

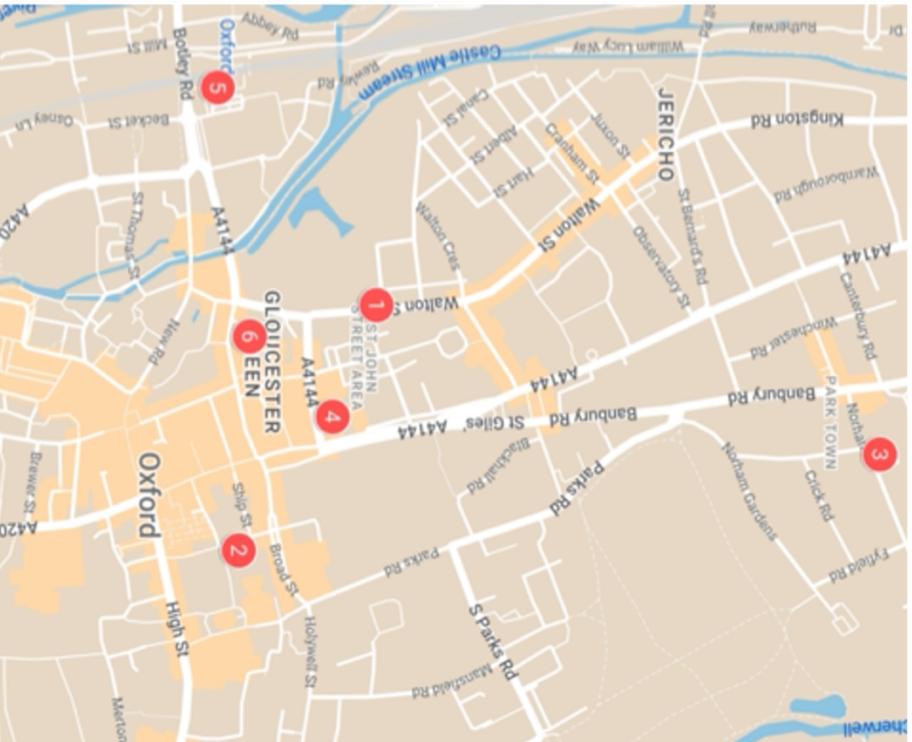
EXETER
COLLEGE
OXFORD



with the support of Higher Education, Research,
Innovation Department of the French Embassy

Organisers: Christina de Bellaigue, David Hopkin, Erica Charters, Will Clement, Robert Gildea,
Ruth Harris, James McDougall, David Parrott, Judith Rainhorn, Hannah Skoda

Email: ssfh2022@exeter.ox.ac.uk Twitter: #SSFH2022



1. Exeter College Cohen Quad, Walton Street
2. Exeter College Main Site, Turl Street
3. Maison Française d'Oxford, Norham Road
4. Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont Street
5. Oxford Rail Station, Park End Street
6. Gloucester Green Bus Station, George Street

Conference Overview

Sunday 10 April

- Delegates can check into their accommodation at Exeter Cohen Quad from 2pm
- 15:30 – SSFH Steering Committee Meeting, Kloppenburg Room, Exeter Cohen Quad
- 16:00 – 17:00. The last entry, at 4pm, to the [Pissarro Exhibition](#) at the Ashmolean Museum is reserved for SSFH delegates. Spaces cannot be reserved but you buy a ticket on the door.
- 17:30 – 19:00 Welcome Reception, Maison Française d'Oxford, 2-10 Norham Road.

Monday 11 April

- Registration from 08:30, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 09:15 – 09:30 Welcome and Introductions
- 09:30 – 10:30 Keynote 1: Christina Horvath (Bath), *Banlieues as Loci of Encounter, from Working Class Solidarities to the Emergence of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism*; Fitzhugh Auditorium & Online
- 10:30 – 10:45 Tea & Coffee, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 10:45 – 12:15 Parallel Sessions 1a-d
- 12:15 – 13:15 Lunch, Exeter Cohen Quad, Dakota Café
- 13:15 – 14:45 Parallel Sessions 2a-d
- 14:45 – 15:00 Comfort break
- 15:00 – 16:30 Parallel Sessions 3a-c
- 16:30 – 17:00 Tea & Coffee, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 17:00 – 18:00 Keynote 2: Sara McDougall (CUNY), *Encounters with Jehanne from Lorraine in Late Medieval Dijon*; Fitzhugh Auditorium & Online
- 19:30 – 22:00 Conference Dinner, Exeter College Hall, Exeter College, Turl Street (drinks available from 19:00 in the Rector's Drawing Room, Turl Street)

Tuesday 12 April

- Registration from 08:30, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 09:00 – 10:30 Parallel Sessions 4a-c
- 10:30 – 10:45 Tea & Coffee, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 10:45 – 11:45 Parallel Sessions 5a-c
- 11:45 – 13:15 SSFH AGM (Fitzhugh Auditorium) & Lunch, Exeter Cohen Quad, Dakota Café
- 13:15 – 14:45 Parallel Sessions 6a-c
- 14:45 – 15:00 Comfort break
- 15:00 – 16:30 Parallel Sessions 7a-c
- 16:30 – 17:00 Tea & Coffee, Exeter Cohen Quad, Learning Commons
- 17:00 – 18:00 Keynote 3: Mélanie Traversier (Lille), *Musical Encounters in Enlightenment France: Interactions between Science, Technology and Performance*; Fitzhugh Auditorium & Online
- Delegates free to eat in Oxford

Wednesday 13 April

- 9:00 – 10:30: TORCH PGR/ECR Workshop on Developing Public Engagement, Knowledge Exchange, and Community History projects, Maison Française d'Oxford.
- 10:30 – 11:00 Tea & Coffee, Maison Française d'Oxford
- 11:00–12:30 Roundtable Discussion on the French Presidential Elections and Contemporary French Politics Maison Française d'Oxford

Full programme available from p. 7

SSFH Conference Code of Conduct

From its inception, SSFH has prided itself on providing a welcoming and supportive conference environment for scholars of all career-stages to engage in academic debate and networking. In this spirit, and with a continuing commitment to promoting equality and diversity in the conduct of our business, please take note of the following code of conduct to be observed at SSFH conferences and sponsored events:

1. All participants are to be treated with respect, and as entitled both to a hearing for their views, and to feel secure in the conference environment.
2. All participants are expected to speak and behave in a way which avoids causing others to feel disrespected, harassed, or threatened, for any reason.
3. All participants should respect the authority of panel chairs, most notably:
 - a) over the timing of presentations, which should be exercised to ensure equity between presenters, and adequate time for discussion within the session;
 - b) over management of discussion to ensure that, with limited time available, an equitable range of individuals are given the opportunity to ask questions; if time is particularly short, then priority for further interventions should be given, as far as practicable, to early-career scholars.
4. Questions and comments should always be directed to the subject-matter of presentations, and remain constructive in tone even, and especially, where appropriately critical.
5. In the conduct of conference business, the following more specific points of protocol are to be adhered to:
 - a) presentations should NOT be recorded or photographed without the specific prior consent of the individual presenter;
 - b) conference proceedings are normally open to live-tweeting and any other indirect social-media dissemination, unless a specific presenter prefers that their material is kept within the room; panel chairs should make this clear where necessary, and all participants should respect any such restrictions.
6. Any participant experiencing or witnessing conduct in contravention of the points above is encouraged to point it out, either directly, or confidentially by contacting **Christina de Bellaigue** or **David Hopkin** from the conference organising team, in the knowledge that their concerns will be taken seriously. Christina and David can be contacted in person, via email (christina.debellaigue@exeter.ox.ac.uk and david.hopkin@hertford.ox.ac.uk) or via Twitter DMs (@cadebellaigue).
7. Any participant may be asked to leave the event if their behaviour or speech breaches this code.

Conference hashtag: #ssf2022

Access Statement

We are committed to making our conference accessible and appreciate any feedback about actions we can take to serve this goal. If there is a particular aspect of accessibility that you would like to see addressed here, please contact us at ssfh2022@exeter.ox.ac.uk and we will do our best to ensure that those needs are met. Please note that we strive to be an inclusive, accessible conference, but not all requests can be guaranteed. If you have questions, please do get in touch.

COVID-19

Oxford University has now removed its remaining COVID-19 restrictions. However, it remains important for us all to continue to be considerate and to take steps to minimize the risk of infection. We therefore ask delegates to:

- avoid contact with others if you might be infectious
- respect other people's space
- let fresh air in when indoors
- keep up to date with COVID vaccinations
- respect those who choose to wear a face covering

More guidance is available from the University (<https://www.ox.ac.uk/coronavirus/health/>)

Venue accessibility

Cohen Quad has four fully wheelchair accessible bedrooms, there is level access from the pavement to reception; for entry, wheelchair users should use the bell (87cm from the floor); for exit, there is a push button (117cm) from the floor. The door opens to 101cm. There are two level access toilets in the building. The lifts have doors which open to a minimum of 80cm, are 144cm deep and 106cm wide. They have backlit buttons with braille and audio information. The Turl Street site, where the Conference dinner will be held, has a lift to access the dining hall, This lift is reached by using a slope up to the door to staircase 3. The staircase door opens to 89 cm and has a threshold of 3 cm. The lift door opens to 81 cm. The lift is 830 cm wide and 142 cm deep. The call button is 114 cm from the floor. The lift buttons are 94 cm from the floor. There is an accessible toilet on the Turl Street site.

Please see <https://www.accessguide.ox.ac.uk/exeter-college> for the full access guide to Exeter College

Microphones & Induction Loop

All speakers will have microphones, and where possible questions will be asked by a moderator who will also have a microphone. If you have a personal induction listening device with its own microphone, we are happy to place the microphone close to the speakers, although we still need to assess how to support this option with remote speakers. Please contact us on ssfh2022@exeter.ox.ac.uk if you're considering this option so we can be sure to find a solution that is compatible with your device and needs.

Quiet Space & Sensory Impact

The Ashdown Room will be available to serve as a **quiet space and welfare room** for any conference attendees who would like to make use of it.

In terms of **sensory impact**, participants will be requested not to use flash photography at the conference or to wear strong scents.

Timing/Breaks

Our current panel schedule includes food or coffee breaks at a maximum of 90-minute intervals, with some margin between panels or speakers.

Seating

If you require to be seated at the front, back, or on an aisle, let us know at ssfh2022@exeter.ox.ac.uk and we can reserve an appropriate space for you.

Online attendance

We will be livestreaming the Keynote Lectures and Hybrid panels via Microsoft Teams. Those we registered to attend virtually will receive a link and instructions in advance of the symposium.

We are hoping to ensure that the keynote lectures are recorded and made available within the subsequent few weeks.

Further resources

City accessibility

More information on the accessibility measures taken by Oxford City Council can be found [here](#).

https://www.oxford.gov.uk/info/20043/disability_and_accessibility This includes information on the accessibility of transport options.

Nearest hospital

The nearest hospital to our venue is the John Radcliffe Hospital. For more information, please [see their website https://www.ouh.nhs.uk/hospitals/jr/](https://www.ouh.nhs.uk/hospitals/jr/)

Eating out, Coffee & Drinks in Oxford

We have compiled a list of recommendations for places to eat and drink in Oxford, with links to their websites for accessibility information, at <http://frenchhistorysociety.co.uk/conference.htm>

Programme

Registration plus all parallel and plenary sessions will be held at Exeter College Cohen Quad. Refreshments will be available in the Learning Commons. Lunch will be served in the Dakota Café at Exeter Cohen Quad.

Sunday 10 April 2022

- Delegates can check into their accommodation at Exeter Cohen Quad and register from 2pm
- Delegates are alerted to the [Pissarro Exhibition](#) at the Ashmolean Museum. Entries from 4pm on Sunday are reserved for conference delegates (up to 20 people) and do not require advance booking. However, delegates will have to buy their own tickets on the door (full price = £14.50). The exhibition and the Museum are open throughout the conference, from 10:00 to 17:00.
- 15:30 – *SSFH Steering Committee Meeting*, Kloppenburg Room, Exeter Cohen Quad
- 17:30 – 19:00 Welcome Reception sponsored by the Voltaire Foundation and the Oxford Centre for European History, Maison Française d’Oxford, 2-10 Norham Road.

Monday 11 April 2022

Registration from 8:30am: Learning Commons at Exeter College, Cohen Quad. Tea & Coffee available

09:15 - 10:30: Welcome & Plenary 1 – FitzHugh Auditorium & online via Teams

Christina Horvath - *Banlieues as Loci of Encounter, from Working Class Solidarities to the Emergence of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism.* Chair: Will Clement

10:30 - 10:45: Tea & Coffee - Exeter Cohen Quad Learning Commons

10:45 - 12:15: Parallel Sessions 1

Panel 1a: Encounters in the Contentious Atlantic World (Maddicott)	Panel 1b: International Isolation and Connection in the 19th Century (Kloppenbug)	Panel 1c [Hybrid]: Intimate Strangers from the 18th to the 20th Centuries (FitzHugh)	Panel 1d: Catholic and Muslim Identities in 20th Century France (Ruskin)
<p>Harry M. Lewis – <i>Across the Frontier: The Jacobites in St Kitts, 1688-1713.</i></p> <p>Giulio Talini – <i>The Chambres Mi-Partie d’Agriculture et de Commerce of the French Antilles and the French State (1759-1763).</i></p> <p>Maria Zukovs – <i>The Impact of the French Revolution on Franco-Irish Relations through Advertisements in the Dublin Press, 1788-1790.</i></p> <p>Chair: tbc</p>	<p>Karine Varley – <i>France Alone? Republican Isolation and the Mobilisation of International Opinion in the Franco-Prussian War.</i></p> <p>Jean-Michel Johnston – <i>Discovering a Diaspora: Encounters with Armenia(ns) in 19th Century France.</i></p> <p>Giuseppe Pio Cascavilla – <i>The French Consul and the Pasha, Friendship and Political Survival in Bosnia at the beginning of the 19th Century.</i></p> <p>Chair: Alex Paulin-Booth</p>	<p>Catherine Phipps – <i>Between Metropole and Colony: Bordels Militaires de Campagne, Colonial Sex Work, and Migration in French Morocco.</i></p> <p>Sasha Rasmussen – <i>From Russia with Love: Transnational Female Intimacy at the Fin de Siècle.</i></p> <p>Will Pooley – <i>The Story of Witchcraft in France, 1790-1940.</i></p> <p>Chair: David Hopkin</p>	<p>Rachel Coombes – <i>Catholic Revivalism in Music and Art: Maurice Denis and the Grégorianistes of Saint-Germain-en-Laye.</i></p> <p>Samuel Young – <i>‘Restoring the Beautiful Families of our Class’ – Catholic Working-Class Youth and the Conflict Between Family and State in France, 1927-1940.</i></p> <p>Zaki Kribi – <i>Être indigène en France. Expérimenter l’altérité religieuse et culturelle en temps colonial.</i></p> <p>Chair: Owen Coughlan</p>

12:15 – 13:15: Lunch - Exeter Cohen Quad Dakota Café

13:15 – 14:45: Parallel Sessions 2

Panel 2a: Money, Power, and Violence in Early Modern France (Maddicott)	Panel 2b: Thinking about Revolution (Kloppenburger)	Panel 2c [Hybrid]: Une Élite parisienne dans la France profonde? Jewish Country Houses in French Jewish History (FitzHugh)	Panel 2d: Radicalism, Counter-Culture and Satire in 20th Century France (Ruskin)
Sian Hibbert – <i>Encountering Power: Women and Interpersonal Violence in Early Modern Languedoc</i> . Marc W.S. Jaffré – <i>An Urban Intrusion into Court Life? Merchants at the French Court, 1610-1643</i> . Clare Burgess – <i>Encountering Sex for Sale: A Geographical Approach to Understanding Sex Work in Late 16th Century Lyon</i> . Chair: David Parrott	David Andress – <i>Encountering a Revolution: Trust and Distrust in the First Months of the 1789 National Assembly</i> . Antonia Perna – <i>Schoolbooks Printed in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Milan: Education and French Cultural Imperialism, 1796–1814</i> . Morgan Golf-French – <i>Théoricien Captivity in Napoleonic Europe: Charles de Villers’ Essai sur les prisonniers de guerre (1808)</i> . Chair: Joseph Clarke	Noémie Duhaut – <i>From Remote Forests to Fashionable Seaside Resorts: Adolphe Crémieux’s Lieux de Villégiatures</i> . Lisa Leff – <i>A Jewish and Republican Chateau: Jacques de Reinach in Nivillers, France, 1882-1892</i> . Cyril Grange – <i>Les Châteaux et résidences de villégiature des familles de la grande bourgeoisie juive parisienne (1890-1939) : Diffusion, répartition géographique et choix architecturaux</i> . Chair: Abigail Green Discussant: Ruth Harris	Sarah Farmer - <i>The ‘Guru’ and the ‘Outlaw’: Legends and Legacies of 1970s Countercultural Leaders</i> . Andrew Smith – <i>‘Another World is Possible’: Visions of Utopia on the Larzac Plateau</i> . Imen Neffati – <i>Stéphane Charbonnier, Dessinateur de presse, Journalist, Activist, ‘Islamogauchiste’, and ‘Islamophobe Anti-Raciste’</i> . Chair: Jessica Wardhaugh

15:00-16:30: Parallel Sessions 3

Panel 3a: Capitalism and Empire in the 20th Century (Kloppenburger)	Panel 3b [Hybrid]: Transnational Institutions in the 19th and 20th Centuries (FitzHugh)	Panel 3c: Shaping Power Dynamics: Encounters and Conflicts with the Crown (15th-16th Centuries) (Ruskin)
Armelle Campagne – <i>Anticolonial encounters? The confrontation of French journalists to the colonial dimension of coal exploitation in Indochina, 1923-1931</i> . Susan C. Bay – <i>Listening to the Spirit of the French Union: Colonial Radio in French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, 1946-1958</i> . Cesare Vagge – <i>Organising Modern Capitalism in France; Vichy Planners, Democratic Reformers and the Making of the Post-War Économie Concertée (1942-1946)</i> . Chair: James McDougall	Avner Ofrath – <i>How to be French, Jewish, and Ottoman: Universalism and Particularism at the Alliance Israélite Universelle School in Jerusalem, 1882-1929</i> . Marie Robin – <i>‘A Hallowed Institution’: The Bordel Militaire de Campagne and Military Prostitution in French North Africa and Vietnam (c. 1940-1960s)</i> . Catalina Mackaman-Lofland – <i>A Colonial or French University in Algiers?: The Université d’Alger Between Vichy and Free French Politics</i> . Chair: Abigail Green	Ysaline Bourguine de Meder – <i>Narrating Treason and Loyalties in Late Medieval Normandy: Encounters between Norman Lords and the English Crown</i> . Austin Collins – <i>Showcasing Religious Toleration on the Urban Stage: Spatial Encounters between the French Monarchy and the Lyon City Council during the French Wars of Religion</i> . Andrew Green – <i>‘A King of Clemency, Unity and Peace’? Charles VII and Encounters with Rebels in the mid 15th Century</i> . Chair: Penny Roberts

16:30 - 17:00: Tea and Coffee - Exeter Cohen Quad Learning Commons

17:00 - 18:00: Plenary 2 – FitzHugh Auditorium & online via Teams

Sara McDougall, *Encounters with Jehanne from Lorraine in Late Medieval Dijon*. Chair: Daniel Power

19:30-22:30: Conference Dinner – Exeter College Hall, Turl St (drinks available from 19:00 in the Rector’s Drawing Room, Turl Street)

Tuesday 12 April 2022

Registration from 8:30am: Learning Commons at Exeter College, Cohen Quad. Tea & Coffee available.

09:00 – 10:30 Parallel Sessions 4

<p>Panel 4a: Slavery, Environmental Knowledge and Imperial Reform in the French Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1830 (Kloppenburg)</p>	<p>Panel 4b: Radicalism in the 20th Century [Hybrid] (FitzHugh)</p>	<p>Panel 4c: Encounters and Migrations in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Ruskin)</p>
<p>Joseph La Hausse de Lalouvière – <i>Slavery and Enlightenment in the Indian Ocean World of Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny</i>. Oliver Cussen – <i>The Feudal Origins of ‘Green Imperialism’: Land and Property in the French Mascarene Islands, 1720-1793</i>. Catherine Peters – <i>Kan Gao and Chinese Men in Cayenne: Plant Knowledge, Portraiture, and Petitioning</i>. Chair: Katherine Ibbett</p>	<p>Constance Bantman – <i>Re-encountering The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914</i>. Ying Xing – <i>Malraux’s Encounter with Asia: A Shared Concept of “Revolution” between French and Chinese Leftists in the 1930s and 1940s</i>. Daniel Gordon – <i>Unlikely Encounters? British Students and Intellectuals in France in May-July 1968</i>. Chair: Karine Varley</p>	<p>Erik de Lange – <i>An Expansionist Gathering: The 1830 Invasion of Algiers as a Transnational Endeavour</i> Owen Coughlan - <i>Contentious Encounters with Newcomers to the Alès Coalfield in the Interwar Period</i>. Mariella Terzoli – <i>From Clash to Recognition? Italian Soldiers from Prisoners to Legionnaires, North Africa 1943 – 1946</i>. Chair: Judith Rainhorn</p>

10:30 – 10:45: Tea & Coffee - Exeter Cohen Quad Learning Commons

10:45 – 11:45: Parallel Sessions 5

<p>Panel 5a: Military Identities in the 20th Century (Kloppenburg)</p>	<p>Panel 5b: Early Modern Anxieties of Migration [Hybrid] (FitzHugh)</p>	<p>Panel 5c: Tales of Encounter in French Culture (Ruskin)</p>
<p>Terry Cudbird – <i>Regional Identities in the French Army, 1914-1918</i>. Meriel Smithson – <i>Here We Are Again: Encountering the Present via the Past in the Wartime Diaries of French Soldier, Gustave Folcher</i>. Chair: Julian Wright</p>	<p>Christophe Gillain – <i>Anxieties of Asylum: Emotions, Elite Sociability, and the Reception of French Exiles in 17th Century Europe</i>. Dan Rafiqi – <i>A Double-Edged Sword? ‘Exalting Suffering’ and Huguenot Refugees’ Responses to Persecution, 1681-1750</i>.</p>	<p>Caroline Lesemann-Elliott and Joe McHardy – <i>From Versailles to YouTube: Encounters with Redface in French Baroque Opera, Then and Now</i>. Lillian Specker – <i>Ghostly Encounters Between Texts Across Time: Rewriting and Retelling in Francophone Algerian Literature</i>. Chair: Jennifer Yee</p>

	Chair: Giora Sternberg	
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11:45 – 13:15 AGM & Lunch – FitzHugh Auditorium & Dakota Café

13:15 – 14:45 Parallel Sessions 6

Panel 6a: Transnational Encounters in the History of French Socialism and Liberalism (Kloppenburger)	Panel 6b French Jews Beyond France [Hybrid] (FitzHugh)	Panel 6c: Questions of Trust and Evidence in the 17th and 18th Centuries [Hybrid] (Maddicott)
Atlanta Rae Neudorf – <i>Milieus of Exile: London and the Political Thought of Félix Pyat, 1852-1855.</i> David Klemperer – <i>Transnational Encounters in the Development of Revisionist Socialism in France, 1924-1933.</i> Hugo Bonin – <i>When Democracy Meets Liberalism: Understanding French “Liberal Democracy” in the 20th Century.</i> Chair: Jonathan Krause	Noémie Duhaut – <i>French Jews, Legal Practice, and the Construction of Empire: The Case of Adolphe Crémieux.</i> Cyril Grange & Abigail Green – <i>Jewish internationalism in France and the Haute Banque.</i> Sasha Goldstein-Sabbah – <i>Ibrahim Nahum: The Ambivalent Francophile.</i> Chair: Tom Stammers Discussant: Daniel Lee	Nga Bellis-Phan – <i>How Witness Statements Shape Criminal Investigation? The Murder Case of Marie Dufour, a Pawnbroker in 18th Century Paris.</i> Emma Spary – <i>Encountering New Drugs in the Sun King’s Reign.</i> Rodney Dean – <i>Joseph Fouché’s Spiritual Encounters in 1793.</i> Chair: David Andress

14:45 – 15:00: Comfort Break

15:00 – 16:30: Parallel Sessions 7

Panel 7a Merchants and Money in the 18th and 19th Centuries (Kloppenburger)	Panel 7b: Encounters in Vichy France [Hybrid] (Fitzhugh)	Panel 7c Disruptive International Encounters from the 18th to the 20th Centuries [Hybrid] (Maddicott)
Mark Edward Hay – <i>Louisiana, Hope, Amsterdam: The Dutch Roots of the French Capital Market.</i> Lauren R. Clay – <i>Capitalism Without Class? Reassessing Social Ordering During the Ancien Régime: The Case of France’s Négociants.</i> Chair: Marc Jaffré	Daniel Baker – <i>Rencontres Miliciennes: Emotional Training in Violence and the Creation of an In-Group in the Milice Française.</i> Jessica Wardhaugh – <i>War Music: Cultural Encounters in Political Song, 1930-1945.</i> Jan Burzlaff – <i>Encounters in Vichy France: Surviving the Holocaust.</i> Chair: Martin Conway	Sean Heath – <i>Encountering the Emperor: Charles Maigrot’s 1706 audience with Kangxi revisited.</i> Fatima-Ezzahrae Touilila – <i>The Caliphate Question: A Disruption into a European Legal Imperial Order (1914-1926).</i> Luc-André Brunet – <i>‘Tendons la main à l’Afrique du Sud’: France and Apartheid, 1944-1958.</i> Chair: Lillian Specker

16:30 - 17:00: Tea and Coffee - Exeter Cohen Quad Learning Commons

17:00 – 18:00: Plenary 3 – FitzHugh Auditorium & online via Teams

Mélanie Traversier, *Musical Encounters in Enlightenment France: Interactions between Science, Technology and Performance*. Chair: Catriona Seth

Wednesday 13 April 2022

9:00 – 10:30: [TORCH](#) PGR/ECR Workshop on Developing Public Engagement, Knowledge Exchange, and Community History Projects, Maison Française d'Oxford

Featuring Wes Williams (TORCH), Kate Astbury (Warwick), Hanna Smyth, (Public Engagement Officer, Wellcome Centre for Integrative Neuroimaging)

10:30 – 11:00: Tea & Coffee

11:00 - 12:30: Roundtable Discussion on the French Presidential Elections and Contemporary French Politics, Maison Française d'Oxford

Featuring Emile Chabal (Edinburgh), Deborah Cameron (Oxford), Philippe Marlière (UCL)

Chair: Andrew Smith

Conference close

Panel paper abstracts (alphabetical by speaker's name)

David Andress – ‘Encountering a Revolution: Trust and Distrust in the First Months of the 1789 National Assembly’ Panel 2b, 11 April

After a brief consideration of the rising salience of 'trust' as a concept in social science and history, this paper re-examines the process famously described by Timothy Tackett as 'becoming a revolutionary', whereby men elected to the Estates-General of 1789 wrestled with unexpected events, and forged resultant new political identities. Juxtaposing the fears and concerns of one noble, the marquis de Ferrières, and one commoner, Laurent de Visme, through a close reading of their correspondence, this paper will suggest that both settled patterns of distrust and shifting patterns of trust and expectation are discernible throughout the blow-by-blow accounts of events and the reflections on them offered by the two, self-consciously moderate, writers. These offer a route to reconsider the frequently-noted salience of fear in revolutionary decision-making, and suggest that a more complex construction of both evidence-based personal distrust and broader prejudiced distrust more fully captures some of the negative judgments that produced continuing political collisions in 1789 and beyond. Positive trust, moreover, remained a distinctly rare commodity, and the paper will close with some considerations on the structural implications of that for the practical process of constitution-building begun from August 1789.

Daniel Baker – ‘Rencontres miliciennes: emotional training in violence and the creation of an in-group in the Milice Française’, Panel 7b, 12 April

Established in January 1943 during the Vichy regime, the Milice française quickly became known for its violent repression. This paper will explore the dynamics and processes that created a feeling of belonging to the Milice française (in-group), and by consequence fostered enmity against the ‘out-group’. To form unity and create an ‘in-group’, a community must impose “emotional styles”. The Milice used what William Reddy calls “overlearning” techniques, voluntary but situational repetitions to instil learned emotional responses. Its leadership achieved this by using group encounters, hosted at their Milice departmental headquarters, to form a symbolic and literal protective barrier; a local paramilitary community shield against socialism, communism, and Jews. Milicien leaders worked to reinforce affective ties through oaths, rituals and rites, uniform, insignia, alcohol, forced complicity in crimes, hierarchy and repeated standardised forms of collective behaviour such as fascist salutes, music, forced chanting and military drill. They succeeded in fostering a political culture that promoted the primacy of the group over that of the individual. In particular, funerals of fallen miliciens with their liturgies, martyrologies, and iconographies inspired from collective commemoration practices of the unknown soldier became a veritable exercise of emotional cohesion and mass suggestion. Rituals made violence more probable and violent acts themselves, like a positive feedback loop, became ritualistic and were instrumental in the construction of this imagined emotional community. This paper will conclude that the Milice’s ritualisation, induction and retention strategies were essential in creating a member base ready to commit violence and that the practices consisted of an effective affective training for violence, which can explain how the Milice reached its infamous terminal brutality.

Constance Bantman – ‘Reencountering 'The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914’, Panel 4b, 12 April

This paper will explore intercultural encounters and a historiographical reencounter, by revisiting the history of the French-speaking anarchists in London between 1880 and 1914, a topic on which I published a monograph in 2013 (Bantman, 2013). Encounters – personal, political, cultural – were at the heart of the anarchists’ exilic and migratory experience, at a time when London harboured political radicals from all over the world as well as many socialist currents. In the years since the publication of this book, a great deal of research has furthered or challenged its findings, in particular the ongoing transnational turn, developments in spatial history (Forster, 2019) and the history of policing and surveillance (Solomon, 2021), as well as new questionings regarding the anarchists’ positions towards women

and anticolonial activism (Galián, 2020). The mass digitization of periodicals (both anarchist and mainstream) and archives in the last ten years also offers new prospects to find detailed information about the personal and political lives of these elusive anarchists in London – and further afield, thus rectifying the original study’s London-centric focus. They are also crucial in documenting the ways in which anarchists were perceived and portrayed in Britain, France and internationally, and constructed into a major public threat through media discourse. A 2016 BBC adaptation of the classic – but deeply problematic – fictionalisation of these exile years, Joseph Conrad’s *Secret Agent*, also raises new questions about public (re)interpretations of this historical moment. The paper will therefore consider both some of the new material available, and the ways in which a specialised topic of research comes to evolve quite quickly.

Bantman, Constance, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914. Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.

Forster, Laura, ‘The Paris Commune in London and the spatial history of ideas, 1871–1900’, *The Historical Journal*, 62.4 (2019), 1021–1044.

Galián, Laura, *Colonialism, Transnationalism, and Anarchism in the South of the Mediterranean*. Cham: Switzerland, 2020.

Solomon, Vlad, *State Surveillance, Political Policing and Counter-Terrorism in Britain, 1880-1914*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021.

Susan C. Bay – ‘Listening to the Spirit of the French Union: Colonial Radio in French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, 1946-1958’, Panel 3a, 11 April

In this paper, I suggest that colonial radio policy in France’s sub-Saharan African territories had as much to do with technology and programming as with developing specific, politically charged modes of listening. Prior to World War II, there was little public investment in radio infrastructure or programming in FWA and FEA, particularly in comparison to territories elsewhere in the French Empire, such as Algeria or French Indochina. This situation changed dramatically after the war: officials from the Ministries of State, Information, and Foreign Affairs called for an organization specially dedicated to overseas broadcasting, which eventually led to the 1955 founding of the Société de la Radiodiffusion de la France d’Outre-Mer (SORAFOM). Through an examination of government archival materials on colonial radio policy in FWA and FEA in the late forties and fifties, I argue that officials viewed radio as a means to diffuse the “communal spirit” of the French Union as well as cement colonial social hierarchies.

In drawing out this history, I build on Franz Fanon’s seminal analysis of radio listening during the Algerian War. I argue that Fanon’s analysis cannot fully account for the role of radio in FWA and FEA, because in these territories, the imperial project was far less about outright domination and more about complex, paternalistic ideas regarding the locals’ education into democracy. Sound and listening were key to this aspect of the French imperial project. In FWA and FEA, the French government was invested in developing the “right” kind of colonial listener; someone who was able to parse sounds, words, and music in a particular way. Therefore, I consider the postwar development of radio in FWA and FEA not only as a technological or political encounter between subjects of the French Empire and radio, but a bodily encounter. Considering these policies allows us to trace the export and imposition of ideologies about sound and listening that are often taken for granted: sound’s ephemerality, the connection between communal listening and political solidarity, and the interpellation of the subject—or here, “imperial citizen” of the French Union—, through radio.

Nga Bellis-Phan – ‘How witness statements shape criminal investigation? The murder case of Marie Dufour, a pawnbroker in 18th century Paris’, Panel 6c, 12 April

On a night of January 1754, the pawnbroker Marie Dufour was found dead in her room near place Maubert in Paris, where she lived alone since she became a widow. Police officers concluded that she was strangled to death in the midst of a burglary, by criminals who were interested in the considerable amount of cash

and movable assets she possessed. The abundant judicial archives produced within three years of criminal procedure (1754-1756) are drawn from séries Y and X of the French National Archives. These manuscripts reveal how witness statements turned out to be essential in helping identify the actual murderers and their accomplices, and later in confronting them while they persisted on 'not telling the truth' during the examination phase. My paper proposes to review the importance of witness statements in 18th century criminal investigation through the lens of this specific case: from the first call for witness to be performed at Sunday mass by local vicars to the later use of the depositions in reconstructing the narrative of the crime

Hugo Bonin – ‘When Democracy Meets Liberalism: Understanding French “Liberal Democracy” in the 20th Century’, Panel 6a, 12 April

Across the political spectrum and in academic circles, current discourses on the state of “liberal democracy” tend to focus on the threats of “populism” or “illiberalism”. While definitions of “liberal democracy” might vary between authors, the notion is generally unquestioned. Yet, for most of the modern era, the idea of a “liberal democracy” would have seemed oxymoronic to many. How did this encounter, this reconciliation of liberalism and democracy happen? Drawing on conceptual history and as part of a larger research project on the uses of “liberal democracy” in Western parliamentary discourses, this presentation will focus on the case of France during the 20th century.

Recent scholarship on liberalism has underlined the importance of avoiding anachronistic uses of “liberal” (Bell, 2014; Rosenblatt, 2018). My own research suggests that the rapprochement of “democracy” and “liberalism” under the mantle of “liberal democracy” in the English-speaking world took place much later than usually thought. It is only from the 1980s onwards that notion moves from the academic margins towards the political centre, under the double impulse of the rise of human rights discourse (Moyn, 2011) and of a “democratic evaluation industry” (Giannone, 2017).

The trajectory of “*démocratie libérale*” in France looks rather different and thus offers an interesting counterpoint. Adopted positively by some parliamentarians at the end of the 19th century, the term nonetheless suffered from the competing republican, and eventually socialist, idioms. Following WWII, the increasingly negative connotations of “*libéral*” in French politics prevented its adoption by mainstream political forces. It is only at the end of the 20th century that the notion became more common, following both internal and external factors. This analysis highlights the contrasted and contested nature of the reconciliation of liberalism and democracy and helps us put our current situation in historical perspective.

Ysaline Bourguine de Meder – ‘Narrating treason and loyalties in late medieval Normandy: encounters between Norman lords and the English crown’, Panel 3c, 11 April

In 1424, Norman lord John of Maunoury was thrown in jail twice: first, because he had been suspected by the English occupying Normandy to have sold a horse to the Armagnacs. But John was not scared of such intimidation, so he was imprisoned a second time the same year for having publicly expressed his political preference towards the Duke of Alençon, an enemy of the English crown at the moment.

This kind of anecdote is precious to historians, as it is a rare illustration of how local lords experienced the English occupation of Normandy from 1417 to 1450.

What did the lords think about their new occupant? To whom did they choose to swear their loyalty, and what were their motives for doing so? It is not the first time that Normans experienced occupation: in 1204, the French conquest of Normandy already forced the lords to choose between their Norman and English lordships if they wished to remain in Normandy. While the English occupation in Normandy was a fascinating period, it did not attract many historians, mainly because of the scattered nature of the sources. However, the English crown's documentation in Normandy, labeled as the 'Norman rolls', represents a great body of material where the crown interacts with local lords by either granting lands or assigning royal offices to those who surrender and pay homage to their new

occupant. These rolls also illustrate how the crown treated those who refused to pay homage by either seizing their lands or forbidding them to return to Normandy.

Yet no study on both lords and the crown exists, combining seigneurial and royal sources. In this paper, I will present the different types of encounters between the crown and the lords by building my analysis on the Norman rolls and the seigneurial sources: the letters of homage and the dénombremens. My investigations reveal that lords acted out of self-interest above all and that while the English crown greatly rewarded those who decided to remain in Normandy, staying was not an obvious choice for the vast majority of the lords.

Luc-André Brunet – ‘« Tendons la main à l’Afrique du Sud » : France and Apartheid, 1944-1958’, Panel 7c, 12 April

The electoral victory of the National Party in South Africa in 1948 surprised onlookers both within South Africa and internationally. The new government, led by D.F. Malan, proceeded to implement its racial policies, known as apartheid, which came to characterise South Africa until the 1990s. While existing literature has focused on South Africa’s relations with the UK, the US, and other African states in the early years of apartheid, relations between Pretoria and Paris have been surprisingly overlooked. Existing studies of France-South Africa relations tend to begin from 1958, focusing on the policies of the Fifth Republic.

This paper, based on original archival research in France, South Africa, and the UK, reveals that the French foreign ministry saw Malan’s victory as a promising opportunity for France. Seizing upon the French (Huguenot) ancestry of some of leading nationalists, including Malan himself, the Quai d’Orsay suggested that there was a strong affinity between the new South African government and France. Strategically, they saw Malan’s ambivalent view of the British Commonwealth as a chance to develop new ties with South Africa despite misgivings about its racial policies. Perhaps most surprisingly, the French saw closer ties with South Africa as a cornerstone of its policy of Eurafrique, arguing that cooperation with apartheid South Africa would show that Eurafrique was not a neo-colonial project involving only parts of the French Empire. From Pretoria’s perspective, cooperation with France offered broader international support for a regime that was increasingly criticised at the UN for its racial policies, and a chance to assert South African independence from Britain. Overall, the victory of the Nationalists and the beginnings of apartheid marked a surprising rapprochement with France that laid the foundations for future cooperation between the two countries under the Fifth Republic.

Clare Burgess – ‘Encountering Sex for Sale: A Geographical Approach to Understanding Sex Work in Late Sixteenth-Century Lyon’, Panel 2a, 11 April

Recent trends in urban history have begun to embrace the possibilities of GIS and mapping, and this paper builds on work by scholars such as Nicholas Terpstra to develop our understanding of the activities and lives of sex workers in Lyon. Using multiple maps to plot where prostitutes lived, worked, worshipped, were arrested, and died, I will examine how the practice of selling sex changed over the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. As this project is in its earliest stages, my data will be drawn from archival study carried out in early 2022, including censuses, tax records, court records, the documents of hospitals and poor relief institutions, bequests to religious orders, and ordinances stipulating where and when prostitutes were allowed to work and worship. For example, records of the five ‘hospitals’ of Lyon dedicated to reforming prostitutes or preventing women entering prostitution are rich and dynamic sources.

My wider research uses a comparative lens to analyse Lyon, Seville, and Mexico City: this paper will touch on this broader work while maintaining focus primarily on the French context.

The use of geographic data is intended to enrich understanding of the lived experience of sex workers, giving a greater insight into their lives not just at work but outside of it. I hope to highlight the encounters that filled sex workers’ everyday lives: with clients, with each other, and with the population around them. Learning

more about how sex workers interacted with their neighbours, their churches, and each other can offer a glimpse of their place in a society that so frequently sought to exclude them. By better understanding where and how sex work was practiced, we can develop a more detailed picture of those involved. To this end, I embrace trends of sensory history to consider the sights, smells, and sounds of early modern Lyon, and how this impacted on the experience of sex workers. Overall, this paper aims to extend the worthwhile use of GIS and cartographic techniques to the lives of under-examined subjects, moving away from the focus on English and Italian cities that has so far been the norm.

Jan Burzlaff – ‘Encounters in Vichy France: Surviving the Holocaust’, Panel 7b, 12 April

The story of Mr and Mrs Moda is one of many encounters. 14 pages submitted to the Wiener Holocaust Library in November 1957 (1656/3/4/734) depict the struggles of this ordinary couple of German Jews who fled from Nazi Germany to Brussels, Vichy, Libourne, Perpignan, Marseille and other places between 1940 and 1945. We encounter many walls of silence — we know little about them. In their early fifties, they had no children and were wealthy business owners before the Nazis seized their factories in 1938. How did they survive? We should write the history of the Holocaust in France not as the history of survival — the outcome for each locality — but surviving, a social process that involved the whole range of choices and day-to-day encounters. Jews in France often appear only in their final moments or after deportation, not as acting individuals. However, upon closer scrutiny, Mr and Mrs Moda’s story provides many new insights into the social and cultural history of Vichy France. The Moda couple’s manifold encounters, as they relentlessly moved from place to place, shed as much light on non-Jews — spontaneous gestures of support by farmers in Rivesaltes and a hotel clerk in Bordeaux, or a physical fight with two French police officers in Grasse — as they do on relations among Jewish communities — for instance, the couple took in two Viennese Jews at a château in Grasse that was also a hub for the Résistance. Through the miro-lens of this elderly couple and its meanders in Vichy France, we can better trace the weight of luck and a fuller range of choices in how Jews survived under Nazi rule. Surviving meant encountering those ready to help but also deciding, often in the very moment, which encounters mattered most. Ultimately, my paper invites historians to analyse, and not just describe, Jews’ experiences beyond selective groups (resistance) and individual cities and villages.

Armel Campagne – ‘Anticolonial encounters? The confrontation of French journalists to the colonial dimension of coal exploitation in Indochina, 1923-1931’ Panel 3a, 11 April

In 1923-24 and 1931, two famous French journalists, Roland Dorgelès and Andrée Viollis, visited Indochina for several months. In 1925, Roland Dorgelès published his impressions in the journal *L’Illustration*, before it was edited by Albin Michel under the title *Sur la route mandarine*. In particular, his critical and masterful description of the Hongay coal mine, property of the Société des Charbonnages du Tonkin (SFCT), the most important colliery in colonial Indochina, was quoted several times in the French press, notably by *L’Humanité*. It was even quoted at length at the French National Assembly by Marcel Cachin, Director of *L’Humanité* and MP and co-founder of the PC-SFIC (Parti Communiste – Section française de l’Internationale Communiste), on the 18th of March 1927. Andrée Viollis’ *Indochine S.O.S.*, a collection of her travel notes published in 1935 by Gallimard with a preface from André Malraux, had an even wider echo, as it became the reference work for the critics of French colonialism in Indochina. Like Dorgelès, she devoted several pages to critique, in her words, “the slavery” of Vietnamese coal miners by the “industry slavers” of the SFCT. Both describe at length their encounters (indirect, as they don’t speak Vietnamese) with Vietnamese coal miners, and Viollis recounts vividly in *Indochine S.O.S.* her discussions with the colliery’s managers. Their encounter with Vietnamese coal miners is full of empathy, and that of Viollis with colonial managers antagonistic. However, a more careful examination of their narratives, notably Viollis’ description of Vietnamese overseers (and not French engineers) as tyrants and racketeers and Dorgelès’ orientalist depiction of the ‘traditional’ Vietnamese way of life, as well as their shared paternalism and

miserabilism, point to a more ambiguous encounter with Vietnamese populations in general. Similarly, the fact that Dorgelès criticizes the Chinese merchant for being “with us, the masters”, but simultaneously complains that this “kingdom of coal” does not bring any money to France “who paid this land with so much blood”, indicate his encounter with French colonialism in Indochina is ambivalent. This contribution thus aims to scrutinise the ambiguities of their encounter with the colonial dimension of coal exploitation in Indochina.

Lauren R. Clay – ‘Capitalism Without Class? Reassessing Social Ordering During the Ancien Régime: The Case of France’s Négociants’, Panel 7a, 12 April

Capitalism as a transformational force in ancien régime France has returned with new vigor in recent studies by William Sewell, John Shovlin, and others. Yet, class (and corps) remain almost entirely absent. If social perceptions and social actions still have analytical value, what might a class analysis look like in our post-Marxist world? More specifically, if rapidly expanding commercial capitalism can now be taken as a fact, how did the growing number of “merchants with translocal connections,” who according to Sewell were “most consequential for economic growth,” integrate into or disrupt France’s existing social structures? (Capitalism and the Emergence of Civic Equality, p. 48)

This paper begins by surveying scholarly approaches to social change in ancien régime France. Drawing on the work of political philosopher Nancy Fraser, it proposes that we direct attention to the “crucial background conditions” needed for capitalist systems to function, including the law, political institutions, and everyday social practices.

Next, it turns to the négociants who sought to alter France’s social landscape by redefining le commerce as an honorable professional category inhabited by nobles and merchants alike. At the earliest meetings of the new royal Conseil de commerce, the merchant deputies representing 11 cities were charged in 1700 with identifying the causes of the economic problems facing France. Their memoirs complained of more than heavy taxation and inefficient monopoly companies. Almost unanimously, they also argued that longstanding prejudices meant that even France’s most successful international businessmen were held in ‘universal contempt.’ In complex ways, their lack of social credit limited the business community’s access to financial credit. Not content to simply climb the social hierarchy as individuals who could buy nobility, these deputies attempted to reimagine the status of négoce within the social hierarchy, in part by formally allowing nobles to engage as wholesale traders. Although they did not get everything they asked for—the Crown denied their request for automatic ennoblement for fourth-generation négociants—their efforts at social engineering did result in several significant legal and institutional changes intended to elevate the status of the merchant community, including the founding of new provincial chambers of commerce.

Austin Collins – ‘Showcasing Religious Toleration on the Urban Stage: Spatial Encounters between the French Monarchy and the Lyon City Council during the French Wars of Religion’, Panel 3c, 11 April

How did the French monarchy and the Lyon city councillors react when they encountered each other during the Lyon royal entry in June 1564? What power projections were being portrayed during this highly political encounter? What motives and themes did each side wish to demonstrate to the other? This presentation will aim to answer these questions regarding how the Lyon city councillors and the French monarchy attempted to showcase their power, prestige, and influence through this royal entry.

After the first War of Religion, Charles IX, Catherine de Médicis, and the royal court embarked on a 108 city Royal Tour of France from 1564-1566. As a way of trying to enforce the toleration and co-existence of Protestantism from the 1563 Edict of Amboise, Charles IX used this tour to enforce his royal authority upon the civic leaders he encountered in both the centre and the periphery spaces of France.

Lyon experienced severe violence during the Wars of Religion of the early sixteenth century. Extreme violence exploded during the first civil war, and the enforcement of the Edict of Amboise gave rise to a substantial Huguenot population, who gained significant influence over civic and economic affairs. With the Wars of Religion continuing, Lyon sought to assert itself as a tolerant city, as Huguenots attempted to maintain control of the city council. When Charles IX entered Lyon in 1564, themes of toleration, co-existence, and religious harmony echoed throughout the urban space as the royal entry commenced. While this entry offered historians a glimpse into the religious negotiations played out on the urban stage, this paper utilizes sources that look behind the scenes. It makes use of new archival research to reveal the planning stages leading up to the entry, and the subsequent aftermath. By examining city council minutes, correspondences, financial accounts, and festival books, this paper explores the underlying motives, expectations, and power dynamics during this political and festive encounter between the French monarchy and the Lyon city council, as the latter sought to demonstrate the toleration of their urban space and the former attempted to strengthen royal influence.

Rachel Coombes – ‘Catholic revivalism in music and art: Maurice Denis and the grégorianistes of Saint-Germain-en-Laye’, Panel 1d, 11 April

Productive encounters between artists, musicians and writers at the turn of the twentieth century have long been considered a defining feature of the Belle Époque: one might think of the Symbolist circles that flocked to Mallarmé’s infamous mardis, stimulated by the legacies of Baudelairean synaesthesia and the Wagnerian ‘total work of art’ ideal. This paper explores an alternative and neglected arena of interdisciplinary encounter in the early twentieth century, but one that was nevertheless intimately tied to a pressing concern among many intellectual circles in Paris: the future of the Catholic Church under the Third Republic. The fallout from events such as the Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906), the 1901 Law of Associations, and the 1905 Separation of Church and State provoked intense anxiety among many Catholics, and catalysed the transposition of socio-political discourses onto an aesthetic plane.

I investigate the close relationship between the painter Maurice Denis (1870-1943), celebrated amongst Catholic circles for his ambition to revitalize sacred art, and a group of religious musicians known as the ‘Cénacle des Franciscaines’, all living and working in the western Parisian suburb of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. These musicians included the musicologist Georges Houdard (1860-1913), and the organist Albert Alain (1880-1971), both of whom were concerned with the restoration of medieval liturgical (Gregorian) chant. Privy to the liturgical and aesthetic debates of the group was the musically-inclined Abbot Clément Besse, to whom a commemorative marble plaque, designed by Denis, still sits in Saint-Germain-en-Laye’s Chapelle des Franciscaines as a testament to this unique artistic fraternity. Although relatively few traces remain of this cross-artistic partnership, the small saint-germanoise circle played a significant role in the pre-WW1 Catholic artistic revival, surpassing its local reputation to engage with wider nationalist impulses tied to religious identity. In particular, this paper demonstrates how the shared religious motivations of these figures were manifested in attempts to reassert the relevance of medieval cultural practices within a modern age. Denis’s decorations for the Lady and Sacred Heart chapels in Le Vésinet’s Sainte-Marguerite Church will serve as appropriate examples, given that their inaugurations (in 1901 and 1903 respectively) were accompanied by Cénacle-organised concerts.

Owen Coughlan – ‘Contentious Encounters with Newcomers to the Alès Coalfield in the Interwar Period’, Panel 4c, 12 April

This paper assesses the contentious and politically charged nature of encounters between migrants and French society in the diverse, dynamic, and fractious context of a southern French coalfield. Following the Great War, coalmining companies in the Gard recruited workers from Poland, Italy, Spain, and Algeria. As such, the Alès Coalfield provides an excellent case study for building on recent work on multi-ethnic interwar migration to French cities, which have demonstrated

variations in migrant experiences of the state depending on nationality, class, race, age, and gender. But rather than focusing uniquely on migrant-state dynamics, my paper interrogates how migrants figured both as objects and subjects within local labour disputes.

I employ archival and printed sources originating from police, local administrators, trade unions, political parties, and local newspapers to access these conflicts from multiple perspectives. In this paper, I investigate examples of contentious encounters in two mining villages: first, the strikes and other forms of complaint that arose with the unemployment crisis of 1931, with a particular focus on Polish demands at the Le Martinet mine; second, the campaign for equal rights to family allocations by Algerian workers at La Grand-Combe in the late 1930s.

In the first instance, these case studies reveal the centrality of labour-related disputes between French actors – employers, police, local administrators, trade unions, political parties and movements of left and right – to migrant encounters with Gard society. Moreover, analysing specific moments of contention reveals how migrants were not only passive objects, but also active agents who, despite the risk of expulsion, used their crucial position in coal production to advance claims and, at times, set the terms of debate between French social and political forces. However, this political agency was not fixed throughout the period, and not all migrants could exert it to the same extent. Close analysis of local coalmining disputes reveals variation in migrant political agency, which was shaped notably by: their place in the labour process, their communicative capabilities, their national or colonial status, as well as by economic context and the balance of power between French political forces.

Terry Cudbird – ‘Regional Identities in the French Army, 1914-1918’, Panel 5a, 12 April

Between 1914 and 1918 millions of French soldiers left home for the Western Front. In doing so they met many men from their own region and also from other parts of France who were complete strangers. At the beginning of the war regiments were mainly recruited on a regional basis. However, after the heavy casualties of 1914 they were forced to find recruits from any part of France. Thus there was a great mixing up of men from different regions. These encounters taught them a lot about their fellow Frenchmen and helped them discover their own identity. We can track this process not only in the many memoirs published after the war but also in the voluminous correspondence they left behind.

This presentation will examine one particular theme within the records of these multiple encounters, that is what soldiers discovered through them about their regional identity. It will present an analysis of a range of soldiers’ diaries and letters, showing what regional characteristics they believed were important and how strongly they identified with their region. Soldiers from the same region spoke their patois together. They enjoyed socializing over the favourite dishes they knew from home and while listening to the music of their native region. They also compared the landscape of their region with the very different surroundings they encountered in northern France. There was a particularly marked feeling of difference between the Midi and the North and even a lack of trust between soldiers from those regions. Some northerners thought the men from the Midi were not serious about fighting.

Much has been written about French patriotism during the Great War and what made men fight. Regional identities in the French army have been much less discussed. The records which the soldiers of the Great War left behind present a unique opportunity to understand those identities because in peace time people rarely committed their thoughts to paper on this subject unless they were part of the intellectual elite. This presentation suggests that attachment to a home region was an affective reality among soldiers and was widespread throughout France.

Oliver Cussen – ‘The Feudal Origins of “Green Imperialism”: Land and Property in the French Mascarene Islands, 1720-1793’, Panel 4a, 12 April

French administrators of the Mascarene Islands in the late-eighteenth century were acutely aware of the ecological fragility of their colonial resources. Richard Grove, in his landmark study *Green Imperialism* (1996), went so far as to identify the “origins of environmentalism” in the governance of Pierre Poivre (1767-72), who supposedly applied new theories of European political economy to remedy the conspicuous effects of capitalism on a fragile tropical island environment. This paper provides an alternative account of both the ecological crisis in the Mascarene islands and the ideas and reforms it generated—one that is rooted in the unique nature of the property regime established by the French East India Company over the preceding five decades. Since the 1720s, the Company had developed a thriving plantation economy, while insisting on the application of feudal property laws that had been swiftly abandoned by private planters in the French Antilles. The result was the replication of social and ecological dynamics that were familiar from the metropole—the “parcellization” of property; the creation of an indebted “peasant” underclass; the extensive cultivation of land—but in an accelerated fashion, on an island with limited territory, and in conjunction with the formation of racialized slavery. Drawing on archival research from France and Réunion, the agrarian history of the Annales school, and recent theoretical insights of political ecology and environmental anthropology, this paper argues that the Mascarene islands’ unique combination of feudal property law with plantation commodity production was especially prone to generating racial resentment and ecological anxiety. The colonial response to these twin developments was not, as Grove has argued, a benign form of anti-capitalist environmentalism, but instead entailed a paternalist desire on the part of colonial elites for private property in both land and people.

Erik de Lange – ‘An Expansionist Gathering: The 1830 Invasion of Algiers as a Transnational Endeavour’, Panel 4c, 12 April

On 25 May 1830 a massive army of some 37,000 souls, accompanied by at least 4,000 horses, left the port of Toulon aboard 675 ships, setting out onto the Mediterranean Sea. This was one of the largest collections of humans and other mammals that ever crossed the waters together. Its destination: the Ottoman Regency of Algiers.

Much of the historiography rather unproblematically (and perhaps unthinkingly) refers to this amassed collective as the French expeditionary army, or the French ‘*armée d’Afrique*’, as it went on to invade, defeat, occupy and eventually colonise Algeria. In reality, however, this was a composite force incorporating people, things and animals from many different places. It utilized Sicilian and Sardinian merchant ships, included young noblemen from Russia and carried English bales of hay. As the forces crossed the sea, they stopped at the Spanish port of Palma for eight days to seek shelter from a storm. Although it operated under the white flag of the French Bourbons, the expeditionary army counted on the support of many nations.

In my paper, I will discuss such transnational characteristics of the expeditionary army. Some sources speak of it as an ‘*alliance du midi*’, but I want to argue that we have to think bigger and give northern European as well as Ottoman actors their due place in this history. It then becomes clear that we ought to think of the run-up to the invasion as a series of encounters in its own right. In some cases, these encounters were involuntary, instigated by force through press gangs and intimidating diplomacy. In others, they were highly desired and sparked a veritable enlistment craze. When taken together, the many encounters of 1830 can allow us to diversify our conceptions of imperial warfare and obtain a fuller understanding of nineteenth-century European expansionism.

Noémie Duhaut – ‘From Remote Forests to Fashionable Seaside Resorts: Adolphe Crémieux’s *Lieux de Villégiatures*’, Panel 2c, 11 April and ‘French Jews, Legal Practice, and the Construction of Empire: The Case of Adolphe Crémieux’, Panel 6b, 12 April

2c: In the mid-1860s, a French daily noted that the entire French political elite was in various spa towns. It was perhaps better so: after all, to be better governed, France had to be governed less, the journalist quipped. Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880), the first Jewish minister in France and a famous lawyer in his own day, was

no exception. Like many of his peers in government, he regularly escaped the humdrum and inconveniences of everyday life in Paris to rest at spas in Europe. However, the above-quoted journalist was wrong to assume that politicians stopped working when taking the waters. As Crémieux's correspondence shows, such places were a key site of political praxis.

Much has been written about Crémieux's legal and political career. In contrast, scholars rarely examined the properties he owned. Even his biographers considered this aspect too mundane or personal to be worthy of historical investigation. After moving from his hometown of Nîmes to Paris, Crémieux bought real estate in the provinces. Following his first term as justice minister in the 1848 provisional government, he purchased a forest in the southeast of France. He had a sizable neoclassical castle built there, which he called the "villa Tibur." In the 1860s, he sold this property and bought another one in a much more fashionable place – Trouville-sur-Mer, a seaside resort on the Atlantic coast, which was at the time booming since it had just been connected by train to the capital.

This paper will explore the type of public persona Crémieux sought to fashion through these properties and the meaning he ascribed to them. Were the villa Tibur and its surrounding forest a way to keep one foot in his beloved southeast, an homage to the antiquity, or an attempt to emphasise local roots during electoral campaigning? What about his chalets in Trouville-sur-Mer mentioned by Marcel Proust? Were these simply necessary to keep up with whatever was going on in politics when the entire political elite was going to the waters?

6b: This paper probes the ways in which French Jewish international politics and imperial lawyering intersected. It traces how French Jewish elites relied on legal practice to promote European expansion abroad. There is no better figure to do so than Europe's first Jewish minister, Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880). A famous lawyer in France, he held the justice portfolio twice. An ardent supporter of the Republic that emancipated French Jews, Crémieux embraced its colonial project. As president of the Franco-Jewish organisation the Alliance israélite universelle, he oversaw the creation of a vast Mediterranean network of French Jewish schools. While there is extensive scholarship on this civilising mission in a Jewish key, there is much more to learn about Crémieux's activities as a lawyer beyond the borders of metropolitan France.

This paper focuses on Crémieux's lawyering in the 1850s-1860s when imperial expansion relied on other techniques than territorial control. Commercial court cases took him to courts in colonial Algeria, the imperial metropolis of Marseille, and Constantinople. They cast light on his role as an international business lawyer involved in informal French imperialism. I contend that this unexplored aspect of Crémieux's career was intertwined with his activities in international Jewish politics. The visibility he gained during the Damascus Affair meant that he was no stranger in (semi-)sovereign Egypt or the Ottoman Empire. When ruling circles in these places sought to westernise state loan sources or create state banks to modernise their financial system, they consulted Crémieux for legal advice. The partnership was a lasting one. French Jewish internationalists relied on the same reformist elites to improve the legal status of their coreligionists in the Ottoman Empire and its successor states. Similarly, Crémieux's numerous trips to Algeria, related to his work as a lawyer, and the ties he established there as president of the Alliance cemented his reputation as a colonial expert. This led to his central role in the administrative reorganisation of the colony as part of which Algerian Jews were naturalised

Sarah Farmer – 'The "Guru" and the "Outlaw": Legends and Legacies of 1970s Countercultural Leaders', Panel 2d, 11 April

Charismatic leaders have left a tangled, ambivalent legacy in the history, memory and afterlife of utopian movements and countercultural experiments of the 1970s. Such leaders elicited fascination and loyalty from their followers as well as fear, skepticism and hostility from their critics. This paper explores the legacy of two controversial leaders who founded rural communes in the early days of France's back-to-the-land movement. In the wake of the unrest of May '68,

countercultural youth turned to remote rural areas as a place to found utopian experiments that challenged capitalism, consumerism, bourgeois social norms, and big agriculture. They valorized the local as an antidote to the ills of urbanization and in opposition to powerful forces of globalization that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1973, Rolland Perrot and a dozen followers founded the “European cooperative” of Longo maï on 240 hectares of untended farmland on a mountainside in Haute-Provence. Long maï, which exists to this day, attracted an international membership and created a network of affiliated agricultural cooperatives in France, Switzerland, Austria and Costa Rica. Its critics accused the group of being spies, terrorists in training and members of a sect led by a megalomaniac “gouru”. In 1977, Pierre Conty, leader of a commune in Ardèche since 1967, committed a triple murder in the course of an armed bank robbery. Conty succeeded in escaping from France and has yet to be found. The Affaire Conty, which drew sensational national media coverage at the time, resurfaces regularly in the French press. In exploring the ambivalent and sometimes destructive impact of these leaders, this paper suggests ways in which the shadow of “the guru” and “the outlaw” might influence present-day movements, such as #MeToo, that seek to curtail the abuse of power by male leaders.

Christophe Gillain – ‘Anxieties of Asylum: Emotions, Elite Sociability, and the Reception of French Exiles in Seventeenth-Century Europe’, Panel 5b, 12 April

During the decades preceding the Fronde and in its immediate aftermath, rebellious French aristocrats often fled to other European states. Nobles as prominent as Marie de Médicis, Madame de Chevreuse, the Grand Condé, and Cardinal de Retz sought refuge from what they saw as the persecution of the Bourbon monarchy. Historians focusing on broader trends of forced migration in the early modern period have shown that asylum was primarily granted for confessional, charitable, or economic purposes. However, investigating the largely neglected phenomenon of seventeenth-century French political exiles reveals an entirely different notion of asylum – one mediated by the affective repertoire of patronage and friendship. While it is not surprising that noble fugitives would draw on their connections in the transnational ‘society of princes’, this paper looks beyond the truism of elite cosmopolitanism to consider how such requests for protection worked in practice. Examining a series of encounters between nobles who fled France and the foreign rulers who received them, this paper proposes that seeking asylum as a fugitive from the Bourbon state was fraught with social and political peril. Frequently charged with lèse-majesté and stripped of their property and offices at home, French rebels were acutely aware that their fortunes depended on their status being recognised in their places of refuge. If the visible performance of personal relations habitually structured one’s standing in aristocratic society, the stakes were raised even higher when it came to being shown public favour in exile by a foreign ruler. Exiles (and their contemporaries) endlessly scrutinised these interactions and reported on whether they had been ‘bien reçu’ or ‘mal reçu’. They understood such encounters as emotional events, where their protection was secured or foundered on the basis of the marks of affection displayed by their hosts. Charting the anxieties of French nobles in foreign exile, this paper illuminates the complexities of seeking asylum in seventeenth-century European elite society.

Sasha Goldstein-Sabbah – ‘Ibrahim Nahum: The Ambivalent Francophile’, Panel 6b, 12 April

The French Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) school network left an indelible mark on Jewish communities throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). A legacy that many would argue is felt to this day both in regard to the cultural and linguistic affinities of Jews from the MENA region. Within North Africa this francophone bias is particularly apparent as Jews largely abandoned Arabic in favor of French and strongly identified with the French nation from both a social and political perspective. However, the French cultural influence of the AIU within areas under British Mandate was more complexed with many Jews often expressing an ambivalence toward French language and French culture seeing it as one among many linguistic and cultural influences in the Levant. This ambivalence is especially visible among Iraqi and Levantine Jewish elites who, although maintaining close ties with France, cultivated equally strong relationships with Jewish organizations in the United Kingdom, and North America.

This paper discusses one such example of this complex relationship of multiple cultural affinities even among those closely tied to the AIU network, that of Ibrahim Nahum, a graduate of the AIU Albert Sassoon School in Baghdad in the 1920s and the AIU representative for the Levant region for most of the 1930s and 1940s. In over two decades of private correspondence, written in French, between Nahum and his Kadoorie cousins in Hong Kong, Nahum discusses his relationship with his colleagues at the AIU offices in Paris and the French consular officials in Baghdad. He also muses on the importance of receiving the French Legion of Honor and more seriously justifies his decision not to immigrate to France, in favor of settling in Israel in 1951. By exploring Nahum's often contradictory feelings of "Frenchness" we see the limits to the AIU's cultural missionizing and also the complexity of cultural affinities at the intersection of transnational Jewish networks and empire.

Morgan Golf-French – 'Theorizing Captivity in Napoleonic Europe: Charles de Villers' *Essai sur les prisonniers de guerre (1808)*', Panel 2b, 11 April

In March 1808 Charles de Villers (1765-1815) received a letter from Georges Frédéric Dentzel (1755-1828). The German-born Dentzel had at various times been a Lutheran pastor, French soldier, and revolutionary politician before reenlisting to fight under Napoleon. In January 1808 he believed that the emperor had requested from him a treatise on the history and rights of prisoners of war. He hoped that Villers might write it. Villers had been born in Boulay and fought for the royalist Army of Condé before fleeing to Germany, settling in Lübeck in 1797. He learned German, embraced Kantian philosophy, and became a passionate advocate of German language, culture, and philosophy. Described by Goethe as Europe's "Janus Bifrons," in 1808 he was one of Europe's most prominent intellectuals and well-known for his promotion of German ideas to French readers. Villers sent Dentzel the essay in May of the same year.

As it turned out, Dentzel had been mistaken: Napoleon had ordered neither the return of captives nor the treatise. Nevertheless, the essay that Villers produced is of considerable historical interest. Infused with Kantian ideas, it presented a philosophical history of captivity in war. With the Enlightenment, Villers claimed, Europe had reached a degree of civilization such that it could guarantee the rights of captured soldiers even in a nominal state of war. He coined the term "cabinet war [guerre de cabinet]" to describe this situation. Cabinet warfare has since become an important – and controversial – concept in the history of war to describe the supposedly less bloodthirsty form of conflict during the eighteenth century.

This unpublished and previously unexamined manuscript appears to contain the first use of the term cabinet war. This paper uses archival sources to reconstruct the development of this concept in relation to Villers' Kantian philosophy, Napoleonic context, and friendship with Dentzel. It also makes tentative suggestions as to how the term entered common usage. Understanding the intellectual history of cabinet warfare sheds light not only on the emergence of an influential concept in the history of thinking about war, but also the intellectually fertile context of Franco-German interactions in the Napoleonic period.

Daniel Gordon – 'Unlikely Encounters? British Students and Intellectuals in France in May-July 1968', Panel 4b, 12 April

Though accounting for a somewhat disproportionate number of the foreigners expelled in June 1968, the British feature little in the historiography of foreign participation in the events of May. This paper seeks to pursue this paradox through new primary research on three different groups of British intellectuals in France: 'anonymous students' studying French or teaching English in university cities on a year abroad and caught up in the events with varying degrees of enthusiasm; 'revolutionary tourists' who headed for Paris because of the events; and 'anti-68 thinkers' of the same generation whose life trajectories became seemingly shaped by their opposition to the May movement. Examining figures as far apart politically as Ian Birchall, co-author of the International Socialists' pamphlet *France: The Struggle Goes On*, and Roger Scruton, who dated his conversion to conservatism to a specific time and place in the Latin Quarter, this paper will demonstrate how the ideological, class and gender politics of the British intellectuals concerned were shaped by diverse personal and political encounters with France at this moment

of historic change. It will also analyse the material conditions of these encounters, and of the apparently impossible task of ‘translating’ political experiences from the French context to the British context. How did international students get by in France with little access to communications abroad? How was it possible to cross the Channel during a general strike? How were pamphlets about May ‘68 produced in the absence of their authors from France in May ‘68? And did this series of sometimes unlikely encounters confirm or challenge conventional wisdom about the Anglo-French relationship?

Cyril Grange – ‘Les châteaux et résidences de villégiature des familles de la grande bourgeoisie juive parisienne (1890-1939) : diffusion, répartition géographique et choix architecturaux’, Panel 2c, 11 April

À partir de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, nombre de familles de l'upper class israélite parisienne deviennent propriétaires de domaines le plus souvent situés aux alentours de la capitale.

On relève nombre de propriétés Rothschild (Ferrières, Armainvilliers, Gouvieux...) mais aussi Cahen d’Anvers (Champ sur Marne, Draveil), Haber (Courance), Stern (Ville d’Avray, Pont Sainte Maxence). Si la dynastie des Fould est à Rocquencourt, elle acquiert aussi des demeures situées dans les localités des Hautes Pyrénées relevant de la circonscription où certains de ses membres détiennent des mandats électoraux. On observe la même pratique avec les Pereire. L’attrait des élites juives pour la côte normande date de la fin du XIXe siècle. La côte basque ou la Riviera connaîtront une vogue plus tardive. Ces châteaux ou résidences de villégiature apparaissent pour leur propriétaire comme un instrument de leur acculturation aux usages sociaux de la bourgeoisie et de l’aristocratie qu’ils côtoient à Paris.

Les mentions de ces résidences dans les annuaires mondains, qui font leur apparition à Paris à partir de 1880, permettent de saisir quantitativement l’ampleur de ce phénomène et d’en donner une traduction cartographique. Deux jeux de cartes seront présentés. Tout d’abord des cartes de l’évolution de la répartition des châteaux et domaines par département. Le second jeu illustrera les liens de parenté qui relient les propriétaires des différents domaines. Le réseau qu’elles mettent au jour permet d’imaginer une forte sociabilité entre voisins géographiques proches dans la parenté.

Dans le cas spécifique des « châteaux », nous aborderons la question de l’achat de propriétés anciennes ou le choix de construire de nouvelles demeures. Si les Rothschild apparaissent clairement comme des bâtisseurs, la majorité des familles optent pour l’acquisition de propriétés auparavant « fiefs » de familles de la noblesse ou même bourgeoises. Dans les deux cas, construction ou acquisition, les styles architecturaux des bâtiments seront examinés avec attention. Enfin nous évoquerons l’investissement politique de membres de ces familles à l’échelle locale. Cette forme d’inscription dans des territoires ruraux rejoint les pratiques adoptés par la noblesse du XIXe siècle, alors en perte d’influence au niveau national.

Cyril Grange & Abigail Green – ‘Jewish internationalism in France and the Haute Banque’, Panel 6b, 12 April

What was the role of high finance in French Jewish internationalism – and in Jewish internationalism more generally?

Historians of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) have located its origins at the crossroads between French Jewish secularism and the politics of empire, focusing on the nexus of Jewish republicans that centred on the emblematic figure of Adolphe Crémieux. The bourgeois intellectual origins of AIU “founders” certainly support this conclusion: they were lawyers, engineers and scholars who emerged from the East or South East of France. Their engagement in the internationally-oriented AIU tends to differentiate them from the model of French Judaism associated with the Consistoire Central. Yet the key role played by bankers like James de Rothschild (Poland, Damascus Affair), Louis Jean Königswarter (First President of the AIU) and Abraham de Camondo (expansion of the AIU into Turkey and the Balkans) points to the critical role played by international bankers, their financial and kinship networks in international Jewish politics.

Specifically in the AIU, the interest in these causes taken by members of an international Jewish financial elite relatively recently arrived in Paris is demonstrated by their growing presence on the Central Committee. Here, we might mention not just Königswarter and Camondo, but also the Bischoffsheims, Gunzbergs, Kohns and Reinachs. Importantly, many of these families had branches elsewhere, which played a central role in the evolution of Jewish internationalism: in Belgium, where Jonathan Raphael Bischoffsheim helped to coordinate the first major international conference held by Jewish institutions in 1872; and in Russia, where the Gunzbergs helped to establish OPE and ORT.

Rich Jews habitually occupied leadership positions in European Jewish communities, and the role of Jews in international finance was distinctive. Yet the role of the haute banque in the AIU may have been less specifically “Jewish” than this suggests. Businessmen like Henri Cernuschi and Henri Dunant often played a key role in the international liberal and humanitarian networks of the mid-19th century. Like their non-Jewish counterparts, Jewish representatives of the Parisian Haute Banque embraced liberal political causes like the Risorgimento, which were only tangentially connected to their Jewish identity and concerns.

Andrew Green – A ‘king of clemency, unity and peace’? Charles VII and encounters with rebels in the mid-fifteenth century’, Panel 3c, 11 April

It is customary to portray France as being on a trajectory towards unity and centralisation around the end of the Hundred Years’ War. ‘Rebellion’ against Charles VII by supporters of the Lancastrian monarchy, by noble leagues, and by ‘disorderly’ magnates is typically suggested to have been in terminal decline by the 1440s and to have lost all sympathy from the wider populace. Equally, Charles VII himself is widely credited with playing a key role in promoting harmony in his later reign, including through personally accepting the submissions of rebels and offering them clemency.

This optimistic picture of Charles’ rule, however, will be challenged by this paper, which will offer a fresh examination of encounters between the monarch and his deputies on the one hand, and rebels of different kinds on the other. The paper will focus particularly on the momentous period of Charles VII’s reign between the Praguerie revolt of 1440 and the king’s death in 1461, making two main arguments with reference to examples and new research.

Firstly, the paper will contend that military encounters with the Valois monarchy could still involve significant popular support for rebellion and resistance. Cases will be cited of different ecclesiastics, townspeople, and even peasants who opted to oppose Charles VII militarily and thus created setbacks for him.

Secondly, the paper will argue that face-to-face meetings between the Valois monarchy and opponents do not always show Charles VII to be a visibly benevolent or unifying figure. Charles VII sometimes remained distant even in the aftermath of rebellion, and at other times encounters with the king and his agents in fact fuelled conflict rather than promoting unity. Just as the outcome of Charles’ meeting with Burgundy at Montereau in 1419 had previously proved catastrophic, so will it be contended that ill-starred encounters immediately preceded the Praguerie and other, localised revolts in the 1440s. Likewise, it will be argued that the famous treason trial of the duke of Alençon in 1458 only deepened political rifts in France.

Mark Edward Hay – ‘Louisiana, Hope, Amsterdam: The Dutch roots of the French capital market’, Panel 7a, 12 April

Despite being the wealthiest state in Europe, eighteenth century France stands out from the common flow of European history for lacking the financial, fiscal and monetary infrastructure to mobilise the resources needed to pursue her geopolitical ambitions. It was not until the strains of military occupation and the heavy indemnities imposed on her after the second defeat of Napoleon that France developed the infrastructure needed to mobilise the resources to finance her international obligations.

The speed of the development of post-Waterloo French financial, fiscal, and monetary regime continues to puzzle historians. Two explanations have been put

forward. First, London financiers, most notably Baring and Rothschild, are seen as laying the foundation of the French financial-fiscal system through structuring the first major loan floatations in France, setting the example for French financiers to emulate. The second explanation sees the origins in what Pierre-Cyrille Hautcoeur refers to as *La coulisse* – the grassroots informal capital network that emerged after the bursting of the Mississippi Bubble in 1719-1720. Both explanations broadly hold true, but they fail to account for how French grassroots financial networks and international high finance linked up.

This paper argues that the missing link is to be found in Amsterdam. Amsterdam is often overlooked in the history of French public finance, but in fact it was the epicentre of the French financial system in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. After the British severed Dutch commercial routes, the Amsterdam mercantile and financial elite searched desperately for new markets. They were quick to find a new role as bankers to Napoleon, employing their financial and commercial networks to remit plundered wealth, war subsidies and indemnities from across Europe to Paris. In doing so, they not only drew French capitalist closer into their European networks, they also infused the French system with the one element it lacked in order to consolidate, trust.

This paper examines the Dutch roots of the post-1815 capital market through the financial transaction that can be understood as the starting point for the convergence of Amsterdam financial interest and Napoleonic geopolitical ambitions, the sale of the Louisiana Territory.

Sean Heath – ‘Encountering the Emperor: Charles Maigrot's 1706 audience with Kangxi revisited’, Panel 7c, 12 April

It must surely rank as one of the most excruciatingly awkward ‘encounters’ of the global Catholic missions of the early modern period: in July 1706, the French missionary Charles Maigrot, vicar apostolic of Fujian Province, was received in audience by the Kangxi emperor at his summer retreat at Chengde, north of Beijing. In the febrile and bitter context of the Chinese Rites Controversy, Maigrot had been chosen by the recently arrived papal legate in China, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, as a China ‘expert’ with the language skills and knowledge to represent the legate’s critical attitude to the Jesuit toleration of the Chinese rites. Initially cordial, the audience quickly degenerated into humiliation as the emperor tested and found wanting Maigrot’s knowledge of Chinese texts and language. A fascinating clash of cultures was revealed by Kangxi’s incomprehension at Maigrot’s inability to recite from memory books he claimed to have read. Ending angrily, the audience marked a deterioration in the emperor’s relationship with the papacy. Before long, Maigrot would be banished from China and Maillard de Tournon imprisoned at Macao.

This, at least, is how the audience has been described in the better-known Jesuit accounts. Historians encountering this encounter run into the same problem as Europeans waiting for news from the Chinese missions in the early 1700s – a highly polarised context in which letters and polemics served to confirm biases and strengthen rivalries more than illuminate the issue. Jesuits such as Antoine Thomas seized on the audience as a means of attacking Maigrot’s competency, whereas Maigrot and his defenders wrote far more flattering accounts of his conversation with Kangxi. In this paper, I will draw on both these sources and, crucially, on Chinese language material to ask how sure we can be of what actually occurred and reassess the wider significance of the 1706 audience.

Sian Hibbert – ‘Encountering Power: Women and Interpersonal Violence in Early Modern Languedoc’, Panel 2a, 11 April

The criminal dossiers (*sacs à procès*) of the Parlement of Toulouse are an important resource for the study of social relations and violent interactions in early modern Languedoc. Case summaries reveal 1,569 incidences of physical, interpersonal violence brought before the court between 1680 and 1720. Analysis of these cases reveals a distinct presence of urban elites, landed elites, and the clergy, indicating strong links between rates of interpersonal violence and interactions within local power structures. Crucially, there is also a significant number of women in the cases. Scholarship on early modern gender roles argues that female involvement in interpersonal violence was rare, and when women were involved, they were overwhelmingly the victims of sexual or domestic violence. This is

challenged by the records of the Parlement of Toulouse. Women in early modern Languedoc lived public lives and actively engaged in the economic, political and legal cultures of their communities. Their involvement in incidences of interpersonal violence reflects this. This paper will use contextual information from complaints, auditions and witness testimonies to explore women's violent encounters within local power structures. It will discuss the strategies deployed by women and their adversaries, the staging and social landscapes of the interactions, and the responses of those who were witness to them, to examine how violence was used in the extension of dispute in early modern Languedoc.

Marc W.S. Jaffré – ‘An Urban Intrusion Into Court Life? Merchants at the French Court, 1610-1643’, Panel 2a, 11 April

The world of merchants and the royal court are often thought of as separate, if not diametrically opposed spheres. The former was urban, enterprising and modern, while the latter was removed, backward-looking and sclerotic. In the French context this historiographical idea is so entrenched that many have sought explanations for the French revolution in the threat posed by merchant meritocratic ideals to the established order-based hierarchy. It is no wonder then that neither historians of the royal court nor historians of trade and commerce have paid much attention to merchants who contracted with the court, purchased household offices and sought to integrate court society. And yet merchants were essential in constructing the world of the court: they provided the food courtiers ate, designed the clothes they wore, built the stages they performed on, and furnished the rooms and palaces they lived in. Who were these merchants, what were their statuses, what risks did they incur, and how did they go about minimising them? How did these merchants relate with court society, what forms of sociability existed between noble courtiers and merchants, and how did they use these encounters to further their mutual interests? In seeking household offices, many sought to escape rigid guild structures, while strengthening their ties with court institutions and jurisdictions. In so doing, they generated conflict with and set themselves apart from their urban colleagues. Many aspired to an elusive noble status and hoped that their relationship with the court and separation from guilds would allow them to transcend their merchant status and lessen the risk of *dérogance*. In studying these merchants and their encounters at court, this paper shines a light not only on merchants' place within Louis XIII's court, but also reevaluates the status of merchants within elite society, and the relationship between the court and the city.

Jean-Michel Johnston – ‘Discovering a Diaspora: Encounters with Armenia(ns) in Nineteenth-Century France’, Panel 1b, 11 April

From the burial of King Leo V of Cilicia in the Basilique de Saint-Denis during the fourteenth century, to the widespread popularity of Charles Aznavour in the twentieth, Armenians have long played an important, if discreet, role in French history. The extent and influence of the Armenian merchant diaspora's networks during the early modern period are well known—the kind that supported the introduction of *indiennes* in Marseille under Colbert, for instance, or the establishment of the drinks stand that was to become the *Café Procope* in Paris. As, indeed, is the role that France played much later in welcoming the refugees from genocide after WWI, and the complexity of the immigrant community's integration in society. Between these two periods, however, lies a historiographical gap which this paper will seek to illuminate.

The history of France's relations with Armenia and Armenians during the nineteenth century is deeply interwoven with contemporary developments in politics, culture and economics. Focusing on the period c.1850-c.1875, this paper will consider how this particular group challenged the orientalist gaze through which the French viewed the Middle East. As Christians, the Armenians did not conform to the stereotypes which the travellers and intellectuals of the period traditionally applied to the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. But as 'schismatics', neither did they fall into the category of 'protected' Catholic subjects who were often evoked to justify French intervention in the region. Yet interest in, and encounters with, Armenia and the Armenians grew during this period, particularly under the

Second Empire, whether through the studies of Edouard Dulaurier, or the state-sponsored expeditions by Victor Langlois, whose reports were published in the *Revue des deux mondes*. It is no coincidence that this interest paralleled France's growing involvement, alongside Britain and France, in the 'reform' of the Ottoman Empire, a process in which Armenians likewise played a central role. By focusing on French encounters with Armenia(ns), therefore, this paper aims to shed light on the changing nature of French politics and culture in the incipient age of empire.

David Klemperer – ‘Transnational encounters in the development revisionist socialism in France, 1924-1933’, Panel 6a, 12 April

The interwar period saw the emergence of a powerful archipelago of revisionist political and intellectual currents within France's Socialist Party. Revisionist thinkers challenged the party's Marxist dogma, and the attentiste politics of its leader, Léon Blum. Although controversial at first, revisionist arguments ultimately provided the central intellectual tools with which French socialists would confront the crises of the 1930s, including when in government during the Popular Front.

This paper will trace the origins of such revisionist socialist thinking as it emerged in France from the mid-1920s, emphasising the central role played by transnational intellectual encounters. Such encounters were not limited to the reception of foreign texts – they were often institutional and personal, occurring through organisational ties, individual connections, and extended trips abroad.

In particular, the paper will focus on the role played by experiences and analyses of capitalism in America, communism in the Soviet Union, and labour movements in Western Europe. Drawing on books, pamphlets and articles published from within the socialist movement, it will show how such transnational encounters provided the intellectual foundation for new approaches to the practice of socialist politics.

Zaki Kribi – ‘Être indigène en France. Expérimenter l'altérité religieuse et culturelle en temps colonial’, Panel 1d, 11 April

Malek Bennabi (1905-1973) est l'un des intellectuels les plus influents du monde arabe et musulman. Il est l'auteur d'une œuvre qui reste encore peu explorée des chercheurs. Dans une perspective oecuménique et humaniste, il s'appliqua à penser la réforme intellectuelle et morale de l'humus culturel et spirituel des sociétés musulmanes de son temps. Malek Bennabi grandit en Algérie coloniale, où il étudia à la médersa franco-musulmane de Constantine et entra au contact du réformisme musulman algérien. Il poursuivit ses études à Paris dans les années 1930. Il fraya avec les milieux anticoloniaux de la capitale, et éprouva la culture française dans un contexte différent de celui de la colonisation. Il épousa une Française catholique convertie à l'islam, et fréquenta l'Union chrétienne des Jeunes Gens de Paris (UCJGP), branche française de la Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Dans ma communication, je me propose d'analyser l'expérience métropolitaine, en temps colonial, d'un Algérien musulman d'expression française. Nous étudierons ce qu'être indigène en France signifiait sur les plans social, culturel, politique et mental pour celui qui était assigné à ce statut. Nous verrons ainsi comment l'expérimentation de l'altérité religieuse et culturelle redéfinit les représentations de l'Autre et du Soi ainsi que le champ d'expérience et l'horizon d'attente des acteurs qui vivent ces rencontres. Pour ce faire, je m'appuie principalement sur les Mémoires de Bennabi ainsi que sur des archives administratives et policières.

Joseph La Hausse de Lalouvière – ‘Slavery and Enlightenment in the Indian Ocean World of Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny’, Panel 4a, 12 April

Joseph-François Charpentier de Cossigny (1736–1809) was not a high intellectual yet stands as one of the most intriguing thinkers of eighteenth-century Île de France (Mauritius). Although he lacked an academic training, Cossigny wrote intensively, exhaustively and—for his readers—exhaustingly on subjects encompassing botany, chemistry, medicine, anthropology, commerce, finance, politics, technology and culture, and in the process published more than nearly any other contemporary from his native island. He also channelled furious energy into a range of personal and public ventures—commercial, industrial, medical, horticultural

and political.

How can one account for the variety, volume and energy of Cossigny's intellectual production? The coherence of his work—and the historiographical interest of his intellectual labors—lies not in his theoretical accomplishments. Rather, Cossigny's ideas come into focus when we recognize the central role that slavery played in his outlook and output.

Born into moderate privilege in Port Louis in 1736 and trained as a military engineer in provincial France, Cossigny spent much of his career seeking to consolidate the system of coerced labor in Île de France. Slavery in eighteenth-century Île de France underwent a transformation with the expansion of commercial agriculture and the opening of the trade in captives from Madagascar and East Africa to private colonial traders after the Seven Years War. 'Enlightened' thinkers on the island, including Cossigny, played a key role in imagining and realizing this brutal transformation through efforts to integrate slavery into all sectors of the colonial economy.

The strands of Cossigny's thought joined at the point where slavery and enlightenment met. But because the enslaved featured so centrally in Cossigny's intellectual production, they also influenced the character, scope and results of his work and constrained the power of Cossigny (and colonial reformers like him) to rationalize, 'improve' and engineer society according to his vision. If the vitality and breadth of Cossigny's thought reflected the transforming character of slavery in this peripheral part of the eighteenth-century colonial empire, many of Cossigny's intellectual and personal failures resulted from the struggles of the enslaved against the regime of enlightened colonial reform.

Lisa Leff – 'A Jewish and Republican Chateau: Jacques de Reinach in Nivillers, France, 1882-1892', Panel 2c, 11 April

On Sunday morning, 19 November 1892, the fifty-two-year-old banker Baron Jacques de Reinach was found dead in his Paris mansion. The circumstances were mysterious. The night before, a distraught Reinach had received politicians Maurice Rouvier and Georges Clemenceau, together with businessman Cornélius Herz. All four had just come under investigation in what would become the largest political corruption scandal of the Third Republic, the Panama affair. Reinach, police suspected, probably played a central role in bribing 104 members of Parliament, a milieu where he wielded considerable influence.

The Reinach family, eager to minimize the scandal's impact, quickly moved the body to their country home, the Chateau of Nivillers near Beauvais, where he was buried in a corner of the church cemetery. A German-born Jew, Reinach had come to France in the 1850s and was naturalized in 1871 after serving in the National Guard during the siege of Paris. A successful banker and businessman with close ties to high-placed liberals and opportunist republicans, he had bought the Chateau in 1882 and served as the town's mayor since 1884. His presence had revitalized the commune of 160 souls. Not only had he become mayor; he also built a city hall, brought the telegraph, and renovated the church. His endless renovations of the Chateau brought work for locals, some fulltime. They and others often accompanied the Baron and his Parisian friends on their regular hunting expeditions as well.

This paper examines the social and political uses that the Baron made of his chateau based on the ample press coverage of his death and burial in Nivillers. His relations to locals were described by the contemporary press as those of a "seigneur"; a surprising turn of phrase for such a committed republican. How the chateau helped cement his astonishingly close relations with some of the most influential republican politicians will also be considered. Finally, the paper will consider how Reinach's Jewishness did-- and didn't-- shape his use of the house and the relationships that centered on it.

Caroline Lesemann-Elliott & Joe McHardy – 'From Versailles to YouTube: Encounters With Redface in French Baroque Opera, Then and Now', Panel 5c, 12 April

In 2004, the Opéra de Paris in collaboration with Les Arts Florissants produced Jean-Phillippe Rameau's *Les Indes Gallantes* (1735), an opera of romantic intrigues set in four different "exotic" locales: the Ottoman empire, Peru, Persia, and North America. Directed by Andrei Serban (now ex-theatre professor at Columbia, having resigned due to the "pressure of political correctness"), the performance features among other elements copious amounts of redface, portrayals of North American indigenous dance as involving exaggerated limb flapping and chest beating, and the worship of an enormous golden turkey. Contemporary productions of French baroque opera and ballet follow on from a centuries-long tradition in which mythologising a colonial "other" was a key aspect of world-building, storytelling, and the identity development. This paper will ask why and how various indigenous peoples from North, Central, and South America were depicted in early modern French opera and ballet. It will show how these representations helped produce a stereotype that could be translated into a mythical concept that would become popular within the genre in the form of the "savage" trope. By incorporating studies of Ursuline "boarding houses" in Algonquian, Huron, and Iroquoian lands and their impact on convent schools in France, it will demonstrate how use of opera and ballet in early modern educational institutions for French girls racialized notions of grace, beauty, honour, and piety through the creation of a mythologized "other," and how this racialisation influenced wider standards for said notions across early modern Europe. The COVID-19 global pandemic has periodically resulted in people's experiences of the performing arts being mediated primarily by the algorithm and the search bar rather than the material world of performing arts institutions. As such, performances are no longer confined to attendees of the live performance or the owners of an institutionally produced DVD, but rather can appear unexpectedly to anyone who happens to type the right combination of words into a search engine. In light of this, this paper will also reflect on how 21st-century artists, institutions, and audiences have engaged with encountering the legacy of the "savage" trope in French baroque music alongside awareness of modern-day erasure of indigenous peoples and cultures across the Americas. It will discuss the aforementioned production of *Les Indes Gallantes* in 2004 and its reception, and contextualise it with other contemporaneous performances and critiques. It will then discuss one of the most recent productions of the opera, another production by Opéra de Paris in 2019 featuring a collaboration between choreographer Bintou Dembélé and Clément Cogitore.

Harry M. Lewis – 'Across the Frontier: the Jacobites in St Kitts, 1688-1713', Panel 1a, 11 April

This paper will discuss the impact of Jacobites in the years of war and upheaval in St. Kitts between 1688 and 1713. The Jacobites were the supporters of the exiled Stuart dynasty who led a series of rebellions in St. Kitts and the British Isles between 1689 and 1746 seeking to reverse the outcome of the 'Glorious Revolution'. Following its initial colonisation, the island of St. Kitts had been divided between French territories at either end of the island and an English sector in the middle. This arrangement made St. Kitts a highly contested imperial frontier, with the French and English often seeking total control over the island. French support for the Stuart King James II over his rivals King William III and Queen Mary II meant that in 1689, when war was declared between France and England, the French conquest of the island was aided by many Jacobites. With the return of William and Mary's rule in the English sector the properties of those Jacobites who had supported the French invasion were forfeited and many of them fled to the French sector where they continued to cause friction between the colonial governments. Using the previously untapped resources in the records of the exiled Stuarts and their followers, in conjunction with accounts of the French and English governments in the island, this paper helps to fill the historiographical gap that has increasingly appreciated the activities of Jacobites in the Americas, yet neglects their significant presence in the French empire in the Caribbean and their role in inter-imperial relations. The paper will provide an overview of the Jacobite movement and Anglo-French relations in St. Kitts, then will discuss their significance in the fraught relationship between the colonial governments that informed the British annexation of the French sector in 1713. By situating the Jacobites in a colonial context as a diaspora moving between the French and English empires,

this paper responds to the conference theme of 'Encounters' and demonstrates the impact of Jacobitism, which is often understood as a European phenomenon, in Anglo-French imperial relations.

Catalina Mackaman-Lofland – 'A Colonial or French University in Algiers?: The Université d'Alger Between Vichy and Free French Politics', Panel 3b, 11 April

Since its founding in the late nineteenth century, the Université d'Alger had celebrated its dual vocation as the sole provider of French higher education in Algeria and a specialized research center for North African studies. This self-representation was challenged during the Second World War when the university found itself at the heart of two competing visions of France. When Vichy was ascendant, university leaders adopted an imperial outlook: they highlighted the university's North African specialization and colonial character, asserting that the institution's influence and research area should expand to include all of French Africa. Interdisciplinary research on the Sahara at the university, they claimed, would help link Algeria to France's African colonies to the South, and transform Algiers into the intellectual capital of all of French Africa. With the 1942 arrival of Anglo-American forces and the installation of the Free French in Algiers, however, the university abruptly reimagined itself as a primarily metropolitan outpost. As the first university to be liberated, the Free French emphasized its role as a center for dispensing traditional French education, culture and civilization, and symbolically and administratively positioned it as a stand-in for all universities in occupied France. As my paper will show, the Université d'Alger thus offers a unique perspective on how French officials understood the relationship between Algeria, France, and France's African empire during a time of remarkable upheaval.

Imen Neffati – 'Stéphane Charbonnier, dessinateur de presse, journaliste, activiste, 'islamogauchiste', and 'Islamophobe anti-raciste', Panel 2d, 11 April

This paper looks at the profile of Stéphane Charbonnier – better known as Charb – who acted as Charlie Hebdo's editor-in-chief from 2009 to January 2015. Starting from the premise that Charlie is a press institution with a well-defined ideological component that has influence on and a role in French culture and politics, and through a textual and contextual analysis of Charb's covers and editorials, I examine the relationship between the ideological traditions and the polemic of anticlericalism, and contemporary polemic aimed at Islam. I unpick what laïcité is, what it means for Charb, and how it has become paramount to the identity of the magazine, exemplified via the application of anti-clerical satire to the critique of Islam. I argue that Charlie, an independent project living outside the centrality of the elite-class media system, represents a publication that is deeply impacted by (though does not adhere to) the 'droitisation' process of media in France. I analyse Charb's role as a dessinateur de presse in comparison to his role as head of a journalistic institution. Via the self-image of the satirist and through the medium of cartoons and caricature which thrived on exaggeration, Charb was more volatile, liberated, audacious, or as his critics put it, offensive. By contrast, in his role as the journalist and through the medium of editorials which aimed at reason, subtlety, and seriousness, Charb often sacrificed satire, irony, and parody for the sake of political nuance. Unlike previous editors, he had the ability to work effectively in both text and image. I argue that there is a critical discrepancy between the popular image of, and the imagery within Charlie. The magazine has cultivated a neoconservative image among both its critics and champions, who are not necessarily its readers. Yet, it offers a progressive imagery that is well-received by its faithful readership. This crucial gap in meaning and reception is at the origin of the 'French exception' characterisation of the magazine, creating complex – but equally important – interpretations of its ethos and identity.

Atlanta Rae Neudorf – 'Milieux of Exile: London and the Political Thought of Félix Pyat, 1852-1855', Panel 6a, 12 April

The French political exile Félix Pyat arrived in Britain in the spring of 1852. An ex-representative of the National and Legislative Assemblies between 1848-1849, Pyat had been forced to flee France to avoid prosecution for his role in fomenting an armed insurrection against the government in Paris on 13th June 1849. This paper

covers Pyat's early years of exile in London and explores the impact of his encounters both with other political refugees from across Europe and British radicals upon his political thought. Pyat remained politically active in exile, founding an association of fellow refugees called the Commune révolutionnaire dedicated to the removal of the 'tyrant' Emperor Napoléon III and the establishment of a 'universal social and democratic Republic' in France.

Despite the increasing extremism of Pyat's views on revolutionary violence, however, he and his supporters engaged with numerous other political exiles as well as British radicals (like the Chartist George Julian Harney). Whilst the most obvious mode for these interactions was literary, there are crucial physical sites where political transmission occurred; these included funerals of prominent exiles or commemorations of revolutionary anniversaries. Furthermore, Pyat's supporters made up a large proportion of the French sections of internationalist associations founded in the later 1850s and then in the International Workingmen's Association from 1863. This paper, through a consideration of several key ideas expressed in Pyat's political writings in the period 1852-1855 – such as the 'people's sovereignty', the 'universal republic', the justification of political violence, and the urgency of revolution – will explore the ways in which he understood, reconfigured, and articulated these concepts as a result of his transnational political encounters in London.

Avner Ofrath – 'How to be French, Jewish, and Ottoman: Universalism and particularism at the Alliance Israélite universelle school in Jerusalem, 1882-1929', Panel 3b, 11 April

When the Alliance israélite universelle (AIU) started its school network across the Middle East and North Africa, its leading figures had a clear goal: spreading French ideas of enlightenment and modernity to 'oriental' Jewish communities. However, local interests, languages, and educational methods were always at least as central in shaping the curricula, turning the AIU schools into vibrant laboratories of different, at times conflicting visions of modernity, civic virtues, and the public sphere. Nowhere was this tension so marked as in the Torah and Handcraft school in Jerusalem, founded in 1882 as one of the first educational institutions outside the historical city walls. Whilst the AIU headquarters' agenda was the advancement, technical training, and French education of Jewish children, what emerged was a school teaching Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and French, where Jewish and Arab children sat side by side, and where Jewish scholars promoted Hebrew as a living language and a sense of loyalty to the Ottoman empire.

With its unique geographic and social position, the AIU school in Jerusalem provides a most illuminating testcase for some of the key questions discussed in recent scholarship on inter-communal relations in the age of French expansionism. How were French-Jewish universalist ideas and 'bonds of solidarity' (Lisa Leff) played out in Jerusalem at a time of growing Zionist activity? What role did such an institution play in shaping a sense of shared citizenship amid unprecedented Ottoman reforms (Michelle Campos)? And what chance did the AIU school stand to provide Oriental and European Jews, Christian and Muslim Arabs with an 'ecumenical frame' of participation and negotiation (Ussama Makdisi)? Drawing on prominent Jerusalemite teachers' and scholars' sources in French, Hebrew, and Arabic, this paper explores the promise and limits of an attempt to formulate a local vision of modernity and foster civic cohesion across ethnoreligious lines in a world shaped by imperial encroachment, nationalism, and increasing communal strife.

Antonia Perna – 'Schoolbooks Printed in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Milan: Education and French Cultural Imperialism, 1796–1814', Panel 2b, 11 April

When the French Revolutionary armies crossed the Alps in 1796, they initiated a period of immense change, not least of which was in education and publishing. In the new Cisalpine Republic (1797–1799 and 1800–1801), Italian pro-republican *giacobini* printed textbooks to present their values specifically to the younger generation, as well as for broader popular instruction. Subsequently, the Napoleonic state would co-opt textbooks in its efforts to create a uniform education system. In the satellite Kingdom of Italy (1805–1814), a list of officially prescribed textbooks was created for state-school use.

Focusing on Milan as the capital of successive Napoleonic regimes, this paper will examine the content of Milanese textbooks across this period, in order to evaluate the extent to which they can be considered evidence of cultural imperialism. This tests Michael Broers' characterization of French influence in Italy (2005). Whilst Broers' work focuses on directly annexed territory, my research examines whether the model of cultural imperialism can be applied to education in Milan, first in a sister republic and then in a satellite kingdom. I will begin by analysing republican textbooks, focusing on civic and religious instruction; I will then discuss the content of the Kingdom of Italy's officially selected schoolbooks. Ultimately, this paper will argue that schoolbooks show the limits of an assimilationist model of Napoleonic cultural imperialism, not only in the Cisalpine Republic but also—albeit to a lesser extent—in the increasingly centralized Kingdom of Italy.

Catherine Peters – ‘Kan Gao and Chinese Men in Cayenne: Plant Knowledge, Portraiture, and Petitioning’, Panel 4a, 12 April

In 1819, French imperial administrators conscripted twenty-seven Chinese individuals and Kan Gao, designated as leader, from Manila, Philippines, to Cayenne, French Guiana. Selected for their presumed expertise in tropical agriculture, they traveled alongside plants that had been collected across the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. Pausing in Réunion, le Rhône carried the cohort of men to Cayenne, while la Durance transported Kan Gao directly to Paris. Stepping foot in South America, twenty-seven Chinese men entered a landscape in which enslaved Africans constituted the vast majority of colonial society. In France, on the other hand, Kan Gao was taught French, painted in full portraiture, and asked to attest to his level of French through writing. This paper considers the connected trajectories of the Chinese men who survived early nineteenth-century Cayenne and Kan Gao in Paris.

How am I to look at Kan Gao, the only individual I have encountered in the archive of Chinese men conscripted as part of imperial schemes in the early nineteenth century? Kan Gao's portrait features a seated subject surrounded by a range of manufactured products, as though advertising their authenticity through association with a Chinese person. Yet, his mediated writing highlights his desire to receive news from his cohort in Cayenne and to send letters to his family in both Manila and Amoy, Xiamen in southeastern Fujian. Drawing upon his portrait, mediated writing, and correspondence located in ANOM, I argue that Kan Gao's inability to enact these intimate ties informed his decision to refuse further participation in the colonial scheme. Similarly, the men who survived their contractual agreement in French Guiana petitioned to return home, having asserted that the French government had not respected the articles of their contract.

This paper forms part of a broader study of early nineteenth-century histories in which people of Asian and African descent came to occupy shared sociopolitical and ecological landscapes, particularly in British, French, and Spanish colonies of the early nineteenth-century circum-Caribbean.

Catherine Phipps – ‘Between metropole and colony: Bordels militaires de campagne, colonial sex work, and migration in French Morocco’, Panel 1c, 11 April

In the French protectorate in Morocco, prostitution was legal and heavily controlled by the French state to protect French citizens from venereal disease. It was built around extracting sexual labour from Moroccan women and providing pleasure for European men.

This paper examines the French system of BMCs (bordels militaires de campagne) that recruited Moroccan women to work as prostitutes for military brothels. Itinerant military brothels to follow soldiers were already well established in Morocco during the Second World War, having been introduced during the invasion of Algeria in 1830. There were often rules in place to avoid “interracial sexual contact by proxy” between French and Moroccan soldiers, with certain Moroccan women allocated to European soldiers or certain time periods only for European men, to reinforce racial prestige and the racial hierarchies on which colonial rule rested.

This need for strict sexual demarcation was translated from North Africa to the Metropole during the First World War when North African troops were stationed on Metropolitan French soil. In order to maintain racial boundaries, Military Authorities took steps to bring North African women to France for the “needs” of North

African troops. This continued in the Second World War, particularly after sex work was banned in France in 1945 following the Marthe Richard laws. Fearing that the lack of access to French sex workers would result in interracial relationships or sexual violence between French women and North African soldiers still in France after the end of the Second World War, French military officials recruited and transported hundreds of North African sex workers to France to work in BMCs. These anxieties meant that French military officials moved hundreds of Moroccan sex workers to France to work in BMCs for Moroccan soldiers still in France after the end of the Second World War. This movement of Moroccan women was illegal, and broke French laws for the sake of forbidding interracial sexual contact between Moroccan men and French women. This paper examines the experience of Moroccan women who worked in BMC that moved to France to examine experiences of sex and race in colony and metropole.

Giuseppe Pio Cascavilla – ‘The French consul and the Pasha, friendship and political survival in Bosnia at the beginning of 19th century’, Panel 1b, 11 April

When Pierre David was dispatched to Bosnia in 1807 his mission was clear: he had to enlist the Ottoman local governor and make sure the French interests in the area could be accomplished. After conquering Dalmatia, Napoleon put his eyes on the Balkans and he forged an alliance with the Ottomans against Russia. David’s mission seemed easy, but when he reached Travnik he understood that Hüsrev Mehmet, the man of Istanbul in that mountainous, troubled and important frontier province of the Ottoman Empire, was his only chance to succeed. Surrounded by the suspicion of the locals, who feared a French invasion from the near Dalmatia, David found in Hüsrev not only a Francophile and an open interlocutor, but a trusted ally. Since their very first encounter the consul labelled the governor the “aimable visir” and their bond also developed into a personal friendship. On the other hand, Hüsrev also counted on David for his own political and personal survival, as he had to face challenges during one of the most troubled periods in Ottoman history. These two men coming from extremely different walks of life, and very different cultures, David a bourgeois from Calvados and Hüsrev a former slave and a consummate member of Ottoman elite, tried to support each other in an ever-changing scenario. This paper analyses the encounter between these two men through the diplomatic correspondence of David with the French Minister of the Foreign affairs. Their friendship, which also inspired the novel “Bosnian Chornicle” by Ivo Andrić, remained solid even when the flamboyant Napoleonic foreign policy changed the cards on the table and Ottoman internal order seemed to crush the fate of the pasha. Their encounter makes emerge not only the personal figures of these two characters, but it also shows the importance of the Balkans in Napoleonic tactics at the beginning of the 19th century, as well as the complex and difficult relationship between Ottoman centre and periphery.

Will Pooley – ‘The Story of Witchcraft in France, 1790-1940’, Panel 1c, 11 April

‘Witches and their accusers,’ Philip Mayer writes, ‘are people who ought to like each other, but in reality refuse to do so.’ As such, the value of witchcraft to early modern historians has always been the value of a photographic negative: it reveals how relationships and feelings should work between neighbours and family by highlighting the distress and disruption when the intimate becomes strange. Conflicts over witchcraft have given historians insight into the guiding structures and tensions of early modern cultures. Although many historians have noted that sorcery did not disappear with the effective decriminalization of witchcraft in France in 1682, there is no equivalent body of scholarship that uses modern witchcraft as a window into the assumptions governing everyday life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Rather than central, witchcraft is seen as marginal. This paper maps out the structure of my planned book on witchcraft and criminal justice in France from 1790-1940. Drawing

on a thousand cases reported in newspapers and recorded in criminal justice sources, the book sketches an archetypal story of intimate relations gone wrong, from suspicions, through confrontations, to criminal prosecution, and discussion in the print media.

I am interested in the question of what this archetypal story allows historians to discern. Firstly, a set of concerns that - albeit repressed and censored - remained central to many people's lives. Secondly, the complexity of unresolved feelings about witchcraft was never a system of ideas or a coherent belief 'system', but remained something that inexplicably... happened. Finally, the story does not deal in the uniformity of a stereotype, but a thousand different, idiosyncratic ways for the familiar to seem dangerous. It is this combination of the archetypal and the individual that explains why witchcraft has remained an enduring, if often hidden, concern in France, even up to the present day.

Dan Rafiqi – ‘A double-edged sword? The influence of Protestant ‘schemas of suffering’ upon Huguenot refugees’ responses to persecution, 1681-1740’, Panel 5b, 12 April

The Trésor de la langue Française, drawing upon the writing of the thirteenth century poet Huon de Méry, suggests that in its earliest usage in French the noun 'rencontre' referred to the 'action de combattre'. The notion of the 'action de combattre' strikes me as a particularly apt metaphor for describing the specific type of encounter I seek to explore in my paper – that between Huguenot refugees who fled France in the years surrounding the Edict of Fontainebleau and their past experiences of persecution. My principal aim is to shed light upon the navigation of such experiences, or a broader process we might term as 'coping', by exploring the way in which models advanced in the Protestant faith both facilitated and hindered attempts within autobiographical writing to engage positively with past sufferings.

My paper begins by identifying multiple 'schemas of suffering', conveyed in French Protestant discourses, which possessed the potential to help refugees reimagine experiences of persecution as ostensibly positive developments in their lives. These schemas included Jesus's death and resurrection and the ideas of the martyr and the Nicodemite. I proceed by juxtaposing these models with the depiction of experiences of persecution in Huguenot refugees' autobiographical writings, paying particular attention to 'emplotment', or the process by which life events are woven into a cohesive narrative. I argue firstly that depiction of experiences of flight within autobiographical writings suggests the schemas were tremendously successful at helping refugees conceive of sufferings encountered during flight as acts of spiritual heroism.

I add that, to a lesser extent, we can see the schemas as contributing to positive engagements with other experiences of persecution such as dragooning and imprisonment. However, I note this is only true for certain types of experience, the emplotment of abjuring, a volition to commit suicide and being subject to sexual violence suggest in certain cases the schemas were actually an obstacle to positive engagement with past sufferings. I conclude by considering the extent to which 'schemas of suffering' might be understood as constituent elements of a Protestant 'master-narrative' imposed upon refugees in the Huguenot diaspora.

Sasha Rasmussen – ‘From Russia with Love: Transnational Female Intimacy at the Fin de Siècle’, Panel 1c, 11 April

In 1894, an extraordinary object arrived at the French port of Toulon, carried by a visiting Russian naval squadron. This object – 'Les Femmes russes aux femmes de France' – consisted of an ornate, jewel-encrusted velvet folio containing 26 double-sided placards, each almost a metre high and richly illustrated, with a bilingual inscription hailing peace and bearing the signatures of several thousand Russian women. While the gift coincided with the signing of the Franco-Russian Alliance, it also offers an alternative, explicitly feminine perspective on diplomatic negotiations and the relationship between France and Russia.

This unique document might also be read as an expression of transnational intimacy between women who had never met. The opening dedication appealed to French women directly, speaking of 'un lien intime entre nos deux peuples'. The language of the text leaned heavily on rhetoric of universal femininity and sisterhood, articulating a vision of an international community of women with shared goals, values, and experiences. Illustrations by women artists adorned every page, and signatures were organised into categories expressing personal, collective, professional, and regional identities, which the Russian signatories believed would be familiar to their French counterparts. As a symbolic gesture, the gift voiced a desire for friendship and unity amongst women in promoting the 'sacred cause of peace'.

This paper explores the ways French and Russian women imagined themselves as sisters in the fin-de-siècle. The existence of 'Les Femmes russes aux femmes de France' also hints that the ties which bound the two countries were not only political and military, but intimate and personal. A consideration of both the origins and the reception of this remarkable document reveals extensive transnational connections between women across Europe, and provides an example of how invocations of female intimacy formed part of the wider diplomatic landscape.

Marie Robin – “A Hallowed Institution’: The Bordel Militaire de Campagne and Military Prostitution in French North Africa and Vietnam (c. 1940-1960s)’, Panel 3b, 11 April

“We would pick up our things and get back on the truck,” recalls Moroccan woman Fadma, a former prostitute of a Bordel Militaire de Campagne for the French Foreign Legion in the First Indochinese War. With her unit, Fadma moved from one battlefield to another, from Hanoi, to Hai Duong, until she was injured by mortar shells. This paper rethinks the sexual geography of prostitution in the French Empire by looking at the ubiquitous mobile military brothels in Algeria and Indochina, known by the name Bordel Militaire de Campagne (BMC), an understudied and multifaceted aspect of the French colonial Empire (footnote: The 1946 Marthe Richard law abolished the regime of regulated prostitution, but only applied to France métropolitaine: as a result, the institution of the BMCs - created for the military to prevent rape and venereal diseases-, continued to flourish overseas, reaching its apogee during the wars for independence in Indochina (1946-54) and Algeria (1954-62). While current historiography on colonial-era regulation and wartime prostitution offers the most noteworthy historical understandings of venal sex in the French Empire (Taraud 2003; Hardy 2004; Camiscioli 2009; Tracol-Huynh 2012), little work has been done on the wholesale BMC institution in a transnational framework. Looking at military records from the Service Historique de la Défense and colonial documents (police minutes and administrative reports) from the Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer, this paper suggests that the mobility of ‘militarized’ prostitutes during decolonization embodies the distinctiveness of military prostitution, by transcending geographical boundary and as a tool of a biopolitics of the female body. The paper argues that the BMCs generated a new form of colonial prostitution, not easily separable from the context of military sexual abuses, and tied to discourses on North African soldiers’ irrefragable sexuality.

Andrew Smith – “Another World is Possible’: Visions of Utopia on the Larzac Plateau’, Panel 2d, 11 April

In October 1974, protesters occupied buildings on an army-owned farm at Les Truels which had recently been acquired by forced purchase. Seeing out the winter with support from local farmers, these were squatters taking non-violent action against the military. They were political radicals and conscientious objectors refusing military service like Patrick Jaussaud and Christian Roqueirol, and religious figures like the former Lutheran minister Hervé Ott, as well as Cyrille and Laurette Huan, a couple from the nearby Community of the Ark religious commune.¹ Together, they renamed the farm Le Cun, meaning ‘wedge’ or ‘corner’ in Occitan, and established it as a centre for research and study dedicated to non-violence as “an experiment in alternative development”²

These squatters had arrived on the plateau to support the struggle of the 103 committee of peasants who had refused to sell their land for the expansion of an army base. Throughout the 1970s, the plateau attracted many other dreamers, drop-outs and die-hards, who saw in this peasant struggle a symbol of a better world. Yet, at its heart, the movement was about farmers, not dreamy ideas of remaking society. As Christian Roqueirol noted, these newcomers “brought new blood, the energy to occupy the land and to prevent the army from taking over. We were very well received as long as you were careful not to be too much of a lesson-giver because you are from the outside and you have different political ideas.”³ Peasants campaigned for a future in vibrant rooted communities, religious adherents ventured forth from the nearby Community of the Ark in search of peace and enlightenment, and young ‘néo-ruraux’ in search of rural roots spied out hints of some politicised “utopian community” amid the plateau’s protests.⁴ All of these different utopic visions were interlinked and in conversation, and places like Le Cun were both contact sites and laboratories for their reconciliation.

This paper will use the case study of Le Cun to examine how these different visions of utopia interacted, discussing the importance of common visions of pacifism, as well as some of the tensions between competing political ideals. By analysing the importance of the physical space of the plateau alongside these different visions projected upon it, we gain a greater understanding of how a sheep farmers’ struggle came to convince so many that another world was possible.

Meriel Smithson – ‘Here we are again: encountering the present via the past in the wartime diaries of French soldier, Gustave Folcher’, Panel 5a, 12 April

“All which dates before July 1914 is, to us, another time.” The words of sociologist Lucien-Lévy Bruhl encapsulate the dislocation between past and present that characterised the modern experience of wartime. The bouleversement of two World Wars fundamentally altered people’s conceptions of the present and their relationships with time.

Nobody had a more complex encounter with time than soldiers. It has been widely accepted that war engenders a particular way of existing in time that bears little resemblance to the linearity of its traditional passage. Testimony of combatants emphasises their disorientation at the simultaneous stasis and progression of time, their disconcertion at the uncertainty of the future, and their disillusionment at the apparently meaningless present. Scholars have produced insightful studies on soldiers’ experiences of time in the First World War. They have documented the rise in popularity of the wristwatch, noted the marking of celebration days, and highlighted the significance of the invention of wartime calendars. However, there has been little research explicitly considering soldiers’ encounters with time during the Second World War that go beyond simply extending the findings of the scholarship on 1914-1918.

This paper will contend that soldiers’ experiences of the present and their encounters with time in World War Two were particular and often anchored in the collective memory of World War One. By examining the scarcely studied diaries of French farmer turned combatant turned prisoner of war, Gustave Folcher, I will consider how one man navigated his experiences of the present from 1939 to 1945. Folcher’s diaries suggest that he sought to configure his understanding of the present by rooting it in the past. I will draw on a range of work by predominantly French scholars from across the disciplines of psychology, sociology, and history like Marc Bloch, Jean-Maurice Lahy, and Eugene Minkowski to argue that powerful collective memories of the “*autre guerre*” worked as an anchor to time that Folcher used to understand his present. By seeking to understand how Folcher encountered his present as it happened, this analysis may prompt us to reorientate our own encounters with this important episode in French history.

Emma Spary – ‘Encountering new drugs in the Sun King’s Reign’, Panel 6c, 12 April

Expanding global travel and trade brought a range of new drugs into European metropolises, including Paris, during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The moments of encounter with those new substances, for the most part, went unremarked. Where they did not, encounters were worked into

narratives which served evidential purposes, such as supporting the benevolence of a monarch or the merits of a medical entrepreneur. This paper will trace pathways of some drugs moving into and through the metropolis in order to explore the different sets of practices that made new drugs available to consumers and shaped their interpretations and expectations. It asks how ordinary trialling culture intersected with considerations of origin, trust, cost and knowledge to determine the uptake or otherwise of a given drug into French culture. Over the period from 1660 until 1730, both the reasons for searching for new drugs and understandings of their effects transformed significantly, even as the networks of trade that afforded access to them shifted towards more intensive colonialism.

Lillian Specker – ‘Ghostly Encounters Between Texts Across Time: Rewriting and Retelling in Francophone Algerian Literature’, Panel 5c, 12 April

In the past two decades, since the civil war of the 1990s, francophone fiction from Algeria has taken a distinctly intertextual turn, engaging not just with other works of literature but also – self-consciously – with other literary traditions, cultures, languages, and discourses (oral/written, religious/profane, orientalist/anticolonial). In particular, there has been a preoccupation with reprising stories from, as well as the structure of, the *Thousand and One Nights* – a classic collection of Middle Eastern tales that is itself renowned for its uniquely dialogic, palimpsestic and metatextual nature.

Mobilising Jacques Derrida’s theory of literary spectres (‘hauntologie’ – an amalgam of *hanter* and *ontologie*), and Julian Wolfreys’s notion of ‘textual haunting’, this paper will examine firstly, how literature itself can be considered an inherently haunted space; and secondly, how these various layers of textual encounters intermingle in two recent French-language novels from Algeria that actively figure storytelling as a spectral process. Both works draw heavily on the *Nights*, with Salim Bachi’s *Amours et aventures de Sindbad le marin* (2010) appropriating the ‘Tale of Sindbad the Sailor’, and Kamel Daoud’s *Zabor ou les psaumes* (2017) replicating the frame story of the *Nights* and casting the protagonist as a modern-day Scheherazade. Moreover, these works abound in encounters with other literary works, characters and authors across time and space, many of whom are themselves represented as literal ghosts.

I seek to analyse how these ghostly interactions reflect changing concerns in postcolonial Algeria by revealing a complex relationship between storytelling and death, and portraying writing as a means of accessing the divine and ‘l’extase’. These connections raise provocative questions about the role of stories in Algerian culture and whether the country’s own national narrative will serve to immortalise or limit its future legacy. Whilst both texts issue warnings about Algeria’s future, they ultimately challenge how we as readers encounter and interpret a work of literature.

Giulio Talini – ‘The Chambres mi-partie d’agriculture et de commerce of the French Antilles and the French State (1759-1763): a Traumatic Atlantic Encounter?’, Panel 1a, 11 April

Created in 1759 so as to strengthen the loyalty of the colonial planters during the global Seven Years’ War (1754-1763), the *Chambres mi-parties d’agriculture et de commerce* of Port-au-Prince, Cap Français (Saint-Domingue), and Saint-Pierre (Martinique) were supposed to inform and advise the French court and the local administrations on the means to develop colonial agriculture and trade and enhance the economic profitability of the French West Indies. Therefore, between 1759 and 1763, these intermediate bodies, which mainly represented the economic cultures and knowledge of the Antillean plantocracy, addressed to the political power numerous memoirs, complaints, and requests in an attempt to press their claims through their expertise and safeguard the interests of their social group. However, the colonial *Chambres* had soon to confront, on the one hand, the privileged status of the *Chambres de commerce* of the Atlantic port cities - their more influential equivalent embodying the metropolitan merchant classes -, and, on the other, the distrust by the central and peripheral authorities of any possible questioning of colonial dependence, namely the principle of the commercial and legal subordination of the colonies to France. As a consequence of these tensions, in 1763 the *Chambres mi-partie d’agriculture et de commerce* were transformed by the monarchy into *Chambres d’agriculture* and diminished in their tasks and

functions. Subsequently, this poorly investigated case allows to shed light on a mediated political and institutional encounter between the French state and the Antillean colonial societies which is telling of the exchanges, of the conflicts, and of relationships of power characterising the French Atlantic.

Mariella Terzoli – ‘From clash to recognition? Italian soldiers from prisoners to legionnaires, North Africa 1943 – 1946’, Panel 4c, 12 April

With the conclusion of the ruinous campaign in Tunisia, in June 1943, the passage of the soldiers from the Royal Italian Army to prisoners in Allied hands suddenly materialized. The present intervention does not intend to focus on the final stages of the military defeat nor on the circumstances of the capture but it aims to illustrate the genesis and development of a recruitment of Italian soldiers for the French Foreign Legion who were used in the war of decolonization in Indochina. The enrollment initially took place only in the French prison camps and, from the beginning of 1944, English camps as well, a phenomenon which lasted even after the conclusion of the Second World War.

Within an evolution of new relations between defeated and winners, change of international diplomatic conjuncts and reversal in the fate of the war, we will first want to reconstruct the dynamics of observation, encounters and clashes between soldiers, guards and authorities in the prison camps, then the establishment of a difficult coexistence and, finally, the different conjunctures that pushed Italian soldiers - interned in camps managed by different allied powers - to join the Foreign Legion.

What were their motivations? What factors most marked their decision? How did international changes affect their condition as well as their choices?

In the transition from prisoners to Legionaries, it will also be possible to mention the geographical and socio-culture of origin, to be re-read within the Italian History of the Second World War and at the crossroads of Italian-French history.

To answer these questions, archival documents preserved in the Italian and French military archives but also in those of foreign affairs will first be used. To enrich the picture on display will intervene the individual dossiers of the Legionaries, preserved within the archives of the Foreign Legion situated in Aubagne.

Fatima-Ezzahrae Touilila – ‘The Caliphate question: a disruption into a European legal imperial order (1914-1926)’, Panel 7c, 12 April

In 14 Octobre 1914, the French Ambassador in Constantinople informed his Minister of Foreign affairs of the publication of a panislamist pamphlet by Germany in which the German emperor declared not to be in war against the Muslim world and ordered that all Muslims war prisoners from the French, British and Russian Empire to be released and sent to the Ottoman Sultan, in his quality of “Caliph of the Mahometan world.” This message was to cause much disruption and distress for the colonial powers. Most evidently, through declaration of peace to Muslims, while the colonial empires where relying on them at the very front of the war. Moreover, by calling the Ottoman sultan the Caliph of the Muslim World, by recognizing to him this title and sending him Muslim war prisoners, Germany is disrupting the fragile pillars of international law. The processes of extradition of Muslim prisoners put in place by Germany threatened the nation-state order and its principle of citizenship, colonial subjecthood by suggesting that Muslims independently of their imperial status are subjected to the Ottoman Sultan. The German proclamations were pointing toward a destabilizing, much dreaded by the colonial power: a transnational politico-religious order that overflows the recently erected borders of national belonging and imperial affiliation. It blasted open questions of sovereignty, by pointing toward the discrepancy between territorial sovereignty and a jurisdictional sovereignty (over people) and reopened the Pandora box of questions that follow from it: what does it mean to have sovereignty over Muslim subjects? Can a Christian empire, even when redeemed through secularization ever claim or, de facto, achieve such a sovereignty? How did Islamic political jurisprudence influence such debates? This paper explores, through the French diplomatic archives, how the colonial power faced the issue that territorial

conquests, national borders, military power, law and violence do not guarantee the control over people sense of belonging, affiliation, allegiance and loyalism and how they sought to remedy to such a discrepancy in the postwar legal order.

Cesare Vagge – ‘Organising Modern Capitalism in France: Vichy Planners, Democratic Reformers and the making of the Post-War *Économie Concertée* (1942-1946)’, Panel 3a, 11 April

In his 1963 essay on the renovation of French society in the mid-20th century, Stanley Hoffman hinted that the modernisation of France’s political-economic institutions after the Second World War resulted from the encounter between the Resistance’s economic reformers and the technocratic planners formerly associated with the Vichy regime. This research paper seeks to explore the impact that the institutional innovations carried out by the Vichy planners had on the organisation of the "économie concertée" during the "Trente Glorieuses".

Since the publication of Hoffman’s essay, a wide range of international scholars, including Richard Kuisel, Philippe Mioche, Frances Lynch and Philip Nord, have emphasised the institutional discontinuities between the planning bodies of the collaborationist *État Français* and those introduced by Jean Monnet in 1946. According to this scholarly consensus, Vichy’s planning apparatus was briefly maintained after the Liberation, but was progressively dismantled by the spring of 1946, especially after the failure of Pierre Mendès-France’s project for the "structural reform" of the French economy. This paper seeks to challenge this interpretation by offering a new analysis of the organisational aspects of the three main national reconstruction programmes drafted by French planners in the 1940s: the 1942 “National Equipment Plan”; the 1944 "Tranche de Démarrage"; and the 1946 “Monnet Plan”. Building on recent works of a number of scholars such as Luc André Brunet, I use the papers of Vichy’s economic bodies to argue that their institutional legacy survived the failure of Mendès-France’s “structural reforms.” Through the creation of the General Planning Commissariat (CGP) and its Modernisation Commissions, Monnet and his staff in effect returned to the form of state-led techno-corporatist economic planning that the Vichy regime had envisaged in 1941-43 after the institution of the *Délégation Générale à l’Équipement Nationale* (DGEN).

By demonstrating these institutional continuities, the paper will contribute to a new assessment of the legacies of Vichy’s experiments with economic planning. More especially, it will demonstrate that the reformist projects of France’s post-war economic planners were less a new departure than a reconfiguration of the blueprints conceived over the war years by those associated with the Vichy regime.

Karine Varley – ‘France Alone? Republican Isolation and the Mobilisation of International Opinion in the Franco-Prussian War’, Panel 1b, 11 April

This paper seeks to challenge the traditional characterisation of French isolation during the Franco-Prussian War. Much of the scholarship on the Franco-Prussian War highlights its limited, localised nature, as the European powers refused French calls for military and diplomatic intervention. At the same time, however, historians such as Bertrand Taithe and Quentin Deluermoz highlight its international and transnational nature. By exploring the republican Government of National Defence’s attempts to secure the intervention of the European powers, the paper will suggest that a lack of intervention did not mean a lack of European involvement.

By moving beyond traditional diplomatic and military approaches, this paper will focus on the internationalisation of the war through the mobilisation of public opinion. Building on the recent work by Nicolas Bourguinat and Gilles Vogt, it argues that this was not merely the consequence of wider, transnational developments in how wars were experienced and perceived, but was in significant part a consequence of the political strategy of the French Republic. After the fall of Napoleon III, the republican government evoked the ideals of the 1789 Revolution to mobilise support from the international press, humanitarian missions and

volunteer combatants. In so doing, the Republic successfully shifted public discourse away from French responsibility for provoking the war towards debates about the conduct of German forces and the legitimacy of the German victory. By prioritising international opinion over military and diplomatic objectives, the French Republic may have aggravated its military and diplomatic isolation, but it played a significant role in transforming a duel between two nations into a transnational struggle over the moral and ethical conduct of war.

Jessica Wardhaugh – ‘War Music: Cultural Encounters in Political Song, 1930–45’, Panel 7b, 12 April

'L'Internationale' against 'La Marseillaise'; military songs around the campfires of children's holiday camps; the welcome of Marshal Pétain to the strains of 'Maréchal nous voilà'. In the interwar and war years, music could be central to the encounter between politics and the people. But how did music shape patterns of political behaviour, and the interface between political and popular culture? How did the peoples imagined through the lyrics of political songs relate to the people who performed or listened to them? Could music be a place of encounter across social, political, and temporal boundaries?

This paper contends that although song could articulate opposition, it was also integral to professional connections and shared imaginaries across political divisions. The paper aims, first, to explore how music and song were used to define and defend political communities — and especially counter-communities — in public and private spaces. It draws here not only on important studies of music and the left (for example by Jann Pasler, Robert Brécy, and Jean-Louis Robert), but also on records of meetings and street politics in police archives and the press, as well as on private archives and diaries. Second, the paper explores connections between political and popular song, and also between political movements and professional musical performance. Thirdly, the paper probes the imagination of a warrior people — from Gauls to Franks, from soldiers in revolutionary and Napoleonic armies to the poilus of the First World War — in songs of both left and right.

I am very grateful for the fruitful encounters and support offered by the research network on reactionary modernism at Jaume I University in Castelló de la Plana in Spain, which have made this paper possible.

Ying Xing – ‘Malraux’s Encounter with Asia: A Shared Concept of “Revolution” between French and Chinese Leftists in the 1920s and 1930s’, Panel 4b, 12 April

The escalating political extremism in Europe and China during the 1920s and 1930s clouded the future of both places. Sharing uncertainties for man's fate, leftist intellectuals and activists at the two sides of the Eurasian continent traveled far, observing and learning from the practices of their remote counterpart during the interwar period.

This paper explores the idea of “revolution” shared by both French and Chinese leftists in light of André Malraux's writings on Chinese revolutions and Chinese leftists' interpretations of his revolutionary ideas. In the encounter between an awakening Asia from its hysteresis and an invasive Europe, Malraux was not only a witness, but also a participant. He traveled to Asia three times between 1923 and 1931, and wrote his participation in Chinese revolutions in the “Asian Trilogy”—*Les Conquérants* (1928), *La Voie royale* (1930), *La Condition humaine* (1933), which in turn won him a fame as a spokesperson for the revolutionary China. In contrast to the mainstream debates on the authenticity of Malraux's oriental experiences, I investigate how Asia serves as a driving force behind the surge of his revolutionary spirit.

This study looks into Malraux's novels on Chinese revolutions, along with his real-life experience in revolutionary China, in order to understand Asia's unique influence on his political thoughts. I also compare Malraux's Asian writings with *L'Espoir* (1937)—a novel on Spanish Civil War—to discuss why Chinese leftists believed Malraux's work on Spanish revolutions, other than Chinese revolutions, revealed a more accurate understanding of “revolution.” By locating Malraux's Chinese works in the context of his Oriental experience, I hope to bring the Chinese revolutionaries in conversation with leftists both in and outside France during

the 1920s and 1930s. I argue that the emergence of a shared concept of “revolution” was not a systematically guided circulation of ideas, but is a set of experiments, failures, detours, and frustrations shared by intellectuals moving around the globe.

Samuel Young – “Restoring the beautiful families of our class’ – Catholic working-class youth and the conflict between family and state in France, 1927-1940’, Panel 1d, 11 April

The history of social relations under the Third Republic (1870-1940) can be characterised as a hostile encounter between family and state. Historians such as Childers (2003) and Geva (2013) argue that this period saw an extension of state power across French society, motivated by the new Republic’s anxieties about the moral and physical weakness of its citizens. This growth in state authority came at the expense of the patriarchal family unit, which had acted as the main guarantor of social order in pre-republican society. Republicans began eroding familial power from 1870 onwards, but the losses of 1914-1918 re-energised their efforts, resulting in a major interwar drive for state intervention in areas traditionally administered by the family, including childcare, reproductive rights and welfare. Historical narratives tend to focus on this encounter from the state’s perspective, exploring how republican actors gradually wore down the family’s authority. Yet few have explored the actions of those on the other side of this encounter. Who opposed the state’s weakening of the traditional family? What methods did they use? And what impact did they have on the development of the Third Republic’s relationship with its citizens?

This paper explores that opposition by turning to the social Catholic movement - a collection of Catholic associations that aimed to resolve social disharmonies in industrial society by cultivating a new Christian-inspired social order. Focusing on the actions of the Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne (JOC) and Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne féminine (JOFC) youth movements between their foundation in 1927/1928 and the Third Republic’s collapse in 1940, it considers how Catholic attempts to build a ‘new Christendom’ were centred on the core aim of returning the patriarchal family to a position of social authority. The paper discusses three aspects of jociste activism: criticism of republican education, the promotion of labour identity, and the policing of youth morality. In each case, it asks how JOC/F actions aimed to strengthen familial autonomy and how they challenged the republican order. More broadly, it questions our understanding of the evolution of social relations under the Third Republic, complicating existing narratives of family-state conflict by reassessing the historical impact of French social Catholicism.

Maria Zukovs – ‘The impact of the French Revolution on Franco-Irish relations through advertisements in the Dublin press, 1788-1790’, Panel 1a, 11 April

Like many metropolitan cities in the eighteenth century, a general affinity for all things French and fashionable existed in Dublin. Whether it was the latest dresses, medicines or books, French goods were ‘en vogue’ and advertised in Dublin newspapers. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, those same newspapers keenly followed along as the events unfolded. Focusing on the period between 1788 and 1790, this paper will trace, through advertisements in Dublin newspapers, what impact (if any) the initial outbreak of the French Revolution had on Franco-Irish relations.

Within these advertisements there are three main facets of Franco-Irish relations. First are the imported luxury goods, which made obvious connections using headlines like ‘Medicines from France’. These speak to the tastes of the wealthy elites of Dublin who may have wanted to keep up with the latest trends. Second are the more ‘everyday’, albeit still luxury, goods coming from France, such as wine and food. These are not necessarily marketed as explicitly as the goods in the first category, but still have a clear tie to France. This provides insight into the trade routes that existed between France and Ireland, which are further supported by the ‘Port News’ printed in the newspapers. The third facet of Franco-Irish relations to be found in these advertisements are the copious French names of merchants in Dublin, advertising their goods. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the seventeenth century, groups of Huguenot exiles established themselves in Dublin. By the end of the eighteenth century this community was firmly established. The advertisements which bear their names demonstrate first that this

community was still distinguishable within Dublin society, and second that they were well integrated into the city's economic life. Beginning in 1788, before the Revolution, creates a baseline of information to which later trends in advertisements can be compared. This will provide a more comprehensive picture of the impact of the early years of the French Revolution and the impact it had on Franco-Irish relations.

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