

NOTES

INTRODUCING THE PARIAHS OF YESTERDAY

- 1 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 106, and Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 29, quote the Father Rivalin, speaking at a congress of worker associations in Saint-Brieuc; François Cadic used the term in the July 1899 issue of the *Paroisse bretonne*, which was quoted by Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 210.
- 2 Simon-Barouh, "Assimilation and Ethnic Diversity in France," 15–39; Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*.
- 3 Noiriél, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*, 85; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
- 4 Many scholars have addressed the exclusive nature of the citizenship philosophy forged in the Revolution and after, including Weil, *How to Be French*; Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*; Heuer, *The Family and Nation*; Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation*; Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen*; Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*.
- 5 Blanc-Chaléard, *Les italiens dans l'est parisien*; Green, *Repenser les migrations*; König, *Deutsche Handwerker, Arbeiter und Dienstmädchen in Paris*; Lequin, *La mosaïque France*; Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic*; Milza, *Voyage en Ritalie*; Milza, Gervereau, Témime, and Berrou, *Toute la France*; Rygiel, *Destins immigrés*.
- 6 Teulière, "Immigration and National Identity," 69.
- 7 Harzig and Juteau, Introduction, 2; Hoerder et al. refer to the recasting of national histories to include the foreign-born and minority communities, but I also insist on this point for national histories and internal groups. Hoerder, Harzig, and Schubert, eds., *The Historical Practice of Diversity*; Hoerder, "Transcultural States, Nations, and People," 16.
- 8 Faure, "Urbanisation et exclusions dans le passé parisien," 68.
- 9 Eley and Suny, eds., *Becoming National*, 41; Renan, "What Is a Nation?," 46–52, quotation p. 49.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 48.

- 11 Ibid., 49.
- 12 Noiriél, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*, 100–107; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, chaps. 16–18.
- 13 Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*; Lehning, *Peasant and French*.
- 14 Chanut, *L'école républicaine et les petites patries*.
- 15 Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France*; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
- 16 Châtelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*; Poitrineau, *Remues d'hommes*; Corbin, *Archaïsme et modernité en Limousin au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Blanc-Chaléard, *Les italiens dans l'est parisien*; Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*; Faure and Lévy-Vroelant, *Une chambre en ville*.
- 17 Teulières, "Immigration and National Identity," 69.
- 18 See for example Bade, *Migration in European History*, xii; Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*.
- 19 Ozouf, *Composition française*, 241.
- 20 Noiriél, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
- 21 Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*; Chin also notes the shift to a focus on immigrant culture, meaning Islam, as a way of naming immigrants as unas-similable. She also discusses gender relations, which I take up below, in *The Guestworker Question in Postwar Germany*.
- 22 Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*.
- 23 Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*; Manning, *Migration in World History*.
- 24 Levine, ed., *Proletarianization and Family History*; Tilly, "Demographic Origins of the European Proletariat," 1–85; Winter, *Patterns of Migration and Adaptation in the Urban Transition*.
- 25 Châtelain, "Migrations et domesticité féminine urbaine en France"; Moch, *Paths to the City*; Moch, *Moving Europeans*.
- 26 As an entrée into this extensive literature see Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work?*
- 27 Eley, "Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital," 167–68.
- 28 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Chevalier, *Dangerous Classes and Laboring Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*.
- 29 These include most recently Faure, "Paris, 'Gouffre de l'espèce humaine?'," 49–86, and Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, as well as Ratcliffe, "Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle?," 542–74.
- 30 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, x; Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.
- 31 Faure, "Paris, 'Gouffre de l'espèce humaine?'"
- 32 Green, "Time and the Study of Assimilation," 239–58.

- 33 See especially Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*; Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley*; Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 126–31.
- 34 Rosental, *Les sentiers invisibles*. The long history of migration in Europe also undercuts the assumption of modernization theory that mobility increases with time and that to move is to be modern. See the discussion in Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, chap. 1.
- 35 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 205–13, 285.
- 36 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 65.
- 37 Dutertre, “Bretons de Versailles,” 44.
- 38 Broudig, *A la recherche de la frontière*, 13.
- 39 The most compelling account of this experience may be Hélias, *Le cheval d'orgueil*, published in the United States as *The Horse of Pride*.
- 40 In contemporary literature and statistics, Brittany is composed of five departments; yet since 1941 the boundary of the region of Brittany excludes the Loire-Atlantique, which includes the city of St.-Nazaire and whose capital is the port of Nantes. I include the Loire-Atlantique as part of Haute-Bretagne in this study. McDonald, “*We Are Not French!*,” 15–16.
- 41 Broudig, *A la recherche de la frontière*, 8–15.
- 42 Rosental, “Between Macro and Micro,” 476.
- 43 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*; Cribier, *Une génération de parisiens arrive à la retraite*; Faure, “Camille et Jeanne, ouvrières à la raffinerie Say”; Girard, *Un parcours en noir et blanc dans la Bretagne de jadis*; Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*; Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*; Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*. For use of life-writings see Hoerder, *Creating Societies*.
- 44 Bertaux-Wiame, “The Life History Approach to the Study of Internal Migration”; Rosental, “Between Macro and Micro,” 473, 477.
- 45 Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 119; Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 28–29; Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties”; Kesztenbaum, “Cooperation and Coordination among Siblings”; Leseger, Lucassen, and Schrover, “Is There Life outside the Migrant Network?,” 29–50; Moch, “Networks among Bretons?,” 431–55; Moch and Fuchs, “Getting Along,” 34–49; Tilly, “Migration in Modern European History,” 48–72; Tilly, “Transplanted Networks,” 79–95.
- 46 Rosental, “Between Macro and Micro.”

## CHAPTER ONE. CONTEXTS

- 1 Le Bouëdec, *Les bretons sur les mers*, 7, 134, 135, 217, 246; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*.
- 2 Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants*, 3, 201.
- 3 Weil, “French Migration to the Americas in the 19th and 20th Centuries as a Historical Problem,” 443–60.
- 4 Centre de Recherches d’Histoire Nord-Américaine, Université de Paris I,

- L'émigration française*; Fouché, *Émigration alsacienne aux États-Unis*; Foucher, *Le rêve californien*; Arrizabalaga, "Les basques dans l'ouest américain," 335–50; Moogk, "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 236–60.
- 5 Weil, "The French State and Transoceanic Emigration," 114–31, for exemplary discouragement of emigration to Argentina and Canada; see also administrative correspondence in the Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine, series 6M 691, État nominative des émigrants partis pour l'étranger, and the Archives Départementales des Côtes-d'Armor, series 6M 808, Émigration intérieure et extérieure: circulaires, instructions, 1817–1936.
  - 6 Quote from Pluchon, *Histoire des Antilles et de la Guvane*, 163; Moogk, "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 163, 165. This is not to say that France failed to develop penal colonies; see Toth, *Beyond Papillon*.
  - 7 Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants* 247; Moogk, "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 255; personal communication from Sébastien DuBriel of the University of Notre Dame regarding connections between the Haitian language and the Breton language, particularly as spoken in the region of Nantes, 10 May 2005.
  - 8 Debien, "Les engagés pour le Canada partis de Nantes," 583.
  - 9 Forster and Forster, eds., *Sugar and Slavery, Family and Race*.
  - 10 Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants*, 200–202.
  - 11 Moogk, "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 253, 255.
  - 12 Ibid., "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 240–43. See also Moch, *Moving Europeans*, chap. 2; those French who stayed on are threaded throughout Hoerder, *Creating Societies*.
  - 13 Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants*, 29–33.
  - 14 Ibid., 271–77; Landry, *Les filles du roi*; Moogk, "Manon's Fellow Exiles," 245.
  - 15 The earlier mass emigration of some 200,000 Huguenots from France that followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 included few if any Bretons. Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution*, 118; Vidalenc, *Les émigrés français*, 111–14.
  - 16 Daughton, *An Empire Divided*, 38–41.
  - 17 Of the 255,000 copies of the *Annales* published in the mid-1880s, 165,000 were published in French and 6,000 more in Breton; the Breton issues peaked at 6,500 in 1893 and slumped to 5,225 by 1912. Daughton, *An Empire Divided*, 39, 278.
  - 18 Lallemand, *Comme un long fleuve fertile de passion et d'action éducatives*, 6, 19–20.
  - 19 Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 77; Lallemand, *Comme un long fleuve fertile de passion et d'action éducatives*, 9, 19, 19–20; White, "Priests into Frenchmen?," 111–21.
  - 20 Michel, *Missionnaires bretons d'outre-mer aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 147.
  - 21 Martin, "Celebrating the Ordinary," 289–317; Michel, *Missionnaires bretons d'outre-mer aux XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 147, chaps. 7–11, back cover.
  - 22 Katan, "Le voyage 'organisé' d'émigrants parisiens vers l'Algérie," 17, 40–42.

- 23 Lossouarn, *Les bretons dans le monde*, 156.
- 24 Annaba was then called Bone; Stora was then Philippeville. Lossouarn, *Les bretons dans le monde*, 157
- 25 Weil, “French Migration to the Americas in the 19th and 20th Centuries as a Historical Problem,” 451–55. The history of the French in Argentina is yet to be written in depth; extant studies include Zago, *Los franceses en la Argentina / Les français en Argentine*; Andreu, Barrassar, and Gaignard, *Les aveyronnais dans la Pampa*. Recent case studies explore the histories of the French in the United States, such as Blaufarb, *Bonapartists in the Borderlands*; others explore the French-Canadians who moved to New England, such as Weil, *Les franco-américains*. The French invasion of Mexico, 1862–67, was not the first time the French appeared: Genin, *Les français au Mexique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à nos jours*; Granet-Abisset, *La route réinventée*. According to Paul Gerbod, over 48,000 French decamped to Britain in 1846–60, and over 44,000 to Belgium and Holland, 33,000 to Germany and Austria, 19,000 to Switzerland, 28,000 to Italy, and over 6,000 to Iberia. Gerbod, “Parisiens et parisiennes hors de France au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 295.
- 26 Foucier, *Le rêve californien*, 37–38.
- 27 Archives Départementales du Finistère, 4M379, Registre de passeports.
- 28 Boursset, “Une émigration insolite au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 129–88.
- 29 *Ibid.*; Foucier, *Le rêve californien*, 23–28, 105–24; ADF, 4M379, Registre de passeports.
- 30 Le Clech, “Quelques figures de pionniers de l’émigration bretonne au Canada et aux États-Unis,” 280; Le Clech, “Un épisode marquant l’émigration bretonne au Canada,” 287–95.
- 31 Le Bail, *L’émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 45–46; Pénisson, “L’émigration française au Canada,” 97; Weil, “French Migration to the Americas in the 19th and 20th Centuries as a Historical Problem,” 454.
- 32 Berruer, *Les bretons migrants*, 50–69, tells the story of this group’s initial trip and trials over the years.
- 33 Pénisson, “L’émigration française au Canada,” 52–55.
- 34 Le Clech, “Quelques figures de pionniers de l’émigration bretonne au Canada et aux États-Unis,” 294–95; Le Clech, “L’émigration bretonne au Canada au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 219–37; for an account of the Saint-Brieux settlement see Berruer, *Les bretons migrants*, 50–69.
- 35 Mauras and Hamon, *Ces bretons du Canada*; figures are for 1911–31 from Lossouarn, *Les bretons dans le monde*, 2.
- 36 Déguignet, *Mémoires d’un paysan bas breton*.
- 37 Châtelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, vol. 1, 178; Poitri-neau, *Remues d’hommes*.
- 38 Châtelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, vol. 1, 58; Désert is cited in Pelletier, *Histoire générale de la Bretagne et des bretons*, vol. 1, 418.
- 39 Châtelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, vol. 1, 58

- 40 This concern expressed itself in a spate of publications all over France, most recently put to rest by Rosental, *Les sentiers invisibles*.
- 41 Vandervelde, *L'exode rural et le retour aux champs*.
- 42 I am the translator for all French passages in this volume. "Oh ! ne quittez jamais c'est moi qui vous le dis / De devant de la porte ou l'on jouait jadis. / Oh ! ne quittez jamais le devant de la porte; / Mourez dans la maison ou votre mère est morte." Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, ii; Birzeux lived from 1803 to 1858; his best-known creation is "Les bretons." Le Bail followed in his father's footsteps as mayor of Plozevet and went on to become a representative and then senator from the Finistère from 1902 until his death in 1937. There were other anti-urban law dissertations; see Jobert, "Les agglomérations urbaines et l'émigration rurale en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle." Jobert explicates the ruinous nature of city life.
- 43 Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 3; Le Bail's 104-page dissertation listed only seven books; this is in marked contrast to the 360-page geography dissertation of Camille Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne* (1905), whose bibliography was extensive. See below.
- 44 "Qu'ils reviennent! Qu'ils prennent, un soir, à la gare Montparnasse l'un des trains qui partent vers la Bretagne, et quand la nuit sera passée, quand les grandes villes seront lointaines, lorsque la locomotive glissera, légère, sur ses rails, à travers la campagne bretonne, quand le petit jour poindra, ils verront soudain apparaître a leurs yeux émerveillés, la Terre Maternelle, enveloppée encore dans le brouillard bleu des aurores printanières, la Terre fertile, la Terre indulgente et oublieuse de leurs bandons qui tendra ses flancs féconds et riches vers l'effort de leurs bras." Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 104.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 67–68; Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 13.
- 48 Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 31–33.
- 49 Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 188–90.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 275.
- 51 Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.
- 52 Pelletier, *Histoire générale de la Bretagne et des bretons*, vol 1, 418.
- 53 Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 279.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 275.
- 55 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, vol. 2, 310, from *La Bretagne contemporaine*, vol. 1, Preface. Cited by Le Gallo, "Basse-Bretagne et bas-bretons," 171.
- 56 Jobert, "Les agglomérations urbaines et l'émigration rurale en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," 102; Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 18–19; Pelletier, *Histoire générale de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 418.
- 57 Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 276.

- 58 Châtelain, *Les migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, 214–18, quotation p. 218; Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 276–77.
- 59 Le Bail, *L'émigration rurale et les migrations temporaires dans le Finistère*, 25; see also Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 275.
- 60 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 188, 208, 211. The conscript records on which their study is based served as an address book for men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, since conscripts were required to report each change of residence over a twenty-five-year period.
- 61 Farcy and Faure compare the movements of men from the Côtes-d'Armor with those from other départements that sent men to Paris: Cantal, Creuse, the Orne, Eure-et-Loir, Nièvre, Pas-de-Calais, Oise, Seine-et-Marne, and Seine-et-Oise. The Limousins have a rich history, beginning especially with Corbin, *Archaisme et modernité en Limousin au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Nadaud, *Mémoires de Léonard, ancien garçon maçon*, and most recently Harison, *The Stonemasons of Creuse in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. The signal work on Auvergnats in Paris is Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. The history of provincial migrants and integration in Paris was evaluated in a special issue of *Ethnologie française* 10, no. 2 (1980), ed. Guy Barbichon, "Provinciaux et province à Paris."
- 62 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 33, 37, 67–68.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 203, 205, 208, 219, 305.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 219. In this cohort 74 percent of men from the Côtes-du-Nord traveled to colonies, compared with a mean of 0.54 percent for all groups; 1.49 percent of Bretons went abroad, compared with a mean of 1.18 percent for all groups.
- 65 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 219.
- 66 *Ibid.*, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 60; see p. 231 for regional nuances within the Côtes-d'Armor.
- 67 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 298–99, 304–5.
- 68 Ackerman, "Alternative to Rural Exodus," 131–35; Ackerman, *Village on the Seine*, chap. 4.
- 69 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 306–8.
- 70 Harel, *L'île Saint-François*, 15–16; Meynier, "Les bretons au Havre," 387; Vallaux, *La Basse-Bretagne*, 278–79.
- 71 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 26, 438. *Statistique Générale, Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 303–4.
- 72 Le Gallo, "Basse-Bretagne et bas-bretons," 143–44.
- 73 Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism*, 170–78; Le Gallo, "Basse-Bretagne et bas-bretons," 157–64; Pierre, *Les bretons et la république*, 227–40.
- 74 Le Gallo, "La Bretagne bretonnante," 24–27.
- 75 Pierre, *Les bretons et la république*, 46–49; Segalen, *Fifteen Generations of Bretons*.
- 76 Pierre, *Les bretons et la république*, 29.

- 77 Segalen, *Fifteen Generations of Bretons*, 3.  
 78 Ozouf, *Composition française*, 15.  
 79 Brittany's regionalist movements are summarized in Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 199–208, and in Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, esp. chaps. 57, 62. For more recent regionalism see Loughlin and Mazey, eds., *The End of the French Unitary State?*  
 80 Déniel, *Le mouvement breton*, 26–27.  
 81 Wright, *The Regionalist Movement in France*, vii; see also Soltau, *French Parties and Politics*, and the longstanding observations of Fox, *History in Geographic Perspective*.  
 82 Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France*.  
 83 Thiesse, *Écrire la France*; Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient la France*.  
 84 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 130.

## CHAPTER TWO. A BRETON CROWD IN PARIS

- 1 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 156. The term *bretonnant* indicates that Breton was spoken in that village; see Introduction.  
 2 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 41; the exact figures are 68,792 for Paris, 3,218 for Saint-Denis, and 3,648 for Versailles. The history of Bretons in Versailles has been written with great skill by Dutertre, “Bretons de Versailles.”  
 3 Bertho, “L’invention de la Bretagne,” 62.  
 4 *Ibid.*, 57–62.  
 5 Gaillard, “Les migrants à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 132; Harison, *The Stonemasons of Creuse in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, chap. 7; Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.  
 6 Barbichon, “Provinciaux et provinces à Paris,” 123; Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 211; Gaillard, “Les migrants à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 134.  
 7 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 29, quotes Father Rivalin, speaking at a congress of worker associations in Saint-Brieuc; François Cadic used the term in the July 1899 issue of the *Paroisse bretonne*.  
 8 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 211.  
 9 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 39–60, 165–84, 239–48, 362–73.  
 10 See Appendix: Marriage Records.  
 11 Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*; Herlihy and Klapish-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*.  
 12 Châtelain, “Migrations et domesticité féminine urbaine en France,” 506–28; see also the more general works on the eighteenth-century city, such as Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*; and Moch, *Moving Europeans*, chaps. 2–3. More general works on the eighteenth-century French servant include Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies*; Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*.



- 13 The finest general studies of domestic servants are Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*, and McBride, *The Domestic Revolution*.
- 14 The short story was published in the newspaper *Le Gaulois* in February 1884.
- 15 McBride points out the paradox of domestic service being the means by which women left the rural labor force and became “modernized;” McBride, *Domestic Revolution*, 117. For a discussion of these two kinds of work in history see Eley, “Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital,” 153–88.
- 16 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 156. This also recurs several times in Mirbeau, *The Diary of a Chambermaid*; Michel, ed., *Un moderne*; Michel, “Journal d’une femme de chambre,” *Octave Mirbeau*, vol. 2, 547; see discussion in Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*, 58.
- 17 For acute examples see the testimonies of both Yvonne Yven and her husband, Jean Chabot, in Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 132–34 and ff.
- 18 Theresa McBride, *Domestic Revolution*.
- 19 Statistique générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 305. See also McBride, *Domestic Revolution*, and Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*.
- 20 For “la question du sixième” see Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*, 125–45.
- 21 For scholarship on the domestic servants in the twentieth century see for example Andall, *Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Europe*; Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work?*; Henkes, “Maids on the Move,” 224–43; Moch, *Moving Europeans*; Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization*; Lutz, ed., *Migration and Domestic Work*.
- 22 Zola, *Pot-Bouille*, was later translated into English as *Restless House* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953), 26. The tenth book in Rougon-Macquart series, *Pot-Bouille* was first serialized in the periodical *Le Gaulois* in 1882. Twenty years later the journalist Marcelle Tinayre recalled the novel in a plea for humanitarian treatment of domestic servants in “La question des domestiques,” *L’Illustration*, no. 3126 (24 January 1903).
- 23 Zola, *Piping Hot*, 8, 44.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 432.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 432–38.
- 26 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 39–60, 165–84, 239–48, 362–73.
- 27 The historian Faure, for example, regards Lemoine’s testimony as invaluable for understanding the housing in Saint-Denis. In their study he and Lévy-Vroelant cite Lemoine’s careful observations of Breton housing, crowding, and the act of leaving the rooming-house upon marriage: *Une chambre en ville*, 155. Likewise, the historian of Saint-Denis Brunet repeatedly cites Lemoine as a “contemporary” in his descriptions of Bretons in Saint-Denis, their origins, and their dwellings. See, for example, Brunet, “L’immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 75–76.
- 28 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 41.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 173. For large farms in the Île-de-France see Ackerman, *Village on the Seine*.

- 30 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 56. Plougonver is a commune in inland Côtes-d’Armor.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 167–68. Lemoine wrote about agricultural workers in the large farms, Saint-Denis factory workers, market gardeners, railroad workers, and domestic servants.
- 33 Émile Souvestre lived from 1806 to 1854; *Les derniers bretons* had several editions beginning in 1835 and was last reprinted in 1995 by Terre de Brume publishers in Rennes.
- 34 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 177–82. “Le Breton, une fois séparé de son milieu primitif, a une tendance extraordinaire à se perdre dans le nouveau milieu où il se trouve transporté.”
- 35 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 242–43, gives the figure of six thousand placements per year; this is most likely a misprint, since Lemoine’s estimate is ten times that of others. The figure cited years later by the Abbé François Cadic is six hundred; see chap. 3.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 245.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 240, 239–42.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 241–42.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 172.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 58.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 363–66.
- 43 I translate “*marchand de vin*” as café owner, as does Haine, understanding that this was the contemporary term for the café; *The World of the Paris Café*, 4.
- 44 This observation is corroborated by Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 127, and Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 47–49, 134–35.
- 45 Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
- 46 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*; Brunet, “Une banlieue ouvrière”; Brunet, “L’immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.”
- 47 Brunet, “L’immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 1995, 80.
- 48 Lombard-Jourdan, *La plaine Saint-Denis*, 154–56
- 49 *Ibid.*, 160–61.
- 50 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, series B / A, Enquête industrielle, Saint-Denis, 1872.
- 51 Lombard-Jourdan, *La plaine Saint-Denis*, 7; Berlanstein, *Big Business and Industrial Conflict in Nineteenth-Century France*.
- 52 Lillo, *La petite Espagne de la Plaine-Saint-Denis*, 15.
- 53 Brunet, “Une banlieue ouvrière,” 1575; Lombard-Jourdan, *La plaine Saint-Denis*, 159–61, 179.
- 54 Lillo, *La petite Espagne de la plaine-Saint-Denis*, 15–17.
- 55 Brunet, “Une banlieue ouvrière,” 164.
- 56 Lombard-Jourdan, *La plaine Saint-Denis*, 177.
- 57 Jacquemet, *L’église de Saint-Denis*.
- 58 Duby, *La ville de l’âge industriel*, 609.

- 59 Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève*, 574.
- 60 Faure, “Paris, le peuple, la banlieue,” 88, 100. Faure also draws on the *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1868), whose entry for Cayenne reads, “Atelier éloigné de Paris; fabrique située dans la banlieue.”
- 61 Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève*, 220.
- 62 A. Goullé in the *Cri du peuple*, January 1885, quoted by Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève*, 219.
- 63 Pottier, *Logements insalubres* (1887), 214, quoted by Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève*, 219–20.
- 64 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 178–80.
- 65 Archives de Paris, series D2 M8 census lists, Saint-Denis, 1891, 28 (10, rue de la Charronnerie) and 29 (10, rue des Poissonniers).
- 66 They were only 10 Bretons in some 250 weddings in Saint-Denis in 1875. Archives Départementales de Seine-Saint Denis, 1E66 32, Mariages, Saint-Denis, 1875.
- 67 Lemoine, “L’émigration bretonne à Paris,” 175.
- 68 And after 1897 women also acted as witnesses. See Appendix: Marriage Records; Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle”; Prost, “Mariage, jeunesse et société à Orléans en 1911,” 672–701.
- 69 See Appendix: Marriage Records.
- 70 Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 111–33.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 121–27. Haine elaborates on the role of the café owner in weddings in *The World of the Paris Café*, 134–35.
- 72 Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 116.
- 73 Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 74.
- 74 The forty-nine marriages with a wedding partner from Brittany in Saint-Denis is the total number for that year, gleaned from all marriage records for 1890. See Appendix: Marriage Records. Of the forty-nine marriages 65 percent were between two Bretons and 49 percent between Bretons born in the same department; 67 percent were from the Côtes-d’Armor. Thirty-three of the grooms, or 67.3 percent, were unskilled workers. Archives Départementales de Seine-Saint-Denis, series 1E 66 48, Mariages, Saint-Denis, 1890.
- 75 And the mean age of first marriage was 23.51; the median age was 23. Sixteen of the forty-six Breton brides and grooms were living with at least one parent in Saint-Denis at the time of their marriage; 65 percent of the brides and 78 percent of the grooms could sign the wedding document.
- 76 Thirteen of forty-nine brides lived with (i.e., at the same address as) their husband before marriage; this is a much smaller proportion than in the Fourteenth Arrondissement. Only three of the forty-nine marriages included the legitimization of a child, two of whom were infants originally registered as the child of both mother and father.
- 77 Over 40 percent of the witnesses could be identified. The proportion of café owners is twice the proportion of marchands de vins serving as witnesses in Garden’s study—about 40 percent rather than 20 percent.
- 78 Marriage 46, 1890, Saint-Denis. Pseudonyms have been assigned to all mar-

- riage partners, witnesses, and family members mentioned in this manuscript. See Appendix: Marriage Records.
- 79 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 172–74.
- 80 Marriages nos. 25, 72, 1890, Saint-Denis.
- 81 See Knibiehler, ed., *Cornettes et blouses blanches*; Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 201–2.
- 82 Brunet's study of the electoral lists of 1891 reported in "L'immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle."
- 83 Lemoine, "L'émigration bretonne à Paris," 56.
- 84 Marriage 239, Saint-Denis, 1890.
- 85 Brunet, "L'immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle." 81.
- 86 Marriage 125, Saint-Denis, 1890. In this case the bride was "sans profession," so she probably was not planning to be employed, and may have worked with her parents before marriage.
- 87 "A la différence des autres groupes d'immigrés, qui semblent se fonder dans ce que l'on peut appeler le 'creuset dionysien' sans perdre de leur personnalité ni de leur force intrinsèque, le Breton de Saint-Denis apparaît comme un déraciné, meurtri par la vie, ballotté au gré des circonstances." Brunet, "L'immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," 84; see also Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 26.
- 88 Gaillard, "Les migrants à Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," 131.
- 89 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 12, 17–21.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 91 See, for example, Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, chap. 5; Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*, chap. 1.
- 92 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 46–49, 51–52.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 58; Bindi and Lefeuve, *Le Métro de Paris*, 12.
- 94 Nesbit, *Atget's Seven Albums*, 165–75, 390–410. So-called *apaches* did not become a danger until after 1900, although criminal youth were a concern; see Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris*, 146–47; Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Époque*, 183. The *Petit Journal* on 20 October 1907 featured a cover portrait of a ferocious apache with the headline "L'apache est la plaie de Paris."
- 95 Nesbit, *Atget's Seven Albums*, 414–28; Brachev, "Mon père, horticulteur-guérisseur du Boulevard Brune"; Zola, "Promenade vers les fortifs, sorties champêtres . . .," 31–36.
- 96 Zola, "Promenade vers les fortifs, sorties champêtres . . .," 31.
- 97 Duhamel, "Sociologie d'un quartier disparu," 28–29.
- 98 Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 52–53; Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 41, 67–68, 90; Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Époque*, 12–13, 96.
- 99 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 63; see also Faure and Lévy-Vroelant, *Une chambre en ville*.
- 100 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 63.
- 101 The Sceaux railroad line, instituted in 1846, ran to southern suburbs from the

- Denfert station in the Fourteenth; it was extended to an underground station at Luxembourg Garden in 1890–95.
- 102 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, series B / A, Enquête industrielle, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1872.
- 103 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 63.
- 104 Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 74.
- 105 Faure, “Migrations intérieures et villes dans la France du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 158.
- 106 Archives de Paris, series E, Mariages, XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, 1875.
- 107 A terrassier and an homme de peine; Mariages, XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, 1875.
- 108 Mariages, XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, 1875, mariages nos. 580, 29.
- 109 Omnès, “Les provinciales dans la formation des populations ouvrières parisiennes,” 174–91; Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, introduction, chaps. 9–10.
- 110 In other times and places women’s work is less well recorded in marriage records—either because it was fashionable to say that one was “sans profession” or because women stopped working when they married.
- 111 Mariages, XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, 1875, marriage 1.
- 112 Cottard, “L’Évolution du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement de 1860 à nos jours,” 63.
- 113 Archives de Paris, series D2 M8 28, *Recensement de 1891*, professions, Paris, XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement; Bindi and Lefevre, *Le Métro de Paris*, 6.
- 114 Duhamel, “Sociologie d’un quartier disparu,” 26. “L’escalier monte, monte à travers des familles et des familles superposées comme des couches géologiques. On entend ici une mandoline, là un petit chien qui jappe, à droite le poitrinaire qui respire avec tant de peine. Et, déjà, c’est la grosse dame à l’éternelle chanson: ‘Je t’aime, comprends-tu ce mot?’ Et le tap . . . tap . . . du monsieur qui travaille chez lui à des choses incompréhensibles. Et, partout, les machines à coudre et des piétinements d’enfants dans des couloirs, et des voix d’hommes et de femmes qui parlent et se querellent à propos des affaires de leur clan. Tout cela si clair à l’oreille fine et distraite du petit garçon.”
- 115 Duhamel, “Sociologie d’un quartier disparu,” 27, 30.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 118 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 62; Zola, “Promenade vers les fortifs, sorties champêtres . . .,” 35. The *mairie* of the Fourteenth had formerly been that of the commune of Montrouge.
- 119 Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 123
- 120 In Garden’s survey 18 percent of provincials married someone from their home Department; this was the case for only 11 percent of Bretons in the Fourteenth Arrondissement. Eight of the eleven Breton couples were from the Côtes-d’Armor. The mean age of first marriage for women was 27.87 years; the median was 27.
- 121 Forty-two of the eighty-five couples marrying in the Fourteenth Arrondissement were living at the same address at the time of the wedding; only five of the ninety-nine Bretons were living with a parent. The shared address could simply indicate that each marriage partner lived in the same building;

- it could also indicate that cohabitation had begun shortly before the extensive paperwork required for marriage had been completed—it is impossible to know for certain whether a couple lived in a consensual union before marriage.
- 122 Battagliola, “Mariage, concubinage et relations entre les sexes,” 76–84; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 19–20.
  - 123 Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 120–21.
  - 124 Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*; Battagliola, “Mariage, concubinage et relations entre les sexes”; Frey, “Du mariage et du concubinage dans les classes populaires à Paris,” 803–29; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*; Tilly, Scott, and Cohen, “Women’s Work and European Fertility Patterns,” 447–76.
  - 125 See Appendix: Marriage Records; Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 132.
  - 126 Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 120.
  - 127 Only 25 percent of the witnesses to the weddings in 1890 could be identified as a neighbor, relative, or workmate of the bride or groom—fewer than in Saint-Denis. Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890.
  - 128 Marriage 17, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890.
  - 129 Marriage 250, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890.
  - 130 On public dances see Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris*; Coquiote, *Les bals publiques*; Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Époque*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 122–39; For other public venues see Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*.
  - 131 Marriage 1036, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890.
  - 132 Marriage 736, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890.
  - 133 Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 65.
  - 134 Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*.
  - 135 Battagliola, “Mariage, concubinage et relations entre les sexes”; Frey, “Du mariage et du concubinage dans les classes populaires à Paris.”
  - 136 Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 32–33; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1007–31; Mouillon, “Domestique de la belle époque à Paris,” 1–9.
  - 137 Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 21–34; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1011.
  - 138 Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*.
  - 139 Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1018; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 21–29.
  - 140 Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1013–14.
  - 141 *Ibid.*, 1024. Although only 5 percent of the migrant women in Paris were from Brittany, 15 percent of the single mothers in La Maternité were from Brittany.
  - 142 Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 28–29; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1026.
  - 143 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1890, 212.

- 144 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 59; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, 151–55; Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1027–30.
- 145 See Sussman, *The Wet-Nursing Business in France*.
- 146 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 57–58.
- 147 Châtelain, *Les migrations temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, vol. 2, 1069–70; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1028; Sussman, *The Wet-Nursing Business in France*, 152–58.
- 148 Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*; Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home,” 1029.
- 149 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 303–4.
- 150 Archives de la Préfecture de Police; registers of commissariats, quartier 56, Plaisance, 1896. Police blotters detail each incident; each record includes each party's name, age, address, birthplace, and parents' names. For men the record includes particulars of their conscript class. The records were written in haste, and much is illegible.
- 151 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d'une génération de français*, 3, chap. 14, 477–519.
- 152 Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, 163.
- 153 Thirty-one of the fifty-six Bretons on the police blotters in 1896 were women; registers of commissariat, quartier 56, Plaisance, nos. 1561, 2058, 2362, 2647, 2652.
- 154 Registers of commissariat, quartier 56, Plaisance, nos. 2162, 1899, 2580, 2583, 2569, 3027.
- 155 Registers of commissariat, quartier 56, Plaisance, nos. 1709, 1787, 2402, 2903, 1529, 1555.
- 156 See chap. 1.
- 157 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 132–34, 191; Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*, 313.
- 158 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 198–99, 204–5, 214–17.
- 159 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*; Bryceson and Vuorela, eds., *The Transnational Family*; Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization*. Hodagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions*.

## CHAPTER THREE. THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

- 1 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*.
- 2 The exact figures for Bretons in Paris are 109,091 in 1911, 87,037 in 1901, and 68,792 in 1891; For the département of the Seine the figure for 1911 is 159,782; these census data are summarized in Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 65, 67.
- 3 David Barnes uses the idea of the core narrative in *The Making of a Social Disease*, 78–81, drawing on Hunter, *Doctor Stories*.
- 4 Saint-Maurice, “La misère en Bretagne.” This excellent source was signaled by Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, vol. 2, chaps. 53, 54.

- 5 The exact figure is 12,427; 15,211 more Bretonnes worked as domestics in the area surrounding Paris (the département of the Seine); Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 304–5.
- 6 Mirbeau, *The Diary of a Chambermaid*; this was not her first appearance, because most of the novel had been serialized in *L'écho de Paris*, 1891–92, and *La revue blanche*, early 1900. The novel sold 146,000 copies in the author's lifetime; Michel, *Octave Mirbeau*, 339.
- 7 Michel, "Journal d'une femme de chambre," *Octave Mirbeau*, vol. 2, 381.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 571.
- 9 *Ibid.* 343–45.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 346.
- 11 Buñuel's film, which starred Jeanne Moreau, changed the plot, however, and displaced the action to the 1930s, as did Jean Renoir's film of the same name from 1949, starring Paulette Goddard. See Lloyd, *Mirbeau's Fictions*, 62–63.
- 12 Mirbeau, *The Diary of a Chambermaid*, 74–76. Michel, "Journal d'une femme de chambre," *Octave Mirbeau*, vol. 2, 445–49. Martin-Fugier draws on Mirbeau extensively in *La place des bonnes*.
- 13 Michel, "Journal d'une femme de chambre," *Octave Mirbeau*, vol. 2, 652–67.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 605.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 609.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 609, 605–14 (chap. 15).
- 17 *Ibid.*, 599–604.
- 18 Specialists point out that Bécassine volumes are illustrated stories, not comic books, because there are no word balloons. On Bécassine's French character, in contrast to Astérix, for example, see Nye, "Death of a Gaulois"; Screech, *Masters of the Ninth Art*, 6.
- 19 Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine pendant la guerre*, 3; "Ridiculous, the character Bécassine who appeared in the pages of *La semaine de Suzette*," Bertho writes in "L'invention de la Bretagne," 62.
- 20 Lehembre, *Bécassine*, 12–13.
- 21 Groensteen, *Astérix, Barbarella & Cie*, 40.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 38, 40; Lehembre, *Bécassine*, 13.
- 23 This toy won the Grand Prix du Concours Lepine in 1914; Bugat-Pujol, *Bécassine éternelle*, 4, 5, 12, 13. Dropping a pile of dishes echoes a scene from the previous year's volume; Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine en apprentissage*, 52.
- 24 Caumery and Pinchon, *L'enfance de Bécassine*, 2–4.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 27 Dictionary definitions include, as a typical example, "n.f. (de bec). Oiseau échassier . . . 2. Fam. Femme, fille sotté." *Le Petit Larousse illustré* (1998), s.v. Bécasse.
- 28 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 108, Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 116.
- 29 Cadic, *Ça et là en Bretagne*; Cadic, *Contes et légendes de Bretagne*.



- 30 *La paroisse bretonne*, April 1899.
- 31 I focus on the opening issues of the journal because they are among the few available, and because it was here that Cadic best articulated the goals of the organization.
- 32 *La paroisse bretonne*, April 1899.
- 33 Charles Vincent, “Les bretons hors de la Bretagne,” *La paroisse bretonne*, April 1899.
- 34 Botrel, “Les loups bretons,” *La paroisse bretonne*, July 1899.
- 35 *La paroisse bretonne*, June 1899, August 1901.
- 36 This example is from June 1899. See Ford, “Religion and the Politics of Cultural Change in Provincial France,” 1–33.
- 37 *La paroisse bretonne*, May 1899.
- 38 For pardons, the Breton religious processions, see Young, “Of Pardons, Loss, and Longing,” 269–304.
- 39 *La paroisse bretonne*, May 1899: “Il semble que les maisons de religieuses elles-mêmes prennent à tâche de former leurs orphelines, comme une prime à l’exportation.”
- 40 *La paroisse bretonne*, July 1899: “Comment ils laissent leurs pratiques religieuses. Quelle est leur misère.”
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., August 1899.
- 44 Renan, 1823–1892, born in Tréguier, professor at the Collège de France, well-known writer, philosopher, and historian, author of *Histoire des origines de christianisme* (1863–81), *La vie de Jésus* (1863), and *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?* (1882). Cadic’s announcement of the demise of this organization was premature, since it is still in existence.
- 45 *La paroisse bretonne*, August 1899.
- 46 Ibid., September 1899; this article was subtitled “Leur caractère social: Appel aux prêtres bretons: L’oeuvre de la paroisse bretonne.”
- 47 *La paroisse bretonne*, September 1899.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid., October 1899. McBride notes that French servants managed to accrue savings; see *The Domestic Revolution*, 92–94.
- 50 *La paroisse bretonne*, October 1899.
- 51 Ibid., September 1899.
- 52 Ibid., August 1899.
- 53 Ibid., October 1899.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid., September 1899.
- 56 “La tuberculose chez les bretons,” *La paroisse bretonne*, September 1899, emphasis in original.
- 57 Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease*, 6, 14; these publication figures are for 1902–6.

- 58 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 143–44, 178. Renault, *La tuberculose chez les bretons*, was cited not only by Cadic but also by Bourgeois, “Exode rural et tuberculose.”
- 62 Bourgeois, “Exode rural et tuberculose,” 39, cited in Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease*, 144.
- 63 Trégoat, *L’immigration bretonne à Paris*, 5.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 7, 10–15.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 33–39.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 30–35; for core narrative see Barnes, *The Making of a Social Disease*, 50 and chap. 5.
- 68 Trégoat, *L’immigration bretonne à Paris*, 44.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 40–41.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 71 *Bretoned Paris: Bulletin mensuel de la Société La Bretagne*, January 1904; the Société, named the Association Catholique des Bretons à Paris in 1894, in 1895 became La Bretagne: Société de Secours aux Familles Indigentes des Bretons Résidant à Paris; Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 321.
- 72 *Bretoned Paris*, see for example April 1911.
- 73 *Bretoned Paris*, May–October 1906, “Pardon de Ste-Anne de la Maison-Blanche.”
- 74 The church has been renamed Sainte-Anne de la Butte aux Cailles.
- 75 *Bretoned Paris*, special issue, 1908.
- 76 *Ibid.*, July 1909.
- 77 *Ibid.*, October 1905.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 *Ibid.*, May–October 1906.
- 80 For an introduction to this concern see Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, chap. 3.
- 81 *Bretoned Paris*, January–February 1909, December 1909; see also January 1911.
- 82 *Ibid.*, August 1905, October 1905.
- 83 *Ibid.*, October 1905, August 1913.
- 84 *Ibid.*, November 1910.
- 85 *Ibid.*, October 1909.
- 86 *Ibid.*, December 1909.
- 87 *Ibid.*, October 1909.
- 88 *Ibid.*, May–October 1906.
- 89 Diximier and Diximier, *L’assiette au beurre*, 22, 45.
- 90 *Ibid.*, 351–65. An issue is devoted to Alsace-Lorraine in May 1911, but this region was not then part of France; some issues were also devoted to colonies, England, Germany, etc.

- 91 Ibid., 371–72; Tailhade wrote nine issues of *L'assiette au beurre*, but this is the sole issue illustrated by the artist Torent.
- 92 Tailhade, “Le peuple noir, la Bretagne,” 2202–3.
- 93 *L'assiette au beurre* 131 (3 October 1903), 2204–16.
- 94 These included the Ferry Laws of 1881–82, instituting secular education, and the Goblet Law of 1886, starting the process of secularizing the teaching personnel. The large bodies of historical work on the history of French public education and secularization include Curtis, *Educating the Faithful*; Clark and Kaiser, eds., *Culture Wars*; Reed-Danahay, *Education and Identity in Rural France*; Prost, *Histoire de l'enseignement en France*; Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*; Clark, *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne*; Mayeur, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troisième République*.
- 95 This weekly was the first to introduce color photographs, in 1907.
- 96 This resistance is expertly delineated and analyzed in Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France*, chap. 5; Ford, “Religion and the Politics of Cultural Change in Provincial France.”
- 97 Saint-Maurice, “Les décrets Combes dans le Finistère.”
- 98 Saint-Maurice, “L'exécution des décrets en Bretagne.”
- 99 Saint-Maurice, “Les dernières expulsions des soeurs en Bretagne.”
- 100 Saint-Maurice, “La messe à 2700 mètres d'altitude.”
- 101 Le Roy, “Le cinéma avant 1914,” 28.
- 102 Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris*, 5–8.
- 103 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 292–99; as an entrée into scholarship on the Auvergnats and the Creusois see Corbin, *Archaisme et modernité en Limousin au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Corbin, “Les paysans de Paris,” 169–76; Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.
- 104 Harison, *The Stonemasons of Creuse in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. A fine multifaceted study of domestics in Belle Époque Paris is Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes*; McBride, *The Domestic Revolution*, compares domestic service in England and France.
- 105 Only about one in twelve male domestics was from Brittany in 1901; figures for occupations are calculated from Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 292–305; Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 110–11.
- 106 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 292–305; Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 108–9. There were 3,372 Breton couturières in Paris in 1901 and 4,617 in 1911.
- 107 Knibiehler, ed., *Cornettes et blouses blanches*, chap. 1, 50.
- 108 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 201–2.
- 109 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 304–5; one male medical professional in ten

was a Breton, and women were 22.6 percent of those in the Seine and 23.5 percent of those in Paris. In 1911 about one male in nine in the medical profession was a Breton; the data on women are not published. Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 106–7.

- 110 The Abbé Euzen wrote in the *Paroisse bretonne* (February 1908); he is cited in Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 169.
- 111 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 104–5, 110–11; nearly 3,500 women were day laborers in the Seine, and just over 1,700 in the city.
- 112 Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris*, 92.
- 113 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 300–301.
- 114 Euzon in *Paroisse bretonne* (February 1908), cited in Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 169.
- 115 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 104–5.
- 116 Bindi and Lefeuve, *Le Métro de Paris*, 6–7; Feller, “Viellissement et société dans la France du premier xx<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 586; see also Feller, “Agents et retraités des transports parisiens,” 121; Rigouard, *Le Métro de Paris*, 9–111.
- 117 Feller, “Viellissement et société dans la France du premier xx<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 597, 602.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 599.
- 119 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, vol. 4, 300–301. Their numbers increased to nearly 4,000 in the Seine and over 2,800 in Paris in the subsequent decade. Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, 104–5.
- 120 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 49–50, 54, 81–83.
- 121 Faure, “Urbanisation et exclusions dans le passé parisien,” 67; Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, part 4, 116–17.
- 122 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, unnumbered registers, neighborhood 56, 1910, case 229, 734.
- 123 Police archives, unnumbered registers, quartier 53, 1910, case 70, 228.
- 124 Police archives, unnumbered registers, quartier 56, 1910, case 351; quartier 53, 1910, cases 535, 653. No other Bretons refused to name their parents.
- 125 Police archives, unnumbered registers, quartier 53, 1910, case 746.
- 126 Police archives, unnumbered registers, quartier 53, 1910, case 688.
- 127 Police archives, unnumbered registers, quartier 53, 1910, cases 68, 90, 129, 553.
- 128 Faure, “Comment devenait-on Parisien?,” 45.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 43; Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du xix<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 122. Garden’s one thousand marriages occurred throughout the Paris basin, and Faure’s marriages occurred only in the Eleventh Arrondissement; nonetheless, Faure

- very effectively makes the case that every *arrondissement* had a broad mixture of Parisians, provincials, and foreigners, 45–51. Faure does not give figures for the Breton marriages in his study.
- 130 There were 52 Breton couples among the 197 Breton marriages in the Fourteenth *Arrondissement* in 1910. Of the 101 Breton women who married out, 30 married Parisians; of the 36 Breton men who did so, 11 married Parisians. Archives de l'État Civil du XIV<sup>e</sup> *Arrondissement* de Paris, 1910.
- 131 Well over half the Breton grooms in the Fourteenth *Arrondissement* married a Bretonne, but fewer than a third of the Breton brides married a Breton.
- 132 The mean age of marriage for the 142 first-time brides was 25.88 years, and only 43 percent married before the age of 25.
- 133 Fourteen of the 253 Bretons marrying in the Fourteenth *Arrondissement* (5.5 percent) lived with their mother or father; 49.2 percent of couples lived at the same address.
- 134 Marie is probably the sister, since the birthplaces and minimal information about the parents are identical, but it is possible that Marie is a cousin. Marriages, Fourteenth *Arrondissement*, 368, 679. *Mécanicien* can translate as mechanic or machine fitter.
- 135 Marriages, Fourteenth *Arrondissement*, 368, 679.
- 136 Of the Breton grooms twelve worked for the railroad and ten worked as carters, as horse grooms, or in like occupations; there were also mechanics, nurses, and excavators.
- 137 Marriages, Fourteenth *Arrondissement*, 682.
- 138 Marriages, Fourteenth *Arrondissement*, 1533.
- 139 Of the eighteen marriages that included a Breton nurse, siblings were witnesses at eleven, and at more than half of these the sibling was a nurse.
- 140 Marriages, Fourteenth *Arrondissement*, 383.
- 141 Brunet, "Une banlieue ouvrière," 781; Brunet, "L'immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," 85.
- 142 Archives of Paris, D2 M8 132, Recensement de 1911, Saint-Denis.
- 143 Faure, "Aspects de la 'la vie du quartier' dans le Paris populaire de la fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle," 283–97.
- 144 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Registres de Commissariats, unnumbered registers, quartier 91, 1900, cases 1153, 1169, 1170.
- 145 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, unnumbered registers, quartier 92, 1905, cases 1126, 1129.
- 146 The police blotters of Saint-Denis South for 1905 show about 1,186 cases, 41 of which (3 percent) mention a perpetrator or victim born in Brittany; those of Saint-Denis north for 1900 only show about 674 cases, 43 of which (6 percent) mention a perpetrator or victim born in Brittany.
- 147 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis North, quartier 91, 1900, case 1189.
- 148 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis South, quartier 92, 1905, cases 575, 832, 857.

- 149 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis South, quartier 92, 1905, cases 603, 715.
- 150 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis North, quartier 91, 1900, case 1282.
- 151 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis North, quartier 91, 1900, case 120; police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis North, quartier 92, 1905, cases 270, 450, 521, 537, 590.
- 152 Police archives, unnumbered registers, Saint-Denis North, quartier 91, 1900, case 160.
- 153 Faure, “Banlieue, mon amour . . .” 167.
- 154 Faure, “Migrations intérieures et villes dans la France du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 158–60.
- 155 Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties.”
- 156 There were 67 Breton couples among the 127 Breton marriages in Saint-Denis in 1910. Archives de l’État Civil de Saint Denis.
- 157 Of those who “married out” in Saint-Denis, six of the fifty-nine married a Parisian and eighteen of the fifty-nine married a native of Saint-Denis. Some of the Dyonisians were of Breton parentage, of course, but this is apparent in only very few cases.
- 158 Of the eighty-five first-time brides, the mean age of marriage was 23.8 years, and nearly two-thirds married before the age of 25.
- 159 Archives of Paris, D2 M8 132, Recensement de 1911, Saint-Denis; Brunet, “L’immigration provinciale à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 81–82.
- 160 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910. The remaining women included a few needle workers and white-collar workers.
- 161 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910, 55.
- 162 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910, 629. This couple was more fortunate, and had more support, than François Le Goff and Marguerite Guernelec, from inland villages in the Côtes-d’Armor; of their four parents only François’s mother survived, at home. Marguerite had been orphaned at birth and her father had died when she was nine years old. Less than ten years later she had given birth to a baby girl in the Fourteenth Arrondissement—perhaps at La Maternité hospital. By the time she and her laborer partner married, the baby was four years old and Marguerite worked as a day laborer in Saint-Denis. A neighborhood marchand de vins and a gas worker stood up for François, along with Marguerite’s brother-in-law, which suggests that her sister was also present, along with an illiterate uncle, both of whom also resided in Saint-Denis. Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910, 122.
- 163 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910; 54 percent of the Breton men who wed another Breton were unskilled laborers and 19 percent were in transportation. The proportions for grooms who married a non-Breton women are 52 percent and 19 percent, and this group includes a few white-collar and commercial workers.
- 164 See Appendix: Marriage Records.
- 165 Gould, *Insurgent Identities*, 80–90.

- 166 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910, 44.
- 167 Prado, "Le va et vient," 192.
- 168 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1910, 44, 122.
- 169 Statistique Générale, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 5 mars 1911*, vol. 1, part 4, 88–89. There were 109,091 Bretons living within the city limits and 50,691 in the banlieue.
- 170 Moya, "Immigrants and Associations," 839.
- 171 Schrover and Vermeulen, "Immigrant Organizations," 826–28.
- 172 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 116, 166.
- 173 *Ibid.*, 126, 136–37.
- 174 *Ibid.*, 137–38; *Le breton de Paris*, 4 February 1912.
- 175 Calvé, *Histoire des Bretons à Paris*, 125–27; the author points out that Durrocher is from a German family that settled in Brittany and changed its name from Düringer during the First Empire; Le Couédec, *Les architectes et l'idée bretonne*, 129–30.
- 176 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 111; see for example Henkes, "Maids on the Move," 224–43. For the protection of young women—and train station greeters—by Protestant and Catholic organizations in Paris see Machen, "Traveling with Faith," and publications by such organizations as the Association Catholique Internationale des Oeuvres de Protection de la Jeune Fille. For the larger effort see Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*.
- 177 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 98, 112; Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France*, chap. 5.
- 178 Departmental archives of the Côtes-d'Armor, 6 M 808, letter of 22 May 1912 to prefect; poster: "Avis important."
- 179 *Le breton de Paris*, 4 June 1899.
- 180 *Ibid.*, 29 June 1899.
- 181 These are available at the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. The most complete run of issues is that of 1912.
- 182 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 112.
- 183 *Le breton de Paris*, 8 September 1912, 1 March 1914.
- 184 *Ibid.*, 14 June 1908.
- 185 *Ibid.*, 7 January 1912.
- 186 *Ibid.*, 7 April 1912.
- 187 *Ibid.*, 21 April 1912.
- 188 *Ibid.*, 12 January 1912.
- 189 *Ibid.*, 1 January 1912. This figure was also reported in *Le breton de Paris*, 13 October 1912, and in *Le petit parisien*, 29 July 1912.
- 190 *Le breton de Paris*, 1 June 1913.
- 191 *Ibid.*, 7 April 1912, 14 April 1912. The alternate statue was never built, but the original continued to irritate Breton nationalists and was blown up by an underground Breton group in the summer of 1932. Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 130. The airplane project is reported in *Le breton de Paris* in March and April 1912.

- 192 *Le breton de Paris*, 10 November 1912 to 5 January 1913; the banner is pictured in Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 160–61.
- 193 For a broader history of the camps see Downs, *Childhood in the Promised Land*.
- 194 *Le breton de Paris*, 11 February 1912, 14 April 1912, 28 July 1912, 4 August 1912.
- 195 *Ibid.*, 24 November 1912 to 29 December 1912.
- 196 *Ibid.*, 26 May 1912 to 25 August 1912.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 7 January 1912.
- 198 *Ibid.*, 12 June 1912.
- 199 *Ibid.*, 31 March 1912, 2 June 1912.
- 200 *Ibid.*, 7 January 1912.
- 201 *Ibid.*, 19 May 1912, 16 June 1912.
- 202 *Ibid.*, 5 April 1914. See Prestwich, *Drink and the Politics of Social Reform*.
- 203 “Petit homme aux yeux doux, petit gars de ma race / Paris, le grand Paris est encore trop étroit / Pour que ton sang soit pur, pour que tu pousses droit.” *Le breton de Paris*, 16 June 1912.
- 204 “Restez donc au pays, Bretonne insouciant; / La Ville de Lumières à chaque instant vous hante; / Vous soubissez l’attrait néfaste de Paris / Qui vous semble de loin fait de rosiers fleuris ! / Ils cachent à vox yeux une pente bien lisse / Où petit à petit de plus en plus l’on glisse.” *Le breton de Paris*, 28 July 1912.
- 205 *Le breton de Paris*, 28 December 1913.
- 206 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, III.
- 207 *Le breton de Paris*, 14 August 1914.
- 208 *La paroisse bretonne*, September 1914.
- 209 *Le petit parisien*, 29 July 1912.
- 210 Ogden and Winchester, “The Residential Segregation of Provincial Migrants in Paris in 1911,” 36–37.
- 211 Faure, “Paris, ‘Gouffre de l’espèce humaine?’,” 74, 85.
- 212 Faure, “Urbanisation et exclusions dans le passé parisien,” 68.

## CHAPTER FOUR. BETWEEN THE WARS

- 1 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 56–80; Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 70.
- 2 Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine pendant la guerre*, 1.
- 3 In this respect Bécassine is like other figures in wartime children’s literature; see Audoin-Rouzeau, *La guerre des enfants*.
- 4 “Tiens, sale Boche!” Caumery and Zier, *Bécassine chez les alliés*, 5.
- 5 Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine pendant la guerre*, 26.
- 6 Caumery and Zier, *Bécassine mobilisée*, 31; Bruggeman, Sellier, and Poete report that 1,570 women worked for the Métro in 1915, as did 3,037 in 1918, while in the same period the number of men declined from 3,602 to 2,656; women working for the tramways increased from 2,670 in 1915 to 5,001 in



- 1918, while the number of men increased from 8,412 to 10,552. *Paris pendant la guerre*, 45.
- 7 Caumery and Zier, *Bécassine chez les alliés*, 30–31.
  - 8 *Ibid.*, 14–21.
  - 9 Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine pendant la guerre*, 60–61; Caumery and Zier, *Bécassine mobilisée*, 55.
  - 10 Caumery and Zier, *Bécassine chez les alliés*, 61. “‘Ça durera ce que ça durera; on souffrira ce qu’il faudra souffrir; les boches, on les aura!’ Et tous les autres m’ont applaudi, en me disant que j’avais parlé en vrai Française.” The phrase “on les aura,” roughly translating as “we’ll get them,” comes from the famous words of encouragement of General Philippe Pétain to his troops at Verdun in April 1916; this watchword was popularized subsequently by a wartime propaganda poster featuring a picture of a beckoning soldier encouraging onlookers to enlist. <http://images.library.uiuc.edu:8081/u/?/wwposters,7>.
  - 11 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, vol. 2, 407–10.
  - 12 *Ibid.*, 415–18. These figures are based on the loss of about 150,000 men, the current figure used by historians, replacing the earlier Breton estimates of 240,000 dead.
  - 13 In fact, Joffre is quoted in the Breton nationalist play of the 1930s discussed below, Calvez and Caouissin, “*Bécassine*” *vue par les bretons*, 51.
  - 14 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 422–23; for Foch see also Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 146–47.
  - 15 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 418.
  - 16 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 54–55, 81–85, 91–94.
  - 17 Eley, “Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital,” 153–88.
  - 18 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 191.
  - 19 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 88–103.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, 85, 98–99, 104–10.
  - 21 Introductions to the vast and distinguished literature on this subject include such fundamental texts as Bruggeman, Sellier, and Poete, *Paris pendant la guerre*; Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality*; and Winter and Robert, *Capital Cities at War*.
  - 22 Lawrence, “The Transition to War in 1914,” 152–53.
  - 23 Bonzon, “The Labor Market and Industrial Mobilization,” 193–94.
  - 24 Cole, “The Transition to Peace,” 204.
  - 25 See especially Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 174–88; Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality*.
  - 26 Cole, “The Transition to Peace,” 211.
  - 27 Blévis, Lafont-Couturier, Jacomijn Snoep, and Zalc, *Les étrangers au temps de l’Exposition Coloniale*; Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic*.
  - 28 This shift is best studied by Lewis, *Boundaries of the Republic*, but the rich literature includes Blévis, Lafont-Couturier, Jacomijn Snoep, and Zalc, *Les étrangers au temps de l’Exposition Coloniale*; Rygiel, *Destins immigrés*; Weber, *The Hollow Years*.

- 29 “Travailler en ville ?! Mon pauvre ami, il y a longtemps qu’on ne trouve plus de travail en ville: la crise y est encore plus aiguë qu’à la campagne et la misère plus grande.” *La croix des Côtes-du-Nord*, 16 December 1934, cited in Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 443.
- 30 Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 67.
- 31 *Ibid.*, figure II.
- 32 Feller, “Vieillessement et société dans la France du premier xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1905–1953,” 616–17; this idea is also expressed by Faure, “Banlieue, mon amour . . .”
- 33 Feller, “Vieillessement et société dans la France du premier xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1905–1953,” 609.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 613–14.
- 35 About 10 percent of Métro employees were women, 1914–38. Deval, “Le personnel de la compagnie du chemin de fer métropolitain de Paris,” 4, 11, 13, 18, 24, 25, 32, 40.
- 36 Cribier, *Une génération de parisiens arrive à la retraite*; Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*.
- 37 Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 293, 298; the figure of 91 percent applies to women born in 1901, the majority of whom came to Paris between the wars, alone or with a husband.
- 38 *Bulletin*, January–March 1927, 39, cited in Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 293. “Paris est le grand centre où viennent se réfugier, inconnues, toutes les jeunes femmes qu’un chagrin, un abandon, une malheur a chassées de leur ville natale.”
- 39 Girard, *Un parcours en noir et blanc dans la Bretagne de jadis*, 7–40.
- 40 Moch, “Networks among Bretons?,” 431–55.
- 41 Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 271–88; 70 percent of the respondents to the mail questionnaire had friends or relatives waiting for them in Paris, 294.
- 42 Cribier and Rhein, “Migrations et structure sociale,” 141–43.
- 43 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 26, 62–63.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 18.
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 Rhein, *La vie dure qu’on a eu*, 107; to protect her anonymity, Germaine is the sole name given for this interviewee.
- 48 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 12.
- 49 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, III.
- 50 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d’une génération de français*, 84.
- 51 See chaps. 2 and 5; 90 percent of the women studied by Omnès had their entire working lives in the Paris basin, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 295.
- 52 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 26–27, 38–39.
- 53 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 200; see also Cole, “The Transition to Peace.”
- 54 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 200–201.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 201–4, 435.

- 56 Between the wars the proportion of provincials from the north of France stayed about the same, and those from other regions decreased. Many of the Alsatians went home when Alsace once again became part of France with the settlement of the war. Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 206–7.
- 57 Placard in exposition “Douce banlieue: mémoire retrouvée, identité partagée,” Saint-Denis, 29 April to 23 July 2004, organized by the municipal archives in Saint-Denis under the direction of Frédérique Jacquet.
- 58 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 207; in 1936, 9.1 percent of the population in Saint-Denis was foreign-born and 9.3 percent of the population was born in the five departments of Brittany; Lillo, *La petite Espagne de la plaine-Saint-Denis*, 44–45.
- 59 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 319–20.
- 60 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 46, 62.
- 61 Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 204–5.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 207; Breton electors (adult males) made up 40.7 percent of the Breton population of Saint-Denis, yet only 19.4 percent of the Breton population of the Fourteenth Arrondissement.
- 63 Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, does not distinguish between Bretonnes and other provincials, but rather distinguishes between women of rural and urban origins, 271–84.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 74.
- 65 Halévy, *Pays parisiens*, 161, cited in Brunet, “Une banlieue ouvrière,” 94.
- 66 Faure and Lévy-Vroelant, *Une chambre en ville*, 163: “l’excellent connaisseur des milieux populaires de cette époque . . . qui a travaillé en usine et habité en garni un peu partout dans Paris?”
- 67 Valdour, *Ateliers et taudis de la banlieue de Paris*, 3, 5.
- 68 “C’est vraiment un avenue royale. Entre ces gazomètres géants galopèrent à tombeau ouvert les quarante rois qui firent la France. . . . beauté absurde, perdue, insupportable, haïssable, cette beauté jaillie dans un siècle étranger.” Drieu la Rochelle in *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 1935, t. 45/XLV, 627–28, cited in Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 204.
- 69 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*; see also Stovall, *The Rise of the Paris Red Belt*.
- 70 Brunet, *Saint-Denis, la ville rouge*, 151–52, 329; the pre-war figure was 46 percent for Saint-Denis but 71.5 percent for the suburb of Neuilly and 57.5 percent for Paris.
- 71 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 62–63; Young, “Of Pardons, Loss, and Longing.”
- 72 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 62–63.
- 73 Lucas, “Vie quotidienne à Plaisance,” 18–19, describes her mother’s work across town, but these chores were hardly unique to the Fourteenth Arrondissement.
- 74 Archives de l’État Civil de Saint-Denis, *Mariages*, 1925, no. 95.
- 75 *Mariages*, Saint-Denis, 1925. The mean age of marriage for women was 23.77 and for men 25.84; medians were 23 and 25.

- 76 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 103.
- 77 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 308, 333.
- 78 For example, only 9 of the 110 brides of 1925 were from these cities.
- 79 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 897.
- 80 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 666.
- 81 See Blanc-Chaléard, *Les italiens dans l'est parisien*; Lillo, *La petite Espagne de la plaine-Saint-Denis*; Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 996.
- 82 Marriages, Saint-Denis, 1925, 870, 871.
- 83 *La paroisse bretonne*, December 1914.
- 84 Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 199–200.
- 85 Bruggeman, Sellier, and Poete, *Paris pendant la guerre*; Bonzon, “The Labor Market and Industrial Mobilization,” 301; Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 70. Evenson, *Paris*, 206; <http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-arr1999.htm>, accessed 14 April 2008.
- 86 Cottard, *Vie et histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 72; Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 108–10.
- 87 This area would be redeveloped in the 1970s; Evenson, *Paris*, 213, 288–89.
- 88 Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 92–95.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 52–63; Mousli, *Max Jacob*, 13–14, 29, 42–45.
- 90 Faure, “Comment devenait-on Parisien?” 47.
- 91 In 1896 Bretons had only been 4 percent of the population of this arrondissement. Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 74–89; Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, figure 11 (no page number); <http://www.demographia.com/db-paris-arr1999.htm>, accessed 22 July 2009.
- 92 Faure, “Réflexions sur les ambiguïtés du quartier populaire,” 449–50; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, chap. 1.
- 93 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 50.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 51; Hélias, *The Horse of Pride*, 219–20.
- 95 Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 78–79; Cribier, “Jeunes provinciaux d’hier, vieux parisiens d’aujourd’hui,” interviews by Françoise Cribier and Françoise Prouvoeur; I thank Professor Cribier for permitting me to read transcripts of these interviews. Lucas, “Vie quotidienne à Plaisance,” 18; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 40–41, 51, 124–25, 133, 136–37.
- 96 *La paroisse bretonne*, February 1922, cited in Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 174–75.
- 97 Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 271–76.
- 98 Faure, “Camille et Jeanne, ouvrières à la raffinerie Say,” 49–59; Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*, 296.
- 99 These figures from the Thirteenth Arrondissement are from Gautier, *L’émigration bretonne*, 204.
- 100 Archives de l’État Civil, Fourteenth Arrondissement, Marriages, 1925, 919.
- 101 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 780.
- 102 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 174.
- 103 In 1925 48 percent of Breton couples shared an address and 55 percent of all of

- the couples married in the Fourteenth Arrondissement shared an address; the figures for 1910 were 43 percent and 49 percent.
- 104 In 1925 25 percent of brides and 38 percent of grooms were from *préfectures* and *chef-lieux d'arrondissement*.
- 105 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 704, 708, 780.
- 106 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 468, 301.
- 107 Of the 121 women who married to an outsider, 45 (37.2%) married a man born in Paris.
- 108 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 342. Douet lists his profession as *toiler chaudronnier*.
- 109 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 1272, 1298.
- 110 The proportion marrying foreigners is 5.8 percent, about one in seventeen of Breton women who married a non-Breton. Blanc-Chaléard, *Les italiens dans l'est parisien*; Blanc-Chaléard, *Les immigrés et la France*; Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 779.
- 111 Marriages, Fourteenth Arrondissement, 1925, 364.
- 112 Labé, “Bécassine débarque”; Lehembre, *Bécassine*, 32.
- 113 Bugat-Pujol, *Bécassine éternelle*, 26–39.
- 114 Caumery and Pinchon, *Les cent métiers de Bécassine*, 13.
- 115 Languereau (like the illustrator Pinchon) had married in 1918; his daughter, Louise-Charlotte, was called Loulotte. LeGuen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 19; Vitruve, *Bécassine, oeuvre littéraire*, 32–33.
- 116 Caumery and Pinchon, *L'automobile de Bécassine*, 36.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 57; Caumery and Pinchon, *Bécassine à Clocher-les-Bécasses*, 36.
- 118 Frenz, *Nobel Lectures, Literature*.
- 119 Schalk, *Roger Martin du Gard*, 1–2; Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian*, 252–253.
- 120 Martin du Gard, *Les Thibaults*, 32.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 289–90, 463.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 290, 472.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 584, 703.
- 124 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 18, 26–27, 136.
- 125 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 92, 95, 96: “Elles sont jolies les filles de nos campagnes / que Paris voit venir si tôt matin / elles ne pleurent pas encore / leur lointaine Bretagne / elles ont le rire d'enfant / Paris les fait putains.”
- 126 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 91–93.
- 127 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 128 L'Ermite, *La femme aux yeux ouverts*, 328–46.
- 129 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 102–3.
- 130 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 6.
- 131 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 29.
- 132 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 142–44, 166–67, 171–72; Beaufrère would run the paper until his death in 1940. Public dances are mentioned throughout works on the third Republic, including Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, cover,

- 133–35; Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 20–21; for the fundamental role of associative life see Jose Moya, “Immigrants and Associations,” 839.
- 133 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 62–63; see also Young, “Of Pardons, Loss, and Longing,” 269–304.
- 134 This institution would last fifty years, interrupted only in 1939–45; Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 146–48, 169.
- 135 Bonin and Costa, *Je me souviens du 14<sup>e</sup> arrondissement*, 85–86; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 102–5.
- 136 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 453–73. Breton nationalists ranged from the socialist Yann Sohier (1901–35) to François Debauvais (1902–44), who in 1937 traveled to Nazi Germany and received assurances that an autonomous Brittany would be in the “realm of the possible” in the Third Reich; the history of the Breton movement is also analyzed in Nicolas, *Le séparatisme en Bretagne*; Nicolas, *Histoire du mouvement breton*; Déniel, *Le mouvement breton*.
- 137 The society Gwenn ha Du (White and black) was named after the colors of the Breton flag. Hélias wrote, “La destruction par explosifs du monument de l’union de la Bretagne à la France nous était apparue, à mes camarades et à moi, comme un attentat symbolique, commis par quelques exaltés, mais sans grand rapport avec la situation actuelle de la Bretagne. Trop vieille affaire. Nous avons d’autres chats à fouetter.” Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 463–64.
- 138 Thiesse, *Écrire la France*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 11.
- 139 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 78, 80, 82, 84; Violain draws on the work of the postwar psychiatrist Louis Leguillant, 84.
- 140 Louis Beaufrère, “Une nouvelle offensive de Bécassine,” *La Bretagne à Paris*, 23 December 1938; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 81.
- 141 Thiesse, *Écrire la France*.
- 142 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 82.
- 143 Calvez and Caouissin, *Bécassine vue par les bretons*.
- 144 Lehembre, *Bécassine*, 124–125.
- 145 Calvez and Caouissin, *Bécassine vue par les bretons*, 51.
- 146 Louis Beaufrère, “Les bretons réagissent vigoureusement contre leurs insulteurs,” *La Bretagne à Paris*, 16 January 1937.
- 147 Louis Beaufrère, “Le film indésirable est désormais largement expurgé.” *La Bretagne à Paris*, 16 January 1937.
- 148 Lebovics, *Bringing the Empire Back Home*, 153.
- 149 Peer, *France on Display*, 3.
- 150 Le Couédic, *Les architectes et l’idée bretonne*, 686–704; Peer, *France on Display*, 59, 95–96; *La Bretagne à Paris*, 8 May 1937, 17 July 1937, 7 August 1937. For the part of the Seiz Breur in the International Exposition of 1937 see Le Couédic, “Les seiz Breur,” 58–73.
- 151 *La Bretagne à Paris*, 24 December 1938.

- 152 Déniel, *Le mouvement breton*, cover.
- 153 For example, the poster for a meeting at Ploumanac'h on 3 June referred to "l'insulte permanent à la Bretagne: La Bécassine sotté et ridicule," Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 83; *La Bretagne à Paris*, 10 June 1939, 24 June 1939.
- 154 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 81–83.
- 155 *La Bretagne à Paris*, 24 June 1939; "un mannequin de cire avec un air idiot." For the Musée Grévin see Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*.
- 156 "En tout cas la Bretagne bouge—elle haït Bécassine." Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 65.
- 157 *La Bretagne à Paris*, 24 June 1939.
- 158 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 55.
- 159 *La Bretagne à Paris*, 8 July 1939.
- 160 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 66.
- 161 "Bécassine provoque le rire, par les bévues où sa naïveté l'entraîne, par les aventures et mésaventures qui en résultent. Mais tout en riant, les enfants murmurent: 'Cette bonne Bécassine !' Et ils prononcent ces mots avec un accent d'affection profonde. La bonté est bien, en effet, le fond de Bécassine. Constamment, elle néglige son intérêt et son plaisir." Langereau is quoted in Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 75.
- 162 One of the three recounted the plan and failed to get away years later, recalling that the police contacted the prime minister's office and that Édouard Daladier said he wanted no trouble with the Bretons, so the police told the young men to get out. After all, war would break out in less than three months, and France would need its loyal soldiers. Interview with Patrick Guérin in Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 82.
- 163 Bécassine fans speculate that the patriotic nature of Great War albums may have caused this interdiction; vintage *bande dessinée* specialists speculate that it was more likely that these albums easily concealed correspondence and illicit papers. Langereau died during the war at seventy-four; Vitruve, *Bécassine, oeuvre littéraire*, 54.
- 164 Blanc-Chaléard, *Les immigrés et la France*; Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic*; Rygiel, *Destins immigrés*; Noiriel, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*, 70 (lists, in descending order of numerical importance, Italians, Poles, Spaniards, Belgians, Algerians, and Portuguese); Ponty, *Les polonais méconnus*, 319; Rosenberg, *Policing Paris*.
- 165 Weil, *How to Be French*, chap. 4. French-born Jews were also targeted, including the Breton artist Max Jacob, who died in the Drancy camp in 1944, despite his conversion to Catholicism thirty years earlier, in despair at the persecution and deaths of family members; Mousli, *Max Jacob*, 422–39.

## CHAPTER FIVE. A LONG RESOLUTION IN POSTWAR PARIS

- 1 Beginning in 1949 André Yhuellou, from the same town, opened a hotel in the same neighborhood that "sheltered a modest, but homogeneous, clien-

- tele." Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 156, 281–82; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 38–39, 56–57.
- 2 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 108–11. This wartime account is echoed by retired interviewees studied by Françoise Cribier; I am grateful to Mme. Cribier for allowing me to read her notes on interviews with Bretons.
  - 3 These figures are from the survey by Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 210–11.
  - 4 The "trente glorieuses" refers to the thirty years of economic prosperity following the Second World War. These figures for Bretons (15 percent of new arrivals) actually undercount, because they only include the four departments of the Finistère, Côtes-d'Armor, Morbihan, and Ille-et-Vilaine; the Loire-Atlantique had been assigned out of the region of Brittany in 1941. Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 205; Pourcher, *Le peuplement de Paris*, 86–87. Pourcher's inquiry of newcomers arriving after the war is based on a survey of 2,534 provincial residents in greater Paris, 270.
  - 5 Gravier, *Paris et le désert français*, 254.
  - 6 Pourcher, *Le peuplement de Paris*, 122.
  - 7 *Ibid.*, 166–68.
  - 8 *Ibid.*, 147.
  - 9 *Ibid.*, 279.
  - 10 Noiriel, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*, 70; Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot*, was published in France in 1988 as *Le creuset français*. Indeed the only article in the INED journal *Population* in the year of Pourcher's publication (1964) was concerned with the number of blacks in France, whether from the Antilles, sub-Saharan Africa, or the United States: Robert Delem, "La population noire en France," *Population* 19, no. 3 (1964), 515–28. Scholars from other immigrant nations wrote about immigrants in France, as Noiriel notes; the first was Dignan, "Europe's Melting Pot."
  - 11 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 222; Pourcher, *Le peuplement de Paris*, 276–77.
  - 12 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 222, 209. Women accounted for 299 of the employees; the Bretons came from (in order) the Côtes-d'Armor, the Finistère, the Morbihan, Ille-et-Vilaine, and the Loire-Atlantique.
  - 13 Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 224–25
  - 14 Personal communication, Suzanne Ascoët, 5 May 1998; Lemieux, "Bonne et méchante," 36–38; for postwar domestics see also Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 30–31, 112–13, 32–33.
  - 15 Lemieux, "Bonne et méchante," 38.
  - 16 *Ibid.* Ascoët worked through the Fédération des Employés Chrétiens de la CFTC though its mutation into the CFDT.
  - 17 Gautier, *La dure existence des paysans et paysannes*; Gautier, *Un siècle d'indigence*. Note the review of Gautier's work by Maurice Le Lannou in *Annales E.S.C.* 7, no. 1 (1952), 95–97.
  - 18 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 206, 210. Gautier's quotation was from the Frère Rivalin in 1898; see Introduction.
  - 19 Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 209–11; Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 3–4.



- 20 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 148; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 118.
- 21 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 118.
- 22 I am grateful to Pierre Guillard for the gift of this poster; a black-and-white reproduction of which appears in Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 21.
- 23 Le Bras, *Études de sociologie religieuse*, 480–81: “Quant à moi, je puis dire qu’une expérience qui porte sur 25 bonnes bretonnes me donne un résultat impressionnant: sur les 25, il n’y en avait pas une qui n’allât à la messe dans son village et nous en avons même connu qui étaient secrétaires des Enfants de Marie; aucune n’a continué de pratiquer, une fois arrivée à Paris, et même l’une d’entre elles est maintenant danseuse à Pigalle. Voilà le résultat du transfert.”
- 24 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 148; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 118.
- 25 <http://bretonsdeparis.gwalarn.org/baparis.html#titre2>, accessed 15 June 2009.
- 26 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 152; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 65, 106–7.
- 27 Gravier, *Paris et le désert français*, 248–49.
- 28 *L’Express* was founded by Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber, future president of the Radical Party, and Françoise Giroud, who went on to become France’s first minister of women’s affairs in 1974 and minister of culture in 1976. The magazine had a left-of-center orientation revealed partly by its opposition to the war in Algeria and to the use of torture. After the magazine changed its editorial policy in the mid-1960s and began to emulate *Time*, circulation rose dramatically.
- 29 Cau’s report is excerpted in Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 89.
- 30 This report by the morbihannais mayor was published in the Paris weekly *La Bretagne à Paris* and is excerpted in Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 90.
- 31 The commune of Plozévet included the *bourg*, a center, four villages of over a hundred people, and nearly eighty hamlets of three or more houses in 1954. Robert Gessain, Preface, Burguière, *Bretons de Plozévet*, 7–8, 28.
- 32 Burguière, *Bretons de Plozévet*, 2.
- 33 Morin, *Commune en France*; Morin, *The Red and the White*.
- 34 Morin, *The Red and the White*, 37, 89, chap. 8.
- 35 In this way Morin (as well as Burguière) went beyond the village study by Wylie that was produced at the same time, *Village in the Vaucluse*.
- 36 Burguière, *Bretons de Plozévet*, 317.
- 37 Hélias, *Le cheval d’orgueil*, was translated as *The Horse of Pride* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978). Over two million copies were sold in France. Joël Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 587.
- 38 Laurence Wylie, Foreword, *The Horse of Pride*, xi; Wylie is author of *Village in the Vaucluse*. Not everyone shared this enthusiasm: an ethnologist of the Bigouden family observed that Hélias was the “self-appointed poet of a sublimated culture”; Segalen, *Fifteen Generations of Bretons*, 2. Other ethnologists like Prado and Barbichon recognize the profound appeal of the book, *ibid.*, 130–31. Claude Chabrol made a film of *The Horse of Pride* in 1985.
- 39 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*; this work is based on conversations with

- forty-two women and twenty-eight men who left Brittany for Paris in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, including those from agricultural families, non-agricultural rural families, and small-town families. In the same study Prado and Barbichon also interviewed Bretons who had moved to Le Mans.
- 40 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 130. “Les Bretons de Paris aiment leur pays, mais je ne crois pas qu’ils ont la nostalgie, je crois qu’ils sont implantés à Paris. Notre sort, à ceux qui sont partis est préférable à celui de ceux qui sont restés.”
- 41 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*; Feller, “Agents et retraités de transports parisiens,” 127.
- 42 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 62–66.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 93, 202, and *passim*. The Pari Mutuel Urbain, PMU, founded in 1930, is France’s off-track betting institution.
- 44 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 152–54.
- 45 Caerlëon, *La révolution bretonne permanente*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 78–85.
- 46 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 93, 204.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 82.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 41–44, 118.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 119.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 44, 64.
- 51 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 104; Cribier, “La constitution de la population parisienne,” 82–83.
- 52 Cribier, “Jeunes provinciaux d’hier, vieux parisiens d’aujourd’hui”; Cribier, “Les migrations de retraite des Parisiens,” 250–51.
- 53 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 39, 164–65.
- 54 Michel, *François et Marie de Bretagne*, 95–108; chap. 3, above.
- 55 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 40, 64, 170–72.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 195–99.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 78.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 75, 79, 184.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 60 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 102–7, 118–19.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 102–7.
- 62 The Breton nationalist Ronen Caerlëon put it like this: “It took a quarter-century of active and passive resistance and a worldwide cultural revolution for the old structures to collapse in a record time that one would not have imagined ten years earlier.” *La révolution bretonne permanente*, 16. Changing conditions in postwar Brittany and the many political, linguistic, and educational organizations and impulses that made up the Breton movement are beyond the scope of this work; scholarship on this topic includes Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 587–92; Reece, *The Bretons against France*, 191–231; McDonald, “*We Are Not French!*,” 73–96. It is important to note, however, that the tradition of violent protest established between the wars by Breton activists (who exploded the statues in Rennes in 1932, for example

- see chap. 4) returned with farmers' protests and attacks against tax bureaus by the Breton Liberation Front. Reece, *The Bretons against France*, chaps. 8–9.
- 63 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 587–89; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 96, 100–101, 121, 126.
- 64 Cornette, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des bretons*, 589
- 65 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 100–101, 120–21; Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 131, 158–59.
- 66 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*, 160–161; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 80–81, 83; Caerléon, *La révolution bretonne permanente*. Caerléon is the pseudonym of Ronan Caouissin, who died in 1986; Herri Caouissin died in 2003; Charles Le Quintrec died in 2008.
- 67 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 156–58.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 200.
- 69 For these see especially Chevalier, *La formation de la population parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, and Raison-Jourde, *La colonie auvergnate de Paris au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.
- 70 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine* (Port Louis: A. Le Guen, 1994), 69, 82; Trubert, *Bécassine revient*.
- 71 Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 147; Lebesque, *Comment peut-on être Breton?*, 112–13. I thank Annie Couëdel for this image, which has been reprinted with fewer frames than the original in Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 81.
- 72 Bécassine was listed as “type humoristique de servante bretonne (xx<sup>e</sup> s.) créé par Pinchon et Caumery,” *Petit Larousse illustré* (Paris: Larousse, 1979); “type humoristique de servante bretonne, héroïne d’une des premières bandes dessinées (1905), créée par Pinchon et Caumery,” *Petit Larousse illustré* (Paris: Larousse, 1983).
- 73 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 72.
- 74 The fifteenth film festival in Douarnenez projected the film. LeGuen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 77; Bugat-Pujol, *Bécassine éternelle*.
- 75 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*, 74.
- 76 Bécassine: “personnage de bande dessinée créé en 1905 par le scénariste Caumery et le dessinateur Pinchon dans l’hebdomadaire français *La Semaine de Suzette*. Bretonne naïve et dévouée, elle campe le type de la servante au grand coeur.” *Le petit Larousse illustré* (Paris: Larousse, 1998, 2003). This entry is illustrated by the cover of *Bécassine en apprentissage*.
- 77 For one informative account of postwar change see Morin, *Commune en France*.
- 78 First editions of *L’enfance de Bécassine* and *Bécassine chez les alliés*, for example, are listed at the price of 220€. Béra, Denni, and Mellot, *Trésors de la bande dessinée*, 93–94.
- 79 Puyuelo, Rémy. *Héros de l’enfance, figures de la survie*. The fourth hero, Poil de Carotte, is a redhead suffering through an unhappy childhood. The novel in which he appears, Jules Renard, *Poil de carotte* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1907), has inspired films and cartoons.

- 80 Le Guen, *La trépidante histoire de Bécassine*; Hélène Bugat-Pujol, *Bécassine éternelle*.
- 81 Couderc, *Bécassine inconnue*.
- 82 Labé, “Bécassine débarque.” The opening line refers to the extremely negative feelings toward this character on the part of Bretons: “Bécassine was born from a sneeze, but it was the Bretons that caught the cold. Not all, of course. But the militant nationalists and many other inhabitants of the West without nationalist sentiments, wounded by the image of Bécassine in which they see a nasty mistake and enormous ignorance, wanted to see her pilloried.”
- 83 Gratitude for this welcome is well expressed in Segalen, *Fifteen Generations of Bretons*, 3.
- 84 Groensteen, *Astérix, Barbarella & Cie*, 42; Nye, “Death of a Gaulois.”

## CONCLUSION

- 1 Noiriel, *Population, immigration et identité nationale en France*, 85; see also Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*.
- 2 Violain, *Bretons de Paris*, 64.
- 3 Calvé, *Histoire des bretons à Paris*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*.
- 4 Tardieu, *Les auvergnats de Paris*; Tardieu, *Le bal de la rue de Lappe*; Tardieu, *Les bretons de Paris de 1900 à nos jours*.
- 5 Eveillard and Huchet, *Une Bretagne si étrange*; similarly, see Frélaud, *La Bretagne, il y a un siècle*.
- 6 Beaucarnot, *Quand nos ancêtres partaient pour l'aventure*, 341; LeRoi Ladurie, “Ces petits métiers qui poussaient à l'aventure,” *Le Figaro*, 19 June 1997.
- 7 Beaucarnot, *Quand nos ancêtres partaient pour l'aventure*; Ladurie, “Ces petits métiers qui poussaient à l'aventure.”
- 8 The substantial and multifaceted history of postwar immigration into France has produced enormous and outstanding scholarly analyses; here I can only mention a few introductions to this literature: Blanc-Chaléard, *Les immigrés et la France*; Rygiel, ed., *Le bon grain et l'ivraie*. See also Blanc-Chaléard, *Les italiens dans l'est parisien*; Green, *Repenser les migrations*; König, *Deutsche Handwerker, Arbeiter und Dienstmädchen in Paris*; Lequin, *La mosaïque France*; Lewis, *The Boundaries of the Republic*; Milza, *Voyage en Italie*; Milza, Ger-vereau, Témime, and Berrou, *Toute la France*; Rygiel, *Destins immigrés*.
- 9 Two areas of controversy and concern are anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim violence and the 2004 law banning headscarves in secondary schools; for two English-language studies of the headscarf law see Killian, “The Other Side of the Veil”; Scott, “Symptomatic Politics.”
- 10 Chevalier, Preface to Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*, 5.
- 11 Tribalat, *Faire France*.
- 12 On female migrants in Paris see Fuchs and Moch, “Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home”; Fuchs and Moch, “Invisible Cultures”; for women helping

- family members see Prado and Barbichon, *Vivre sa ville*, 98, 204; Rosental finds hints of this in “La migration des femmes (et des hommes) en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 109.
- 13 Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, 188–91; Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon, “Persistance des inégalités entre générations liées à l’immigration”; Simon, “France and the Unknown Second Generation”; Tribalat, *Faire France*, 147.
- 14 See for example Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, chap. 7.
- 15 Bertho, “L’invention de la Bretagne,” 45–62.
- 16 *Revue de l’enseignement primaire*, cited by Chanet, *L’école républicaine et les petites patries*, 211.
- 17 Dantec, “Bécassine–Banania, destins croisés,” 21–28.
- 18 Ozouf, *Composition française*, 16, 240, 242–43.
- 19 Rosental, “Between Macro and Micro,” 476.
- 20 Lemieux, “Bonne et méchante,” 38.

## APPENDIX. MARRIAGE RECORDS

- 1 Rosental, *Les sentiers invisibles*; Rosental, “La migration des femmes (et des hommes) en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.”
- 2 Farcy and Faure, *La mobilité d’une génération de français*.
- 3 A rather vast literature is being published on this point, including Rosental’s discussion of information from his work “La migration des femmes (et des hommes) en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.” For an overview of this literature see Schrover and Yeo, *Gender and Migration in Global, Historical and Theoretical Perspective*.
- 4 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 131–35.
- 5 Archives Départementales des Côtes-d’Armor, series 7E, Mariages, Guingamp, 1792–1890; 8 E 5/3 Publications de mariages, Belle-Isle-en-Terre, 1891–1900 and 1905; 8 E 47/5 Publications de mariages, Corlay, 1891–1905; 8 E 47/6 Publications de mariages, Corlay, 1906–1926; 8 E 70/7 Publications de mariages, Guingamp, 1905. Archives Départementales du Finistère, 3 E 73, Mariages, Fouesnant, 1890; 3 E 285 Mariages, Quimper, 1890.
- 6 Cribier, *Une génération de parisiens arrive à la retraite*; Omnès, *Ouvrières parisiennes*; Rhein, *La vie dure qu’on a eu*; Violain, *Bretons de Paris*.
- 7 A fine description of the utility of marriage records for historians is Garden, “Mariages parisiens à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.”
- 8 Chabot, *Jean et Yvonne, domestiques en 1900*, 131–35.
- 9 Zola, *L’assomoir*, 67, 72, 77–79.