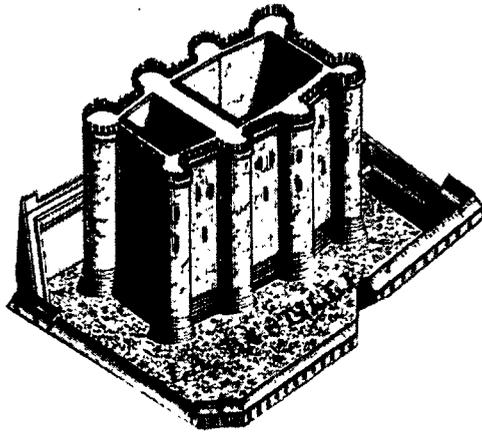


LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE

Pages from the Revolution

AN EXHIBITION
TO CELEBRATE THE
BICENTENNIAL OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION



The Queen's Hall, State Library of Victoria

10 July to 16 August 1989

Catalogue by Wallace Kirsop

Council of the State Library of Victoria
Institute for the Study of French-Australian Relations
Melbourne, 1989

LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE:

PAGES FROM THE REVOLUTION

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W.K.

Cover: 'Arrestation de M. De Launay, Gouverneur de la Bastille, le 14 Juillet 1789.' From *Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*.

Centre map: From *Plan de Paris, commencé l'année 1734*.

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INTRODUCTION: EXHIBITING A REVOLUTION

The impossibility of coping with the vast primary documentation and secondary literature on the French Revolution has become so insistent a theme of the prefaces to general works on the subject that it would be unpardonably boring to make the point again. The compiler of the present catalogue is so far removed from expertise in Revolutionary history that he is quite prepared to take the warning literally and to desist from any explanation of what happened in France between 1789 and 1799. However, he notes — with mild amusement — that the formidable difficulties never seem to deter the writers of textbooks, the authors of popular accounts or even the erudite specialists who have made the considerable effort to distil their scholarship for our benefit and to abandon temporarily the world of the narrow monograph and of the heavily footnoted article. There is, it is clear, a fascination with the challenge of getting it right, of illuminating in three hundred pages or so a period of staggering complexity. The arrival in Australian shops — on the very eve of the commemoration of the bicentenary of 14 July 1789 — of Simon Schama's *Citizens. A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf Inc.; Harmondsworth, Viking, 1989) reinforces the impression that this particular Everest is still there ready to be scaled. In an expansive treatment that reaches out to a popular audience as well as engaging in debate with experts we have the most recent but assuredly not the last synthesis devoted to the great enigma. Faced with such ambitions the organizers of a small exhibition have to admit their limitations, to declare their modesty.

A large display would, of course, have the duty of conforming to pedagogical orthodoxy. Each event, each constitutional development, each *coup d'état* would have its own case, its own group of pamphlets, illustrations and supporting newspaper articles. A comprehensive chronology would be provided, as in most of the general introductions recommended below. The visitor would be taken figuratively by the hand and led through all the stages, all the happenings from the American War of Independence on. The calling of the States-General, the Tennis Court Oath, the capture of the Bastille, the end of feudal rights and privileges, the "Great Fear", the Declaration

of the Rights of Man, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the King's flight to Varennes, the Constitution of 1791, the overthrow of the monarchy, the trial and execution of Louis XVI, the assassination of Marat, the Terror, the fall of Robespierre, the "White Terror" and many, many others of greater or lesser importance would have to be shown right down to Bonaparte's seizure of power at the end of 1799. Full explanations would need to be given of the Revolutionary calendar, which, unlike the metric system and decimal currency, did not survive into our century. The multitudinous Revolutionary personnel would require identification in a veritable portrait gallery. Maps and plans would, perforce, accompany the tour of the Parisian and provincial locales of Revolutionary action and counter-revolutionary reaction. Yet, simply for lack of space, this is not possible, and another strategy has had to be adopted.



M^{ax} ROBESPIERRE.

From *Les Crimes de Robespierre, et de ses principaux complices*.

The "pages" of the exhibition's title are literally that. Primacy is given to the printed message. The Revolution is seen through what it wrote or what was written about it. At the same time it is depicted in the engravings that — in accordance with a good Parisian tradition — went along with self-respecting books from serious publishing houses working for a clientele with taste, discrimination and money. The forms of Revolutionary expression need to be studied in themselves. The compiler, who feels a little more at home in matters of book production and distribution, proposes to elaborate on this aspect of the exhibits in a talk at one of the special showings that have been programmed. In any case it is worth insisting that pages, however few, are not chosen at random and that there is some organization and directing of the glimpses afforded the viewer.

Even if space had not been tight, there would have been problems in arranging the sort of comprehensive exhibition envisaged above. True, a number of sets of newspapers and, in particular,

of the original edition of the *Moniteur* would have given the State Library of Victoria the opportunity of laying out at least one primary source on all the great public events of the Revolutionary decade. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the Library does not have pamphlet holdings matching those of the University of Melbourne or of the National Library of Australia. This is not to deny the exceptional and sometimes astonishing strengths of the collection, but it is an avowal of a seeming inconsistency and incoherence in acquisition policies. Indeed the French Revolution gives us — somewhat surprisingly — the chance to reflect on what Victoria's premier library is and could be.

The thirty-eight items exhibited were collected over more than a century. A few of them were gifts, chiefly in the 1870s, but most of them were purchased in Australia or abroad up till 1979. If the ten pamphlet volumes acquired from Sotheran in March 1891 are disregarded, it can be seen that almost half of what is shown came



'Paris gardé par le peuple, la nuit du 12 au 13 juillet 1789.' From *Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*.

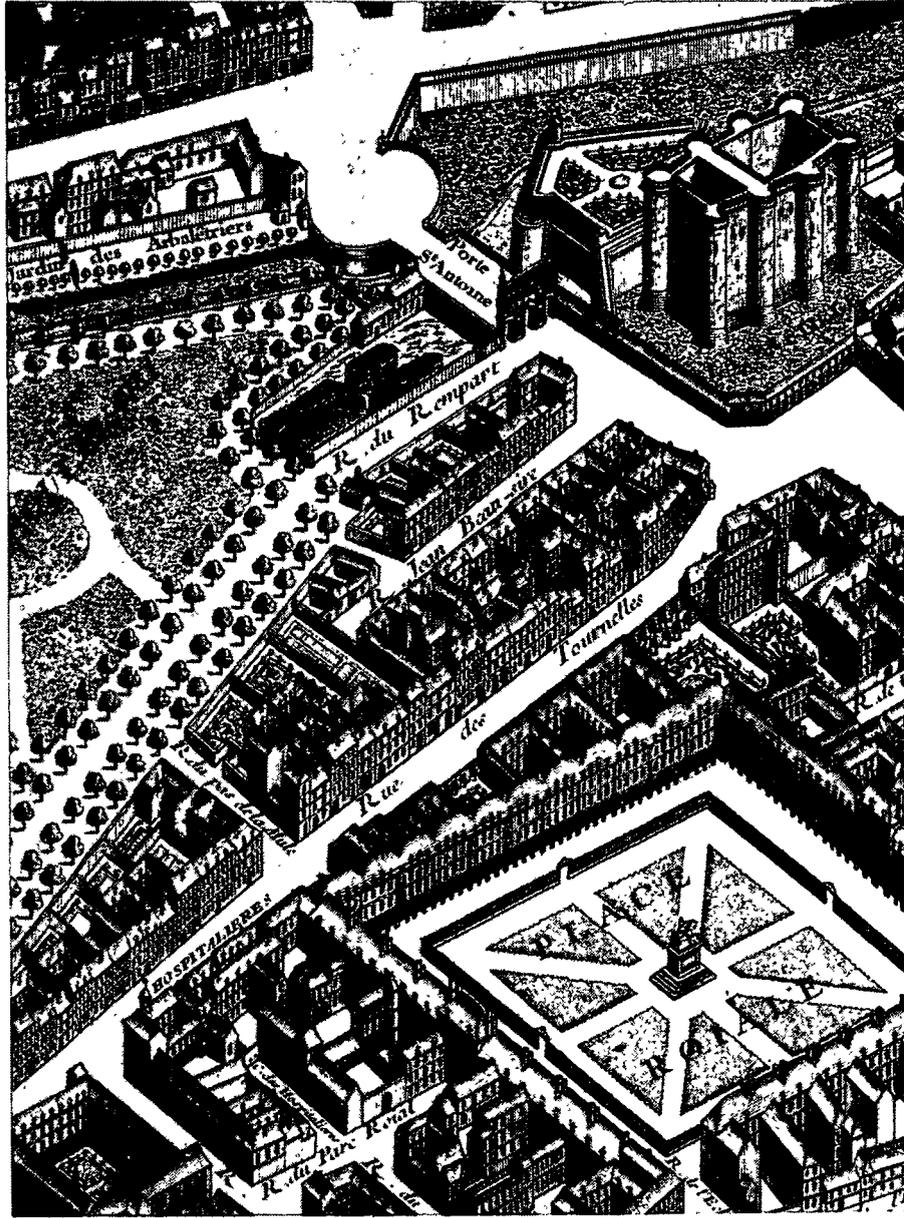
from Richard James Arthur Berry (1867–1962), Professor of Anatomy at the University of Melbourne between 1905 and 1929. Berry's own typescript reminiscences, written in old age, explain that he "accumulated" books on the French Revolution in emulation of his friend Claude Ker, but they are then quite vague about whether he sold what he had bought to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Library or to "the magnificent Public library at Melbourne". In fact the owner was paid £90 in August 1926 for some 243 volumes including a few fine sets of Revolutionary journals.

The Berry purchase was typical of the seizing of opportunities when they occurred. Something more than chance dictated the acquisition on 13 July 1889 of the three folio volumes of engravings of Revolutionary scenes, but there is no such explanation for the arrival of 153 volumes of the *Moniteur* from Quaritch in 1904 — for £40 — or for the £10 paid in February 1931 for the Turgot Plan. Gifts, legacies and local auctions have their own unpredictable seasons, and librarians must be ready to profit from them. Overall it is clear that the State Library was pursuing — with the leisurely opportunism characteristic of an institution conscious of a grand and generous mission — the development of French Revolution holdings that were appropriate to the place of that phenomenon in modern world history. The brief defined in the *State Library of Victoria Selection*

Policy of 1986 is a much more limited one. European history has its role, but the decade 1789–1799 is not specifically mentioned. That silence says a lot about our reduced cultural ambitions.

The few items exhibited that came from other Australian sources, from the radical David Blair, from Sir Redmond Barry, from William Story, whose curious career the compiler has studied *inter alia* in his forthcoming *Books for Colonial Readers: the Nineteenth-Century Australian Experience*, and from or via Percival Serle, suggest that the French Revolution was not necessarily an object of intensive personal collecting, but that it was part of the common experience of cultivated colonists and citizens till quite recent times. When we observe "Mr Thomas (of Plymouth)" presenting to "W. H. Cooke to read on his Passage for Collingwood Melbourne Australia" the English translation of Lally-Tolendal's *Defence of the French Emigrants*, we should be aware of all that we share in Western traditions. To look even cursorily at a handful of pages from the French Revolution is to emerge for a moment from the stultifying particularism that is so constant a risk for Australian studies as many of our educational establishments are interpreting them.

Wallace Kirsop
June 1989



THE SCENE . . . THE MOST POPULOUS CITY OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT

Although in the late eighteenth century Paris was inferior in extent and population to London, it was nonetheless the largest city on the European continent. Its precise area is easy to determine because a new wall, known as that of the Farmers-General, was constructed between 1784 and 1791. This was destined to serve until 1860. However, visitors in the early nineteenth century noticed that there were still substantial tracts of vacant land inside the barriers, at which taxes were levied on incoming goods. There were many contemporary estimates of the total population of the city, and no certain figure can be advanced. Despite this it is probably safe to say that Paris grew from half a million at the end of the reign of Louis XIV to nearly 700,000 on the eve of the Revolution. In some quarters the density seems to have been as high as 1,300 inhabitants per hectare.

The best global physical image of eighteenth-century Paris is provided in the extraordinary detail of the so-called Turgot Plan of 1739–1740.



From *Dernier tableau de Paris, ou récit historique de la Révolution du 10 août 1792.*

Notwithstanding changes that occurred in the following fifty years this superb document, prepared at the behest of Michel-Etienne Turgot, *prévôt des marchands*, that is, titular head of the city administration, gives us a remarkably accurate picture of what was to be the scene of the Revolutionary events.

For a moral portrait of the French capital in the 1780s readers have long been used to turning to the *Tableau de Paris* of Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740–1814), a prolific writer who participated in political life during the Revolution, and to the *Nuits de Paris* of Nicolas-Edme Rétif de la Bretonne (1734–1806), the equally productive printer turned author. In these works one does not find, of course, the relatively dispassionate analyses of social historians, but rather the prejudices and exaggerations of close and occasionally quirky observers of daily — and nocturnal — life in all its variety. Mercier's text (from which extracts were published in translation by the Australian author Helen de Guerry Simpson in 1933 under the title *The Waiting City: Paris 1782–88*) is here represented by its earliest edition. Rétif's curious and influential book is sometimes accompanied — but not in the present set — by two further volumes published in 1790 and 1794.

EXHIBITION ITEMS

1. **BRETEZ, LOUIS, fl. 1709–1739**
Plan de Paris, commencé l'année 1734, dessiné et gravé sur les ordres de Messire Michel Etienne Turgot . . . achevé de graver en 1739. Levé et dessiné par Louis Bretez; gravé par Claude Lucas et écrit par Aubin. [Paris, 1740.] (fol.)
2. **MERCIER, LOUIS-SÉBASTIEN, 1740–1814**
Tableau de Paris. Hamburg, Virchaux; Neuchâtel, Fauche, 1781. (8vo, 2 volumes)
3. **RÉTIF DE LA BRETONNE, NICOLAS-EDME, 1734–1806**
Les Nuits de Paris, ou le spectateur-nocturne. London & Paris, 1788–1789. (12mo, 14 volumes)



Honoré-Louis-Gautier Dagoty's 'Portrait de Marie-Antoinette' 1776. From François Courboin's *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*.

PARTICIPANTS, POLEMICISTS AND PAMPHLETEERS

In previous periods of conflict and disorder in France, for example during the Wars of Religion in the late sixteenth century or the Fronde between 1648 and 1653, it was not unknown for controls on printing to be involuntarily relaxed and for the antagonists to attack one another in widely circulated pamphlets. The two years of crisis that preceded the taking of the Bastille saw the development of similar opportunities for free expression, but it was not till after 14 July 1789 that the old regime of censorship became totally ineffective. Before new restrictions appeared at various times and with different emphases in the 1790s, it was possible for almost anything to be printed and published in Paris. The principal beneficiary was perhaps the newspaper press, but pamphleteering also flourished as never before in France. Participants in and victims of the events joined with professional polemicists in putting their point of view to the public. The works in question were mostly short — an octavo gathering or two —, but occasionally they were very much more substantial.

The samples shown are taken essentially from ten volumes of a nonce collection bearing the spine label "Affaires du Temps", thus indicating that it was the product of a not uncommon contemporary interest in bringing together the printed record of Revolutionary arguments and passions. The interrogation of Suleau, a Royalist writer killed at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy in August 1792, is even present in manuscript form — a reminder that the print culture of the Gutenberg era had not completely triumphed after more than three centuries. For the rest one sees something of the enormous variety in point of view and in form of this literature. Monarchists and Republicans, clerics, aristocrats and members of the Tiers Etat, letters, essays, satires, parodies, harangues, plays, all of these are to be found. No beliefs and no professions are spared. Newly settled Botany Bay suggests a place to transport the court of Louis XVI's unpopular brother the Count of Artois and future Charles X (1824–1830).

To this diversity it is appropriate to add a collection of relatively short texts by Camille Desmoulins, whose involvement with the Revolution ended on the scaffold on 13 April 1794, and



DISCIPLINE PATRIOTIQUE.

From *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*.

an account of the guillotine's victims. Beyond the verve and the licence of Revolutionary polemics lay for many activists of diverse allegiances the risk of capital punishment.

EXHIBITION ITEMS

4. "PREMIER INTERROGATOIRE DE M. SULEAU". Manuscript, 94 pages. Suleau - François-Louis Suleau, 1757-1792. See Martin & Walter IV ii n° 14308.
5. DILLON, Abbé ARTHUR-ROGER-THOMAS, 1751-1810
Appel à la commune, aux districts de Paris, aux futurs départemens, et généralement à tout le peuple français, sous le jugement de l'Europe & de la postérité. Paris, 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter II n° 10777.

6. **VOLTAIRE (FRANÇOIS-MARIE AROUET, dit AROUET DE), 1694-1778**
Catéchisme du curé Meslier ... Mis au jour par l'Éditeur de l'Almanach des honnêtes gens (= Pierre-Sylvain Maréchal, 1750-1803). 1790. (8vo)
7. **LE ROI NECKER, ou avis charitable à ce pauvre peuple qui me fait pitié. Par un neveu de Burke.** "Geneva". (8vo)
Tourneux IV n° 24541.
8. **SUITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE D'ANGLETERRE A BRUXELLES, et de l'établissement du prince à Botany-Bay. Neuvième supplément au Point du Jour.** (8vo)
9. **LE TRÉPAS DE LA REINE CHICANE, ou les hurlemens des procureurs du Parlement de Paris.** Paris, 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter IV ii n° 17664.
Tourneux I n° 2015.
10. **NULLITÉ ET DESPOTISME DE L'ASSEMBLÉE PRÉTENDUE NATIONALE.** 3rd edition. Paris, 1790. (8vo)
11. **LALLY-TOLLENDAL, TROPHIME-GÉRARD, MARQUIS DE, 1751-1830**
Mémoire de M. le comte de Lally-Tollendal, ou seconde lettre à ses commettans. Paris, Descene. 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter III n° 18656.
12. **GOUPIL, P.-E.-A. (attrib.)**
Essai historique sur la vie de Marie-Antoinette, reine de France et de Navarre ... Seconde partie. "Versailles", 1789. (8vo)
Martin & Walter II n° 15361 (cf. also Martin & Walter IV ii n° 6271).
See also Tourneux IV pp.87-90.
13. **BRIZARD, GABRIEL, 1744?-1793**
Les Imitateurs de Charles Neuf, ou les conspirateurs foudroyés, drame en cinq actes et en prose. Paris, 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter I n° 5338.
14. **DESMOULINS, LUCIE-CAMILLE-SIMPLICE, 1760-1794**
Opuscules. Paris, Garnéry. (8vo)
Martin & Walter II after n° 10482.
15. **TISSET, FRANÇOIS-BARNABÉ, 1759-1814**
Compte rendu aux sans-culottes de la République française, par très-haute, très-puissante et très-expéditive dame Guillotine. Paris, Petit, Denné & Toubon, Year II. (8vo)
Martin & Walter IV i n° 32648.



'Assassinat de J. P. Marat, le 13 juillet 1793.' From *Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française.*

THE PRESS EXPLOSION

The decade 1789–1799 was marked by a quite unparalleled growth of the newspaper press. As the historian Jeremy Popkin writes (p. 6): “No other city in the western world has ever supported so many competing daily newspapers for such a long time.” At moments of greatest freedom the total may have ranged as high as 200. One of the most blatantly restrictive actions of Bonaparte in January 1800 was to lower the number from a modest 80 to 13. The citizens of modern nations where media concentration is the rule can marvel at such residual diversity, but the fact remains that, after ten years, the explosion had been contained.

Few of the publications that emerged after July 1789 had the format or layout of the newspapers with which we are familiar. From generous folios to half-gathering octavos the variety of physical form was itself considerable, and it was matched by a very wide spectrum of political orientations. Similarly we find that some of these journals survived for many years — with or without changes of name — whereas others collapsed after an issue or two. On the one hand we have the *Gazette nationale ou moniteur universel*, now often referred to as the *Moniteur*, which was created by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke (1736–1798), the magnate of the French press before the Revolution, in 1789 and lasted under him and his successors till 1869. Particularly prized for its detailed reporting of the Revolutionary debates from the States-General on, the *Moniteur* achieved official status in 1800. A constant concern to be governmental whatever the reigning ideology preserved what came to be an indispensable document for the study of the political history of the period. On the other hand *La Nouvelle du jour, ou Journal de l'opinion publique*, anonymously edited, pursued its opposition career for two numbers only in 1795.

In the mainstream, and for the most part representative of the attitudes of the early years of the Revolution, are the other newspapers on display. With a periodicity varying from daily to weekly they are, from right to left as it were, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (1789–1791), founded by Jean-Gabriel Peltier (1760–1825) and produced by a whole team of Royalists, Peltier's London émigré

Correspondance politique, ou tableau de l'Europe (1793–1794), *Le Point du jour* (1789–1791) of Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac (1755–1841), the *Révolutions de Paris* (1789–1794) of Louis-Marie Prudhomme (1752–1832), the *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* (1789–1792) of Camille Desmoulins and others, and the *Père Duchesne* of Jacques-René Hébert (1757–1794). The sets are not always complete, and, given that these were among the most popular of the papers of the time, there is frequent evidence of multiple editions. The satirical verve of *Les Actes des Apôtres* and the foul-mouthed and demagogic energy of Hébert set limits within which could be found more urbane and prosaic writing. Nonetheless, this small sample gives some notion of what was let loose on the reading public after the fall of the Bastille and the breakdown of traditional authority.

EXHIBITION ITEMS

16. *GAZETTE NATIONALE, OU LE MONITEUR UNIVERSEL* commencé le 5 mai 1789. Précédé d'une introduction historique, contenant un abrégé des anciens Etats-généraux, des Assemblées des notables, et des principaux événemens qui ont amené la Révolution. Paris, H. Agasse, Year IV. (fol.) See Rétat n° 078.
17. *GAZETTE NATIONALE, OU LE MONITEUR UNIVERSEL*. 24 November 1789–30 June 1790. Paris, Panckoucke, 1789–1790. (fol.) Rétat n° 078.
18. *LA NOUVELLE DU JOUR, OU JOURNAL DE L'OPINION PUBLIQUE*. Nos 1–2. Paris, [Year III = 1795]. (8vo) Martin & Walter V n° 941. Monglond III col. 574.
19. *LES ACTES DES APÔRES*. Paris, 1789–1791. 11 volumes in 10. (8vo) Martin & Walter V n° 8. Rétat n° 001.
20. *CORRESPONDANCE POLITIQUE, OU TABLEAU DE L'EUROPE*. London, 1793–1794. (fol.) Martin & Walter V n° 267.
21. *LE POINT DU JOUR, ou résultat de ce qui s'est passé la veille à l'Assemblée nationale*. Paris, Cusac, 1789–1790. 13 volumes. (8vo) + *Le Point du jour, ou résultat de ce qui s'est passé aux Etats-*

- généraux*. Paris, Cussac, 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter V n° 1201.
Réétat n° 149.
22. **RÉVOLUTIONS DE PARIS**, dédiées à la Nation, et au district des *Petits-Augustins*. Paris, 1789-1794. 17 volumes. (8vo)
Martin & Walter V n° 1299.
Réétat n° 163.
23. **RÉVOLUTIONS DE FRANCE ET DE BRABANT**. Paris, 1789-1791. 8 volumes. (8vo)
Martin & Walter V n° 1296.
Réétat n° 162.
24. **LE PÈRE DUCHESNE**. [individual numbers have varying titles]. Paris, 1790-1792. 5 volumes. (8vo)
See Martin & Walter V n° 1013-1186.



'Arrestation de Louis Capet à Varennes, le 22 juin 1791.' From *Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française*.

MAKING AND WRITING HISTORY

It is not easy in the decade of the Revolution to separate pamphleteering and journalism on the one hand from the writing of history on the other. Like their contemporaries and near-contemporaries who explored the Pacific and settled in New Holland, the men and women of 1789 or of 1792 were conscious of taking part in a tremendous adventure that seemed to be setting new limits for human experience. As a result there had to be not only contributions to the arguments of the moment and accounts day by day of what was happening in Paris or in the provinces, but also attempts to make sense of and to reconstruct everything that had occurred since the Old Regime began visibly to crumble well before the fall of the Bastille. Participants, debaters and reporters were tempted to become instant chroniclers to justify their own conduct, to further the propaganda of a faction, to exploit the possibilities of a voracious market at home and abroad or simply to try to understand the cataclysmic events in which they had been involved.

Inevitably the narratives published in the 1790s were partisan. Indeed in one case at least — that of the *Tableaux de la Révolution française* — ideological considerations determined a revision of the text accompanying the plates. However, in the works displayed we can see the identification of major themes, the establishment of a hierarchy of incidents and even the shaping of a mythology. The clichés of the modern layman's view of the Revolution are already rehearsed in books of some bulk written from the Right or from the Left. Documents are reproduced or revealed side by side with more or less tendentious interpretations. The Bastille, the abolition of the monarchy, the trial of Louis XVI, the Terror, the role of Robespierre, all of these are pinpointed. In addition we have the first ambitious essays in global presentation of the unfinished story and in organizing an iconography of the happenings before and after 14 July 1789. In short we can witness a committed generation trying to fix and colour our images of what it was doing to change French political life irrevocably.

EXHIBITION ITEMS

25. **CHARPENTIER or MANUEL, LOUIS-PIERRE, 1751-1794**
La Bastille dévoilée, ou recueil de pièces authentiques pour servir à son histoire. Paris, Desenne, 1789-1790. 3 volumes (= 6 parts out of 9, bound with the earliest section of Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*). (8vo)
Martin & Walter I n° 6884 and III n° 22822.
Monglond I col.48.
26. **PELTIER, JEAN-GABRIEL, 1760-1825**
Dernier tableau de Paris, ou récit historique de la Révolution du 10 août 1792. 3rd edition. London, Peltier and Elmsly, 1794. 2 volumes. (8vo)
Martin & Walter III n° 26721.
27. **JAUFFRET, LOUIS-FRANÇOIS, 1770 — circa 1850**
Histoire impartiale du procès de Louis XVI. Paris, Perlet, 1792-1793. 8 volumes. (8vo)
Martin & Walter II n° 17238.
28. **PRUDHOMME, LOUIS-MARIE, 1752-1832**
Histoire générale des crimes commis pendant la Révolution française, sous les quatre législatures, et particulièrement sous le règne de la Convention nationale. Paris, Prudhomme, 1796-1797. 6 volumes. (8vo)
Martin & Walter IV i n°s 28292-3.
29. **DES ESSARTS, NICOLAS-TOUSSAINT LE MOYNE dit, 1744-1810**
Les Crimes de Robespierre, et de ses principaux complices. Paris, Des Essarts, 1797. 3 volumes. (18mo)
Martin & Walter II n°s 10341-6.
Monglond IV cols 26-7.
30. **KERVERSAU, FRANÇOIS-MARIE DE, ?-1825 & CLAVELIN, G.**
Histoire de la Révolution de France. New edition. Paris, Garnéry, then Bidault, 1792-1803. 19 volumes. (18mo)
Martin & Walter II n° 17760.
Monglond II col. 64.
31. **FAUCHET, CLAUDE, 1744-1793, and others**
Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française. Paris, Pierre Didot l'aîné, 1798-[1804]. 3 volumes. (fol.)
Martin & Walter II n° 13087.
Barbier IV col. 655.

ENGLISH REACTIONS

The French Revolution had an almost immediate and enormous impact on neighbouring countries. The conflicts of the 1790s and of the Napoleonic period were an unavoidable fact for the British settlements in Australia during their first quarter-century. Memories of direct experience in the wars played a quite important part in the lives of officials and military men in these colonies till the middle of the nineteenth century and beyond. The Barossa Valley, Tolosa Street in Hobart and "The Hero of Waterloo" in The Rocks in Sydney are just some of the many names that remind us that the Revolution and its aftermath, notably in the Peninsular campaigns, are, as Peter Chapman is demonstrating in his splendid edition of G.T.W.B. Boyes's diaries and letters, essential to understanding the early history of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and South Australia. It is hardly surprising, then, that the books that enshrine the diverse and often contradictory attitudes of the British to what was happening on the other side of the Channel should be in our collections and that they should have been placed there in many instances by people whose opinions of the Revolution were formed during or soon after the events.

First and foremost we have Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* of 1790, in the first impression of the second edition. The publishing success of this conservative statement was matched only by that of Thomas Paine's reply of 1791-1792 in *Rights of Man*. However, it is Thomas Christie's response that is represented here. The other texts displayed are contemporary with later phases of the Revolution. The satirist George Huddesford, the observer John Moore and the Tory pamphleteer John Richards Green, alias John Gifford, acting as editor and translator of English and French works offer a sample of the points of view held in London. The Australian connection returns with the *Letters written in France to a Friend in London* of Watkin Tench. A prisoner of war, Tench differed from others — émigrés or friends of the Revolutionary cause like the "Scottish Martyrs" — only in that he effectively published his accounts of France in the 1790s as well as of Port Jackson in its early years. To have shared in both great adventures was after all not so rare as could be imagined.



J. P. MARAT.

From *Les Crimes de Robespierre, et de ses principaux complices*.

EXHIBITION ITEMS

32. **BURKE, EDMUND, 1729-1797**
Reflections on the Revolution in France. London, J. Dodsley, 1790. (8vo)
Martin & Walter I n° 5570.
Todd n° 53b.
33. **CHRISTIE, THOMAS, 1761-1796**
Letters on the Revolution of France. London, J. Johnson, 1791. (8vo)
Martin & Walter I n° 7530.
34. **HUDDESFORD, GEORGE, 1749-1809**
Topsy Turvy: with anecdotes and observations illustrative of leading characters in the present Government of France. London, 1793. (8vo)

35. **MOORE, JOHN, 1729–1802**
View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution. London, G. G. & J. Robinson, 1795. (8vo)
 Martin & Walter III n° 25106.
36. **GREEN, JOHN RICHARDS, alias JOHN GIFFORD, 1758–1818**
A Residence in France, during the years 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795; described in a series of letters from an English Lady. London, T. N. Longman, 1797. 2 volumes. (8vo)
 Martin & Walter II n° 15611.
37. **LALLY-TOLLENDAL, TROPHIME-GÉRARD, MARQUIS DE, 1751–1830**
A Defence of the French Emigrants. Tr. John Gifford. London, Longman, 1797. (8vo)
 See Martin & Walter III n° 18646.
38. **TENCH, WATKIN, 1758?–1833**
Letters written in France, to a friend in London, between the month of November 1794 and the month of May 1795. London, J. Johnson, 1796. (8vo)



'Supplice de Louis XVI, Place de la Révolution, le 21 janvier 1793.' From *Collection complète des Tableaux historiques de la Révolution française.*

REFERENCES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The following list is divided into two parts. The first offers the reader a selection of comparatively recent general works in English on the French Revolution. Given the complexity of the phenomenon and the ferocity of the arguments about its origins, character, results and significance it would be both rash and inappropriate to limit the choice too severely. Popular and colourful narratives are excluded, as are books that served well in their time, but that hardly reflect the considerable advances of scholarship in this century. A diversity of ideology and point of view must be expected. Even though some English-language writers have been prominent in challenging the Marxist interpretation, others accept it as still essentially valid. Ultimately readers will have to decide for themselves which line they find most plausible and congenial.

The second part sets out the bibliographical works referred to in the catalogue of exhibits and acknowledges the compiler's debt to a number of studies of the newspaper press between 1789 and 1800 in particular.

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B. OTHER WORKS USED (ESPECIALLY ON THE PRESS):

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