

# The Adventurous Life of Juliette Lopès-Rastoul-Henry

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In the seaside cemetery of Waverley, Sydney, there is a tombstone with the following inscription:

JULIETTE HENRY

BORN AT LAON, FRANCE

5 MAY 1840

DIED IN SYDNEY

25 JANUARY 1898

Erected

AS AN AFFECTIONATE TRIBUTE  
TO HER MEMORY BY HER FRIENDS & MEMBERS  
OF THE CERCLE LITTÉRAIRE FRANÇAIS



EN AVANÇANT DANS NOTRE OBSCUR VOYAGE,  
DU DOUX PASSÉ L'HORIZON EST PLUS BEAU ;  
EN DEUX MOITIÉS NOTRE ÂME SE PARTAGE  
ET LA MEILLEURE APPARTIENT AU TOMBEAU.

LAMARTINE

[*Harmonies poétiques*, Livre deuxième,  
*Harmonie 1, Pensée des morts*]



Who today would know that Juliette Lopès-Rastoul-Henry was successively the companion of two figures from the Paris Commune, that she was once suspected of threatening the peace of the Colony of New Caledonia and that late in life she felt justified in appealing to the President of the French Republic to intervene on her behalf.

The story of this woman who in the final decades of an unconventional life acted as an ambassador of French culture in Australia is an intriguing one, and we would like to take up Wallace Kirsop's challenge: 'Several gaps remain to be filled and a number of inconsistencies need to be eliminated before we have a satisfactory account of all facets of Juliette Henry's life in France, New Caledonia and Australia.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Kirsop, Wallace, 'Mme Juliette Henry writes to Félix Faure', *Explorations*, n° 21, 1996, p. 8.

## Paris

Juliette Lebeau, born on 5 May 1839 (and not on 5 May 1840 as her tombstone has it<sup>2</sup>), wrote a strange last will and testament, dated 2 January 1870, which contained the following passages:

Under no conditions would I want my daughter to be in contact with my mother after my death, as I would like her to experience a different fate from mine and I would want her to develop solid principles on matters of honour, so that she would prefer all the miseries to sin. [...] I loved my husband as a devoted daughter might love the best of fathers. I am still profoundly grateful to him for what he has done for me, while deploring his one trespass, which caused my downfall. Today, as I write these lines, although feeling guilty towards him, I will make every effort in relation to my children, whom I adore, so that, if they are to live with their father, they give him every satisfaction in his old age. [...] I recommend especially to my daughter Angèle that she afford her mother the indulgence she deserves. [...] I also beg her, in learning from my unhappy experience, to only accept as her husband a man by whom she will feel sufficiently loved to belong to him for life, whatever he may do, and never to give herself outside the rules of society, illegitimate love being the most terrible of martyrdoms.<sup>3</sup>

The rest is sadly lost.

Juliette was the illegitimate daughter of Augustine Élisabeth Lebeau, the widow Mereaux, who was twenty-eight years of age at the time of Juliette's birth. Her husband, a labourer, had died four years previously.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Archives départementales de l'Aisne, naissances*, 105/1839.

<sup>3</sup> This text (and further information on Rastoul's life) is reproduced in Michel Lubac's Political Science dissertation, *Le Docteur Rastoul (1835–1875) : Une vie d'apostolat de la Commune à L'Île-des-Pins (Réhabilitation)*, Toulouse, Institut d'Études Politiques de Toulouse, 1995, which contains new information on his forebear. The family seems to have preserved Rastoul's correspondence despite the oblivion in which he was kept. The dissertation was later published in part as 'Le Docteur Rastoul : une vie d'apostolat de la commune à L'Île des Pins (1835–1875)', in Gilbert Larguier and Jérôme Quaretti, *La Commune de 1871 : utopie ou modernité*, Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 2000 ([http://www.philemonday.eu/IMG/pdf/philemon\\_rastoul\\_par\\_michel\\_lubac.pdf](http://www.philemonday.eu/IMG/pdf/philemon_rastoul_par_michel_lubac.pdf)).

<sup>4</sup> *Archives départementales de l'Aisne, décès*, 121/1835.

We know nothing of Juliette's life before the birth of her own daughter Amélie Angélique, on 29 May 1860. On 25 June 1861 Auguste Joseph was born and on 4 April 1863, Marie Madeleine. All three children were recognised and made legitimate after Juliette's marriage on 28 January 1864 in Neuilly to Francisco José Lopès, born in Braga, Portugal, on 21 December 1823, son of a master hatter. According to Amélie Angélique's birth certificate, Juliette's mother, 'a person of private means, present and consenting', lived at the same address. Her clumsy signature appears at the bottom of the birth certificate.<sup>5</sup>

In 1860 Juliette was described as a linen maid, in 1861 as a person of private means and in 1863 as 'unemployed'. Her occupation was given as 'merchant' in 1867 at the time of the death of her youngest daughter on 2 August at the parental home, 137 boulevard de Magenta in the 10<sup>th</sup> arrondissement of Paris.

Paul Émile Barthélémy Philémon Rastoul, doctor of medicine, son of a landowner, lived in the same building. Born on 1 October 1835 at Thézan-lès-Béziers, in the department of Hérault, Rastoul married Léonie Joséphine Blayac in January 1857. First referred to as a medical student, he is described as a doctor of medicine at the time of the birth of his two daughters, Berthe and Thérèse, in June 1860 and August 1861 respectively. In 1863 he opened a medical practice in Paris and Juliette was one of his patients. Paul Rastoul's wife died at home in August 1867, at the age of twenty-eight. Three years later, Rastoul told his parents that 'he would not have survived' if his 'beloved Juliette' had not made him 'love life again'.

What do these last wishes of Juliette tell us about these events? José Francisco's 'trespass' may have been to have hurriedly and permanently left France in January 1869 for Brazil where, after the war with Paraguay, his business interests required his presence.<sup>6</sup> Lopès's departure left Juliette alone and virtually doomed to adultery, after he had 'picked her up from the gutter'. Juliette probably felt guilty at becoming Rastoul's mistress. Prevailing in the text is the sentiment of being dragged down a fatal slope, in spite of her attachment to the 'positive sciences' which she voices elsewhere:

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<sup>5</sup> *Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine, Neuilly-sur-Seine, mariages, 9/1864.*

<sup>6</sup> There is no evidence to support the claim made in Sydney's *Catholic Press* on 15 July 1915 that Lopès was connected to Paraguay's ruling López family.

she is determined that a 'solid education' should preserve her children from superstition. It is obvious that Juliette wants to convince her children that, unlike her mother, she is not a fickle and promiscuous person.

However that may be, when Paul Émile Lopès was born on 30 March 1871 'at the home of his parents', the signature of José Francisco is missing from the birth certificate. Nor does it appear at the bottom of the death certificate, dated 20 April 1872, when Paul Émile died at the age of thirteen months at the home of 'his father and mother' at 177 rue Saint-Jacques.<sup>7</sup> At that date, Paul Rastoul, the actual father of the child, waiting to be deported to New Caledonia, was absent.

Like Juliette, Rastoul wrote a last will and testament, dated 8 May 1870, 'on the eve of the terrible events which are about to break out, in the presence of the dangers which threaten our unfortunate country'. In possession of his 'full mental faculties', Rastoul was anxious to convince his parents of the solidity of a relationship which was considered scandalous in his home village.

After the eternally regrettable loss of my adored Léonie, and following her last wishes, I recommend to you all, to Berthe and Thérèse, my beloved Juliette Lopès, the one who, for the last two years, has been a second companion to me, a true spouse according to the heart, and, for our dearest children, a true mother, full of affection and devotion. I entrust her with the guidance of my dear Berthe and Thérèse who, by the way, love her like a true mother, and would find it difficult to do without her care and affection. Therefore, my greatest desire, my dearest wish, the one I submit to my father and my mother, is that they take my beloved Juliette under their absolute protection, and that they leave the intellectual and moral guidance of our dear children to her.<sup>8</sup>

A national guard during the first siege of Paris during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, Paul was also the chair of the *Club des Montagnards* where, according to the later bill of indictment against him,<sup>9</sup> the most ardent

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<sup>7</sup> *Archives de Paris, naissances*, 1380/10e arr., 30 March 1871 (V4E 3609), and *décès*, 916/5e arr., 20 April 1872 (V4E 2990).

<sup>8</sup> Lubac, Michel, *Le Docteur Rastoul (1835–1875) : Une vie d'apostolat de la Commune à L'Île-des-Pins (Réhabilitation)*, Toulouse, Institut d'Études Politiques de Toulouse, 1995.

<sup>9</sup> *Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine*, BB/24/729.

revolutionary speeches were made. On 26 March 1871, after France's capitulation to the German armies, the election of a national government and the insurrection of Paris against it, the 10<sup>th</sup> arrondissement sent Rastoul, by 10,738 votes out of 16,756, to sit on the Council of the newly-established Paris Commune. Appointed to the Public Service Commission, he held the post of General Inspector of Ambulances from 9 April. This was an exhausting post because of the influx of the wounded. He resigned on 26 April, after protesting violently against his arrest, by a Colonel Henry, at one of the gates of Paris. Opposed to the establishment of a Committee of Public Safety, he was from now on a member of the minority. On 22 May, witnessing the entry into the capital of the anti-Commune troops from Versailles and judging the cause lost, he took the strange and arguably shameful initiative of proposing that the battalions of the National Guard place themselves under the protection of the Prussians, so that they could pack up and go to America.<sup>10</sup>

Arrested at the end of May, on 2 September 1871 Rastoul was sentenced by the 3<sup>rd</sup> War Council of the 1<sup>st</sup> Military Division, sitting in Versailles, to 'simple deportation', for 'assault on the government with the purpose of inciting civil war, for raising armed troops without the order or authorisation of the legitimate power, for the usurpation of public duties and for complicity in the destruction of public monuments'.

Even though he had invested 'all his intelligence and all his energy to secure the triumph of the insurrection',<sup>11</sup> he benefited from mitigating circumstances and his fellow fighters even reproached him for attempting to win over the support of the tribunal. According to Gaston Da Costa, who is known to have shown no indulgence for his former comrades, Rastoul made the following statement to the tribunal, 'Mr President, I would like to tell you that I protest with all my might against the assassinations and crimes committed or planned during the bloody agony of the Commune. From neither near nor far, neither directly nor indirectly, do I wish to accept any solidarity with these men who set Paris on fire and gunned down hostages'.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Fiaux, Louis, *La guerre civile de 1871*, Paris, G. Charpentier, 1879.

<sup>11</sup> *Archives nationales*, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, BB/24/729.

<sup>12</sup> Da Costa, Gaston, *La Commune vécue. 18 mars–28 mai 1871*, vol. III, Paris, Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1905.

A letter from Juliette, who in the meantime had settled in Versailles, provided Rastoul's denigrators with more arguments. On 5 September she hastened to write to the Colonel presiding over the 3<sup>rd</sup> Council:

Relying on your benevolent promise, I made my husband, Monsieur Rastoul, write a plea for clemency so as to obtain from M. Thiers, President of the Republic, the commutation of his punishment into exile. If Monsieur the President of the Republic were willing to grant me an audience of a few moments only, I am convinced that he would listen to my prayer. [...]. I undertake on my honour that my husband will no longer get involved in politics and will remain what he is already, a good and indeed excellent, family man.<sup>13</sup>

The reprieve, supported by the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Montpellier, was rejected on 11 December 1871, and Rastoul was transferred to Fort Boyard near Rochefort in the department of Charente-Maritime where he 'lived in the perpetual expectation of an amnesty [the likelihood of] which retreated every day'. He refused to be associated with an escape attempt organised by Henry Rochefort, 'which had very real chances of success, but which, due to execrable bad luck, got derailed'.<sup>14</sup> They were subsequently incarcerated at Saint-Martin-de-Ré, where they shared a room in the citadel.

Juliette followed Paul to Île de Ré with her two children, Angèle (Amélie Angélique) and José (Auguste Joseph), visiting him every day. On two occasions, on 17 January and 25 June 1872, she was received by Victor Hugo in Paris. In *Choses vues* Hugo mentions an 'attractive person, with fine intelligence', but the writer's intervention in favour of 'her husband' failed to reduce the punishment the court-marshal had inflicted on him.<sup>15</sup>

Pending Paul's departure for New Caledonia, Juliette unsuccessfully offered to look after his two daughters, Berthe and Thérèse. Even though he had implored his parents to look upon Juliette as their own child, a 'tender, devoted, affectionate daughter who loved our dear children just like a blood mother', Paul's relationship with Juliette was never accepted by his family, who turned away from him.

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<sup>13</sup> *Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine*, BB/24/729.

<sup>14</sup> Rochefort, Henri, *Les aventures de ma vie*, vol. III, Paris, Paul Dupond, 1896.

<sup>15</sup> Hugo, Victor, *Choses vues*, vol. 2, 1849–1885, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1997.

Before leaving France on the *Orne* on 13 January 1873, he renewed his regrets in a letter to his daughters, ‘You should know that your good little mother Juliette has been presented to you in a completely false light. Her immense love and her heroic devotion will be an example for posterity. Justice will be rendered to this woman so worthy of being my partner and your second mother by heart and affection, pending the legal consecration of our union. For she will wait for me, loving and faithful.’ After a crossing of four months, with a stopover in Melbourne, from 18 to 24 April, imposed by the degraded state of sanitation on board, Paul, together with 452 ‘simple’ deportees, disembarked at the Isle of Pines.

### New Caledonia

The law of 25 March 1873 stated, in article 7, that the families of deportees could be sent to the Colony at the state’s expense. Juliette, whose request was supported by two members of parliament, applied to the Department of Navy for a free passage aboard a transport, the *Calvados*, which was to leave Toulon in April, ‘The man the law calls my husband has granted me full and entire freedom and my only and single moral support is the one I beg you to allow me to join’. Her application having been rejected, ‘on account of the information provided by the self-styled wife Rastoul’,<sup>16</sup> she embarked on the *Fénelon* at her own expense. On 27 July 1873 Juliette left France, leaving behind her mother, ‘without profession’, who died at Neuilly in 1885, at the age of seventy-one.<sup>17</sup>

As early as 8 August, in a message from Benoît d’Azy, Director of the Colonies, Governor Gaultier de la Richerie had been informed of the arrival of the ‘woman Lopez [sic] and her two children’, who cannot assume the name Rastoul, since ‘Mr Lopez still lives: he resides in Brazil where he has been living for several years, separated from his wife,<sup>18</sup> who appears to have played a fairly important part in the events of the Commune, although not blatant enough to justify legal proceedings’. The Governor found it amusing

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<sup>16</sup> *Archives de la France d’Outre-Mer*, Aix-en-Provence, H 98.

<sup>17</sup> *Archives départementales des Hauts-de-Seine*, Neuilly-sur-Seine, décès, 50/1885, 31 January 1885.

<sup>18</sup> Another source claims that ‘he would soon have died’ at Pernambouc where he went after leaving France.



that ‘there had been, at the Captain’s table, a chaplain, a first class physician, a doctor’s assistant and Madame Lopez-Rastoul’.<sup>19</sup>

On 23 October Juliette disembarked at Noumea where she met up with Paul who, together with 300 other ‘simple deportees’, had been allowed to leave the Isle of Pines. He had applied for permission to set up a pharmacy in the chief town, with the assistance of a fellow prisoner ‘who had some knowledge of dispensing drugs’.<sup>20</sup> However, he practised medicine there and had among his patients some of the officials of the Colony. According to Jean Allemane’s account,<sup>21</sup> ‘some unexpected cures had established his medical reputation.’ Juliette for her part opened a clothing store, selling Paris fashions, which had great commercial success. However, the spectacular escape of Henri Rochefort and his five accomplices on 19 March 1874 gave rise to brutal reprisals, and Juliette—who had lunched with two of the fugitives on 3 February—and Paul found their lives profoundly disturbed.

Although held on Île Nou, near Noumea, the convict Alexis Trinquet was informed of the following sequence of events:

The postal services in Sydney readily delivered a letter by Rastoul to the French Consul, but the Consul returned it by the first mail to the Caledonian administration which promptly and unscrupulously perused it, breaking once more the confidentiality of correspondence. The administration could congratulate itself on this as it provided it with a reason to get rid of Dr Rastoul whose presence bothered many people in Noumea. Rastoul was arrested at his home, handcuffed like a thief, and transported to Île Nou the same day.<sup>22</sup>

He was actually re-interned at Île Nou on 27 June 1874, ‘convicted of secretly promoting rebellion’.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

<sup>20</sup> *Archives de la France d’Outre-Mer*, Aix-en-Provence.

<sup>21</sup> Allemane, Jean, *Mémoires d’un communard*, Paris, François Maspero, 1981.

<sup>22</sup> Trinquet, Alexis, *Dans l’enfer du bague : Mémoires d’un transporté de la Commune*, Paris, Éditions des Arènes, 2013.

<sup>23</sup> He was now deprived of all autonomy and, according to Théodore Ozeré, his prescriptions were ‘not accepted at the hospital [where he was] treated as a charlatan’, *Carnets et lettres d’un déporté de la Commune à l’Île des Pins (1871–1879)*, Noumea, Publications de la Société d’Études Historiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie, n° 50.

In fact, the military censors got hold of five compromising letters, which, copied by the same hand, have been preserved at the Military Archives at Vincennes.<sup>24</sup> The fifth letter had been sent to Juliette by Jean Allemane who, although condemned to hard labour for life, was not imprisoned in the penitentiary. Working as a typographer in the government printery, he heard that 'rigorous measures were going to be taken with respect to the Noumea deportees. Tell our friends that they should behave well and not expose themselves to reprimands by our jailers. There has also been question of you, *citoyenne*, and nothing less than expulsion has been suggested for you.'

All these comments agree on the 'devotion of this brave woman' and her companion, 'One after the other we were deprived of our dearest friends,' wrote Trinquet.<sup>25</sup> As for Allemane, he also praised young José for the way he carried out the job of messenger, 'admirably clever and calm. Each time he had some information to give me, he knew how to warn me by singing some tune, popular during the war, and the clear and joyful voice of this Paris child, at the same time as it delighted me, provoked intense emotions in me.'<sup>26</sup>

Finally Juliette's case was examined by the Governor's closed council, 'That's giving oneself a lot of worry for a woman', said one of its members, but on 6 August 1874 Juliette was 'expelled from the Colony, for conduct contrary to good order', and she was given three days' notice 'to prepare her departure'.<sup>27</sup>

## Australia

On 9 August 1874 'Mrs Lopez Rastoul, Miss Lopez and Mr Lopez' disembarked at Sydney from the *Egmont*.<sup>28</sup> Very quickly, Juliette's complaint that the New South Wales Post Office had delivered Dr Rastoul's letter to the French Consul in Sydney, contrary to the address to which it was to be sent, was raised in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly by the radical and mercurial politician, David Buchanan. Buchanan considered the accusation,

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<sup>24</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

<sup>25</sup> Trinquet, Alexis, *Dans l'enfer du bagne : Mémoires d'un transporté de la Commune*, Paris, Éditions des Arènes, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Allemane, Jean, *Mémoires d'un communard*, Paris, François Maspero, 1981.

<sup>27</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

<sup>28</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1874.

if true, a serious breach of the confidentiality of the postal service and established a parliamentary committee to investigate. Contending 'evidence taken before the select committee showed that the Post Office authorities had been guilty of culpable neglect', he introduced a motion for payment of 'compensation to Madame Rastoul for injuries sustained', but the motion failed. Buchanan later successfully defended José Lopès against a charge of stabbing another youth, a member of a group that had been bullying him.<sup>29</sup>

In need of financial support, Juliette sought to establish herself as a 'teacher of the French language', but initially 'through anonymous calumny' was 'prevented from obtaining pupils, and could not, therefore, earn a living ...'<sup>30</sup> She was under the close scrutiny of Consul Eugène Simon who would not neglect 'any information he could get hold of regarding our Colony'.<sup>31</sup> A proof of this concern can be found in a letter by the French Minister for the Navy to his colleague of the Interior, dated 23 October, 'It appears from the official correspondence the woman Lopez sent to Sydney that she has left this town to return to France. [...] As this woman had become a foreigner as a result of her marriage to a Brazilian, I think it would be appropriate to make use of the potentiality of the legislation on foreigners to deny her access to French territory.'<sup>32</sup>

In fact, Juliette remained in Sydney and, thanks to the help of some accomplices, was able to maintain exchanges with the Isle of Pines deportees. On 21 March 1875 she wrote a long if somewhat disjointed letter<sup>33</sup> to 'her beloved Paul':

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<sup>29</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 November 1874 and 23 June 1875; *Empire*, 6 November 1874; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 7 November 1874. For Buchanan see Martha Rutledge, 'Buchanan, David (1823–1890)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/buchanan-david-3099/text4595>, published first in hard copy 1969, accessed online 14 August 2017. *Evening News*, 25 August 1875; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1875; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 9 October 1875. For Juliette's public gratitude towards Buchanan, see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1875.

<sup>30</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1875; Juliette was advertising conversation classes by 7 July 1876 in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

<sup>31</sup> *Centre des Archives Diplomatiques*, La Courneuve, 324 CCC/4.

<sup>32</sup> *Archives de la France d'Outre-Mer*, Aix-en-Provence, H 98.

<sup>33</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

This week I heard people speak about you at length, since the Post retains my letters. I must confess I was somewhat worried, even though my letters contain nothing political. I abstain from mentioning anything that does not seem personal to me. [...]. Be aware, my Paul, that you have one single female friend in the world: that's me, and I can say this because in the last four years this friendship has not ceased to grow because of the miseries it has caused me. [...] You had friends in Noumea because you were a skilled and learned physician who healed those who were ill. You had friends because your house was open to all in need. Now you no longer have friends. [...] I loved Noumea when you were there. I would like to think that you were still there and I would then tolerate my exile better. [...] Patience, my Paul, and above all, hope! [...] Receive the thousand kisses I am sending you from here. Don't torment yourself on my account. You know that I have strength and courage to bear everything. The children embrace you with all their heart. Your Juliette who loves you and who will never belong to anyone but her Paul.

This letter did not reach its intended recipient and was retained by the penal administration,<sup>34</sup> because, on 11 March, unknown to Juliette, Rastoul had died during an attempted group escape. When Joannès Caton arrived on the Isle of Pines in April 1877, he noticed 'on the road [...] a long fragment of a boat lying on the ground, next to the edge of the ditch. [...] I was told it was all that had been recovered from the boat on which Rastoul and nineteen other deportees tried to escape. All of them drowned before reaching the channel of the reef. [...]'<sup>35</sup> As suggested by Théodore Ozeré, 'the remains of Rastoul's canoe were placed in front of the deportation office to terrify those who would like to imitate him'.<sup>36</sup>

Juliette was suspected of having organised the escape of her partner. In a dispatch dated 14 May 1875 to the Duc Descazes, his supervising minister, the French Consul in Sydney claimed that 'the woman Lopez' has some resources at her disposal since 'a short time before Rastoul's attempted escape she

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<sup>34</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

<sup>35</sup> Caton, Joannès, *Journal d'un déporté de la Commune à L'Île-des-Pins*, Paris, Éditions France-Empire, 1986.

<sup>36</sup> Ozeré, Théodore, *Carnets et lettres d'un déporté de la Commune à L'Île-des-Pins (1871-1879)*, Publications de la Société d'Études Historiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie, n° 50, Noumea, 1993.

offered to pay 2,000 francs to three sailors of the *Havilah*, 'a steam-powered three-masted schooner servicing New Caledonia, to facilitate his escape.'

The most contradictory rumours circulated on the fate of the escapees, but one has to bow to the evidence: when Thérèse Rastoul got married, on 23 May 1882, at Thézan-les-Béziers, with the consent of her paternal grandfather, the marriage certificate indicates that she was the 'legitimate daughter of the late Rastoul Barthélémy Paul Émile Philémon, doctor of medicine, deceased, as recorded in the certificate of public knowledge drawn up by Mr Justice of the Peace of the Canton of Murviel (Department of Hérault), in the presence of four witnesses, on 22 March 1882'.<sup>37</sup>

Consul Simon took for granted 'the existence of a general agency responsible for the preparation of the deportees' escape', but was unsuccessful, in May 1875, at identifying 'the head of this agency, his address and his nationality'.<sup>38</sup> Fear of conspiracies continued to agitate the administration, to the point where its suspicions fell on José Lopès, aged seventeen. Having travelled to Europe in 1878, he was reported to be in London. At the end of the year he was again in London and the Prefect of the Paris Police hastened to advise the Minister for Navy and the Colonies that he 'would be on the point of leaving for New Caledonia where he boasts that he has a mission to fulfil'. This information was transmitted on 20 December to the Governor of the Colony, after a correction regarding José's identity:

Already, in his capacity as the younger son of Mme Lopez, against whom an expulsion order had been made, he does not seem to be qualified to reside in New Caledonia. His person and the name he assumes would be likely to cause some unrest among the political prisoners. In any case, since he is a foreigner, you can use in his regard the powers conferred on you by the law. [...]<sup>39</sup>

José appears to have left Southampton in January 1879 for Sydney and he does not seem to have carried out the plan attributed to him.

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<sup>37</sup> *Archives Départementales de l'Hérault*. Australian newspapers at first reported Rastoul's escape had been successful (*Cornwall Chronicle*, 29 March 1875 and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April 1875), before confirmation of his death later in the year (*Argus*, 29 October 1875).

<sup>38</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, Marine collection, CC<sup>3</sup> 2180.

<sup>39</sup> *Archives de la France d'Outre-Mer*, Aix-en-Provence H 98.

Among the deportees on New Caledonia with whom Juliette maintained contact was Louise Michel, the 'red virgin' of the Commune. Louise Michel had decided to wait for the general amnesty of July 1880 to leave Noumea. When she did, she spent a short time in New South Wales in September 1880, before boarding the *John Elder*, bound for London with other returning deportees singing the 'Marseillaise' and giving a cheer for Australia as she did so. 'In Mme Henry's company I visited Sydney in detail', she later wrote.<sup>40</sup> Madame Henry was none other than Juliette. On 6 January 1880 she had wed another Communard, Lucien Felix Henry, at 164 Victoria Street, Sydney, with, among the witnesses, Supreme Court Judge W. C. Windeyer and his wife Mary.<sup>41</sup> For eleven years the Henrys shared a rented apartment in Victoria Street, Potts Point.

Lucien Félix Henry, born in 1850 at Sisteron, in the Department of Basses-Alpes, into a family of local petite bourgeoisie, went to Paris at the age of seventeen after the death of his father. 'Having come without resources, he sought to support himself by working for a manufacturer of mannequins and by posing as a model in studios of various painters'.<sup>42</sup> Though Jean-Léon Gérôme, an official artist, had enrolled him as a student at the École des Beaux-Arts, he admitted that he did not regularly attend classes, 'I have no personal wealth, I had to work outside to make ends meet'.

A simple national guard during the first siege, on 11 March 1871 Lucien, supported by the Blanquist militants, was unanimously elected Head of the Legions of the 14<sup>th</sup> arrondissement. 'No one fulfilled the requirements better than he', according to the minutes of the General Assembly meeting.<sup>43</sup> 'This young, ardent and sincere Republican, an energetic revolutionary', seized the town hall of his arrondissement and administered it for a fortnight.

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<sup>40</sup> Michel, Louise, *Souvenirs et aventures de ma vie*, Lamazière-Basse, Maiade, 2010. See <http://marinersandships.com.au> which indicates Mlle Michel arrived at Sydney on 8 September 1880, on the ship 'City of Melbourne'; the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 15 September 1880, states Michel departed Sydney aboard the *John Elder* with other pardoned Communards on 14 September 1880.

<sup>41</sup> New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Marriage 32/1880.

<sup>42</sup> *Archives nationales*, BB/24/744.

<sup>43</sup> Zaidman, Pierre-Henri, *Lucien Félix Henry : colonel de la Commune condamné à mort et artiste australien*, Paris, Éd. du Baboune, 2000.

He was taken prisoner as early as 4 April, on the occasion of the National Guard's first sortie on the plateau of Châtillon. According to the correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was working from Versailles, 'Henry was the hero of the day, so elegant, so virile, so at his ease, so indifferent to [...] the loathsome rabble who were insulting him'. He was walking at the head of a column of prisoners who were immediately transferred to the Central Prison at Belle-Île-en-Mer. They were 752 at the end of August when the newspaper *L'Océan* (28 August 1871) gave one of the prisoners the opportunity to speak, 'He is furious with the members of the Commune, "The wretches", he says, "misused my youth by placing me at the head of the *Fédérés*. They are all crooks"'.<sup>44</sup>

Convicted of 'hiring, attempting to destroy the government, exciting civil war, of having exercised a command of armed gangs, of complicity in illegal arrests for a period over a month, of complicity in the invasion of an inhabited house by means of violence and threats, of having carried visible weapons in an insurrectional movement, of having worn a military uniform, raised or helped to raise barricades, provoked or facilitated the rallying of insurgents, of having invaded a public building, occupied an inhabited house with [sic] the consent of the owner',<sup>44</sup> he was condemned to death on 18 April 1872. By a 'gracious' decision dated 22 June and as a result of the intervention of four parliamentarians, his punishment was commuted to deportation to a fortified precinct. Another plea for clemency 'not having been capable of being received', he left the mother country on 10 October on board the *Var* which took away 579 convicts.

He disembarked on 19 February 1873 on the Ducos Peninsula in New Caledonia, where he endeavoured to obtain 'right of citizenship in the Republic of Arts'.<sup>45</sup> Joannès Caton was pleased to visit him: 'Behind the hospital [...] lives a handsome young man of my age. [...] His enemies, because he has some, it seems, although I can't see why, say about him that he is a traitor, that his behaviour was obsequious before the court-marshal which was judging him and that he allowed himself to cry and beg the forgiveness of his judges'.<sup>46</sup> In fact he denied before the 19<sup>th</sup> court-marshal

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<sup>44</sup> *Archives nationales*, BB/24/862.

<sup>45</sup> Zaidman, Pierre-Henri, *Lucien Félix Henry : colonel de la Commune condamné à mort et artiste australien*, Paris, Éd. du Baboune, 2000.

<sup>46</sup> Caton, Joannès, *Journal d'un déporté de la Commune à L'Île-des-Pins*, Paris, Éditions France-Empire, 1986.

that he had been the head of the insurrection in the Montparnasse district.<sup>47</sup> It would have been droll if Lucien had been the 'colonel Henry' with whom Paul Rastoul had a problem, but at the date when that occurred Juliette's partner was deprived of his freedom.<sup>48</sup>

On 19 June 1876 he sought clemency from the President of the Republic, Marshal Mac-Mahon, and his request was favourably supported by the Governor who, short of a reprieve, suggested a commutation of his sentence:

The conduct of this deportee has always been good and dignified. He bitterly regrets the errors of his youth. He has a gentle and disciplined character, carefully avoids the company of bad individuals. His morality is beyond reproach. Although his health is fragile, he works continually. He is a painter of some merit. His paintings and terra-cotta works have earned him several awards at exhibitions in Noumea and Sydney.<sup>49</sup> With each mail he regularly sends some of his earnings to his mother. The medical officer of the peninsula has reported that this deportee is suffering from a very advanced stage of pulmonary phthisis [Eds: 'tuberculosis'] and that, in his opinion, he doesn't have much longer than a year or ten months to live.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Service Historique de la Défense*, GR 8J417.

<sup>48</sup> Trinquet thought he could claim that Juliette had married the Communard François Contouly (known in Australia as Henri or Louis Henri Contouly/Coutouly). It is ironical that Contouly managed to escape to Australia finding passage on the very ship on which the dismissed Governor Gaultier de la Richerie himself embarked. When his escape was announced in May 1874, Ozeré noted that he was the 'self-styled Colonel Henry during the Commune', but, he added, 'there were so many Henri'. Contouly settled in Melbourne where, as early as June 1875, he obtained a licence to sell alcoholic beverages at the Opera Wine Hall. In June 1886, when he became owner of the Telegraph Hotel, he married the widow of a former member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, who also ran a hotel, the Mountain Hotel. Contouly died in 1898 at the age of sixty-two. For his marriage and death see Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria, Marriage 6192/1886 and Death 3891/1898; also *Record* (Emerald Hill), 12 June 1886 and *Argus* (Melbourne), 18 January 1898.

<sup>49</sup> Henry had first exhibited in Sydney in 1876 while still a deportee in New Caledonia (*Australian Town and Country Journal*, 29 April 1876).

<sup>50</sup> *Archives de la France d'Outre-Mer*, H85.



Although he was judged to be ‘worthy of the greatest interest’, Lucien did not benefit from a remission of sentence until 15 January 1879, when a first package of ‘individual pardons’ was granted by the Mac-Mahon government, a fortnight before its fall.

In a letter to his mother dated 12 July 1876, which did not reach her, since it was retained by the penal administration, Lucien explained the choice he would make to settle in Sydney in June 1879<sup>51</sup>:

I thought that if I stayed in Australia until the day when I was free, that would only be because, during those years, I could amass enough money to make us the nest which we both dream of, at Forcalquier or at Châteauneuf, wherever you prefer. I have consulted many people on the value my painting would have in Australia. I have taken into account what it would cost me to remain far from you and also all that you would have to suffer. The people I have consulted about prices all tell me from 3,000 to 5,000 francs.<sup>52</sup>

That considerable sum corresponds to a thousand hours of labour for a Paris worker.

In Sydney, after giving private lessons (he first advertised for students on 30 September 1879), he was recruited in March 1881 as an ‘art instructor’ by the ‘Sydney Technical Working Men’s College in connection with the School of Arts’, and his teaching quickly became very popular. In June 1883 Henry was made principal ‘over that portion of the Technical College comprising several classes relating to the plastic arts, which, having been hitherto under separate and ill-defined management, have not afforded the satisfaction that was desired’. At the time an independent institution, the College was taken over by the New South Wales government shortly after, overseen by the Board of Technical Education, under which Henry continued to work.<sup>53</sup> Favouring the use of the flora and fauna of Australia in the decorative arts, he sought to found a national school where

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<sup>51</sup> The main facts on his stay in Australia can be found in Stephen, Ann (ed.), *Visions of a Republic: the work of Lucien Henry, Paris, Noumea, Sydney*, Sydney, Powerhouse Museum, 2001.

<sup>52</sup> *Archives nationales*, BB/24/744.

<sup>53</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 1879; *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 19 March 1881 and 20 June 1884; *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 16 June 1883.

the Australian waratah symbolically replaced the Greek acanthus.<sup>54</sup> There remain by him the Centennial Hall stained glass windows in the Sydney Town Hall. Centennial Hall was built in 1888 to celebrate the centenary of European presence in Australia, and more specifically the central stained window was meant to be the allegorical representation of New South Wales.

Juliette continued her French teaching, in 1886 forming ‘a *cercle littéraire* to enable ladies to speak the French language colloquially’, meeting once or twice a week to read and discuss the works of French authors.<sup>55</sup>

Having been granted six months’ leave to visit Europe, Lucien left Sydney in May 1891, embarking on the *Océanien*, in the company of one of his students, 28-year old Frances (Fanny) Harriet Broadhurst, daughter of a prominent lawyer.<sup>56</sup> After another six months’ extension approved by the Board of Technical Education, his position was declared vacant. Scarcely arrived in Paris, he published a book and in a letter of 12 December 1891 to his ‘dear Juliette’ he asks about its reception: ‘You will have received a sample copy of *Waratah*<sup>57</sup> that I sent you last Friday. [...] I hope you will enjoy reading this legend which has been well received and had such a success that I have been asked to authorise a French translation.’ A year later he wrote that the work earned him ‘a few hundred francs and some reputation’ and that he ‘almost found the means to earn a living’, but he was worried that he was unable to help her in any way: ‘I have nothing but fears, debts and doubts; [...] clamours are raised on every side asking for money’. Sued by his creditors, he declared himself unable to settle the interest on the 12,500 francs he had borrowed from a Mr Greenhill, possibly Fanny’s uncle, Sydney businessman Francis Tress Greenhill.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> It seems that it took almost half a century for justice to be done to his pioneering role (McDonagh, Grant, ‘Australian Culture. National Art School’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1936, and Bradish, C. R., in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1952).

<sup>55</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1886; *Daily Telegraph*, 22 January 1887.

<sup>56</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 1891.

<sup>57</sup> Henry, Lucien, *The Waratah: Australian Legend*, Paris, Draeger & Lesieur, 1891.

<sup>58</sup> Watson, Anne, ‘The Legacy of a Vision: from Lucien Henry to R. T. Baker’, in Ann Stephen, (ed.), *Visions of a Republic: the Work of Lucien Henry, Paris, Noumea, Sydney*, Powerhouse Publishing, Sydney, 2001, p. 108, note 7 (quoting from an undated letter from Lucien to Juliette).

The following month, the birth at Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat in the Department of Creuse, of Lucien's and Fanny's son, Harry André Henry, was followed a few days later by the mother's death at the age of twenty-eight.<sup>59</sup> It was a desperate man who, writing from London, confided in Juliette: 'I did not succeed. I have lost everything and I will not return. [...] However terrible and miserable my life is here, it is the one I have chosen, in preference to one where I would be subject to sarcasm, pity and reproaches, something I am not prepared to endure.'<sup>60</sup> Bankruptcy proceedings had been launched against him by three creditors, including Albert Jack Higginbotham, 'engineer and map publisher', Angèle's husband since February 1879. Having unsuccessfully applied for alimony, Juliette decided to start divorce proceedings in September 1895, which led to the dissolution of their marriage in January 1896.<sup>61</sup> This gave rise to an enigmatic assertion by J. Allemane: 'this union was to be disastrous for the whole family of the shipwrecked Rastoul'.<sup>62</sup> Three months later, on 10 March, Lucien died at Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, probably from tuberculosis contracted in New Caledonia.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, at the time Lucien left Sydney for France in 1891, Juliette went to stay in Tasmania 'for the next few months,' arriving at Hobart in June.

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<sup>59</sup> *Archives départementales de la Haute Vienne*, Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, 3E 162/39, naissance 1892/62 and 3E 162/41, décès /1892/61. See also Zaidman, Pierre-Henri, *Lucien Félix Henry : colonel de la Commune condamné à mort et artiste australien*, Paris, Éd. du Baboune, 2000.

Harry Andre Henry, 'a particularly talented and cosmopolitan man', returned to Australia, earned the New South Wales Rhodes Scholarship for 1913, served in the British army and air force in the First World War and established a successful legal career in Sydney; he died in July 1961 (see Watson, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December, 1913, <http://www.beyond1914.sydney.edu.au/profile/3153/harry-andre-henry>, and NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Deaths 23716/1961.

<sup>60</sup> Watson, Anne, p. 109, quoting from a letter to Juliette dated 6 September 1893.

<sup>61</sup> *Evening News*, 17 October 1895 reports that the marriage certificate at the New South Wales Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, 32/1880, states the marriage was dissolved on 31 January 1896.

<sup>62</sup> *Evening News*, 17 October 1895; Allemane, Jean, *Mémoires d'un communard*, Paris, François Maspero, 1981.

<sup>63</sup> *Archives départementales de la Haute Vienne*, Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, 3E 162/44, décès 1896/23; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1896.

By early July she was advertising tuition in elementary and conversational French.<sup>64</sup> Juliette enjoyed success as a French teacher in Hobart, initially under the patronage of Lady Hamilton, wife of the Governor but, after she had delivered a final lecture on Racine in Hobart on 20 December 1893, she returned to Sydney. At a farewell organised on her behalf in Hobart on 5 January 1894 'deep regret' was expressed 'at the severance of the ties between Madame Henry and her pupils', while 'their hearty appreciation' was 'emphasised [...] of her unvarying patience and the simplicity and skill of her method of teaching', and of the 'great interest she evinced in the spread of higher education and in the study of literature'.<sup>65</sup>

In Sydney Juliette quickly recommenced the 'classes and *conférences* on French literature she had conducted so ably in former years',<sup>66</sup> with the purpose of 'propagating in the public of this Colony the knowledge of our language and a taste for our literature'.<sup>67</sup> A 'bright, pleasant woman, full of French vivacity', with 'a charming manner', her success, according to contemporary commentators, was built on a 'delightful' accent and 'the exquisite purity and clearness of her enunciation' when she 'chats pleasantly and what is more to the point for novices, slowly and distinctly, in her native tongue'. Her teaching was based, she explained, on repetition, as only by

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<sup>64</sup> *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 May 1891; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1891; *Mercury* (Hobart), 8 June and 6 July 1891; *Daily Telegraph* (Launceston), 15 May 1892.

<sup>65</sup> *Tasmanian News*, 6 January 1894 and *Mercury*, 6 January 1894 and the *Launceston Examiner*, 11 January 1894 reported: 'Hobart shipping, sailed on 10 January 1894 for Sydney, the *Oonah*, passengers included Madame Henry'. Juliette Henry is also listed in a survey of Tasmanian authors by John Shields in *The Examiner* (Launceston, 12 March 1946). Her comedy in two acts, *La Fête de la Directrice* (Sydney, Imprimerie Murray, 1892) was written for the students of the Hobart Ladies College, and translated by Lady Hamilton, wife of the Governor of Tasmania, under the title *The Birthday of the Headmistress* (Hobart, Tasmanian News Office, 1892, 17 p.). The full play, in French, was published in *Explorations*, no. 21, December 1996, pp. 15–34 (ed. Wallace Kirsop). For Lady Hamilton's English translation see Wallace Kirsop, 'French Theatre in the Schoolroom: Juliette Henry's *The Birthday of the Headmistress* (1892)', in *Margin*, n° 46, November 1998, pp. 29–40.

<sup>66</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1894.

<sup>67</sup> For example, a '*salon of the Cercle Littéraire Français*' on Saturday, 20 February 1897 included a performance of François Coppée's one act play, '*Fais ce que tu dois*' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February 1897).

‘accustoming the ear to the sound of the words and phrases [...] could a practical acquaintance with a foreign language be made [...]’.<sup>68</sup> In December 1894 her *Cercle Littéraire Français* had fifty-two members who had at their disposal a library of 300 volumes, but an even larger audience gathered at the soirées organised on the first Wednesday of each month.

The significance of the *Cercle* was demonstrated by the dedication to Juliette by author and former editor of *Le Néo-Zelandais* and *L’Océanien*, Albin Villeval, of his 1895 biography of Victor Hugo, for ‘her enthusiasm and energy in founding [...] the only French institution in Sydney in which, under her able supervision, the treasures of our literature are unfolded and our language is diffused.

[...] I thought it a fitting recognition of her efforts to offer this study [...] to a lady who has proved her love for her motherland by devoting her high intellectual faculties to the task of introducing to young Australia the great literary worthies of old France.’<sup>69</sup>

‘There is no personality more colourful in Sydney than Mme Juliette Henry’, whose affability and distinction were praised by *The Sun* of 26 February 1897. She was, wrote correspondent ‘Tasma’ in 1898, ‘one of the most large-hearted and intellectual women in Australia [...] a tall, handsome, commanding woman, with a charm of manner and wide culture’ who was one of Sydney’s ‘most remarkable sisters’.<sup>70</sup>

Despite the success of her various events, Georges Biard d’Aunet, Consul-General from 1893 to 1905, never deigned to attend.<sup>71</sup> Their organiser was moved to approach President Félix Faure about the ‘hateful and even cruel’ hostility of the French Government’s representative towards a compatriot who, ‘a quarter of a century earlier, had dared to express opinions which probably were not his’.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 and 21 February 1894; *Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1894 and 6 June 1894; *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 24 March 1894.

<sup>69</sup> Villeval, Albin, *Victor Hugo: A Biographical Study*, Sydney, Batson & Co., 1895.

<sup>70</sup> *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 10 May 1898.

<sup>71</sup> Barko, Ivan, ‘Georges Biard d’Aunet : la vie et la carrière du premier Consul-Général de France à Sydney’, *Revue d’histoire diplomatique*, 2007, n° 2, pp. 97–120.

<sup>72</sup> Kirsop, W., ‘Mme Juliette Henry writes to Félix Faure’, in *Explorations*, n° 21, 1996, pp. 3–14.

The complaint, dated 24 April 1896, was dismissed without further action, and the Consul-General attended Mme Henry's funeral on 26 January 1898. Juliette had died the day before, on 25 January, aged 58 years, in the home of her daughter, Angèle, Edgecliff Road, Woollahra.<sup>73</sup> Although in her will of 1870 she had expressed the wish to be buried in a civil ceremony with the 'poor man's hearse', followed only by her children, she was in fact interred in the Catholic section of Sydney's Waverley Cemetery, in the presence of a crowd of friends.

On 18 April, a subscription was opened to honour her memory, and on 5 November a Celtic cross of Sicilian marble was erected on her tomb, 'to render a final tribute to a noble woman whose merciful memory will not leave the hearts of those who knew her'.<sup>74</sup> It was unveiled and Juliette eulogised by Francophile New South Wales member of the Legislative Assembly, and soon to be Attorney-General, Bernhard Ringrose Wise, Q.C., M.L.A., who said of Juliette that 'in every movement, gesture, intonation, in artistic dress, the fascination of her manner, the quickness of her intellect, in the breadth of her sympathies, she was a type of all that is best in womanhood, as she was also in the infinity of her pity, the strength of her affection, and the gracious devotion of her life to the service of others'<sup>75</sup>.

## Conclusion

Wallace Kirsop's wish for a satisfactory account of Juliette Henry's life<sup>76</sup> is difficult to fulfil, for there still remain many shadows that research in different archival collections has failed to dissipate. How was the illegitimate child of the daughter of a poor vigneron able not only to 'contribute to the love of France by spreading the knowledge of its language but also by working to disseminate, right to the antipodes, the civilising influence of its great literature'? Will we learn more of the destiny of this 'charitable, compassionate and good' woman 'who did good discreetly for the benefit

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<sup>73</sup> NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Deaths 3924/1898; *Daily Telegraph*, 27 January 1898; *Evening News*, 26 January 1898.

<sup>74</sup> *Sydney Mail*, 5 February 1898.

<sup>75</sup> *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 12 November 1898.

<sup>76</sup> Kirsop, Wallace, 'Mme Juliette Henry writes to Félix Faure', in *Explorations*, n° 21, 1996.

of the humble', and whose 'clear, elegant and easy elocution' allowed her to enjoy the favour of the 'elite, her natural audience'?<sup>77</sup>

Juliette's daughter, Angèle, who died on 8 October 1927<sup>78</sup>, had four children: Adrienne (1880–1953), Émile (1882–1958), Angel ('Fleurette', 1894–1978) and Marguerite (1899–1983) Higginbotham. Juliette's son, José, who died on 16 May 1941, had one son, Lucien (1882–1946)<sup>79</sup>, by his first marriage, and three daughters, Naomi (1905–1985), Juliette (1908–1984) and Janet (1910–1981), and one son, Paul (1915–1968) by his second marriage. All of Juliette's grandchildren except Marguerite married and some, if not all, have left descendants.<sup>80</sup> It is not inconceivable that, through the memories preserved by these descendants, we will one day be able to discover under which circumstances Juliette armed herself with the confidence and the culture that enabled her to triumph over the social exclusion associated with her birth.

*Brest – Canberra*

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<sup>77</sup> *Le Courrier australien*, Saturday 5 February 1898.

<sup>78</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1927.

<sup>79</sup> A second son of José's died in infancy. In her letter to Félix Faure, Juliette wrote that she had 'a last sacred duty to accomplish: to bring up and complete the education of [her] grandson', which may have been Angèle's son, Émile, or José's son, Lucien. José, that 'brave child' on whom fell 'bitter misfortune', according to Jean Allemane (see footnote 22), had a problematic first marriage, but his second, in 1905, appears to have been stable for some time, and he settled for several years at Cooma, New South Wales. However, he died in Melbourne's Austin Hospital, in the suburb of Heidelberg, after a residence in Victoria of only 7 months. Many of the details of José's life are stated incorrectly on his death certificate (Victorian Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Deaths 4248/1941)—for example, his parents are stated as Francisco José Lopes, 'Doctor of Surgery', and 'Jubette' Lopes, formerly Lebeau—and no members of his immediate family appear to have been present at his death or burial.

<sup>80</sup> For example, evidence for Fleurette's descendants can be found in newspaper death and funeral notices; she married a returned decorated veteran of the First World War, Paul Estripeaut, whose family were New Hebridean plantation owners, on 11 October 1919—*Sunday Times* (Sydney), 26 October 1919 and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 December 1978.

## The Adventurous life of Juliette Lopès-Rastoul-Henry



View from Juliette Henry's grave in Waverley Cemetery.



Juliette Henry's tombstone is in the first row (centre of image).



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*Of special interest to contributors of refereed articles:*

### **The ISFAR Ivan Barko Essay Prize 2017**

The inaugural ISFAR Ivan Barko Essay Prize has been awarded to Jill Donohoo for her article 'NSW Premier William Holman and the "Inexhaustible Interest of French Affairs"', published in *The French Australian Review* n° 61.

Named after Professor Ivan Barko to mark his long and distinguished service to ISFAR, particularly as editor of *Explorations* and its successor *The French Australian Review*, the prize is intended to stimulate research in all areas of French Australian relations. It is awarded by the Committee on the recommendation of the editors of the review to the author of the best article published during the preceding year.

Jill Donohoo received her prize from Elaine Lewis and Jane Gilmour at the ISFAR seminar held in Sydney in November 2017. The essay was praised for its thoroughly documented and finely analytical probing of the Francophile interests and actions of a significant Australian political figure. Professor and Mrs Barko were present at the award.