambiguity in Sue's portrayal of Jews in his highly popular serialized novel of 1844, *Le juif errant*, there is no doubt about the "wandering Jew" of the title. Sue himself explained to his readers that "The subject of the legend of the 'Wandering Jew' is that of a poor shoemaker of Jerusalem. When Christ, bearing his cross, passed before his house, and asked his leave to repose for a moment on the stone bench at his door, the Jew replied harshly, 'Onwards! Onwards!' and refused him. 'It is thou who shalt go onwards—onwards—till the end of time!' was Christ's reply, in a sad but severe tone." Eugène Sue, *Le juif errant* (Paris, 1876), 216 note 1. Sue's wandering Jew was a solitary, unhappy character who roamed the world, leaving death and misery in his wake.

[54] *L'univers*, 19 July 1846.

A King is Killed in Marseille: France and Yugoslavia in 1934

Vesna Drapac

King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated along with the French Foreign Minister, Louis Barthou, in Marseille in October 1934 at the beginning of a state visit to France. Emigré Croatian and Macedonian separatist groups—the Ustaša and the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO)—planned and carried out the assassination. The King's trip came after Barthou's very positive reception in the Belgrade parliament four months previously. While in Belgrade, Barthou sought to restore Yugoslav confidence in the Franco-Yugoslav alliance, which had suffered in the wake of French diplomatic overtures to the Soviet Union, including French support for admission of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations. Virulently anti-communist, Alexander had been critical of these initiatives. Further, Barthou wanted to show that France recognized the legitimacy of Alexander's personal regime, the royal dictatorship (established in 1929 and modified slightly by the constitution of 1931). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Barthou's presence would confirm France's anti-revisionist position vis-à-vis the new European states thus allaying any Yugoslav apprehensions regarding Franco-Italian co-operation, which had seemed all the more pressing to the French in the wake of the Nazi seizure of power.[1] Alexander's reciprocal visit would restore confidence in an alliance, shaped by war, but now under some pressure given the competing interests of Germany and Italy, and given the threat of the former to France's increasingly fragile sense of security. Thus, the unstated reason for the King's visit was to help open the way for the final consolidation of the Franco-Italian rapprochement that was difficult to achieve without Yugoslav co-operation, and to offer Yugoslavia diplomatic alternatives at a time when it was turning favorably towards Nazi Germany.

The memory of war shaped France's generally sympathetic attitude towards the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (re-named Yugoslavia in 1929). I argue, further, that this positive attitude affected Franco-Yugoslav relations and, subsequently, Yugoslavia's strong standing in international affairs irrespective of the Kingdom's abandonment of democratic processes and its penchant for repressing opposition. I also suggest that the impact of this interwar solidarity with the Yugoslav

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[1] See François Grumel-Jacquignon, *La Yougoslavie dans la stratégie de l'entre-deux-guerres (1918-1935). Aux origines du mythe serbe en France* (Bern, 1999), 463-464.

ideal reverberated through to the demise of the second Yugoslavia in the 1990s. My point of focus is French evocations of the alliance between France and Serbia in the Great War at the time of the assassination of Alexander in Marseille. The common experience of war and suffering provided the framework in which the Yugoslav state and the royal dictatorship were justified and supported. It could be argued, perhaps, that the outpourings of grief and the symbolic references to the war were superficial and characteristic of the kinds of manifestations and the sorts of platitudes that flow readily at such times. Indeed, François Grumel-Jaquignon, in his detailed 1999 study of Franco-Yugoslav relations between 1918 and 1935, argues that well before the assassination France enjoyed considerably less prestige in Yugoslavia than it had done in the wake of the war and that this loss of influence could be discerned in the Kingdom's cultural, economic and military policies.[2] Yugoslavia's disenchantment with its French ally was also, in part, a product of France's obsessive search, seemingly at any cost, for security through alliances, its "pactomania," as evidenced by its desire for closer ties with Italy to Yugoslavia's detriment. Initial French enthusiasm for the Kingdom also gradually subsided as it became clear that its government's methods for dealing with political and national problems were authoritarian and, on occasion, inflammatory.

Following the assassination in the Belgrade parliament, in 1928, of three leaders and representatives of the most popular Croatian party (the Croat Peasant Party,) French diplomats in Belgrade expressed their most serious reservations about the Yugoslav government. French critics of the regime (liberal and left) were unimpressed with the extent of political violence tolerated in the Kingdom, the Serbian ruling elite's disregard for the rights of the other constituent nationalities, its abandonment of democratic rule, and its receptivity to German trade and investment with the coming to power of the Nazis. Grumel-Jaquignon notes that this estrangement led to the debasement of "the Serbian myth" (the positive image of the supremacy of Serbia in the region) in some French quarters. However, he also shows that there was an overwhelming and persistent French attachment to that myth. This attachment was the basis of France's failure to respond appropriately to the diplomatic challenges posed by the difficulties the Kingdom faced almost immediately it came into existence. If we take into account a longer view and place French responses to the assassination in the broader context of the history of the South Slav state through to its final collapse and, by association, through to the demise of "the Serbian myth" itself, then it can be argued that the persistent references to the war and its associated comradeship were a critical element of the Franco-Yugoslav relationship.

On the eve of his arrival in Marseille, the King was the subject of much press coverage. Descriptions of Alexander focused on his qualities as a military leader. In those "somber days of 1915," recalled the correspondent of *Le temps*, it was the then Prince Alexander, Commander in Chief of the Serbian forces, who had been "everywhere, had shared in the privations of the most humble of soldiers, given the example of endurance, and of sangfroid, rekindled courage [and] galvanized people's spirits." The message Alexander sent Poincaré from Corfu, where the Serbian army was resting after its long trek in the bleakest of winters in retreat from the Austrian forces in 1915, according to *Le temps*, "would have delighted Plutarch:" "Serbia exists no more but her army remains intact. We are ready to continue the fight on the French Front."[3] Such was the loyalty of a man who would make it his task to promote

[2] Ibid., 487-536.
[3] *Le temps*, 9 Oct. 1934.

peace in the Balkans and central Europe, cultivate the arts and learning in his capital, Belgrade, and become the hope of the Yugoslav people.[4] Thus Alexander, the "hero-king," was also the "unifying king:" a military man as well as a man of state who, the writer in *Le temps* continued, had undertaken the difficult task of "forging a homogeneous state out of elements united by race and language, but separated by recent history."[5] The meaning of the word "recent," here was relative. The final success in the Great War and the subsequent establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was consciously projected by the Entente powers and foreign lobbyists for Yugoslavia both as a fitting reward for the Serbs' efforts in the war, and as bringing to an end a 500-year cycle of triumph, defeat, decline and gradual resurgence: the defeat on the Kosovo plain in 1389 had been avenged, once and for all. For Serbs, and many others it now appears, the time between 1389 and 1919 seemed to have been especially "condensed."[6]

On arrival in Marseille, before doing anything else, the King was to have laid a wreath at the *monument aux morts* of the French Orient Army. But within minutes of setting foot on French soil, both he and Barthou were the victims of the bullets of the assassin. Inconsolable sadness mixed with horror was the immediate response. The idea that foreigners had so cruelly abused France's generous hospitality and its long, chivalrous tradition of providing asylum, added to the humiliation of the terrible crime having been committed there.[7] Alexander had traveled safely to all sorts of insalubrious destinations, reported the fascist paper, *Je suis partout*. For example, the King was well protected by the police during a recent visit to the capital of his country's former foe, Bulgaria, which was teeming with the Macedonian plotters it harbored. Similarly, there were no incidents in Istanbul or in Athens. But, Alexander "did not survive one hour on the soil of friend and ally, France." Predictably, *Je suis partout* posited a number of theories about "suspect milieux" in the "fiefdoms of Marseille" and was deeply critical of the potentially destabilizing presence of what it saw as predominantly (and in this case quite wrongly) left-leaning foreigners seeking asylum in France.[8] There were murmurings, too, about the lack of adequate security and the weaknesses within the French government that this state of affairs was seen to reveal.

Overall, however, after the murders, the emphasis was not on placing blame but on reaffirming the solidity of the friendship between France and Yugoslavia. King Alexander's achievement on the international front (the Little Entente, the Balkan Pact) was to be maintained above all else, as his was the role of a peacemaker. Thus a third accolade was bestowed upon him. The hero-king, decorated by the French government for his role in the Great War was, in addition to being a military giant and politically gifted (as *l'unifacteur*), *le pacificateur*.[9] Fundamental to this fulsome appraisal of Alexander was the premise of the durability of the ties that bound France to Yugoslavia. There was an emphasis on the commonality between the two nations that was evidenced in their parallel experiences of the war. The large format magazine, *L'illustration*, drew on its archive of photographs offering its readers images of the King's life, the underlying theme being that companions in battle would

[4] Ibid., 10 Oct. 1934.
[5] Ibid., 9 Oct. 1934.
[6] See Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation* (Stanford, 1998), 47-48.
[7] *Le temps*, 11 Oct. 1934.
[8] *Je suis partout*, 13 Oct. 1934.
[9] *Le temps* summarizing reports in *Le petit parisien*, 11 Oct. 1934.

remain friends in perpetuity.[10] No one had suffered in the war as had the French and the Yugoslavs. No other countries knew the real price of peace or worked so painstakingly to make it last.[11] An address in the French Assembly on 6 November had established this irrefutably as the Yugoslavs themselves had recognized with gratitude: their friendship was solid and based on a "boundless trust." An enemy of Alexander's was an enemy of France's. It was as simple as that.[12] The increasing trade and co-operation between Nazi Germany and Yugoslavia had elicited concerns in France but these were now in the background, placed within the context of the new country rightfully making its own way and maintaining independence without compromising its closest allies.

Marshal Franchet d'Espérey, commander of the Allied Armies of the Orient, recalling Alexander as his "companion in arms," in a thirty-page address delivered in Paris in early November, said:

> The alliance sealed on the Albanian coast and in the mountains of Macedonia has persisted, founded as it was on a common understanding of duties and rights. A pact of friendship links the people [of France and Yugoslavia], both committed to maintaining peace by respecting treaties, both conscious of their strength, and each assured of the support of the other in the defense of its just cause. … But beyond all the diplomatic pacts … [there is a bond] of mutual affection. Towards France, which had brought together its dispersed families and rebuilt its army, Yugoslavia has retained the most touching gratitude. And we, moved by the bravery and tenacity of the people of heroes, gave them as their king [father of Alexander] a lieutenant … who himself had fought for France [in 1870]. … Such profound and heartfelt sentiments are indestructible; the alliance between France and Yugoslavia will endure as long as the two peoples themselves [endure]—and we know them to be immortal.[13]

The veterans of the French Orient Army had led other *anciens combattants* in the memorial services and rituals in various cities after Alexander's death. The fact that 11 November was so close stamped the tone of the reporting of these events, moving and as inclusive as they were. Moreover, the death of Poincaré, not a week after the assassinations, symbolic of the passing of the generation that had led France through the ordeal, lent the process of remembering and commemorating in the context of the Great War that much more urgency. In December, three new medals were struck and released simultaneously; they bore the busts of Poincaré, Barthou and Alexander.[14] The service at the Arc de Triomphe on Armistice Day itself was to focus on honoring the dead King. His death mask and a huge standard bearing his coat of arms provided the centerpiece behind the altar for the preparatory all-night vigil on 10 November at the Arc de Triomphe. Cardinal Verdier, representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in Paris and other dignitaries made their way to pay tribute while through the night a constant stream of *anciens combattants* ensured there was not a moment when there was not someone silently keeping watch.[15] *L'illustration* covered also, early in the New Year, a pilgrimage of the soldiers of the French Orient Army to Alexander's tomb in Belgrade. Two hundred and fifty men participated and were met by

[10] See for example *L'illustration*, 13 Oct. 1934.
[11] *Le temps*, 10 Oct. 1934.
[12] Ibid., 10 Oct. and 10 Nov. 1934.
[13] Marshal Franchet d'Espérey, "Alexandre 1er, mon compagnon d'armes," *Revue des deux mondes*, 15. Dec. 1934, 765-792 (790-791).
[14] *L'illustration*, 15 Dec. 1934, 557.
[15] Ibid., 17 Nov. 1934, 403.

enthusiastic throngs of people on all the platforms of all the stations through which they passed on their way to Belgrade: how reassuring it all was in the wake of the tragedy the previous October. Now, more than ever, the memory of their wartime comradeship had to be maintained.[16]

There is evidence to suggest that these responses to Alexander's death drew on an established tradition of relating developments in the new state to its wartime record. The *poilus* of the French Orient Army, for example, had already made a pilgrimage to Yugoslavia and to the graves of the French war dead there. That was in 1929 (the year the dictatorship was established) and, similarly, the occasion of much reflection on the ties that bound the French and Yugoslavs to each other. The splendid *monuments aux morts* in Bitola, Skopje and Belgrade itself, were the sites of civic and military services, occasions on which the local population (folksy in the smaller villages and well-heeled in the towns) greeted the *poilus* with heartfelt enthusiasm. How moving it was to see that the French war graves, though maintained by the French government, were the focus of the tender attentions of those living nearby. Not bought, but hand-made candles flickered on these graves on the appropriate feast days and days of commemoration. Serbian mothers watched over the dead sons of France and this re-assured the pilgrims that their comrades could rest in peace here.[17] In a curious twist on the interwar cult of the fallen soldier which allowed for the partial integration of the Slovenes, who had fought not with France but against it in the Great War, a monument was erected in Ljubljana in 1929 to the unknown soldier of the Grand Armée. Its unveiling recalled the contribution of Napoleon to the Slovenian-Yugoslav struggle against encroachments on its identity by (the ever problematic, in France's view) Austria.[18] In fact, Alexander was likened to another great liberator, Napoleon himself, the man who, we are told, had been "the first" to suggest a south Slavic state with his Illyrian provinces. The fact that the highly centralized Kingdom, which sought not a South Slav synthesis but identified Yugoslavism with the dominant nation, had borrowed much from the French model of government and administration with its first constitution in 1921, seemed simply to confirm that view of ongoing French influence in the region.

The memory and commemoration of the Great War provided the framework in which the political and diplomatic problem that the assassination had opened up to the world, was scrutinized. Take the example of the treatment of the Yugoslav dictatorship. It is true that Socialists and Communists were disparaging. Léon Blum, leader of the Socialists, said his party had always been critical of the fascist dictatorship but rejected the methods adopted by its opponents. In January 1934 when there was talk of a possible royal visit, the Communists arranged a demonstration in Paris against it and against the "fascist dictatorship" (now celebrating its fifth anniversary): according to the communist paper, *L'humanité*, "democratic France's ally" oppressed minorities and workers and was responsible for "unspeakable crimes."[19] Communists subsequently greeted the King in Marseille by singing the International. After the assassinations, *L'humanité* expressed concerns about the way in which the government might deal with other foreigners, workers in particular, who

[16] Ibid., 12 Jan. 1935, 34.
[17] The coverage of this "pilgrimage" was extensive. See ibid., 19 Oct. 1929, 432-435; 2 Nov. 1929, 490-496; 16 Nov. 1929, 563-568.
[18] See ibid., 23 Feb. 1935, 214-215 and 26 Oct. 1929, 460-461.
[19] "Il y a cinq ans Alexandre de Serbie violait la constitution," in *L'humanité*, 8 Jan. 1934. Reprinted in Grumel-Jacquignon, *La Yougoslavie*, 482.

had sought asylum and a better life in France.[20] *Je suis partout*, as we have seen, had a lot of disparaging things to say about such workers, but nothing to say about the dictatorship. Others, seemingly unselfconsciously, praised its moderation.

Radical, republican France came out in full force, it appeared, in defense of a royal dictatorship. Indeed, Yugoslavia's dictatorship was seen to be defensible because it preserved the unity of the country and hence preserved the peace. Described as a dictatorship that snatched the country from the threat of civil war, it was therefore an interim measure, a necessity before democracy could be restored. Everyone knew this because everyone knew that Alexander was not disposed towards dictatorship, that he had "no taste for absolute power." The great tragedy was that his noble intention—preserving the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and international peace—led to his untimely demise.[21] During the war much had been made in propaganda about the autocratic powers of Austria and the intertwining of self-determination and democracy in the struggle to establish the successor states, Yugoslavia especially. French opinion had long demonized the Austro-Hungarian Empire and sought its dismemberment on the grounds that it would be replaced by a more fitting "suite" of states. Memories of war and its goals were, as we know, of necessity, selective. But any unease that might have been felt at the unqualified official support expressed in 1934 for a royal dictatorship (which was not moderate or benign), was assuaged, in part at least, by the knowledge that there were supposedly no committed republicans in Yugoslavia! In addition, all parties in Yugoslavia, it was argued, paid tribute to the dynasty and sought its preservation.[22] This attitude was reinforced by a fairly basic miscalculation on the part of the French. Yugoslavs (Croats, Serbs and Slovenes) were obviously mourning the death of the King. The almost universal abhorrence in Yugoslavia for the crime, and the sympathy it elicited for his widow and their son Peter, the boy King, were thus interpreted as support for the system Alexander had instituted. The French analyzed Yugoslav opposition within this context of the apparent widespread grass roots support for the dynasty in its bereavement. Thus, French writers could argue, a great deal of fuss about the dictatorship and some "poisonous criticism" of it came not from legitimate opposition, but from the permanently recalcitrant.[23] Plainly, according to elements in the French press, this negative criticism was overstated. Noted, with a complete absence of irony, was the fact that even the leader of the republican Croat Peasant Party, who was, at the time of the 1934 assassination in jail on political charges, had sent condolences from his prison cell to the Yugoslav Queen.[24] This was presented as evidence of the unanimity of support for and affiliation with the state.

Commentators concentrated on the nature of the Marseille killings almost to the complete exclusion of an analysis of the possible reasons for the assassins' recourse to extreme behavior. The focus on the event rather than its causes was probably predictable given the recent (July 1934) killing of Austria's chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss by Austrian Nazis and with the specter of fascist and Nazi rhetoric on the glorification of violence on the near horizon. Equally, in France itself, the riots in the wake of the Stavisky scandal and the wave of anti-fascism that ensued, provide important background. The focus on the alleged fascism of the groups responsible for the assassination which were themselves harbored, in exile, by fascist states (or

[20] Summarized in *Le temps*, 11 October 1934.
[21] Charles Loiseau, "Après la mort du Roi," *La revue universelle*, 15 Nov. 1934, 401-414 (406).
[22] Ibid., 411-412.
[23] Ibid., 407.
[24] *Le temps*, 18 Oct., 1934.

revisionist states deemed all but fascist), deflected attention from the nature of the royal dictatorship. A pamphlet which fulminated against the Macedonian separatists and their role in the assassination, quoted from Henri Barbusse's vigorous 1928 denunciation of IMRO. He, like others after him, noted the "absolutely indisputable" fact of "the collusion of autonomists with fascism," but wrote nothing of the treatment of Macedonians in the successor state.[25]

In many regards the dictatorship itself was arguably as, if not more, coherently fascist in both its rhetoric (on the notion that Yugoslavia constituted one race or nation) and its methods (discrimination against non-Serbs, a reliance on police brutality, arbitrary arrests of political opponents and extreme anti-communism) than were its opponents at that stage. Defending one's support for such a regime on the basis of an anti-fascist stance was to attempt to defend morally, the morally indefensible. This changed, up to a point, when the popular frontism of communists everywhere led to a different view of the successor states and an end to the policy that separatism was to be supported for its national revolutionary potential. "Yugoslavia Versailles," as the Kingdom was dubbed, once viewed by the Comintern as the quintessential product of the imperialist war, the "prison house of nations," became acceptable on the understanding that it could be reformed along more equitable lines from the national perspective.[26] So while France's indulgence towards a fascist-leaning dictatorship can be explained and contextualized, it could also be argued this was an inadequate response and as a result of it, the dictatorship was retrospectively justified, that is, justified in the light of the subsequent assassination of the King.

Some commentators in France, as elsewhere, equated the troubles in Yugoslavia with its repressive centralism, with the Serbian King's hegemonic policies on the question of nationalities, and the vagaries of the police state that had itself set the precedent of political assassinations and terror. But this was not a view that was widely accepted. On the contrary, the lesson of Marseille was not that dictatorship and the rescinding of rights were inappropriate strategies for solving the problems Yugoslavia faced, but that these were necessary and acceptable. As such there was no need to grapple with the issues, just their consequences (in this case terrorism). Thus the "inexpiable crime," was of such an order that European civilization "risked being plunged back into the darkest centuries of its history." There had to be a united front of civilized nations against terrorists. Words like "shocking," "vile" and "barbarous" were common in reports on the assassination, an act which, we can read in *Le Temps*, indicated that the "instincts of primitive beasts were being unleashed in the heart of Europe."[27] Presumably political assassinations in the parliament of Belgrade, because they had occurred not in the heart of Europe but on the corn of its little toe, were less threatening to civilization. The assassins' flight from the rational took the national question in Yugoslavia out of the realm of a generalized political discussion and into that of myth and demonization. This response had something to do with the understandable unwillingness to dignify the assassins' methods with reasoned debate. But it also had rather a lot to do with two other factors: the widely accepted stereotypes of Balkan political culture; and a reliance, as we have seen, almost at any cost, on a system of pacts and alliances in the hope that another war would be averted.

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[25] Edouard E. Plantagenet, *Les crimes d'ORIM, organisation terroriste* (Paris, [n.d.]), 29.

[26] See Mark Wheeler, "Pariahs to Partisans to Power: the Communist Party of Yugoslavia," in *Resistance and Revolution in Mediterranean Europe 1939-1948*, ed. Tony Judt (London and New York, 1989), 110-156 (115).

[27] See *Le temps*, 11, 14 and 15 Oct. 1934.

Self-interest thus merged with an idealism borne of war and suffering, producing a mindset which was almost impossible to dislodge.

Framing the interpretation of the assassination in terms of the memory of war thus reveals a great deal about the fortunes of interwar Yugoslavia and the way it was perceived and projected internationally. A vast historiography surrounds the subject of the memory of war and twentieth-century history. We know from the example of France that if the Great War was not a totally transforming experience, socially, culturally or politically, it was nonetheless a cataclysmic event in the life of the nation. Different French men and women remembered the war in different ways. A Socialist municipality may have commemorated its lost sons with a poignant evocation in stone of the humble *poilu*, while a Catholic municipality may have sought comfort in raising a modified version of the Pietà, evoking the universality of the suffering of mothers whose sons had died in the fields of battle. But the overwhelming sense of a nation united in bereavement was not compromised by this plurality of memories. It was not diminished but strengthened in a process whereby the local, regional, and national or collective ritual of commemoration and mourning accommodated the individual, or personal and familial sense of loss. And so, what has been described as "the very exuberance of civil society" provided for the needs of the state and its diverse citizens at a time of national mourning.[28] Thus, regardless of the dissident voices which, in France, had been potentially destabilizing in 1917 for example, the victory and the collective bereavement assumed a dimension that was as "national" (if not triumphalist) and as inclusive as possible, given the range of opinion accommodated in the modern democratic state.

On the contrary, evocations of World War I were to complicate (perhaps even thwart) the project of state building in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the first Yugoslavia. This Kingdom was a product of the Great War. Proclaimed in December 1918, it was accepted as a fait accompli at the Paris Peace Conference. When it became known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, this change was accompanied by the suspension of both parliament and the constitution and the establishment of the royal dictatorship. The history of the Kingdom was fraught with dissent. This was to be especially evident at the time of the concerted program of national homogenization embarked upon by King Alexander after 1929. World War One helped forge Yugoslavia perhaps, but the experience of Yugoslavs during the war, and their subsequent memory of it, were not integrative forces in the new state. Some Yugoslavs had fought alongside the victors but the majority (including Habsburg Serbs) fought on the losing side. So, in the early narrative of Yugoslavia's making, it was one nation, the Serbs, loyal allies of the Entente powers who had begun the battle valiantly, suffered terrible defeats as well as the pain of evacuation, then rose triumphant to liberate and re-unite their south Slav brothers. This experience, which became the Yugoslav (as opposed to the Serbian) story of the war, could not be transposed onto the population as a whole regardless of the fact that by war's end large numbers of Croats and Slovenes had abandoned the Habsburg cause. However much one might have chosen to argue that the establishment of the successor state was a reflection of the general will (or, according to some, the product of a Yugoslav revolution), the war experience and the memory of it was not, and

[28] The literature on this topic is vast. Here I have drawn specifically on Peter Fritszche, "The Case of Modern Memory," *Journal of Modern History*, 73 (2001): 87-117 (105); Antoine Prost, "Monuments to the Dead," in *Realms of Memory; The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 2, ed. Pierre Nora (New York, 1997), 306-330; and Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning; The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1996).

never could be, an integrative force in the new state. Regardless of the way in which Serbs, or Croats, or Slovenes or the forgotten nationalities like the Macedonians for that matter, sought to shape the successor state, to many outsiders the words Serbia and Yugoslavia were interchangeable. This was obvious during the war and for the good part of a decade after the war. To a large extent it was inevitable. The French fought on the Balkan Front not with "Yugoslavs," but with Serbs. French diplomatic correspondence from Belgrade in the early interwar years routinely referred simply to Serbia, rather than the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This was not surprising given that Yugoslavia was projected (consciously and repeatedly) in Allied propaganda as the Serbs' reward for their loyalty and their unique suffering and loss in the war.

What complicated the situation further was the fact that other symbols which could not be universalized in the forging of a Yugoslav identity were superimposed onto the Serbian victory of 1918. An unfinished monument to Serbia's triumphs in the Balkan Wars, for example, was recycled, in 1919, as the World War I victory monument in a Belgrade park.[29] A pragmatic move, perhaps, but not an especially diplomatic initiative given that a large percentage of "Yugoslavs" were not involved in the Balkan Wars. Moreover, the nations embroiled in the second of these conflicts were attempting to negate the identity of another group of "south Slavs," the Macedonians. Macedonia was simply "Southern Serbia" in the interwar years, and as far as the Bulgars and Greeks were concerned, it did not exist.

Yugoslavia came about not, as some would have it, as the result of a national revolution. Nor was it simply a strategic necessity after the war. Yugoslavia was imagined and defined in a burgeoning discourse on issues of race and nation in the second half of the nineteenth century. But it was the war that occasioned the transformation of this vision into one of the most problematic of the successor states. Then, as a result of the war, Yugoslavia had become, in the eyes of many nations, a necessity, strategically and diplomatically, and its nature was at least in part shaped by that perception. The example of France and responses to the assassination of Alexander in Marseille provide us with a dramatic point of focus for an elaboration of this point.

An historian of Yugoslav culture and identity, Andrew Wachtel, argues that Serb nationalist writers of the 1970s and 1980s tended often to focus on the Great War.[30] Novelists began their family sagas with the martyrdom of Serbia between 1914 and 1918 and the elaboration of the pedigree of sacrifice and suffering, continuing through to the second great conflagration of the twentieth century, reached its nadir (or zenith, depending on one's position) in the 1980s with the perceived attempts by the Kosovars to wipe out the Serbian presence in its "historic" home. The dominance of this narrative of decline and resurgence, it could be argued, precipitated the violent disintegration of the country. In the official history of the First World War, the projected Yugoslav synthesis, in a sense, denied Serbs aspects of their personal and collective history because it had attempted (unsuccessfully) to universalize them. Thus, over time, an inversion had taken place. The Croats, considered first restless, then un-redeemably nationalist and, finally, "fanatically" separatist because of their seeming "obsession" with Serbian centralist hegemony almost from the moment of Yugoslavia's inception, had become the oppressors. This was effected through their identification, in literature and in evocations of World War II, most notably in the

[29] Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, 114-115.
[30] Ibid., 200.

person of the Croat, Tito, with a Yugoslav ideal or synthesis which apparently further negated elements of Serbia's "Yugoslav" history.

It was not the Great War, but the Second World War, that was the Yugoslavs' war. The partisan struggle was one of the foundational tenets of the new Yugoslavia and gave it its legitimacy. The success of the partisans was such that for a period of time, perhaps for between twenty and thirty years, it served as one of the primary integrative forces in Yugoslav political and national life. However, as was the case in the 1920s and 1930s, the potentially integrative discourse on war, nation and identity came to be associated with a system of rule that cynically undermined those foundational myths and which was dismissive of individual and collective rights and freedoms. Perhaps when we consider the Kingdom in this light we should also recall the words of one incisive observer of the destruction of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. [31] He wrote that Yugoslavia fell not so much because it was multinational, but because it was undemocratic and unrepresentative and, we could add, supported and championed internationally as such. The same could well be said of the Kingdom.

[31] Vicktor Meier, *Yugoslavia. A history of its demise*, trans. Sabrina P. Ramet (London and New York, 1999).

Un féminisme d'État est-il possible en France? L'exemple du Ministère des Droits de la femme, 1981-1986

Françoise Thébaud

L'expression "féminisme d'État" est encore très peu utilisée en France, à la fois par les hommes et femmes politiques, par les mouvements militants, ou par les historiens. Je l'emprunte aux deux politilogues américaines Dorothy Stetson et Amy Mazur qui ont entrepris une étude comparative des *State Feminisms* dans laquelle elle intègrent le cas français.[1] Le féminisme d'État peut être défini comme la mise en œuvre par les Pouvoirs publics d'une politique d'égalité des sexes et de lutte contre les discriminations dont sont victimes les femmes, c'est-à-dire comme la traduction en mesures politiques des revendications féministes. Comme le dit Yvette Roudy, ministre des Droits de la femme des gouvernements socialistes entre 1981 et 1986, dans une émission de TV3 le 14 février 1986, à l'heure des bilans et en pleine campagne des élections législatives:[2] "J'ai pu faire passer dans les faits un certain nombre de revendications ... Les féministes sont maintenant reconnues ... Elles n'ont plus besoin de créer l'événement dans la rue, elles viennent dans mon bureau ... Nous sommes passées de la revendication à la construction."

Plutôt spécialiste de la première moitié du XX^{e} siècle, je me suis intéressée à cette question du féminisme d'État en deux temps. Tout d'abord, à l'occasion d'un colloque organisé en janvier 1999 par l'Institut François Mitterrand et l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris sur les premières années Mitterrand,[3] j'ai accepté de travailler sur la politique menée envers les femmes et j'ai pu avoir accès à vingt-sept cartons d'archives de l'Elysée, dérogation étant accordée pour leur consultation par

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[1] Dorothy McBride Stetson et Amy G. Mazur, eds., *Comparative State Feminism* (Sage Publications, 1995).

[2] Les élections législatives du printemps 1986 sont perdues par les socialistes, ce qui conduit à la première période dite de cohabitation. La cassette est consultable au CAF d'Angers (voir note 6): 5AF 257.

[3] Colloque publié: Serge Berstein, Pierre Milza, et Jean-Louis Bianco, dir., *François Mitterrand. Les années de changement, 1981-1984* (Paris, 2001).

l'Institut François Mitterrand.[4] Ces archives m'ont permis de comprendre le cheminement de la décision politique (toujours un compromis) et j'ai proposé un bilan sous le titre: "Promouvoir les droits des femmes : ambitions, difficultés et résultats."[5] Pour poursuivre l'enquête précédente, j'ai consulté une partie des archives privées qu'Yvette Roudy a récemment déposées au Centre d'Archives du féminisme de l'Université d'Angers (CAF):[6] consultables sans autorisation, elles comprennent des doubles des archives publiques, des éléments de dossiers thématiques constitués par Yvette Roudy (travail, contraception, associations…) et redistribués par les archivistes par activité (militante, élue, ministre…), des revues, des cassettes audio et vidéo. Le Centre et la bibliothèque qui l'abrite contiennent aussi des collections de presse féministe, les intéressants bulletins hebdomadaires de l'*afi* (agence femmes information) et de nombreux ouvrages sur l'histoire du féminisme.

Le sujet invite aussi à poser la question: "que veut dire travailler en historien sur le très contemporain?" d'autant qu'en France travailler sur les décennies les plus récentes—le vocabulaire est encore mal fixé entre "histoire du temps présent" et "histoire immédiate"—est peu considéré par la discipline historique. La réponse à mes yeux est double. L'historien apporte son regard de long terme qui met en perspective les réalités présentes, comparant par exemple la tentative d'Yvette Roudy d'articuler socialisme et féminisme avec celles d'Hélène Brion ou de Marie Guillot au début du XX^{e} siècle, ou inscrivant les années Roudy dans le long processus de mutation des rapports de sexe et de genre en France. Par ailleurs, l'historien confronte les sources et ressent le besoin de disposer, sur de tels sujets, d'archives d'État. Ces dernières, cependant, ne doivent pas être survalorisées: l'importance numérique des sources imprimées pour le très contemporain—en l'occurrence, rapports, presse militante, guides divers, journaux d'information— et la possibilité de recueillir des témoignages qui font entrer dans la complexité des phénomènes permettent de proposer des analyses fondées, comme l'a très bien montré Siân Reynolds au sujet du ministère Roudy.[7]

Ces préliminaires étant dits, la question posée—un féminisme d'Etat est-il possible en France?—peut paraître paradoxale. En effet, l'action d'Yvette Roudy est reconnue comme tel à l'étranger; elle est, comme le souligne et argumente auprès du gouvernement la ministre, commentée et parfois imitée. Par ailleurs, il existe une structure gouvernementale—le ministère des Droits de la femme—qui possède des

[4] L'accès aux archives est régie en France par une loi de janvier 1979 qui prévoit des délais de consultation de 30, 60, 100 ou 120 ans, mais prévoit aussi des dérogations avec l'autorisation des instances versantes. Gardien de la mémoire du Président, l'institut François Mitterrand a listé pour chaque chercheur, à l'occasion du colloque, les cartons autorisés. Il est à noter que la question des femmes (à la différence de celle de la justice par exemple) n'a pas été considérée comme un sujet sensible et que la documentation proposée était ample. Elle n'est plus actuellement à la disposition des chercheurs. Provisoires, les cotes des cartons ne sont pas indiquées ici dans des notes avant tout bibliographiques, ou faisant référence aux archives Roudy.

[5] In Berstein, Milza, et Bianco, *François Mitterrand. Les années de changement*, 567-600.

[6] Créé en 2000, à l'initiative de l'association Archives du féminisme présidée par Christine Bard (professeure à l'Université d'Angers), le CAF accueille les archives féministes d'origine privée et complète ainsi la bibliothèque parisienne Marguerite Durand. Les archives Roudy, déposées en 2001 (16 mètres linéaires), constituent le fonds 5AF. D'autres archives d'Yvette Roudy doivent y être déposées et inventoriées.

[7] Siân Reynolds, "The French Ministry of Women's Rights 1981-1986: Modernisation or Marginalisation?" in *France and Modernisation*, ed. John Gaffey (Averbury, 1988), 149-168. Voir aussi "Rights of Man, Rights of Women, Rites of Identity," in *France, Image and Identity*, ed. J. Bridgford, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1987); et "Whatever Happened to the French Ministry of Women's Rights?" *Modern and Contemporary France*, 33 (April 1988), 4-9. Special issue on Women in Contemporary French Society,

ramifications dans les régions et départements, structures centrale et provinciales qui ne sont pas entièrement nouvelles mais qui ont été considérablement développées entre 1981 et 1986. Enfin, dans tous ses propos oraux et écrits, Yvette Roudy souligne qu'elle veut passer d'une politique d'amélioration de la condition féminine à la mise en œuvre de droits pour les femmes, véritable féminisme en actes: "J'ai le privilège d'écrire un chapitre dans l'épopée des femmes," dit-elle dans une cassette enregistrée pour présenter l'action du ministère à la Conférence internationale de Nairobi qui clôt la Décennie de la femme.[8] "Le droit est devenu, avec l'existence d'un ministère pourvu de moyens budgétaires propres, une composante gouvernementale, l'objet d'un dessein politique clairement inclus dans un projet global de changement et de modernisation de la société," écrit-elle dans l'introduction du rapport de la France.[9] De fait, des mesures ont été prises et un bilan peut être dressé qui n'est pas l'objet de cet exposé.[10] Il est nécessaire toutefois d'en énumérer quelques éléments (loi d'égalité professionnelle, remboursement de l'IVG,[11] campagnes pour la contraception, mesures renforçant l'autonomie des femmes dans le mariage, tentatives de lutte contre les violences et le sexisme) et de souligner que l'héritage est réel, visible dans la persistance de 8 mars officiels, suggéré par la dynamique paritaire qui s'est enclenchée avec succès dans les années 1990.

Poser la question, c'est donc s'interroger sur les difficultés de la mise en œuvre en France d'un féminisme d'État, et sur sa réception. Ce féminisme d'État fut non pas impossible, mais tout au moins difficile, pour trois raisons: des rapports complexes entre socialisme et féminisme; une société française frileuse, ou du moins comprenant de forts courants conservateurs; un féminisme français majoritairement méfiant vis-à-vis de l'État.

Le féminisme à l'épreuve du socialisme

Pour Yvette Roudy qui s'est expliqué dans de nombreux textes et d'abord dans trois ouvrages publiés à dix ans d'intervalle—*La Femme en marge* ou l'histoire des rendez-vous manqués et d'une "rencontre inéluctable" entre féminisme et socialisme; *A cause d'elles*, récit autobiographique; *Mais de quoi ont-ils peur?* intervention dans le débat sur la parité,[12]—rien n'est possible pour les femmes sans passer par le politique et c'est au socialisme de réaliser concrètement le féminisme. La double tâche est alors de convaincre la mouvance socialiste (FGDS d'abord puis le nouveau PS né en 1969) d'adopter la cause des femmes et de promouvoir les militantes dans le parti; ce qu'Yvette Roudy appelle, en invoquant les fantômes de la misogynie socialiste, lutter contre "l'esprit de Proudhon et de Louise Saumoneau."[13] Au delà de ce programme toujours inachevé, sa stratégie fut de lier son destin à celui de François Mitterrand qui

[8] Consultable au CAF, 5AF 252-253.

[9] *Les Femmes en France, un chemin, deux étapes, 1975-1985*, rapport présenté par la France à la conférence de Nairobi, Paris, La Documentation française, 1985. Voir aussi in carton 5AF 95, la pochette sur la conférence de Nairobi.

[10] Voir le troisième point ("Un ministère qui gagne? Un bilan en demi teinte") de l'article cité de Françoise Thébaud.

[11] Interruption volontaire de grossesse, terme politiquement correct pour avortement.

[12] Yvette Roudy, *La femme en marge* (Paris, 1974); idem, *A cause d'elles* (Paris, 1985); idem, *Mais de quoi ont-ils peur?* (Paris, 1995).

[13] Sur l'histoire de long terme des rapports entre féminisme et socialisme, voir Charles Sowerwine, *Les femmes et le socialisme. Un siècle d'histoire* (Paris, 1978).

mit les femmes au cœur de son projet d'accession au pouvoir.[14] Fidèle parmi les fidèles, Yvette Roudy est donc choisie en 1981 par le Président qui réalise l'alternance politique, pour tenir sa promesse d'un ministère des Droits de la femme et mettre en œuvre les onze propositions qui, parmi les 110 du candidat de gauche, concernent "des droits sociaux pour les femmes" ou les droits de la famille et de l'enfant dans le respect de l'égalité entre mères et pères. Ainsi, la proposition 47 prévoit l'instauration de la représentation proportionnelle aux élections législatives, régionales et municipales (communes de neuf mille habitants et plus) ainsi que la présence sur les listes d'au moins 30 pour cent de femmes. Les propositions soixante-quatre à soixante-neuf annoncent "des droits égaux pour les femmes," dont l'égalité des chances devant l'emploi, l'égalité de rémunération, le statut de travailleuses à part entière pour les conjointes d'agriculteurs, artisans et commerçants, la gratuité de la contraception ou la révision des conditions d'obtention de l'IVG.[15]

Yvette Roudy, qui est autodidacte et ne sort pas de l'École nationale d'administration comme la majorité du personnel politique en France, craint les pesanteurs administratives et sait que sa politique ne fait pas l'unanimité. Pour contourner et contrer les difficultés, elle s'appuie sur François Mitterrand, comme le montrent très clairement les archives de l'Elysée qui contiennent de nombreuses lettres d'Yvette Roudy. Celle-ci tient François Mitterrand au courant de ses initiatives et lui réclame souvent de l'aide pour trancher en sa faveur. Les arguments développés de façon récurrente s'appuient d'une part sur un sentiment partagé de "la justice sociale," d'autre part sur la leçon des sondages et plus généralement sur la nécessité de conforter le ralliement "récent et fragile" des Françaises à la gauche, la ministre se portant en quelque sorte garante de leurs votes, ce qui s'est effectivement réalisé aux élections présidentielles de 1988 où, pour la première fois, les femmes ont voté plus à gauche que les hommes et assuré la réélection du président sortant.[16] Les courriers reçus à l'Elysée sont fréquemment annotés par François Mitterrand lui-même qui écrit en marge: "Yvette Roudy a raison," mais aussi, pour tempérer la fougue de son ministre:[17] "pas de sexisme à l'envers." Ainsi, Yvette Roudy informe François Mitterrand le 30 mars 1982 de son projet de créer un prix littéraire "destiné à récompenser un auteur qui aura, par ses écrits, donné de la femme une image dynamique, s'opposant à tous les *stéréotypes* encore trop largement répandus et que mon ministère s'emploie à faire reculer" et ajoute à la main: "j'aimerais avoir votre avis avant de lancer concrètement cette idée;" F. Mitterrand annote: "l'idée est bonne. Doit être précisée. Ne pas faire de sexisme à l'envers"... .

Sans doute François Mitterrand doit-il être considéré comme plus familialiste que féministe et l'équipe élyséenne, où Yvette Roudy peut compter sur l'appui de Jeannette Laot (ancienne militante cédétiste[18]), n'est pas du tout unanime à partager une sensibilité aux droits des femmes. Pas plus que le gouvernement, où Pierre

[14] Voir Jane Jenson et Mariette Sineau, *Mitterrand et les Françaises. Un rendez-vous manqué* (Paris, 1995).

[15] Les onze propositions concernant les droits des femmes ou de la famille peuvent être consultés en annexe de l'ouvrages de Jane Jenson et Mariette Sineau, *François Mitterrand et les Françaises*, 353-354), comme dans celui d'Yvette Roudy, *Mais de quoi ont-ils peur?*

[16] Sur l'évolution du vote féminin, voir les travaux de Janine Mossuz-Lavau: "Le vote des femmes en France (1945-1993)," *Revue française de science politique*, 43.4 (août 1993), 673-689, et autres articles parus dans la presse, notamment *Le monde*.

[17] Dans les années 1980, où les fonctions prestigieuses sont pensées au masculin, "la" ministre ne se dit aucunement, pas même dans la bouche ou les textes du personnel du ministère des Droits de la femme (à noter aussi que le singulier reste employé, mais que le ministère utilise aussi "droits des femmes"). Les efforts d'Yvette Roudy pour féminiser le langage se heurtent à de fortes résistances.

[18] Cédétiste = de la CFDT (confédération française démocratique du travail).

Bérégovoy aux Affaires sociales, Georgina Dufoix à la Famille et le communiste Marcel Rigoud à la Formation professionnelle s'opposent fréquemment à Yvette Roudy. Ces difficultés politiques pèsent d'autant plus que le ministère des Droits de la femme est un ministère à compétence transversale, qui doit faire entendre sa voix à tous les autres pour faire avancer les dossiers. Le 17 janvier 1984, Yvette Roudy, qui tente de contourner l'obstacle et de s'affirmer par une politique dynamique de communication,[19] se plaint une nouvelle fois à François Mitterrand de ne rencontrer "aucune volonté politique au sein du gouvernement:" "que peut faire un ministre délégué, de mission, sans services, sans pouvoir sur les services-clés, avec cent millions de budget; en fait totalement isolé du reste du gouvernement."

Je développerai ici un seul exemple, celui du 8 mars 1982 qui a laissé beaucoup de traces dans les archives de l'Elysée ou les sources imprimées et qui montre, dès le début, l'existence de tensions et résistances dans le camp socialiste, y compris de la part du plus fidèle allié d'Yvette Roudy.[20] Première commémoration officielle d'une journée inscrite dans la tradition des luttes des femmes, le 8 mars 1982 doit aux yeux de la ministre marquer le féminisme "du sceau de la légitimité." Journée pensée et préparée par le ministère des Droits de la femme dans un esprit très militant, elle comprend plusieurs volets: publication d'une promotion féminine de la Légion d'honneur, inauguration par Pierre Mauroy des nouveaux et spacieux locaux du 53 avenue d'Iéna (qui montre à cette occasion des photographies de femmes au travail), exposition, sur les panneaux publicitaires de la salle des pas perdus de la gare Saint-Lazare de soixante portraits géants de femmes "qui ont marqué l'histoire," "féministes les plus célèbres." Mais le "point fort" en est la réception donnée à l'Elysée et le discours de François Mitterrand, objet de longues négociations entre l'Elysée et le ministère. Le choix d'Yvette Roudy, "d'une journée axée sur la place de la femme dans la vie économique" avec un accent particulier "sur les travailleuses salariées," est infléchi par l'Elysée qui voit "un problème politique" dans "l'exclusion des femmes au foyer." D'une part, le nombre des invitées est diminué de mille à quatre cent, soit dix femmes par région—salariées, agricultrices ou commerçantes—et 150 représentantes d'associations féminines nationales parmi lesquelles—François Mitterrand insiste sur ce point—"des femmes n'exerçant pas d'activité professionnelle." D'autre part, le Président refuse l'orchestre féminin proposé par Yvette Roudy. Enfin et surtout, si le discours préparé par Jeannette Laot avec les Droits des femmes maintient la trilogie autonomie-égalité-dignité et annonce de nombreuses réformes en cours d'élaboration, il est fortement raccourci et amendé dans un sens plus "optimiste," moins "revendicatif" et plus ouvert "aux femmes qui ne travaillent pas." François Mitterrand n'évoque pas le remboursement de l'IVG mais "l'étroite complémentarité" entre politique de la famille et action pour les droits des femmes.

Ainsi, malgré sa carrure d'événement politique et médiatique, le 8 mars 1982 montre déjà les limites du féminisme d'État, tandis que les 8 mars suivants, de moins en moins grandioses, voient s'accentuer "la marginalisation" (mot d'Yvette Roudy) du ministère des Droits de la femme. L'esprit de Proudhon n'est pas totalement mort dans le PS des années 1980 et Yvette Roudy, qualifiée avec affection "d'emmerdeuse" ou de "lutteuse" par ces amies, agace le sérail politique dont elle ne respecte pas les codes et bouscule la mauvaise conscience. A la différence de la ministre militante, la majorité des ministres et leaders socialistes, confrontés aux

[19] Voir notamment la publication mensuelle de *Citoyennes à part entière*, organe du ministère, et celle de nombreux guides des droits des femmes; ou l'utilisation—tout à fait nouvelle—de spots télévisés.
[20] Je reprends sur ce point les éléments développés dans ma contribution au colloque cité note 3.

réalités économiques et internationales, ne croient plus très rapidement pouvoir transformer en profondeur la société française et instaurer le socialisme en France. Dans un contexte de rigueur qui s'installe, les droits des femmes apparaissent comme une question non prioritaire et le travail à temps partiel, tant dénoncé auparavant, comme une solution au chômage.

Une société frileuse ? Des courants conservateurs

Yvette Roudy, qui considère son ministère comme "un ministère du déconditionnement des femmes et des hommes," a le projet de changer les mentalités par l'information (d'où la publication de nombreux guides), la culture et les lois: dire aux femmes qu'elles ont des droits et aux hommes qu'un monde sans domination masculine serait meilleur. Son modèle de femme libre est celui de la jeune femme travailleuse et militante mais elle souhaite n'oublier aucune femme et permettre à toutes le maximum d'autonomie. La réception de ce discours ambitieux et d'une politique contrainte aux compromis fut plutôt bonne dans l'ensemble, comme le montrent les sondages mais elle s'est heurtée aussi à l'hostilité de courants natalistes et conservateurs qui surent se faire entendre.

Entrevue dans les courriers adressées à l'Elysée, l'importance des sondages est tout à fait confirmée par la consultation des Archives Roudy qui montrent un mode d'auscultation de la société française et un usage des sondages. Un très gros dossier[21] contient des notes sur l'organisation des sondages et leurs résultats concernant le ministère des Droits de la femme, de l'automne 1983 à 1986.[22] Ces résultats sont annotés de la main d'Yvette Roudy, qui entoure et calcule des indices de progression ou recul et qui, au vu de bons chiffres, demande à ses collaboratrices de faire une note de synthèse pour Matignon ou l'Elysée. Plus que la défense de son image personnelle, il s'agit pour la ministre contestée de convaincre du bien-fondé de sa politique et d'obtenir les moyens de la poursuivre.

Le gouvernement a mis en place, auprès du premier ministre, un Service d'information et de diffusion (SID) qui recueille à l'intention des administrations les sondages diffusés par la presse, aide les ministères à organiser des consultations de l'opinion et à passer marché avec un institut de sondages, commande régulièrement à BVA un sondage sur les différents domaines de l'action gouvernementale, pour apprécier "le niveau d'importance accordé au secteur d'activité concerné" (les femmes par exemple) et "le niveau de satisfaction," les résultats confidentiels n'étant transmis qu'au premier ministre et au ministère concerné. Le ministère des Droits de la femme a ainsi communication des résultats pour deux secteurs d'activité ("égalité professionnelle" et "femmes") mais aimerait connaître aussi la perception de l'aide aux familles, "résultats intéressants, dit une note du 15 janvier 1985, pour apprécier l'évolution de l'opinion sur l'action en faveur des femmes chez certaines catégories conservatrices pour qui femme et famille sont étroitement liées."

Synthétisés dans les deux tableaux ci-dessous réalisés à partir des différents sondages, les résultats sont régulièrement commentés par le ministère qui souligne que l'action du gouvernement envers les femmes est créditée de plus de satisfaction que l'action gouvernementale dans son ensemble et que les fluctuations reflètent le calendrier des mesures adoptées, les bons scores de l'automne 1983 suivant, par exemple, la promulgation de la loi sur l'égalité professionnelle du 13 juillet.

[21] CAF, 5AF 113, "Bilan et évaluation du ministère."
[22] Je n'ai pas trouvé ceux des débuts du ministère mais des rappels sont faits de résultats antérieurs et de courtes synthèses peuvent être trouvées in *Citoyennes à part entière*.

A la question "Considérez-vous comme un problème important l'action en faveur des femmes? ou de l'égalité professionnelle?" ont répondu "important:"

	Février 1983	Sept. 1983	Oct. 1983	Sept 1984	Oct. 1984
Femmes	79.7	73.2		76	
Egalité prof.			85.4		84.4

A la question "Que pensez-vous de l'action en faveur des femmes? ou de l'égalité professionnelle?" ont répondu "très bien et plutôt bien:"

	Juin 1983	Sept. 1983	Nov. 1983	Déc. 1983	Mars 1984	Sept. 1984	Nov. 1984	Déc. 1984	Janv. 1985	Févr. 1985	Avril 1985	Juin 1985
Femmes	51.5 %	54.8	59.7		55.1	49.6	54.2		56.7			
Egal. Prof.				55.2		47.9		50.8		53.1	52.6	53.9
Act. gouv.		32.8	34	32.4								

Le ministère est aussi attentif au fait que les hommes semblent plus satisfaits que les femmes, dont "l'opinion est plus critique," particulièrement chez les jeunes filles ou les actives. Il tente de cerner la réaction des différentes catégories sociales et familles politiques ou religieuses, particulièrement inquiet des réactions des catholiques. Pour mieux jauger et défendre sa politique, il commande, de surcroît et en général à l'IFOP (institut français d'opinion publique), des sondages sur le degré d'approbation des mesures adoptées, sur la connaissance qu'en ont les Français, sur l'image du ministère et celle d'Yvette Roudy. Un grande majorité (environ 80 pour cent) connaît l'existence du ministère et la juge nécessaire (un peu plus de femmes que d'hommes); environ 60 pour cent (un peu plus de femmes que d'hommes) considèrent que les droits des femmes ont progressé depuis 1981 mais l'importance des mesures est diversement appréciée. Sous le titre "Les Français approuvent les mesures relatives à l'amélioration des droits des femmes," le numéro 28 de *Citoyennes à part entière* (février 1984), mensuel du ministère, résume en un tableau le résultat d'un sondage et montre que si, près de 90 pour cent des Français trouvent "important pour l'amélioration des droits des femmes" la loi d'égalité professionnelle, ils sont minoritaires à porter le même jugement sur le projet de loi antisexiste qui ne pourra voir le jour, et seulement 62 pour cent à approuver le remboursement de l'IVG, obtenu difficilement en décembre 1982. Sur ce point, "l'opposition est beaucoup plus marquée parmi les femmes" et les opposants, minoritaires, savent se faire entendre.

En effet, il existe, particulièrement en matière sexuelle, une France hostile aux droits de femmes, qu'Yvette Roudy identifie dans ses écrits et paroles à la France nataliste, familialiste et cléricale. Si des luttes antérieures ont conduit au vote des lois Neuwirth (1967) et Veil (1974 et 1979) qui autorisent la contraception et libéralisent l'avortement,[23] le double souci d'Yvette Roudy et de sa conseillère Simone Iff (ancienne présidente du Planning familial) est d'une part de démocratiser l'usage de la contraception, par une information ouverte à toutes les classes sociales et aux jeunes, et d'autre part de permettre l'égal accès au droit d'avorter par le remboursement de

[23] Les ouvrages sont nombreux sur les mouvements féministes et néo-malthusiens. Voir la synthèse politique de Janine Mossuz-Lavau sur l'après-1950: *Les Lois de l'amour. Les politiques de la sexualité en France* (Paris, 1990).

l'acte médical. Lancée à l'automne 1981, la première campagne d'information sur la contraception—comme les suivantes—se fait à large échelle et utilise les moyens modernes de communication (spots et films télévisés, affiches, brochures, messages-radio).[24] Elle constitue sans doute l'un des premiers chocs culturels de l'alternance et contribue à modifier les comportements. Si elle rencontre " es critiques et réserves," notamment de la part des Eglises ou d'associations qui souhaitent des formulations plus modérées, celles-ci restent mineures en regard de l'affaire que suscite le remboursement de L'IVG. Très présente dans les archives de plusieurs membres de l'Elysée, cette affaire mobilise Yvette Roudy des mois durant, alors qu'elle souhaitait aller vite sur ce point pour se consacrer à "la priorité des priorités:" l'emploi et l'égalité professionnelle.[25]

Contrairement à l'appréciation du ministère, la question de la légitimité du droit à l'avortement n'avait pas été réglée par la loi Veil, votée essentiellement par la gauche parlementaire. Evoquée dès l'automne 1981 parallèlement à une meilleure application de la loi existante—notamment dans le premier numéro de *Citoyennes à part entière* qui prévoit un décret—la perspective du remboursement de l'IVG par la Sécurité sociale réveille l'opposition de tous ceux qui considèrent cet acte comme un crime et oppose très nettement deux France et deux conceptions de la place des femmes dans la société. Bien plus que ses partisans—je n'ai trouvé dans les archives mention que de quelques dizaines de lettres émanant du Planning familial ou de la Libre pensée—et surtout plus précocement, la France traditionnelle, droitière ou cléricale, utilise l'arme du courrier adressé au Président de la République, interpellé dans son rôle d'arbitre qui doit être sensible à "la voix de la France profonde" et invoqué pour sa fibre familialiste.[26] Par centaines, des lettres, lettres-pétitions, télégrammes arrivent à l'Elysée, menaçantes ou implorantes, à charge pour les conseillers de les comptabiliser et de répondre: elles dénoncent "le meurtre," "le crime parfait," "l'acte contre nature," "l'investissement de dénatalité," voire "le génocide quotidien organisé et perpétré avec les deniers publics." Moins virulente mais ferme, l'Union nationale des associations familiales (UNAF), qui a l'oreille de l'Elysée, de Pierre Bérégovoy et de Georgina Dufoix, constitue un contrepoids d'autant plus efficace aux propositions féministes d'Yvette Roudy.

Sur ce "sujet délicat" comme disent les conseillers de l'Elysée, partisans et adversaires s'affrontent plus de six mois et la machine gouvernementale cafouille. Mais il faut liquider le problème avant les élections municipales de 1983. L'insistance d'Yvette Roudy et celle de femmes du PS (Colette Audry notamment), la mobilisation du Planning familial (considéré à l'Elysée comme " une organisation responsable ") et celle des féministes qui manifestent le 23 octobre 1982 incitent à trouver une solution, d'autant que les sondages commandés par le gouvernement sont positifs. Imaginée par Pierre Bérégovoy pour "éviter la banalisation" de l'IVG, la proposition d'un budget spécial suscite la colère d'Yvette Roudy qui s'oppose à "cette ligne de la faute" qui "réouvrira le débat chaque année." Au terme d'un compromis, l'IVG est finalement

[24] Voir le numéro spécial de *Citoyennes à part entière*, supplément au no. 3, novembre 1981.

[25] Expression utilisée dans le numéro spécial "1981-1985: Une avancée pour les femmes," supplément au no. 44 de *Citoyennes à part entière*, juillet 1985.

[26] Ainsi, Catherine X de la Celle-Saint-Cloud écrit dans une lettre du 1 novembre 1982: "Si les revendications du Mouvement de libération des femmes et des adeptes du Planning familial sont bruyamment orchestrées par une certaine presse, elles ne reflètent pas la conviction de la France profonde, celle que vous aimez, Monsieur le Président, celle de tant de familles et de toutes les femmes qui mettent courageusement au monde l'enfant qui s'annonce, espéré ou non. Il existe des valeurs éthiques fondamentales … ." Peu après, une paysanne du Gers écrit la même chose avec des mots différents.

remboursée par la Sécurité sociale, comme tout acte médical, mais avec financement par le budget. Puissant depuis les lendemains de la Première guerre mondiale, le pronatalisme français n'a pas gagné, mais il a beaucoup gêné et affaibli le ministère des Droits des femmes. Pas plus cependant , voire moins, que les milieux des média et de la publicité qui ont dénoncé un texte liberticide et fait échouer le projet de loi antisexiste qui voulait poser publiquement la question des violences faites aux femmes.[27] Quant aux féministes qui ont su se mobiliser sur ces deux dossiers, elles n'ont pas toujours soutenu le féminisme d'État.

Un féminisme méfiant vis-à-vis de l'État

Comme l'ont montré les recherches les plus récentes, le féminisme se décline au pluriel (féminisme**s**) et toute affirmation générale simplifie à l'excès la réalité: la diversité du mouvement nécessite, à toute époque, une tentative de catégorisation.[28] Comme les travaux d'histoire ou de sciences politiques sont encore très peu nombreux sur le féminisme français dit "de la deuxième vague" (années 1970-1980),[29] je propose d'utiliser le classement "approximatif" (sic) que fait l'association Choisir/la cause des femmes (dirigée par Gisèle Halimi et appelée couramment Choisir) dans ses invitations au colloque d'octobre 1983 "Féminisme et Socialismes." Ce colloque est réuni pour faire le point, dire que le féminisme n'est pas fini, et demander des comptes au gouvernement, et à Yvette Roudy en particulier.[30] Choisir invite d'abord des "mouvements proches de la majorité de gauche," catégorie dans laquelle il se situe avec La Ligue des droits des femmes et le Planning familial; ces trois associations avaient d'ailleurs, avec le MLF, appelé à voter pour François Mitterrand au printemps 1981, tandis que Choisir avait organisé entre les deux tours un débat où seul le candidat socialiste était venu ("Quel président pour les femmes?"). Choisir invite aussi "des mouvements indépendants:" le MLF dont la figure de proue est Antoinette Fouque et qui refuse l'invitation; le groupe de coordination des femmes animé par Maya Surduts. Choisir invite enfin des mouvements qui sont dans l'opposition comme l'Association Dialogue des villes présidée par Monique Pelletier, ministre déléguée à la Condition féminine avant l'alternance politique de 1981. Cette dernière reproche sans surprise à la ministre socialiste d'imposer un modèle de femme, de ne pas reconnaître la diversité des situations et de mépriser les mères au foyer. Mais la méfiance vient aussi des autres groupes de femmes.

De multiples nuances, fruit de leur histoire et de leurs objectifs qui ne peuvent être détaillés ici,[31] existent entre les associations des deux premières catégories; mais,

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[27] Dans le cadre restreint de cet article, l'histoire du projet de loi antisexiste ne peut pas être présenté.

[28] Voir l'ouvrage récent Eliane Gubin, Catherine Jacques, Florence Rochefort, Brigitte Studer, Françoise Thébaud, Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, dir., *Le Siècle des féminismes* (Paris, 2004).

[29] Voir cependant: Françoise Picq, *Libération des femmes: les années-mouvement* (Paris, 1993); Françoise Picq, "le MLF, exception française ou modèle?" in *Féminismes et identités nationales*, dir. Yolande Cohen et Françoise Thébaud (Lyon, 1998), 207-218; Helena Hirata, Françoise Laborie, Hélène Le Doaré, Danièle Senotier, dir., *Dictionnaire critique du féminisme* (Paris, 2000).

[30] Les actes sont publiés: Choisir/la cause des femmes, *Fini le féminisme?* Compte rendu intégral du colloque international "Féminisme et socialismes" organisé par le mouvement "Choisir" les 13, 14 et 15 octobre 2003 au Palais de l'UNESCO à Paris (Paris, 1984). In archives Roudy du CAF, voir aussi 5AF 94 ("Participation à des colloques, inaugurations, manifestations").

[31] Il n'y a d'ailleurs en France quasiment aucun travail universitaire sur ces associations (sauf mémoire de maîtrise sur telle ou telle ville de province). L'histoire de la vaste contestation pré et post-soixante-huitarde commence seulement à émerger; voir G. Dreyfus-Armand, R. Franck, M.-F. Lévy, M. Zancarini-Fournel, dir., *Les Années 68. Le temps de la contestation* (Bruxelles, 2000).

si la loi, conquise de haute lutte, est, pour certaines, considérée comme libératrice, toutes sont fortement marquées par le gauchisme, le refus du réformisme et la crainte de l'État récupérateur. La position et l'action d'Yvette Roudy heurtent, à des degrés divers, leur culture politique. Celle-ci, en effet, se dit féministe et a participé comme telle à des actions d'éclat collectives—par exemple, la signature du manifeste des 343 (femmes déclarant avoir avorté) paru en avril 1971 dans *Le Nouvel observateur*—mais elle refuse l'autonomie du mouvement défendue par ses amies, considérant que rien ne peut changer sans passer par la politique et le pouvoir d'État. Ses amies ou anciennes amies sont pour elle les "féministes de l'extérieur," les "féministes du dehors," tandis que les membres de son cabinet, plus sévères, peuvent se moquer des "ravissantes du MLF." Autre différence, tout aussi fondamentale: Yvette Roudy veut faire bouger toutes les femmes, pas seulement les militantes, ni de surcroît les intellectuelles parisiennes; à ce titre, elle aide de nombreuses associations de femmes —féministes mais aussi féminines et familiales—lieux de participation des femmes à la vie publique et d'apprentissage de l'autonomie. "Je forge des outils et je donne des armes. Aux femmes de s'en saisir," répète-t-elle souvent.

Cette double tension (autonomie *versus* insertion partisane, élitisme militant *versus* respect de la diversité des femmes) et le refus de considérer les contraintes (politiques et bureaucratiques) auxquelles est soumise Yvette Roudy créent des relations difficiles, voire conflictuelles, entre les groupes féministes et le ministère des Droits de la femme et n'aident pas la ministre à promouvoir la cause des femmes.

Voici quelques exemples qui illustrent ce propos. Animée par Anne Zelenski et Simone de Beauvoir qui s'engagent pour une loi antisexiste, la Ligue des droits des femmes, association la plus proche du ministère, reconnaît au colloque de Choisir que "le ministère des Droits de la femme a accéléré la mutation culturelle que les féministes avaient contribué à faire apparaître:" mais elle ajoute aussi que "les féministes radicales ne peuvent avoir avec les pouvoirs politiques que des relations provisoires," "ponctuelles," parce que les pouvoirs politiques sont "l'expression peut-être la plus pure du rapport de domination."[32] De son côté, le Planning familial, dont l'ancienne Présidente Simone Iff est au cabinet d'Yvette Roudy, joue un rôle fondamental pour faire passer la remboursement de l'IVG, mais il refuse, comme le lui propose la ministre, de devenir association d'utilité publique, pour ne pas "tomber dans le service" et rester une "force de propositions, de contestations et de revendications."[33] Quant à Choisir de Gisèle Halimi, qui aurait aimé être ministre à la place d'Yvette Roudy, l'association est très sévère au moment des atermoiements gouvernementaux sur le remboursement de l'IVG. Faisant concurrence aux efforts du ministère, la députée Halimi dépose le 20 septembre 1982 une proposition de loi sur le remboursement de l'IVG et publie dans *Choisir* un tract intitulé "Les raisons de la colère:" "la décision de reporter le remboursement de l'IVG apparaît bien comme la preuve de l'impuissance du ministère des Droits de la femme. … Combat spécifique, la lutte pour la libération des femmes n'est pas résolue dans la lutte des classes. Force nous est de reconnaître que le changement n'est qu'un changement de politique et non un changement de politique et des PRIORITES en ce qui concerne les femmes."

Les groupes indépendants sont plus fermes encore dans leur prise de distance avec le ministère. Maya Surduts souligne au colloque les mesures positives prises par Yvette Roudy mais considère que le travail de son mouvement est dans la lutte à la

[32] *Fini le féminisme?* 441. Les féministes radicales y sont définies par Anne Zelenski comme voulant aller au-delà des revendications d'égalité et luttant contre le patriarcat.
[33] Phrase extraite de la motion d'orientation générale du 16e congrès du Planning familial, 5-6 juin 1982.

base, notamment dans les entreprises. Le MLF refuse de participer au colloque, comme il a refusé l'invitation au 8 mars 1982 de l'Elysée, invitation jugée "dérisoire et injuste" en considération de l'action du mouvement "qui lutte depuis treize ans pour que réparation soit faite des dommages millénaires causés aux femmes" et des initiatives qu'il a prises pour faire du 8 mars une journée historique. Ces initiatives sont détaillées dans l'organe de presse *Les Femmes en mouvements hebdo* qui diffuse une phraséologie révolutionnaire appelant à la grève générale des femmes, à des États généraux internationaux contre la misogynie et à des défilés dans Paris. Bref, un 8 mars militant contre le 8 mars institutionnel.

Plus virulentes encore sont les féministes trotskistes qui éditent le trimestriel *Cahiers du féminisme.*[34] Très engagées depuis longtemps sur la revendication " avortement et contraception libres et gratuits," ces militantes écrivent au moment des élections de 1981: "Nos rêves peuvent devenir réalité. Prenons nos affaires en main." Mais elles affichent un large pessimisme dès l'automne ("force est de constater que les résultats sont maigres dans la plupart des domaines qui concernent directement la vie des femmes") et deviennent de plus en plus critiques au fil des mois, organisant des assises puis des États généraux sur les femmes et le travail, dénonçant un changement à reculons, puis un tournant nataliste et familial.

"Il faut consoler Yvette Roudy," écrivent certains jours ses conseillers, tant la tâche est ingrate et difficile. Nécessairement pragmatique mais aussi bousculant un monde politique misogyne ou la tradition nataliste française, le féminisme d'État du ministère des Droits de la femme est une expérience complexe, au demeurant souvent oubliée dans la mémoire militante[35] et quasi absente pendant longtemps des ouvrages synthétiques sur les années Mitterrand.[36] Elle informe cependant sur la culture politique française et sur les mutations des rapports de sexe en France. Yvette Roudy en est sortie aguerrie et a continué ses activités militantes et politiques (députée et maire). Elle méritera sans doute un jour une biographie…[37]

[34] La collection a été consultée au CAF d'Angers.

[35] Par exemple, pas une allusion dans l'allocution d'ouverture des Assises nationales pour les droits des femmes (15-16 mars 1997) dans laquelle Maya Surduts brosse deux siècles d'histoire des femmes et évoque longuement les deux dernières décennies; in *En avant toutes. Les Assises nationales pour les droits des femmes* (Pantin, 1998), 15-20.

[36] Par exemple, une ligne seulement pour signaler l'existence et la dénomination du ministère d'Yvette Roudy dans l'ouvrage de Jean-Jacques Becker (avec la collaboration de Pascal Ory), *Crises et alternances, 1974-1995* (Paris, 1998), 259; à peine plus dans les ouvrages de Pierre Favier et Michel Martin-Roland, *La décennie Mitterrand* (Paris, 1990 et 1991) pour les deux premiers tomes—*Les ruptures (1981-1984)* et *Les épreuves (1984-1998)*. L'action d'Yvette Roudy ne semble pas mériter quelques pages pour illustrer "le changement" et "le socialisme," titres respectifs des chapitres sur les réformes des premières années du premier septennat de François Mitterrand.

[37] Je travaille actuellement, pour lire le 20ème siècle des femmes à l'aune des questions que soulève sa trajectoire, sur le personnage de Marguerite Thibert (1886-1982) pour qui Yvette Roudy avait beaucoup d'admiration: historienne docteure es-lettres, fonctionnaire du BIT, socialiste, féministe, pacifiste… Mais je serais sans doute tentée un jour par un travail sur Yvette Roudy.

The Sexual Contract(s) of the Third Republic

Charles Sowerwine

Sixteen years ago, in *The Sexual Contract,* Carole Pateman argued convincingly that the creation of the public sphere was made possible by the creation of the private sphere, and that the public sphere was inherently or intrinsically masculine. The "Sexual Contract" was the implicit—fraternal—understanding between the would-be male citizens that their status as heads of households justified their assumption of the power—patriarchal—of the king; fraternity replaced paternity. This understanding, obviously, was not legal or formal; it was embedded in the modes of thought which made possible the breakthrough into liberal culture.[1] Pateman's argument has been widely accepted to explain the birth of proto-republican thought in the eighteenth century, but it has not yet been applied to explain the continued exclusion of women in the nineteenth century. That is the point of this paper.

Pateman might have supported her case by referring to Schiller's "Ode to Joy," the 1787 poem which Beethoven set to music as the fourth movement of his Symphony No. 9.[2]

> Wem der grosse Wurf gelungen,
> Eines Freundes Freund zu sein,
> Wer ein holdes Weib errungen,
> Mische seinen Jubel ein!
>
> [He who knows the great pride
> Of being the friend of a friend,
> He who has a wife to cherish,
> Let him swell our mighty song!]

The dates between the poem and the music—1787-1824—cover the sea change to which Pateman's argument is most often applied. But if Pateman's argument is valid, if the exclusion of women was indeed inherent in and not accidental to the democratic

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[1] Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge, 1988).

[2] Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, "Ode to Joy" (1787), set to music by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), as the fourth movement of Symphony No. 9 in D *(Choral),* op. 125 (1823-24).

project issued from the Enlightenment, then we should expect to find continuity in the exclusion of women.

Why then did the French Revolution fail to grant political rights to women? Why did France lead in male suffrage (proprietary from 1791, universal from 1848) and lag behind other western nations in female suffrage (1944)? Pierre Rosanvallon puts the problem clearly: "The power of the prejudices about women's nature does not suffice to explain the nearly absurd character that the idea of opening the right of suffrage to women had [for men] during the Revolution." The key, for Rosanvallon, is that the Revolutionaries did not consider women to be "true individuals." Instead, they were closed into the sphere of domestic activity."[3]

Most historians now accept, in Mary Louise Roberts's words, "the absolute centrality of this view of womanhood to the bourgeois democratic society that rose up in the wake of the 1789 revolution;" they acknowledge that the culture of individual achievement and fulfillment was premised on a new model of gender.[4] Carole Pateman and others demonstrated that formulations of citizenship in this period were based on the exclusion of women.[5] The subordination of women in the writings of the *philosophes* and their formal exclusion from the new polity were not accidental, but intrinsic in and essential to the new culture.[6] In order to think their way to citizenship, Pateman argues, Enlightenment thinkers (and a fortiori the men of 1789) had to work their way out of a society entirely premised on a patriarchal model of the polity: the king was literally the father of the nation. To imagine, let alone to construct, a society without a king and ultimately to take on the guilt of regicide/parricide, as the English did in 1642, and the French in 1792, was impossible. The solution, Pateman suggests, was to project the patriarchal model of power into the home: if men were the heads of households, little kings in their own domains, then they could represent their households outside and this could justify their taking power as a band of brothers, substitution of fraternal for patriarchal power.

The implications of this argument for the question of citizenship in the nineteenth century have yet to be examined. Geneviève Fraisse and Christine Fauré have, to be sure, argued that eighteenth-century discourse on women conditioned that of the early-nineteenth century,[7] but no-one has asked whether the continued exclusion of women throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century resulted from its centrality to the world view underpinning liberal democracy. The implication of Pateman's argument is that the exclusion of women from nineteenth-century liberal democracies like France results directly from the centrality of that exclusion to the premises of liberal democracy. Many who accept Pateman's argument resist its

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[3] Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen. Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 1992), 176.

[4] Mary-Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago and London, 2002), 4.

[5] Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*; Geneviève Fraisse, *Les femmes et leur histoire* (Paris, 1998), chap. 4-6; Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988); Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation* (Ithaca, 2001); Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution* (New Haven, 1989); Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800* trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford, 1997).

[6] Joel Schwartz, *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Chicago, 1984); Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue* (Ithaca, 1986); Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters* (Ithaca, 1994).

[7] Geneviève Fraisse, *Reason's Muse* (Chicago, 1994); Christine Fauré, *Democracy Without Women* (Bloomington, 1991).

logical implications (and a few hardy souls still insist that the exclusion of women was "tactical" or "accidental").[8]

In this paper, I want to focus on the early Third Republic as a case study for my argument that the exclusion of women from the vote was inherent in the origins of republican thought. Accepting the implications of Pateman's argument and extending it through the nineteenth century explains why, as I put it (laconically, I fear) in my general history, "[In the debates over the 'Constitution of 1875,'] no one raised women's suffrage, as some had in 1848."[9] No one would dispute that the Third Republic excluded women from the formal (political) public sphere (it of course extended education to girls). The issue I wish to address is whether that exclusion was inherent in the Republican project, or accidental, resulting from the need for Republicans to conciliate Orleanist elites and from the generally conservative tenor of public life after the Commune.

The argument of this paper is that Pateman's argument should lead us to reconsider the exclusion of women from the suffrage, to cease viewing it as the result of neglect or accident and to view it instead as inherent in republicanism. It is no accident, I contend, that women were most firmly excluded precisely when a working Republic was finally put into place. The discourse of Third Republic republicanism continued to reflect a family model on which republicanism based itself, a model in which the separation of spheres justified male political activity by female inactivity, male public life by female private life.

To argue this position, the present paper opens two lines of inquiry. First, it aims to analyze the discussion (or lack thereof) of women's suffrage during the 1870s, with particular reference to Léon Richer and Maria Deraismes's aborted 1872 campaign for the suffrage. (It would be useful to extend the argument by a comparison with debates surrounding the Constitution of the *an* III and that of 1848, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.) The discourse around women's suffrage, such as it was, and the silence of most republicans, reinforce the notion that the exclusion of women was not accidental. If it were, one would expect to see some republican politicians paying at least lip service to women's suffrage.

Second, the paper opens the question of the nature of the silences surrounding women's suffrage, especially the silence from the republicans. These silences are based in a concept of woman's nature as anchored in the family. The constant iteration of family metaphors, especially among republicans, suggests that for republicans it remained essential for women to be kept in the private sphere and out of the public. To the extent that republican discourse was saturated in family metaphors, it repeated and prolonged the discourse of the eighteenth-century *philosophes.*

I

There is never total silence, though there was total silence from Republican politicians: women's suffrage *was* discussed during the 1870s, but not by Republican

[8] Anne Verjus argues that the exclusion of women was a by-product of the property–based suffrage [*suffrage censitaire*] because it was based on the family and not on the exclusion of women. But while the *cens* was based on family tax payments, Verjus' examples of the cases in which this led to recognition of women as heads of household or as voters are, to say the least, unconvincing. See Anne Verjus, *Le cens de la famille. Les femmes et le vote, 1789-1848* (Paris, 2002).

[9] Charles Sowerwine, *France since 1870: Culture, Politics and Society* (Basingstoke, 2001), 31.

politicians. Several women had courageously raised the issue of women's rights in the Tivoli-Vauxhall Debates in the liberal empire. One of these—Paule Mink—could not speak in the 1870s since she was exiled. But memory of the Commune and fear of the *pétroleuses* did not prevent all mention of the issue. In 1871, Léon Richer and Maria Deraismes revived the Association for Women's Rights and its newspaper, *Le droit des femmes;* the reference to "rights" seemed too radical in the period of martial law and occupation: the newspaper was restyled *L'avenir des femmes;* within a few months, the group was similarly restyled.[10]

Despite their moderation, Richer and Deraismes organised—in June 1872—a banquet of 150 supporters of women's emancipation, held at the Corazza Restaurant in the Palais Royal.[11] The keynote speaker was Victor Schoelcher, who had signed the 1848 decree abolishing slavery. The highlight of the evening was a letter from Victor Hugo. Women, he argued, were virtual slaves: "There are citizens, THERE ARE NOT CITIZENESSES. This is a violent fact; it must cease."[12]

Richer and Deraismes seem to have believed that they had put the issue of women's suffrage back on the agenda. They devoted an entire edition of *L'avenir des femmes* to a report on this banquet. Richer wrote, "Who can now be afraid of being ridiculous when [one is] in the company of Victor Hugo, with Louis Blanc, with H. de Lacretelle, with Naquet, with Lemonnier, [with] the director of *L'opinion nationale*, Adolphe Guéroult, and with the director of *Le siècle*, Louis Jourdan."[13]

Far from having put the issue of women's suffrage back on the agenda, however, Richer and Deraismes had raised it for the last time in at least a decade. Conservatives were now talking the post-revolutionary (as well as counter-revolutionary) language of de Maistre and Bonald. In a leader by Albert Wolff, *Le Figaro,* well to the right then as now, railed at "[the supposed demand for] the suppression of paternal authority … [which] would be the dissolution of the family." It was simple: "of the two spouses, one must govern as absolute master [*il faut que l'un gouverne en maître absolu*]." There was no choice: either the wife obeys the husband or the husband obeys the wife. The latter alternative was so unthinkable that it was not even addressed.[14] *Le courrier de France* agreed: "Wives and mothers, no more baby clothes; just a flag. No more *pots-au-feu*; just the ballot box: Woman the voter and soldier."[15]

Conservatives were thus adamant in their opposition to women's suffrage. That is not surprising. What might be surprising, at least from the perspective that women's exclusion was accidental, it that no voice was raised in its favor from among the ranks of Gambetta's republicans, the "radical republicans" who would effectively establish the Republic and become known as "opportunists." They were then intent on a deal with Thiers to assure the future of the Republic and were unlikely to go out on any limbs. But beyond the conjuncture, did their silence not represent a position on women's role which effectively excluded women from the public sphere?

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[10] *Le droit des femmes,* 1860-70; *L'avenir des femmes,* 1871-1879; *Le droit des femmes,* 1879-1891.
[11] Patrick Kay Bidelman, *Pariahs Stand Up! The Founding of the Liberal Feminist Movement in France, 1858-1889* (Westport, Ct, 1982), 97.
[12] *L'avenir des femmes,* 7 July 1872, quoted in Steven C. Hause, *Hubertine Auclert: The French Suffragette* (New Haven, 1987), 19; Léon Abensour, *Histoire générale du féminisme des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1921).
[13] *L'avenir des femmes,* 8 July 1872.
[14] Albert Wolff, *Le figaro,* 14 June 1872.
[15] René Viviani, Henri Robert, Albert Meurgé et al., *Cinquante ans de féminisme: 1870-1920* (Paris, 1921), 67.

II

What does the nature of the discourse (or silence) surrounding women's suffrage tell us about whether exclusion was inherent or accidental? Eugène Pelletan, father of Camille (the Third Republic radical about whom Judith Stone has written[16]), wrote in 1869 that woman's place was "at home, directing, administering the house and above all constantly forming those young souls which Providence has confided to her, making them one day citizens worthy of their country. Thus, to define marriage … I would call it a constitutional government. The husband minister of foreign affairs, the wife minister of the interior, and all household questions decided by the council of ministers."[17]

While stating that this passage supports Pateman's argument, Judith Stone suggests that "since Pateman's main concern … is to demonstrate the patriarchal character of liberalism, she devotes less attention to the increasing dissatisfaction with liberal theory after 1850. She concludes that Pelletan's "metaphor [that marriage was like a constitutional government] indicates that many nineteenth-century social commentators were no longer content with the sharp distinction between domestic and public realms."[18] It does not seem to me that one can find any such "dissatisfaction with liberal theory" in regard to gender issues. One can find it in regard to social issues—culminating no doubt in Léon Bourgeois' notion of "solidarism" in the 1890s—though even on social issues the radical republicans were remarkably laissez-faire until the 1890s. Gambetta's Belleville Program of 1869 called only for "the study" of social questions and its general tone was thoroughly liberal.

To be sure, the most obvious reading of Pelletan's metaphor would lead us to contrast republican imagery with the paternal metaphors which dominated conservative thinking. Compared to conservatives, many republicans were moderate about women's rights. Pateman's argument, however, is not about moderation, but about a shift from paternal to fraternal metaphors. I would suggest that the language of the radical republicans, including Pelletan's, works around metaphors which are consonant with fraternity. The language of Pelletan, of Jules Michelet and of Victor Hugo, did indeed draw on fraternal metaphors, as Judith Stone herself has argued. (These texts are well known enough not to need citation here.) Most Republicans, during the second half of the nineteenth century, drew on Michelet and Hugo, for their discursive structures.[19]

In her memoirs, Juliette Lambert Adam noted how her husband Edmond Adam, one of Gambetta's closest friends, confided to his wife the need for women to support the next generation of Republican leaders:

> "But do you know what worries me, Juliette? That in the tide of our young friends, I don't see any women following them: Gambetta, Challemel, Spuller, Ranc, have no wives. . . . Cafés may maintain the

[16] Judith F. Stone, *Sons of the Revolution: Radical Democrats in France, 1862-1914* (Baton Rouge, 1996), *passim.*

[17] Eugène Pelletan, *La femme au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1869), 29; cf. Judith Stone, "The Republican Brotherhood: Gender and Ideology," in Elinor Ann Accampo, Rachel G. Fuchs, and Mary Lynn Stewart, eds, *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform in France, 1870-1914* (Baltimore, 1995), 29.

[18] Stone, "The Republican Brotherhood," 29, n. 4, p. 194.

[19] Ibid., 32-40.

> spirit of opposition, but once the Republic is founded, I look in vain for the hearths [*foyers*] which will preserve it."[20]

So, recorded Juliette Lamber Adam in her memoirs, her husband Edmond spoke of the need for women to support the next generation of Republican leaders. This was the discourse of Michelet, the discourse of Republican fraternity. It was markedly different from that of Bonald and de Maistre, the discourse of conservative paternalism, but it excluded women just as effectively, if more gently, so gently that even politically-minded women like Adam did not even notice the implicit exclusion. And, taking the point a step further, this suggests that the exclusion of women ran so deep in nineteenth-century thought that even a politically active and involved woman like Adam could not bring the issue to the surface. The exclusion from formal politics simply led her to informal political participation, initially through her salon and as the confidant of Léon Gambetta, the leading Republican statesman of the day.

To discuss his political thought, Gambetta depended on his relationship with Juliette Adam and with his lover, Léonie Léon. Edmond Adam had introduced Juliette to Gambetta on their wedding day. Gambetta became the leading light of Adam's salon and for the next ten years they remained close friends, though not sexually involved. In a series of long, often deeply intellectual letters, Gambetta discussed everything with her. She had made her reputation by her determined attack on Proudhon.[21] But while she could see and respond courageously to Proudhon's paternalism (not to say misogyny), she does not appear to have been in any way troubled by her husband's assumption that women's role was to maintain Republican *foyers*. She reports his statement in language which is at least implicitly favorable. Yet this was the Republican version of Michelet's argument: women's role was nurturing in the home. Feminists of the 1890s would oppose the soft cocoon of Michelet as much as the harsh prison of Proudhon, but for the moment only a courageous few saw the difficulty of Republican discourse confining women to the private sphere.

The avenues that women did find for participation in politics were the *égerie* and the salon. Juliette Adam was typical of politically-minded women of this period in exercising influence through her salon, to which she invited only men: "My true nature," she wrote, later, "would have been that of an apostle preaching the good word and reconciling men to each other."[22] "My activity needs to oblige [my friends]," she wrote later. "That's perhaps because I am from Picardy, the women of that province are women who wear trousers, men are nothing there."[23]

Léonie Léon, Gambetta's mistress from 1872 until his death in 1882, was an example of the other role open to women: the *égerie.* Léonie played the role of

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[20] Juliette Adam, *Nos amitiés politiques avant l'abandon de la revanche* (Paris, 1908), 31.

[21] Juliette Lamber, *Idées anti-proudhoniennes sur l'amour, la femme et le mariage* (Paris, 1858). Lambert dropped the "t" from her name to prevent her husband from taking the profits from her book, but in vain: the second edition appeared under her married name, Juliette La Messine. After her marriage to Edmond Adam (the man of her choice, her first husband having been imposed on her), the third edition appeared under the name Juliette Adam, which she used for all her subsequent—extensive—publications.

[22] "Au fond, ma vraie nature eût été celle d'un apôtre prêchant la bonne parole et réconciliant les hommes entre eux." Juliette Adam, *Le roman de mon enfance et de ma jeunesse* (Paris, 1902), quoted in Marie-Thérèse Guichard, *Les égéries de la République,* (Paris, 1991), 35.

[23] "Mon activité a besoin d'obliger. Ça tient peut-être à ce que je suis Picarde, la femme de cette province est une femme qui porte les culottes, l'homme n'y est rien." Goncourt Journal, quoted in Guichard, 38.

discreet counselor in the background and, to her occasional chagrin, never sought the public stage. A perusal of their correspondence—we have had access to 1187 extant letters—reveals no mention of women's suffrage among the myriad of political issues and dealings they discuss.[24]

Women were firmly excluded from the public sphere, particularly firmly with the advent of Moral Order. Following the 1872 banquet, the Minister of the Interior prohibited the groups' meetings: they were "only a pretext for the assembly of numerous women who are too emancipated."[25] Richer and Deraismes cancelled plans for a feminist congress in 1873. Even so, the group was banned in 1875.

By the time Léon Richer published his major book, *La femme libre,* Richer devoted, as Steven Hause tells us, "an entire chapter … to explaining why feminists should not seek the vote," asking, in effect, for them to silence debate. His major argument? The clerical peril: "Among nine million women …, only several thousand would vote freely; the rest would take their orders from the confessional."[26] So even the leading male supporter of women's rights had shifted his fundamental position to that of the Republicans by the time they came to power. Richer is here using what we know as "the clerical argument," the assumption among Republicans that women had remained under the tutelage of the Church (while men had been emancipated?) and thus would vote according to the dictates of the Church. The clerical argument is not, of course, the same as that of fraternity, of raising Republican children, but in Michelet the two are so deeply intertwined that it is almost impossible to pick them apart: the two stand in for each other.

In the lead-up to the banquet, Richer invited Gambetta to join the Association for Women's Rights: he had, Gambetta replied, "little familiarity with such complex problems." And he added, "Women's rights would be near to being resolved, once the rights of the citizen were established and legally recognized: 'We shall reach this goal, Sir, by firmly maintaining the Republican constitution and by extending education in floods [à flots] to the new generations. That is why I have consented to become a member of the Ligue de l'Enseignement.'"[27] "Maintaining the Republican constitution" was code for anticlericalism and thus, in this context, for the exclusion of women.

Interestingly, the closer one looks at the actual behavior of political women, the less one finds the clerical peril. Jules Ferry, whose name became synonymous with anticlericalism, had been prepared to follow the expedient course of being married or at least having his marriage blessed by a priest, but his fiancée, Eugénie Risler, insisted on a civil marriage.[28] They were both committed republicans, but this

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[24] For a discussion of these letters, see Susan Foley, "Léon Gambetta and Léonie Léon: The Minister and the Would-be Politician, 1872-1882," and Charles Sowerwine, "Women Counsellors and Family Networks: Shaping the Third Republic, 1871-1890," papers delivered at the 50th Annual Meeting, [North American] Society for French Historical Studies, Paris, 17-20 June 2004. Susan Foley and I are currently undertaking a detailed study of the epistolary dimensions of this correspondence.

[25] *L'avenir des femmes,* 7 July 1872; Léon Abensour, *Histoire générale du féminisme des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1921). See also Kenneth Spencer Research Library, *The Gerritsen Collection of Women's History: A Short Title List* (Glen Rock, NJ, 1976); and *The Gerritsen Collection of Women's History: A Short Title List of Addenda to the Basic Collection* (Glen Rock, NJ, 1977); Hause, 19.

[26] Hause, 41. Cf. Léon Richer *La femme libre* (Paris, 1877). In his earlier work, Avant-propos de Victor Poupin, *Le livre des femmes* (Paris, 1872), there is little question of the suffrage.

[27] Quoted (in English) by J.P.T. Bury, *Gambetta and the making of the Third Republic* (London, 1973), 46. Cf. Katherine Auspitz, *The Radical Bourgeoisie: The Ligue de l'Enseignement and the Origins of the Third Republic, 1866-1885* (Cambridge and New York, 1982).

[28] Jean-Michel Gaillard, *Jules Ferry* (Paris, 1989), 93. Katherine Auspitz attributes the civil marriage to Eugénie's grandmother. See Auspitz, *The Radical Bourgeoisie,* 189, n. 102.

did not prevent Ferry from seeing her in terms that sound like Michelet's. He wrote to her, praising "your grace, your childlike gaiety, all your feminine art of rendering me happy." She gave him, he wrote in another letter, "such a noble confidence, which revives mine when it tires."[29]

Famously, as Steven Hause and I have both discussed in earlier work, Deraismes also became reticent about the suffrage. It has been argued that she was acting for tactical reasons, given that the group had been banned, but Steven Hause and I have both concluded that she shared with Richer a deep anguish about women's subjection to the confessor.[30] In 1878, Richer and Deraismes organized a women's congress in conjunction with the Universal Exposition, but they excluded the issue of the suffrage. Hubertine Auclert reacted violently; she then sought and gained support from the socialists at the Congress of Marseilles in 1879.[31]

This incident demonstrates the depth of silence which continued to surround women's suffrage into the 1890s. After the banquet, the only discussion of women's suffrage, even among feminists and republicans, was Richer's and Deraismes' efforts to silence discussion of the suffrage. Auclert's appeal to the socialists shows the depth of her despair. The socialists were a tiny sect well outside legitimate politics until the 1890s. The Congress of Marseilles was a founding congress that brought together two sects and defined socialism by excluding the anti-feminist Proudhonians. So for Auclert, in no way a socialist in terms of her political positions (she was a liberal), to go to the socialists demonstrates that she had no recourse among the Republicans who by this time had come to dominate politics.

So Republicans did not support the suffrage. Woman's place was as wife and mother. It was there, from the private sphere, that she was to contribute to the regeneration promised by the Republic. There was no place for women in the Republican public sphere, a point James Lehning has established from another perspective.[32]

Clearly, in the stock phrase, more research is needed. But I think it is time that we grasped the nettle and saw that the exclusion of women was not accidental to the establishment of the Republic but inherent in Republicanism and it the establishment of the Third Republic. Let me conclude with a speculative argument that might fuel discussion. My colleague Pat Grimshaw pioneered work about the origins of women's suffrage, work since taken up by Louise Newman.[33] Grimshaw's main conclusion derives from a key fact often overlooked: all the places that gave women the vote before 1900 were frontier lands: New Zealand, two Australian states (South Australia and Western Australia) and four American states (Colorado, Idaho,

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[29] "Ta grâce, ta gaieté d'enfant, tout ton art féminin de me rendre heureux." "Tu as mis en moi une si noble confiance, qui ranime la mienne quand elle se lasse." Jules Ferry, *Lettres de Jules Ferry, 1846-1893* (Paris, 1914), 280, 304.

[30] Charles Sowerwine, "The Organization of French Socialist Women, 1880-1914," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 3 (1976): 3-24; Steven C. Hause, "The Limits of Suffragist Behavior: Legalism and Militancy in France, 1876-1922," *American Historical Review* 86 (1981): 781-806.

[31] Hause, *Hubertine Auclert,* 42-67; Charles Sowerwine, *Sisters or Citizens? Women and Socialism in France since 1876* (Cambridge and New York, 1982), 23-8.

[32] Cf. James R. Lehning, *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Third Republic* (Ithaca, 2001), 93 and esp. note 25.

[33] Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York, 1999), 38-40.

Utah, and Wyoming).[34] These were states on the periphery. They were not the vanguard of republican progress. They were settler states involved in struggles for law and order and for the land they were taking from indigenous peoples. The vote for women was granted for many motives, including the creation of a coalition against frontier lawlessness and against the indigenous peoples whom white settlers had displaced.

If the exclusion of women was inherent in the Republican project, then the quarter century between women's obtaining the vote in America and Britain and their obtaining it in France may well indicate a French advance. Contrary to the implicit teleology in the idea of a "French lag" in the suffrage—do we speak of an American lag because blacks were disenfranchised in the American south until the 1960s?—we need to consider the possibility that it was precisely because Republicanism had deeper roots in France than elsewhere that the exclusion of women from the public sphere, from politics, was more deeply rooted there than elsewhere.

[34] Patricia Grimshaw, "Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing From the Margins," in Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley, eds. *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (Auckland, Annandale, N.S.W., 1994), 38-40.

"I felt such a need to be loved … in a letter:"

Reading the Correspondence of Léonie Léon and Léon Gambetta

Susan Foley

The relationship between Léon Gambetta, a leading political figure in the early Third Republic, and his lover, Léonie Léon, spanned the years 1872 to 1882. It produced one of the great romantic correspondences of the nineteenth century, originally comprising some 6,000 letters.[1] While only 1,187 letters have survived, this nevertheless represents a significant corpus at a time when, by Roger Chartier's estimate, French people wrote on average nineteen letters per year.[2] Gambetta's letters to Léonie Léon remained in private hands for many years, and were purchased by the Assemblée nationale in 1976 and 1984. Léonie's letters were purchased by the Chambre des députés in 1937, only to be commandeered by German forces in 1941. A typed copy made by the librarian in 1938 has survived.[3] The letters are remarkable for

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[1] This figure is given in Jacques Suffel, "Gambetta et Léonie Léon (correspondance inédite)," *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Paris, 1987), 456, cited in Camille Servan-Schreiber, "Léonie Léon et Léon Gambetta. Les relations personnelles et politiques d'un couple au XIXe siècle," Maîtrise d'histoire contemporaine, Université de Paris X—Nanterre, 1995, 19. This thesis is the only study of the correspondence to date.

[2] Roger Chartier, ed., *La Correspondance. Les usages de la lettre au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1991), 39. For the correspondence between Léon Gambetta and Léonie Léon, see Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale, MS 1777 and MS1777bis. This comprises 495 letters from Léonie to Gambetta and 580 letters from Gambetta to Léonie. A further 112 letters from Gambetta to Léonie were published in Daniel Halévy and Émile Pillias, eds., *Lettres de Gambetta, 1868-1882* (Paris, 1938). Charles Sowerwine and I are currently undertaking a detailed study of this correspondence. For further information on the history of the letters, see the unpublished paper by Charles Sowerwine, "Women Counsellors and Family Networks: Shaping the Third Republic, 1871-1890," Society for French Historical Studies, 50th Annual Meeting, Paris, 17-20 June 2004. Given the similarities between the names of the correspondents, I will refer to them as "Gambetta" and "Léonie" to avoid confusion.

[3] For a fuller discussion of the history of the letters, see Servan-Schreiber, 19-23. The reason for the German interest in Léonie's letters is not clear.

their passion as well as for the political discussions they contain. They provide an outstanding resource, illuminating the political cut-and-thrust, the involvement and intervention of women in political matters, and the cultural and social dynamics of the period.

Intimate letters such as these reveal a unique relationship between specific individuals. Nevertheless, the literature on life-writing (discussed below) reminds us that the modes of expression through which a relationship is articulated are shaped by the epistolary conventions of the day. It therefore warns against assuming that even intimate letters represent a transparent source of information about individual lives. This essay explores the epistolary relationship between Léon Gambetta and Léonie Léon. It focuses particularly on Léonie's side of the correspondence, and locates the letters within the history of letter-writing in the nineteenth century. When viewed through their letters, Léon Gambetta and Léonie Léon emerge as a pair of lovers deeply embedded in the cultural practices of their day, practices that were strongly marked by both gender and literary conventions.

I

Léon Gambetta played a crucial role in the republican movement in the 1870s, particularly in mobilizing support around a "realizable" (as opposed to an ideal) Republic. As a number of historians have argued, if Thiers brought the Orléanist elites to this Republic, Gambetta persuaded the people and the Republican elites to support it.[4] Gambetta's oratory was legend. Léonie Léon was "captivated" by the Republican leader in 1868, on hearing his celebrated plea as defense lawyer in the Delescluze trial.[5] She finally succeeded in meeting Gambetta four years later, and he was captivated in turn.[6] But Léonie's background meant that she was unlikely to enhance the Republicans' search for respectability. The illegitimate daughter of an army officer, former mistress of the Inspector General of Police for the *Résidences impériales* and unwed mother of his son, she was a dubious consort for an emerging Republican leader.[7] Public knowledge of a liaison between Gambetta and Léonie would have been grist to the mill of Gambetta's political opponents, which may explain why the relationship remained a closely-guarded secret for ten years. It may also explain why the earliest study of Léonie Léon focused on her political

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[4] Cf. Sanford Elwitt, *The Making of the Third Republic: Class and Politics in France 1868-1884* (Baton Rouge, 1975); Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995). On Gambetta's role, see also J. P. T. Bury, *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic* (London, 1973). The best biography of Gambetta is Jacques Chastenet, *Gambetta* ([Paris], 1968). Charles Sowerwine discussed this formative period at greater length in "Women Counsellors and Family Networks," cited above.

[5] Charles Delescluze was on trial for trying to have built a monument to Baudin, a deputy killed on the barricades during the resistance to Louis-Napoleon's coup in 1851. See Daniel Amson, *Gambetta ou le rêve brisé* (Paris, 1994), chap. 12.

[6] On the beginning of their relationship, see Émile Pillias, *Léonie Léon. Amie de Gambetta*, préface de Marcellin Pellet, 3d ed. (Paris, 1935), 51-58.

[7] The most reliable source on Léonie Léon's background is Pillias, *Léonie Léon*. Pillias had personal ties with a number of Gambetta's Republican colleagues, particularly Marcellin Pellet, who was married to the daughter of Auguste Scheurer-Kestner (see the *avant-propos*, 15-17).

"influence" on Gambetta.[8] No sooner had the couple decided to throw caution to the winds and marry than Gambetta died accidentally in 1882.

The lovers wrote almost daily during their ten-year romance. Intimate letters like these, intended to be read by no-one but themselves, were rare in the nineteenth century when even letters between spouses were often destined for broader circulation in the family.[9] Such letters offer an important insight into the relationship of which they were a part, but the literature on life-writing alerts us to the inadequacies of a literal reading. Specialists on correspondence—like Cécile Dauphin, Marie-Claire Grassi, Mireille Bossis and Martyn Lyons—argue that letters represent a particular form of social encounter that utilizes particular codes. The task in reading correspondence is to interpret those codes, which are embedded in the time and place, and the social situations, of the writers. As the editors of *Ces bonnes lettres* put it, we have to attend to "the rules of social grammar" when utilizing correspondence.[10]

Letters are by definition intended for another reader, and the relationship between sender and recipient is at stake in the exchange. Mireille Bossis describes letter-writing as a process of "creating fictions of oneself for the other."[11] Those "fictions" are shaped by gender conventions as well as literary conventions. In a similar vein, Cécile Dauphin and her colleagues utilize the concept of the "epistolary pact," adapted from Philippe Lejeune's "autobiographical pact," to argue that the exchange of correspondence serves primarily to construct the bonds between people. The writing doubles for the self, so that "the letter seals the engagement of the self in the relationship with the other."[12] In love letters, the relationship is at stake in a particularly powerful and intense way. This explains the intensity of a correspondence like that between Léonie Léon and Léon Gambetta. Not being married, they lived apart and letters were vital to the expression and development of their love.

Letters are "long distance conversations," in Marie-Claire Grassi's phrase.[13] They are written to another who is absent but who is made "present" again by the writing or the reading of a letter.[14] In this sense, letters temporarily overcome time and distance and compensate for absence.[15] The concept of the letter as a "female" literary genre has a long history, but in the nineteenth century that assumption had a basis in fact, for it was frequently women who waited for men. Léonie Léon shared the experience of other women whose husbands' careers took them away from home, and who therefore sought solace in the letter.[16] She referred on many occasions to the "consolation" of receiving Gambetta's letters. An unexpected letter was a "delicious

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[8] Emile Pillias, *Léonie Léon. Amie de Gambetta*

[9] Cécile Dauphin, Pierrette Lebrun-Pézerat and Daniel Poublan, eds., *Ces bonnes lettres. Une correspondance familiale au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1995), introduction, 165-77.

[10] Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 22-3. See also Marie-Claire Grassi, "Des lettres qui parlent d'amour," *Romantisme* 68 (1990): 23-32; Martyn Lyons, "Love Letters and Writing Practices: *Ecritures intîmes* in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Family History* 24.2 (April 1999): 232-39.

[11] Mireille Bossis, "Methodological Journeys Through Correspondences," in Charles A. Porter, ed., "Men/Women of Letters," special issue of *Yale French Studies* 71 (1986): 63-75.

[12] Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 131.

[13] Marie-Claire Grassi, "Friends and Lovers (or The Codification of Intimacy)," *Yale French Studies* 71 (1986), 78.

[14] Cf. Roland Barthes: "tu es parti (de quoi je me plains), tu es là, puisque je m'adresse à toi," *Fragment du discours amoureux* (Paris, 1977), 21, quoted in Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 131.

[15] Grassi, "Des Lettres qui parlent d'amour," 23-4.

[16] See Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 132.

surprise"[17] but when the expected letter failed to arrive Léonie became absolutely miserable:

> Were you mocking the speed with which my poor soul began to suffer? I surrender, you far surpass me in moderation; but I was so unwell, so annoyed, I felt such a need to be loved … in a letter, I wanted so much to read some expressions of tenderness, since I couldn't give any, that this silence for three mail deliveries as the only response to my insatiable passion exasperated me![18]

In providing a tangible reminder of the absent one,[19] letters brought comfort, reassurance and pleasure to the reader. Porter suggests that a letter could become a fetish, and this was certainly true of these particular letters.[20] The letter was held and fondled, its perfume savored: "Thanks to this continuity of exquisite sensations," wrote Léonie, "this sweet letter … perfumed with wild thyme, is a most fitting sequence to a day of ecstasy and enchantment."[21] Each word was a gift and her eyes savored the "adorable lines," perusing the words on the page as the hand might caress the person in the flesh.[22] The letter became an object of affection replacing the absent lover. Gambetta's letters received from Léonie "all the caresses I intend for you."[23] "I am laughing," she wrote, "now that I am holding and pressing to my heart and to my lips this wonderful letter that arrived in the evening mail."[24]

Just as Léonie kissed the lock of hair she cut from Gambetta's head before his departure on a trip late in 1872,[25] therefore, she kissed his letters, and thus imaginatively their sender: "I kneel and kiss the pretty hand that wrote such an adorable letter;"[26] "I kiss the adored hand that wrote me such delightful lines."[27] Likewise, the reply to a letter carried the embraces destined for its recipient: "I confide to my letter all my wishes, all my love, and the most tender kisses of all."[28] The letter could also transport material signs of love, like Léonie's gift of "a tiny rose

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[17] MS1777bis, Letter 126, 30 Dec. 1873: "la délicieuse surprise a-t-elle été accueillie avec une emotion des plus vives."

[18] Letter 157, 31 Mar. 1876: 'Vous êtes-vous moqué de la promptitude avec laquelle ma pauvre âme se fait souffrir? Je vous rends les armes, vous me surpassez beaucoup en modération; mais j'étais si souffrante, si agacée, j'avais tant besoin d'être aimée … (sic) par correspondance, j'étais si avide de lire des tendresses, faute d'en pouvoir prodiguer, que ce silence à trois courriers pour toute réponse à mon insatiabilité passionnée m'a exaspérée!"

[19] Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 131-4.

[20] Porter, "Foreword," *Yale French Studies*, 5.

[21] Letter 175, 28 May 1876: "Grâce à cette continuité de sensations exquises, la mignonne lettre … parfumée de serpolet, se trouve très appropriée à un lendemain d'extases et d'enchantements."

[22] Letter 26, 17 Sept. 1872: "[C]es adorables lignes que mes yeux ne cessent de parcourir tant elles répandent de bonheur dans tout mon être."

[23] Letter 17, undated: "[C]es incomparables petites lettres, qui reçoivent … toutes les caresses que je vous destine."

[24] Letter 173, 24 May 1876: "[J]'en ris maintenant que je tiens et presse sur mon coeur et sur mes lèvres cette merveilleuse lettre, arrivée par le courrier du soir."

[25] Letter 27, 19 Sept. 1872; letter 32, undated.

[26] Letter 8, undated: "J'embrasse à genoux la jolie main qui a écrit une si adorable lettre."

[27] Letter 37, undated: "J'embrasse la main adorée qui m'écrit de si ravissantes lignes."

[28] Letter 39, undated [1873]: "Je confie à ma lettre tous mes voeux, tout mon amour, et le plus tendre de tous les baisers."

filled with as many kisses as it has leaves,"[29] or Gambetta's gift of a photo of himself. On receiving this gift in 1873, Léonie responded:

> I ardently desired this beloved image, and if I didn't ask for it yesterday, it's because I preferred to see it come of its own accord; so when, as I awoke, my trembling hand felt through the envelope this beautiful head, engraved in all my thoughts, I could not hold back my tears, but sweet tears of happiness, and since then I have been absorbed in exquisite contemplation.[30]

This image became an object of devotion, as she "contemplat[ed] [her] dear divinity in his pretty gold tabernacle" many times a day.[31]

The significance of the intimate letter lay in its message, which was not about news or information but about love. The proof that love and desire were enduring, despite separation, was what the recipient sought and what the writer sought to provide. There are numerous examples in the Léonie/Gambetta correspondence to illustrate this point. I will quote just one of the most remarkable:

> This supreme hour will be eternally present in my thoughts! This pale ray of the setting sun will envelop my whole life with its gentle light! We have contemplated the infinite face to face, we have felt and understood it. You have initiated this soul born of your breath to such divine mysteries, and what adoration does it not owe you in exchange for the ineffable delights with which you fill it? Such a letter, I throw myself at your feet bathed in love and gratitude, [I leave] to tomorrow the affairs of this world.[32]

Language was the vehicle by which such depth of feeling had to be conveyed in a letter and it often seemed inadequate to the task. This put the lovers in search of new ways to express their sentiments. Léonie wrote: "I search in vain in our cold language for expressions fiery enough to depict the divine emotions that stir my heart in reading these incomparable little letters."[33] By contrast, Gambetta succeeded in overwhelming her with the strength of his literary passion, as he seems to have done in real life! She responded to one such missive:

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[29] Letter 9, undated: "Je vous envoie une toute petite rose chargée d'autant de baisers qu'elle a de feuilles."

[30] Letter 32, undated [1873]: "Je la désirais ardemment cette image chérie et si je ne l'ai pas demandée hier, c'est que je préférais la voir venir d'elle-même; aussi lorsqu'à mon réveil ma main tremblante a pressenti sous l'enveloppe cette belle tête, gravée dans toutes mes pensées, je n'ai pu retenir mes larmes, mais de douces larmes de bonheur, et depuis je suis absorbée par une délicieuse contemplation."

[31] Letter 49, undated [early 1873]: "Devinez combien de fois par jour je vais contempler ma chère divinité dans son joli petit tabernacle d'or?"

[32] Letter 114, 29 Nov. 1873: "Elle sera éternellement présente à ma pensée cette heure suprême! Ce pâle rayon de soleil couchant enveloppera toute ma vie de sa douce lumière! Nous avons contemplé l'infini face à face, nous l'avons ressenti et compris. A quels divins mystères vous l'avez initié cette âme née de votre souffle, et quelles adorations ne vous doit-elle pas en échange des ineffables délices dont vous la comblez? Quelle lettre, je me jette à vos pieds baignée d'amour et de reconnaissance, à demain les choses de ce monde."

[33] Letter 17, undated: "[J]e cherche en vain dans notre froide langue les expressions assez brûlantes pour dépeindre les divines émotions qui agitent mon coeur à la lecture de ces incomparables petites letters."

> Let us invent the words, a language that we alone understand [,] to describe the intoxications that we alone can feel, since your divine nature, so superior to all the others inspires, feels, and expresses feelings that are unique to it and that cannot be produced by any other! Those who have written on love were indeed poorly favored by destiny, because none of them has managed to convey a sense that nearly accurately conveys the extremely varied and infinite nuances of this feeling, the extent of which it is indeed impossible even to suspect when the soul has not been brought into contact with a soul endowed, like yours, with every greatness and every seduction! Balzac himself, my ex-divinity, sprinkles his amorous accounts with theories which reveal a profound ignorance of the delicious emotions that fill my memory at this moment.[34]

Like Balzac, Prosper Mérimée failed to produce romantic prose to match the marvels of Gambetta! In a letter addressed to her "beautiful Sun king," Léonie dismissed Mérimée as an "egotistical and pretentious *poseur*" whose letters conveyed only "the fallacious pretext of love."[35]

Clearly, then, this couple were very aware that they were writing love letters. This serves as a reminder that such correspondence is by its very nature carefully constructed rather than spontaneous. It is constructed to meet the writers' views of what constitutes a "love letter" in a particular historical context. Letter-writing was an art with its own conventions and social rules in the nineteenth century. By 1860, manuals like *Le secrétaire universel* (*The Universal Writing Guide*) provided models of style for the aspiring letter-writer. The 1880s witnessed the publication of manuals for writing love letters, such as *Le petit secrétaire des amants* (1886), although compendia of "the most beautiful love letters" long predated them.[36] The development of personal correspondence has been linked to what Charles Porter calls "the outburst of emotional expression" that stemmed from Romanticism.[37]

The letters between Gambetta and Léonie Léon illustrate the increasingly effusive expression of emotion in the nineteenth century remarked upon by Marie-Claire Grassi. She associates this with the more pronounced articulation of the self and therefore, we might add, of desire.[38] Cécile Dauphin likewise emphasizes that ways of expressing affection were shaped by the epistolary codes of the day, rather than by the individual imagination. Forms of salutation and closure, for instance, reflected the "rules of social grammar," although these did not completely eliminate spontaneity.[39] The letters of Léonie and Gambetta are remarkably creative in this

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[34] Letter 71, 1 August [yr?]: "Inventons des mots, une langue que nous seuls comprendrons pour définir des ivresses que nous seuls pouvons éprouver, puisque votre divine nature, si supérieure à toutes les autres natures inspire, ressent et témoigne des sensations qui lui sont propres et qui ne peuvent émaner d'aucune autre! Ils étaient véritablement peu favorisés par la destinée ceux qui ont écrit sur l'amour, car aucun n'est arrivé à donner une idée à peu près exacte des nuances si variées et si infinies de ce sentiment, dont il est impossible en effet de soupçonner l'étendue lorsque l'âme n'a pas été appelée à se trouver en contact avec une âme douée, comme la vôtre, de toutes les grandeurs et de toutes les séductions! Balzac lui-même, mon ex-divinité, sème ses récits amoureux des théories qui révèlent une profonde ignorance des émotions délicieuses qui emplissent en ce moment mon souvenir."

[35] Letter 119, 16 Dec. 1873: "Quel poseur égoïste et prétentieux et comme on sent qu'elles étaient destinées à la postérité ces longues épitres … où sous le fallacieux prétexte d'amour il morigénait, puisqu'il n'admirait, cette pédante et fantasque Miss." Ellipses added.

[36] Grassi, "Friends and Lovers," 77-92.

[37] Porter, "Foreword," *Yale French Studies*, 11.

[38] Grassi, "Des lettres qui parlent d'amour," 23.

[39] See Dauphin *et al.*, *Ces bonnes lettres*, 106, 112.

respect. Gambetta found an array of amorous expressions to address Léonie, who was variously his "dearly beloved," his "gracious and tender nini," his "sweet sovereign," or his "dear adored little one."[40] His letters nevertheless confirm Dauphin's observation that men were often more succinct than women due, perhaps, to the greater haste in which their letters were often written.[41] Léonie constantly invented new salutations for Gambetta. If he was often simply her "beloved" or her "adored one," he was also her "Sun king," her "divinity," her "divine beloved," her "dear great orator," her "illustrious love."[42] Significantly, however, Léonie always used the *vous* form in writing to Gambetta, whereas he used *tu* to her. This was a small but clear indication of the element of hierarchy that persisted in Léonie's relationship with a leading political figure.

During the nineteenth century, the body of the absent one was increasingly invoked imaginatively in correspondence to express the feelings that focused on that body. The arms, the heart, the embrace of the beloved were recalled affectionately: a pattern we also see in the Léonie/Gambetta correspondence.[43] Desire is expressed there through references to the physical contact that is treasured but missing: Léonie's desire "to hear from [Gambetta's] lips" that he believed in her love;[44] to "cover [his] adorable hands with kisses."[45] Léonie also kissed his "beautiful eyes,"[46] his "pretty[,] fiery lips,"[47] his "sweet little ears,"[48] his "adorable face,"[49] his "pretty head,"[50] or simply Gambetta *tout court*: "I adore you more tenderly than ever and I cover you with kisses."[51] As Dauphin points out, however, the "*lettre-caresse*" was important because it caressed the heart, not just the body.[52]

Since affection was expressed increasingly with reference to the body, the health and wellbeing of that body became an increasing subject for comment. Mireille Bossis refers to "the language of the suffering body" to describe this phenomenon in nineteenth century correspondence.[53] Even minor illnesses were potentially more serious in the nineteenth century than today, so such references are understandable in the correspondence between lovers. But re-envisaging the language of illness as part of the language of love gives added meaning to the frequent references to their respective maladies in the exchanges between Léonie and Gambetta. The letters express a constant interest in and concern about the other's health. They each rejoice

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[40] Bibliothèque de l'assemblée nationale, MS 1777. See, for instance, 72.7bis/18; 72.8/18; 72.13/18; 74.17/55

[41] Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, 115.

[42] See, for instance, letters 76, 86, 135, 174, 147.

[43] Grassi, "Friends and Lovers," 86, 90.

[44] Letter 18, undated [1872]: "Il me tarde d'entendre sortir de vous lèvres de persuasion la certitude que ce n'est pas sérieusement que vous avez pu douter de l'adoration éternelle de votre petite esclave pour son adorable maître."

[45] Letter 26, 17 Sept. 1872: "Je suis à vos genoux et je couvre de baisers vos mains adorées."

[46] Letter 28, 21 Sept. [yr?]: "Je supplie les beaux yeux que j'embrasse de ne regarder aucune femme trop activement."

[47] Letter 42, undated: "Je couvre de baisers ardents tes jolies lèvres fiévreuses."

[48] Letter 107, 16 Nov. 1873: "[J]e couvre de baisers (à distance) ces mignonnes oreilles base de mes dissentiments."

[49] Letter 43, undated: "Ce sera si bon … de couvrir de baisers l'adorable visage que mes yeux contemplent incessament." (Ellipses added).

[50] Letter 94, 19 Oct. 1873: "[Je] couvre de baisers votre jolie tête."

[51] Letter 78, undated: "Je vous adore plus tendrement que jamais et je vous couvre de baisers."

[52] Dauphin *et al*., *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 142.

[53] Mireille Bossis, "Methodological Journeys through Correspondences," 74.

to hear that the other is well, and repeat warnings about catching cold.[54] Sometimes their concerns take the form of advice, as when Léonie recommends ether, laudanum or chloroform for Gambetta's neuralgia or warns him against over-using emetics,[55] or when he insists that she visit the doctor.[56] More significantly, perhaps, Léonie often describes herself as *souffrante*, a condition that seems to blend physical ailments like stomach aches and an unclear problem with her (physical) heart, with a melancholy that is partly due, at least, to Gambetta's absence.

II

The letters between Gambetta and Léonie Léon tell us much about the loving bond that united them, even though, read against the literature on correspondence, they are not as "unique" in their expressive repertoire as might initially be assumed. But what do they tell us about the political relationship between this couple? This essay concludes with a brief discussion of that question, focusing not on the political content of the letters, but on the way politics was itself a form of amorous exchange between the lovers.

From the very beginning, Léonie represented her relationship with Gambetta as a political union as well as a union of hearts. She constantly affirmed her identity as his political ally as well as his lover. In reply to an early letter from Gambetta, she wrote:

> Why didn't you mention politics, knowing the immense attraction exercised on my spirit by this fascinating preoccupation, this element in which I would like to have lived exclusively? Wasn't it that noble passion that drew my thoughts to your personality, my admiration to your actions, my gaze to your person and my heart to your great and innumerable perfections?[57]

Political matters were discussed frequently in their correspondence as events, ideas, suggestions and reactions were exchanged. Sharing the details of daily life was a way of making the absent one present,[58] and the "daily life" of this couple included not only family matters but politics too.

The Republic took pride of place in their relationship. For Léonie, expressing dedication to the project of building the Republic both articulated her own political sentiments and signaled her commitment to Gambetta. But the Republic's pride of place meant that it sometimes came between them, exerting its demands over the demands of intimacy. This affected the two differently, because political life in the service of the Republic brought Gambetta renown, power and wide public engagement, whereas it brought Léonie a sense of her own exclusion and political marginality. Léonie's acceptance of the primacy of the Republican cause was

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[54] Letters 26, 17 Sept. 1872; 28, 21 Sept. [1872?]; 35, undated; 41, undated.
[55] Letters 20 and 43 (both undated).
[56] For instance, letter 35, undated (1873).
[57] Letter 9 [1872]: "Pourquoi ne me dites vous pas un mot de politique, sachant l'immense attraction qu'a pour mon esprit cette fascinante préoccupation, cet élément dans lequel j'aurais voulu vivre exclusivement? N'est-ce pas cette noble passion qui a attaché ma pensée à votre personnalité, mon admiration à vos actes, mes regards à votre personne et mon coeur à vos grandes et innombrables perfections?"
[58] See Dauphin *et al.*, *Ces bonnes lettres*, introduction, 102.

represented as a patriotic act, therefore, as she subordinated romantic desire to the political union between them. She wrote to Gambetta in April 1872:

> I want you to consecrate yourself completely to the republic that is your goddess, and whose supremacy in your heart I accept because it is a great and noble passion, a lofty and sublime goal, and because it also gives me a goal to strive for, that of one day equaling her in your sentiments by means of love and abnegation.[59]

The relationship could not have survived had Léonie not accepted the requirements of Gambetta's political career. Nevertheless, the language of self-sacrifice was a "feminine" one, consistent with the social expectation that women subordinate their own lives and interests to those of men. That reading is reinforced in other exchanges where Léonie subordinates her own ideas and opinions to those of Gambetta. One letter begins, for instance: "I must ask your pardon once again because you are always right; and you accompany your reasons with such touching gestures that I am embarrassed and humiliated by the insignificant and second-rate ideas that I expressed freely the day before."[60]

Léonie's self-sacrificial stance was a gesture of commitment to Léon Gambetta; an offer of the self made in the "feminine" language of self-surrender. The emotional exchange between the lovers was nevertheless more complex and even-handed than such quotations taken in isolation might suggest. Gambetta's letters also expressed an overwhelming devotion to Léonie and were likewise filled with gestures of surrender, although those gestures assumed different rhetorical forms from hers. A letter from May 1872 is a good example. Ecstatic that she had announced her love for him he wrote:

> You will scold me, support me, defend me against myself. I find you … so delicate and so just that I dream of nothing other than becoming your pupil and your child. You will perhaps charge me with being puerile, but I would love to be guided and even restrained by your pretty hand.
>
> I feel your feminine superiority, and perhaps I only love you so much because my heart tells me that I have found in my Léonie, a mistress who will let me snuggle up on her knees and almost become a young but wise tutor.[61]

For Gambetta, the language of surrender was the language of pupil to mistress, child to mother, justified by reference to feminine moral superiority but with a sexual

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[59] Letter 2 [1872]: "Je veux que vous vous consacriez tout entier à cette république qui est votre déesse, et dont j'accepte la suprématie dans votre coeur parceque c'est une grande et noble passion, un but élevé et sublime, et qu'elle me fournit aussi un but à atteindre, celui de l'égaler un jour dans vos sentiments à force d'amour et d'abnégation."

[60] Letter 34, undated [1873]: "Il faut encore vous demander pardon puisque vous avez toujours raison; et vous accompagnez vos raisons de si touchantes attentions que je suis confuse et humiliée des petites et méchantes idées auxquelles j'ai donné hier un libre cours."

[61] Letter 72.3/18 (postmarked 9 May 1873), ellipses in the original: "Tu me gronderas, tu me soutiendras, tu me défendras contre moi-même. Je te trouves (sic) … si délicat et si juste que je ne songe à rien autre qu'à devenir ton élève et ton enfant. Tu vas peut-être me taxer de puérilité, mais j'aimerais à me sentir guider et même réfréner par ta jolie main.

J'ai le sentiment de ta supériorité féminine, et je ne t'aime peut-être tant que parce que mon coeur me dit que j'ai rencontré dans ma Léonie, une maîtresse qui me laissera me blottir sur ses genoux et saura devenir presque une jeune mais prudente tutrice."

undercurrent. This formulation expressed the reciprocity of their intellectual, emotional and sexual encounter.

As their mutual passion, politics also provided the language and motifs in which their passion for each other could be expressed. Early in 1872, Léonie wrote to Gambetta: "My heart is overflowing with politics and tenderness, get yours ready to receive this double flood."[62] This initially surprising concept illustrates the inextricability of their passion for politics and their passion for each other. Similar sentiments pervade the entire correspondence. If Gambetta failed to discuss politics Léonie chided him, because it was an important aspect of their relationship. As the practices of political life became increasingly "masculine" in the nineteenth century, politics increasingly took men away from women into a world of male camaraderie. In this sense, not only was the Republic a rival with Léonie for Gambetta's affections, but politics in general rivaled women's place in men's life. Léonie expressed this idea in early 1876:

> [I]n the midst of the most charming memories, a sort of anxiety is floating in my spirit, troubling its serenity, a vapor which would become a cloud if your letter of tomorrow doesn't come and dissipate it, with its style as ardent as your gaze, as gracious as your smile, as intoxicating as your kisses! But let's call a truce on subtle expressions of love and return to politics; this attractive, invincible and ever triumphant rival, which alone can make the most sensitive chords of your being vibrate. Quid novi?[63]

The simultaneous appeal to sex and politics was a strategy for binding Gambetta to her. But it was also his politics, his identity as a political being, that she found sexually enticing.

If Gambetta's kisses could be "intoxicating," then, so too could his political triumphs; if his touch was thrilling, his politics were also *palpitante*.[64] Both their love and their political relationship were sites of passion, or rather, the two came together in one erotic encounter. When Gambetta thought he had given too long a political report in one letter, for instance, Léonie corrected him: "Don't apologize for anything I beg you[,] I am passionate about your politics and it's a joy for me to follow you wherever it requires your exclusive attention."[65] The prospect of their next rendezvous was anticipated in the letters, both for its intimate pleasures and for the prospect of talking politics: "Tomorrow at four o'clock I'll be beside you," wrote Léonie in 1873, "not so we can thumb our noses at politics, but on the contrary so we can talk of nothing else."[66] "If the desire I feel to see you again, to find myself gently leaning on

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[62] Letter 4, 1872: "Mon coeur déborde de politique et de tendresse, disposez le vôtre à recevoir ce double flot."

[63] Letter 145, 26 Jan. 1876: "[A]u milieu des plus charmants souvenirs, il flotte en mon esprit, ce qui en trouble la sérénité, une sorte d'inquiétude, une vapeur qui deviendrait un nuage si votre lettre de demain ne vient le dissiper, avec ce style ardent comme vos regards, gracieux comme votre sourire, énivrant comme vos baisers! Mais trêve de subtilités amoureuses et revenons à la politique; cette attractive, invincible et toujours triomphante rivale, qui seule peut faire vibrer les cordes les plus sensibles de votre être. Quid novi?"

[64] Letter 28, 21 Sept. [1872]: "Je ne trouverais pas digne de votre Minerve de vous détourner huit jours d'une politique si palpitante d'intérêt en ce moment."

[65] Letter 44 (Spring 1873): "Ne regrettez rien je vous en prie votre politique me passionne et c'est une joie pour moi de vous accompagner partout où elle doit vous occuper exclusivement."

[66] Letter 46 [early 1873]: "Ainsi demain vers quatre heures je serai près de vous; non pas pour y faire fi de la politique, mais au contraire pour en parler exclusivement."

your beloved arm[,] could be increased in any way," she wrote some months later, "it would certainly be by the impatience I feel to talk to you at length about the events which follow one another with dizzying rapidity."[67]

Just as politics had formed the initial bond between them, so the strengthening of their relationship, its evolution as the most important relationship in their lives, was expressed in terms of a strengthening of the political commitment they also shared. "I am more passionate than ever about this politics which, in attaching my mind to your deeds was the first link between us, the pretext for our first conversation," Léonie noted.[68] For this reason, too, politics filled the void left by Gambetta's absence during their numerous separations. Referring to the sadness that followed each new parting, Léonie wrote:

> The days after [we are together] are so hard for me to endure, the present contrasts so cruelly with the memories, that all my complaints return to my pen and to avoid the pitfall I throw myself with all my soul into politics, our first bond, which alone can re-establish an equilibrium difficult to maintain in these constant shifts between passing happiness and irreparable sorrow![69]

If letters are primarily ways of indicating "I am thinking of you. I love you and want you to love me," as epistolary scholars have argued, these letters are only incidentally "political." This brief excursion into their correspondence might therefore suggest that Léonie's place in Gambetta's political life was marginal. This was not the case.[70] The literature on correspondence does suggest, however, that the interpretation of these letters is complex, and their meanings rich. Thinking about them as letters may not enable us to decide how much Léonie "influenced" Gambetta, as some scholarly interpretations have sought to do, but it does offer us insights into a remarkable relationship. Beyond that, it may suggest one way in which certain nineteenth-century women carved out spaces for themselves in men's lives, inserting themselves into the political world of men as loved and desired, and therefore necessary, political partners.

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[67] Letter 50, undated [1873]: "Si le désir que j'éprouve de vous revoir, de me retrouver doucement appuyée à votre bras aimé pouvait être augmenté par quelque chose, il le serait certainement par l'impatience que je ressens de vous entretenir longuement des évènements qui se succèdent avec une rapidité vertigineuse." The letter discusses Charles de Rémusat's candidacy in the forthcoming by-elections, announced on 22 March, suggesting that it was written shortly after that date. See J. P. T. Bury, *Gambetta and the Making of the Third Republic,* 139-42.

[68] Letter 78, undated [1873]: "Je suis plus passionnée que jamais pour cette politique qui en attachant ma pensée à vos actes a été notre premier lien, le prétexte de notre première conversation."

[69] Letter 74, undated: "Mes lendemains sont si dure à vivre, l'heure présente contraste si cruellement avec les souvenirs, que toute la série de mes plaintes revient à ma plume et pour éviter l'écueil je me jette à pleine âme dans la politique, notre premier lien, qui peut seule rétablir un équilibre difficile à garder dans ces constantes alternatives de bonheur ephémère et de douleur irréparable!"

[70] My current research focuses on the political discussions in the letters, and the ways in which these discussions are gendered.

Gay Liberation Comes to France:

The *Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire* (FHAR)

Michael Sibalis

There were no cameras rolling in New York City in the early morning hours of Saturday June 28, 1969, when the Stonewall Riots launched the American gay liberation movement.[1] In contrast, the founding moment of gay liberation in France occurred live on the radio. Between 1967 and 1981, Ménie Grégoire hosted a confessional-style radio program on station RTL, and more than a million listeners (overwhelmingly women) tuned in every weekday afternoon to hear Grégoire, her guests and the occasional studio audience discuss important personal and social issues.[2] The day's topic on Wednesday, March 10, 1971, was "Homosexuality, This Painful Problem."[3] Grégoire had brought together before an audience in the Salle Pleyel in Paris a group of so-called experts (she described them as "people who know the question for a lot of diverse reasons") that included André Baudry, the head of Arcadie, France's only "homophile" association; the young journalist Pierre Hahn, who had written magazine articles on sexuality and homosexuality; a priest; a psychoanalyst; and, quite incongruously (their presence has never been explained),

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[1] Martin B. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York, 1993).

[2] See Dominique Cardon, "'Chère Ménie.' Emotions et engagements de l'auditeur de Ménie Grégoire," *Réseaux* 70 (1995): 41-79. Also available on www.enssib.fr/autres-sites/reseaux-cnet/70/02-cardon.pdf.

[3] The transcript of the broadcast has been published in *La revue h* 1 (Summer 1996): 52-9, and is available on www.france.qrd.org/media/revue-h/001/probleme.html. There is an abridged version in Frédéric Martel, *La longue marche des gays* (Paris, 2002), 105-7.

the singing group *Les frères Jacques*. Grégoire's remarks in the course of the show well represent "enlightened public opinion" of the 1960s: she was smugly compassionate, condescending and even obtuse: "you well know that happy women are those who have men who have satisfied them" or "there is all the same a negation of life or of the laws of life in homosexuality! It seems to me that we can say that without offending anybody!" The audience, who could make statements or ask questions on the air, became increasingly restless as the discussion dragged on. André Baudry's intervention raised hostile shouts from those who judged his defence of homosexuality too conservative, but he was able to finish his statement. Grégoire then turned to Father Guinchat. Here is the transcript of the last few moments of the historical broadcast:

> ANDRÉ BAUDRY: What we want, and what Arcadie—even if somebody in the audience has said that Arcadie would soon die—Arcadie certainly does not have the secret of eternal life—but what Arcadie has been doing for the last eighteen years with the five hundred thousand or so homophiles that it has contacted in France alone. It has first of all tried to reassure them, to tell them: "You are a homophile, and you are a normal man. You are equal to others, you are not below others or above others, you can love."
> MÉNIE GRÉGOIRE: In any case, it is right to reassure them because these people suffer, we can't let them suffer without doing anything for them. You spoke earlier about a religious problem, I would like Father Guinchat to give [an answer] anyway … to answer anyway. … We have almost fundamentally called him into question, what do priests do when faced with a homosexual? What do you do when people come find you and tell you "I'm a homosexual?" What do you say to them? Do you also reassure them? Would you like to answer?
> FATHER GUINCHAT: I am somewhat troubled in replying to that question. As a priest, well, I am part of a Church, and I try to be faithful to a God who has given us a certain model for life, which is not imposed on us, but in order to play by the rules, it is nevertheless necessary to go in the same direction as this model for life. After that, there is the concrete situation. I agree with all that has been said when we spoke about the suffering of certain situations. And then, I too, welcome many homosexuals, my colleagues as well, who come to talk about their suffering, that suffering, we cannot be indifferent to it.
> A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE: Stop talking about your suffering.
> MÉNIE GRÉGOIRE: Listen, well then, I have to say that there is something completely extraordinary happening, because the crowd has invaded the podium and because the homosexuals ...
> A SHOUT IN THE MICROPHONE (PIERRE HAHN): Liberty! Liberty!
> MÉNIE GRÉGOIRE: Homosexuals of all sorts, men and women ...
> A SHOUT: We want liberty for us and for you!
> ANOTHER SHOUT: Fight! Fight!
> *[At this point, the sound was cut off and the studio played the show's theme music.]*

About thirty people had stormed the podium, overturned tables, chairs and microphones and roughed up the participants. Hahn (himself homosexual) joined the protesters, who were in fact there at his invitation. One young woman took hold of the priest's head and pounded it repeatedly against the table. A little later in her dressing room, a serene Grégoire sipped on her scotch and remarked to a reporter: "I wasn't mistaken, the subject is hot. I would do the same broadcast again, but in a [closed]

studio."[4]

What happened on March 10 marked a new departure for homosexual militancy in France. The dominant leader of the homosexual cause there in the 1950s and 1960s was André Baudry (born in 1922), a former seminarian and philosophy teacher who launched the homosexual review *Arcadie* in January 1954. It sold at least ten thousand copies a month (Baudry claimed thirty thousand). In 1957 Baudry also founded the Club Littéraire et Scientifique des Pays Latins (Literary and Scientific Club of the Latin Countries) or CLESPALA, a social group (often also called Arcadie) that held dances, sponsored lectures and generally defended the cause of France's "homophiles." The homophile movement—which disliked the word "homosexual" for stressing sex rather than love—was predominantly middle-class, conformist and politically and socially conservative. It argued that public hostility to homosexuals resulted largely from their outrageous and promiscuous behaviour; homophiles would win the good opinion of the public and the authorities by showing themselves to be discreet, dignified, virtuous and respectable.[5]

Arcadie's emphasis on discretion was very much in tune with public attitudes toward homosexuality in France under the Fourth Republic (1946-58) and the early Fifth Republic that succeeded it. France was certainly one of the freest countries for homosexuals to live in, and Paris was still the European capital of homosexuality until displaced by Amsterdam in the 1970s, but at the same time the post World War II government, medical establishment and media preached the values of social conformity and family life, which many homosexuals themselves internalized as shame.[6] Although same-sex relations were fully legal in France ever since 1791, the police could always use the laws against indecent acts performed in public to harass and entrap those homosexuals who looked for sexual partners in parks and around street urinals.[7] Moreover, by the Ordinance of 6 August 1942, the collaborationist government of Marshal Pétain had reintroduced into French jurisprudence the insidious distinction between natural and unnatural sexual acts when it criminalized "shameless or unnatural acts" committed by an adult with a minor (under twenty-one) of the same sex; de Gaulle's provisional government reaffirmed this law in February 1945 and prosecutions for the so-called "crime of homosexuality" (i.e. sexual relations with a minor) rose steadily year after year. In addition, in July 1960

[4] "Des homosexuels en colère interrompent une émission publique sur leurs problèmes," *France-Soir*, 12 Mar. 1971 (not published in all editions of this daily newspaper). See also Jacques Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel en France 1945-1980* (Paris, 1981), 82; Frédéric Martel, *Le rose et le noir: Les homosexuels en France depuis 1968*, 2d ed., (Paris, 2000), 35-7; and Françoise d'Eaubonne, "Le FHAR, origines et illustrations," *La revue h* 2 (Autumn 1996): 18-30.

[5] Julian Jackson is writing a history of Arcadie. In the meantime, see Olivier Jablonski, "Baudry, André (Émile)," in *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay & Lesbian History: From World War II to the Present Day*, eds. Robert Aldrich and Garry Wotherspoon (London, 2001), 32-5; Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel*, 39-80; and Martel, *Le rose et le noir*, 98-111.

[6] Georges Sidéris, "Des folles de Saint-Germain-des-Prés au 'Fléau social.' Le discours homophile contre l'efféminement dans les années 1950," in *La haine de soi. Difficiles identités*, eds. E. Benbassa and J.-C. Attias (Brussels, 2000), 121-42; and "*Folles*, Swells, Effeminates, and Homophiles in Saint-Germain-des-Prés of the 1950s: A New 'Precious' Society?" in *Homosexuality in French History and Culture*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick and Michael Sibalis (NewYork, London and Oxford, 2001), 219-31.

[7] Michael Sibalis, "The Regulation of Male Homosexuality in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, 1789-1815," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan (New York, 1996), 80-101.

Parliament voted a law (the "Mirguet Amendment," named for the deputy who proposed it) declaring homosexuality a "social scourge" along with alcoholism and tuberculosis and authorizing the government to take appropriate measures to check its spread. On November 25, 1960, the cabinet used this authority to double the existing penalties for acts of public indecency when these involved homosexuals.[8] No wonder, then, that Grégoire and undoubtedly many of her listeners considered homosexuality to be a "painful problem" in France.

The participants in the commando action against Grégoire's broadcast were almost all lesbians—a photograph taken minutes after the incident shows a dozen or so jubilant women celebrating on the sidewalk outside the theatre[9]—and their action that day grew out of several months of feminist militancy. In 1970, a number of lesbians, under the leadership of Anne-Marie Fauret and Françoise d'Eaubonne (herself a heterosexual) and influenced by the Mouvement de Libération des Femmes (Women's Liberation Movement) or MLF, attempted to set up a feminist group within Arcadie. Baudry expelled them for talking politics, but they continued meeting elsewhere, along with several supportive males. On March 5, 1971—only five days before the events related above—this group, which included Hahn (who would be on the podium at Grégoire's broadcast), disrupted an anti-abortion meeting held by the association Laissez-les-vivre (Let Them Live) at the Mutualité in Paris's fifth arrondissement.[10] They then learned about Grégoire's upcoming broadcast and decided to sabotage it. Hahn himself arranged for their invitations to the show, and the producers, thrilled to have genuine homosexuals and lesbians in the audience, even seated them in the front row.[11]

The evening after the broadcast, the triumphant militants met and formalized their group under the name Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action) or FHAR.[12] Three different people have since claimed to have come up with the name, which only goes to prove that the term was very much in the air in those days of revolutionary fronts of all kinds.[13] More cautiously, however, the group registered itself at the Prefecture of Police as the Front Humanitaire Anti-Raciste (Humanitarian Anti-Racist Front).[14] But the members almost immediately gave their association and its real goals wide publicity with a set of manifestos published in a special edition of the Maoist newspaper *Tout!* (April 23,

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[8] Michael Sibalis, "Homophobia, Vichy France and the 'Crime of Homosexuality:' The Origins of the Ordinance of 6 August 1942," *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* 8 (2002): 301-18; idem, "Mirguet, Paul," in Aldrich and Wotherspoon, *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay & Lesbian History*, 285-6; Daniel Guérin, *Shakespeare et Gide en correctionnelle?* (Paris, 1959), 94-106; and Janine Mossuz-Lavau, *Les lois de l'amour. Les politiques de la sexualité en France (1950-1990)* (Paris, 1991), 233-40.

[9] Martel, *La longue marche*, 107.

[10] See Eaubonne, "Le FHAR, origines et illustrations," 18-30; and "5 mars 1971: Le future FHAR attaque Laissez-les-vivre," *Prochoix* 5 (Apr.-May 1998): 24-6 (interview with Françoise d'Eaubonne and Marie-Jo Bonnet).

[11] Anne-Marie Fauret, "A l'origine, des femmes," *Gai pied* 25 (Apr. 1981): 36; "Pierre Hahn: L'itinéraire d'un pionnier" [interview], *Gai pied* 26 (May 1981): 38.

[12] Francis Lacombe [Franck Arnal], "Les Années lumière," *Gai pied hebdo* 460 (7 Mar. 1991): 54-6.

[13] Guy Rey [Guy Chevalier], "FHAR, Le témoignage," *Mec magazine* 2 (Apr. 1988): 30-2 (interview by Jean Le Bitoux and Guy Vandemborghe; I have used the original tape, kindly provided to me by Le Bitoux); Laurent Dispot, "Aventuriers de la liberté," *Gai pied hebdo* 460 (7 Mar. 1991), 60; and Eaubonne, "Le FHAR, origines et illustrations," 21.

[14] Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel*, 82.

1971). Jean-Paul Sartre was the periodical's nominal director, but twenty-five-year-old Guy Hocquenghem coordinated this particular issue (entitled "Libre Disposition de Notre Corps"—"The Free Use of Our Bodies"):

> *Address to those who think themselves "normal:"* You do not feel like oppressors. … You are individually responsible for the shameful mutilation that you inflict on us in reproaching us for our desire. You who want the revolution, you have wanted to impose your repression on us. … You ask: "What can we do for you?" You can do nothing for us as long as each of you remains the representative of normal society.
>
> *Address to those who are like us*: Our Front will be what you and we make of it. We want to destroy the family and this society because they have always oppressed us. … We lay claim to our status as a social scourge until the destruction of all imperialism. … *For* a homosexual front which will have the task of taking by assault and destroying "fascist sexual normality."[15]

As these quotations suggest, FHAR derived its rhetorical style (and much else besides) from the student movement and the so-called "events"—the strikes and demonstrations—of May 1968 that shook up conservative Gaullist France and also transformed left-wing politics in the country. In FHAR's own words:

> Unfortunately, until May '68, the revolutionary camp was one of moral order, inherited from Stalin. Everything there was gray, puritanical, deplorable. … But suddenly, that clap of thunder: the May explosion, the joy of living, of fighting. … Dancing, laughter, celebration! … And so, faced with this new situation, we homosexuals in revolt—and certain among us were already politicized—discovered that our homosexuality—to the extent that we could affirm it in the face of and against everything—made us into authentic revolutionaries, because in this way we called into question everything that was forbidden in Euro-American civilization. … Don't doubt it: we want the annihilation of this world. Nothing less. … The freedom of everybody, by everybody, for everybody is in the offing.[16]

A former FHAR militant (Alain Prique, who was twenty-four in 1971) later described FHAR as "the child of May '68, with a big sister or stepmother (according to your tastes), the feminist movement."[17] For another (Jean Le Bitoux, twenty-three in 1971), FHAR was "this ripening of shame into anger, which was able to emerge politically in the aftermath of May '68."[18] "The spirit of May '68 had rooted itself deeply among a number of young intellectuals [and] students," according to one (non-professional) historian, and even the oldest members of FHAR, like Daniel Guérin (born in 1904) and Eaubonne (born in 1920), "had in common with the youth of 1968 the rejection of [both] bourgeois ideals and Marxist political cant."[19]

May '68 had also seen the first, albeit short-lived, expression of gay liberation in France, when twenty-seven-year-old Guy Chevalier established the Comité

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[15] *Tout!* 12 (23 Apr. 1971): 6-7. These, and other manifestos and tracts, were collected and published in FHAR, *Rapport contre la normalité* (Paris, 1971).
[16] Ibid., 43.
[17] Alain Prique, "L'herbe folle de mai 68," *La revue h* 2 (Autumn 1996), 32.
[18] Jean Le Bitoux, "Le groupe de libération homosexuelle (1975-1978)," *La revue h* 5/6 (Spring/Summer 1998), 43.
[19] Lacombe, "Les années lumière," 54.

d'Action Pédérastique Révolutionnaire (Committee for Revolutionary Pederastic Action) or CAPR. It did little aside from distributing a single tract in the streets of the Latin Quarter and holding a few meetings in an auditorium at the Sorbonne to propagate an ideology cobbled together out of scraps of Herbert Marcuse and William Reich. The Committee evaporated once the agitation died down, and Chevalier himself left for the United States in June 1969.[20] But CAPR left a legacy. May '68 raised homosexuality as a political question and made homosexual liberation a left-wing cause that challenged the political and social status quo. 1968 marked a shift away from what Hocquenghem called "a movement to defend and justify homosexuality"—he was here thinking essentially of Arcadie—to a "homosexual struggle" that sought neither to justify homosexuals nor to integrate them into existing society, but rather to challenge and transform that society.[21]

The lesbians who founded FHAR came to gay activism via May '68 and the MLF, another child of May '68.[22] This was, for example, the case of Marie-Jo Bonnet or the American Margaret Stephenson, both involved (along with many other women) at one and the same time in militant feminism, radical lesbianism and (at least in its early days) FHAR.[23] The men, too, were children of '68, but they tended to look as well to the American gay liberation movement. "I had learned everything in the USA," Chevalier remarked in the 1990s, a particularly strange statement coming from the man who had already founded CAPR.[24] Chevalier arrived in New York City just in time to witness the Stonewall Riots and then spent fifteen months teaching there and in Los Angeles while also attending gay liberation meetings. This period was (he has said) his "apprenticeship," which taught him to conceive of a political homosexual meeting and a homosexual protest with slogans: "while finding again what I had clumsily tried to formulate in CAPR at the Sorbonne, … I Americanized my experience of liberation." In Paris once again in October 1970, he met up with other gay and lesbian radicals and helped to found FHAR the following spring: "And so I, at the time, contributed all the American experience."[25] Gilles Châtelet, another FHAR militant, who later became a university professor, took part as a student in the May 1968 protests ("In '68, I did what everybody did, I followed the movement"), but what turned him into a gay activist was the time he spent in California in 1969 ("France, in comparison, was a provincial asteroid"). He went to meetings of FHAR in Paris, he later said, as "a way of finding again the ambiance of the United States."[26]

The publicity in *Tout!* drew so many newcomers to FHAR that within a month

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[20] Guy Rey [Guy Chevalier], "Mai 68, dans la Sorbonne occupée," *Mec magazine* 1 (Mar. 1988): 30-3 (interview by Jean Le Bitoux and Guy Vandemborghe; I quote from the original recording kindly supplied to me by Le Bitoux). A more recent interview is "Guy Chevalier: Le sacerdoce de l'activiste," *Têtu* 54 (Mar. 2001): 97-99.

[21] Guy Hocquenghem, *Le désir homosexuel*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1972), 101.

[22] "Mais quand reviendra-t-il le joli mois de mai?," *Lesbia* 171 (May 1998): 22-9 (interviews with lesbian militants).

[23] See "5 mars 1971," 24 (on Bonnet and Stephenson); Françoise Picq, *Libération des femmes. Les années-mouvement* (Paris, 1993), 12-23 (for Stephenson's rôle in MLF); also "Bonnet, Marie-Jo," in Aldrich and Wotherspoon, *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay & Lesbian History*, 46-7.

[24] Quoted in Martel, *Le rose et le noir*, 35.

[25] "Mai 68, dans la Sorbonne occupée," and "FHAR, le témoignage." See also "Guy Chevalier: Le sacerdoce de l'activiste."

[26] Gilles Châtelet, interviewed by Anne Rousseau, in "Mai 68: Le pink bang," *3 Keller* 38 (May 1998), 12.

attendance at the weekly general assemblies—held in an amphitheatre at the *École des Beaux-Arts* on the Rue Bonaparte every Thursday evening—had climbed to three or four hundred (and sometimes more) men, and a few women. Indeed, most new recruits were men, and their attitude toward sexuality and love was very different from the women's. To take one telling incident, during a weekend retreat in the country by some members of FHAR in its first days, the men went off into town in the evening to look for sex with the locals, while the women stayed behind to discuss whether sexual liberation really meant no more than having multiple partners.[27] The men's behaviour strained their relations with the women. In addition and more importantly, the women were dismayed at the men's male chauvinism and their domination of the movement; the women soon felt "dispossessed" of an organization that they had founded and, exasperated by an ambient misogyny, they began deserting FHAR for the Gouines Rouges (Red Dykes) formed in July 1971.[28]

The Thursday general assemblies, however, went on for almost three years, with fewer and fewer women present. They were "le happening de la rue Bonaparte," and, it has been said, "the image that came to mind [in seeing them] was that of the clubs during the Revolution of 1789."[29] This was because the meetings lacked any real order or even cohesion from the very start, and they deteriorated into chaos over time. One young man rushed up from Marseilles after reading the April 1971 issue of *Tout!*: "I met a lot of boys and girls. … They asked questions that I had never even asked myself: the place of the fag in society, the fag in politics, the emancipation of the fag and the dyke." When he returned a few months later, however, "I discovered a FHAR completely changed. I noticed that everybody was smoking [pot]. The notion of the group was in the process of fraying into clans. … After a year, the *folles* [effeminates] hung out with *folles*, the pederasts with pederasts, the dykes among themselves, the politicos [and] the Marxists among themselves."[30] Another description of a typical meeting dates from late 1972: "A few boys make an announcement or give out some information, somebody writes a slogan on the blackboard, photos of the last demonstration in which FHAR participated are passed around, someone gives the formula for make-up."[31] "In one year," complained another observer, "FHAR's general assemblies have become a kind of misshapen monster. … The general assemblies have now been transformed into a boundless shambles, [a] closed terrain for confrontations of incredible [verbal] violence."[32] Although he was apparently referring to screaming matches between political factions, the French word that he used for shambles ("bordel," or brothel) was particularly appropriate here, because most of the men in fact came not for the meetings in the auditorium, but rather to hunt for sexual adventure in the hallways and classrooms upstairs. "It was chaos," Gilles Châtelet later recalled, "a permanent sleeping around."[33] Hocquenghem quoted the reaction of an American friend whom

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[27] Oral testimony by Cathy Bernheim (Mar. 2001), cited in Julian Bourg, "'Your Sexual Revolution is Not Ours:' French Feminist 'Moralism' and the Limits of Desire," (unpublished paper). Cf. Guy Hocquenghem, *L'après-mai des faunes* (Paris, 1974), 190.

[28] On lesbianism and FHAR, see Marie-Jo Bonnet, *Les rélations amoureuses entre les femmes* (Paris, 1995), 332-40; also Picq, *Libération des femmes*, 94-5, 104-11.

[29] Marc Roy, "La provocation comme un des Beaux-Arts," *Gai pied* 25 (Apr. 1981), 33.

[30] "Toujours une ouvrière," *Gai pied* 9 (Dec. 1979), 6.

[31] Françoise Travelet, "Prolétaires de tous les pays, caressez-vous!," *Gulliver* 1 (Nov. 1972), 21.

[32] Alain, "A propos des A.G.," *Le fléau social* 1 (Summer 1972), 4.

[33] Châtelet, in "Mai 68: Le pink bang," 12.

he took to the Beaux-Arts for "what is still conventionally called the General Assembly of FHAR (a gigantic cruising place spread over six floors of a university building, probably the biggest cruising space in Paris, if not in Europe)," and who, agog at what he saw, asked his host: "What is this supposed to be?"[34] The sixty-seven-year-old Guérin, a veteran political and labour activist, embraced the brazen spirit of FHAR enough to strip naked (along with Eaubonne) at one general assembly in order to make a point, but he was sufficiently concerned by the endemic disorder to draft a plan, entitled "For the constitution and organization of a political current in the heart of FHAR," intended to create some semblance of structure and endow the association with concrete political goals.[35] Nothing ever came of it, and by 1973-1974, the weekly general assemblies at the Beaux-Arts had long ceased to have any political meaning or significance whatsoever. When the police moved in at the request of the school's administration to expel the gays from the premises in February 1974, it was amidst general indifference.[36]

Whatever actual organizational work FHAR achieved occurred in a number of spontaneously formed working groups of six to thirty persons in Paris (there were another fifteen provincial groups).[37] "Group No. 5," for example, in Paris's fifth arrondissement, published an irregular periodical, *Le fléau social* ("The Social Scourge," an ironic reference to the Mirguet Amendment), five issues of which appeared from 1972 to 1974. The newspaper, according to its editors, "was conceived by a group … which, totally fed up with the pandemonium and shambles consciously kept up [at the general assemblies], has decided to give itself a tool for work and for the dissemination of this work."[38] Group No. 5 sought to escape from what it called "a [homosexual] ghetto" and tried (but failed) to enter into contact with other (heterosexual) groups on the far left: "Homosexuality ought to lead to a coming to a wider political consciousness. … We had the intention, before, to spread the idea of sexual liberation in the leftist groups. We had to give it up."[39]

But what, concretely, did FHAR manage to achieve? Its actions seem timid today, but were quite daring in their time. FHAR garnered a little publicity for the gay movement in the alternative press (the established press, with occasional exceptions, tended to ignore it). It distributed a number of tracts, like one handed out to the movie-goers leaving a showing of "Death in Venice" on the Rue du Dragon in June 1971: "People freely insult [homosexuals] in the street and pay ten francs to admire them at the cinema."[40] Members published two short-lived periodicals (*Le fléau social* and *L'antinorm*, both 1972-74); joined in protests staged by others (like the one by the MLF against Mother's Day on June 21, 1971); held occasional rallies on their own (for example, celebrating Gay Pride in the Tuileries garden on June 27, 1971);

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[34] Hocquenghem, *L'après-mai des faunes*, 196.

[35] Université de Nanterre, Bibliothèque de la documentation internationale contemporaine, Fonds Guérin, F^{o}) 721/15, "Pour la constitution et l'organisation d'une tendance 'politique' au sein du FHAR."

[36] Lacombe, "Les années lumière," 56.

[37] Travelet, "Prolétaires de tous les pays, caressez-vous!" 21-2.

[38] "Cours camarade, le vieux monde est derrière toi," *Le fléau social* 1 [Summer 1972], 2. On this periodical, see Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel*, 109-10.

[39] Yves Frémion and Daniel Riche, "La parole au fléau social: Groupe no 5 du FHAR," *Actuel* 25 (Nov. 1972): 9.

[40] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 4-Wz-10838, tract entitled "Les homosexuels, ça n'existe pas qu'au cinéma."

interpolated an enraged Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party, about the party's policy on homosexuality at a public meeting on 21 January 1972; teamed up with FHAR's Italian equivalent (FUORI) to sabotage a congress of sexologists in San Remo in April 1972; organized a group of vigilantes to take action against young men who were attacking homosexuals at a public urinal near the Buttes-Chaumont; forced their way into a Fourteenth-of-July ball that had refused entry to homosexuals; invaded Parisian cafés where they kissed in public, and so on.[41] Fifty members of FHAR also became the first gays and lesbians to demonstrate publicly in France when, in 1971, they joined Paris's annual May 1 march held by trade unions and left-wing political parties (a practice gays kept up until 1977, after which date they preferred to stage their own Gay Pride parades in late June). Many on the traditional left opposed this presence on May Day; the Communists characteristically declared in 1972 (in reference to FHAR and other extreme left groups in the demonstration) that "this disorder does not represent the advance guard of society, but the rot of capitalism in its decline."[42]

Indeed, what most shocked the traditional left were the Gazolines, a group of (mainly) transvestite males formed in early 1972 and initially dubbed "Camping Gaz Girls," because at the general assemblies they served tea made on camping gas stoves. A former Gazoline (the journalist Hélène Hazera) has recently described their ideas as "a sort of psychedelic homosexual Dadaism, an ideology of derision, violently anti-authoritarian." The Gazolines shouted down anyone who tried to give meetings direction—they refused to accept either structure or hierarchy—and at political demonstrations they cried out slogans and held up banners that both amused and shocked people: "Proletarians of all countries, caress each other!" "Sodom and Gomorrah, the struggle goes on!" "Ah, it's nice to be buggered!" Some critics have charged that such tactics helped bring about the collapse of FHAR, to which Hazera replies: "It's flattering, but exaggerated."[43] In fact, the Gazolines' behaviour was no more than the extreme expression of FHAR's general ideological stance.

FHAR was always deliberately provocative in its strategy and tactics, and this undoubtedly detracted from its political effectiveness, something that some militants eventually came to regret. One wrote, some ten years after the founding of FHAR, that "to a great extent we let ourselves be swept away by the flood-tide of the ideologizing, revolutionary, and marginalizing movement that characterized the infantile phase of this homosexual movement."[44] For Hocquenghem, FHAR was a "Brownian movement [composed] of several hundred fags" (Brownian motion is the erratic, random movement of particles in a liquid or gas) that "always maintained an

[41] For these various actions, see "Les quarantes insolences du FHAR: Quelques dates héroïques," *Gai pied* 25 (Apr. 1981), 34-5; Fauret, "A l'origine des femmes," 36; Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel*, 86ff.

[42] Martel, *Le rose et le noir*, 46-8; "Chronique d'une marcheuse," *Gai pied* 325 (16 June 1988), 31; and Roland Leroy, "L'ordre démocratique et révolutionnaire," *l'Humanité*, 5 May 1972. See also Michael Sibalis, "'La Lesbian and Gay Pride' in Paris: Community, Commerce and Carnival," in *Gay and Lesbian Cultures in France*, ed. Lucille Cairns (Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt and New York, 2002), 51-66.

[43] Hélène Hazera, "Rouge à lèvres et slogans: Souvenirs gazogènes," *Gai pied hebdo* 460 (7 Mar. 1991): 57-8; and idem, "Gazolines," in *Dictionnaire des cultures gays et lesbiennes*, ed. Didier Eribon (Paris, 2003), 213 (for recent quotations).

[44] Jean Boyer, "Le mouvement homosexuel dix ans après," *Rouge* 976 (3/9 July 1981), 23.

irresponsible side; an incapacity to think strategically."[45] Of course, FHAR rejected leaders or any form of leadership on principle, despite the presence in its ranks of charismatic personalities like Hocquenghem and Eaubonne. According to the latter, "The originality of FHAR, like the MLF, was that for the first time we got away from the 'star system' [*vedettariat*], … centralized structures. For the first time, one saw spontaneous movements that took action, that got results [*marquaient des points*]. This was new, the realization of the old anarchist ideal that had never been concretized."[46] FHAR saw itself as a collectively lived experience: "FHAR doesn't belong to anyone, it isn't anyone. It is only homosexuality on the march. All [politically] conscious homosexuals are FHAR: all discussion between two or three persons is FHAR. … Yes, we are a nebula of feelings and actions."[47] This attitude was in great part due to the influence of the Situationists, transmitted to FHAR through the student movement of May '68. The Situationists (a small group of artists and intellectuals that emerged in the 1950s) "wanted the imagination, not a group of men, to seize power." They accepted "neither disciples nor leadership," and, refusing to wait for a far-off political revolution, sought instead "to reinvent life here and now."[48] As one member of FHAR (twenty-year-old Alain, aka Marlène) remarked in 1972: "What we want is the total transformation of life. One does not make the revolution unless one lives it permanently, daily. We are not social revolutionaries, we are revolutionaries of the present moment."[49]

In conclusion, there remain two questions for consideration. First, how did FHAR differ from Arcadie? And secondly, what was its legacy to the contemporary gay movement?

Most observers have explained the difference between Arcadie and FHAR as essentially between Arcadie's social and political conservatism and FHAR's revolutionary ideals. According to *Le monde* in 1972, for instance, FHAR saw Arcadie as "integrated into the bourgeois system" and wanted instead to "to blow up all the blockages."[50] This, of course, was FHAR's own view of things. As Eaubonne famously put it, in her lapidary quip, which was either thrown in André Baudry's face or pronounced at a general assembly of FHAR (the story varies): "It's not a question of integrating homosexuals into society, but of disintegrating society through homosexuality."[51] Even more aggressively, several FHAR militants published a sharp critique of Arcadie in 1973 in which they did not hesitate to call for a "fratricidal struggle to be led against those among us who refuse their liberation and prefer integration into bourgeois society. The latter remains repressive by its very construction, the immemorial and oppressive presence of the family cell (which homosexuals do not recreate) with its subjugation to reproduction, patriarchal power and legal marriage."[52] In other words, in contrast to André Baudry, who said that homosexuals should behave like respectable members of society the radical activists in FHAR wanted homosexuals to transform society, and indeed believed that

[45] Hocquenghem, *L'après-mai des faunes*, 189.
[46] Alain Sanzio, "Rencontre: Françoise d'Eaubonne," *Masques* 9-10 (Summer 1981): 22.
[47] FHAR, *Rapport contre la normalité*, 72.
[48] Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London, 1992), 549-53.
[49] Travelet, "Prolétaires de tous les pays, caressez-vous!" 22.
[50] Brunot Frappat, "Le banquet d'Arcadie," *Le monde*, 14 Nov. 1972.
[51] Letter by Françoise d'Eaubonne, *Gai pied* 44 (Nov. 1982), 3; Martel, *Le rose et le noir*, 37.
[52] Guy Maës and Eric Michel, "L'homosexualité révolutionnaire. L'antinorm répond à Jean-Louis Bory," *Libération*, 13 Nov. 1973, 9.

their homosexuality was in and of itself a revolutionary force. An anonymous gay militant summed it up this way in 1977: "what we had to say was subversive: that to assert our homosexuality was to want to destroy the essential foundations of our patriarchal society, but also to completely redefine relations between bodies because the dominant sexuality, heterosexual and capitalist, was the cult of the phallus."[53] Hocquenghem put it more crudely: "Our assholes are revolutionary."[54]

And yet, in another respect, Arcadie and FHAR represented two sides of the same coin. In contrast to most gay activist groups today, they both refused to conceive of homosexuals as a minority that required specific civil rights. They both rejected the so-called "ghetto"—specialized bars, institutions and even neighbourhoods dominated by gays and lesbians—and instead wanted homosexuals to be an integral part of the wider world. For Arcadie, this was the existing middle-class world, while FHAR longed for a new world transformed by leftist revolution. It was a big difference, of course, but at the same time both Arcadie and FHAR refused categorically to confine homosexuals within the limits of a particular sexual identity. Their politics were thus a far cry from the "identity politics" and "communitarianism" that French gays are frequently accused of promoting today.[55]

As for its legacy, it is true that the militants of the 1980s and 1990s were all (as they put it in 1991) the "children of FHAR," but there had been a significant mutation: "We are at once close to FHAR in our desire to have a global and anti-institutional political discourse, but we are moving away from it in our wish to be effective."[56] The mid- to late 1970s saw a shift of the gay movement away from the provocative tactics and revolutionary rhetoric characteristic of FHAR, toward reformism, the formulation of specific demands for equal rights, and sustained political lobbying. This change is evident in any study of the fragmentary Groupe de Libération Homosexuelle (Homosexual Liberation Group) or GLH that predominated in 1974-1978 and especially the federally structured Comité d'Urgence Anti-Répression Homosexuelle (Emergency Committee Against Homosexual Repression) or CUARH from 1979 to the mid-1980s.[57] CUARH in particular made no bones about its "pragmatic approach." Fostering contacts with the press, trade unions and political parties and lobbying them for an end to discrimination seemed to CUARH "the most effective way to change the conditions of life that are imposed on us."[58] This political evolution coincided with the expansion of gay commercialism and the proliferation of gay bars and nightclubs, not only in Paris, first along the Rue Sainte-Anne and then, from about 1980, in the Marais district, which is today the city's acknowledged "gay

[53] "Homosexualité en révolution," in *Le catalogue des ressources 3. Santé, sexualité, psychisme, expansion de la conscience* (Paris, 1977), 665.
[54] Guy Hocquenghem, "Towards an Irrecuperable Pederasty," in *Reclaiming Sodom*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg (New York and London, 1994), 236.
[55] Philippe Mangeot, "Communautarisme," and Michael Sibalis, "Ghetto," in *Dictionnaire de l'homophobie*, ed. Louis-George Tin (Paris, 2003), 99-103, 194-6.
[56] François Lacombe [Franck Arnal] and Catherine Durand, "Les enfants du Fhar," *Gai pied hebdo* 461 (14 Mar. 1991), 60.
[57] Girard, *Le mouvement homosexuel*, 127-81; Martel, *Le rose et le noir*, 139-267; Jean Le Bitoux, "The Construction of a Political and Media Presence: The Homosexual Liberation Groups in France Between 1975 and 1978," in Merrick and Sibalis, *Homosexuality in French History and Culture*, 249-64; Jean Boyer, "Le CUARH et Homophonie. Six années de militantisme gai," *Masques* 25/26 (Spring/Summer 1985): 87-90.
[58] Jacques Girard and Françoise Renaud, "Une tribune libre de CUARH-Paris," *Gai pied* 12 (Mar. 1980), 7.

ghetto," but also in many provincial cities. The gay press, which also began thriving in these years, and most notably *Gai Pied* from 1979 to 1992, served to promote a new, youth-oriented "gay lifestyle" focused on bars, clubs, bathhouses, travel and fashionable clothes.[59]

Most of the FHAR radicals who managed to survive the AIDS holocaust have made their peace with this new world, and those who did not abandon militancy to pursue their personal careers have been busy editing the periodicals or running the various gay associations that have come into existence. Many of the gay and lesbian leaders who have spoken out for their community in the years after 1972—people like Marie-Jo Bonnet, Pierre Hahn, Daniel Guérin, Guy Hocquenghem and Jean Le Bitoux—first came to prominence and public attention as members of FHAR.[60] On the other hand, before his death from AIDS in 1988, Hocquenghem—the emblematic FHAR militant and certainly the best known to the general public—openly expressed his disdain for what he called the "new fags" ("nouveaux pédés"), who rejected marginality and sought instead the protection of the law: "This evolution towards a demand for [legal] protection, … constitutes one of the new characteristics of French homosexuality."[61] FHAR had cleared the way for dramatic change, but today's gay movement seeks to project an image of political responsibility and FHAR's insolent spirit survives only on its margins—for example, in the much contested tactics used since 1989 by the Paris branch of Act-Up in its fight against the AIDS epidemic.

[59] Michael Sibalis, "Paris," in *Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories since 1600*, ed. David Higgs (London and New York, 1999), 30-6; idem, "Urban Space and Homosexuality: The Example of the Marais, Paris's 'Gay Ghetto,'" *Urban Studies* 41 (2004):1739-58; and Frank Arnal, "The Gay Press and Movement in France," in *The Third Pink Book: A Global View of Lesbian and Gay Liberation and Oppression*, ed. Aart Hendriks, Rob Tielman and Evert van der Veen (Buffalo, N.Y., 1993), 38-45.

[60] Michael Sibalis, "Bonnet, Marie-Jo," "Guérin, Daniel," "Hahn, Pierre," "Hocquenghem, Guy," and "Le Bitoux, Jean," in Aldrich and Wotherspoon, *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay & Lesbian History*, 46-7, 171-2, 175-6, 191-3, and 240-1; and Bill Marshall, *Guy Hocquenghem: Beyond Gay Identity* (London,1996).

[61] Guy Hocquenghem, "Mais qui sont les 'nouveaux pédés'?" *Libération*, 31 May-1 June 1980, 7.

Abstracts

Natalie Adamson

Against the Amnesiacs: The Art Criticism of Jean Bazaine, 1934-1944

This essay discusses the art criticism written by the painter Jean Bazaine between 1934 and 1939 in the form of exhibition reviews for the "social" Catholic publications, *Esprit* and *Temps présent*, where Bazaine began to articulate the premises of a new, re-spiritualized route for painting. His art criticism participated in the "third-way" Personalist project of Emmanuel Mounier and *Esprit* to renovate the foundations of contemporary French society; it also contributed to the effort in the interwar period to modernize sacred art. The implications of Bazaine's attempt to establish an alternative circuit between modernist painting and politics are highlighted by his epistolary debate with the realist painter Marcel Gromaire. The sequence of articles written by Bazaine during the war for the *Nouvelle Revue Française* and *Comoedia* explicitly extend the tension in his theory of painting between its conservative, nationalist aspects and the modernist, radical revisions he proposed to the French tradition of realism.

Cynthia Bouton

Cowardly Bourgeois, Brave *Bourgeoises*, and Loyal Servants: Bourgeois Identity during the Crisis of 1846-47

This paper interrogates the formation of bourgeois identity at mid-19th century through a close study of a riot in January 1847 in the French town of Buzançais (Indre). It explores how riot, repression and trial (during which the government actively worked to rouse bourgeois solidarity) and the local and national press reflected and shaped social identities. Rioters specifically targeted households they identified as "bourgeois" and Buzançéen notables generally accepted the label, even as they wished to redefine it. The public trial of rioters also generated opportunities to imagine proper bourgeois identity and contrast it sharply with actual bourgeois behavior during the riot. Moreover, analyzing female behavior and narratives of their behavior—*bourgeoises* as well as female servants and rioters—elucidates this process more fully. I therefore suggest not only that there existed a bourgeoisie conscious, if painfully so, of its existence and that practices such as riot and public trial helped to shape it.

Greg Burgess

Selection, Exclusion and Assimilation. The *Projet Lambert* of 1931 on the Reform of French Immigration Policy

The unemployment crisis of 1926-7 focused attention onto the question of immigration. Historians of this period have generally focused on the crisis of public policy and popular antipathies towards foreigners; more recently historians have become attuned to voices of racism. Less attention has been paid to attempts to redress the policy weaknesses through a new legislative regime on immigration. This paper reviews one such proposal, made by Charles Lambert, a deputy from the Rhone, in 1931. Instrumental in a revision of the naturalization law in 1927 to encourage the assimilation of foreigners through the acquisition of French citizenship, Lambert proposed a comprehensive statute on immigration to select "desirable" foreigners and exclude the "undesirables" to promote the assimilation of the "better" elements. The paper argues that his rationale betrays a profound fear of mounting French weakness in the face of economic and demographic decline, and grave anxieties for the future health of the French nation.

Ian Coller

Egypte-sur-Seine: The Making of an Arabic Community in Paris 1800-1830

This paper analyses the formation of a significant Arabic presence in Paris during the first decades of the nineteenth century, a presence which has remained almost entirely invisible to historians. It argues that the population of "Egyptian Refugees" which arrived in Marseille after the evacuation of the French occupation of Egypt in 1801 evolved into a settled but highly mobile community established both at Marseille and in Paris, yet with continuing links to the Arab world.

Máire Cross

Tuning into Politics: Flora Tristan's Songs for the *Union ouvrière*

From 1789 onwards in revolutionary France, singing was a common form of political communication of the lower orders: the published works of song-writer Béranger are testimony to the prolific nature of opposition political song writing during the Restoration monarchy. However, there remains little evidence of the oral practices and of the lesser known amateur song-writers or what inspired them to write. I have come across an unusual trace of how this collective activity functioned as propaganda in the network of lesser known activist-composers who emerge from Flora Tristan's mantra of feminist socialism but whose voice is now dim in labor history. In 1843, in her bid to increase the sales of her book *Union ouvrière* and to promote collective action among the laboring classes, Flora Tristan included in the first edition a call for an anthem for the organization she intended to create. Clearly in harmony with the workers' customs of singing for politics, Tristan included her preferred verses in the subsequent two editions of *Union ouvrière*. Although the other proposals did not make it to print, some of them have survived in her correspondence. In this study I examine the themes of the songs, (published and unpublished), composed especially for Flora Tristan's project and compare them with the essence of her political statement. In concluding with references to another song competition this time an official one organized by Carnot, I contextualize the actions of Flora Tristan and socialist militants of the late July Monarchy and show how their political composition and singing practices anticipated 1848 and were an important element of politicization. This interpretation of political songs provides an opportunity for closer analysis of how Tristan's action was perceived by those grass roots social activists who were tuned into politics.

Vesna Drapac

A King is killed in Marseille: France and Yugoslavia in 1934

French responses to the 1934 assassination in Marseille of King Alexander of Yugoslavia by Croatian and Macedonian émigrés provide the focus of this paper. French enthusiasm for the Yugoslav successor state, strong in the immediate post-war years, eventually subsided, markedly so following the assassination in the Belgrade parliament, in 1928, of leaders and representatives of the most popular Croatian party (the Croat Peasant Party) and the establishment of a repressive dictatorship in 1929.

However, on the death of Alexander on French soil, republican France came out in support of the royal dictatorship of the Serbian "hero-king." French reactions to the King's death drew on iconic images of the Great War and Serbia's role in it: companions in arms, the French and Yugoslavs were tied by an "indestructible" bond of friendship and a "boundless trust." This paper invites speculation on the political consequences of the ways in which the Great War was remembered in the two countries.

Susan Foley

"I felt such a need to be loved […] in a letter:" Reading the Correspondence of Léonie Léon and Léon Gambetta

The theoretical literature on correspondence warns against viewing personal letters as transparent evidence of the feelings and ideas of the author. It emphasizes the need to read them against the codes of letter-writing and cultural rituals of their time and place. This injunction will be applied here to the correspondence between Léon Gambetta, a Republican leader of the 1870s, and his lover, Léonie Léon. Their letters are of particular interest because they are simultaneously love letters and political discussions. This paper shows, first, how their correspondence reflects the epistolary conventions of intimacy in the post-Romantic age. It also shows how intimacy could be expressed through a shared political language. The paper concludes that intimate relationships enabled some women to carve out spaces in men's lives as loved and desired– and therefore necessary–political partners, at a time when the formal structures of political life were becoming more exclusively masculine.

Pieter François

Images of French Catholicism and Belgian Protestantism

This article analyses the mid-nineteenth-century British views on religion in France and Belgium. This analysis is based on the numerous travel guides and accounts of British travelers touring through the continent. Whereas the observed religious situation was relatively similar, Catholicism was in both countries overwhelmingly dominant, the interpretation was strikingly different. French Catholicism was perceived as an integral part of the French national identity. The opposition between French Catholicism and British Protestantism was part of a long chain of perceived interconnected oppositions between France and Britain. After the independence of 1830, Belgium and the Belgians occupied a unique position in British imagination. Belgium was increasingly perceived as a "little Britain" or "little England on the continent." The construction of the image of "Protestant Belgians in Catholic Belgium" is a powerful example of the projection of British/English values on Belgium. In Belgium Catholicism was perceived as hostile to the true Belgian national identity and was associated with the perceived chain of foreign rulers of Belgium.

James Friguglietti

A Scholar "in Exile:" George Rudé as a Historian of Australia

George Rudé devoted most of his career as a historian to studying French and British history "from below." Until 1959 Rudé taught and published in Great Britain. But his left-wing politics compelled him to accept a teaching post in Australia where he would remain for some ten years. During this decade Rudé undertook to examine the history of his new homeland. He focused on individuals convicted of crimes, both common law and political, who were transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Amassing data from the archives about hundreds of criminals, he summarized his discoveries in *Protest and Punishment* (1978). Rudé's Marxist outlook led him to identify with the transported criminals and consider himself as being "in exile." Eventually he "escaped" from Australia when he left to teach in Canada in 1970. But his years down under proved a valuable experience. The numerous publications that Rudé produced while there testify to his considerable scholarly abilities.

David Garrioch

The Local Experience of Revolution: The Gobelins/Finistère Section in Paris

When reading the revolutionary history of Paris, it is easy to make a direct connection between the socioeconomic composition of the different sections, or of their personnel, and the degree of radicalism and the levels of violence they experienced. The example of the Gobelins/Finistère Section shows that these variables, while not unrelated, were not necessarily connected. Despite being poor and consistently radical, this Section experienced little violence in the 1790s. Its political stance was determined not only by the poverty of much of its population, but just as much by its location and political traditions and by the personal networks and rivalries of its militants. These factors created a sectional culture that played a significant part in determining the political trajectory and the revolutionary experience of the area.

Dominique Godineau

Pratiques du suicide à Paris pendant la Révolution française

The police archives offer much information about suicide in Paris during the Revolution. This article will undertake an analysis of this source, and from this, set out, first, a typology of suicides (gender, age, marital and social status) and of the act of suicide (means, motive according to next of kin, suicide notes or interrogations of those who did not succeed in their attempt). Reactions of those around them (family, neighbors), and of authorities will also be analyzed. Finally, I will look at the link between suicide and the Revolution, that is, the impact of particular events and the political suicides of well-known revolutionary leaders, but also of less-known militants who took their own lives following Thermidor, an II, or Prairial, an III.

Carol Harrison

Protecting Catholic Boys and Forming Catholic Men at the Collège Stanislas in Restoration Paris

In 1804, the abbé Claude Rosalie Liautard opened the Collège Stanislas with the goal of educating a Catholic elite for post revolutionary France. Liautard believed that the Revolution's most lasting damage was in the realm of education, and under the Empire and Restoration he railed against the last institution that "prevents the healing of wounds to the social body," the Napoleonic University. Stanislas would give boys modern academic training coupled with spiritual discipline and devotion. Liautard's effort to create Catholic education for the new regime was in many ways contradictory. Although Liautard often wrote of the need to restore paternal authority, his educational program mistrusted familial influence and preferred to shelter boys within the boarding school. Moreover, Liautard's pedagogical style derived from a language of fraternity and romantic notions of intense friendship. The early years of the Collège Stanislas thus suggest a more dynamic view of Restoration Catholicism as a faith influenced by and coming to terms with the revolutionary past.

Peter Jones

"Fraternising with the Enemy": Problems of Identity during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

This paper examines the problem of citizenship in an age that gave birth to the multiple concepts of nationality that we know today. The theme is explored via a case study of the experiences of the Russell family of Birmingham, England. William Russell was a prominent victim of the 1791 riots in that city which were aimed at religious Dissenters who saw no reason to conceal their enthusiasm for the principles of the French Revolution. The family joined the flow of political refugees heading for America. However, they were intercepted by a French frigate in the Channel and spent the latter months of 1794 imprisoned in the port of Brest. The Russells were allowed to resume their journey to America the following year, and, in due course, William succeeded in becoming a citizen of his adoptive land. In 1801, though, he returned to France in order to take possession of a large monastic property which he had acquired as a result of the sales of *biens nationaux*. Whilst resident on his estate near Caen in 1807, he petitioned—successfully—for naturalization as a French subject having

identified Napoleon Bonaparte as the new Messiah. Despite a civil status that was complicated—to say the least—he managed to dispose of his French assets and to retire to England when hostilities came to an end in 1814.

Julie Kalman

Rothschildian Greed: This New Variety of Despotism

In July 1846, a train on the newly inaugurated northern line owned by the Baron James de Rothschild ran into a marsh in Fampoux, causing several deaths. The accident unleashed a wave of righteous outrage: graphic descriptions of the accident were given in the press, and public emotion was incited by stories of the dead and the wounded. It was demanded that those responsible be brought to justice, and newspapers and pamphlets came to focus public indignation on the prominent, fabulously wealthy and Jewish Baron. How was he depicted? In this article, I examine reactions to the accident in newspapers and pamphlets and notions of Rothschildian greed and influence. I then go on to explore whether this discourse has a place in a broader context of anti-Jewish writings in France.

André Lambelet

Back to the Future: Politics, Propaganda and the Centennial of the Conquest of Algeria

In the Spring of 1929, the French government formed a Propaganda Committee whose mission was to "study the means of associating all of France with the commemoration of the Centennial of Algeria." The Committee's task was two-fold: to teach "sadly uninformed" French about Algeria, and, by examining the benefits that French domination had brought to Algerians, to teach the French about the virtues of colonialism. The paper, focusing particularly on the *Cahiers du Centenaire de l'Algérie* and on the works of General Paul Azan, argues that the propaganda campaign upon which the French government embarked in 1929 suggests that opponents of republicanism had used their colonial experience to move from the margins to the center of the Third Republic.

Peter McPhee

Frontiers, Ethnicity and Identity in the French Revolution: Catalans and Occitans

The French Revolution was a critical period in the forging and contesting of collective identities. Most obviously, the practice of popular sovereignty at a time of national military crisis underpinned the shift from subject to citizen. Historians of political culture and of regional identities have tended, quite understandably, to focus on the ways in which national and regional élites constructed French citizenship after 1789. Historians of the regions, however, have tended to see this as a process of "francisation d'en haut," often characterized as imposed and even destructive. But how did members of ethnic minorities define themselves within this new polity? Was there a phenomenon of "francisation d'en bas" as well as one from above? Equally important, how did they define members of neighboring ethnies? This paper looks at the evidence, especially from the *cahiers de doleances*, of how Catalans and Occitans viewed each other—and themselves—across the frontier between Languedoc and Roussillon, and how they represented the Catalans south of the border. It argues that the Revolution only accentuated expressions of similarity and difference already present in 1789.

Colin Nettelbeck

From *La nouvelle vague* to *Histoire(s) du cinéma*: History in Godard, Godard in History

Throughout his career Godard has sought to create a cinematographic language capable of reflecting simultaneously on itself as cinema and on the world outside the cinema. This paper examines how Godard's work constitutes a form which incorporates historical traces and at the same time claims historiographical value for itself as a document capable of both documenting history and "making" history. In examining the complexities of the task Godard has set himself, the paper explores the tensions that exist between contemporary French history and cinema more generally.

Alison Patrick

The Price of Revolution

Though the principles involved in the Terror have had a lot of attention, the debate associated with the King's trial has not been examined as a crisis of principle which contained the seeds of the Terror. On no other occasion was every deputy in a Revolutionary assembly expected to cast a public vote on a constitutional issue. Nearly all the deputies voted; the detail of the voting was published by the Convention itself. Nearly forty percent of deputies also published some explication of their votes, addressing the questions of principle they thought were involved. Their three months of bitter argument demonstrate that Revolutionary Terror was closely linked with the Revolution of 1789. However, in 1793 there were no right answers. The Revolution, which had brought equality to Frenchmen, could now produce Frenchmen who were no longer potential citizens; all men were not equal. This was part of the price of revolution.

Pam Pilbeam

Fourier and the Fourierists: A Case of Mistaken Identity?

Charles Fourier and his followers, the Fourierists, shared little, apart from their name. The objective of this communication is to explain why this was so. It focuses on three issues which were fundamental to both Fourier and his followers, women, social organization and morality, to try to understand why their ideas were so different. Ironically it was the important role played by women in Fourierism that toned down the bachelor Fourier's strident feminism. The utopian dream of ideal communities was abandoned when several experiments failed. The recourse to state intervention echoed the experience of Fourierists in their day jobs, often as state engineers. A new interest in religion seemed to reflect declining optimism in human agency.

Michael Sibalis

Gay Liberation Comes to France: The *Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire* (FHAR)

The opening salvo of the modern gay liberation movement in France occurred when a group of homosexuals (mainly lesbians) disrupted a live radio broadcast entitled "Homosexuality, This Painful Problem" on 10 March 1971. They then founded FHAR (Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire, or Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action), which would be active until early 1974. Inspired by the American gay movement, FHAR drew its left-wing rhetoric from the French student movement of May 1968. In opposition to the French homophile movement, Arcadie, which urged homosexuals to accept and assimilate into existing society, FHAR believed that homosexuality was a revolutionary force that could transform the world. FHAR's deliberately provocative tactics garnered some publicity for the gay cause but achieved no change. The mid- to late 1970s therefore saw a shift of the gay movement toward reformism, the formulation of specific demands for equal rights and sustained political lobbying.

Thomas Sosnowski

Revolutionary Émigrés and Exiles in the United States: Problems of Economic Survival in a New Republican Society

This article explores the problem of economic survival by the thousands of Frenchmen who exiled themselves in the United States during the tumultuous 1790s, examining the sojourns of those whose letters, diaries and memoirs remain, such as Talleyrand, Moreau de St.-Méry and Mme de la Tour du Pin. What became apparent is that many of them were able to maintain themselves without seeking employment and turn their attention to travel or scholarly pursuits. Volney and La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt are noted exemplars of this category. Some were forced to work like Moreau de St.-Méry in his Philadelphia bookstore and Mme de la Tour du Pin and husband on their 200 acre farm near Troy, New York. Others shared their musical talents whether in performance or in teaching. Heading this list was Brillat-Savarin, the noted gastronome. Others performed in the theatre—Charleston, South Carolina even maintained two French companies during this decade. Many, if not most of them, however, returned to *la douce* France when the political and social situation improved. Nonetheless,

many others "disappeared" into the American demographic scene without written records—their story remains to be told.

Charles Sowerwine

The Sexual Contract of the Third Republic

Carole Pateman argued that the creation of the public sphere was made possible by the creation of the private sphere and that the public sphere was created masculine. If Pateman's argument is valid, we should expect to find continuity in the exclusion of women. The present paper opens two lines of inquiry around the issue of continuity in exclusion following the founding of the Third Republic. This paper interrogates the discourse of feminists and radical republicans, women and men, after the constitutional laws of 1875, to see in what terms the position of women was avoided. Special attention is paid to the correspondence of Léon Gambetta and his mistress, Léonie Léon. In the 1187 letters to which we had access, politics are inextricably linked with passion. The paper concludes that republican discourse turns on metaphors which are consonant with fraternity.

Ingrid Sykes

The Globalization of French Sound: French Convents in Australia

This paper examines the spread of French convent musical culture to Australia and the nature of its establishment on Australian soil. The global movement of convents from France to Australia in the nineteenth century was an important manifestation of imperialist expansion by the *congréganistes*, a group of Catholic monarchists who had experienced a massive national resurgence from the 1820s in France. This particular form of imperialist activity involved the transportation of a clearly identifiable "unit" of domestic identity. French convent spaces in Australia were virtual reality constructions of their French counterparts containing real artifacts, people and sensual stimuli. Some even included French machinery purchased by the convents from respected French inventors. The transportation of French nineteenth-century convent organs to Sydney and Melbourne by French *Sacré-Coeur* nuns ensured the transferal of the sonorous component of French convent life. Built by the established French organ building firms of Joseph Merklin and the Puget family, these instruments embodied mystical communication through powerful acoustical sonorities and acoustical delay. In conclusion, I suggest that the construction of the convent space in Australia contributed to the survival of a particular French Catholic tradition whilst it was under attack in France in the anti-clericalist political climate of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Tim Tackett

Becoming a Counterrevolutionary: A Conservative Noble in the National Assembly, 1789-1791

For a variety of reasons, the evolution of the political ideas of conservative members of the Constituent Assembly has always been more difficult to follow than that of the patriots. The recently discovered correspondence of the robe noble and deputy from Poitiers, Irland de Bazôges, helps to fill this gap. The correspondence reveals that Irland initially hoped to cooperate with the Revolution and avoid all political factions. The turning point was clearly the Dom Gerle Affair of April 1790. These decrees not only offended his religious sensibilities, but also focused the anger that had accumulated over a number of other issues. Intense peer pressure exercised by other nobles also seems to have played a role. The correspondence thus suggests that conservative deputies, like their radical colleagues, substantially evolved during the first year of the Revolution, adopting positions which they might scarcely have imagined just a few months earlier.

Françoise Thébaud

Un féminisme d'État est-il possible en France? L'exemple du Ministère des Droits de la femme, 1981-1986

L'article étudie l'expérience de féminisme d'État du ministère des Droits de la femme (1981-1986) dont la titulaire fut la socialiste Yvette Roudy. Au-delà d'une description des actions et de leurs effets, il se demande pourquoi ce féminisme d'État fut difficile et identifie trois raisons: des rapports complexes entre socialisme et féminisme; une société française frileuse, ou du moins comprenant de forts courants conservateurs; un féminisme français majoritairement méfiant vis-à-vis de l'État.

John West-Sooby and Jean Fornasiero

A Cordial Encounter? The Meeting of Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin (8-9 April 1802)

The 1802 encounter between Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders has now entered Australian folklore. Most commentators concur that the famous meeting was conducted in a spirit of scientific cooperation that transcended the national rivalries of the day. Yet certain discrepancies between the accounts of the two captains are difficult to explain. These have generally been attributed to communication difficulties between the French navigator and his English-speaking counterpart. This assumption, however, is far from self-evident. We have thus chosen to canvass the full range of possible explanations for the conflicting accounts of that meeting, including the hypothesis that Flinders, who is generally considered a reliable witness, may indeed have misrepresented his encounter with Baudin. What emerges from this analysis is a picture of a meeting that was far less altruistic than is commonly believed—a meeting characterized, contrary to the legend, by the persistent undercurrent of political and personal motives.

Joseph Zizek

Marat: Historian of the French Revolution?

Jean-Paul Marat harbored the surprising ambition to provide his readers with a historical understanding of the French Revolution. This paper argues that Marat's journalism depended on, and sought to propagate, a distinctive and somewhat unusual historical sensibility devoted to sniffing out the Revolution's enemies and charting a path by which its gains could be secured. For Marat, verbal violence, denunciations, pessimism and attacks on popular lassitude were justified by his understanding of the historical "lessons" embedded in the ongoing Revolution. Yet Marat's writing also revealed the difficulty of communicating those lessons, and the challenges posed by a revolutionary "history" in which the historian and his audience were simultaneously caught up in an unfolding series of events and meanings.