Aldrich, Robert (Department of History, University of Sydney): France’s Colonial Island: Corsica and the Empire (Panel 7). Corsica, although accounting for only a tiny proportion of France’s population, provided a fifth of the administrators and metropolitan soldiers in the overseas empire during the Third and Fourth Republics. Hardship at home – poverty, disease, lack of employment – forced Corsicans to seek opportunities afforded by the burgeoning colonial administration, and Corsicans became the single most significant French “provincial” group in the empire. Ties of language, culture and kinship, and institutions such as amicales and newspapers, allowed Corsicans to retain a sense of solidarity while overseas, and migrant remittances provided substantial revenue for their island. The end of empire necessarily brought colonial expatriation to an end, yet the installation of pieds-noirs in Corsica also sparked renewed nationalist sentiment. Many argued that a fervently colonialist Corsica had, in fact, always been a profoundly colonised Corsica. Colonialism, which had functioned as a means of incorporating Corsica into the unified nation, had paradoxically also been a way to reaffirm local identity and underline regional grievances. A study of the relationship between Corsica and the empire provides an example of the complex interactions between regionalism, nationalism and colonialism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France.

Attuel-Mendes, Laurence (ESC Dijon-Bourgogne): Evolution of Gender and Marriage: Outreach on Entrepreneurship? (Panel 9) The purpose of this paper is to examine whether the French arguments used by the tribunals to refuse homosexual marriages are still valid on the world scale and if they have an impact on entrepreneurship. The first argument used is the lack of precision in the Civil code, which implies the need for the intervention of Parliament (as, for example, in Belgium or South Africa). The second argument is the European tribunals’ decisions in support of heterosexual marriage. A major difference occurs when we look at North American tribunals, which welcome homosexual unions despite local laws.

Bard, Christine (Université d’Angers) Keynote Address: Le pantalon : une histoire politique, de la Révolution française à nos jours. La différenciation radicale des apparences selon le sexe est contemporaine du Code civil napoléonien. La situation des femmes régresse alors dans tous les domaines de la vie sociale. Alors que le pantalon, qui symbolise (comme son ancêtre la culotte) la masculinité et le pouvoir, est le privilège des hommes, les femmes se voient imposer des contraintes vestimentaires marquant les fonctions sociales associées à leur genre. Il leur est interdit (ordonnance de police de 1800) de s’habiller « en homme ». Mais la transgression de l’interdit hante la longue controverse sur l’émancipation des femmes. Les antiféministes représentent l’objet de leurs craintes dans d’innombrables caricatures ; certaines féministes s’emparent du symbole de l’égalité des sexes, tandis que d’autres femmes, pour de multiples raisons, font de même (des femmes de lettres, des artistes, des comédiennes, des excentriques, des voyageuses, des travailleuses, des « inverties », des soldates, des sportives défont les lois du genre). Initialement tabou, le pantalon est finalement adopté par les femmes dans le contexte politique des années 1968, mais ne fait pas disparaître le vêtement féminin pour autant. Son statut actuel sera présenté à la lumière de deux constats : la revendication d’un « droit à la féminité » par Ni putes ni soumises et les timides débuts de la jupe pour hommes.
Beccalossi, Chiara (Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland): Parent-Duchâtele: the Popularisation of the “Tribade-Prostitute” Figure in Medical Debates (Panel 2). At the end of the nineteenth century leading European sexologists such as Cesare Lombroso, Henry Havelock Ellis and Albert Moll engaged in the study of the “tribade-prostitute” within their studies on female same-sex desires. These sexological discourses on the tribade-prostitute were based on early nineteenth-century French medical sources, in particular the work of Alexander Jean Baptiste Parent-Duchâtele (1790-1836), a leading public health reformer. Both Parent-Duchâtele and late nineteenth-century sexologists shared the assumption that female same-sex desires were the result of the excessive sexuality of some prostitutes. Yet there are important differences. Parent-Duchâtele’s approach was sociological and he considered the tribade-prostitute a result of her environment, while late nineteenth-century sexologists emphasised the inborn nature of same-sex desires in these women. The aim of this paper is to explore Parent-Duchâtele’s work on the tribade-prostitute and the extent to which he influenced late nineteenth-century sexologists in their debates on female same-sex desires.

Burgess, Greg (School of History, Heritage and Society, Deakin University): Foreign Workers in Early-Industrial Alsace. The Limitation of Rights in the Haut-Rhin, 1821-3 (Panel 7). This paper examines the historiographical problems of interpreting the changing status of foreigners in early-nineteenth century France. The context is a departmental ordinance in the Haut-Rhin of 1822 that sought to limit the civil rights of foreign workers. Historians of immigration consider the early-nineteenth century a “prehistory” to the problems of migration and the foreign presence that date form the census of 1851, the first to count foreign workers as a separate category. Migration before then seems benign, and scarcely enters the historical record. The 1822 ordinance in the Haut-Rhin suggests, to the contrary, that foreigners were beginning to be seen as a problem well before mid-century. How do we interpret the ordinance when French histories of migration provide little assistance? This paper proposes that the ordinance marks a profound change in perceptions of foreign workers and their place in French society, for which a new interpretation of the social history of this period is required.

Cannon, James (Monash University): Catholics and Communists in the Zone (Panel 4). During the interwar period, the Catholic Church and the Communist Party struggled for control of the historic “zone” of Paris, a narrow strip of land surrounding the city and inhabited by a mixed population of ragpickers, gypsies, circus performers, impoverished workers and increasing numbers of Central and Eastern-European refugees. This paper explores the cultural dimensions of that struggle through a comparative analysis of Grégoire Leclos’s morality play Notre-Dame de la Mousse (1930) and Louis Aragon’s socialist-realist novel Les beaux quartiers (1936). While Leclos used the zone to promote the ideal of a harmonious society redeemed by faith, Aragon used it to celebrate working-class militancy and the imminent collapse of both organised religion and capitalist finance. I shall ask to what extent these competing images of the zone were determined by official Catholic or Communist policy, how they related to other images of the zone
by writers and artists unaffiliated with either the Church or the Communist Party, and whether they had any discernible impact on the area’s subsequent redevelopment.

**Carpenter, Kirsty (Massey University): Challenging the Patriarchal Family and the Patriarchal State in the Novels of Madame de Souza** (Panel 6). This paper will look at the very specific ways that Madame de Souza used the novel as a vehicle to challenge accepted practices and constructions of gender in Parisian society during the Napoleonic wars. Notions of appropriate masculinity and femininity were the focus of much of her writing, and particularly the emotional limitations and social constraints that these notions placed on individuals within elite French circles. Madame de Souza questioned the very legitimacy of the social fabric of French society based as it was on a political and family system that included men, but excluded any women who seriously challenged its rigid structures. These novels lend themselves well to illustrating a well-developed gender-based power struggle during the revolutionary period most notably among the members of the elite. Aristocratic women, even back then, favoured a society that represented a meritocracy of education protected by law and the modernity of these ideas is striking. The use of the novel by writers of both sexes as a tool that could escape censorship and convey a delicate political message to both women and to men in an enjoyable way makes the political role of the novel in this turbulent political environment a subject of fascination.

**Chapin, Emmanuelle (Stanford University): Classics for the Masses: The Dilemmas of Cultural Democratization in Third-Republic France (1879-1920)** (Panel 4). Over the course of the Third Republic, the outlook on popular theatre changed dramatically. While the partisans of Moral Order considered it a matter of public safety, the republican leaders who succeeded them in power acknowledged the educational virtue of theatre. In 1879, Jules Ferry devised a project of “Popular Dramatic Theatre”. The repertory consisted of social and historical dramas. As I show, this repertory became progressively identified with the works of the seventeenth-century playwrights Corneille, Racine and Molière. By choosing plays that were already disseminated among the educated classes, republican officials wished to create a national culture. The classical repertory had other advantages as well: a structured narrative (no unbridled romantic imagination), a moral content (thus politically inoffensive and socially commendable), and few spectacular effects (which appealed to the senses instead of reason). However, by imposing an old-fashioned repertory, the officials courted the danger of empty auditoriums. In spite of absenteeism, republican authorities maintained their program. The liberty of workers was a touchy subject. When studying the propagation of literature among popular classes, scholars have focused their attention on practices of reading at school (Martin Guiney) and in libraries (Pascale Marie and Noë Richter). Those few who have dealt with dramatic performances (Ralph Albanese) have not touched on popular theatre. Using the works of literary critics, educators and politicians as well as workers’ testimonies, parodies and popular periodicals, I argue that the agreement on a classical literary canon among republicans reflected hesitations about the emancipation of workers.

**Cole, Georgina (Department of Art History and Film Studies, University of Sydney): Privacy and the Role of the Door in the Genre Paintings of Jean-Baptiste-**
Siméon Chardin (Panel 1). In the interior genre paintings of eighteenth-century French artist Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, doors occur with a curious frequency. Opening away from the viewer at the back of the composition, they stretch towards an often-invisible exterior, peeling open layers of interior space. Rather than connecting the space of the home with the exterior world beyond, Chardin’s doors excavate the levels of the domestic interior, unfolding the multiple spaces contained within the home. This paper argues that the use of doors in Chardin’s genre paintings engages with the growing importance of privacy in eighteenth-century France. During Chardin’s lifetime, developments in contemporary planning, decoration, and room specialisation reveal an unprecedented commitment to the establishment of spatial privacy in middle and upper class homes. It is my contention that Chardin’s use of the door motif engages with a similar impetus: doors are developed as a visual device that invests his paintings with “pictorial privacy”. Defining privacy as exclusive access and selective disclosure, this paper examines the ways in which doors are used to conceal spaces, figures, and the exterior world. Rather than revealing signs and images within the genre scenes, doors are positioned to disguise, obfuscate, and resist the spectator’s ability to decode or master the image. Privacy, I argue, is situated as the subject of many of Chardin’s genre paintings, and is the means by which the viewer negotiates them. It provides a key to understanding the spatial construction of the interior and the role of doors in his deceptively simple paintings.

Coller, Ian (School of Historical Studies, University of Melbourne): Jacobins on the Bosphorus: The French Revolution in Constantinople (Panel 7). On 20 January 1793, a jubilant crowd of more than two hundred people cheered the planting of a Liberty Tree in the streets of Pera, a suburb of Constantinople. In June, the ambassadors of Prussia and Austria wrote to the Ottoman authorities to complain about the “nightly celebrations and republican shouts of the Jacobins” which disturbed their slumber. In response, the Sultan’s minister assured his worried subordinate that no action should be taken so long as the revolutionaries did not threaten the public peace or the terms of the treaties with the European powers. The Jacobins in their festivities drank to the health of the Turks, “the first nation to allow the French to pay public homage to the principles of their Revolution”, as one citizen wrote. But the authorities remained vigilant and concerned at the possibilities of fitna or instability, as their own Ottoman subjects observed revolutionary conflicts from the sidelines, or sometimes even became involved themselves. Only five years later, after the French invasion of the Ottoman province of Egypt in 1798, the French citizens of Constantinople would be declared enemies of the Sultan, imprisoned or exiled. This paper, part of a larger project on the European communities in the eighteenth-century Muslim world, investigates the experience of Jacobins and their adversaries in Constantinople in the context of the mobile, cosmopolitan and religiously diverse society in which they lived, and the impact of these events on the changing nature of the relationship between Europeans and Ottomans. It sets out to begin rethinking the revolutionary period not simply as a European or Atlantic phenomenon which had subsequent ramifications in a Muslim “Orient” outside Europe, but rather as a global phenomenon unfolding at key points within a Muslim world which remained interlaced with Europe geographically, culturally, economically and historically.
Cook, Alexander (School of History, ANU): Enlightenment, Empire and Espionage in France at the End of the Eighteenth-Century: The Case of Constantin-François Volney (Panel 8). A great deal has been written in recent years about the role of travellers and ethnographers in inspiring and sustaining European imperialism. Scholars have shown in striking detail how certain kinds of knowledge of, or discourse about, the non-European world served to facilitate and legitimize the extension of power into that world, particularly from the latter part of the eighteenth century. In doing so, they have created a substantial field devoted to exploring the links between culture and imperialism. It has produced insights into Europe’s domestic history as well as into the geo-politics of its cultural processes. Yet it is now widely felt amongst scholars in this field that some of its foundational texts and assumptions need modification. In various ways they have conspired to produce insufficiently sophisticated accounts of both the character of European imperialism and the imperial character of Europe. This paper is intended as a modest contribution to that process or reassessment. It analyses the case of an eighteenth-century French philosopher, traveller and politician whose life and writing together serve to illuminate aspects of the shifting relationship between ethnographic analysis, domestic politics and issues of empire in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.

Cryle, Peter (Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland): “Female Impotence” in Nineteenth-Century French Medical Writing (Panel 2). “Impotence” was an important topic in centuries of legal medicine framed by canon law. The main concern of such thinking was impotentia coeundi, the inability to engage in copulation, understood as a possible reason for the annulment of marriage. Its primary cause was considered to be (male) frigidity. In this tradition, female impotence was recognised in principle, but was most often straightforwardly defined and summarily discussed: impotent women were women whose genital configuration made them unable to be penetrated and fertilised. The habit of thinking which made of impotence and frigidity male disorders par excellence was disturbed by a series of revisions of sexual medicine led by such writers as Félix Roubaud, who published his Traité de l’impuissance et de la stérilité chez l’homme et chez la femme in 1855. Roubaud argued that copulation was not naturally complete unless it involved intense pleasure for the woman, so that women who consistently failed to achieve such pleasure were “impotent”. Insofar as this view tended to prevail – and it was strongly contested by other medical writers such as Pierre Garnier – women were now allowed their share of the themes of impotence and frigidity. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the notion of “female impotence” came to be widely used. Whether that constituted a net gain for women is of course a moot point.

Ferber, Sarah (Department of History, University of Queensland): “No Sex, Please, We’re Possessed”: Two Seventeenth-Century Adult Male Demoniacs (Theme Day). It has been a commonplace of witchcraft historiography that the element of sexuality evident in relation to accusations against female accused witches is of crucial importance when considering the gender divide in the history of witch trials. Little has been made to date of the relevance of sexuality to cases of demonic possession. This paper considers two cases of adult male possession: one, the well-known case of the Jesuit Jean-Joseph
Surin and the other, the story of an unknown layman told to date only in manuscript. It argues that sexuality needs to be understood as not central but nonetheless relevant to both these cases, if in different ways and to different degrees.

Foley, Susan (University of Melbourne): Vercingetorix Meets the Goddess of Wisdom: Myth, Antiquity, and the Gendering of Political Life in the Early Third Republic (Theme Day). This paper examines the political significance of references to mythology and the classics in the correspondence between Léon Gambetta and Léonie Léon, his lover. The invocation of the classics (Greek and Roman history and mythology, and the history of Gaul) is one of a number of amorous codes in this correspondence, but its significance extends beyond the intimate. This is particularly the case for Gambetta’s references to Léonie Léon. The pet terms he assigned to her (Minerva, Egeria, Velléda, etc.) imagined her as wise and knowing, a source of advice in his political campaigns. But in emphasising the intuitive and mysterious sources of her knowledge, they denied her the central quality on which Republican citizenship rested: reason. By examining the place of the classics in the republican tradition, and in this correspondence, this paper engages with questions about appropriate femininity and masculinity, particularly with reference to the construction of the citizen. It aims to elucidate further the history of female citizenship in France, and the complex relationship between women and republicanism.

Ford, Caroline (University of California, Los Angeles): Landscape Reclamation and the Creation of “National Parks” in French Colonial Africa (Panel 4). This paper will explore the creation of 13 “national parks” in French Algeria as well as a series of “réserves naturelles” in Madagascar in the interwar period. It will ask a series of questions: how and why did the French make distinctions between forms of landscape conservation in different colonies in the French empire and in metropolitan France? Why were the 1920s and 1930s the heyday of the national park movement among colonial administrators, scientists, and settlers? What implications did this movement have for indigenous land use, and how did international initiatives relate to international drives for the protection of the fauna and flora of Africa, as reflected in the London Convention during these years?

Francois, Pieter (Royal Holloway, University of London, and Ghent University): Henry Addison’s Handbooks for British residents in France and Belgium in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Panel 3). This paper offers a comparative study of several of Henry Addison’s ‘handbooks for British residents’ in France and Belgium. These handbooks are analysed within the larger context of mid-nineteenth-century etiquette books and advice manuals on the one hand and within the context of British resident communities in Paris and Brussels on the other. These handbooks for residents are a so far largely overlooked source. They not only provide detailed information on how to set up a life abroad (how to get there, finding accommodation, furniture...), they also contain instructions on how to behave in mid-nineteenth-century French and Belgian society and how to introduce yourself into the existing British communities in Paris and Brussels. Although these handbooks tried to cater for all tastes and budgets, most attention is devoted to the “economical residents”. In this paper the handbooks are analysed through
the concepts of genteel poverty, respectability, politeness. Special attention is also given to the confrontation between British and French/Belgian national identity. This paper shows that the handbooks are an exceptional source for the life and mindset of the British genteel poor and provide a rich insight into many aspects of mid-nineteenth-century French and Belgian social life. Given the nature of the conference, the focus will be foremost on the interaction of the British communities with the larger French and Belgian societies, rather than on the interaction within the resident communities itself.

**Garrioch, David (School of Historical Studies, Monash University): Religious Culture(s) and the Meaning of Things in Eighteenth-Century Paris** (Panel 8). Recent work on material culture has looked at the meanings of objects in a variety of social contexts, though primarily in relation to rank and class, to urban and rural difference, and to gender. Less attention has been paid to religious differences, and particularly for the eighteenth century which is widely regarded as a secular period when religion was of declining significance. This paper looks at differences and similarities in the material surroundings of Catholics and Protestants in Paris in the eighteenth century and at what these might have meant in the context of continuing but declining religious persecution. It suggests that there were small but significant variations in the material cultures of Protestants and Catholics, but that even where the objects were similar there were sometimes differences in the way that orthodox Catholics, Jansenists, and Protestants understood the objects they possessed.

**Gough, Melinda (McMaster University): The King’s Sexuality in Early Seventeenth-Century Queen’s Court Ballet** (Theme Day). This paper examines early seventeenth-century women’s court ballet with particular attention to depictions of royal sexuality in performances closely associated with Marie de Medici. I begin with two productions for the Winter 1609 festival: a Ballet de la Beauté sponsored and performed by Marie, and a Ballet de Madame danced by her eldest daughter Elisabeth. The former praises the queen’s chaste beauty and overtly ties the king’s fame to it, exalting the ballet’s women performers as virtuous, chaste beauties capable of reforming the most dissolute (male) hearts. Verses for the Ballet de Madame praise female chastity, too, but with a twist, for they also allude to Henri IV’s current infatuation with Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé, warning of the political dangers, to France, should the “vert galant” choose recklessly to pursue this most recent extra-marital amour. Read alone, the Ballet de la Beauté suggests that female court ballet might focus primarily on women’s sexuality, rhetorically harnessing women’s bodies and desires in service to the state. The Ballet de Madame is less one-sided, however, seeking to channel into chaste (procreative) forms not just the queen’s sexuality but also the king’s. In this effort, I argue, the Ballet de Madame is not an isolated case. A brief survey of women’s court ballet under Louis XIII shows that while the queen’s fertility is still a crucial theme, the king’s sexuality also comes into explicit focus: these ballets urge the still childless Louis XIII to procreate. Royal women’s ballet at the early Bourbon courts, then, did not merely enforce royal women’s chastity. Royal men’s sexuality, too, came into sustained focus as a politicized force. Following the failures of the late Valois monarchs, political stability was seen as increasingly dependant on clear successions and strong, dynastic monarchies. A closer look at women’s ballet de cour from the earlier Bourbon reigns helps us trace this
development in its rhetorical specificity, simultaneously causing us to rethink the seemingly apolitical nature of women’s contributions to this performance genre.

**Graham, Hamish (School of History and Philosophy, University of New South Wales): Fleurs-de-lis in the Forest: Landowners and the State in the Landes during the Eighteenth Century** (Panel 5). Historians have commonly assumed that it was a hallmark of political modernity when central states became involved in developing policies for resource management. In *Seeing Like a State* (1998) James C. Scott offered a powerful explanation. The rulers of medieval and early modern Europe had rather limited horizons when it came to controlling their subjects and their territories’ non-human resources, according to Scott. Political visions were usually confined to extracting tax revenues and military recruits, while insisting on religious conformity and the ruler’s own political and judicial supremacy. Yet the policies adopted to pursue these goals were often haphazard and arbitrary, while governments were hindered by the lack of professional intermediaries to gather information and enforce the state’s priorities. Besides, as Scott insisted, the complexities of the pre-industrial countryside and its communities made them essentially “illegible” to government officials. As an initial illustration of modernist projects to enhance government efficiency, Scott therefore outlined what he called a “parable”: the development and diffusion of “scientific” forestry in Enlightenment Germany. However, recent work on Renaissance Venice (by Karl Appuhn) and early modern Württemberg (by Paul Warde) has tended to revise these approaches by locating state plans for resource management far earlier than Scott imagined. The forest administration of Old Regime France offers comparable examples of attempts to impose the state’s priorities on the countryside. This paper examines official efforts to oversee the exploitation of important woodlands in south-western France in order to clarify how French foresters exercised their authority and enforced their regulatory requirements during the eighteenth century.

**Ha, Marie-Paule (Hong Kong University): The Colonial Feminine Mystique** (Theme Day). In the early decades of the 20th century, there appeared in the *metropole* a large body of promotional literature whose aim was to educate women about the empire in the hope of fostering more colonial female vocations. Written by colonial advocates many of whom had resided in the colonies, these publications sought to articulate the roles of French women with a new colonial order that would serve as foundation for the development of sustainable “new Frances” across the empire. This articulation took the form of the twin discourse of the colonial feminine mystique and the white woman’s burden that conjointly define the double mission of the *colonia* in the empire. In this paper, drawing on a diverse range of documents such as advice literature, periodicals, newspaper articles, home management guidebooks, I am going to examine the discourse of the colonial feminine mystique whose chief objective was to refashion the metropolitan socio-cultural *habitus* in the nation’s overseas possessions. One of the core tasks in this undertaking is the setting up and managing of colonial French households. My discussion will focus on three aspects of the colonial feminine mystique as represented in advice literature, namely colonial wifehood and motherhood, the making of the colonial home, and the reproducing of French material and cultural practices.
Hewitt, Nicholas (University of Nottingham): “Les Best-Sellers de 1945”: Gender and Popular Culture in Post-Liberation France (Theme Day). In spite of logistical difficulties and a continuing severe paper shortage, French publishing returned to normality with surprising speed after the Liberation and also embraced new markets and new sales and production techniques. At the same time, as before the Occupation, book publishing, especially in the popular sector, was an important factor in both moulding and reflecting notions of identity, particularly in the areas of nation and gender. It is the aim of this paper to explore popular book publishing in the years immediately following the Liberation, concentrating on 1945, in comparison with similar outputs in 1940. The paper will explore both fictional and non-fictional popular works, together with the publishers who produced them, and will concentrate on a number of factors: the reflection of the pre-war period and the Occupation; the rise in translated US and UK publications; and the popular preoccupation with social, political and medical concerns. A key element in this pattern of publication, both fictional and non-fictional, is the factor of gender and sexuality, which shed important light on notions of national identity in the aftermath of the Second World War.

Ingles, Ainslie Blair (University of Melbourne): Revolts, Rebellion, and Re-interpretations: the Angelets de la Terra (Panel 5). This paper examines the ways in which long established versions of history are reinterpreted and reconstructed in order to legitimate identity. It forms part of a wider PhD project investigating narrative, national identity and violence in the Basque Country and Catalonia in contemporary France and Spain. The paper investigates the events surrounding the Angelets de Terra, seventeenth-century Catalan salt smugglers active in what is now the French Department of Pyrénées-Orientales. Historians of the Pyrénées-Orientales have tended to consider the actions of the Angelets and their leader Josep de la Trinxeria as a rebellion against the salt tax enforced by the French Kingdom upon its newly annexed Catalan territories following the Treaty of the Pyrénées in 1659. However, in recent decades, local historians have chosen to interpret the Angelets’ actions as the deliberate assertion of a special set of Catalan laws and privileges – the *Usatges* and a general revolt against French control. This case study, which deals with historical events occurring in the border region of contemporary Catalonia in the seventeenth century, demonstrates that the interpretations of history are subject to gradations as to whether the De La Trinxeria represented a Catalan hero or a common thief with personal motivations.

Jones, Colin (Queen Mary, University of London) Keynote Address: How Not to Laugh in the French Enlightenment: The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures. Norbert Elias’s *Civilising Process*, the advancing tide of civility and politeness, *salonière comme-il-faut* entreaties and the Voltairean summons to laugh the great into reasonable reform all highlight the value that the Enlightenment placed on laughter; and also provide very strong steerage on how individuals were expected to laugh. My paper will discuss a book of caricatures, the *Livre de caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises*, composed from the 1740s to the 1770s by a small coterie of friends based around the Saint-Aubin artistic dynasty who gloriously and irreverently mocked not only the great and good but also those of their contemporaries who wished to lay down the law on how and why to laugh. The Saint-Aubins called their book of caricatures their *livre de culs*, and we will discover
why. The *Livre de caricatures* seems to have been condemned to obscurity. Of course, its brazen rudeness towards the political, religious and cultural establishment were such that, had it become known by contemporaries, it would have been publicly burnt and its authors sent to cool their heels in the Bastille. Lost from sight until the late nineteenth century, when the Goncourt brothers caught a glimpse of it, the volume has spent its time ever since slumbering neglected in an English stately home. My paper will bring into the light a hidden treasure in the intertwined histories of Enlightenment and laughter. Breaking every rule in the Enlightenment laughter-book, the Saint-Aubin brothers pose, I will argue, an historiographical challenge as well as a novel and surprising insight into a lost world of laughter, and indeed arses.

**La, Cuong Manh (Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University): How Female Virginity Enhances Masculinity: An Exploratory Study in Hanoi, Vietnam** (Panel 6). This study examines the social and cultural relationship between masculinity and virginity in Hanoi, Vietnam. Taking a qualitative research approach, I conducted 20 in-depth interviews and four focus group discussions with male and female students (aged 19 to 24). This study reveals that female virginity is a key cultural concern among young educated men and women. Traditionally, virginity was measured not only by an intact hymen, but was also demonstrated by the dignity, faith, and love of a woman. The study suggests that there were two forms of male expectation regarding female virginity. The male group that highly valued virginity found it impossible to accept female partners who were not virgins. To protect their masculinity, these men ended their relationships when this fact was confessed to them. The second male group valued virginity a bit less and these men were more able to accept the fact that their partners' virginity was “lost” such that they could “forgive” (tha thứ) their female partners – but only if this loss resulted from a physical accident that damaged the hymen or through sexual coercion. Ultimately, this study found that marrying a virgin helps men enhance their social reputation and masculinity.

**Marshall, Jonathan (Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts): The Legacy of Dr J.-M. Charcot within Parascientific Discourse and Spectacle** (Panel 9). Dr Jean-Martin Charcot remains a crucial figure in the history of neurology as a discipline through his ground-breaking work in the identification and classification of neurological diseases, carried out at his clinic at the Salpêtrière Women’s Hospice, Paris, 1862-93. Although historians of neurology such as Christopher Goetz have tended to downplay Charcot’s interest in the neuropsychiatric responsiveness of female hysterical patients and hypnotic subjects, these dangerously “parascientific” experiments at the Salpêtrière attracted much attention in the wider public, both during Charcot’s lifetime and in the subsequent historiography (notably feminist critiques and post-Freudian studies on the history of hysteria). Anne Harrington, amongst others, has demonstrated that Charcot’s work in this field gave considerable support and authority to Spiritists and others who argued for the existence and survival after death of a scientifically demonstrable soul. Interest in telepathy and super-sensory perception seemed hinted at in the semi-public demonstrations conducted by Charcot on hypnotised female subjects. But what happened to these links – these archaeological associations within the history of ideas – after the death (and partial disgrace) of the neurologist in 1893? This paper presents the initial
findings of my research on this topic, demonstrating that, many years after Charcot’s models had fallen out of favour within formal medical circles, they continued to circulate amongst Spiritist and Theosophical associations. Far from signalling a rupture in the history of either medicine or cultural transmissions as a whole, Charcot’s concepts appear to have had a curiously longue durée as a source for the legitimation of parascientific thinking, for the maintenance of an interpretation between such separate disciplines and cultural spheres as medicine and religion, and for the staging of bodies and their capacities, long into the twentieth century.

McPhee, Peter (University of Melbourne): The Making of Maximilien: Robespierre’s Childhood, 1758-69 (Panel 8). In October 1769, aged eleven, Maximilien Robespierre was put on the coach from Arras to Paris. Who was this little boy, and what can we know of the dominant influences and experiences during the formative years of his childhood? Was he, as a recent biographer has argued, a boy traumatised by grief and abandonment within his immediate family, and who as a consequence would always be particularly susceptible to what he saw as treachery or corruption, and obsessed by a fantasy of an ancient world peopled by heroes? Or was he rather a child raised by loving relatives solidly anchored in Artésien bourgeois society and who ensured that he was given every opportunity to develop his intellect? That is the implication of the one account which we have of his childhood, by his younger sister Charlotte. Whatever the case, he seems to have been a clever, determined little boy, and by the time he started attending the Collège d’Arras at the age of eight he could already read and write. Maximilien was one of about four hundred boys there, but rapidly distinguished himself: at the age of eleven he was given one of the four scholarships awarded by the abbot of Saint-Vaast to the Lycée Louis-le-Grand in Paris, of which the College was an affiliate.

Milam, Jennifer (Department of Art History and Film Studies, University of Sydney): Cosmopolitanism in the Eighteenth-Century French Garden (Panel 1). This paper considers the relationship between ideas of cultural cosmopolitanism and the eclectic style of the anglois-chinois garden. It questions whether fabriques and follies defined as chinoiserie or turquerie were genuine attempts to engage with ideas of a shared humanity, or if they instead represent an expansion of class-defining notions of a shared European court taste to incorporate a fashionable response to an Enlightenment interest in other cultures. In considering gardens as spaces of retreat from urban centres in Paris, it also analyses the extent to which cosmopolitanism could be mapped onto the landscape as part of an experience of leisure that gave rise to contemplation through removal of place. The paper explores ideal gardens in treatises and actual garden spaces as attempts to expose readers and visitors to a rich variety of cultural forms that celebrate the achievements of difference, while at the same time subsuming diversity within a harmonised and localised landscape.

Moore, Alison (Centre for the History of European Discourses, University of Queensland): The Erotic Republic (Theme Day). This paper will reflect on the uses of erotic imagery in French nationalist and republican sources at the end of the nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, discussing these in relation to the emergence of concerns about sexual perversion, excess, degeneration and frigidity in psychiatric
discourses of this same period, and in relation to the simultaneous restriction and valorisation of erotica in state policies around obscenity under the Third Republic. The aim will be to tease out the ambivalent politics of sexuality in France of this period in order to understand how sexuality became neither an object of repression and taboo, nor one of liberation and celebration, but a tool both within political contestations of religious, republican and conservative ideals, and within visions of national rivalry with Britain, Germany and the US.

Murray, Bill (La Trobe University): France and the Nazi Olympics (Panel 9). The Nazi Olympics of 1936 were a spectacular success for Hitler and the Third Reich as the German people welcomed the visitors to the New Germany and Hitler himself saw that the democracies were not terribly worried about the gross abuse of Olympic and other ideals that were being trampled underfoot in his regime. The most serious boycott movement against the Nazi Olympics came from the United States, but in France, home of the founder of the modern Olympics, Pierre de Coubertin, the boycott movement was vigorous and well organized. It was ultimately unsuccessful, despite the election of the anti-fascist Popular Front government that came to power some two months before the opening of the Summer Games. The most outspoken supporters of the boycott came from the workers’ sports federation, the FSGT (Fédération Sportive et Gymnique du Travail) formed out of the amalgamation of the formerly warring Communist and Socialist sports organizations. The main organ of this campaign was the originally Communist, now Popular Front newspaper, Sport. But there were significant individuals on the Right who saw the danger of a resurgent Germany, above all Claude Farrère in L’Intransigeant who saw the Winter Games of February 1936 as a prelude to Germany’s remilitarisation of the Rhineland on 7 March. Sport in the 1930s was undergoing significant changes with the development of technologies that opened the way to mass sport on an unprecedented level. This was the decade when ‘the dictators discovered sport’ while the democracies continued to see it as a trivial pursuit. It was also the decade when the press discovered that sport could sell papers as well as a grisly murder, none more so than Paris-soir. This paper discusses some of the reactions to playing games with a deadly enemy and the portents for the future in the tragic fate of the Popular Olympics to be held in Barcelona (and supported by the French Popular Front government) two weeks before the unqualified success of the Fascist Festival held in Berlin in the first fortnight of August 1936.

Pekacz, Jolanta (Department of History, Dalhousie University): Music, Identity and Gender in France in The Age of Sensibility (Panel 6). In numerous descriptions of post-Revolutionary social life in Paris the most striking new phenomenon was the prominent place of music. Music became the source of identity for many other upper- and middle-class women and a source of cohesion for salon sociability. The new interest in music among women was related to the wave of sensibilité which reached nearly epidemic proportions between the death of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1778) and the Directory (1795-1799). Sensibilité reflected the relationship between the self and the exterior world; a faculty of apprehension which is superior to the critical intellect. It was a reflection of the idea that the self has a role to play in the creation and appreciation of the arts. Sentiment was also considered superior to taste which was socially determined.
Arguments that made the construction of such identity possible came from other philosophes as well. For example, in the midst of the dispute between the supporters of Gluck’s and Piccini’s operas in the 1770s, Baron d’Holbach in his *Ethnocratie* reformulated the old argument that women were unsuited for abstract thinking but excelled in sensibility. *Sensibilité* soon came to mean something quite different for men and women, and by the July Monarchy (1830-1848) it became almost exclusively women’s characteristic. Further, it became evident that music as a source of women’s identity was problematic due to complex and ambiguous relations between music and gender. Eventually, women’s involvement in music was considered insignificant and often detrimental to the higher artistic pursuits. The feminine salon came to be equated with the trivial, the pretentious and the artistically mediocre; a place where *Salonmusik* was cultivated; the epitome of cheap sentimentality and artistic mediocrity.

Priebe, Jessica (University of Sydney): Artist as Collector: The Coquillier of François Boucher (Panel 1). At his death in 1770, rococo artist and first painter to the King, François Boucher had more than fifteen hundred shells in his collection. However, it was not the sheer number of assembled objects that his contemporaries admired. Prominent shell specialists like Dezallier d’Argenville praised Boucher’s selection of objects and the overall inventiveness of his display. Pierre Remy, one of the period’s most important dealers in shells, specifically noted how the artist’s attachment to ‘form and colour’ led him to choose only those objects that ‘pleased the eye’. In the opinion of his conchological colleagues, Boucher sought to enhance the varied visual characteristics of shell exteriors using the formal artistic devices he employed in his art making. Such a fertile exchange between art and nature embodied the collecting ambitions of the *curieux* who in this pre-Linnaean era of French conchology were largely influenced by aesthetic concerns. While contemporaries held Boucher in high regard for his artistic talents of shell display, this aspect of his life as an artist and collector has been overlooked by modern scholarship. This paper considers Boucher’s vision of collecting both from the example he set as a collector and through the visual traditions he engaged in his art making.

Simon, Maryse (University of Oxford): Sexual Crimes during the Early Modern Witch Hunt (Theme Day). Sexual crimes are usual ingredients of witchcraft, especially male sexual impotence (the “nouement d'aiguillette” often quoted in French archives) and feminine sterility. Sexual fantasy described in learned books written by the theorists of the witch hunting is different from the actual descriptions of sexual behaviour made by the common people, villagers or peasants, in the legal procedures against witches. The notion of lust and pleasure raised by demonologists (particularly Jean Bodin and Nicolas Rémy) doesn't match up with the sexual intercourses described by women accused of being witches. This compulsory component was often related as a rape or an unpleasant moment. The result of this “mating” raised difficult questions about monsters and the ability of giving birth to children fathered by the demon. There again, the elites and the villagers didn't give the same answer, and the elites were forced to find overcomplicated and convoluted explanations. But real sexual crimes were connected to witchcraft, such as fornication, adultery, homosexuality, sodomy, bestiality, or incest. In the Archives, there are many cases where these deviant sexual practices were at the beginning of legal
procedures that lead to witchcraft accusations. In these cases, witchcraft was a secondary accusation and an easy way to sentence to death. Sexual deviancies differed from the standardized official discourse that was repeated in every confession (even young children accused of being witches told the same agreed story about sex with the devil). All these testimonies drew a complex and blurred vision of gender, femininity and masculinity.

Starbuck, Nicole, (University of Adelaide): Sir Joseph Banks and the Baudin Expedition: Exploring the Politics of the Republic of Letters (Panel 3). Sir Joseph Banks, as the central figure in the international scientific community of the early nineteenth century and the chief advocate of the ideals of the republic of learning, is understood to have given vital support to the French scientific voyage of discovery, the Baudin Expedition. However, there is reason to suggest that his support was not offered purely in the spirit of scientific cooperation. The French were not only Banks’ closest scientific colleagues outside Britain but also England’s greatest rivals and, moreover, the Baudin expedition intended to explore a part of the globe very close to Banks’ heart and critical to his nation’s imperial strategy in the south seas: New Holland. Clearly, significant national, as well as scientific, interests were at stake. How did Banks balance these conflicting concerns and what exactly were his motives in assisting the expedition? This question may be addressed by an examination of his correspondence, which reveals that Banks’ interest in the French voyage was far more complex indeed than previous studies have recognized. It also provides an intriguing glimpse into British imperialistic concerns about France during this critical period in European history.

Van Dyk, Chip (Department of History, University of Sydney): Méthode Anglaise: The Mythic Origin of Champagne and the Influence of the English Market on French Winemaking (Panel 3). Champagne is proclaimed as a uniquely French product, legally protected as an appellation d’origine contrôlée and as a brand. It trades on its exclusivity and cumulative prestige and history, encouraging consumers to imbibe not only its intrinsic quality, but also the implicit pedigree and luxury of true Champagne. Despite its status as an icon of Frenchness, champagne as an elaborated sparkling wine was first produced by the English, and bubbles were originally considered a winemaking fault by the French. In 1662, Christopher Merrett, a founding member of the Royal Society of London presented a paper describing the method for adding bubbles to still wines. Sparkling wines became fashionable in London, and through the agency of the expatriate friand Marquis St. Evremond, still Champagne wines were imported, and then transformed into cork-popping vins mousseux. By 1736, sparkling champagne was elevated to the status of cultural symbol by Voltaire in Le Mondain: “De ce vin frais l’écume pétillante/De nos Français est l’image brillante.” How did this radical change in French winemaking and French taste come about? In answering this question, my paper explores what the processes of making and marketing champagne in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal about the nature of cultural exchange between England and France in the seventeenth century.

Virgili, Fabrice (Université de Paris 1) Keynote Address: Reconstruire une France virile, 1944-1945. Parmi les nombreux événements de la Libération et de la fin de la
Seconde Guerre mondiale en France, des femmes apparaissent au premier plan de deux d'entre eux : les tontes des collaboratrices et pour la première fois l’exercice du droit de vote. Au-delà du débat récurrent sur le rôle des deux guerres mondiales sur la place des femmes dans la société, revisitons plutôt cette période de transition à travers une perspective de genre. Interrogeons nous sur l’extension envers ses propres compatriotes d'une telle violence sexuelle. 1944 et 1945 sont des années de libération et d'une reconstruction, aussi bien matérielle que morale. Et s'il faut rebâtir les ponts et les immeubles détruits, il faut aussi surmonter les effets de la défaite de 1940, faillite du militaire, du politique et du masculin. Le mâle français, soldat et citoyen, doit retrouver une place dans la nation en reconstruction. Pourtant, il n’est plus le seul à voter, ni tout à fait le seul à combattre, est-ce la raison de la réaffirmation violente par les tontes d’un contrôle maintenu sur le corps des femmes? En réexaminant les conditions de la défaite de 1940, de l’humiliation de l’occupation et de la captivité, de la place des femmes dans la société en guerre, l’on peut comprendre pourquoi la sexualité des femmes devient alors un tel enjeu de la reconstruction nationale et virile du pays.

Weston, Bob (University of Western Australia): Epistolary Consultations on Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-Century France (Panel 2). This paper examines the way in which medical consultations by letter were employed to seek and receive advice on venereal diseases in eighteenth-century France. Epistolary consultations from across eighteenth-century Europe have been used by historians for purposes that have included examining physician/patient power relationships; as a reflection of medical practice; to analyse perceptions of the female body; to examine the different ways patients and physicians saw illness and therapy. This paper differs in being focused on two particular socially significant diseases, la vérole and la gonorrhée. The correspondence, involving patients, their local medical practitioners and consultant physicians, has been analysed for evidence of differentiation between the treatments offered to and attitudes towards, male and female patients. By the eighteenth century only the plague had been written about more, as a social, medical and historical phenomenon; this level of historical attention has continued up to today. Venereal diseases have not previously been examined in the context of epistolary consultations. Finally it is argued that the nature of these ailments led to a uniquely contested market. The paper is a part of a larger study into medical consultations by letter in early-modern France and utilises material hitherto overlooked in published research.