Ce qui s'enseigne. The *Querelle des collèges* and the Emergence of *Littérature*, 1750–1789



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Short Abstract

This study examines an important eighteenth-century French *querelle* about literary education which has so far gone unacknowledged by scholars as a *querelle* and which, I argue, helped redefine contemporary notions of *littérature*. This *querelle* is the series of disputes about how to reform literary education in the *collèges*, which gathered momentum in the early 1760s, following the expulsion of the Jesuits and the publication of Rousseau's *Émile* (1762). I propose that we call this *querelle* the *Querelle des collèges*.

Using a combination of close reading, sociological methodologies, and scholarly approaches to the study of early modern *querelles*, I examine how a diverse corpus of texts debated how to reform *collège* literary teaching practices. By resituating *Émile* in this context, I show that it was one among many interventions in the *Querelle des collèges*. My study of this *Querelle* demonstrates that *querelleurs* increasingly reached a consensus that practices associated with the disciplines of *rhétorique* and *belles-lettres* should be replaced by new practices of *littérature*, which were intended to turn boys into French 'grands hommes'. This *Querelle* was not only constituted by texts, but also by pedagogical practices, as evidenced by the results of my original archival research into the literary teaching practices of the École royale militaire, founded in 1751. Finally, my analysis situates the *Querelle des collèges* in the context of broader eighteenth-century debates about education, which I argue should be understood as the *Querelle de l'éducation*, and I provide the first corpus of this *Querelle*.

This thesis challenges scholarly claims that *littérature* is a nineteenth-century invention. It argues, instead, that modern notions of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing, valued text', and 'a national canon', which began to appear in the late seventeenth century, were stabilised and legitimised by being written into the school discipline of *littérature*, which emerged between 1750 and the Revolution, in the context of the *Querelle des collèges*.

Long Abstract

The famous question, 'qu'est-ce que la littérature?', is one that has preoccupied French writers for decades. While some thinkers, including Charles Du Bos, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Paul Valéry, have sought to define the 'essence' of *littérature*, others, such as Roland Barthes, have argued that it has no essence but is, rather, an historically contingent concept. In 1969, Barthes also contended that *littérature* is simply that which is taught as such; as he put it, 'la littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne, un point c'est tout.' This thesis stems from bringing together these two Barthesian claims. It contends that to better understand what *littérature* is, we must explore the history of the concept but that, if *littérature* is simply 'ce qui s'enseigne', then this history of *littérature* must, in fact, be a history of how *littérature* has been taught. This is what this study provides. Specifically, it goes back to the mid-eighteenth century, to explore how *littérature* was theorised and taught during the period when, I argue, the school discipline known as *littérature* first emerged.

The focus of this thesis is an important eighteenth-century French *querelle* about literary education, which has so far gone unacknowledged by scholars as a *querelle*, but which, I claim, helped redefine contemporary notions of *littérature*. This *querelle* is the series of arguments about how to reform *collège*-level literary education which gathered momentum in the early 1760s, following the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the publication of Rousseau's *Émile*. I propose that we call it the *Querelle des collèges*.

My study engages with three main bodies of work from the fields of French cultural and social history. These bodies of scholarship have produced significant studies of some of the objects this thesis is interested in, and have offered a range of useful approaches and methodologies which I draw on. They also, however, raise important questions, which I respond to in this thesis.

First, then, my work draws on scholarship that has explored the history of the word and the concept of *littérature*. Numerous scholars, including Escarpit (1970), Cristin (1973), Caron (1992), and Viala (2002), have demonstrated that the period around 1750 was a turning point in the history of the word, and the concept. They have noted that it was around this period that the word *littérature* began to lose its prevailing early modern

meanings (namely, 'all written texts', and 'erudition conferred by texts'), and more commonly came to refer to 'an aesthetically pleasing text'. If the latter sense had been emerging as a meaning of the word *littérature* since the 1680s, these scholars have noted that it it only stabilised as the word's more commonly recognised sense between the 1750s and 1770s. As such, the term *littérature* began to encroach on the terrain of the term *belles-lettres*, and would eventually replace it. But was this the only 'modern' sense of the word that emerged during this period? And, moreover, what was it that made the 1750s, and the following decades, such a decisive period in the history of the word and the idea of *litterature*? This thesis seeks to answer these questions.

This study also engages with scholarship on the history of literary education in France. Several scholars, including Chartier (1976), Julia (1976, 1984), Compère (1976, 1985, 1984–2002), Fumaroli (1980), and Chervel (1993, 2008) have produced important studies of early modern literary teaching practices, in particular in the early modern *collèges*. These were institutions that sought to provide boys between the ages of eight and eighteen with an education in Latin sacred and secular texts, and in the art of rhetoric. Many of these establishments were run by the Jesuit Order, who were famous for teaching a Latin canon of *belles-lettres*, in the discipline known as *rhétorique*. On the eve of their expulsion, which began in earnest in 1762, the Jesuits controlled over a third of all French *collèges* – the most of any teaching order. Although scholars have recognised that teaching practices in the French *collèges* were reconceived by writers, pedagogues, and politicians in the wake of the Jesuit expulsion, none have yet conceptualised the debates that arose about how to reform French literary education as a *querelle*. Furthermore, none have recognised that the hundreds of texts which I show constituted this *querelle* publicised – more than ever before – modern notions of *littérature*. As I demonstrate, in an effort to distance themselves from the now denigrated literary practices of a censured teaching order, *querelleurs* recommended the teaching of French *littérature*, which they often referred to by this name, and via a new set of pedagogical practices.

Historians of education and literary historians, alike, including Compagnon Escarpit (1970), Compagnon (1983, 2000) and Jey (1998), have claimed that *littérature* did not come to refer to a discipline until the nineteenth century. Extending recent work which has begun to nuance this view (Caron (1992), Jefferson (2007) and Chervel (2008)), this thesis argues instead that modern notions of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing and valued text', and as 'a national canon', began to stabilise before the Revolution, in the context of

Ancien Régime disputes about literary education, precisely because these notions were theorised and taught as part of the emerging *discipline* of *littérature*. This thesis contends, then, that many of the concepts of *littérature* that we consider to be 'modern', along with the school discipline of *littérature*, were in fact Ancien Régime inventions.

The final body of work with which this study engages is the recent scholarship on early modern *querelles*. It supports the claims made by Hostiou and Viala (2013) that the early modern period was 'le temps des querelles', and builds on the work of many scholars (including Bombart (2006), Fabiani (2007), Jouhaud (2010) and Tadié (2017)) who have studied the modalities and mechanics of *querelles*. Furthermore, elaborating on the claims made by M. Martin Guiney and Violaine Houdart-Mérot (2008) that post-1880 French state education can be seen as a history of 'crises', this thesis contends that the history of literary education in France throughout the early modern period should be understood as a history of *querelles*. It shows that it was in the context of one of these *querelles* – which I call the *Querelle des collèges* – that the modern discipline of *littérature*, referred to by that name, was first theorised and taught.

This thesis ranges from 1750 to 1789. These dates correspond to the period when the *Querelle des collèges* was active. As this thesis explores, this *Querelle* was composed of a diverse range of objects. These include educational treatises, published curricula, school prospectuses, memoirs by alumni, classroom manuals, polemical pamphlets and letters, fictional representations of learning, library inventories, and unpublished records of pedagogical practices held in school archives. The diversity of the objects studied in this thesis has dictated its two-fold methodology. All of the texts studied in this thesis are practices of both education and literature. My methodology therefore seeks to account both for what these works reveal about educational practices, and for their nature as crafted texts with authors, contexts, strategies, and audiences. As such, I draw on Bourdieu's sociological approach of 'pratiques' (1972, 1980), and on the literary methodologies of close reading and discourse analysis. My approach seeks to bring these texts back into conversation with one another, as they were in the eighteenth century.

In the first chapter, I trace a history of literary instruction in France, from the medieval Université de Paris, to the turn of the eighteenth century. The authors, texts, and teaching practices I examine in this chapter are the ones that eighteenth-century *querelleurs*, as reformers of literary education, would later define as part of their lineage. Many of the

literary practices which would go on to be variously praised or condemned during the *Querelle des collèges* were established during this period. I demonstrate that these practices, themselves, emerged out of conflicts between actors vying for power in early modern France, where social hierarchies were in flux. I also show that as ideologies and practices changed, so, too, a new literary vocabulary often emerged. This chapter moves, therefore, from the Université's teaching of *artes* via sacred (and later secular) *auctores*, to Budé's and Rabelais's interest in teaching *bonae litterae* (or *bonnes lettres*) for spiritual and moral edification, to the Jesuits' teaching of *litterae humaniores*. It culminates with seventeenth-century disputes about *belles-lettres*.

The second chapter picks up these debates over how, why, and what to teach as part of the *belles-lettres* curriculum in the early eighteenth century, and traces them through to the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the 1760s. It examines the proposals on how to teach *belles-lettres* of two pedagogues who were often (though not always) praised during the *Querelle des collèges*, namely, Charles Rollin and the abbé Charles Batteux. As the purpose of studying *belles-lettres* shifted from being about the acquisition of socially normative manners to being about one's self-distinction among a growing elite (and about France's distinction from ancient and modern rival nations), so the *collèges*' canon of authors, classroom exercises, and reading methods began to change. A new vocabulary emerged which began to turn what was known as *belles-lettres* into *littérature*. This *littérature* was different to *belles-lettres* because it often referred not to Greek or Latin texts, but to 'la littérature française'.

Building on this foundation of early modern *querelles* about literary education, the last three chapters of this thesis consider the *Querelle des collèges*. The third chapter contends that the set of eighteenth-century debates over education that I have identified should be understood as a *querelle*, and it explores how this dispute began. It looks at the period from 1750 to 1762, and identifies three parallel strands of dispute which – although contemporaries could not know it at the time – can now be seen as 'prequels' (or, pre-*querelles*) to the *Querelle des collèges*. These are, first, d'Alembert's agonistic *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège' (1753); second, what I label the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*, which ran from 1760 to around 1762; and finally, the polemic that arose following the publication of Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*, in 1762. This chapter reframes Rousseau's *Émile* as an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*, revealing that it was as much the result of existing critical

discourse on education as it was a text which encouraged further interest in educational matters.

Chapters four and five study the changes to *collège*-level literary education that were both theorised and put into practice between 1763 and 1789. Chapter four looks at the texts that continued and deepened the *Querelle des collèges* during this period. It examines the topics that authors debated and the rhetorical strategies they used to define their position and attempt to triumph over their adversaries. This chapter also situates the *Querelle des collèges* within the context of broader debates about education in eighteenth-century France, which I briefly explore, and which I define as the *Querelle de l'éducation*. By the 1780s *querelleurs* increasingly agreed that the traditional Latin canon of the *collèges* should be replaced by a French one; that teachers should not be monks; and that literary exercises should focus on giving students a taste for 'great' French authors (often of the 'siècle de Louis XIV'). These practices – often referred to as practices of *littérature* – were intended to produce boys who would grow up to become the nation's 'conducteurs'.

Finally, chapter five demonstrates that the *Querelle des collèges* was constituted not only by theoretical texts, but also by pedagogical practices. This chapter explores the literary teaching practices of the École royale militaire, founded in 1751, and its preparatory *collèges* added in 1764 and 1776, which I reframe as an intervention in the *Querelle*. Through a combination of original archival research and close reading of published material, I reveal that the schools largely rejected the *collèges*' traditional Latin curriculum. In its place, they taught a discipline they called *littérature*. This involved using modern, French literary manuals; employing a new literary vocabulary; and teaching texts by (often living) French writers. The school hoped these practices would turn their pupils into 'grands hommes' who would glorify France and its monarch. And indeed, some of these boys who became 'grands hommes' in later life went on to influence literary education themselves, and to take the notions and practices of *littérature* that they learned during their school days back into the classrooms of nineteenth-century France. Most notable among this group, of course, was Napoleon Bonaparte, who founded the first *lycées*, and who sought to stabilise the literary curriculum that was taught in these institutions.

Finally, although my focus is on the *Querelle des collèges*, to enable readers to situate it in the context of what I identify as the wider eighteenth-century *Querelle de l'éducation*, and to trace its chronology, I have reconstructed as full a corpus as possible of the *Querelle de*

l'éducation. Building on the work of Buisson (1882–83), Julia (1979), Sonnet (1987), and Grandière (1998), and incorporating my own extensive bibliographical research, this thesis provides the fullest corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* to date.

The original claim of this thesis, then, is that modern notions of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing text', 'a text that teaches values', and 'a national canon', which began to emerge from the late seventeenth century, were written into the school discipline of *littérature*, which emerged between 1750 and the Revolution. The catalyst for the emergence of this discipline was what I call the *Querelle des collèges*: one of the many *querelles* that animated early modern France, but one that has, to date, been overlooked by scholarship. By reconstructing this previously untold chapter in the history of *littérature,* this thesis allows us to better understand how and to what ends *littérature* became both a discipline, and became the disputed, value-laden term it is today.

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List of Abbreviations

Annales	*Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CL	*Correspondance littéraire* ed. by Ulla Kölving et al., 10 vols (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIIIe siècle, 2006–)
D	Refers to a letter printed in Voltaire, *Correspondence and related documents*, ed. by Theodore Besterman, in *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (*OCV*), vols 85–135 (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire; Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1968–77)
ECS	*Eighteenth-Century Studies*
Encyclopédie	Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 28 vols (Paris: Le Breton, Briasson, David and Durand, 1751–72)
HDE	*Histoire de l'éducation*
INRP	Institut national de recherche pédagogique
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
OC	Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, dir. by Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, 5 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1964–95)
OCV	Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. by Theodore Besterman, et al. (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire; Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1968–)
PFSCL	*Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
RDE	*Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie*
RHLF	*Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*
SVEC	*Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation)
YFS	*Yale French Studies*

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Quotations in French

In quotations from primary texts, all original spellings and accents have been retained.

Au Lecteur

> 'La littérature possède-t-elle une forme, sinon éternelle, du moins transhistorique? Pour répondre sérieusement à cette question, un instrument essentiel nous manque: une histoire de l'*idée* de littérature. [...] *Qu'est-ce que la littérature?:* cette question célèbre reste paradoxalement une question de philosophe ou de critique, ce n'est pas encore une question d'historien.'
>
> Barthes, 'Littérature et signification' (1963)[1]

> 'La littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne, un point c'est tout.'
>
> Barthes, 'Réflexions sur un manuel' (1969)[2]

In France, literary education is a national affair.[3] More specifically, as recent debates have shown, it is an affair that has rarely been anything less than stormy. In 2002, for instance, a set of reforms to the French literature Baccalauréat, devised by a group of teachers and academics led by Alain Viala, proved particularly controversial.[4] Chief among the disputed

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[1] In *Essais critiques* (Paris: Seuil, 1981), pp. 258–76; p. 265. First published in *Tel quel* (1963).

[2] In *L'Enseignement de la littérature*, dir. by Serge Doubrovsky and Tzvetan Todorov (Paris: Plon, 1971), pp. 170–77. This volume is the publication of the conference proceedings from the colloquium held at Cerisy-la-Salle, 22–29 July, 1969, where Barthes first presented the paper.

[3] Numerous scholars have made similar claims. See, for instance, Emmanuel Fraisse, 'Enseignements littéraires et œuvres de référence: entre l'ancien et le nouveau', *Le français aujourd'hui*, 172 (2011), 11–24; Violaine Houdart-Merot, 'Literary Education in the 'Lycée': Crises, Continuity, and Upheaval since 1880', trans. by Albanese, *YFS*, 113 (2008), 29-45, and 'Une histoire ancienne, de nouveaux défis', *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*, 61 (2012), 59-70; Ralph Albanese and M. Martin Guiney, 'Commemoration, Nostalgia, and Crisis in French Education', *YFS,* 113 (2008), 1-14.

[4] For a presentation of these reforms, along with a bibliography of texts that intervened in the *querelle*, see Denis Roger-Vasselin, 'L'Enseignement des lettres, entre français et littérature', *Le Débat,* 135 (2005), 64–69. See also Viala's discussion of the reforms in 'Former la personne et le citoyen. Entretien', *Le Débat*, 135 (2005), 7–21

reforms was the introduction of an exercise known as 'l'écriture d'invention'. This was not a purely imaginative exercise, but rather a test of pupils' abilities to read, understand, and emulate model texts. The Bulletin Officiel announcing the reform explained, 'l'exercice se fonde sur une lecture intelligente et sensible du corpus, et exige du candidat qu'il se soit approprié la spécificité des textes dont il dispose (langue, style, pensée), afin d'être capable de les reproduire, de les prolonger, de s'en démarquer ou de les critiquer.'[5] As Denis Roger-Vasselin has summarised, many of the criticisms of this exercise stemmed from the belief that *littérature* should transmit literary 'culture' (that which is considered valuable for pupils to know and understand). The exercise of 'écriture d'invention', critics argued, did not transmit culture, but rather focused on giving young people the tools (of communication, of critical judgement, of close reading, and so on) to make of literary 'culture' what they would. This, many argued, was not the point of *littérature*.

Indeed, in another *querelle*, in 2011, Hélène Merlin-Kajman claimed that we no longer have an answer to the question 'why study literature?'. She argues that we have derided the notion of progress, denied a need to know 'the classics', and rejected the idea that literature should be morally edifying, and in so doing have removed all possible *raison d'être* for *littérature*.[6] Even more recently, in 2015 and '16, the place of Latin in French *collèges* became matter for dispute, in the context of reforms to the *collège* literary programme (overseen by the then Minister for Education, Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, and which were brought into effect in September 2016). Many teachers campaigned against the proposed reduction in time and money given to the teaching of Latin, staging several

[5] *Bulletin Officiel*, 26, 28 June 2001 <www.education.gouv.fr/bo/2001/26/ensel.htm> [accessed 9 July 2017].
[6] See Merlin-Kajman's articles 'Peut-on sauver ce qu'on a détruit? La Transmission de la littérature', *Le Débat*, 159 (2010), 80–94, and 'Enseignement et éducation: Progrès, déclin ou...transition ?', *Le Philosophoire*, 36 (2011) 65–80.

days of protests and taking the *querelle* to social media.[7] This thesis will delve into the history of French *querelles* over literary education, to show that debates about what exercises should constitute the discipline of *littérature*; about the importance of teaching ancient languages; and about why to teach *littérature* at all are not a modern phenomena. The particular *querelle* it will examine was a *querelle* about schools and books, about *belles-lettres* and *littérature*, and it could be found on a shelf in a school library, in Paris, in 1776.

This is a history that will take you back to Ancien Régime France, and it starts by asking you to imagine a reader, scanning the library shelves of the École royale militaire, in 1776. Perhaps this is not so difficult to imagine, since the school's majestic buildings, designed by Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782), still stand today, overlooking the Champ-de-Mars. In 1776, the school was still relatively new; Louis XV had founded it in 1751, with the aim of educating 500 boys of the poor, French nobility.[8] In 1776, twenty-five years after the school's foundation, the school librarian, M. Meunier, carried out its first full book inventory.[9] He found that the library held 4045 volumes, and he divided these into five categories: *jurisprudence*, *théologie*, *belles-lettres*, *sciences et arts*, and *histoire*. Among the 242 works comprising the *belles-lettres* collection were 25 titles that Meunier classed under the sub-heading *philologie*.[10] These works were all published between 1670 and 1770 (60% of them between 1740 and 1770), and all but two were in French. This group of texts was a collection of plans, critiques and treatises on the art of literary education. It included works such as *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au coeur* (1726–1728), known as the *Traité des études*, by ex-rector of the Université de Paris, Charles

[7] Of particular note was the appearance of the hashtag, #collège2016.
[8] The École militaire began delivering teaching from the autumn of 1751, but until 1756 (when the first buildings of the new Parisian school were completed), it was housed at the Château de Vincennes. For more on the construction of the school, see Haroldo A. Guízar, 'Institutional Imperatives: Control and Change in the École Royale Militaire, 1750-1788' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2014), pp. 28–36.
[9] The inventory can be found in the 'Etats et comptes de la Bibliothèque de l'École Militaire, 1753–1788' (O.1 1606), in the section of the school's archives held at the Archives nationales (AN) in Paris.
[10] See p. 192 for the full list.

Rollin (1661–1741), and the teaching manual, the *Cours de belles-lettres, ou principes de la littérature* (1753), by the abbé Charles Batteux (1713–1780), who, by the 1770s was a professor at the Collège royal, and a member of the Académie française. Next to them, on the library shelves, sat the *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (1763), by the anti-Jesuit campaigner, educational reformer, and public prosecutor of the Parlement de Bretagne, Louis-René de Caradeuc de La Chalotais (1701–1785). This was joined by the anonymous *Lettres sur l'éducation* (1762), *De l'éducation publique* (1763), and *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études* (1769), along with the report on *collège* literary education by the President of the Parlement de Paris, Barthélemy-Gabriel Rolland-d'Erceville (1734–1794), the *Compte rendu aux chambres assemblées des mémoires envoyés relativement à un plan d'étude* (1768).

The fact that these texts were grouped together suggests that they were seen, at least by Meunier, as a corpus. So, what were Meunier's grounds for collating these works? Why would a military school choose to purchase texts about literary education? And why have I suggested that this collection contained a *querelle*? To answer these questions we must go further back in time, to the 1760s, when many of these texts were published.[11]

* * *

I invite you, now, to imagine a different reader, a reader of Grimm's *Correspondance littéraire*, in the summer of 1762. This manuscript periodical, written in French, was circulated to subscribers who included members of the European aristocracy and heads

[11] Nine of these works (36%) were published in the 1760s; this is the greatest number of publications for any single decade.

of state.[12] What would a subscriber have read about in the issues sent out in the summer of '62? First, she – some of most prominent subscribers were women – would have read about 'la foule des écrits' denouncing, or defending, the Jesuit Order.[13] Established in 1540 by Ignace de Loyola (1491–1556), by the 1760s, the Jesuits were famous for three main reasons: for having been embroiled in numerous *querelles* (with the Jansenists, the *parlementaires*, and the Université de Paris, among others); for their missionary work; and for being the most well-known teaching order in eighteenth-century France, who ran many of the French *collèges*. The *collèges* were originally established as peripheral institutions of the medieval Université de Paris, to provide board and lodging to its students. Gradually, however, they began delivering their own teaching in the literary arts of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric), and their educational model gained renown during the early modern period. By the eighteenth century, the *collèges* were, generally speaking, fee-paying schools for boys aged around 8 to 18 years old, and they were the most common type of public school ('public' in the sense of 'delivering a communal education').[14] By the 1760s, most of the *collèges* were run by religious orders who taught ancient languages and rhetorical skills.[15] In early 1762, the Jesuits controlled around 105 *collèges* – roughly a third of all those in France at the time, and the largest proportion held by any single group of teachers – and among these were some of the most wealthy and prestigious institutions, including La Flèche and Louis-le-Grand.[16]

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[12] In 1762, Grimm had four, possibly five, known subscribers, four of whom were female members of European royal families. Perhaps the most notable at this time was Louise-Ulrique, queen of Sweden. For more on these subscribers, see the editors' introduction to *CL*, IX (1762), p. lxi.

[13] 15 August 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 325.

[14] The *collèges* were not open to female students. As Martine Sonnet has studied, institutions for girls' education differed far more from one another than the boys' *collèges* which – although they might be run by different teaching orders, and did not belong to one formal 'system' – often shared a broadly similar institutional structure and educational programme. For more on girls' education, which will not be the focus of this thesis, see Sonnet, *L'Éducation des filles au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Cerf, 1987).

[15] Following Roger Chartier, Marie-Madeleine Compère and Dominique Julia's seminal study, *L'Éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1976), p. 188, Adrian O'Connor puts the total number of *collèges* in 1762 at 330. See 'From the Classroom Out: Educational Reform and the State in France, 1762–1771', *French Historical Studies*, 39.3 (2016), 509–34.

[16] For firgures on the total number of Jesuit *collèges* in 1762, see Chartier, Compère and Julia (1976), who claim that in 1762 the Jesuits controlled 105 *collèges*. In the *Atlas de la Révolution française. 2: L'Enseignement*

The Jesuits' activities were not independent of one another, and it was as missionaries that they became embroiled in a *querelle* which, perhaps surprisingly, precipitated their downfall as teachers. In 1760, le père Antoine de Lavalette (1708–1767), Superior of the French Jesuit missions in the Americas, was found to have engaged in commercial activities which his Jesuit Superiors had not sanctioned and, not only that, but he was declared bankrupt.[17] His French creditors claimed he owed them almost 2 million *livres*. They pursued Lavalette through the courts, and the scandal eventually made it to the Parlement de Paris, whose lawyers ruled that the Jesuit Order was responsible for settling Lavalette's debts. The debacle did not end there, however. The *parlementaires* (many of whom held Jansenist sympathies) used this public court case as a pretext to rekindle suspicion of the Jesuits by launching an inquiry into their Constitutions – the Order's governing regulations.

Two of the first reports on the Constitutions were the *Discours sur les constitutions des Jésuites* and the *Compte rendu sur la doctrine des Jésuites* (both 1761), by the Jansenist cleric and Paris *parlementaire*, the abbé Henri Philippe de Chauvelin (1714–1770).[18] Chauvelin claimed that the Jesuits' allegiance to their Superior General, above all others, resulted in a disregard for all other temporal authorities including the French legal system, the Gallican church, and the monarchy; this made them a dangerous group, and certainly a seditious order to be teaching France's future citizens. Similar contentions were made by La Chalotais (whom we remember from the *École militaire* library) in his *Compte rendu des constitutions des*

1760–1815, dir. by Julia (Paris: EHESS, 1987), p. 30, Julia states that there were 106 Jesuit *collèges* at the time of their expulsion, between 1762 and 1768.

[17] Lavalette broke his vow of obedience to the Jesuit Superiors by taking his commercial activities beyond those sanctioned by the Order; the only sanctioned activities were those intended to render the mission self-supporting, but not to make a profit. For more on the Lavalette scandal, see D. G. Thompson, 'The Lavalette Affair and the Jesuit Superiors', *French History*, 10.2 (1996), 206-239, and Dale K. Van Kley, The *Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757–1765* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 90–107. I also discuss this further on pp. 110–12.

[18] The *Correspondance littéraire* alludes to this work in their issue dated 15 August 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 325.

Jésuites, published soon after Chauvelin's accounts, in January 1762, and in his *Second compte rendu sur l'appel comme d'abus des constitutions des Jésuites* (published in May 1762). Both of these works campaigned for the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the reform of their *collèges*.

In July, the *Correspondance littéraire* wrote admiringly of La Chalotais's work:

> Nous sommes entre autres inondés de comptes rendus aux différents parlements du royaume par leurs procureurs généraux, parmi lesquels on ne distingue que le second compte rendu sur l'appel, comme d'abus, des constitutions des jésuites, par M. de La Chalotais [...]. Le second ouvrage de ce magistrat a eu autant de succès que le premier, et c'est ce qui nous restera de cette grande et mémorable querelle. Les jésuites peuvent hardiment regarder M. de La Chalotais comme leur destructeur en France.[19]

That same summer, in the same issues that staged 'cette grande et mémorable querelle' against the Jesuits, the reader of the *Correspondance littéraire* would have read about another *querelle*. On 15 June, the *Correspondance* described 'l'orage qui s'est formé à l'apparition du livre de M. Rousseau sur l'éducation'.[20] This was, of course, the polemic that erupted in May 1762 over the publication of Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*. In this work, Rousseau sets out the 'natural' education of 'un élève imaginaire', named Émile.[21] Émile is raised by a tutor, away from society, and, most controversially at the time, is encouraged not to read the Bible, or to believe in Revelation or miracles, but rather in a form of 'natural religion', based on listening to 'la voix intérieure' and observing 'le spectacle de la nature'.[22] The book was condemned by the Parlement de Paris, the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, and the Archbishop of Paris, and on 9 June 1762 it was ordered to be burned, and a warrant was put out for Rousseau's arrest. The *Correspondance littéraire*, for its part, branded *Émile* '[un] livre inutile', and concluded of Rousseau that 'on peut dire que

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[19] 1 July 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 277. The vocabulary of 'destruction' would return in d'Alembert's polemical account of this campaign against the Jesuits, *Sur la destruction des Jésuites en France* ([France(?)]: [n. pub.], 1765).
[20] 15 June 1762, *ibid*, p. 225.
[21] *OC*, IV, p. 264.
[22] *Ibid*, p. 607.

son traité de l'*Éducation* est un recueil de choses vraies et fausses, de contradictions, de beautés grandes et sublimes, et d'impertinences plates et inutiles'.[23]

In August, the pages of the *Correspondance littéraire* continued to be shared between the two *querelles* over the Jesuits and over *Émile*. 'Il paraît une *Réfutation du nouvel ouvrage de Jean Jacques Rousseau sur l'éducation*. C'est une plate capucinade dont on ne peut soutenir la lecture', wrote the authors, before announcing, two weeks later, the culmination of the *querelle* against the Jesuits: 'le six de ce mois a été pour les jésuites de France le jour de destruction jusqu'à nouvel ordre. Les arrêts du Parlement de Paris déclarent leurs vœux nuls, la Société dissoute'.[24] On 6 August, the Paris Parlement declared that the Jesuits must either convert to Gallicanism or leave their jurisdiction. In the coming months, parlements across France followed suit and, in 1764, Louis XV finally decreed the expulsion of the Order from the entire French territory.

The expulsion of the Jesuits left tens of thousands of pupils without teachers, and produced a vacuum in the provision of literary education in France. On 15 April 1763, the *Correspondance littéraire* reported what they saw as the combined effect of the Jesuit expulsion and the publication of *Émile* on the literary world: 'Depuis la chute des jésuites et le livre inutile de Jean Jacques Rousseau, intitulé *Émile*, on n'a cessé d'écrire sur l'éducation'.[25] This thesis is a study of that 'endless' series of texts, some of which constituted the 'Philologie' collection of the École militaire's library.

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[23] 1 July 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 263.
[24] 1 August 1762, *ibid*, p. 309; and 15 August 1762, *ibid*, p. 324.
[25] 15 April 1763, *CL*, X, p. 125.

In the coming years, hundreds of writers proposed plans for the reform of French education.[26] Since the immediate concern was to replace the Jesuits and their programme of literary education, the majority were specifically about literary education. How would new teachers be found? Should the Jesuits' Latin-centric literary practices remain the programme for the *collèges*? If not, what languages, canonical authors, or literary exercises should be taught? Would-be educational reformers had many answers to these questions, and they did not always agree.

Let us imagine that our reader of the *Correspondance littéraire* was curious and tracked down copies of some of these plans for literary educational reform. What would she have found? In La Chalotais's works, which included his famous *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (1763), she would have found a catalogue of arguments for the reform of the Jesuits' 'institution littéraire faite vers la fin du seizieme siecle', and the claim that the sons of France's ruling elite (whom La Chalotais thought should be exclusively those taught in the *collèges*) should study not only Latin, but also – and most importantly – French literature.[27] 'Il est honteux', he wrote, 'que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Françoise, comme si nous n'avions pas des modeles dans notre Langue.'[28]

Our reader might also have come across rebuttals to La Chalotais, like the anonymous *Difficultés proposées à monsieur de Caradeuc de La Chalotais* (1763). Its author, thought to be

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[26] Some of these works have been studied by Harvey Chisick, *The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes toward the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Julia, 'Une réforme impossible. Le Changement de cursus dans la France du 18ème siècle', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 47–48 (1983), 53–76; R. R. Palmer, T*he Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Marcel Grandière, *L'Idéal pédagogique en France au dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998); O'Connor, *Reading, Writing, and Representation: Politics and Education in France, 1762–1794* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009); and Natasha Gill, *Educational Philosophy in the French Enlightenment: From Nature to Second Nature* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[27] *Compte rendu des constitutions des Jésuites* (Rennes: [n. pub.], 1762), p. 179.

[28] *Essai d'éducation nationale ou Plan d'études pour la jeunesse* ([Rennes(?)]: [n. pub.], 1763), p. 69.

Jean-Baptiste-Louis Crevier (1693–1765), disputed La Chalotais's argument that only the sons of France's elite (doctors, lawyers, military leaders, politicians), and not the sons of 'le païsan', should receive a literary education. Crevier approvingly quoted Rolland d'Erceville, a president of the Paris Parlement, who had earlier claimed that, 'dans le moment que l'on doit regarder comme l'époque du renouvellement de la littérature, tout genre d'éducation, & singulièrement celle des pauvres est précieuse'.[29]

As Crevier's response to La Chalotais suggests, during the early 1760s, interest in educational reform became increasingly agonistic, and metamorphosed from a fashionable topic into a *querelle*. More and more interventions in this *querelle* appeared, many of which were encouraged by political and cultural institutions. On 3 September 1762, for instance, the Parlement de Paris requested that the universities within its jurisdiction (Paris, Reims, Bourges, Poitiers, Angers, and Orléans) submit their views about what programme should be adopted in the ex-Jesuit *collèges*. And in November 1763, the Université de Paris announced that the subject of its 1763 prize for Latin eloquence (for which its students could compete) would be 'quanti populorum intersit eadem in omnibus scholis publicis de Religione, de Moribus ac Litteris doceri' [*Whether people should receive the same teaching on religion, morals and letters in the public schools*]. Our reader of the *Correspondance littéraire* might have discovered that she, too, was invited to take part in this *Querelle*, as evidenced by the numerous academic essay contests which invited the public to consider how to reform French education. In 1763, for example, the Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse offered its annual essay prize for responses to the question, 'quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?'[30] In the winning essay, le révérend père Jean Navarre (dates unknown), a member of the Frères de la Doctrine

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[29] *Difficultés proposées à Monsieur de Caradeuc de La Chalotais, Procureur-Général au Parlement de Bretagne, sur le mémoire intitulé 'Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse', présenté au Parlement le 24 mars 1763* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1763), p. 18. Crevier cites the *Compte rendu par M. le président Rolland le 11 mai 1763*.
[30] For a full list of Académie questions which encouraged the *Querelle de l'éducation*, see pp. 227–28.

Chrétienne and Professeur de philosophie at the Toulouse Collège de l'Esquille, declared that 'il nous est enfin permis de sapper les fondemens de notre institution Littéraire, & de proposer à la France un nouveau Plan d'Etude, à l'abri de toute espèce de révolution. Que tout bon Citoyen, qui aime autant sa Patrie que les Lettres, applaudisse à une entreprise aussi utile.'[31] In place of 'cette foule de figures qui font toute l'Eloquence des Colleges', Navarre says pupils should be taught by example, and specifically by the example of French *littérature*.[32] He concludes, 'c'est ainsi que la connoissance de la belle Littérature donnera à l'esprit du François toute l'étendue qui lui manque'.[33]

One term is constantly present in these texts but rarely defined, and that is *littérature*. Etymologically, the word stems from the Latin *littera*, meaning 'a letter of the alphabet', and the plural, *litterae,* meaning 'written discourse'. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the French word *littérature* usually referred, like the Latin *litterae*, to 'written texts' and, by extension, to the knowledge they conferred and the erudition required to appreciate them. However, this does not seem to be how La Chalotais, Rolland d'Erceville or Navarre were using the term. Navarre uses the word *littérature* to refer to aesthetically pleasing texts, written by great authors; La Chalotais refers to a national corpus of 'la littérature française'; and in d'Erceville's 'renouvellement de la littérature', *littérature* seems to signify either what we might today call 'culture', or what Alain Viala has identified as 'le monde des lettres', a concept which emerged in early modern France.[34] Were these uses unusual for the 1760s? And why might these writers have used the word *littérature*, rather than other terms such as *belles-lettres*? To answer these questions, we will take one final step back in time, to the 1750s.

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[31] *Discours qui a remporté le prix, par le jugement de l'Académie des jeux floraux, en l'année 1763, sur ces paroles: Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?* ([n. p.]: [n.pub.], 1763), p. 3.
[32] *Ibid*, p. 10.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 11.
[34] See *Naissance de l'écrivain: sociologie de la littérature à l'âge classique* (Paris: Minuit, 1985), p. 162.

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On 21 May 1754, Voltaire wrote to his niece, Marie Louise Denis (1712–1790).[35] In his letter, he refers to a request he had recently received, seemingly from d'Alembert, that he write the *Encyclopédie* article for the word 'Littérature'. Enclosed with his letter to Mme Denis he sent his attempt at this article, which he described as 'un petit essai de quatre ou cinq pages'.[36] A letter from Voltaire to d'Alembert dated May/June 1754 implies that he also sent this 'essai' to d'Alembert.[37] However, as those familiar with the *Encyclopédie* will know, the article 'Littérature' was not, in the end, signed by Voltaire, but by Jaucourt.[38] D'Alembert seems to have been looking for a more substantial article, and so Voltaire gave him permission to use his 'essai' as material for a longer piece, which appears to have been what happened when Jaucourt took it on. Voltaire's draft is interesting, however, and not least for how difficult Voltaire seems to have found the task of defining *littérature*. As he wrote in his letter to d'Alembert, 'on pourrait faire un *in-folio* sur ce seul mot *Littérature.*'[39] His article begins,

> Littérature; ce mot est un de ces termes vagues si fréquents dans toutes les langues: tel est celui de *philosophie*, par lequel on désigne tantôt les recherches d'un métaphysicien, tantôt les démonstrations d'un géomètre, ou la sagesse d'un homme détrompé du monde, etc. [...] et tels sont tous les termes généraux dont l'acception précise n'est déterminé en aucune langue que par les objets auxquels on les applique.[40]

Voltaire starts by suggesting that, given the number of objects the word *littérature* can designate, it is a notion that can only be grasped inductively. As he continues, however, he becomes less equivocal:

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35 D5824.
36 Correspondence between Voltaire and d'Alembert in May and June 1754 seems to confirm this; see D5832. For more on the origins of this article, see the liminal note by Jean-Alexandre Perras in 'Le *Dictionnaire philosophique* dans les éditions de la Restauration: textes ajoutés', *OCV*, 34, pp. 530–31.
37 D5832.
38 It can be found in the *Encyclopédie*, IX (1765), pp. 594–95.
39 *Ibid.*
40 *OCV*, 34, pp. 530–32.

> La littérature est précisément ce qu'était la grammaire chez les Grecs et chez les Romains [...] La littérature qui est cette grammaire d'Aulugelle, d'Athénée, de Macrobe, désigne dans toute l'Europe une connaissance des ouvrages de goût, une teinture d'histoire, de poésie, d'éloquence, de critique.
>
> Un homme qui possède les auteurs anciens, qui a comparé leurs traductions et leurs commentaires, a une plus grande littérature que celui qui, avec plus de goût, s'est borné aux bons auteurs de son pays, et qui n'a eu pour précepteur qu'un plaisir facile.
>
> La littérature n'est point un art particulier; c'est une lumière acquise sur les beaux-arts, lumière souvent trompeuse. Homère était un génie, Zoïle un littérateur. Corneille était un génie; un journaliste qui rend compte de ses chef-d'œuvre est un homme de littérature. On ne distingue point les ouvrages d'un poète, d'un orateur, d'un historien par ce terme vague de littérature, quoique leurs auteurs puissent étaler une connaissance très variée, et posséder tout ce qu'on entend par le mot de lettres.[41]

First, Voltaire acknowledges that the meaning of *littérature* is historically contingent. He explains what it meant for the Greeks and Romans, and claims that this is different from what it means in his day. For mid-eighteenth-century writers, Voltaire says, *littérature* refers to a kind of aesthetic judgement that allows critics to evaluate a work of art; moreover, he argues that this type of judgement is 'souvent trompeuse'. Voltaire uses his definition, then, to attack literary critics, whom he describes as the poor relations of 'real' artistic geniuses like Homer and Corneille. He says that the word *littérature* (which he turns into a word with pejorative connotations) cannot refer to great works by poets, orators, or historians. *Littérature* is not a valuable object or an art form, claims Voltaire, but rather a kind of faux erudition.

In many ways, this text echoes the definition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (1694), which defines *littérature* as 'érudition, doctrine'.[42] And it also resembles (although with more pejorative connotations) the first of the two definitions given in Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* (1680): 'Literature. La sience des belles lettres. Honnêtes connoissances, doctrine, érudition.'[43] Indeed, Jacques Rancière reads the draft *Encyclopédie*

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[41] *Ibid*, pp. 532–34.
[42] *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise, dédié au roy*, 2 vols (Paris: Coignard, 1694), I, p. 640.
[43] *Dictionnaire françois: contenant les mots et les choses*, 2 parts (Geneva: Widerhold, 1680), I, p. 472.

article by Voltaire as one might read a dictionary definition, and concludes that 'au XVIIIe siècle, le terme de littérature ne désignait pas les œuvres ou l'art qui les produit mais le savoir qui les apprécie'.[44] Voltaire's article was destined not for a dictionary, however, but for the *Encyclopédie*. Like so many *Éncyclopédie* articles, it is less a descriptive account than a polemical, partisan text.

Voltaire uses the term *littérature* to distinguish between the lowly critic and the brilliant artist, and so denies that *littérature* can refer to 'an art' or 'a valued text'. 'La littérature *n'est point* un art particulier', he writes, and '*ne distingue point* les ouvrages d'un poète, d'un orateur, d'un historien' [my italics]. However, the way in which Voltaire tries to ring-fence the word *littérature* to use it for his own polemical purposes suggests that many of his contemporaries *did*, in fact, use the word *littérature* to refer to such concepts. In short, in the 1750s, *littérature* clearly was 'un de ces termes vagues', which could refer, variously, to a type of erudition, to an aesthetic judgement, to an art form, or to a type of text.

With this in mind, it does not seem so unusual that La Chalotais, Navarre, and Rolland d'Erceville might have used the word in different ways. But looking at Voltaire's article has not helped answer why these three educational reformers used the word *littérature* rather than *belles-lettres*, which was common at the time.[45] Nor does it explain scholarly claims that the period around 1750 was a turning point in the history of the word, and the concept, of *littérature*. These include Philippe Caron's contention that from around 1750, 'le signe *Littérature* gagne du terrain sur le vocable-vedette *Belles-Lettres*', and Viala's claim that around 1750, the evolution in the sense of the word from its seventeenth-century meanings ('série de textes écrits' and 'savoirs'), to the more restricted sense of '[un]

[44] Rancière, *La Parole muette: essai sur les contradictions de la littérature* (Paris: Hachette, 1998), pp. 9–11.
[45] The definition of the word *belles-lettres* was perhaps clearer than the definition of *littérature* in the 1750s, as I discuss in chapter two. It may be, then, that these educational reformers were deliberately using the more vague term, and the term which had not been appropriated by a teaching order (as *belles-lettres* had by the Jesuits).

ouvrage à visée esthétique', leads to 'la scission entre le sens ancien et ses survivances d'une part, et le sens moderne d'autre part'.[46] What was it exactly that made the 1750s such a decisive period in the history of the word and the idea of *litterature*? In part, this thesis seeks to answer this question.

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As quoted in the epigraph to this thesis, in his 1963 essay, 'Littérature et signification', Barthes argued that to better understand what *littérature* is, we need 'une histoire de l'*idée* de littérature'.[47] Six years later, he also famously commented that 'la littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne, un point c'est tout.'[48] This thesis follows these two Barthesian contentions that, first, *littérature* has no essence but is, rather, an historically contingent concept, and, second, that it is simply whatever is taught as *littérature*.[49] My research does not, therefore, deal with the famous French debates about the essence of *littérature*, which have centred around the question 'qu'est-ce que la littérature?'[50] Instead, this thesis originates from taking Barthes's claims together. It contends that a history of the idea of *littérature* must, in fact, be a history of the teaching of *littérature*, and it aims to reconstruct a so far untold chapter in this history, from around 1750 to the Revolution.

Since Barthes made these claims, in the 1960s, scholars have offered insights into the history both of the concept of *littérature*, and the history of how it has been taught. This

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[46] See Caron, *Des 'belles lettres' à la 'littérature': une archéologie des signes du savoir profane en langue française, 1680–1760* (Paris: Peeters, 1992), p. 270; Viala in *Le Dictionnaire du littéraire* (Paris: PUF, 2002), p. 433.
[47] Barthes (1981), p. 265.
[48] Barthes, in Doubrovsky and Todorov (1971), pp. 170–71.
[49] Emmanuel Fraisse takes a similarly Barthesian approach in 'L'Enseignement de la littérature: un monde à explorer', *Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres*, 61 (2012), 35–45, as do Annie Rouxel and Brigitte Louichon, in their 'Avant-propos' to *Du corpus scolaire à la bibliothèque intérieure* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 9–12.
[50] Ann Jefferson discusses some of the writers who have raised and responded to this question, including Charles Du Bos, Jean Paulhan, and, of course, Jean-Paul Sartre. See *Biography and the Question of Literature in France* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 283–86. Terry Eagleton also explores theories about the essence of literature (or, in his view, the lack thereof) across different linguistic and critical traditions in 'What is Literature?', in *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 1–14.

thesis builds on this scholarship. In particular, it enagages with three main bodies of work from the fields of French cultural and social history. First, it draws on studies that have explored the history of the word and the idea of *littérature*; second, it extends existing histories of literary education in France; and third, it supports recent critical work that has viewed the early modern period as a period defined by *querelles*.

Word historians including Robert Escarpit, Claude Cristin, and Caron have expanded our understanding of the ways in which the word *littérature* has been conceived, from the early modern to the contemporary period.[51] Caron, in particular, has illuminated its history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its place within the semantic field of terms including *poésie*, *rhétorique*, and *belles-lettres*. This study will not, then, offer a history of the word *littérature*, though it will draw on word historical methodologies, which I discuss below. Other critics have started from the point of the concept rather than the word. Florence Dupont, for instance, has shown that ancient Latin and Greek texts, which the early modern world understood as some of the first works of Western *littérature*, were not conceived as *littérature* by those who originally spoke or sung them, before subsequently writing them down.[52] Paul Bénichou, meanwhile, has argued that our modern notion of *littérature* evolved in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the author replaced religious authorities to become a secular yet God-like figure, with quasi-divine power.[53] And Ann Jefferson has investigated the parallel, late eighteenth-century emergence of the word *biographie*, and 'the modern' idea of *littérature*, contending that

[51] See Escarpit, 'La Définition du terme 'littérature'', in *Le Littéraire et le social* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), pp. 259–72; Cristin, *Aux origines de l'histoire littéraire* (Saint-Martin-d'Hères: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1973); and Caron (1992).

[52] Since I am interested specifically in the French word *littérature* and its concepts, I avoid using the English term 'literature'**.** *L'Invention de la littérature, de l'ivresse grecque au livre latin* (Paris: Découverte, 1994). Dupont conceives of a 'literary' reading as one which posits the reader as 'le sujet de l'énonciation', who is able to contribute to, and thus endlessly redefine, a text's meaning.

[53] *Le Sacre de l'écrivain, 1750–1830* (Paris: Corti, 1973).

biographie is a functional genre which has turned *littérature* into an object that is inherently open to contestation, and perennially questions its own meaning.[54]

As hinted at earlier, what Jefferson, Bénichou, and many scholars understand by 'the modern' notion of *littérature* is, broadly speaking, 'l'ensemble des textes ayant une visée esthétique'.[55] Many have argued over precisely when this 'modern' meaning emerged, but all agree that it was at some point between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, with 1750 representing a particularly critical moment. However, by focusing on determining *when* the word *littérature* came to refer to 'an aesthetically pleasing text', scholarship has overlooked two major points. First, few scholars have considered that *littérature* may not actually have been, to borrow Raymond Williams's terms, a 'keyword' for early modern writers.[56] We must track not only the history of the word, therefore, but also the history of the concepts we think of as *littérature*, before they were signified by that word. This is what the first two chapters of this thesis, in particular, will seek to do in their account of how *littérature* was taught before it was taught by that name. And second, scholarship has overlooked the fact that, as Escarpit has studied, the word *littérature* has several 'modern' meanings (not only 'an aesthetically pleasing text'). These include senses such as 'a national canon' and 'a scholarly discipline'.[57] In this thesis, I will show that these two further modern senses also emerged around 1750 and that, moreover, it was the emergence of the sense of *littérature* as 'a discipline' that helped stabilise and legitimise the nascent modern meanings of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing text' and 'a national canon'.[58]

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[54] Jefferson (2007).
[55] See *Le Dictionnaire du littéraire*, p. 433.
[56] *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. edn (New York: OUP, 1983).
[57] Escarpit establishes six contemporary meanings for the term, each of which is divided into further sub-definitions. These are, broadly, 1. culture; 2. a literary career and/or the literary world; 3. the art of writing; 4. a corpus of literary works; 5. literary history; and 6. the discipline of the art of letters. See Escaprit (1970), pp. 259–72.
[58] Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, Chervel defines a 'discipline scolaire' as a set of practices that form pupils' mindsets not only by the cultural content they transmit, but also by the methods and exercises they

Sociologists of education have made famous claims about the power of education to teach values. In their classic essay, *La Reproduction* (1970), Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron argue that school work causes pupils to interiorise the principles of the culture they are taught, which become a 'habitus', and which students then perpetuate when they acquire the power to teach or define education, themselves.[59] Through its being taught in the classroom, a concept is legitimised and passed on to future generations.[60] Similar claims about the power of education over the minds of students were made in the eighteenth century. In his posthumously published *Essai sur les causes qui peuvent affecter les esprits et les caractères* (written *c.* 1734-37, first published 1892), Montesquieu states that 'ceux qui nous élèvent sont, pour ainsi dire, des fabricateurs d'idées'.[61] The *philosophes* helped legitimise the notion (which Bourdieu developed) that 'nurture', not 'nature', moulds people and their ideas.[62] Yet, the influence of eighteenth-century educational practices on forming contemporary ideas about *littérature* has received little scholarly attention.[63]

Historians of education and literary historians, alike, have often suggested that *littérature* did not come to refer to a discipline, or to a particular type of text, until the nineteenth

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employ to do so. A 'discipline scolaire' is 'un phénomène culturel tout à fait particulier, propre à l'école, et qui ne peut jamais être exactement ramené aux sciences, aux arts, ou aux différentes pratiques culturelles qui ont cours, et souvent sous le même nom, dans la société globale.' This is the way in which I will understand the notion of 'discipline' throughout this thesis. See 'Des disciplines scolaires à la culture scolaire', *Paedogica Historica*, 32 (1996), 181–95; p. 193.

[59] *La Reproduction. Élements pour une théorie du système d'enseignement* (Paris: Minuit, 1970), p. 46.

[60] Viala (1985, p. 37) makes a similar point.

[61] See Montesquieu, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Seuil, 1964), pp. 485–96; p. 491.

[62] These ideas have been studied by Julia V. Douthwaite, *The Wild Girl, Natural Man, and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Grandière (1998); and Gill (2010).

[63] It should be noted that Marc Fumaroli has argued that the rise of 'éloquence française' was motivated by changes to education, especially, 'l'expansion du réseau des Collèges jésuites et oratoriens'. See *L'Age de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), p. 21. Likewise, André Chervel in *Histoire de l'enseignement du français du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Retz, 2008), and Caron (1992) recognise the impact of literary pedagogies on disseminating new understandings of terms like *belles-lettres*. The effect of the discipline of *littérature* on the shift in concepts attached to this word has yet to be explored, however.

century. Antoine Compagnon, for example, argues that the discipline of *littérature* was born in this period, thanks to Gustave Lanson's practices of teaching 'l'histoire littéraire'.[64] And literary historians have considered the triad of texts that is Marmontel's *Éléments de littérature* (1787), La Harpe's *Lycée, ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne* (1799–1805) (based on the lessons he delivered at the Parisian Lycée from 1786), and Staël's *De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800) as the foundational statements on 'modern' *littérature*. Like Compagnon, then, many have concluded that 'la littérature est une invention du XIXe siècle'.[65] Extending recent work which has begun to nuance this view, this thesis will instead argue that modern notions of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing and valued text', and as 'a national canon', began to stabilise before the Revolution, in the context of Ancien Régime disputes about literary education.[66] It will demonstrate that it was only by being taught as part of the *discipline* of *littérature* – also an Ancien Régime invention – that these ideas came to be understood commonly as *littérature*.

Building on Roger Chartier, Marie-Madeleine Compère, and Dominique Julia's seminal work, *L'Éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (1976), many scholars have studied literary teaching practices in early modern France. Lawrence Brockliss and François de Dainville, for instance, along with Compère and Julia, have uncovered much about the history of what we would now call 'secondary level' humanities education and its institutions.[67] Marc Fumaroli and André Chervel have explored, in particular, the notion

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[64] See *La Troisième République des lettres, de Flaubert à Proust* (Paris: Seuil, 1983).
[65] 'Après la littérature', *Le Débat*, 110.3 (2000), 136–54; p. 136. Scholars including Rancière, Bénichou, and Dupont have supported this claim. See discussion above, pp. 16–17.
[66] For recent works which have also suggested that modern notions of *littérature* have an Ancien Régime history, see Caron (1992); José-Luis Diaz, 'L'Autonomisation de la littérature (1760–1850)', in *Le Littéraire, qu'est-ce que c'est?*, dir. by Alain Goulet (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2002), pp. 59–77; Jefferson (2007); and Chervel (2008).
[67] See Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), and Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites: XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, ed. by Compère (Paris: Minuit, 1978). Full references to Compère and Julia's extensive body of work can be found in the bibliography.

of 'discipline', tracing the discipline of *littérature*, in the case of Fumaroli, to seventeenth-century practices of *rhétorique* and, in the case of Chervel, investigating how practices of teaching *littérature* contributed to the discipline known, from the 1850s, as 'le français'.[68] Still other studies have examined specific practices, including Emmanuel Fraisse's work on literary anthologies, Pierre Caspard's study of pedagogical journals, Alain Choppin's investigations into classroom manuals, Chartier's work on reading practices, and Chervel's history of teacher recruitment and training.[69] These studies have illuminated early modern teaching practices, yet they have not always called attention to the degree to which these practices were disputed.

In a recent special issue of *Yale French Studies*, entitled 'Literary Education in the 'Lycée': Crises, Continuity, and Upheaval since 1880' (2008), Ralph Albanese, M. Martin Guiney, and Violaine Houdart-Mérot describe French state education after 1880 as a history of 'crises'.[70] This thesis extends this claim, and argues that the Ancien Régime history of French education should be understood, in a similar way, as a history of disputes about education and, more often than not, about the teaching of what we might now call *littérature*. In so doing, it supports the claims made by Hostiou and Viala that the early modern period was 'le temps des querelles', and builds on the work of Emmanuel Bury who has suggested that literary history might be defined by the arguments that have been staged within the literary field.[71] I show that an important *querelle* of the eighteenth century – which has so far gone unacknowledged by scholars as a *querelle*, but was understood as such at the time – helped redefine notions of *littérature*. This is the series of arguments

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[68] See Fumaroli (1980); and Chervel, 'Des disciplines scolaires à la culture scolaire', *Paedogica Historica*, 32 (1996), 181–95*,* 'L'Histoire des disciplines scolaires. Réflexions sur un domaine de recherche', *HDE*, 38 (1988), 59–119, and (2008).

[69] See Fraisse, *Les Anthologies en France* (Paris: PUF, 1997); Caspard, dir., *La Presse d'éducation et d'enseignement. XVIIIe siècle–1940*, 4 vols (Paris: INRP; CNRS, 1981); Choppin, *Les Manuels scolaires: histoire et actualité* (Paris: Hachette, 1992); Chervel, *Histoire de l'agrégation: contribution à l'histoire de la culture scolaire* (Paris: INRP & Kimé, 1993), and Chartier, *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, new edn (Paris: Seuil, 1987).

[70] See Houdart-Mérot (2008), 29-45; and Albanese and Guiney (2008), 1–14.

[71] See the special issue of *Littératures classiques*, 'Le Temps des querelles', dir. by Hostiou and Viala, 81 (2013), and Bury, 'Frontières du classicisme', *Littératures classiques*, 34 (1998), 217–35.

about how to reform *collège* literary education, which gained pace in the 1740s and 1750s, and acquired renewed impetus in 1762 following the Jesuit expulsion and the publication of Rousseau's *Émile*. It is the same *querelle* that was collected by the École royale militaire, and it is the *querelle* that I propose we call the *Querelle des collèges*.

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As this brief survey suggests, the elements of the history of the idea of *littérature* in this period, which were once intertwined on the pages of periodicals like the *Correspondance littéraire*, have since been drawn off into different disciplinary areas of the modern academy. Reconstructing this history has therefore involved dealing with several bodies of critical work, but also with a wide variety of published and unpublished sources, from periodicals, to pedagogical texts, to school archives.

The diverse nature of the objects studied in this thesis has dictated its two-fold methodology. Today, the only way to access Ancien Régime educational practices is via textual records. It may appear that texts such as library inventories, classroom manuals, or reports by *parlementaires* cannot be interpreted using tools of literary analysis. However, neither can they be straightforwardly read as records of teaching practices. A list of prescribed authors, for example, is a normative text that says more about what the person who produced it hoped would be taught, than about actual classroom practices. Without accounts of how such texts were used, they must be approached with caution. And even when such accounts are found, as in memoirs by alumni, these texts themselves are written by authors with an audience or intention in mind, and are often written long after the writer was a pupil, raising problems of memory and accuracy. All of the texts studied in this thesis – be they school manuals, works by the *philosophes*, or polemical pamphlets –

share this dual nature as practices of both literature and education. My methodology therefore seeks to account both for what these works reveal about educational practices, and for their nature as crafted texts with authors, contexts, strategies, and audiences. As such, I draw on Bourdieu's sociological approach of 'pratiques', and on the literary methodologies of close reading and discourse analysis.[72] This approach seeks to bring these texts back into conversation with one another, as they were in the eighteenth century.

To account, nonetheless, for the specificity of each object studied, in each chapter I adopt additional methodological tools. In chapters one and two, I draw on recent scholarship on early modern *querelles*, and on word historical methodologies, to explore the early modern history of how *littérature* was taught, and how its teaching was disputed, before it was called *littérature*.[73]

In the first chapter, I trace a history of literary instruction in France, from the medieval Université de Paris, to the turn of the eighteenth century. This history, however, is not my own construction, but is the history of literary education (and of quarrels about literary education) told by those intervening in the *Querelle des collèges*. The authors, texts, and teaching practices I examine here, then, are the ones that eighteenth-century *querelleurs* see as part of their lineage as reformers of literary education. Many of the practices of literary teaching which were praised or condemned in the *Querelle* were established during this period. I show that these practices, themselves, emerged out of conflicts between actors vying for power in early modern France, where social hierarchies were in flux. This chapter is less a lexical history than a conceptual one, and so it moves between words

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[72] See Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Geneva: Droz, 1972), and *Le Sens pratique* (Paris: Minuit, 1980).

[73] This approach is influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure, who contends that a concept is not only attached to one signifier, but rather to a system of signifiers and concepts. See *Cours de linguistique générale* (Paris: Payot, 1916), p. 157. This Saussurean approach is also adopted by Caron (1992).

(from *artes*, to *bonae litterae*, to *belles-lettres*, to *littérature*), showing how changes in signifier were often responses to changes in the perceived purpose of literary study. The chapter begins with the Université's teaching of *artes* via sacred (and later secular) *auctores*, moving on to consider Budé's and Rabelais's interest in teaching *bonae litterae* (or *bonnes lettres*) for spiritual and moral edification, and the Jesuits' practices of teaching *litterae humaniores*. It culminates with seventeenth-century disputes about *belles-lettres* – a term which, by the late seventeenth century, could mean several things, including a type of text that taught values, a social field of activity, and a discipline for study.

The second chapter picks up these debates over how, why, and what to teach as part of the *belles-lettres* curriculum in the early eighteenth century, and traces them through to the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the 1760s. In particular, it examines the proposals on how to teach *belles-lettres* put forward by two pedagogues who were often (though not always) praised during the *Querelle des collèges*, namely, Charles Rollin and the abbé Charles Batteux. As the purpose of studying *belles-lettres* shifted from being about the acquisition of socially normative manners to being about one's self-distinction among a growing elite (and France's distinction from ancient and modern rival nations), so the *collèges*' canon of authors, classroom exercises, and reading methods began to change. A new, parallel vocabulary emerged which began to turn what was known as *belles-lettres* into *littérature*. This *littérature* was different to *belles-lettres* because it often referred to 'la littérature française' (not 'latine' or 'grecque'), associated with great periods in modern French history.[74]

[74] As Stéphane Zékian suggests, these authors were often, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, those associated with the reign of Louis XIV. France's military prowess and perceived economic success during this period was seen to be paralleled in a literary aesthetic of greatness. See *L'Invention des classiques. Le 'Siècle de Louis XIV' existe-t-il?* (Paris: CNRS, 2012).

Querelles traverse these first two chapters. They include the controversies between the Jesuits and various groups (including the Université de Paris, the Jansenists, and the *Encyclopédistes*); disputes over particular literary texts (such as the dispute over *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671), by the Jesuit priest and *homme de lettres*, Dominique Bouhours (1628–1702)); disagreements between rival teaching institutions (such as the Université de Paris and the Collège royal); and the early modern *querelle par excellence*, the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*. All of these polemics had implications for French literary education. The actors in these *querelles* recognised that being able to define education would give them the power to define the sort of men whom they might, for instance, employ as teachers, recruit to their religious sect, or convert to their political cause. They had a vested interest, then, in being able to define educational practices. And, since the foundation of an early modern elite education was literary (in that all pupils were instructed in the *trivium*), their disputes were specifically about what languages, texts, authors, and exercises to teach.

In particular, arguments about what constitutes a 'classic' author or 'classic' text recur throughout these disputes over education. It is worth saying a word about the concept of the 'classic' here.[75] Derived from the Latin root *classis* (which referred to a 'class' of the Roman population), the Latin *classicus* came to signify an author considered 'of the highest *class*'. In early modern France, arguments about what authors or texts could be considered as 'classics' were arguments about what values should be held up as exemplary, and taught to children in the early modern classroom. Indeed, the adjective 'classique' was very much associated with the field of education. As Richelet puts it, '*Classique*, adj. Auteur qu'on enseigne dans les classes; Auteur qui est dans le rang des plus considérables & qui mérite le plus d'être pris pour modelle. (Cicéron, Terence, Horace & Virgile sont des Auteurs

[75] For more on the idea of the literary 'classic', see Zékian (2012); Chervel (2008), pp. 411–76; Viala, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un classique?', *Littératures classiques*, 19 (1993), 9–21, and 'Le Grand Implicite', *Le Français aujourd'hui*, 172 (2011), 113–20.

classiques Latins)'.[76] From the seventeenth century, actors in the field of education who were influenced by the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* increasingly challenged the idea (implicitly proposed in Richelet's dictionary, for instance) that only Latin or Greek authors were worthy of being given to children to imitate, and that only such ancient authors could be considered 'classiques'.[77] However, although modern, French authors were increasingly taken into *collège* classrooms – and thus legitimised as 'classics' – through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, disputes soon became about *which* modern authors could be 'classiques'. These authors had to model both the sorts of writing that pupils were supposed to imitate, but also the sorts of 'grands hommes' pupils were supposed to strive to become. In essence, then, the quarrels about value-laden notions like *les classiques* and *la littérature*, which arise in particular in the first two chapters but which also recur throughout this thesis, were quarrels about individual and national identities.

Building on this foundation of early modern *querelles*, the second section of this thesis considers the *Querelle des collèges*. The third chapter engages with recent scholarship on the mechanics of early modern *querelles* to contend that the specific set of eighteenth-century debates over education that I have identified should be understood as a *querelle*, and it explores the beginnings of this *Querelle*.[78] It looks at the period from around 1750 to 1762, and identifies three parallel strands of dispute which emerged from earlier critical

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[76] *Dictionnaire françois*, I, p. 142.

[77] Gaston Hall traces the history of the notion that authors of the 'siècle de Louis XIV' are worthy of 'classic' status back to the early intervention in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* by Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin (1595–1676), who encouraged his fellow 'moderne', Charles Perrault (1628–1703), to sing the praises of these modern writers. For more on this, see below, p. 65. See also Hall, 'Le *Siècle de Louis le Grand*: l'évolution d'une idée', in *D'un siècle à l'autre: anciens et modernes: XVIe colloque*, ed. by Godard de Donville, et al. (Marseille: [n. pub.], 1987), pp. 43–52.

[78] Many recent studies have considered the mechanics of the early modern *querelle*, not least the online 'Projet ANR Agon', based at the Université Paris IV–Sorbonne <http://www.agon.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr> [accessed 29 June 2017]. See also the special issues of *Mil neuf cent*, 'Comment on se dispute: les formes de la controverse', 25 (2007); *COnTEXTES*, 'Querelles d'écrivains (XIXe–XXIe siècles): de la dispute à la polémique', 10 (2012); *Littératures classiques*, 'Le Temps des querelles', 81 (2013); and *Revue de Synthèse*, 'Disputes et territoires épistémiques', 137.3–4 (2016). See also the recent article by Alexis Tadié which provides a concise mechanics of *querelles*, 'The Language of Quarrels', *Paragraph*, 40.1 (2017), 81–96.

discourse on French literary education and which – although contemporaries could not know it at the time – can now be seen as 'prequels' (or, pre-*querelles*) to the *Querelle*. These are, first, the agonistic *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège' (1753) by Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783); second, what I label the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*, which ran from 1760 to around 1762; and finally, the polemic that arose following the publication of Rousseau's *Émile*, *ou de l'éducation* in May 1762. In this chapter, I examine Rousseau's programme of literary education for Émile, before going on to explore critical responses to it, in chapter four. I demonstrate that *Émile* was just one (albeit relatively early) intervention, among many, in the *Querelle des collèges*, rather than the work that instigated eighteenth-century interest in education.[79]

Grimm was one of the first writers to look back, in 1763, and suggest that 1762 might have been a defining year for ideas about education.[80] Starting from the year Grimm identifies as a turning point in educational discourse, chapters four and five study the changes to *collège*-level literary education that were both theorised, and put into practice, between 1763 and 1789. Specifically, chapter four looks at the texts that constituted the *Querelle des collèges*, examining the topics their authors debated and the rhetorical strategies they used to stake their position in the *Querelle*, and attempt to triumph over their adversaries. It explores how the *Querelle* was constituted of different thematic branches, which disputed specific issues, including how teachers to replace the Jesuits could be recruited and trained; to what extent the Latin language and authors writing in Latin should be taught, or whether French *littérature* should be the focus of a *collège* literary education; what teaching methods and exercises were the most 'useful' for pupils; and what sorts of pupils should actually receive a *collège*, literary education. Furthermore, this

[79] My reading of *Émile* builds on the claims of a handful of scholars who argue that *Émile* should be seen as an intervention in contemporary educational debates. See Grandière (1998), p. 129; André Charrak, 'Introduction', in *Émile ou de l'éducation* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009), p. 12; and Aron and Viala, *L'Enseignement littéraire* (Paris: PUF, 2005), p. 45.
[80] See his claim quoted above, p. 8, n. 25.

chapter also shows that the *Querelle des collèges* was part of a wider series of debates about education in eighteenth-century France. These went beyond an interest in boys' literary education in the *collèges*, and addressed matters such as the education of girls, of 'le peuple', and of 'les sourd-muets'. These are, of course, important questions, however it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all of these parallel branches of debate in detail. Nonetheless, in this chapter I will take them into account as crucial elements of context that help situate the *Querelle des collèges* within broader educational disputes, which I call the *Querelle de l'éducation*.

Chapter four also builds on the work of Peter Jimack, Jean Bloch and Haydn Mason, Gilbert Py, and Marcel Grandière, who have looked at responses to Rousseau's *Émile*, but who have not considered how actors intervening specifically in the *Querelle des collèges* reacted to that work.[81] It shows that although Rousseau did propose to teach Émile something he called *littérature*, *querelleurs* rarely understood the practices Rousseau called *littérature* as *littérature* (at least, not the sort of *littérature* they thought *collégiens* required). Uniting against *Émile* helped many *querelleurs* to reach a consensus over how *littérature* should be taught in the *collèges*. By the 1780s *querelleurs* increasingly agreed that the traditional Latin canon of the *collèges* should be replaced by a French one; that teachers should not be monks; and that literary exercises should focus on teaching students to revere 'great' French authors (often of the 'siècle de Louis XIV'). These practices of *littérature* were intended to form boys who would strive to be as 'great' as these exemplary writers, and who would grow up to be the nation's future 'conducteurs'.[82]

[81] Jimack, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Imitations of Rousseau's *Émile*', *SVEC*, 284 (1991), pp. 83–105; Bloch and Mason, *Rousseauism and Education in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995); Py, 'La Fortune de l'*Émile* et la rénovation pédagogique au siècle des Lumières', *Paedagogica Historica*, 28.1 (1992), 35–59, and *Rousseau et les éducateurs: étude sur la fortune des idées pédagogiques de Jean-Jacques Rousseau en France et en Europe au XVIIIe siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997); and Grandière (1998).
[82] The term comes from Gabriel-François Coyer's *Plan d'éducation publique* (Paris: Duchesne, 1770), p. 106.

The *Querelle des collèges* was constituted not only by theoretical texts, however, but also by pedagogical practices, as I demonstrate in the fifth and final chapter of this thesis. This chapter reframes the literary teaching practices of the École royale militaire, founded in 1751, and its preparatory *collèges* added in 1764 and 1776, as an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*. Through a combination of original research carried out in the school's archives, and close reading of published material (including the school's literary manuals, the contents of some of its library books, and memoirs by its alumni), I reveal that the military schools largely rejected the *collèges*' traditional Latin curriculum.[83] In its place, they taught a discipline they explicitly called *littérature*. This involved using modern, French literary manuals; employing a new literary vocabulary; and teaching texts by (often living) French writers.[84] The school hoped these practices would turn their pupils into 'grands hommes' who would glorify France and its monarch.

Although my focus in this thesis is the *Querelle des collèges*, to enable readers to situate it in the context of what I identify as the wider eighteenth-century *Querelle de l'éducation*, and to trace its chronology, I have reconstructed as full a corpus as possible of the *Querelle de l'éducation* in Appendix 1.[85] To date, the most comprehensive bibliography of eighteenth-century French texts on education has been that of Ferdinand Buisson, provided in his *Dictionnaire de pédagogie* (1887–88).[86] Buisson's list hints at the existence of the *Querelle de l'éducation* by revealing that while 43 texts on education were published between 1715 and 1759, this figure rose to 159 between 1760 and 1789. My own corpus takes the number of published texts between 1760 and 1789 (Buisson's criteria) up to 287. Ultimately, my full corpus – which includes texts published between 1750 and 1789, as well as articles

[83] I present the archival sources exploited for this chapter below, pp. 172–74.
[84] The latter is particularly striking given that one of the criteria for defining a 'classic' author, widely accepted by the mid-eighteenth century, was that an author had to be dead. Perrault established this as a criterion for inclusion in his anthology of great Frenchmen, *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (1696–1700).
[85] See pp. 225–66.
[86] *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1887), I, pp. 194–203.

published during this period in Fréron's periodical, the *Année littéraire* – runs to 454 items.[87] More recently, the work of Julia, Grandière, and Sonnet has supported the idea that some of these texts were engaged in particular strands of debate. In 1979, under the direction of Julia, 65 texts published between 1751 and 1791 and debating institutional educational reform were republished by Hachette, in the series 'La Réforme de l'enseignement au siècle des Lumières'.[88] In 1987, in her study *L'Éducation des filles au temps des Lumières*, Sonnet provided a bibliography of eighteenth-century French texts that discuss the theory and practice of teaching girls.[89] And, in 1998, Grandière examined philosophical debates over education from 1715 to 1788, providing an alphabetical bibliography of the texts he considered.[90] Although excellent resources, all of these corpora are partial, and omit either certain texts, or whole branches of what, I argue, constitutes one, over-arching *querelle*. Building on the work of these scholars, and incoporating my own extensive bibliographical research (which has benefitted from the developments in cataloguing and the availability of digital research tools since Buisson, Julia, Sonnet, and Grandière's bibliographies were published), this thesis therefore provides the fullest corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* to date.

1789 marks the chronological end of this thesis because it saw both the end of the *Querelle des collèges*, and the beginning of the process of dismantling the Ancien Régime *collèges*.[91] A glance at the titles of the 1789 publications in the corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation*

[87] Due to time and space constraints, it was not practical to consider all articles on education published in all contemporary periodicals and gazettes. I have, therefore, selected one periodical, the *Année littéraire*, to provide an indication of the interest of the contemporary press in publicising and joining in with disputes over education.
[88] The series is discussed in 'Chronica', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 19 (1979), 393-431; pp. 410–13.
[89] Sonnet (1987), pp. 343–44.
[90] Grandière (1998), pp. 411–20.
[91] On 4 August 1789 the tithe was abolished, and on 2 November that year Church property was nationalised. These moves affected the Université and its *collèges*, which belonged to (and received money from) the Church. In 1791, the Assemblée législative created the Comité d'instruction publique, which was charged with reforming education, and on 18 August 1792, the Législative dissolved secular orders (including teaching orders such as the Oratorians). On 15 April 1792 all religious congregations were dissolved, and on 30 September 1793 the Parisian *collèges* were closed. For more on the revolutionaries' educational reforms, see Julia, *Les Trois couleurs du tableau noir: la Révolution* (Paris: Belin, 1984).

reveals that the concerns of those writing about education in 1789 were already noticeably different to the concerns of those writing in preceding decades, during the *Querelle des collèges*. Many plans for educational reform were addressed to the Assemblée nationale, created on 17 June 1789, which represented a new authority with the power to enact reforms – and with the potential to go beyond mere reform of the *collèges*.[92] Moreover, as well as the fact that texts about education were no longer intervening in the *Querelle des collèges*, in 1789, the school which I argue constituted an intervention in this *Querelle* had also come to an end. In April 1788, the École royale militaire was closed, and it would not reopen as a school until almost a century later when, in 1878, it became the home of the École supérieure de guerre.

Post-1789 practices of literary education have also already been the object of numerous critical studied. The plans for educational reform published during the Revolutionary era have been explored by scholars including Julia, Bronislaw Baczko, and René Grevet.[93] Zékian, meanwhile, has explored the shifts in post-Revolutionary political ideologies, and their impact on ideas about what constitutes a literary 'classic'.[94] Rather than repeat this work, this thesis will instead chart the debates about literary education staged in the decades prior to 1789, which have received less scholarly attention. In so doing, it will demonstrate that many of the ideas about literary instruction proposed by the revolutionaries had their roots in the Ancien Régime.

The original claim of this thesis, then, is that modern notions of *littérature* as 'an aesthetically pleasing, valued text' and 'a national canon', which began to appear from the late seventeenth century, were written into the discipline of *littérature*, which emerged

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[92] I discuss some of these plans in the conclusion to this thesis.
[93] Julia (1984); Baczko, *Une éducation pour la démocratie: textes et projets de l'époque révolutionnaire* (Geneva: Droz, 2000); Grevet, *L'Avènement de l'école contemporaine en France, 1789–1835: laïcisation et confessionnalisation de la culture scolaire* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2001).
[94] Zékian (2012).

between 1750 and the Revolution. The catalyst for the emergence of this discipline was what I call the *Querelle des collèges*: one of the many *querelles* that animated early modern France, but one that has, to date, been overlooked by scholarship. By reconstructing this chapter in the history of the idea of *littérature,* which is in fact a history of how *littérature* began to be taught by that name, this thesis allows us to better understand how and to what ends *littérature* became both the discipline, and the disputed, value-laden concept that it is today.

Part One:
Literary Education in the *Temps de Querelles*

In his seminal study, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976), Raymond Williams compiles a glossary of 'keywords'. These are words which he says are particularly problematic to define, and they generally fall into two categories: the first help bind people together, giving them 'certain ways of seeing culture and society', while the second 'open up issues and problems in [culture and society]'.[95] These words, then, either persuade and create cohesion between people, or they divide and cause antagonism. 'Literature' was one of Williams's keywords.[96] In his entry on the word, Williams traces the shifts in its meaning from its etymological roots (in the Latin words *littera*, signifying 'a letter of the alphabet', and its plural, *litterae,* signifying 'written discourse'), through its uses in the English language throughout the early modern and modern periods, up to his time of writing. 'Literature' belongs to Williams' category of keywords that open up problems in culture and society; he notes, for instance, that it creates arguments about what kinds of books or writing should be defined as great, exemplary texts, by their being called 'literature'. But what about the word for 'literature' in other languages? And what about periods prior to the twentieth century?

[95] Williams, rev. edn (1983), p. 15.
[96] *Ibid*, pp. 183–88.

By looking at the specific case of early modern France, this chapter will demonstrate that although Williams may have been right to define 'literature' as a keyword for anglophone cultures in the 1970s, it is less clear that *littérature* was a keyword in French during the early modern period. From the early fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, *littérature* usually referred to any written text or, by extension, to the erudition that texts conferred. Given that *littérature* therefore referred to *all* texts, it does not seem to have been a keyword that caused controversy in the same ways as Williams suggests 'literature' does, today. However, as the first two chapters of this thesis will demonstrate, this does not mean that early modern French writers did not argue about what texts should be considered great or exemplary. *Littérature* may not have been a problematic keyword, but it was certainly what we might call a controversial 'key concept'. And particularly divisive were ideas about what, how, and why texts should be taught in the classrooms of the early modern *collèges*.

The first half of this thesis looks at texts which discussed, or were to be used for, literary instruction, from the time of the medieval Université de Paris, to the expulsion of the Jesuits in the early 1760s. Chapter one considers works from the beginning of this period to the late seventeenth century, when the Jesuits were at the height of their reign over the French *collèges*. Chapter two picks up this story in the early eighteenth century. The texts I consider in both of these chapters include pedagogical treatises; fictional representations of literary learning; non-fictional texts and memoirs; normative pedagogical programmes; and literary manuals and textbooks. Given this range of genres and the broad time period covered, these chapters cannot hope to offer an exhaustive study of literary teaching practices, nor to analyse individual texts in detail. What they do seek to provide, however, is an overview of the way in which literary learning was conceived, referred to, and practised across this period. This offers us insights into what, borrowing a term from

Terence Cave, we might refer to as the 'pre-history' of the notion of *littérature* as a school discipline.[97]

Given that I am primarily interested in concepts rather than words, my approach will not be to define, *a priori*, the lexis I track, but to consider how texts discuss literary instruction, be it referred to as 'litterae humaniores', 'bonae litterae', 'rhétorique', 'belles-lettres', 'poésie', or by another signifier. This approach is influenced by Saussure, who contends that to grasp the history of a word and its concept(s), we must examine not just one word or concept, but rather the 'constellation' of words and concepts that form the system to which they belong.[98]

Although the first two chapters of this thesis draw on the theories of modern scholars such as Williams and Saussure, ultimately, the content and methodology of these chapters are defined by early modern thinkers, and specifically by a group of writers publishing in the 1760s. This group is the group of actors who generated the *Querelle des collèges*, which will be the focus of chapters three, four, and five. The texts examined in the first two chapters of this thesis have therefore been chosen because these are the ones that the participants in the *Querelle des collèges* referred to and engaged with. As I move from text to text, I will allow these eighteenth-century *querelleurs* to introduce the works and their authors, and to explain why they saw them as being important. The history of literary education which these two chapters recount is, therefore, the one that eighteenth-century educational reformers of the *collèges* understood as the history of literary education in

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[97] See *Pré-histoires: textes troublés au seuil de la modernité* (Geneva: Droz, 1999) and *Pré-histoires II: langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2001).

[98] Saussure (1916), p. 157. Caron (1992) also employs a Saussurean approach, using it to trace a lexical history of changes to the vocabulary of literature from 1680 to 1760 (though he also, of course, considers the concepts to which this vocabulary referred). My approach also draws on the work of Quentin Skinner, Viala, and Caroline Warman, who have theorised and employed a similar approach. See Skinner, 'Language and Political Change', in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, ed. by Terence Ball, et al. (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp. 6–23; Warman, 'From Pre-Normal to Abnormal: The Emergence of a Concept in Late Eighteenth-Century France', *Psychology & Sexuality*, 1.3 (2010), 200–13; and Viala (1985).

France. Many of the literary teaching practices that writers denounced during the *Querelle des collèges* were established during the periods considered in these chapters. The first half of this thesis therefore helps twenty-first-century readers to make sense of the claims made by these *querelleurs* that their plans for reform were constructed in opposition to the 'barbares et gothiques' practices (as Diderot called them) of the Université de Paris, to 'la routine des Colléges' (as Coyer put it), or to the Jesuits' 'institution littéraire faite vers la fin du seizieme siecle' (as La Chalotais said). As well as tracing the history of the literary teaching practices that *querelleurs* opposed, this chapter also considers the history of critical discourse on literary education, in which many *querelleurs* saw themselves as intervening. Writers like La Chalotais, Coyer, and Diderot inserted themselves in a lineage of literary critics and theorists, which stretched from Quintilian, to Fleury, to Rollin.

Behind the *querelleurs*' histories of French literary teaching practices and their criticism, these two chapters also chart a parallel history, namely, the emergence of the early modern period as a 'temps de querelles'. The first to characterise the era in these terms was another writer of the 1760s, the Gallican priest, historian, and friend of Voltaire, the abbé Augustin Simon Irailh (1717–1794). The work of his that is of particular interest for this thesis is the *Querelles littéraires, ou memoires pour servir à l'histoire des Révolutions de la République des Lettres, depuis Homère jusqu'à nos jours* (1761). Across the four volumes of this text, Irailh accounts for 102 disputes (dating back to the Greeks) which he categorises under different headings: 'querelles particulières' (or, 'querelles d'auteur à auteur'); 'querelles générales' (or 'querelles sur de grands sujets'); and 'querelles de différents corps'. Irailh's was the first published history of 'querelles littéraires', by which Irailh means disputes that involve writers and intellectuals, and that are played out in texts. Furthermore, Irailh's was one of the first works to promote the idea (since theorised by Bourdieu and taken up by social historians of literature) that 'la querelle fait partie

intégrante de la condition d'homme de lettres'.[99] Irailh portrays the fight for symbolic and material gain in the literary field as the means by which intellectual progress is made. By exposing readers to *querelles littéraires*, he claims to transmit the knowledge they brought about, and to teach readers that these advances in knowledge were uncovered thanks to polemical discourse. He thus markets his text – and *querelles littéraires* more broadly – as utilitarian. He explains, 'notre but principal est de contribuer à l'utilité du lecteur par le tableau des querelles littéraires. Elles peuvent être mises au nombre de ces maux qui produisent quelquefois un grand bien.'[100] Of Irailh's 102 *querelles*, 89 take place during the early modern period, suggesting that Irailh conceived of this period as particularly quarrelsome.[101] Indeed, the rise in *querelles* during the period preceding the 1760s, when Irailh's work was published, was surely what gave Irailh the conviction that this type of discourse could be defined, and that a history of *querelles* was worth writing.

The early modern disputes which Irailh recounts (and sometimes intervenes in) were facilitated and encouraged by the creation of new places and means of exchange during the early modern period: from institutions like the Université de Paris and the *collèges*, to the expansion of the book trade and the parallel growth in readership, to new sociable spaces like the *salons*, Académies, and coffeehouses. Contemporary agonistic practices also encouraged a rise in *querelles*, such as the violence and conflict in everyday life (as studied by Arlette Farge), and the medieval university's tradition of *disputatio* (the influence of

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[99] See Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil, 1992). Jean-Louis Fabiani takes up this idea in 'Disputes, polémiques et controverses dans les mondes intellectuels. Vers une sociologie historique des formes de débat agonistique', *Mil neuf cent,* 25 (2007), 45–60.

[100] *Querelles littéraires, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des révolutions de la république des lettres, depuis Homère jusqu'à nos jours*, 4 vols (Paris: Durand, 1761), I, p. vi. This claim that dispute represents a route to truth became a commonplace, echoed by contemporaries such as Helvétius who wrote that, 'c'est à la chaleur de la conversation & de la dispute qu'on doit souvent ses idées les plus heureuses.' See *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles, et de son éducation* (London [Paris?]: [n. pub.], 1773), p. 425.

[101] I understand 'early modern' as from 1500 to the time of Irailh's writing.

which Françoise Waquet has explored).[102] Agonism was also encouraged by the introduction of competitive *concours* by the many regional Académies (modelled on the Académie française, founded in 1635), which Daniel Roche and Jeremy Caradonna have studied; these competitions were also matched by *concours* for students in the early modern *collèges*.[103] The influx of new teaching orders during this period, and the creation of new *collèges* which rivalled those of the Université de Paris meant that authorities such as the Université and, after 1635, the Académie française were eager to reaffirm their status as arbiters of cultural and religious standards. *Querelles* enabled actors to establish power and status in this competitive world of changing institutional and social hierarchies. The first two chapters of this thesis – and indeed the whole study – demonstrate that such disputes for power underlie debates about education. Authorities recognised that if they could define the cultural, religious, and political values that children acquired, they could determine who the future citizens of France would be.

In order to tell these early modern histories of literary educational practices and of the literary quarrels underlying them, I have drawn on several modern critical works. The seminal study on education in France during this period, which has informed my work, is Chartier, Compère and Julia's *L'Éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (1976). For the medieval period, I have drawn on Ernst Robert Curtius's work on the influence of Latin rhetoric and literature on European literary culture; Jacques Verger's study of teaching and learning in Paris; and Alexander Minnis's examination of attitudes towards authors in the period.[104] The histories of the Université de Paris by Charles Jourdain, and André

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[102] See Farge, 'La Querelle, un événement social au XVIIIe siècle. Pourquoi ne se querellerait-on pas?', in *La Querelle. Histoire, ethnologie, linguistique, littérature* (Reims: Presses universitaires de Reims, 1999), pp. 181–86; and Waquet, *Parler comme un livre: l'oralité et le savoir (XVIe–XXe siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003).
[103] Roche, *Le Siècle des lumières en province: académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680–1789*, 2 vols (Paris: Mouton, 1978); and Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice: Academic Prize Contests and Intellectual Culture in France, 1670–1794* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).
[104] Curtius, *La Littérature européenne et le Moyen âge latin* (Paris: PUF, 1956); Verger, *Culture, enseignement et société en occident aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1999); and Minnis, *Medieval*

Tuilier have enabled me to account for its influence on French literary education from the perspective of its institutional structures and its interaction with wider society.[105] And the work of Brockliss, Compère, and Julia has elucidated much about the Université's literary curriculum.[106] I have also drawn on histories of particular teaching orders, including Frédéric Delforge's work on the Jansensits; Gabriel Codina Mir, and François de Dainville's work on the Jesuits; Paul Lallemand, and Jean Ehrard's studies of the Oratorians, and Julia's work on the Benedictines.[107] Chervel's recent *Histoire de l'enseignement du français* (2008) provides important insights into the first French authors taught in early modern classrooms, as well as statistics relating to the publication of pedagogical texts in early modern France. Finally, the work of Bury, and Emmanuelle Mortgat-Longuet on literary learning beyond the classroom has revealed how texts for a worldly audience, alongside those for a scholarly readership, helped construct a modern, French canon and, through this, constructed ideas about what modern Frenchmen should be.[108]

Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Widwood House, 1988).

[105] Jourdain, *Histoire de l'université de Paris au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1862–66); Tuilier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*, 2 vols (Paris: Nouvelle librairie de France, 1994).

[106] Brockliss (1987); Compère (1985); Compère and Julia, *Les Collèges français, 16e-18e siècles*, 3 vols (Paris: CNRS & INRP, 1984–2002).

[107] Delforge, *Les Petites Écoles de Port-Royal: 1637–1660* (Paris: Cerf, 1985); Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites: le 'modus parisiensis'* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1968), and Dainville (1978); Lallemand, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien oratoire de France* (Paris: Thorin, 1888); *Le Collège de Riom et l'enseignement oratorien en France au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. by Jean Ehrard (Paris: CNRS; Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1993); and Julia, 'Les Bénédictins et l'enseignement aux XVII et XVIII', in *Sous la règle de saint Benoît: structures monastiques et sociétés en France du moyen âge à l'époque moderne* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), pp. 345–402.

[108] See, in particular, Mortgat-Longuet, *Clio au parnasse: naissance de l'histoire littéraire' française au XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Champion, 2006), and Bury *Littérature et politesse: l'invention de l'honnête homme, 1580–1750* (Paris: PUF, 1996).

1. Literary Education from the Medieval University to the Seventeenth-Century *Collèges*

This chapter begins by discussing the emergence of the first canon of secular (as opposed to sacred) *auctores* to be taught in France. This happened around the medieval Université de Paris, following the move of clerical teachers to the left-bank abbeys, where they began to teach the liberal arts, away from the Cathedral. It moves on to explore debates of the early sixteenth century about which *auctores*, from which ancient empire, Greece or Rome, should be taught in the university's *collèges*, and for what purpose. New institutions such as the Collège royal were created during this period to respond to new perceived purposes for studying exemplary authors. The period from the 1550s to the end of the century saw the publication of numerous texts for a worldly audience, which sought to establish a canon of French authors who were as great as the ancients. Such works proposed a notion of national greatness during a period which was riven by the internal conflicts of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598). The early seventeenth century saw the first attempt to standardise literary teaching practices across a series of institutions. This came in the form of the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum* (regulations for teaching in their *collèges*), which was definitively published in 1599.[109] They thought the curriculum should consist of Latin

[109] An initial version of the *Ratio* was circulated to Jesuit members in 1586. Its publishing history is discussed at greater length below, pp. 56–59.

litterae humaniores, and should be taught according to the methods of the Renaissance Université de Paris, known as the *modus parisiensis*.

As well as representing an attempt to standardise teaching practices, the *Ratio* and the expansion of the Jesuits' network of *collèges* sought to challenge the position of the Université de Paris as the authority on French literary education. The Université did not simply allow this to happen, however, and I explore some of the many attacks against the Jesuits by their rival groups – from the Université de Paris, to the Jansenists. Pedagogues like the abbé Claude Fleury (1640–1723) criticised Jesuit practices of teaching 'les mots' rather than 'les choses', and Jansenist teachers such as Pierre Coustel (1624–1704) proposed new reasons for studying what he, and others, called *belles-lettres*. The Jesuits' teaching opponents fought back in the classroom, too, introducing new literary practices that focused on a national canon, and which taught the French language, in order to counter the Jesuits' focus on Latin. The period from the 1650s to the early 1700s saw dozens of disputes about what we might now call *littérature*, many of which Irailh identified as 'querelles littéraires'. These *querelles* debated what constituted acceptable literary style; whether ancient or modern writers were better; how one should decide which modern authors are 'classics' (if indeed any are at all); and how to select which books to put in one's library. By the end of this period, these debates had helped to define three major senses of the term *belles-lettres*: a type of text, a social field, and a discipline that could be taught in the classroom.

Artes and *Auctores* in the Medieval University

If I begin with a brief account of teaching and learning in the medieval Université de Paris, it is because 'on lui doit la naissance de tout ce qui s'est fait de bon depuis son

origine jusqu'à présent', and also because it is at this very university 'qu'on étudie encore aujourd'hui, sous le nom de belles-lettres, deux langues mortes qui ne sont utiles qu'à un très-petit nombre de citoyens; [...] qu'on les étudie pendant six à sept ans sans les apprendre; [et] que, sous le nom de rhétorique, on enseigne l'art de parler avant l'art de penser'.[110] At least, this is what Diderot tells Catherine II in his *Plan d'une université*.[111] On the one hand, Diderot proudly presents the Université as a great institution, yet on the other, he suggests that all the faults with French literary education, as he sees them, at his time of writing, are inherited from the medieval university. If Diderot's history of literary education in France begins with this institution, then this, too, is where this chapter will begin.

In the twelfth century, learning centred around the Cathedral, where theology students studied under priests like Pierre Lombard (*c.* 1096–1160), who became Bishop of Paris. Lombard's *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* [*Four Books of Sentences*] – commentaries on Biblical passages and texts by the Church's founding fathers – were essential reading. During this period, alongside the prestigious cathedral school, the left-bank abbeys, such as Sainte-Geneviève, and Saint-Victor, started to offer teaching in the liberal arts. The ecclesiastical schools at these abbeys were often founded by pedagogues who had formerly taught at the Cathedral, and who already had a following of disciples; this was the case for Saint-Victor, for instance, which was founded in around 1105 by Guillaume de Champeaux (1070–1121).[112] Clerics unable to gain a position at the Cathedral but still wishing to teach

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110 See *Œuvres complètes: Édition chronologique*, ed. by Roger Lewinter (Paris: Club français du livre, 1971), pp. 739–868; p. 752. Letter from Catherine II to Grimm, dated 10 March 1775. Béatrice Didier discusses this in 'Quand Diderot faisait le plan d'une université', *RDE*, 18.1 (1995), 81–91.

111 The *Plan* was written in 1775. It was not published, however, until 1813-14, when an extract was published in the *Annales de l'éducation* (issues dated 15 November and 15 December 1813, and 15 January 1814). The first full publication was in the edition of Diderot's *Œuvres complètes* edited by Jules Assézat and Maurice Tourneux. See *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. by Assézat and Tourneux, 20 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1875–77), III (1875), pp. 409–546.

112 For more on this, see Christian Hottin, 'La Constitution de l'espace universitaire parisien (XIIIe–XVIIIe siècle): jalons pour la redécouverte d'un patrimoine', *In Situ*, 17 (2011), 1–52; pp. 3–4; Verger (1999), pp. 34-35.

the liberal arts (the *trivium* of grammar, logic and rhetoric, and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) often moved to these abbeys.[113] By the early 1200s, four disciplines were taught there: liberal arts, theology, law, and medecine. These would go on to become the four 'facultés' of the Université. In 1215, Pope Innocent III, concerned about the rise of Aristotelianism, requested that cardinal Robert de Courson (*c.* 1160/1170–1219) establish an official programme of study for arts and theology, in Paris.[114] All students had to study the arts as preparation for entry to the three higher disciplines, making it a compulsory foundation for all students.[115] De Courson decreed that arts students had to study for at least six years, and follow a set curriculum for grammar, and the *quadrivium*. Grammar was Latin, and was taught using the manuals of Priscian and Donatus, from the late Roman empire. The four 'facultés' were officially recognised by Pope Honorious III in 1219. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were also when many of the first university *collèges* were founded. Initially, these were places where students could eat and sleep, and it was the central university that provided tuition; gradually, however, the *collèges* came to deliver instruction. By 1300 the Université de Paris comprised nineteen *collèges*, including the Collège de Sorbonne (1257) and the Collège d'Harcourt (1280). What is clear from these early years of the Université is that instruction was connected to the Church; it was in Latin; and the only essential discipline for all (male) students was the 'arts'.

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[113] This was the case, as Verger discusses, for Pierre Abélard (1079–1142), who was unable to gain a teaching post at Notre-Dame due to his affair with Héloïse, the neice of the canon Fulbert. See Verger (1999), pp. 25–41. Hottin notes that teachers at the abbeys also enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than their counterparts at the Cathedral, since the abbeys did not come under the authority of the bishop of Paris, and were only constrained by papal authority on matters relating to canon law (and not teaching). See Hottin, p. 3.

[114] For more on this, see Tuilier, p. 46.

[115] On the literary curriculum at the Université in this period, see Verger (1999), pp. 157–168; and Curtius, pp. 84–96.

The teaching of *grammatica* and *rhetorica* at the medieval university was influenced by late Roman pedagogy, as set out famously by Quintilian (*c.* 35–*c.* 100 AD).[116] In one of the foundational texts of the eighteenth-century *Querelle des collèges*, the *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège' (1753), d'Alembert recognises Quintilian's influence – and particularly the influence of his *Institutio Oratoria* – on modern teaching practices.[117] It is worth considering what Quintilian's text had to say about literary instruction, then. In his *Institutio Oratoria* (*c.* 95 CE), Quintilian differentiates between the disciplines of *litteratura* and *ars rhetorica*.[118] He says that the teacher of *litteratura* should focus on teaching pupils to understand poetic, historical, and oratorical narratives. The teacher of rhetoric, on the other hand, should instruct students in the art of *composing* such narratives. Since being able to compose is considered more difficult than simply being able to understand a text, *litteratura* is subordinate to *rhetorica*. What is more, Quintilian suggests that a synonym for *litteratura* is *grammatice*; he glosses *grammatice* as 'grammatice, quam in Latinum transferentes litteraturam vocaverunt', which Donald A. Russell translates as 'Grammatice (it has been translated *litteratura* in Latin)'.[119] Like Quintilian's teacher of *litteratura* (or *grammatice*), the medieval university grammar teacher would first instruct pupils in literacy, and then in the intellectual content of a text, before moving on to a *praelectio* (an explanatory lecture), in which he would comment a passage from an exemplary *auctor*, noting important features of verse, grammar, syntax, and rhetoric, and providing historical, social, geographical, legal, or mythological context.[120]

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[116] On Quintilian's influence on practices of *rhetorica* in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, see Alain Michel, 'La Rhétorique, sa vocation et ses problèmes: sources antiques et médiévales', in *Histoire de la rhétorique dans l'Europe moderne (1450–1950)*, dir. by Marc Fumaroli (Paris: PUF, 1999), pp. 17–44.

[117] *Encyclopédie*, III, p. 632.

[118] The famous Jansenist pedagogue, Rollin, popularised Quintilian's *Institutiones* by producing a French translation of the work in 1715.

[119] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 4 vols, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), II.i, pp. 264–65.

[120] Coyer counts Quintilian among 'les Philosophes, qui furent toujours les yeux de bonnes législations, & quelquefois, pour le bonheur des Peuples, Legislateurs eux-mêmes, [et qui] ont écrit de l'Education en différens tems & en divers lieux', (pp. iv–v). Formey, in his *Traité d'éducation morale* (1773) similarly praises Quintilian as someone who, like him, has reflected on education. He writes, 'aussi cette matiere a fait l'objet des attentions d'un gand nombre de Sçavants dans tous les temps. *Quintilien, Locke, Fénelon*, voilà les Oracles qui ont tracé le plan & les principes d'une éducation sage & vertueuse', (p. xiii).

Minnis has explored the importance, in this period, of the concept of the *auctor*, who was seen to possess *auctoritas* on his subject, and thus over readers. Each discipline had its own set of *auctores*, who were to be studied and imitated; if Priscian and Donatus dominated grammar, Cicero was the reference for rhetoric, while Aristotle and Boethius were studied in logic. The method of teaching *auctores* via commentary appears to have remained popular in European universities throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Hugues de Saint-Cher (b. ?–1263), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and Saint Bonaventure (1221–1275), for example, all practised such methods in their teaching.[121] In his *Breviloquium* (written 1254–57), for example, Bonaventure demonstrates how to teach Christian doctrine via commentaries on the scriptures. Bonaventure argues that the *auctoritas* God gave the scriptures means that even if the student cannot rationally account for its claims, he must accept and assimilate its teachings as those of the greatest *auctor*: God. Bonaventure teaches texts, then, with a Christian objective; reading and understanding are important insofar as they help man attain salvation. From the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, commentaries started to consider the human *auctor* (the *scriptor* who had written the Bible, for example) alongside the divine *auctoritas* of God. However, whether the *auctor* was human or divine, under no circumstances was the student to compete with him; instead, he was simply to try to understand the model text, to assimilate it, and – in rhetoric classes – to imitate it. Secular, ancient texts were tentatively taught as of this period. In the mid-fourteenth century, for example, the Benedictine theologian and teacher, Pierre Bersuire (*c.* 1290–1362), produced commentaries and translations of secular, Latin texts such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from which he extracted a Christian moral. As Bersuire's example demonstrates, whether a text was secular or sacred, it was always subordinate to the purpose for which it was studied,

[121] Minnis discusses these in more detail, p. 6.

which was – and which would remain for a long time to come – Christian moral edification.

Although we might disagree with Diderot about the abuses of literary study which he says stemmed from the medieval Université, this brief sketch of some of its educational practices has shown that it was there that the liberal arts became the foundation of university-level education; that the institution known as the *collège* was born; and that aspects of the content, methods, and reason for literary study were set out. Moreover, we have seen that these features emerged in an agonistic context, as a result of conflicts between Roman Catholic authorities and more liberal clerical teachers.

Bonae litterae in the Early *Collèges* (1500–1540)

During the first half of the sixteenth century, writers and pedagogues began to subtly change, challenge, and reform some of the literary teaching practices which had begun to stabilise at the late medieval university. In 1509, the Collège de Montaigu was the first university *collège* to introduce a hierarchical progression of classes, which corresponded to a hierarchy of disciplines. This move was influenced by the schools of the order known in French as the *Frères de la vie commune*, founded by Dutch theologian (and ex-student of the Université de Paris), Gerard Groote (1340–1384). Groote's schools became popular across Germany, Holland, Poland, and France during the late Middle Ages, and were famed for their high standard of literary learning.[122] In these schools, students in the lowest classes would study the *trivium*: grammar from 8e to 6e; grammar and logic in 5e; logic and rhetoric in 4e and 3e. When they moved into the 2e and 1e, they would then

[122] Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Erasmus (1466–1536) both attended one of these schools – Luther in Magdeburg, and Erasmus in Deventer.

study the *quadrivium*, along with ethics and philosophy.[123] Other university *collèges* quickly followed Montaigu's example. Soon, this hierarchical structure of learning, along with the scholastic practices of *praelectio* and *questiones* (in which a teacher would question pupils to check they had memorised the commentary on a given author) became associated with the university, and began to be known as the *modus parisiensis*.[124]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, around 80% of works published in France were in Latin.[125] This was reflected in the authors studied in the *collèges*, which focused on classical writers including Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and Quintus Curtius for prose, and Virgil, Horace, and Ovid for poetry.[126] The testimony of scholars such as Erasmus and Vivès (students at the Université de Paris in the late 1490s and early 1500s, respectively), along with records of the classroom manuals published between 1480 and 1500, suggest that Cicero's *Epistolae familiares*, Pliny the Younger's *Epistulae*, and Terence's and Plautus's *Comoediae* were particularly popular, indicating a shift away from the religious scripture and grammatical rigour taught during the Middle Ages, and towards teaching the art of more familiar conversation.[127] Many of these texts had only recently been found, in the early fifteenth century, by Italian humanists who discovered the monastic libraries of Cluny and Saint Gall during the Councils intended to unite the Eastern and Western Churches. Between 1500 and 1525, numerous new editions of these authors' works were published, alongside commentaries by Humanist scholars; these included Agricola's commentary on Isocrates, Laurent Valla's commentary on Aesop's fables, and several

123 On the origin of this method in Groote's schools, see Chartier, Compère and Julia (1976), p. 149.
124 On the development of this method, see Codina Mir (1968), and Boris Noguès, 'L'Encadrement pédagogique et disciplinaire dans les collèges d'humanités en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle', *Paedagogica Historica*, 47.3 (2011), 243–62; p. 244. On the *praelectio*, see Michèle Rosellini, 'Les Mots sans guère de choses: la *praelectio*', *Langue française*, 121 (1999), 28–35.
125 Chervel (2008) provides these statistics, p. 34.
126 For more on this canon, see Chervel (2008), p. 412; and Chartier, Compère and Julia (1976), p. 157.
127 For further discussion of this shift, see René Radouant, 'L'Union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus', *RHLF*, 31.2 (1924), 161–92.

works by Erasmus. Famous erudite Humanists thus joined the list of authorities that students were to read, understand, and imitate.

The diffusion of Latin and Greek classics increased interest in studying ancient languages, which led to changes in literary pedagogy. These changes were made most obvious with the foundation, in 1530, of the Collège royal.[128] This *collège* was established by François I[er], on the proposal of Humanist scholar, Guillaume Budé (1467–1540). Budé envisaged that the Collège would be dedicated to teaching the ancient languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin – disciplines traditionally sidelined by the university's religious curricula. The *collège* initially employed four teachers known as 'lecteurs royaux', who received a *pension* from the king, but the number of *lecteurs* quickly grew to ten, with scholars recruited to teach law, mathematics, and medecine. The fact that the first royally patronised *collège* was dedicated to ancient languages and secular authors further legitimised a move away from teaching sacred texts, and towards making what Budé called *bonae litterae* the dominant culture.

Budé explains what he understands by *bonae litterae*, and why it should be studied, in his *De studio literarum recte et commode instituendo* [*L'Étude des lettres: Principes pour sa juste et bonne institution*] (1532). Championing the Collège royal, Budé celebrates the recent revival of Greek studies in France, and sets out his theory that classical, secular texts should be studied for the purpose of Christian man's spiritual edification. Budé defines *bonae litterae* as 'cette science qui, en artiste et en maîtresse, polit et harmonise l'humanité [...] Elle comprend en effet absolument tout ce qu'on peut imaginer comme commerce avec les

[128] Although originally a university *collège*, in 1633 the Collège royal split from the university and never rejoined. In 1870, it would become the Collège de France. On the history of the Collège royal, see *Histoire du Collège de France: la création, 1530–1560*, dir. by Tuilier and Fumaroli (Paris: Fayard, 2006); and Compère (2002), III, pp. 407–11.

muses; commerce lui-même varié, multiple, et qui s'étend fort loin en tous sens.'[129] In *De studio* he argues that certain classical authors, chosen for their piety, are worth reading because they use their eloquence to persuade readers of Christian wisdom. Moreover, even when reading sacred texts, Budé claims that one cannot interpret them without the help of 'Mercure' (the Roman god of eloquence), in other words, without a knowledge of ancient, profane poetry. He concludes, therefore, that cultivating eloquence by studying the secular classics is essential for man's salvation. Learning to compose eloquent discourses would also, ultimately, serve not only man's individual salvation, but also would serve the field of theology, turning man into a persuasive preacher of God's Word: 'l'étude des *bonae litterae* doit préparer le chrétien à transférer dans le domaine religieux non seulement une parfaite latinité, mais le souci de l'élégance et de l'harmonie.'[130]

In *Pantagruel* (1532), published the same year as *De studio*, Rabelais (1483-94?–1553) echoes Budé's description of the state and purpose of literary learning, in the famous letter from Gargantua to his son. The letter, sent to Pantagruel who has gone to study at the Université de Paris, reads, 'maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées: Grecque, sans laquelle c'est honte que une personne se die sçavant, Hébraïcque, Caldaïque, Latine.'[131] Celebrating the modern era, and implying that France is greater than imperial Greece or Rome, Gargantua continues, 'tout le monde est plein de gens savans, de précepteurs très doctes, de librairies très amples, qu'il m'est advis que, ny au temps de Platon, ny de Cicéron, ny de Papinien, n'estoit telle commodité d'estude qu'on y veoit maintenant'.[132] Influenced by the notion of the authoritative *auctor*, he instructs Pantagruel to imitate great classical authors: 'J'entens et veulx que tu [...] formes

[129] *L'Étude des lettres*, ed. and trans. by Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988), p. 42.
[130] *Ibid*, p. 27.
[131] *Pantagruel*, ed. by Pierre Michel (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), chapter VIII, p. 131.
[132] *Ibid*, pp. 131–33.

ton stille, quand à la Grecque, à l'imitation de Platon; quand à la Latine, à Cicéron.'[133] Like Budé, however, Gargantua concludes that the most important science is theology; all the wisdom Pantagruel gathers from his secular studies is for the purpose of acquiring Christian virtue. Gargantua advises, 'parce que, selon le saige Salomon, Sapience n'entre poinct en âme malivole, et science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme, il te convient servir, aymer, et craindre Dieu, et en lui mettre toutes tes pensées et tout ton espoir'.[134]

Despite Rabelais's praise of Humanist literary practices such as those championed by the Collège royal, it is nonetheless important to note that he famously ridiculed many of the other practices of the Parisian *collèges*, and in particular older, Scholastic methods. This is perhaps most obvious in the famous 'dispute par signes' between Thaumaste and Panurge, in which Rabelais mocks the practice of *disputatio* – orchestrated disputes in which actors would aim to combat an intellectual 'enemy' through a display of rhetorical skill.[135] Moreover, in *Gargantua* (1534), Grandgousier brands the Collège de Montaigu a 'colliege de pouillerie', and suggests that it was there that Gargantua caught headlice.[136] Later in the century – and in a more serious tone – Montaigne would pursue Rabelais's critique of *collège* literary practices. Writing of his time at the Collège de Guyenne, he claims that 'mon Latin s'abastardit incontinent, duquel depuis par desacoustumance j'ay perdu tout usage […] à treize ans que je sortis du college, j'avoy achevé mon cours (qu'ils appellent), et à la vérité sans aucun fruict que je peusse à present mettre en compte.'[137] Instead of learning Greek and Latin by rote or by rule, Montaigne believed it was best learned through practice. This was, of course, how he famously learned Latin, from his

[133] *Ibid*, pp. 133–35.
[134] *Ibid*, p. 137.
[135] *Pantagruel*, chapters XVIII and XIX, pp. 253–82.
[136] *Gargantua,* ed. by Pierre Michel (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), chapter XXXVII, p. 301.
[137] 'De l'éducation des enfans', in *Essais I*, ed. by Alexandre Micha (Paris: Flammarion, 1969), chapter XXVI, pp. 222–23.

servant who spoke only Latin to him.[138] Instead of learning from books, or by completing *thèmes* (translations from French into Latin, which Montaigne identifies as a common exercise used in the *collèges*) he would have his own student learn by practice and example. As he puts it, 'somme, je veux que ce [grand monde] soit le livre de mon escholier.'[139]

Not all sixteenth-century thinkers agreed with Montaigne, however, that literary learning was best done away from the *collèges*. On 15 August 1534, Ignace de Loyola, a student from the Collège de Montaigu, along with a group of friends, founded what would become the most famous teaching order in early modern France: the Jesuits. The Jesuit Order was ratified by the Pope in 1540, and the Order founded its first French *collège* at Billom, in 1556, followed by several others, including the Collège de Clermont (the future Louis-le-Grand) in 1563. The Jesuits based the structure and literary curriculum of their *collèges* on the *modus parisiensis*, which Loyola had experienced as a student. The Jesuits and their methods of literary instruction will become key protagonists in this thesis, and in the history of the emergence of modern notions of *littérature*. During the first half of the sixteenth century, then, new types of institution were founded in response to new literary educational interests; such practices would be repeated during the eighteenth-century *Querelle des collèges*. Before I consider the teaching practices of the newly founded Jesuit Order, however, as set out in their *Ratio studiorum*, I will first explore a series of publications which appeared in the mid- to late sixteenth century which were written for a less scholarly audience than the Jesuits' *Ratio*, and which suggested that French authors might be seen as *auctores*, like the ancients.

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[138] Numerous *querelleurs* would refer to Montaigne's experience of learning Latin, and his critique of the *collèges*, to support their arguments about the need for literary methods that foregrounded repeated practice, and not memorisation. See, for instance, le père Polycarpe Poncelet, *Principes généraux pour servir à l'éducation des enfans, particulièrement de la noblesse française*, 3 vols (Paris: Le Mercier, 1763), II, p. 51; Guyton de Morveau, *Mémoire sur l'éducation publique: Avec le prospectus d'un collége, suivant les principes de cet ouvrage* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1764), p. 254; and Mathias, *De l'Etude des Langues en général, et de la langue latine en particulier* (Langres: Defay, 1777), pp. 4–6.

[139] 'De l'éducation des enfans', p. 205.

Rhétorique, *Bibliothèques* and the First French 'Classics' (1550–1580)

In his *Essai d'éducation nationale* (1763), La Chalotais condemns the *collège* practice (a particularly Jesuit practice) of teaching almost exclusively Latin authors. 'Il est honteux', he writes, 'que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Françoise, comme si nous n'avions pas des modeles dans notre Langue.'[140] It was in the second half of the sixteenth century, during the period marked by the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), that writers first began to suggest, with any consistency, that French authors might be considered 'modèles' in the same way as their ancient predecessors.

This period saw the publication of some of the first 'rhetorical treatises' written in French.[141] In 1555, Antoine Fouquelin (b ?–1561), Professeur de philosophie at the Parisian Collège de Presles and tutor of Mary Stuart (later Mary, Queen of Scots), produced *La Rhétorique française*, in which he tentatively presented French writers as models of rhetorical skill. Ironically, Fouquelin's work was in large part a translation of a Latin rhetorical treatise, namely, the *Institutiones oratoriae* (1545), by Humanist scholar Omer Talon (*c.* 1510–1562).[142] Fouquelin had studied at the Université de Paris under Talon and other Humanist philosophers including Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572). In the dedication of his work to Mary Queen of Scots, Fouquelin writes, 'je desireroi fort (madame) qu'au lieu d'un si grand nombre d'histoires fabuleuses, nos devanciers eussent employé une partie de leur loysir à traiter en leur langue les sciences & les disciplines & [...] [qu'] ils eussent transferé des langues étrangeres en leur vulgaire les preceptes des ars liberaus'.[143] Fouquelin laments the fact that, because his ancestors did not translate the

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[140] La Chalotais (1763), p. 69.
[141] Kees Meerhoff studies these in *Rhétorique et poétique au XVIe siècle en France: Du Bellay, Ramus et les autres* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).
[142] For further discussion of Fouquelin's *Rhétorique* and Talon's influence on Fouquelin, see Meerhoff (1986), pp. 234–61.
[143] *La Rhétorique française, à tresillustre princesse madame Marie Royne d'Ecosse* (Paris: Wechel, 1555), [n. p.].

ancients into French, France does not, today, have 'des Demosthenes & Cicerons, en eloquence & perfection de bien dire'.[144] He seeks to change this with his *Rhétorique française*: 'Quel moyen plus honéte & plus profitable se pourroit presenter, pour nous recommander à la postérité, que de traduire les ars en notre langue vulgaire, & tellement abreger le chemin à ceus qui viendront apres nous [...]?'[145] The *Rhétorique* is marketed as an encouragement to future generations to become great writers, and glorify France as the literary greats of Greece and Rome glorified their empires.

Fouquelin defines 'rhétorique' as 'un art de bien et élégamment parler'.[146] He subdivides this 'art' into two parts – 'élocution' and 'prononciation'; each of these, in turn, is further subdivided. 'Élocution', for instance, is composed of 'tropes' and 'figures', which are different ways of ornamenting discourse; 'tropes', for instance, include 'metonimie, ironie, metaphore' and 'synecdoche'. Fouquelin then reproduces short extracts of verse or prose to illustrate these devices, before explaining their effect. All of his examples are from French authors, particularly the Pléiade poets Pierre Ronsard, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Joachim du Bellay, and Clément Marot, although some of his examples come from these authors' translations of ancients such as Virgil. Fouquelin suggests, then, that the 'science', 'discipline' or 'art' of 'rhétorique' (Fouquelin uses all of these words) can be taught uniquely in French, relying only on French authors as models.

New *collèges* (many of them Jesuit institutions) continued to be founded during this period, and although the canon of authors was still largely Latin, in some non-Jesuit institutions, one or two French authors began to appear. The first of these was the now little-known

144 *Ibid.*
145 *Ibid.*
146 *Ibid*, p. 1.

lawyer, *parlementaire*, and poet, Guy du Faur de Pibrac (1529–1584).[147] Pibrac's *Cinquante quatrains, contenant préceptes et enseignements utiles pour la vie de l'homme, composés à l'imitation de Phocylide, Epicharmus et autres poètes grecs* (1574) made him a famous name at the time. His fifty quatrains written in decasyllabes (to which he later added 76 more) are moralising poems, which include many references to classical poets and philosophers. Indeed, as the title of the work indicated, Pibrac's *Cinquante quatrains* exemplified how *collège* pupils were supposed to imitate the ancient authors they studied, even in their French compositions. The first French text to make it into some of the early modern *collèges* appears to have been chosen, then, because it served as a teaching aid for the study of the ancients, rather than because vernacular poetry was seen as valuable in itself.

This was Pibrac's only published literary work, but it remained popular throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Chervel cites the case of a 'maître d'école' in Nyons who, in 1588, made his pupils copy out one of Pibrac's quatrains, and in the seventeenth century, both the future Louis XIII and Françoise d'Aubigné (later Mme de Maintenon) are said to have learned his poems by heart.[148] In his *Art poétique* (1658), Guillaume Colletet (1598–1659) writes that Pibrac's *Quatrains* 'furent tous ensemble si favorablement receus de toute la France, & mesme de toutes les Nations estrangeres, que la memoire n'en perira jamais; & ce d'autant plus qu'il n'y a presque point de Ville en ce Royaume qui n'en ait renouvelé, & qui n'en renouvelle encore tous les ans quelque edition, pour l'institution de la jeunesse française, dont ils sont [...] comme le Manuel & le Breviaire.'[149] Here, Colletet not only acknowledges the contemporary enthusiasm for Pibrac's poetry, but he also recognises the power of education to secure a writer's name for posterity. He

147 On Pibrac's life and works, see *Les Quatrains. Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique et autres poésies*, ed. by Loris Petris (Geneva: Droz, 2004). On Pibrac's use in the classroom, see Chervel (2008), pp. 414–15.
148 Chervel (2008), p. 414.
149 *L'Art poétique du S. Colletet, où il est traitté de l'épigramme, du sonnet, du poeme bucolique, de l'églogue, de la pastorale et de l'idyle, de la poésie morale et sentencieuse* (Paris: Sommaville; Chamhoudry, 1658), pp. 133–34.

claims that what particularly secures the future of a literary work for generations to come, is its being taught to 'la jeunesse française'.

The 1580s also saw the publication of many of the first bibliographies and compilations of French authors, entitled 'bibliothèques françaises'. When it comes to 'bibliothèques', we might think of the seventeenth century and of writers like Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653) and his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627), or Charles Sorel (1582-1602?–1674) and his *Bibliothèque française* (1664). Naudé's work offers practical advice about how to form, organise, and house the ideal public library, which he would later put into practice as librarian for the Cardinal Mazarin.[150] Whereas Naudé's library was to be a vast compendium of 'toutes sortes de Livres', Sorel's *Bibliothèque* sought to offer a far more restricted catalogue of purely French texts, which represented (and extolled) the state of modern French letters, at his time of writing.[151] It is important to note, however, that both Naudé and Sorel acknowledged one particular text, published in 1584, as an influence on their works, and that was the *Bibliothèque du sieur de La Croix du Maine* (1584), compiled by François Grudé, known as La Croix du Maine (1552–1592).[152]

Like Fouquelin's *Rhétorique*, du Maine's *Bibliothèque* was aimed at a worldly public. It testified to a growing interest in establishing a list of exemplary French writers, and comparing them with their classical counterparts. Mortgat-Longuet interprets the rise of such works as an effect of the growing interest of the educated elite in initiating a notion

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150 For more on Naudé's text, and his librarianship, see John F. Boitano, 'Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*: A Window into the Past', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 18.1 (1996), 5–19.
151 *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque présenté à monseigneur le président de Mesme* (Paris: Targa, 1627), p. 36. For a further consideration of Sorel's work, see Michèle Rosellini, 'La *Bibliothèque française* de Charles Sorel: intégration ou liquidation de la bibliothèque humaniste?', *Littératures classiques*, 66.2 (2008), 93–113.
152 La Croix du Maine's contemporary, Antoine du Verdier (1544–1600), also published an influential *Bibliothèque* the year after La Croix du Maine. It is worth noting that these authors were not the first to consider that French authors might be 'greats', or to begin to compile lists of these writers. As Suzanne Bagoly and Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet have studied, these practices began in the fourteenth century. See Bagoly, 'De Mainctz auteurs une progression: un siècle à la recherche du Parnasse français', *Le Moyen Français*, 17 (1985), 83–123; and Cerquiglini-Toulet, 'À la recherche des pères: la liste des auteurs illustres à la fin du Moyen Age', *MLN*, 116 (2001), 630–43.

of glorious, French national identity, during the Wars of Religion, when the nation was divided.[153] Du Maine dedicates his *Bibliothèque* to the then monarch, Henri III. Like Gargantua in his letter to Pantagruel, du Maine explains that the purpose of his work is to prove that 'la France est si riche d'homme doctes, & de sçavoir [...] que je ne diray pas qu'elle cède à aucune autre nation [...] j'oseray soutenir, que si elle ne les surpasse, toutefois elle les égalle'.[154] His *Bibliothèque* was inspired by his study of 'lettres' at the Université de Paris in the late 1560s. Indeed, it began life as a catalogue of his own physical library (which included Latin and Greek texts, as well as French), which he assembled while he was a student. Over the fifteen years he claims to have worked on the project, however, the *Bibliothèque* metamorphosed from a simple catalogue into a more substantial work, and came to focus uniquely on French texts.

Du Maine typically includes ten or fifteen lines (although sometimes up to two pages) on each author, providing details of his biography, bibliography, and often du Maine's judgement of his work. Along with French *Rhétoriques*, the *Bibliothèque française* genre helped to define what a modern, French canon might resemble, and to suggest that French authors might not just be capable of equalling the ancients, but could even surpass them. What we see in this period, therefore, is the emergence of the notions that French *littérature* (although not referred to by that name) is a part of French national identity, and that French literary success might be used as a means to establish France's status as a powerful nation.

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153 *Clio au parnasse*, p. 11.
154 *Bibliothèque du sieur de La Croix du Maine* (Paris: Angelier, 1584), [n. p.].

Litterae humaniores and the *Ratio Studiorum* (1580–1620)

By the closing decades of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits' network of *collèges* had significantly expanded. By 1600, they possessed *collèges* in Pamiers, Tournon-sur-Rhône, Douai, Toulouse, Dijon, Pont-à-Mousson, Avignon, Rouen and Paris.[155] The expansion of the Jesuit Order and their increasing hold over French education made many groups nervous. Almost from the moment the Jesuits began teaching in France, rival education providers such as, notably, the Université de Paris entered into public *querelles* with them, in the hope of retaining control over literary teaching. Some of the most famous of these were led by the Gallican Paris *parlementaire*, Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615). Pasquier perceived the Jesuits as a foreign enemy. In 1565, in an attempt to defend both the Gallican Church and the Université, he sought to ban the Jesuits from teaching. Although he failed in this aim (in the short term, at least), he succeeded in preventing the Jesuit *collèges* from being affiliated with the university.[156] Pasquier pursued his attacks against the Order into the seventeenth century, publishing *Le Catéchisme des jésuites* in 1602. In this work, he describes the Jesuit Superior General – appointed for life, like the Pope – as the devil incarnate, and claims that although the Jesuits pledge allegiance to the Pope, their primary obedience is in fact to the Superior General. Pasquier concludes that the Jesuits therefore challenged the papacy, and sought to establish a tyranny over other sects, and over Catholicism *tout court*. As I will discuss more in the next section of this chapter, the Jesuits would continue to attract criticism over their educational practices throughout the seventeenth century. In spite of the criticism they attracted, however, one of the Jesuits' most significant contributions to the history of literary teaching practices in France was their attempt to standardise literary instruction.

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[155] For further discussion of the expansion of the Jesuit *collèges*, see Robert A. Lang, 'The Teaching of Rhetoric in French Jesuit *Collèges*, 1556–1762', *Speech Monographs*, 19.4 (1952), 286–98.
[156] On early modern polemics against the Jesuits, see Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Enlightenment: From Calvin to Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Although most early Jesuit *collèges* adopted the content and methods of the *modus parisiensis*, there was initially no standard programme for their *collèges*. As numbers of institutions grew, however, the Jesuit superiors began to see a need for uniformity. In 1586, the fifth Superior General, Claudio Aquaviva (1543–1615), drafted the *Ratio studiorum*, a set of regulations for the *collèges*, which proposed rules for teachers and pupils on everything from mealtimes, to discipline, to how and what to teach.[157] This was circulated to all members of the Order, who were asked to submit their reflections on it; a definitive version was published in 1599. In his *Compte rendu des constitutions des Jésuites* (1762), La Chalotais suggests that the Jesuits' Latin-centric curriculum, which focused on teaching pupils the art of rhetoric, was a reaction against the scholasticism which he says reigned in the sixteenth-century *collèges*. At that time, he claims, 'les Etudes publiques étoient mauvaises; il régnoit dans les Ecoles une Scholastique effrenée. On n'étudioit que la Logique d'Aristote, & on n'en apprenoit que la Méchanique.'[158] Although La Chalotais does not ultimately support the *Ratio studiorum* (and he certainly does not think it appropriate for use in the eighteenth-century *collèges*), he initially suggests that it may well have offered a better programme of literary instruction than what pupils had received until that point. As he puts it, 'ce plan d'études, si on peut lui donner ce nom, pourrait être bon pour des temps où il s'agissoit de tirer les peuples de l'ignorance profonde où ils étoient ensevelis.'[159] I will now examine what this plan proposed, and to what extent it really was a reaction against existing practices.

Comprising 527 verses, the *Ratio studiorum* prescribes that the humanities course should comprise three years of 'grammaire' (5e to 3e), one year of 'poésie' (2e), and one year of

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[157] The most recent French translation of the *Ratio studiorum*, to which quotations in this thesis refer, is *Ratio studiorum: plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. by Adrien Demoustier, et al. (Paris: Belin, 1997).
[158] *Compte rendu*, p. 73.
[159] *Ibid*, p. 177.

'rhétorique' (1e).[160] So far, so much like the *modus parisiensis*. The purpose for literary study is stated as being to bring the pupil 'au service et à l'amour de Dieu'.[161] The first classroom exercise, therefore, is always to be prayer, followed by a 'prélection', in which the teacher dictates a commentary on a Greek or Latin author, or reads from a grammar or rhetoric manual by one of the Jesuit fathers.[162] Students are required to copy and memorise the 'prélection', aided by 'disputes' – orchestrated oral debates, in which pupils practise the rhetorical figures they have (hopefully) learned. This tripartite method of 'lesson, memorisation, dispute' became a pedagogical norm in the Jesuit *collèges*. It foregrounded the role of the spoken word, and trained pupils to produce eloquent discourses which imitated ancient and sacred models. The *Ratio* also prescribes the canon of authors that should be taught. During 'grammaire' classes the main reference is *De Institutione grammatica libri tres* (1572), by the Jesuit Emmanuel Alvarez (1526–1582).[163] Passages from Cicero are prescribed for 'prélections' in the first year, followed by Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Virgil, and Aesop in subsequent years.[164] All of these are to be studied in the original language, and French spoken as little as possible; the *Ratio* notes, 'avant tout on conservera strictement l'usage de parler latin, sauf dans les classes où les élèves ne savent pas le latin; de sorte qu'il ne sera jamais permis, pour tout ce qui concerne la classe, d'utiliser la langue maternelle'.[165] Throughout the *Ratio* there are instructions to shun non-prescribed authors, and 'innovative' ideas: 'Il faut fuir la nouveauté des opinions', the manual states.[166] French authors are absent (at least, officially) from the programme.[167]

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160 For more on the structure and aims of the *Ratio*, see Demoustier, et al. (1997); Compère (1985), p. 72; and Bury, 'La Rhétorique classique au fondement d'une pédagogie: l'exemple de la *Ratio studiorum* et ses conséquences littéraires', *Dix-septième siècle*, 236.3 (2007), 487–99.
161 Demoustier, et al. (1997), p. 103.
162 *Ibid*, pp. 83, 134, 155.
163 *Ibid*, p. 83.
164 *Ibid*, p. 134.
165 *Ibid*, p. 155.
166 *Ibid,* p. 104.
167 The *Ratio* is, of course, a normative text. In practice, some of the larger Jesuit *collèges* had their own printing press, allowing them to produce internal programmes for study. Nonetheless, French historians of

Education, explains the *Ratio*, should promote the study of 'sacrarum literarum', translated in the most recent French edition of the text as 'la littérature sacrée'.[168] While the Latin *litterae* – as in Quintilian's and Budé's uses of the word – signifies simply 'texts', *sacrarum literarum* refers to pious texts. Also used in the *Ratio* is the phrase *litterae humaniores*, which refers to Latin and Greek secular texts that are spiritually, morally, and stylistically instructive. The Jesuits taught a combination of secular and sacred Latin works, then, so as to forge both a devout future congregation, and to furnish the Order with eloquent, and thus persuasive, future priests and teachers. Like Budé and Rabelais, the Jesuits put literary learning at the service of theology and, specifically, of the future of their Order.

Jesuits, their Enemies, and *Belles-Lettres* (1630s–1680s)

The Jesuits were not the only teachers in early modern France. Jansenist Catholics, for instance, also taught, most notably at the Petites Écoles de Port-Royal which ran from 1637 to 1660.[169] Despite what the name might suggest, the *Petites Écoles* did not deliver what we might today call 'primary' education, but rather taught boys of *collège* age (from around 7 to around 18 or 20 years old).[170] Although the school did not function for long (it taught only perhaps a hundred students during its existence), it significantly influenced French literary teaching practices. This was perhaps the case because the solitary group of Jansenists installed close to the monastery at Port-Royal des Champs produced many

education including Dainville, Compère, and Julia suggest that the *Ratio* was, by and large, applied in the *collèges*.

168 Demoustier, et al. (1997), p. 75.

169 For a detailed study of these schools see Delforge (1985).

170 I avoid using the terms 'secondary' and 'primary' in relation to early modern French schools because, as Chervel has noted, they are anachronistic for this period. Only around 1815 did the *lycées* and *collèges* start to be referred to as 'secondaire' establishments, and this only became the common meaning of the phrase 'l'enseignement secondaire' in the 1840s. See 'De quand date l'enseignement 'secondaire'?', in *Grammaire et histoire de la grammaire: hommage à la mémoire de Jean Stefanini*, ed. by Claire Blanche-Benveniste, et al. (Aix-en-Provence: Publication de l'université de Provence, 1988), pp. 105–18.

famous teachers who published on (and thereby disseminated) their practices. Among them were Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), Pierre Nicole (1625–1695), Claude Lancelot (*c.* 1615– 1695), Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) and Pierre Coustel (1624–1704). In a clear contrast with the Jesuits, Port-Royal was famous for bringing French into the classroom. Its teachers taught children to read in French before moving into Latin; and when pupils began learning Latin, it was often via manuals written in French. Greek was also more extensively taught at Port-Royal than at other *collèges*, and Latin verse composition not at all. Some of the Jansenist teachers' most famous publications were the textbooks they composed for literary study, known as the *Grammaire* and *Logique de Port-Royal* (both published in 1660); the former, produced by Arnauld and Lancelot, was regularly praised in the *Querelle des collèges*.[171] The role the Jansenists gave to French (albeit still limited, and as a means to help pupils acquire Latin) exacerbated their conflicts with the Jesuits, who accused the Jansenists of turning Latin into 'une langue morte'.[172]

As well as pedagogical manuals, the Port-Royalistes also produced texts that reflected on the theory and purpose of education. One of these was Coustel's *Règles de l'éducation des enfans* (1687).[173] In the preface, he says that he hopes his work will help teachers 'pour avancer dans les belles Lettres ceux qui sont confiez à leurs soins; mais aussi pour leur inspirer une solide piété, & les former dans la politesse.'[174] Of the three objectives of literary education that Coustel presents here, two are worldly aims (to help children progress in *belles-lettres*, and to enable them to acquire good manners), and only one is spiritual (to form pious Christians). The majority of Coustel's reasons for pupils to study

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171 See, for example, the anonymous *De l'éducation philosophique de la jeunesse, ou l'art de l'élever dans les sciences humaines* (Paris & Amsterdam: Cailleau, 1767), p. ix, and Rivard, *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études publiques et particulières* (Paris: Méquignon, 1769), p. 117.

172 See Chervel (2008), p. 45, n. 205. Irailh presents the *querelle* between 'Messieurs de Port-Royal & les Jésuites', III, pp. 276–316.

173 The work's full title reveals the importance of *belles-lettres*: *Les Règles de l'éducation des enfans, où il est parlé en détail de la manière dont il se faut conduire, pour leur inspirer les sentiments d'une solide piété; & pour leur apprendre parfaitement les belles Lettres* (Paris: Michallet, 1687).

174 *Ibid*, 'préface' [n. p.].

belles-lettres, therefore, are social, rather than religious. Sacred texts and Christian writers (including Saints Augustine, Chrysostom, and Gregory) remain important sources of authority for Coustel, and he still believes man must serve God, above all. But, he notes, 'pour ce qui regarde les belles Lettres, j'ay pris dans Ciceron, Quintilien, & Plutarque'.[175] Although religious authors remain important, Coustel considers ancient, secular writers as the dominant authorities in the discipline of *belles-lettres*. Further on in his text, he explains, 'nous voyons dans les Histoires, que les Payens qui n'avoient que le monde en vuë, prenoient néantmoins tout le soin possible de faire instruire les enfans dans les belles lettres; parce qu'outre qu'elles sont un des plus beaux ornemens de l'ame, elles leurs estoient aussi fort utiles dans la société civile, pour acquérir de l'honneur & des biens'.[176] Instead of defending *belles-lettres* from a Christian perspective, here, Coustel defends them on the grounds that even 'païens', who consider only the temporal world, find such texts 'utiles dans la société civile'.[177]

Although Jansenist pedagogical practices are perhaps better known today, it was the Oratorians who ran the most *collèges*, after the Jesuits; by 1762, they owned roughly a tenth of establishments (versus the Jesuits' one third).[178] They were known for teaching history and – like the Jansenists – for teaching in French. At the Oratorian *collège* in Le Mans, French seems to have been used from the mid-seventeenth century, and at their *collège* in Troyes, French was spoken in 'grammaire' and 'humanités' classes from the end of the century.[179] However, practices at other Oratorian *collèges* during the same period reveal that little uniformity existed even between *collèges* belonging to the same order; several

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175 *Ibid.*
176 *Ibid.*
177 The idea that knowledge of a certain, socially valued culture can give a person 'de l'honneur et des biens' is one that would be developed in the twentieth century by Bourdieu. Coustel describes *belles-lettres* as what Bourdieu might call 'un bien culturel', which confers 'du capital culturel'. This 'cultural capital' in turn confers honour – a form of symbolic power – to the individual possessing it, and in turn distinguishes between those 'with' and those 'without' such 'capital symbolique'. See Bourdieu, 'Les Trois États du capital culturel', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 30 (1979), 3–6.
178 These statistics are given by and Aron and Viala (2005), p. 39.
179 See Chervel (2008), p. 35. Montesquieu attended the Oratorian Collège de Juilly from 1700 to 1705.

Oratorian *collèges*, including those in Cambrai, Saint-Omer, and Amiens, continued to require that students speak in Latin at all times until the 1760s and 70s.[180] Any changes to literary teaching methods and course content during the Ancien Régime must therefore be recognised as piecemeal. Julia is quick to note, furthermore, that we should not overestimate the differences between the practices of *collèges* run by different religious movements. Jansenists, Oratorians, Jesuits, and the Université (many *collèges* of which had various religious allegiances) all advocated a canon of mostly Latin authors and similar teaching methods, with any differences between them slight.[181]

Perhaps owing to these similarities, from the late seventeenth century, *all* of the *collèges* began to attract increasing criticism. One notable critic was the abbé Fleury. Fleury's educational thought is often praised by writers in the *Querelle des collèges*. In his *Plan d'éducation publique* (1770), for example, Coyer invokes numerous seventeenth-century educational reformers, including Fleury, to support his calls to reform the *collège* practice of spending 'dix, douze ans à mal parler, mal composer en Latin'. 'Tous ceux qui ont traité de l'Education depuis que la Philosophie nous éclaire', he writes, 'Etrangers & nationaux; Milton, Locke, l'Abbé Fleury, l'Abbé Gédoyn, sont étonnés de voir, dans les Colléges, le Latin sur l'autel, sans qu'on ose partager son culte entre cette Langue étrangère & la Nationale.'[182] What, then, did Fleury suggest, of which Coyer approved?

Fleury was educated at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, and went on to become *sous-précepteur* for the ducs de Bougogne, de Berry, and d'Anjou. In 1683 he published his *Catéchisme historique*, which became a 'best-seller' of pedagogical literature; this work furthered the seventeenth-century trend for religious pedagogical literature, and it was

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[180] Chervel (2008), p. 35.
[181] See Julia, 'Livres de classe et usages pédagogiques', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, II (1990), p. 636.
[182] Coyer, p. 119.

used in *collèges* throughout the eighteenth century, too.[183] Despite the success of his work in the *collèges*, in his *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études* (1686), Fleury criticises *collège* literary teaching methods.[184] In the preface to that work (unpublished during Fleury's lifetime) he explicitly attacks the emphasis the *collèges* place on the exercices of memorization and composition before first cultivating a child's capacities of reason and judgement:

> [Les élèves] ont cultivé leur mémoire et leur imagination, sans exercer leur jugement; ils sçavent par cœur grand nombre de vers latins […] Comme on veut qu'ils parlent quoy qu'ils ne sachent encore rien, ils se jettent sur le général, et remplissent leurs périodes ou leurs vers de paroles faute de choses. […] Un homme de bon sens qui voit son fils en tel estat, peut-il avoir grande opinion de ceux qui l'ont instruit et de leur méthode? […] Non sans doute, il croit qu'il faut commencer à luy former l'esprit et les mœurs. Qu'il faut travailler, à ce qu'on n'a point fait au collège.[185]

Fleury's criticisms focused on the methods of teaching *belles-lettres* which, he argued, taught 'les mots', rather than 'les choses'.[186] Instead of mere words, Fleury argues pupils need instruction that will be be more 'useful' to them as adults. To this end, he recommends studying more French, and some history, which he claims is useful for developing the faculty of judgement. Like Coustel, Fleury was concerned, then, to make literary study more socially useful than the 'pedantic' discipline of rhetoric he claimed was practised in the *collèges*.[187]

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183 In 1803, Fleury's *Catéchisme* was designated for use in the imperial *lycées*; it was also on the university syllabus until 1863, and Julia (1990, pp. 629–31) notes that the book featured on the syllabuses of many Oratorian and Jesuit *collèges* in the mid-eighteenth century.

184 For a critical study of this work, see Gaston Dartigues, *Le Traité des études de l'abbé Claude Fleury (1686): examen historique et critique* (Paris: Champion, 1921).

185 Fleury, quoted in Dainville (1978), p. 48.

186 This accusation would become a commonplace by the eighteenth century, and would form the crux of d'Alembert's arguments in his *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège' (1753), discussed in chapter three.

187 'Pédant' was an important term of abuse in the period, and was often used to refer to the Jesuits during the *Querelle des collèges*. See, for example, La Chalotais (1763), p. 18; Poncelet (1763), pp. 47–51; Caraccioli, *Le Véritable Mentor, ou l'éducation de la noblesse* (Liège: Bassompierre, 1759), I, p. v. For a study of the uses and connotations of the term 'pédant' in early modern France, see Jocelyn Royé, *La Figure du pédant de Montaigne à Molière* (Geneva: Droz, 2008).

The texts studied in this section testify to a lexical, linguistic, and conceptual shift in the early seventeenth century, from *bonae litterae* to *belles-lettres*.[188] While the types of text designated by the signifiers *bonae litterae* and *belles-lettres* were often the same ancient, profane literary works, the purpose for which they were taught was reconfigured, assisted by pedagogues like Coustel and Fleury. The early seventeenth century saw numerous social changes to the literary field (a field which Viala has demonstrated only emerged *as* a field during this period). With the rise of literary patronage, royally patronised *collèges*, noble offices, and the creation of the Académie française, the nobility and monarchy acquired the power to define literary culture and to decide how and to what ends it should be taught to future citizens.[189] The new practices of literary education which emerged during this period, then, along with the new lexeme, *belles-lettres*, to refer to them, reflected the interests of the nobility and the monarchy (in forming the *honnête homme*, embellishing polite conversation, and glorifying the French nation), as opposed to the interests of God or the clergy.

Ancients, Moderns, and Quarrels over *Belles-Lettres* (1660s–1710s)

Caron notes that, by the 1650s, the lexeme *belles-lettres* was more common than *bonnes lettres*. In his *Art poétique* (1658), Colletet uses *belles-lettres* five times, and *bonnes lettres* just once, while in the *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671), the Jesuit priest and teacher at the Collège de Clermont, Dominique Bouhours (1628–1702) uses only *belles-lettres*.[190] Bouhours's *Entretiens* is an important text in that it intervened in a number of *querelles*.

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[188] This supports Caron's contention that the phrase *belles-lettres* was 'lexicalisé' around 1620–22, becoming more common than *bonnes lettres* by the 1640s. See Caron (1992), p. 103; 'Écrire dans le cadre des belles-lettres', in *Bonnes lettres/Belles lettres: Actes des colloques de Centre d'études et de recherches Éditer/Interpréter de l'Université de Rouen (26 et 27 avril 2000–6 et 7 février 2003)*, dir. by Claudine Poulouin and Jean-Claude Arnould (Paris: Champion, 2006), pp. 177–89; and 'Aux origines d'un concept encore flou aujourd'hui, celui de la littérature', in *Literarische Kanonbildung in Der Romania*, ed. by Günter Berger and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Rheinfelden: Schaüble, 1987), pp. 87–102.

[189] Viala (1985) has studied many of these socio-cultural practices and their relation to the emergence of a literary field.

[190] Caron (1992) discusses these and further examples, p. 366.

One of these was with Jansenist writers and educators, and it is the *querelle* that Richard Scholar defines as the *Querelle des Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*.[191] The *Entretiens* is a series of 'conversations libres et familières [...], spirituelles & même savantes', between two friends, Ariste and Eugène, which relate to literary and artistic matters. The second of these (entitled 'La Langue française') is about what style of French one should write in. Ariste and Eugène condemn the style of 'ces solitaires', the Port-Royalistes, whom they accuse of writing excessively long, exaggerated discourses, with unwieldy digressions and 'de grands mots & de grandes épithètes'.[192] Ariste concludes that, in the French translation of *De imitatione Christi* [*L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*] (1662), by Port-Royaliste Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy (1613–1684), 'j'y trouve je ne sais quoi qui me fait de la peine'.[193] On the other hand, when Ariste asks Eugène, 'que faut-il lire pour bien savoir notre langue?', Eugène replies with a host of contemporary French authors who frequented the *salons* of the day, including Claude Favre de Vaugelas, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, Vincent Voiture, François de La Rochefoucauld, and Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré.[194] Of La Rochefoucauld, for instance, Eugène concludes that he has 'un caractère fort noble, & je ne sais quelle finesse que tous les bons auteurs n'ont pas.'[195]

One of the first polemical responses which Bouhours's text provoked came from the Jansenist lawyer, Paris *parlementaire*, and (from 1683) Academician, Jean Barbier d'Aucour (1641–1694). His response, the *Sentiments de Cleanthe sur les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671) attacked Bouhours (on one level) for his style; in particular, Barbier d'Aucour

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[191] See Scholar's presentation of this *querelle*: 'La Querelle des Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène, 1668–1675', *Banque de données AGON*, 24 December 2014 <http://base-agon.paris-sorbonne.fr/querelles/querelle-des-entretiens-d-ariste-et-d-eugene-de-bouhours> [accessed 11 July 2017]. Scholar also discusses this *querelle* in the context of his study of the early modern notion of the 'je-ne-sais-quoi' – a term used regularly in Bouhours's text. See *The Je-ne-sais-quoi in Early Modern Europe: Encounters with a Certain Something* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 64–70.

[192] *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, ed. by Bernard Beugnot and Gilles Declercq (Paris: Champion, 2003), pp. 167–69.

[193] *Ibid*, p. 170.

[194] *Ibid*, pp. 165–67.

[195] *Ibid*, p. 167.

accuses Bouhours of applying the secular notion of the 'je-ne-sais-quoi' to sacred matters.[196] This *querelle* was only about style in appearance; what lay behind the argument, of course, was a dispute over status and power. What was at stake for the Jesuit and Jansenist parties was the power to define literary and theological norms through education. As well as being another intervention in the *querelles* between Jesuits and Jansenists, Bouhours and Barbier d'Aucour's works were also interventions in what was arguably the most important early modern *querelle*: the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*.

In this *querelle*, it was often the very terrain of the field of *belles-lettres* that was in dispute. In *Le Parnasse réformé* (1668), for instance, Gabriel Guéret (1641–1688) imagines a literary war between ancients and moderns, waged in the land he calls 'la République des Belles Lettres'. To decide upon the outcome of these 'wars', Guéret nominates a series of moderns – many of whom were the same writers praised in Bouhours's *Entretiens*, including François de Malherbe, Guez de Balzac, and Vaugelas – to be the judges of the literary world, and decide whether ancients or moderns will win these culture wars.[197] These modern judges came down, of course, on the side of the moderns. For Guéret, then, *belles-lettres* refers to a space – what Bourdieu might have called a field, and which Guéret presents as a *battle*field – and it is a space which is passionately contested. In their interventions in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, writers repeatedly wrote about the wars in (and over) the field of *belles-lettres*. In so doing, their interventions in this *querelle* helped to disseminate the term *belles-lettres*, and confer the idea that it could signify not only a type of text considered eloquent and socially valued, but also a field of cultural activity.

[196] For more on this notion, see Scholar (2005), pp. 64–70.
[197] *Le Parnasse réformé,* new edn (Paris: Osmont, 1674), p. 5.

Also driven by the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* was the emergence of criteria for defining what we might call the 'modern classic', and an increased interest in the concept of posterity. These notions helped refine ideas (sketched out by sixteenth-century writers such as Fouquelin) about which modern texts might constitute the literary French canon. The 'moderne', Charles Perrault (1628–1703), sought to do just this. Perrault's *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (1696–1700) is a collective biography of 'illustrious' Frenchmen, from the time of the creation of the Académie française, to the time of his writing.[198] One of his primary criteria for inclusion was that the 'homme illustre' in question had to be dead. A dead writer's contribution to France's literary reputation could, of course, be assessed as a finite whole, from the view of posterity. Perrault's *recueil* was kept up-to-date so that when a famous man died, he became eligible for inclusion. Racine, for instance, was not included in the first volume because he was still alive; he was only added to the second volume of the *Hommes illustres*, published in 1700, following his death, in 1699. The notion that a living author (however brilliant) cannot be classed among the literary 'greats' is still used, today, as a criterion for qualifying a text or author as a 'classic', and it is something I will return to consider in the context of the syallabuses recommended by educational reformers in the *Querelle des collèges*. So, then, if it had become clear, by the late seventeenth century, that the field of *belles-lettres* was populated by modern as well as ancient writers (who were disputing the ancients for power over this domain), through their interventions in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, writers like Perrault and Sorel helped to further define what the modern field of *belles-lettres* looked like, and what sorts of modern writer could be considered exemplary. As I will go on to explore, their ideas would influence eighteenth-century educational *querelleurs*, who variously supported or contested their propositions.

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[198] On the rise in publication of the genre of 'lives' – and particularly the lives of authors – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Damien Fortin, 'Du Parnasse au Panthéon. Les *Vies* d'écrivains du Grand Siècle par leurs contemporains: naissance d'une nouvelle forme critique?', *Littératures classiques*, 86.1 (2015), 19–36.

In an attempt to retain power, and to stake their claim to the increasingly disputed terrain of *belles-lettres,* the Jesuits sought to update their teaching practices to reflect the changing literary practices associated with *belles-lettres*. In 1692, the Jesuit pedagogue Joseph Jouvency (1643–1719) added to the *Ratio studiorum* with his supplementary manual on literary study, the *Christianis litterarum magistris de ratione discendi et docendi*, known as the *De ratione discendi et docendi* [*De la manière d'apprendre et d'enseigner*]. Like the *Ratio*, Jouvency's work emphasised the importance of training pupils to produce eloquent discourse but, unlike the *Ratio*, he tentatively incorporated the French language (increasingly seen as a necessary component of *belles-lettres*) into the programme. He suggests pupils begin composition, for example, by translating texts from Latin into French. Producing spontaneous French verse compositions, however, remained out of the question: 'Quant à faire des vers français, je ne le conseillerai à personne; car nous sommes ordinairement sots et ridicules dans ces sortes de poésies. Du reste, nos règlements ne le permettent pas; ils exigent que les exercices littéraires de nos classes servent à apprendre le latin.'[199] Once again, French is not valued in itself, but as a means to learn Latin. Nevertheless, as the most famous teachers of *litterae humaniores* in early modern France, the Jesuits soon became associated with the lexeme *du jour* for practices relating to the teaching of edifying, pleasing texts: *belles-lettres*. By the early 1700s they were known to have taught important figures in the world of *belles-lettres* including the young Molière and Voltaire, and Voltaire would later describe the Order as 'ceux qui m'ont inspiré le goût des Belles lettres'.[200]

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[199] *De la manière d'apprendre et d'enseigner*, trans. by H. Ferté (Paris: Hachette, 1892), p. 54.

[200] Letter from Voltaire to le père Simon de La Tour, *c.* 1 April 1746. D3348. One might expect François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) to feature in this discussion, not least because he, like the Jesuits, was the educator of important French children – and perhaps the most important French child, the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV, who (were it not for his premature death) might have become King of France. It was for the 'petit dauphin' that Fénelon wrote his pedagogical novel, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1699). Like his textual counterpart in *Télémaque*, Mentor, the type of education Fénelon delivered was a private one. In his earlier *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687), meanwhile, Fénelon was concerned with girls' (not boys') education. Seemingly owing to these interests, the eighteenth-century *querelleurs* (who were

Although Jouvency's moves to bring French into Jesuit institutions in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were only tentative, during this period French did find one particular space in the *collèges*, and that was the stage. Many *collèges* (and particularly Jesuit ones) put on theatrical performances, which local officials and Church leaders (who often funded the *collèges*) could attend. Although many of the plays performed before 1650 were Latin tragedies, after the mid-seventeenth century, performances started commonly to be comedies or moralising tales, given in French. Most famous today in this regard are *Esther* (1689) and *Athalie* (1691), written by Jean Racine (1639–1699) for performance by the girls at the Maison royale de Saint-Cyr – the school for the daughters of the poor French nobility, founded by Mme de Maintenon in 1684.[201] These were not the only plays performed, however. The Oratorians' *collège* in Troyes put on three performances in 1718: Corneille's *Nicomède* (1651), Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670), and Regnard's *Le Légataire universel* (1708), and the Jesuits staged regular French plays in the early 1700s.[202] Molière was the most popular dramatist, followed by Regnard and Voltaire. As Chervel explains, 'pour de nombreux élèves, les représentations théâtrales constituent le premier contact avec la littérature française.'[203] Whether pupils saw these performances as related to their classroom study of texts, though, is another question; the relegation of French to the stage, a place of 'divertissement', ideologically separated it from the 'serious' business of the Latin curriculum.

concerned with communal, boys' education) rarely engage with Fénelon. It is for this reason, then, that he is largely absent from this history.

[201] On the place of theatre at Saint-Cyr, see Anne Piéjus, *Le Théâtre des demoiselles: tragédie et musique à Saint-Cyr à la fin du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 2000). For an institutional history of Saint-Cyr, see Daniel Roche, 'Éducation et société dans la France du XVIIIe siècle: l'exemple de la Maison royale de Saint-Cyr', *Cahiers d'histoire*, 23.1 (1978), 3–24.

[202] For more on theatre in the early modern collèges, see the contributions in *Plaire et instruire: le spectacle dans les collèges de l'Ancien Régime*, dir. by Piéjus (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007).

[203] Chervel (2008), p. 48.

This chapter has explored how conflicts from the Middle Ages to the turn of the eighteenth century helped establish practices of literary education. Many of these practices remained in use throughout the early modern period, and it was often these (such as the focus on teaching Latin, on using teaching methods like memorisation and dispute, and on teaching students to further the interests of religious groups) which were attacked by those intervening in the *Querelle des collèges*. Some of these practices, however, which had become associated with *belles-lettres* by the end of the seventeenth century, were retained by *querelleurs*, who called for them to be taught more extensively in the *collèges*. These included teaching French alongside Latin; presenting modern authors as exemplary models; and enabling elite, male students to distinguish themselves as socially superior by acquiring the skills of eloquence, and critical judgement. In the next chapter, I pick up the threads of these early modern debates over literary education by exploring how they were taken up by eighteenth-century writers and pedagogues.

2. *Belles-Lettres* vs. *Littérature:* Eighteenth-Century *Cours, Concours* and *Conquérants*

In his essay 'La Définition du terme 'littérature'' (1970), Escarpit lists six different major senses of the word *littérature*.[204] The fourth of these senses is 'une discipline universitaire'. This is the educational discipline that teaches *littérature*, understood (in some of the other senses of the word, which Escarpit defines) as 'l'ensemble de la production littéraire' or 'l'ensemble des écrits d'une époque, d'un pays, d'une région'.[205] Escarpit contends that the sense of *littérature* as 'une discipline' is 'un emploi technique répandu au XXe siècle mais qu'on ne rencontre guère avant 1880.'[206] In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the sorts of practices we might today associate with the discipline of *littérature* (studying exemplary, eloquent texts; reading a national canon; employing pedagogical exercises similar to today's 'l'explication de texte') were practices of literary education even before the discipline was known as such. Even if Escarpit is correct that the word *littérature* was rarely used to refer to a discipline before 1880, then, we might conted that – based on the evidence set out in the previous chapter – several aspects of the *concept* of the discipline of

[204] These are outlined above, p. 17, n. 57.
[205] Escarpit, pp. 262–63.
[206] *Ibid*, p. 263. Although she recognises that the discipline has a long 'prehistory', Martine Jey similarly argues that the discipline of *littérature* (as opposed to *rhétorique* or *belles-lettres*) was born in 1880; this was the date of the first 'plan d'études' of the Third Republic, which reorganised secondary education, and the date when the exercise of 'discours latin' was removed from the Baccalauréat, and replaced by 'la composition française'. From that point, Jey argues, the focus of literary education shifted from being about translating and imitating the ancients, to being about reading and explaining French 'textes littéraires'. See *La Littérature au lycée: invention d'une discipline (1880–1925)* (Metz: Université de Metz, 1998), pp. 6–9.

littérature certainly existed during the early modern period. However, in the second chapter of this thesis, I will suggest that Escarpit may not, in fact, be correct in saying that the word *littérature* was rarely used to refer to a discipline before 1880. Picking up the history of literary teaching in the early eighteenth century, and tracing it through to the expulsion of the Jesuits, this chapter reveals that, in this period, several writers and pedagogues were already using the word *littérature* to refer to a classroom discipline.

This chapter examines, among other works, the *Traité des études* (1726–28) by Charles Rollin, and the abbé Charles Batteux's literary manual, the *Cours de belles lettres distribué par exercices* (1747–48), which he renamed the *Principes de littérature* in 1755.[207] While the literary practices discussed in the previous chapter were regularly condemned by actors in the *Querelle des collèges*, most *querelleurs* praised the authors and their proposals for literary educational reform which I discuss in this chapter. I will explore what these proposals were, and consider why they were often approved of during the *Querelle des collèges*.

Le Blanc's Authors and Conquerors (1712)

In 1712, an anonymous treatise entitled *L'Étude des belles lettres* was published. It is thought to be by Louis Le Blanc, about whom little is known (not even his date of birth or death).[208] In the 'avertissement', Le Blanc explains that to gain a knowledge of *belles-lettres*, one has to study the best authors. 'La lecture des excellens Auteurs en donnera [à l'élève] la connoissance, & lui formera le bon goût, plus que toute autre chose,' he writes.[209] Le Blanc does not indicate who he thinks these 'excellens Auteurs' are. He does state,

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[207] The first edition of the *Cours de belles lettres* (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1747–48) was published in two volumes, each of which contained two parts. The edition to which I refer throughout this thesis is the 1747–50 edition (also published by Desaint & Saillant), which split the four parts of the *Cours* into four separate volumes.

[208] Caron suggests that Le Blanc was an 'abbé', and spells his name 'Leblanc', but notes that he is 'pratiquement inconnu', (1992), p. 103, n. 16.

[209] *L'Étude des Belles lettres, divisée en deux parties* (Paris: Barois, 1712), 'Avertissement' [n. p.].

though, that the purpose of studying *belles-lettres* is to form 'good taste', which he says can advance one's social standing. Defining his object, Le Blanc explains, 'on entend, par Belles Lettres, la Grammaire, la Poësie, l'Histoire, la Rhétorique', continuing, 'on les appelle Belles Lettres non seulement à cause qu'elles sont belles par elles-mêmes mais encore parce qu'elles embellissent toutes les autres. [...] Tout ce qu'il y a de rare dans la Nature, de curieux dans les Arts, d'exquis dans la Morale, dans la Politique, d'excellent dans les Sciences Humaines et Divines, ne se découvre guère qu'à la faveur des Belles Lettres'.[210] The beautiful, pleasing aspect of *belles-lettres* seems to be what Le Blanc says enables them to make other disciplines more interesting and persuasive; the aesthetic dimension of *belles-lettres* is what helps *les lettres* to better convey knowledge to readers.

Le Blanc also claims that *belles-lettres* thrive in great political regimes: 'l'Empire du monde étant passé des Grecs aux Romains', he writes, 'il semble que les Belles Lettres ayent suivi la fortune des Conquerans'.[211] In a chronological history of *belles-lettres*, Le Blanc states that after passing from the Greeks to the Romans there was a period when they were neglected, but that this changed when Louis XIV came to the throne; since then, he says, the empire of *belles-lettres* has been in France. Using the state of *belles-lettres* as a thermometer for a nation's political power, Le Blanc implies that the 'excellens auteurs' he mentioned in the 'avertissement' are modern and French. Le Blanc's text is neither a school manual nor a curriculum for *belles-lettres*: rather, it is a defence of what he calls the 'utilité' of such texts, which help form socially acceptable tastes, and serve as an indicator of great nations. If Bourdieu would (like Le Blanc) go on to posit 'good taste' and the 'right' cultural capital as a means for an individual to distinguish her or himself in society,

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[210] *Ibid*, pp. 1–2.
[211] *Ibid*, p. 5. Le Blanc draws on the notion – which originated in the Middle Ages – that *translatio studii* accompanies *translatio imperii*. For more on this notion, see Kermode, *The Classic*, new edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 30–31.

Le Blanc also went beyond this, positing national tastes and the national culture of *belles-lettres* as a means for the nation to distinguish itself from its rivals.

Not long after the publication of Le Blanc's work the university began to recognise, officially, the importance of studying the French language. When the statutes of the Faculté des Arts were revised in 1720, 'grammaire française' was included as a compulsory component of the curriculum.[212] There are few indications as to whether this directive was followed by the *collèges* and, if it was, what proportion of the day was spent studying French. Nonetheless, the reduction in the dominance of Latin seems to have been reflected in, and perhaps reinforced by, the practices of university teachers who were also writers during this period; whereas, prior to 1715, 76% of texts published by teachers at the Université de Paris were in Latin, between 1715 and 1749 this decreased to 47%.[213] While this was still higher than the percentage of all texts in France published in Latin (only around 10% in 1715), it was a marked decline on previous decades, suggesting that perhaps these teachers' decreasing interest in publishing in Latin might also have been accompanied by a reduction in the use of Latin in their classrooms.

Rollin's Manner of (and Reason for) Studying *Belles-Lettres* (1726–1728)

Among his many criticisms of the Jesuits, in his *Compte rendu des constitutions des Jésuites* (1762), La Chalotais attacks the texts written by members of the Order. Contrasting these works (unfavourably) with another recent text, he contends that 'un seul traité d'un Professeur de l'Université a répandu plus de lumieres sur les Belles-Lettres, que toute la littérature dont la Société a été occupée depuis son établissement.'[214] The 'traité' La

[212] See Brockliss, p. 118.
[213] Chervel (2008), p. 38.
[214] *Compte rendu*, p. 179.

Chalotais praises, here, is *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les Belles-Lettres, par rapport à l'esprit & au cœur* (1726), known as the *Traité des études* (I will henceforth refer to it by this name), written by ex-rector of the Université de Paris, Charles Rollin (1661–1741). La Chalotais was able to refer to it so obliquely because the work had already gained significant fame.[215] As Rivard would later put it, in his *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études publiques et particulières* (1769), 'on a loué, célébré, admiré cet Ouvrage dans toute la France'.[216] Indeed, even until the early twentieth century, Rollin's work was recommended reading for those preparing the *agrégation*.[217] La Chalotais used Rollin's work as a weapon with which to attack (and replace) the Jesuits. What *querelleurs* considered particularly innovative about the *Traité*, and what my analysis will therefore focus on, was the exercise via which he proposed to teach literary texts. This exercise focused on reading and judging texts, rather than memorising and imitating them (as the Jesuits recommended), and Rollin named it 'l'explication des auteurs'.

Educated at the Université de Paris's Collège des Dix-Huit, and subsequently a teacher of rhetoric at various university *collèges*, Rollin quickly rose through the university's institutional ranks.[218] In 1694 he was made rector for two years, after which, in 1696, he became Principal of the university's Collège de Beauvais. Although Rollin was one of the most celebrated pedagogues of his age, he was nonetheless attacked for his Jansenist beliefs, many of which went against Gallican doctrine. These beliefs led to his being removed from his post as Principal of the Collège de Beauvais in 1712 and, in 1720, despite his nomination to a second term as university rector, he was suspended from this role for his refusal to submit to the 'Unigenitus' bull, ratified by Pope Clement XI in

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215 The *Traité* is praised by numerous *querelleurs*, including, among others, Navarre (1763), p. 60; and Guyton de Morveau (1764), p. 122.
216 Rivard (1769), pp. 100–01.
217 For more on the post-Revolutionary fortune of Rollin's *Traité*, see Julien Vasquez, 'Le *Traité des Études* de Charles Rollin', in *Construire l'éducation de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours*, dir. by François Cadilhon, et al. (Pessac: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2009), pp. 43–54.
218 For more on Rollin's biography, see Tuilier, pp. 83–85; 120–24; and François Lebrun, et al., *Histoire de l'enseignement et de l'éducation*, 4 vols, II: *De Gutenberg aux Lumières, 1480–1789* (Paris, Perrin, 2003), pp. 513–14.

1713, which effectively proscribed Jansenism.[219] It was during these periods, when he was not teaching, that he wrote his most famous treatise on literary instruction.

Rollin begins the *Traité des études* by explaining what he means by *belles-lettres*, 'c'est-à-dire par rapport à la lecture des auteurs & à la composition'.[220] For Rollin, *belles-lettres* is not just a type of text, but it is also a wider discipline, which involves studying the 'auteurs' who produce works of *belles-lettres*, and composing one's own discourses. Rollin's innovations to the traditional *collège* curriculum were subtle. In his *Traité*, Latin remains 'le fonds des exercices', and he recommends that the usual classical authors, such as Cicero and Quintilian, continue to be taught on the rhetoric syllabus. However, although Latin remained the foundation, drawing on Jansenist pedagogical traditions, Rollin argues that French should be the first language learned; as he puts it, 'il est honteux que nous ignorions notre propre langue'.[221] Rollin also says that the discipline of *belles-lettres* should include the study of history, which he considers 'une école de morale'. The first book he thinks children should study is Fleury's *Catéchisme historique* (1679), which he says contains moral and religious lessons, and is a model of French eloquence. Rollin also argues that pupils need an anthology of extracts from exemplary French authors. He thinks such an anthology should include Jansenist philosophers and teachers like Pascal, religious orators such as Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), and French writers from both of the opposing camps of the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* – he suggests, for instance, both Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757). In the 1720s, when Rollin was writing, Fontenelle was still alive, thus it is significant that Rollin chooses not to adhere (like Perrault) to the notion that an author

[219] For a further discussion of the proscriptions of the 'Unigenitus' bull, and the controversy surrounding it, see Van Kley (1996), pp. 72–134.
[220] The edition to which I refer throughout this thesis is *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les Belles-Lettres, par rapport à l'esprit & au cœur*, new edn, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1736), I, p. 57.
[221] Rollin, I, p. 36. La Chalotais (1763, p. 69) would later echo Rollin's vocabulary in his claim that 'il est honteux que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Françoise, comme si nous n'avions pas des modeles dans notre Langue.'

must be dead in order to be considered a 'classic'. So, then, although the *Traité des études* restated many practices that were common to the *collèges*, it also proposed some strikingly modern innovations to the literary curriculum.

One of these innovative practices was the pedagogical exercise Rollin called the 'explication des auteurs', which reworked the traditional *praelectio*. The exercise involved commenting an extract in five or six stages, in which the teacher would explain, in turn, the linguistic and poetic features of the text (including syntax, spelling and etymology, the use of particles, and Latin pronunciation), before turning to its content and morals.[222] In place of the rhetorical tropes that pupils were usually required to memorise and imitate, Rollin's exercise focused on teaching students how to read, understand, and judge a text. He also recommends an exercise similar to the 'résumé de texte', in which students are to read a French text – often a poem, such as one of La Fontaine's fables – and to 'transform' it into their own prose. This was intended to facilitate pupils' understanding of a text's content and moral, and to guide their compositions.

For Rollin, the purpose of studying *belles-lettres* was to construct an 'honnête homme'. Rollin's 'honnête homme' is moral, he recognises and attends to his civic duties, he possesses 'good' judgment (according to contemporary standards), he displays the 'right' social manners, and he can speak and write eloquently. As Rollin puts it, studying *belles-lettres* 'met en état de juger sainement des ouvrages qui paroissent; de lier société avec les gens d'esprit; d'entrer dans les meilleures compagnies; de prendre part aux entretiens les plus savans'.[223] Rollin's *Traité*, therefore, encourages the study of *belles-lettres* for a number of socio-cultural reasons, which might be seen to follow from Jansenist beliefs. For instance, if, as Jansenists claimed, man could do nothing to attain God's grace if he had

[222] For Rollin's explanations of this method, see I, pp. 218; 246.
[223] Rollin, I, p. 22.

not been preordained as one of the elect, then studying *belles-lettres* could not help him to attain salvation (which Budé had described as the purpose of *bonae litterae*, and which represented one of the Jesuits' aims in teaching *litterae humaniores*). So, then, although the title of *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier* foregrounds the new teaching *methods* that Rollin will propose, in fact, this title conceals that Rollin's new *manner* of literary study is a consequence of what he presents as a new *reason* for literary study. As we remember from the previous chapter, Rollin was not the first to propose that studying *belles-lettres* could be socially useful; his Jansenist colleague, Coustel, had made similar claims before him, for example. However, the *Traité* made these claims more forcefully than many had before, and Rollin's fame as an educator and writer helped to disseminate these ideas.

Although intended to provide a new programme of study for the university, Rollin's recommendations were not put into practice there with any consistency before the Revolution. In his *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études* (1769), Rivard reflects incredulously on this fact, and uses it to support his argument that teachers must be made aware of the contents of any reforms, and compelled to enact them. He writes: '[M. Rollin] a composé son *Traité des Etudes* à la prière de l'Université. Qui ne croiroit après cela que tout le monde s'est fait une Loi d'exécuter le plan de M. Rollin, au moins pour le fond? On se plaint néanmoins qu'on ne l'observe pas. Concluons donc que si l'on veut que chacun suive un plan d'étude que l'on estimera le meilleur, c'est une nécessité que l'on fasse un Réglément [...] que les Maîtres soient obligés d'observer.'[224]

In spite of the slow (and only partial) uptake of Rollin's methods, in the early eighteenth-century *collèges* French authors did continue to be incorporated gradually into curricula. Common classroom authors included seventeenth-century religious orators and moralists such as Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), Louis Bourdaloue (1632–1704), Esprit Fléchier

[224] Rivard (1769), pp. 100–01.

(1632–1710), and Jean-Baptiste Massillon (1663–1742). These were studied in comparison with classical authors who produced works in the same genre. Chervel describes the account of Denis Gaullyer (1688–1736), Professeur de 5e at the Collège du Plessis, who recounts the moment when he read his class La Fontaine as an introduction to Aesop and Phaedrus:

> Je me souviens parfaitement bien et avec plaisir qu'étant en cinquième, lorsque, avant l'explication des fables grecques d'Ésope et des latines de Phèdre, je lisais ou faisais lire par quelqu'un de mes écoliers la fable française de La Fontaine qui y avait rapport, j'avais un silence extraordinaire parce que mes petits hommes étant saisis d'admiration écoutaient la bouche ouverte et étaient, pour ainsi dire, enchaînés par les oreilles.[225]

Gaulluyer's practices suggest, then, that one of the main reasons French authors were accepted into the *collège* classroom in this period was as 'translators' of the ancients, who could inspire *collégiens* to study classical writers. Works by 'anciens', such as Boileau's *Art poétique* (1674), were also commonly studied in *rhétorique* and 2e classes. The *Art Poétique* was referred to in a Latin lecture given in a *rhétorique* class, in 1697, at the Oratorian *collège* in Marseille, and in 1744 it was apparently recited by students at the Oratorian *collège* in Riom.[226] Well into the eighteenth century, then, pupils received a clear message about the theory and purpose behind their study of French authors, and it is one that had not changed significantly since the introduction of Pibrac's poetry into the sixteenth-century *collèges*. The French 'classics' modelled how pupils should seek to revere, imitate, and translate the ancients. Nevertheless, by the 1730s and 40s, what is clear is that – in both theoretical treatises, and in *collège* practices – the French language, and some French authors, were recognised as an important component of the discipline of *belles-lettres*.

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[225] *Térence, Cicéron, César, Salluste, etc., justifiés contre la censure de M. Rollin, avec des remarques sur son 'Traité de la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles lettres'* (Paris: Brocas, 1728), pp. 181–82. Chervel discusses this further (2008), p. 421.

[226] Chervel (2008), p. 431. Gilbert Romme (1750–1795) attended the Oratorian College de Riom, before going on to the Université de Paris.

The Jesuits, their *Société*, and *Belles-Lettres* (1730s)

No sooner had French become a legitimate part of *belles-lettres*, however, than the lexeme began to shift again. In the epistolary novel, the *Lettres juives* (1736), by the libertine writer and prominent member of the court of Frederick II, Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, le marquis d'Argens (1704–1771), a rabbi questions a Jesuit teacher on his pedagogical practices. The rabbi recounts his conversation with the Jesuit to his fellow rabbis [his speech is in italics]:

> *Mais, à propos de livres de Littérature, je vous prie de m'apprendre, poursuivis-je, de quelle Façon vous instruisez vos Écoliers dans les Belles-Lettres.* – Comme cette Étude, répondit le Jésuite, n'est point aussi dangereuse que celle de la Philosophie, nous leur expliquons les Ouvrages des Auteurs Grecs et Romains. Nous tâchons cependant de leur donner beaucoup plus de Gout pour les Poëtes que pour les Historiens et pour les Orateurs – *Eh! par quelle Raison, repris-je mon Révérend Père, tenez-vous cette Conduite?* – Cela est encor utile, répliqua-t-il, à la Société et au Christianisme.[227]

The word *littérature* in this passage – in the phrase 'livres de Littérature' – does not seem to refer to just 'any texts', as it often did in the early modern period. If that were the case, the word 'livres' would have sufficed. *Littérature* may be being used, by the rabbi, in another of its early modern senses, to mean 'erudition'; 'livres de littérature' would thus signify 'learned books'. Indeed, in the 1730s, the word would still have retained these connotations of 'erudition' (and these are arguably still part of notions of *littérature*, today). However, the fact that the rabbi wishes to talk about '[des] livres de littérature' and *therefore* wishes to know how the Jesuit teaches *belles-lettres* implies that *littérature* and *belles-lettres* are closely related, and that 'livres de littérature' are something more specific than 'learned books'. *Littérature* seems to refer to a type of text that one studies within the discipline of *belles-lettres*. And if *belles-lettres* is, as d'Argens's Jesuit says, a discipline in which one studies poets, historians, and orators, then *littérature* refers specifically to poetic, historical, and oratorical texts.

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[227] 'Lettre 193', in *Lettres juives ou Correspondance philosophique, historique et critique entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondans en divers endroits*, new edn, 6 vols (The Hague: Paupie, 1738), VI, p. 31. This quotation from the *Lettres juives* is discussed by Caron (1992), p. 352.

After telling the rabbi that he tries to give pupils a taste for 'les poëtes', the rabbi asks the Jesuit why he does this. Because it is 'utile', replies the Jesuit – but more specifically – because it is useful to 'la Société' and 'le Christianisme'. The word 'Société', here – with its capitalisation, and coupled with what is known about d'Argens's anti-Jesuit stance – refers not to worldly society, but to the *Societas Jesu*.[228] The Jesuits were renowned for teaching poetry, in the eighteenth century (as opposed to the Jansenists' interest in French, or the Oratorians' focus on history). Teaching poetry, moreover, helped turn pupils into the eloquent speakers and writers the Jesuits wished to recruit, to become future Jesuit priests and pedagogues. D'Argens's *Lettres juives* polemically implies that the Jesuits' reason for teaching *belles-lettres* is self-serving, in the interests of the Order. As well as demonstrating d'Argens's anti-Jesuit stance, this passage therefore reveals three phenomena, namely, the author's interest in questioning the purpose of studying *belles-lettres*; contesting its teaching practices; and positing *littérature* and *belles-lettres* as closely related concepts. These phenomena would be developed, in the 1740s and 50s, by the abbé Batteux.

A *Cours* and a *Concours*: *Belles-Lettres* at the Université de Paris (1747)

Many *querelleurs* writing in the mid- to late 1760s recommended particular literary manuals as part of their plans for the reform of the *collèges*, which had recently been vacated by the Jesuits. One of the most frequently recommended was Batteux's *Cours de belles lettres distribué par exercices* (1747–48). Following his studies at the Collège des Bons-Enfants at the Université de Reims, Batteux was appointed Professeur de rhétorique there, and before long was nominated to the Chaire de troisième at the Parisian Collège de

[228] On the marquis d'Argens's life and works, see Julia Gasper, *The Marquis d'Argens. A Philosophical Life* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014). D'Argens also published a pamphlet in the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*, the *Lettre du Marquis d'Argens, frère du président d'Eguilles, sur la destruction des Jésuites* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1760s).

Lisieux.[229] In 1745, he moved to the Collège de Navarre as Chaire de rhétorique before becoming, in 1750, the Collège royal's Chair of Latin and Greek philosophy, a post he retained until 1773. Batteux was elected to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, in 1754, and in 1761 he became a member of the Académie française.

In the 1740s, Batteux produced his first major work, *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe* (1746), a treatise on aesthetics in which he attempted to simplify the 'rules' of the arts.[230] Influenced by Aristotle's *De Poetica* and Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Batteux argues that since man's tastes are ultimately derived from a taste for nature, the only principle of the arts is mimesis. Batteux claims that taste is an innate sense, yet although innate, he believes taste can be honed through exposure to works which imitate the *most perfect* form of nature, which he calls 'la belle nature'. 'Tel est le progrès du Goût: le public se laisse prendre peu à peu par les exemples. A force de voir, même sans remarque, on se forme insensiblement sur ce qu'on a vu', he explains.[231] In this work, Batteux discusses not only the visual arts, but also the written ones; he tentatively suggests that modern poets can equal the ancients, advancing, 'osons prendre modestement ce qui nous appartient.'[232] He argues that Boileau, for example, is as good as Virgil, and that Jean-Baptiste Rousseau's poetry equals that of Horace. While *Les Beaux Arts* is influenced by classical ideas, then, Batteux acknowledges that modern authors can produce valuable works. He would take up many of these ideas a year later, in what would become his most famous work.

In 1747, Batteux published the first part of the *Cours de belles lettres distribué par exercices*. The four parts of the work treat the different genres of poetry and prose which Batteux says

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[229] For more on Batteux's biography, see abbé Boulliot, *Biographie ardennaise, ou histoire des ardennais qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs vertus ou leurs erreurs* [facsimile of 1830 edn], 2 vols (Charleville-Mézières: La Grive, 2002), I, pp. 62–74. The most recent monograph on Batteux's work is Sonia Branca-Rosoff, *La Leçon de lecture: textes de l'abbé Batteux* (Paris: Cendres, 1990).
[230] *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris: Durand, 1746), p. i.
[231] *Ibid,* pp. 119–20.
[232] *Ibid*, p. 177.

constitute *les belles-lettres*, from 'apologue', to 'la poésie didactique', to 'oraison', 'récit', and 'le genre épistolaire'. Batteux defines the 'rules' of each genre, exemplifying these with extracts from model authors, followed by an explanation of each extract. The text's 'table des matières' is in the form of a list of questions which the teacher (or autodidact) might ask, indicating the pages where that question is answered. The *Cours* is structured, then, as a manual for teachers and pupils.

Although Greek and Latin authors represent an important part of Batteux's curriculum, he maintains that 'les lettres Françoises y tiendront le principal rang'.[233] As many pedagogues (such as Denis Gaulluyer) were already beginning to encourage, Batteux proposes that pupils should study ancient authors alongside modern French ones. More often than not, Batteux's French authors were those of the 'siècle de Louis XIV'. Like earlier compilers of *palmarès*, Batteux praises seventeenth-century poets including La Fontaine, Boileau, Pierre Corneille (1606–1684), and Molière (1622–1673). His *Cours* also restages the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, implicitly taking the side of the 'anciens'; he recommends Boileau and attacks Perrault, for example. The *Cours* also shuns 'new' genres such as the 'drame bourgeois', which Batteux says breaks the classical rules of tragedy and comedy by combining the two to make 'une sorte de monstre'.[234] Batteux's selection of French authors, then, remains conservative.[235] Nonetheless, although his canon of French authors is largely a canon of 'anciens', in terms of their position in the famous *Querelle*, he often concludes that these authors (moderns in relation to Latin and Greek writers) are better than their classical counterparts. Writing about Molière, for instance, Batteux

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[233] *Cours de belles lettres distribué par exercices*, 4 vols (Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1747–50), I, p. 17.
[234] *Ibid*, IV, p. 18.
[235] Of the authors who published between 1643 and 1665, Viala notes that Boileau, Pierre Corneille, Molière, and Racine have a 'participation ou mention élevée' in contemporary 'recueils collectifs' or 'palmarès'. These authors are among the most frequently cited by Batteux, suggesting he is reproducing the canon considered most widely acceptable in mid-seventeenth-century France. See Viala (1985), pp. 305–16.

concludes that 's'il s'agissoit de se faire l'idée d'une Comédie parfaite, il me semble qu'aucun des Comiques Anciens ne fourniroit autant de traits que Molière.'[236]

Although compositional exercises feature in Batteux's *Cours*, the most important exercise is close reading: consumption, rather than production, of literary texts. Selecting and reading texts 'correctly' is crucial; as he puts it, 'c'est du choix des Ouvrages & de la manière de les lire, non de l'épaisseur ou du nombre des volumes, que dépend tout le succès.'[237] Batteux's method for teaching *belles-lettres* departs from the 'leçon, répétition, dispute' model, favoured by the Jesuits, and owes much to the method of 'l'explication des auteurs', which Rollin advocated.[238]

After outlining the rules of a genre and providing a brief history of its notable ancient and modern authors, Batteux provides what he calls an 'examen' of extracts from model texts. For the genre of 'apologue', for instance, Batteux provides an 'examen de quelques Pièces d'Ésope'. In this 'examen', he first translates one of Aesop's fables into French (with the Greek relegated to a footnote), and then 'explains' the extract, step by step. For 'La cigale et la fourmis', for example, he reiterates the basic definition that 'apologue' is an allegorical tale, before explaining what happens in the story and who the 'acteurs' are (the ant and the grasshopper), and showing that the tale has a beginning, a middle, and an end. After this, he elucidates the moral of the allegory by attaching morals to the natural world. Following writers like Locke and Condillac (who contended that children are not born with ideas, only with senses that allow them to gain knowledge through empirical experience), Batteux believes that children can easily understand the natural world around them, which presents itself to their senses. It is here, therefore, that his 'examen' begins. He writes:

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[236] *Cours de belles lettres*, IV, p. 430.
[237] *Ibid*, I, p. 19.
[238] Batteux explicitly refers to Rollin on several occasions. See I, pp. 127–29; II, p. 116.

> Entre les circonstances, il faut remarquer que les Fourmis sont occupées, quoiqu'en hiver. Ce qui rend la Cigale encore plus blâmable, d'être restée oisive pendant l'été. 2. Ce travail fait naître à la Cigale la pensée & l'occasion de demander. Elle voit du bled exposé au soleil: sa demande est fort naturelle. 3. La Cigale croyait avoir travaillé assez, que d'avoir chanté: un paresseux se croit occupé, en faisant des riens. 4. Enfin les Fourmis se mettent à rire de sa sottise, qui leur paroît contre le sens commun.[239]

Before explaining the text's poetic features, Batteux seeks to explain the sense of the tale by connecting it to a child's experiences. The teacher must ask himself, Batteux says, 'comment faire pour la rendre sensible?'[240] By drawing out the 'natural' aspects of the text, Batteux tries to encourage pupils to judge a work according to whether it fulfils the mimetic principle. Does this text imitate a perfect form of nature? Whereas Rollin begins his 'explication des auteurs' by explaining linguistic and poetic devices, Batteux first encourages children to ask 'what is happening in this text?', before asking 'how is it written?'.[241] This order was only possible, of course, because the text was in French, and did not first require translation. By working with a text in the student's native language, the nature of reading and the way in which a text is analysed could shift.

Chervel argues that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, 'la lecture n'est jamais un but en soi: c'est une préparation à l'écriture.'[242] While, as I have shown, this was often the case, this does not seem to be what Batteux immediately advocates. For him, reading is, above all, about forming 'good' taste. He writes, 'ce sont [les *belles-lettres*] qui font éclore le goût, qui le forment, qui le perfectionnent. Or le goût est ce qui fait la principale différence des hommes dans tous les états.'[243] Once again, having the 'right' tastes is a social marker that distinguishes the elite (who are educated) from the non-elite

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[239] *Ibid*, I, p. 98.
[240] *Ibid*, I, p. 100. For discussion of the importance that many eighteenth-century pedagogues attributed to the emotions in helping educate children, see Grandière, 'Quelques observations sur l'enfant au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, 87.1 (1980), 51–63.
[241] For further consideration of the implications of the order in which Batteux chose to explain an extract, see Viala, 'Pour une grammaire du discours: l'"ordre oratoire" face à la *praelectio*, une occasion manquée', *Langue française*, 121 (1999), 11–27.
[242] Chervel (2008), p. 481.
[243] *Cours de belles lettres*, I, p. 5.

(who are not educated to the same level): reading the 'right' models is as much about reinforcing social distinction as it is about developing a professional skill. As Bourdieu would put it, 'le goût classe, et classe celui qui classe: les sujets sociaux se distinguent par les distinctions qu'ils opèrent entre le beau et le laid, le distingué et le vulgaire, et où s'exprime ou se traduit leur position dans les classements objectifs.'[244] Still today, having read 'les grands classiques' is a marker of the 'educated' elite.

Also in 1747, practices of competitively ranking not only authors, but also students, became institutionalised, with the first *Concours général*. In 1733, when the canon Louis Legendre (1655–1733) died, his will stipulated that part of his fortune should be used to found a literary competition. This competition was to be held every four years, like the ancient Greek Olympic Games. Contenders could compete for prizes in eloquence, poetry, music, and Latin verse composition; they could also belong to either sex, and need not necessarily be French.[245] However, there were problems over which authority would administer the *concours*. After a decade of hearings conducted by the Parlement de Paris, in which the religious orders designated in Legendre's will refused to take on the responsibility, in 1744 the Parlement declared that the funds would be transferred to the Université de Paris, who became responsible for administering the *concours*. In March, 1746, the courts decided how the *concours* was to be executed; prizes were to be awarded to students in the Faculté des Arts for the best piece of prose or poetry, in Latin or French. The first *Concours général* took place in June, 1747, with prizes awarded on 23 August. Tuilier notes that 'avant la lecture du palmarès, un professeur de rhétorique de la Faculté des Arts prononça un discours en latin sur l'émulation qui était à l'origine de l'opération voulue par la Cour souveraine en créant le concours général.'[246] As Batteux had Greek, Latin, and French authors compete on the pages of his *Cours*, so the

[244] *La Distinction: critique social du jugement* (Paris: Minuit, 1979), p. vi.
[245] On the history of the *Concours général*, see Tuilier, p. 148.
[246] *Ibid*, p. 150.

Université had its students enter into literary competition with one another in the *concours*. Competitive emulation became a practice associated with literary instruction.[247]

Batteux's *Belles-Lettres* or Batteux's *Littérature*?

In 1753 Batteux edited and reissued his *Cours* under the new title, *Cours de belles-lettres, ou Principes de la littérature*. This version included the text of the 1747–48 edition, preceded by his earlier work, *Les Beaux Arts*. The 1753 edition highlights Batteux's perception of the *Cours* as a pedagogical application of the principles on taste and the arts that he had set out in 1746. Moreover, the title suggests that *belles-lettres* and *littérature* might be synonymous, or, if not, then at least closely related.

Other writers before Batteux, in the 1740s and 50s, were already using the word *littérature* in a similar way. In the eighteen-volume *Bibliothèque françoise, ou Histoire de la littérature françoise* (1740–56), by Claude-Pierre Goujet (1697–1767), *littérature* refers to texts belonging to 'les belles-lettres, l'histoire, les sciences et les arts'. Goujet suggests that it signifies works by 'les Auteurs qui ont écrit en notre langue', but also 'ce que pensent les critiques des ouvrages les plus considérables écrits en Français' – what we might call the 'critical literature' on these works.[248] And *littérature* had begun to specialise in other ways, too. In his *Mélanges de littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie* (1753), for example, d'Alembert includes only his non-mathematical works, suggesting that *littérature* does not mean, for him, at this time, just *any* text (as in the Latin *litterae*), but that it excludes texts on

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[247] A version of the *Concours général* still exists today, in which *lycéens* in 1e and *Terminale* are invited to sit a national competitive exam (no longer only in literary subjects) to be crowned 'lauréat du Concours général'. It is also worth noting that the concept of emulation will become important later in this thesis, in the context of the École royale militaire's literary teaching practices. I discuss 'émulation' further in that chapter; pp. 172–73, 176.

[248] *Bibliotheque françoise, ou Histoire de la littérature françoise. Dans laquelle on montre l'utilité que l'on peut retirer des livres publiés en françois depuis l'origine de l'imprimerie, pour la connoissance des belles lettres, de l'histoire, des sciences & des arts*, 18 vols (Paris: Mariette & Guérin; Guérin & Le Mercier, 1740–56), I, p. 2.

mathematical subjects.[249] D'Alembert's *littérature* thus seems to signify a particular type of humanities text, which is considered beautiful in some way (as well as instructive) like the texts that contemporary pedagogues taught during the discipline of *belles-lettres*.

In 1755, Batteux's *Cours* was republished again (with no substantial changes to its content), and once again retitled, this time as simply *Principes de littérature*. *Littérature* was no longer just an aspect of *belles-lettres*, but had replaced it. By replacing *belles-lettres* with *littérature*, Batteux suggested that the word *littérature* could refer to the same notions which the term *belles-lettres* signified, that is to say, a type of aesthetically pleasing, socially valued text; a field of activity; and a classroom discipline. Batteux's text was republished again in 1763 and 1774, retaining the 1755 title.

What most significantly promoted Batteux's practices of *belles-lettres* and *littérature* (including the new vocabulary he used to discuss them) were the hundreds of texts participating in the *Querelle des collèges*. In their proposals for the reform of the *collège* literary curriculum, these texts regularly suggested that Batteux's manual should be used in the classroom. One of the most influential writers to make this suggestion, and to therefore have a decisive impact on promoting Batteux's notions of *littérature*, was La Chalotais, in his *Essai d'éducation nationale* (1763).[250]

La Chalotais despairs at the lack of French authors taught by the Jesuits, and argues that French *littérature* could provide excellent models for children: 'il est honteux que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Françoise', he writes, using the term *littérature* here in the sense of a national corpus of valued texts (but also hinting that the

[249] *Mélanges de littérature: d'histoire, et de philosophie* (Berlin [Paris]: Briasson, 1753).
[250] I discuss this text in detail in chapter four, pp. 133–39.

study of these texts could constitute a classroom discipline).[251] He continues, 'ici [par rapport à la Littérature Françoise] il manque aux enfans un Livre de Préceptes qui les conduisent, & dont ils fassent une continuelle application; ou, pour mieux dire, ce livre est fait, si les Maîtres sçavoient l'appliquer & le mettre à la portée des enfans; c'est le Cours des [sic] Belles Lettres, de M. le Batteux'.[252] As I discuss more in chapter four, La Chalotais was interested in forming skilled men, who could lead the French nation to social, economic, and political success.[253] He co-opted *littérature* into this project, as a means to produce French 'grands hommes'. 'Quel avantage n'en résulteroit-il pas', he asks, 'pour la société entiere & pour toutes les professions?'[254] *Littérature* was not just an indicator of *past* or *present* national prowess, but was perceived as a tool to help secure the *future* glory of the nation.

Dozens of *querelleurs* joined La Chalotais in recommending Batteux's *Cours*. In so doing, they too helped disseminate Batteux's new practices of literary instruction. The *Cours* was praised in the anonymous *De l'éducation publique* (1762); in the *Principes élémentaires des belles-lettres* (1763), by Berlin academician Jean Henri Samuel Formey (1711–1797); and by le père Fraissinet (dates unknown), a Doctrinaire priest and teacher at the Collège royal de Carcassonne, in his *Manière d'enseigner les belles-lettres, et de former les moeurs de la jeunesse*

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[251] La Chalotais (1763), p. 69.
[252] *Ibid*, p. 75.
[253] It should be noted that whilst La Chalotais frames his arguments for French literary education, in his *Essai d'éducation nationale*, in patriotic terms, which vaunt an absolutist monarchy, just a few years later he became the victim of French royal power. In 1765 La Chalotais was arrested on suspicion of sedition and fomenting rebellion within the Parlement de Bretagne, in response to the introduction of a new tax regime by Louis XV's government, which was seen to curb Brittany's regional governmental freedoms. The Parlement's rebellion and La Chalotais's imprisonment (in the Bastille), followed by his exile to Saintes until 1774, became known as 'l'affaire de Bretagne'. For more on this scandal and its negative impact on relations between the Parlements and royal government, see Julian Swann, 'Defending La Chalotais: The Brittany Affair, 1764–66', in *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754–1774* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 250–83; Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (London: Penguin, 2002), pp. 273-277; and Alain J. Lemaître, 'La Chalotais, procureur général du roi: une biographie intellectuelle', in *Le Pouvoir règlementaire: dimension doctrinale, pratiques et sources, XV^e et XVIII^e siècles*, ed. by Alain J. Lemaître and Odile Kammerer (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005), pp. 241–55.
[254] *Ibid*, p. 134.

(1768).[255] And, in 1773, the anonymous *Élémens de littérature, extraits du Cours de Belles-Lettres de M. l'Abbé Batteux* republished numerous extracts from the *Cours*. Its author explains: 'je m'arrêterai point à faire l'éloge du *Cours de Belles-Lettres* de M. l'Abbé Batteux; le public l'a reçu avec un accueil si favorable, qu'un suffrage de plus ne seroit pas capable d'augmenter la gloire de l'auteur.'[256] Furthermore, as I will explore in the final chapter of this thesis, when ten new Écoles royales militaires were created in 1776, Batteux was chosen to direct the manual that was to be used in all of these schools, in which his *Principes de littérature* was to play a starring role.

Although there is little evidence that Batteux's manual was otherwise used in many *collèges* during the Ancien Régime, in the 1760s, 'Batteux-esque' pedagogies (whether or not directly inspired by him) gained popularity.[257] Compère has uncovered the *mémoire* of a student named Garran de Coulon, a pupil at the Oratorian Collège de Niort in 1762–63, which suggests there was growing concern for reading rather than producing texts, and for the formation of 'le goût'. Recalling his teacher of *belles-lettres*, Garran de Coulon writes:

> Il avait pour maxime qu'on ne met pas les jeunes gens dans les collèges seulement pour leur apprendre le latin, mais aussi pour former leurs mœurs, pour leur donner l'amour de la vertu, de la solide gloire, pour leur former le goût. C'est ce qui l'engageait à donner une demi-heure de chaque classe pour lire un bon livre. Ce n'était pas de ces savantes compilations, de ces commentaires laborieux dont il nous faisait la lecture, c'était l'Iliade, le Paradis perdu, les Oraisons funèbres de Bossuet et de Fléchier, les sermons de Bourdaloue et de Massillon, etc. Il nous donnait à faire pour la classe suivante l'analyse de ce que nous avions lu.[258]

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[255] *De l'éducation publique* (Amsterdam: [n. pub.], 1762), pp. 140–41; Formey, *Principes élémentaires des Belles-Lettres* (Amsterdam: Schneider, 1763), p. 9; *Manière d'enseigner les belles-lettres, et de former les moeurs de la jeunesse*, 2 vols (Paris: Desaint; Carcassonne: Heirisson, 1768), I, p. 81.

[256] *Élémens de littérature, extraits du Cours de Belles-Lettres de M. l'Abbé Batteux*, 2 vols (Paris: Saillant & Nyon, 1773), I, p. i.

[257] Even if Batteux's manual was not used in classes, it was not foreign to the *collèges*. His *Principes de littérature*, for instance, was repeatedly awarded to students as a prize for winning literary competitions at the *collège* in Bourges in 1779, 1782, and 1785. See Chervel (2008), p. 132, n. 64.

[258] Quoted in Compère (1985), pp. 210–11.

L'École de littérature (1764)

The word *littérature* does not suddenly replace *belles-lettres* after 1750. Despite renaming his work the *Principes de littérature*, even Batteux continued to use the phrase *belles-lettres* throughout his renamed text, alternating between *littérature* and *belles lettres* with little distinction. *Belles-lettres* was also inscribed in the founding statutes of the Ancien Régime *agrégation*, in 1766.[259]

Some writers did take up the new vocabulary and teaching practices of *littérature*, however, as demonstrated by the 1764 treatise on literary instruction by the ex-Jesuit Joseph de la Porte (1714–1779), the *École de littérature*. This text (which La Porte glosses as a 'cour complet de Belles-Lettres') defines the 'règles' and 'préceptes' of *littérature*, as exemplified by 'les meilleurs écrivains'.[260] Adopting a similar approach to Batteux's manuals, La Porte provides long introductions to each literary genre, citing its purpose, rules, figures, and devices, and he often quotes extracts from French authors. Voltaire serves as a model author for the genre of 'la poésie épique', Corneille for 'la tragédie', Fontenelle for 'l'églogue', Boileau for 'la satire', des Fontaines for 'la critique', and Prévost for 'les romans', alongside other 'authorities' including Bouhours, Fénelon, d'Olivet, Dumarsais, and d'Alembert. Unlike Batteux, La Porte treats modern as well as classical genres, including 'le comique bourgeois', 'l'opéra comique', and 'les romans'. He recognises that it is uncommon to consider such genres in a literary treatise; in his entry for 'des romans, nouvelles, &c', for example, he notes that 'nous n'avons aucun écrit en notre langue qui traite de la manière de faire des Romans'.[261]

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[259] I discuss this further in chapter four, pp. 143–44.
[260] *École de littérature*, *tirée de nos meilleurs écrivains,* new edn, 2 vols (Paris: Babuty; Brocas; Humblot, 1767), I, p. ii. This is the edition to which I will refer throughout this thesis.
[261] *Ibid*, p. 215.

Describing what he thinks makes a good novel, La Porte explains, 'un bon Roman doit être le tableau de la vie humaine, & l'on devroit y avoir principalement en vue de censurer les vices & les ridicules.'[262] The purpose of this genre of *littérature* is initially described as moral instruction. Moroever, using his explanation of the genre to celebrate France, La Porte adds:

> la Nation Françoise est de tous les peuples qui cultivent les Lettres, celui qui a produit le plus grand nombre d'excellens Romans, & de contes dans tous les genres. Les plus connus & les plus estimés sont ceux de Madame de La Fayette, de Mademoiselle de Scudery, de M. Durfé, de la Calprenède, de Madame de Ville-Dieu, de Madame de Gomèz, de M. de Marivaux, de M. l'Abbé Prévôt, de M. de Crébillon, de M. Marmontel, de M. de la Dixmerie.[263]

La Porte explicitly says that he hopes his *École* has answered La Chalotais's call, in his 1763 *Essai d'éducation nationale*, for a manual that would be 'une École de Littérature'.[264] What is more, echoing La Chalotais's stated purpose for teaching *littérature*, La Porte gives his *École* a forward-looking objective. Describing his work, he remarks, 'c'est, pour ainsi dire, l'esprit de tous nos grands hommes réunis, pour former d'autres grands hommes'.[265] La Porte hopes that his *École de littérature* will be an 'école de grands hommes'. *Littérature*, as conceptualised by writers like Batteux, La Chalotais and La Porte, comes to refer to a type of text belonging to the discipline of *belles-lettres*, and sometimes even to that discipline itself. In either sense, *littérature* is first and foremost a means to transmit the cultural, social, moral, and political values of whoever decides what sorts of texts will be taught as *littérature*.

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[262] *Ibid*, p. 220.
[263] *Ibid*, p. 221.
[264] *Ibid*, p. ii.
[265] *Ibid*, p. ii.

Disputing the Emergence of *Littérature*, or *Littérature*'s Emergence through Dispute

This study of early modern French literary teaching practices has shown that because teaching literary texts has always been about teaching values, and because values change, the purpose of what we might now call *littérature* – and thus the way in which to teach it – has always been disputed and reconceived. This chapter has shown that new practices of teaching *littérature* emerged *out of* these disputes. By looking at disagreements about the modalities, purpose and value of literary study, it has become clear that writers often adopted new lexical and conceptual practices to distance themselves from those who did not share their views. We have seen, for instance, how Coustel and Fleury's *belles-lettres*, studied for the development of social finesse, replaced *bonae litterae*, intended to secure Christian man's salvation. Similarly, in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, many 'anciens' used *belles-lettres* to teach boys that they would become great men if they modelled themselves on the greats of Greece and Rome. 'Modernes', on the other hand, advocated teaching pupils that French authors were the best writers, to reinforce the power and status of the French nation. As the purpose of studying *belles-lettres* moved from being about acquiring socially normative manners, to being about distinguishing oneself among a growing elite (displaying the 'right' culture, and the 'right' tastes), so the word *littérature* – with its previous connotations of 'erudition' – came to refer, for writers like Batteux, to the texts, and the school discipline, that were (and still continued to be, in the mid-eighteenth century) called *belles-lettres*. Furthermore, as the focus shifted from teaching boys about France's great literary *past*, to securing its great *future*, so writers like La Chalotais and La Porte began to nationalise *littérature*, and propose that boys study a canon of 'la littérature française'.

However, the mere fact that *littérature* was conceptualised in these ways by a handful of writers and teachers was not enough to explain either how the term became associated once and for all with these new practices, or how it came to replace terms like *rhétorique* and *belles-lettres*. In the next chapter, I will argue that the most fundamental catalyst for these changes was the *Querelle des collèges* – a famous quarrel in the period, but one so far unacknowledged as such by scholarship. It was this *querelle*, with its hundreds of texts published between 1750 and 1789, that propelled *littérature* into the public eye, and helped to stabilise the new teaching practices with which it had begun to be associated.

Part Two:
The *Querelle des collèges* and the Teaching of *Littérature*

The second half of this thesis considers a specific set of debates over education that arose in France during the second half of the eighteenth century. Several scholars have studied these debates, discussing the educational interests of particular eighteenth-century French writers, and often remarking upon the unusually large number of publications which discussed educational matters.[266] No scholars as yet, however, have considered these debates as a *querelle*. This is what chapters three, four, and five of this thesis do, focusing, specifically, on the debates that I identify as constituting what I call the *Querelle des collèges*. The label 'Querelle des collèges' is my own, however the word 'querelle' was one that many contemporaries (and participants in the polemic) explicitly used to refer to these disputes. In other words, as I discuss further in chapter three, my label, 'Querelle des collèges', *re*frames these disputes in the endogenous terms used in the period, which have since been obscured by modern scholarship and modern discursive practices.[267]

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[266] See, for instance, Chisick (1981), Julia (1984), Grandière (1998), O'Connor (2009; 2016), Palmer (1985), Gabriel Compayré, *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1879), Compère (1985), and Gill (2010).

[267] For a more detailed exposition of contemporary writers who used the term *querelle*, and who framed their debates in *querellous* terms, see pp. 98; 100–103.

This *querelle* was about a very specific type of education: about literary instruction, delivered to boys aged from around eight to 18, in France's Ancien Régime public schools. As such, these chapters will not consider debates about the teaching of literacy, or of disciplines that are not primarily to do with the study of texts, authors, and eloquent discourses. Nor will it focus on debates to do with the education of girls, of children under the age of eight, of groups such as 'les sourds-muets', or to do with private, domestic education. This is not to suggest that debates about these matters did not exist in eighteenth-century France; they certainly did, as demonstrated by the titles of works I have identified as participating in the wide-ranging *Querelle de l'éducation*, which arose during the second half of the century. These works can be found in the chronological corpus of this *Querelle*, which I have shown comprises over 450 published texts, and which I have compiled in Appendix 1.[268] Some of these debates – in particular those relating to the education of women – have been the object of numerous critical studies.[269] My focus, in the second half of this thesis, however, will be on a particular branch of the *Querelle de l'éducation* which no scholars have yet identified, and which I call the *Querelle des collèges*.[270]

In chapter three, I demonstrate that these texts did indeed constitute what should be recognised as a *querelle*, and I explore some of the texts and strands of debate that helped kick-start the *Querelle*. I then proceed to show, in chapters four and five, that recognising this *Querelle* as a *querelle* enables twenty-first-century obersevers to do two things. First, it

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[268] See Appendix 1, pp. 225–66.

[269] Sonnet's study (1987) is the reference on the institutional education of girls in the eighteenth century, while Paul Rousselot's classic *Histoire de l'éducation des femmes en France*, 2 vols (Paris: Didier, 1883), presents early modern thought on women's education, and considers private girls' education, too. Jean-René Presneau's *L'Éducation des sourds-muets, des aveugles et des contrefaits au Siècle des Lumières, 1750–1789* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010) offers a recent overview of approaches to the education of pupils with particular physical impairments in the period. Marian Hobson also considers some of the experiments into educating deaf and dumb pupils in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and notes that many of the *philosophes*, including Diderot and Rousseau, followed these with interest. See Diderot, *Lettre sur les aveugles; Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, ed. by Hobson and Simon Harvey (Paris: Flammarion, 2000), pp. 207–09.

[270] In Appendix 1, I have signalled which texts of the *Querelle de l'éducation* are interventions in the *Querelle des collèges* by marking them with an asterisk.

allows us to re-frame both one of the most famous eighteenth-century texts on education, and one of the most important schools founded in eighteenth-century France, as interventions in this *Querelle*. These are, respectively, Rousseau's educational novel, *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762), and the Parisian École royale militaire (founded in 1751). By recontextualising this text and this school as interventions in the *Querelle des collèges*, I demonstrate that this *Querelle* was not only constituted by textual acts, but also by practical, pedagogical ones, and I offer new ways to understand Rousseau's *Émile*. With reference to original archival research, I also illuminate the literary teaching practices of the Ancien Régime royal military school, which have never before been studied. The second thing that the *Querelle de l'éducation* allows modern onlookers to see, is that this *Querelle* made a significant, and so far unrecognised, contribution to publicising the new practices of teaching *littérature*, which had begun to be defined by pedagogues like Batteux in the early eighteenth century.

3. The *Querelle des collèges*. Prequels and Pre-*querelles* (1750–1762)

This chapter explores what helped turn the criticisms of literary education which had become common in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France into the specific set of debates I label the *Querelle des collèges*. It begins, first, by drawing on both a close reading of how the texts of the *Querelle* framed themselves, and on recent scholarship on the mechanics of early modern *querelles*, to make the case that this series of disputes should indeed be understood as a *querelle*. Having established the name and the discursive form of these educational debates, this chapter goes on to consider how the *Querelle des collèges* began. While many early modern *querelles* have one clear initiating act (the publication of a text, for instance, or the creation of a new teaching order), the *Querelle des collèges* arises from the coming together of three principal acts. These are, in chronological order, the publication of d'Alembert's agonistic *Encyclopédie* article, 'Collège' (1753); the *querelle* of the early 1760s, which I call the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*; and the controversy that ensued following the publication of Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*, in May, 1762.

These objects have received varying degrees of scholarly attention. Julia, and Robert Granderoute have both viewed d'Alembert's article 'Collège' as a key to mid-eighteenth-century debates over the reform of public education, which my analysis in this chapter

supports.[271] Elements of the anti-Jesuit campaigns of the early 1760s have been studied by Van Kley, O'Connor, and Charles R. Bailey, who have explored how these campaigns culminated in the expulsion of the Order, between 1762 and 1764, which left over a third of *collèges* without teachers.[272] No scholars, as yet, however, have framed this controversy as a *querelle*. Finally, *Émile* has been the object of many critical readings. Michel Launay sees the work as a result of Rousseau's pedagogical experiences in the 1740s and 50s and his interest in politics, and argues that his aim is to set out how to form a free man.[273] André Charrack contends that *Émile* is at once 'un traité d'éducation', 'une fiction philosophique', and 'un roman', and argues that *Émile* should be seen as part of Rousseau's systematic philosophical project, to describe the nature of man.[274] Py and Grandière, meanwhile, both consider *Émile* as Rousseau's response to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century critical discourse on public education.[275] My reading of *Émile* builds on the work of these scholars, in particular Py and Grandière, and extends it by arguing that *Émile* can also be seen as an intervention in the specific *Querelle des collèges*. Ultimately, however, while scholars have considered each of the three acts I study in this chapter in isolation, none have yet examined how they interacted with one another as interventions in a nascent quarrel over education.

As I will explore, these three acts were also interventions in other, existing *querelles*: d'Alembert's article, in the *querelle* between the Jesuits and the *encyclopédistes*, and in the long early modern history of critical discourse on education; the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*, in

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[271] See Julia (1983), pp. 53–54; and Granderoute 'La Fortune de l'article *Collège* dans le discours pédagogique (1753–1789)', *RDE,* 5 (1988), 55–71.
[272] See Van Kley (1975); Bailey, 'Attempts to Institute a 'System' of Secular Secondary Education in France, 1762-1789', in *Facets of Education in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by James A. Leith (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1977), pp. 105–24; and O'Connor (2016), pp. 509–10. Van Kley notes that there was a compelling 'rhetoric' against the Jesuits which emerged in the 1750s and '60s, led by Gallican *parlementaires*, and the Jansenists, but does not go so far as to refer to a *querelle*. On the numbers of Jesuit teachers expelled, O'Connor follows Palmer in contending that the expulsion left 1250 teaching positions vacant. See O'Connor (2016), p. 512, n. 11, and Palmer (1985), p. 60.
[273] See Launay's introduction to *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (Paris: Flammarion, 1966), p. 23.
[274] Charrak (2009), pp. 7, 12–13, 30.
[275] Py (1997), pp. 9–11; Grandière (1998), p. 129.

the long-standing controversies involving the Jesuits in France; and Rousseau's *Émile*, in (among other *querelles*, which are not significant for the purposes of this thesis) the contemporary anti-*collège* discourse that writers like d'Alembert had begun to publicise in the 1750s. These acts, then, can be seen, *post hoc*, as three prequels (or, pre-*querelles*) to the *Querelle des collèges*. Grimm is one of the first writers to suggest this might be the case in his observation, made in 1763, that 'depuis la chute des Jésuites et le livre inutile de J.-J. Rousseau, intitulé *Emile*, on n'a cessé d'écrire sur l'éducation'.[276] This chapter will take us up to the end of 1762, which Grimm defined as such a decisive year for educational discourse. It will shed light on the many knots that were tied around the subject of literary education in the *collèges* between 1750 and 1762, before I go on to explore, in chapter four, how some of these knots unravelled – and how more knots were tied – in the *Querelle des collèges* over the following decades.

Naming the *Querelle des collèges*

Critics have often labelled early modern disputes *querelles*, even if this term was not used to refer to them at the time.[277] This practice of retrospectively (re)naming a debate is, of course, questionable. By changing a name, or attributing one for the first time, critics risk altering the nature of what writers thought they were participating in. Indeed, this is a pertinent dilemma for eighteenth-century disputes about education, since I have found no contemporary text that explicitly refers to 'la querelle des collèges'. However, as I will explore, the label may in fact be appropriate – and certainly more so than either not recognising it as a *querelle*, or naming it as a different sort of dispute.

[276] 15 April 1763, *CL*, X, p. 125.
[277] Viala makes this point in 'Un temps de querelles', *Littératures classiques,* 81 (2013), 5–22; p. 13.

First, some of the participants in this debate referred to it as a *querelle*, or as a debate that would produce *querelles*. In his *Réflexions sur le premier âge de l'homme* (1751), for instance, the pamphleteer and *homme de lettres*, René de Bonneval (1700–1760), writes: 'je sens que par la vérité, & la franchise de mes aveux, je dois m'attirer bien des querelles, peut-être même des railleries'.[278] And the *Lettres instructives et curieuses sur l'éducation de la jeunesse* (1760), by le révérend père Grégoire Martin (1712–1770?), of the Order of Minims, is subtitled 'Cléobule, médiateur entre les partisans des Anciens et des Modernes qui sont en querelle sur la manière d'enseigner la jeunesse'.[279] Beyond this specific label, writers also often presented their texts as agonistic. François C. Le Roy de Lozembrune (1751–1801), in his *Anecdotes et Remarques sur l'éducation publique* (1783) portrays writers with different opinions as 'enemies', applying a vocabulary of war to this polemic.[280] 'Il faut être épris de l'amour du bien public', he writes, 'pour oser entreprendre d'écrire sur un objet, qui, s'il réussit, doit naturellement attirer à l'auteur une nouvelle foule d'ennemis.'[281] And many writers appealed to the public to act as spectator and judge of the *Querelle* – another feature common to early modern *querelles*.[282] Mlle Adelaïde d'Espinassy (b. ?–1777), for example, in her *Essai sur l'éducation des demoiselles* (1764), writes, 'je me livre donc à ce Public redoutable que je crains'.[283] Where the dispute over education is not a *querelle* by name, it certainly seems to be a *querelle* by nature.

But why choose *querelle* over words like *dispute*, *controverse*, or *polémique*? First, in early modern France these words were not exact synonyms.[284] *Polémique*, for instance, was not a

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[278] *Réflexions sur le premier âge de l'homme, servant de supplément aux Élémens & Progrès de l'éducation* (Paris: Prault, 1751), p. 44.
[279] *Lettres instructives et curieuses sur l'éducation de la jeunesse* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1760), p. iii.
[280] Le Roy de Lozembrune's name is given variously as François Claude and François Candide; I have simply rendered it as François C.
[281] *Anecdotes et Remarques sur l'éducation publique* (Mannheim: Fontaine, 1783), p. 19.
[282] Fabiani (2007) makes this point, see pp. 50, 54.
[283] *Essai sur l'éducation des demoiselles* (Paris: Hochereau, 1764), p. vii.
[284] For further discussion of the contemporary nuances between these terms, see Jean-Pierre Bertrand, Denis Saint-Amand and Valérie Stiénon, 'Les Querelles littéraires: esquisse méthodologique', *COnTEXTES*,

noun, but an adjective.[285] The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* gives only the adjectival form until its edition of 1835, and eighteenth-century uses of the term seem to corroborate that *polémique* was not a noun.[286] Gérard Ferreyrolles seems right to conclude that in early modern France, *polémique* designated neither a type of debate, nor a genre of text, but rather a literary characteristic.[287] However, the differences between the words *dispute*, *controverse* and *querelle* are more subtle.

Irailh uses 'disputes', 'injures', 'libèles', and 'révolutions' as synonyms for 'querelle'.[288] Furetière, meanwhile, defines *querelle* by the synonyms 'contestation', 'dispute', and 'combat', and is echoed by the 1762 and 1798 *Dictionnaires de l'Académie*.[289] If the senses of all of these words seem to overlap, perhaps asking which is the 'correct' term for any given debate in the period is simply the wrong question.[290] Nonetheless, if we look at dictionary definitions of these near-synonyms, we find that they belong to particular disciplines and institutional spaces, which the more general *querelle* does not. Both Furetière's and the Académie's dictionaries state that *controverse* is not just any argument, but has 'un sens plus estroit', particularly associated with the Church and theological arguments.[291] *Dispute*, meanwhile, belongs (through the practice of *disputatio*) to the

10 (2012), 1–22; Viala (2013); and Gérard Ferreyrolles, 'La Polémique au XVIIe siècle', *Littératures classiques*, 59 (2006), 5–27.

285 Ferreyrolles and Felman both note that the adjective entered the language during the Wars of Religion. See Ferreyrolles (2006), pp. 14–15; and Shoshana Felman, 'Le Discours polémique (propositions préliminaires pour une théorie de la polémique)', *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises*, 31 (1979), 179–192; p. 179.

286 The *Correspondance littéraire*, for instance, says of La Chalotais's *Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jésuites* (1762) that, 'jamais ouvrage polémique n'a porté un coup plus cruel.' 1 July 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 277.

287 Ferreyrolles (2006) refers to 'polémicité' – a characteristic applicable to agonistic discourse – rather than to a specific form called 'la polémique'. He counters Marc Angenot's claim that 'la polémique' is a specific genre. See Angenot, *La Parole pamphlétaire: contribution à la typologie des discours modernes* (Paris: Payot, 1982).

288 Irailh, I, pp. vi–xiv.

289 Both of these editions define 'querelle' as 'contestation, démêlé, dispute avec aigreur & animosité'.

290 Similar points are made by Viala (2013), p. 9; and Bertrand, et al. (2012), p. 11.

291 Furetière defines 'Controverse' as 'Terme dogmatique. Dispute sur une chose qui n'est pas certaine. Les Astronomes ne sont plus en *controverse* sur le mouvement de la terre; il est hors de *controverse*. Sénèque a fait dix livres de *controverses*. [...] Se dit maintenant en un sens plus estroit, des disputes qui se font contre les Heretiques modernes.' *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, 3 vols (The Hague: Leers, 1690), I, [n. p.].

scholarly world.[292] Furetière and the Académie suggest that *querelle*, on the other hand, can refer to everything from physical fights to riots, and from legal disputes to intellectual arguments. Although *querelle* is often defined by its near-synonyms, a closer look reveals that these terms have connotations which *querelle* does not.

'La Querelle des collèges', then, is certainly a title that I have attributed *post hoc*. However, as well as being motivated by the claims of the *querelleurs*, who considered themselves part of something they either call a *querelle* or frame in agonistic terms consonant with early modern *querelles*, this title also seeks to remind the modern reader (and particularly the non-native francophone) of the early modern French particularity of this debate. I use the term *querelle*, in part, to underscore the cultural and historical specificity of this discourse. Following Mathilde Bombart and Christian Jouhaud's approach to early modern *querelles*, the analysis of the *Querelle des collèges* which follows seeks to place the acts of the *Querelle* roughly in their order of succession.[293] This will enable me to consider texts as polemical gestures influenced by the context of their publication (as responses to a specific work, for example, which may be obscured when the *Querelle* is viewed as a completed whole). This approach, then, will help uncover the circumstances influencing a writer's position, and the strategies used to stake it out; in other words, it will reveal the specific discursive practices that help make this debate a *querelle*.

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[292] The 1762 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* defines 'Dispute' as 'Débat, contestation. Grande dispute. Ils sont toujours en dispute. Avoir dispute ensemble. Avoir dispute contre quelqu'un. Opiniâtre dans la dispute. La chaleur de la dispute. Il se dit aussi des actions publiques qui se font dans les écoles pour agiter des questions. Disputes publiques. Ouvrir la dispute. Assister aux disputes.' (I, p. 545).

[293] Bombart, 'Des écritures en polémique: autour de la querelle des *Lettres* de Guez de Balzac (1624–1630)', *Littératures classiques*, 59 (2006), 173–91; and Jouhaud, 'Écriture et action: une problématique pour l'histoire de la polémique et des controverses au XVIIe siècle?', in *Espace de la controverse au seuil des Lumières (1680–1715)*, ed. by Léonard Burnand and Adrien Paschoud (Paris: Champion, 2010), pp. 11–38.

The Nascent *Querelle des collèges* and d'Alembert's 'Collège' (1740s–1750s)

In the 1740s and '50s, writers and pedagogues sought to sustain critical discourse on literary education in the *collèges* by building on the existing criticisms of pedagogues like Fleury and Rollin. In his *Élémens de l'éducation* (1743), for instance, Bonneval remarks that 'tant de grands hommes ont traité de l'éducation [...] On ne peut qu'exhorter à suivre [leurs] principes'.[294] Bonneval was concerned with the education of noble boys. In his sequel to the *Élémens*, the *Progrès de l'éducation* (also 1743), Bonneval argues that France should correct the 'ancien abus' of allowing a boy's family to determine his profession. Instead, stemming from Bonneval's belief that skills are not natural but acquired, he claims that a boy's emerging talents and inclinations should be taken into account. As he puts it, 'ce n'est pas assez que de naître gentilhomme pour devenir bon officier, il faut en acquérir les qualités'.[295] Bonneval's publisher, Prault Père, appears to have recognised that, by the 1740s, there was a growing market for texts about education. At the back of the original editions of each of Bonneval's works is a list of nine 'Livres pour l'éducation de la jeunesse, qui se vendent chez ledit père Prault'. Prault's willingness to print, sell, and advertise works on education suggests that there was at least some public interest in such texts, and that this was an interest that Prault saw that he could capitalise on. By cultivating a readership for texts on education, Bonneval's publisher may have helped establish one of the crucial conditions for the *Querelle des collèges*.

Not long after the publication of Bonneval's texts, in 1748, the Bordeaux *parlementaire*, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755), highlighted the political importance of education. In *De l'esprit des lois* he writes that: 'les *lois de l'éducation* sont les premières que nous recevons. Et, comme elles nous préparent à

[294] *Les Élémens de l'éducation* (Paris: Prault, 1743), p. 7.
[295] *Ibid*, p. 14.

être citoyens, chaque famille particulière doit être gouvernée sur le plan de la grande famille qui les comprend toutes.'[296] Montesquieu argues that the state must legislate on its citizens' education. Around the same period, the Académies began to encourage members of the public to reflect upon education, too. In 1749, the subject of the Académie de Marseille's poetry prize was 'éducation', and in 1751, the Société des Sciences et Beaux Arts de Pau awarded its annual prize for a poem on 'l'utilité d'une académie militaire'. In January that year, Louis XV had announced the creation of the Parisian École royale militaire, which was to offer government-funded education to 250 sons of 'la noblesse pauvre'. The Académie de Pau's prize question capitalised on and encouraged interest in this new, royally patronised educational model; the decade saw many publications extolling the virtues of military education.[297] As quickly as the École militaire gained supporters, the traditional *collèges* were losing them. In his 1751 *Lettre critique sur l'éducation* (also published by Prault père), the explorer and mathematician, Charles Marie de La Condamine (1701–1774) ridicules the *collégien* who knows every rule of French poetry, but has never read *Le Cid*, *Phèdre* or *Le Misanthrope*. He says the *collèges* encourage pupils to memorise rules, rather than to learn them by experience, by reading whole texts, and he cites Montaigne's negative experience at the Collège de Guyenne as proof that the *collèges* are 'inutiles'. If the *collèges* cannot be reformed, concludes La Condamine, perhaps the École militaire might offer an improved literary educational programme (and I will return to this school's literary teaching practices later on).[298]

In the third volume of the *Encyclopédie*, d'Alembert's article 'Collège' (1753) echoed many of La Condamine's criticisms. By bringing together several strands of existing critical

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[296] *De l'esprit des lois*, ed. by Victor Goldschmidt (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1979), p. 155.
[297] See, for instance, Alex de La Rivière, *L'Utilité de l'éducation des armes, ou l'émulation renaissante* (Paris: Cuissard, 1758); Caraccioli (1759); and the *Encyclopédie* articles 'École militaire' (1755), 'Éducation' (1755), 'Études militaires' (1756), and 'Exercices' (1756). Full references, and many more texts praising military models of education, can be found in the corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* (Appendix 1). For a study of the *Encyclopédie*'s praise of the military school, see Marie Jacob, 'L'École royale militaire: un modèle selon l'*Encyclopédie*?', *RDE*, 43 (2008), 105–26.
[298] *Lettre critique sur l'éducation* (Paris: Prault, 1751), p. 47.

discourse on literary education, and by the effect it had on those writing about education in the following years, this article might retrospectively be seen to mark the beginning of the *Querelle des collèges*. So what made this article so polemical? D'Alembert begins, in fact, by acknowledging its potentially controversial nature, thereby encouraging readers to find the polemic in the text. He states:

> avant que de traiter un sujet si important, je dois prévenir les lecteurs desintéressés, que cet article pourra choquer quelques personnes, quoique ce ne soit pas mon intention: je n'ai pas plus de sujet de haïr ceux dont je vais parler, que de les craindre; [...] ce n'est point aux hommes que je fais la guerre, c'est aux abus, à des abus qui choquent & qui affligent comme moi la plûpart même de ceux qui contribuent à les entretenir, parce qu'ils craignent de s'opposer au torrent.[299]

D'Alembert's article intends to condemn, and to propose the reform of, what he considers the *mal*-practices of *collège* education. Speaking of the *humanités* curriculum, he claims pupils spend six years studying the rules of Latin grammar, gaining 'quelque connoissance très-superficielle du Grec', and learning ('tant bien que mal') to compose in Latin. 'Je ne sache pas qu'on y enseigne autre chose', he states.[300] Moving on to the *rhétorique* class, he says pupils begin to write in Latin more regularly, 'car jusqu'alors on n'a fait que traduire, soit de Latin en François, soit de François en Latin.'[301] Here, d'Alembert criticises the exercises of *thèmes* and *versions* often employed in the *collèges*, which would go on to be regularly attacked as part of the arguments of the *Querelle des collèges*. And yet d'Alembert condemns the sorts of compositions that *rhétorique* students are asked to produce: 'on donne à ces discours le nom d'*amplifications;* nom très-convenable en effet, puisqu'ils consistent pour l'ordinaire à noyer dans deux feuilles de verbiage, ce qu'on pourroit & ce qu'on devroit dire en deux lignes.'[302] D'Alembert concludes that a student

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299 'Collège', *Encyclopédie*, III (1753), p. 635.
300 *Ibid.*
301 *Ibid.*
302 *Ibid.*

leaves *collège* with 'la connoissance très-imparfaite d'une langue morte, avec des préceptes de Rhétorique & des principes de Philosophie qu'il doit tâcher d'oublier'.[303]

The *encyclopédiste* argues that, instead of spending six years studying Latin, pupils should indeed learn some Latin, but should spend the majority of their time studying French and modern languages. He notes, approvingly, that the *collèges* of the Université are beginning to teach some French.[304] In terms of the discipline of *rhétorique*, he calls for it to consist 'beaucoup plus en exemples qu'en préceptes; qu'on ne se bornât pas à lire des auteurs anciens, & à les faire admirer quelquefois assez mal-à-propos; qu'on eût le courage de les critiquer souvent, les comparer avec les auteurs modernes, & de faire voir en quoi nous avons de l'avantage ou du desavantage sur les Romains & sur les Grecs.'[305] And finally, intervening in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, d'Alembert claims students should be taught that modern French writers are, in many respects, greater than the ancients. If the *collèges* could be reformed to include these practices, d'Alembert suggests they might indeed be capable of producing boys who would be 'utiles à leur patrie'.[306] Like Rousseau, in his later *Encyclopédie* article 'Économie' (1755), d'Alembert concludes that educational reform is a matter for the state.[307] If the state does not wish to take up his suggested reforms, however, he concludes that private education is preferable to public:

> c'est au gouvernement, comme je l'ai dit, à faire changer là-dessus la routine & l'usage; qu'il parle, & il se trouvera assez de bons citoyens pour proposer un excellent plan d'études. Mais en attendant cette réforme, dont nos neveux auront peut-être le bonheur de jouir, je ne balance point à croire que l'éducation des *colléges,* telle qu'elle est, est sujette à beaucoup plus d'inconvéniens qu'une éducation privée.[308]

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[303] *Ibid.* On d'Alembert's (scathing) memoirs of his time at the Université de Paris, where he attended the Collège des Quatre-Nations, see Samy Ben Messaoud, 'Un professeur de D'Alembert: Balthazar Gibert', *RDE*, 24 (1998), 164–69.
[304] 'Collège', *Encyclopédie*, III (1753), p. 636.
[305] *Ibid*, p. 637.
[306] *Ibid.*
[307] As Rousseau would put it, 'l'éducation publique sous des regles prescrites par le gouvernement, & sous des magistrats établis par le souverain, est donc une des maximes fondamentales du gouvernement populaire ou légitime.' *Encyclopédie*, V (1753), p. 343.
[308] 'Collège', *Encyclopédie*, III (1753), p. 637.

D'Alembert's article targets both the Université de Paris's *collèges* (where d'Alembert was educated), and 'les collèges de réguliers', including those of the Jesuits. From the outset, the *Encyclopédie* was hostile to the Jesuits, owing to the campaign they had waged against the *Encyclopédie*, spearheaded by Jesuit priest and editor of the Jesuit journal, the *Mémoires* or *Journal de Trévoux*, le père Guillaume François Berthier (1704–1782).[309] The *Journal de Trévoux*'s repeated condemnation of the *Encyclopédie* as a work that fomented atheistic, materialist thought, and which challenged French political and religious institutions, helped lead to the suppression of its first two volumes, on 7 February 1752.[310] By 1753, when d'Alembert's article 'Collège' was published, the *querelle* between the *encyclopédistes* and the Jesuits had thus become particularly hostile. Irailh frames this *querelle* between the Jesuits and *encyclopédistes* as one of the initiating moves in the wider dispute between 'les Encyclopédistes et les anti-Encyclopédistes', which is one of his 'Querelles de corps à corps'.[311]

With its polemical thrust and reformatory intent, the article 'Collège' galvanised interest in debating how to improve public literary education. Granderoute notes that this article gained significant attention from contemporary readers interested in education; it was explicitly quoted – approvingly, and also less approvingly – by participants in the *Querelle des collèges*, who published between 1765 and 1785.[312] Its supporting texts included *Le Temps perdu, ou les écoles publiques, considérations d'un patriote sur l'éducation de la première-jeunesse en France, avec l'idée d'un nouveau collège et le précis de l'instruction qui y serait donnée* (1765), by

309 Following the royal order of 1764 which expelled the Jesuits, d'Alembert published *Sur la destruction des jésuites* (1765), which triumphantly recounted the Order's expulsion.
310 For a concise history of this *querelle* (before the *Encyclopédie* lost its *privilège* in 1759), see Christian Albertan, 'Les Journalistes de Trévoux lecteurs de l'*Encyclopédie*', *RDE*, 13 (1992), 107–16. The wider disputes between the Jesuits and the *encyclopédistes* are studied by John N. Pappas in *Berthier's Journal de Trévoux and the Philosophes* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1957). On the broader *querelles* between the *encyclopédistes* and their antagonists, see Didier Masseau, *Les Ennemis des philosophes: l'antiphilosophie au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000); and Olivier Ferret, *La Fureur de nuire: échanges pamphlétaires entre philosophes et antiphilosophes (1750–1770)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007).
311 See Irailh, IV, pp. 118–53.
312 See Granderoute (1988).

artillery officer and *homme de lettres* Jean-Henri Maubert de Gouvest (1721–1767), and Coyer's *Plan d'éducation publique* (1770). And it was reproduced either partially or in its entirety by numerous publications, including the anonymous *Portefeuille d'un philosophe* (1770), and the article 'Éducation littéraire' in the *Dictionnaire de littérature* (1770) by Antoine Sabatier de Castres (1742–1817). However, the article also had detractors. In his anonymously published *Lettre d'un professeur émérite de l'université de Paris* (1777), Chrétien Leroy (1711–1780), emeritus Professor of humanities and rhetoric at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, accused d'Alembert's article of being behind the literary educational curriculum in use at the Collège de Sorèze, controlled by the Benedictines, which Leroy condemned for (among other things) having a stream for students who would learn no Latin at all.[313] In the 1760s, '70s and '80s, then, two camps formed around d'Alembert's 1753 article, composed of those who supported d'Alembert's proposals for educational reform, and those who opposed them. However, perhaps surprisingly, we find that there were few reactions to d'Alembert's article in the years immediately following its publication. Interestingly, the polemic of this article seems to go unnoticed (or, at least, un-reacted to) until around a decade after its publication. Why should this be the case?

The publication of the *Encyclopédie* was, of course, fraught with problems; in 1752, its first two volumes were suppressed, its contributors and editors were publicly attacked throughout the 1750s, and in 1759 its *privilège* was revoked, meaning that volumes eight to seventeen of the work were published only in 1765. The delay in public reaction to d'Alembert's article might have been because readers of the *Encyclopédie* were reluctant to announce themselves as such by responding to its articles. However, no such fear stopped readers of other controversial texts of the period, such as Rousseau's *Émile*, from publishing (often clandestinely) their reactions. Moreover, over 3000 volumes of the first edition of the 1753 volume of the *Encyclopédie*, containing the article 'Collège', had been

[313] I discuss this text more in the next chapter.

published, suggesting that plenty of copies would have been in the public domain. The delay in reactions to d'Alembert's article cannot, therefore, have been because writers were concerned about censorship laws, or because few copies of the text were available.

What seems more likely is that, in 1753 when d'Alembert's article was published, it was not yet clear to readers that it was part of a *querelle* about education. In the early 1750s there was no indication that the article was anything more than part of the tradition of texts (which included works by Montaigne, Rabelais, and Fleury) that denounced the *collèges*. Although my research into the *Querelle des collèges* supports Granderoute's claim that 'cet article [...] a fini par être au cœur d'une polémique soulevée dans les dernières années de l'Ancien Régime,' we will have to return to d'Alembert's article in chapter four, to see how writers in the 1760s, '70s, and '80s ended up identifying this article not just as the heart of the *Querelle*, but as its foundational statement.[314] And besides, soon there would be little time for readers to be concerned about Latin teaching methods and classroom exercises because, in the late 1750s and early 1760s, readers' attention was spectacularly diverted away from education (for the moment), and into a different, but related, dispute.

La Querelle contre les Jésuites (1760–1762)

As suggested in the previous chapters of this thesis, the history of the Jesuits in France is one defined by dispute, controversy, and *querelle*. Irailh's *Querelles littéraires* recounts eight disputes between the Jesuits and various 'enemies', including the Oratorians, Dominicans, Carmelites, Jansenists, and the Université de Paris. Of all the individuals and groups involved in Irailh's *querelles*, the Jesuits feature in the greatest number. As well as being

[314] Granderoute (1988), p. 55.

famously quarrelsome, the Jesuits were also known for their missionary work.[315] In 1760, le père Lavalette, Superior of the French Jesuit missions in the Americas, was declared bankrupt. To be declared bankrupt, of course, Lavalette had to have engaged in commerce. In the 1750s, he had purchased a sugar cane and a coffee plantation, the produce of which he exported back to Europe, supposedly to fund the mission.[316] As Van Kley notes, Lavalette's trade in goods was not necessarily illegal; since the early Middle Ages, canon and civil law had permitted monastic orders to sell goods produced on their lands, for the purpose of funding the Order. However, Lavalette went far beyond this, trading not only in goods, but also speculating with money. He established a currency exchange business for Frenchmen living in Martinique who wished to convert their Martinican currency into French *livres* without losing its value; his approach was to invest their money in the sugar and coffee he produced and exported back to Europe, and then to convert the profits he made in *livres* (worth roughly fifty percent more than Martinician money) back into the local currency, which still left him with a profit.[317] Commerce which involved handling money was forbidden to monks. Moreover, Lavalette's trade began seriously to suffer in the late 1750s. Owing to factors including disease that wiped out his plantation workers and slaves; the Seven Years' War that interrupted trade; and cargo ships that were captured by the English, by 1760, Lavalette's French creditors claimed he owed them almost 2 million *livres*. They pursued him for repayment through the French courts, and the scandal of a bankrupt Jesuit made it to the Parlement de Paris, who judged that the Jesuit Order was responsible for settling his debts. The Parlement, however, used this event as a pretext to rekindle suspicion of the Order, opening an inquiry into the Jesuits' Constitutions.

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315 One of Irailh's *querelles*, 'Le Séminaire des missions étrangères, et les Jésuites', deals with the history of disputes regarding the Jesuit missions, and specifically those in China. Intervening in the *querelle*, Irailh blames the expulsion of Christianity from China on the Jesuits. (IV, pp. 53–81).
316 For more on Lavalette, see Thompson (1996); and Van Kley (1975), pp. 90–107.
317 Van Kley (1975) explains Lavalette's financial speculations in detail, pp. 91–92.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the first reports on the Constitutions was presented to the Parlement by the Jansenist cleric, the abbé Chauvelin. In his *Discours sur les constitutions des Jésuites* and the *Compte rendu sur la doctrine des Jésuites* (1761), Chauvelin claims the Constitutions posit the Superior General as a kind of despot, whom all members must obey. Moreover, according to him, the Jesuits' allegiance to their Superior General meant that they disregarded other temporal authorities, including the French legal system, the Gallican church, and the monarchy. The regional Parlements often copied one another's initiatives, and in August 1761 the Parlement de Bretagne commissioned their public prosecutor, La Chalotais, to produce a similar report.[318] This resulted in the *Compte rendu des constitutions des Jésuites* (presented in December 1761 and published in January 1762), and the *Second compte rendu sur l'appel comme d'abus des constitutions des Jésuites*, which appeared in May 1762.

La Chalotais alleges that the Jesuits are ultramontanes (that their doctrine comes from beyond the Alps, in other words, that they obey the Pope). Total papal devotion was problematic in France, where the Gallican Church held the French monarch above all other worldly powers. La Chalotais concludes that the Jesuits would commit regicide if commanded by the Pope – particularly worrying given Robert-François Damiens's recent assassination attempt on Louis XV in 1757. He summarises that the Order are therefore a threat to France, and should not be allowed to remain in the country, least of all to teach its children. As we recall, by 1762 the Jesuits controlled around a third of all *collèges*, amounting to some 105 institutions. La Chalotais was concerned about the Jesuits transmitting heterodox ideas to future French citizens, and about their literary curriculum, which he brands 'un tissu de pédanterie & d'absurdités par rapport aux Belles-Lettres & à

[318] On the practices of the eighteenth-century Parlements, see Alain J. Lemaître, *Le Monde parlementaire au XVIIIe siècle. L'Invention d'un discours politique* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

la Philosophie'.[319] The curriculum La Chalotais so opposed was the one set out in the *Ratio studiorum* (1599) which, as we have seen, prescribed a canon of sacred and secular texts in Latin, taught via the methods of 'leçon, répétition, dispute', and which prohibited pupils from writing or speaking in French.

As the reports attacking the Jesuits accumulated, the Parlements began to take action.[320] The Parlement de Paris published two *arrêts* on 6 August 1761; the second of these ordered the closure of the Jesuit *collèges* by 1 October that year (or by 1 April 1762, in towns with no other *collège*). In a power struggle with the Parlements, the king initially refused them the right to legislate on this matter. However, on 12 February 1762, the Parlement de Rouen rebelled and decreed that the Jesuits must leave their jurisdiction by July 1762. Five other Parlements (Paris, Rennes, Bordeaux, Perpignan and Metz) followed suit, issuing a similar order that year. Most Jesuit *collèges* had been abandoned by mid-1762, although the royal edict that finally suppressed the Order in France would not be issued until November 1764.

In July 1762, in the *Correspondance littéraire*, Grimm claims that La Chalotais's *Compte rendu* played a decisive role in destroying the Jesuits. 'Le second ouvrage de ce magistrat', he writes, 'a eu autant de succès que le premier, et c'est ce qui nous restera de cette grande et mémorable querelle. Les Jésuites peuvent hardiment regarder M. de La Chalotais comme leur destructeur en France.'[321] Whether preciptated by La Chalotais or not, modern historians have seen the destruction of the Jesuit Order in France as foundational to what would occur later in the eighteenth century. Grandière refers to it as 'l'événement majeur

[319] *Compte rendu* (1762), pp. 176–77.
[320] For a presentation of the policies of the monarchy and Parlements relating to the Jesuit expulsion, and for the important dates in the process of the Jesuit expulsion, see O'Connor (2016), pp. 509–17; Grandière (1998), p. 216; and Jean Egret, 'Le Procès des Jésuites devant les parlements de France (1761–1770)', *Revue historique*, 204.1 (1950), 1–27.
[321] 1 July 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 277.

qui précède la Révolution', on the grounds that it was the key to other movements that destabilised the Ancien Régime.[322] While participants in the *Querelle contre les Jésuites* could not have known that the monarchy would soon be ousted, Grandière is right to note that the Jesuit expulsion had significant consequences for French society, and one of the most obvious was the educational upheaval it triggered, leaving some 40,000 boys in need of new teachers, and challenging what was previously considered one of the most prestigious teaching orders, and educational models, in early modern France.[323]

In September 1763, Grimm introduced his readers to a new publication that had appeared in the *Querelle contre le Jésuites*, the *Nouvelles Observations sur les jugemens rendus contre les Jésuites*.[324] He had little time for the work, however, and suggested that the French public felt the same. He writes, 'c'est, comme on dit, de la moutarde après dîner; il y a long-temps que l'intérêt du public est épuisé, et qu'on ne s'occupe plus de cette fameuse querelle.'[325] If Grimm claimed that the *Querelle contre les Jésuites* was already over by the autumn of 1763, it is nonetheless difficult to discern precisely when this dispute ended, and why. One of the most obvious reasons for its conclusion was that, in 1762, the anti-Jesuit party achieved their aim of having the Jesuits expelled from the French *collèges*. What might also have had a decisive impact on bringing an end to the *querelle*, however, was the fact that, with the Jesuits gone, their ex-*collèges* were filled with pupils who had no teachers; anti-Jesuit campaigners suddenly had a new problem on their hands. In 1762 and 1763, many of those who had fought for the Jesuits' expulsion (including La Chalotais and his fellow *parlementaires*) set about composing new educational plans for the ex-Jesuit *collèges*. However, before many could publish their works, another polemical text

322 Grandière (1998), p. 214.
323 Chartier, Compère, and Julia (1976, p. 190) claim that in the late 1620s, the Jesuits had around 40,000 pupils. They also state that, in 1789, there were some 48,000 boys attending the *collèges*, in total. Without conducting a detailed study of the numbers enrolled at each *collège* (presuming such figures exist), it is difficult to know exactly how many pupils the Jesuits were teaching in 1762. However, we can estimate that it might have been somewhere around 40,000.
324 Anonymous publication (Bordeaux: [n. pub.], 1763).
325 15 September 1763, *CL*, X, pp. 362–63.

offering an innovative educational programme was published. This work was itself a response both to anti-*collège* discourse of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to the Jesuit expulsion, which had opened up the possibility for French educational reform. Though it was not the first text to intervene in the *Querelle des collèges*, then, and although its author had different views about the purpose of education from most contemporary campaigners for public educational reform, this text spectacularly brought the *âgon* into the *Querelle des collèges*. This work, of course, was Rousseau's *Émile, ou de l'éducation*.

Émile, ou de l'éducation (1762)

Émile went on sale on 24 May 1762, and almost immediately, the controversy began.[326] One of the parts of *Émile* instantly considered controversial was the 'Profession de foi du Vicaire Savoyard'. In his 'Profession', Rousseau's vicar advocates a religion based on natural law arguments for the existence of God, and on feelings of personal conscience. By contrast, he shuns Christian scripture, and denies important elements of Catholic doctrine including Revelation and the existence of miracles. On the basis of the 'Profession', Rousseau was accused of promoting natural religion, a criminal act in Catholic France. The Sorbonne's Faculty of Theology condemned *Émile* on 7 June that year, followed two days later by the Parlement de Paris, who ordered the book to be burned, and put out a warrant for Rousseau's arrest; Rousseau fled France. On 20 August, the Faculty of Theology published a 350 page *Censure contre Émile*, which sought to defend 'la religion si horriblement attaquée'.[327] This was also the date that the Archbishop of

[326] On the history of the publication of *Émile*, and the ensuing controversy, see Henri Gouhier, *Rousseau et Voltaire: portraits dans deux miroirs* (Paris: Vrin, 1983), p. 176; and Ourida Mostefai, 'Singularité et exemplarité du cas 'Jean-Jacques': théorie et expérience du fanatisme chez Rousseau', in *Rousseau and 'L'Infame': Religion, Toleration, and Fanaticism in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. by Mostefai and John T. Scott (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2009), p. 101.
[327] *Censure de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, contre le livre qui a pour titre,* Émile ou de l'éducation (Paris: Le Prieur, 1762), p. 4.

Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, published his *Mandement* condemning the work, and on 9 September, *Émile* was placed on the Index.

Dozens of refutations, commentaries, imitations, and sequels to *Émile* soon appeared.[328] Some engaged with Rousseau's religious ideas, others with his ideas on human nature, while others still tackled his educational thought. Although all of these responses certainly contributed to the controversy surrounding *Émile*, the ones that will interest me most in this thesis are those that deal with this last aspect. In particular, I will consider those which understood Rousseau's *Émile* as an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*. However, before I discuss these agonistic reactions, I will first examine the text itself, and specifically its proposals for Émile's literary education.

In the preface to *Émile*, Rousseau inserts his work in the context of contemporary criticism of education. He writes:

> Je parlerai peu de l'importance d'une bonne éducation; je ne m'arrêterai pas non plus à prouver que celle qui est en usage est mauvaise; mille autres l'ont fait avant moi, et je n'aime point à remplir un livre de choses que tout le monde sait. Je remarquerai seulement que, depuis des temps infinis, il n'y a qu'un cri contre la pratique établie, sans que personne s'avise d'en proposer une meilleure. La littérature et le savoir de notre siècle tendent beaucoup plus à détruire qu'à édifier. On censure d'un ton de maître; pour proposer, il en faut prendre un autre, auquel la hauteur philosophique se complaît moins.[329]

Rousseau acknowledges that he is not the first to dispute educational practices (indeed, this has been happening 'depuis des temps infinis'), but he offers *Émile* as a slightly different sort of intervention in current educational debates. Rather than simply condemn existing practices – which he says most of his contemporaries do – he claims that *Émile* will suggest an alternative educational model. Later in *Émile*, Rousseau once again engages

[328] Many of these, by different types of reader (women, parents, pedagogues, and religious authorities, to name a few) have been studied by Jimack (1991); Bloch and Mason (1995); and Py (1997).
[329] *OC*, IV, p. 241.

with contemporary educational discourse, and this time, with the particular criticism of the *collèges*, which he sees as part of a wider critique of the French nation. He explains:

> L'institution publique n'existe plus, et ne peut plus exister, parce qu'où il n'y a plus de patrie, il ne peut plus y avoir de citoyens. Ces deux mots *patrie* et *citoyen* doivent être effacés des langues modernes. J'en sais bien la raison, mais je ne veux pas la dire; elle ne fait rien à mon sujet. Je n'envisage pas comme une institution publique ces risibles établissements qu'on appelle collèges*. [...]
> * Il y a dans plusieurs écoles, et surtout dans l'Université de Paris, des professeurs que j'aime, que j'estime beaucoup, et que je crois très capables de bien instruire la jeunesse, s'ils n'étaient forcés de suivre l'usage établi. J'exhorte l'un d'entre eux à publier le projet de réforme qu'il a conçu. L'on sera peut-être enfin tenté de guérir le mal en voyant qu'il n'est pas sans remède.[330]

Rousseau claims, here, that since contemporary society has no real concepts of nationhood and citizenship – since the state of the nation is broken – there can be no public educational system. In other words, because there is no public body of citizens (at least not one that Rousseau reocgnises) for children to be formed to belong to, Rousseau concludes that any form of public education is futile. It is interesting, however, that, Rousseau does not entirely dismiss the idea that public education could be reformed. Indeed, he explicitly engages with the *Querelle des collèges* by obliquely referring to 'le projet de réforme' composed by a professor (seemingly of the Université de Paris), which he says might remedy the current state of education in the *collèges*.[331] Nonetheless, the whole project of *Émile* – in which Rousseau attempts to describe the ideal, private education that would turn a natural boy into a self-sufficient man – seems to be a response to the problem Rousseau perceives with French public education, ultimately, with the French state.

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[330] *OC*, IV, p. 250.

[331] It is not clear which 'projet de réforme' Rousseau is referring to, by which 'professeur'. In the notes to the Pléiade edition of *Émile*, Pierre Burgelin does not offer any suggestions as to whom it might be. Since the project has not been published, according to Rousseau, by the time of his writing (between the late 1750s and early 1760s), and since it is unclear if it would go on to be published, the works on my *Querelle de l'éducation* corpus do not necessarily help solve the mystery, either. A study of Rousseau's correspondence in the late 1750s and early '60s might provide some clues, and it would be an interesting matter for further research.

The specific literary aspects of Émile's education can also be read as responses to these problems, as well as responses to some of the particular criticisms of the *collèges* already raised by the nascent *Querelle*. Like sensationist philosophers before him, Rousseau believes that man is born only with senses, and no innate ideas, and that he must therefore learn to reason based on his sense experience of the world.[332] Given that this takes some time, Rousseau thinks that children do not acquire the capacity of reason until adolescence. Without reason, however, he claims humans cannot control their social passions, which develop when they come into contact with others. In an attempt to prevent Émile from developing these social passions before he has the capacity of reason to control them, Rousseau has the tutor give Émile (until the age of twelve) an 'éducation [...] purement négative'.[333] During this period, Émile is allowed only strictly limited access to other children, adults, or any source that might preemptively awaken his social passions and corrupt his morals – including, famously, most books.

In book two, which charts Émile's education from two to twelve years old, Rousseau criticises the existing practice, common in the *collèges*, of teaching children a foreign language (and specifically, Latin). Reiterating what was, by the 1760s, a commonplace criticism of *collège* education, Rousseau condemns the teaching of 'des mots' rather than 'des choses'. He says that learning languages teaches children precisely 'des mots, encore des mots, et toujours des mots'.[334] Shifting his argument, he then says that, in fact, if 'l'étude des langues' really *did* only teach words, then that might be acceptable – the real

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[332] See his comments to this effect in *OC*, IV, p. 600. Rousseau was drawing on ideas about the sentimental nature of man proposed by thinkers including Locke, Condillac, Dubos, and Montesquieu. For more on Rousseau's adoption of these philosophers' theories, see Jimack, *La Genèse et la rédaction de l''Emile' de J.-J. Rousseau*, *SVEC*, 13 (1960), especially pp. 288–344; and Jock Macleod, 'Rousseau and the Epistemology of 'Sentiment'', *Journal of European Studies*, 17.2 (1987), 107–28.
[333] *OC*, IV, p. 323.
[334] *Ibid*, p. 346.

problem with learning a second language at this age is that language forms not only one's words, but also one's ideas.[335] He writes:

> Je conviens que si l'étude des langues n'était que celle des mots, c'est-à-dire des figures ou des sons qui les expriment, cette étude pourrait convenir aux enfants: mais les langues, en changeant les signes, modifient aussi les idées qu'ils représentent. Les têtes se forment sur les langages, les pensées prennent la teinte des idiomes. La raison seule est commune, l'esprit en chaque langue a sa forme particulière; différence qui pourrait bien être en partie la cause ou l'effet des caractères nationaux.[336]

Rousseau believes that the way children think will be defined by the language they use, and its way of conceiving of the world. To learn two languages and systems of thought, a child would have to be able to compare words and ideas, which Rousseau thinks is not possible when the child learns only words, and not the concepts to which they refer.[337] He concludes, 'en quelque étude que ce puisse être, sans l'idée des choses représentées, les signes représentants ne sont rien.'[338] Rousseau anticipates that readers may be surprised at his critique of foreign language learning. 'On sera surpris que je compte l'étude des langues au nombre des inutilités de l'éducation', he remarks. 'Mais, on se souviendra que je ne parle ici que des études du premier âge; et, quoi qu'on puisse dire, je ne crois pas que, jusqu'à l'âge de douze ou quinze ans, nul enfant [...] ait jamais vraiment appris deux langues.'[339] It is only during this early stage of Émile's education that Rousseau would prohibit the study of languages.

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335 As Pierre Burgelin notes (*OC*, IV, pp. 1374–75), Condillac, in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746), had already claimed that language can shape our ideas. See, for instance, Condillac's comment that 'si notre esprit ne fixe ses idées que par des signes, nos raisonnemens courent risque de ne rouler souvent que sur des mots; ce qui doit nous jeter dans bien des erreurs'. *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, ed. by Aliénor Bertrand (Paris: Vrin, 2002), p. 79.

336 *OC*, IV, p. 346.

337 *Ibid.*

338 *OC*, IV, p. 347. Derrida argues that a similar idea recurs in Rousseau's ambivalent attitude to writing; he claims that, for Rousseau, 'l'écriture est dangereux dès lors que la représentation veut s'y donner pour la présence et le signe pour la chose même.' In 'Ce dangereux supplément...' in *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Minuit, 1967), p. 207.

339 *OC*, IV, p. 346.

Rousseau also attacks some of the books that were commonly taught in the eighteenth-century *collèges*. Most famously, he condemns La Fontaine's *Fables,* claiming that no child has ever really understood them. As he puts it,

> on fait apprendre les fables de Lafontaine à tous les enfans, et il n'y en a pas un seul qui les entende; quand ils les entendroient, ce seroit encore pis, car la morale en est tellement mêlée et si disproportionnée à leur âge qu'elle les porterait plus au vice qu'à la vertu. Ce sont encore là, direz-vous, des paradoxes; soit: mais voyons si ce sont des vérités.[340]

Rousseau contends that children cannot understand the complex morals of fables, which are further obscured by their poetry: 'l'instruction qu'on en veut tirer force d'y faire entrer des idées qu'il ne peut saisir, et que le tour même de la poésie, en les lui rendant plus faciles à retenir les lui rend plus difficiles à concevoir'.[341] As with language learning, he claims fables are useless when a child cannot understand the concepts to which they refer. Of La Fontaine's 'Le Corbeau et le Renard', for example, Rousseau considers the verse in which the crow, *'tenait dans son bec un fromage*.' He imagines a confused child asking 'Quel fromage? Étoit-ce un fromage de Suisse, de Brie, ou de Hollande? Si l'enfant n'a point vû de corbeaux, que gagnez-vous à lui en parler? S'il en a vu, comment concevra-t-il qu'ils tiennent un fromage à leur bec? Faisons toujours des images d'après nature.'[342] His criticisms of fables and languages are part of a Rousseauian theory of language which holds that one cannot understand a word without prior experience of the concept; 'les choses', he thinks, necessarily come before 'les mots'. Rousseau does not entirely deny the morally didactic utility of fables, but concludes that they are apt only for adults, who have sufficient experience of the world to recognise their referents.[343]

Indeed, as Émile grows up, books begin to play a part in his education. In book three, which charts his education between the ages of twelve and fifteen (where education

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[340] *Ibid*, p. 352.
[341] *Ibid.*
[342] *Ibid*, p. 353.
[343] *Ibid*, p. 352

gradually starts to become positive, rather than purely negative), Émile is introduced to the first book he will read. However, before Rousseau tells the reader what that book is, he first describes it in terms that almost deny that it is a book at all. He begins with the famous comment, 'je hais les livres; ils n'apprennent qu'à parler de ce qu'on ne sait pas.'[344] The problem with books, once again, is the same problem with language learning, and with fables. Rousseau says that he wishes a 'situation' could be invented which would enable children to acquire concepts via sense experience, and in particular to learn about man and his needs. He writes:

> si l'on peut inventer une situation où tous les besoins naturels de l'homme se montrent d'une manière sensible à l'esprit d'un enfant et où les moyens de pourvoir à ces mêmes besoins se dévelopent successivement avec la même facilité, c'est par la peinture vive et naïve de cet état qu'il faut donner le prémier exercice à son imagination.[345]

Rousseau does not really want a book at all, but rather an empirical experience, or a real-life 'exercice'. He proclaims that 'cette situation est trouvée', yet, perhaps surprisingly, it can be found in a book: Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). The tutor says that this book provides 'le plus heureux traité d'éducation naturelle. Ce livre sera le prémier que lira mon Émile; seul il composera durant longtems toute sa bibliothèque'.[346] It is worth noting that he does not say this will be the only book Émile will *ever* read, but that it will be the only one in his library 'durant longtemps' (and I will come on to the other books that join *Robinson Crusoe* in Émile's library shortly).[347]

The manner in which Émile is supposed to read *Robinson Crusoe* also distances this book from the practices of the contemporary *collèges*, where students were to read 'les grands

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344 *Ibid*, p. 454.
345 *Ibid.*
346 *Ibid.*
347 For more on Rousseau's use of fictional books in Émile and Sophie's education, see Laurence Mall, *'Émile' ou les figures de la fiction* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002); and Barbara Negroni, 'La Bibliothèque d'Emile et de Sophie: la fonction des livres dans la pédagogie de Rousseau', *Dix-huitième siècle,* 19 (1987), 379–90.

écrivains' so as to imitate them and become eloquent writers, or to develop 'good' taste. Instead, Émile is to read so as to learn how to live.[348] The tutor explains:

> Ce roman débarrassé de tout son fatras, commençant au naufrage de Robinson près de son Isle, et finissant à l'arrivée du vaisseau qui vient l'en tirer sera tout à la fois l'amusement et l'instruction d'Émile durant l'époque dont il est ici question. Je veux que la tête lui en tourne [...], qu'il apprenne en détail non dans les livres mais sur les choses tout ce qu'il faut savoir en pareil cas; qu'il pense être Robinson lui-même, qu'il se voye habillé de peaux, portant un grand bonnet, un grand sabre [...]. Je veux qu'il s'inquiette des mesures à prendre, si ceci ou cela venoit à lui manquer, qu'il examine la conduite de son Heros.[349]

Although *Robinson Crusoe* is a novel, the tutor wants Émile to forget this. He is to be, as Michael Fried might put it, absorbed by the story; he should imagine that *he* is Robinson, and learn lessons by identifying with him.[350] And one of the life lessons Émile should learn is precisely that Robinson did *not* learn from books, and thus neither should he. Paradoxically, the tutor tries to use *littérature* to teach Émile that man can, and should, do without *littérature*.

This is similar to the way in which Sophie – Émile's female counterpart, and the girl destined to be his wife – is supposed to use *littérature*. The single book that Sophie encounters during her literary education is Fénelon's *Télémaque* (1699). What she learns from reading the text, like Émile when reading *Robinson Crusoe*, is to identify with a particular character, and to strive to become like that person.[351] Sophie identifies with Eucharis, the nymph with whom Télémaque falls in love. By putting herself in Eucharis's

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348 Today, proponents of what has been termed 'ethical criticsm', including Martha Nussbaum and Wayne Booth, advocate a similar purpose for literature. See Nussbaum, 'Reading for Life', in *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (New York; Oxford: OUP, 1990), pp. 230–44; and Booth, *The Company we Keep: An Ethics of Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

349 *OC*, IV, p. 455.

350 Fried argues that mid-eighteenth-century art and art criticism depicts characters in 'absorptive' states, which encourages viewers to mimetically identify with them and to figure themselves as part of the work of art. See *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

351 For a study of Rousseau's ambivalence towards imitative reading, see Mall (2002), pp. 255–78. On Fénelon's influence on Rousseau, see Gouhier, 'Rousseau et Fénelon', in *Reappraisals of Rousseau: Studies in Honour of R. A. Leigh*, ed. by Simon Harvey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp. 279–89; and Marguerite Haillant, 'Rousseau admirateur de Fénelon: ressemblances et différences', in *Fénelon: Mystique et politique, 1699–1999*, ed. by F. X. Cuche and J. Le Brun (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 577–94.

shoes she falls in love with the character of Télémaque, to such an extent that when searching for her future husband, Sophie searches for 'quelqu'un qui lui ressemble.'[352] This someone is none other than Émile, who has been raised by the tutor in a similar way to that in which Télémaque was raised by Mentor. Moreover, Émile and Sophie's mimetic reading is similar to the sort of reading that Rousseau himself tells us he practised when he was a boy.[353] In his *Confessions* (written *c.* 1765–70, books I-VI first published 1782), Rousseau claims that one of the first books he read (in Jacques Amyot's French translation) was Plutarch's *Lives,* and he seems to have been entirely absorbed by this reading.[354] He says that, 'sans cesse occupé de Rome et d'Athènes […] je me croyais Grec ou Romain'.[355] What Rousseau thinks pupils should learn by reading *littérature* therefore is a lesson about the sort of people they should be.[356]

In order for readers to be able to mimetically identify with characters in books, they must have the social passion that Rousseau calls 'amour propre'. This is the passion he theorised in his *Discours sur les origines et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755), and it is the passion that Rousseau claims natural man acquired when he moved from a good state of nature, to a corrupt, social state. In man's natural state – which Rousseau

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[352] *OC*, IV, p. 762. Jan Crosthwaite considers the paradox that Rousseau has Sophie identify with the nymph, Eucharis, who seduces Télémaque, rather than with his eventual wife, Antiope. Crosthwaite sees this as part of Rousseau's ambivalent view of women as both a civilising force, but also as a threat to men's morals. See 'Sophie and *Les Aventures de Télémaque*: Amorous Nymphs and Virtuous Wives in Rousseau's *Émile*', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15.2 (1992), 189–201.

[353] For more discussion of the impression this seems to have made on the young Rousseau, see Christopher Kelly, *Rousseau's Exemplary Life: The* Confessions *as Political Philosophy* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 22–23. On Rousseau's admiration of Plutarch, see Jean-Émile Morel, 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau lit Plutarque', *Revue d'histoire moderne*, 2 (1926), 81–102.

[354] Burgelin notes that the edition Rousseau read was the translation by Jacques Amyot, the first edition of which was published in 1559. For more, see *OC,* I, p. 1238, n. 2.

[355] *OC*, I, p. 9. Rousseau was a famous 'ancien'; on his admiration of the ancients, see *Rousseau and the Ancients*, ed. by Ruth Grant and Philip Stewart (Duke University: North American Association for the Study of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*,* 2001).

[356] This was also the lesson Rousseau tried to teach readers of *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). As he sets out in the second preface to the novel, the 'Entretien sur les romans', readers were supposed to be passionately compelled by the novel's persuasive eloquence and the moral goodness of its characters to wish to imitate the virtuous heroine, Julie. See *OC*, II, pp. 22–23, 28. For more on Rousseau's use of the novel as a behavioural 'management tool', see William Ray, 'Reading Women: Cultural Authority, Gender, and the Novel. The Case of Rousseau', *ECS*, 27.3 (1994), 421–47. See also the studies by Jean-Louis Lecercle, *Rousseau et l'art du roman* (Paris: Colin, 1969), and Santo L. Aricò, *Rousseau's Art of Persuasion in* La Nouvelle Héloïse (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994).

recreates in *Émile* through the figure of a non-socialised, natural boy – Rousseau claims that man's only passion is 'amour de soi': a benign desire for his own good, independent of others.[357] However, as natural man (or the natural boy, Émile) comes into contact with others, and develops social bonds, Rousseau believes his natural goodness is irredeemably changed. Society, in which man has to compete for power, corrupts 'amour de soi', turning it into 'amour propre'. 'Amour propre' is what encourages man to compare himself with others, to feel pride, and to strive to surpass those around him. And it is this comparative capacity that allows man to compare himself with characters in books, and to identify with them. In his *Confessions*, Rousseau refers to this progression as 'la chaîne des sentiments'.[358] Once man has scaled this 'chain', 'amour-propre' will henceforth always overpower 'amour de soi'.

Since Rousseau's intention, he tells the reader, is not to prevent Émile from developing social passions (he says this would be impossible, in a social state), and since, once man has scaled the chain of passions, he cannot 'rétrograder', Rousseau claims that a teacher must simply find a way of guiding and controlling the passions, and channeling them towards virtuous ends. Man's reason is one powerful means of controlling the passions but, as we recall, Rousseau does not think this develops until adolescence. And even reason is not enough, alone, to control 'amour propre'; rather, he says, 'on n'a de prise sur les passions que par les passions.'[359] Rousseau thinks man requires a passionately engaging (and thus persuasive), but also enlightened, guide. This is the sort of role that the legislator plays in the *Contrat social* (published the same month as *Émile*). For the adolescent Émile, though, whose 'amour propre' is developing, and who requires a

[357] For more on Rousseau's theory of the passions, see the *Discours sur les origines et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, in particular *OC*, III, pp. 155–56.
[358] *OC*, I, p. 278.
[359] *OC*, IV, p. 654.

passionately compelling guide, Rousseau has the tutor prescribe one particular guide, and that is *littérature*.

Fables are not inherently bad, then, they just dangerous before a child has developed 'amour-propre'. When Émile is introduced to *Robinson Crusoe*, at the end of book three, it seems to be as a means to preemptively provide Émile with a guide for his 'amour-propre', the moment it develops – which it soon would do. At the beginning of book four, which charts Émile's education between the ages of fifteen and twenty, described as 'l'âge de la raison et des passions', the tutor formally announces, 'voici le tems de la lecture et des livres agréables; voici le tems de lui apprendre à faire l'analyse du discours, de le rendre sensible à toutes les beautés de l'éloquence et de la diction.'[360]

The tutor says that some of the first 'livres agréables' that Émile will read are books by the ancients, and he explains why:

> Il y a […] une certaine simplicité de goût qui va au cœur et qui ne se trouve que dans les écrits des anciens. Dans l'éloquence, dans la poésie, dans toute espéce de littérature, [Émile] les retrouvera comme dans l'histoire abondans en choses et sobres à juger. Nos auteurs au contraire disent peu et prononcent beaucoup. Nous donner sans cesse leur jugement pour loi n'est pas le moyen de former le nôtre.[361]

Echoing the classical notion, recently proposed by writers such as Batteux, that taste is an innate sentiment, the tutor says that texts by the ancients please our most basic, ingrained tastes. Rousseau then refers to *littérature*. He suggests that 'éloquence' and 'poésie' are two kinds of *littérature*; 'histoire', however, is not a type of text included in this category. Here, then, the word *littérature* does not refer to 'all written texts', but to a specific type of eloquent text, which excludes non-mimetic genres like history. In other words, Rousseau's *littérature*, here, refers to the sort of texts that might be called *belles-lettres*.

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[360] *OC*, IV, p. 675.
[361] *Ibid.*

The word *littérature* recurs a few lines later. Still discussing the adolescent Émile's literary curriculum, the tutor explains: 'Après l'avoir ainsi fait remonter aux sources de la pure littérature je lui en montre aussi les égouts dans les reservoirs des modernes compilateurs, journaux, traductions, dictionnaires; il jette un coup d'œil sur tout cela, puis le laisse pour n'y jamais revenir.'[362] *Littérature* thus has two sides, according to Rousseau: one is a morally righteous, ancient, 'pure littérature', while the other is a modern 'gutter literature'.[363] The sort of *littérature* that Rousseau says Émile should study is not the modern, French kind, but the ancient, Latin and Greek texts that formed the canon of the traditional *collèges*.

If Rousseau agreed with the canon of authors prescribed in the traditional *collèges*, however, he prescribed a very different type of reading, and purpose for reading, to the exercises of memorisation, translation, and imitation usually employed in those institutions. The tutor imagines how Émile would react to works of ancient *littérature*, in comparison to a typical *collégien*:

> Figurez-vous d'un côté mon Emile, et de l'autre un poliçon de collége, lisant le quatriéme livre de l'*Eneide* ou Tibulle ou le *Banquet* de Platon; quelle différence! Combien le cœur de l'un est remué de ce qui n'affecte pas même l'autre. Ô bon jeune homme! arrête, suspends ta lecture, je te vois trop ému. Je veux bien que le langage de l'amour te plaise mais non pas qu'il t'égare. Sois homme sensible mais sois homme sage. Si tu n'es que l'un des deux, tu n'es rien. Au reste, qu'il reussisse ou non dans les langues mortes, dans les belles-lettres, dans la poesie, peu m'importe.[364]

Émile reacts emotionally to these texts, while the *collégien* remains unmoved. Rousseau seems more approving of Émile's reaction than of the *collégien*'s; by displaying a passionate

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362 *OC*, IV, p. 676. Rousseau launches a similar attack against 'gens de lettres' in the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750), when he calls on the *académies* to act as a 'frein aux gens de lettres' by only awarding prizes to authors whose texts encourage virtuous behaviour. This, he hopes, would encourage 'gens de lettres' to compose morally good (as well as aesthetically pleasing) texts. See *OC*, III, p. 26.

363 This dichotomy is an iteration of the opposing forces underlying Rousseauian phenomenology which Jean Starobinski identifies in his seminal study *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: la transparence et l'obstacle* (Paris: Plon, 1958).

364 *OC*, IV, p. 677.

reaction to *littérature*, Émile demonstrates that he might be moved to identify with the texts, and thus to be morally improved by them.

However, though Rousseau suggests that Émile is right to be moved by *littérature*, neither Émile's nor the *collège* pupil's reactions are described as ideal. The tutor worries that Émile is 'too emotional'; he says a reader must be both 'sensible' and 'sage'. Since Émile's passions and reason are still developing, he seems anxious that Émile should learn to control the former with the latter. The tutor adds that he does not care if Émile excels or not in 'les langues mortes' or 'belles-lettres'. Whereas, earlier, the word *littérature* seemed to be a synonym for *belles-lettres* (in the sense of 'eloquent texts'), it now appears that the two words mean something different from one another. The phrase 'qu'il réussisse ou non' may imply that *belles-lettres*, for Rousseau, is the school discipline in which one learns to produce literary compositions, rather than the (potentially lifelong) practice of reading and being improved by texts.[365]

Furthermore, in the 1750s, when Rousseau was writing *Émile*, *belles-lettres*, as we have seen, was regularly used to refer to the *collège* discipline associated with the Jesuits, in which pupils were taught Latin, and taught to memorise the rules of rhetoric. Given Rousseau's attacks, in *Émile*, against 'ces risibles établissements qu'on appelle collèges', Rousseau's criticism of *belles-lettres* seems to fit with his wider criticism of the *collèges* and their literary practices. His distinction, then, between 'la pure littérature' and the discipline of *belles-lettres*, which he denigrates, may therefore be, in part, a strategy that allows him to stake his position in the nascent *Querelle des collèges*.

[365] Rousseau uses the word *belles-lettres* thirteen times throughout his complete works. These uses often refer not to a type of text, but to a school discipline. See *OC*, I, pp. 97, 394; III, pp. 65, 100–01; V, p. 231.

What Rousseau defines as the purpose of studying *littérature* is very different from the purpose that most *collèges* ascribed to it. In *Émile*, Rousseau hypothesises how the tutor might carefully integrate books into the education of an imaginary, ideal student (taught, of course, by a private tutor) so as to convey moral lessons, and tame his social passions. The specific, limited, place of *littérature* in Émile's education is a response to what Rousseau understood as the corrupt nature of social man; Rousseau uses what he perceives as this most persuasive of tools to try to help man conquer his passions, and to encourage virtuous behaviour.

In the weeks and months following the publication of *Émile*, many responses to the text interpreted it as condemning 'les lettres', books, and any literary study. In his anonymously published *Lettre à M. D***, sur le livre intitulé, Émile, ou, de l'éducation* (1762), the Jesuit writer Henri Griffet (1698–1771) argues that teaching children without using books 'paroîtra sur-tout difficile dans l'exécution.'[366] Griffet also claims that Rousseau is a paradoxical writer, on similar grounds: "Je hais les Livres' nous dit-il. Et pourquoi donc ne cesse-t-il d'en faire, et de surcharger la presse par la multitude de ses volumes?'[367] Grimm similarly reads *Émile* as an expression of Rousseau's hatred for 'les lettres', which he says Rousseau portrays as 'la peste du genre humain'.[368] He judges *Émile* according to whether it proposes teaching methods that might be put into practise in the *collèges,* and on this measure, he says it fails: 'je défie qu'on puisse employer avec succès une seule des méthodes qu'il prescrit.'[369] He concludes,

> Il faut donc regarder le livre de l'*Éducation*, ainsi que les autres ouvrages du citoyen de Genève, non comme un livre utile aux hommes, non comme l'ouvrage d'un philosophe avec lequel vous aimeriez à passer votre vie à philosopher et à vous instruire; mais comme un recueil immense de choses qui vous fait penser sur toutes sortes de matières.[370]

366 *Lettre à M. D***, sur le livre intitulé,* Émile, ou, de l'éducation (Amsterdam & Paris: Grangé, 1762), p. 22.
367 *Ibid*, p. 18.
368 1 July 1762, *CL*, IX, p. 264.
369 *Ibid*, p. 265.
370 *Ibid*, p. 267.

Grimm encourages readers not to see *Émile* as providing an applicable educational plan, but to use it as a catalyst 'qui vous fait penser'. He suggests that readers' responses to *Émile* will be more valuable than the text itself.

No writers responding to *Émile* in the years following its publication (or indeed at any point thereafter) were responding to that work in isolation. They were influenced by their ideologies, the contexts in which they were writing, and by other texts that coloured their interpretations, which we might refer to, following Hans Robert Jauss, as factors contributing to their 'horizon of expectation'.[371] In her study of some readers' reactions to *Émile*, for instance, Janie Vanpée notes that many mothers and fathers read *Émile* as an educational manual, mimetically placing themselves in the role of the tutor.[372] Others, meanwhile, like the Sorbonne's Faculty of Theology, read the work from a Catholic Christian perspective, and thus condemned *Émile* as heretical. No scholars, however, have yet considered the way in which many readers responded to *Émile* in the context of the *Querelle des collèges*.[373]

It is perhaps not surprising that many readers fluent with the terms of the *Querelle* reacted to Émile's literary educational programme. Perhaps more surprising, however, is the fact that, as I will show in the next chapter, the majority ignored Rousseau's practices of teaching the adolescent Émile what he explicitly called *littérature*. Instead, they responded to the practices that *they* considered practices of teaching *littérature* (even if Rousseau did not refer to them as such). These were, namely, the parts of Émile's early education which

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371 See *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. by Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), pp. 21–22. Stanley Fish similarly claims that 'communication occurs within situations', in *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 318.
372 'Rousseau's *Emile, ou de l'éducation*: A Resistance to Reading', *YFS*, 77 (1990) 156–76; pp. 161–62.
373 Bloch and Mason (1995) claim that, of the small group they class as 'educational reformers' writing between 1762 and 1765, 'the majority do not so much as raise the question of the recently published [*Émile*]', and that in the decades following its publication, writers discussing education remained 'largely silent' about that text (pp. 27–28, 33). My analysis in the coming pages, however, questions these claims.

included Rousseau's discussion of teaching foreign languages, and texts including La Fontaine's *Fables* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. And few *querelleurs* agreed with Rousseau's approach to these subjects. As I will show, many readers often used *Émile* as a kind of springboard from which to launch themselves into the *Querelle*.

By the autumn of 1762, then, the *Querelle des collèges* had streams feeding into it from three angles: from the critical discourse on literary education in the *collèges*, recently reignited by d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège'; from the expulsion of the Jesuits, which left tens of thousands of boys (and boys of the future French elite) without teachers, and without a curriculum to follow; and from the polemic surrounding Rousseau's *Émile*. As I will explore in the next chapter, this gave writers plenty to argue about.

4. *La Querelle des collèges.* ‘On n’a cessé d’écrire sur l’éducation’ (1763–1789)

This chapter explores how the three main strands of argument feeding into the *Querelle des collèges* gave rise to numerous, related matters for dispute, which played out between 1763 and 1789. I explore how, why, and when writers became interested in particular questions – from how teachers should be recruited and trained, to the canon of authors on the syllabus, to the reactions provoked by Rousseau’s *Émile* – and I show how these different centres of interest were interconnected. The texts I study in this chapter were written, variously, by *collège* teachers, politicians, *hommes de lettres*, private tutors, and *philosophes*. Although these writers often disagreed about the modalities and purpose of literary teaching, they were all interested in the broad debate over how to educate, in public institutions, the sorts of boys who would grow up to become the leaders of the nation. Many interventions in the *Querelle des collèges* in fact resuscitated seventeenth-century *querelles littéraires*. In this new educational context, writers re-opened for debate earlier quarrels over culture and *littérature*, from the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, to the *Querelle des romans*, to the *Querelle entre les encyclopédistes et anti-encyclopédistes*. Drawing on the terms of these existing disputes, *querelleurs* now debated what sort of literary culture should be perpetuated by its being taught to future generations of Frenchmen. What sort of culture

did future French citizens require and, specifically, what would turn them into 'des grands hommes de la patrie'?

Parlementary Debates

In the autumn of 1762, by which time most Jesuits had vacated their *collèges*, the authorities began considering how to reform these institutions.[374] An *arrêt* issued by the Parlement de Paris on 3 September 1762 requested that within three months, all universities within its jurisdiction (Paris, Reims, Bourges, Poitiers, Angers, and Orleans) submit their views on the programme of studies that should be adopted in the ex-Jesuit *collèges*.[375] No sooner had this *arrêt* been issued than the Université de Paris announced, in November, that the subject of its 1763 prize for Latin eloquence would be 'Quanti populorum intersit eadem in omnibus scholis publicis de Religione, de Moribus ac Litteris doceri' [*Whether people should receive the same teaching on religion, morals and letters in all public schools*]. And, in 1763, the Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse launched its annual essay prize for answers to the question, 'Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?'[376] That year, the government also intervened. The ex-Jesuit *collèges* had so far been overseen provisionally by municipal authorities. In February 1763, however, the government decreed that all *collèges* not part of a university or controlled by a religious order were to be directed by a board, particular to each *collège*, composed of eight secular administrators.[377]

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[374] For more on the reports produced and measures taken, see Bailey (1977), pp. 105–24, and 'French Secondary Education, 1763–1790: The Secularization of Ex-Jesuit Collèges', in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 68.6 (1978), 1–124.

[375] On this, see Palmer (1985), p. 60.

[376] I have compiled a list of the essay and poetry prize questions relating to education that were launched by Académies between 1750 and 1789, see pp. 227–28.

[377] 'Secular', here, refers to 'not belonging to or living in a monastic order'. Each board was to include local officials such as clergymen, magistrates, and the school's principal. For more on these, see Bailey (1978), pp. 9–14.

Also in 1762, the *parlementaires* – who had been so active in campaigning for the Jesuit expulsion – set about trying to compose a new programme for the *collèges*. As La Chalotais put it in his own contribution to these efforts, the *Essai d'éducation nationale*, 'c'est peu de détruire, si on ne songe à édifier.'[378] La Chalotais presented his *Essai* to the Parlement de Bretagne on 24 March 1763. The work proposed a 'plan d'études que l'on pourroit substituer à celles des Collèges', which contained, La Chalotais said, 'les principes & la formule générale de l'éducation littéraire'.[379] It is clear from these statements that the *Essai* was a response to the strand of educational polemic which disputed how to reform the *collèges* in the wake of the Jesuit expulsion. As I will demonstrate, however, the *Essai* can also be read as a response to the other two strands of polemic identified in the previous chapter, namely, to broader anti-*collège* discourse, and to Rousseau's *Émile*.[380] What is more, La Chalotais's *Essai* moves the *Querelle* beyond these three parallel polemics, and sets the themes and tone for many of the subsequent interventions in the *Querelle des collèges*.

From the outset, the *Essai* critically responds to *Émile*. Subtly targeting Rousseau by using vocabulary, like the term 'paradox', with which Rousseau was associated, La Chalotais opposes Rousseau's method of negative education. He calls on his readers:

> Abandonnons tous les paradoxes sur l'inutilité ou sur le danger des sciences; séparons les choses de l'abus qui peut s'y trouver; dirigeons les études vers la plus grande utilité publique […] travaillons à imprimer dans l'esprit des jeunes gens les connoissances qui leur seront nécessaires pour remplir les différentes professions, y travailler à leur bonheur, à celui des autres, & contribuer par conséquent au bien général de la société[381]

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[378] La Chalotais (1763), p. 5.
[379] *Ibid*, pp. 36–37.
[380] La Chalotais attacks the fact that Rousseau condemns teaching Émile history (pp. 47–48) and that he proscribes La Fontaine's *Fables*, which, La Chalotais says, 'quoi qu'on en dise, ne doivent pas être retirées des mains des enfans' (pp. 67–68). See also his oblique criticism of Rousseau (p. 81). Compayré (II, pp. 220–221) and Py (1997, pp. 413–414) also read La Chalotais's text as, at least in parts, a critical response to *Émile*.
[381] La Chalotais (1763), p. 7.

For La Chalotais, the purpose of literary education is 'instruction', rather than 'éducation'. This binary division (still a feature of French national education, today) was first referred to in these terms during the Ancien Régime, and it broadly divided education into the teaching of skills ('instruction'), on the one hand, and the teaching of moral or civic values ('éducation'), on the other.[382] La Chalotais believes boys need to study what he calls *littérature* so as to acquire 'les connoissances qui leur seront nécessaires pour remplir les différentes professions'.[383] Rousseau, on the other hand, teaches *littérature* to Émile not for the purpose of developing skills which might serve the nation, but for his own moral and emotional 'éducation'. So what particular 'connaissances' does La Chalotais think pupils should acquire?

Initially, he addresses the question of who should receive a *collège* literary education, and why. He argues that education should not promote further study, but should produce 'useful' citizens. For him, this meant educating boys for a profession. He does not, however, believe that all types of worker (namely, labourers, farmers, and tradesmen) require a *collège* education.[384] Next, the *parlementaire* turns from pupils to teachers, arguing that teachers need not be priests or monks; instead, he says they should simply be patriotic French citizens (an implicit dig at the Jesuits): 'je prétends révendiquer pour la Nation', he writes, 'une éducation qui ne dépende que de l'Etat.'[385] In terms of the curriculum, La Chalotais calls for new textbooks, maintaining that these would uniformise

[382] For an Ancien Régime discussion of 'instruire' and 'éduquer', see Philipon de La Madelaine, *Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple* (Lyon: Bruyset-Ponthus, 1783). Isabelle Brouard-Arends studies this in 'Les *Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple* de Philipon de La Madelaine: régénération populaire et ordre publique', in *Démocratisation et diversification: les littératures d'éducation au siècle des Lumières,* dir. by Rotraud von Kulessa (Paris: Garnier, 2015), pp. 160–72. This contrast between 'instruction' and 'éducation' was stabilised in the Revolutionary period, and in particular by the contrasting educational programmes proposed by Condorcet (*Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique* (1792), reproduced in Baczko, pp. 177–261), and Lepeletier and Robespierre (see *Plan d'éducation nationale* (1793), in Baczko, pp. 345–87). For a history of these two educational approaches, see Pierre-Eugène Muller, 'De l'instruction publique à l'éducation nationale', *Mots*, 61 (1999), 149–56; and on their Revolutionary development, see Christophe Miqueu, 'Former le citoyen de la République naissante. Retour sur une controverse aux origines de l'école républicaine', *Revue de synthèse*, 137 (2016), 453–77.
[383] La Chalotais (1763), p. 7.
[384] *Ibid*, p. 28.
[385] *Ibid*, p. 19.

education, and prevent it from depending on the whim of (potentially non-Gallican) teachers.[386] He also argues that the French language, not Latin, should be the focus of literary education: 'il faut donner le pas à la Langue maternelle: elle est la plus nécessaire dans tout le cours de la vie.'[387] Instruction in French, he added, would also benefit women, whom he thinks should be educated to a (limited) extent, so as to raise their children – the future citizens of France.[388]

La Chalotais is not only interested in the French language, but also French texts. He writes, we recall, that 'il est honteux que dans une éducation de France on néglige la Littérature Françoise.'[389] Following Batteux's *Cours de belles lettres* (1747–48) – a text which, as noted earlier, La Chalotais puts on his literary syllabus – he recommends the comparative study of ancient and modern writers, such as Phaedrus and La Fontaine, Horace and Boileau, and Tasso and Voltaire, and he says these model authors would help boys learn 'les règles' of poetry and prose by example, as well as forming their tastes.[390]

Moving on to the methods and exercises to be used in the classroom, La Chalotais advocates replacing the practice of *disputatio* with something more like what we might call *emulatio*. He says that pupils should read and seek to emulate exemplary authors; rather than memorizing a *prélection*, they should aim to acquire 'good taste' and skills of critical judgement by studying model texts. He writes, 'le moyen de former le goût, est donc d'examiner les principes & les regles, de s'exercer à juger, à comparer; de lire les bons Critiques, & sur-tout d'étudier les grands Maîtres.'[391] Expanding on what sorts of 'grand maîtres' and 'bon critiques' he would prescribe, La Chalotais explains:

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386 *Ibid,* p. 51.
387 *Ibid*, p. 16.
388 *Ibid*, p. 135.
389 *Ibid*, p. 69.
390 *Ibid*, pp. 75, 80–81.
391 *Ibid*, p. 78.

> On feroit lire [aux élèves] toutes les bonnes critiques qui ont été faites des bons ouvrages; celle du Cid, par l'Académie; celle du Livre de Bouhours, par Barbier Daucour; l'Examen de l'Epitre dédicatoire du premier Dictionnaire de l'Académie, qui est à la page 122 des Remarques de l'Abbé Dolivet sur Racine; ces Remarques & les Réponses qui y ont été faites; celle du fils de Racine sur les Tragédies de son illustre pere; de pareilles Remarques sur Corneille; […] le Livre imprimé en 1750, intitulé *Connoissances des beautés & des défauts de la Poésie & de l'éloquence dans la Langue Françoise;* l'Examen des trois Epîtres de Rousseau; quelques Observations de l'Abbé Desfontaines, toutes les Préfaces & les Dissertations de M. de Voltaire; les Conseils à un Journaliste, qui valent seuls un Traité complet.[392]

This syllabus, which La Chalotais describes as providing students with '[une] fleur de littérature', is remarkable for the fact that it is a syllabus of *querelles littéraires*, many of which featured in Irailh's 1761 work of that name. La Chalotais recommends that pupils read the Académie's critique of *Le Cid* (1637), which Irailh praised as an exemplary work of literary judgement. Indeed, Irailh even comments on the potential pedagogical value of this *querelle*, writing, 'on sçait que les *Sentimens de l'académie Françoise sur le Cid* sont un chef-d'œuvre en ce genre. [...] Des Fontaines dit que qui voudroit s'instruire compareroit cette critique avec l'examen qu'a fait Corneille lui-même de sa pièce.'[393]

Also on La Chalotais's syllabus is the *querelle* between Barbier d'Aucour and Bouhours, over the *Entretiens d'Ariste et Eugène* (1671). In Voltaire's entry for Bouhours in his 'Catalogue des écrivains', part of *Le Siecle de Louis XIV* (1751), the *philosophe* similarly suggests the exemplary nature of Bouhours's work, writing that 'la langue et le bon goût lui ont beaucoup d'obligations. Il a fait *quelques bons ouvrages, dont on a fait de bonnes critiques*' [my italics].[394] Curiously, this italicised phrase is almost identical to the one La Chalotais uses to introduce his syllabus. What is more, many of the *querelles* La Chalotais prescribes involve Voltaire, and transpire to have been ones in which Voltaire came out favourably. The anonymously published *Connoissances des beautés & des défauts de la poésie & de l'éloquence*

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392 *Ibid*, pp. 79–80.
393 Irailh, I, p. 248.
394 *OCV*, 12, p. 66.

dans la langue française (1749), for instance, purports to be a glossary of literary terms. However, each entry is in fact a mini-*querelle* which pits various writers against Voltaire – with Voltaire always described as the better author![395] Voltaire, then, seems to have exerted a significant influence over La Chalotais's literary programme.[396]

Repeatedly recommending Voltaire (and, specifically, Voltaire the *querelleur*) was not without risk; in 1763 many were suspicious of the *philosophes*.[397] Yet, citing Voltaire appears to have been part of La Chalotais's strategy to establish a modern syllabus, with a non-monastic 'esprit philosophique' – an outlook which he claims is characteristic of the eighteenth century.[398] Voltaire's inclusion on La Chalotais's agonistic syllabus is also striking for the fact that he was still alive, in 1763, when the *Essai* was published. As discussed in chapter one, one of the criteria for defining an author as a 'classic', in this period, following works like Perrault's *Hommes illustres* (1696–1700), was that he or she must be dead. By including Voltaire on his syllabus, La Chalotais challenges this notion. He implies that, although Voltaire was still alive, his reputation was so great that whatever he might do in future would still leave him as an exemplary author.

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[395] The work La Chalotais refers to as the *Connoissances [...]* was the *Connoissance des beautés et des défauts de la poésie et de l'éloquence dans la langue française, à l'usage des jeunes gens, et surtout des étrangers, avec des exemples, par ordre alphabétique*. Nicholas Cronk explains that for a long time this was attributed to Voltaire. The work was first published in London in 1749, and republished in 1750 and 1751, but was never included in Voltaire's works during his lifetime. Cronk establishes that the *Connoissance* is in fact by David Durand (1680–1763), a Huguenot minister living in London. See *OCV*, 32B, pp. 357–59. The 'Examen des trois Epîtres de Rousseau' and 'Observations de l'Abbé Desfontaines' are also *querelles* allegedly caused by, respectively, Rousseau's and Desfontaines's jealousy of Voltaire's genius. Irailh presents these querelles (II, pp. 47–57; 58–71).

[396] We know from correspondence between Irailh and Voltaire in the 1760s (D10191, D11723, D13229) that the two were on good terms, and that Voltaire held Irailh in high esteem. We also know that Voltaire and La Chalotais were friends. Voltaire praised La Chalotais's *Comptes rendus* and his *Essai d'éducation nationale*; see D10447, D10580, D10599, D10795, D11051, D11117, D11273. And La Chalotais lauded Voltaire, and sent him manuscript and printed copies of his works (D11086, D11145). Given that there seems to have been much mutual influence between these three men, their relationship would merit further research.

[397] On the *querelle* against the philosophes in the early 1760s see Masseau (2000).

[398] He contends that 'le seizième siècle fut celui de la science & de l'érudition, le dix-septième celui des talens, & le caractère du dix-huitième siecle est la Philosophie.' (1763, p. 112).

It becomes clear that *querelles* are at the very heart of La Chalotais's literary educational programme. This programme represents, therefore, the application of Irailh's idea, expressed in the preface to his *Querelles littéraires*, that 'ce projet, mieux exécuté, offriroit un excellent cours de littérature'.[399] La Chalotais moves *disputatio* from pedagogical method to course content. By studying the disputes he prescribes, the *parlementaire* says boys will be exposed to 'des bons ouvrages' by French classics of the 'Grand Siècle', and to critical commentaries on these works by French *hommes de lettres* such as Barbier d'Aucour, Pierre Desfontaines (1685–1745), and the abbé Pierre-Joseph Thoulier d'Olivet (1682–1768) (also, like Voltaire, still a living writer, in 1763), who would demonstrate how to judge literary texts. Through the study of 'cette fleur de littérature', La Chalotais believes pupils will acquire the 'right' – because French – tastes.

A few months after the publication of La Chalotais's *Essai*, an anonymous pamphlet appeared entitled *Difficultés proposées à Monsieur de Caradeuc de La Chalotais, sur le mémoire intitulé 'Essai d'éducation nationale'*. Antoine-Alexandre Barbier attributes the work to Crevier, the Jansenist Professor of rhetoric at the Collège de Beauvais, Jean-Baptiste-Louis Crevier (1693–1765).[400] Countering La Chalotais's praise of secular, French texts, Crevier argues that sacred works are better models for young people. Crevier and La Chalotais's disagreement over the literary syllabus seems to be, at root, a disagreement about the nation for which they thought boys were being formed. For the *parlementaire*, the nation is France, but for Crevier, 'l'homme est à Dieu avant que d'appartenir à l'état.'[401] Indeed, most of Crevier's criticms stem from this disagreement. By excluding the children of labourers and tradesmen from the *collèges*, for example, Crevier argues that La Chalotais denies them the chance to become literate. And illiterate children, he says, cannot serve God, since they cannot read their catechism, or the Bible: 'enlever aux

[399] Irailh, I, p. v.
[400] See *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Paris: Daffis, 1872), I, p. 991.
[401] Crevier (1763), p. 30.

enfans les moyens d'apprendre à lire, c'est leur enlever le seul moyen d'apprendre à connoître Dieu, à l'aimer, à le servir.'[402] Here, Crevier implicitly references an important Jansenist tenet, which held that all people should read the scriptures for themselves. The Gallican Church, on the other hand, contended that a priest must intercede between God and his lay subjects and interpret God's Word for them. Crevier makes it clear, then, that he believes God's subjects require a very different literary education from those of Louis XV.

Sadly for him, Crevier's work gained few plaudits. In September 1763, Grimm remarked, 'je ne sais quel est le triste et plat pédant qui a proposé des *Difficultés à M. de La Chalotais* […] *sur son Essai d'éducation nationale*, qui est le seul ouvrage digne d'un magistrat et d'un homme d'État que nous ayons vu depuis nombre d'années'.[403] Unlike Crevier, La Chalotais was endorsed by Dijon *parlementaire*, Louis-Bernard Guyton de Morveau (1737–1816). In his *Mémoire sur l'éducation publique* (1764), Morveau praises '[ce] Magistrat dont le nom est aujourd'hui dans la bouche de tous les Citoyens', and he echoes La Chalotais's calls for a uniform, French education; for secular teachers; for the importance of French over Latin; and for modern literary exercises.[404]

In May 1768, there was finally news about the *mémoires* that the Parlement de Paris had asked universities to submit, in September 1762, about the plan of studies they thought the ex-Jesuit *collèges* should adopt. Rolland d'Erceville, a president of the Parlement de Paris, had spent years reading not only the universities' memoirs, but also as many of the recent projects for public educational reform that he could find. In 1768, he synthesised these in his *Compte rendu aux chambres assemblées, des différens mémoires envoyés par les universités*

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402 *Ibid*, p. 17.
403 15 September 1763, *CL*, X, p. 362.
404 *Mémoire sur l'éducation publique: Avec le prospectus d'un collége* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1764), p. 3. Although I have brought out the similarities between the programmes of the two *parlementaires*, there were also differences between them; for a presentation of these, see O'Connor (2016), pp. 521–32.

sises dans le ressort de la cour (1768), and he recommended what he thought to be the best suggestions among them. D'Erceville advocates that the *collèges* should teach modern, French history; that they should teach in French, rather than Latin; and that they adopt a new textbook on rhetoric, which would include French examples.[405] He also seconds La Chalotais's idea that the universities and Académies might encourage the production of new textbooks by awarding prizes for their composition.[406] Finally, following the suggestions of Dominique-François Rivard, Professor of philosophy at the Collège de Beauvais (and the writer we met earlier who could hardly believe that Rollin's *Traité* had not been applied at the Université de Paris), and the abbé Pellicier (dates unkown), he recommends founding a Parisian teacher-training college.[407]

These texts by the *parlementaires*, published soon after the Jesuit expulsion, set the agenda for much of the *Querelle des collèges*. By echoing each others' educational concerns they helped to publicise them, and encouraged public interest in these matters. As I will show, in the coming years of the *Querelle*, many actors would centre their interventions around these concerns. What sort of pupils should receive a *collège* literary education? What teaching methods and exercises should be used in the classroom? What authors and types of text should actually be taught as part of the literary curriculum? And, above all, the question that followed each of the questions above: why? The most pressing question, however, in the early 1760s, was the question of what sorts of teachers should replace the Jesuits, and how they could be found and trained.

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405 'Compte rendu', in *Recueil de plusieurs des ouvrages de Monsieur le président, imprimé en exécution des délibérations du bureau d'administration du Collège de Louis-le-Grand, des 17 janvier et 18 avril 1782* (Paris: Simon & Nyon, 1783), p. 112.

406 *Ibid*, p. 75.

407 I can find almost no information about Pellicier. Rolland d'Erceville cites Rivard, *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'établir dans Paris une maison d'institution pour former des maîtres, et quelques collèges pour les basses classes* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762), and Pellicier, *Mémoires sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres: Selon le plan d'éducation donné par le parlement en son arrêt du 3 septembre 1762* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762–63). See Rolland d'Erceville (1783), pp. 39, 58–59, 128–29.

Who Should Teachers Be and How Should they be Trained?

Perhaps the most immediate dilemma facing the French nation following the Jesuit expulsion was who would replace some 1250 teachers who had been removed from their posts. The Parlement de Grenoble saw this as an opportunity: 'le besoin est urgent, l'occasion unique', they announced, 'nous sommes dans un moment de crise, il faut le saisir'.[408] Several proposals also sought to seize this opportunity to reform the process of teacher recruitment. In his four *Mémoires sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres* (1762–63), for example, Pellicier argues that if French education is to produce useful citizens for the 'patrie' (which, he says, it should), then teachers must be loyal members of the state (unlike the Jesuits). They should be talented, moral, and possess 'le bon goût'; and the state, Pellicier says, must establish a method for recruiting and teaching them. He concludes that 'l'établissement d'une École pour former des maîtres, est le plus utile de tous les établissemens', and he recommends that one of the ex-Jesuit *collèges* be used for this purpose.[409] In his third *Mémoire*, Pellicier responds to an objection from a reader in response to his earlier *Mémoires*. The anonymous reader had suggested that a *concours* to recruit teachers would remove the need for a costly 'Maison d'Instruction'. Pellicier counters, however, that individuals might not put themselves forward for the *concours*, and that a *concours* would not ensure that all teachers were formed in the same way. By teaching teachers in one institution, Pelliciers argues that the state could be certain teachers were formed according to the same, uniform standards, and taught to teach the same syllabus. Pellicier's plan, then, called for a kind of Ancien Régime prototype of the École normale.[410]

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[408] *Mémoire du Parlement de Grenoble, pour lui demander l'établissement d'une Université à Grenoble* (1764), quoted by Rolland d'Erceville, in *Recueil* (1783), p. 8.
[409] Pellicier (1762–63), p. 9.
[410] I discuss the École normale, and its Ancien Régime roots, in the conclusion to this thesis.

In his *Memoire de l'université sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'instruction de la jeunesse* (1762), François-de-Paule Combalusier (1714–1762), Chaire de pharmacie at the Université de Paris, claims to represent the Université's views.[411] Like Pellicier's respondent, Combalusier is more interested in a *concours* than a teacher-training academy. He says this *concours* should be administered by the universities, which would then provide teachers for nearby *collèges*. He explains, 'il ne faut pour cela, que confier les Collèges des Villes particulières aux Universités voisines, adjuger la possession des Chaires aux seuls Maîtres-ès-Arts […] & les faire disputer publiquement. […] L'Université donnera ses lumières en détail sur la matière & sur la forme des différens exercices de ces combats littéraires'.[412] Remarkably, Combalusier suggests that the best way to judge teachers' abilities is to have them compete in a kind of *querelle,* which he calls a 'combat littéraire'. He also argues that teachers of *les lettres* require higher salaries and greater public esteem, to encourage the best young men to enter the profession. He writes, 'l'estime des Lettres & le peu de cas qu'on fait de ceux qui les enseignent, forment dans une Nation la contradiction la plus bizarre & la plus difficile à résoudre.'[413] Similarly, the anonymously published *Maison d'éducation* (1764) (now thought to be by Jean-François de Bastide (1724–1798), a writer and dramatist) proposed recruiting 'gens de lettres' to be teachers, stating that they would instruct pupils through the example of their 'combats'. Echoing the view that *querelles littéraires* could be of pedagogical value, Bastide claims that 'dans ces disputes agréables que souvent l'esprit & l'amusement font naître, un jeune homme peut mieux s'instruire que dans des volumes excellens'.[414]

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411 As is clear from the corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* (Appendix 1), Combalusier's plan does not, in fact, seem to have represented the university's views. Shortly after its publication the Parlement de Paris condemns the text as a libellous pamphlet and publishes an *arrêt* which demands that it be withdrawn from circulation. See corpus texts (80) and (84).

412 *Memoire de l'université sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'instruction de la jeunesse, & de la perfectionner, & de remplacer les colleges des Jésuites* ([France(?)]: [n. pub.], 1762), pp. 36–37.

413 *Ibid*, p. 58.

414 *Maison d'éducation* ([Paris]: Cellot, 1764), p. 6.

There were, however, some objections to making teachers a state-trained, secular group, as exemplified by the anonymous *Lettre à Monsieur l'abbé ***, sur cette question: Les gens de communauté sont-ils aussi propres à l'éducation publique que les particuliers?* (1763). The writer acknowledges that he belongs to 'une de ces Congrégations qui se consacrent en partie à l'institution publique', probably a covert reference to the Jesuits.[415] He counters the arguments that 'Monsieur l'abbé ***' (whose identity, and whose original text, I have been unable to uncover) advanced against monks teaching 'les belles lettres'.[416] After quoting the abbé's argument that 'on *n'exige pas pour être reçu dans les Communautés, au moins une partie des talens nécessaires à l'Institution publique*', the anonymous *querelleur* retorts, 'il me permettra de lui dire qu'il n'est pas vrai qu'on les admette *sans aucuns talens en ce genre*.'[417] Furthermore, he says that he cannot see how a secular 'école pour former des maîtres' would train teachers any differently from the ways in which religious orders had been training their teachers for years. He concludes that members of an order are no less capable of turning their pupils into able *rhéteurs* and *philosophes* than secular teachers are.

Not long after the publication of this pamphlet, the government made at least a partial intervention in this branch of the *Querelle*. On 3 May 1766, royal letters patent authorised and financed the creation of a group of 60 teachers, to be known as 'agrégés'.[418] These teachers were to follow a year-long training course, based at Louis-le-Grand, one of the ex-Jesuit *collèges* (as Pellicier had recommended). They were split into three groups, with one group trained to teach *philosophie*, the second *belles-lettres* (in the classes of *rhétorique*, 2e and 3e), and the third *grammaire* and *humanités* (in 3e, 4e and 5e). These teachers would then be examined and recruited by *concours*, and posted in one of the *collèges* of the Université de Paris. The competition was effectively national, in that Maîtres-ès-arts from

415 *Lettre à Monsieur l'abbé **** ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1763), p. 2.
416 *Ibid*, p. 55.
417 *Ibid*, p. 6.
418 For more on the Ancien Régime *agrégation*, see Julia, 'La Naissance du corps professoral', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 39.1 (1981), 71–86; and Chervel (1993).

any French university could compete, as long as they had not been taught philosophy by 'réguliers' (a clause which sought to exclude those taught by the Jesuits). Each 'agrégé' was to receive an annual salary of 200 *livres*. Between 1766 and 1789, around 200 men became 'agrégés' (not a great number, however, when we remember that over 1000 Jesuit teachers were expelled). Furthermore, we should note that the *agrégation* was designed to produce teachers for the Université *collèges*, not for the ex-Jesuit ones, which were so in need of staff.

Although the 'agrégation' had limited effects on the educational landscape of Ancien Régime France, and though it disappeared during the Revolution, it was reinstated in 1808 by the Conseil de l'Université Impériale in a similar form to that of 1766. The 1766 'agrégagtion' paved the way for the secularisation and professionalistion of teaching, by taking teacher training out of the hands of religious orders and making it a state affair. It is also worth noting that Ancien Régime 'agrégés' were trained to teach only literary disciplines; in short, the government moved to secularise and uniformise literary studies before any other disciplines. This reform – which might appear to concern staff and not *littérature* – was, in fact, a profoundly cultural and literary one. Once the question of teachers had at least begun to be addressed, attention turned to other educational matters, which were also up for reconsideration following the Jesuit expulsion.

Which Pupils Should Study *Littérature*?

In his *Principes généraux pour servir à l'éducation des enfans, particulièrement de la noblesse françoise* (1763), le père Polycarpe Poncelet (172?–178?) posits his work as a reaction against Rousseau's *Émile*. He explicitly contrasts his educational objectives with those of Rousseau. 'Persuadé qu'il y a une Patrie & une Religion', he writes, 'je me suis proposé

pour objet de mon travail, de former non des Robinson Crusoé, mais des Citoyens utiles; non des Hommes purement naturels, mais des Chrétiens raisonnables; non des Misanthropes, mais des Hommes amis des Hommes.'[419] If Émile's education was an isolated, individual one, Poncelet's students were to be educated for social roles. He would have them learn to read and write from the age of three, quickly moving on to study French and Latin grammar, modern languages, and modern French history. Like Poncelet, many in the *Querelle* expressed clear ideas about the type of child they thought should be educated in the *collèges*.

La Chalotais, we recall, believes that the sons of manual workers should be barred from such a literary education, as this might encourage them away from their fathers' professions, which he says are essential for the nation.[420] He thinks that the *collèges* should be reserved for the male elite: boys who, like their fathers, would become doctors, lawyers, the Gallican clergy, military generals, or politicians, and who would lead the nation – populated by the sorts of workers listed above – to greatness. In the seventeenth century, Locke had theorised a similar 'top-down', male educational model, arguing that, 'if those of that [gentleman's] rank are by their education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into order.'[421] Many *querelleurs* made similar claims.

In his *Plan d'éducation publique* (1770), for instance, Coyer aims to educate 'la classe des grands, des nobles et des riches', with the intention of forming a nation of great Frenchmen. Coyer believes these boys must study a reformed version of the *collège* discipline he calls *littérature*, the contents of which I will examine later in this chapter. I

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[419] Poncelet (1763), p. ix.
[420] La Chalotais (1763), p. 33. The paintings by Noël Hallé (1711–1781), 'L'Éducation des riches' and 'L'Éducation des pauvres' (1764–65) reinforce the idea, common in the period, that rich and poor should receive different forms of education. Hallé's paintings were displayed at the *Salon* of 1765; to view them online, with a notice by Stéphane Lojkine, see *L'Éducation des riches* and *L'Éducation des pauvres*, UtPictura18, 9 January 2016 <http://utpictura18.univ-montp3.fr/GenerateurNotice.php?numnotice=A8516> and <http://utpictura18.univ-montp3.fr/GenerateurNotice.php?numnotice=A8517> [accessed 29 June 2017].
[421] *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. by John W. & Jean S. Yolton (Oxford: OUP, 1989), p. 80.

would like to pause for a moment, however, to consider the mechanics behind Coyer's intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*. Coyer uses existing actors in the *Querelle* as one might use a set of co-ordinates, to map his own position in the *Querelle*. He pits Rousseau's contribution to current educational debates against the contributions of La Chalotais and the *parlementaires*; by then aligning himself the latter party, he situates himself within this ever more populated *Querelle*:

> un Magistrat[(a)] [...], présenta, en 1763, à sa Compagnie, un *Essai d'Education Nationale*, & le publia. Il n'avait que le tems d'essayer. Cet Acte, le plus auguste peut-être de son Ministere, semblait inviter les autres Parlemens à tourner leurs regards sur ce grand intérêt […] Pourquoi l'Auteur d'*Emile*, sifflant *ces risibles Etablissemens qu'on appelle Collèges,* (ce sont ses termes) au lieu d'appliquer ses forces à l'Education privée, ne les a-t-il pas consacrées à l'Education Publique? Pourquoi encore, au lieu de s'occuper uniquement de l'homme de la Nature, ne s'est-il pas attaché à la formation de l'homme de société?
> [(a)] M. de la Chalotais.[422]

This practice helped establish opposing 'camps', which future writers joined or spurned, thereby increasing what, following Ferreyrolles, we might call the 'polémicité' of the *Querelle*.[423] Indeed, Rousseau's status as the contemporary *querelleur par excellence*, in 1760s and '70s France, conferred upon the *Querelle des collèges* an agonistic dynamism that made it almost impossible for participants to remain neutral.[424] Opposing Coyer and the *parlementaires*, for example, were writers such as Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–1790), a German philosopher and pedagogue, whose work was translated into French by Jean-François de Bourgoing (1748–1811), an ex-pupil of the École royale militaire.[425] Basedow

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[422] Coyer, pp. viii–ix.
[423] See Ferreyrolles, pp. 9–12.
[424] By the 1760s and '70s, Rousseau was a highly polemical figure. His *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750) had famously caused controversy, and his public *querelles* with the *philosophes* were in full swing, including the dispute with Voltaire, over Voltaire's unauthorised publication of Rousseau's *Lettre sur la providence* (1756), and with d'Alembert, over the *Encyclopédie* article 'Genève' (1757) in which d'Alembert recommended that a theatre be established in the city – to the horror of the 'Citoyen de Genève'. For more on these *querelles*, see George R. Havens, 'Voltaire, Rousseau, and the *Lettre Sur La Providence*', *PMLA*, 59.1 (1944), 109–30; Gouhier (1983); Mostefai, *Le Citoyen de Genève et la république des lettres: étude sur la controverse autour de la Lettre à d'Alembert de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (New York: Lang, 2003). On Rousseau's conflicts with the *philosophes* more generally, see Jérôme Meizoz, *Le Gueux philosophe (Jean-Jacques Rousseau)* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2003).
[425] I consider Bourgoing more in the next chapter, pp. 178–81.

aligns himself with Rousseau and Locke.[426] In his introduction to Basedow's *De l'Éducation des Princes destinés au trône* (published in French in 1777), his translator, Bourgoing, writes, 'en effet quelques personnes prévenues pourraient croire, qu'entrer dans une carrière que *Locke* & *Mr. Rousseau* ont courue d'une manière si brillante, c'est vouloir se traîner servilement sur les traces de ces hommes de génie, ou courir le risque de broncher à chaque pas, en s'écartant de la route qu'ils ont frayée.'[427]

This practice of aligning oneself with existing participants in the *Querelle des collèges* was not just a way to define one's stance in this specific dispute, but could also be a way to mark one's work as an intervention in a *querelle*, *tout court*. This could be a lucrative move. Jean-Baptiste de Chiniac de la Bastide (b. ?–1768) suggests as much, for example, in his satirical novel, *Le Miroir fidèle, ou Entretiens d'Ariste et de Philindor* (1766), in which he implies that texts can gain a readership (and thus money for authors and publishers) purely by being acts in a *querelle*. Philindor, a foreign nobleman seeking to learn about French morals, makes this claim in his description of a Parisian scene:

> À Paris, il suffit qu'un Livre attaque une Personne qui a encouru la haine publique pour trouver des Acheteurs, quelque pitoyable que le Livre soit en lui-même. Comme je passais sur le Pont-neuf, je vis une foule de Peuple qui s'empressait d'acheter une Brochure si récemment imprimée que le papier était encore mouillé. L'exemple m'entraîna, je m'en procurai aussi. Quand je voulus en faire la lecture, je n'y trouvai qu'un amas de sottises grossières contre un Corps, dont la chute a fait beaucoup de bruit. Je ne pus m'empêcher d'en témoigner ma surprise à une Personne qui était avec moi. *Hé ne voyez-vous pas,* me dit-on*, que ce Livre n'aurait jamais vu le jour, s'il n'eût été contre les J***.*[428]

Bastide uses Philindor (cast in the role of the enlightened foreigner), to parody the contemporary practices of polemics. He notes that such works are commonly sold on the Pont-Neuf, and suggests they are produced in haste so as to capitalise on the public's

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[426] Although Basedow was a disciple of Rousseau, Bourgoing's stance was more equivocal, as I discuss later, pp. 181–84.
[427] *De l'Éducation des Princes destinés au trône, par M. Basedow. Traduit de l'Allemand. Par Mr. de B**** (Yverdon: Société typographique, 1777), p. 9.
[428] *Le Miroir Fidèle, ou Entretiens d'Ariste et de Philindor* (London and Paris: Les Libraires, 1766), pp. 34–35.

interest in the latest twist in a popular dispute.[429] The subject of the 'brochure' Philindor encounters is, of course, the *Querelle contre les Jésuites*. Writing about the controversial topic *du jour* is portrayed as a publishing strategy; if writers wish to be published and to attract a readership, they simply need to intervene in the latest *querelle*.

Some participants intervening in the *Querelle des collèges* seem to have employed a similar strategy, using the combined fame of *Émile* and of the *Querelle des collèges*, to draw an audience for their works. The anonymous *Traité sur l'éducation, pour servir de supplément à l'Emile par J.J. Rousseau* (1770), for instance, frames itself as a 'supplément' to *Émile*. However, other than the title, the text makes no reference to *Émile* or to Rousseau. The author explains that he or she had intended to compile a book of extracts from the many excellent, recent works about education, with the aim of disseminating their knowledge. However, after consulting the *Encyclopédie*, the author claims to have realised that its articles on education contained all that parents and educators might need to know. 'Tous les pères de famille n'ont pas l'*Encyclopédie*', the introduction explains, '& ils ont pourtant des enfans à élever.'[430] The *Traité*, then, is uniquely composed of extracts from eighteen *Encyclopédie* articles (one of which was d'Alembert's article 'Collège', (1753)).

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Returning to the content of the *Querelle des collèges*, and to the matter of what sorts of pupils should receive a literary education, in his *Plan d'une université* (1775), Diderot agrees with La Chalotais that not all students require the same amount of education. He states,

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[429] The Pont-Neuf was known as a place where *colporteurs* sold pamphlets. In the first volume of the *Tableau de Paris* (Hamburg: Virchaux; Neufchâtel: Fauche, 1781, pp. 56–60), Louis-Sébastien Mercier describes it as a place filled with public activity and seedy exchanges. For more on the sale of pamphlets on the Pont-Neuf, see Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 55–57.

[430] *Traité sur l'éducation, pour servir de supplément à l'Emile par J.J. Rousseau* (Neufchatel: Société typographique, 1770), p. vii.

'tous ne sont ni capables ni destinés à suivre cette longue avenue jusqu'au bout.'[431] Diderot establishes a hierarchy of disciplines; maths and the experimental sciences are essential for all, whereas *belles-lettres* is reserved only for those with a professional need for the subject, that is to say, *littérateurs* and orators. And such professions must remain rare: 'il faut qu'il y ait des orateurs, des poètes, des philosophes, de grands artistes', Diderot acknowledges, 'mais enfants du génie, bien plus que de l'enseignement, le nombre n'en doit et n'en peut être que fort petit.'[432] And yet, Diderot argues that 'la gloire littéraire est le fondement de toutes les autres. Les grandes actions tombent dans l'oubli, ou dégénèrent en fables extravagantes, sans un historien fidèle qui les raconte, un grand orateur qui les préconise, un poète sacré qui les chante, ou des arts plastiques qui les représentent à nos yeux.'[433] As Kathryn Ascheim has argued, far from suggesting *belles-lettres* is unimportant (because few pupils should study it), Diderot's hierarchy in fact posits literary studies as the *most* important kind. Literary greatness is essential for conveying national greatness to the wider public and recording it for posterity, and only the very best students should be entrusted with this task.[434] By restricting the numbers of those who study *belles-lettres*, Diderot raises the status of literary learning.

While writers like La Chalotais, Coyer, and Diderot advocated restricting access to literary education, others – influenced by the terms of the *Querelle des collèges,* but going beyond its social and institutional interests – called for it to be dispensed to traditionally excluded groups. The *Querelle des collèges* helped give rise to other branches of debate that treated the education of girls, of 'le peuple', and of children with physical impairments – particularly 'les sourds-muets'. These branches formed what, I argue, should be seen as the wider *Querelle de l'éducation*. Eighteenth-century writers were not, of course, the first to dispute

[431] Diderot, in Lewinter (1971), p. 760.
[432] *Ibid*, p. 788.
[433] *Ibid*, p. 787.
[434] 'Belles-Lettres and the University: Diderot's *Plan d'une université ou d'une éducation publique dans toutes les sciences*', *YFS*, 77 (1990), 61–75; p. 74.

these matters. Throughout the early modern period, interest in girls' education had produced new institutions, such as the famous Maison royale de Saint-Cyr – the school for the daughters of the poor French nobility, founded by Mme de Maintenon in 1684 – and it had produced famous texts, such as Fénelon's *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687).[435] As scholars including Py and Jennifer J. Popiel have studied, male and female writers interested in girls' education often responded agonistically to Rousseau's portrayal of Sophie, in *Émile*, and her educational programme, which was far more limited than that of her male counterpart.[436] Some of these reactions proposed that girls should be given literary instruction. D'Espinassy's *Essai sur l'éducation des demoiselles* (1764), for instance, claimed that a woman should be 'aussi sensée qu'agréable', and her plan for domestically educating girls involved reading 'l'écriture sainte' and history.[437] She also recommended that girls read pleasing 'contes moraux' such as *Don Quichotte* (first translated into French in 1614), *Gil Blas* (1715–35), and *Gulliver's Travels* (first translated into French in 1727), but warned against novels, noting, 'je trouve un grand danger dans la lecture des Romans, & je ne les voudrois permettre que quand l'esprit est assez formé pour distinguer le vrai, du faux.'[438] Following writers like Mme de Sévigné and Fénelon who, in the seventeenth century, had evoked the potential dangers of allowing girls to read novels, many eighteenth-century pedagogues writing about girls' education often debated similar matters.[439] These debates over the moral suitability of novels for children would recur in the context of the *Querelle des collèges*. However, since texts like d'Espinassy's *Essai* raised

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435 For more on the Maison de Saint-Cyr, see Roche (1978) and Piéjus (2000). For a study of Fénelon's educational thought (in particular in relation to girls' education), see H. C. Barnard, *Fénelon on Education* (Cambridge: CUP, 1966).

436 See Py (1997), pp. 338–407; and Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Hanover: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008).

437 D'Espinassy, p. 5

438 *Ibid*, p. 57.

439 In her letters to her daughter, Mme de Sévigné explains her ambivalence towards novels, and their ability to have 'des bons et des mauvais effets' (see Rousselot (1883), I, p. 244). Fénelon suggests that a passion for novels is the sign of a 'précieuse', and that by reading such texts, '[ces précieuses] se rendent l'esprit visionnaire en s'accoutumant au langage magnifique des héros de romans: elles se gâtent même par là pour le monde'. *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (Paris: Delagrave, 1909), p. 11. In the nineteenth century, novels would continue to be portrayed as corrupting numerous (ironically, novelistic) heroines, including Noun and Indiana in George Sand's *Indiana* (1832), and the eponymous heroine in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1856).

different matters from those relating to boys' literary instruction in the *collèges*, and since they therefore constitued a branch of the *Querelle de l'éducation* that ran parallel to the *Querelle des collèges*, I will not consider such works further, in this thesis.

Another branch of the *Querelle de l'éducation*, which gained particular attention in the 1770s and '80s, and which ran parallel to the *Querelle des collèges*, related to the education of 'les sourds-muets'. In *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles, et de son éducation* (posthumously published in 1773), Helvétius argues that the capacity to learn should not be seen as limited by the physical body: 'de tous les obstacles à la perfection de l'éducation, le plus grand, c'est de regarder les talens & les vertus comme un effet de l'organisation. Nulle opinion ne favorise plus la paresse et la négligence des Instituteurs.'[440] One of the primary interests behind educating the deaf and dumb, in this period, was an experimental one, through which pedagogues sought to test Enlightenment theories, like those of Helvétius, about the power of nurture over nature, and to explore whether physical impairments could be overcome by education.[441] The focus of education for the deaf and dumb was, therefore, on whether they could be taught basic literacy, and specifically if they could be taught to speak.

The vogue for texts considering whether and how the deaf might be educated was also encouraged by the creation of philanthropic schools for this group of pupils in the 1760s and '70s. The most famous of these was the first school for the deaf in France, founded by the abbé Charles-Michel de l'Épée (1712–1789) at his home in Paris. From 1760, the abbé de l'Épée educated upto seventy students each year, and famously learned from his observations that these students could communicate with one another through 'une

[440] *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles, et de son éducation* (London [Paris?]: [n. pub.], 1773), p. 8.
[441] Douthwaite (2002) explores some of these theories, and their applications.

langue des signes'.[442] Between the mid-1770s and the 1780s, Épée published several texts on his experiments in teaching these students, and these received responses from other educators of deaf children, such as the abbé Roch-Ambroise Cucurron Sicard (1742–1822) and the abbé Claude-François Deschamps de Champloiseau (1745–1791?). Deschamps was one of the few to go beyond the primary interest in teaching the deaf to speak. His programme was unusual in that, as he puts it, 'outre les connoissances directes au but qu'il [l'éducateur] se propose, qui est de faire parler les Sourds & Muets, il en ajoutera d'autres, à la volonté des Parents, comme la Langue Latine, la Philosophie, l'Histoire, &c.'[443] It remains the case, however, that most of these late eighteenth-century programmes for the deaf focused on teaching basic skills of literacy, and often in private, philanthropic institutions – not concerns directly raised by the *Querelle des collèges*. For this reason, then, as with texts pertaining to girls' education, I will not discuss this corpus of works further.

Those interested in teaching 'le peuple' were, on the other hand, sometimes more clearly a part of the *Querelle des collèges*, in that some campaigned for 'le peuple' to receive a literary education in the *collèges*. Jansenist pedagogues such as Crevier, for example, claimed that the poor should receive such an education. 'Répugne-t-il à la bonne philosophie, ou à la bonne politique', he writes, 'que les collèges soient ouverts à tous ceux qui se présentent? Que le noble & le roturier soient mis à l'épreuve?'[444] However, many writers interested in teaching 'le peuple' sought to limit their instruction to basic *literacy*, rather than *literary* disciplines.[445] This built on the teaching delivered to 'le peuple' by famous pedagogues of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, such as Jean-Baptiste de La Salle

[442] On the abbé de l'Épée's pedagogy, see Karine Lasne, 'Jacob Rodrigues Pereire et l'abbé de l'Épée. Perspectives croisées sur l'enseignement des enfants sourds', *Reliance*, 15 (2005), 108–13.
[443] *Lettre à M. de S***, sur l'institution des Sourds & Muets* (London and Paris: Valade, 1777), p. 3.
[444] Crevier (1763), pp. 37–38.
[445] On the education of children of 'le peuple' in the period, see Julia, 'Enfances du peuple', in *Histoire de l'enfance en Occident,* dir. by Egle Becchi and Julia, 2 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1998), II, pp. 31–45.

(1651–1719). La Salle's free schools for the poor, run by the order he founded around 1680, the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes, were established according to the belief that all children must be literate, so that they could read the scriptures, and know their duty to God, but he did not go beyond teaching literacy and numeracy.[446]

In his *Plan d'instruction pour le peuple* (1775), the *homme de lettres* Gaspard Guillard de Beaurieu (1728–1795) campaigned for 'le peuple' to receive a similar, limited education. Beaurieu defines 'le peuple' as 'l'ensemble des hommes peu instruits, d'un mérite fort ordinaire, dépravés ou non, selon qu'ils sont bien ou mal gouvernés, bien ou mal élevés'.[447] He notes that 'aujourd'hui, qu'il commence à être compté pour quelque chose, & même à être estimé tout ce qu'il vaut, ce Peuple si précieux […] il faut l'instruire.'[448] He would have them learn the country's basic laws; patriotic, national history; and important details of French trade agreements, such as the laws on the free trade of grain. However, he advises teachers of 'le peuple', 'ne l'occupons que de ce qui peut lui faire aimer la justice, la vertu: […] le Peuple, qui n'a ni le loisir ni l'envie de trop lire, n'en a pas plus de trop raisonner.'[449] Philipon de La Madelaine, in his *Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple* (1783), argues for a similar, limited education. 'Le peuple', he says, could either be useful or harmful to the state. Faced with the question 'should the *peuple* be educated', he answers:

> Oui, si l'on entend par là qu'il faut lui apprendre à connaître les choses qui peuvent influer sur son bien-être, façonner son âme à la vertu, former ses organes aux diverses professions qui lui sont propres. Mais si à ce mot *d'instruction* l'on attache l'idée d'étude des langues, des sciences, des lettres, des beaux-arts, sans contredit on doit l'éloigner du peuple; l'ignorance est préférable. Je ne connais pas d'arme plus dangereuse que le savoir entre les mains du peuple.

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[446] La Sallian institutions were so popular that by the eve of the Revolution they had around 35,000 pupils. For a presentation of his teaching, see Pierre Zind, 'La Méthode pédagogique de Jean-Baptiste de la Salle au début du XVIIIe siècle', in *Actes du 95e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims, 1970*, 2 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1974), I, pp. 61–73; and André Prévot, 'Une Pédagogie réaliste et adaptée: Jean-Baptiste de La Salle et ses disciples', in the same volume, pp. 75–81.
[447] 'Plan d'instruction pour le peuple', in *La Ferme de Pensylvanie* [sic]. *Les Avantages de la Vertu. Plan d'Instruction pour le Peuple* (Philadelphia [Paris]: Ribou, 1775), pp. 47–96; 47–48.
[448] *Ibid*, p. 47.
[449] *Ibid,* pp. 54–55.

Most writers campaigning for the education of 'le peuple' maintain that book-based learning, and instruction in eloquent composition, should be preserved for 'la classe des grands'. These 'conducteurs de la nation', it seemed, could be trusted to use their literary learning to promote normative notions of French greatness, taught during a *collège* education. Many actors in the *Querelle des collèges* agreed, then, that education should not be distributed according to individual interests, but rather according to the economic needs of 'la patrie'.

Querelleurs' answers, then, as to who should receive literary instruction depended on what they thought the purpose of education was; and this, in turn, depended on what sort of nation they thought France should be. Should it be a nation where previously marginalised groups including 'les femmes', 'le peuple', and 'les sourds-muets' were taught literary disciplines? Or a nation where literary skill is entrusted to the traditional male elite, who are taught to perpetuate a normative image of French greatness (which included praising – and maintaining in their station – France's artisans, tradesmen, and farmers)? The weight of opinion seems to have been with the latter. But how exactly did *querelleurs* propose to convey this normative image of French greatness to these boys, and what sorts of methods and exercises were to be part of their literary education?

What Methods Should be Used to Teach *Littérature*?

In the winning entry of the Académie des Jeux Floraux's 1763 essay competition, on the question 'quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?', the révérend père Jean Navarre despaired over *collège* teaching methods: 'Que dirai-je de ces ennuyeuses compositions de Collége, source éternelle de mauvais goût, de désespoir & de larmes?

[…] Comment le Langage demi-barbare, prétendu Grec ou Latin, dont nos méthodes sont remplies, donnera-t-il à nos jeunes François le ton des bons Auteurs de Rome ou d'Athènes?'[450] Navarre targets Latin and Greek compositions, but these were not the only exercises to come under attack. Rivard, for instance, begins his *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études publiques* (1769) by decrying 'l'ancienne méthode, qui est encore en vigueur, [qui] prescrit de donner des thèmes.'[451] *Thèmes* – still used today – are translations from one's native language (in this case, French) into the target language (Latin).

Drawing on the practices recommended by pedagogues including Rollin and Batteux, many *querelleurs* argued that, instead of producing compositions or translations, *collégiens* should simply focus on reading texts and learning from their example. Both Coyer and the anonymous author of the *Élève de la raison et de la religion, ou traité d'éducation physique, morale et didactique* (1773) claim that a child's taste is best formed by this latter method; as Coyer puts it, 'la lecture raisonnée des meilleurs modèles fera naître le goût. Et voilà tout ce qu'il en faut pour une éducation distinguée.'[452] To encourage boys to read, the anonymous author of *De l'éducation publique propre à la jeune noblesse* (1772) calls for each *collège* to have a library from which students could borrow. The author of *L'Éducation mise à la portée de tout le monde* (1781), Henri-Abraham Châtelain (dates unknown) went even further, insisting that each pupil should have his own personal library.[453]

Some *querelleurs* constructed their 'pro-reading' stance by contrasting it with that of other participants in the *Querelle*. The Doctrinaire priest and Professeur de Philosophie at the Collège royal de Carcassonne, for example, le père Fraissinet (dates unknown) posits his

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[450] Navarre, pp. 9–10.
[451] Rivard (1769), p. 22.
[452] Coyer, p. 183.
[453] *De l'éducation publique propre à la jeune noblesse* (Saint Petersburg: Corps des Cadets, 1772), p. 62; and Châtelain, *L'Éducation mise à la portée de tout le monde* (Lausanne: Pott, 1781), p. 37. For more on school libraries in the period, see Jean Hébrard, 'Les Bibliothèques scolaires', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 4 vols, dir. by Dominique Varry (Paris: Promodis; Cercle de la librairie, 1991), III, pp. 547–77.

ideas about the need for boys to study *littérature*, and to study it by simply reading texts, as in opposition to the ideas of Rousseau. In his *Manière d'enseigner les belles-lettres, et de former les mœurs de la jeunesse* (1768), Fraissinet introduces his educational programme with an implicit attack against the *philosophe*, contending that, 'quoi qu'en disent les apologistes de l'ignorance, on ne peut [...] négliger les lettres sans porter atteinte à la perfection et à la félicité'.[454] Fraissinet understands 'l'étude des lettres' as 'l'étude des langues et de la littérature'. Like La Chalotais, Fraissinet uses the word *littérature* to designate a corpus of texts by national, valued authors. As part of this *collège* study of *littérature*, he recommends that boys should read a plethora of modern French authors, including La Fontaine, Buffon, Sévigné, Pluche, d'Olivet, Bouhours, Fleury, and Fontenelle. Rather than try to memorise the content or style of these authors, however, Fraissinet says pupils should simply focus on comprehension; he proposes that each day, 'ils feront une lecture dont ils rendront compte'.[455] Whereas reading is strictly limited in *Émile*, Fraissinet makes it the core of his curriculum. Equally, where Rousseau prescribes only one type of reading for Émile and Sophie (namely, mimetic identification), Fraissinet encourages pupils to summarise their reading to their teacher, giving them more freedom to define the ways in which they have understood it.

Other *querelleurs* affirmed their support for new literary exercises not by attacking those proposed in earlier texts, but by recommending them. In his *De l'étude des langues en général, et de la langue latine en particulier* (1777), for example, Mathias, Principal at the Collège de Langres, argues that instead of learning Latin via *thèmes*, students should employ the method of interlinear translation as set out by César Chesneau Dumarsais (1676–1756) in his *Exposition d'une méthode raisonnée pour apprendre la langue latine* (1722).[456] Dumarsais

[454] Fraissinet, I, pp. 10–11. I can find no details on Fraissinet; he does not seem to have written any other texts.
[455] *Ibid*, p. 81.
[456] *Ibid*, p. 27.

believed pupils could learn Latin without memorising grammatical rules or vocabulary. His method involved, first, translating sentences from an eloquent, Latin author into literal, basic Latin; he called this process 'explication'. This simplified Latin was then translated as literally as possible, and in the same order, into French, which was to be written immediately below the Latin. The parallel French and Latin words could then be compared, and the Latin word learned, before translating the French back into the 'latin pur et élégant de l'auteur qu'on explique.'[457] The aim of this method was to help children understand the meaning of the ancient classics, which they were to imitate and develop a taste for. 'C'est [cet auteur Ancien] seul que je propose à imiter', writes Dumarsais; 'c'est à celui-là que j'accoutume l'oreille et le goût des enfans par des lectures réitérées.'[458] To persuade readers that this kind of exercise is the best method for language learning, Mathias quotes extracts in support of his claims from twelve different educational 'autorités', including Montaigne, Locke, Rollin, Batteux, d'Alembert, La Chalotais, Coyer, and Dumarsais himself. Mathias uses these 'auteurs de quelque réputation' as a weapon against 'la routine' of the *collèges*, perpetuated, he says, by 'ceux qui ne veulent ou ne peuvent entendre raison'.[459] Mathias attacks a non-specific enemy, then, by mustering an army of educational thinkers.

Some *querelleurs*, however, implicitly identified themselves as the sort of enemy Mathias was seeking to defeat. Also in 1777, Leroy, an emeritus Professor of humanities and rhetoric from the Parisian Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, anonymously published his *Lettre d'un professeur émérite de l'université de Paris*. The work was a polemical response to the programme of literary studies employed at the Collège de Sorèze, controlled by the Benedictines. In 1776, Sorèze had been made one of the ten new regional Écoles royales

[457] See Dumarsais's explanation of his method in his 'Préface d'une méthode raisonnée pour apprendre la langue latine' (1729), reproduced in *Les Véritables principes de la grammaire et autres textes,* ed. by Françoise Douay-Soublin (Paris: Fayard, 1987), pp. 11–50; p. 25.
[458] Dumarsais, in Douay-Soublin (1987), p. 25.
[459] *De l'Etude des Langues en général, et de la langue latine en particulier* (Langres: Defay, 1777), p. 38.

militaires, which were created in response to the success of the Parisian École militaire (which will be the focus of the next chapter). Leroy argues that the Benedictines' syllabus is too vast (and too secular, besides – a claim I will examine below), and he says that it is unrealistic to expect boys to read and retain a four-hundred-page text, or all five books of Phaedrus's Latin fables. Instead, Leroy recommends precisely the method that so many of his contemporaries criticised: *thèmes*.[460]

Although the *Querelle des collèges* saw moments of support for traditional *collège* exercises like *thèmes*, by the 1780s most *querelleurs* were of the consensus that they were to be avoided. In his *Poème sur l'éducation* (1788), Étienne Lafargue (1728–95) summarised the view held by many at the time:

> Une trop vieille erreur, qu'on ne sentit jamais,
> Fait en mauvais latin mettre de bon français.
> Le seul raisonnement réprouve ce système.
> C'est un étrange abus, c'est un monstre qu'un thème.[461]

However, although reading and reflecting on what one read had come to be regarded by most *querelleurs* as the best method of instruction, they did not always agree on precisely *which* authors and texts pupils should read.

What Texts Should be Taught as *Littérature*?

Some *querelleurs* debated what sorts of literary genres *collège* pupils should study. There was particular debate over whether novels should be taught, since the genre was not 'classique' in the sense of 'ancient'. Interventions in this branch of the *Querelle* picked up on the seventeenth-century *Querelle du roman* (one of the *querelles littéraires* presented by

[460] Leroy, pp. 40–42.
[461] *Poème sur l'éducation* (Paris: Guillot, 1788), p. 33.

Irailh).[462] One of the early interventions in this *querelle*, for example, Sorel's *Le Berger extravagant* (1627), ironically suggested (given Sorel's own novelistic production) that novels were 'invraisemblables', poorly composed, a waste of time, and – most relevant to its re-staging during the *Querelle des collèges* – that they posed a danger to young people's morals.[463]

In his *Éducation morale* (1770), the Genevan *homme de lettres* Jean-Antoine Comparet (1722–17?) argues that not all novels are apt for children. He writes scathingly, for instance, of 'des productions licentieuses' – libertine novels – which he calls '[une] école de la volupté'.[464] Yet, he notes, 'cela ne veut pas dire qu'ils [les romans] portent tous le caractère de réprobation; il y en a quantité qui réunissent au charme de l'amusement, des instructions utiles'.[465] Comparet proposes that writers compose novels specifically for young people, appealing to their emotions and ways of experiencing the world. He writes that,

> il faudroit un observateur qui […] pourroit rassembler un nombre d'anecdotes vraies, qui mélangées avec un accessoire vraisemblable & un style naïf, fourniroient des histoires assez frappantes, pour remuer le cœur des enfans avec la même sensation que nous l'éprouvons, en lisant un roman bien écrit & intéressant.[466]

Echoing Rousseau's contentions about the necessity of moving man's passions in order to affect his behaviour, Comparet claims that moving a child's passions is pedagogically

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462 See Irailh, II, pp. 334–53.

463 For further discussion of the seventeenth-century *Querelle du roman*, see the work of Camille Esmein-Sarrazin, in particular 'Polémique et réflexion sur le genre romanesque au xviie siècle: la fortune du débat pour ou contre le roman', *Littératures classiques*, 59 (2006), 223–35.

464 *Éducation morale, ou réponse à cette question proposée en 1765, par la société des arts & sciences de Harlem. 'Comment doit-on gouverner l'esprit & le cœur d'un enfant, pour le faire parvenir un jour à l'état d'homme heureux & utile?* (Geneva: Pellet & fils, 1770), p. 207.

465 *Ibid,* p. 209.

466 *Ibid,* pp. 156. Comparet calls for what we might now call 'children's literature'. This would make Comparet very much of his time, if, as Matthew O. Grenby notes, 'most cultural historians agree that children's literature, as we recognise it today, began in the mid-eighteenth century'. See 'The Origins of Children's Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by M. O. Grenby and Andrea Immel (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), pp. 3–18; p. 4. Françoise Huguet's catalogue of French children's literature held in the library of the INRP would suggest that, in France, there was certainly a growth, in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the publication of texts written for children. This was propelled by writers such as Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont (1711–1780) and Stéphanie Félicité du Crest de Saint-Aubin, comtesse de Genlis (1746–1830). Huguet's catalogue also features works from as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, revealing the pre-eighteenth-century history of children's literature. See *Les Livres pour l'enfance et la jeunesse, de Gutenberg à Guizot* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997).

useful for directing his behaviour. And it is for a similar reason that Louis Domairon (1745–1807), Professor of 'Littérature Française' at the École royale militaire in the 1780s, includes novels in his classroom literary manual, *Les Principes généraux des belles-lettres* (1784-85).[467] He claims that novels can stir children's emotions, and thereby teach them moral lessons. He explains, '[les romans] qu'on met au nombre des meilleurs, sont *Zaïde*, & la *Princesse de Cleves* par Madame de La Fayette; faits avec goût, écrits avec décence, & bien propres à entretenir dans les cœurs l'amour de la vertu', and he even recommends eighteenth-century novels, including '*Les Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, le *Doyen de Killerine*, & autres [romans] de l'Abbé Prévost, pleins des situations les plus attendrissantes ou les plus terribles'.[468]

Querelleurs also disputed what languages texts should be in, and what languages it was important for *collégiens* to know. Against the growing weight of opinion that French was more important to teach than Latin, some maintained that Latin was nonetheless essential for an elite education. Early in the *Querelle*, Ignace Vanière (1696–1767), whose *Cours de Latinité* (1759) offered a method for studying Latin, wrote two *Discours* (1760 and 1763) which defended the place of Latin in the *collèges*. He argues that Latin is a universal language, used throughout Europe, and that Frenchmen therefore need to know it in order to communicate with their neighbours. 'La Langue Latine offre au Voyageur, au Négociant & au Militaire', he writes, 'le gracieux avantage de n'être point étrangers, en quelqu'endroit qu'ils se trouvent.'[469] Vanière also believes that the nature of Latin as a fixed, dead language means that it will be able to convey France's greatness for generations to come.[470] Finally, he says Latin is the language of Catholicism, and is

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[467] I discuss this manual further in the next chapter, pp. 210–14.
[468] *Principes généraux des belles-lettres, dédiés aux cadets gentils-hommes de l'École Royale Militaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Laporte, 1784), I, p. 451.
[469] *Second discours sur l'éducation, dans lequel on expose tout le vicieux de l'institution scholastique, et le moyen d'y remédier* (Paris: Butard; Dessaint, 1763), p. 10.
[470] *Ibid*, p. 9.

essential for reading sacred texts. According to Vanière, 'il n'y a rien dans les Auteurs profanes les plus vantés, qui approche de cette belle littérature qui regne partout dans nos Livres saints'.[471]

Many writers, though – from Jansenist *parlementaires*, to *collège* teachers – countered Vanière's claims, and contended that the best *littérature* is secular and, above all, French. Seconding writers like Batteux and La Chalotais, for instance, Coyer exclaims, 'Quoi donc! la Littérature Française dont les Etrangers font tant de cas, n'est-elle rien pour des Français? […] Si Phédre & Térence méritent nos éloges, la Fontaine & Molière ont surpassé leurs modeles.'[472] He argues that the place of Latin in the *collège* curriculum should be drastically reduced, and that 'la littérature française' is essential for forming the taste of 'les conducteurs de la nation' which, in his view, is only 'good' if it is a national taste, for French authors. He explains,

> la lecture raisonnée des meilleurs modèles fera naître le goût. Et voilà tout ce qu'il en faut pour une éducation distinguée. Certainement on ne demande ni au Magistrat, ni au Militaire, ni à l'homme d'Eglise, ni au Fainéant de qualité, d'être ou Corneille, ou Racine, ou Molière, ou Rousseau: mais on a droit d'exiger qu'ils sentent leurs beautés.[473]

Coyer shifts the purpose of literary education from producing eloquent authors and orators (as posited by the Jesuits), to producing students who believe that French authors are the best kind. However, if many *querelleurs* agreed that French *littérature* should be taught, not all agreed on which French authors should be taught as *littérature*. Many debated which period they should be from, and particularly whether eighteenth-century writers could be considered 'classics'.

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[471] *Ibid*, p. 11.
[472] Coyer, pp. 200–01.
[473] *Ibid*, p. 183. The 'Rousseau' praised here is almost certainly Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (not least because Coyer attacked Rousseau *de Genève*, earlier in his work).

As touched upon earlier, the notion of the literary 'classic' has a long history. We recall that, in the examples they provided of 'auteurs classiques', no dictionaries of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries suggested that an 'auteur classique' could be anything other than an ancient Latin or Greek writer.[474] Not until the sixth edition of 1835 did the *Dictionnaire de l'académie* propose any French authors as 'auteurs classiques'.[475] However, we also know that, given that defining a word necessitates fixing its meaning as it was at a given moment in time, dictionaries can often record definitions which can be outdated by the time they are published. Contemporary practices and uses of a word remain far more mutable than what dictionaries often suggest, and this was certainly the case for eighteenth-century ideas about what constituted an 'auteur classique'. From as early as the sixteenth century, we remember, French authors had been slowly making inroads into *collège* classrooms, beginning with Guy du Faur de Pibrac, and by the early eighteenth century, French writers including seventeenth-century moralists like La Fontaine were being taught. By teaching such French authors, educators implicitly taught boys a new concept of the 'auteur classique'.

In their interventions in the *Querelle des collèges*, many writers extended these practices, and proposed increasingly long lists of authors from 'le Grand Siècle' whom they argued should be taught in the *collèges*. Authors who published during the great 'siècle de Louis XIV' became, by association, symbols of the nation's greatness. France's military prowess and perceived economic success during this period was seen to be paralleled in a literary aesthetic of greatness.[476] These authors were therefore promoted as exemplary 'classics'

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474 See the discussion above, pp. 24–25.

475 The 1835 edition states: 'Classique. adj. des deux genres. Il se dit des auteurs du premier rang, qui sont devenus modèles dans une langue quelconque. *Platon, Aristote, Homère, Démosthène, Cicéron, Virgile, Tite-Live, etc., sont des auteurs classiques. Les auteurs, les écrivains classiques français, anglais, etc.* On l'emploie aussi substantivement. *Les classiques français, anglais, etc. Recueil des classiques. Boileau est un de nos premiers classiques.*' (Paris: Didot, 1835), p. 327.

476 Sabine Loucif makes a similar point in her study of how American universities define and teach a canon of French authors. See *À la recherche du canon perdu: l'enseignement de la littérature française dans les universités américaines* (New Orleans: Presses universitaires du Nouveau Monde, 2001), p. 11.

for boys to read, gain a taste for, and attempt to imitate, in the hope they would produce similarly great texts (which would make the nation great) in the future. As Zékian has studied, the Revolutionaries continued to promote seventeenth-century authors because they were considered 'propres à favoriser le processus de régénération nationale'.[477]

And yet, not all participants in the *Querelle* agreed that seventeenth-century authors were the only French writers apt to be taught as 'classics'. Leroy's *Lettre d'un professeur émérite* (1777), for instance, attacked the programme of the Benedictines precisely because they did not limit their canon of modern French authors to those of the seventeenth century. In the introduction to the *Lettre*, Leroy explains what he thinks education should and should not do. 'Que seroit-ce qu'une nation toute entière de littérateurs?', he writes, 'la véritable fin de l'éducation est assurément d'inspirer aux élèves l'amour de la vertu, de développer leurs talents, & de les rendre capables d'embrasser en sortant des collèges, l'état auquel ils se sentent plus de penchant.'[478] The programme of literary education employed at Sorèze, he says, does not fulfil these aims and he says this is because it includes works by the *philosophes*. He explains, '[les professeurs de Sorèze] ont cru bonnement flatter la nation, en se prêtant à une façon de penser qu'ils ont regardée comme générale: en un mot, ils ont prétendu se mettre à la moderne & au goût de nos *soi-disants philosophes*.'[479] He claims to know where (or rather, from whom) the Benedictines took this curriculum, and he does not hesitate to name the culprit: 'C'est à M. d'Alembert que vos pères le doivent, ce plan; ils ont voulu donner à toute la France un collège encyclopédique'.[480] Leroy believes the curriculum is based on d'Alembert's ideas for reforming literary education, as set out in his *Encyclopédie* article 'Collège'. Over two decades after the first publication of d'Alembert's article, Leroy draws the text firmly into

[477] Zékian (2012), p. 263.
[478] Leroy, p. 6.
[479] *Ibid*, p. 69.
[480] *Ibid*, p. 67.

this *Querelle*. Moreover, what is also striking about Leroy's text is that he accuses the Benedictines of intervening in the *Querelle des collèges* not through a text, but through their very teaching practices. As I will explore in the next chapter, the Benedictines were not the only group whose teaching practices could be seen as acts in this dispute.

Leroy says that, in their classroom treatise on poetry, the Benedictines wrongly flatter Voltaire: 'les pères de Sorèze, pour faire leur cour à M. de Voltaire, nous disent que *l'auteur de la Henriade est peut-être le seul qui ait bien connu l'usage de cette dangereuse machine, & qui ait su la faire agir à propos*. Pour moi, qui ne saurois fléchir le genou devant l'idole, j'avouerai que je me suis quelquefois ennuyé de ce prétendu poème'.[481] Unlike La Chalotais, who crowns Voltaire a living classic and gives him pride of place on his syllabus, Leroy is reserved about allowing this potentially dangerous (or, as Leroy claims here, simply 'boring') modern author into the classroom. And criticising the school's poetry treatise, Leroy states,

> je voudrois seulement que [son] auteur, en écrivant au nom d'un religieux, eût été un peu plus curieux des bienséances, & qu'il se fût montré moins versé dans la connoissance de notre théâtre moderne. Les jeunes gens ne sont que trop tôt instruits sur tous ces ouvrages d'amusement, la plupart plus dangereux que frivoles. Je me contenterois qu'ils me fissent une analyse bien raisonnée de l'Athalie & du Misanthrope, ou de quelques autres pièces également sages & bien travaillées.[482]

Leroy considers seventeenth-century dramatists like Racine and Molière more acceptable French classics than the *philosophes*.

The *Lettre* is, of course, a polemical attack by an ex-professor of the Université de Paris against a rival, non-university *collège*. However, Leroy's account of the Benedictines'

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[481] *Ibid*, pp. 174–75.

[482] *Ibid*, p. 175. Leroy does not note which works of 'notre théâtre moderne' he is concerned about. Since I have been unable to carry out archival research into the teaching practices at the École de Sorèze within the time frame of this thesis, I have been unable to verify what they were, but this would interesting to explore.

curriculum does seem at least partially accurate.[483] In his study of the Collège de Sorèze, Jacques Fabre de Massaguel notes that, in 1763, students were required to answer the exam question 'qu'est-ce qu'un gouvernement despotique, monarchique, aristocratique, démocratique?'[484] In its reference to the type of government particular to different political regimes, the question implies that students would have been taught at least something of Montesquieu's political thought, as set out in *De l'esprit des lois* (1748) (even if they had not explicitly studied that text).[485]

Leroy's text reveals a shift in the referent of terms such as 'moderne' and 'ancien'. In the seventeenth-century *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, these terms signified French versus Latin or Greek authors and, by extension, the French writers who supported each of the former; by the late eighteenth century, however, the new 'moderne' was the *philosophe*, while Racine and Molière were, in comparison, 'anciens', whose place in the classroom was, by then, relatively uncontroversially accepted. Finally, as well as inserting himself into an eighteenth-century, educational version of the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Leroy's text also intervenes in the *Querelle entre les encyclopédistes et anti-encyclopédistes*, as presented by Irailh.[486] His *Lettre* demonstrates, therefore, that one text could be an intervention in numerous *querelles*, and that the *Querelle des collèges* was profoundly influenced by existing *querelle littéraires*.

Under the guise of a favourable review of Leroy's *Lettre,* the fifth volume of the 1777 edition of the *Anneée littéraire*, by Louis Marie Stanislas Fréron (1754–1802) and the abbé

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[483] Massaguel indicates that the professor of rhétorique at Sorèze, Dom François Ferlus, replied to Leroy in a text entitled *Réponse à la lettre d'un professeur émérite de l'université de Paris, au sujet des Exercices de l'Ecole Royale Militaire de Sorèze* (1777), yet he says little about its content, and I have been unable to find any other record of its existence. See *L'École de Sorèze, de 1758 au 19 fructidor an IV (5 septembre 1796)* (Issoudun: Laboureur & Cie, 1958), p. 122.

[484] Quoted by Massaguel, p. 111.

[485] The 'modern' curriculum of the Collège de Sorèze has been the object of several critical studies. See, for instance, the history of the instituion by Marie-Odile Munier, *Au pied de la montagne noire. Sorèze: une abbaye, une école* (Nantes: Siloë, 1999), and Julia's consideration of Sorèze as an innovative school (1983), pp. 66–69.

[486] Irailh, IV, pp. 118–53.

Jean-Baptiste Gabriel Alexandre Grosier (1743–1823), published what was in fact a forty-page attack against the educational thought of the *philosophes*, which centred on a point-by-point refutation of d'Alembert's claims about the *collèges* in his *Encyclopédie* article of that name.[487] Supporting Leroy, and furthering the attack against his declared enemy, the *Année littéraire* argues that 'M. *d'Alembert*, M. l'abbé *de Condillac* aient assez oublié leur prudence & leur circonspection ordinaire pour accuser sans discussion, sans examen, sans connoissance de cause, un corps aussi respectable & aussi utile à l'état que l'Université de Paris'.[488] The polemic did not stop there; Leroy and the *Année littéraire* journalists were soon supported by writers including the historian and lawyer, Richard de Bury (1730?–1794?); and by the abbé Liévin-Bonaventure Proyart (1743–1808), Sous-Principal of the Collège de Louis-le-Grand (and former teacher of Robespierre).[489] These authors condemned d'Alembert's article 'Collège'. This small pocket of dispute surrounding d'Alembert's article, within the wider *Querelle des collèges*, reveals how a text that was not received as polemical upon its initial publication might be drawn into a dispute, and retrospectively made part of a *querelle*. Owing to the agonistic momentum that the *Querelle* gained over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century, its participants were now able to look back on texts published decades earlier, and to re-read them in the light of this new context. If Granderoute is right to note that d'Alembert's article 'Collège' was 'au cœur d'une polémique soulevée dans les dernières années de l'Ancien Régime', it is because those participating in the *Querelle des collèges* in the final decades of the Ancien Régime designated it as such.

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[487] The founder of the *Année littéraire*, Élie-Catherine Fréron, died in 1776; the 1777 edition was therefore the first one handled by his son, and his collaborator, the abbé Grosier.
[488] 'Lettre VIII', *Année littéraire* (Paris: Mérigot, 1777), V, 173–212; p. 176.
[489] Granderoute presents both of these cases (1988, pp. 68–69). See Bury, *Essai historique et moral sur l'éducation française* (Paris: Desprez, 1777), pp. 38; 26; and Proyart, *De l'éducation publique, et des moyens d'en réaliser la réforme projetée dans la dernière Assemblée générale du Clergé de France* (Paris: Hérissant & Barrois, 1785), pp. 105, 117.

The *Querelle des collèges*: Publicising *Littérature*

When the Jesuits fell out of favour, so too did their literary teaching practices – from the primarily Latin content of their curriculum, to their teaching method of 'leçon, répétition, dispute'. Correspondingly, the terms commonly used to designate literary teaching practices changed too. The Jesuits were known for promoting the study of Latin *belles-lettres*, in the discipline of *rhétorique*. Those intervening in the *Querelle des collèges* played a significant role in introducing a new word into this semantic field of literary educational practices, and that was *littérature*. This was certainly not a new word, nor was it especially innovative to use the word to refer to an eloquent, valuable text; to a corpus of such works; or even to a classroom discipline. We saw, earlier, that writers including Goujet, Batteux, and La Porte were already beginning to use the word in these ways in the 1740s, '50s, and early '60s. However, what this chapter has demonstrated is that participants in the *Querelle des collèges* began (and in significant numbers) to disseminate these notions of *littérature*, and to refer to them by that name. In so doing, they helped to demote words like *belles-lettres* and *rhétorique*, associated with the now denigrated practices of a censured order, in favour of a national, modern culture of letters.

La Chalotais made *littérature* a corpus of national, and nationally valuable, texts. Instead of the Latin curriculum of the Jesuits, he proposed that state-trained teachers should teach ancient and modern authors side by side (and he recommended that boys use Batteux's *Cours de belles lettres* as their manual). And, making his syllabus of French *littérature* even more 'modern' than that of Batteux, he proposed that boys should study modern *querelles littéraires* as a means to acquire 'une fleur de littérature'. Seconding La Chalotais, Coyer attacked the *collèges*' traditional Latin canon, and recommended replacing it with 'la littérature française'. The future 'conducteurs de la nation' could only be formed, he

believed, by studying great French authors, and developing the 'right', national tastes. Fraissinet argued that 'l'étude des lettres', by which he meant 'l'étude des langues et de la littérature', was the way to 'former les moeurs de la jeunesse', and he prescribed yet another modern canon of seventeenth-century writers. Diderot, meanwhile, looked beyond the individual to the nation, and contended that 'la gloire littéraire est le fondement de toutes les autres'. He claimed that the pinnacle of education was a literary education, and that boys educated to this level would be reponsible for singing France's praises in literary texts, which would remain for generations to come.

Although Rousseau incorporated *littérature* into Émile's adolescent education, his teaching of ancient (what he called 'pure') *littérature*, and not modern French texts, ran counter to what most *querelleurs* proposed. Uniting in their reactions against Émile's literary instruction, and forming camps with one another based on common ideologies, *querelleurs* increasingly reached a consensus about the sorts of *littérature* that they thought boys in France's *collèges should* be taught. Instead of ancient, Latin, and often sacred texts, they should study secular, French works, and particularly those by authors of 'le Grand Siècle'. Moreover, rather than memorising rhetorical tropes, pupils should be taught to read and understand this corpus of modern French writers, and to judge their texts according to normative standards of taste. It was hoped that these practices would turn boys into the sorts of eloquent, patriotic 'grands hommes' whom *querelleurs* thought should lead the future nation.

The *Querelle des collèges* and its disputes over literary syllabuses, teachers, pedagogical methods, and pupils was fundamentally, therefore, a debate about what sort of nation France should be, and how *littérature* could be used as a means to make it so. Rolland d'Erceville made this clear in his *Compte rendu* addressed to the Parlement de Paris in 1768,

in which he called for a uniform, national education. 'N'est-il pas en effet à désirer,' he suggested, 'que […] des jeunes gens qui ont la même Patrie & qui sont destinés à servir le même Prince, & à remplir les mêmes emplois, reçoivent les mêmes leçons, & soient imbus des mêmes maximes […] en un mot, qu'il vienne un tems où on ne puisse distinguer un jeune homme élevé en Province, de celui qui a été formé dans la Capitale?'[490] Although no such national 'system' across all *collèges* was imposed during the Ancien Régime, Rolland d'Erceville's ideas would be taken up by the Revolutionaries, who went on to produce some of the first plans for a national, uniform, state-controlled education, as Julia has studied.[491]

The agonism between *querelleurs* about how *littérature* should be taught stemmed not from within *littérature* itself, then, but from opposing ideologies about man and nation. The answers to the questions 'qu'est-ce que la littérature?' and 'comment enseigner la littérature?' were a function of implicit responses to other questions such as 'qu'est-ce que la nation?' and 'que devrait être l'homme?' As I will explore in the final chapter of this thesis, the answers to these questions did not only remain theoretical, but sometimes were answered through actual classroom practices.

[490] 'Compte rendu' (1768), in *Recueil* (1783), p. 22.
[491] Julia (1984) notes the particular influence of Rolland d'Erceville's thought on the educational reformers of the Revolutionary period, see pp. 19–20, 172–74.

5. *La Querelle des collèges.* Producing 'Grands Hommes' to Reproduce *Littérature*: Literary Education at the École royale militaire, 1751–1788

If the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were defined by the foundation of many of the most prestigious French *collèges d'humanités*, including the Collège royal (1530), the Jesuits' Collèges de Clermont (1563) and La Flèche (1604), and the Université de Paris's Collège des Quatre-Nations (1661), the eighteenth century might be said to be defined, instead, by the creation of professional and technical schools.[492] A wave of new schools of this type were founded during the 1740s, '50s and '60s. These included the École des Ponts et Chaussées (1747), the École royale de Génie de Mézières (1748), Blondel's École royale d'architecture (1750), the École royale d'artillerie de La Fère (1756), Bourgelat's École royale vétérinaire (1762), and the Parisian École royale gratuite de dessin (1767).[493] Among these new professional institutions was the École royale militaire, founded by Louis XV in 1751 (with a preparatory *collège* added in 1764, and a further ten royal military

[492] For more on these *collèges*, see the entries for each in Compère (1984–2002).
[493] On the many Écoles gratuites de dessin established across France in the eighteenth century, see Agnès Lahalle, 'Les Écoles de dessin. Nouvelle approche de la formation aux métiers (XVIIe siècle)', in *L'Innovation dans l'enseignement français, XVIe–XXe siècle*, dir. by Grandière and Agnès Lahalle (Nantes: CRDP des Pays de la Loire & Saint-Fons: INRP, 2004), pp. 53–76. For more on all of the professional schools mentioned, see *Écoles techniques et militaires*, dir. by Roger Hahn and René Taton, in *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences en France au XVIIe siècle*, dir. by Taton (Paris: Hermann, 1986).

collèges founded in 1776).[494] These schools – which often received royal patronage – sought to provide training in skills that many contemporaries considered more 'useful' to the nation than the training in Latin and rhetoric taught at the traditional *collèges*. All of these schools built upon, and cultivated, the contemporary interest in education, which the *Querelle de l'éducation* was also beginning to foster during this period. So, what was special about the École royale militaire that marked it as an institution not just influenced by the general vogue for education, but specifically as an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*? This is what this chapter will explore. Furthermore, after demonstrating that it was an intervention in this *Querelle*, I will show that through its literary teaching practices, the military school (like the texts intervening in the *Querelle*, which I examined in the previous chapter) helped redefine notions of *littérature* and of how to teach it. This chapter will show that important interventions in the *Querelle des collèges* also came in practical, as well as textual, form.

But what were these literary teaching practices? Unlike the quantity of scholarship on the curriculum in the early modern *collèges*, there are few studies of the history of the curriculum at the Écoles royales militaires.[495] This is all the more remarkable given that so many military school alumni (some of whom this chapter will consider) became not only

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[494] Although I mention some practices relating to these preparatory schools, the focus of my research is on the Parisian École militaire. The only regional military schools to have received significant scholarly attention to date are those in Sorèze (see, for instance, Massaguel (1958) and Munier (1999)) and Pontlevoy (see the doctoral thesis by Daniel Porquet, 'L'École royale militaire de Pontlevoy. Bénédictins de Saint-Maur et boursiers du roi, 1776–1793' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011)). The other regional military schools, the archives of which are located across France, would merit further study.

[495] Robert Laulan provides a brief synopsis of the school's curriculum in 'Enseignement à l'École Royale Militaire de Paris (de l'origine à la réforme du comte de Saint-Germain: 1753–1776)', *Information historique*, 19.4 (1957), 152–58. Julia gives a similar summary, highlighting the 'instabilité' of the curriculum, in 'École militaire', in Compère & Julia (1984–2002) III (2002), pp. 413–22. Roger Hahn offers a concise account of the teaching of maths and sciences in the eighteenth-century military and artillery schools, in 'L'Enseignement scientifique aux Écoles militaires et d'artillerie', in Hahn & Taton (1986), pp. 513–45. In his doctoral thesis on the eighteenth-century École royale militaire, Guízar (pp. 119–85) gives a good overview of the school's curriculum, focusing on de Meyzieu's presentation of it in his *Encyclopédie* article 'École militaire' (1755), and on the major curricular changes between 1751 and 1788. Chapron considers the teaching of German at the school, in 'Enseigner l'allemand par les livres: Strasbourg et la librairie pédagogique au XVIIIe siècle', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 11 (2015), 129–48. Finally, in his doctoral thesis on the École militaire de Pontlevoy, Porquet offers the most detailed existing study of the *littérature* curriculum at an eighteenth-century French military school, see pp. 265–304, esp. pp. 279–83.

militaires but also orators, writers, politicians, poets, novelists, letter-writers, teachers, and diplomats. This chapter seeks to redress this.

Much of the material I draw on in this chapter is unpublished. Some of the archival sources I have used were exploited as part of another recent doctoral thesis by Haroldo A. Guízar, 'Institutional Imperatives: Control and Change in the École Royale Militaire, 1750-1788' (University of York, 2014). Guízar's study, the most complete institutional history of the military school to date, provides an overview of the institution, its administration, finances, and relationship to the French nobility. However, given these broad aims, as Guízar notes, it does not enter into detail about particular disciplines, nor does it consider the school's library, or texts written by the school's students or professors.[496] This chapter sheds light on some of these details.

It is useful to describe briefly the nature and state of the military school's archives which I draw on for this study. They are split between two primary sites: the Parisian site of the Archives nationales (AN); and the archives of the Service historique de la Défense (SHD), held at the Château de Vincennes.[497] The AN has three main series which hold material relating to the military school; these are K, M/MM, and O. Series K and M/MM are constituted not of original Ancien Régime archives, but of collections compiled during the Revolution. The Décret de la Convention, of 7 messidor an II (25 June 1794) ordered that all documents in Ancien Régime archives be repartitioned into three groups. These were: 1. 'les papiers considérés comme inutiles ou purement féodaux et destinés à la destruction'; 2. documents considered 'encore utiles pour l'administration et le public', and so saved in the newly created 'sections domaniales et judiciaires des Archives de la

[496] See Guízar, pp. 10, 16.
[497] There are some additional archives relating to the school, but which are not relevant to my study. These include some documents in the BnF's Département des manuscrits, and some further series in the Archives nationales relating to the school's construction, finances, and the contents of the school's building. The contents of these archives are described by Guízar, pp. 13–16, 231–36, 242–47.

République'; 3. 'les chartes et manuscrits intéressant l'histoire, les sciences et les arts ou pouvant servir à l'instruction'. The documents in series K and M/MM belong to this third category. Series O, on the other hand, consists of original Ancien Régime archives initially composed and held by the Maison du roi, and seized during the Revolution.

K 149 is a collection of letters and *mémoires* relating to the establishment of the military school. MM 662–680 form a sequence of *registres*, composed of transcriptions of letters, documents, and minutes of meetings held at the school; they make up the official records of the Parisian École royale militaire's activities, put together by the school's Bureau d'administration.[498] O.1 1606 is a large *carton* containing loose documents relating to the school's grounds, buildings, and contents. Of particular interest to my research, within this series, are the inventories of the school's library which, to my knowledge, have never before been studied.

The SHD also holds several different types of documentation that I have drawn on in this chapter. The call numbers Ya145–Ya149 refer to five *cartons* containing thousands of unbound papers. These are part of the original Ancien Régime 'Archives administratives du département de la Guerre', and were assembled by the Bureau du Ministère de la Guerre that was stationed at the military school. Some of the papers in these *cartons* are the original copies of documents transcribed in the school's official *regsitres* (now in series MM at the AN). In terms of their content, these *cartons* are the most varied of the archives I have considered. Amongst other things, they contain reports and inventories detailing the school's financial accounts and transactions; lists of pupils, teachers, and alumni; correspondence with dozens of individuals (from parents of pupils, to the religious orders

[498] The difference between the documents in series M and MM is one of format; M is composed of *cartons* of loose documents, while MM is either official *registres*, or 'rouleaux de grand format'. The items held in M, which can only be ordered by individual document, have not been exploited as part of this thesis; Guízar lists their contents, pp. 231–36.

who sold the land on which the school was built, to the school's supplier of bread); *mémoires* sent between the Parisian school and its regional schools; reports relating to everything from teachers' opinions on textbooks, to the school doctor's assessment of poorly pupils; and requests for financial assistance from alumni in dire financial straits. The SHD also holds a smaller *carton*, Ya160, containing 'correspondance relative à l'admission d'élèves dans les écoles militaires ainsi qu'à des élèves déjà reçus'. Most documents in this *carton* are copies of letters sent to parents by the royal genealogist, Antoine Marie d'Hozier de Sérigny (1721–1801). Hozier de Sérigny was tasked with verifying the certificates of nobility that pupils were required to submit as a condition for admittance to the École militaire, to prove they possessed four generations of patrilinear nobility.

Alongside these archival documents, this chapter also considers published texts. These include *Encyclopédie* articles discussing the military school; textbooks commissioned and, sometimes, used by the school; the contents of books held in the school's library; and memoirs written by alumni. There are many difficulties inherent in bringing unpublished and published texts together in the way this chapter does: the texts are written in different genres, for different audiences, and – in terms of the archival documents – post-Revolutionary archivists often classified them in ways that did not reflect the scheme of the original archive, making it difficult to recover the ways in which Ancien Régime archivists wished to categorise and record their documents for posterity. However, bringing these texts together (which is to say, for many of the texts, bringing them *back* together) reveals conversations and quarrels about the literary teaching practices of the military schools, which played, as I intend to demonstrate, a key role in helping define modern notions of *littérature*.

The Anti-*Collège* Roots of the École royale militaire

The École royale militaire was not the first military school established in France. The idea that France needed a military academy to train future *hommes de guerre* dates back at least to Henri IV's Huguenot *compagnon d'armes*, François de La Noue (1531–1591) (nicknamed Bras-de-Fer), who proposed a similar academy.[499] Despite numerous attempts to found such academies throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most failed, or were shortlived. They have been the subject of several historical studies, in particular by Léon Hennet, Pierre Chalmin, and Robert Laulan, so I will not repeat this work here.[500] Suffice to say that by 1751, when the École royale militaire was founded, there was a long history of attempts to establish such schools.

Indeed, in the 1751 edict announcing the school's creation, Louis XV looked to the past. He paid hommage to his 'bisayeul', Louis XIV, who had founded the Hôtel des Invalides in 1670 to provide food, shelter, and medical care to France's military veterans: 'Il n'a peut-être jamais été fait de fondation plus digne de la religion & de l'humanité d'un Souverain, que l'établissement de l'Hôtel des Invalides: ce monument de la bonté du feu Roy, notre très-honoré seigneur & bisayeul, eût suffi pour immortaliser son regne'.[501] The year that the school was founded was also the year that Voltaire published his famous history of the reign of Louis le Grand, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, in which he celebrated 'le siècle le plus éclairé qui fût jamais'.[502] Voltaire hoped that French readers would be so impressed by the progress and patriotic deeds of the era of Louis XIV that they would

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499 For more on La Noue's proposals, see James J. Supple, 'François de la Noue and the Education of the French 'Noblesse d'Épée', *French Studies*, 38 (1982), 270–81.
500 See Hennet, *Les Compagnies de Cadets-Gentilhommes et les Écoles Militaires* (Paris: Baudoin, 1889), pp. 2–32; Chalmin, 'Les Écoles militaires françaises jusqu'en 1914', *Revue historique de l'armée*, 10.2 (1954), 129–66; and Laulan, 'La Fondation de l'École militaire et Madame de Pompadour', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 21 (1974), 284–99.
501 *Edit du Roy, portant création d'une École royale militaire, donné à Versailles au mois de Janvier 1751, registré en Parlement* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1751), p. 1.
502 *OCV*, 13A, p. 1.

strive to imitate these actions, to secure their own reputation for 'la postérité'.[503] In so doing, he said that they would bring glory upon the reign of the new monarch, Louis XV. This was what the new king himself sought to do by founding the École militaire. Acknowledging his great-grandfather's popularity with the 'noblesse militaire', Louis XV aimed to transfer this popularity to himself by stating that he was seeking to emulate his ancestor. As he puts it,

> notre affection pour des sujets qui ont eu tant de part à la gloire de nos armes, nous a fait chercher les moyens de leur donner des témoignages plus particuliers de notre satisfaction. [...] Louis XV en élevant un Collège Académique feroit renaître pour ainsy dire dans cet établissement les sujets qui viennent mourir dans [l'Hôtel des Invalides]. L'un seroit le berceau des hommes de guerre, et l'autre en seroit le tombeau.[504]

The edict announced that the École royale militaire was to educate 500 'pauvres gentilhommes', aged from around 8 to 20 years old. Candidates would have to prove four generations of nobility on their father's side in order to be considered for admission, but once accepted their education would be paid for by the royal government, resulting in students being known as *boursiers du roi*. Boys were also guaranteed to leave the school with a military decoration, and to be placed in a regiment. This was a school that sought to form the sort of boys whom Coyer would describe as 'la classe des grands, des nobles et des riches' – just the sort of boys that those intervening in the *Querelle des collèges* were interested in.

Even before the school was officially founded, in the documents that set out plans for its creation, the military school was explicitly presented as a reaction against the 'collèges ordinaires'. As an anonymous *Mémoire* dated April 1750 put it, 'l'éducation d'un Collège [militaire] de cette espèce ne tiendroit rien des principes de l'éducation que l'on reçoit dans les Collèges ordinaires. […] En effet il sera question dans ce Plan de concilier

[503] As he put it, 'l'on souhaite que la postérité de ce monarque [Louis XIV] & celles de ses peuples, également animées d'une heureuse émulation, s'efforcent de surpasser leurs ancêtres. *Ibid*, p. 8.
[504] *Edit du Roy* (1751), p. 1.

l'apprentissage de l'art militaire avec l'étude de toutes les sciences qu'en peuvent faire la perfection'.[505] While the school is referred to in several early documents (including this one) as a 'collège', it is perhaps thanks to the directors' desire to distance the institution from the increasingly criticised *collèges* that the school was quickly renamed an 'école'.

Many campaigners in the *Querelle des collèges* reinforced the idea that the military school was an alternative to the *collèges*, and they commended it for this reason.[506] As Marie Jacob has shown, the *Encyclopédie* – which published so many articles attacking the *collèges* – was particularly complimentary of the military school.[507] In his article 'Éducation' (1755), Dumarsais claims that the École militaire represents a 'modele d'éducation, auquel toutes les personnes qui sont chargées d'élever des jeunes gens, devroient tâcher de se rapprocher'.[508] The article 'École militaire' itself was written by the school's own Directeur général des études, Jean-Baptiste Pâris de Meyzieu (1718–1778), and in part it serves as a 'prospectus' to advertise the school. De Meyzieu explains that pupils will study 'la Grammaire, les langues françoise, latine, allemande, & italienne; les Mathématiques, le Dessein, le Génie, l'Artillerie, la Géographie, l'Histoire, la Logique, un peu de Droit naturel, beaucoup de Morale, les ordonnances militaires, la théorie de la guerre, les évolutions; la Danse, l'Escrime, le Manége, & ses parties'.[509] He concludes that 'c'est à-peu-près là le plan du plus bel établissement du monde. Il est digne de toute la grandeur du Monarque; la postérité y reconnoîtra le fruit le plus précieux de sa bonté & de son humanité; & la noblesse de son royaume, élevée par ses soins, perpétuée par ses bienfaits, lui consacrera des jours & des talens, qu'elle aura l'honneur & la gloire de tenir du plus grand & du meilleur des rois.'[510] Meyzieu's claims are oriented towards the future, towards

[505] Anonymous *Mémoire*, dated 22 April 1750. AN K 149.1 (5.1).
[506] Examples of such works can be found in Appendix 1. See, for instance, numbers (8) (17) (19) (27) (42) (43) (44) (50) (55) (60).
[507] Jacob (2008), 105–26.
[508] *Encyclopédie*, V (1755), p. 403.
[509] 'École militaire', *ibid*, p. 309.
[510] *Ibid*, p. 313.

posterity; he confidently asserts that the public will find living reminders of Louis XV's glory and generosity in the schools illustrious alumni. When de Meyzieu's article was first published, however, the school had barely opened its doors.

The École militaire began teaching students in autumn 1753. Until 1757 it was based at the Château de Vincennes, while the Parisian school was being built.[511] As de Meyzieu's description of the curriculum suggests, the École militaire did not entirely reject the traditional literary programme of the *collèges*; it taught disciplines including Grammar, Latin, French, and Logic. However, these disciplines received little emphasis. The school had no formal library until 1765 (nor any discernable funds reserved for the purchase of books before this date), and when applying to the school it was more important for students to prove the obligatory four generations of nobility than to demonstrate academic attainment or potential. New students were supposed to be able to read and write 'assez bien', but there was no entrance exam, only a questionnaire for parents to complete. A 1756 list of teachers' salaries also suggests that the humanities were less important than other subjects.[512] Maths teachers, for instance, were distinguished from all others, with the chair receiving 2400 *livres* per annum and his deputies 1600 *livres*, while 'les autres professeurs' received 2000 *livres* as chairs, and 1400 as deputies. Maths seems to occupy a privileged status, then, during this period. Until 1759, discipline at the school was military: a military-style school prison existed, and when not in lessons, students were supervised by ex-army officers.[513] As a royal institution, the school also came under the control of the Ministère de la Guerre, making its overall head the Secretary of State for

511 For more on the school's construction, see Laulan, *L'École militaire de Paris: le monument, 1751–1788* (Paris: Picard, 1950), pp. 15–60; and Guìzar, pp. 22–36.
512 See the manuscript 'Etat des apppointements reglés par le roy à l'état major, aux officiers des compagnies, aux officiers civils, aux professeurs, et autres qui composent l'hôtel de l'École royale militaire' (*c.* November, 1756). AN MM 678, fols 87–89.
513 For more on this see Laulan, 'La Discipline à l'École militaire de Paris, 1753–1788', *L'Information historique*, 17.4 (1955), 135–79.

War. The *École militaire* certainly did seem to employ different educational practices to the *collèges*, during this early period in its history.

Littérature and The Making of the Modern *Militaire*

This was, nevertheless, a school which believed that noble boys needed to study *littérature* in order to become 'grands hommes'. In March 1758, Charles-Louis-Auguste Fouquet, Maréchal de Belle-Isle (1684–1761) was made Secretary of State for War. Belle-Isle was a celebrated general and a member of the Académie française. While he made few radical changes to the curriculum, his alterations subtly shifted the École royale militaire in a more studious, less military direction. In 1758 he introduced a leavers' exam to test that students had reached a sufficient level before being placed in the 'troupes du roi'. Those found wanting were (in theory) held back, and left the school without the coveted 200 *livres*' annual pension, given to alumni during their early years in service, and without the previously guaranteed decoration of the *Croix de minorité des ordres du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*.[514] The school's directors hoped this would increase emulation and raise attainment by encouraging competition between students.[515] Also under Belle-Isle, the officers previously in charge of discipline and military exercises were replaced by 'inspecteurs des études' – not soldiers, but pedagogues.[516] Belle-Isle died on 26 January 1761 and was replaced by the Duc de Choiseul (1719–1785), who extended many of his predecessor's initiatives. The leavers' exam was maintained, and in May 1762 Choiseul undertook a reform of teachers' salaries which changed the existing hierarchy of

[514] For more on the leavers' exam, see Laulan (1957), pp. 154–55.
[515] The version of emulation encouraged by the military school supports Nira Kaplan's thesis that, during the eighteenth century, emulation becomes more competitive than imitative, and is harnessed to develop social and professional skills rather than to form virtuous citizens. See Kaplan, 'Virtuous Competition among Citizens: Emulation in Politics and Pedagogy during the French Revolution', *ECS,* 36 (2003), 241–48. Jay M. Smith advances a similar argument, specifically in relation to the noble students of France's military academies. See *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 215–19.
[516] For further discussion of this shift, see Laulaun (1957), p. 155.

disciplines.[517] All teachers (apart from the Maître à écrire) were henceforth to receive 1800 *livres* per year, and all subject chairs 2000 *livres*.[518] Maths lost its prestige as the most highly remunerated subject. Literary matters were also clearly beginning to interest the school, demonstrated by the fact that 1763 saw the first inventory of the school's textbooks.[519] In the 1760s, then, the school became less focused on maths and military exercises, and started to suggest, more clearly, that literary practices were valuable pursuits.

Numerous texts published in the early eighteenth century had already argued that *militaires* should also be *littéraires*. Le Blanc's *L'Étude des Belles lettres* (1712), for instance, suggests that studying *belles-lettres* is more important for *militaires* than for any other profession. He uses the examples of Ancient Greece and Rome to support his claim that *belles-lettres* are what make an empire truly great, and he argues that it is in the interest of emperors, kings and warriors to protect *belles-lettres* so that their victories are celebrated and recorded for posterity.[520] However, it is not enough just to protect poets; true military heroes, he says, must also be skilled writers and orators. If generals speak eloquently to their troops, Le Blanc claims they will gain unique devotion; 'avoüez-moi qu'un Prince qui a la science de la parole se fait tout autrement écouter, qu'un autre qui s'explique par l'organe de ses Ministres.'[521] He gives the example of Julius Caesar, whose sword killed his enemies, and whose pen recounted his military victories.[522] Le Blanc's defence of teaching *belles-lettres* to *militaires*, then, is based on his emulation of great ancient empires, and on his contention that if France wishes to attain similar greatness, it must imitate them.[523]

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517 AN MM679, fol. 60.
518 The head Maître à écrire (M. Sauvage) is to receive 1800 *livres*, and his deputy (his son), 1000 *livres*. AN MM679, fol. 61.
519 'Etat des livres fournis et achettés par différens particuliers pour le service des études de l'hôtel de l'École royale militaire', 6 June 1763. AN O.1.1606 (213).
520 Le Blanc (1712), p. 8.
521 *Ibid*, p. 32.
522 *Ibid*, pp. 37–39.
523 In his *Traité des études* (I, p. 10), Rollin also contends that military leaders need to study *belles-lettres*, for similar reasons.

During the early 1760s, then, the school's directors began to single out particular students whom they identified as having literary talents, and to encourage these students to pursue their literary studies. This was the case for Jean-François de Bourgoing (1748–1811) who, we recall, produced a French translation, in 1777, of the utopian educational programme by German pedagogue, Johann Bernhard Basedow. Born in Nevers, Bourgoing enrolled at the École militaire on 28 January 1760. The school's directors quickly concluded that he possessed 'des dispositions pour la carrière politique,' and devised a unique educational programme for him.[524] The collective biography of great Frenchmen, the *Biographie universelle*, would later note that Bourgoing 's'y livra avec ardeur à l'étude des langues et notamment de la langue allemande', and this is corroborated by evidence in the school's archives.[525] Modern foreign languages were an important component of the military school's literary curriculum, as de Meyzieu suggests in his 1755 description of the school's programme.[526]

In 1764, Bourgoing was sent – on a kind of eighteenth-century year abroad – to the University of Strasbourg, to study 'le droit public'. While there, he also received two hours of German lessons per day.[527] Thanks to Choiseul's intervention, he was then sent, in 1767, to live in Regensberg with a M. Gérard, a senior civil servant in the French ministry for foreign affairs.[528] This was intended to complement his studies by giving him

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[524] See 'Extrait du registre des déliberations provisoires du conseil de l'hôtel de l'École royale militaire, du 26 Mars 1771', SHD Ya146.
[525] *Biographie universelle*, new edn, ed. by François Pérennès, 12 vols (Paris: Gauthier, 1848), II, p. 172. In the archives, see the letters from Choiseul to Duverney, 13 July 1764, AN MM679, fol. 112; and from Croismare to the duc d'Aiguillon, 14 July 1772, AN MM680, fol. 140.
[526] Several recent studies have considered the teaching of modern languages at the École militaire. On the study of German, see Chapron (2015), 129–48; and Guízar, pp. 126–7, 164–5, 168, 178–80. Guízar notes that some Italian was also taught (pp. 127–28), and that English began to receive attention after Saint-Germain's reforms of 1776 (pp. 176–78). Porquet examines the teaching of German and English (the only two modern languages offered) at the École royale militaire de Pontlevoy, pp. 296–302.
[527] Bourgoing seems to have been an exceptional student, since only three military school pupils (including him) are recorded as having been sent to a foreign university. For general praise of Bourgoing in the archives, see AN MM668, fols 54, 163; and the dossier on Bourgoing's excellent conduct, in SHD Ya146, in the file labelled 'Grâces à d'anciens élèves, 1769–1773'.
[528] See the decisions by the Conseil d'administration, taken on 5 October 1767, AN MM667, fol. 112; and 2 November 1767, AN MM667, fol. 116.

experience of German law and foreign affairs. Upon Bourgoing's graduation from the military school in 1770, Choiseul decided he should spend some time serving with a military regiment, to enhance his academic profile with a period of military service.[529] Bourgoing was duly sent to join the Régiment d'Auvergne, in which he served until 1777, when he was made first secretary to the Comte de Montmorin, French ambassador to Spain. In 1787 he was then promoted to the position of minister plenipotentiary for France in Lower Saxony, and from 1792 he held the equivalent post in Spain. Bourgoing continued to serve as a diplomat in numerous European states almost until his death, in 1811.

Alongside his military and diplomatic careers, Bourgoing was also known as an *homme de lettres*. One of his first forays into literature, as we have seen, was as the translator of Basedow's *De l'éducation des Princes destinés au trône* (1777). Through his translation and paratexual presentation of this German text, Bourgoing turned the work into an intervention in the French *Querelle des collèges*. Bourgoing accompanied the text with a dedication to the Société des Philanthropes de Strasbourg, an 'avant-propos', and his own 'explanatory' footnotes. In the dedication, he explains that by translating this work, he hopes to 'enrichir la littérature française d'un traité utile'.[530] Bourgoing seems to understand the word *littérature*, here, as a body of texts, perhaps in Goujet's sense of both 'great works', and 'critical texts on these works'. Bourgoing considers Basedow's educational treatise to be a work of *littérature*. In the 'avant-propos', while he notes that Basedow is an admirer of Rousseau, Bourgoing offers his own comparative judgement of the German and Genevan writers' plans, and finds Basedow's the better of the two. While there may not, initially, have been a *querelle* between Basedow and Rousseau, then,

[529] See the letter from Choiseul to Gaëtan Lambert du Pont, Intendant de l'École royale militaire, dated 19 November 1770. AN MM668, fol. 163.
[530] Basedow and Bourgoing (1777), p. 5.

Bourgoing establishes one, and uses it to stake out his own position on the *Querelle des collèges*. He writes:

> *Mr. Basedow* est plein de vénération pour l'illustre citoyen de Geneve; mais cette vénération n'est point aveugle [...] Le plan que *Mr. Basedow* embrasse, est plus étendu & par conséquent d'une plus grande utilité que celui de *Mr. Rousseau*. Celui-ci n'a trait qu'à l'éducation domestique & ne peut regarder que des enfans assez aisés pour avoir des gouverneurs particuliers. Son élève réunit tous les hasards heureux de la fortune & de la naissance; & par cela même sa méthode ne peut s'appliquer aux éducations publiques, où les Emiles sont rares.[531]

Despite Bourgoing's claims that Basedow's work is more practically applicable than that of Rousseau, Basedow's text is, in many respects, similar to the fictional educational ideal presented in *Émile*. It describes the education of an imaginary prince, Agathocrator II, who lives in a country named Aléthinie.[532] It explores the ways in which the king and queen raise Agathocrator from infancy. First, they focus on making him physically robust and healthy, before teaching him languages, religion, and virtue. Agathocrator is not to learn anything by heart; he should be exposed only to selected passages of a few books chosen by a 'précepteur'; and he will learn 'des langues vivantes' via practice, rather than by learning linguistic rules. Agathocrator's private education is much like that of Émile. Perhaps most interesting, however, is Bourgoing's part in translating and framing this text. If Bourgoing is himself the product of an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*, as I contend the École militaire was, it is significant that one of the first texts he publishes is also an intervention in that *Querelle*, about literary education. Whether Bourgoing would have perceived his education as an intervention in this *Querelle* is debatable, but perhaps his work demonstrates that a school can play a significant part in forming the ideas, interests, and culture of its pupils, even if subconsciously.[533]

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[531] *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

[532] 'Agathocrator' signifies 'good ruler' (from the Ancient Greek *agathos,* 'good', and *kratia*, 'power, rule'). The fact that this good ruler is not Agathocrator I, but Agathocrator II, points towards the contemporary figure of the 'Enlightened king', Frederick II of Prussia, who reigned from 1740 to 1786, and famously corresponded with many of the French *philosophes*. Basedow spent much of his life living within the Prussian empire, under Frederick's rule. 'Aléthinie' seems to signify 'land of truth', from the Greek *aletheia*, 'truth'.

[533] Boudieu has argued, in a similar way, that the 'culture scolaire' one acquires at school provides a specific 'schème de pensée', which remains part of one's 'habitus' into adulthood. It is in this way that the alumni of

Bourgoing published over a dozen texts during his lifetime, many of which were historical and biographical works; the most famous was the *Nouveau voyage en Espagne, ou tableau actuel de cette monarchie* (1789). He also translated historical works from German into French, published an edition of Voltaire's correspondence with the Cardinal de Bernis, and collaborated on the *Archives littéraires de l'Europe* (1804–08). This journal sought to publicise 'les nouveautés importantes que l'Europe littéraire produira', and was driven by the editors' conviction that 'depuis longtemps il n'est plus permis à un homme éclairé de ne connaître que la littérature ancienne et celle de son pays. Un Français doit désirer aujourd'hui de se former du moins des notions générales sur l'état des lettres en Angleterre, en Italie, en Allemagne et même dans toute l'Europe.'[534] The *Archives littéraires* claims that ancient *littérature* is no longer sufficient to form the modern 'homme éclairé', who requires a knowledge of the national canons that constitued not just French, but also European literature. Demonstrating his continued interest in modern languages, Bourgoing's journal suggests that he and his colleagues believe that each nation has its own canon of *littérature*, an idea we still retain today.

Literary Encounters at the Collège royal de La Flèche

In 1764 the government took over the Collège de la Flèche. Until their expulsion, this had been one of the most prestigious Jesuit *collèges*. In letters patent, dated 7 April 1764, the government decreed it would be repurposing La Flèche as a preparatory school for the École militaire, to educate 250 'gentilhommes' aged from around 8 to 14 years old; those

certain schools might be said to have similar 'esprits'; Bourdieu gives the example of the 'esprit polytechnicien' (of alumni of the École polytechnique) or 'esprit normalien' (the École normale). These 'esprits', Bourdieu explains, give alumni a kind of common code of thought and of conduct, which brings them together and reinforces their power. See 'Systèmes d'enseignement et systèmes de pensée', *Revue internationale des sciences sociales*, 19 (1967), 367–88.

534 *Archives littéraires de l'Europe: ou mélanges de littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie par une société de gens de lettres*, 17 vols (Paris: Heinrichs; Tübingen: Cotta, 1804–08), I (1804), pp. i–ii.

with dispositions for a military career would then go on to the Parisian school.[535] The curriculum and progression of classes at what became known as the Collège royal de la Flèche, was modelled on the traditional *collèges*. The Université de Paris was in charge of providing its teachers, and in 1767 La Flèche was fully affiliated to the Université, theoretically adopting its syllabus from then on.[536] The letters patent of 1764 explained that the administrators of the Parisian military school had realised that an education in 'l'art militaire' was inappropriate for the school's youngest students, and that all elite professions, military or not, would benefit from foundational instruction in the humanities. 'L'expérience nous a fait reconnoître', they explain, 'que les instructions & les exercices qui appartiennent à la profession militaire exigent une première éducation commune aux différentes professions ouvertes à la Noblesse'.[537] Boys who decided, aged fourteen, to pursue non-military employment would stay on at La Flèche.[538] La Flèche therefore helped to steer noble boys into a range of elite roles.

An account of education at the Collège royal de La Flèche can be found in the memoirs of Vincent-Marie Viénot, comte de Vaublanc (1756–1845), who attended La Flèche from 1765 to 1770, before going on to the École militaire from 1770 to 1774. We must, of course, beware of using memoirs as a source of historical fact; they can present biased, mis-remembered, or embellished accounts, and hindsight can affect a writer's interpretation of his or her life. With these caveats in mind, however, his description of literary educational practices at the school can still tell us many things.

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[535] 'Lettres patentes du roi portant confirmation du Collège royal de la Flèche', in *Recueil des édits, déclarations, ordonnances, arrêts et règlemens concernant l'École royale militaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1782), II, pp. 707–25.

[536] 'Lettres patentes du roi, pour l'affiliation du Collège royal de la Flèche à l'Université de Paris', in *Recueil* (1782), II, pp. 754–59.

[537] *Recueil* (1782), II, p. 707.

[538] Letters in the archives reveal that pupils could have some say over their profession, with several requesting to enter the clergy. See, for example, AN MM674, fols 11, 25–26; and SHD Ya146, 'Etat des élèves qui doivent être envoyés dans des collèges ou séminaires distincts des nouveaux établissements'.

Vaublanc begins his *Souvenirs* (1838) by describing his education at the Collège royal de La Flèche.[539] He claims that Latin was taught via *versions*, *thèmes* and dictations, all of which were regularly criticised during the *Querelle des collèges*. Vaublanc does not remember these lessons fondly. He says his 'caractère independent ne pouvait supporter des leçons données par un professeur'.[540] He continues, 'si l'on m'avait tout de suite fait expliquer la première Catilinaire, en me disant d'abord, en deux mots, la situation de Rome et la position personnelle de Cicéron, j'y aurais pris le plus grand intérêt'.[541] This claim – that he would have taken more interest in literary texts had a teacher explained their context – seems to call for the sort of methods recommended by pedagogues like Rollin and Batteux, in their explanations of literary extracts.

Indeed, we know that the *Querelle des collèges*, which was being waged during Vaublanc's school days, influenced Vaublanc's reception, in hindsight, of his school's literary practices, since he tells us as much:

> Jamais on n'a tant écrit sur l'éducation qu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle; on publia beaucoup de plans nouveaux et de nouvelles méthodes. Dans la suite de ma vie, les fonctions administratives que j'ai exercées, m'ont donné l'occasion de voir les pratiques nouvelles, et de réfléchir sur leurs avantages et leurs inconvénients. J'ai dû reporter mes regards sur les choses que j'avais vues dans ma première jeunesse, et sur ce que j'avais éprouvé.[542]

Vaublanc explains how he thinks he and his peers should have been taught the literary subjects they studied at La Flèche. His ideas echo many of the most popular proposals of the *Querelle des collèges*, including reducing the study of Latin to two hours per day, installing a small library in each classroom (which would house '[des] ouvrages [...] de littérature'), and allowing more time for play. Like Bourgoing, then, Vaublanc has also been transformed into a *querelleur*. Although the *Querelle des collèges* was no longer running

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539 *Souvenirs*, 2 vols (Paris: Ponce Lebas, 1838), I, pp. 4–44.
540 *Ibid*, pp. 9–10.
541 *Ibid*, p. 12.
542 *Ibid*, p. 38.

in the 1830s, when Vaublanc was writing, he nonetheless states that it affected the way he thinks about education, and it continues influences his views, well into the nineteenth century.

One of the few school literary encounters that Vaublanc describes in positive terms is the moment when a classmate read aloud a passage from 'la vie d'Alexandre'.[543] This seems to be the life of Alexander the Great, as recounted in the text that Rousseau praised so highly, Plutarch's *Vies des hommes illustres*:

> Un élève eut, je ne sais comment, un volume qui renfermait la vie d'Alexandre; un de nous la lisait pendant que nous prenions nos quartier d'hivers. Nous étions dix ou douze autour de lui, affamés de cette lecture, et admirateurs du héros, dont nous n'avions pas encore entendu parler. Il devenait le sujet de nos conversations, et je commençais à voir que j'ignorais des choses que j'aurais du plaisir à savoir.[544]

In his *Souvenirs*, Vaublanc reveals his rhetorical skill in crafting an image of himself as an independent-minded man. He suggests that he was unmoved by the traditional literary exercises prescribed by his teachers, but that what inspired him during his school days was his literary encounter with the exemplary life of the military hero, Alexander the Great. Vaublanc seems eager to turn his *own* life (like Rousseau, who wrote his *Confessions*) into an exemplary 'vie d'un homme illustre' by publishing his *Souvenirs*.[545] Even if Vaublanc dismisses the traditional, literary education he received at La Flèche, it is clear that, like Bourgoing, he ended up becoming an *homme de lettres* as well as an *homme de guerre*.

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While La Flèche took its teaching practices from the blueprint of the 'collèges ordinaires', in the mid- to late 1760s, the Parisian École militaire began to show interest in teaching a

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[543] In *Émile*, Rousseau vaunts Alexander the Great's particularly virtuous life. See *OC*, IV, pp. 348–50.
[544] *Souvenirs,* I, pp. 7–8.
[545] He had begun this project in his earlier *Mémoires sur la Révolution de France* (1833), which details his exploits during the Revolutionary years and the Napoleonic empire.

more modern sort of *littérature*. In March 1765, M. Meunier was appointed as the first official librarian, attesting to the perceived importance of a school library.[546] In November 1766, Meunier began to formalise the library's terms, such as its lending regulations, and in July 1767 he was granted an annual 2000 *livres* for the purchase of books, demonstrating institutional support for the library.[547] The teaching of modern foreign languages, in particular German, was also bolstered during this period. The German teacher at the time was Georg Adam Junker (1761–1805).[548] On 13 October 1766, the school agreed to buy 40 copies of Montesquieu's *Les Causes de la décadence romaine* (1734) 'pour la traduction de la classe de M. Junker'.[549] More French texts for translation into German were soon acquired, including Bouhours's *Pensées ingénieuses* (1689), purchased in May 1767.[550] Junker seems to have used numerous modern French works in his classes. In 1768, he even requested that the school purchase a textbook he had written. His two-volume *Choix de littérature allemande* was a compilation of extracts by German authors; the school made an advance purchase of 300 copies of the work.[551] These 300 copies cost 1500 *livres* – a comparatively enormous sum, considering that purchases of single titles during this period rarely exceeded 500 *livres*. The account of this book is the first time the word *littérature* features in the school's *registres*. Junker uses the word to refer to a national corpus of texts (similarly to how Bourgoing used the word in the *Archives littéraires*).

The Revolution...of 1776

In 1774, the directors of the École militaire appointed Jean Dromgold (1720–1780), former Chaire de rhétorique at the Collège de Navarre, as the school's Directeur des

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[546] See the letter from Meunier to Montbarey, Secrétaire d'état de la guerre, dated 6 December 1778, and the 'Copie de l'extrait des registres des délibérations du Conseil de l'hôtel de l'École royale militaire', 17 December 1771. SHD Ya147.
[547] AN MM667, fols 83–84.
[548] For more on Junker and his methods of teaching German, see Chapron (2015), 129–48.
[549] AN MM667, fol. 80.
[550] *Ibid*, fol. 95.
[551] *Ibid*, fol. 148.

études. Dromgold was particularly concerned with the class he called 'grammaire et littérature'.[552] Here, Dromgold uses *littérature* to name a particular class, suggesting that the word was associated not only with a type of text, or a corpus of texts, but also with a set of practices, making *littérature*, in Dromgold's use, what we would call a 'discipline'.[553] In a *mémoire* dated 30 March 1774, Dromgold argues that

> l'enseignement de la grammaire et de la littérature françoise est un point trop important dans l'éducation de la jeune noblesse françoise, pour ne pas s'en occuper sérieusement. [Ce mémoire] propose en conséquence d'établir dans la partie de la grammaire et de la littérature françoise […] un professeur suppléan, afin qu'en cas de maladie ou d'absence de l'un des trois professeurs chargés de cet enseignement, il ne puisse jamais être interrompu.[554]

The Conseil were convinced of 'l'avantage que doit produire l'effet de cette proposition', and duly appointed a fourth 'professeur pour l'enseignement de la grammaire et de la littérature françoise'. This move was made not long after the Collège royal had, in 1773, replaced one of its 'chaires de philosophie' with a 'chaire de littérature française', suggesting that the two royally patronised institutions may have influenced one another.[555]

In October 1775, Claude-Louis-Robert, comte de Saint-Germain (1707–1778) became Secretary of State for War. During his time in office, he oversaw a set of reforms which so drastically changed the structure of the military school 'enterprise' that it was referred to in internal records as 'la révolution de 1776'.[556] On 1 February 1776, a royal *Déclaration* explained that while La Flèche had excelled in providing a humanities education to noble boys, 'il deviendroit en effet bien plus utile à notre Noblesse, si les Élèves de la première classe, au lieu d'être réunis dans la Maison de la Flèche, étoient distribués dans plusieurs

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[552] See the 'Mémoire' by Dromgold, dated 30 March 1774. AN MM669, fol. 125.
[553] I discuss what I understand as constituting a 'discipline' above, pp. 17–18, n. 58.
[554] AN MM669, fols 125–26.
[555] Chervel notes that this new chair was created in 1773 (2008, pp. 8–9), though he does not comment further on it. I have been unable to consult the archives of the Collège royal as part of this thesis, to find out more about the creation of this post, but it would be an interesting matter for further archival research to investigate whether other *collèges* at the time created similar posts.
[556] The phrase is used in AN MM674, fols 128, 149; and a letter from the Conseil to Montbarey dated 21 January 1779, SHD Ya147.

Colléges de plein exercice, situés en différentes provinces de notre royaume'.[557] La Flèche's literary educational project was extended into a nationwide network of military *collèges*, created by turning existing *collèges* into *collèges royaux militaires*.

Another *Règlement* (28 March 1776) published the list of these new *collèges*, their diocese, and the teaching order in charge of each:[558]

Collèges de	Diocèses	Tenus par les…
Sorèze	Lavaur	Bénédictins
Brienne	Troyes	Minimes
Tiron	Chartres	Bénédictins
Rebais	Meaux	*Idem*
Beaumont	Lisieux	*Idem*
Pont-le-Voy	Blois	*Idem*
Vendôme	Blois	Oratoriens
Effiat	Clermont	*Idem*
Pont-à-Mousson	Toul	Chanoines réguliers du Sauveur
Tournon	Valence	Oratoriens

Fig. 1: Military Collèges royaux created in 1776

The military *boursiers du roi* (who would each receive an annual bursary of 700 *livres*) were not to be the only pupils at each *collège*, however. Since all of the institutions chosen were already functioning *collèges*, they were to continue receiving their usual intake of paying *pensionnaires* and *externes*, alongside the *boursiers du roi*. It was planned that an annual 'concours' for the pupils of the various military *collèges* would be held at the Collège de Brienne (since it was the most central in France), to determine which students could join the regiment known as the *cadets-gentilhommes*, where they would be trained as military leaders. The *Règlement* explained that students who make 'le plus de progrès dans les mathématiques & dans le dessin, seront envoyés à l'École de Mézières ou à celle de la Fère où ils se perfectionneront dans les études relatives au Génie ou à l'Artillerie'.[559] Maths appears to have remained important, then, for these prestigious military careers. And yet, another *Règlement*, dated 25 March 1776, remarks that, in the new military *collèges*,

[557] *Déclaration portant règlement, non seulement sur l'éducation que recevront à l'avenir les élèves de L'École royale militaire, mais encore touchant l'administration des biens de cet établissement* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1776), p. 2.
[558] 'Règlement concernant les nouvelles Écoles royales militaires, du 28 mars 1776', in *Recuil* (1782), p. 78.
[559] *Ibid*, pp. 96–97.

'les mathématiques seront restreintes à ce qui est nécessaire qu'on en sçache pour l'intelligence des différentes parties de l'art militaire'.[560] Moreover, echoing La Chalotais's earlier comments, of all of the languages taught in these *collèges*, French was to be the most important: 'on s'attachera avant tout à l'étude de la langue françoise comme la plus utile et celle qu'il est honteux d'ignorer'.[561] The 'révolution de 1776' also prompted two further actions relating to literary practices. The first of these was an extensive inventory of the library of the Parisian École militaire. This was motivated by the fact that the school was earmarked for closure in 1777 as part of the reorgnisation of the network of royal military schools, which was henceforth only intended to be composed of the military *collèges*.[562] The second act was Saint-Germain's commissioning of a new textbook for the military *collèges*. This manual was intended to standardise the way in which all disciplines were taught across the schools, and Saint-Germain intended to distibute it in time for the start of the new school year, in the autumn of 1776. Before turning to the textbook, I will first consider the library inventory.

The School Library and a Familiar *Querelle littéraire*

The inventory, conducted by the librarian, Meunier, was completed on 15 June 1776. It recorded all books collected since 1765 (when Meunier was appointed), and revealed that the library held a total of 4045 volumes and 1073 unique titles.[563] The inventory was split into several categories:

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[560] SHD Ya145, 'Écoles royales militaires: Plan d'éducation des écoles du 25 mars 1776.' Article 18, [n. p.]
[561] *Ibid*, article 16, [n. p.]
[562] I discuss this planned closure (which was, in the end, only temporary) below, p. 206. Hennet (pp. 94–95) and Mention (p. 74) have also studied the matter.
[563] All library and book inventories can be found in AN O.1 1606.

Category	Total no. of different titles	% of the total titles of the library	Total no. of volumes	% of the total volumes of the library
Jurisprudence	41	4	158	4
Théologie	47	4	230	6
Belles lettres	242	22	535	13
Sciences et Arts	372	35	703	17
Histoire	371	35	2,419	60
Totals	**1073**	**100**	**4045**	**100**

Fig. 2: Composition of the École royale militaire library (15 June 1776)

Certain categories dominate the collection. Although 'belles-lettres' comprises 242 different titles (22% of the library), its texts represent just 13% of the library's total number of volumes. This suggests that the 'belles-lettres' collection featured a large variety of titles, but relatively few copies of each. The 'Sciences et Arts' category is similar. 'History', on the other hand, comprises 371 different titles, of which there are over 2,400 volumes. Representing 35% of the library's titles yet 60% of its volumes, history texts appear to have been purchased in the largest quantities. This figure is largely explained, however, by the fact that the inventory counts each issue of a gazette or periodical (of which there are many in the history category) as a volume, resulting in figures like 900 volumes for *Le Mercure de France*. If the subcategory of gazettes and periodicals is removed from the 'Histoire' category, the remaining volumes comprise just 36% of the library, rather than 60%. We should not conclude, therefore, that 'histoire' texts were ordered in such large quantities because they were necessarily the most popular or most frequently borrowed.

Each category listed in the table above is further divided into subcategories. 'Belles-lettres' is divided as follows. [The first number signifies the number of different titles, and number in brackets is the number of individual volumes]:

Belles lettres

Grammaires et dictionnaires – *Traités sur les langues* – 2 (3)
Langue hebraique – 5 (6)
Langue grecque – 9 (13)
Langue latine – 8 (14)
Langue italienne – 8 (19)
Langue françoise – 8 (12)
Langue espagnole – 1 (1)
Langue angloise – 2 (4)
Langue allemande – 22 (37)

Orateurs – 16 (32)

Poëtes – *Traités sur la poésie* – 11 (25)
Poëtes grecs – 10 (12)
Poëtes latins – 11 (20)
Poëtes italiens – 12 (22)
Poëtes françois – 29 (103)
Poëtes allemands – 21 (59)

Romans – 8 (12)

Philologie – 25 (35)

Critiques – 2 (3)

Philologie apophtegmes, bons mots – 4 (4)

Poligraphes – 9 (41)

Poligraphes epistolaires – 6 (16)

Poligraphes allemands – 13 (45)

'Poètes français' has the most volumes, with 103 volumes of 29 different titles. It is important to note that the number of volumes recorded in the inventory does not distinguish between multi-volume texts, and multiple copies of the same volume.[564] A full list of the contents of this subcategory is provided in Appendix 3.[565] As it reveals, several genres are represented, including drama, fable, pastoral, epic, and satire, with drama the most prevalent. Works of moralising, pastoral, and historical poetry seem to have been purchased in smaller quantities. Although novels are less popular than poetry, there are still eight different texts in the 'romans' subcategory. These include a German translation

[564] Without going to the library to consult the collection, which I believe is still held in the original library designed by Ange-Jacques Gabriel (today classed as a 'monument historique'), I am unable to distinguish between these two. I hope this is work I may be able to carry out on a forthcoming research trip.
[565] See p. 269.

of *Dom Quixotte* (Leipzig: 1753), two copies of Fénelon's *Télémaque* (Paris: 1730), a copy of Montesquieu's *Temple de Guides* (London: 1738), and two copies of Ramsay's *Les Voyages de Cyrus* (Paris: 1727). We can see, then, that modern genres like 'le roman', and modern European authors, certainly have a place in the École militaire library, and that modern authors tend to represent a larger proportion of the 'belles-lettres' collection than classical ones. In comparison to 'poètes français', for example, the 'poètes latins' subcategory is small, with just 11 different works (of which there are 20 copies). This inventory corroborates the claim made by Chervel that it was in the eighteenth-century military schools, rather than the eighteenth-century *collèges*, that French was more assiduously studied, and certainly studied more than Latin.[566]

Perhaps the most interesting subcategroy of 'belles-lettres' books are the 25 titles listed under 'philologie', which I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis.[567] The list is worth reproducing here in full. [To allow readers to cross-reference the items with those in my corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation*, if a text is listed in the corpus, I have indicated its number below (bold and in brackets), with a star by those which participate in the *Querelle des collèges*]:

[566] Chervel (2008), p. 44.
[567] Works listed as anonymous are designated by a long dash, all information has been recorded as given in the original inventory; any additions of my own are indicated in square brackets.

Fig. 3: 'Philologie' collection of the École royale militaire's school library (15 June 1776)

Philologie			
Rollin	*Traité des études*	4° (Paris: 1740)	2
Fénelon	*De l'Éducation des filles*	12° (Paris: 1763)	1
Locke	*Éducation des enfans*	(Amsterdam: 1721)	1
Blegny	*Premieres instructions religieuses*	12° (Paris: 1691)	1
——	*Lettres instructives sur l'éducation de la jeunesse* **(65*)**	12° (Paris: 1661) [1761 written by the side, but crossed out]	1
——	*Lettres sur l'éducation* **(94*)**	12° (Paris: 1762)	2
——	*Essai sur l'éducation de la noblesse*	12° (Paris: 1747)	2
——	*De l'éducation d'un jeune seigneur*	12° (Paris: 1728)	1
——	*Art d'élever un Prince, dédié à Mgr. le Duc de Bourgogne*	12° (Paris: 1698)	1
La Chalotais	*Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études* **(109*)**	12° (1763)	1
Dufour	*Instructions pour les jeunes gens avec des réflexions morales et politiques*	12° (Paris: 1701)	1
La Chetardier	*Instruction pour un jeune seigneur, ou l'idée d'un galant homme*	12° (Paris: 1686)	2
Bordelon	*La Belle éducation*	12° (Paris: 1693)	1
Chanteresne	*De l'éducation d'un prince*	12° (Paris: 1670)	1
——	*Ecole du Gentilhomme, ou entretiens du Chr. de *** avec son neveu* **(13)**	12° (Lausanne: 1754)	1
Fleury	*Traité des études*	12°	1
Ab[b]é Coyer	*Plan d'éducation publique* **(206*)**	12° (Paris: 1770)	1
——	*De Lehr Meister…*	8° (Leipzig: 1762 et 63)	2
Prexenfelderi	*Apparatus eruditionis*	8° (Cologne: 1744)	1
Pt. Roland	*Compte rendu aux chambres assemblées des mémoires envoyés relativement à un plan d'étude du 13 mai 1768* **(197*)**	4° (1768)	1
——	*Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études* **(116*)**	12° (Paris: 1769)	1
De Puisieux	*Éléments des sciences et arts littéraires, trad. de l'anglais de Benjamin Martin*	12° (Paris: 1756)	3
——	*Essai sur l'éducation d'un militaire* **(190*)**	12° (Paris: 1769)	1
Le Batteux	*Cours de belles-lettres*	12° (Paris: 1753)	4
——	*De l'éducation publique* **(86*)**	12° (Amsterdam : 1763)	1
		[Total]	**35**

This is a collection of treatises, plans and critiques on education, many of which are interventions in the *Querelle des collèges*. That the military school chose to collect contemporary works relating to France's ongoing educational debates might be thought surprising: these were texts that had not yet stood the test of time; indeed, the *Querelle* was still in full swing in 1776, when the inventory was completed. Why, then, did the military school choose to collect these texts? First, rather obviously, they discuss modern French education. As a modern French school (and one, crucially, founded in reaction against the *collèges*), it is perhaps not unusual that the staff and directors of the École militaire should be interested in educational reform. This collection also demonstrates that by the late 1760s and early 1770s, a corpus of texts about education, which could be seen to be as interrelated and belonging together could be identified.[568] Finally, by categorising these texts as 'belles-lettres', Meunier treats these interventions in the *Querelle des collèges* not just as texts *about* 'belles-lettres', but as texts that *are* 'belles-lettres'. This collection and its categorisation show that the *Querelle des collèges* was, in the nature of its objects as well as in the subject of its arguments, a *querelle littéraire*.

Réflexions sur un manuel: Batteux's *Littérature* Defeated?

While Meunier was busy completing the Parisian school's library inventory, Saint-Germain was considering who to employ as director to oversee the composition of the manual for the new regional military schools. In late 1776, he appointed none other than the author of the most famous contemporary literary manual: Batteux. Choosing Batteux to direct what became known as the *Cours d'études* sent a clear message: Saint-Germain

[568] Other libraries of the period also grouped together many of the texts of the *Querelle des collèges*, such as the library put together by the famous military colonel and renowned bibliophile, Louis-César de La Baume Le Blanc, duc de La Vallière (1708–1780). The catalogue of his library, printed in advance of its 1783 sale, lists 21 (often agonistic) works on literary education; these are grouped under the heading (borrowed from the title of Rollin's *Traité*), 'De la manière d'étudier & d'enseigner', which sits within the 'Philologie' category, which is itself part of the category 'Belles-Lettres'. See *Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de feu M. le duc de La Valliere*, 9 vols (Paris: Bure; Nyon, 1788), III, pp. 332–33.

wanted a modern educational programme for his new schools, in which *littérature* was to play an important part.

The *Cours d'études* eventually ran to 45 volumes, with contributions from some of the most famous pedagogues of the day. Its hasty composition, and its fate (which I will go on to describe) has been sketched out by Julia, in his article 'Livres de classe et usages pédagogiques' (1990), and Chapron has also studied the *Cours d'études* as one of around fifteen books published in the 1760s and '70s which included the title claim to be 'pour l'usage de l'École royale militaire'. The contents of the *Cours d'études*, however, and in particular its literary volumes, have never been considered in detail, nor have its literary volumes been compared against earlier editions of Batteux's manuals; these matters will therefore be the focus of my analysis.[569]

As well as overseeing the whole work, Batteux was responsible for producing the volumes on *littérature*, and for writing an introduction to the manual. The first six volumes of the *Cours* are an abridged version of Batteux's *Principes de littérature* (1755). Following the title he gave to his work in 1755, Batteux titled these volumes the 'Principes abrégés de la littérature'. The content of the 'Principes abrégés' is very similar to that of the *Principes de littérature*. The same hierarchy of genres is largely maintained, and the definitions and rules for each genre are often identical to earlier editions. However, there are some subtle, but significant, changes in terminology to both the 'Principes abrégés', and to the new paratextual frame that Batteux gave it, in the form of his introductory 'Plan général' to the whole *Cours*. In particular, 'auteur' becomes something of a 'keyword'. In the *Principes* (1755), the word 'auteur' rarely features. Batteux's explanation of Aesop's fables, for instance, is not called an 'explication d'auteur' (the label Rollin

[569] See Julia (1990), pp. 646–48; Chapron, 'Des livres 'pour l'usage de l'école royale militaire': choix pédagogiques et stratégies éditoriales (1751–1788)', *Histoire, économie & société*, 33 (2014), 3–16.

used), but an 'examen de quelques Pièces d'Ésope'. By contrast, the 'Plan général' of the *Cours d'études* refers to 'auteurs' so frequently as to suggest that they are the cornerstone of *littérature*. Batteux says students should study 'les bons Auteurs anciens', and refers to himself as an author, too: 'L'Auteur de cette Collection', he writes, 'a suivi la gradation des classes depuis la Sixieme jusqu'à la Rhétorique inclusivement, sans s'être permis d'ajouter, ni de déplacer un mot, sans toucher aucunement au style des Auteurs.'[570] And in the 'Principes abrégés' itself, Batteux refers to his explanation of literary extracts as an 'explication d'auteur'. As Rollin had done before him, Batteux uses the word 'auteur', here, in a metonymic sense, to refer to 'a legitimate text'. 'Explication d'auteur', for example, still refers to a textual commentary, not a discussion of the author as a person. This metonymic use of 'auteur' to signify 'littérature' still occurs today, as Cécile Rabot demonstrates in her study of the practices of Parisian public librarians.[571] Rabot notes that librarians regularly refer to 'reading authors' when they mean 'reading literature'.[572] She concludes, 'pour faire entrer un texte dans la catégorie 'littérature', i.e. pour faire d'un texte une œuvre, il s'agit de le référer à un auteur.'[573] By reframing his *littérature* manual for the military schools, and by changing his use of the word 'auteur', Batteux makes, I contend, an early contribution to the development of a specific vocabulary to conceptualise what he specifically called *littérature*, and one which is like the vocabulary used today, in which the creator that is the author features centre stage.[574]

In the 'Plan général' to the *Cours d'études*, Batteux also seeks to describe the purpose and effects of his manual. He explains that his educational programme follows that of the Université de Paris, writing that '[le plan] qu'on présente ici, pour rendre, selon l'intention du Roi, l'*Education uniforme dans les diverses Ecoles militaires* [(1)], n'est au fond que la pratique de

[570] *Cours d'études à l'usage des élèves de l'École royale militaire*, dir. by Batteux (Paris: Nyon, 1777), p. xxv.
[571] 'Le Rapport des bibliothécaires de lecture publique aux auteurs', *Sociologie*, 4.3 (2012), 359–76.
[572] *Ibid*, p. 361.
[573] *Ibid*, p. 367.
[574] Viala (1985) and Bénichou (1973) both posit this as part of modern notions of *littérature*.

l'Université de Paris, qu'on doit toujours prendre pour modele, autant qu'on le peut. (1)*Règlement du 28 Mars 1776. Tit. III, Art. premier.*'[575] Despite criticism of the *collèges* in recent years, Batteux says the Université still provides the best educational model. He also notes that the *Cours d'études* is not just for future *militaires*. As at La Flèche, pupils in the military *collèges* could choose whether they wished to continue to the Parisian school, which was designated as a special military academy to train the regiment of *cadets gentilhommes*, from 1778. Moreover, as noted earlier, only a small proportion of the pupils attending the military *collèges* would have been *boursiers du roi*.[576]

However, Batteux seems to have been conscious that the audience for his *Cours d'études* was not just students. Its most influential readership was in fact an adult public of school and government officials, teachers, parents, and tutors beyond the military school. In the 'Plan général', Batteux appeals to this public. He provides an eight-point list of the positive consequences of his *Cours,* to try to convince this public of the manual's merits. For reasons of space, I will only quote the first few items on this list. It states that the results of the *Cours* will be:

> 1. Que l'éducation marchera d'un pas égal & uniforme dans tous les Collèges où seront placés les Eleves de l'Ecole Royale Militaire. 2. Que si les Maîtres habiles ont des succès plus distinguées, les médiocres en auront au moins de solides & d'assurés; & qu'un seul cours d'études achevé produira une quantitié d'excellens Maîtres. 3. Que la partie françoise pourra servir aux jeunes personnes du sexe; même la latine, parce qu'elle sera traduite. 4. Que l'éducation sera aisée & agréable pour les Disciples comme pour les Maîtres; parce que ceux-ci n'auront qu'à distribuer les leçons, ceux-là qu'à les recevoir [...][577]

Each item in this list is a response to an aspect of the broad *Querelle de l'éducation*, and often to the specific *Querelle des collèges*. Batteux's first concern, for example, is that the education delivered in the different military *collèges* be the same. Educational uniformity was something reformers had been requesting for decades, as in Pellicier's comments, in

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[575] Batteux (1777–78), p. vi.
[576] 'Règlement concernant les nouvelles Écoles royales militaires, du 28 mars 1776', fol. 5v. SHD Ya145.
[577] Batteux (1777–78), pp. lxii–lxiii.

1763, that 'le bien public demande, que l'enseignement dans les Ecoles publiques soit un, & uniforme.'[578] The second consequence of the *Cours*, argues Batteux, is that teachers need not be gifted pedagogues, they can simply follow the *Cours*. This echoes the *parlementaires*, like La Chalotais, who argued that the best way to prevent teachers transmitting opinions that were potentially contrary to the principles of the Gallican Church and the monarchy was to rely on books: 'il faudroit que l'instruction fût toute faite dans ces livres', he wrote, such that 'on n'y laissât presque rien à ajouter au Maître.'[579] Third, Batteux argues that his plan is useful for women, whose education became a branch of the *Querelle de l'éducation*. Batteux attempts to market his *Cours d'études* to an audience interested in educating girls, as well as boys. And fourth, Batteux claims his *Cours* will make both teaching easy for the 'maître', and learning easy for the student, picking up on *querelleurs*' concerns for enjoyable and non-taxing learning methods, as suggested by titles such as Rivard's *Méthode pour apprendre aisément le latin* (1761) and his *Méthode la plus facile & la plus naturelle d'enseigner à lire* (1769).[580] Batteux's list proposes his *Cours* as a solution to the problems identified by the *Querelle de l'éducation* (and particularly the *Querelle des collèges*) which were, by the 1770s, well-known. With this list, then, he markets his *Cours* at an audience of readers engaged with these *Querelles*, who may have been looking for a manual to help them change their pedagogical practices.

Batteux's appeals to a non-military school public may not have been a bad idea. In the 'Plan général', Batteux says he was only able to begin work on the *Cours* in January 1777. With the new schools set to open in October 1777, this gave him barely ten months to compose, print and deliver this vast work.[581] His publisher, Jean-Luc Nyon (17?–1799),

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[578] Pellicier (1763), p. 2.
[579] La Chalotais (1763), p. 51.
[580] *Méthode pour apprendre aisément le latin, par un ancien professeur en l'Université de Paris* (Paris: Robinot, 1761), and *Supplément au Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les etudes. Méthode la plus facile & la plus naturelle d'enseigner à lire* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1769)
[581] Chapron (2014), pp. 4, 13; and Julia (1990) pp. 646–48, have studied the details surrounding the publication and reception by the military schools of Batteux's *Cours d'études*.

who had already handled several of Batteux's earlier works, agreed to publish his new text on two conditions: first, that the government (rather than Nyon) pay the manual's contributors and, second, that Saint-Germain issue a letter to the new military *collèges*, ordering them to use only this textbook.[582] Given that Batteux's earlier works had sold well, that the École militaire agreed to Nyon's conditions, and that the school gave him an advance of 12,000 *livres*, the *Cours d'études* probably seemed a profitable opportunity.[583] Impressively, Batteux and Nyon managed to print most of the forty-five volumes by September 1777.[584] However, due to a delay in granting the *privilèges*, the volumes could not be delivered to the *collèges* in time for the start of the school year. This forced them to use other textbooks, at first; things were not off to a good start. What is more, soon after example copies of the *Cours d'études* were distributed to the *collèges*, Batteux began to hear rumours that some of the teaching orders – in particular the Benedictines (who controlled five of the ten new establishments) – were refusing to use the manual.[585] Yet another *querelle* broke out.

The regional *collèges* were invited to submit their reflexions on the work; these were compiled into a manuscript document entitled the 'Observations sur le Cours d'études'.[586] In this document, Batteux's 'Principes abrégés de la littérature' is described as 'un extrait d'un ouvrage […] connu depuis longtemps et dont M. l'abbé Batteux est auteur'. The 'Observations' also notes that, in the descriptions of literary rules given in this section of the manual, each rule is 'définie très longuement, très fastidieusement, et ce qui pis est,

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582 See undated letter from Nyon to the Prince de Monbarrey, then Director for War (and deputy to the Comte de Saint-Germain), SHD Ya147. Indications in the letter suggest the date has to be somewhere between September 1777 and early 1778. See also in the same *carton* the unsigned and undated document, 'Conditions que propose le S. Nyon, qui entreprendra seul l'impression des livres élémentaires pour les collèges dépendans de l'administration de l'école royale militaire'.
583 According to an order, dated September 1777, this seems to have been agreed. SHD Ya147.
584 See the anonymous letter dated September 1777 in which it is said that the volumes of the *Cours d'études* are printed, and should be ready to distribute on 1 October 1777. SHD Ya147.
585 The Benedictines admitted having already made 'différentes provisions de livres pour les collèges', and testified to an unwillingness to invest in a new book (not to mention one composed of 45 volumes). See SHD Ya147, letter dated 17 September 1777, from Batteux to Saint-Germain.
586 In SHD Ya147. Unsigned and undated, but presumably late 1777 to early 1778. The subsequent quotations come from this document.

très métaphysiquement.' The geography section is declared to be 'absolument manquée'. The arithmetic and geometry part is 'si mal faite, qu'elle entraînerait certainement les plus grands maux, si elle étoit adoptée.' The *Cours d'études*, in short, is roundly condemned. The military *collèges* advised that the work should never be used, for fear of its ruining the education of France's future elite. By September 1777, though, Nyon had already printed 79,000 copies, with a public retail value which Julia estimates at 111,775 livres: the military *collèges* now refused to buy these volumes. In addition to the first 12,000 *livres*, Nyon received one further flat fee of 15,000 *livres*, in 1778, 'pour dédommagement des frais engagés'.[587] The *Cours d'études* was never officially adopted in the military schools, and Nyon was left with tens of thousands of copies on his hands.

Why did the military schools reject the *Cours d'études* so categorically? And what happened to Batteux's text, and the volumes Nyon had printed? One of the main criticisms in the 'Observations' is that Batteux's text is not new, and borrows from works that had been around for years. This is true, and is something Batteux presented positively, as a sign of its 'tried-and-tested' reliability, in the 'Plan général'.[588] An extract from Fleury's *Catéchisme historique* (1679) contributed to the 'Abrégé de l'histoire sainte', while Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1681) was a source for the history volumes. Claude-François-Xavier Millot (1726–1785) adapted his *Élémens d'histoire* (1772) for the history section, and produced a French translation of the Jesuit Joseph Jouvancy's *Appendix de diis et heroibus poeticis* (1709). Batteux's colleagues at the Collège royal were also called upon: Mathieu-Antoine Bouchaud (1719–1804), Professor of law, composed the 'Traité de morale', and Jean-François Vauvilliers (1737–1801), Professor of Greek, provided the volumes on Greek authors. The Greek, Latin and French grammars were borrowed from Pierre Chompré (1698–1760), the founder of a renowned Parisian *pension,* whose texts had been

[587] See the *mémoire* from the École royale militaire confirming that they have paid Nyon, dated September 1777. SHD Ya147.
[588] 'Observations', SHD Ya147.

on *collège* syllabuses for decades. By recycling the staples of the Université and the 'collèges d'humanités', Batteux's *Cours d'études* was perhaps seen to symbolise the opposite of an innovative educational programme. The 'Observations' concludes, 'on y retrouvera la méthode scholastique si décriée et si difficile à détruire, parce qu'il est bien plus favorable à la paresse de suivre des sentiers battus que de se frayer des routes nouvelles.'[589] While these criticisms may have been unfair (since, as Batteux noted, he was given just ten months to produce the work), they nonetheless condemned the *Cours d'études*.

There is some evidence of what happened to the *Cours* over the remaining years of the Ancien Régime. Julia has uncovered the account of an ex-pupil of La Flèche, Louis-François Bigault d'Harcourt (1768–1832), which suggests that the *Cours was* used at that school, if only partially and briefly.[590] In 1819, d'Harcourt published a work entitled *De la manière d'enseigner les humanités, d'après les autorités les plus graves*. The work is effectively a eulogy of Batteux's *Cours d'études*, which he calls 'l'ensemble le plus parfait qui ait jamais été présenté pour l'éducation de la jeunesse'.[591] D'Harcourt traces a progression from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pedagogues such as Erasmus and Vossius, who advocated practical methods for studying the humanities, to contemporary pedagogues who recommend similar practices (including Rollin, Pluche, and even Rousseau), and the work culminates with the *Cours d'études*. D'Harcourt's discussion of Batteux's manual gives a clue as to how it may have been used at La Flèche:

> [E]ntré en 1778, un an après la publication du Cours d'études, […] à La Flèche, où j'eus l'honneur d'être admis en qualité d'élève du Roi, pendant neuf années que j'y ai passées, n'y ai-je vu suivre de ce magnifique plan que la partie de la littérature françoise; et je me souviens encore avec plaisir de tout celui que j'avois à l'apprendre. Je me rappelle aussi avoir vu paroître, de loin en loin, un ou deux volumes de la partie de l'histoire. Mais c'étoit une espèce de hors-d'œuvre, dont il n'étoit point question dans les classes.[592]

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589 *Ibid*.
590 Julia (1990), p. 648.
591 *De la manière d'enseigner les humanités, d'après les autorités les plus graves* (Paris: Grand & Huzard, 1819), p. x.
592 *Ibid*, pp. 256–57.

If accurate, this confirms that the full *Cours d'études* was not used, but that Batteux's *littérature* volumes may have been salvaged (at least for d'Harcourt's year group), along with perhaps some of the history volumes. Interestingly, d'Harcourt went on to become the 'Directeur des études' at La Flèche in the early 1800s, when it was re-established as a military academy under Napoleon and then Louis XVIII. And, even more remarkably, in this role, d'Harcourt took some of Batteux's *Cours* (back) into the classroom. He explains, 'la méthode d'enseignement des langues anciennes prescrite par ce beau Cours, totalement oubliée pendant quarante ans, y a été suivie pendant l'année scolaire 1817. […] Le succès fut complet.'[593] He claims that pupils made more progress using this method than the former one. One of the 'grands hommes' the École militaire produced therefore seems to have been so struck by the literary educational practices he experienced at school that he remembered them and, when he came to be in charge of deciding how future 'grands hommes' would be formed, he revived and transmitted the literary teaching practices he experienced as a pupil.

There is little evidence of what happened to the other copies of the *Cours d'études* Nyon printed in 1777. We can suppose he did sell them since, as Chapron notes, 'la réception de l'ouvrage est suffisamment bonne pour justifier une contrefaçon avignonnaise et une seconde édition par Nyon à partir de 1784.'[594] The title's assertion that the *Cours* was 'à l'usage des élèves de l'École royale militaire' (generally not the case) becomes interesting for its impact beyond the school gates. Chapron has studied how, in the 1760s and '70s, this title phrase was often a publishing strategy to sell texts. By the 1780s the military school was so popular that only a tenth of requests for places could be met, so there was a market for manuals that might allow parents and private tutors to replicate something

[593] *Ibid*, p. 273. One does wonder why, if Batteux's manual had such positive results, Bigault d'Harcourt suggests it was only employed for one school year; he does not give an answer to this.
[594] Chapron (2014), p. 14.

of a military school education.[595] Indeed, once it was decided that the *Cours d'études* would not be adopted by the military schools, the schools tried to prevent Nyon from selling 'son mauvais cours d'études', as they called it, with this subtitle. They recognised that the phrase could reflect well on the *Cours*, but poorly on the school, 'soit en donnant une idée avantageuse de cet ouvrage à ceux qui ne le connoissent pas, soit en laissant croire à ceux qui savent l'apprécier que, malgré son peu de mérite, on en fait cependent usage dans les Écoles militaires.'[596]

Despite the school's attempts to discredit Batteux and his manual, its public reception was generally favourable. In July 1778, the *Journal des sçavans* suggests the work would be useful beyond childhood, and could serve 'beaucoup de gens qui sont censés avoir fait leurs études et qui ont déjà pris un parti dans le monde.'[597] And in the 1780s the Comtesse de Miremont, in her *Traité de l'éducation des femmes, et cours complet d'instruction* (1779–89) recommends that girls be taught rhetoric using Batteux's *Cours de Belles Lettres, ou Principes de la Littérature*.[598] Paradoxically, then, although Batteux's work was intended for the male elite of the Écoles militaires, in practice it largely bypassed this audience and instead – thanks to its association with the military schools – gained popularity with different publics, and often traditionally overlooked groups such as women and adult learners. Although the Écoles militaires themselves may have seldom used the *Cours d'études*, by commissioning Batteux as its director; by ordering so many volumes; and by giving their name and implicit seal of approval (even against their will) to the *Cours,* the military schools helped to transmit Batteux's modern practices of *littérature* to a wider audience.

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595 Hosier de Sérigny writes that this is the case in letters he sent to the parents of several boys who applied for places at the military school in 1782. SHD Ya160.
596 Letter from the Conseil de l'hôtel de l'École royale militaire to the Marquis de Ségur, dated 26 June 1782, AN MM676, fols 12–13.
597 Quoted by Chapron (2014), p. 14, n. 65.
598 Dena Goodman discusses this in *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (London: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 89, n. 105.

Reading Exemplary Lives: Teaching Boys to be 'Grands Hommes'

As mentioned earlier, in early 1777, the Parisian École royale militaire was closed. As part of the measures creating the regional military schools, the Parisian institution was intended to be sold off and the money used to pay for the *boursiers du roi* attending the military *collèges*. However, as Mention notes, the ministry for war was unable to find a buyer for such costly buildings, estimated at 8 million *livres*. A new plan was conceived: an *Ordonnance* published on 17 July 1777 declared that from October, the school would be turned into a kind of higher military academy. It would receive up to fifty students who had attended one of the regional Écoles militaires and who had been admitted, via the annual *concours* held at Brienne, to the *Cadets gentilshommes* regiment. The Parisian *École militaire* reopened in January, 1778 (with just six *cadets*, at first!), under the new name of École spéciale militaire.[599] In February, the École militaire appointed two new teachers of 'grammaire et littérature française': Louis Domairon, known for his work on the *Journal des sciences et beaux arts*, and a M. Raoul. In June 1778, M. Alexandre (an ex-teacher of Latin at the school) was reappointed as a supply teacher for the same disciplines.[600]

In June 1779, a new library inventory was conducted, motivated by the fact that Meunier was soon to retire, and would be replaced by M. Arcambal. Among the interesting things it reveals is a new selection of 'livres de lecture', for students to read independently, in their own time.[601] There was already a collection of 'livres de lecture' on the 1776 inventory, comprising 335 volumes. A transcription of that list of books is given in Appendix 4.[602] It shows that there were usually only one or two volumes of each title, and that the most popular genres were history (especially histories of kings, nations, and

[599] By April 1778, the school had 34 *cadets*. The number steadily grew (exceeding the fifty students proposed in 1777); by August 1781, it had 117 *cadets*. See Hennet, pp. 99–100. Hennet claims (p. 112) that between 1778 and 1788, the École spéciale militaire educated 594 *cadets*.
[600] AN MM674, fol. 149.
[601] See AN O.1 1606 (216).
[602] See pp. 270–71.

battles), the art of war, and biographies or memoirs of 'grands hommes'. The 1779 inventory of 'livres de lecture' noted that a number of purchases were made between January and April that year. Although only 16 new titles were added, 121 copies of these were purchased, increasing the overall size of the collection by almost a third, and significantly altering its composition. The new titles, and the number of volumes purchased, were:

> Livres de lectures achetés depuis le 1er Janvier au 30 Avril 1779
>
> 3 – Boileau, *Œuvres*
> 3 – Corneille, *Chef d'œuvres*
> 3 – Crébillon, *œuvres*
> 26 – D'Auvigny, *Hommes illustres de France*
> 4 – Fénelon, *Aventures de Télémaque*
> 8 – Homer, *Illiade et odissée*
> 2 – La Bruyère, *Caractères de Théophraste*
> 2 – La Fontaine, *Fables*
> 3 – Milton, *Paradis perdu*
> 3 – Racine, *Œuvres*
> 1 – Rousseau, *Œuvres choisies*
> 26 – Abbé Velly, *Histoire de France*
> 7 – Vertot, *Histoire de Malthe*
> 1 – Virgile, *Géorgiques par de l'Isle*
> 4 – Voltaire, *Henriade*
> 1 – Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII*

First, only two of the sixteen titles are by classical authors (Homer and Virgil), suggesting that the École militaire was interested in increasing its stock of books by 'modernes'. Milton is the only non-French author, and 'Rousseau' almost certainly refers to J. B. Rousseau, whose *Œuvres choisies* were published in 1714. The texts with the greatest number of volumes purchased are the *Histoire de France depuis l'établissement de la monarchie jusqu'à Louis XIV* (1770), by the abbé Paul-François Velly (1690–1759), and *Les Vies des hommes illustres de la France* (1739–1775), by Jean du Castre d'Auvigny (1712–1743). It seems likely that the numbers of volumes purchased refer to different volumes of the same multi-volume work, rather than multiple copies of the same volume(s). These new purchases suggest, nonetheless, that the school was eager for pupils to read modern

French texts celebrating the history of France and its great men. There were already five volumes of d'Auvigny's work on the 1776 inventory, so with 31 volumes available for pupils to choose from, this was now the work with the greatest number of volumes on the list.

Since it seems to have been the most popular text, it is worth considering the contents of d'Auvigny's collective biography. This text was a dictionary of 'illustrious' Frenchmen, and it had explicit, didactic aims. D'Auvigny labels his work 'celui de tous les projets en matière de littérature, qui soit capable de faire le plus d'honneur à la Nation en général, & de lui procurer le plus d'utilité'.[603] He explains that his text was inspired by Perrault's *Hommes illustres* (1696–1700). Although d'Auvigny intended to include men of three different professional categories (politicians, military captains, and distinguished men in 'la littérature, les sciences et les arts'), he did not live to complete the final category. His multi-volume biography, then, contains only politicians and *hommes de guerre*. Nonetheless, his preface makes it clear to readers what they were supposed to take from the work: 'le récit [des actions de ces héros] excite l'émulation; & ces grands Hommes dont elles sont émanées, sont pour ainsi dire comme des miroirs devant lesquels on ne se contemple pour se corriger'.[604]

In the biographies he writes, d'Auvigny often implies that a man's literary education, or his talent in producing eloquent discourses, is what secures his reputation. In his biography of the cardinal de Richelieu, for example, he notes that he studied assiduously at the Université de Paris.[605] And Richelieu's eloquence is described as opening the doors to greatness: 'à Paris [...] il prêcha deux carêmes avec l'applaudissement de toute la Cour.

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603 *Les Vies des hommes illustres de la France, depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu'à présent*, 26 vols (Amsterdam & Paris: Knapen, 1739–75), I (1739), p. iii.
604 *Ibid*, I, p. v.
605 *Ibid*, IV, p. 2.

Ce succès lui gagna l'estime de la Reine mère, & lui ouvrit la route des grands emplois où il brilla dans la suite.'[606] In the 'avertissement' to the ninth volume of the *Vies*, we learn that this volume is in fact a posthumous one. Written by d'Auvigny's brother, the 'avertissement' explains that

> après avoir donné ses soins pour l'édition des Tomes VII & VIII de son Livre, [M. d'Auvigny Cheveau-Léger de la Garde] se hâta de partir pour joindre sa Troupe, & a été malheuresement tué dans le Combat d'Ettinghen, à l'âge de trente & un ans, le 27 juin 1743, laissant une veuve et deux enfans mâles.[607]

D'Auvigny's brother provides an obituary for the writer and *militaire*, making special note of his literary production. 'Après s'être exercé dans sa premiere jeunesse sur des matières de bel esprit & de fiction', he writes, 'il s'appliqua sérieusement à l'Histoire, & donna un Abrégé de celle de France & Romaine, imprimée en 1730. Quelques années après il mit au jour l'Histoire de la Ville de Paris en cinq volumes'.[608] In the ninth volume of his work, then, the author of the *Vies des hommes illustres* becomes (to misquote Montaigne) 'lui-même la matière de son livre'.[609] His life, and specifically his combination of literary and military talent, is celebrated as an exemplary 'vie d'un homme illustre'.

By designating the *Vies* as suitable independent reading for pupils, the military school seems to have viewed it as requiring little explanation from a teacher. Its political message was clear: it was intended to inspire patriotism, and to encourage boys to feel emulation for illustrious Frenchmen. This, in turn, was supposed to motivate them to strive to become such 'grands hommes', themselves.

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606 *Ibid*, IV, p. 3.
607 *Ibid*, IX, [n. p.]
608 *Ibid.*
609 See Montaigne's comment in the 'Au lecteur' to his *Essais*, that 'ainsi, lecteur, je suis moy-mesmes la matiere de mon livre', p. 35.

Literary Lessons and Life Lessons in Domarion's Textbook

The 1780s also saw the publication of the first *belles-lettres* manual to be officially adopted by the École militaire, the *Principes généraux des Belles-Lettres* (1784), by the school's own chair of 'grammaire et littérature française', Louis Domairon.[610] Domairon was an ex-Jesuit, who had taught at the school since 1778. As the titles of Domairon's work and his professorship reveal, by the 1780s, the school used the terms *belles-lettres* and *littérature* interchangeably to refer, variously, to a class taught at the school, a literary art, and a corpus of texts. Domairon introduces his two-volume manual by arguing that you cannot be a famous, learned man if you have not studied *belles-lettres*, which he defines as as 'grammaire, rhétorique, poésie [...] c'est-à-dire [...] l'étude des principes nécessaires pour bien écrire en notre langue, & [...] des règles des divers genres de littérature, soit en prose, soit en vers.'[611]

The first volume of the *Principes* is a manual on French grammar and rhetoric. As Rollin and Batteux had done before him, after explaining a 'rule', Domairon exemplifies it with a few sentences (often from an exemplary author).[612] For instance, when describing the use of French articles, he writes:

> L'article devant être placé avant les noms pour leur donner un sens précis et déterminé, il s'ensuit que les noms qu'on emploie dans un sens vague et indéterminé, n'ont pas besoin de l'article, ainsi qu'on le voit dans ces vers de *Corneille*:
>
> > A vaincre sans péril, on triomphe sans gloire...
> > Vous parlez en soldat: je dois agir en roi.
>
> Dans le premier vers, le poëte n'exprime que vaguement et indéterminément le *péril* qu'il y a à *vaincre*, la *gloire* qu'il y a à *triompher*. Dans le second vers, il ne désigne

[610] On 8 March 1784, the librarian, Arcambal, was authorised to purchase 200 copies of Domairon's work, which was to be used in his classes. See AN MM671, fols 160–61.
[611] Domairon, I (1784), p. 4. Domairon rhetorically asks, 'où sont les vrais savans, les savans un peu célèbres, qui, avant de le devenir, n'aient eu l'esprit suffisamment orné des connoissances littéraires?', p. 2.
[612] Domairon had certainly read Batteux's work, as he frequently refers to the *Principes de littérature* (1755). See, for instance, I, pp. 211, 429, 446.

> ni les *soldats,* les *rois* pris universellement; ni aucun *soldat,* aucun *roi* pris individuellement.[613]

And later: 'l'article accompagne encore les adjectifs placés avant ou après un nom propre: *Henri* le *Grand*; le *grand Henri*; *Louis* le *grand*; le *grand Louis*'.[614] And exemplifying the agreement of participles with preceding direct objects: '*La valeur que vous avez* montrée, *dans ce combat sanglant*, *nous a* remplis *de la plus grande estime pour vous.*'[615] It is clear from these examples that Domairon often chooses model extracts, or creates model sentences, which vaunt military valour, glorious French kings, and 'classic' authors of the 'siècle de Louis XIV'. This is typical of his manual; he refers to almost uniquely modern authors (bar a few French translations of Cicero), and regularly includes La Fontaine, Corneille, Racine, Boileau and Voltaire, alongside some living writers including Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750) is used to exemplify the figure of prosopopoeia.[616]

In the section of his manual dealing with the art of literary production, one of Domairon's chapters is entitled 'Sur l'art d'écrire les lettres'. He claims this skill is crucial for École militaire students, since the professional and social milieux they will enter requires epistolary eloquence. The chapter features several exemplary letters, the style of which he instructs pupils to imitate. Many are written by famous letter-writing women such as Mme de Maintenon, Mme de Ventadour, and Mme de Sévigné.[617] One of the longest letters he quotes is a 'lettre de conseil', by one Mlle de Barry.[618] Domairon says he

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613 *Ibid*, p. 90.
614 *Ibid*, p. 96.
615 *Ibid*, p. 134.
616 *Ibid*, p. 192.
617 Scholars have commented on how eighteenth-century *belles-lettres* manuals often featured women writers as models of epistolary style. See, for instance, the studies by Janet Gurkin-Altman, 'Teaching the 'People' to Write: The Formation of a Popular Civic Identity in the French Letter Manual', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 22 (1993), 147–80; and 'Espace public, espace privé: la politique de la publication de lettres sous l'ancien régime', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 70 (1992), 607–23.
618 I have identified Mlle de Barry as Claire-Françoise du Barry, known as 'Chon' (1733–1809). Chon later became the sister-in-law of Jeanne Bécu (1743–1793), who became Madame *du* Barry following her

chose it for its content as well as its style: 'On va voir un modèle du ton & du style de ces sortes de lettres, dans celle-ci de Mademoiselle de Barry, à son frère, Eleve de l'Ecole Royale Militaire. Je l'ai trouvée dans le *Mercure de France* du mois de Septembre 1758. Elle contient de trop grandes leçons de vertu, pour que je doive craindre de la citer toute entière.'[619] Though I will not also quote it in its entirety, De Barry's letter begins:

> J'apprends, mon cher frère, que vous allez sortir de l'Ecole Militaire, pour entrer dans la carrière des armes. Vous êtes un des premiers que cette Ecole ait formés; & comme étant parmi ses enfans du nombre de ses aînés, vous allez porter des premiers dans le sein de la patrie, les fruits de cette excellente culture. […] Heureusement pour vous [le Roi] qui nous gouverne a jetté les yeux sur la pauvre noblesse de son Royaume. […] Vous voilà donc, grâce à cet établissement, muni des leçons de l'honneur le plus pur, & des plus belles lumières. Votre éducation a été une espèce de choix parmi les autres éducations, & l'Etat vous a prodigué ses soins les plus précieux & les plus chers.[620]

By framing this letter as containing 'de trop grandes leçons de vertu', Domairon encourages pupils to associate themselves with de Barry's brother, and to learn the 'lessons' she tries to teach him about his debt to the king. Later in the letter, she advises her brother to behave well in the army, given that he is among the first to graduate and to represent his school. She says alumni have a duty to repay the monarch for their education by maintaining exemplary conduct, and she claims they will be models for those not fortuate enough to have attended the school.

Littérature, for Domairon, does not appear to be primarily about teaching eloquence, nor about studying famous authors: above all, it is a means to transmit lessons, in this case, to teach pupils about their duty to the king. Domairon sees *littérature* lessons as a way to persuade pupils to act in ways that are politically desirable for the royal school. In his republication and framing of de Barry's letter, Domairon draws on two main generic

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marriage to Guillaume du Barry (Chon's brother), in 1768. Jeanne Bécu, of course, would become the mistress of Louis XV. The brother that Chon was writing to, who was admitted to the École militaire in 1754, is the youngest of her five siblings, Élie-Nicolas (b. 1742). For more on 'Chon', see the monograph by Frédéric Lenormand, *Mademoiselle Chon du Barry, ou les surprises du destin* (Paris: Laffont, 1996).

619 Domairon, I (1784), p. 256.

620 *Ibid*, pp. 256–58.

models. First, on the Ancien Régime letter-writing manual, which has been the object of important studies by Janet Gurkin-Altman.[621] As Gurkin-Altman has noted, although these manuals usually declared stylistic interests, letters and letter writers were more often than not chosen because they exemplified morals considered valuable by the compiler.[622]

Domairon was also drawing on the genre of the epistolary novel, which attained bestseller status in eighteenth-century France with the novels of Rousseau and Laclos, and which itself often imitated the moralising intentions of the letter-writing manual.[623] The subtitle to Laclos's *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782) – 'lettres recueillies dans une société et publiées pour l'instruction de quelques autres' – might describe Domairon's use of de Barry's letter.[624] By attributing a didactic purpose to his *Liaisons*, Laclos was, himself, drawing on Rousseau's conceptualisation of the pleasing, persuasive letter novel (which often denies fictionality in order to make morals appear even more pertinent). Rousseau exemplified this, of course, in *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), and theorised it in the two prefaces to that work. Indeed, Laclos borrowed a phrase from Rousseau's first preface as the epigraph to his novel: 'J'ai vû les mœurs de mon tems, et j'ai publié ces lettres'.[625] Drawing on both the genres of the letter-writing manual, then, and the epistolary novel, Domairon explicitly posits Mlle de Barry's letter as stylistically exemplary, but more importantly, as morally instructive.

Among the students attending the Parisian military school in the mid-1780s was the school's most famous pupil, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).[626] Napoleon attended the

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621 See above, p. 211, n. 617.
622 See Gurkin-Altman (1992), p. 608.
623 Laclos, of course, had also received a military education, at the École royale d'artillerie de La Fère, which he attended between 1759 and 1763. For more on his education, see Roger Vailland, *Laclos par lui-même* (Paris: Seuil, 1959), pp. 6–7.
624 Laclos, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Laurent Versini (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), p. 1.
625 See *OC*, II, p. 5.
626 Napoleon's education and his early years in the miliary have been studied by Arthur Chuquet, *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris: Colin, 1898–99).

regional military *collège* at Brienne from 1779 to 1784, and went on to the Parisian academy from 1784 to 1785. In 1785, he passed the exam to join the artillery regiment of La Fère.[627] Napoleon was taught by Domairon, and would have encountered at least the first volume of his *Principes généraux des belles-lettres* (although possibly not the second, which was not printed until 1785).[628] Napoleon attended the military school at a time when *littérature* held an important place on the curriculum. If literary teaching practices were intended to turn boys into patriotic, valiant 'grands hommes' – as reading books like d'Auvigny's, and textbooks like Domairon's sought to do – Napoleon's path would suggest they worked.

Beyond the School Gates: The Reproduction of *Littérature*

A *Règlement du roi* dated 9 October 1787 marked the Parisian École royale militaire (again) for closure.[629] The document stated that the school had become a place of 'dépenses inutiles', consumed by 'le luxe et la magnificence', and that Louis XVI believed it was no longer fit for purpose. Such a luxurious education contrasted too radically, the *Règlement* said, with the rigours of the military profession for which pupils were destined. The king believed 1,200,000 *livres* could be saved by closing the school, and he said he intended to give the building to the city of Paris as an asylum for the poor, thus transforming a place of 'luxe superflu' into a place of 'utilité publique'. The date of closure was to be 1 April 1788, at which point the king would raise the number of places in the regional military *collèges* – which were to be maintained – from 600 to 700. Even the regional schools, however, did not survive for long; on 9 September 1793 the Convention decreed the

[627] Napoleon is named in a letter dated 28 September 1785 from Timbrune to Ségur, which lists four pupils who have recently been accepted into an artillery regiment. SHD Ya148.
[628] Domairon may well, of course, have used elements of the second volume in his teaching methods and content even before the second volume was published, but we cannot know this for certain.
[629] *Règlement fait par le Roi concernant l'École royale militaire, du 9 octobre 1787* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1787).

closure of the Écoles militaires.[630] The closure of the royal military schools during the Revolution should not, however, be seen as the end of the schools' literary teaching practices.

When Napoleon rose to power he appointed Domairon (along with Louis-Marcelin, marquis de Fontanes (1757–1821) and Jean-Baptiste de Nomère de Champagny (1756–1834) – the latter a peer of Napoleon's from the military school) to the 'Commission des livres classiques'. This Commision was in charge of selecting 'les livres classiques à l'usage des lycées pour les classes de Latin et de belles-lettres'. On 4 Brumaire an XII (27 October 1803) the Commission was ordered to oversee the printing of new editions of the texts they had selected. All books used in the Imperial Lycées, after this date, had to bear a stamp confirming they were the official, approved editions. And among these approved works was Domairon's *Principes généraux des belles-lettres*.

At the military school, then, *littérature* could mean many things. It could refer to a national canon of texts, as Junker used it in the title of his *Choix de littérature allemande* (1768), or as Bourgoing used it in the *Archives littéraire*. It could refer to the name of a class, as indicated by the appointment of teachers like Domairon, to deliver 'grammaire et littérature française' classes. It could be an art to be learned, as suggested by the title of Batteux's 'Principes abrégés de la littérature'. And it could, finally, be a school discipline, which involved studying a canon of eloquent texts that conveyed values; using a manual to guide one's reading; reading exemplary 'auteurs' and adopting a vocabulary that emphasised the importance of these creators; and learning to adopt not only their style, but also their and their characters' exemplary actions.

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630 On this law, see Jean-Baptiste Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, règlemens et avis du Conseil d'État, de 1788 à 1830 inclusivement, par ordre chronologique, continuée depuis 1830*, 2nd edn, 37 vols (Paris: Guyot & Scribe, 1834–45), V (1834), p. 153. Laulan (1950, p. 58) provides a concise history of the uses of the military school's buildings from 1793 to the 1880s (including its as a warehouse for storing military equipment, and as a base for Napoleon's Imperial Guard).

These practices, and the notions of *littérature* they taught, did not evaporate after the military school itself closed. Rather, as I have demonstrated, they were perpetuated well into the nineteenth century by the school's alumni who – now that they had become 'grands hommes de la patrie' – could direct and influence others. Bourgoing became an *homme de lettres*, whose own authorial practices of *littérature* helped publicise the notions of *littérature* he had acquired at the school. What is more, the school taught him not just to be a *littérateur*, but also to be a *querelleur*, who went on to engage in the *Querelle des collèges*, in the 1770s. This *Querelle* also impacted on Vaublanc, leading him to reflect critically, in later life, upon the *littérature* teaching he had received as a boy. Bigault d'Harcourt reflected more positively on his education at La Flèche, and he influenced the teaching of *littérature* at that school when he later became its principal, by taking back into the classroom Batteux's 'Principes abrégés de la littérature', which he had briefly experienced during his youth. And, finally, in the first Lycées, established in the 1800s, Napoleon prescribed the literary manual *he* had studied at the École militaire, written by his teacher, Domairon, whom he appointed to the committee in charge of deciding what books would be used in the Lycées. Through their literary, pedagogical, and political practices in later life, these men passed on the notions of *littérature* they learned from their time at the military schools. This was Bordieusian 'reproduction' in action.

In this chapter, I hope to have shown three things. First, that *littérature* formed an important part of the École royale militaire's curriculum. Second, that this school was an intervention in the *Querelle des collèges*, and that its literary teaching practices – which sought to provide an alternative to those of the *collèges* – helped establish many modern practices of *littérature*. And, third, that the school conceived of *littérature* not primarily in aesthetic terms, but as a privileged means for the transmission of political values. For the

military school, these were the values of duty to the monarch, military valour, and the desire for glory, all of which were associated with what David A. Bell has called 'royal patriotism'.[631] This ideology, Bell claims, was one encouraged by royal propagandists who attempted to bolster the reputation of the monarchy in the wake of the Seven Years' War (1756–63) (in which France suffered significant losses), and as monarchs sought to live up to the great reputation of Louis le Grand – as Louis XV himself acknowledged in the edict founding the military school. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the quarrels over how to teach *littérature* that were staged during the *Querelle des collèges* were ultimately quarrels about what the French nation should be. The École militaire had clear ideas about this; it believed that the nation should be filled with patriotic, valiant, and eloquent 'grands hommes', who would secure the king's reputation for posterity through their great actions, and through their literary texts that would recount them. As this chapter has shown, the school taught *littérature* in such a way as to try to turn boys into men who would do just that.

[631] Bell sets out what he defines as the characteristics of this ideology in 'Canon Wars in Eighteenth-Century France: The Monarchy, the Revolution and the 'Grands Hommes de la Patrie", *MLN*, 116.4 (2001), 705–38. See also his longer study which incorporates this idea, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Conclusion, or, And they Quarrelled Ever After

> 'On les exerceroit à faire des définitions; exercice infiniment utile, & capable seul de former l'esprit, d'apprendre à parler & à écrire avec exactitude & avec précision.'
>
> La Chalotais, *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou Plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (1763)

Among the new classroom literary exercises that La Chalotais recommends, in place of the Jesuits' methods, is an exercise in which pupils are required to compose their own definitions of words. 'On les exerceroit à faire des définitions', he writes, 'exercice infiniment utile, & capable seul de former l'esprit, d'apprendre à parler & à écrire avec exactitude & avec précision. Demandez à la plupart des hommes, ce qu'ils entendent par un mot, ils vous répondront difficilement, ou ils le feront d'une maniere si vague, que vous appercevrez qu'ils n'en ont point de notion déterminée'.[632] Asking boys to define their terms, and to distinguish between synonyms, would, La Chalotais believes, teach them to think, speak, and write clearly. If he had asked *collégiens* of the 1760s to define the word *littérature*, however, they might well have struggled, for this was precisely the moment when – as scholars including Cristin, Viala, Caron, and Escarpit have demonstrated – concepts of *littérature* were in particular flux.[633]

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[632] La Chalotais (1763), p. 83.
[633] I discuss these scholars' claims in the introduction, p. 16.

This was the moment when 'modern' notions of *littérature* (which had been emerging since the 1680s, alongside earlier notions of *littérature* as 'written texts' and 'a form of erudition') began to become the concepts commonly associated with the word, and when the word began to replace terms such as *belles-lettres*. There was no singular 'modern' notion of *littérature*. Rather, what had been emerging since the 1680s was a range of modern notions. These included Goujet's concept of *littérature* as both the body of texts considered valuable and exemplary (for one reason or another) *and* the body of critical work on these texts; Batteux's notion of *littérature* as an art of reading and writing, the principles of which could be learned; and La Porte (and many other writers') idea of *littérature* as a national canon of stylistically and morally exemplary texts.

In the introduction to this thesis, I said that this study would seek to uncover why exactly these modern notions of *littérature* began to stabilise and to be used more frequently than early modern senses of the word in this period. What was it that made the mid-eighteenth century such a decisive moment in the history of the word and the idea of *litterature*? In a recent article, Annie Becq also asked herself this question, and proposed some possible answers. 'Si 'littérature' tend à dominer à mesure que le [XVIIIe] siècle avance', she writes, 'c'est probablement sous l'action de quelque moteur: extension du public lisant, assortie du développement de la presse périodique [...].'[634] While the motors Becq suggests are important, this thesis has argued that perhaps the most influential were the hundreds of interventions in the *Querelle des collèges* which publicised – and, in the case of the military school, passed on to future generations – modern concepts of *littérature* by writing them into the school discipline that they called *littérature*.

634 'Belles-Lettres et 'Littérature' au XVIIIe siècle', in *Bonnes lettres/Belles lettres*, dir. by Poulouin and Arnould (2006), pp. 405–15; p. 414.

In her study, *La Littérature au Lycée: Invention d'une Discipline (1880–1925)* (1998), Martine Jey argues that it was around 1880 that the discipline of *littérature* emerged in France. She writes:

> tente donc de s'inventer une discipline avec ses horaires, ses programmes distinctes, ses finalités. De l'ensemble indifférencié que constituaient les Belles-Lettres, ou les lettres classiques, commence à émerger le français. Car, qu'y avait-il auparavant, depuis des lustres? Regnaient en maîtres incontestés le latin et le grec, et la rhétorique. Au centre de l'ancien modèle: des exercices de traduction et des exercices techniques d'apprentissage de l'écriture fondés sur l'imitation et l'amplification. Dans cet enseignement prévalait l'apprentissage de l'écriture et des savoir-faires. La mort de ce modèle ancien était depuis longtemps annoncée et particulièrement attendue en cette fin de siècle, comme la naissance nécessaire d'une nouvelle discipline.[635]

This thesis supports Jey's claim that the discipline of *littérature* was, in 1880, 'depuis longtemps annoncée'. It has shown that the 'ancien modèle' of rhetorical education, which she says was replaced by a literary model in the late nineteenth century, was already being challenged and reconceived during the late Ancien Régime – around a century before she claims the discipline was truly 'invented'. As this study has explored, many of the modalities that Jey describes as part of the discipline of *littérature* – the emphasis on learning to read texts critically rather than to imitate authors, the interest in reading a modern French (and not a Latin or Greek) canon, the exercises of 'explication' and 'composition française' (in place of translations from or to ancient languages, or rhetorical disputes) – were sketched out, and called *littérature*, for the first time during the *Querelle des collèges*.

Although this thesis has offered the École militaire as a case study of an institution that taught the French-centric discipline of *littérature* in the second half of the eighteenth century, it must be recognised that this school was unusual. Most of the *collèges*, during this period, continued to teach the Latin-centric discipline of *rhétorique*, even if some French authors and modern literary exercises started to make inroads into the curriculum.

[635] Jey (1998), p. 7.

Perhaps paradoxically, during the Ancien Régime, the *Querelle des collèges* seems to have had more effect on public ideas about the meaning of *littérature* than on changing *collège* literary teaching practices. O'Connor has argued that attempts by the *parlementaires,* in the 1760s, to institute educational reform in the *collèges* failed to reach a conclusion during the Ancien Régime precisely because at the root of these debates were more contentious arguments, which could not be resolved, about what French society, the French nation, and the French state should look like.[636] Yet, if we situate the *Querelle des collèges*, for a moment, in the longer history of French education it becomes apparent that many educational plans of the Revolutionary years, and reforms of the the nineteenth, twentieth, and even twenty-first centuries might be seen as having roots in this polemic.

Many of the debates raised by the *Querelle des collèges*, and the wider *Querelle de l'éducation*, influenced the proposals for educational reform made during the Revolutionary years.[637] Given their new political context, however, the revolutionaries often challenged or reworked Ancien Régime educational ideas. In his *Plan d'éducation nationale, adressé aux états généraux par un père de famille dauphinois* (1789), for example, Jean-Joseph Mounier (1758–1806), a judge from Grenoble, argues that the Ancien Régime *collèges* should not simply be reformed (as many in the *Querelle des collèges* campaigned for), but that they should be entirely replaced. As he puts it, 'l'éducation actuelle des collèges, à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, est encore celle du douzième. C'est un vieux bâtiment gothique, élevé dans un siècle barbare; il faut entièrement le renverser pour en construire un nouveau.'[638] It was not until 1802, however, and the foundation of the first Lycées, that an alternative institutional model would be created which would prove lasting.[639] Although the structure

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636 O'Connor (2016), p. 511.
637 For a study of many of these plans, and for an approach which also considers them as influenced by Ancien Régime campaigns for educational reform, see Julia (1984).
638 *Plan d'éducation nationale, adressé aux états généraux par un père de famille dauphinois* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1789), p. 3. Julia (1984) discusses this, see pp. 25–26.
639 On the history of the Lycées, see Philippe Savoie, 'Construire un système d'instruction publique: De la création des lycées au monopole renforcé (1802–1814)', in *Napoléon et les lycées. Enseignement et société en Europe*

and aims of the Lycées have changed a great deal since the first thirty-six Lycées were founded by Napoleon for the education of elite boys, their aim was always, nonetheless, to provide a state-controlled network of educational establishments, which would offer a uniform national programme of instruction. This was much like what Rolland d'Erceville and other *querelleurs* had called for, and was similar to the uniform network of institutions Saint-Germain attempted to create with the network of military schools founded in 1776.

The revolutionaries also echoed the concerns of Ancien Régime *querelleurs* about teaching orders (such as the Jesuits). Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, le marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794), for instance, contended that no self-regulated groups of teachers should be allowed to teach future French citizens. As he put it in the first of his *Cinq mémoires sur l'instruction publique* (1791), 'la puissance publique doit donc éviter surtout de confier l'instruction à des corps enseignants qui se recrutent par eux-mêmes. [...] L'instruction qu'ils donneront aura toujours pour but, non le progrès des lumières, mais l'augmentation de leur pouvoir'.[640] On 30 October 1794, building on Condorcet's ideas, on the Ancien Régime Agrégation, and on Pellicier's plans for a 'maison d'instruction', the Parisian École Normale was founded to train state teachers.[641] Many years later, of course, the introduction of Jules Ferry's law of 1880, which forbade 'non authorised congregations' (religious communities) from teaching, and the *Loi Combes* of 1904, would definitively exclude religious orders from public education. Yet, the long process of secularising French education might be seen to have begun with the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the 1760s.

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au début du XXe siècle, dir. by Jacques-Olivier Boudon (Paris: Nouveau Monde; Fondation Napoléon, 2004), pp. 39–55.

[640] *Cinq mémoires sur l'instruction publique,* ed. by Charles Coutel and Catherine Kintzler (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), p. 88. For further discussion of this *mémoire* and its relation to Condorcet's later educational work, including his famous *Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique* (1792), see Julia (1984), pp. 133–34.

[641] On the history of the École normale, see Julia (1981), 71–86, and (1984), pp. 154–60.

The roots of some of the modalities of teaching French *littérature* to French schoolchildren, which are still in place today, might also be found in the plans and pedagogical practices created during the *Querelle des collèges*. In 1803, Napoleon appointed a Commission des livres classiques (which included his old teacher, Domairon) to decide upon the texts that should be studied in the Lycées within the *belles-lettres* curriculum. In her study of this first national *palmarès*, Jey has demonstrated that the literary ideals promoted by this first canon were those that the Ancien Régime *querelleurs* had also recommended, represented by 'great' authors of the 'siècle de Louis XIV', including Boileau, Bossuet, Corneille, and Racine.[642] All boys attending the Lycées were required to study these texts. Since then, and with the extension of the Lycées into a national system of secondary schools open to all boys and (from 1880) also to girls, French *littérature* has increasingly been seen not just as something reserved for the elite, but as a valuable discipline for all French children to study. And in 1880, after many years of attempts to bring about reform, the exercise of 'discours latin' at the Baccalauréat was replaced with the exercise of 'composition française'.[643]

Since the end of the Ancien Régime, the notion that France is a literary nation has been bolstered by the Pantheonisation of literary 'grands hommes' such as Voltaire (*panthéonisé* in 1791), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1794), Hugo (1885), Zola (1908), and Aimé Césaire (buried in Martinique, but given a commemorative plaque in the Panthéon in 2011). The idea – prevalent during the *Querelle des collèges*, and particularly in the École royale militaire's literary practices – that a great Frenchman is a literary man is still alive today. In the latest presidential campaign, Emmanuel Macron and Jean-Luc Mélenchon played a game of literary one-upmanship; when Mélenchon read out Baudelaire's poem

642 For more on these early national canons, see Jey (1998), pp. 14–22.
643 On the history of this exercise in the nineteenth century, see Chervel, *La Composition française au XIXème siècle dans les principaux concours et examens de l'agrégatiom au baccalauréat* (Paris: INRP; Vuibert, 1999); on the particular influence of the Baccalauréat on teaching practices, see Jey, 'Du discours latin à la composition française: le rôle déterminant du baccalauréat', *Le Français aujourd'hui*, 133.2 (2001), 23–30.

'L'Albatros', from the second edition of *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1861), at a rally on 29 March 2017, Macron retorted, at his own rally on 17 April, by quoting from a letter written by Diderot to Sophie Volland.[644] Macron and Mélenchon displayed their literary learning as a means to affirm their status as great Frenchmen, capable of leading the nation.[645]

And yet, while it seems uncontroversial that France is a literary nation, what remains a matter for controversy – as evoked in the first pages of this thesis – is what exactly French literary education should involve. Modern-day disputes about how to teach *littérature* are very different, in both content and form, to the eighteenth-century *Querelle des collèges*, or the wider *Querelle de l'éducation*. However, it is striking to note that there is still intense debate over the sorts of matters that d'Alembert, Rousseau, La Chalotais and their contemporaries were quarrelling over, more than 200 years ago, such as the exercises used to teach *littérature*, what the purpose of studying *littérature* is, and whether ancient languages should have a place on the curriculum. These modern day debates reveal the continuation of one final phenomenon that this thesis has elucidated which is, namely, that the history of teaching *littérature* is a history of quarrels, debates, and disputes about how it should be taught. If 'la littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne', and the history of teaching *littérature* has been one defined by agonism from the moment it was born, then we might suggest at least where to look for an answer to the famous question that has preoccupied modern French *littérature*. *Qu'est-ce que la littérature*? The answer is to be found in quarrels about literary education.

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644 It was the letter dated 10 June 1759. Benoît Melançon discusses Macron's reference in his blog article, 'La Culture épistolaire d'Emmanuel Macron', *L'Oreille tendue*, 18 April 2017 <http://oreilletendue.com/2017/04/18/la-culture-epistolaire-demmanuel-macron/> [accessed 9 July 2017].

645 In an article celebrating Macron's inauguration, the author Eric-Emmanuel Schmitt encourages the new president to imitate former 'great' French presidents by demonstrating his love of *littérature*, and perpetuating this aspect of French identity. See 'M. Macron, soyez un président littéraire', *Le Monde*, 14 May 2017 <http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2017/05/14/m-macron-soyez-un-president-litteraire_5127419_3232.html> [accessed 9 July 2017].

Appendices

Appendix 1. Corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* and the *Querelle des collèges*

Methodology of the composition of the corpus

The following chronological corpus charts the texts participating in what I have called the *Querelle de l'éducation* and, within that, the *Querelle des collèges*. It includes 454 items, and has been compiled using a combination of existing published bibliographies of eighteenth-century French texts about education, and my own research using several library catalogues. It owes a particular debt to the bibliographies constituted by Buisson, Sonnet, Grandière, and the Hachette reprints series, published in 1979, and directed by Julia.[646] I discuss my use of these sources at greater length in the introduction to this thesis.[647] The principal library catalogues consulted are those of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

This list comprises printed texts, published between 1750 and 1789. As well as individual published worked, it includes articles in multi-volume publications, such as the *Encyclopédie* and Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*, and also Académie prize questions.[648] It does not, therefore, include texts that circulated in manuscript form, such as Grimm's *Correspondance littéraire*, nor does it include works written in the period but not published during these years (such as Diderot's *Plan d'une université pour le gouvernement de Russie ou d'une éducation publique dans toutes les sciences*, written in 1775 but not published until 1813-14).[649] It includes any works published in French, regardless of stated place of publication. For reasons of space, I have only included the first edition of a text.[650] Where possible, I have indicated the size and number of pages of each volume, though I have not listed pages for works comprising more than three volumes.

The number of articles relating to education published in the periodical press during this period would run into the thousands. For reasons of space and time, therefore, I have not tried to account for all journal publications. Rather, I have provided an indication of how contemporary journals took part in these *Querelles* by listing the articles from one

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646 See Buisson (1887) I, pp. 194–203; Sonnet (1987), pp. 343–44; Grandière (1998), pp. 411–20. The Hachette series of publications is accounted for in 'Chronica', *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 19 (1979), 393-431; pp. 410–13.

647 See above, pp. 28–29.

648 For ease of cross-referencing, I list all of the Académie questions chronologically on pp. 227–28. I also include them in the body of the corpus. This enables readers to see how the Académie questions often encouraged participation in the *Querelles* I account for.

649 Guizot was the first to publish an extract of Diderot's *Plan* in the *Annales de l'éducation* (1813-14). It was Assézat who first published the *Plan* in full, in the *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, ed. by Assézat and Tourneux, 20 vols, III (1875), pp. 429–52. For more on the publication history of Diderot's *Plan*, see Robert Niklaus, 'Le *Plan d'une université* de Diderot et le *Plan d'instruction publique* de Condorcet mis en regard', *Diderot Studies*, 24 (1991), 105–20; p. 107.

650 This is the case for all items apart from texts **(128)** and **(129)**, which are compilations of texts involved in the *Querelle des collèges*. For more on these items, see below, pp. 239–42.

periodical, Fréron's *Année littéraire* (abbreviated to *AL*). This periodical was founded in 1754, which explains the lack of *AL* articles in the first three years of my corpus.[651] Many of the *AL* articles included are polemical reviews of earlier texts in the *Querelles*; where this is the case, I have indicated the number of the text being reviewed.

I have not included manuals or textbooks (often entitled *Cours*, *Principes* or *Abrégés*) unless I found that they engaged in debate with other contemporary texts on education. For similar reasons, I have also omitted texts referring to the public *Cours*, *Séances* and *Conférences* given in the period (such as Blondel's *Cours d'architecture*); school prize-giving ceremonies or public exercises; and texts marketed 'à l'usage de la jeunesse', which do not enter into dispute with other works, or discuss educational practices in agonistic terms.

The corpus is numbered from **(1)** to **(454)**, while Académie prize questions are designated by letters from **(A)** to **(O)**. I use these numbers and letters to indicate which texts respond to one another, or to Académie questions. Beneath the heading for each year, I provide three numbers in brackets, for instance:

1751
(3) (3) (*1)

The first number, (3), is the total number of texts published that year. The second number, (3) again in this case, is the number of publications that are *not AL* articles. Finally, the number preceded by an asterisk, (*1), is the number of texts that participated in the specific *Querelle des collèges*.

Key

*	Indicates a text that was part of the *Querelle des collèges*
(A)	Indicates an Académie prize question
(1)	The number I have attributed to the text, which establishes its chronological position in the corpus (numbers run from 1 to 454)
AL	*Année littéraire*
[ ]	Square brackets around an author's name indicates a text published anonymously at the time; square brackets elsewhere indicate my own additions

[651] The index of the *Année littéraire*, compiled by Dante Lénardon, was invaluable for this part of the corpus. See *Index de* l'Année littéraire *(1754–1790)* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1979).

Académie prize essay or poetry questions relating to education

Listed by the year in which the prize was launched.

1751

A. [Poetry prize] Académie des sciences et belles-lettres de Nancy: 'L'Éducation'

B. [Poetry prize] Société des sciences et beaux arts de Pau: 'Utilité d'une académie militaire'

1752

C. [Poetry prize] Société des sciences et beaux arts de Pau: 'Les Avantages de l'éducation'

D. [Poetry prize] Académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen: 'Rétablissement de l'école gratuite de dessin'

1756

E. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Dijon: 'Est-il plus utile d'étudier les hommes ou les livres?'

1763

F. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon: 'Les progrès des modernes ne dispensent pas de l'étude des anciens.'

G. [Essay prize] Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse: 'Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?'

1765

H. [Essay prize] Société des sciences et des arts de Harlem: 'Comment doit-on gouverner l'esprit & le cœur d'un enfant pour le rendre heureux et utile?'

1766

I. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Dijon: 'Donner un traité élémentaire de morale à l'usage des collèges, dans lequel les devoirs de l'homme envers la société & les principes de l'honneur & de la vertu soient développés.'

1778

J. [Essay prize] Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne: 'Quel est le meilleur plan d'éducation pour le peuple?'

1782

K. [Essay prize] Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne: 'Quels sont les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des femmes?'

1783

L. [Essay prize] Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne: 'Quels seroient les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des collèges en France?'

M. [Essay prize] Académie de Marseille: 'Quel est le meilleur plan d'éducation propre à la ville de Marseille, considérée comme maritime & comme commerçante?'

N. [Essay prize] Académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen: 'Le peu de soin que l'on donne à l'instruction des femmes, vouées par leur éducation actuelle à l'oisiveté ou à des occupations frivoles, n'est-il pas la cause la plus immédiate de l'altération des mœurs?'

1785

O. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon: 'Les voyages peuvent-ils être considérés comme un moyen de perfectionner l'éducation?'

Corpus of the *Querelle de l'éducation* and the *Querelle des collèges*

1750
(0)

1751
(3) (3) (*1)

A. [Poetry prize] Académie des sciences et belles-lettres de Nancy: 'L'Éducation'

B. [Poetry prize] Société des sciences et beaux arts de Pau: 'Utilité d'une académie militaire'

1. Bonneval, René de, *Réflexions sur le premier âge de l'homme, servant de supplément aux Élémens & Progrès de l'éducation* (Paris: Prault père), in-8, 52p

* 2. [La Condamine, Charles Marie de], *Lettre critique sur l'éducation* (Paris: Prault père), in-12, 48p

3. Pluche, l'abbé Antoine, *La Mécanique des langues et l'art de les enseigner* (Paris: Estienne), in-12, XXIV-344p

1752
(1) (1) (*1)

C. [Poetry prize] Société des sciences et beaux arts de Pau: 'Les Avantages de l'éducation'

D. [Poetry prize] Académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen: 'Rétablissement de l'école gratuite de dessin'

* 4. *Lettre écrite de Paris, à un Ami de Province, Sur l'éducation des Jeunes gens dans les Colléges des Jésuites, par un Homme de qualité* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [n. d.]), in-12, 46p
Republished **(128x)**.

1753
(4) (4) (*3)

* 5. D'Alembert, Jean le Rond, 'Collège', *Encyclopédie*, III, 634–37
(207) (209) (231) (292)

* 6. Dumarsais, César Chesneau, 'Classe', *Encyclopédie*, III, 506

7. Guérin, François-Nicolas, *Discours en vers sur l'éducation des princes, à Monseigneur le Dauphin* (Paris: Thiboust), in-4, 14p

* 8. [Pâris de Meyzieu, Jean-Baptiste], *Lettre d'un Ancien Lieutenant Colonel François, à Mr…sur l'Ecole Royale Militaire* (Middelbourg: Pontecaille), in-12, 132p
(19)

1754

(7) (5) (*1)

* 9. D'Alembert, 'Dictionnaire de Langues', *Encyclopédie*, IV, 958–66

10. [Boury], *Nouveau plan d'études pour toutes les classes, et projet de principes raisonnés de la langue latine* (Paris: Guillyn), in-4, 118p
(20)

11. Brouzet, *Essai sur l'éducation médicinale des enfans et sur leurs maladies*, 2 vols (Paris: Cavelier), in-12, LXXV-772p
(21)

12. 'Défense des Places', *Encyclopédie*, IV, 737–38

13. [Maubert de Gouvest, Jean-Henri], *École du gentilhomme, ou Entretiens de feu Mr. le chevalier de B... avec le comte son neveu sur l'héroïsme et le héros* (Lausanne: Verney), in-12, XVI-259p
(15)

14. 'Discours sur la nécessité de l'étude de l'architecture' [Jacques-François Blondel] *AL*, V, 339–54

15. 'École du gentilhomme', *AL*, V, 240–53
(13)

1755

(6) (3) (*4)

* 16. Dumarsais, 'Éducation', *Encyclopédie*, V, 397–403

* 17. Pâris de Meyzieu, Jean-Baptiste, 'École militaire', *Encyclopédie*, V (1755)

18. [Méhégan, Guillaume Alexandre], *Lettre sur l'éducation des femmes* (Paris: [n. pub.]), in-12, 24p
(32)

* 19. 'Lettre d'un ancien lieutenant colonel français à M... sur l'Ecole royale militaire', *AL*, I, 266–77
(8)

* 20. 'Nouveau plan d'études pour toutes les classes, et projet de principes raisonnés de la langue latine', *AL*, III, 21–35
(10)

21. 'Essai sur l'éducation médicinale des enfants et sur leurs maladies', *AL*, III, 205–16
(11)

1756

(9) (7) (*3)

E. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Dijon: 'Est-il plus utile d'étudier les hommes ou les livres?'

* 22. Bourgelat, 'Exercices', *Encyclopédie*, VI, 247–52

23. Delaunay, Pierre Pipoulain, *Lettre de M. D. D. M. à M***, servant de réponse aux erreurs et aux indécences du sieur d'Açarq, insérées dans l'Année littéraire de M. Fréron au sujet de la* Nouvelle méthode latine*, de M. de Launay* (Paris: Aumont), in-8, 17p
(24), **(30), (61)**

24. ——, *Reponse de M. de Launay, à un de ses amis. Au sujet de deux Lettres critiques, concernant sa Nouvelle méthode pour aprendre le latin, l'une de M. Paris de Meyzieu, intendant & directeur général des etudes de l'Ecole royale militaire, & l'autre de M. d'Açarq, insérées dans l'Année littéraire de M. Fréron, 1756* (Paris: Robinot), in-8

* 25. *Dissertation sur la méthode qu'on devroit emploïer pour élever les jeunes gens de qualité, de l'un et l'autre sexe, dans l'étude des Belles-Lettres* ([Paris]: Didot), in-12, 23p

* 26. Faiguet de Villeneuve, 'Études', *Encyclopédie*, VI, 87–94

27. Le Blond, 'Études militaires', *Encyclopédie*, VI, 94–96

28. Picardet, Henri-Claude, *Essai sur l'éducation des petits enfans* (Dijon: Hucherot), in-8, 144p
(29)

29. 'Essai sur l'éducation des petits enfans', *AL*, III, 3–13
(28)

30. Pâris de Meyzieu, Jean-Baptiste, 'Lettre de M. Pâris de Meyzieu, Intendant & Directeur Général des Études de l'École royale militaire, à Monsieur Fréron', *AL* , V, 270–74
(23), (24)

1757

(8) (5) (*1)

31. [Calvi, Philippe Simon de], *L'Éducation, poëme en quatre discours* (Paris: Guillyn), in-8, 47p[652]

32. Laborie, Le Chevalier de Ranto de, [pseudonym of Guillaume Alexandre Méhégan], *Lettres sur l'éducation des femmes, et sur leur caractère en général* (Saint-Omer: Boubers), in-12, 48p[653]
(18)

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[652] This text has also been attributed to Joseph de Cuers, chevalier de Cogolin.

[653] The first of the *Lettres* is the same text as **(18)** which is now known to be by Méhégan. 'Le Chevalier de Ranto de Laborie' seems to be a pseudonym of his.

33. Lefebvre, 'Gouvernante d'enfans', *Encyclopédie*, VII, 783–88

34. Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie, Mme, *Le Magasin des enfans, ou Dialogues entre une sage gouvernante et ses élèves*, 4 vols (London: [n. pub.]), in-12

35. Vareilles-Sommières, Jean-Marie de Labroue, comte de, *Lettres sur l'éducation des princes. Dédiées à Monseigneur le Dauphin* (Paris: Duchesne), in-12, 81p

* 36. 'Le Véritable mentor', *AL*, III, 272–84
(48)

37. [Mallet], 'Essai sur l'étude des belles-lettres', *AL*, IV, 23–24

38. Sabatier de Cavaillon, André-Hyacinthe, 'Lettre de M. Sabatier à M. Fréron', *AL*, IV, 251–58

1758

(8) (4) (*2)

39. Goujet, l'abbé Claude-Pierre, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège royal de France*, 3 vols (Paris: Lottin), in-12
(46)

40. [Helvétius, Claude-Adrien], *De l'esprit* (Paris: Durand), in-4, 644p

* 41. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Instructions pour la jeunesse sur la religion et plusieurs sciences naturelles, par un ancien professeur de philosophie en l'Université de Paris,* 2 vols (Paris: Lottin & Butard; Desaint & Saillant), in-12, 586p

* 42. La Rivière, Alex de, *L'Utilité de l'éducation des armes, ou l'émulation renaissante* (Paris: Cuissard), in-12, 35p
(43)

43. 'L'Utilité de l'éducation des armes', *AL*, IV, 132–34
(42)

44. 'Essais sur l'éducation militaire', *AL*, VII, 142–43
(50)

45. 'Discours sur une nouvelle manière d'enseigner et d'apprendre la géographie', *AL*, VII, 306–10
(52)

46. 'Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège-Royal de France', *AL*, VII, 311–33
(39)

1759

(14) (8) (*4)

47. [Bouchot, l'abbé Léopold], *A B C royal, ou l'art d'apprendre à lire par les sons, sans épeler les voyelles ni les consonnes. Dédié aux Enfants de France* (Paris: Mérigot; Lambert), in-12, 60p

* 48. Caraccioli, Louis-Antoine, marquis de, *Le Véritable mentor, ou l'éducation de la noblesse* (Liège: Bassompierre), in-12, 308p
(36)

49. [Épinay, Louise Tardieu d'Esclavelles, la marquise d'], *Lettres à mon fils* (Geneva: De mon imprimerie [Gauffecourt]), in-8, 195p

50. *Essais sur l'éducation militaire, ou institutions de belles-lettres et de tactique françaises* (Paris: Merigot père; Lambert), in-12
(44)

* 51. Le Roux, *Système nouveau par lequel on peut devenir savant sans maître, sans étude et sans peine, ou nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la langue latine* (Troyes: Garnier), in-12, XVII-273p
(58)

52. Luneau de Boisjermain, Pierre-Joseph-François, *Discours sur une nouvelle manière d'enseigner et d'apprendre la géographie, d'après une suite d'opérations typographiques* (Paris: Duchesne; Lambert), in-12, XXXIX-228p
(45)

53. [Simon, l'abbé Louis-Benoît], *Lettre sur l'éducation, par rapport aux langues* (Amsterdam [Paris?]: [n. pub.]), in-12, 31p

54. Vanière, Ignace, *Cours de latinité* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1759), in-8
(57)

* 55. 'Exercices à l'Ecole royale militaire', *AL*, II, 348–56

56. Anon., 'Lettre à Fréron [regarding the exercises of the École de Chevaux-Legers at Versailles], *AL*, III, 65–71

57. 'Cours de latinité', *AL*, III, 88–90
(54)

* 58. 'Système nouveau par lequel on peut devenir savant sans maître, sans étude et sans peine', *AL*, IV, 117–20
(51)

59. 'Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la langue latine', *AL*, V, 163–71
(23), (24), (61)

60. 'Mémoire instructif concernant les pensionnaires du Collège royal de Nanterre', *AL*, VI, 214–16

1760

(9) (7) (*4)

61. Açarq, Jean-Pierre d', *Grammaire françoise philosophique, ou Traité complet sur la physique, sur la métaphysique, & sur la rhétorique du langage qui règne parmi nous dans la société*, 2 parts (Geneva and Paris: Moreau; Lambert), in-12, II-90-189p
(23), (24), (59)

62. [Bouchot, l'abbé Léopold], *L'Art nouvellement inventé pour enseigner à lire; accompagné de réflèxions conséquentes & critiques sur les mèthodes qui ont paru & qui peuvent paroître dans ce genre* (Pont-à-Mousson: Thiery), in-4, 20p

63. Des Essartz, Jean-Charles, *Traité de l'éducation corporelle des enfans en bas-âge, ou réflexions pratiques sur les moyens de procurer une meilleure constitution aux citoyens* (Paris: Hérissant), in-12, 465p

64. Leprince de Beaumont, Jeanne-Marie, Mme, *Magasin des adolescentes, ou Dialogues d'une sage gouvernante avec ses élèves de la première distinction, pour servir de suite au 'Magasin des enfans'*, 4 vols (London: [n. pub.]), in-12
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* 65. [Martin, le révérend père Grégoire], *Lettres instructives et curieuses sur l'éducation de la jeunesse. Ouvrage utile aux Peres de Famille, & nécessaire aux Précepteurs. Par le R. P. G. M.* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 280p
(78)

* 66. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Méthode facile pour apprendre le latin* (Paris: Butard), in-8, XXXV-144p

* 67. Vanière, Ignace, *Discours sur l'éducation* (Paris: Boudet, Cailleau & Lambert), in-8, 61p
(69), (125)

68. 'Le Magasin des adolescents', *AL*, V, 48–56
(64)

* 69. 'Discours sur l'éducation', *AL*, VI, 18–21
(67)

1761

(9) (5) (*1)

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(76), (77)

71. Fleury, Nicolas-Marie de, *Projet d'une école gratuite des Sciences pour toutes les provinces du Royaume où tous les citoyens, de quelque ordre qu'ils soient, trouveraient les secours de l'éducation* (France: [n. pub.]), in-8, 51p

72. [Formey, Johann Heinrich Samuel], *Réflexions sur l'éducation en général, et sur celle des jeunes demoiselles en particulier* (Berlin: Jasperd), in-8, 15p

73. Montizon, le frère de, *L'Esprit des langues, ou vraie et unique méthode pour apprendre sans dégoût et sans peine les langues mortes, de manière à en saisir le génie et le caractère, appliquée à la langue latine* (Paris: Lambert), in-8, 128p

* 74. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Méthode pour apprendre aisément le latin, par un ancien professeur en l'Université de Paris* (Paris: Robinot), in-12, II-46p
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76. 'Histoire de l'université de Paris', *AL*, IV, 97–120
(70)

77. Goujet, Claude-Pierre, 'Lettre de l'auteur de l'Histoire du Collège royale de France à l'auteur de l'Histoire de l'Université de Paris', *AL*, V, 142–43
(70), **(39)**

78. 'Lettres instructives et curieuses sur l'éducation de la jeunesse', *AL*, V, 307–12
(65)

1762

(23) (22) (*20)

* 79. [André, l'abbé], *Réfutation du nouvel ouvrage de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, intitulé: Émile, ou de l'éducation* (Paris: Desaint & Saillant), in-8, 277p

* 80. *Arrêt de parlement qui ordonne la suppression d'une brochure in-12, imprimée sans permission, ayant pour titre, Mémoire de l'Université sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'instruction de la jeunesse et de la perfectionner, et contenant 60 pages d'impression* (Paris: Simon), in-4, 3p
(84), republished **(129b)**

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(101)

* 82. [Chaumeix, Abraham Joseph de] L. A…P…..D. P… S… D. H…., *Essai sur la manière de remplir les places dans les collèges qui les Jésuites occuppoient ci-devant; contenant des observations nouvelles et importantes sur le choix des maîtres, et la méthode d'enseignement*, 2 vols (Cologne: [n. pub.]), in-12, 486p

* 83. [Colomb], *Plan raisonné d'éducation publique, pour ce qui regarde la partie des études* (Avignon [Paris?]: Rozet), in-12, 69p

* 84. [Combalusier, François de Paule], *Mémoire de l'université sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'instruction de la jeunesse et de la perfectionner* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 68p
(80), republished **(128z)** and **(129a)**

* 85. Comparet, Jean-Antoine, *Lettre à Monsieur J.-J. Rousseau, citoyen de Genève* (Geneva: Gosse), in-8, 32p
(98)

* 86. [Crevier, Jean-Baptiste-Louis], *De l'éducation publique* (Amsterdam [Paris: Durand]), in-12, 235p[654]
(109)

* 87. [Daragon, Jean-Baptiste], *Lettre de M.*** à l'abbé***, professeur de philosophie en l'Université de Paris, sur la nécessité et la manière de faire entrer un cours de morale dans l'éducation publique* (Paris: Durand), in-12, 68p
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* 89. [Griffet, Henri], *Lettre à Mr. D***, sur le livre intitulé: Émile, ou de l'éducation, par J.-J. Rousseau* (Amsterdam & Paris: Grangé), in-12, 84p
(98)

* 89. *L'Anti-Emile ou Precis simple d'une éducation solide. Par M. l'Abbé C **** (Lyon: Delaroche), in-12, 46p
(98)

* 90. *Lettre où l'on examine, quel Plan d'Etude on pourroit suivre dans les Ecoles publiques* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 35p
Republished **(128y)** and **(129h)**

* 91. *Mémoire du bureau servant de la Communauté de Rennes, sur le nouveau plan d'éducation demandé par Arrêt de la Cour du 23 décembre 1761* (Rennes: Vatar), in-12, 34p
Republished **(129c)**

* 92. [Pellicier, l'abbé], *Mémoire sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres, selon le plan d'éducation donné par le parlement en son arrêt du 3 septembre 1762* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8, 16p
Republished **(129f)**

* 93. ——, *Mémoires sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres, selon le plan d'éducation donné par le Parlement en son arrêt du 3 septembre 1762* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8 [4 parts in one volume], 16-34-47-24p
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* 94. [Pesselier, Charles-Etienne, with a prefatory letter by Lancelot Turpin, comte de Crissé], *Lettres sur l'éducation*, 2 vols (Paris: Bauche), in-12, 455p

* 95. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'établir dans Paris une maison d'institution pour former des maîtres, et quelques collèges pour les basses classes* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 28p
Republished **(128h)** and **(129g)**

* 96. ——, *Reflexions sur la maniere d'enseigner la philosophie dans les ecoles* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 47p
Republished **(128d)**

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[654] This work has been attributed to several different authors, including Diderot; it was included in the 1773 edition of Diderot's works, the *Collection complette des oeuvres philosophiques, littéraires et dramatiques de M. Diderot*, 5 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1773). It is, however, now generally thought to be by Crevier, as Grandière (1998) and Julia (1979) agree.

* 97. ——, *Addition aux réflexions sur la maniere d'enseigner la philosophie dans les écoles* ([n. p]: [n. pub]), in-12, 16p
(96), republished **(128e)**

* 98. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *Émile, ou De l'éducation*, 4 vols (The Hague: Néaulme), in-8, 1720p
(85), (89), (100), (104), (107), (108), (138), (139), (158), (210), (250)

* 99. Turben, François, *Idées d'un citoyen sur l'institution de la jeunesse, ou Projet d'éducation générale et particulière* (Paris: Dessain), in-8, 88p

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(98)

101. 'Dissertation sur l'Éducation Physique des Enfans', *AL*, VII, 195–215
(81)

1763

(30) (28) (*25)

F. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon: 'Les progrès des modernes ne dispensent pas de l'étude des anciens.'

G. [Essay prize] Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse: 'Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?'

102**.** [Beaurieu, Gaspard Guillard de], *L'Elève de la Nature,* 2 vols (Amsterdam & Paris: Panckoucke)

* 103. [Crevier, Jean-Baptiste-Louis], *Difficultés proposées à Monsieur de Caradeuc de la Chalotais, procureur-général au Parlement de Bretagne, sur le Mémoire intitulé: Essai d'éducation nationale ou Plan d'études pour la jeunesse, présenté au Parlement le 24 mars 1763* (Paris: [n. pub.]), in-12, 67p
(109)

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* 107. Formey, Johann Heinrich Samuel, *Anti-Émile* (Berlin: Pauli), in-8, 253p
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* 108. [Gerdil, Giacinto Sigismondo], *Réflexions sur la théorie, & la pratique de l'éducation contre les principes de Mr Rousseau* (Turin: Reycends & Guibert), in-8, 192p
(98)

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(86), (103), republished **(129d)**

* 110. *Lettre à l'auteur des 'Mémoires sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres, selon le plan d'éducation donné par le Parlement, arrêt du 3e septembre 1762'* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8, 32p
(93)

* 111. *Lettre à monsieur l'abbé ***, sur cette question: les gens de communauté sont ils aussi propres à l'éducation publique que les particuliers?* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.])

* 112. Navarre, Jean, *Discours qui a remporté le prix, par le jugement de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux, en l'année 1763, sur ces paroles: Quel serait, en France, le plan d'étude le plus avantageux?* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-12, 72p
Winning answer to **(G)**

* 113. *Plan général d'institution particulièrement destiné pour la jeunesse du parlement de Bourgogne* (Dijon: Causse), in-12, 108p

* 114. [Poncelet, Polycarpe], *Principes généraux pour servir à l'éducation des enfans, particulièrement de la noblesse française*, 3 vols (Paris: Le Mercier) in-8

* 115. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Des auteurs latins qu'on doit expliquer dans les basses classes* ([Paris]: [n. pub.]), in-12, 14p
Republished **(128p)**

* 116. ——, *Moyens de perfectionner les études publiques, & de les rendre plus utiles dans les colléges & les universités* ([Paris:] [Butard]), in-12, 63p
Republished **(128l)**

* 117. ——, *S'il est à propos que chaque professeur de philosophie reste toujours dans la même classe, l'un en logique, l'autre en physique* ([Paris]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1763), in-12, 7p
Republished **(128g)**

* 118. ——, *Suite de l'addition aux réflexions sur la maniere d'enseigner la philosophie dans les ecoles. De la dispute* ([Paris]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1763), in-12, 10p
(96), (97), republished **(128f)**

* 119. ——, *Sur le choix des chefs de l'Université* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1763), in-12, 64p
Republished **(128i)**

* 120. *Seconde lettre à l'auteur des mémoires, sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres, selon le plan d'éducation donné par le parlement. Arrêt du 3 septembre 1762.* ([n. p]: [n. pub], [late 1763?]), in-12
(93), **(110)**

* 121. Rolland d'Erceville, Barthélemy-Gabriel, *Compte-rendu aux Chambres assemblées par M. le président Rolland, concernant le collège que les ci-devant soi-disant jésuites occupaient à Moulins* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-4, 168p

* 122. ——, *Compte rendu aux Chambres assemblées, par M. le président Rolland de ce qui a été fait par MM. les commissaires, nommés par les arrêts des 6 août et 7 septembre 1762* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-4

* 123. ——, *Compte rendu de l'histoire de Blache et des pièces trouvées par les commissaires du Parlement au Collège de Louis-le-Grand* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-4, 120p

* 124. ——, et al., *Comptes rendus aux Chambres assemblées, par MM. les commissaires nommés par les arrêts des 6 août 1762 et 24 mars 1763 [de L'Averdy, l'abbé Terray, Rolland, Roussel de La Tour], des différens collèges du ressort qui n'étaient pas occupés par les ci-devant soi-disant Jésuites* (Paris: Simon), in-4, 248p

* 125. Vanière, Ignace, *Second discours sur l'éducation, dans lequel on expose tout le vicieux de l'institution scholastique et le moyen d'y remédier* (Paris: Butard; Dessain), in-8, 126p **(67)**

126. Viard, Nicolas-Antoine, *Les Vrais Principes de la lecture, de l'orthographe et de la prononciation françoise, suivis d'un petit traité de la ponctuation, des premiers élémens de la grammaire et de la prosodie françoise et de différentes pièces de lecture* (Paris: Panckoucke), in-8, XII-162p

* 127. Vicaire, *Discours sur l'Éducation* (Paris: Barbou), in-8, 115p

* 128. *Recueil de mémoires touchant l'éducation de la jeunesse, surtout par rapport aux études* (Paris: [n. pub.] 1763 [1768?]), in-12, 392p

Grandière (1998) and Julia (1979) attribute this to Dominique-François Rivard and date it to 1763, as does the BnF catalogue. However, the work is a compilation of texts by at least five different authors, preceded by a series of anonymous paratexts by the compiler. He or she states that this work is a compilation of some of the many works on educational reform that have been published as a result of 'les circonstances du temps par rapport à la grande affaire des Jésuites'. Although the title page states it was published in 1763, **(128w)** bears the printed date 1768, and **(128aa)** dates from 1764. It may be that the 'Mémoires' by Rivard **(128d–u)** were compiled in 1763, with other texts were added to the compilation at a later date. Since most of the works in this 'Recueil' and in **(129)** (a similar 'Recueil') were published separately, for the purpose of establishing statistics for the corpus I have counted the 'recueil' as a whole as one text.

a. 'Préface', pp. iii-xxvi

b. 'Réponses à quelques objections touchant l'Ecole pour former des Maîtres', pp. xxvii-xxxvii

c. 'Avertissement', pp. xxxviii-xl

[The works from **d** to **u** are anonymous, but are known to be by Rivard:]

d. *Réflexions sur la manière d'enseigner la Philosophie dans les écoles,* 1–32
(96)

e. *Addition aux Réflexions sur la manière d'enseigner la Philosophie dans les écoles*, 33–49
(97)

f. *Suite de l'Addition aux Réflexions, &c. De la dispute,* 50–59
(118)

g. *Est-il à propos que chaque Professeur de Philosophie reste toujours dans la même Classe, l'un en logique, l'autre en Physique?,* 60–68
(117)

h. *Nécessité d'établir dans Paris une maison pour former des Maîtres & quelques Colléges pour les basses Classes,* 69–94
(95)

i. *Sur le choix des Chefs de l'Université,* 94–125
(119)

j. *Sur la nomination des Professeurs,* 126–37

k. *Sur l'honoraire des Professeurs de l'Université de Paris*, 138–54

l. *Moyens de perfectionners les Etudes publiques & particulières,* 155–233
(116)

m. *Addition aux moyens de perfectionner les Etudes publiques & particulières,* 234–45

n. *Conclusion de ce Mémoire & des précédens,* 246–58

o. *Méthode pour apprendre aisément le Latin*, 259–303
(74)

p. *Des Auteurs Latins qu'on doit expliquer dans les basses Classes,* 304–22
(115)

q. *Sur les Colléges qui ne dépendent pas des Universités,* 323–42

r. *Sur les dix Collèges de plein Exercice, fondés dans l'Université*, 343–60

s. *Moyen d'exciter à la sagesse & à la vertu les Ecoliers qui demeurent dans les Colléges*, 361–73

t. *Récapitulation des sujets de plusieurs Mémoires contenus dans ce Recueil, & des avantages qu'on en tireroit*, 374–80

u. *Conclusion,* 381–90

v. [Daragon, Jean-Baptiste], *Lettre de M *** À M. l'Abbé ** professeur de Philosophie en l'Université de Paris. Sur la nécessité & la manière de faire entrer un Cours de Morale dans l'éducation publique* (Paris: Durand, 1762), 68p
(87)

w. [Carpentier], *Lettres d'un maître de pension de Paris à milord duc de *** sur l'éducation* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1768), 29p
(176)

x. *Lettre écrite de Paris, à un Ami de Province, Sur l'éducation des Jeunes gens dans les Colléges des Jésuites, par un Homme de qualité* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [n. d.]), 46p
(4)
The compiler of the *Recueil* claims this text was first pub. 1752, but he thinks the current circumstances make it worth reprinting. Five copies – all undated – can be found in the BnF catalogue.

y. *Lettre où l'on examine, quel Plan d'Etude on pourroit suivre dans les Ecoles publiques* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [signed off August, 1762]), 35p
(90)

z. [Combalusier, François de Paule], *Mémoire de l'Université, sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'Instruction de la Jeunesse, & de la perfectionner* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762), 60p
(84), republished **(129a)**

aa. [Bastide, Jean-François de], *Maison d'éducation* ([Paris]: Cellot, 1764), 16p
(132)

* 129. [No title]

Like **(128)** this is a compilation of texts participating in the *Querelle des collèges*. **(129)** does not have a title to the whole volume, but rather only the title pages for each individual text. It also does not have any editorial interventions, as **(128)** had.

a. [Combalusier, François de Paule], *Mémoire de l'Université, sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'Instruction de la Jeunesse, & de la perfectionner* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762), 60p
(84), republished **(128z)**

b. *Extrait des registres du parlement, du vendredi 2 avril 1762* (Paris: Simon, 1762), 3p
(80), (84)

c. *Mémoire du bureau servant de la communauté de Rennes. Sur le nouveau Plan d'éducation demandé par Arrêt de la Cour du 23 Décembre 1761, proposé en forme de Réquisitoire par M. le Meur, Procureur du Roi* (Rennes: Vatar, 1762), 34p
(91)

d. *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse, par Messire Louis-René de Caradeux de la Chalotais, Procureur-Général du Roi au Parlement de Bretagne* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762 [1763]), 152p

(109)

e. *Plan général d'institution, particulièrement destiné pour la jeunesse du resort du parlement de Bourgogne* (Dijon: Causse, 1763), 108p
(113)

f. [Pellicier, l'abbé], *Mémoire. Sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres, selon le plan d'Éducation donné par le Parlement en son Arrêt du 3 Septembre 1762* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1762), 16p
(92)

g. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Mémoire. Sur la nécessité d'établir dans Paris une Maison d'Institution pour former des Maîtres & quelques colleges pour les basses Classes.* ([n. p]: [n. pub], 1762), 28p
(95) (129h)

h. *Lettre. Où l'on examine, quel Plan d'Etude on pourroit suivre dans les Ecoles publiques* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [1762]), 35p
(90), (128y)

i. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Méthode pour apprendre aisément le Latin, Par un ancien Professeur en l'Université de Paris* (Paris: Robinot, 1761), 34p
(74), (128o)

j. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Des Auteurs Latins qu'on doit expliquer dans les basses Classes* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1763), 14p
(115), (128p)

k. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Suite de l'Addition aux Réflexions sur la maniere d'enseigner la Philosophie dans les Ecoles* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], 1763), 10p
(118), (128f)

l. [Lecren, l'abbé], *Principes de certitude, ou Essai sur la logique* (Paris: Dessain junior, 1763), VIII-166p

* 130. 'Second discours sur l'éducation', *AL*, V, 39–42
(67), (125)

131. 'L'Élève de la nature', *AL*, VIII, 28–56
(102)

1764

(16) (14) (*6)

* 132. [Bastide, Jean-François de], *Maison d'éducation* ([Paris]: Cellot), in-12, 16p
Republished **(128aa)**

134. Cosson, Pierre-Charles, *Discours qui a remporté le prix d'éloquence à l'académie de Besançon en 1764: 'Le Progrès des Modernes ne dispensent pas de l'étude des Anciens'. Par M.*

Cosson, Maître-ès-Arts en l'Université de Paris, & Professeur royal à l'École de la Flèche (Paris: Brocas & Humblot), in-8, 45p
Answer to **(F)**

* 135. [Espinassy, Mlle Adelaïde d'], *Essai sur l'éducation des demoiselles* (Paris: Hochereau), in-12, 84p
(148)

* 136. Fleury, Nicolas-Marie de, *Essai sur les moyens de réformer l'éducation particulière et générale, destiné à l'instruction des pères et mères, à celle des directeurs de collèges et de tous les éducateurs* (Paris: Guyllin; Duchesne), in-12, 140p

137. Formey, Johann Heinrich Samuel, *Abrégé de toutes les sciences, à l'usage des adolescens, et de tous ceux qui veulent s'instruire,* 6 vols (Berlin: Pauli, 1764-1770), in-8

138. ——, *Défense de la religion et de la législation, tirée de l'Emile chrétien, pour servir de suite à l'Anti-Emile* (Berlin: Pauli), in-8, 144p
(98), **(107)**, **(139)**

139. ——, *Émile chrétien, consacré à l'utilité publique*, 4 vols (Berlin: Néaulme), in-4, 902p
(98), **(138)**

140. *La Gouvernante démasquée ou les défauts de l'Education du Sexe et le moyen de remédier par l'Etablissement des pensions systématiques* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8

* 141. Guyton de Morveau, Louis-Bernard, *Mémoire sur l'éducation publique, avec le prospectus d'un Collège suivant les principes de cet ouvrage* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-12, 324p

* 142. [La Caze, Louis de], *Lettre sur le meilleur moyen d'assurer le succès de l'éducation* (Paris: Guérin; Delatour), in-12, 90p

143. Leprince de Beaumont, *Magasin des jeunes dames, ou Instructions pour les jeunes dames qui entrent dans le monde, etc.,* 3 vols (Lyon: Reguilliat), in-12

144. [Leveson, C. de], *Émile chrétien, ou de l'Éducation*, 2 vols (Paris: Libraires associés), in-12, 713p

* 145. [Sutaine, Gérard, chanoine régulier de Saint-Antoine?], *Plan d'études et d'éducation, avec un discours sur l'éducation* (Paris: Lottin) in-12, 312p

146. *Traité d'étude pour les jeunes demoiselles qui veulent apprendre la géographie et l'histoire* (Paris: Guyllin), in-12, 228p

147. 'Pension du Collège d'Amiens' [prospectus for the school], *AL*, VI, 283–85

148. 'Essai sur l'éducation des demoiselles par Mlle de ***', *AL*, VII, 129–35
(135)

1765

(9) (7) (*7)

H. [Essay prize] Société des sciences et des arts de Harlem: 'Comment doit-on gouverner l'esprit & le cœur d'un enfant pour le rendre heureux et utile?'

149. Alletz, Pons-Augustin, *Magasin des adolescents, ou Entretiens d'un gouverneur avec son élève* (Paris: Guillyn), in-12

* 150. [Barletti de Saint-Paul, François Paul], *Le Secret révélé, ou Dialogues entre l'auteur d'un système qui a pour titre: 'Pédagogie pratique et relative, ou Corps complet d'institution, dans lequel on trouve la vraie méthode d'étudier et d'enseigner les différentes sciences convenables aux deux sexes, à tous les âges et à tous les états'* (Rotterdam: [n. pub.]), in-8, 167p

* 151. Garnier, Jean-Jacques, *De l'éducation civile* (Paris: Vente), in-12, 220p
(157)

* 152. Jaucourt, [Diderot], 'Jésuite', *Encyclopédie*, VIII, 512–16
This is one of the articles not signed by Diderot, but which was attributed to Diderot in the Hermann edition of his *Œuvres complètes*.

* 153. Jaucourt, 'Littérature', *Encyclopédie*, IX, 594–95

* 154. Maubert de Gouvest, Jean-Henri, *Le Temps perdu, ou les écoles publiques, considérations d'un patriote sur l'éducation de la première-jeunesse en France, avec l'idée d'un nouveau collège et le précis de l'instruction qui y serait donnée* (Amsterdam: Changuion), in-8, 154p

* 155. 'Rhétorique' (Terme d'école), *Encyclopédie*, XIV, 250

156. 'Lettres de Mentor à un jeune seigneur, traduites de l'anglois par M. l'abbé Prévost', *AL*, III, 121–29

* 157. 'De l'éducation civile, par M. Garnier, Professeur royale d'Hébreu, & de l'Académie royale des inscriptions & belles-lettres', *AL*, III, 275–88
(151)

1766

(8) (4) (*6)

I. [Essay prize] Académie des scienes, belles-lettres et arts de Dijon: 'Donner un traité élémentaire de morale à l'usage des collèges, dans lequel les devoirs de l'homme envers la société & les principes de l'honneur & de la vertu soient développés.'

* 158. [Cajot, Joseph], *Les plagiats de M. J. J. R. de Genève sur l'éducation* (The Hague & Paris: Durand), in-8, 400p
(98)

159. [Châtelain, Henri-Abraham], *Sur la formation des mœurs des enfans* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8

* 160. [Chiniac de la Bastide, Jean-Baptiste de], *Le miroir fidèle, ou entretiens d'Ariste et de Philindor. Cet ouvrage renferme des réflexions politiques et morales, avec un plan abrégé d'éducation, opposé aux principes du citoyen de Genève* (London & Paris: Les Libraires), in-12, 190p

* 161. *Projet d'écoles publiques, qui répondront aux voeux de la nation et dont l'exercice n'exige que quatre professeurs, précédé de l'exposition des abus de notre éducation publique* (Bordeaux: Labottière, [n. d.]), in-12, 280p
Published 1766, according to **(165)**

* 162. 'Exercice public de M. le comte de Monmorency-Laval, au Collège Mazarin', *AL*, I, 341–52

163. 'Ecoles gratuites de dessin', *AL*, III, 334–37

* 164. 'Pension de MM. les professeurs du Collège d'Amiens', *AL*, IV, 43–45

* 165. 'Projet d'écoles publiques qui répondent aux voeux de la nation, et dont l'exercice n'exige que quatre Professeurs, précédé de l'exposition des abus de notre éducation publique, & des maux qui en résultent par rapport à la religion, aux sentimens, aux mœurs & aux études', *AL*, VIII, 193–202
(161)

1767

(8) (4) (*1)

166. Descamps, Jean-Baptiste, *Sur l'utilité des établissemens des écoles gratuites de dessein en faveur des métiers; discours qui a remporté le prix au jugement de l'Académie françoise* (Paris: Regnard), in-8, 48p

* 167. [La Mothe, Joseph, abbé de], *De l'éducation philosophique de la jeunesse ou l'art de l'élever dans les sciences humaines, précédé de réflexions sur les études & la discipline des Collèges* (Paris: [n. pub.]), in-12

168. [Sabatier de Castres, Antoine], *L'École des pères et des mères, ou les trois infortunées*, 2 vols (Amsterdam & Paris: Hansy), in-12, VII-193-141
(171)

169. Serres de La Tour, Antoine de, *Du bonheur* [contains *De l'éducation des anciens*] (London and Paris: Dufour), in-12, 368p
(172)

170. 'École de génie et d'artillerie à Nanterre', *AL*, I, 71–72

171. 'L'École des pères et des mères, ou les trois infortunés', *AL*, II, 57–71
(168)

172. 'De l'éducation des Anciens', *AL*, II, 83–85
(169)

173. 'Avis sur la nouvelle Ecole royale vétérinaire', *AL*, VI, 278–79

1768

(13) (9) (*7)

174. Alletz, Pons-Augustin, *Lettres choisies des auteurs français les plus célèbres, pour servir de modèle aux personnes qui veulent se former dans le style épistolaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Guillyn), in-12

* 175. Borrelly, Jean Alexis, *Système de législation, ou Moyens que la politique peut employer pour former à l'État des sujets utiles et vertueux* (Paris: Lacombe), in-12, VIII-158p

* 176. [Carpentier], *Lettres d'un maître de pension de Paris à milord duc de *** sur l'éducation* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-12, 29p
Republished **(128w)**

* 177. Fraissinet, le Père, *Manière d'enseigner les belles-lettres, et de former les moeurs de la jeunesse,* 2 vols (Paris: Desaint; Carcassonne: Heirisson), in-12, VI-488p

* 178. [La Fare, de], *Le Gouverneur, ou Essai sur l'éducation* (London: Nourse, and Paris: Desaint), in-12, 348p

179. Leroux, Charles, *Journal d'éducation, présenté au roi*, 9 vols (Amiens: Godart, and Paris: Durand, 1768–78), in-16
(264), (274)

* 180. *Projet d'éducation tardive, suivi d'une introduction à l'Histoire de France, avec un Traité de Métaphysique, & un Poëme sur l'existence de Dieu, Par M. L. C* (Amsterdam; Paris: Delalain), in-12, 136p
(186)

181. Quétant, François-Antoine, *L'Écolier devenu maître, ou le Pédant joué, comédie en 3 actes et en prose, composée pour Essai du ridicule de caractère inventé par Molière et introduit par Goldoni sur les théâtres d'Italie* (Paris: Cailleau), in-8, VIII-80p
(185)

182. Radonvilliers, Claude-François Lizarde de, *De la Manière d'apprendre les langues* (Paris: Saillant), in-8, XXIV-278p
(184)

183. 'École gratuite de dessin établie par lettres-patentes', *AL*, I, 41–43

* 184. 'De la manière d'apprendre les langues', *AL*, I, 48–60
(182)

185. 'L'Écolier devenu maître', *AL*, V, 321–31
(181)

* 186. 'Projet d'éducation tardive', *AL*, VII, 344–48
(180)

1769

(17) (13) (*12)

187. Benoist, Françoise-Albine Puzin de La Martinière, Mme, *Sophronie ou Leçon prétendue d'une mère à sa fille* (London and Paris: Duchesne), in-8, VI-50p

* 188. Daragon, Jean-Baptiste, 'Discours préliminaire sur l'éducation civile', in Claude Fleury, *Droit public de France, ouvrage posthume de M. l'abbé Fleury, composé pour l'éducation des Princes, et publié avec des notes par J.-B. Daragon*, 2 vols (Paris: Pierres), in-12, I, pp. xxiii-lxviii

* 189. [Devienne, Charles-Jean-Baptiste, dom], *Plan d'éducation et les moyens de l'éxécuter* (Bordeaux: [n. pub.]) in-12, 35p
(260)

* 190. *Essai sur l'éducation d'un militaire* (Amsterdam and Paris: Lesclapart), in-8, 123p
(200)

191. Froger, l'abbé, *Instructions de morale, d'agriculture et d'économie, pour les habitans de la campagne; ou avis d'un homme de campagne à son fils* (Paris: Lacombe), in-8, VIII-304p

* 192. Guérin, François-Nicolas, *Discours prononcé, le 17 juin 1768, par M. Guérin, syndic et ancien recteur de l'Université de Paris, en présence du principal, des professeurs et des gentilshommes élèves du collège royal de la Flèche* (La Flèche: La Fosse, [n. d.] [1768-1769]), in-4, 8p
(201)

* 193. [Rivard, Dominique-François], *Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les études publiques et particulières, où l'on montre en quoi il paraît que consiste la perfection de la méthode d'enseigner* (Paris: Méquignon), in-12, 262p
(194), **(196)**

* 194. ——, *Nouvelles additions au Mémoire de 1769, sur les moyens de perfectionner les etudes* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1769), in-8, 4p
(193), **(196)**

* 195. ——, *Réflexions sur les prix de l'Université; et sur quelques autres objets très intéressants pour l'éducation de la jeunesse* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [n. d.]), in-12, XII-110p[655]

* 196. ——, *Supplément au Mémoire sur les moyens de perfectionner les etudes. Méthode la plus facile & la plus naturelle d'enseigner à lire* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8, 36p
(193), **(194)**

* 197. Rolland d'Erceville, Barthélemy-Gabriel, *Compte rendu aux chambres assemblées, par M. Rolland, des différens mémoires envoyés par les universités sises dans le ressort de la Cour, en exécution de l'arrêt... du 3 septembre 1762, relativement au plan d'étude à suivre dans les collèges non dépendans des universités, et à la correspondance à établir entre les collèges et les universités. Du 13 mai 1768* (Paris: Simon), in-4, 100p
(213)

[655] I have listed this work as 1769 but there are no date indications. Given that Rivard wrote most of his critical works on education during the 1760s, it seems likely that this text also dates from this decade, or the early 1770s.

198. Rozoi [also spelt Durozoy], Barnabé Farmian, *Essai philosophique sur l'établissement des écoles gratuites de dessein pour les arts méchaniques* (Paris: Quillau), in-8, 128p

* 199. Michel du Tennetar, docteur, *Essai sur les moyens d'améliorer les études actuelles des collèges* (Nancy: Lamort; Paris: Durand), in-8, IV-120p

* 200. 'Essai sur l'éducation d'un militaire', *AL*, IV, 262–67
(190)

* 201. Guérin, François-Nicolas, 'Discours prononcé par M. Guérin, Syndic & ancien Recteur de l'Université de Paris, en présence du principal, des professeurs et des gentilshommes élèves du Collège royale de La Flèche', *AL*, V, 202–10
(192)

202. Anon. 'Succès des écoles royales vétérinaires', *AL*, VII, 68–70

203. Anon. 'Désaveu des Ecoles royales vétérinaires', *AL*, VII, 70–71

1770

(12) (7) (*9)

204. [Boismінon, de], *L'Ecole du monde à l'usage des jeunes gens de l'un et de l'autre sexe* (Amsterdam and Paris: Le Jay), in-12, 358p
(219)

* 205. Comparet, Jean-Antoine, *Education morale, ou réponse a cette question proposée en 1765 par la Société des Arts & sciences de Harlem: Comment doit-on gouverner l'esprit & le cœur d'un enfant, pour le faire parvenir un jour à l'état d'homme heureux & utile?* (Geneva: Pellet), in-8, 448p
Answer to **(H)**

* 206. [Coyer, Gabriel-François], *Plan d'éducation publique* (Paris: Duchesne), in-12, 374p
(212)

* 207. [Dulaurens, Henri-Joseph], 'De l'éducation que reçoit la jeunesse dans les collèges', in *Le Porte-feuille d'un philosophe, ou mélange de pièces philosophiques, politiques, critiques, satyriques & galantes, &c.*, 6 vols (Cologne: Marteau, fils), in-8, VI, pp. 152–67.

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(206)

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(204)

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1772

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1773

(9) (6) (*4)

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1774

(7) (6) (*3)

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1775

(14) (8) (*5)

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1776

(11) (6) (*5)

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(276)

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(254)

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(179), (264)

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(268)

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1777

(16) (13) (*8)

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(291)

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(289)

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(5), (254), (284)

1778

(4) (3) (*2)

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(226) (244)

1779

(12) (10) (*0)

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(307), (344)

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(303), (393)

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(299)

1780

(7) (3) (*1)

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(314), (425)

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(278), (313)

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(278), **(312)**

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(310)

1781

(14) (11) (*4)

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(319)

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(302)

1782

(14) (7) (*1)

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(360)

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(337)

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(382)

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(338), (333)

333. [Genlis, Stéphanie-Félicité du Crest, comtesse de], *Essais sur l'éducation des hommes, et particulièrement des princes, par les femmes, pour servir de Supplément aux* Lettres sur l'Éducation (Paris: Guillot), in-8, 55p
(341), (332)

334. [Sigaud de La Fond, Joseph-Aignan], *L'Ecole du bonheur ou tableau de vertus sociales dans lequel le précepte mis à côté de l'exemple, présente la route la plus sûre pour parvenir à la félicité* (Paris: Cuchet), in-12, 394p
(340)

335. Wandelaincourt, Antoine-Hubert, *Cours d'éducation à l'usage des demoiselles et des jeunes messieurs qui ne veulent pas apprendre le latin*, 8 vols (Rouen: Boucher; Paris: Durand) in-12, VIII-165p
(339)

336. 'Nouvelles vues sur l'éducation', *AL*, I, 144
(322)

337. 'L'Ami des enfants', *AL*, IV, 243–56
(330)

338. 'Adèle et Théodore', *AL*, V, 217–89
(332)

339. 'Cours d'éducation', *AL*, V, 356
(335)

340. 'L'École du bonheur', *AL*, VII, 199–208
(334)

341. 'Essais sur l'éducation des hommes', *AL*, VIII, 128–32
(333)

342. 'Sujet de prix: Plan d'éducation publique le plus convenable à Marseille, considérée comme ville maritime et commerçante', *AL*, VIII, 214–15
Advertisement for **(M)**

1783

(25) (18) (*9)

L. [Essay prize] Académie de Châlons-sur-Marne: 'Quels seroient les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des collèges en France?'

M. [Essay prize] Académie de Marseille: 'Quel est le meilleur plan d'éducation propre à la ville de Marseille, considérée comme maritime & comme commerçante?'

N. [Essay prize] Académie royale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen: 'Le peu de soin que l'on donne à l'instruction des femmes, vouées par leur éducation actuelle à l'oisiveté ou à des occupations frivoles, n'est-il pas la cause la plus immédiate de l'altération des mœurs?'

343. [Bérenger, Laurent-Pierre], *La morale en action ou élite de faits mémorables, et d'anecdotes instructives. Propres à faire aimer la Vertu à former les Jeunes Gens dans l'Art de la Narration* (Lyon: Perisse), in-8, X-432p

344. Deschamps, Claude-François, *De la Manière de suppléer aux oreilles par les yeux, pour servir de suite au 'Cours élémentaire d'éducation des sourds et muets'* (Paris: Debure), in-12, 97p
(299), **(307)**

345. Dumas, Jean-François, *Discours sur cette question: 'Quels sont les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des jeunes demoiselles?' proposé et couronné en 1783 par l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Châlons-sur-Marne* (Neuchâtel: Fauche; Fevre & Cie), in-8, 107p
Winning answer to **(K)**

346. Joly de Saint Vallier, *Traité sur l'éducation des deux sexes* (London: Elmsly), in-12, IV-106p

* 347. Le Roy de Lozembrune, François Candide, *Anecdotes et remarques sur l'éducation publique* (Mannheim: Fontaine), in-8, 206p

348. Lesbroussart, Jean-Baptiste, *De l'Éducation belgique, ou Réflexions sur le plan d'études adopté par Sa Majesté pour les collèges des Pays-Bas autrichiens* (Bruxelles: Lemaire), in-12, 279p

349. Luneau de Bois Germain, *Journal d'éducation* (Paris: Nyon & Simon; Bureau de l'abonnement littéraire, 1783–89)
(377)

350. [Philipon de La Madelaine, Louis], *Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple, tant des villes que des campagnes, avec beaucoup de notes intéressantes* (Lyon: Bruyset-Ponthus), in-12, 344p
(361), answer to **(J)**

* 351. Rolland d'Erceville, Barthélemy-Gabriel, *Recueil de plusieurs des ouvrages de Monsieur le président Rolland, imprimé en exécution des délibérations du bureau d'administration du Collège de Louis-le-Grand, des 17 janvier et 18 avril 1782* (Paris: Simon & Nyon), in-4, 1011p

* 352. [Mercier, Louis-Sébastien], 'Professeurs de l'Université' in *Tableau de Paris*, new edn, 8 vols (Amsterdam: [n. pub.], 1782-1783), II (1783), pp. 44–46. In-12

* 353. ——, 'Petites écoles' in *Tableau de Paris*, II, pp. 46–47

* 354. ——, 'Collège royal' in *Tableau de Paris*, VI, pp. 125–27

* 355. ——, 'Collège des Quatre-Nations' in *Tableau de Paris*, V, pp. 138–46

356. ——, 'École vétérinaire' in *Tableau de Paris*, VIII, pp. 70–71

357. ——, 'Collège de chirurgie' in *Tableau de Paris*, VIII, pp. 110–16

358. ——, 'École de boulangerie' in *Tableau de Paris*, VIII, pp. 135–43

* 359. ——, 'Maître-ès-arts' in *Tableau de Paris*, VIII, pp. 154–56

* 360. Vauréal, le comte de, ancien officier du corps royal du génie, *Plan ou essai d'éducation à donner aux hommes de toutes les nations* (Bouillon: Société typographique; Paris: Marchands de Nouveautés), in-8, 148p
(329)

361. 'Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple', *AL*, I, 152
(350)

362. Anon., 'Maison d'éducation tenue par M. Frémont, ancien Professeur d'éloquence dans l'Université de Pont-à-Mousson' [prospectus and praise of school], *AL*, II, 213–14

363. Grenet, abbé, 'Lettre adressée à Fréron' [disagreeing with Fréron's account of Grenet's methods for teaching geography], *AL*, II, 274–79

* 364. 'Le Petit magasin des enfants, ou les Étrennes d'un père, contenant un cours complet & précis d'éducation, mis à la portée des enfans des deux sexes', *AL*, IV, 55–64
(270), (395)

365. 'Les Enfants élevés dans l'ordre de la Nature', *AL*, V, 287
(247)

366. 'Théorie de l'éducation', *AL*, V, 72
(256)

367. Anon., 'Avis. Maison d'éducation tenue par Frémont, professeur d'éloquence', *AL*, VII, 287–88

1784

(17) (8) (*3)

* 368. [Damours, Louis], *Lettres de Miladi***, sur l'influence que les Femmes pourroient avoir dans l'éducation des Hommes*, 2 vols (Amsterdam & Paris: Duchesne), in-18, IV-482p
(380)

369. [L'Épée, Charles-Michel, l'abbé de], *La Véritable manière d'instruire les sourds et muets, confirmée par une longue expérience, par M. l'abbé **** (Paris: Nyon l'aîné), in-12, XXVI-348p
(381)

370. Lesbroussart, Jean-Baptiste, *Mémoire sur cette question: Quels sont les moyens de pefectionner l'éducation en France?* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-4
Winning answer to **(L)**

* 371. *Lettres d'une dame de 86 ans, écrites à une de ses Parentes, qui lui avoit demandé ses idées sur l'Éducation, publiées après sa mort, par P *** (Frankfurt: Streng), in-8, 86p

372. [Lezay-Marnézia, Claude-François-Adrien], *Plan de lecture pour une jeune dame* (Paris: Prault) in-12, XVIII-74p

373. Maugonne, mlle de, *Instructions pour les jeunes demoiselles* (Paris: Musier & chez les marchands de nouveautés), in-12, 72p
(379)

* 374. [Philipon de La Madelaine, Louis], *De l'Éducation des collèges, par l'auteur de l'Éducation du peuple'* (London; Paris: Moutard) in-12, 209p
(392), answer to **(L)**

375. Roy, Jean, l'abbé, *Le Mentor universel* (Paris: chez l'auteur, au Bureau du Mentor universel; Barrois, 1784–85), journal, 17 issues, in-18

376. 'Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple', *AL*, I, 217–35
(350), (361)

377. 'Journal d'éducation. Étude des langues étrangères. Cours de langue italienne et anglaise', *AL*, III, 102–19
(349)

378. 'Dictionnaire historique d'éducation', *AL*, III, 182–93
(216)

379. 'Instruction pour les jeunes demoiselles', *AL*, III, 194–200
(373)

380. 'Lettre [sic] de miladi... sur l'influence que les femmes pourraient avoir dans l'éducation des hommes', *AL*, IV, 106–25
(368)

381. 'La Véritable manière d'instruire les sourds et muets', *AL*, IV, 216
(369)

382. 'Vues sur l'éducation de la première enfance', *AL*, IV, 304–15
(331)

383. 'Éducation mise à la portée de tout le monde', *AL*, VI, 216
(318)

384. Cambron, de, 'Lettre aux auteurs de *l'Année littéraire*' [on women's education], *AL*, VII, 58–63

1785

(14) (7) (*8)

O. [Essay prize] Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon: 'Les voyages peuvent-ils être considérés comme un moyen de perfectionner l'éducation?'

385. Agathon, le frère, [Joseph Gonlieu], *Explication des douze vertus d'un bon maître* (Melun: [n. pub.]), in-12, 198p

386. Basedow, Johann Bernhard, *Traité élémentaire, ou Recueil des plus importantes connaissances pour l'instruction, l'enseignement, la réminiscence et la réflexion*, 3 vols (Leipzig: [n. pub.]) in-8

* 387. Charleval, *Mémoire sur l'éducation et la discipline militaire* (Ville-Franche: [n. pub.]), in-12, XVIII-126p

388. [Gosselin, Charles-Robert], *Plan d'éducation, en réponse aux Académies de Marseille et de Châlons, dont l'une a proposé pour sujet de prix, à distribuer dans le courant de cette année: Quel est le plan d'éducation publique le plus conforme à la situation d'une ville considérée comme marchande et maritime? l'autre: Quels sont les vices de l'éducation actuelle, et les moyens de les corriger?* (Amsterdam: [n. pub.]), in-8, VI-147p
Answer to **(L)** and **(M)**

* 389. Proyart, Liévin-Bonaventure, *De l'éducation publique, et des moyens d'en réaliser la réforme projetée dans la dernière Assemblée générale du Clergé de France* (Paris: Herissant; Barrois), in-12, XVI-222p
(394), (397), (398)

390. [Riballier], *De l'éducation physique et morale des enfants des deux sexes* (Paris: Nyon), in-12, 406p
(393), (306)

391. Valazé, Charles-Éléonore Dufriche de, *À mon fils* (Alençon: Malassis), in-8, 110p
(413)

* 392. 'De l'éducation des collèges', *AL*, I, 145–61
(374)

* 393. 'De l'éducation physique et morale des enfants des deux sexes', *AL*, IV, 28–43
(390)

* 394. 'De l'éducation publique', *AL*, V, 289–322
(389), (397), (398)

395. 'Le Petit magasin des enfants', *AL*, V, 352–53
(270), (364)

* 396. 'De l'enseignement public', *AL*, VII, 145–82
(269)

* 397. Proyart, principal du Collège royal du Puy, 'Lettre à Fréron, rédacteur de *l'Année littéraire*' [regarding public education and educational reform], *AL*, VIII, 96–113
(389), **(394), (398)**

* 398. 'Réponse de Fréron, rédacteur de l'Année littéraire à la lettre de Proyart' [on public education and religious education], *AL*, VIII, 181–97
(389), **(394), (397)**

1786

(7) (6) (*2)

* 399. Eyrard, François, abbé, *Observations sur l'éducation publique: pour servir de réponse aux questions proposées par M.M. les agens-généraux du clergé de France à nosseigneurs les archevêques et évêques de l'église gallicane* (Paris: Berton), in-12, 131p

400. Goyon d'Arsac, Guillaume-Henri-Charles de, *Quel serait le meilleur plan d'éducation pour les personnes du sexe?* (Châlons-sur-Marne: [n. pub.]), in-12
Answer to **(K)**

401. [Perrau, Jean-André], *Instruction du peuple, divisée en trois parties: la morale, les affaires, la santé* (Paris: Moutard), in-12, 268p

402. [Reyre, Joseph], *L'École des jeunes demoiselles, ou Lettres d'une mère vertueuse à sa fille, avec les réponses de la fille à sa mère, recueillies et publiées par M. l'abbé Reyre*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Paris: Varin), in-12, 243p
I cannot find a first edition to this work. Grandière (1998) simply lists it as 1786, and Sonnet (1987) notes that it is a second edition, but also does not provide details of the first.

403. [Reyre, Joseph], *Le Mentor des enfans, ou Recueil d'instructions, de traits d'histoire et de fables nouvelles* (Paris: Berton), in-12, XXIV-324p

* 404. [Vuitel, Jérémie], *Mon élève, ou Émile instituteur, nouvelle éducation morale* (Verrières-Suisses: Witel), in-8, VI-XVI-184p

405. 'L'Art de former l'homme, dédié au roi, par M. Pierre-Antoine de Vanières, [...] ouvrage commencé sous les titres de *Discours sur l'éducation & Cours de latinité,* par M. Thomas Igance de Vanières [sic], son père, neveu du grand Vanières', *AL*, I, 346–5
(450)

1787

(12) (7) (*3)

* 406. [Adam, Nicolas], *Essai en forme de mémoire sur l'éducation de la jeunesse. Pour servir de réponse à deux Questions générales, qui renferment toutes celles que l'on peut faire sur cette matière. Sçavoir: 1. Quels sont les vices de l'éducation actuelle, tant par rapport à l'esprit, que par rapport au cœur? 2. Quels sont les moyens de les corriger?* (London & Paris: Morin), in-8, 42p

* 407. Chavannes, Alexandre-César, *Essai sur l'éducation intellectuelle, avec le projet d'une science nouvelle* (Lausanne: Hignou), in-8, VIII-261p

* 408. Corbin, le père, *Traité d'éducation civile, morale et religieuse de l'homme, à l'usage des élèves du Collège royal de la Flèche* (Angers: Pavie), in-12, VIII-351p

409. Ferlus, François (Dom), *La Cour du collège, discours prononcé avant la distribution des prix de l'École Royale & Militaire de Sorèze, par M. Guthierez, élève de Rhétorique* (Montpellier: Picot), in-8, 18p

410. Gaultier, Louis, *Leçons de grammaire, accompagnées de tableaux, destinés* [sic] *à apprendre les principes de la langue françoise par le moyen d'un jeu* (Paris: Guivard), in-8, XVI-176p

411. [Perponcher, Willem Emmery], *Instructions d'un père à son fils* (Paris: Clousier), in-12, 32p
(415)

412. Pieyre, Alexandre, *L'École des pères: comédie en 5 actes* (Paris: [n. pub.]), in-8
(414), (430)

413. 'À mon fils (sur l'éducation)', *AL*, II, 91–96
(391)

414. 'L'École des pères', *AL*, IV, 344–48
(43), (412)

415. 'Instructions d'un père à son fils', *AL*, VI, 39–45
(411)

416. 'Discours d'un père à ses fils', *AL*, VI, 188–92

417. [Announcement that the abbé Roch Ambroise Cucurron Sicard has founded an institute for *les sourds muets*], *AL*, VII, 354–55

1788

(13) (12) (*4)

418. [Bourdon de La Crosnière, Léonard], *Plan d'un établissement d'éducation nationale, autorisée* [sic] *par arrêt du Conseil du 5 octobre 1788, sous le titre de Société royale d'émulation* (Orléans: Couret de Villeneuve), in-4, 48p

* 419. [Corbin, le père], *Mémoire sur les principaux objets de l'éducation publique* (Paris: Desaint), in-8, 91p

420. [Féroux, Christophe-Léon], *Nouvelle institution nationale, par l'auteur des 'Vues d'un solitaire patriote'* (Paris: Clousier), in-12, IV-326p

421. Gaultier, Louis, *Cours de jeux instructifs pour la jeunesse sous la protection du gouvernement* (Paris: Lottin), in-12, 72p

* 422. Gosse, l'abbé, *Exposition raisonnée des principes de l'Université relativement à l'éducation* (Paris: Buisson), in-8, VI-169p

* 423. Lafargue, Étienne de, *Poème sur l'Éducation* (Paris: Guillot), in-8, XVIII-144p

424. Lanteires, Jean, *Quelques avis aux institutrices de jeunes demoiselles, suivis de quelques idées générales sur l'éducation, l'instruction des jeunes filles, et d'un dictionnaire de plusieurs mots employés dans les belles-lettres et en littérature* (Lausanne: Mourer), in-8, 333p

425. [Le Bel, Jean-Louis], *L'Art d'apprendre sans maître et d'enseigner en même temps le latin d'après nature et le françois d'après le latin. Seconde partie, par feu M. Lebel, donnée au public par Mlle sa fille* (Paris: Belin), in-8, VIII-391p
(310)

426. Le Masson le Golft, Marie, *Lettres relatives à l'éducation* (Paris: Buisson), in-12, XXIV-165p

* 427. *Le Rêve d'un Pauvre Gacheux, sur les défauts de l'éducation des pensions. Mis au jour par le Savatier d'à côté, en attendant sont réveil* (Berne [Paris]: Cailleau), in-8, 56p

428. [Mercier, Louis-Sébastien], 'École gratuite de dessin' in *Tableau de Paris, faisant suite aux éditions précédentes*, 4 vols [IX-XII] (Amsterdam: [n. pub.]), X, pp. 99–103. In-8

429. Verdier, Jean, *Calendrier d'éducation et d'économie, faisant partie du Cours d'éducation et d'économie de M. Verdier* (Paris: chez l'auteur), in-12, XXIV-192p
(288)

430. 'L'École des pères', *AL*, III, 145–60
(412), (414)

1789

(24) (22) (*3)

431. Auger, Athanase, *Projet d'éducation pour tout le royaume, précédé de quelques réflexions sur l'Assemblée nationale,* (Paris: Didot; De Senne) in-8, 63p

432. Babier de Bercenay, François, *Projet d'éducation militaire nationale, dédié à M. le marquis de La Fayette, commandant général de la Garde nationale parisienne* (Paris: l'auteur), in-8, 60p

433. [Bachelier, Jean-Jacques], *Discours sur l'utilité des écoles élémentaires en faveur des arts mécaniques, prononcé par M. B***, à l'ouverture de l'École royale gratuite de dessin, le 10 septembre 1766* (Paris: Imprimerie royale), in-8, 18p

434. Bachelier, Jean-Jacques, *Projet d'un cours public des arts et métiers* (Paris: Imprimerie royale), in-8, 30p

435. ——, *Mémoire sur l'éducation des filles* (Paris: Imprimerie royale), in-8, 25p

436. Degranthe, *Projet d'un plan d'éducation nationale, suivant la nouvelle division du royaume, en soixante-quinze ou quatre-vingt-cinq départemens* (Paris: Simon), in-8, 16p

437. Fauleau, *Plan d'un éducatoire national* (Orléans: Jacob-Sion), 31p

438. Fèvre du Grandvaux, *Lettre à madame la comtesse de *** sur l'Éducation des jeunes demoiselles. Par l'Auteur de la 'Lettre sur la nature des différens êtres'* (Paris: Belin), in-8, 20p

439. Hazard, Pierre-Nicolas-Joseph, *Avis aux bons parens, ou Plan d'éducation patriotique présenté à l'Assemblée nationale* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8, 52p

440. [Hupay de Fuveau, Joseph-Alexandre-Victor d'], *Hors d'œuvre du Reglement d'éducation nationale ou Philosophie des gouverneurs et des meres-nourrices* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], *c.* 1789], in-8 27-46p

441. Hupay de Fuveau, Joseph-Alexandre-Victor d', *Règlement d'éducation nationale, mis sous les auspices de M. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, et terminé par un plan de vie patriarcale et champêtre tel que l'auraient exécuté Paul et Virginie s'ils eussent vécu* ('Generalif': [n. pub.]), in-8, 60p

* 442. *Lettre sur l'éducation* (Paris: Perisse), in-8, 24p

* 443. [Ménard de la Groye, François], *Plan d'éducation nationale, tracé à l'occasion des Mémoires présentés à l'Académie de Chalons-sur-Marne, touchant les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des collèges en France* (Paris: Delalain), in-8, VIII-375p
Answer to **(L)**

444. [Mounier, Jean-Joseph], *Plan d'éducation nationale adressé aux états généraux par un père de famille dauphinois* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.]), in-8, 70p

445. Poissonnier des Perrières, L., *Discours sur l'éducation, prononcé à Paris, le jour de S. Louis, devant MM. de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres et MM. de l'Académie des sciences* (Rouen: Seyer & Behourt), in-8, 62p

446. *Projet d'éducation nationale* (Paris: Gattey, 1789), in-8, 16p

447. Proyart, l'abbé Liévin-Bonaventure, *Le Modèle des jeunes gens dans la vie édifiante de Claude Le Peletier de Souci* (Paris: chez l'auteur), in-12, II-328p
(454)

448. Sicard, Roch-Ambroise, *Mémoire sur l'art d'instruire les sourds et muets de naissance, extrait du 'Recueil du musée' par M. l'abbé Sicard* (Bordeaux: Racle), in-8, 38p

449. ——, *Second mémoire sur l'art d'instruire les sourds et muets de naissance* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.], [1789–90?]), in-8, 26p

* 450. Vanière-Chatelet, L.-A. de (l'abbé), *L'Art de former l'homme, par M. l'abbé de Vanière-Chatelet de Tolède-Perès de Vargas, petit-neveu du Virgile de la France* (Paris: De Senne; Didot), in-8, 208p
(405)

451. Verlac, Bertrand, *Nouveau plan d'éducation pour toutes les classes de citoyens, avec un traité de la liberté en général, de la liberté civile et des principes du gouvernement* (Vannes: Bizette; Paris: Defer de Maisonneuve), in-12, 150p

452. Villier, Joseph, *Nouveau plan d'éducation et d'instruction publique dédié à l'Assemblée nationale, dans lequel on substitue aux universités, séminaires et collèges, des établissements plus raisonnables, plus utiles, plus dignes d'une grande nation, aussi propres à former des négociants instruits, des bons Marins, des Militaires sur lesquels on puisse compter, que des Ecclésiastiques respectables, des Magistrats éclairés, etc.* (Angers: Mamé), in-8, X-207p

453. 'Traité de l'éducation des femmes', *AL*, II, 192
(302), (328)

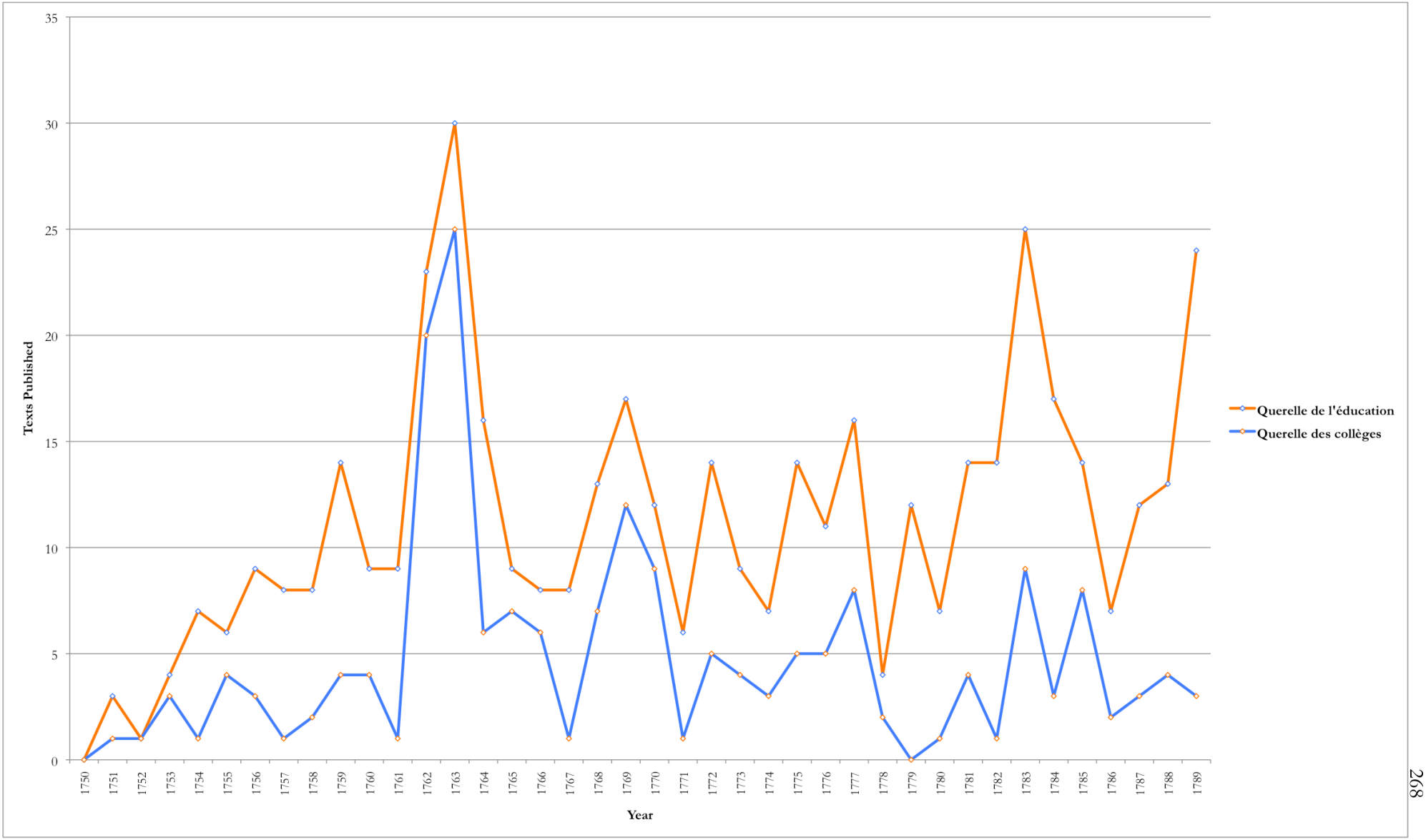
454. 'Le Modèle des jeunes-gens', *AL*, III, 229–38
(447)

Appendix 2 (overleaf).

Graph showing publications participating in the *Querelle de l'éducation* and the *Querelle des collèges*, 1750–89

This graph (overleaf) shows the quantitative participation in the *Querelle de l'éducation* and the *Querelle des collèges*, based on the preceding corpus. It shows that the *Querelle des collèges* had its most significant peaks between 1762 and 1764, and 1768 and 1770. A smaller peak in the 1780s appears to have been caused by the launch of **(L)**, which reignites interest in the *collèges*. We also see that between 1762 and 1778, the *Querelle de l'éducation* and *Querelle des collèges* are closely correlated; after this date, the interventions in the *Querelle de l'éducation* are less frequently acts in the *Querelle des collèges*.

Appendix 2. Graph showing publications participating in the *Querelle de l'éducation* and the *Querelle des collèges*, 1750–89



Appendix 3.

'Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de l'hotel de l'École royale militaire, du 1er décembre 1765 au 1er mars 1776 – Poètes français'
Source: AN O.1 1606 (227)

Poètes français		
Author	**Text as listed on inventory, and date of publication (if given)**	**Number of copies**
Pierre Corneille	*Théâtre avec les commentaires de Voltaire* (1764)	12
Houdar de la Motte	*Oeuvres* (1754)	10
Boissy	*Oeuvres de théâtre* (1738-48)	9
Homère (traduit par Mme Dacier)	*Iliade et Odissée* (1759)	8
Dancourt	*Oeuvres de théâtre* (1742)	8
Pope	*Oeuvres diverses trad. de l'anglais* (1767)	8
Molière	*Oeuvres* (1734)	6
Legrand	*Théâtre* (1742)	4
De Montfleury, père et fils	*Théâtre* (1739)	3
Camoeus	*La Lusiade, poème héroïque sur la découverte des indes orientales trad. du Portugais par Mr. du Perron de Castera* (1735)	3
De Brueys	*Oeuvres de théâtre* (1735)	3
Racine	*Oeuvres* (1760)	3
La Fontaine	*Oeuvres* (1726)	3
Boileau	*Oeuvres* (1729)	2
Crébillon	*Oeuvres* (1750)	2
Mme Deshoullieres	*Poésies* (1694)	2
Racine	*Poeme sur la religion* (1742)	2
Rousseau	*Oeuvres diverses* (1723)	2
Baron	*Théâtre* (1742)	2
De Campistron	*Oeuvres* (1739)	2
De Palaprat	*Oeuvres* (1735)	1
Huber	*Idylles & poèmes champêtres de Gessner, trad. de l'allemand* (1762)	1
Marot	*Poésies ou adolescence clementine*	1
Regnier	*Oeuvres* (1733)	1
-	*Roman de la Rose* (1501)	1
Voltaire	*Henriade* (1728)	1
Malherbe	*Poésies*	1
Haller	*Poésies, trad. de l'allemand* (1752)	1
Gessner	*Pastorales et poemes, trad. de l'allemand* (1766)	1
	Total	**103**

Appendix 4.

'Catalogue des livres de lecture à l'usage de Mrs. les élèves, qui se sont trouvé exister au dépôt de la bibliothèque le 10 mars 1776'

Source: AN O.1 1606 (232). The list is transcribed as written, and in the same order as it was given in the original inventory. The number preceding the title indicates the number of volumes.

3 – *Petit carême de Massillon*
1 – *Idée de la religion chrétien*
1 – *Essai sur la perfection chrétienne*
1 – *La dévotion réconciliée avec l'empire*
1 – L'Écolier chrétien
1 – Instruction sur la religion par Gobinet
1 – Abrégé de la perfection chrétienne par Rodriquez
1 – Roussel, Principes sur l'Église
1 – Roussel, Principes de Religion
1 – Bouhours, Manière de bien penser
1 – Bossuet, Traité de l'amour de Dieu
1 – Fléchier, Histoire de Thédose
1 – Fléchier, Oraisons funebres
1 – Massillon, Pensées
1 – Imitation de J.C.
1 – Bourdaloue, Retraite Spirituelle
1 – La Seule religion véritable
1 – Mascaron, Oraisons funebres
2 – Bossuet, Oraisons funebres
1 – Bossuet, Connoissance de Dieu et de soi même
2 – Croiset, Des illustions du cœur
4 – Daniel, Abrégé de l'histoire de France
3 – Vély, Histoire de France
2 – Millot, Elements d'histoire de France
4 – Mémoires de la Vieilleville
6 – Mémoires de Du Bellay
2 – Mémoires de Forbin
3 – Mémoires de Feuquières
3 – Du Bos, Monuments de la monarchie française
2 – Tableau de l'histoire de France
2 – P. de Chalons, Histoire de France
2 – Vie de Crillon/Orillon
3 – Coyer, Histoire de Sobieski Roi de Pologne
2 – Histoire du Maréchal de Saxe
2 – Histoire du Cardinal Mazarin
1 – Rêveries du Maréchal de Saxe
3 – Histoire de Suger
*1 – Histoire de François 1^er^ – **hors de service***
2 – Mémoires de Puységur
1 – Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes
3 – Histoire de Dugueslin
*1 – Vie de Coligny – **hors de service***
1 – Meemoires de Beauveau
1 – Histoire de St André Montbrun
2 – Histoire de Louis XI par Duclos
3 – Histoire du Chevalier Bayard
1 – Abrégé de la Milice françoise
3 – Vie de Cromwell par Leti
1 – Histoire de Lesdiguieres
3 – Histoire du Prince Eugène de Savoye
3 – Histoire de Turenne par Ramsay
1 – Histoire de Turenne par Raguenet
11 - Histoire de Charles V, par Robertson
1 – Commentaire de Cesar par Danville
1 – Abregé des grands fiefs de la couronne
2 – Vie du Maréchal Fabert
1 – Voyage de la terre sainte par le P. Nau
2 – Mémoires de Montecuculli
2 – Histoire des Albigeois
1 – Mémoire de Melvil
1 – Mentelle, Élements de l'histoire Romaine
1 – Histoire de Louis XIV par Rabutin
1 – Histoire des croisades
4 – Histoire de Malthe par Vertot
2 – Histoire de Malthe en deux tomes
6 – Puffendorf, Histoire universelle
1 – Introduction à l'histoire de l'asie par La Martinière
4 – Vertot, Révolutions de Suède
5 – Révolutions d'angleterre
1 – Révolutions romaines
1 – Terrasson, Histoire universelle de Diodore de Scicile
1 – Coutumes et cérémonies des romaines
3 – Histoire romaine par Tailhé
2 – Dictionnaire militaire
*1 – Institutions militaires de Vegece – **hors de service***
2 – La petite guerre du Comte de la Roche
9 – Réflexions militaires par Santa Cruz
4 – D'Héricourt, Art militaire
1 – Tactique de Keralio
1 – Essai sur la science de la guerre par Le Baron d'Espagnac
2 – Martinelli, Lettere familiari
1 – Bion, Usage des globes
2 – Machiavelli, Istorie fiorentine

1 – Dictionnaire historique de Ladvocat
1 – Dictionnaire géographique de Vosgion
2 – Reglements pour l'infanterie prussienne
2 – Méthode de lever les plans et cartes
1 – Le Coq madeleine, Journal de Cavalerie
1 – Montesquieu, Grandeur des romains
1 – Ovidii, Métamorphoses
2 – Rohaut, Physique
4 – Mémoires de Bassonmpierre
1 – Mémoires sur la guerre
1 – Caroli Porée Tragoedice
1 – Histoire de Pierre le Grand
3 – Histoire de Timarbec au Tamerlan
1 – Histoire de Philippe, Roi de Macédoine
2 – Annales de Tacite, par La Bletterie
1 – Dumaurier, Mémoires de Hambourg
2 – Histoire de Tamerlan
*1 – Selthos – **hors de service***
1 – Histoire de Scipion l'africain
1 – Saint Evremont, œuvres choisies
1 – Vie de Christophe Colomb
1 – Gordon, Grammaire géographique
3 – Gessner, Der tod abels
3 – Manesson Mallet, Travaux de mars
1 – Ciceron, Rhétorique
1 – Rollin, Traité des études, tome 2
2 – Buffier, Mémoire artificielle
1 – Aristote, Rhétorique
1 – Bouhours, Pensées ingénieuses
1 – La Bletterie, Histoire de l'Empereur Jovien
1 – Buffier, Géographie universelle
1 – Le Flamois, Méthode de géographie
3 – Métastase
4 – Desfontaines, Virgile
2 – Mme Dacier, trad. de l'Iliade de Homere
1 – Racan, Œuvres
1 – Jérusalem délivrée
1 – Fléchier, Œuvres
1 – Rousseau, Œuvres choisies
10 – Mort d'Abel
1 – Boileau, tome 3
1 – Corneille, Chef d'œuvres tome 3
1 – La Bruyère, Caractères
2 – Marsollier, Histoire de Henry VII, roi d'angleterre
1 – Discours de Bussy à ses enfants
1 – Tournefort, Voyages du Levant
1 – Robinson, tome 5
1 – Histoire de la navigation
1 – Mémoires sur la chine, par le P. Le Comte
1 – Voyage, Thomas
1 – Histoire de la conquete du Mexique
1 – Voyage de Cachemire
5 – D'Auvrigny, Hommes illustres de France
1 – Pluche, Spectacle de la nature
8 – Rollin, Histoire ancienne
2 – Géographie historique
1 – Manuel géographique, chronologique, historique
1 – L'Esprit du militaire, par Dey
1 – Racine, Poeme sur la religion
2- Campagne du Maréchal de Villars
8 – Campagne du Maréchal de Coigny
3 – Campagne du Maréchal de Noailles
1 – Campagnes de Tallard
2 – Abé de St Peirre, Annales polituques
1 – Journal de la Campagne de 1746
1 – Le Blond, Essai sur la Castrametation
1 – Campagnes de Crequy et Villars
1 – De Quincy, L'Art de la guerre
1 – De Ste Palaye, Mémoire sur l'ancienne chevalierie
3 – Bourdaloue, Pensées
7 – Baron d'Espagnac, Histoire du Maréchal de Saxe 2e ed.
2 – Euleni, Introduction in analysis infinitorum
2 – Mémoires de Duguay-Trouin
2 – Le Monnier, Institutions astronomiques
1 – Commentaires de César
1 – Abrégé de l'histoire de France de Mezerai
*2 – Voyages de Chardin – **hors de service***
1 – Newton, Principes mathématiques, par Mme Du Chatelet
1 – Jeurat, Traité de perspective
1 – Montuela, Histoire des mathématiques
*1 – Abé de Choisy, Vie de St Louis – **hors de service***
1 – L'Hôpital, Traité des sections coniques
1 – Mémoire de Villeroy
1 – Histoire des Incas
*1 – École de mars – **hors de service***
1 – Duguet, [Institution] d'un Prince
*1 – Histoire naturelle des Antilles – **hors de service***
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TOTAL : 335 vols
Signed off by Meunier on 10 March

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