



THE SOCIETY  
FOR THE STUDY OF  
FRENCH HISTORY



UNIVERSITY OF  
LIVERPOOL



Edge Hill  
University

The Society for the Study of French History 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference

# Freedom and Emancipation



University of Liverpool  
Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> June – Saturday 1<sup>st</sup> July 2023

*#SSFH2023*



AMBASSADE  
DE FRANCE  
AU ROYAUME-UNI

*Liberté  
Égalité  
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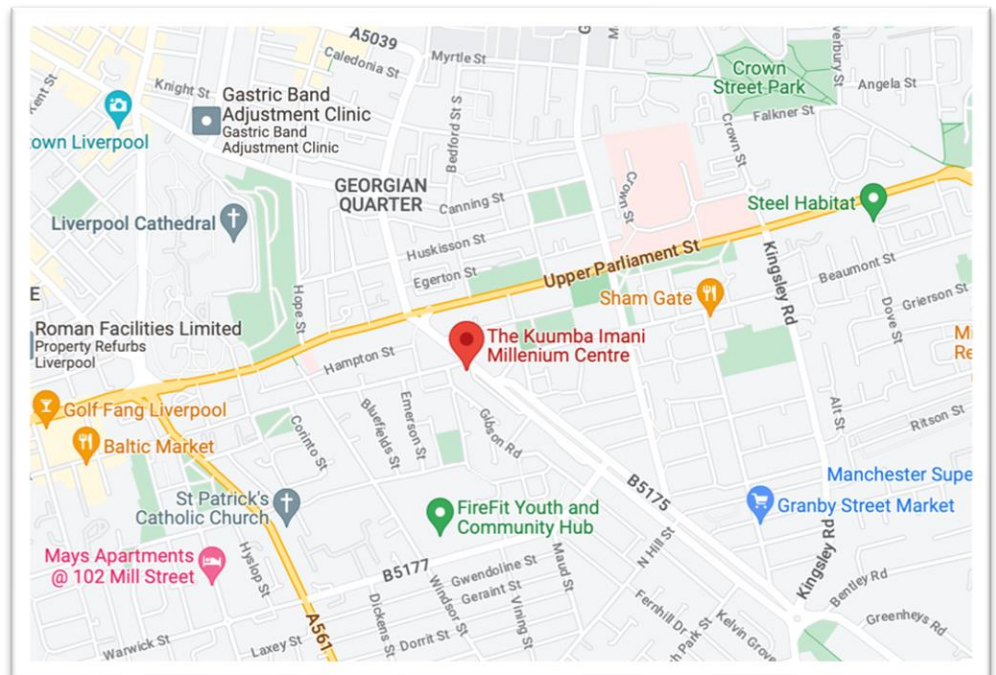
INTERNATIONAL  
**SLAVERY  
MUSEUM**

## Maps and Directions

All panel sessions, refreshment breaks, and whole group sessions (excluding the second keynote address) will take place on the University of Liverpool campus. We include a campus map on the following page of this programme for quick reference. For a more detailed campus map, please [follow this link](#).

Thursday's Welcome Reception will take place at the Kuumba Imani Millenium Centre. For directions from the University of Liverpool, please [please follow this link](#).

Kuumba Imani  
Millenium Centre  
4 Princes Road  
Liverpool L8 1TH  
[Link to Google Maps](#)







# Conference Programme

Thursday 29<sup>th</sup> June



Kate Marsh Conference Room, 8-14 Abercromby Square (E4)

1pm – 3pm

SSFH Steering Committee AGM



Abercromby Square (Meeting Point) (E4)

3pm – 5pm

Liverpool Slavery Walking Tour  
Led by Laurence Westgaph



Kuumba Imani Millenium Centre, 4 Princes Rd, Liverpool L8 1TH

5pm – 7pm

Welcome Reception

Friday 30<sup>th</sup> June



502 Teaching Hub (D6)

8.30am – 9am

Registration

9am – 9.15am

LT3 (First Floor)

Welcome Address

Penny Roberts, University of Warwick  
Alison Fell, University of Liverpool

9.15am – 10.15am

LT3 (First Floor)

Keynote Address

Matthew J. Smith, University College London  
*Race, Rubber, Revolution: Haiti's 1940s Revisited*  
Chaired by Alison Fell, University of Liverpool

10.15am – 10.45am

Social Space (First Floor)

Coffee Break

10.45am – 12.30pm

Parallel Panels

**Panel 1: Twentieth-Century Theories of History**

Teaching Room 4

Chaired by Jemima Hodgkinson, University of Liverpool

Matthew W. Maguire, DePaul University, IL

*Henri Bergson: Origins, Originality, and Freedom*

Sue Gettins, University of Chester  
*A History of Violence, a Decade of Silence: Towards a Deleuzian Third Space Between Fight and Flight in the Nomadic Texts of Décennie Noire Cinema*

**Panel 2: Crime, Punishment, and Empire in the Twentieth Century**

Teaching Room 5

Chaired by Ludivine Broch, University of Westminster

Claire Eldridge, University of Leeds  
*'Un homme dont on peut tout craindre': Violence and its Prosecution in the Armée d'Afrique, 1914-1918*

Sarah Frank, University of Sheffield  
*Citizen Kane or Prince of Thieves: Spies, Supplies and Suspicion in the Trial of Alioune Kane*

**Panel 3: Enslavement and Revolt**

Flex 1 (Ground Floor)

Chaired by Antonia Wimbush, University of Liverpool

Katherine Connelly, New York University's London Centre  
*'In Martinique They Fought...Because the Revolution Did Not Abolish Slavery...in Paris They Fought...Because the Revolution Did Not Abolish the Proletariat': What the Insurgents of June 1848 Learnt from Slave Revolutions*

Philippe Le Goff, University of Warwick  
*Merleau-Ponty's Early Political Philosophy Reconsidered*

Máire Fedelma Cross, Newcastle University  
*Reading Between the Lines of Flora Tristan's Consideration of Slavery*

Danielle Beaujon, University of Illinois  
*Criminal Politics: Policing Nationalism in Algiers, 1945–1954*

Leonard Hodges, Birkbeck University of London  
*Félicité's Freedom: Law and Slavery Across Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*

John Savage, Lehigh University, PA  
*Restoration Liberals and Le Pacte Coloniale: Charles Comte's Critique of Slavery (and Capitalism)*

12.40pm – 1.30pm  
Social Space (First Floor)

Lunch Break

Flex 2 (First Floor)

**Publishing Roundtable**  
Alison Welsby, Editorial Director, Liverpool University Press  
Claire Eldridge, Co-Editor of *French History*  
Erika Graham-Goering, Associate Editor of *French History*

1.30pm – 3pm

Parallel Panels

**Panel 4: France and the Female Gaze: British Women Historians in French Studies, 1960s to 2000s**  
Teaching Room 4  
Chaired by Máire Fedelma Cross, Newcastle University

John L. Harvey, St Cloud State University, MN  
*Women Scholars of French History, 1940s–1970s: Ideas, Findings and Research Questions*

Siân Reynolds, University of Stirling  
*Not Necessarily in the Right Order: Trajectory of a Women Historian/Translator in Context*

Marisa Linton, Kingston University

**Panel 5: Policing the Margins**  
Teaching Room 5  
Chaired by Tom Beaumont, Liverpool John Moores University

Daniel Gordon, Edge Hill University  
*Turf Wars? The Mutualité Riot of 21 June 1973, Fifty Years On*

Susannah Wilson, University of Warwick  
*The Fiquet Affair: Medicine, Morphine and Murder at the Fin-de-Siècle*

**Panel 6: Knowledge and Representation**  
Flex 1 (Ground Floor)  
Chaired by Rebecca Dixon, University of Liverpool

Marc Jaffré, Durham University  
*Courtiers and the Court of Louis XIII: Recapturing the Agency of Courtiers*

Kate Hodgson, University College Cork  
*Cité de l'Indépendance: (De-)colonial Epistemologies in Nineteenth-Century Haiti*

Teddy Paikin, McGill University  
*Agency and Freedom in the Historical Materialism of Sorel, Jaurès and Lafargue*

*Being a Woman Historian of the French Revolution, 1984 to the Present*

3pm – 3.30pm  
Social Space (First Floor)

Coffee Break

3.30pm – 5pm

Roundtable: Narrating Difficult Histories  
Flex 2 (First Floor)

Richard Benjamin, International Slavery Museum, Visiting Professor, University of Liverpool  
Jo Tierney, Lever Bros Plantations Project, University of Liverpool/Unilever

Parallel Panels

*Panel 7 will take place from 3.15pm – 5pm*

**Panel 7: Visual Cultures**  
Flex 1 (Ground Floor)

Chaired by Daniel Gordon, Edge Hill University

Marshall Smith, Swarthmore College, PA

*Excavating the Site/Sight of Middle Passage Cultural Memory Through the Flesh of the Postplantation Visual Archive*

Russell Stephens, University of British Columbia

*'Between Sword Swallowers and Fenians': Struggle for Political Consciousness within the Late Second Empire Visual Mass Entertainment Industry*

Sophie Dubillot, Open University and Cambridge University Library  
*The American Presence in Early Post-War France Through Cartoons (1944–1946)*

Claire Siviter, University of Bristol  
*'Il n'existe point de censure en France': Napoleonic Pretences of Theatrical Freedom*

**Panel 8: Gender**  
Teaching Room 4

Chaired by Claire Eldridge, University of Leeds

Clémentine Garcenot, University of York

*Destroying Gender Barriers to Re-Shape the Past in Female Aristocrats' Memoirs of the French Revolution*

Alison Fell, University of Liverpool  
*Saint or Warrior? Jeanne d'Arc as an 'Emancipatory' Model for the Global Women's Movement, 1880s–1920s*

Christian Jacobs, Freie Universität and Humboldt-Universität in Berlin  
*Slavery, Decolonization, and the Politicization of Culture: How Feminists Used Analogies to Slavery and Colonialism in Postcolonial France*

**Panel 9: Sexuality and Desire**  
Teaching Room 5

Chaired by Antonia Wimbush, University of Liverpool

Charris de Smet, University of Antwerp

*Defending the Female Desire to Please: Fashion Magazines' Discourses on Freedom, Commerce and the Nation at the Onset of the Second Republic (c. 1848)*

Andrea Livesy, Liverpool John Moores University  
*'Pli Belle Que Métresse': The Louisiana Writers' Project and the Memory of French Louisiana and 'the Quadroon' in 1930s Louisiana*

Helen Craske, University of Oxford  
*Erotic Ephemera: Sexual Freedom on Trial in the Third Republic*



Victoria Gallery & Museum (D8)

5.30pm – 6.30pm

Keynote Address

Emmanuel Blanchard, Sciences Po Saint-Germain-en-Laye  
*S'émanciper de la situation coloniale: l'émigration d'Algérie vers la métropole impériale (1918–1962)*  
Chaired by Daniel Gordon, Edge Hill University

6.30pm – 7.15pm

Drinks Reception

7.15pm – 9pm

Conference Dinner



9am – 10.30am

Parallel Panels

**Panel 10: Environments**

Flex 2 (First Floor)

Chaired by Antonia Wimbush,  
University of Liverpool

Owen Coughlan, University of Oxford  
*Migration, Coal Ecologies, and Emancipatory  
Politics: The Gard Coalfield and the Popular Front*

Andrew Smith, Queen Mary University of London  
*Sheep and Helicopters: Choosing  
Non-Violence in the Early Larzac Struggle (1970–  
1973)*

Chloé Duteil, University of Liverpool  
*'La Liberté de récolter': Seaweed Politics,  
Conflicts, and Citizenship on the Coast of  
Brittany, 1870s–1930s*

**Panel 11: (Self-  
)Censorship**

*Cancelled*

**Panel 12: Colonialism**

Flex 1 (Ground Floor)

Chaired by Jemima  
Hodgkinson,  
University of Liverpool

Hugh McDonnell, University of  
Groningen  
*Empire and Emancipation in  
the Non-Violent Activism of  
General Jacques Pâris de  
Bollardière (1957–1986)*

Tyson Leuchter, King's  
College London  
*'The Haitian Indemnity of  
1825 and the Political  
Economy of Imperial Credit'*

Alex Fairfax-Cholmeley,  
University of Exeter  
*Emancipation, Violence and  
Incarceration: Connecting  
Histories of Resistance and  
Repression in Saint-Domingue  
and France During the French  
Revolution*

10.30am – 10.45am

Social Space (First Floor)

Coffee Break

10.45am – 12.30pm

Parallel Panels

**Panel 13: Political Violence during the Third  
Republic**

Flex 2 (First Floor)

Chaired by Andrew Smith, Queen Mary University  
of London

Andrea Azzarelli, Istituto per la storia del  
Risorgimento italiano - Roma  
*'Contre la Tyrannie Syndicaliste': Strikebreaker  
Associations in Belle Époque France (1899–  
1918)*

Chris Millington, Manchester Metropolitan  
University  
*The Anarchist and the Tiger: Emile Cottin and the  
Shooting of Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau,  
February 1919*

David Shafer, California State University

**Panel 14: Huguenots and the Wars of Religion**

Teaching Room 4

Chaired by Rebecca Dixon, University of Liverpool

Rosanne Baars, University of Groningen  
*Curtailing the Freedom of the Huguenots – Protestant  
Government Officials Between Crown and Co-Religionists,  
1660–1685*

Janée Allsman, University College Dublin  
*Huguenot Resistance Preserved in Exile: The Bouhéreau  
Correspondence (1661–1685)*

Sukhwan Kang, University of Tübingen  
*Families in 'Limbo': The Drama of the Huguenot Refugees  
in 1680–1720*

Penny Roberts, University of Warwick



*The Assassination of Marius Plateau,*  
22 January 1923

Patricia Turner, University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire  
*Can Civil Society Be Too Civil? The Dilemma of Defending Democracy During the French Third Republic*

**Panel 15: Power and Faction in Early-Modern France**

Flex 1 (Ground Floor)

Chaired by Julian Swann, Birkbeck College

Munro Price, Bradford University  
*Defending the Old Regime: Ministers and the Parlement of Paris in September 1788*

Mark Bryant, University of Chichester  
*Turning a Blind Eye: Louis XIV, Madame de Maintenon and the Relaxation of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1697–1699*

Stuart Carroll, University of York  
*Louis XIV: The Peace-Maker*

Sian Hibbert, University of York  
*Fighting for Power: The Notability of Seventeenth-Century Languedoc*

12.30pm – 2pm  
Social Space (First Floor)

LT3 (First Floor)

2pm – 3pm  
LT3 (First Floor)

3pm – 3.30pm  
Social Space (First Floor)

3.30pm – 5.15pm

**Panel 17: Penal Histories**

Flex 2 (First Floor)

Chaired by Penny Roberts, University of Warwick

Gonzalo Sanchez, Julliard School  
*The Contested Representation of the Cellular Regime in Paris, 1848–1894*

Charles Forsdick, University of Liverpool  
*Across the Carceral Archipelago: The French Penal Colony as Postcolonial Lieu(x) de Mémoire*

*‘Je vous prie que si avez aucunes nouvelles de France...’:  
Ambassadors and Their Frustrations During the Wars of Religion*

**Panel 16: Transnational Print Networks**

Teaching Room 5

Chaired by Alison Fell, University of Liverpool

Guillaume Lancereau, European University Institute  
*A Revolution in Print, Memory and Action: The Transnational Networks of French Republican Exiles Under the Second Empire*

Jemima Hodgkinson, University of Liverpool  
*‘Une véritable Tour de Babel’: The 1927 Brussels Congress in Lamine Senghor’s La Voix des Nègres*

Lunch Break

SSFH AGM

Keynote Address

Kate Astbury, University of Warwick  
*Freedom and Revolution: Prisoner-of-War Theatre at Portchester Castle*

Chaired by Charles Forsdick, University of Liverpool

Coffee Break

Parallel Panels

**Panel 18: Accessing Justice**

in Early-Modern France

Teaching Room 4

Chaired by Stuart Carroll, University of York

Sian Hibbert, University of York  
*Accessing Justice? Women, Violence, and Litigation in Early Modern Languedoc*

**Panel 19: Democracy and Agency**

Flex 1 (Ground Floor)

Chaired by Joe Clarke, Trinity College Dublin

David Andress, University of Portsmouth  
*Trusting the People with Freedom: Paradoxes of Constitution-Making in the French Revolution*



Sherilyn Bouyer,  
University of Groningen  
*Seventeenth-Century  
Bipartisan Courts:  
Protestants' Access to  
Justice in the Catholic  
Kingdom of France*

David van der Linden,  
University of Groningen  
*Reparations for a  
Massacre:  
Transitional Justice in the  
French Wars of Religion*

Ronan Love, University of  
Warwick  
*'It is the Deficit which is the  
Treasure of the State; it is the  
Public Debt which has been  
the Seed of our Freedom':  
Public Debt, Political  
Emancipation, and the  
Beginning of the French  
Revolution*

Valentina Cralli, University of  
Glasgow  
*The Extraordinary  
Commission in Strasbourg  
and the How the Enemy was  
Defined*

5.15pm – 5.30pm  
LT3 (First Floor)

**Closing Remarks**  
Penny Roberts, University of Warwick  
Alison Fell, University of Liverpool

# Keynote Speakers

## Matthew J. Smith

*Race, Rubber, Revolution: Haiti's 1940s Revisited*

Changes in Haitian politics in the 1940s opened new possibilities for the country's future. A crucial feature of this era was the heightened nationalism that followed the departure of the US marines in 1934 and matured a decade later into competing programmes for social change. The turning point came in 1946 with the popular revolt that led to the ouster of President Lescot and transformed Haitian political culture. Most significant in these years was a reappraisal of Haitian freedom and what decolonisation meant in the twentieth century for a country that had achieved independence by transformative revolution in 1804. In this presentation I return to my own earlier assessment of the 1940s by placing the radicalism of the era against a wider backdrop of developments in Haiti in the years just before and just after 1946. I give special focus to US-Haitian relations through the SHADA rubber development project (1941-43) and consider how the post 1946 radical nationalism and interpretations of Haiti's past, were shaped by the fierceness of the social tensions of the earlier years of the decade.

*Matthew J. Smith* is a writer, professor of History and Director of the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery at University College London. He worked for nearly twenty years in the History and Archaeology department at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica where he was Professor of Caribbean History. He has studied and published extensively on the political and social histories of Jamaica and Haiti. His books include *The Jamaica Reader*, co-edited with Diana Paton (DUP, 2021), *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica After Slavery* (UNC Press, 2014), and *Red and Black in Haiti* (UNC Press, 2009). He is also director and producer of the documentary film, *The Past Is Not Our Future, Walter Rodney's Student Years* (2018).

## Emmanuel Blanchard

*S'émanciper de la situation coloniale: l'émigration d'Algérie vers la métropole impériale (1918-1926)*

*Emmanuel Blanchard* is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Versailles and Sciences Po Saint-Germain-en-Laye. He is a researcher for the Centre of Sociological Research on Law and Criminal Justice (CESDIP-CNRS) and an associate Researcher at the The French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED). He is also a fellow at the French Collaborative Institute on Migration (ICM). In 2022, Blanchard received the Habilitation à diriger des recherches (HDR) accreditation from

Sciences Po Paris for his new research project *Ungovernable Colonized People: Requests to the French Government by Inhabitants of Kabylia (Algeria, c. 1919-1939)*.

Blanchard is a specialist of social and political history (19th-21st century), especially of the history of policing, history of immigration and colonial history. He mainly focuses on France and North-Africa, especially Algeria between 1830 and 1962. He has published extensively on migration from Algeria to France, colonial violence and police practices against migrants and foreigners. In recent years, his research interests have turned from the repressive practices of state agencies to the claims, requests, petitions and supplications addressed to the colonial authorities from the local level to the head of the state. Since 2022 he has served as Principal Investigator for a research collective addressing the reintegration into France of people who, following the independence of France's former colonies, acquired a new nationality.

From January 2018 to December 2022, Blanchard served as Deputy Editor of *Crime, History and Societies*, a journal supported by the International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice.

## Kate Astbury

*Freedom and Revolution: Prisoner-of-War Theatre at Portchester Castle*

In 1807, French prisoners of war on board the prison hulk *The Crown*, moored in Portsmouth Harbour, opened a Theatre of Emulation (the name comes from one of the popular Boulevard theatres in Paris) and premiered in French a 4-act historical drama on board, *The Revolutionary philanthropist or Hecatomb on Haiti*, which tackled the incendiary topic of the Haitian Revolution and was performed for the British guests invited on board by the ship's captain. 4 years later in 1811 the play text was copied, almost certainly for use by a different group of French prisoners of war, conscripts from Paris captured during the Peninsular wars, who created a fully functioning theatre on the ground floor of the keep at Portchester Castle yards from where the hulks were moored. The fictional revolutionaries in the *Revolutionary Philanthropist* mirror the actions of real-life Black soldiers from the Caribbean held at Portchester a decade earlier in 1797. Although we have yet to find a direct connection between the actual revolutionaries and the sailors on board the *Crown* in 1807, the stage action is closely echoing real life, even if, as is often the case, the reality is more remarkable than the fiction.

It might seem a curious choice of play for the ship's captain to approve, given that it was being performed by individuals who had lost their

freedom. Their status as prisoners of war does result in a powerful exploration of what it means to be free, particularly in the lines spoken by Spartacus, the leader of the uprising who speaks eloquently for emancipation. The play shares a number of themes with the only other known surviving French prisoner-of-war play of the period, *Roseliska*, which premiered at Portchester Castle in 1810. Ideas of freedom, imprisonment, resistance, patriotism and loyalty suffuse both texts but, unlike *Roseliska*, the *Revolutionary Philanthropist* is unperformable because it contains 18th-century notions of racial difference that are wholly unacceptable today. In this keynote I will explore how we used the play as the starting point for a new feminist and decolonised creative work to explore the lives of the 2000+ Black men, women and children from the Caribbean who arrived as prisoners of war in Britain during the revolutionary decade and how we told their story of freedom, identity and power.

*Professor Kate Astbury* is Professor of French Studies and Head of the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Warwick. Her research focuses on the role of culture in debates about identity, nationhood and political legitimacy during the French Revolution and the First Empire. Her publications include two monographs, *The Moral Tale in France and Germany 1750-1789* (SVEC 2012:07) as well as dozens of articles on writers from the period 1750-1815. As principal investigator of an AHRC-funded project on French theatre of the Napoleonic era (2103-17), she worked closely with English Heritage at Portchester Castle, advising on the reinterpretation of the keep, particularly the French prisoner-of-war theatre housed there between 1810 and 1814. She is currently writing a monograph on theatre during Napoleon's Hundred Days in 1815.

## Panellists

### **Janée Allsman**

*Huguenot Resistance Preserved in Exile: The Bouhéreau Correspondence (1661-1685)*  
**Panel 14: Huguenots and the Wars of Religion**

Louis XIV's increasingly prosecutorial policies restricting and retracting the various religious, economic, and social liberties of his Huguenot subjects prior to the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) have been well documented, including Protestant exclusion from public professions.

The 1684 legal case concerning Huguenot Jean Rangeard's exclusion from the medical profession in Bordeaux offers a compelling case study of Huguenot resistance to such measures. Prior to 1683, when more junior members of the College of

Medicine of Bordeaux moved to remove Rangeard from their ranks, Rangeard had enjoyed an illustrious career as the personal physician to two successive Lieutenant Governors of Guyenne. Upon the passing of the latter, the Duke of Roquelaure, however, Rangeard was immediately targeted. In addition to copies of pamphlets summarising Rangeard's case, Marsh's Library, Dublin, retains letters sent from Jean Rangeard to his coreligionist Élie Bouhéreau concerning his legal battle, alongside records of Bouhéreau's own futile appeal alongside two other Huguenot doctors from La Rochelle to retain the right to practise medicine. The letters from Rangeard to Bouhéreau frame the printed texts and offer an example of communal crafting and curating of the rhetoric of resistance to persecution. In this paper, I will examine what the constellation of these documents, preserved in the same collection as other letters recording testimony about other (briefly) efficacious resistance to religious persecution and its collateral damage can bring to bear about Huguenot memorialising of their own efforts to persuade not only the king, but local Catholic clergy, professional bodies, and jurists to protect their religious and economic rights.

*Janée Allsman* is an Irish Research Council EPS Postdoctoral Fellow at University College Dublin working on the digital transcription and analysis of the Bouhéreau correspondence (1661-1685) at Marsh's Library and is currently preparing a critical edition of the letters, as well as co-editing a volume on Bouhéreau's library, manuscripts, and social contexts. Dr. Allsman received her PhD in French from the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 2021, and works on how history, time, and eternity, feature in disputes of authority in seventeenth-century literature and politics.

### **David Address**

*Trusting the People with Freedom: Paradoxes of Constitution-Making in the French Revolution*  
**Panel 19: Democracy and Agency**

The affirmation of the elective principle as the foundation of political legitimacy by the National Constituent Assembly in 1789 is justly celebrated by historians. But while substantial attention has been given to the practicalities of the electoral system introduced in 1790, and its functional shortcomings, relatively little has been made of its conceptual basis, and the problems that it stored up for the future.

Democratic election is commonly conceived of as act of popular sovereignty, a process embodying choices that an electorate is entitled, as a sovereign entity, to make. But that was not what the 1789 Assembly intended, or designed. They placed sovereignty in the collective entity of "the Nation", while insisting that actually taking part in the

election of local and national representatives was a service that individuals gave to that Nation, not an expression of their share in such sovereignty. And the deputies of the Assembly had grave doubts, which they elaborated on at length, about the fitness of many different groups to be trusted with the free exercise of the franchise.

What is particularly intriguing is that, while massive groups (women, the poor) were dismissed out of hand, there was elaborate and heated debate about fine-tuning the more precise boundaries of exclusion, amidst a general conviction that defining a truly trustworthy electorate was both critically important and very difficult. This overlapped with equally fraught discussion about how the elected, at every level from villages upwards, were to be actually trusted with public responsibilities, or not.

Two years' experience of these systems by 1791 only increased the anxieties of the political class, but it is further noteworthy that the demand of radical activists by 1792, that balloting should be replaced by voting out loud in assemblies, remains to modern ears perhaps even less democratic in its implications.

*David Andress* is Professor of Modern History at the University of Portsmouth, where he has worked since 1994, and currently holds a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship for a project entitled "How to Trust? Interpersonal judgement and the French Revolution". A Trustee and past-president of SSFH, he has published widely on the Revolution, its social history, and its transatlantic contexts, for more than 25 years.

#### **Andrea Azzarelli**

*'Contre la tyrannie syndicaliste': Strikebreaker Associations in Belle Époque France (1899–1918)*

Panel 13: Political Violence During the Third Republic

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, large parts of the world witnessed a continuous wave of strikes. The mobilization of the working classes, as well as the resulting dread and moral panic, were confronted by State forces and by a mobilization of the so-called sectors of order and propertied classes. Independent trade unionists, private security forces, and strikebreaker organizations took part in the social clash. This was a common occurrence throughout the Western world. Historiography has mainly focused on the United States and some European countries. Examples could be the Technische Nothilfe in Germany or the Pinkerton Agency in the United States. However, despite studies on the management of strikes by French police forces, neither the methods of the Yellow movement (only the doctrines of that counter-revolutionary trade union have been

studied), nor the existence of strikebreaking organizations following that experience have been examined. The emergence of strikebreaker groups throughout France after the dissolution in 1906 of the Yellow movement, their use of violence, and their interactions with police forces are instead the topics of this paper.

These organizations were legal, armed and capable of violently opposing strikers. They could adapt to police techniques, inducing the police to use the protection of 'work freedom' as justification for their intervention in support of strikebreakers. This paper will follow their history up until 1918. All of this will involve examining the interaction between violent, legal, armed groups and State Forces in Third Republic France, a country frequently cited as an example of tight State control over violence. The paper's emphasis will be on the historical formation of French statehood in its interaction with social fears, violence by private actors, arms circulation and the governmental claim to rule territory.

*Andrea Azzarelli* got his PhD in 2019 at the University of Milan. He has been a post-doc fellow at the Fondation Maison de Science de l'Homme (Atlast post-doc grant 2019), at the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (2020) and at the University of Padua (2020-2021), where he has been involved in the ERC project: "The Dark Side of the Belle Époque". He is currently a post-doc fellow at the Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano (Rome). Part of his research has been published in the journals "Società e Storia", "Crime, History & Societies" and "European History Quarterly".

#### **Rosanne Baars**

*Curtailing the Freedom of the Huguenots—Protestant Government Officials Between Crown and Co-Religionists, 1660–1685*

Panel 14: Huguenots and the Wars of Religion

In 1685, King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and forced the French Huguenots to convert through brutal persecution, sending many Protestants to the galleys. In the years up to the revocation, Louis had already been curtailing the rights of Huguenots step by step through official arrests. Initially, the king had supported measures to promote religious co-existence in his reign, instituted by his ancestors, sending royal government officials, called peace commissioners, to the provinces to arbitrate conflicts between Catholics and Huguenots. While historians have paid a great deal of attention to the peace commissioners who operated during the Wars of Religion and the reign of Henry IV, little is known about Louis XIV's commissioners. Composed of one Catholic and one Protestant magistrate, peace commissioners dealt with the restoration of Catholic worship, the placement of Huguenot churches and



cemeteries, and disputes over confiscated property.

From the 1660s onwards, however, the position of the peace commissioners changed, as well as their reputation as neutral judges, especially among French Protestants. Commissioners were asked to inform the crown of Protestant infractions to the Edict, and often restored religious goods and services to Catholic hands. This put Protestant peace commissioners in a difficult position. Should they be loyal to their king or to their co-religionists? This paper studies the problematic position of Protestant officials who were asked to reduce the freedom of their fellow Protestants. Protestant historians have been severe about their acts, calling them traitors who ruined the French Protestant churches. But what was their room for manoeuvre? What choices did they make? How did these choices differ from one official to the other? Answering these questions will shed new light on debates on religious freedom and the persecution of minorities during the reign of Louis XIV.

*Dr Rosanne Baars* is a post-doc in the project 'Building Peace in Early Modern France', based at the University of Groningen. After graduating *cum laude* she obtained a Dutch research grant for her PhD-project on Franco-Netherlandish news exchange during the Wars of Religion, published as *Rumours of Revolt* (Leiden: Brill, 2021). She has also published on political elites' dealing with bad news (*Renaissance Studies*, 2022), Netherlandish reactions to the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre (*French History*, 2021), and on Dutch-Ottoman diplomacy. She is the author of a popular-scientific book on a 18<sup>th</sup> c. surgeon's travels in North Africa and the Caribbean.

**Danielle Beaujon**  
*Criminal Politics: Policing Nationalism in Algiers, 1945-1954*

**Panel 2: Crime, Punishment, and Empire in the Twentieth Century**

In December 1948, the Prefect of Algiers wrote to the mayor about a new trend. Lately, the prefect warned, colonial surveillance services had flagged artistic performances unleashing an "anti-colonial campaign" disguised as theater. The note highlighted a song recently performed by famed tenor, Mahieddine Bachetarzi.<sup>2</sup> The song mourned the decline of Arabic, lamented Algerians' poverty, and accused Algerian leaders of avarice and disunity. Yet the Nationalist politics of the song were not as clear-cut as the prefect asserted. It did not praise Nationalist parties, nor did it explicitly blame French oppression. Why then were officials in Algiers so worried about this song, and others like it?

In the years following World War II, French officials watched nervously as Algerian Nationalism developed into an organized political movement. Police efforts to repress Nationalism followed patterns established in policing other "dangerous" political groups. The difference, however, lay in how police read political meaning onto activities and individuals without inherently political motives, basing politics on a racialized Algerian identity rather than expressed ideological beliefs. When it came to Algerians, the police in Algiers developed all-encompassing and inconsistent definitions of political action. The policing of Algerian Nationalism expanded beyond ordinary party politics, invading intimate moments of family celebration, everyday errands, commercial exchanges, and spaces of Algerian sociability. Even an evening at the theater listening to a song praising Arabic education could become a political and thus criminal act. In criminalizing Algerian Nationalism and broadening the definition of the political when it came to Algerians, the police effectively criminalized Algerian daily life. This precedent of treating all Algerians as potential threats would continue, with grave ramifications, during the Algerian War of Independence.

*Danielle Beaujon* is an Assistant Professor of Criminology, Law, and Justice at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She received her PhD from New York University's joint program in History and French Studies. Her current book project, "Criminalizing the Casbahs: Policing North Africans in Marseille and Algiers, 1918-1954," interrogates the intimate and violent relationship between the police and North Africans in these two Mediterranean port cities.

**Sherilyn Bouyer**  
*Seventeenth Century Bipartisan Courts: Protestants' Access to Justice in the Catholic Kingdom*  
**Panel 18: Accessing Justice in Early-Modern France**

Between 1562 and 1598, the Kingdom of France experienced a series of civil wars, known as the French Wars of Religion. Neighbours became enemies and opponents in a conflict fuelled by confessional differences. On one side, Catholics fought against the population who had embraced the Reformation, regarding them as heretics. On the other side, Protestants defended their rights to worship their confession. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes regulated the rights of Protestants within the French kingdom, granting them privileges while confirming and strengthening Catholicism as the religion of the king and the kingdom. One significant prerogative was the implementation of bipartisan courts intended for Protestant litigants in cases of appeal, known as the *Chambres de l'Edit* (bipartisan courts). The *Chambres de l'Edit* existed until 1679, six years before the Edict of Fontainebleau revoked the Edict of Nantes, thereby banning Protestantism

across the kingdom. Throughout the seventeenth century, the bipartisan courts allowed the Protestants to have access to the royal justice, avoiding the regular courts of appeal, the parlements, composed entirely of Catholic magistrates. Composed of an even number of Protestant and Catholic magistrates, the bipartisan courts had the same competences and scope of jurisdiction as the parlements. This paper will focus on one *Chambre de l'Edit*, the one seating in Castres for the jurisdiction of the Languedoc, a region with above average Protestants. Based on trial bags pertaining to this *Chambre de l'Edit*, the paper will analyse how Protestant litigants sought justice in a Catholic kingdom, accessed it or used the judiciary system to their advantage, but also how some litigants may have been denied justice. This paper will evaluate whether the *Chambres de l'Edit* either protected the Protestants, a minority in the Catholic Kingdom, or, on the contrary, if the judiciary disunity fostered further divisions.

*Sherilyn Bouyer* is a PhD student at Groningen University. Her research focuses on justice, peacebuilding, transitional justice and religious conflict in early modern France. Graduated from a MA in Global History and International Relations obtained at the Erasmus Rotterdam University, she wrote her MA dissertation on contested memories in France and Spain. Her current research is part of the research project 'Building Peace: Transitional Justice in Early Modern France', funded by the Dutch Research Council. The objective of her sub-project is to analyse the role of bipartisan courts in the peace-making process after the French Wars of Religion.

### **Mark Bryant**

*Turning a Blind Eye: Louis XIV, Madame de Maintenon and the Relaxation of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1697–1699*

**Panel 15: Power and Faction in Early-Modern France**

In 1698 Louis XIV took the remarkable step of canvassing opinion on the merits of the Revocation of Nantes. Questionnaires were sent to intendants and officials and the responses surprised the King as many reflected that whilst the Revocation was praiseworthy, it was in practice a nightmare because sacraments could not be enforced on unwilling parishioners. Drawing deeply on these viewpoints, the King's consort and governmental confidante, Madame de Maintenon, was tasked to respond to a letter she received in 1697 from prominent Revocation critic, Marshal Vauban, explaining the crown's response that subsequently became government policy. Unpublicized decrees issued in 1699 instructed officials to "turn a blind eye" on non-conformity to prevent further unrest, thus fundamentally undermining any notion of 'absolutism' as this paper will demonstrate.

*Mark Bryant* is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at the University of Chichester. He is the author of *Queen of Versailles and First Lady of Louis XIV's France: Madame de Maintenon, 1635-1715* (McGill Queen's Press, 2020).

### **Stuart Carroll**

*Louis XIV: The Peace-Maker*

**Panel 15: Power and Faction in Early-Modern France**

'Justice...seemed to me the most difficult thing to reform' reflected Louis XIV in his memoirs. Why that should be so tells us quite a lot about the limits of bureaucratic reform. In fact, royal power after 1660 was reasserted using traditional means of dispute settlement, something the king, took a close personal interest in. This paper argues that growing intervention of the seventeenth-century state into everyday life generated tension and conflict that permitted the king to intervene as arbiter and mediator, contributing considerably to the aura of majesty.

*Stuart Carroll* is Professor of Early Modern History at York. He is author of *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2006) and *Enmity and Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2023).

### **Katherine Connelly**

*'In Martinique they fought...because the revolution did not abolish slavery...In Paris they fought...because the revolution did not abolish the proletariat': What the Insurgents of June 1948 Learnt from Slave Revolutions*

**Panel 3: Enslavement and Revolt**

On 22 June 1848 a delegation of Parisian workers confronted Marie, President of the National Assembly. They protested that the newly created Second Republic's decision to terminate the national workshops reneged upon the promise of *le droit du travail*. Marie refused to communicate with Pujol, the delegation's spokesman and a known campaigner, challenging the others to speak for themselves: they were not Pujol's 'slaves'. The delegation told the crowd waiting at the Place Saint-Sulpice to hear the result of the meeting that Marie had called them slaves. It was the final signal of the government's contempt. The workers built barricades that night; the June Days uprising had begun. The delegation, scoffed the *Journal des Débats*, had misconstrued Marie's comments about slaves – but had they?

In the days before the June barricades were erected in the Paris, the newspapers were filled with news of the slave revolutions in Martinique and Guadeloupe. Impatient at the new regime's stated but unrealised commitment to emancipation, the enslaved took

matters into their own hands, freeing themselves on their own terms.

This paper explores the overlooked relationship between the revolutions in Martinique and Guadeloupe and the workers' uprising in Paris, asking if this might be an example of what Priyamvada Gopal (2019) has termed 'reverse tutelage' whereby those in the imperial metropole learnt from resistance at the colonial periphery. It examines how the slave revolutions provided a framework through which the insurgent Parisian workers and their supporters justified their own revolutionary challenge to the Second Republic. It also explores how conservative depictions of the June insurgents had been rehearsed in their depictions of the revolutionaries in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

*Dr Katherine Connelly* is a lecturer in Modern Imperialism at New York University's London Centre. Her PhD, awarded from Queen Mary, University of London in 2018, examined Karl Marx's writings on the French Second Republic. She has recently written a reappraisal of Marx's lumpenproletariat, with special reference to his analysis of the June Days, in a forthcoming edited collection to be published by Routledge. She is also the author/co-author of two books concerning the revolutionary suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst.

### **Owen Coughlan**

*Migration, Coal Ecologies, and Emancipatory Politics: The Gard Coalfield and the Popular Front*

**Panel 10: Environments**

The Popular Front movement met with sustained success in the Gard coalfield in southern France. As a working-class bastion, it may appear evident that mineworkers should have naturally rallied to the movement. But rather than seeing the Popular Front as a fervour that swept up working populations, this paper instead proposes to study the hitherto underexplored ecological and migrant dimensions of its construction.

During the interwar period, the Alès region was home to a great diversity of migrants from Poland, Spain, Italy, and Algeria who came to work in its coal mines. By the turn of the 1930s, numerous complaints had been lodged by local inhabitants about various facets of the ecological consequences of coal extraction. This paper investigates how opposition to specific disadvantages faced by migrants and resistance to the ecological effects of coal extraction were crucial to the local culture of solidarity that sustained the regional labour movement through the highs and lows of the national Popular Front project.

By analysing local union sections' strike claims, petitions against company pollution, and campaigns around the deaths of foreign workers while at work in the mines, this paper seeks to provide an alternative interpretation of the emancipatory politics of the Popular Front. Within broader narratives of the opposition between capital and labour, syndicalists recognised and campaigned against the specific oppressions undergone by migrants and called for more hygienic workplaces. The solidarities that underlay the Popular Front were not uniquely motivated by pure class antagonism, but stemmed from other dimensions relating to migrants' rights and opposition to the ecological consequences of coal extraction. However, not all resistances were integrated by the regional forces of the Front: ecological demands over pollution, often fronted by local women, were gradually excluded in favour of workplace politics.

*Owen Coughlan* is a third-year doctoral candidate in History at the University of Oxford. He is interested in labour, migration, and environmental histories, and especially their intersections. His thesis project investigates the dynamics of hierarchies and solidarities between coalfield inhabitants in the diverse and fractious setting of the Gard coalfield during the interwar period.

### **Valentina Cralli**

*The Extraordinary Commission in Strasbourg and How the Enemy was Defined*

**Panel 19: Democracy and Agency**

Between 1793 and 1794 the newly founded Republic found itself battling against both enemies on the frontiers and internal turmoil. In the border region of Alsace, the conflicts were even more evident: it was a relatively new acquisition for France, where historically different religions had to coexist, and a large portion of the population was not French speaking. Religion became a tool of identity for the counter-revolutionary crowd; there was the economic dispute related to the assignats, that were received particularly badly in a trading area such as the Bas/Haut Rhin. And, finally, there was the ethnic issue, whereby the German-speaking population felt more closely related to the Princes on the other side of the border.

If the Terror, as Mona Ozouf stated, followed military victories in an attempt to reinforce the central power, it is vital to understand the first months of 1794 in Alsace; the issue can be viewed not only from a regional perspective, providing a case study for the politics of language and ethnicity, but it can also be studied as a viewpoint on how the French republican citizenship was built. The experience of Alsace suggests that in border zones the Convention's idea of citizenship was shaped by the relationship between citizen and enemy, particularly



as managed by the Représentants en Mission. Moreover, analysing the local decree on the establishment of the extraordinary commission in Strasbourg (developed on the basis of the outlaw decree of the 19th of March 1793), and understanding its history, is it possible to trace the image of the non-citizen, and of the essential enemies to the Revolution.

The dichotomy of citizen-non-citizen is essential to understand the rise of the nation-state in Europe, while border regions are, in their nature, the places where this line is established.

*Valentina Cralli* is currently a PhD student in History at the University of Glasgow. Her thesis topic is the relationship between Revolutions and the concept of citizenship in border regions, using the examples of Alsace in the French Revolution and Karelia in the Russian one. Currently a member of the Society for the Study of French History. Her MA thesis at the University of Trieste focused on the historiography of the Terror in the French Revolution, and her research interests cover the themes of Revolutions, civil wars, transnational histories, and the relationship between repression and identity in modern Europe.

#### **Helen Craske**

*Erotic Ephemera: Sexual Freedom on Trial in the Third Republic*

Panel 9: Sexuality and Desire

At the fin de siècle, titillating forms of entertainment, such as the *Moulin Rouge* and *Folies Bergère*, sold sex appeal and arousal to an avid public. Bookshops and kiosks abounded with sensational novels and newspapers recounting the latest scandals. Posters and advertisements employed eye-catching sensual imagery to sell their wares. These textual and visual forms created an ambiguous erotic realm, hovering somewhere between representation and real-world practices and possibilities. Nowhere is this tendency clearer than in 'revues légères' ('saucy magazines'): literary and artistic reviews whose titillating content and risqué humour frequently crossed the boundary between acceptable morality and obscenity.

In this paper, I consider how French correctional courts deployed 'outrages aux bonnes mœurs' to counter and repress the dissemination of erotic ephemera at the fin de siècle. Against the backdrop of France's evolving legal statute post-1881, I analyse two obscenity trials from July 1896 and March 1897, respectively: the first against Alfred Hippolyte Bonnet, director of the saucy magazine *Don Juan* (1895–1900), and the second against Charles Auguste Claverie, proprietor of 'Maison A. Claverie'. Regularly advertised in *Don Juan*, Claverie's shop sold a range of medical products, corsets, and erotic paraphernalia, including

condoms, aphrodisiacs, and sex toys. Highlighting a suggestive analogy between the review's advertising column and Claverie's shop window, I examine fin-de-siècle concerns surrounding female sexual pleasure, as well as the perceived threat of 'mixed' clienteles and readerships. Through my analysis, I suggest that female sexual freedom and pleasure were not only morally condemned, but indirectly criminalised, by the French correctional courts' punishing the act of selling products that enabled and encouraged either of them. At the same time, I show how satirical responses to such trials – notably within *Don Juan* itself – could undermine this censoring process.

*Dr Helen Craske* is a Junior Research Fellow in Modern Languages at Merton College, Oxford. Her research focuses on French literary, media, and visual culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since completing her doctorate in 2021, entitled 'Complicity in Fin-de-Siècle Literature', she has started a second major research project: 'Saucy French Magazines, c. 1880–1914'. While working on these monograph-length projects, Dr Craske has published prize-winning articles in *French Studies*, *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, and *Dix-Neuf*.

#### **Máire Fedelma Cross**

*Reading Between the Lines of Flora Tristan's Consideration of Slavery*

Panel 1: Theories of History

Mid-nineteenth-century French feminist and socialist Flora Tristan (1803–1844) is an iconic figure in women's writing and in feminist politics. Since her re-discovery in the 1980s by feminist scholars when her books became available in English as well as French, her personal circumstances and public persona have been closely scrutinised. Transgression is often employed to depict her stepping out beyond the accepted feminine boundaries as she entered slave plantations and slums, where genteel women were not normally seen. Also portrayed is her morbid fascination with slave-mothers who preferred to commit infanticide rather than have their children suffer slavery, and with women prisoners who were prepared to commit crime to feed their children. Exceptionalism is the phrase used to depict the unusual circumstances of her life. Utopian is the political label often given to her project of founding an International Workers' Union as a means of ending exploitation of men and women. This paper will search and examine where slavery occurs in her work as a depiction of a voice from a group rather than one individual. It will concentrate more on the commonality of her experience with fellow socialist-feminist activists and the French context of the abolition of slavery crusade. Born to parents of mixed nationalities – French and Spanish – she seized the opportunity of



travelling to Peru, London and around France, becoming an author on social inequality, and becoming involved in worker socialist politics until her sudden death at the age of 41 in Bordeaux. She left evidence of her travels as an activist, most notably *Pérégrinations d'une paria*, *Promenades dans Londres* and *Tour de France*. How did she gain an insight into racial injustice and how common was her expertise in the socialist thought of the 1840s in France? Such a close reading of her observations of slavery and anti-slavery politics will show a juxtaposition between the exceptional and the unexceptional, between a woman both transgressing and conforming, contributing to and drawing from the body of radical ideas fast-growing in mid-nineteenth-century France. Reading between the lines can take further what has been seen as exceptional and transgressive in Flora Tristan; it can also be interpreted how the theme occurred more collectively in socialism and feminism. It can show how her political awareness of the world-wide economic and social consequence of slavery was integral to her method of observation of every-day politics of her time and that her skill at writing about class and gender connections to slavery is as relevant today as then.

*Máire Fedelma Cross* is an emerita professor of French Studies at Newcastle University. Her research has been mainly focused around remembering the politics of early nineteenth-century feminist-socialist writer and activist, Flora Tristan. How the pacifist and socialist historian Jules-L. Puech authored the first history of Flora Tristan in 1925 is related in her latest groundbreaking study, *In the Footsteps of Flora Tristan: A Political Biography* (Liverpool University Press, 2020). She has contributed articles and chapters in French and in English to works with an interdisciplinary approach to nineteenth-century political ideas. Her publications include *The Letter in Flora Tristan's Politics* (Palgrave, 2004), a full translation of Tristan's journal, *Flora Tristan's Diary: The Tour of France, 1843–1844* (Peter Lang, 2002), edited books entitled *Gender and Fraternal Orders 1300–2000* (Palgrave, 2010) (with Caroline Bland), *Gender and Politics in the Age of Letter-Writing, 1750–2000* (Ashgate, 2004), (with David Williams), *The French Experience from Republic to Monarchy 1793–1830* (Palgrave 2000). She has promoted a transnational awareness of Irish feminists most recently in a book chapter '1919: Opportunities and Constraints for Women Activists: case studies of Marie-Louise Puech and Hanna Sheehy Skeffington', for an edited volume on *The Global Challenge of Peace: 1919 as a Contested Threshold to a New World Order*, edited by Matt Perry (Liverpool Academic Press, 2021), through her article 'Il y a un siècle, le mouvement pour le suffrage des femmes en Irlande' *Genre & Histoire* (2012) and 22 entries on Irish women in the *Dictionnaire universel des*

*créatrices*, (Des femmes, 2013). From 2005 to 2013 she served as president of the Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France and from 2014 to 2017 was President of the Society for the Study of French History. She is completing the topic of Flora Tristan and slavery as a chapter submission for publication (Scott, D. (ed) (forthcoming, 2023) *Abolitionist Voices: Ideas, Traditions and Dilemmas*, Bristol: Bristol University Press.

### Charris De Smet

*Defending the Female Desire to Please: Fashion Magazines' Discourses on Freedom, Commerce and the Nation at the Onset of the Second Republic (c. 1848)*

### Panel 9: Sexuality and Desire

Articulating the French political history of the mid-nineteenth century with insights from consumption history revealing the contemporary transformation of Parisian life through the proliferation of retail outlets, the modernization of advertising practices and the advent of new habits of leisure and shopping, this paper focusses on women's and fashion magazines' discourses that reported on the political events of 1848, punctuated by the February Revolution, the June Days and the election of Louis-Napoléon as President. In reconstructing how contemporary revolutionary upheaval and the relationships between these ideological shifts and consumer society were conceptualized in commercial discourses, I aim to demonstrate how top-down attempts to (re)shape consumption habits through political parlour were closely observed and creatively reappropriated by a wide range of market professionals who held stake in the development of Parisian consumer cultures, i.e. retailers, dressmakers, artisans, advertisers, journalists. In the wake of the February revolution, the editors went at great lengths to reassure consumers and restore confidence to keep the spending levels of their clientele high as political instability tended to cause financial losses, economic vulnerability and more strict saving habits. The articles and (covert) advertisements featured in women's magazines superficially expressed their support for the (provisional) government of the Second Republic, however, a more thorough analysis reveals that the editors resorted to their magazines to -more or less subtly- comment on or criticize the new political regime and the ongoing social transformations in 1848. In doing so, my paper underlines the tension that existed between ideas of republican virtue and growing consumerism in nineteenth-century France, as well as the political agency of bourgeois, commercial actors in remoulding Parisian consumer cultures by shaping the opinions of their female disenfranchised readership.

*Charris De Smet* is a third-year PhD Candidate in History working on the political embedding of consumer cultures in early-nineteenth-century Paris (c. 1815 – c. 1851). She combines a discourse-historical analysis of parliamentary debates about consumption and broadening consumerism with a focused political reading of fashion magazines in order to trace a more comprehensive genealogy of ‘the politics of consumption’ in the Age of Revolution. She has a particular interest in exploring the possibilities of digital archives and methods of computer-assisted qualitative analysis. She has published articles in *French History* and *History of Retailing and Consumption*.

### **Sophie Dubillot**

*The American Presence in Early Post-War France through Cartoons (1944–1946)*

#### **Panel 7: Visual Cultures**

The joyful photographs of the French embracing Allied troops during the Liberation of France at the end of the Second World War abound in the archive and are vivid in people’s minds. They reflect an oversimplified story in which the Allies are celebrated for their crucial help in booting the enemy out of the country, winning the hearts of the French with wide smiles and abundant gifts.

While the French gratitude and admiration towards the Allies were indeed overwhelming, other – sometimes ambivalent – emotions existed within the population, especially in regions with a strong American presence, like Normandy. However, these sometimes-negative emotions remained mostly unpublished, for the political climate was hardly conducive to frank criticism of the Allies: early post-war purges convicted both overt wartime Collaborators and those who had publicised their anti-Allied sentiment. This climate, combined with the nation’s feeling of indebtedness towards the Liberators, inspired restraint among those with grievances. However, though most post-war publications erred on the side of caution, I argue that humorous drawings allowed the French, under the guise of entertainment, to express and diffuse their misgivings regarding the Americans. Drawing on a wide range of cartoons, this paper argues that although the French felt immense gratitude for the military and humanitarian aid brought by the Americans, the troops’ reckless behaviour and womanising caused increasing resentment and fear among the local population. These images also show that the popularity of the American lifestyle and culture among the French was mitigated by slight mockery and anxiety. Finally, cartoons reveal people’s suspicions of the US political and financial motives towards France, and incomprehension regarding their persistent presence on French soil after 1945.

These findings enable us to reassess our understanding of the feelings of the French towards the American presence in France between 1944 and 1946, and thus provide a new interpretation of Franco-American relations in the aftermath of the Second World War.

*Sophie Dubillot* is a postgraduate researcher in Modern French History, currently working towards an OOC DTP collaborative PhD with the Open University and Cambridge University Library. Her doctoral thesis examines the forms, functions, and limits of visual humour in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War in France, using humorous drawings from the Chadwyck-Healey Liberation Collection and the abundant press of the Liberation. Her research focuses on how humour served to redefine the French nation in the post-war, and how different influences on the drawings encouraged or stifled particular voices.

### **Chloe Duteil**

*‘La liberté de récolter’: Seaweed Politics, Conflicts, and Citizenship on the Coast of Brittany, 1870s–1930s*

#### **Panel 10: Environments**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the exploitation of seaweeds in Breton coastal communities contributed to sustaining local livelihoods economically, socially, and culturally. Access to this precious resource was an essential feature of living by the sea. Seaweeds provided a vital source of income and labour to many and helped foster local practices and community relations. Concurrently, the French state, seeking to increase its control over usages of natural resources, became more formally involved in the quotidian affairs of seaweed labour. Despite efforts to articulate together state agendas, legal frameworks, customary practices, and environmental specificities, the regulations were met with resistance. This paper explores the conflicts resulting from these tensions to examine the difficulties that governing seaweeds presented and the limitations that state authorities experienced. Using deliberations of municipal councils, byelaws, decrees, and complaints, it interrogates the ways in which different groups of actors protected or asserted their own relationships with, and perceptions of, seaweeds. These conflicts demonstrate the ingenuity of seaweed users who used the opportunities afforded by their duties, values, and rights as citizens to devise their own strategies and oppose regulations that they deemed inadequate to their experiences. In so doing, they positioned themselves as active “seaweed citizens” who, aware of their place within the Republic, played by its codes, exerted their rights freely and fully, and engaged in negotiations or confrontations with

authorities in defence of their interests, beliefs, and ultimately freedom, in relation to seaweeds. Considering the themes of freedom and resistance through the lens of seaweeds reveals how the powers and agencies of different actors shaped, and were reshaped by, their encounters with natural resources and with one another. This paper provides new perspectives on the history of natural resource management in France by shifting our gaze away from forests and mountains and into the coast.

*Chloe Duteil* is a third-year PhD student in History at the University of Liverpool. Her research interests are located in the fields of coastal, environmental, social, and cultural history. Her current work focuses on histories of people's interactions with the environments that surrounded them, more specifically the spaces where sea and land meet. In her doctoral thesis, she examines the ways in which seaweeds featured in the lives and identities of coastal dwellers in Brittany and Wales in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

#### **Claire Eldridge**

*'Un homme dont on peut tout craindre': Violence and its Prosecution in the Armée d'Afrique, 1914-1918*

Panel: Crime, Punishment and Empire in the Twentieth Century

Although the 'infinite violence' of the First World War has been studied from many angles, little attention has been paid to violence between individuals within the same combat unit. Yet French military justice records are replete with examples of aggression between soldiers that the army felt were severe enough to warrant prosecution via a *conseil de guerre* or military tribunal. Violent behaviours criminalised in this way encompassed a broad spectrum ranging from the spontaneous physical articulation of daily frustrations - usually in the form of a punch, kick or slap - all the way up to the taking of a human life in a pre-meditated fashion. This paper explores how serious instances of unsanctioned interpersonal violence were defined, assessed and prosecuted (or not) during the Great War. It juxtaposes constructions of violence generated 'from above' by officers involved in the military justice process with the picture presented 'from below' through the testimonies of the soldiers themselves.

Exploring the gap that often existed between the letter of the law, as set down by the Code of Military Justice, and its real-life application reveals what behaviours were and were not considered acceptable, and under what circumstances. Central to such determinations were perceptions of the accused as articulated by those with higher ranks. These assessments in turn highlight the priorities and concerns of military authorities at particular

moments in the conflict. Using cases drawn from the multi-ethnic Armée d'Afrique - which contained European settlers, naturalised Algerian Jews and colonised North African subjects alongside metropolitan French combatants - further underscores the situational and variable nature of military justice by demonstrating how colonial mentalities and contemporary notions of race inflected decisions. Comparing this to how accused men framed and justified their actions showcases the agency soldiers could exert within the judicial system, including contesting meanings others sought to ascribe to their behaviour. For example, reports penned by superior officers rarely linked violent behaviour to the stresses of sustained and extremely brutal warfare. In contrast, the impact of the wider conflict on their wellbeing and their everyday relationships features prominently in accounts from accused soldiers, providing insights into the complex social and emotional worlds of combatants for whom we otherwise possess very few traces of their wartime experiences. Testimonies offered by the accused, as well as victims and witnesses, thus illustrate the different ways individuals reacted to the pressures they were placed under between 1914 and 1918, how they related to the men around them within this highly fraught context, and the choices they made when called upon to explain themselves and their behaviours.

*Claire Eldridge* is an Associate Professor of Modern European History at the University of Leeds who studies the historical relationship between France and Algeria. She is the author of *From Empire to Exile: History and Memory within the Pied-Noir and Harki Communities* (Manchester University Press, 2016) and the editor, with Rabah Aissaoui, of *Algeria Revisited: History, Culture and Identity* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017). Her current research explores the histories and memories of soldiers from North Africa who served in the French Army during the First World War. She is particularly interested in 'crimes' committed by these men and what they reveal about their experiences as soldiers, including their interactions with metropolitan French and other colonial combatants.

#### **Alex Fairfax-Cholmeley**

*Emancipation, Violence and Incarceration: Connecting Histories of Resistance and Repression in Saint-Domingue and France during the French Revolution*

Panel 12: Colonialism

This paper will investigate how metropolitan France's transatlantic connections (in particular, with her prized colony of Saint-Domingue) developed in response to the domestic upheaval of the French Revolution - and how these connections also influenced this domestic history in significant ways.

Central to this are the dealings of a rather murky group with business interests in the colonies, who by 1793 had set up an elaborate system for collecting and disseminating information about the destruction of the colonial system in Saint-Domingue. Parts of this story (the rise and fall of the Massiac Club, and the campaign against civil commissioner Sonthonax's decision to grant freedom to Saint-Domingue's slave population) are now relatively well known to historians. However, this paper will show that by combining manuscript material in the colonial archives (AN DIII) with printed pamphlets from the period we can track the work of this faction much more comprehensively as it tried to adapt to the shifting political terrain in metropolitan France. For those with transatlantic connections, the colonies were an integral part of the lived experience of the French Revolution itself. Furthermore, the public battle for control over information from overseas ensured that ideas connecting emancipation with violence, and the narrative of slave Revolution with the spectre of incarceration, were embedded in French national discourse even as the country took the historic step of abolishing slavery in 1794.

*Alex Fairfax-Cholmeley* is Senior Lecturer in European History at the University of Exeter. Research interests centre on Revolutionary dynamics in France during the 1790s (revolutionary justice, violence, memory) and contemporary understandings/practices relating to transatlantic connections across the eighteenth/early-nineteenth centuries.

#### **Alison Fell**

*Saint or Warrior? Jeanne d'Arc as an 'Emancipatory' Model for the Global Women's Movement, 1880s–1920s*

#### **Panel 8: Gender**

This paper will examine Joan of Arc as a symbol deployed by the global women's movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Pageants, parades, plays, illustrations and journals were key communication strategies for European and North American first wave feminist movements, and regularly featured inspirational resistant women from the past. Given her widespread fame, it is unsurprising that Joan of Arc was the most popular choice. However, different tendencies within the suffrage and/or women's movement emphasised different aspects of her myth in order to rally their supporters and broaden their movement's appeal to new audiences. For some activists, Joan was depicted as a triumphant military leader, leading her troops to victory, while others emphasised the Catholic vision of her as a saintly martyr, called to fulfil a righteous mission. Both these versions were discernible in early twentieth-century suffrage representations of Joan of Arc. In France, for

example, Joan of Arc appealed most to Catholic feminists such as Marie Maugeret, who organised a series of 'Congrès Jeanne d'Arc' in the early twentieth century. The contradictions inherent in the casting of Joan of Arc to represent diverse strands of early twentieth-century feminism, whether radical or moderate, pacifist or militarist, religious or secular, were not only evident in the West. Joan of Arc also appeared as a model of female identity in the Chinese women's press in the early decades of the twentieth century, and as an inspirational example of heroic womanhood in Egypt in the same period. In the 1920s Egyptian feminist press Joan of Arc embodied anti-colonial sentiments, as was the case with performances by Irish nationalist activist Constance Markiewicz. This paper will compare and contrast first-wave feminist visions of Joan of Arc, and will argue that these variations reveal the tensions between feminism, pacifism and colonialism that lay at the heart of the global women's movement.

*Professor Alison Fell* worked at the Universities of Oxford, Lancaster and Leeds before coming to Liverpool as Dean of the School of Histories, Languages and Cultures in 2021. At Leeds she held a series of research leadership roles including Director of the Leeds Arts and Humanities Research Institute. She is a Strategic Reviewer and member of the Peer Review College for UKRI and AHRC, an expert and panellist for the Polish National Science Centre, and an assessor for the Irish Research Council. Her research focuses on women and war, and her publications include *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2018) and *Warrior Women: The Cultural Politics of Armed Women c.1850-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2023). From 2018-20 she was PI of 'Tracing the Belgian Refugees', one of the AHRC projects featured in the 2020-21 Imperial War Museum exhibition *Refugees: Forced To Flee*. Her current collaborative research project focuses on transnational memories of the Battle of the Somme from 1916 to the present-

#### **Charles Forsdick**

*Across the Carceral Archipelago: The French Penal Colony as Postcolonial Lieu(x) de Mémoire*

#### **Panel 17: Penal Histories**

The *bagne* – a *lieu de traumatisme* rapidly transformed following its abolition into a *lieu d'oubli* – now functions increasingly as a postcolonial *lieu de mémoire* in the French-speaking world. The paper revisits the implicit singularization in such an approach and suggests that, having established that sites of incarceration in French Guiana, New Caledonia and Viet Nam may be read as such a postcolonial realm of memory, there is a need to investigate the inherent diversity in their histories and memorial afterlives. Demonstrating a



clear time lag when compared to the British penal colonies in Australia, the French 'carceral archipelago' emerged rapidly in France's colonial empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. Catering in part for the control and management of criminality in France, the *bagne* in French Guiana and New Caledonia catered for a mix of *transportés*, *déportés* and (from 1885) *relégués*; Poulo Condore in French Indochina served a different function, acting as a site of incarceration for criminals and increasing numbers of political dissidents within the colony. Despite these evident divergences, there are nevertheless a series of transcolonial and transnational continuities – relating to architecture, to penal administration, to the mobility of penitentiary staff and to the circulation of incarcerated bodies – that link these archipelagic sites. Warders and governors served across the colonies and prisoners were transported between them (Algerian convicts and political dissidents were sent to New Caledonia; Vietnamese prisoners were dispatched to French Guiana). The paper engages with these connections and disconnections, continuities and discontinuities. At the same time, it explores the gap between the *bagne* as it operates as a singularized realm of memory, linking different zones of the Francosphere, and its parallel pluralized manifestations, in a range of postcolonial locations, where differing historical, political, cultural and linguistic contexts determine the localized functioning of these penal *lieux de mémoire*.

*Charles Forsdick* is James Barrow Professor of French at the University of Liverpool. He has published on a range of subjects, including travel writing, colonial history, postcolonial and world literature, and the memorialisation of slavery. Recent books include *The Black Jacobins Reader* (2016), *Toussaint Louverture: Black Jacobin in an Age of Revolution* (2017) and *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* (2019). He is a Fellow of the British Academy and Member of the Academy of Europe.

### **Sarah Frank**

*Citizen Kane or Prince of Thieves: Spies, Supplies and Suspicion in the Trial of Alioune Kane*  
Panel 2: Crime, Punishment, and Empire in the Twentieth Century

This paper seeks to examine the nature of crime, and perceived crime by interrogating how the spectrum of criminality (from acceptable to condemnable) was shaped both by a person's racial and social status under the French imperial state and by the empire's practical and symbolic importance to those in power. Through the case study of Prince Alioune Kane, a Senegalese Imam appointed to bring aid and support to the West African POWs in German captivity during the Second

World War, this paper proposes that Vichy collaboration complicated questions of crime and punishment in ways that reveal the entanglements between race, propaganda, and resistance within a broader colonial context. Kane's story begins with Georges Mandel, Minister for Colonies' unlikely promotion of a Catholic from Senegal to the position of official Imam to West African Muslim soldiers in 1939. After the French defeat, Kane turned his efforts towards supporting the black prisoners of war, or to stealing the money destined for their upkeep, depending on who you ask.

With the rapid defeat of France in June 1940, almost 1.8 million French soldiers were captured by the German Army, among them over 85,000 men from across the French Empire. The newly captured white prisoners were sent to Germany, while the 'colonial' prisoners of war remained in German-run camps across occupied France. This decision, and its repercussions, already demonstrated a willingness to negotiate the frameworks of international law at governmental level. Seeking more control over the colonial subjects and citizens on French soil, the new Vichy government drew heavily on humanitarian aid as a means to monitor morale and ensure colonial prisoners remained loyal to France. Both France and Germany saw the colonial prisoners as potential force for stability or instability in the colonies, their homes; hence the importance of Kane's role. By the time Kane was arrested and tried for espionage, he had created a wide network of support among colonial prisoners, African-Americans in the states and German military leaders in France, leading one to wonder whether he was on trial for spying, or for refusing to uphold the imperial *status quo*.

For the men and women subject to French colonial rule, all perceived infractions were considered within another extra-judicial framework of race, loyalty and obedience. This framework itself shifted overtime as the war changed alliances and divided the empire, temporarily blurring the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable behavior, between crime and resistance, between condemnation or celebration. Furthermore, how we understand crime often depends on the authors of the primary sources, and when they were written. This paper will examine, via Alioune Kane's trial and conviction, how crime and punishment were negotiated for people subject to French colonial rule within a shifting framework of imperial and racial hierarchies and constantly evolving definitions of loyalty, obedience, and lawfulness.

*Sarah Frank* is a Lecturer in the History of the Francophone World at the University of Sheffield. Her research focuses on the impact of the Second World War on people subject to French colonial rule. It is intellectually linked through her interest in

questions of war captivity, collaboration and resistance, anti-colonialism, the decline of French imperialism, shifts in global humanitarianism and the enduring impact of racialised views on medicine, labour and movement. Her first monograph, *Hostages of Empire: Colonial prisoners of war in Vichy France*, centres itself around the 100,000 French colonial soldiers who were captured by the Germans in June 1940. At its heart it is a social history of these men's lived experiences of captivity – which took place mostly in occupied France. It puts the colonial soldiers themselves at the heart of the story and follows them from their homes across the French Empire in Africa, Madagascar, the Antilles, and Indochina, to France, and back home again.

### **Clementine Garcenot**

*Destroying Gender Barriers to Re-Shape the Past in Female Aristocrats' Memoirs of the French Revolution*

#### **Panel 8: Gender**

This paper will study the tension surrounding women writers and social conventions in the late eighteenth century through a close literary analysis of the marquise de la Tour du Pin's memoirs, written in 1820. The French Revolution was a catalyst for the production of memoirs written by female aristocrats whereas, historically, memoirs were a male-dominated genre: tackling History and publicly sharing one's political opinion was considered a masculine domain. Consequently, this raises the question of propriety. From the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas concerning the separation of the public and domestic spheres, encouraging women to remain in the latter, were popular. By writing their memoirs, these women actively eschewed social restrictions. However, very few memoirists meant for their texts to be published; in rejecting the appellation of female writer, these women demonstrated an awareness of the danger such a title posed to their reputation. I will study the strategies used by Tour du Pin, such as her rhetoric of modesty and the manipulation of Rousseau's concept of transparency, in order to respect, on the surface, the separate spheres.

This paper will consider why, with so many factors discouraging women from writing their memoirs, they did so anyway. I argue that the memoir genre gave women the freedom to share their own experiences of the Revolution and opportunity to inscribe their accounts into the larger History, by sharing how their own domestic life was affected by the historical events. This paper concludes with the assertion that memoirs acted as a form of emancipation for their female authors, allowing them to set aside gender restrictions by sharing

their thoughts, all while coming to terms with the traumatic events they had experienced.

*Clémentine Garcenot* is in the third year of her PhD with the department of English and Related Literature at the University of York. She has a Bachelors Degree in History as well as a Bachelors and a Masters degrees in English literature from Aix-Marseille University. Her thesis is titled "Family, Court, Emigration: depictions of the French Revolution in French women aristocrats' memoirs." Her research focuses on life-writing, especially the memoir genre, women's voices and the counter-revolution.

### **Sue Gettins**

*'A History of Violence, a Decade of Silence': Towards a Deleuzian Third Space between Fight and Flight in the Nomadic Texts of Décennie Noire Cinema*  
**Panel 1: Twentieth-Century Theories of History**

Philosophical representations of freedom can be invoked to wrest a traumatised body politic from the crucible of an ossified past. This is especially so in the aftermath of conflict. Unfortunately, in war, as Benjamin argues, commemorative history inevitably favours the victors. Consequently, how does one move forward as an ordinary citizen when one lives in the aftermath of a civil war so brutal that it left over 200,000 dead, many of them civilians? My presentation aims to answer this question by exploring the possibility of a third space between fight and flight. In doing so, I engage in a close reading of six post-millennial films that treat the Algerian civil war (1992-2002). By drawing upon the concepts of French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, cinematic spaces will be elicited that are nomadic in nature and challenge the institutional nature of history, engaging instead with the will to power of the victims. Accordingly, in an examination of the protagonists' cinematic trajectories the Deleuzian body will be presented as a force capable of mobilising novel transformations within an emancipatory third space, which demonstrates how we are constantly immersed in history, experiencing only the past and never the present. Consequently, fixed identities are destabilised and deterritorialised to bring forth new and alternative futures where oppressive power structures and fixed metanarratives are subverted and a new kind of freedom is attained. This evinces how history must be considered in terms of micropolitical becomings as opposed to preconceived beliefs. Ultimately it will be demonstrated how specific trajectories refuse both fight and flight and instead gesture towards a nomadic third space situated in-between, across or even beyond self-perpetuating and restrictive binaries. In this space, and liberated of historicity, are pure events, which potentially witness the past return differently in the present. It is within this context that a cinematic and historical re-imagining

of the Algerian civil war is afforded, enabling a hitherto nebulous and clandestine conflict to become more 'knowable' in terms of its myriad victims both past and present, thus distilling both an individual and collective sense of freedom and destabilising linear history.

[Sue Gettins](#) is a PhD student at the University of Chester in the Department of Languages and Cultures. She completed her MRes in French in 2019, for which she attained a distinction. She was also awarded the prize for best postgraduate essay in 2017 by the Society of French Screen Studies. In 2022, Sue won the best poster competition at the PGR symposium at the University of Chester. Her doctoral thesis focuses on cinematic depictions of a historical event, namely the Algerian civil war, as viewed through a Deleuzian lens. Sue is a qualified pharmacist with a MSc in Community Pharmacy and specialisms in drug misuse and psychopharmacology.

#### **Daniel A. Gordon**

*Turf Wars? The Mutualité Riot of 21 June 1973, Fifty Years On*

#### **Panel 5: Policing the Margins**

Although relatively overlooked in the historiography of France by comparison to 1968, the year 1973 was in retrospect a turning point in French, European and world history. If less sudden a break than sometimes suggested, 1973 nevertheless marked, at the twilight of Fordism, the definitive end to what historians have recently challenged as the myth of the *trente glorieuses*, and the onset of many of the intersecting economic, social and ecological crises with which we are still grappling fifty years later. Yet even before the oil crisis, one date that year stands out as pivotal for France's politics of racism and anti-racism, and its history of political violence and ideological polarisation: 21 June. In the heart of the Latin Quarter, the police lines guarding an anti-immigration meeting at the Mutualité by the extreme right group *Ordre nouveau* were attacked with unusual force with Molotov cocktails by the *service d'ordre* of the Trotskyist *Ligue communiste (LC)*. So was 21 June, as Romain Goupil's 1982 film *Mourir à trente ans* powerfully suggested, a decisive point in the decline and fall of the post-68 extreme left? This paper will examine why these events led to the LC's former presidential candidate Alain Krivine becoming France's best known political prisoner, and why this was seen more widely as a broader assault by the Pompidou government on political freedoms. Or can 21 June be seen rather as the moment of transformation of migration into a political scapegoat for the extreme right? Moreover, did these classically Parisian, and gendered, street turf wars overshadow provincial examples of violence also motivated by the nascent politics of racism and anti-racism, and non-violent struggles for

emancipation by *sans-papiers*? Finally today, with Krivine dead, the extreme left apparently marginalised, and the extreme right four decades into an electoralist turn of faux-respectability, seemingly unrecognisable from its origins in a violent *groupuscule*, how is this key moment of what Yvan Gastaut has recently termed *1973, l'année intense* remembered, or forgotten?

[Daniel A. Gordon](#) is Senior Lecturer in European History at Edge Hill University, a Sessional Lecturer in History at Liverpool John Moores University, and a member of the organising collective of the seminar series *Acteurs et mouvements sociaux* at Sciences Po Paris. The author of *Immigrants And Intellectuals: May '68 And The Rise Of Anti-Racism in France* (2012), his latest publications are 'A Victory for the March for Equality? Immigration, Policy, Protest and the Ten Year Residency Permit of 1984', *French History*, forthcoming 2023, and 'Immigrants and Social Justice in Western Europe Since the 1960s', in Martin Conway and Camilo Erlichman, eds, *Social Justice in Twentieth Century Europe*, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

#### **John L. Harvey**

*Women Scholars of French History, 1940s-1970s: Ideas, Findings & Research Questions*

#### **Panel 4: France and the Female Gaze: British Women Historians in French Studies, 1960s to 2000s**

This panel presents a subject long overdue in the academy of French history, or Continental studies. What was the experience of women who first entered the guild of educators specialising in the research and teaching about the history of France, as this field emerged after the Second World War? Our presenters will offer perspectives about roughly three "generations" of experiences: those trained between the late 1950s to the early 1970s (Harvey); those who were educated and began their careers in the 1970s-80s (Reynolds); and those entering academia in the 1990s who led the profession into the new century (Linton).

Each panelist can speak to their own ideas, but there are some common issues to treat. As these generations were the first to earn doctorates as a requirement for the job market, how did their postgraduate experience distinguish one's outlook as a historian? This may encompass a handful of women (Behrens, Prestwich, Collins, Hatton), studying French history in the UK before c1965. To what extent did women face different working conditions than male counterparts, and did that bring distinct perspectives to their research or teaching? As Richard Cobb suggested, one sought to become a historian of France by obtaining a "Second Identity." But for women historians, was it of a distinctive kind?



Wider contextual concepts may be a lens to view the development of women as scholars and teachers of French history. What characterized the broader professionalization of the field after 1960? What was the impact of factors such as the expansion of British universities; the emergence of certain institutions where French history had a key place; linguistic competence and the proximity of France for archival research; the intellectual climate of post-war Britain; and the rise of second-wave feminism?

Of course all of these topics may not be discussed in the panel's time. They so suggest the richness of a collective effort to understand how French history formed as a new field in universities, contextualized within a wider social effort to enable women greater opportunities of professional advancement than experienced in preceding decades. Hopefully, we can spark further contributions on this important historical question, and perhaps inspire a new generation of students hoping to join the Anglophone community of scholars.

Professor Harvey will lead with research on a founding generation of female historians, directed under A. Cobban (UCL) and R. Cobb (Oxford) in the two decades from 1960 to the mid-70s. Drawing on secondary sources, but principally on his set of survey interviews, he will offer some interpretations about intellectual-cultural contexts met by those who strove to forge opportunities, and more equal representation, for women in the field of French history.

*John L. Harvey* is an associate professor of history at St Cloud State University, which is a MA-level public institution, located in central Minnesota (an hour NW of Minneapolis.) Teaching in modern Europe, his research concentration is in trans-Atlantic intellectual and cultural history during the twentieth century. His writing concentrates especially on the nature of 'academic internationalism' after the First World War. He also has assembled conference panels that treated the legacy key historians, from R. R. Palmer to Bernard Faÿ, which have then been published in academic reviews. His latest was in the Dec. 2020 issue of *French History*, "Forum: The Legacy of Alfred Cobban". He is also writing a book on the nature of trans-Atlantic co-production in television drama from the 1980s, focused on old LWT.

### **Sian Hibbert**

*Accessing Justice? Women, Violence, and Litigation in Early Modern Languedoc*

**Panel 18: Accessing Justice in Early-Modern France**

The criminal cases of the parlement of Toulouse provide a window onto the social landscape of Languedoc, and are particularly useful for accessing attitudes to interpersonal violence in early modern

communities. But they are also valuable sources for considering individuals' understandings of the law and its uses in the disputing process. Prevalent in the documents are references to antecedent litigation existing between parties. These cases reveal complex stories of recurring litigation sitting alongside episodes of violent physical conflict. Such multiplicity in dispute strategies complicates our understanding of early modern dispute resolution, and is indicative of a shared legal consciousness which informed quotidian interactions. This resulted in a proliferation of disputes which were pursued and escalated through violence *and* the law. This paper will examine the role of women in violent disputes, and consider how they negotiated their conflicts through violence and litigation. Women are present in over one third of the criminal cases brought before the parlement of Toulouse between 1680 and 1720. Their testimonies shed light on the tensions underpinning everyday life. But they also reveal the manifold ways in which women fought for justice. By looking at the stories of the individuals involved, put forward in depositions, witness testimonies, and examinations, alongside the legal ephemera produced during court proceedings, we can identify decisions made and options pursued which demonstrate the value of the courts as alternative avenues for dispute extension.

### *Fighting for Power: The Notability of Seventeenth-Century Languedoc*

**Panel 15: Power and Faction in Early-Modern France**

This paper centres the periphery, and the local, in discussions of power and faction. The reign of Louis XIV has been central to ideas of decreasing interpersonal violence in France, in tandem with the expansion of an increasingly centralised state. Conversely, the criminal records of the Parlement of Toulouse record a spike in violence at the end of the seventeenth century. The complaints, depositions, and witness testimonies of the cases reveal intense, violent dispute amongst the Languedocian notability. This paper will examine the impact that the quest for office holding had on the lives of the 'middling sort', who sought to gain influence and power within their communities.

*Sian Hibbert* is a PhD student at the University of York, supervised by Professor Stuart Carroll. Her research uses the criminal records of the Parlement of Toulouse (1680-1720) to examine social relations through the lens of physical, interpersonal violence. She is interested in the political culture of early modern communities and her thesis focuses especially on the roles of women and the rural notability in the disputing process. Sian is a recipient of the Society for the Study of French History's 2022 'Ralph Gibson Bursary'.



## Leonard Hodges

*Félicité's Freedom: Law and Slavery across Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*

Panel 3: Enslavement and Revolt

In 1776 an enslaved woman named Félicité petitioned the Superior Council of Pondicherry, France's principle Indian colony, seeking freedom for herself and her daughter. She claimed that her now deceased master had failed to register her with the Admiralty when she brought her to France twenty years prior, thereby breaching a metropolitan edict of 1716 which ordered the manumission of unregistered slaves. This paper follows Félicité across oceans to examine how individuals navigated, deployed, and contested a global legal regime of slavery in France's early modern empire. It contributes an Indian perspective to the recent blossoming of scholarship on slavery, race, and the law in the early modern French empire, exemplified in the ground-breaking work of Mélanie Lamotte, Malick Ghachem, Laurie Wood, Sue Peabody, and Dominique Rogers.

At different junctures Félicité was associated with a plantation on Mauritius, accompanied her master to France as an enslaved servant, and contested her status as property in a legal suit in India. The paper reveals the ways in which Félicité's enmeshment in a complicated web of intercolonial domestic relationships shaped her legal strategies. It unpicks the tension between different experiences or contexts of slavery, and the totalising legal rubric of monumental slave laws such as the *Code Noir* and the *Police de Noirs*. In doing so, the paper argues that Félicité's case can be read as an instance of strategic legal universalism, by which apparently monolithic slave laws were deployed selectively and in piecemeal. Rather than being imposed unilaterally by an all-powerful imperial state these laws were strategically deployed, sometimes from unlikely quarters. Such instances of strategic universalism, the paper contends, had wider consequences in feeding into the mounting contradictions that bedevilled the global legal edifice of slavery in the French empire.

*Leonard (Lenny) Hodges* is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at Birkbeck, University of London. He is working on a project that examines how the law helped diffuse notions of race and slavery in the early modern French empire. He is also completing a book based on his PhD dissertation on the French Company of the Indies (*Compagnie des Indes*), undertaken at King's College London. Previous work has explored the administration of law in eighteenth-century British Bombay, as well as how European trading companies used Mughal law. He has held postdoctoral fellowships at LSE, Brown University, and Lancaster University.

## Jemima Hodgkinson

*'Une véritable Tour de Babel': The 1927 Brussels Congress in Lamine Senghor's La Voix des Nègres*

Panel 16: Transnational Print Networks

The first International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels in February 1927, brought together anti-imperialist organisations and labor unions from thirty-seven countries. Under the leadership of the Comintern, the Congress established the League Against Imperialism (LAI), an international and cross-empire coalition designed to secure *liberté*—in its various meanings—for populations under the oppression of imperialist rule.

*La Voix des Nègres*, the short-lived newspaper founded by former *tirailleur sénégalais* Lamine Senghor and the Comité de Défense de la Race Nègre (CDRN), devoted its second issue to the Brussels Congress, recirculating the speech made by Senghor and publishing a full list of participating organisations. With the help of historical context and archival records, this issue is also testament to how *la question nègre* was repeatedly overlooked by the LAI and Comintern. Moreover, it indicated the ethnic and ideological divisions which plagued Paris-based organisations such as the CDRN, and threatened cooperation even at a local level.

What does the March 1927 issue of *La Voix des Nègres* reveal about the shifting configurations of anti-imperialist alliances during the interwar period? Through a focused reading of one periodical issue and its coverage of an international event, this paper proposes Francophone press cultures as invaluable resources in the study of France and the black Atlantic.

*Jemima Hodgkinson* is a PhD candidate in French at the University of Liverpool. Her thesis, "'To Prove the Possibilities of a Negro Magazine": Cultural Engagement and Black Internationalism in the Interwar Press of New York and Paris', is a comparative study of the press cultures formed by civil rights organisations such as the NAACP in New York and CDRN in Paris. Jemima won the 2022 *Atlantic Studies* Early Career Prize for her article, 'The Mediating Text: Transatlantic Circulation among Periodicals of Interwar African American Poetry', and has a forthcoming article on the collecting practices of NAACP activist Arthur B. Spingarn and the translation of his work in the 1930s Haitian literary journal *La Relève* (*Francosphères*, December 2023).

## Kate Hodgson

*Cité de l'Indépendance: (De-)colonial*

*Epistemologies in Nineteenth-Century Haiti*

Panel 6: Knowledge and Representation

This paper takes as its starting point the extensive archived correspondence and reports of Jean Prax, a minor French consular representative in the port town of Gonaïves, Haiti in the mid-nineteenth century. While the source material undoubtedly sheds new light on the historic seat of Haiti's postcolonial independence, and by extension regions and populations that have been relatively neglected in the historiography of early Haiti, this paper will focus on the decolonising possibilities afforded by a rereading of these French imperial sources.

Creating epistemic objects of empire such as maps, technical drawings and official reports had been part of Prax's training prior to his arrival in Haiti, yet his detailed documentation of everyday life in Gonaïves and popular regional Haitian culture lay unread until recently in France's diplomatic archives. Prax's efforts to make Haiti's provinces legible to a French audience, "without pretension, without the least polish" (Prax correspondence, 1853) were consistently overshadowed by the elite "tragi-comedy" of Port-au-Prince satirized by ambassador, Maxime Raybaud ('D'Alaux', 1856), and the racist caricatures of the Haitian emperor in the French press.

France's diplomatic presence in Haiti was in its infancy, following the indemnity or debt of independence in 1825. The still relatively new transition from colonial to diplomatic relations overseen by "supercilious" ambassadors (Dubois, 2012); the neo-colonial frameworks of debt imposition and threats, and the dominant expectation that Haiti would be recolonized all feature in Prax's dispatches. Nonetheless, through a regional focus and inadvertent central positioning of the people of Gonaïves, whom he describes as "an arrogant population, who enjoy insulting strangers to prove that they are truly independent", the body of work produced by Prax in the last decade of his life in Haiti offers scope for a decolonial reading, as well as insight into the de-facto French diplomatic response to a truly unprecedented decolonization.

*Kate Hodgson* is currently Lecturer in French at University College Cork in Ireland, where she co-convenes a research cluster in the College of Advanced Studies on memory, commemoration and the uses of the past. She is the co-editor of a recent volume, *Memory, Mobility & Material Culture* (Routledge, 2022). Her research focuses on the Haitian revolution, the abolition of slavery and postcolonial memory. Kate was previously a British Academy Postdoctoral Research fellow at the University of Liverpool, where she did the initial research for this paper, a version of which is forthcoming in the *Haitian History Journal*.

## Christian Jacobs

*Slavery, Decolonization, and the Politicization of Culture: How Feminists Used Analogies to Slavery and Colonialism in Postcolonial France*

### Panel 8: Gender

The paper analyses the importance of slavery and decolonization for feminist movements in the French 1970s. I examine how feminist periodicals used analogies and metaphors connected to both colonialism and slavery to develop feminist theory and legitimize feminist actions on the ground. I argue that decolonization triggered the politicization of culture – key to the women's liberation movement. Anticolonial victories in Algeria and Vietnam, and the American civil rights movement revealed culture's contingency and its link to political power structures to French feminists. Analogies to decolonization and slavery allowed feminist activists to think about the link between cultural invisibility and power. Feminist key concepts such as sexism were grounded in these analogies. Acknowledging the political, and grassroots character of the movement, the paper does not focus on famous individuals but tracks feminist movements' logic in producing, circulating, and receiving ideas. With Ron Eyerman, I understand "movements, as cognitive praxis, that lead and direct intellectuals rather than intellectuals that lead and direct movements." This framework helps to integrate two points of criticism of global historians of feminisms. First, the analysis as a cognitive praxis sheds light on feminisms' forms of marginalization, sidelining, for instance, women of color, or non-western women. Although the colonized and enslaved were an important object of debate direct connections between French feminists and the so-called Third World were rare. Second, the paper joins recent scholarship that has linked the history of feminisms to global power relations in the Cold War. The idea of culture's contingency did not organically spread once decolonization made it apparent through the words of anticolonial leaders. In contrast, the United States played an important role as a broker of ideas from anticolonial movements to France. Thus, the case study supports recent interventions in global intellectual history thinking about moments of disconnection and non-globalization.

*Christian Jacobs* is a Ph.D. fellow at the graduate school for Global Intellectual History at Freie Universität and Humboldt-Universität in Berlin. His current research project explores how political activists used concepts of culture in France from the 1960s to the 1980s. He has studied history in Freiburg, Martinique, Taipei, and Berlin. During his Ph.D., he has held a fellowship at the German Historical Institute in Paris and was a guest scholar at EHESS Paris as well as Sciences Po Paris. Previously, he has published on Maoism in France,

postcolonial memory culture in Western Europe, and (post)-migrant activism in France.

### **Marc Jaffré**

*Courtiers and the Court of Louis XIII: Recapturing the Agency of Courtiers*

Panel 6: Knowledge and Representation

Traditionally, royal courts and their development have been understood to be driven by the personalities and desires of monarchs, their favourites and their ministers. In early modern France, where the development of the court has been seen to go hand in hand with the rise of absolutism, this focus on the actions of monarchs and their favourites has been particularly acute. This interpretation underestimates however the agency and freedom that ordinary courtiers, artisans and merchants had to construct the world in which they operated. By shifting the focus away from the monarch on to grooms, kitchen hands, stable boys and court artisans, this paper will demonstrate the extent to which even courtiers of lower status manipulated the court and its structures to gain personal prestige, and to cultural and financial ends. Their activities in turn drove the institutional development of the court, shaped its culture and its finances in ways that were just as profound as the activities of monarchs and their ministers. This paper will concentrate in particular on the royal court of Louis XIII of France (1610-1643). Because Louis XIII was a monarch who was less interested in his court than others, the activities of his courtiers and their impact on the court's development are more easily observable than they are in courts with more active monarchs. Putting into relief the agency and freedom of ordinary courtiers and artisans thus serves to underline the ways in which the court under Louis XIII was developing and expanding despite monarchical neglect. This challenges historians' long-held assumption that Louis' court was unimportant and unworthy of study. At the same time, by centring lower status courtiers and their activities, it is my hope to invite historians to rethink how they approach the development of princely courts.

*Marc W. S. Jaffré* is a lecturer in early modern history at Durham University. His research focusses on the relationship between human experience and the state. His forthcoming book on the court of Louis XIII, currently under peer-review with OUP, questions the top-down paradigm traditionally employed in court studies, emphasising instead the role that courtiers, merchants and financiers played in shaping the institutional, political, cultural, economic and military framework of Louis' court. He has also published articles on Henri IV's court and is currently editing a volume for Brepols on marginalised voices in French festival culture. Some

of his other research interests include the history of diplomatic practice and early modern hospitality.

### **Sukhwan Kang**

*Families in 'Limbo': The Drama of the Huguenot Refugees in 1680-1720*

Panel 14: Huguenots and the Wars of Religion

This paper delves into the drama of transnational Huguenot refugees around the Revocation. Although the Revocation marked the end of legal tolerance of the Protestants for eight-seven years under the Edict of Nantes, the story of early modern France's largest religious minority did not come to a halt. From 1680 to the mid eighteenth century, the emigration of 150,000-200,000 Huguenots into the Atlantic world became one of the most massive exoduses of religious minorities within the Christian world. During that period, their identity shifted from being a religious minority in France to becoming new strangers in the Atlantic world. Previous studies have mostly concentrated on the story of Huguenots who found refuge in foreign countries or those who remained in France. This study, however, examines Huguenot families in 'limbo' at the beginning of the forced migration, where some family members fled the kingdom while others were left behind. To demonstrate the reality that migrant families had to face, I analysed three interconnected categories of legal documents regarding these Huguenot families in limbo: passport requests, fluid nationalities, and legal disputes over property. By revealing the drama of the Huguenot families in limbo, this paper follows recent studies that have questioned the myths of total persecution related to the Revocation. Even if local officials arrested a number of emigrating Huguenots and supported religious unity enforced by the Revocation, they were also concerned that the persecution of Huguenots would have negative impacts on the state's stability and commerce. This is evidenced by a significant increase in accepted passport applications for Huguenots, even a decade before the death of Louis XIV. Furthermore, this study sheds light on accounts of Huguenot women in the history of the Huguenot diaspora, which had been mostly viewed from a Huguenot male perspective, with very few exceptions like Carolyn Lougee's work. Rather than focusing on great nobles and eminent Protestant ministers who successfully adapted to host societies, this paper will show the experiences of ordinary Huguenots, particularly families in limbo and Huguenot women, during this diaspora.

*Dr Sukhwan Kang* is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz, Germany. Starting in June 2023, he will be a Global Encounters fellow at the University of Tübingen. His current book project, entitled 'Between Peaceful Coexistence and Ongoing Conflict: Religious Tolerance and the Protestant

Minority in Seventeenth-Century France', examines the intersections between religious 'tolerance' and early modern France's largest religious minority, the Huguenots. His postdoctoral research, entitled 'From "Persecuted" Minority to Anxious Immigrant: The Huguenot Refugees' Struggle for Integration in the Atlantic World, 1680-1750', explores the experiences of transnational Huguenot refugees and their relationships with hosting societies throughout the Atlantic world in the post-Revocation era.

### **Guillaume Lancereau**

*A Revolution in Print, Memory, and Action: The Transnational Networks of French Republican Exiles Under the Second Empire*

#### **Panel 16: Transnational Print Networks**

This proposal focuses on how famous or little-known figures of the French republican exile under the Second Empire (1852-1870) fought for civil and political emancipation and mobilized the history of the 1789 Revolution to illuminate contemporary events and support their struggles. Activists and thinkers such as Jules Barni, Jean-Claude Colfavru, Auguste Dide, and Edgar Quinet experienced censorship and/or episodes of incarceration. They lived as outcasts in Belgium, England, Italy, and Switzerland, sometimes in exceptionally difficult conditions.

They were anxious to explain the victory of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte on December 2, 1851 and to make sense of the political developments that led, for the second time, to the defeat of the Republic. While elaborating these philosophical and historical accounts of the past, they published fiery pamphlets against the Second Empire and strove to circumvent the imperial censors. At the same time, their departure or banishment from France brought them into contact with a galaxy of liberal, republican, and socialist opponents who shared a subversive culture and a desire to understand both the past and the present in order to overthrow authoritarianism, whether in France, Italy, Poland, or Russia. This research mobilizes memoirs, private papers, journals, and newspapers to study these experiences of political exile as well as the concrete purposes and channels of diffusion of their critical writings. While illuminating the transnational activist networks of the 1850s and 1860s, it shows how the actors' trajectories, albeit asymmetrical and irregular, contributed to forging a milieu of mutual emulation and determined the cultural and political attitudes of the following decades in the ranks of republican and internationalist activists and thinkers.

*Guillaume Lancereau* is a historian of nineteenth-century Western Europe and Russia with a particular interest in transnational intellectual history. After graduating from Sciences Po Paris and the École

Normale Supérieure, he was a visiting scholar at Princeton University, while teaching history at Science Po Toulouse and the Sorbonne. Guillaume received his PhD on the historiography of the French Revolution from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. As a Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute, he conducts a research project on the transnational history of positivism from Auguste Comte to the interwar years.

### **Philippe Le Goff**

*Merleau-Ponty's Early Political Philosophy Reconsidered*

#### **Panel 1: Theories of History**

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, widely recognised as major figure of twentieth-century French philosophy, has little currency in contemporary political philosophy. Indeed his political writings have been largely overlooked or forgotten, particularly those from the immediate post-war period that advance, among other things, a radical conception of 'situated freedom'. This paper will therefore seek to: 1) consider how we might account for the broad neglect of Merleau-Ponty's political philosophy; 2) affirm, against some readers' attempts to resist periodization of Merleau-Ponty's political thought, a basic distinction between Merleau-Ponty's early and late political works; 3) reconstruct one particularly suggestive theme in Merleau-Ponty's early political writings: the critique of 'Western' humanism and its constituent racism and racialised violence.

*Philippe Le Goff* is an associate professor at the University of Warwick and the author of *Auguste Blanqui and the Politics of Popular Empowerment* (2020).

### **Tyson Leuchter**

*The Haitian Indemnity of 1825 and the Political Economy of Imperial Credit*

#### **Panel 12: Colonialism**

In 1825, as the price of formal recognition, France demanded that Haiti, its former slave colony, pay an immense indemnity – 150 million francs – as well as agree to extremely favorable trade conditions. The indemnity was meant to reimburse former slave-owning planters for land expropriated and property destroyed during the Haitian Revolution, while the trade terms were meant to enhance France's commercial position in global commodity markets. With the moral stain of compelling a nation to pay for its bloodily-won emancipation paired with the severe economic shackles imposed by the treaty terms, the Haitian indemnity has become a signature instance of "odious debt." Marlene L. Daut has piercingly labeled it "the greatest heist in history." While undoubtedly odious, the Haitian indemnity also continues to present a historical



puzzle: if the economic purpose of the treaty was to facilitate exploitation of the Haitian export trade, why then did France also levy such a mammoth indemnity upon an already poor country? The indemnity promised to drain capital out of Haiti, where it could otherwise be reinvested into agriculture, thereby improving commodity production. The aims of the French policy – extracting surplus from commodity export and imposing the “independence debt” – would thus appear to be fundamentally opposed. This paper will examine the issue from the point of view of the political economy of imperial credit. I argue that an important contingent of French policymakers did not view debt imposition and commercial expansion as opposed, but rather as mutually reinforcing. Just as France had rebounded economically after the post-Napoleonic war indemnities, so too, it was theorized, would Haiti actually benefit by shouldering such an immense debt burden. Indeed, key figures in France’s national debt policy, such as Joseph de Villèle and Jacques Laffitte, were also involved in negotiating the Haitian indemnity. As Laffitte himself had previously argued, public debt could have a “civilizing mission,” with finance capital permeating national space. While the indemnity was therefore certainly intended to placate the former planters, at the same time it was also meant to connect Haitian commerce and debt finance, in the process further yoking Haiti’s export economy to France’s emerging informal empire. My paper will thus help us understand what Mary Lewis has termed the “long decolonization” of Haiti and the imperial nature of French financial capitalism.

*Tyson Leuchter* is a Lecturer in Modern History at King’s College London. His research focuses on the institutional and intellectual history of French financial capitalism in the nineteenth century. His work has appeared in *Modern Intellectual History*, *French History*, *La Révolution française*, and *Age of Revolutions*. He is currently completing a book manuscript titled *A Financial Meridian: Public Debt, the Paris Stock Exchange, and the Making of Financial Capitalism between Empires*.

#### **David van der Linden**

*Reparations for a Massacre: Transitional Justice in the French Wars of Religion*

**Panel 18: Accessing Justice in Early-Modern France**

Societies emerging from civil conflict often engage in transitional justice, defined by the United Nations as ‘the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society’s attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice, and achieve reconciliation’. Such mechanisms include prosecution, truth and reconciliation commissions, memorials, the granting of amnesties, and reparations. Scholars typically view these

peacebuilding strategies as a distinctly ‘modern’ phenomenon, but this paper argues that early modern France provides fertile ground for exploring a much older tradition of transitional justice. My focus will be on the French Wars of Religion, in particular the efforts of Protestants and Catholics to seek redress for the massacres to which their community had fallen victim. The 1572 St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre often stands out as one of the most brutal instances of mass violence during the early modern age. Less well known, however, is that Protestant survivors went to great lengths to bring the perpetrators to justice, and that similar efforts were taken in the aftermath of other massacres committed during the wars. This paper will compare the litigation efforts of survivors from the massacre of Vassy (1562) and St Bartholomew’s Day (1572), arguing that already during the Wars of Religion – and thus well before the modern age – criminal justice was seen an effective instrument in bringing perpetrators to justice and restoring peace to communities torn apart by civil conflict.

*David van der Linden* is Assistant Professor in Early Modern History at Groningen University. His research focuses on religious conflict, memory, and justice in early modern France. He is the author of the *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Ashgate, 2015). His current book project, ‘Divided by Memory: The Legacy of the Wars of Religion in Early Modern France’, explores how Catholics and Protestants in seventeenth-century France remembered the religious wars, and how such memories could undermine religious coexistence in local communities. He is also a PI of the five-year research project ‘Building Peace: Transitional Justice in Early Modern France’, funded by the Dutch Research Council. The project aim is to analyse the impact of peacebuilding mechanisms in the aftermath of the French Wars of Religion, including peace commissioners, bipartisan courts, and the granting of reparations and amnesty.

#### **Marisa Linton**

*Being a Woman Historian of the French Revolution, 1984 to the Present*

**Panel 4: France and the Female Gaze: British Women Historians in French Studies, 1960s to 2000s**

*Please refer to John L. Harvey’s abstract for full details of this panel.*

Professor Linton will share her perspective as a student educated during the 1980s, and reflect on the opportunities or challenges that yet existed for those women who began their careers of study in British universities during the 1990s.

*Marisa Linton* is Emerita Professor of History, having taught at Kingston University from 1994 to 2019. She writes principally on the French Revolution, and the political culture and ideology of eighteenth-century France. Her interests include: the French revolutionary terror; leaders of the French Revolution, especially Robespierre, Saint-Just and the Jacobins; emotions in revolutionary politics; the role of women in politics and political culture. Her books include: *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Palgrave, 2001); *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (Oxford U.P., 2013); and, with Michel Biard, *Terror: the French Revolution and its Demons* (Polity, 2021). She has made appearances on TV, radio, and as a public speaker. She also is a historical consultant.

### **Andrea Livesey**

*'Pli Belle Que Métresse': The Louisiana Writers' Project and the Memory of French Louisiana and 'the Quadroon' in 1930s Louisiana*

**Panel 9: Sexuality and Desire**

In the late 1930s, Catherine B. Dillon, a white writer employed by the WPAs Federal Writers' Project, wrote an article on the 'Free Mulattoes of Cane River' that was submitted for inclusion in the Louisiana State Guide. In this article, Dillon discussed the differences in race relations between French-speaking and English-speaking communities: 'racial antipathy', she wrote, 'seems to belong primarily to the Anglo-Saxon race. In French speaking communities, one hears of very little trouble between the Negro and the white man'.<sup>1</sup>

As Nina Silber has recently argued, 'the various efforts to view the developments of the 1930s and 40s through the prism of past revealed 'some of the complicated ways that Americans confronted the problem of race'.<sup>2</sup> Louisianans similarly looked to its colonial and francophone past to define who it was in the present. The portrayed sense of tragedy, inherent in the loss of an intermingling of the races interrupted by the Civil War and Reconstruction, meant that Louisiana was able to package and sell to the Federal Government a local mythology based upon the loss of their imagined racially-tolerant Francophone culture. In this paper I will argue that in trying to define what it meant to be Louisianan in the 1930s, light-skinned black women, their sexuality, and desirability were put at the centre of this contested French/American identity.

*Dr Andrea Livesey* is a Senior Lecturer in the History of Slavery at Liverpool John Moores University. She has published articles on sexual violence, slavery and childhood in Louisiana, and has a forthcoming book on interviews with formerly enslaved people conducted by the Louisiana Writers' Project in the 1930s (LSU Press).

### **Ronan Love**

*'It is the Deficit which is the Treasure of the State; It is the Public Debt which has been the Seed of our Freedom': Public Debt, Political Emancipation, and the Beginning of the French Revolution*

**Panel 19: Democracy and Agency**

On 17 June 1789, the deputies of the Third Estate began the French Revolution not only by declaring themselves the National Assembly — a new political organ claiming sovereign power in France — but also by issuing two extraordinary decrees. First, the deputies declared that all existing taxes were illegal until consented to by the legislature; then, the Assembly pledged that all debts of the Old Regime would be honoured by the French nation. Why, we might wonder, would the new reign of liberty begin by depriving itself of tax revenues, and why would it honour the debts of the monarchy, the very regime it intended to replace?

Whilst extant historiography sees these policies as either bowing to public pressure or measures taken in crisis, this talk will delve deeper into the rationales that motivated the Assembly's initial political and financial work. By re-contextualising the politics of June-October 1789 within the financial crisis of the Old Regime, this paper shows how the revolutionary seizure of power — and with-it France's liberation from monarchical rule — was to a significant extent the result of a policy of financial brinksmanship. The revolutionary deputies, in short, abolished all taxes and honoured the state's debts to maintain the monarchy's financial crisis. This crisis, they resolved, would only be addressed directly once the King had granted the French nation a new constitutional settlement.

By showing how the Revolution resulted from the active politicisation of financial crisis, this paper challenges the trends of revolutionary historiography that either see the Revolution's outbreak as the result of circumstances or the product of Enlightened ideology. Even when threatened by bankruptcy, we shall see how revolutionaries held firm to the politics of financial brinksmanship to establish their new constitution. France's political emancipation from monarchy, as such, was as much the product of a practical seizure of power won by political tactic as it was the righteousness of ideas like liberty and equality.

*Ronan Love* is a M4C-funded fourth-year Ph.D. candidate at the University of Warwick. His thesis, which explores the politics of government finance during the French Revolution, shows how the Revolution's financial policy — and specifically its implications for the changing theory and practice of revolutionary sovereignty — help us explain the fall of the Old Regime, the politics of the Revolution, and the causes of the Terror.

## Matthew Maguire

*Henri Bergson: Origins, Originality, and Freedom*

### Panel 1: Theories of History

The commitment to *liberté* has been at the center of French intellectual, political, and cultural life since at least 1789. But what exactly is freedom? Is it simply the ability to do what one wants without physical hindrance, as in Hobbes? Does it consist supremely in choosing one's representatives? Is freedom the exercise of certain rights (of speech, association, etc.)? Is it a repudiation of what is given or inherited in favor of autonomy and self-creation? All of these potentially emancipatory possibilities have their champions and moments of flourishing in modern French history. Yet it is worth attending to a comparatively neglected account of freedom, held by a thinker who has a compelling claim to be France's most influential philosopher of the twentieth century: Henri Bergson. For Bergson, freedom includes but exceeds the exercise of rights in what he was the first to call an "open society," and no less includes and no less exceeds the choosing of one's leaders. Freedom and its relation to precedent and history are understood in a unique way in Bergson's thought, allowing in turn for a new relation between origins and originality, and between continuity and innovation.

As will be shown, this path of thinking was in many ways a riposte to notions of freedom enjoying considerable popularity in the middle decades of the Third Republic—yet it does not simply reject them, and instead marks them as incomplete. It was Bergson's account of freedom that opened up fascinating possibilities for many French and French-educated intellectuals in the early twentieth century, and inspired new thinking about freedom within and beyond the boundaries of the Hexagon.

*Matthew W. Maguire* is an intellectual historian of Modern Europe. Among various articles and essays, he is the author of *The Conversion of Imagination: From Pascal through Rousseau to Tocqueville* (Harvard University Press), and *Carnal Spirit: The Revolutions of Charles Péguy* (University of Pennsylvania Press). He teaches history at DePaul University in Chicago (USA).

## Hugh McDonnell

*Empire and Emancipation in the Non-Violent Activism of General Jacques Pâris de Bollardière (1957–1986)*

### Panel 12: Colonialism

In April 1957, general Jacques Pâris de Bollardière abruptly quit the French army. He had only been promoted a few months before, and was the youngest officer of that rank to serve in France's escalating counter-insurgency campaign against the

Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). However, Bollardière refused to accept the use of torture in the 'pacification' of France's North African departments. In doing so, he jettisoned a celebrated career forged during the Second World War in the Free French army and as a maquis leader in the Ardennes, and in France's colonial war in Indochina (1945-1954).

Bollardière would subsequently reinterpret his military vocation, coming to the conclusion that, counterintuitively, remaining faithful to his formative values meant throwing himself into the non-violence movement. He was a founding member of the Mouvement pour une Alternative Non-Violente (MAN), in the deliberate acronym. Bollardière's relationship to colonialism and imperialism remained ambivalent, however. On the one hand, as part of his new commitment to non-violence he took seriously the freedom and emancipation of France's colonies, not simply at the moment of decolonisation but as ongoing concerns. On the other hand, he remained a strong enthusiast of classic figures of French imperialism, notably Joseph Gallieni and Hubert Lyautey, as well as maintaining affection for the British military, seemingly oblivious to its own role in British imperialism.

This paper examines how this ambiguity manifested in Bollardière's engagement in now forgotten, high-profile national debates about the violence and legacy of France's wars, such as his exchanges with general Jacques Massu in 1972 on the Battle of Algiers. Aside from considering the stakes of Bollardière's understanding of emancipation and imperialism in these debates, this paper considers the nature and challenges of self-narrative, particularly in the case of someone like Bollardière, whose life takes a radical change of direction.

*Hugh McDonnell* is Assistant Professor of European Languages and Cultures at the University of Groningen. He completed his PhD at the University of Amsterdam, before working as a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Edinburgh. He is an historian specialising in twentieth century French and European history. His first book, *Europeanising Spaces in Paris, c. 1947-1962* was published by Liverpool University Press in 2016. He is currently finishing a monograph, provisionally titled *The Fight for Non-Violence in the Twentieth Century: General Jacques Pâris de Bollardière*.

## Chris Millington

*The Anarchist and the Tiger: Emile Cottin and the Shooting of Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, February 1919*

### Panel 13: Political Violence During the Third Republic

Based on extensive research in archives and the press, this paper examines anarchist Emile Cottin's attempt to assassinate Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau in February 1919. Clemenceau survived the attack, but the incident raised questions about the apparent "foreign" influence in French politics, not least the presence of foreign terrorists on French soil. A long-standing association between Russia and "terrorism" acquired a new element—Soviet communism. Such depictions harbingered the political civil war that would later engulf France.

The paper reconstructs the attack and the police investigation, before bringing Cottin's personal life under analysis. Journalists and investigators strove to understand how, why, and when the young attacker had committed himself to a cause for which he was prepared to kill. Was he an innocent dupe, a fanatical terrorist, or something else? Cottin's "conversion" to anarchism stands comparison with modern debates over radicalization and deradicalization, and the paper will explore how contemporaries understood the path to terrorism that some young men took.

*Chris Millington* is Reader in Modern European History at Manchester Metropolitan University. He is the author of several books on twentieth century France including *Fighting for France: Violence in Interwar French Politics* (OUP: 2018), and *A History of Fascism in France* (Bloomsbury, 2020).

#### **Teddy Paikin**

*Agency and Freedom in the Historical Materialism of Sorel, Jaures and Lafargue*

**Panel 6: Knowledge and Representation**

This paper evaluates the *fin-de-siècle* debates between Georges Sorel, Jean Jaurès, and Paul Lafargue on the concepts of the juridical, the ideal, and the subject, and how these can determine the process of historical development and the transition to socialism. I argue that rather than constituting a justification for revisionism and the supposed "crisis of Marxism", the turn toward agential categories on the part of Sorel and Jaures served two very different purposes: first, they sought to develop a theoretical Marxism that would be distinct from the hegemonic discourse of the German SPD and Austro-Marxism. In the Belle Epoque, French theoretical Marxism was peripheral relative to its Central European counterparts. Sorel in particular therefore sought to develop transnational intellectual links with Italian thinkers such as Benedetto Croce and Antonio Labriola in order to contest the hegemony of a seemingly mechanistic and deterministic German theoretical Marxism. Second, I argue that the resort of Jaurès and Sorel to the concepts of the ideal and the juridical served to integrate historical materialism into mainstream

French intellectual life, which having witnessed a century of revolution, could not so easily discount the role of supposedly "superstructural" institutions such as the state, law, and political agency in determining the course of history. In each instance, the work of Paul Lafargue will constitute the standard and orthodox Engelsian interpretation which the more agency-oriented theories of Sorel and Jaurès seek to contest. I will conclude with considerations relating to how Jaurès and Sorel's underlying epistemological and theoretical architectures justified their very different subsequent pursuits of emancipatory political strategies relative to the French state.

*Teddy Paikin* is a PhD candidate at McGill University under the supervision of Professor Gavin Walker. I have a BA in Political Science from Sciences Po Paris and an MA in Philosophy from the New School for Social Research. My research focuses on the history of French economic thought during the Belle Epoque from the perspectives of liberal and socialist political economy, and more specifically on the relationship between conceptions of state-civil society relations and accounts of social development. Given my academic background, my methodology and theoretical approach is multidisciplinary, standing at the intersection of intellectual history, political economy, political theory and historical sociology.

#### **Munro Price**

*Defending the Old Regime: Ministers and the Parlement of Paris in September 1788*

**Panel 15: Power and Faction in Early-Modern France**

Few events in French history have aroused such hopes of freedom and emancipation as Jacques Necker's return to office in August 1788 with the firm promise of summoning the estates general early the following year. This paper examines a less familiar aspect of this event - the final attempt by those few politicians who still believed in the old regime to save it by a last-minute deal with the Parlement of Paris. Within a few weeks, however, this effort had failed, removing the last obstacle to the convocation of the estates, and proving beyond doubt that the monarchy, and France itself, were entering a new era.

*Munro Price* is Professor of Modern European History at Bradford University, specialising in the French Revolution. He is the author, among other books, of *The fall of the French monarchy* (2002), *The perilous crown: France between revolutions, 1814-1848* (2007), and *Napoleon: the end of glory* (2014).

#### **Siân Reynolds**

*Not Necessarily in the Right Order: Trajectory of a Woman Historian/Translator from the 1960s*



#### Panel 4: France and the Female Gaze: British Women Historians in French Studies, 1960s to 2000s

Please refer to John L. Harvey's abstract for full details of this panel.

Professor Reynolds will speak from the generation of those who were postgraduates in the 1970s, first publishing during the cultural and political climate of the 1980s. Her perspective differs from some others due to her doctoral training in France, rather than a British university, and she can also speak on her experience of French studies from the institutional perspective of Scotland.

*Siân Reynolds* is Emerita Professor of French at Stirling University, having taught at Edinburgh and Sussex. She has a History doctorate from the University of Paris VII supervised by Michelle Perrot (1981). Her publications on political culture and gender in France, from the Revolution to the Second World War, include *France Between the Wars: gender and politics* (1996); *Paris-Edinburgh: cultural connections in the Belle Époque* (2007) and *Marriage and Revolution: Monsieur and Madame Roland* (2012). She has also translated a number of historical works from French, and is editor of the English-language online edition of the journal *Clio*. *Femmes, Genre, Histoire*.

#### Penny Roberts

*'Je vous prie que si avez aucunes nouvelles de France...': Ambassadors and their Frustrations during the Wars of Religion*

#### Panel 14: Huguenots and the Wars of Religion

Ambassadorial correspondence is an extremely rich resource for understanding not only diplomatic relations but also how the French religious wars were perceived and shaped from abroad. This paper focuses on the period from 1568 to 1575, during which Bertrand de Salignac, sieur de La Mothe Fénelon, was French ambassador to the English court. The source for the above quotation, he continues, 'I beg you that if you have any news from France, please let me know, for it is thirty-four days since I have received any'. Most ambassadors were frustrated by the problem of receiving and sending information and by the belief that they were always less well served than their diplomatic counterparts. In addition, they often faced a lack of appreciation or trust from their employer as well as their host and were not always kept informed of political intrigues lest they or their entourage divulge secrets. Indeed, ambassadors and their households were often regarded with suspicion and distrust and were both summoned before the authorities to answer for the activities of their countrymen and expected to convey the displeasure of their hosts, making theirs a thankless task. Despite the limited freedom they had to determine their own fortunes and the various

frustrations they faced, this paper will show that ambassadors could play an important role at the heart of events through both formal and more clandestine channels.

*Penny Roberts* is Professor of early modern European history at the University of Warwick and current President of the Society for the Study of French History. Her research focuses on the period of the French religious wars, with a particular focus on violence and peace-making. She recently co-edited with Mark Greengrass a special issue of *French History* on the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacres and is completing a book provisionally entitled, 'Truth and Secrecy: Clandestine Confessional Networks in sixteenth-century France'.

#### Gonzalo Sanchez

*The Contested Representation of the Cellular Regime in Paris, 1848-1894*

#### Panel 17: Penal Histories

The paper I hope to present at the Society for the Study of French History's conference in Liverpool is based on chapter of a longer book whose manuscript I am now revising: *The Artist-Prisoners of Paris: Creativity and Captivity, 1793-1894*. The monograph's remit is to build on the literature of nineteenth century French penal history by contributing findings from original research that allows us to highlight the role enacted by artists jailed in Paris as emblems of the prison's changing status and as embodiments of its creative challenges. Specifically, my subject is the conceivability of rendering the look and feel of the penitentiary space from the inside: if and how the values and techniques of "art" could be made consonant with the prison setting; if and how carceral space could be "imaged".

The chapter and paper, titled "The Contested Representation of the Cellular Regime in Paris, 1848-1894", reviews and analyzes the erasure of words and images from prison because of the conversion of carceral regimes from pre-Revolutionary "Bastilles" to the supposedly reforming "cellular" model. Perhaps the most significant result of the monomaniacal attempt to reconcile paradoxes of liberty, punishment, alienation, and rehabilitation, the cellular regime involved at once a heightening of visibility—the watching over prisoners, of their space, behavior, and activities—and a corresponding curtailment of their ability to represent imprisonment through words and images. Regulations interdicting graffiti and drawings on walls, other markings on carceral property, as well as any artistic activity, were meant to control all visual registers of the prison experience.

My proposed paper, which has not been presented or published elsewhere, offers case studies of how political prisoners after the 1848 Revolutions, the 1871 Paris Commune, and the Anarchist movement of the 1890s—who were especially engaged with matters of representation and communication—responded to this new régime.

**Gonzalo Sanchez** is Professor of French History and Humanities at the Juilliard School (New-York), and a specialist in nineteenth-century French cultural history. I have served as Visiting Professor at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* and the *Centre de recherches politiques Raymond Aron*, Paris. My books include: *Organizing Independence: The Artists Federation of the Paris Commune and Its Legacy, 1871-1889* (University of Nebraska); *Pity in Fin-de-Siècle France: Liberté, Égalité, Pitié* (Praeger); and forthcoming, *The Artist-Prisoners of Paris: Creativity and Captivity, 1793-1894*.

### **John Savage**

*Restoration Liberals and Le Pacte Coloniale: Charles Comte's Critique of Slavery (and Capitalism)*  
**Panel 3: Enslavement and Revolt**

In the wake of the Haitian Revolution and Treaty of Vienna, metropolitan French authorities attempted to revive the economies of the remaining Caribbean colonies such as Martinique and Guadeloupe. The effort to reassert the Old Regime *Exclusif* had unintended consequences, however, and the new version of *Le Pacte Coloniale* attracted the attention of a generation of liberal thinkers, who often considered slave society a foil for their vision of modern liberal society. This paper considers in particular one seminal author of this period, Charles Comte, co-founder of the foundational journal *Le Censeur* and author of several influential texts on law and political economy. I will show that Comte actually engaged in a detailed analysis of the political economy of France's slave colonies and made use of slavery in a central way in several of his most influential works. Ultimately, his ideas shaped the oddly partial and sometimes self-contradictory policy reforms adopted by leading liberals of the July Monarchy years later. Further, I will draw parallels between Comte's critique of colonial capitalism and some of the key insights of the "New History of Capitalism and Slavery" – the recent historiography that is most often tied to the history of slavery in the United States. The French example both confirms and complicates some of the claims made by current defenders of Eric Williams's famous thesis on capitalism, slavery and abolition.

**John Savage** teaches History and Global Studies at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, USA. He has published a number of articles in journals such as *French Historical Studies*, the *Journal of Social History*, and *Citizenship Studies* on the topic of slave

crime, colonial punishment regimes, and the colonial law of property, and co-edited the volume *Napoleon's Atlantic: The Impact of Napoleonic Empire in the Atlantic World*. He is currently preparing a manuscript on the transformation of colonial slave law in the French Caribbean following the Haitian Revolution.

### **David Shafer**

*The Assassination of Marius Plateau, 22 January 1923*

**Panel 13: Political Violence During the Third Republic**

On 22 January 1923, twenty-year-old Germaine Berton assassinated Marius Plateau, head of the *Camelots du roi*, the proto-fascist, hyper-nationalistic paramilitary wing of the *Action Française*. Berton existed on the fringes of anarchist circles and had an arrest record, but there was no reason to suspect her capable of a political assassination.

Berton's trial became a cause célèbre and ended with her acquittal for murder, a verdict some saw as recompense for the exoneration of Jaurès's murderer four years previously, but which the AF characterized as the result of a system stacked against it.

The lack of more than a few articles on the case is not owing to its historical insignificance. In addition to being an intrinsically fascinating story, it is at once a textured and nuanced story of Paris in the 1920s, pregnant with relevance to gender constructs, criminal investigatory techniques, France's revolutionary tradition, media celebrity, the politics of surrealism, and of contemporary relevance, conspiracy theories.

My paper at the SSFH conference will focus on conspiracy theories – and, in particular, unwarranted claims by the AF of collusion between the French police and judiciary and anarchists. The killing of Plateau – and the unflinching belief by the AF that it was part of a larger conspiracy of the left (and its fellow travelers in the Paris police force) – led to an uptick in right-wing violence unseen in France since the last decade of the nineteenth century when reactions to the Dreyfus Affair nearly tore apart the fledgling Third Republic. This book project is the extension of my previous two monographs: *The Paris Commune: French Politics, Culture, and Society at the Crossroads of the Revolutionary Tradition and Revolutionary Socialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and *Antonin Artaud* (Reaktion Press/University of Chicago, 2016), bridging works that examined France's revolutionary tradition and the surrealist movement.

*David Shafer* is the chair of the department of history at California State University, Long Beach and a professor of modern and contemporary French history. He received his PhD from University College London in 1994, writing on the French revolutionary tradition in the nineteenth-century. In addition to a number of articles, he was the editor of a special issue of *Cahiers d'Histoire* (2005) and is the author of *The Paris Commune: French Politics, Culture, and Society at the Crossroads of the Revolutionary Tradition and Revolutionary Socialism* (Palgrave, 2005) and *Antonin Artaud* (Reaktion, 2016).

### **Claire Siviter**

*'Il n'existe point de censure en France': Napoleonic Pretences of Theatrical Freedom*

#### **Panel 7: Visual Cultures**

Despite Napoleon's claims in 1806 that there was no censorship in France, the archives provide ample evidence of its existence, especially when it came to the stage. Drawing on over 100 archival holdings, this paper will explore how the Napoleonic regime tried to keep the appearance of free expression whilst also maintaining a tight surveillance of the theatrical scene.

Prior to 1789, pre-performance censorship had been the norm for the stage and it was a necessary creative hurdle that playwrights and actors had to jump through to have any play performed in public. Theatrical censorship did not die about immediately after the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, despite the fact that the Declaration enshrined freedom of expression in law. With the creation of the Ministry of Police in 1796, theatre censorship started to be systematically organised again, to not insignificant rumbling. Napoleon thus inherited a theatrical censorship system with 18 Brumaire, albeit it one in need of refinement.

From the earliest days of the Consulate through to the end of the Hundred Days, Napoleon and his officials struggled with the battle to control the stage but also to give enough space so that authors, actors, and audiences thought it was free enough to not cause a fuss. Drawing on repeated appearances in the archives, this paper will examine the use of communication and surveillance policies that reduced the state's need to show it was censoring the stage, striking a balance between censorship and freedom of expression that ultimately reinforced the power of the Napoleonic regime. In so doing, this paper will respond to a number of the conference's themes.

*Clare Siviter* is Senior Lecturer in French Theatre and Performance at the University of Bristol. Her publications include *Tragedy and Nation in the Age of Napoleon* (2020, shortlisted for the R. Gapper

Prize) and the co-edited volumes *Un Engagement envers et contre tous: servir les révolutions, rejouer leurs mémoires (1789-1848)* (2021, with Jérémy Decot) and *Celebrity Across the Channel, 1750-1850* (2021, with Anaïs Pédrón). In 2022, Clare was chosen as a BBC/AHRC New Generation Thinker, a Franco-British Young Leader, and a patron of the France Alumni-UK network. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy. Her current Leverhulme Research Fellowship is on theatre censorship and subjectivity, 1788-1818.

### **Andrew Smith**

*Sheep and Helicopters: Choosing Non-Violence in the Early Larzac Struggle (1970-1973)*

#### **Panel 10: Environments**

The Larzac military camp was reshaped by decolonization and then the Cold War. The camp's role during the war in Algeria, then its use by France's NATO allies in the 1960s, altered local attitudes and shaped the nature of the protests against its expansion which would take off in the 1970s. This paper will explore how the choice of non-violence by opponents to the camp's expansion was strongly related both to currents of international pacifism and the religious influence of Vatican-II.

In Easter 1972, Lanza del Vasto, the Catholic disciple of Gandhi dubbed 'Shantidas' (servant of peace), spoke to the sheep-farming communities around Millau about non-violence, drawing on over a decade's experience protesting French military camps. His nearby religious retreat, the 'Community of the Ark', had marched against the use of the Larzac camp as an internment centre in 1959 and continued to encourage national campaigns for draft-dodging and conscientious objection led by France's pacifist movement. So too did the visit of the Brazilian Bishop Dom Helder Camara to Orléans energise French pacifist groups, sparking hunger-strikes against international arms sales. Camara's host, the Bishop of Orléans, was a prominent voice amongst France's clergy, joining a chorus of support as farmers established their non-violent resistance. Orléanais pacifists travelled to and settled on the plateau to support farmers opposing the military camp's expansion.

As the Algerian war came to a bloody close, and after the Larzac camp had served as a short-term relocation centre for Harkis, the French military sought other uses, leasing it to British troops based on the Rhine who had run out of space for exercises. Locals who tolerated the French army were less forgiving of foreign troops training to fight their own wars of empire in Northern Ireland, and the pacifist message of figures like del Vasto resonated anew. Techniques like hunger strikes and squatting had been honed in resistance to France's military adventures and international arms sales, and as the



Larzac movement emerged from 1970 these non-violent tactics presented new opportunities. Networks of Christian pacifism were central to the Larzac struggle, and their connections across continents informed both the personnel and methods of the Larzac movement.

*Dr Andrew WM Smith* is an historian of modern France interested particularly in ideologies and strategies of resistance, and how identities are shaped by interaction with the state. This has led him to look at wartime resistance, protest movements, and the end of empire spanning the Second World War and Cold War. His first book *Terror and Terroir*, explored wine and violence in the South of France, looking at how wider economic changes unsettled professional identities, fostered unrest and altered regional and national politics. Currently he is working on a book on the Larzac struggle and its international connections, and most recently he has written a survey chapter on the Fifth Republic called 'Between Gaullism and Globalization: Opening up the Fifth Republic, 1958-2020'. Andrew is the Director of Liberal Arts at Queen Mary University of London, the Secretary of the Society for the Study of French History and the Honorary Secretary for the Royal Historical Society.

### **Marshall Smith**

*Excavating the Site/Sight of Middle Passage Cultural Memory Through the Flesh of the Postplantation Visual Archive*

**Panel 7: Visual Cultures**

The physical body serves as a protective cover for malleable and vulnerable “flesh”, but what can we learn from the subtle body and what is its relationship to flesh as a philosophical concept? During the Middle Passage and plantation-based slavery in the Americas, black bodies were reduced to bare life logics rendering them invisible. The subtle body, however, describes the various layers of vibrating energy that comprise of a human beyond the physical or material matter enveloped in differences of skin. In this paper, I will unpack how the institution of slavery created a tear in the body politic of African-descended persons in the Americas exposing the flesh of the matter and by ‘flesh’ I’m referring to the precultural materiality of the body as flesh in opposition to the discursively constructed or “imagined body.

How is cultural memory related to artistic production and praxis? How do visual artists of the Plantation Americas apply the process of “repairing” vis-à-vis cultural trauma and artistic praxis where the spatial dimension becomes important in the form of traumatized places or landscapes? What is the importance of the temporal dimension since this process aims to reconstitute or reconfigure a collective representation as a way of mending a

break in the social fabric? This tear evokes the need to “narrate new foundations” which includes reinterpreting the past as a means toward reconciling present and future needs (Eyerman 2001, 4). This presentation will explore these questions as they are negotiated through ‘flesh work’ in a selected arc of works by Jean-Michel Basquiat, Kara Walker, and Edouard Duval-Carrié, all descendants of what we might call “extensions of the plantation” according to Édouard Glissant in *Faulkner, Mississippi*.

*Marshall L. Smith* (PhD, Cornell 2023) is an Assistant Professor of French and Francophone Studies at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania (U.S.A). Smith’s research and pedagogical interests include Black French Studies, comparative Francophone/Anglophone Caribbean and African American Literatures at the intersection of postcolonial, creolization and queer theories. His most recent publications are “Corporeal Conceptions: Body Politics, French Republicanism and Sport in Banlieue Literature” in *Pour le Sport: Physical Culture in French and Francophone Literature* with Liverpool University Press (2022) and “Blood Isn’t Always Thicker Than Water: Delineating the Grotesque Gaze and Locating the ‘Flesh’ in Victor Séjour’s *Le mulâtre* (1837) in *L’Esprit Createur* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Summer 2021).

### **Russell Stephens**

*‘Between Sword Swallowers and Fenians’: Struggle for Political Consciousness within the Late Second Empire Visual Mass Entertainment Industry*  
**Panel 7: Visual Cultures**

This paper argues that there was a critical relationship between the politically-committed late Second Empire caricatures of Honoré Daumier and the visual mass entertainment industry in which he worked. Daumier was surrounded by a competitive capitalist mass media marketplace in which market-aware artists constructed distinct satirical brands on a daily and ongoing basis. The most prolific and dominant of these figures was the caricaturist Charles Amédée de Noé, or “Cham,” as he was publicly known. This paper will examine a series of back-and-forth exchanges, or ‘satirical replies’ between Daumier and Cham that have not yet been considered within the realm of scholarship regarding the late Second Empire mass entertainment industry. One published exchange I will discuss, which also represents a case study in the battle over the representation of a Chinese diplomatic visit to Paris at the time of the 1867 Exposition Universelle, pivots around the motif of Chinese acrobats and sword swallowers performing at the World’s Fair. Here, Cham’s initial sexualized xenophobic mockery showing a Mandarin figure putting his lips around the barrel of a Prussian soldier’s “needle-gun,” is



ten days later transformed by Daumier into an allegory peace in which a heroic sword-swallower rids the world of its weapons of war. Another 'satirical reply' I will consider turns on the connection between of the repression of black workers in Morant Bay, Jamaica (1865) with the struggle against British colonialism of Irish Fenians. Cham's initial caricatures had 'comically' depicted 'lazy Jamaicans' who were unwilling to fight for the Irish cause unless they were fed. Seizing upon the elements of this cross-struggle motif, Daumier transforms his own image into an imagined vision of internationalist solidarity in which a Jamaica whispers political counsel to a Fenian who is fighting against the British Empire. Here, methodologically applying Walter Benjamin's notion of modernity as drawn from his Arcades Project, in which the collective was believed to have been historically asleep, Cham's caricatures will be discussed as one strand within the era's 'vast dream world' that I have named (politically unconscious) "laughter phantasmagoria." In contrast, Daumier's images will be understood as "counterimages" that manifested a materialist historical knowledge that was actively working to transform the mythic dream condition into an "awakened" collective state.

*Russell Stephens* was born in the small pulp mill town of Powell River on Canada's west coast, and at the age of four moved with his family to North Vancouver where he was raised. He received his Bachelor's degree in film and fine art from Simon Fraser University. He then worked for a number of years as an independent filmmaker, before returning to school to pursue a MA in Art History at the University of British Columbia. In 2018 he published an article for *Art Journal* on the Indian artist Ravi Agarwal entitled - *Extinct? An Art Intervention in Delhi*. And, just last month on May 17th, he passed his defense of his PhD Art History thesis at UBC entitled - *The Politics of Sex, Race, and Working-Class Slang in Late Second Empire Caricature*.

#### **Patricia R. Turner**

*Can Civil Society Be Too Civil? The Dilemma of Defending Democracy during the French Third Republic*

**Panel 13: Political Violence during the Third Republic**

In *The Virtues of Violence* (2020), Kevin Duong argues that "popular redemptive violence" ideologically promoted in 19<sup>th</sup> century France a form of democratic politics epitomized by "a battle for solidarity, a fight to create a set of social bonds that could make us collectively free." The 20<sup>th</sup> century's global wars, totalitarian regimes, and unprecedented carnage, Duong suggests, irrevocably altered Europe's political development and, with it, contemporary theoretical

understandings of political violence. He nonetheless contends that the centrality of popular redemptive violence in 19<sup>th</sup> century French democratic politics reveals the fragility of "constitutional patriotism" in contemporary democracies and underscores the enduring, essential need for democratic social bonds.

Duong's provocative thesis raises a number of challenging questions for both contemporary theorists of democracy and modern French historians. Focusing on the process of democratization during the Third Republic, this paper utilizes Duong's concept of "popular redemptive violence" to challenge a prevalent paradigm of democratization and social cohesion: civil society. Proponents of civil society argue that it not only strengthens social trust, civic engagement, and democratic norms, but it can also serve as a bulwark against corruption and anti-democratic politics. The civil society argument is, by definition, antithetical to violence.

Using an array of archival and demographic evidence, this paper argues that in the first three decades of the Third Republic, organized civil society (i.e., voluntary associations and print media) expanded explosively in French municipalities, coinciding with the social and political consolidation of republican democracy. Contentious communal politics notwithstanding, local civil societies demonstrably strengthened civic engagement, democratic norms, and social cohesion. Moreover, despite the travails of total war, depression, and frequent political crises, they continued to thrive throughout the Third Republic. But they proved woefully inadequate in confronting or impeding corruption and anti-democratic politics, except in the comparatively rare incidents where local civic groups embraced what might be termed "redemptive violence." In short, I argue that while civil society in the Third Republic promoted and preserved democratic politics and values, it could not remain "civil" and effectively defend them.

*Patricia Turner* is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire. Prior to my tenure at UW-EC, I was an associate professor at Lehigh University (Bethlehem, PA). My published work and conference papers focus primarily on politics and society in the French Third Republic. This paper is part of a book manuscript titled "Democracy in France: Civil Society, Politics and the State during the Third Republic."

#### **Susannah Wilson**

*The Fiquet Affair: Medicine, Morphine and Murder at the Fin-de-Siècle*

**Panel 5: Policing the Margins**

This presentation examines a case of drug addiction and child murder that caused a scandal in 1880s France, and which resulted in the perpetrator being sent to the French penal colony. The trial of Marie-Françoise Fiquet, a 'morphinomaniac' convicted of murdering a five-year-old girl in Dijon in 1882, hinged on the question of whether the woman's drug use affected her state of mind at the time of the crime. Drawing on primary sources such as the medical reports (published in key journals in 1883) by Dr Marandon de Montyel, director of the Dijon public asylum, and the Parisian alienist and medico-legal expert Dr Émile Blanche; the extensive regional and national press reports; and the *dossier de procédure* conserved at the Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, this paper considers the question of free will and responsibility in the context of nineteenth-century ideas around femininity, violence, normality and pathology. Widely cited in medical journals, theses, and treatises, the Fiquet affair represented a test case in legal medicine on violent crime and morphine addiction. The Fiquet affair is a story about the everyday struggles and traumas of a working-class woman whose behaviour before her crime deviated significantly from acceptable gender norms. The experts who handled her case, in their search for a plausible medical or moral explanation, failed to achieve a satisfying explanation for Fiquet's actions in a case that remained perplexing and inconclusive.

*Dr Susannah Wilson* is a Reader (Associate Professor) in French Studies at the University of Warwick. She is the author of one monograph, *Voices from the Asylum: Four French Women Writers* (published by Oxford University Press in 2010) and sole editor of a volume of essays published with Routledge in 2019, *Prohibitions and Psychoactive Substances in History, Culture and Theory*. She was the recipient of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in 2018 to enable her to progress her second monograph project, *Morphine Manias: Addiction and Anxiety in French Literature and History, 1870-*

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