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THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS IN THE WORKS  
OF DUHAMEL, MARTIN DU GARD AND ROMAINS,  
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO  
CHRONIQUE DES PASQUIER, LES THIBAUT  
AND LES HOMMES DE BONNE VOLONTE

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL  
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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The interdisciplinary approach on which this dissertation is based arose from a desire to combine study interests in education and twentieth century French literature.

The romans-fleuves of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland provided scope for examining family and school life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as seen through the eyes of the imaginative artist, and for relating the characters' experience of the educative process to the educational background of the authors.

Although Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland share an obvious interest in educational procedures, as attested by their perceptive portraits of educators and students in their novels and their frequent references to pedagogical practices and educational priorities in their essays, articles and autobiographical notes, little critical attention has been given to this aspect of their work. With the notable exception of André Terrisse's brief study, Georges Duhamel-Educateur, published in 1951, no major evaluation of the contribution to education of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland has been undertaken.

It is hoped that this dissertation will provide some insight into the educational views of these three writers.

The abbreviations O.C. and H.B.V. employed in the footnotes refer respectively to the two-volume edition of Martin du Gard's Oeuvres complètes published by Gallimard in 1955, and the four-volume edition of Les Hommes de bonne volonté published by Flammarion in 1958. La Nouvelle Revue Française is abbreviated as N.R.F. and La Nouvelle Nouvelle Revue Française as N.N.R.F.

I should like to express my gratitude to Professor J. Dunmore, Department of Modern Languages, Massey University, and Dr H.B. Beresford, Reader in Education, Massey University, for their valuable suggestions and advice in the preparation of this study.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS IN THE WORKS OF DUHAMEL, MARTIN DU GARD AND ROMAINS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CHRONIQUE DES PASQUIER, LES THIBAUT AND LES HOMMES DE BONNE VOLONTE

The main intention of this dissertation is to examine the treatment of the process of education in the three romans-fleuves and to relate this to the general educational background of the writers.

Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains form a convenient trio of writers for a study of this nature. Their respective novel-cycles - Chronique des Pasquier (10 volumes, 1933-1945), Les Thibault (11 volumes, 1922-1940) and Les Hommes de bonne volonté (27 volumes, 1932-1946) - constitute important social documents of the period of French history from 1898 to 1933.

Against the background of the disruption of the ordered patterns of middle-class society in 1914-18 and its aftermath, we see the effect of social change on the educational roles of the family and the school.

The study is divided into three main areas. In Part I a preliminary survey is made of developments in familial and formal education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is followed in Part II by a brief examination of the views which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains have expressed on their own educational experiences and on education generally. The support of traditional middle-class priorities in education which is found in their later works is linked with their increasing

political and social disillusionment after World War I. Their reaction to the social disequilibrium of the interwar years is a revival of the principles of order, discipline and authority of the pre-1914 bourgeoisie. However, although a cultural bias and an élitiste attitude towards education are found in the writings of all three authors, the point is made that Martin du Gard does not share to the same degree the close identification with middle-class ideologies of his two contemporaries. It is suggested that the circumstances of their upbringing and education have some bearing on the differences in their attitudes. Duhamel and Romain were boursiers who rose from lower middle-class origins and tend to prize more highly the middle-class culture which they made determined efforts to acquire than the héritier, Martin du Gard, who was born into a family of the haute bourgeoisie and received these educational privileges as of right.

This serves as a background to the analysis of the parent-child and teacher-pupil relationships in the romans-fleuves in Part III. The method employed is that of establishing case histories of the central figures, drawing the appropriate details from the 48 novels studied. The educational experiences of the characters are compared and assessments are made of the effect of formative influences on later development. The conclusion is reached that the treatment of the educative process in the three romans-fleuves has a basic similarity. The authors tend to emphasise the positive contribution of a middle-class education -

the inculcation of the bourgeois virtues of thrift, endeavour and honesty, the development of the reasoning powers and the transmission of a broad, balanced culture. The man of culture who represents the ideal of the writers - Duhamel's civilisé, Martin du Gard's homme de valeur, Romain's homme de bonne volonté - is the product of the pre-World War I middle-class family and school system. Laurent Pasquier (Chronique des Pasquier), Antoine Thibault (Les Thibault), Pierre Jallez and Jean Jerphanion (Les Hommes de bonne volonté) closely resemble each other in their conservatism in matters of formal education and in their firm belief that the principles which have guided the upbringing of the young in the past must be preserved. It is to these members of the bourgeoisie cultivée that Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain look for the defence of the French intellectual, spiritual and moral patrimony in the disordered social and political climate of the interwar years.

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INTRODUCTION:

Thibaudet (1) sees the roman fleuve or the roman-cycle which takes as its subject the history of a family or a collectivity as one of the most important literary genres of the nineteenth thirties with writers such as Robert Francis (Histoire d'une famille sous la Troisième République), Jacques de Lacretelle (Les Hauts-Ponts), Jacques Chardonne (Les Destinées sentimentales) and Henri Béraud (Chronique de Sabolas) attempting to chronicle in imaginative form the social and political events of the near past. Georges Duhamel, Roger Martin du Gard and Jules Romains are the most prominent members of this group of novelists and in their respective romans-fleuves - Duhamel's ten-volume cycle Chronique des Pasquier (1933-1945),<sup>(2)</sup> the eight parts of Martin du Gard's Les Thibault (1922-1940) and Romains's mammoth Les Hommes de bonne volonté, published in twenty-seven volumes (1932-1946) - they depict the collapse of the absolute rule of the bourgeoisie and write against the background of the lost hopes of the young idealists who, at the turn of the century, envisaged an age of peace and prosperity

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(1) See A. Thibaudet, Histoire de la littérature française de 1789 à nos jours, pp. 543-7.

(2) Duhamel's earlier roman-fleuve - Vie et aventures de Salavin (1920-1932) - was centred on the individual not the group, following the example of Rolland's Jean-Christophe. The literary antecedents of Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté are Balzac's Comédie humaine and Zola's Rougon-Macquart series.

with the establishment of a reign of social justice and of communion between men.

Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland, who were born within five years of each other - Martin du Gard in 1881, Duhamel in 1884 and Romain Rolland in 1885 - and who have certain similarities in cultural and educational background form a convenient group of novelists for comparison, and a study of the close parallels which Maurois (1) has noted in the curve of their literary activity would prove a profitable exercise as would a comparison of styles or treatment of character. However, in this study the trio will be examined more from the point of view of their contribution to education than to literature. It is upon their representation of the upbringing of children in the bourgeois family and the training of élites in the school system during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that attention will be focused, although a consideration of the educative process in the three novel-cycles cannot be divorced from an understanding of the literary qualities of the authors and of their philosophical and social ideas.

In Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté (to employ an order which follows that of the action of the three novel-cycles) a panoramic view is provided of the period of French history which extends from 1898 (the commencement of

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(1) See A. Maurois, Etudes littéraires II, p. 165.

Le Notaire du Havre, the first of the ten novels in the Chronique des Pasquier sequence) to 1933 (volume XXVII of Les Hommes de bonne volonté). Through these monumental reconstructions of French social life in a period of major change with the ordered, stable, middle-class society of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth shattered by world war, one is able to see educational practices and trends against the background of political and social crises. Thus, for the student of education the graphic descriptions of the age which the three writers create in their complementary studies, have considerable documentary value - a value enhanced by the wide experience of the writers and the fact that they bring to these works of their maturity a broad educational background and habits of scholarship formed by the disciplines of the universities and the grandes écoles. For both Duhamel and Romain the writing of the novel-cycles was preceded by ten years of documentation and planning. The scrupulous concern of the ex-chartiste, Martin du Gard, for historical accuracy, for establishing fiches and gathering precise background information, is in his own words a '... soin maniaque ...'. (1) Hence, Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les hommes de bonne volonté may be seen as together forming a social laboratory in which the process of education in the

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(1) Souvenirs autobiographiques et littéraires, Oeuvres complètes, vol. I, p. li.

family and the school (1) can be examined historically, as the educational functions of the school and the family are in a state of flux; psychologically, as the quality of the interpersonal relationships of teacher and pupil or parent and child are dependent upon complex sets of factors relating to the various school or home circumstances; and sociologically, as the values, attitudes, ways of thinking and modes of behaviour reflect societal demands.

In Part III of this study, where a close examination will be made of the educative process in the three novel-cycles, certain conclusions will be drawn on the emphases which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland individually place upon different aspects of familial and formal education. It will be suggested, however, that there is considerable similarity in their treatment of the child's response to the educative process, as well as in their conception of the ideal end-product of the process. Such resemblances in their judgments of the process itself and the product of the process would seem to reflect the climate of educational thought in the milieu in which they were formed at the turn of the century - the bourgeoisie. As writers of the interwar years, gravely disturbed by the threats to the social equilibrium after one world war and

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(1) In this study the generic term 'family' is used to cover a wide variety of family situations and 'school' to include the many different institutions in which the learner is given formal training in knowledge and skills.

forced to gaze helplessly as Europe headed for a second major conflagration, they held views on the role of the family and the school which were in the main traditional and conservative, drawn from a past age of stability. Their nostalgia for the ordered patterns of middle-class life in the period prior to 1914 is apparent in their novels set in the early twentieth century which have a common '... valedictory element...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

These points will be clarified by examining the traditional middle-class attitudes towards the place of the family and the school in Part I, and assessing the effect of social change on the middle-class institutions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, in Part II, the middle-class upbringing of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland will be studied and a comparison made of the general opinions of the writers on the educative process in the family and the school as expressed in their other literary works, autobiographical notes, essays and articles, to support the contention that their increasing disillusionment with the social developments since 1918 has been accompanied by a closer identification with middle-class thought on educational priorities. This will enable the three major works to be seen in historical perspective, linked not only with prevailing social attitudes and currents of opinion but also with the individual experiences of the writers and the development of their ideas.

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(1) G. Brereton, A Short History of French Literature, p. 250.

PART I: THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDCHAPTER I: THE FAMILY

Few social institutions have aroused such violent polemical debate as the French bourgeois family. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries middle-class family life has been the target of intellectuals and writers from the romantics to the existentialists who, while addressing their anti-bourgeois sentiments to a predominantly bourgeois audience, have exposed the sterility of marriage based on property values and have attacked the repressive atmosphere in the foyer in which the middle-class père de famille has exercised a quasi-Roman authority over his wife and children. Indeed, Nahas traces literary condemnation of bourgeois family life back to Furetière, the creator of the roman bourgeois in the seventeenth century. 'La tradition le veut ainsi qu'il n'y ait pas de roman français notable du mariage heureux.'<sup>(1)(2)</sup> But apologists for the middle-class family have not been lacking. Bourget and Bordeaux, for example, have defended the values of the conventional patterns of family life, maintaining that the spirit of the nation is dependent upon the established family customs and practices.

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(1) H. Nahas, La Femme dans la littérature existentielle, p. 86.

(2) Note that satire of the bourgeois family is found in the literature of the middle ages. See J.-V. Alter, Les Origines de la satire anti-bourgeoise en France, chapt. IV.

Traditionally, the family has been regarded by the bourgeoisie as the basic social unit. This concept was enshrined in the Code civil by the middle-class lawyers of the Revolution who sought to ensure the stability of the foyer and the protection of the family patrimony by vesting in the père de famille exclusive authority over the members of the family and unassailable rights over the management of the family property. The legislation of 1804 codified the middle-class attitudes towards the inferior position of women and children which were obvious in the ancien régime for, as Pernoud <sup>(1)</sup> points out, the rights which women and children enjoyed in medieval society were steadily eroded in the rise to power of the commercial classes. The growing preoccupation with property and security amongst the bourgeoisie brought legal strengthening of the authority of the father on the pattern of the paterfamilias of Roman law. The mentality of the honnête homme of the seventeenth century who eschewed the sentimentality surrounding the place of women in courtly traditions and cast the female in a role as the servant of the male, denying her autonomy in all but narrowly domestic limits, persisted into the nineteenth century as was evident in Article 213 of the Code: 'A husband owes protection to his wife; a wife obedience to her husband' and Article 214: 'A wife is bound to live with her husband and to follow him wherever he

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(1) See R. Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie en France, vol. II, pp. 25-31.

deems proper to reside'. The Code civil was patronising to women, regarding the mother as incapable of managing her property or of acting as guardian of her children. She was relegated to the position of eternal minor, subject to the absolute rule of her father or the domination of her husband. Nor was the wife permitted the escape of divorce, except if her husband compromised the moral tenor of the foyer by bringing his mistress to dwell in the family home. (1)

If wives were treated harshly by the nineteenth century legal code the children fared no better. Sons and daughters were placed under rigid paternal authority. A father could have his son arrested for indiscipline and sent to a reformatory (2) and his consent was necessary for the marriage of sons under the age of twenty-five and daughters under the age of twenty-one. (3)

As well as recognising the family as a social unit Napoleon's Code civil acknowledged its economic functions and regulated property rights and laws of succession. The arranged marriages and the systeme dotal of the ancien régime had existed as a means of protecting the family patrimony. The property consciousness of the nineteenth century bourgeois was equally acute as Dupeux has declared: 'La famille est d'abord une société d'acquêts, et les sentiments viennent après les intérêts.' (4) Marriage, then, was considered as a

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(1) Code civil: Article 230.

(2) Code civil: Articles 375-7.

(3) Code civil: Article 148.

(4) G. Dupeux, La Société française 1789-1960, p. 140.

means of accruing property and adding to the family patrimony. In their study, The Family in the French Civil Code, Hoyt and Métraux have shown that in drafting adoption laws for the Code civil the Conseil d'Etat ensured that the "outsider" would not deprive the natural members of the family of their rightful inheritance. 'The individual who is not born into a family may be regarded as a "stranger" when questions of family property arise.' (1) A further safeguard for the family interests was the conseil de famille which was accorded certain legal powers. This council was to consist of six members of the family chosen equally from the mother's and the father's side and could be formally presided over by a juge de paix to decide upon matters concerning the family as a whole, such as authorising marriage, appointing a guardian or settling an estate.

The provisions of the Code civil which from 1804 would have a major effect upon relationships within the family, form the background to the nineteenth century cult of the family. The idealisation of the role of parents in the training of the children and the creation of myths surrounding the harmony, solidarity and inviolability of the foyer find expression in middle-class thought to the present day as is seen in Siegfried's eulogy on family solidarity:

To its Latin origin, France owes primarily its

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(1) N. Hoyt and R. Métraux, 'The Family in the French Civil Code', Themes in French Culture, p. 78.

solid familial structure, founded on a deep and sincere devotion to family ties - comparable, perhaps, to the clan, the clientele, in the Roman meaning of the word. In France the family is stronger than the State; it provides a social foundation of extraordinary stability.(1)

Official endorsement of the place of the family as the foundation of French society has not been lacking. The Vichy government included the family in its motto: Travail, Famille, Patrie. Government policy since 1945 has been directed towards supporting and extending the family as an ideal. Speaking on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Union des associations familiales, Monsieur G. Pompidou, president of the French Republic, declared:

... De tous les instruments à notre disposition pour rendre une âme à notre société et assurer ainsi sa survie, la famille est le plus disponible, le plus solide et un des plus efficaces. C'est à ce titre que l'action que vous défendez et rejoint l'intérêt national et les préoccupations humaines et morales les plus urgentes et les plus hautes. J'ai voulu, par ma présence, vous en porter témoignage.(2)

This veneration for the family has extended beyond the conjugal unit of parents and children to the family as a whole. The sense of relation and blood ties in middle-class society has been strong, according to Ardagh, and has tended to isolate the child from social contacts. 'Many a Frenchman has spent his youth in a world where he was expected to regard cousins, uncles

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(1) A. Siegfried, 'Approaches to an Understanding of Modern France', Modern France - Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics, p. 11.

(2) Speech of the 7 Dec. 1970 reported in the Sélection hebdomadaire du journal 'Le Monde', no. 1154, 3-9 Dec. 1970, p. 7.

and grandmothers as more important to him than friends of his own age ...' (1) And Pitts, in his cross-cultural study of the relationship of families and peer groups, has discovered evidence to support this contention, for he states that: 'The French child lives in a world, where, outside of the relationships ascribed by kinship, his social initiative is low.' (2)

Madariaga also has noted the formality in the relationships of the extended family and the predilection for tradition and ceremony. He suggests that children have been nurtured with a respect for the obligations of membership in the wider family and an acceptance of the etiquette of family intercourse which is marked by '... an almost official dignity and rigidity. Hence that proclivity towards official stiffness to be noticed in French family gatherings, particularly in funerals. A French funeral is probably the most rigidly regulated ceremony of the present time.' (3)

However, one must remember that the archetypal bourgeois family of the late nineteenth century when Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland received their early formation, with its authoritarianism supported by the Code civil, was a comparatively recent phenomenon. In his scholarly account of family trends Ariès (4) has

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- (1) J. Ardagh, The New French Revolution - A Social and Economic Survey of France 1945-1967, p. 239.  
 (2) J. Pitts, 'The Family and Peer Groups', A Modern Introduction to the Family, p. 267.  
 (3) S. de Madariaga, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, p. 139.  
 (4) See P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, pp. 26ff.

indicated that the modern view of childhood as a separate stage of growth in which the child should be prepared in the family for adult tasks is a middle-class development. Before the discovery of childhood by the bourgeoisie in the seventeenth century the 'child' had been considered as a miniature adult, capable at the age of seven or eight of leaving the family and entering into service. During the seventeenth century the attitudes to the young underwent a radical change: the vocabulary of infancy became refined and the moralists and pedagogues associated with Port-Royal urged special treatment of the enfant whose weakness morally as well as physically demanded protection and training. In the bourgeois families the enfant became differentiated in dress from the older children and parents, encouraged by the treatises on education of the period - Varet's De l'Education chrétienne des enfants (1661) and Coustel's Règles de l'éducation des enfants (1687), - paid greater attention to the needs of the child, isolated him from adult society and supervised his training in the home, whereas at the two extremities of society - the nobility and the working classes - the apprenticeship system, whereby the children were committed to the care of others, continued to be observed.

The bourgeois family was reorganised around the children. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the sentiment surrounding childhood developed, accompanied by the recognition of the duties of parents

to prepare the children for adult responsibilities and to instil in them the values and attitudes of their class - hence the stress in the manuals of education on the importance of the parent providing the child with an example of moderation, probity and thrift - the bourgeois virtues - together with instilling in him a horror of excess and waste, a respect for endeavour and an esteem for culture. Through such training the personnage-type of the middle-class citizen of the seventeenth century could be formed - the honnête homme, the cultivated man of good taste. Included in this complex of middle-class attitudes, values and ideals which parents transmitted to their children was the conscientious teaching of manners, habits and modes of behaviour which differentiated the bourgeoisie from the lower social orders. Such training emphasised the importance of reason and self-restraint, and the superiority of the cerebral over the physical. This, on the evidence of a recent analysis of projective tests by Abel, Belo and Wolfenstein has remained a characteristic of middle-class education in France up to the present time.

That the French are afraid of breaking into open hostility (in action, not in words), are taught control and repression of anger ("pas de drames" - no scenes), and are prevented from fighting it out and defending themselves in childhood quarrels, has been brought out time and time again in our interview material. (1)

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(1) T. Abel, J. Belo, M. Wolfenstein, 'An Analysis of French Projective Tests', Themes in French Culture, p. 115.

The jeune bourgeois formed by his family and the colleges of the Jesuits or the Oratorians learned the necessity of rigorously curbing his passions and gained his philosophical and moral orientation by combining classical humanism and cartesianism. For girls the ideal was the jeune fille bien élevée, the girl of modesty and politeness, versed in the arts d'agrément - drawing, embroidery, dancing and music. The belief that girls required little in the way of formal education would persist into the twentieth century. The early hostility of parents of the bourgeoisie towards a secondary education for girls in a State institution is well illustrated in Maurois's Le Cercle de famille when it is suggested that Denise be sent to the lycée de jeunes filles at Rouen. "Au lycée, dit la voix de Mme Herpain. Aucune jeune fille de notre monde ne va au lycée." (1) Yet, as will be seen in the next chapter, the rapid increase after 1880 in the numbers of girls seeking an education comparable in standard to that of their brothers in the lycées and colleges provides proof that social and economic changes forced parents to accept the fact that an advanced education would prove of benefit for their daughters.

Fundamental to the process of education in the middle-class family since the seventeenth century has been the cultivation of a sense of class difference - an inculcation of a notion of social privilege and

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(1) A. Maurois, Le Cercle de famille, p. 67.

responsibility. Although the bourgeoisie has theoretically supported an open-class system and opposed the caste system and the particularistic and traditional values of the aristocracy of the ancien régime it is clear from Pernoud's study that the bourgeoisie itself has shown only limited approval of social mobility and as a result the upbringing of children in middle-class homes has been characterised by strong caste elements. (1) The obsessive fear of the bourgeois of a return to his working-class origins is reflected in the pressure upon the children to conform to the norms of their class, to embark on a career appropriate to their status (Clough (2) has commented on the marked tendency for sons to take up their father's business or profession) and to choose marriage partners from the same milieu in order to avoid the social disgrace of a mésalliance.

If, as we have seen, in the development of the modern concept of the family the authority of the father as the master of the house was strengthened, that of the wife deteriorated. Yet if in bourgeois thought the woman was cast in a subservient social role she gained a compensatory idealisation in her role as a mother and a teacher of her children. Michael-Titus makes the following important comment on the position

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(1) See R. Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie en France, vol. II, pp. 489ff.

(2) See S. Clough, 'French Social Structures, Social Values and Economic Growth', Economic and Social Developments since the Old Regime, p. 71.

of the mother in the middle-class family.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de la place que l'on réserve à la femme dans la famille bourgeoise, la tradition de souche romaine y apparaît d'une évidence incontestable. L'épouse dans la pensée d'orientation bourgeoise laïque est encore une "uxor romana". Elle est conçue pour être l'élément stable, le gardien du bonheur de la famille. Si elle doit être à la fois épouse et maîtresse pour son mari, elle n'en est pas moins conçue pour être le premier instituteur de ses enfants. Et c'est de cette conception concernant le rôle de la femme dans la famille bourgeoise que surgit le principe qui domine l'éducation en France, principe selon lequel la vraie éducation doit être laissée à la famille. L'école dans la conception pédagogique française donne une instruction et une éducation sociale et civique mais c'est la famille qui doit donner l'éducation individuelle, doit former le caractère et la personnalité de l'enfant. (1)

Although the child would enjoy a more intimate relationship with his parents in the conjugal family, the tightening of ties with the family would deprive him of his former freedoms and isolate him from the adult society in which he had been accepted on equal terms in the Middle Ages. Moreover the new concern with the moral health of the child and the recognition of his susceptibility to corrupt influences brought a condemnation of leniency and 'spoiling' from the Churchmen and the moralists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and an advocacy of harsher methods of discipline. Such a call for strictness in the training of children is found in Montaigne's Essais, for example. As Ariès points out, the increased tenderness for children and interest in their education

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(1) C. Michael-Titus, 'Aspects et orientation de la pensée bourgeoise laïque en France', Nottingham French Studies, vol. II, no. 1, May 1963, p. 40.

would, paradoxically, bring a severity of treatment and a stress on the obedience of children to adult direction. Character, it was believed amongst the bourgeoisie, was best formed under duress.

Family and the school together removed the child from adult society. The school shut up a childhood which had hitherto been free within an increasingly severe disciplinary system, which culminated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the total clausturation of the boarding-school. The solicitude of family, Church, moralists and administrators deprived the child of the freedom he had hitherto enjoyed among adults. It inflicted on him the birch, the prison cell - in a word, the punishments usually reserved for convicts from the lowest strata of society. But this severity was the expression of a very different feeling from the old indifference: an obsessive love which was to dominate society from the eighteenth century on. (1)

This, then, is the background to the family relationships within the milieu in which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains were born. However, if, as we shall see later, the writers tend to look back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a period of stability and calm, with the patterns of family life clearly defined, it would appear that beneath the appearance of immutability the family was being subjected to social and economic pressures which would force upon it a profound transformation. The traditional patterns of authority would be disturbed: women would lose their inferior status in the middle-class family and the children would become less bound by rigid parental controls. In addition the family as an educational agency would face increasing

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(1) P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, p. 413.

competition from outside institutions. (1)

These changes in family structure were to accompany the social upheavals resulting from industrialisation and war. As Charles Seignobos wrote in 1921:

'En aucun temps, la transformation de la société n'a été si rapide que dans le dernier demi - siècle'. (2)

But although industrialisation proceeded at the same time as the decline in parental authority, Goode warns that it is unwise to attribute a direct cause-effect relationship between the two. The issue is essentially complex. '... Family and industrial factors or variables are independent but interacting. Neither fully determines the other, although both influence each other.' (3) His thesis is that not only do some aspects of industrialisation encourage change in the family structure but also the accompanying trend towards a nuclear or conjugal family system provides the conditions necessary for industrial growth. Both of these developments may be seen in France during the Third Republic.

One effect of the economic expansion in the nineteenth century was the improved status of women in society. With the increased opportunities for female

(1) For a detailed consideration of the evolution of the functions of the family in the twentieth century see P.-H. Chombart de Lauwe and M.-J. Chombart de Lauwe, 'L'Evolution des besoins et la conception dynamique de la famille', Revue française de sociologie, no. 1, 1960, pp. 403-25.

(2) See G. Dupeux, La Société française 1789-1960, p. 165.

(3) W. Goode, The Family, p. 110.

labour in factories and shops, women, particularly those of the lower classes, gained more financial independence. Dupeux has noted that the trend towards employing women in industry was well established by the middle of the nineteenth century. 'Aussi dès 1847, comptait-on, dans les établissements occupant plus de dix ouvriers, à côté de 670,000 hommes employés, 254,000 femmes et 130,000 enfants.' (1) However, according to Simone de Beauvoir, up till World War I the low wages for women workers prevented them from being completely self-supporting:

En France d'après l'enquête menée en 1889-1893, pour une journée de travail égale à celle de l'homme, l'ouvrière n'obtenait que la moitié de la paye masculine. D'après l'enquête de 1908, les plus hauts gains horaires des ouvrières à domicile ne dépassaient pas vingt centimes à l'heure et descendaient jusqu'à cinq centimes: il était impossible à la femme ainsi exploitée de vivre sans aumône ou sans un protecteur. (2)

The scarcity of manpower during and after World War I was to force a rise in the wages and salaries of women workers. Similarly, although prior to 1914 the majority of women workers came from the working classes, the new opportunities for women in the professions and in clerical positions were to attract women from the moyenne bourgeoisie as well as the petite bourgeoisie.

This movement of women into the work force was to affect family relationships. In his study of the

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(1) G. Dupeux, La Société française 1789-1960, p. 143.  
 (2) S. de Beauvoir, Le Deuxième Sexe, vol. I, p. 196.

modern Western family, Goode suggests that there is a '... correlation between class position and the authority of the male'. (1) He points out that in modern industrialised societies the new status of wives as earners in the family has obliged lower-strata husbands to concede authority. Thus, changing economic circumstances have affected patterns of authority in homes in which there are working mothers more than in upper-class homes where the father's income alone is sufficient for the family's needs. However, even amongst the moyenne bourgeoisie and the haute bourgeoisie where patriarchal authority was most firmly entrenched in the nineteenth century there were signs that mothers were being allowed more initiative in educating the children and handling the family accounts in the period immediately prior to World War I.

Although the feminist movement had been active in France since the 1860's, it seems to have had a less significant impact upon the family than in England. (2) The gradual extension of civil rights to married women appears to have stemmed more from their newly discovered competencies in factories and offices than direct agitation. In 1884 divorce was reintroduced for women as well as men although the grounds for divorce were not the same. It would not be until 1964 that the major legal inequalities between husband and wife

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(1) W. Goode, The Family, p. 74.

(2) See L. Hubbard, The Individual and the Group in French Literature since 1914, p. 2.

concerning divorce and property ownership were finally removed from the statute-books.

In the matter of the vote the inequality of the sexes was also of long duration. Although Viviani had proposed in 1901 the granting of voting rights to women, it was to apply only to spinsters and divorcees on the grounds that as a husband was considered to be the head of the household the granting of the right to vote to wives would undermine his authority. After the failure of the bill for universal suffrage in the Senate in 1922, women were not to receive the vote until 1945.

As well as affecting the role of mothers in the family, industrialisation was to contribute towards the lessening of parental authority over the older children. On one hand, the increasing importance of education for skilled workers and managerial staff meant that parents would have to relinquish more and more of their educational responsibilities to the State and on the other hand, the necessity for young people to seek work away from their homes meant that family ties would be weakened.

In chapter II it will be shown that the acceptance by parents of the fact that social advancement depended largely upon standards of educational attainment resulted in a demand for improved schooling, not only by the bourgeoisie but also by the working classes. At the same time the State recognised the social and political importance of controlling the educational

development of its citizens and engaged in a bitter dispute with the religious authorities over the nation's youth. The rapid growth of the public education system under the Third Republic inevitably deprived parents of certain of their rights concerning the superintendence of their children's training. With the passing of Ferry's laws which made education compulsory for all children aged between six and twelve, the peasant farmers or craftsmen who had preferred to keep their sons at home to work on the farms or in the workshops were now forced to send them to school regularly. Similarly, with the closure of the schools conducted by the teaching congregations the bien pensants members of the bourgeoisie who had entrusted the education of their sons or daughters to the Jesuits or the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart were dispossessed of freedom of educational choice. With the focus of attention on the youth, the end of the nineteenth century would see the emergence of an articulate young generation as a major social and political force. Benefiting from greater educational opportunities than their parents, the youth would become involved in artistic, political and religious controversy, questioning accepted dogma and seeking alternatives to the positivistic materialism of their antecedents.

A further challenge to parental authority came from the increasing mobility of the family. The lack of opportunities for employment of school leavers in

country districts led to a rural migration to the industrial cities. The extent of this exodus can be seen in the fact that in the period 1831-41 the population of Roubaix rose from 8,000 to 34,000 and of St Etienne from 16,000 to 54,000. (1) Correspondingly, throughout the nineteenth century the percentage of rural dwellers was to show a steady decline - from 75.6 in 1846 to 64.1 in 1886 and 57.9 in 1906. (2) According to Cayol, the enforced mobility of working class families was to have a serious effect upon family life. The exodus to metropolitan areas contributed towards the break-up of the close-knit extended family. 'De son côté, la famille ouvrière, souvent écrasée de misère, écartelée par le travail de ses membres, se décompose rapidement.' (3) This trend towards the dispersal of the members of the family would also affect the bourgeois family. With improved public and private transport the elder children were able to find employment away from their homes and assure themselves of financial independence from their families, thus escaping the close parental surveillance in the foyer and the inhibiting age hierarchy of the family circle.

World War I was to render the problem of parental authority more acute. The absence of fathers at the

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(1) See J. Bury, France 1814-1940, p. 51.

(2) See D. Brogan, The Development of Modern France, p. 406.

(3) J. Cayol, 'La Famille française', Le Français dans le monde, no. 37, Dec. 1965, p. 7.

front during the war years caused a disruption in the home environment. Furthermore, the war toll of more than a million and a half Frenchmen meant that in many families mothers were forced to rear their children by themselves. As Cayol has observed: 'La famille souvent mutilée, se trouve privée d'une autonomie nécessaire à son épanouissement.' (1) The immediate post-war years were no more conducive to firm parental control. In reaction against the privations of the war the so-called garçonnes who modelled themselves on the sexually emancipated heroine of Victor Margueritte's novel, La Garçonne, and the gay veuves de guerre gained a certain notoriety for flouting bourgeois conventions of respectability. (2) Similarly, some husbands who had returned from the war were not eager to give up their freedoms and resume their family responsibilities, while on their part the youth after a period of relaxed parental discipline were reluctant to accept a revival of authoritarianism.

The 1914-18 war was also to affect the relations between the nuclear family of father, mother and children and the extended family of aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents. The destruction of 289,000 dwelling units aggravated the already severe housing shortage in the cities. Few apartments had been built during or after the war because of the rent controls which had initially been imposed to protect the families of

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(1) Ibid, p. 7.

(2) See N. Epton, Love and the French, pp. 335-7.

soldiers from profiteers. With the prospect of little return on their investment, landlords had been reluctant to maintain existing apartments or construct new ones. The unavailability of suitable accommodation made it difficult to maintain the custom of sharing the household with members of the extended family - grandparents or unmarried uncles or aunts. As well as leading to the weakening of ties with the extended family, this had the educational disadvantage of removing from the family circle conservative, stabilising forces.

The economic uncertainty in the post-war years led to a further drop in the birthrate with the average number of children in the family falling below two. However, the années creuses can also be seen as part of the trend towards a smaller conjugal unit, with the life of the couple acquiring more importance than the interests of the family as a whole.<sup>(1)</sup> As Simone de Beauvoir has suggested, the limitation of the size of families was evident even in the middle of the eighteenth century.

En 1778 le démographe Moreau écrit:

"Les femmes riches ne sont pas les seules qui regardent la propagation de l'espèce comme une duperie du vieux temps; déjà ces funestes secrets inconnus à tout animal autre que l'homme ont pénétré dans la campagne; on trompe la nature jusque dans les villages."<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) See on this point G. Duplesses-Le Guélinel, Les Mariages en France, pp. 180 ff.

(2) S. de Beauvoir, Le Deuxième Sexe, vol. I, p. 199.

Amongst the bourgeoisie there were fears that large families would hinder the social advancement of the parents and dissipate the family fortunes. 'La famille du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, c'est essentiellement son patrimoine. C'est pour la protection de ce patrimoine que la famille, la large famille de l'Ancien Régime, avec tous ses associés, se restreint jusqu'à devenir celle du Prud'homme d'Henri Monnier, Monsieur, Madame, Mademoiselle...' (1) Sauvy notes that the birthrate varied according to social class. 'En 1897... le nombre d'enfants par ménage était à Paris, trois fois plus élevé dans les quartiers pauvres que dans les quartiers riches. Dans la suite, la baisse de natalité s'est étendue aux classes ouvrières.' (2)

The spread of neo-malthusianism in France in the nineteenth century provided a philosophy for limiting families. Following Thomas Malthus's Essay on the Principle of Population, the proponents of smaller families argued that there should be checks on the population growth to ensure that the supplies of food and resources would remain adequate. Furthermore, the neo-malthusianists claimed that the conjugal bond between husband and wife would be strengthened if they were relieved of heavy family responsibilities. This affectionate relationship of husband and wife had assumed more importance as arranged marriages gave way

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(1) J. Cayol, 'La Famille française', Le Français dans le monde, no. 37, Dec. 1965, p. 7.

(2) A. Sauvy, La Population, p. 88.

to love matches, particularly after property values were depressed in the period of financial instability following World War I. As a result, the population of France remained static between the middle of the nineteenth century and the 1930's, even showing a slight decline between 1911 and 1921 despite the return to France of Alsace-Lorraine after the peace settlement of World War I. However, after World War II the birth-rate rose steeply, reaching its culmination in 1949 with a total of 873,000 live births as compared with an annual average of 620,000 in the immediate post-war years. (1)

To many writers after the First World War the apparent decline of the family was a matter of grave concern: they pointed to the incidence of divorce (one out of twelve marriages ended in divorce in 1938 as against one out of twenty in 1913), the unwillingness of parents to carry out their responsibilities for training their children and their reliance on support from State institutions, the turbulence of youth and their increasing independence from the family controls. Hubbard, for example, in his study of social trends as represented in French literature since 1914, reached the conclusion that: 'French writers since 1914 have clearly reflected the increasing unrest of the family and the decline of its strength.' (2) These views

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(1) See Supplément à "La Documentation française illustrée", pp. 30-1.

(2) L. Hubbard, The Individual and the Group in French Literature since 1914, p. 3.

will also be found in the works of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains.

Nevertheless, other observers are less pessimistic, agreeing with Goode (1) that in the modern industrialised society the current notion that familial education has deteriorated is a myth. Ariès, while accepting that there has been a relaxation of family controls (2), takes the view that in the small conjugal unit the children are the focus of attention of the parents, indeed the raison d'être of the family. The child, then, benefits from greater attention than in the larger, formal structures of the past.

For a long time it was believed that the family constituted the ancient basis of our society, and that, starting in the eighteenth century, the progress of liberal individualism had shaken and weakened it. The history of the family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was supposed to be that of a decadence: the frequency of divorces and the weakening of marital and paternal authority were seen as so many signs of its decline. The study of modern demographic phenomena led me to a completely contrary conclusion. It seemed to me (and qualified observers have come to share my conclusions) that on the contrary the family occupied a tremendous place in our industrial societies, and that it had perhaps never before exercised so much influence over the human condition. (3)

Wylie, (4) writing in 1963, expressed his opinion that education in the family is marked by an inherent conservatism and that middle-class parents in France

(1) See W. Goode, 'Industrialization and Family Change', Industrialization and Society, p. 239.

(2) P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, p. 285.

(3) Ibid, p. 10.

(4) See also Wylie's earlier investigation into familial education in a French rural setting: L. Wylie, Village in the Vaucluse, chapt. III.

continue to view with disapproval the more permissive child-rearing practices in other cultures.

France is notable for the importance attached to the training that children receive in the home and the education they receive in the school. Children are not considered naturally good: they are born the product of nature and it is the obligation of parents to train them (dresser) to be civilisés. Parents feel this obligation strongly, and one of the traditional reasons given by French couples for not having more children is that if there are too many they cannot be properly trained. (1)

Three other recent studies would appear to suggest that certain of the traditional characteristics of middle-class education remain relatively undiminished in vigour: parents strive to keep their children in isolation from the group and subject to adult domination in the family. Nimkoff, in his survey of patterns of family interaction has propounded the view that the French child has tended to remain mother-dominated at an age when in America this dependency is transferred to the peer group. He further claims that the adult-dominated family could lead to cases of extreme individualism as the child is in this situation forced to repress emotions and conceal thoughts. 'The French complex of child nurture is thought to lead to the development of an inner-directed personality.' (2) Similarly, Métraux (3) discovered in her interview material a latent hostility of her subjects towards their mothers for having forced upon them an emotional

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(1) L. Wylie, 'Social Change at Grass Roots', France : Change and Tradition, p. 212.

(2) M. Nimkoff, Comparative Family Systems, p. 70.

(3) See R. Métraux, Themes in French Culture, p. 21.

dependency and for having stifled their initiative in childhood. Finally, Ardagh (1) has suggested that over-dependence upon parent direction is still typical of the child-parent interaction. He has noted that obsessive relationships between children and parents, particularly sons and mothers, have been a constant theme in modern French fiction. Such novels as Marguerite Duras's Des Journées entières dans les arbres and Jacques Borel's L'Adoration depict emotional cripples unable to break away from their families and form satisfying attachments to others. Hence, if in literature writers, as Hubbard has found, reveal a crisis in the familistic system they also provide data to support the conclusion that the child, nevertheless, remains inescapably bound by his emotional ties to the family.

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(1) See J. Ardagh, The New French Revolution - A Social and Economic Survey of France 1945-1967, p. 240.

CHAPTER II:      THE SCHOOL

While the traditional patterns of family life in the bourgeoisie were undergoing a profound transformation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the school system was also sustaining socio-economic pressures for a radical alteration of educational structures. During the nineteenth century education, as opposed to instruction, was a virtual monopoly of the middle classes. The fee-paying lycées instituted by Napoleon for the training of the cadres supérieurs created an almost insuperable barrier for the working classes, denying them access to the culture générale and entry to the professions. Even when, towards the end of the century, it became obvious that changing social and economic conditions necessitated a re-evaluation of the policies of previous governments towards the question of provision of educational opportunities for the masses, the supremacy of the lycée was not placed in doubt. If Ferry's laws of 1881 and 1882 which ushered in an age of free, compulsory, secular, primary education in State schools, appear in retrospect as the first decisive steps to reduce inequalities of opportunity in education, the middle-class republican government of légalistes and professeurs that passed these substantial reforms had no intention of undermining the position of the lycées as bastions of social privilege.

A number of social, economic, political and

religious factors combined to give to the education of the masses this '... élan réfléchi et enthousiaste qui est la marque de cette fin de siècle'(1) leading to what Cros described as '... the first educational explosion ...'.(2) These included an awareness of the necessity to develop cadres moyens to serve as foremen and supervisors in industry, a recognition of the importance of instruction in civic duty and responsibility for all the members of a democratic State, for otherwise, as Renan warned, there would be mediocrity of government - '... une tête sociale sans intelligence ni savoir, sans prestige ni autorité'(3), and a belief that, after the defeat of France in 1871, attributed by many to the success of the German elementary schoolmaster in instilling a feeling of national pride and unity, a State system of education for all must be instituted to promote solidarity and patriotic zeal. Hence, the stress on the deeds of the French military heroes, the resourcefulness of the French people (symbolised by the thrifty, industrious paysans(4)) and the reminder of the humiliating loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the school manuals used up to the time of World War

(1) F. Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement 1789-1964, p. 281.

(2) L. Cros, 'The Demand for General Education in France', World Year Book of Education 1965 - The Education Explosion, p. 261.

(3) E. Renan, 'La Réforme intellectuelle et morale', Oeuvres complètes, vol. I, p. 361.

(4) For a discussion of the part played by the schools in propagating the 'culte du petit paysan' see M. Gervais, C. Servolin and J. Weil, Une France sans paysans, p. 45.

I, such as Bouilliot's Le Français par les textes. In addition there was the important question of the social divisiveness of the Church's control over a large section of the school population, for the State monopoly of education which Napoleon had ensured under the law of 10 May 1806, when he vested in the Université impériale the control of education, had gradually become eroded in the following seventy years, particularly by the loi Guizot (1833) and the loi Falloux (1850). Between 1850 and 1866 the percentage of boys educated in Church primary schools rose from 15.7 to 20.9 and that of girls from 44.6 to 55.4.<sup>(1)</sup> In addition the secondary schools conducted by the teaching congregations such as the Jesuits<sup>(2)</sup> and the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart<sup>(3)</sup> were highly regarded amongst parents of the upper classes. This is revealed by the fact that in 1877 there were 27 Jesuit secondary schools with a total roll of more than 10,000 pupils.<sup>(4)</sup> In the cause of national unity the State claimed the right to supervise the education of all its citizens, to free the schools under its direct control from sectarian influence (the loi

- (1) See P. Spencer, Politics of Belief in 19th Century France, p. 166.
- (2) See Arnold's admiration for the high teaching standards of the Jesuits, particularly at the college at Vaugirard. M. Arnold, Schools and Universities on the Continent, p. 110.
- (3) See M. O'Leary's thesis on the educational work in France of this Society. Education with a Tradition - An Account of the Educational Work of the Society of the Sacred Heart.
- (4) See E. Acomb, The French Laic Laws, p. 17.

Falloux had granted supervisory powers to the local clergy over religious instruction in the écoles communales), and to impose strict limits on the activities of the écoles libres. The State in its attack on the Church schools in the two anti-clerical campaigns, the first of Ferry and the second of Combes, would call on the support of the lay teachers, especially the instituteurs, who with their radical sympathies had long been frustrated by Church interference in education.

To meet these social, economic, political and religious imperatives the government of Jules Ferry passed laws abolishing fees in the écoles primaires (16 June 1881) and making primary education secular and compulsory (28 March 1882) for all children between the age of six and thirteen (or twelve if by then they had obtained the certificat d'études). But although the State budget for education rose over twenty-five times from 1870 to 1914 to match the expansion of primary education, it was still obvious that educational inequalities were not ended. The transition from élitisme to egalitarianism could not be achieved overnight in a country where the bourgeoisie were reluctant to abandon their cultural privileges. While the écoles primaires and the lycées remained class-oriented there could be little opportunity for the sons and daughters of the peuple to gain more than the rudiments of instruction.

The function of the elementary school as the

planners of the Third Republic visualised it, was to be strictly utilitarian, giving the pupils '... a fund of practical knowledge which will serve them in vocation'.<sup>(1)</sup> In short, the schools would equip the écoliers for their inferior positions as manual workers with a '... bagage de "sciences usuelles"...' <sup>(2)</sup> and an indoctrination in moral and civic duties which would prepare them for subservience to the classe dirigeante - the bourgeoisie. Such at least is the paternalistic interpretation which Pernoud<sup>(3)</sup> places upon the teaching in the elementary schools at the turn of the century. The double-track system which evolved, in which primary education and secondary education were conceived as two separate entities, continued the pattern of education which had been in existence since the grand siècle, with the middle classes reserving for themselves an education of quality which would enrich the mind and spirit.

While economic and social barriers effectively deterred the children of the lower classes from entry to the secondary schools, the administrative hurdles raised made transition from the école primaire to the lycée difficult even for the able pupil by differentiat-

- (1) 'Instruction, 20 juin 1923, relative au nouveau plan d'études des écoles élémentaires', quoted in I. Kandel, Studies in Comparative Education, p. 407.
- (2) H. Canac, 'L'Enseignement public du premier degré en France', Le Français dans le monde, no. 19, Sept. 1963, p. 3.
- (3) See R. Pernoud, Histoire de la bourgeoisie en France, vol. II, pp. 599-600.

ing the teaching in the petits lycées - the classes élémentaires attached to the lycées - from that in the écoles primaires. If in general outline the programmes of the petits lycées were similar to those of the écoles primaires, the character of the instruction was more formal and abstract allowing for easier transition to the lycées proper. In addition the curriculum of the petits lycées included, until 1917, the introduction of a modern language in the final years. The lack of co-ordination between the two systems, primary and secondary, meant that the primary pupil who had excelled in his studies for the certificat d'études primaires would find himself faced with the necessity of recommencing his studies in sixième with younger lycéens, in order to gain the foundation in the classics and modern languages. With such restrictions on movement from one system to the other, the prestigious position of the secondary schools catering for a social and intellectual aristocracy remained unchallenged. As Canac comments: 'Il reste qu'au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, 95 enfants sur 100 ne connaissent d'autre horizon scolaire que celui de l'école primaire de leur village.'<sup>(1)</sup>

While, apart from the exceptional boursier, the working-class children entering the école primaire would be restricted to an elementary education with a

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(1) H. Canac, 'L'Enseignement public du premier degré en France', Le Français dans le monde, no. 19, Sept. 1963, p. 3.

practical, functional bias, the sons of families belonging to the commercial and professional classes gained access in the lycées and collèges to the culture générale with the traditional emphasis on the training of the intellect through the agency of the classics and mathematics. Moreover, the formal, academic training in the lycées which Napoleon had instituted in 1802 but which preserved the pedagogical emphases of the schools of grammar and rhetoric which had formed the honnête homme of the ancien régime, provided the only avenue to higher education and to professional training. Both secondary and tertiary education were closely linked in Napoleon's plan for the Université impériale. They would together constitute the matrix by which the child of the bourgeoisie would be moulded for the service of the community and the State, with a broad cultural background in the secondary schools acting as the basis for later specialisation in the faculties or the grandes écoles. A policy of educational malthusianism was deliberately pursued. From the lycées which were socially selective the sujets d'élite would be drawn by competitive examination (the baccalauréat or the various concours d'entrée) to the faculties of arts, science, law or medicine or to the grandes écoles - the special schools of higher education which had been organised to fill the higher echelons of government service, including the Ecole normale supérieure and the Ecole polytechnique (both founded in 1794).

The educational prejudices of the bourgeoisie

extended to their own number. Whereas educational provision for the sons of the middle-class citizens in the nineteenth century was regarded as a matter of paramount importance, secondary education of the daughters was considered of less value. In this respect attitudes to the instruction of girls were bound up with the bourgeois conception of the inferior status of women as enshrined in the Code civil. Public opinion in the nineteenth century opposed advanced schooling for girls on the grounds that this would be unnecessary for their future roles as wives and mothers. For girls the primary objective in education should be character training and the development of social graces and accomplishments. For this reason convent schools were favoured by the bourgeoisie. As Dupeux says: 'Le mari, souvent détaché lui-même de la religion, considère que celle-ci doit faire partie de l'éducation féminine car c'est un sûr garanti de moralité, et de stabilité de foyer.'<sup>(1)</sup> Such attitudes caused Michelet to fulminate in 1845: 'By whom are our wives and daughters educated? By our enemies, we repeat; by the enemies of the Revolution and the future'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Yet changing social patterns were to bring an increasing demand for the education of girls. This need was first recognised by the loi Falloux (1850)

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(1) G. Dupeux, La Société française 1789-1960, pp. 139-40.

(2) J. Michelet, Priests, Women and Families, p. 60.

which required communes with a population of more than 800 to open an elementary school for girls. The educational laws of the Third Republic which made primary education compulsory for girls as well as boys reduced dramatically the illiteracy rate for women. 'Alors qu'en 1881, on comptait 23% de femmes illettrées lors de leur mariage (contre 15% d'hommes) le pourcentage passe en 1900 à 6 pour tomber à 0,9 en 1927.'<sup>(1)</sup> Up until 1880 the secondary education of girls had in the main been the responsibility of the Church. Fears that this monopoly might be broken had brought opposition from the religious authorities to Duruy's modest proposals in 1867 to institute part-time cours secondaires for girls. A similar reaction greeted the loi Camille Sée in 1880 which established externats de jeunes filles. These lycées and collèges increased rapidly - from 23 in 1883 to 71 in 1901<sup>(2)</sup> - and if at first the courses offered were less academic in character than in the lycées de garçons, gradually the classical elements of the traditional curriculum for the boys were introduced in the girls' schools. In 1924 Bérard gave official sanction to this by making the courses of the lycées de jeunes filles and the lycées de garçons identical as a common preparation for the baccalauréat.

The social cleavage which affected the schools

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(1) A. Michel and G. Texier, La Condition de la Française d'aujourd'hui, vol. II, p. 136.

(2) See A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, p. 263.

also had a bearing on the status of teachers and the attitudes of teachers to their vocation. It is interesting to compare the roles of the primary school teacher - the instituteur or maître d'école<sup>(1)</sup> - and the secondary school teacher - the professeur - and to examine to what extent their standing in the community was influenced by the class-linked educational system.

The position of the instituteur was ambiguous. Although he tended to be recruited from the lower classes (Ozouf<sup>(2)</sup> has shown that up to 1904 at the Ecole normale de Saint-Lô, the largest group of new entrants were of peasant origin and that after this period the teacher trainees tended to come from the working classes), his education and his social advancement to the petite bourgeoisie of minor salaried officials isolated him from the milieu in which he worked. This is shown clearly in Denux's Le Magister.

A cette solitude (géographique), j'ajoute un isolement spirituel que seul peut connaître l'instituteur ou le curé de campagne... Bergue souffrait du manque de conversations, de conférences, de concerts, d'expositions, de théâtre, de cours, toutes choses par quoi l'homme un peu cultivé aime à entretenir, à renouveler l'enthousiasme de son esprit...<sup>(3)</sup>

Yet, although with the reorganisation of primary education in the early years of the Third Republic the

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(1) See the study by M. Arrivé of the usage of these terms in the nineteenth century. 'Maître, instituteur, professeur', Le Français dans le monde, no. 44, Oct. 1966, pp. 37-9.

(2) See A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, p. 380.

(3) Quoted in M. Reboullet, 'Permanence de l'instituteur français', Le Français dans le monde, no. 19, Sept. 1963, p. 34.

instituteur had become a symbol of republican virtues in the onslaught against the Church schools, the prejudices of the bourgeoisie remained deeply ingrained and brought for the primary teacher small financial reward or social recognition outside the village community. Ponteil has described the miserable existence of the instituteur in the nineteenth century. With a salary less than that of many manual workers he was forced to supplement his income in various ways. 'L'instituteur se livre à des occupations complémentaires: ferme, commerce, tabac, mercerie, auberge, cabaret, charcuterie.'<sup>(1)</sup> Such financial difficulties beset the instituteur even in the early twentieth century. Alègre in his study of the primary teacher in Europe quotes a letter of Louis Pergaud who entered the Ecole normale de Besançon in 1902:

Je serai nommé instituteur-adjoint en sortant, et, pendant quelques mois, je toucherai exactement 53 francs 15 centimes, de quoi crever de faim. Voilà notre situation et l'on ne cesse de nous parler de nos futurs devoirs d'éducateurs.<sup>(2)</sup>

However, in spite of their marginal social position, their penury and the professional problems associated with the teaching of the children of farm workers and labourers who were now obliged by Ferry's laws to remain at school till the age of thirteen (the primary teacher was, as Thierry declared: 'L'homme en proie

- (1) F. Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement 1789-1964, p. 204.  
 (2) See J. Alègre, 'Les Instituteurs', Europe, no. 421-2, May-June 1964, p. 26.

aux enfants')<sup>(1)</sup>, the instituteurs remained, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, the faithful servants of the Third Republic - 'les hussards noirs de la République' as Péguy described them. Reboullet<sup>(2)</sup> in his brief study of the image of the teacher of the Third Republic in literature notes that if from Lavergne's Jean Coste (1900) to Denux's Le Magister (1948) or Gamarra's Le Maître d'école (1956) the instituteur is associated with poverty and servitude, he is also paid tribute for his honesty, dedication and missionary zeal in spreading the republican ideal. However, as Prost<sup>(3)</sup> points out, the instituteur in the early years of the twentieth century began to doubt his role. The ardent patriotism turned to internationalism and pacifism. The sense of mission of the instituteurs weakened as they questioned their social function - a suspicion which Frapié voiced in La Maternelle in 1904: 'Je me demande si l'école n'a pas pour principal objet de rendre convenable, polie, résignée, la misère physique et morale.'<sup>(4)</sup> It was in this period immediately before World War I that many instituteurs changed their ideology from a fierce patriotism and radicalism to international socialism. The post-war disillusionment (22.6% of the instituteurs

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(1) See R. Petitjean, 'Albert Thierry', Europe, no. 6, June 1946, p. 66.

(2) See M. Reboullet, 'Permanence de l'instituteur français', Le Français dans le monde, no. 19, Sept. 1963, pp. 33-8.

(3) A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, pp. 289-90.

(4) L. Frapié, La Maternelle, p. 161.

enlisted were killed in 1914-18)<sup>(1)</sup> encouraged the break-down of the morale of the instituteurs. Duveau sees the primary teachers after the war as 'les aristocrates ruinés'<sup>(2)</sup> whose utopian vision of a better society created through the diffusion of knowledge had crumbled. With the increases in salaries since 1919 the teacher has, according to Duveau, become less associated with the hopes and aspirations of the working classes, and the old image of the instituteur has lost its sharpness.

L'image de l'instituteur s'est diluée. Le vieil instituteur jacobin ou socialiste de nos campagnes avait force de symbole: qu'on l'attaquât ou qu'on le défendît, on le connaissait, on pouvait mesurer sa puissance. On connaissait ses manies, ses dadass, ses fiertés, ses enthousiasmes. L'instituteur contemporain est plus estompé: autour de lui aucun grand mythe social ne se coagule plus.<sup>(3)</sup>

If the social position of the instituteur in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was surrounded by ambiguity the same was also true of the professeur. Like the primary teacher, the secondary teacher tended to be an arriviste. The recent study of Vincent<sup>(4)</sup> of 1152 secondary teachers who were teaching between 1900 and 1914 showed that almost a quarter were from a working-class background with the rural workers and the instituteurs providing more secondary

(1) See G. Duveau, Les Instituteurs, p. 155.

(2) Ibid, p. 155.

(3) Ibid, p. 164.

(4) See G. Vincent, 'Les Professeurs du second degré au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, essai sur la mobilité sociale et la mobilité géographique', Le Mouvement social, April-June 1966, pp. 47-73.

teachers than any other group. Thus, as with the attraction of the position of the primary teacher amongst the lower classes the status of the professeur de lycée was seen, particularly by socially ambitious parents of the petite bourgeoisie, as the means of advancement of their children to the moyenne bourgeoisie. Similarly, Thibaudet has drawn attention to the fact that the professeurs tended to be boursiers rather than héritiers and gained access to the middle-class culture by ability rather than birth. He noted that: 'Huit ou neuf sur dix des élèves de l'Ecole normale supérieure ont fait leurs études avec des bourses de l'Etat...' (1) Offering salaries equivalent to those in the magistrature or those for army officers, the lycées (the State controlled secondary schools) and the collèges (the secondary schools maintained by the local authorities) attracted more highly qualified teachers in the Third Republic than during the Empire. Each year seven to eight hundred candidates presented themselves for the agrégation seeking the hundred positions dependent upon success in this examination. Yet, as Prost has made clear, if for the professeurs there was respect for the culture they dispensed and for the seal of approval of the University which they bore in their diplomas and degrees, their status in society remained that of '... bourgeois-stagiaires ...' (2) as

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(1) A. Thibaudet, La République des professeurs, p. 121.  
 (2) A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967, p. 365.

they lacked the social background, the wealth or the family connections of the section of the bourgeoisie with which they mixed. Prost further notes that the image of the professeur de lycée in literature from Bourget's L'Étape (1902) to Pagnol's Topaze (1928) has reflected a low public opinion of the teacher's profession. 'L'opinion courante, que reflète la littérature ... fait du professeur un être médiocre, mal adapté, besogneux; elle retient du lycée les souvenirs les plus dérisoires: le rabâchage, les chahuts.'<sup>(1)</sup> Perhaps this explains why the professeurs who by their intelligence have raised themselves up from inferior social positions have tended to direct their children towards professions of higher prestige. This was clearly shown in the research of Gerbod.<sup>(2)</sup> For the distinguished normalien as an alternative to teaching there was the attraction of literature or politics. Indeed, it seemed to Thibaudet, looking back from the 1924 elections, that this had been the 'République des professeurs'.<sup>(3)</sup> In addition there was the possibility of escape to the faculties. If the faculties of arts and science, unlike the faculties of law and medicine which had developed a distinctive teaching, held a reputation in the nineteenth century for somnolence and dry erudition with the professeurs de faculté serving

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(1) Ibid, p. 365.

(2) See P. Gerbod, La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIXe siècle, p. 40.

(3) See A. Thibaudet, La République des professeurs, p. 106.

as '... machines à examens ...' (1) and in the absence of a real student body confining their "teaching" to occasional public lectures, a reorganisation of the faculties after 1877 and a reawakening of the spirit of scholarship under the influence of such outstanding teachers and administrators as Louis Liard and Ernest Lavisse increased the prestige of the enseignement supérieur. (2) As Gerbod comments on the temptation of a university career: 'Considéré longtemps comme un pis-aller, une carrière médiocre, il apparaît, à la veille de 1914, comme l'une des clefs majeures de l'évasion universitaire.' (3)

Nevertheless, one might say that for the professeur the period up to 1930 was one of stability and comparative calm. It is since that date that the difficulties of the professeur have multiplied as the social transformations which followed World War I have affected first the secondary schools and then the faculties. While the cultural prestige of the professeur has diminished with the competition of other educational agencies and new media, the widening of entry to the lycées has brought larger classes and the pedagogical problems of adapting a traditional secondary education for a few to the needs of the many.

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(1) P. Gerbod, La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIXe siècle, p. 244.

(2) See P. Thibault, '800 ans de réformes universitaires', Nouvelles Littéraires, 14 Nov. 1968, p. 11.

(3) P. Gerbod, La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIXe siècle, p. 245.

Similarly, the rise of youth and the demand for increased freedom and fewer restraints which has been noted in the family have affected the climate of authority in the classroom and the school. This has produced a malaise amongst the professeurs de lycée, particularly since World War II, and more recently the professeurs de faculté, when the demographic wave reached the faculties in the sixties and forced a radical alteration of the old structures.<sup>(1)</sup>

Within the middle-class schools themselves changes were occurring during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although these were slow compared with the transformations to take place after 1945. The conservatism of these institutions resisted challenges to the traditional curriculum and patterns of instruction as it had the attempts towards the democratisation of education. The organisation of studies was supported by its long history of forming middle-class citizens, for the antecedents of the lycées instituted by Napoleon were the schools of the teaching congregations under the ancien régime. 'The syllabus, discipline and method of his [Napoleon's] lycées were modelled on those of the Jesuit and other colleges.'<sup>(2)</sup>

The lycées reflected the priority which the bourgeoisie placed on reason and precision of thought

(1) See G. Marin, 'Les Nouveaux Étudiants', Education Nationale, no. 836, 19 Oct. 1967, pp. 20-2.

(2) W. Fraser, Education and Society in Modern France, p. 65.

- the preference which Montaigne expressed for the tête bien faite rather than the tête bien pleine. The aim has been to produce an esprit cultivé through the study of the culture générale, with the emphasis upon the mental training afforded by the acquisition of the cultural heritage more than the mere broadening of knowledge. As Quignard has remarked:

... Il ne s'agit pas tant de connaissances que de disciplines, au sens étymologique du terme, pas tant d'instruction que de formation, pas tant de mémoire que de réflexion ... Dans l'enseignement secondaire les connaissances ne sont pas des buts, mais des moyens. (1)

From the seventeenth century to the twentieth the essentially cerebral nature of the instruction in the middle-class schools has undergone little modification, as Métraux attests: 'The primary aim of French educators is to develop l'esprit and l'indépendance et l'esprit critique'. (2)

The basis of instruction has been the propagation of the culture générale - a style of education which Kandel has described as 'education for national solidarity', (3) with the pupils provided with a broad background of études désintéressées at the secondary level. The importance of keeping the curriculum of the lycée broad and liberal was firmly stated in the Instructions to teachers in 1931: 'It is not the function of secondary education to prepare pupils who have

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- (1) J. Quignard, 'L'Enseignement secondaire en France', Le Français dans le monde, no. 21, Dec. 1963, p. 12.  
 (2) R. Métraux, Themes in French Culture, p. 33.  
 (3) I. Kandel, Types of Administration, p. 24.

a definite profession in mind... It does something more and better; its task is, without preparing for anything specific, to make the pupils apt for everything.'<sup>(1)</sup> Such views have also affected tertiary education, with the tendency of the faculties to eschew professional tasks and the predilection for the generalist rather than the specialist.

The classical humanities have dominated the secondary curriculum. Since the scholars' colleges of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the classics have been the principal means of developing the capacity for reasoning and exercising judgement. With this stress on Latin and Greek there has been the tendency for the teaching to be based on the study of literature. The middle-class cult of belles - lettres has resulted in the privileged place accorded the lettré and in the importance placed on verbal abstraction in the schools. In addition, the formal teaching of philosophy has provided the schools with a vehicle par excellence for developing general reflection and critical thought. The prestige of the formal, academic curriculum has remained a cultural obstacle to any revision of the curriculum up to the present.<sup>(2)</sup> Middle-class conservatism is revealed in the enquête into educational reforms published in the special issue of Esprit in June 1954. From the teachers questioned came a

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(1) Quoted in I. Kandel, Studies in Comparative Education, p. 684.

(2) See W. Fraser, Education and Society in Modern France, chapt. V.

spirited defence of traditional procedures and a protest against moves to democratise the secondary school and to modify the curriculum. On the subject of the humanities one licencié es lettres replied: 'Il s'agit ... de considérer l'enseignement du latin comme un moyen très sûr de bonne éducation moderne et de répandre son étude dans toutes les classes de société. Le latin est une conquête sociale à entreprendre.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Although the disinterested nature of the secondary school programmes was opposed to early specialisation or to narrowly vocational subjects as such training was deemed inappropriate for the development of the universal man, during the nineteenth century the newly awakened interest in science forced schools to make more determined efforts to teach physics, chemistry and the natural sciences. The enseignement classique widened and bifurcated in 1852 into lettres and sciences. In addition an enseignement spécial - a modern option - developed, and received recognition with the arrêté of 31 May 1902 which abolished Latin and Greek as compulsory subjects for the baccalauréat.

In the tertiary institutions the courses for science and medicine were updated. After the enquête ordered by Duruy in 1868 had revealed the inadequate research facilities in the science faculties, the laboratories were progressively re-equipped, the teaching of science at the advanced level was expanded and

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(1) See 'Réforme de l'enseignement', Esprit, no. 215, June 1954, p. 834.

with the decrees of 28 July 1886 and 22 January 1896, greater specialisation was included in the studies for the licence ès sciences. Similarly, in medicine the necessity for preliminary scientific studies was recognised. In 1878 an extra year of studies was instituted in which the medical student would undertake practical work in physics, chemistry and the natural sciences, and in 1893 this training was transferred to the science faculties with the requirement that students gain a certificat de sciences physiques, chimiques et naturelles (P.C.N.) before entry to the Ecole de Médecine.

However, possibly more important than the developments in scientific studies was the general influence of science on the spirit and the methods of the schools. The nineteenth century cult of science as embodied in the writings of Comte, Taine and Renan pervaded the approach to teaching. The veneration for scientific method and scientific theories such as determinism, transformism and Darwinism, as well as the enthusiasm for the scientific philosophy of positivism, brought a concern for precise documentation, close analysis and the testing of hypotheses by experiment, with a concentration on the material and the readily observable and measurable. The students educated in the State schools or the faculties at the end of the nineteenth century would be formed in an atmosphere of scientific rationalism, imbued with faith in the progress of science and convinced of the ability of the savant to

improve the condition of man. Science was opposed to religion; reason to faith. The intellectual climate of the lay schools was one of free enquiry with the esprit scientifique raised to the status of a creed.

The widening of the academic curriculum during the nineteenth century, with the sciences, modern languages, history and geography accorded a more prominent place in the programmes, resulted in an overloaded curriculum. This was to become a matter of increasing concern for educators. Despite periodic revisions of the programmes from the turn of the century on, pupils in 1931 still spent between twenty-one and twenty-five hours each week on academic subjects. The weekly time-table for a student in the classe de philosophie included: philosophy ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  hours), history ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours), geography (1 hour), literary studies (2 hours), mathematics ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours), physics and chemistry (4 hours) and natural sciences (2 hours). The encyclopaedic range of subjects in the secondary curriculum has drawn Quignard's comment: 'Si l'on fait la liste des connaissances qui figurent au programme d'un jeune Français de quinze ans on ne peut s'empêcher de penser à l'enthousiasme des hommes de la Renaissance pour toutes sortes de savoir.'<sup>(1)</sup> At the Congress of Le Havre in May 1936, which had been called to investigate problems in secondary education, the question of the excessive work load for the pupils (surmenage) was raised. It was claimed that lycéens

(1) J. Quignard, 'L'Enseignement secondaire en France', Le Français dans le monde, no. 21, Dec. 1963, p. 12.

were having to work at their studies twelve to fifteen hours each day.<sup>(1)</sup> The Congress was urged to prune the curriculum and modify the time-schedules as the overloaded curriculum was endangering the principles on which French education was based. It was argued that the lycéen or collégien was left little time for reflection, and instead of developing his critical powers and internalising the values of the cultural heritage to which he was exposed, he was being forced to concentrate on assimilating the factual knowledge which was easily examinable. Despite further reforms in the programmes the question of surmenage would remain a constant theme in French educational writing.

A further criticism of the curriculum of the schools made at the Congress of Le Havre concerned the lack of balance to the academic subjects. The claim was advanced that undue emphasis was placed on intellectual training and that there was a tendency to neglect the physical, social, aesthetic and emotional development of the child. Certainly, compared with the time allotment for philosophie in the classes terminales (8½ hours) the official time-schedule for the lycées in 1931 allowed a meagre half-hour for art appreciation in troisième, seconde and première. Similarly, apart from recreation periods and the ritual promenades for the internes, little provision was made for physical training in the secondary school.

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(1) See D. Miles, Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education, p. 31.

The concern voiced by the participants in the Congress of Le Havre at the academic bias of the curriculum may be compared with the opinions expressed by writers in the nineteenth century that the French system of education failed to provide for the all-round development of the pupil. For example, Arnold in 1865 suggested that the education of the lycées was seriously deficient in character training and affected overall development: 'It is hard to believe, and I do not believe, that the confinement, the scanty recreation, and the long school-hours of a French schoolboy are without some unfavourable effect on his health and development' (1). Taine at the beginning of the Third Republic came to similar conclusions in comparing the French and the English traditions:

... The French schoolboy, above all the inmates of our colleges, is wearied, embittered, rendered acute, precocious, and too precocious, he is caged up, and his imagination ferments. In all these respects, and in what relates to the formation of character, English education is superior; it better prepares for the world and forms healthier minds. (2)

Similarly, Hope at the turn of the century criticised the excessively cerebral nature of the teaching:

'... Only when the masters, and especially the headmaster, take a personal as well as professional interest in the welfare of their boys shall we find the education worthy of the admirable enseignement.' (3)

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(1) M. Arnold, Schools and Universities on the Continent, p. 92.

(2) H. Taine, Notes on England, p. 126.

(3) A. Hope, 'France', Comparative Education, p. 305.

Such comments may be placed alongside the replies to the Esprit questionnaire in 1954 which make it clear that the criticisms are still valid a half-century later. As one of the more progressive teachers (A.-M. Goguel) points out:

Pour abstraites et générales qu'elles soient, la lecture des Instructions officielles qui accompagnent les "programmes" de notre enseignement secondaire ne manque d'intérêt. On y lit à toutes pages que notre objectif principal doit être "la formation du jugement et de l'esprit critique". De la formation du corps et du caractère, de la préparation à l'exercice d'un métier et des droits et devoirs d'un citoyen, pas un mot. Ces "esprits" désincarnés que nous aurons formés - ou déformés - seront bien prêts à continuer de vivre tout doucement à l'intérieur des formes économiques et sociales vieilles que leur légueront leurs parents.(1)

It has been apparent from this brief examination of the curriculum that education in France has been based firmly on adult needs, not on the needs of the child. Of overriding importance to the educators who had drawn up the schedules was not the life of the child in the school but the end-product - the member of the caste dirigeante who would rule his life by reason not passion and who would preserve the heritage of past values. Thus, the future engineer, the lawyer and the doctor as well as the savant or the lettre would be moulded by the common academic diet in the lycées and initiated into the ways of thinking and the social attitudes and values of the bourgeoisie - a process which has been described as embourgeoisement.

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(1) 'Réforme de l'enseignement', Esprit, no. 215, June 1954, p. 823.

This attitude towards the child as a receptacle to be filled with the adult culture rather than as one to be assisted towards the development of individuality has pervaded the methods and procedures of the schools as well as the curriculum.

Quignard suggests that the system of selecting highly qualified specialist teachers in each of the disciplines has not only tended to produce a compartmentalisation of knowledge - a morcellement of culture - but also it has brought the methods of higher education into the secondary schools: '...L'enseignement secondaire est devenu l'enseignement supérieur; mais le plus disparate - n'oublions pas les dix professeurs différents et, pour l'enfant, le plus déroutant des enseignements supérieurs.'<sup>(1)</sup> Prost<sup>(2)</sup> claims that between 1800 and 1902 a new pedagogy had coincided with the changes in recruitment of the professeurs, as from the end of the century the majority of secondary teachers would pass through the faculties. To the schools they brought the pedagogical practices of the enseignement supérieur - the dissertation, the cours magistral, the thème rather than the version. The methods of teaching in the secondary schools became those of the faculties.

The verbal methods of instruction in French schools centred on the lecture ex cathedra were noted

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- (1) J. Quignard, 'L'Enseignement secondaire en France', Le Français dans le monde, no. 21, Dec. 1963, p. 14.  
 (2) A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, p. 354.

by Hope at the turn of the century. He commented on the passivity of instruction with the excessive note-taking by the pupils.

The method of instruction is always collective or simultaneous, not individual: the children are expected to absorb completely the rather narrow diet assigned to them. They take far too many notes of peptonised information down from dictation and commit them to memory.(1)

After a tour through France inspecting schools immediately after World War I the educationalist, Washburne, returned to America convinced that the New Education movement would make little headway against the deeply entrenched formal methods of instruction in primary as well as secondary schools. He found that teachers in training at the écoles normales were not advised by their tutors to encourage pupil participation in their lessons. As one instructor told him:

At one time, a few years ago, we encouraged the teachers to allow children some freedom, but we found that the children became regular little chatterboxes. They thought that they had a right to discuss any subject; so we are now going back to the older and stricter methods.(2)

Yet despite the conservatism in the schools, the experimental work of Dewey, Decroly and Montessori as well as the psychological studies of the child by Binet and Piaget brought a pedagogical revolution first in the écoles maternelles and then in the écoles primaires in the period between the wars. One notes that since World War II the movement has reached the secondary

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(1) A. Hope, 'France', Comparative Education, p. 322.  
 (2) C. Washburne, New Schools in the Old World, pp. 90-1.

schools with the experimental classes nouvelles not only bringing greater co-ordination between the subject areas but also introducing active methods and group activity.

If the middle-class schools have generally resisted new methods and attempted to preserve a formality of instruction in a teacher-directed classroom, they have also striven to maintain their authoritarian character. Gerbod in his study of life in the French schools of the nineteenth century dispels many of the nostalgic legends surrounding le bon vieux temps. He has provided factual evidence of the monastic austerity and the repressive discipline of the bagnes de l'enfance and the lycées-prisons of the time, and in particular of the harsh regime to which the internes were subject. ~~Provided~~ <sup>Provided</sup> by the harsh authoritarianism the pupils at a number of lycées had broken out in open revolt, as at Louis-le-Grand in 1883, which resulted in the expulsion of 93 internes and the exclusion of 12 pupils from all the lycées of France, while on a lesser scale organised chahuts in class or in study rooms were common. (1) If corporal punishment was forbidden, the pensum (supplementary exercises), suspension and expulsion were vigorously applied to recalcitrants. English observers of the time also commented on the strictness of the discipline. Hope, for instance, recorded his opinion that '... the French school still

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(1) See P. Gerbod, La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIXe siècle, pp. 99-106.

retains too many traces of its medieval and imperial spirit to be an inspiring atmosphere for the young'.<sup>(1)</sup> Of particular concern to Hope was the reluctance to allow the pupils responsibility for managing their own activities. While intellectual inquiry was encouraged and the pupils were expected to demonstrate their maturity of thought in the dissertations or the explications de texte, it was considered that they were incapable of self-control outside the classroom. In addition, Hope criticised the répétitorat system which the rigorous control of pupils required, as in his opinion the delegation of responsibility for extra-curricular activities to non-teaching assistants - surveillants or répétiteurs - inhibited the growth of understanding between teacher and pupil.<sup>(2)</sup> Arnold, too, had noted the restraints placed upon pupils in the French schools but had attributed this to the policy of placing boarding schools in the middle of cities '... where space for exercise and freedom of range must be limited, and the boys therefore must be kept more at work to save them from the mischief of being penned up together in idleness with few or no resources of amusement.'<sup>(3)</sup> However, some recent writers have suggested that the reluctance to allow children the opportunity to test self-initiative in schools goes deeper than this and reflects the traditional middle-

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(1) A. Hope, 'France', Comparative Education, p. 295.

(2) Ibid, pp. 296-7.

(3) M. Arnold, Schools and Universities on the Continent, p. 92.

class attitudes that '... all children are barbarians who must be tamed and moulded ruthlessly to adult standards'.<sup>(1)</sup> If since the middle of the nineteenth century the repressive methods of discipline have gradually relaxed and the boarding schools associated with this harsh regime have lost favour (Ariès)<sup>(2)</sup> points out that in 1908 69% of lycéens were day-boys as against 10.5% in 1837-38), it is still true that only comparatively recently have pupils been encouraged to accept responsibility in school activities.<sup>(3)(4)</sup> While such attitudes have been more characteristic of the secondary schools than<sup>of</sup> the universities which have a long tradition of intellectual freedom, the enquête in Esprit suggests that autocratic controls remain in force in the grandes écoles. There is criticism from the students that '... la pédagogie renforce la tendance à la dépersonnalisation : peu d'initiatives, travail considérable, cours obligatoires, discipline stricte...'.<sup>(5)</sup>

This brief examination of the characteristics of the process of education in the middle-class schools has attempted to identify the traditional emphases of

- (1) J. Pitts, 'Continuity and Change in Bourgeois France', France : Change and Tradition, p. 245.
- (2) See P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, pp. 282-3.
- (3) See J. Ardagh, The New French Revolution - A Social and Economic Survey of France 1945-1967, pp. 319-22.
- (4) For a glimpse of the reaction of the professeurs to the new student participation in the lycées - particularly after the student disturbances of May 1968 - see 'La Révolte des profs', Paris Match, no. 1103, 27 June 1970, pp. 3-10 and 'Le Lycée malade', L'Express, no. 1029, 29 March-4 April 1971, pp. 32-5.
- (5) See 'Réforme de l'enseignement', Esprit, no. 215, June 1964, p. 826.

the teaching. 1930 marks a turning point in modern French education. To this date the élitiste character of the middle-class school system triumphantly resisted the pressures for wider educational opportunities which had been building up since the nineteenth century. Since 1930 the changes have multiplied as the spirit of egalitarianism has sought to make the middle-class culture accessible to all, thus necessitating a radical restructuring of the system. The law of 16 April 1930 which made secondary education free, and the moves towards the concept of an école unique with a more effective link between the primary and secondary cycles, that were initiated by Jean Zay in 1937, continued by the report of the Langevin-Wallon commission in 1947 and finally embodied in the reforms of the Fifth Republic, have widened the entry to the secondary schools and brought a re-evaluation of the old pedagogical canons. For the conservatives, amongst whom may be numbered Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland, there have been fears that the pupil explosion will lead to a lowering of academic standards and result in a debasement of the culture of the middle classes. The strength of the opposition to new developments by those whose experience had been of the lycées of the turn of the century will be gauged by the examination of the attitudes to formal education of the three writers in the next section.

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PART II:                    THE VIEWS OF DUHAMEL, MARTIN DU GARD  
AND ROMAINS ON THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS.

CHAPTER I:                GEORGES DUHAMEL (1884-1966)

1. The Family (a) Autobiographical details.  
                   (b) General views on the educative process.
2. The School (a) Autobiographical details.  
                   (b) General views on the educative process.

THE FAMILY:

The comments which Duhamel has offered on the subject of familial education fall into two broad areas. There are, firstly, the references to his own upbringing, particularly those which he has recorded in the Lumières sur ma vie series (1944-1953). These constitute an invaluable source of information on the effect on the writer of the home environment in a family of the Parisian petite bourgeoisie. Secondly, there are the general views which Duhamel has expressed in his mémoires, essays, articles and fictional works (excluding Chronique des Pasquier which will be studied in detail in Part III), on the place of the family, its function as an educational agency and the attitudes which parents should take towards the intellectual and moral formation of their children.

The events of Duhamel's childhood and adolescence are described in Inventaire de l'abîme and Biographie de mes fantômes, the first two volumes of Lumières sur ma vie. In these autobiographical notes he attempts

to analyse the interacting factors in his home which have shaped his abilities, interests, attitudes and modes of thinking, although he recognises the difficulty of viewing one's past objectively. He admits, furthermore, that he has serious deficiencies as a memorialist: 'La pensée d'un artiste expérimenté est toujours déformatrice'.<sup>(1)</sup> At the same time he is well aware that an account of one's origins must necessarily be incomplete as there are large areas of childhood experience which remain hidden from the introspective gaze. There exists in each person's consciousness '... un monde enseveli, un abîme'<sup>(2)</sup> in which is lost the fragrance of '... cette enfance merveilleuse'.<sup>(3)</sup> Nevertheless, with its limitations the Lumières sur ma vie sequence does, as the title suggests, shed light on the author's formative influences.

Georges Duhamel, who was born on 30 June 1884, was the seventh of eight children, of whom only four survived: Rose, Louise, Georges and Victor. His parents at the time of his birth were living in Paris in the rue Coypel, but this stay was to be brief. Soon there were to be the unsettling '... migrations familiales...'<sup>(4)</sup> from and to Paris resulting from the abrupt changes of occupation of the restless father,

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 237.

(2) Les Plaisirs et les jeux - Mémoires du Cuib et du Tioup, p. 15.

(3) Ibid, p. 15.

(4) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 190.

Pierre-Emile Duhamel - newspaper correspondent in Le Havre, chicken farmer in the Nièvre, shopkeeper in Paris, before qualifying as a doctor at the age of fifty-one. In all, Georges Duhamel was to experience forty-three such family displacements. This nomadic existence would have a major effect upon his personality and social development. The instability of his family life, which was directly attributable to his father's inability to achieve personal equilibrium and balance, caused him to react against his father's life-style. As he explains in Le Temps de la recherche: '... Ma vie a été une longue réaction contre l'humeur de mon père, ses sursauts, ses lubies...' (1) On the other hand he was drawn towards the moderation and calm of his mother who endeavoured to preserve the moral unity of the foyer despite her husband's irresponsibility. '... Les vertus maternelles m'ont été de grand exemple...' (2) Mauriac sees in Duhamel's disordered home life the genesis of his strong defence of traditional bourgeois values:

Georges Duhamel avait trop souffert dans son enfance et dans sa jeunesse de tout ce que signifie "bohème" pour n'avoir pas eu l'ambition, dès qu'il en eut acquis les moyens, de bâtir une vraie maison, un vrai foyer, de fonder une famille au sens le plus traditionnel. Non seulement il ne partageait pas la haine et le mépris du bourgeois si répandus chez les écrivains et les artistes depuis les temps romantiques, et dont les écrivains les plus bourgeois ne se défendaient pas, mais il savait d'expérience que les vices bourgeois ne sont que l'envers de vertus bourgeoises ... et qu'il n'y a rien de pire au monde que le

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(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 46.

(2) Ibid, p. 47.

désordre et que le tourment d'une vie sans règle et sans frein.(1)

Duhamel's memories of his early childhood are filled with the love and the attentive care of his mother. 'Son esprit est sur nous, voltige autour de nous, comme un génie attentif.'(2) The timid, sickly child was drawn close to his mother and bound to her in emotional dependency - a situation which Pitts (3) has suggested to be characteristic of the mother-child interaction in the French bourgeois family. Furthermore, this warm relationship was to persist through childhood and adolescence and the high regard in which Duhamel has held his mother is evident in the pages of his mémoires. She was the image of the mère servante, the mother dedicated to the maintenance of the security and the welfare of the foyer who has coloured his views of motherhood.

J'ai connu des centaines de mères françaises qui ont mené, qui mènent encore chaque jour cette noble vie d'abnégation et de dévouement ... Que si, dans mille et mille ans, on me demande quel fut le pays dans lequel j'ai vu le jour, je répondrai sans hésiter: "le pays des femmes vertueuses et nobles qui, de l'aube au soir et du mariage à leur dernier souffle, accomplissent, silencieusement, entre les quatre murs de leurs maisons, d'obscurs miracles adorables". (4)

His mother's warm nurturing helped to compensate for his father's example, for in the portrait which he has drawn of his father we see a man temperamentally

(1) F. Mauriac, 'Duhamel parmi nous', Georges Duhamel (1884-1966) - Témoignages, p. 9.

(2) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 33.

(3) See J. Pitts, 'Continuity and Change in Bourgeois France', France: Change and Tradition, p. 249.

(4) Inventaire de l'abîme, pp. 81-2.

unsuited to family responsibilities. Duhamel writes of his father in these terms: 'J'ai vu peu d'hommes moins faits pour porter le lourd fardeau qu'il s'était d'ailleurs librement donné, ce fardeau d'une famille encombrante.' (1) By nature '... allègre et querelleur ...', (2) with a character which was '... difficilement intelligible ...', (3) in turns moody and high-spirited, easily discouraged and yet on occasions capable of stubborn perseverance, Pierre-Emile Duhamel was a strange mixture of the rebel and the social climber. It is certain that to the son the father remained an enigma and that his attempts to understand his father's motives and to unravel his complex nature were unavailing. Moreover, preoccupied with his multifarious plans and personal ambitions, obsessed by the vision of making his fortune and achieving social advancement, M. Duhamel abandoned the management of the home to his wife and entered little into the lives of the children. Yet, it is with a note of wonder that Georges Duhamel sets down the fact that despite the burden that family ties must have meant to this individualist, he declined to take the easier course of deserting his wife and children.

... Quand il m'arrive de penser qu'il a porté ce fardeau, tant mal que bien, jusqu'au terme, en dépit de toutes sortes de faux-pas et de défaillances, je reconnais et je salue l'empire de la loi morale, même sur ceux qui prennent

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(1) Ibid, p. 199.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 199.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 58.

plaisir à en parler frivolement. (1)

It was the mother who supervised the educational development of the four children as the father was lacking the time or the patience to carry out this duty. In Inventaire de l'abîme the inability of the father to understand his son's need for love and attention is clearly shown. An example of the absence of an effective communication between father and son concerns the distress of the four-year-old boy at the rough behaviour of his fellow pupils at the école primaire and his yearning for paternal sympathy.

Mon père, enivré des mille soucis de son existence personnelle, me regardait avec irritation et disait en haussant les épaules: "Rends coup sur coup, sinon tu ne seras pas heureux". Mais, tout de suite ressaisi de ses tracasseries personnelles, il me laissait à mes sombres méditations de petit garçon anxieux. (2)

On another occasion the small boy had tried to please his father by admitting that his ambition was to study medicine. 'L'homme étonnant fait un sourire et répond: "C'est une bonne idée!" Puis il pense à autre chose.' (3)

It is noticeable in Inventaire de l'abîme that Pierre-Emile Duhamel's characteristic phrase is "Pourquoi pas?" when he wishes to avoid further questioning by his son. This method of escape is seen, for instance, when Georges Duhamel asked his father for permission to transfer from the cours complémentaires to a lycée so that he might obtain the qualifications

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(1) Ibid, p. 199.

(2) Ibid, p. 50.

(3) Ibid, p. 123.

necessary for commencing medical studies.

Il haussa légèrement les épaules, remua les sourcils et répondit: "Au lycée? Pourquoi pas? Si tu crois que c'est nécessaire." ... Il répétait: "Pourquoi pas?" Et je comprenais très bien qu'il pensait à autre chose. (1)

As we have seen, it was from his mother that Georges Duhamel gained emotional security. She attempted throughout his childhood and youth to provide the moral and social training which her husband neglected. Conscientious and hardworking, she led an '... éternelle existence de mère servante', (2) always occupied by her children's needs, '... attentive à mille et mille tracas'. (3) The concern of Mme Duhamel to develop moral judgment in her children is best illustrated in the incident when she tried to explain to her son the meaning of honesty after it was discovered that he had taken some money from his parents' room.

Elle me prit sur ses genoux et commença de m'expliquer les choses de l'honnêteté. Elle le faisait avec force, avec des mots nets et sûrs comme ceux d'une religion; mais elle poussait de temps en temps, un long soupir, parce qu'il allait falloir aussi surveiller le feu sous la cocotte et repriser le linge et cirer les chaussures. N'importe, la leçon fut donnée. (4)

Ardagh (5) has described the traditional taboos against discussion of sexual matters in front of the children in middle-class homes and the inhibitions of parents which have limited the opportunities of effective

(1) Ibid, p. 151.

(2) Ibid, p. 81.

(3) Ibid, p. 89.

(4) Ibid, p. 54.

(5) J. Ardagh, The New French Revolution - A Social and Economic Survey of France 1945-1967, p. 248.

sex education. Duhamel's father was no exception. When he discovered that his son was reading through his medical text-books he preferred to ignore this obvious interest in the basic facts of sex.

Il commença de m'expliquer, ironiquement, que ce n'étaient point là des lectures pour un garçon à peine pubère. Comme je le regardais d'un oeil attentif, il fit dévier l'entretien et s'évada sans peine. Et puis, il n'y pensa plus. J'y pensai longtemps encore.(1)

One notes that Duhamel has always showed compassion for the problems of sexual adjustment of the adolescent. He says, for instance, that he has '... longuement réfléchi ... aux problèmes que la sexualité ne cesse de poser avec véhémence à tous les éducateurs'.(2) Arguing that a delayed age for marriage increases these difficulties, he suggests that le mariage précoce represents '... une solution ... qui paraît séduisante en un temps où les préjugés bourgeois et les considérations financières n'ont plus autant d'empire sur les esprits ...'.(3)

Although Duhamel was encouraged to attend mass and to receive catechism instruction at Notre-Dame des Champs, his parents do not appear to have attempted to exert a positive influence on his spiritual development. Soon after his first communion there was to be a loss of faith following a period of sickness and anxiety. Duhamel records that after a period of prayer in Notre-Dame des Champs he had felt suddenly '... un ineffable

(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, pp. 139-40.

(2) Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 33.

(3) Ibid, pp. 34-5.

allégement'<sup>(1)</sup> and he had begun to pray in his own words. 'Cette prière toute nouvelle ... était comme ... un libre entretien avec l'esprit de Dieu, une communion parfaite avec la puissance suprême'.<sup>(2)</sup> He felt that this experience could not be reconciled with the teachings of the Catholic church regarding the indirect access of the believer to God. But it is with regret that Duhamel writes that as a result of that experience he would no longer be '... favorisé de la foi religieuse'<sup>(3)</sup> - that is to say religious faith in any orthodox Catholic sense.

Duhamel has also regretted that his parents did not provide him with a musical education. It is obvious that from an early age he had developed a passion for music. We read, for instance, that during the years 1890 to 1894 he was improvising instruments out of cigar boxes and plant stalks. But Duhamel was not to learn to read music till the age of thirty-two. He conjectures that had he learnt music in his childhood '... j'aurais pu dire, avec des sons, l'essentiel de ce que j'aurais à dire'.<sup>(4)</sup>

Influencing Georges Duhamel's intellectual development was the example of his father and the encouragement of his mother. As we have seen, Pierre-Emile Duhamel had neither the time nor the inclination to ensure that his son gained mind and imagination stimulation in the

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 125.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 126.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 126.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 91.

home environment. The father possessed few books - a dictionary, some works of Gavarni and some medical texts - and indeed his studies left him little opportunity for cultural activities. He did, however, admire the novels of Balzac, Flaubert and Zola and his scorn of lesser novelists was not lost on his son.<sup>(1)</sup>

Engrossed in his own studies, Pierre-Emile Duhamel did not seem to be conscious that his sons' lack of a secondary education would affect their career opportunities. However, when this was finally brought to his attention he readily agreed to accept the expense involved in transferring both his boys to a lycée. Perhaps conscious of his mistake in not placing Georges in a lycée till he was fourteen he made arrangements at the lycée at Nevers, when the family moved from Paris, for Georges to be promoted from sixième to quatrième. During his later medical studies Georges Duhamel was to continue to receive moral and financial support from his parents. But probably more important for Duhamel's mental growth was the stimulus value of his father's scholastic activities. For at the time when Georges Duhamel was receiving his primary education his father, then in his mid-forties, was studying Latin and Greek in a belated attempt to qualify for admittance to the Ecole de Médecine. Later, in Les Espoirs et les épreuves tribute is paid to Pierre-Emile Duhamel's efforts to

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(1) . . Ibid, p. 139.

gain access to the learning which his peasant and artisan ancestors in the Ile de France had been denied.

Mon père m'a donné, dès que j'ai pu tenir l'oeil ouvert, le spectacle d'un de ces hommes partis de peu, et qui, non sans efforts, non sans bonds et non sans chutes, ont douloureusement monté la pente et préparé par ainsi le départ des nouvelles générations ... Je songe, avec une tendresse parfois scuriente et consolée, à l'étrange ascensionniste de l'intelligence, à celui qui nous avait enseigné le respect du savoir, le culte des livres, la certitude qu'un travail acharné porte en soi des récompenses magnifiques. (1)

Havighurst<sup>(2)</sup> suggests that one of the essential developmental tasks of adolescence is to gain emotional independence of parents and other adults. As we have seen, the emotional ties between Georges Duhamel and his mother were strong. The unsettled existence of his family had robbed him of the opportunity of forming lasting friendships with his peers and would seem to have tended to increase his dependence on his mother. Certainly, the account of his childhood and adolescence emphasises his solitude, although his affection for his younger brother, Victor, was some consolation for his lack of companions. Nor was there a close association with the members of the extended family as the relations of Pierre-Emile Duhamel and his kin were strained. Similarly, the querulous nature of the father and his lubricity tended to isolate the family from the social group. It was only during his final years at the Institution Roger-Momenheim and during his medical

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(1) Les Espoirs et les épreuves, pp. 257-8.

(2) See R. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, pp. 42-5.

studies that Georges Duhamel was able to make stable and enduring friendships. But if gradually he was able to find support and acceptance outside the immediate family, final separation from his family in 1904, when his parents were at Dourdan, his sisters about to marry and his brother abroad, leaving him alone in Paris, temporarily threw his life into disorder. With independence came a bohemian existence before his will to succeed reasserted itself.

After considering his family life Georges Duhamel has declared: 'Je ne voudrais, pour rien au monde, revivre mes années d'enfance.'<sup>(1)</sup> His father's irresponsibility, his sudden whims and fancies which had endangered the security of the foyer, his infidelity which had brought distress to his family, as well as his irritability and inability to communicate effectively with the children had caused Duhamel's childhood to be marked by anxiety and despair. Yet his faith in the function of the family to train the children for obedience to the disciplines of social life would not be seriously impaired. He condemns his father's profound egotism, his '... sentiment très imparfait des obligations impératives que détermine la vie en groupe'<sup>(2)</sup> and asserts that if he himself subscribes to the tenets of philosophical individualism, nevertheless he remains, unlike his father, '... un individualiste discipliné'<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 52.

(2) Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 62.

(3) Ibid, p. 62.

Indeed, he claims that it was his father's failure to provide a stable home environment which made him realise that firm parental control is essential.

J'ai toujours eu, de la famille, une idée haute et rigoureuse. Les défaillances de mon père me fortifiaient dans cette passion. Il me semblait parfois que je devais, à sa place, moi, l'aîné des garçons, veiller et réfléchir. Plus tard, ayant créé moi-même un foyer, j'ai toujours eu un sentiment très serré des devoirs que doit assumer le capitaine du navire.(1)

Apart from the tensions between father and son, another experience in the life of the family which had reinforced his belief in the importance of responsible parenthood was the unhappy first marriage of his sister, Rose. Suffering from the ill temper of her husband, Rose had taken refuge in her parents' home. As a result of the painful scene when the enraged husband had forced entry to claim custody of his son, Duhamel was to experience for the first time the painful respiration block which was to afflict him through life. In commenting on this incident he has noted that at that time he and his family had supported Rose in her petition for divorce, although in the families of the bourgeoisie such a procedure was accepted '... à contre-coeur et comme une très fâcheuse extrémité'.(2) He states, however, his opposition in principle to easy divorce, claiming that there is a certain '... cruelle sagesse'(3) in the attitude of the Catholic church towards divorce.

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 227.

(2) Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 66.

(3) Ibid, p. 65.

A further factor which had contributed towards Duhamel's defence of traditional patterns of authority in the family was his involvement in the co-operative printing venture of the Abbaye - the phalanstery of artists who had attempted to establish a '... famille selon l'esprit',<sup>(1)</sup> at Créteil between Autumn 1906 and Spring 1908.<sup>(2)</sup> As Duhamel points out in his account of the fortunes of the Abbaye in Le Temps de la recherche, the other members of the group had all, as he had, suffered from their experience of family life and were searching for a more complete family unit which would enrich the individual and not impose restrictions on his personal development.<sup>(3)</sup> Yet in their refusal to renounce their hard-won independence the Thélémites had sown the seeds of the failure of their enterprise. The decline of the Abbaye, pressed by financial difficulties and riven by internal conflicts, brought home to Georges Duhamel the fact that the strength of the family as a social institution

(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 27.

(2) Romains was closely associated with Duhamel and the Abbaye group at this time. Later the relationship of Romains and Duhamel became less amical. (See in Biographie de mes fantômes, pp. 165-6, Duhamel's criticisms of Romains's imperious nature and his early ambitions of becoming a chef d'école.) For his part, Romains accuses Duhamel of undermining his efforts before World War I to unite the young generation of writers and artists and found a review. (See his reproachful article 'Au Temps de l'Abbaye', Georges Duhamel (1884-1966) - Témoignages, pp. 27-33.)

(3) The theme of the liberty of the individual runs through Duhamel's early collections of poetry, particularly L'Homme en tête (1909) and Selon ma loi (1910).

resided not only in the bonds of affection but also in the exercise of discipline and authority.

Aujourd'hui, quand je promène sur mon petit domaine un regard qui est celui du père et celui du maître, je reviens à mes souvenirs et me prends à penser que, justement, ce qui manquait, dans notre thélème, c'était ce regard magistral et paternel dont nous avons voulu précisément nous affranchir. (1)

In the essays, articles and novels of his maturity Duhamel has stated his belief that human society depends upon equilibrium, order and harmony and that modern man must be vigilant to preserve those values which have maintained peace and balance in social life in the past. He is, as Simon points out, the apologist of the bourgeois ideals with his humanism and his respect for tradition and individual culture. '... Il représente une certaine perfection du bourgeois, spécialement du bourgeois français, qui en lui s'accomplit en se dépassant.' (2) In particular, Duhamel has shown his concern at the divorce between man and a mechanical civilisation, exacerbated by the rapid developments in technology and science, a trend which he first recognised as a medical officer at the front in 1916. His literary efforts since World War I have been directed towards the preservation of inherited values, the advocacy of the culture of the mind and the spirit and the defence of the moral civilisation against the onslaught of technique - a

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(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 80.

(2) P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, p. 192.

theme that was eloquently expressed in Vie des martyrs 1914-1916 (1917) and Civilisation 1914-1917 (1918) with the evocation of suffering humanity in a world shattered by the technology of war, and in the bitter attack on American materialism in Scènes de la vie future (1930).

It is against this background that one must set Duhamel's views on the place of the family and the importance of familial education. The family is seen as an instrument of order and its continued support is regarded as essential for the stability of society. It is through the guidance and training of the young that the moral and spiritual values of the past may be implanted in the new generation. Thus he declares: 'Je souhaite ... que la famille, en tant que groupement élémentaire, soit non seulement tolérée, mais soutenue, mais défendue et nantie.'<sup>(1)</sup> With this high view of the family's social consequence he condemns those who pour scorn on traditional patterns of family life, criticising Gide's celebrated comment - "Familles, je vous hais!" - as '... le cri d'un enfant contrarié, d'un enfant gâté, et non d'un observateur responsable',<sup>(2)</sup> and arguing that the tendencies in some countries to substitute State agencies for the family run counter to nature. 'La famille est inscrite dans la chair même de l'espèce; elle appelle, dans les profondeurs.'<sup>(3)</sup> One notes, also, that for Duhamel the ideal is the

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(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 25.

(2) Ibid, p. 78.

(3) Ibid, p. 25.

loving husband and the responsible father who works out his salvation through orthodox social channels, as is the case with Laurent Pasquier in Chronique des Pasquier, rather than the man like Salavin, the pathetic anti-hero of the Salavin chronicles, who leaves his family in a vain search for grace.

For Georges Duhamel the raising of a family had been one of the most satisfying experiences of his life, fulfilling the deep need that he had felt to '... m'enraciner quelque part, d'y assurer un foyer stable, d'y nourrir des habitudes, d'y maintenir des traditions ...'.<sup>(1)</sup> In La Possession du monde he represents his feelings on the birth of his first son: 'Une joie m'est échue pendant la guerre, une joie qui est sans doute la plus grande de ma vie: celle d'avoir un enfant',<sup>(2)</sup> and in La Pesée des âmes<sup>(3)</sup> he describes in lyrical terms his love for his children.<sup>(4)</sup>

Throughout his works Duhamel makes numerous references to his wife, the former actress of the Vieux-Colombier, Blanche Albane, his three sons and their family life at their pastoral retreat at Valmondois. Nowhere, however, does he explain the principles which have guided the education of his children better than in Les Plaisirs et les jeux (1922). ~~On~~ this volume

(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 200.

(2) La Possession du monde, p. 197.

(3) See La Pesée des âmes, p. 259.

(4) One of the best examples of paternal love in Duhamel's novels is found in the relationship of the painter, Cyprien, and his son in L'Archange de l'aventure (1955).

Terrisse makes the following comment:

Je pense qu'il ne serait pas excessif de classer parmi les livres pédagogiques, au même titre que l'Emile, ou le fameux chapitre des Essais, un ouvrage comme Les Plaisirs et les jeux.(1)

Such an estimation would appear to be over-generous as Duhamel does not attempt to outline a complete programme nor does he express ideas on familial education which are strikingly original. Nevertheless, Les Plaisirs et les jeux does reflect the humanity and the conventional common sense of the writer and has pedagogical interest in the keen observation of child behaviour.

First, Duhamel enjoins the educator to study the child in an effort to understand his physical, intellectual and moral needs. He pays particular attention to the growth of language skills and the exercise of the imagination and, like Montessori, emphasises the importance of play activity in child development.

"Je vais jouer." Il dit cela d'un air pré-occupé, soucieux, comme nous disons: "Je vais travailler." Il a raison: jouer est son occupation essentielle, son devoir ... Jouer, pour lui, c'est rêver avec tout son corps.(2)

Then, he reviews the various theories on child training, suggesting that the fundamental error in elaborating systems is the failure to take into account the uniqueness of each child. He claims that each child must be treated differently and that the methods which

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(1) A. Terrisse, Georges Duhamel - Educateur, p. 36.  
 (2) Les Plaisirs et les joies - Mémoires du Cuib et du Tioup, pp. 39-40.

prove successful for one child may well fail with another. Thus, Duhamel expresses his suspicion of dogmatic utterance in child pedagogy and he dismisses Rousseau's Emile as a 'rêverie de doctrinaire'.<sup>(1)</sup> From his own experience of educating his elder sons, Bernard and Jean, he suggests that parents should respect individual differences and develop their own methods without necessarily feeling the obligation to be guided by experts. His advice then is: 'Observe tes enfants, apprends à les connaître et habille-les sur mesure.'<sup>(2)</sup>

While Duhamel believes that the parent must surround his child with warmth of affection and show towards him tolerance and understanding, he still is convinced of the importance of firm discipline. His credo, expressed in a lecture at the Université des annales (reported in Conférenca, 15 December 1936) is: 'Il faut ... aimer les enfants, mais les aimer sans faiblesse.'<sup>(3)</sup> In this lecture he attacks the trend towards permissiveness in the family and in the school.

Entre toutes les expériences poursuivies par la pédagogie moderne, il en est certaines qui m'inspirent beaucoup plus que de l'éloignement et même une très sincère horreur. Ce disant, je songe à certaines méthodes que je trouve démagogiques parce qu'elles ne visent pas à instruire l'enfant, mais d'abord à le flatter, à le livrer sans défense à ses penchants et à ses instincts. Rendre le brouet du savoir le moins amer possible, voilà, certes, une bonne pensée.

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(1) Ibid, p. 191.

(2) Ibid, p. 188.

(3) 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre et la jeunesse', Conférenca, no. 1, 15 Dec. 1936, p. 27.

Donner à l'enfant et de la joie et du plaisir, je trouve que c'est fort souhaitable. Mais toute éducation sage est fondée sur la contrainte, puisqu'elle doit préparer l'enfant à une vie faite de contraintes, d'obligations et de servitudes.(1)

Similarly, in the book, Mon Royaume (1932), which records his observations of children at play, he expresses his conviction that in the absence of strict adult supervision children revert to lawlessness and cruelty.

However, these views which are typical of his later writings contrast with the more liberal reflections on education found in La Possession du monde. In 1919 Duhamel could write: 'La vie de l'enfant qui pousse sans contrainte est un enchantement de découvertes, un enrichissement de chaque minute, une succession d'éblouissements.'<sup>(2)</sup> It would seem that by 1930 Duhamel's concern for restoring social order and authority overrides his tenderness and sympathy for the child. He recognises that the maintenance of effective authority is a social priority and that it is the responsibility of the educator to ensure that respect for order and obedience to the sanctions and the due processes of the law which regulate community life are instilled in the child. But, if he has the conservative attitudes of the bourgeois towards controls and a pessimistic view of natural tendencies towards disorder, he affirms that authority must be exercised with restraint. This belief he stated in

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(1) Ibid, pp. 27-8.

(2) La Possession du monde, p. 104.

the chapter entitled 'Gouvernement d'un jardin' in Fables de mon jardin (1935).

Tout, dans la vie d'un jardin proclame l'excellence du principe d'autorité. Et tout me démontre aussitôt que ce principe nécessaire, que ce principe, à lui seul, ne saurait diriger le monde ...

Le bon jardinier exerce l'autorité mais avec regret et sollicitude. Il corrige à tout instant le principe d'autorité par le principe de persuasion.(1)

On the overarching goal of education Georges Duhamel has definite opinions: 'Le bonheur de mes petits hommes, leur bonheur présent et futur, voilà ce qui m'occupe, voilà ce qui, en quelque mesure dépend de moi.'(2) Throughout his works is this theme of the primacy of the happiness of the individual. Thus, in La Possession du monde he writes: 'Me voici quand même sûr que le bonheur est le but de la vie.'(3) As he affirms in La Possession du monde, human happiness resides not in material possessions but in the values of an intellectual, moral and spiritual order. The real riches are '... celles qui assurent la possession morale du monde'.(4) In a conversation reported by Roudaut he has outlined the elements of this moral civilisation which he opposes to a scientific and technological civilisation:

Dans l'ordre moral il n'y a pas de civilisation sans politesse (rapports entre les humains), sans charité, sans liberté, sans .

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- (1) Fables de mon jardin, p. 26.  
 (2) Les Plaisirs et les jeux, p. 181.  
 (3) La Possession du monde, p. 22.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 238.

désintéressement. (L'humanisme représente, dans l'ordre intellectuel, le désintéressement par excellence.) Sans cela il n'y aurait pas civilisation, mais barbarie.(1)

The humanities, particularly literature, music and art, are essential to Duhamel's vision of the moral civilisation. As an educator he declares that he has sought to teach his sons the cultivation of the inner life, the necessity of meditation, respect for the intellect and appreciation of aesthetic experience. At Valmondois the young Duhamels were raised in an enriching cultural environment. He refers with pride to the place of music in the life of his family, their formation of a family orchestra, in which he played the flute, and the enthusiasm of his sons for Chopin and Wagner. He points out that lacking musical training in his childhood he has endeavoured to remedy this situation with his sons.(2) Similarly, he takes pleasure in recounting the dramatic performances at Valmondois in which his sons had appeared, joined by the children of the neighbourhood, under the direction of his wife, Blanche. For Duhamel, as is made clear in Conférenciã, children's theatre is more than entertainment; it is an invaluable means of introducing the child to the great works of literature, immersing the child in the action to a degree not possible in other media. 'La radio, le cinéma, donnent un plaisir passif, un plaisir de

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(1) J. Roudaut, 'Georges Duhamel, témoin d'une civilisation', Paru, no. 62, July 1950, p. 25.

(2) See Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 224.

pareseux.'<sup>(1)</sup> Later, it will be seen that with the Baudoins in Suzanne et les jeunes hommes Duhamel portrays a family whose musical and dramatic interests closely resemble those of his own. His belief that moral and spiritual values should lie at the heart of family life is developed in the récit de l'âge atomique which he wrote for children in 1953. The members of the Fromond family in Les Voyageurs de 'L'Espérance', who after a nuclear disaster are forced to live in isolation on an island, do not regret the loss of the mechanical aids of modern civilisation. Recognising that the cultivation of the mind and spirit is imperative for their survival they embark on a family educational programme which includes reading, mathematics, natural sciences, physics and chemistry, art and music.

Yet if Duhamel's major concern as a parent is to sharpen the intelligence, exercise the imagination, stimulate contemplation and develop moral insights through cultural activity, he does not ignore other aspects of child growth. He declares that he has sought to introduce his sons to the joys of physical endeavour - swimming, rowing, tramping - but predictably as a bon père de famille of the bourgeoisie he voices strong opposition to competitive sport.

J'entends bien que mes trois fils seront agiles, adroits, robustes, si la vie me prête assistance. Je ne dédaigne pas l'exercice corporel: je l'aime, je le recommande, je le

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(1) 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre et la jeunesse', Conférencia, no. 1, 15 Dec. 1936, p. 31.

souhaite souvent, au fond d'une retraite trop studieuse. Mais cette comédie du sport avec laquelle on berne et fascine toute la jeunesse du monde, j'avoue qu'elle me semble assez bouffonne.(1)

It is in Scènes de la vie future that he draws a satirical portrait of American college youth worshipping in the '... nouveau temple'(2) - the stadium. To Duhamel, this spectacle represents the triumph of the muscular over the cerebral; he condemns the cult of sport for disturbing the priorities of the young, creating false ambitions and unleashing primitive forces. Even the jargon of sport affronts his love of language used with clarity and precision.

Such then are the thoughts on familial education of a humanist, one who has devoted '... [sa] vie à la connaissance de l'homme, à l'amour, à la défense, à l'éloge de l'homme', (3) but who has felt increasingly out of sympathy with twentieth century civilisation. Perhaps the despair which one of the characters in his later novels, the biologist Patrice Périot, experiences at the trends in social life and the waning of family influence echoes the disillusionment of the man who had commenced the century with optimism and whose naive faith in moral progress had been shattered by the experiences of 1914-18.

"Est-il sage d'engendrer des enfants, surtout dans ces temps maudits?... Il n'y a plus ni repos, ni refuge. Il n'y a plus ni lumière, ni voix qui tombe des espaces infinis. Nous vivons

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{1} Scènes de la vie future, p. 163.  
 {2} Ibid, p. 158.  
 {3} ibid, p. 195.

dans un monde mort." (1)

The contrast is marked, then, between the young liberal who at the time of the Abbaye had celebrated the rights of the individual to live 'selon [sa] loi' and the writer of Le Voyage de Patrice Périot who, profoundly troubled by modern trends, preaches a return to the values which had supported family life in the past and a revival of discipline and order. As one who realises the anarchy which results from unrestrained individualism he writes in 1954 in his article on Colette: '... La vraie liberté suppose l'acceptation des disciplines fondamentales.' (2)

#### THE SCHOOL:

Because of the impecuniosity of his family the introduction of Georges Duhamel to formal schooling was to be the predominantly working-class école communale. After a brief period in an école maternelle he entered the école primaire in the rue de Reuilly, the first of the many schools which he was to attend in Paris and the provinces during his itinerant childhood. The picture which Duhamel has given of life in the elementary schools at the turn of the century is a bleak one. His acquaintance with the pupils who frequented the '... bâtiments chagrins ...' (3) of the écoles communales was to create the impression that the world was peopled

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(1) Le Voyage de Patrice Périot, pp. 187-8.

(2) 'Le Souvenir de Colette', Mercure de France, no. 1094, 1 Oct. 1954, p. 290.

(3) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 111.

by '... animaux de proie'.<sup>(1)</sup> The timid, frail child leaves the shelter of his lower middle-class home and finds himself amongst: '... des garçons vigoureux, querelleurs, habiles à jouer des poings et des savates et qui réglait selon la loi <sup>de la</sup> ~~du~~ jungle tous les problèmes de la vie en société'.<sup>(2)</sup> The view that children tend to become vicious when they are not subject to strict adult control was confirmed by the experiences in a colonie scolaire at Compiègne in 1895 when the young Duhamel's holiday was marred by the quarrelling and fighting of his fellow pupils. From his early schooldays comes the theme of escape and retreat which runs through his works and the thirst for solitude and meditation. 'Dès cet âge tendre, j'ai rêvé de retraites idéales où les esprits assoiffés de méditation pourraient chercher asile contre un monde furieux.'<sup>(3)</sup>

But in marked contrast with the behaviour of the éccliers of the elementary schools was that of the pupils in the cours complémentaires in the rue Blomet. Here, after gaining the certificat d'études in 1895, Duhamel mingled with a working-class élite whose tastes and abilities were closer to his own. At primary school in the rue de Reuilly or the rue de Vaugirard he had shrunk from association with the other children. Now he found himself eagerly awaiting the recreation

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(1) Ibid, p. 50.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 49-50.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 51.

periods which were filled with animated discussions on the arts and politics. Moreover, the cours complémentaires attracted teachers of high calibre who were interested in the academic progress of their pupils, unlike the '... geôliers plus ou moins rudes, plus ou moins tolérables' (1) of the écoles communales. One of these teachers appears in Inventaire de l'abîme - Lallemand, the professeur de littérature française whom Duhamel remembers as an incomparable reader who enlivened the last quarter of an hour of lessons with his delivery of a scene from Cyrano de Bergerac. But if friendly relationships existed between teachers and pupils this did not mean that the studies were any less intellectually demanding. 'Le régime de travail auquel se trouvaient soumis les enfants dans ces écoles était fort sévère, les matières innombrables, les compositions et devoirs fréquents.' (2) Indeed, it was later to become apparent to Duhamel that the academic discipline of the cours complémentaires was in no way inferior to that of the lycées. The boy who had been '... un élève médiocre et nullement éveillé' (3) was to be challenged by the course of studies at the rue Blomet to utilise fully his intellectual powers. At the end of his first year in the cours complémentaires he surprised himself and his parents by his success. 'Le garçon au tablier noir emporte quinze nominations,

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(1) Ibid, p. 133.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 150.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 96.

huit premiers prix, et même le prix d'excellence et en outre une médaille d'argent.'<sup>(1)</sup>

After his second year of cours complémentaires Duhamel was conscious of fausse route, realising that if he was to become a doctor then he must transfer to a lycée as the lack of a secondary education would effectively block his access to the professions. His request to his father for the opportunity of a lycée education was followed by the decision to enter both Georges and Victor in the classics course at the Lycée Buffon - a school which at that time (1898) was '... flambant neuf'.<sup>(2)</sup> By this stage the financial position of the family had improved with M. Duhamel's completion of his final medical examinations and it was possible for the sons to be provided with the secondary education which the father had been denied because of his rural background. But as the result of his late start in Latin and Greek Georges Duhamel was placed in sixième - this despite the fact that at fourteen he was considerably older than the other lycéens and indeed had his younger brother Victor in the same class. To a sensitive boy this was a humiliating experience.

The period at the Lycée Buffon was to be brief as in 1899 the Duhamel family on one of its periodic migrations moved to Fours in the Nièvre where Pierre-Emile Duhamel set up practice as a doctor. The distance from Fours to Nevers, the chef-lieu,

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(1) Ibid, p. 142.

(2) Ibid, p. 159.

necessitated the enrolment of the two boys at the Lycée de Nevers as internes. However, as the result of his father's intervention Georges was promoted to quatrième. Although this enabled him to catch up a year in his studies, it had the effect of separating the two sons and because Georges found the other pupils hostile to newcomers he was to regret the loss of his brother's company. As Duhamel remarks of his life in the boarding establishment of the Lycée de Nevers: 'Pour la première fois, nous quittions la vie de famille et je me trouvais transporté soudain dans une existence à la rigueur de laquelle rien n'avait pu me préparer.'<sup>(1)</sup> He describes the rough manners of the internes, the ritual victimisation of new pupils in the cour, the squabbles over food in the réfectoire, the nights in the dortoirs with the invitations to homosexuality. Moreover, the harsh regime of the internat with the long periods of study for the boarders and the strict discipline added to the privations caused by the antiquated buildings and the primitive facilities. In many ways Duhamel found the provincial lycées more conservative than the Parisian schools. The five hundred pupils were still expected to wear a uniform - '... veste croisée à boutons dorés, casquette et capote ...'<sup>(2)</sup> - and were obliged to attend Sunday mass, externes as well as internes. '... La réaction anticléricale qui battait alors son plein dans les

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(1) Ibid, p. 181.

(2) Ibid, p. 180.

grandes villes, était, autant qu'il m'y parut, absolument inopérante dans notre métropole nivernaise. (1)

Yet, as he looks back at his period at Nevers, Duhamel considers that if the authoritarian controls in the lycée appeared oppressive and unreasonable to the lycéens, they were essential for character training.

... Dans les lycées de province, comme le lycée de Nevers, la discipline scolaire était demeurée tout aussi rigoureuse que dans les écoles religieuses de l'ancien régime. Pour âpre et rebutante qu'elle fût, cette discipline était énergique, bien propre à former des hommes. Je l'ai connue peu de temps et subie avec peine, mais j'y pense encore avec un sentiment de respect et même de reconnaissance. (2)

The schoolboy learned that the controlled environment of the classrooms gave him refuge from the aggressiveness of the other pupils and '... pendant les longues heures de solitude et de silence dans l'air corrompu de cette chiourme ...' he experienced '... l'enchantement et l'ivresse du travail'. (3)

As suddenly as they had arrived the Duhamels were departing again. After one term at Nevers Georges Duhamel returned with his family to Paris, dismayed at the prospect of resuming his studies in a Parisian lycée and following the order of classes, always older than his fellow pupils. To avoid this, his parents made the decision to send him to a private secondary school where there would be more flexibility in course structure. The Institution Roger-Momenheim in the rue

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(1) Ibid, p. 186.

(2) Ibid, p. 185.

(3) Ibid, p. 185.

Fossés-Saint-Jacques, a lay boarding establishment which also admitted externes, admirably suited his purpose. Although small and unprepossessing in appearance, Roger-Momenheim, for all its '... éternelle odeur de soupe et de ratatouille' <sup>(1)</sup> possessed a highly qualified teaching staff with an individual approach to the instruction of the pupils, not feeling bound by rigid prescriptions or syllabuses. As a result of this personalised teaching Duhamel's studies were... accelerated so that he was able to pass the first part of the baccalauréat '... sans éclat ni difficulté' <sup>(2)</sup> at the age of seventeen. Having recovered from his late start at secondary school, he could at this stage have transferred to one of the larger lycées, but he preferred to spend his year of philosophie at Roger-Momenheim.

There were two major reasons behind this decision. Firstly, because of his family's frequent changes of address Georges Duhamel had never previously remained sufficiently long at a school to adjust to new surroundings. At Roger-Momenheim he had gained the acceptance of teachers and pupils. During his final year at school he was to spend much of his free time with his friends Jean-Jacques Corriol and Alexandre G... . Together they had rented a room, first in the rue des Carmes and later in the rue Saint-Jacques '... pour nos querelles philosophiques ou nos retraites amoureuses...'. <sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, p. 193.

(2) Ibid, p. 229.

(3) Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 27.

Secondly, he was reluctant to leave the teachers at the school. Although because of its size, the professeurs at Roger-Momenheim were often required to teach more than one subject, unlike the specialists of the larger lycées, Duhamel reports that the standard of instruction was uniformly high. The descriptions that he gives of his teachers in Inventaire de l'abîme reveal his respect and regard for his masters. In his pen-portraits of Frisch who taught Latin and Greek as well as history, Coltas who taught the physical sciences and the fashionable Edwardian gentleman who taught English, as well as affectionately displaying their eccentricities and their peculiarities as teachers, he emphasises their broad culture and their warm relationship with the pupils. However, it was Emile Le Brun, a friend of Verlaine and the translator into French of William James, who made the greatest impression on the young student in his course of French literature in . . . rhétorique and philosophie. This '... parfait lettré . . .',<sup>(1)</sup> possessed the qualities which Duhamel has considered indispensable in a good teacher - strength of character and the ability to communicate effectively. Le Brun, as Duhamel tells us, insisted upon accuracy and clarity in expression and his strict enforcement of the rules of grammar and composition was not without lasting effect on his pupil. 'Il m'arrive encore . . . aujourd'hui de m'arrêter, au fil d'une lecture, et de

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 195.

songer en souriant: "Le Brun n'aimait pas cela".<sup>(1)</sup>

The studied style of La Possession du monde or Les Confessions sans pénitence with the careful attention paid to choice of language and to harmony and balance of sentence structure would seem to owe much to Le Brun's influence.

In 1902 Duhamel entered the department of the science faculty in the rue Cuvier to ~~prepare~~ <sup>study for</sup> the certificat d'études physiques, chimiques et naturelles. He recalls that at that time the buildings were new and the students few. Comparing the P.C.N. establishment as he knew it as a student and the institution as he saw it in later years when his sons were enrolled, he states that then '... l'appareil universitaire avait encore quelque majesté'<sup>(2)</sup> which has since been lost. It is his contention that the lecturers, Janet, Perrier, Daguillon, Joannis with their formal attire and their convinced preaching of scientific rationalism to the small élite group of students created in the lecture theatres and the laboratories at the turn of the century an atmosphere '... de recueillement et d'invention méditative'.<sup>(3)</sup> Now, according to Duhamel, all that remain are buildings with the appearance of '... quelque pauvre et austère collège de province ...' which are '... grouillants d'une plèbe presque enfantine'.<sup>(4)</sup> It was during the period of his preliminary studies of

(1) Ibid, p. 195.

(2) Biographie de mes fantômes, pp. 47-8.

(3) Ibid, p. 47.

(4) Ibid, p. 47.

science that Duhamel discovered the satisfactions of intellectual activity. 'Pour la première fois, le vin du savoir me montait à la tête et me grisait par bouffées.'<sup>(1)</sup>

At the age of twenty, after passing his P.C.N., Duhamel qualified for entry to the School of Medicine. From then his time was to be shared between visits to hospitals to attend the morning consultations, lectures, and practical work in the anatomy theatre at the École.<sup>(2)</sup> In addition, he enrolled at the Faculté des Sciences in 1904 with the intention of preparing<sup>for</sup> a licence ès sciences in physiology, histology and biology. As he looks back at this period from the commencement of his medical studies in 1903 to 1909 when his doctoral thesis was accepted (he had completed his licence in 1908) Duhamel has '... le souvenir d'une activité non pas désordonnée, mais multiple, défricheuse et parfaitement allègre',<sup>(3)</sup> for, in addition to his study commitments, there had been an intense literary activity, travels through Europe and the involvement with the Abbaye movement. That such varied experiences were possible he attributes to a study programme which was flexible and did not demand a strict narrowing of interests. 'Les études médicales étaient, en ce temps-là... souples et même accommodantes'.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Ibid, p. 53.

(2) Duhamel draws upon his experiences as a medical student in the novel La Pierre d'Horeb (1926).

(3) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 46.

(4) Ibid, p. 45.

Duhamel's impressions of the teachers at the Sorbonne and the Faculté de Médecine are faithfully recorded in Biographie de mes fantômes and Le Temps de la recherche. As a student he preferred those instructors who were approachable and who offered encouragement to their pupils. But he found that such teachers were rare in higher education where the majority of lecturers had with their pupils '... des relations lointaines, sans chaleur, sans intimité'.<sup>(1)</sup> For this reason Duhamel supports a reform of medical studies which would enable the relationship of teacher and student to be brought closer and so reduce the impersonality of higher education. He compares the French system with that in the Egyptian university of El Azhar where each master is responsible for a small group of pupils and he comments:

En France dans nos écoles supérieures, il faut parvenir à un degré très élevé de l'enseignement pour qu'un tel contact ait quelque chance de se produire. Devient-il possible, il n'est pas nécessairement fécond. Nombre de maîtres ne sont pas des maîtres de vocation. Ils ont passé l'agrégation et, par la suite, ils se voient attribuer une chaire; tout cela ne signifie pas qu'ils aient le goût de l'enseignement. L'agrégation et le professorat font partie de l'échelle, de la hiérarchie. Il faut gravir les échelons pour arriver le plus haut possible. Mais les vrais maîtres sont rares, j'entends ceux qui trouvent leur plus grande joie et mettent donc leur vertu à communiquer ce qu'ils savent et à former de jeunes esprits.<sup>(2)</sup>

Amongst the university teachers who appeared to Duhamel to combine intellectual merit, integrity and pedagogical

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{1) Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 200  
 {2) Ibid, pp. 200-1.

skill were Dastre who instructed in physiology at the Sorbonne - '... cet homme séduisant et d'intelligence aristocratique',<sup>(1)</sup> - and Charles Richet who taught the same subject at the Faculté de Médecine. When he reviews the faith in scientific progress and the spirit of rationalism in the laboratories during the first decade of the twentieth century, Duhamel sees Richet's later involvement with metapsychics as '... la revanche de l'irrationnel'.<sup>(2)</sup> This theme of the decline of the esprit scientifique and the triumph of the irrational would be developed in La Nuit d'orage (1928).

As he surveys French society at the time when he was a student in the period prior to World War I Duhamel remarks: 'Le monde est heureux, candidement, avidement, stupidement heureux.'<sup>(3)</sup> This was a period of active idealism. National pride had been restored after the defeat of 1871 and the ensuing political crises; the religious and social divisions over the Dreyfus case were healing; the economy was buoyant after the slumps in the 1880's; and faith in rationalism, science and the socialism of Jaurès was undiminished. The mood in the laboratories of the Sorbonne and the School of Medicine was one of scientific optimism as Duhamel points out: 'Les gens de mon âge avaient été formés sous des maîtres qui, tous ou presque tous, et même le grand Pasteur, avaient, dans

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(1) Ibid, p. 211.

(2) Ibid, p. 216.

(3) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 122.

leur saint enthousiasme, confondu science et sagesse.' (1)  
 Yet for the savants the new century would bring a crisis in scientific confidence, particularly with the revelation of the destructive possibilities of their inventions in 1914-18. The post-war disenchantment with scientific progress would be accompanied by a slackening of the fervent rationalism of the nineteenth century and bring attempts to reconcile reason and revelation. Duhamel sees this movement most obvious in scientific circles around 1930. (2)

With the completion of his degrees Georges Duhamel was faced with the choice between medicine and literature, both of which he considered to be '... un devoir sacré' (3) and hence mutually exclusive. Reluctantly he made the decision to abandon hopes of practising as a doctor and to accept a position in biological research which would allow him time to write (in an industrial laboratory rather than one attached to a university because, as he declares: 'L'université, trop souvent, est triste et craintive: elle vit de privations, ses laboratoires sont misérables, son outillage désuet'). (4)  
 However, if he turned his back on a medical career, he acknowledged the importance of his years of training:

J'aime la médecine: je lui dois ... la formation de mon esprit, le sentiment de la subordination au maître, le goût d'apprendre, de comprendre, l'appétit de servir. La médecine,

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(1) La Pesée des âmes, p. 114.

(2) See Biographie de mes fantômes, p. 216.

(3) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 142.

(4) Ibid, p. 144.

pour jeune et inexpérimenté que j'y sois, m'a, chose étonnante, appris à rêver devant les hommes. Elle m'a imposé, de la souffrance et de la mort, une idée non pas littéraire, mais véridique et majestueuse.(1)

His study of the life sciences and medicine undoubtedly intensified his sympathetic understanding of human problems and his compassion for man's frailty. '... Le médecin,' Santelli writes, 'comme le confesseur, pénètre par profession dans les secrets les plus cachés des pauvres existences humaines.'(2) From his experience in the hospitals and laboratories Duhamel became aware of the complex forces which govern behaviour. His knowledge that the dualism between man's nature and his reason can be upset by bio-chemical disturbances over which he has no control makes him less prepared to moralise. But although he is influenced by the scientific rationalism of his age he does not accept a mechanistic view of life; he believes that the complexity of human existence cannot be explained solely by physico-chemical criteria - in this we may see his debt to Bergson whom he and his fellow artists at the Abbaye called their master.(3) Thus, by virtue of his medical training, Duhamel is well equipped to examine sympathetically the educational needs of children.

Duhamel's general views on the educative process

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(1) Ibid, pp. 142-3.

(2) Cf. Santelli, Georges Duhamel, p. 37.

(3) See Le Temps de la recherche, p. 118.

in the schools are closely linked with his attitudes towards familial education. There is the same defence of authority and of the intellectual and spiritual priorities of education. Thus, he sees it imperative to preserve the traditional patterns of instruction in secondary and tertiary education and to resist pressures to dilute standards and to discard the notion of training an élite. But if Duhamel supports the view of reserving an education of quality for an intellectual élite who would benefit from such training, he is concerned that the division of education along class lines should not deter the able child with a working-class background from seeking access to the enriched instruction available to the children of the bourgeoisie. For this reason he was one of the earliest proponents of the école unique which would allow the able pupil an easier transition from the primary to the secondary sector of education.<sup>(1)</sup> He sympathises with the intelligent child of the lower classes whose intellectual horizon is limited to the école primaire or the cours complémentaires and recognises that if '... l'austère sagesse bourgeoise ...'<sup>(2)</sup> has created certain possibilities of transfer to the lycées, the methods of selection of the écoliers who would benefit most from l'enseignement secondaire remained open to criticism. 'La sélection se fait vite, elle est

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(1) See 'Questions universitaires', Mercure de France, no. 132, 15 Jan. 1919, pp. 111-15.

(2) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 122.

presque irrévocable.'(1) The écolier of early promise may later fail to achieve expected results and suffer anxiety in the highly competitive atmosphere of the secondary school, while similarly, because of the young age at which decisions must be made, some late maturing pupils could be overlooked. Perhaps Duhamel is thinking of his own scholastic experience when he says:

Je connais beaucoup d'enfants dont le départ ne s'est fait que de manière tardive, à la fin de l'adolescence, de manière soudaine, en outre, et dans un sens imprévu.(2)

In Fables de mon jardin he makes a plea for administrative flexibility in judging the capacity of the child (chapter XLV - 'Plaidoyer pour les cancrès'), with his fable of the slow developing laurel tree in his garden which later produced an astonishing growth spurt, and he concludes:

Je voudrais dédier cette fable aux législateurs téméraires qui prétendent juger sans appel un écervele' de dix ans.

J'exige du législateur non pas qu'il ait des diplômes, ni certes qu'il ait du savoir et ni même de la sagesse mais qu'il ait au moins des enfants.(3)

Yet although he questions the validity of examinations and teachers' opinions in selecting the boursier he is of the opinion that specialised tests and measurements produce results which are no more certain than the older methods.

Assurément ces facilités étaient capricieuses, incertaines; tel risquait d'être oublié qui, mis

(1) Ibid, p. 122.

(2) Ibid, p. 143.

(3) Fables de mon jardin, p. 91.

en bonne lumière, eût donné des fleurs et des fruits; mais nous avons lieu de croire que les méthodes nouvelles, avec leurs libéralités mathématiques, favoriseront aussi des erreurs en un autre sens et qu'il y aura, par exemple, bon nombre de faux départs.(1)

For this reason he advises educators against the rigid application of tests of selection which would classify pupils '... de manière catégorique ...'.(2)

In general attitude to the process of education in the schools Georges Duhamel is a traditionalist. As well as supporting strict discipline to curb what he believes is the inherent viciousness of children, being convinced that contrary to the Rousseauistic ideal of the natural goodness of children there is in '... la société enfantine, avec ses lois barbares et cette absence de pitié ...'(3) a certain '... sauvagerie naturelle ...', (4) he places an emphasis on the skills and knowledge which the teacher transmits to the child rather than on the needs of the child himself. Thus, he sees in the pupil '... une matière molle et malléable qu'il faut imprimer de fortes habitudes'.(5) At the same time he clings to the notion of the training of the faculties and stresses the value of the mental discipline which particular branches of study provide, considering that there is a massive transfer of skills learnt in one area to other areas. For example, Duhamel firmly believes in the importance of

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(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 69.

(2) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 143.

(3) Ibid, p. 97.

(4) Ibid, p. 97.

(5) Ibid, p. 67.

memory training and castigates teachers for no longer considering this to be a primary educational aim. He declares in 1936:

Au risque d'être en désaccord avec les protagonistes des pédagogies modernes, je dis que la mémoire des enfants est, aujourd'hui, laissée à l'abandon, de manière systématique, et je dis que c'est déplorable ... Quand j'étais écolier à l'extrême fin du dernier siècle, la mémoire était encore une faculté honorable, appréciée, cultivée. On nous faisait apprendre, en classe, une foule de textes, de dates et de chiffres. N'en déplaise à Rousseau, nous n'étions pas torturés par ces pratiques. La mémoire de l'enfant, comme ses muscles, ne demande que l'exercice. Les textes latins ou français qu'il nous fallait tant bien que mal aborder n'avaient eu eux-mêmes qu'une très faible importance. Ils étaient, pour notre esprit, ce qu'est le ballon de cuir pour les muscles du jeune athlète.(1)

In Inventaire de l'abîme he returns to this theme of the devaluing of memory skills, expressing his regret that his sons have failed to develop at school a rich and agile memory. 'C'est à peine si je peux leur arracher un vers latin, alors que les gens de mon âge en savent encore un grand nombre.'<sup>(2)</sup> Singing the praises of 'mnémosyne, mère des muses ...'<sup>(3)</sup> in a chapter devoted to this subject, he lists the advantages of a trained memory for the doctor or the lawyer and demonstrates his ability to remember facts, names, places, as well as musical themes.

As far as the content of formal education is concerned, Duhamel is a strong defender of the classics and a vocal opponent of any modification of the tradi-

(1) 'Les Chefs-d'oeuvre et la jeunesse', Conférenci, no. 1, 15 Dec. 1936, p. 25.

(2) Inventaire de l'abîme, p. 66.

(3) Ibid, p. 62.

tional curriculum of the lycées to adjust to the needs of less academically minded pupils.

L'importance de l'effort gratuit, s'il est d'ordre intellectuel, n'est pas également sensible à l'homme de condition moyenne. Quand il n'est pas favorisé de dons heureux, les tâches intellectuelles représentent pour lui des astreintes fort pénibles auxquelles il ne se résigne que sous la promesse d'un loyer manifeste et en quelque sorte garanti. Ainsi peut s'expliquer l'abandon progressif, par les générations nouvelles, de ces disciplines humanistes dont nous pouvons juger les fruits après plusieurs siècles de pratique. Ainsi peut s'expliquer leur remplacement par cet enseignement dit "moderne", qui n'a pas encore produit les preuves de son excellence.(1)

Duhamel is convinced that the study of the classics should be a prerequisite for advanced professional training. In Paroles de médecin (1946) he states his misgivings at the change in regulations for entry to the Faculty of Medicine which admits students who have not presented Greek for the baccalauréat. On the subject of the value of Greek and Latin he declares:

Que la connaissance, au moins scolaire, du grec et du latin, soit propre à éclairer le médecin dans l'intelligence de sa profession, cela me semble indiscutable ... La version latine est une gymnastique admirable pour qui doit, par la suite, se plier aux sourcilleux exercices de la diagnose.(2)

For Georges Duhamel the études désintéressées, particularly the classical humanities, are a means of offsetting the trends towards over-specialisation and of combating the harmful effects of a mechanical civilisation. The student of the sciences who before World War I had placed his faith in scientific progress to

(1) Ibid, pp. 158-9.

(2) Paroles de médecin, p. 59.

improve the human environment, becomes, after his glimpse of the lethal potentialities of applied science in 1914-18, the sage who warns of the dangers presented by uncontrolled technical development. Continually he opposes l'humaniste - the broadly educated man - to the technocrat - l'automate.<sup>(1)</sup> In an article in the Revue de Paris (15 April 1933) he urges an awareness amongst educators of the value of preparing pupils with a wide culture for leadership in the machine age.

Il est bon que l'on ait donné ce nom d'humanités ou lettres humaines à l'étude patiente d'un certain nombre de connaissances qui ne semblent pas susceptibles d'application pratique immédiate et qui sont, plus qu'à la science, consacrées à la sagesse.

Je pense qu'un long stage dans l'humanisme, une fréquentation assidue et prolongée des grands esprits, une application généreuse à toutes sortes de notions gratuites, c'est pour l'homme du XXe siècle, la seule chance de tempérer heureusement la fureur d'une mécanisation excessive ...

Seule une culture humaine, humaniste, individualiste peut permettre à l'homme de dominer ses conquêtes, de n'en être pas la dupe et la victime. C'est dans un humanisme et dans un individualisme harmonieux que gît le secret d'une discipline grâce à laquelle, demain, l'homme pourra trouver son nouvel équilibre et vivre en bonne intelligence avec ses créatures.<sup>(2)(3)</sup>

The function of the secondary school, then, is to provide this broad background of studies, with the classics and philosophy accorded a prominent place in the

(1) See, for example, Querelles de famille (1922) and L'Humaniste et l'automate (1933).

(2) 'Sur la Querelle du machinisme', Revue de Paris, 15 April 1933, p. 752. 152.

(3) Similar sentiments were expressed by Duhamel in a speech delivered in Budapest in June 1936 at a seminar organised by the League of Nations. See the text of this address in 'Humanités', Mercure de France, no. 269, 15 July 1936, pp. 225-8.

curriculum, while the tertiary institutions have the role of forming specialists, but not to the exclusion of general culture. Duhamel's ideal of the educated man is the scientist such as Charles Nicolle who is also a '... parfait lettré',<sup>(1)</sup> and represents one of the '... spécialistes de l'encyclopédie'.<sup>(2)</sup> However, he fears that the schools, influenced by the mechanical civilisation, will lose sight of the importance of promoting an individual culture. Duhamel vigorously opposes the exaggerated emphasis which some progressive educationalists place on relating the curriculum to the physical and social environment of the child. Thus, in Les Jumeaux de Vallangoujard (1931) he satirises the modern trends in education by presenting a school in which the curriculum is based on technological developments. In place of the humanities there is instruction for the children in driving a car and operating a radio as well as lessons in advertising and industrial techniques.

Naturally Duhamel, as a writer, is concerned with the teaching of French literature and language in the schools. He deplores the fact that the secondary schools have tended to ignore the contemporary writers and concentrate on the writers of the classical period,<sup>(3)</sup> and he sees a trend towards an imprecise and unclear

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(1) 'Remarques sur les travaux scientifiques et le message de Charles Nicolle', Revue de Paris, 1 Nov. 1935, p. 7.

(2) Ibid, p. 6.

(3) See Défense des lettres, p. 305.

use of language.<sup>(1)(2)</sup> According to him, the schools should mediate between the modern artist and the public. 'C'est grâce à l'assistance des maîtres que les écrivains trouvent enfin, dans les profondeurs du public, leur résonance la meilleure.'<sup>(3)</sup> At the same time he maintains that a primary function of the school is to promote cultural unity and for this reason he campaigns against the advocates of regionalism and the proponents of the teaching of local dialects in the elementary schools. '... L'école primaire doit concentrer son action sur des notions essentielles et d'abord sur la langue nationale.'<sup>(4)</sup>

Duhamel's attitude towards teaching methods is marked by the same conservatism. He is firmly against innovations in teaching, believing that the only effective instruction is that delivered orally by the classroom teacher. Developments in teaching technology he regards with suspicion and he expresses his conviction that the introduction of the film, the gramophone and the radio into the classroom threatens the learning process. The new media for instruction would provide entertainment but not necessarily promote learning.

(1) See 'Le Langage et ses démons', Conférenciá, no. 1, 15 April 1933, pp. 454-69.

(2) Martin du Gard frequently refers to his friend Duhamel as a purist in matters of style and language. In a letter to Gide (4 April 1928) he describes him as '... un Littre' à lunettes'. (See Correspondance André Gide - Roger Martin du Gard, vol. I, p. 338.) It is also interesting to note that Duhamel assisted Martin du Gard to correct the text of Les Thibault.

(3) Défense des lettres, p. 304.

(4) Les Espoirs et les épreuves, p. 57.

La culture veut le labour, c'est-à-dire le labeur, c'est-à-dire le fer qui tranche, la herse qui triture et le rouleau qui tasse. On n'apprend rien sans effort. On ne se forme pas l'esprit en jouant et en somnolant.(1)

We see here that Duhamel's horror of man becoming a slave of machines blinds him to the principles underlying the use of teaching technology. He fails to see that modern pedagogy seeks to involve the child more fully in the educative process and to avoid the passivity of instruction inherent in the cours magistral. The progressive school is linked in Duhamel's writings with a decline of effort and skill. With the increasing use of machines in education the pupils will lose the will to persevere at their tasks. 'J'annonce dès maintenant que le calcul va disparaître des programmes scolaires, comme l'enseignement de la musique. Nul homme bien élevé ne saura plus faire une opération, écrire avec une plume ou jouer du piano.'(2)

According to Georges Duhamel, the process of education is dependent primarily upon the oral skills of the teacher. It is the effectiveness of the teacher's exposition in the lecture or the formal lesson which he judges the essential feature of the art of teaching.

Si j'analyse avec soin mes souvenirs je peux mesurer la place que tient l'enseignement oral dans la formation d'un esprit ... Je me rappelle encore, après quarante années, certaines phrases entendues de la bouche du magister. Que je prête

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(1) Défense des lettres, p. 53.

(2) 'Sur la Querelle du machinisme', Revue de Paris, 15 April 1933, p. 729.

l'oreille dans le silence de la nuit et je perçois la voix de l'homme, avec les inflexions, le rythme et les reprises d'haleine. (1)

As we have seen earlier, the notes which he made on his own teachers at secondary school and in the science and medical faculties emphasised their fluency and their power to command the attention of their audience.

Indeed, Duhamel makes the claim that '... l'éloquence pédagogique ...' (2) is a peculiarly French gift.

Throughout this chapter evidence has been provided of Georges Duhamel's deep interest in matters of education. No better conclusion is possible than the words he wrote in an article upon Alain (Emile Chartier) (3) which summarise his respect for teachers and teaching: 'J'ai reçu les leçons de bons maîtres et, les écoutant, je les enviais .... Dans l'enseignement du maître, dans le mystère de l'école, il doit y avoir un plaisir comparable à celui de la femme qui donne le sein', (4) and he affirms that after literature and medicine '... il est deux états ... qui m'auraient plu : celui de libraire - un vrai libraire est capable de modeler l'âme d'une ville - et celui de maître, d'instituteur. - Instruire, c'est construire'. (5)

(1) Défense des lettres, p. 50.

(2) 'Mystères français', Revue des deux mondes, no. 13, 1 July 1957, p. 17.

(3) Note that Duhamel's views on education closely resemble those of Alain. Alain shares Duhamel's distaste for a pedagogy which aims to 'instruire en s'amusant' and stresses the importance of discipline, effort and training the mind through the medium of the études désintéressées. See Alain, Propos sur l'éducation.

(4) 'Le Souvenir d'Alain', Mercure de France, no. 1060, 1 Dec. 1951, p. 594.

(5) Ibid, pp. 594-5.

CHAPTER II:           ROGER MARTIN DU GARD (1881-1958)

1.    The Family (a)   Autobiographical details.  
                  (b)   General views on the educative process.
2.    The School (a)   Autobiographical details.  
                  (b)   General views on the educative process.

THE FAMILY:

Unlike Duhamel, Roger Martin du Gard has observed a '... conspiracy du silence ...' <sup>(1)</sup> as regards his personal life. Jealously guarding his independence and his right to privacy, he deliberately avoided being drawn into public revelations of his intimate relationships with his family. <sup>(2)</sup> Characteristically he declared at a press conference when he was in Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature in December 1937: 'Un homme qui livre au public, dans ses ouvrages, le meilleur, le plus intime de lui-même, a bien le droit de garder, pour lui et pour ses proches, le domaine de sa vie privée'. <sup>(3)</sup> Similarly, he consistently maintained that the views he expressed in

{1} C. Borgal, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 15.

{2} The regard in which both Duhamel and Romains held Martin du Gard for the integrity of his life is best expressed in the tribute Romains paid to Martin du Gard after his death in August 1958 when he described him as 'un homme vrai et simple'. See 'Le Caravane - Roger Martin du Gard', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 986.

{3} Quoted by R. Froment, 'Hommage à Roger Martin du Gard - Sa Mort', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 965.

his literary works required no further elaboration and that for an understanding of his ideas one must turn directly to his novels: '... Tout ce que j'ai à dire passe automatiquement dans mes Thibault ...' (1) It is not surprising, then, that Camus in his preface to Martin du Gard's collected works should describe him as a literary recluse.

Martin du Gard est l'exemple, assez rare en somme, d'un de nos grands écrivains dont personne ne connaît le numéro de téléphone. Cet écrivain existe, et d'une forte façon, dans notre société littéraire. Mais il s'y est dissous comme le sucre dans l'eau ... Simple et mystérieux, il a quelque chose du principe divin, dont parlent les Hindous : plus on le nomme et plus il fuit. (2)

However, departing from his customary reticence Martin du Gard did prepare a brief collection of souvenirs, together with extracts from his journal which he kept from 1919 to 1949 and his correspondence with Gide, for the Pléiade edition of his Oeuvres complètes in 1955. These, added to the collections of correspondence published since his death in August 1958 - notably the Correspondance André Gide-Roger Martin du Gard edited by Jean Delay (1968), - provide a concise but valuable account of his formation as well as confirmation of his concern with the educative process.

Roger Martin du Gard was born on 23 March 1881 at 69 boulevard Bineau, Neuilly-sur-Seine, the home of his paternal grandparents. His parents, Paul and Madeleine

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- (1) Letter of introduction to Confidence africaine, Oeuvres complètes, vol. II (subsequently O.C. II), p. 1107.  
 (2) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to Oeuvres complètes, vol. I (subsequently O.C. I), p. xi.

Martin du Gard, were strongly linked with the conservative, legal and financial circles of the upper middle class - his father following family tradition was an avoué de première instance at the Tribunal de la Seine and his mother was the daughter of an agent de change at the Bourse. Thus, unlike Duhamel, Roger Martin du Gard would receive his familial education in a family of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie which was both affluent and of high social standing. Moreover, if the Duhamel family's entrance to the middle classes dated from the end of the nineteenth century the Martin du Gard's possessed a long lineage of solid middle-class citizens. Indeed, as Roger Martin du Gard traces his ancestry he wryly points out the extent to which his artistic vocation is at odds with established family custom.

Ma famille paternelle était originaire du Bourbonnais; ma famille maternelle, du Beauvaisis. L'une et l'autre comptaient dans son ascendance une majorité de gens de robe, - magistrats, avocats, notaires, financiers; quelques propriétaires terriens; pas de commerçants; pas de militaires; pas d'artistes.(1)

It is clear that Roger Martin du Gard's rejection of the goals of his milieu and his disinclination to follow his father into a legal career were at the root of his conflict with his family. From an early age the shy, introverted boy had shown that his interests lay in writing rather than in the world of law, property and finance in which his family moved. In his

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(1) Souvenirs autobiographiques et littéraires, O.C. I, p. xli.

Souvenirs autobiographiques et littéraires he declares:

'J'avais évidemment quelques prédispositions à manier la plume (et le paquet de ma correspondance d'enfant, retrouvé plus tard dans les tiroirs de ma grand-mère, témoigne que, dès l'âge de sept ans, je griffonnais de longues lettres avec un visible plaisir).'<sup>(1)</sup> However, he suggests that his literary vocation had firmly established itself when he was aged nine or ten. At that time he had come under the influence of a young lycéen barely two years older, whom he identifies simply as Jean. This pupil in sixième had written verse tragedies and lent them to his younger friend. So great was the impression of these plays with their classical inspiration on the young Martin du Gard that even after over sixty years he still recalls the opening lines and he comments: '... Ce besoin d'écrire, qui m'a tourmenté toute ma vie, je crois bien qu'il est né, un soir de printemps, sous l'enveloppement des oeuvres dramatiques de mon ami Jean'.<sup>(2)</sup>

It would appear that Martin du Gard's literary vocation was to develop despite his parents' active opposition to activities which could jeopardise status and security. For Paul Martin du Gard there was the disappointment that his first son, Roger, (the younger son, Marcel, was born in 1884) preferred solitary reading rather than mingling socially with other members of his class, and failed to show scholastic ambition to prepare

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(1) Ibid, p. xliii.

(2) Ibid, p. xliii.

himself for a professional career suitable for one of his social position. It will be seen later that the cancre at the Ecole Fénélon and the Lycée Condorcet whose time was spent reading Zola, Lorrain and Mirbeau and writing sentimental poems and scabrous nouvelles would be removed from school by his father and placed en pension with an ex-normalien in order to '...rattraper ... le temps que sa faineantise lui avait fait perdre ...'. (1)

Maurice Martin du Gard, Roger's cousin, has pointed to a fundamental difference of temperament and personality between father and son which inhibited the development of mutual understanding. Paul Martin du Gard with the self-assurance and polished manner of the successful lawyer was irritated by the retiring manner and taciturnity of his elder son. Indeed, as he compares his uncle with his cousin who was little seen in his family, Maurice Martin du Gard declares that: '... Paul Martin du Gard me fit une plus grande impression - j'étais plus jeune aussi - que Roger. Il me parut, comment dire? Il me parut moins démodé.' (2) Chaperon (3) also refers to the friction in the father-son relationship with his description of the incident which followed Roger Martin du Gard's passing of the baccalauréat, when his father's offer of a rifle so

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(1) Ibid, p. **xlvi**.

(2) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, pp. 471-2.

(3) H. Chaperon, 'Roger Martin du Gard (Souvenirs)', Bulletin de la société littéraire des P.T.T., June 1959, p. 10.

that the boy could learn to shoot and hunt like other sons of the upper middle class, was declined. To the annoyance of the father Roger characteristically requested a Larousse dictionary instead - which he finally received some six months later.

Yet if Paul Martin du Gard shared the prejudices of his class against the free life of the artist and regarded his son's absorption in literature as a form of escapism, this does not imply that he was altogether unsympathetic to the arts. Maurice Martin du Gard recalls that the father was an enthusiastic playgoer who had accumulated a fund of knowledge on the theatre.

... Mais surtout il parlait théâtre, et mon père et lui se lançaient ces noms fabuleux : Mounet-Sully, Le Bargy, Sarah, Réjane, Jeanne Granier que l'on me menait voir, mes parents étant bons aussi, le soir ou le lendemain.(1)

However, in his Scouvenirs Roger Martin du Gard seems to imply that the culture of the well educated men of his father's milieu lacked depth. Later, in Devenir! he would attack the shallowness of the intellectual and aesthetic appreciation of the haute bourgeoisie, suggesting that their appearance of monetary désintéressement and their support of cultural activities stemmed from their habit of fortune and their need for distraction.

If the father's opposition to his son's inclination towards writing and his persistent endeavours to impose on Roger his own life-goals and values widened

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(1) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, pp. 472-3.

the gulf between them, so too did conflict arise from the attempt of the parents to give their child a conventional Catholic upbringing. Robidoux<sup>(1)</sup> has noted that the Martin du Gard's were staunch supporters of the Church. No doubt out of deference for the social position of the family, Roger was appointed as intendant at his first communion and read in the name of the communicants the Acts of Faith, the Consecration and the renewal of vows. It is not clear from the Souvenirs if Paul Martin du Gard was a devout Catholic, although he regularly attended mass with his family. Possibly like M. Mazerelles in Devenir! Roger Martin du Gard saw his father's religion as one of convention rather than conviction.

Ses principes religieux et sociaux, qu'il confondait d'ailleurs, étaient inébranlables, parce qu'il ne cherchait pas à les secouer, et qu'ils s'ajustaient exactement à ses besoins et à ceux des gens qui l'entouraient.(2)

But Mme Martin du Gard was a pious believer. Maurice Martin du Gard has related how she would embarrass him as a child by interrogating him on the state of his faith.

Un jour elle me tint des heures dans son salon du premier, en tricotant pour des oeuvres, car elle voulait absolument savoir si je communiais régulièrement, si j'allais aux vêpres, au Salut, à la messe, pas à celle de midi, à la grand-messe.(3)

Presumably, then, it was the mother who took charge of

(1) See R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 31.

(2) Devenir! O.C. I, pp. 13-14.

(3) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, p. 473.

the early religious training of her son before his religious instruction was confided to the priests of the Ecole Fénelon at the age of eleven - which Martin du Gard describes as '... l'âge où l'horizon des enfants catholiques est généralement limité par l'ingrate instruction scolaire, le tran-tran familial et le catéchisme ...'.<sup>(1)</sup> But he claims that he was unmarked by his religious upbringing. In In Memoriam he writes: 'Je n'avais, par nature, aucun sentiment de piété ...'.<sup>(2)</sup> and 'Je n'ai jamais ressenti à la table de communion le moindre trouble authentique.'<sup>(3)</sup> No doubt it was to avoid the censure of his parents that he continued as a practising Catholic despite his growing disillusionment with '... l'enseignement catholique, noyé dans un fatras mythologique, qui me fait penser à la religion païenne ...'.<sup>(4)</sup> Perhaps he was referring to the family pressures to conform when he wrote to his former teacher at the Ecole Fénelon, Marcel Hébert, when he was twenty, that he had attended high mass the previous Sunday because '... un tas de circonstances, de traditions me forcent à aller "pour l'exemple ..."'.<sup>(5)</sup> But in the same letter he informed Hébert that he had finally made his decision to break with the Church: '... Je m'écarte du culte catholique.'<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) In Memoriam, O.C. I, p. 567.

(2) Ibid, p. 564.

(3) Ibid, p. 567.

(4) Letter of R.M.G. to Marcel Hébert (8 Aug. 1901). Quoted in R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 60.

(5) Ibid, p. 60.

(6) Ibid, p. 70.

Roger Martin du Gard creates the impression that the discipline in his home was strict and that the two sons were subject to severe restrictions under the rigorous surveillance of the parents. Maurice Martin du Gard also recalls the pomposity and formality of the father but maintains that he was far from being an autocrat and indeed showed a benevolent paternalism.

Son père <sup>t</sup>étaient dans le réel, plein de gentillesse, malgré ses grands airs; on disait que, très généreux, il aidait les vieux domestiques, pensionnait les anciennes nourrices de la famille, des employés, des régisseurs malades ... (1)

Nevertheless, the authoritarianism of his home contrasted markedly with the freer environment which he found with the Mellerios when, in January 1896, the young Martin du Gard became a boarder at the home of Louis Mellerio, a former student of the Ecole normale supérieure, who was to be his private tutor for six months. The stimulating atmosphere of the Mellerio home proved to be conducive to his intellectual and aesthetic development. But even more important was the fact that in this adult company he was made to feel that he was accepted as an equal. '... Je me sentais pris au sérieux, écouté, avec sympathie.' (2) It was a new experience for the adolescent to be released from the inhibiting environment of his family circle and to be able to follow his passion for reading '... sans contrôle'. (3) As Martin du Gard remarks in the

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(1) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, p. 472.

(2) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. xlvi.

(3) Ibid, p. xlv.

Souvenirs: 'Il me semblait naïvement avoir trouvé mon vrai climat.'<sup>(1)</sup> Moreover, he was then fifteen and at an age to question previously unchallenged ideas and beliefs. The freedom which he enjoyed in the Mellerio home offered a contrast to his conservative upbringing and brought into sharp focus his inferior position in his own family.

C'était la première fois que je me séparais de mes parents; et pour aller partager la vie quotidienne d'un ménage étranger. Dans le développement d'un être jeune, assez naturellement porté à l'observation, c'était une expérience non négligeable ... Je découvrais l'existence du milieu universitaire, très différent de celui où j'avais été élevé, plus intellectuel, plus cultivé, plus "artiste". Je ne m'étais guère avisé, jusqu'alors, qu'il y avait d'autres vérités que celles de mon clan social, d'autres façons, - tout aussi légitimes, tout aussi satisfaisantes pour l'esprit, sinon davantage - de vivre, de penser, de juger des choses et des gens.<sup>(2)</sup>

This passage seems to indicate that it was at this point that Martin du Gard's personal conflict with his parents began to widen to include the mores of the class which they represented:

... cette bourgeoisie spéciale, qui n'est pas la "Grande Bourgeoisie", mais qui est cependant une bourgeoisie "de race". Pour en faire partie, il faut être né bourgeois, comme d'aucuns naissent gentilshommes; c'est-à-dire qu'il faut être le fils de son père, non de ses œuvres, compter avant soi plusieurs générations de gens aisés, probes, estimés, et avoir hérité cet ensemble de vertus, de préjugés, d'habitudes et d'écus, dont se composent la culture morale et l'éducation de la bourgeoisie.<sup>(3)</sup>

Certainly Schalk<sup>(4)</sup> notes that Martin du Gard early

(1) Ibid, p. xlvi.

(2) Ibid, p. xliv.

(3) Devenir: O.C. I, p. 13.

(4) See D. Schalk, Roger Martin du Gard - The Novelist and History, p. 19.

developed social consciousness. Maurice Martin du Gard<sup>(1)</sup> describes how his cousin as a young man refused to accept the life of ease of his parents and the delegation of menial tasks to the servants. He forbade entrance of the domestics to his room which he cleaned himself and even went to the extent of preparing his own meals. Perhaps the words of Jacques in L'Eté 1914 echo his youthful sentiments when he admits that his revolt against his class had originated in his experience of family life.

"Ce qui a fait de moi un révolutionnaire ... c'est d'être né ici, dans cette maison ... C'est d'avoir été un fils de bourgeois ... C'est d'avoir eu, tout jeune, le spectacle quotidien des injustices dont vit ce monde privilégié ... C'est d'avoir eu, dès l'enfance, comme un sentiment de culpabilité ... de complicité! Oui: la sensation cuisante que, cet ordre de choses, tout en le haïssant, j'en profitais!"<sup>(2)</sup>

Little reference is made in the Souvenirs to Martin du Gard's relationships with the other members of his family. It is known, however, that he had frequently stayed at the home of his blind great-grandmother at Clermont. His great-grandmother's house was to be described twice in his works - in Jean Barois when the young Jean Barois is an invalid at the home of his paternal grandmother at Buis-la-Dame and in Noizemont-les-Vierges. This latter nouvelle was a brief collection of souvenirs of his childhood at Clermont which had been altered in a few details to

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(1) See M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, p. 472.

(2) L'Eté 1914, O.C. II, p. 152.

meet the requirements of a Belgian publisher in 1928.<sup>(1)</sup>  
 In this fragment we see the grief of the boy after the death of his beloved great-grandmother. There is also a mention of Anna, the children's protestant German nurse who would appear to have exerted a considerable educational influence on her two charges. Of her Martin du Gard writes:

Elle avait une idée intransigeante du Bien et du Mal, et jugeait à cette immuable mesure les moindres événements de l'existence quotidienne; je lui dois peut-être une prédisposition à prendre la vie au sérieux.<sup>(2)</sup>

Roger Martin du Gard's attempt to gain independence from his family, to break loose from parental domination and forge a separate identity, was a slow and painful process. Mention has been made of the strength of family ties which had forced the young agnostic to continue religious observance until his early twenties. Similarly, although he had early decided to follow a literary vocation he did not at first risk a rupture with his family by announcing his intentions. Thus, after his studies for a licence at the Sorbonne had ended in failure he sat the concours d'entrée for the Ecole des Chartes, partly, as Maurice Martin du Gard points out, to avoid further paternal criticism.

Après avoir échoué à la licence ès lettres il y était entré par hasard et pour ne plus s'entendre reprocher par son père de n'être pas encore avoué, notaire, inspecteur des finances ou

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(1) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. lxxxiii.

(2) Noizemont-les-Vierges, pp. 21-2. (Quoted in R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 27.)

lieutenant de hussards comme les camarades de son milieu et son âge. (1)

But this was also a delaying tactic. Martin du Gard readily admits that his sudden decision to become a chartiste was a means of gaining time before declaring to his father that he wished to become a writer - a position which is similar to that of Bernard Grosdidier in Devenir! of whom he had written: 'Il était entré à l'Ecole des Chartes, trois ans auparavant, comme on entre sous une porte cochère pendant une averse : pour attendre', (2) - and he comments:

C'était en effet mon cas. Pour attendre quoi? De vieillir un peu. Pour attendre l'appel au service militaire. Pour attendre surtout l'âge de déclarer à mon père: - "Je veux écrire; et je veux écrire ... des romans". (3)

It was after he had completed his diplôme d'archiviste-paléographe at the Ecole des Chartes that he felt sufficiently independent to be able to devote himself to his writing, planning a novel in three parts entitled Une Vie de saint (which was abandoned after eighteen months of preparation).

Literature would be for Roger Martin du Gard a means of asserting his individuality and of freeing himself from his family and his milieu. Robidoux, for instance, presents the thesis that gradually through his novels Martin du Gard is moving away from the

(1) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, p. 464.

(2) Devenir!, O.C. I, p. 17.

(3) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. 1.

values imposed upon him in his upbringing in a Catholic middle-class family and groping towards a humanistic philosophy in which supernatural explanations are rejected and man is seen as having to work out his own salvation in communion with other men.

... La littérature n'est pas seulement le but auquel il aspire, elle est en même temps l'instrument efficace de son émancipation. Tout progrès dans la prise de conscience de soi et dans l'affermissement de son individualisme est presque toujours la conséquence de quelque tentative littéraire qui, même vouée à l'échec, permet chaque fois au jeune auteur de faire un pas décisif en avant. (1)

Jonas<sup>(2)</sup> makes similar conclusions in his study.

Yet if Martin du Gard did revolt against the materialism and the conventional religion of his class, his relationship with the bourgeoisie remained essentially ambiguous. As many commentators have pointed out, although in Devenir!, Jean Barois and the early books of Les Thibault Martin du Gard exposed the hypocrisy and the complacency of the affluent bourgeois living comfortably on their inherited incomes, the author himself with his château at Le Tertre and his apartments at Nice and Paris showed little inclination to abandon his comfortable middle-class existence. Indeed, the letters of Martin du Gard to his friends Margaritis, Lallemand, Bloch and Gide show little of the social rebel; rather one finds the balanced, rational writer,

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(1) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 23.

(2) M. Jonas, L'Humanisme de Martin du Gard dans Les Thibault, (Thesis Abstract) University Microfilms, vol. XXVI, Dec. 1965, p. 3340.

the man of property preoccupied with the management of his estate, the dutiful son who was deeply affected by the death of his father in 1924 and his mother in 1925, the loving husband who could describe his wife, Hélène, in these terms: 'Ma femme est épatante, comme toujours; courageuse, silencieuse, parfaite',<sup>(1)</sup> and the father who took seriously his responsibilities towards the education of his daughter, Christiane, (born in 1907). In an important letter to Marcel Lallemand in 1937 Roger Martin du Gard discussed his bourgeois inheritance and agreed that with age his attitudes had become more conservative and traditional.

Bien cher ami, je crois que vous avez tout à fait raison à signaler ce que mon atavisme bourgeois a laissé d'éléments en moi. On ne change pas de peau, et c'est le commencement de la sagesse que de s'accepter comme une donnée, et de partir de là. J'ai toute ma vie lutté contre ces éléments, et, à la fois, composé avec. Vieillissant, et devenu beaucoup plus indifférent et plus sceptique, je me retourne vers mon passé, je regarde cette vie qui n'a cessé d'osciller entre deux pôles, et je ne regrette rien. Plus équitable que jadis pour le poids de bourgeoisie que je traîne collé à ma peau, je crois pouvoir penser que c'est à ce poids que je dois, en grande partie, mon équilibre. Je veux dire un certain sens de la mesure, l'horreur des extrêmes et, si je dis toute ma pensée, une certaine disposition à la justice, une certaine aptitude à faire, toujours et en tout, la part de César et la part de Dieu ... Je me déssole de moins en moins d'être tel quand je vois dans le monde contemporain, les dérèglements, les sottises, voire les crimes, dont s'accompagne presque toujours l'esprit partisan (les gens qui, n'ayant dans leur atavisme aucun contrepoids aux acquisitions trop fraîches, aux certitudes récemment acceptées, sont, tout entiers, juchés

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(1) Letter of 19 Jan. 1935. 'Correspondance entre Roger Martin du Gard et Jean-Richard Bloch X', Europe, no. 427-8, Nov.-Dec. 1964, p. 248.

sur quelque point extrême, d'où ils n'aperçoivent qu'une fraction de l'univers, et d'où ils jugent, avec aveuglement, comme s'ils dominaient tout l'horizon). (1)

One may see, then, in Martin du Gard the pattern of increasing conservatism which was noted in Duhamel (although to the end Martin du Gard remained resolutely individualist and never approached that close identification with middle-class ideologies of Georges Duhamel). It is obvious from his journal and his correspondence that the left-wing anti-militarist became more and more disturbed by the threats to the social equilibrium in the period leading up to World War II, haunted by the feeling that he had outlived his age and that he had nothing to say to a young generation whose way of life was foreign to him. Thus, in 1946 he abandoned his work on Enfants de chaos - a play taking the subject of the effect of social disruption on modern youth - writing in his Journal (20 January 1947) that it had been a 'Succession de tentatives et d'avortements, jusqu'au jour où j'ai compris que j'étais trop vieux pour réussir ma pièce. Je puis avoir une opinion sur cette jeunesse désaxée par les événements, mais, en effet, elle m'est foncièrement étrangère'. (2) For Martin du Gard who, like Duhamel, had been wounded by his experience of family life and had rebelled against his milieu (even though his revolt as expressed in his literary works was not as deliberately destructive of

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(1) Letter of 8 July 1937. 'Lettres à un ami', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1152.

(2) Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. cxxix-cxxx.

accepted values as that of his friend Gide) there would be a tendency after 1930 to return to the past for security, and he would show a more ready acceptance of inherited values and of traditional middle-class attitudes towards the family and the school. As he wrote to Gide in 1949 on the subject of Le Journal de Maumort: 'Je m'aperçois que plus je vais, plus je me réfugie dans le passé, moins je fais de place à l'actualité.' (1)

Unlike Duhamel and Romains, Martin du Gard's literary output was small. There are few sources apart from his novels and plays to which one may turn for an understanding of his attitudes towards the educative process. Hence, one must rely primarily on the evidence of the literary works themselves.

From his earliest novels Martin du Gard showed a deep interest in matters of familial education. Devenir! (1908), his first successful work, describes in detail the upbringing of a raté, André Mazerelles, whose failures as a writer and as a person are linked with the cramping effects of an uncompromisingly strict middle-class upbringing. In Devenir!, but even more so in Jean Barois (1913), one finds the influence of nineteenth century scientism on Martin du Gard's attitudes towards the educative process in the family. As the disciple of Taine and the biologist Le Dantec he sees education and heredity as the major deterministic factors which limit the growth of human individuality.

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(1) Letter of 10 March 1949, Correspondance André Gide-Roger Martin du Gard, vol. II, pp. 448-9.

Indeed, in his Journal, Gide writes that Martin du Gard is '... tapi dans son matérialisme comme un sanglier dans sa bauge. Le Dantec, Taine sont ses évangiles...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the universe of Martin du Gard, freedom is illusory; man is unalterably fixed by his formative experiences. If, as is the case with Jean Barois, the characters reach the stage of priding themselves on their emancipation from the value-systems of their upbringing, this brief moment of triumph of the human will is followed by crashing defeat as remorselessly they are drawn back towards their origins. Thus, the tragedy of the protagonist of Jean Barois represents that of '... l'homme affranchi qui tombe, qui fléchit à la fin de sa vie'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Written against the background of the clash of ideologies at the time of Dreyfus, Jean Barois relates the vain struggle of the savant Barois against the weight of his Catholic background. Although he denies the faith that his devout mother and grandmother have taught him and becomes an intransigent libre penseur, he is still, like the figure on his mantelpiece which is a recurrent symbol of the novel, Michelangelo's 'Slave', unable to break the deterministic chain of events, and at his death he returns to his childhood faith. The shape of Barois's life would substantiate the fears he had expressed in his lecture on L'Avenir de l'incroyance

(1) Entry of 1 March 1927. A. Gide, Journal 1889-1939, p. 831.

(2) Letter of 1 Aug. 1911. 'Correspondance Bloch-Martin du Gard I', Europe, no. 413, Sept. 1963, p. 29.

when he was at the height of his powers as a polemist of science and reason, and had warned of the dangers of permitting the child to receive a religious upbringing which would indelibly mark his personality.

"Ne vous rappelez-vous pas combien tenace peut être une foi d'enfance? ... Hélas, l'homme que la religion a marqué dès l'enfance ne s'en débarrasse pas d'un simple mouvement d'épaule, comme d'un vêtement usé ou devenu trop étroit! Les éléments religieux trouvent chez l'enfant un sol préparé par dix-huit siècles d'asservissement consenti; ils se mêlent inextricablement à tous les autres éléments de sa formation intellectuelle et morale".(1)

It follows from this exaggerated view of the power of the educator over the child's mind, with its grave implications for his future development, that the moral ascendancy must be exercised with restraint and responsibility. Jean Barois ends his speech at the Trocadéro with the plea: '... la liberté pour la raison, la liberté pour l'enfant'.(2) Elsewhere, also, we find in Martin du Gard's writings this theme of freedom for the child - freedom from indoctrination, from parental prejudices and social bias, from harsh restraints and adult-imposed modes of thinking. This is seen negatively in his works with the gallery of characters who feel confined and imprisoned by their parents or who flee from their families in a search for personal autonomy such as André Mazerelles, Jacques Thibault, Daniel de Fontanin and Nicole Petit-Dutreuil. Thus, we find that the bourgeois family in Devenir! imposes

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(1) Jean Barois, O.C. I, p. 448.

(2) Ibid, p. 450.

a tyrannical conformism on its members. Although not altogether devoid of tenderness and affection towards their son, the Mazerelles couple lack comprehension of his needs and attempt to force him into a mould, without imagination or tact.

[M. Mazerelles] se plaisait à opposer son sens pratique, son expérience, sa conception simpliste de la nature humaine et de la société, aux généreux enfantillages d'André. Il ne soupçonnait guère à quel point les maladresses de sa critique affermissaient, en le heurtant, l'orgueil du bambin; ses railleries, qu'il croyait salutaires, firent, de ce qui n'eût sans doute été qu'un travers de l'âge ingrat, la tare de toute une vie.(1)

Nor is the failure of parents to understand their children limited to the Mazerelles family. André's frequentation of the réunions mondaines - the balls and receptions arranged by society matrons seeking suitable marriage partners for their daughters amongst the eligible young bachelors of the haute bourgeoisie - introduces him to the pathetic world of the jeune fille bien élevée, smothered by maternal protectiveness and thirsting for friendship and sympathy.

Elles souffraient aussi, presque toutes, de leur vie de famille. - "La famille, disait mélancoliquement l'une d'elles, c'est de manger ensemble ... "Non pas qu'elles fussent traitées sans tendresse; mais qu'était l'affection grondeuse des parents pour cette soif malade qu'elles avaient d'être entièrement comprises et exclusivement aimées? Les unes souffraient des mécontentes qui, sans qu'il en parût au-dehors, bouleversaient la maison. D'autres, au contraire, à voir l'intimité de leur père et de leur mère, éprouvaient un sentiment d'inavouable amertume, qui leur faisait trouver plus atroce leur isolement; à celles-là, il ne restait même plus

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(1) Devenir!, O.C. I, p. 7.

d'intimité possible avec leur mère: leur coeur exclusif refusait le partage.(1)

One finds in Martin du Gard's correspondence condemnation of parents and educators who attempt to force their thinking on the children under their care. Not only does he criticise the members of the bourgeoisie bien pensante who impose upon their sons and daughters a strict regimen of devotion but also his disapprobation extends to all educators who teach any doctrine dogmatically, whether they be Catholic or communist. Thus, in a letter to Gide in 1935 he warns against the fanaticism to which the young Catherine Gide is exposed at Chabris.

... Cette enfant est élevée dans les étroites lisières de la foi communiste. Et pour moi c'est un mode de formation tout aussi préjudiciable pour le développement de jugement, que si elle était élevée par une vieille fille bigote à l'ombre des sacristies... La pensée ne commence qu'avec le doute. Toute éducation qui écarte systématiquement le doute, - et qui alimente chez l'enfant cette assurance, trop naturelle, cette assurance aveugle et méprisante qui est le produit fatal de la foi, quelle que soit cette foi, - non seulement ne procure pas à l'intelligence une nourriture saine, mais la fausse, au départ; au point que tout redressement ultérieur devient très difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible... La seule éducation rationnelle, celle qui, seule, peut préparer un être à se former, plus tard, selon ses dons propres, au contact de la vie et par des expériences personnelles, - est sceptique. Ce n'est pas une théorie toute faite que je défends. C'est le résultat de quelque quarante ans d'observation, de souvenirs, de réflexions, et d'expériences.(2)

Gibson<sup>(3)</sup> makes the point that after their

(1) Ibid, p. 144.

(2) Letter of 10 Sept. 1935. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. II, p. 45.

(3) See R. Gibson, Roger Martin du Gard, pp. 92-3.

experiences of family life the characters in Martin du Gard's novels show a marked reluctance to accept marital responsibilities and that those that marry, such as Jean Barois, fail to find lasting happiness. It is significant that the section of the novel which deals with Jean's growing disillusionment with his marriage to the devout Cécile is headed with a quotation from Herzog: 'Le mariage n'est dangereux que pour l'homme qui a des idées'.<sup>(1)</sup> Indeed, Martin du Gard, who also had married a conventionally educated Catholic, would be conscious of conflict of belief between husband and wife and of the problems surrounding the upbringing of a daughter. As he writes to Gide: '... Quel piège infernal que le mariage!'<sup>(2)</sup> However, if he does expose the negative side of family interaction one cannot read the novels of Martin du Gard as attacking the institution of the family as such. Certainly, he avoids the sentimental panegyrics of the family which we find in some of Duhamel's writings; he explodes the myth of family unity and opposes a realistic estimate of the failings of familial education to the cult of the foyer; but at the same time he would seem to suggest that with goodwill and tolerance these faults may be overcome. Even in Jean Barois the discord of Jean Barois and his wife (which ends with tender reconciliation when with growing

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(1) Jean Barois, O.C. I, p. 261.

(2) Letter of 11 March 1937. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. II, p. 98.

infirmity he loses his uncompromising attitudes towards Cécile's religion) is balanced by the harmony that reigns in the foyer of Marc-Elie Luce, the senator and member of the Institut whose lucidity, calmness and moderation contrast with the jacobinism of the other free-thinkers (and who, according to Camus '... représente probablement l'idéal de Martin du Gard, à cette époque').<sup>(1)</sup> From the beginning Luce is seen as a family man who raises his numerous children in an atmosphere of affection and freedom. In the section entitled "Le Semeur" the reader is introduced to the intimacy of the foyer in the home at Auteuil where the father is directing the children's school-work while his wife attends to a sick daughter.

LUCE (apparaissant sur le perron). - "Allons, mes petits... Il est l'heure... Au travail!"

Une galopade joyeuse. Les deux aînés, - une fillette de treize ans, un gamin de douze, - arrivent les premiers. Leur essoufflement, dans l'air froid, les enveloppe de buée. Les autres rejoignent, un à un, jusqu'à la dernière de la bande, une petite de six ans.

Le poêle de la salle à manger ronfle. Sur la grande table cirée s'alignent les encriers, les sous-main, des livres de classe.

Debout à la porte du cabinet, le père regarde.

Ils s'entr'aident gentiment, sans tapage, en liberté.

Puis le silence s'établit tout seul.<sup>(2)</sup>

Years later on his death-bed Luce's final thoughts will be with his children: "Qu'ils sont beaux, mes enfants!"<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to O.C. I, p. xviii.

(2) Jean Barois, O.C. I, p. 335.

(3) Ibid, p. 555.

Martin du Gard adds to his plea for liberty for the child from parental indoctrination an appeal for parents to understand the difficulties of adjustment of their children at adolescence. In Part III it will be seen from the study of the adolescent development of Jacques Thibault and Jenny and Daniel de Fontanin that the author is deeply concerned with the problems of puberty and the effect of sexual maturation on moral and social development. In his last, unfinished work, Le Journal de Maumort, he suggests that more research should be undertaken into this subject, expressing his conviction that puberty is an important determinant factor in later growth and that the wall of silence surrounding the development of sexual feelings should be broken down. He concludes: 'Dis-moi ce qu'a été ta puberté, et je connaîtraï tes secrets ...' (1) However, apart from advocating a general attitude of sympathy and understanding towards the adolescent, Martin du Gard has little positive to say on this question. It is true that in his sojourn at Martinique in 1939 he studied the sexual habits of the youth and reported to Gide his observations on the absence of vice which he attributed to the total freedom allowed adolescents in forming heterosexual relationships, but he made no claims that these customs would be appropriate for Europeans. (2)

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(1) Extract from Maumort quoted in a letter to Gide, 1 April 1948. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. II, p. 405.

(2) See letter of 10 June 1939. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. II, pp. 171-81.

Previously it was suggested that in his later years Martin du Gard became more conservative in his social and educational views. This is evident from his correspondence which gives us a picture of his relationship with his only daughter, Christiane, and his attitude towards the upbringing of the grandchildren (Christiane married her father's old friend, Marcel de Coppet, a man much her senior, in 1929). In 1919 he could write to Bloch of his wish to rear Christiane with the minimum of paternal direction: 'Ma fille pousse en liberté et m'entoure de joie'.<sup>(1)</sup> But later he would regret that he had not exercised firmer control over her education. Her religious sentiments bring from him an uncharacteristic outburst of intolerance in his letter to Gide (5 Jan. 1926). 'Vous savez combien l'emprise religieuse sur Christiane m'a irrité, blessé, rendu mauvais, haineux.'<sup>(2)</sup> One notes also that in a letter of the following year he gave evidence of the protectiveness which he condemned in others when he admitted his reluctance to allow his twenty-year-old daughter independence, confessing anxiety at her wish to spend the winter in England.<sup>(3)</sup>

Even more significant is the long letter he wrote to Gide in 1944 when he expressed his reservations

- (1) Letter of 29 July 1919. 'Correspondance Bloch-Martin du Gard III', Europe, no. 415-6, Nov.-Dec. 1963, p. 102.
- (2) Letter of 5 Jan. 1926. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. I, p. 284.
- (3) Letter of 19 Sept. 1927. 'Correspondance Bloch-Martin du Gard VI', Europe, no. 421-2, May-June 1964, p. 262.

concerning progressive methods of child rearing. He admitted to Gide:

... J'en arrive à croire, aujourd'hui, que la plus dangereuse erreur, c'est de vouloir innover en matière d'éducation... Je suis devenu, en matière d'éducation, terriblement traditionaliste! Je vous parlerai un jour de mes petits-enfants. On les mutile à plaisir, pour se conformer à des vues pédagogiques compliquées, séduisantes parfois, intelligentes pour la plupart quand on en disserte entre adultes, mais déplorables quant au résultat, dès qu'on les applique. (1)

According to Martin du Gard the error in modern pedagogy is the stress on individualism and optimum personal development - '... de vouloir fabriquer des êtres d'exception ...'. (2) The programme he proposes is one which has as its basis social conformity.

La sagesse, c'est d'élever ses enfants comme tout le monde, sans autre ambition que d'en faire des articles de série. Si l'enfant a de la qualité, il dépassera de lui-même le niveau courant... Avant tout, le devoir des parents est de faire de l'enfant (qui est appelé, coûte que coûte, à être un élément social), un égal des autres, et de le munir, d'abord, du bagage le plus courant, pour qu'il soit à sa place inter pares, un parmi les autres, et non un phénomène à part qui sera toujours un étranger dans sa génération. Si j'avais un enfant à élever, je le mettrais à l'école primaire, puis au lycée; je l'enverrais, avec tous les autres, au catéchisme; je le traiterais, avec application, exactement comme tous les parents d'aujourd'hui traitent leurs enfants, pour qu'il soit socialement équipé comme tous ceux avec lesquels il sera, toute sa vie, appelé à vivre. Et puis, cela étant acquis, je chercherais à le développer au delà du niveau courant pour qu'il soit à la fois tout pareil aux autres, et supérieur. Ce faisant, je crois que je lui éviterais bien des souffrances d'inadaptation; et à moi, parent, bien des déboires ... (3)

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(1) Letter of 8 Dec. 1944. Correspondance Gide-Martin du Gard, vol. II, pp. 292-3.

(2) Ibid, p. 292.

(3) Ibid, pp. 292-3.

Hence, as in the case of Georges Duhamel, the later views of the writer on familial education represent a remarkable change of attitude when compared with the ideas found in his youthful works. The sentiments on child development expressed in the above passage conflict sharply with the attack on the conformist pressures in the middle-class family in Devenir! and the stress on the dangers presented by a religious training of the young in Jean Barois.

#### THE SCHOOL:

As was befitting the son of Catholic parents in the haute bourgeoisie the formal education of Roger Martin du Gard was entrusted to the prêtres libres of the Ecole Fénelon in the rue du Général-Foy. In October 1892, at the age of eleven, he entered the Ecole Fénelon as a demi-pensionnaire while attending classes at the Lycée Condorcet. Since he commenced in cinquième one presumes that prior to the start of his secondary schooling he had received private tutoring in his home - a common procedure for the children of his milieu.

The transition from home to school was an unhappy experience for the young Martin du Gard. He recalls that as a new entrant he had found difficulty adapting to school life and had withdrawn into himself. '... Pendant les récréations, j'allais m'asseoir, seul, sur le muret de la patinoire.'<sup>(1)</sup> During the following

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(1) In Memoriam, O.C. I, p. 563.

three years that he spent at the École Fénelon Martin du Gard was a cancre, in all but French composition and history - 'Pas tout à fait le cancre indéfectible, ni le potache indiscipliné; non, plutôt docile, mais paresseux et résolument inattentif.'<sup>(1)</sup> In his Souvenirs he confesses that much of his time was spent secretly reading magazines and novels which were taken from his father's library or borrowed from his classmates (one of whom was Gaston Gallimard at the Lycée Condorcet who was to be instrumental in publishing Jean Barois). At that time his favourite authors were Emile Zola, Octave Mirbeau, and Jean Lorrain whose short stories '... fort osés ...'<sup>(2)</sup> appeared in the Écho de Paris. He had also written sentimental poems and attempted 'realistic' short stories '... d'un mauvais goût inimaginable'.<sup>(3)</sup> Already the young collégien was attracted by the theatre (one may possibly detect his father's influence in this), and regularly attended the Thursday matinées. Indeed, Martin du Gard claims that as a youth he rarely missed a play by Bernstein, Bataille, Porto-Riche, Donnay, Curel or Capus.

However, it appears that his avid reading and delight in the theatre were not matched by an interest in the subjects appearing in the school curriculum and as the result of his evident lack of progress Paul

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(1) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. xliii.

(2) Ibid, p. xliii.

(3) Ibid, p. xliv.

Martin du Gard was forced to withdraw him from the Ecole Fénelon in January 1896. As Roger Martin du Gard has commented on his period at the demi-pensionnat:

Des licences que permettait le règlement très lâche de l'Ecole, j'avais peut-être tiré quelque profit pour ma formation générale, mais aucun pour mon instruction scolaire. (1)

But at least at the Ecole he had discovered amongst the priests one whose influence upon his general thought and intellectual development was to be considerable - Marcel Hébert. In his Souvenirs, in the dedication of Jean Barois and particularly in In Memoriam which was written in 1916 shortly after Hébert's death, he pays tribute to his former teacher for his intellectual integrity. Shortly after his arrival at the Ecole Fénelon Roger Martin du Gard became aware that one priest in the recreation periods was always surrounded by a group of pupils. Possibly because of his loneliness at this time he was attracted by the animation of the discussions of Hébert and his disciples. At Christmas Martin du Gard chose Hébert to be his confessor. Although he instinctively disliked the intimacy of the confessional he discovered that his interviews with Hébert were to be an intellectual and moral revelation. Hébert, a modernist in theology, who was to be dismissed from his post as director of the Ecole Fénelon in 1901 and finally forced to leave the priesthood because of his views on the symbolical truth of religion, made use of this opportunity to draw

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(1) In Memoriam, O.C. I, p. 563.

the attention of his pupil to broad, moral principles rather than to matters of doctrine.

Puis, ayant ainsi ravivé, rajeuni, rapproché de nous la grande loi morale dont il voulait tirer enseignement; ayant ainsi éveillé l'imagination de l'enfant et rendu son attention plus réceptive par cet intérêt d'actualité, il entraînait aussitôt son pénitent à travers un monde de pensées nouvelles. Il s'élevait d'un élan si aisé aux plus hautes conceptions morales, et, pour atteindre ces cimes, il usait de mots si simples, d'images si concrètes, qu'il était impossible de ne pas le suivre.(1)

We can glimpse in this paragraph the effectiveness of Hébert's pedagogy - the clear exposition drawing on examples from the experience of the child and the gradual development of the theme to include general principles.

It is debatable, however, whether Hébert's theological beliefs had a major influence on Roger Martin du Gard's spiritual development. Robidoux,(2) for instance, rejects the view that Hébert's teaching precipitated Martin du Gard's decision to leave the Church and Martin du Gard, himself, has recorded that he owes more to the example of conviction and courage of the man than his 'doctrine'.

... Nous sommes nombreux à pouvoir proclamer que la suprême dignité de sa vie, son inlassable recherche du parfait, et cette joie spontanée, féconde, que nous éprouvions à nous hausser vers lui, à le vénérer comme un saint, nous a pour toujours inculqué, avec le goût essentiel du juste et du vrai, un respect de la pureté morale, dont il nous restera toujours quelque chose.(3)

(1) Ibid, p. 566.

(2) See R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, chapt. I.

(3) In Memoriam, O.C. I, pp. 567-8.

Even after he left the Ecole, the ex-pupil continued to visit Hébert. During one of their discussions when Martin du Gard was sixteen or seventeen, Hébert introduced him to War and Peace - a work which was to be crucial for his literary formation, for the reading of Tolstoy was to turn him away from the theatre to '... le roman de longue haleine, à personnages nombreux et à multiples épisodes'.<sup>(1)</sup> This debt to Tolstoy was acknowledged publicly in his Nobel Prize speech in December 1937. Both in the psychological truth of his characterisation and in his personal vision of the universe with his search for the eternal verities Tolstoy for Roger Martin du Gard would be '... le grand Maître'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Because of his failure to apply himself to his studies at the Ecole Fénelon and the Lycée Condorcet Martin du Gard was placed by his father in the home of Louis Mellerio, a teacher at the Lycée Janson-de-Sailly in order to be given remedial instruction. Earlier it has been suggested that the boy found himself in an environment markedly different from that of his home in the rue Sainte-Anne. It is obvious from the description given in the Souvenirs that the ex-normalien was in all respects an outstanding teacher - '... doué d'une très fine intuition psychologique'<sup>(3)</sup> - who saw in his new pupil a boy of natural sensitivity and intelligence who was under-achieving because of a

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(1) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. xlviiii.

(2) 'Discours de Stockholm', N.N.R.F., no. 77, 1 May 1959, p. 959.

(3) Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. xlvi-xlvi.

restrictive home background. At least such a conclusion may be reached from an examination of the treatment he provided for the reluctant learner entrusted to his care. To provide an environment in which the boy's interests might develop naturally he had endeavoured to free him from unnecessary restraints. Martin du Gard was given free use of a library well stocked with contemporary fiction as well as the classics and in contrast to the controlled atmosphere of his home he was permitted to read without restriction. 'Le soir, je pouvais bouquiner dans mon lit jusqu'à une heure tardive, sans m'attirer de reproche: à peine, de temps à autre, une recommandation amicale de ne pas veiller trop tard.'<sup>(1)</sup> His reading habits were guided discreetly by the Mellerios who discussed with their pensionnaire the authors he was studying and suggested others he could read with profit. 'Dans cet air saturé de littérature, et de littérature "romanesque", je respirais avec délices; c'était nouveau pour moi et grisant.'<sup>(2)</sup> It seems that this method of allowing the boy the opportunity to pursue his interest in literature was to stimulate his progress in other directions for, during the six months that he spent under Mellerio's tuition, Roger Martin du Gard was to revise from the beginning his studies of Latin and Greek and to overcome his backwardness in other subjects. '... Il faut croire que cette fringale, loin de nuire

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(1) Ibid, p. xlvi.

(2) Ibid, p. xlvi.

à mon travail, lui en a été en fin de compte salutaire, parce qu'elle m'astreignait à un constant exercice d'attention, de mémoire, et qu'elle entretenait en moi une activité cérébrale joyeuse et confuse.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Even more important for Martin du Gard's vocation as a writer was Mellerio's teaching of composition skills. Mellerio had found that his pupil lacked in his written expression a concern for structure and logical development. To impress the need for planning, the tutor had given a daily subject which was to be set out as a brief with topic sentences and numbered paragraphs. 'Le résultat ne s'est pas fait attendre: en deux mois, je commençais à être rompu à cet exercice, et aucun, je crois, ne m'a été plus utile ... De ce jour-là, j'ai repoussé la tentation, à laquelle j'avais toujours cédé, de me lancer à l'aveuglette en me fiant à ma facilité de plume.'<sup>(2)</sup>

After six months of special tuition Roger Martin du Gard was pronounced ready to resume his formal schooling and transferred to rhétorique at the Lycée Janson-de-Sailly where '... le cancre de Condorcet ...'<sup>(3)</sup> was able to pass the first part of the baccalauréat in July 1897 and the second in 1898.

However, the trials of the young student were not yet over - his years at the Sorbonne studying for the licence ès lettres (despite his father's expressed wish

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(1) Ibid, p. xlvi.  
 (2) Ibid, p. xlvii.  
 (3) Ibid, p. xlvi.

that he study law) were to result in failure. According to the chronologie which was incorporated in the Oeuvres complètes Martin du Gard was an arts student at the Sorbonne from November 1898 to July 1899, but Robidoux<sup>(1)</sup> from an examination of the register of the Ecole des Chartes has revealed that in fact Martin du Gard spent a second year at the Sorbonne before his two successive failures prompted him to sit the concours d'entrée for the Ecole des Chartes -- a specialist school for training archivists and paleographers. Martin du Gard recalls that the change of direction in his academic training resulted from his inability to face '... une nouvelle année de thèmes latins et de thèmes grecs'<sup>(2)</sup> although he had received the interest and literary encouragement of one of his lecturers at the Sorbonne - Emile Faguet.

It was then, according to Robidoux, the 28 October 1900 that Roger Martin du Gard gained entry to the Ecole des Chartes where he was to spend four years, being forced to repeat his second year of studies in 1903-1904 after the interruption of his instruction the previous year to fulfil his military training requirements. Upon the completion of his thesis on Les Ruines de l'Abbaye de Jumièges the chartiste, Martin du Gard, qualified for his diplôme d'archiviste-paléographe. It will be suggested later that the

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(1) See R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, pp. 51 and 82.

(2) Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. xlix-l.

attitudes towards his training at the Ecole des Chartes which he expressed in his Souvenirs of 1955 appear to have changed considerably from his early utterances. Certainly his ultimate view of his period as a chartiste is one of warm approbation for the methods of instruction and the integrity of the teachers. In the Souvenirs he declares that he learnt from his instructors '... une certaine méthode de travail [et] ... une certaine discipline intellectuelle et morale, qui me sont devenues une seconde nature.'<sup>(1)</sup> According to Martin du Gard the example of the teachers at the Ecole des Chartes helped him to overcome his tendency towards improvisation and indiscipline and to adopt the principle of patient research before undertaking any major study, for which Mellerio had laid the foundation.

Je dois à leur exemple de m'être perpétuellement défié des besognes impromptues. Par un fétichisme peut-être excessif de l'exactitude, - je pourrais presque dire: par un besoin personnel de sécurité -, avant d'entreprendre un nouveau livre, je me suis toujours astreint à rassembler le plus de renseignements possibles, à accumuler notes et fiches, afin de réduire au minimum les risques d'erreur, et de me prémunir contre les entraînements de l'improvisation.<sup>(2)</sup>

The methods of work of the Ecole des Chartes became part of Martin du Gard's literary technique. He is in Mallet's words, 'un archiviste monumental'<sup>(3)</sup> with a Stendhalian addiction to the compilation of fiches

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(1) Ibid, p. li.

(2) Ibid, p. li.

(3) R. Mallet, 'Un Archiviste monumental', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1046.

and the preparation of massive documentation.<sup>(1)</sup>

Indeed, writing of the preparatory research for Jean Barois he revealed to his friend Margaritis in 1918:

Barois, c'est trois ans de travail suivi, mais c'est dix ans de notes quotidiennes, d'articles de journaux découpés et classés dans des chemises étiquetées. Barois n'a pas été écrit en fumant des cigarettes, mais en bûchant pendant dix ans; en amassant, fragment par fragment, des idées sur tout; en conservant et en relisant (car je relis constamment mes archives) de ces articles qui n'ont l'air de rien et autour desquels le hasard a voulu que je secrète des idées à moi.<sup>(2)</sup>

In addition to a method of work, his teachers were to instill in him a scrupulous concern for historical truth. He relates in his Souvenirs his respect for the scientific exactitude and professional integrity shown by the teaching personnel at the Ecole des Chartes. 'J'en ai connus qui n'ont pas hésité à renier publiquement le résultat de plusieurs années de labeur parce qu'ils s'apercevaient qu'ils s'étaient fourvoyés dans leur recherche de la vérité.'<sup>(3)</sup> One sees the training of the chartiste reflected in a prose style which avoids emotional excess and in the attitude

- (1) In Amitiés et rencontres Romains refers to the differences in work procedures between himself and Martin du Gard. After the initial preparation of material for Les Hommes de bonne volonté he had relied on his memory and on a few notes which filled '... un dossier épais de quelques centimètres à peine ...'. Martin du Gard, however, had established for Les Thibault '... tout un système de notes, de fiches, de tableaux synoptiques et autres auquel il se référait constamment. Il n'aurait pu se déplacer qu'avec une ou deux malles de dossiers'. See Amitiés et rencontres, pp. 130-1.
- (2) Second letter of 6 Feb. 1918. 'Lettres à Pierre Margaritis', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1126.
- (3) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. li.

which the novelist adopts of scientific objectivity. He is devoted, as Gibson points out, to a '...cult of impersonality...'.<sup>(1)</sup> In addition, following the example of his maîtres, Roger Martin du Gard possesses a highly developed critical sense and the moral strength to abandon projects which fail to reach his own rigorous standards. We discover from his Souvenirs and his correspondence that a succession of novels - Une Vie de saint, Marise, L'Appareillage, Maumort, as well as other unnamed works - were left uncompleted. Martin du Gard's artistic honesty and intellectual integrity have been aptly described by Camus as '...un jansénisme de l'art...'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Finally, he declares that his period as a chartiste studying history and medieval architecture awoke in him a deep and lasting interest in political and social affairs. He confesses that prior to his entry to the Ecole des Chartes he had taken little notice of contemporary events - even the Dreyfus case had attracted little attention on his part. But his training revealed to him the extent to which man is bound by history and society.

Cet intérêt pour l'histoire que j'avais acquis aux Chartes, m'a fréquemment amené à faire, dans mes livres, une place aux faits historiques dont mes personnages se trouvaient être les témoins. Il m'était devenu impossible de concevoir un personnage moderne détaché de son temps; de la société, de l'histoire de son temps.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) R. Gibson, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 115.

(2) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to O.C.I., p. xii.

(3) Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. 1-li.

One must also not ignore the influence on his social attitudes of the student milieu. Particularly important for the development of his political and social thinking was his year of military service at Rouen in 1902-3 where in camp he was associated with other dispensés - students who were permitted to complete their training in one year instead of the usual three. Amongst his friends at Rouen were Marcel de Coppet and Jean-Richard Bloch who were to influence him strongly by their idealism and their Left-wing politics. Earlier we have seen that Martin du Gard reacted against the conservative attitudes of the haute bourgeoisie as represented by his family. It would seem that at this stage of his growth, his personal antipathy gained a definite political orientation. As Robidoux comments:

Le jeune bourgeois qu'était Martin du Gard, sans toutefois aliéner son indépendance, et en demeurant toujours à l'écart des partis, devint lui aussi, et pour de bon, un homme de gauche.(1)

Although Martin du Gard's formal education ended with his passing of the diplôme d'archiviste - paléographe in 1905, mention must be made of the course of clinical lectures he attended at various Paris hospitals in 1908. After the failure of ~~the~~ Une Vie de saint in that year, he sought entry to the hospitals from an introduction to Georges Dumas, a specialist in psychiatric disorders, in order to gain greater understanding of the personality and the mental processes.

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(1) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 84.

For several months he joined the externes at the H<sup>o</sup>tel-Dieu, Pitie', Salp<sup>o</sup>tri<sup>o</sup>ri<sup>o</sup>re and Sainte-Anne to attend the clinics of the psychiatrists Ballet, Babinski, Reymond and Dumas. Not only did Martin du Gard, like Duhamel, gain from this experience a knowledge of hospitals and of the practice of medicine which would be seen in his novels but also, one suspects, an increased appreciation of '...cette nature secr<sup>o</sup>te qui reste cach<sup>o</sup>e sous les apparences...' (1) which had been revealed to him in Tolstoy. No doubt his brief training in psychiatry has some links with the studies of abnormal behaviour which are seen in his works - homosexual tendencies in the play Un Taciturne, suggestions of lesbianism in Les Thibault (Anne de Battaincourt and the English governess Miss Mary), incest involving a brother and a sister in the nouvelle, Confidence africaine, as well as the writer's ability to suggest deeper motives behind apparently normal relationships. In Camus's view Martin du Gard is a master psychologist who has the ability to create '...le portrait en opaisseur...' (2) of his characters. We shall find in examining the portrayal of the educator-learner interaction in Martin du Gard's works evidence of 'cette troisi<sup>o</sup>me dimension qui olargit son oeuvre...' (3)

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(1) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. xlix.

(2) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to O.C. I, p. ix.

(3) Ibid, p. ix.

In his Souvenirs, his correspondence and the extracts which have been published from his journal, Roger Martin du Gard makes few comments of a general nature on the educative process in the schools and in the absence of essays or articles one is forced, as in the case of the family, to rely heavily on the references which he makes to schools in the novels to evaluate his attitudes towards formal instruction. In Vieille France, for instance, which was published in 1933, the problem of the instituteur in a community hostile to culture is handled sympathetically. In this album de croquis villageois<sup>(1)</sup> with its savage treatment of the closed minds, ignorance and degeneracy of the country dwellers and the inhabitants of the small village of Maupeyrou - a portrayal which he defended as realistic in a reply to the criticisms of Marcel Arland<sup>(2)</sup> - the two school teachers, Ennberg and his unmarried sister, stand out as the only characters who retain their idealism and their determination to succeed. But even their faith in their mission is tested to breaking point by poverty, isolation, the indifference of the authorities and the apathy of the parents. At the end of Vieille France Mlle Ennberg loses the one pupil in whom she had glimpsed intelligence and sensitivity. Despite the teacher's entreaties and her offer of free tuition, the mother of the girl, Mme Quérolle, removes her daughter from the village school, adding salt to

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(1) Vieille France, O.C. II, p. 1015.

(2) See M. Arland, 'Chronique des romans - Vieille France', N.R.F., no. 237, 1 June 1933, pp. 985-6.

the wounds with her final remark: "La petite en sait déjà trop. Pour ce que ça lui servira! Nous ne voulons pas qu'elle entre dans les Postes. Encore moins qu'elle soit institutrice!"<sup>(1)</sup> Mlle Ennberg is left with grave doubts concerning the possibility of bringing enlightenment to '...cette humanité animale ...'<sup>(2)</sup> and whether the socialist revolution would in fact bring about fundamental changes in attitudes. Her brother must also struggle to retain his optimism in the face of the general antipathy to compulsory primary education; he too is filled with troubling thoughts as to the efficacy of his work but he stoically holds to his self-appointed task '...de faire chaque jour un peu plus, un peu mieux, que la veille...'.<sup>(3)</sup>

In addition to this depressing picture of the state of primary education in country areas which is relieved only by the honesty and courage of the instituteurs, there are the ironical descriptions of the private school system in Devenir. In this early work Martin du Gard ridiculed the social pretentiousness inherent in the Catholic demi-pensionnats such as the Ecole Saint-Thomas frequented by '...la jeunesse catholique et dorée...'.<sup>(4)</sup>

C'était un milieu assez fermé: il fallait avoir "l'esprit de la maison", qui, pratiquement, se définissait: un papa riche et bien pensant...Les enfants s'estimaient entre eux selon la situation sociale de

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(1) Vieille France, O.C. II, p. 1101

(2) Ibid, p. 1102.

(3) Ibid, p. 1102.

(4) Devenir, O.C. I, p. 10.

leurs pères, et l'élégance de leurs mères, qu'on apercevait, certains jours de fête, descendant de voiture à la porte de la chapelle.(1)

Nor is it suggested that the demi-pensionnat provides careful supervision or encourages effective work habits. The chartiste, Bernard Grosdidier, like André Mazerelles, retains as an ex-pupil of the Ecole Saint-Thomas '...un souvenir excellent...' (2) of the freedom which he had been allowed, but he admits that he had drawn little intellectual profit from his studies. There is an unmistakable autobiographical element in the account of Bernard's scholastic inactivity:

...Il avait indiscrètement abusé des libertés permises, ne travaillant qu'à ses heures, et transformant son pupitre d'étude en bibliothèque illicite, où trônait le Musset des quizièmes années; aussi, à la mort de son père, son tuteur, inquiet de l'approche du bachot, l'avait-il confié à un jeune normalien, éclectique et libre-penseur, qui, utilisant la curiosité naturelle du jeune homme, avait comblé les fondrières et parfait son éducation.(3)

The Ecole appears equally ineffective in its religious functions, with the priests seemingly unwilling to risk alienating their clientele by applying a strict interpretation of religious observance. '...La plupart des élèves quittaient l'école, munis d'une foi relativement solide en son fond, et libre, en sa forme, jusqu'à l'indifférence: c'était assez, d'ailleurs, pour constituer l'élite de la bourgeoisie bien pensante.' (4)

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(1) Ibid, p. 10.

(2) Ibid, p. 11.

(3) Ibid, p. 11.

(4) Ibid, p. 11.

However, in Jean Barois the Catholic school is no longer dismissed as an innocuous anachronism - an institution which has survived into the twentieth century because of its connections with a social élite. In this work Martin du Gard places the private school into historical perspective at the centre of the clash of ideologies. As Daspre claims: 'Jean Barois est au coeur de l'actualité.'<sup>(1)</sup> At the time of its writing (1910 - 13), the controversy regarding the education of the nation's youth had not abated; the bitter struggle between the Catholics and the anti-clerical factions over the closure of the schools conducted by the teaching congregations was not yet forgotten. The Catholic school in Jean Barois which is fighting for its existence at the end of the nineteenth century, besieged by the critics of the Left, is portrayed as bitterly opposed to modern ideas and savagely intolerant of those who question its doctrines.

Jean Barois, the son of a free-thinking doctor and a devout mother, is representative of the youth who are the target of the opposing forces of rationalism and orthodox religion. His Catholic upbringing is not proof against the scientific rationalism of the Ecole de Médecine and the natural science classes of the Sorbonne. The compromise which his fellow student, abbé Schertz, a young Swiss priest, offers him of the symbolical truth of dogma is for him only a temporary expedient which

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(1) A. Daspre, 'Sur le Réalisme de Jean Barois', Europe, no. 413, Sept 1963 p. 42.

does not satisfactorily answer the contradictions he sees in Church doctrine. Later Luce will say of Barois's experience: "'Son éducation catholique s'est brisée, un jour, contre la science: toute la jeunesse cultivée passe par là.'" (1) It is during his period as a biology master at a Catholic secondary school, the Collège Venceslas, that his position as an atheist becomes fixed and leads to a direct confrontation between the scientific and the religious interpretations of existence in the classroom.

The Collège Venceslas is a boys' school controlled by the Church, directed by priests but with a lay teaching staff. For Jean Barois, despite his wavering faith, the first four years that he spends at the college are filled with satisfaction. In a letter written to Schertz, who is now a teacher at the Institut catholique at Berne, he declares that '...l'enseignement y est relativement très libre, et le cours que je fais ne subit aucun contrôle'. (2)

However, it is Barois's enthusiastic teaching of scientific materialism which alarms the Church authorities and finally causes them to act. The chapter in 'La Rupture' which describes his lesson on Darwinian evolutionary theory in the presence of the directeur, abbé Miriel, who has been alerted as to the direction of his colleague's teaching from his inspection of a pupil's notebook, dramatically opposes

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(1) Jean Barois, O.C. I, p. 549.

(2) Ibid, p. 263.

the two forces. At the same time Martin du Gard presents a convincing picture of classroom interaction with the teacher hesitant at first at the entrance of the directeur, temporarily losing control of his lesson, then gathering strength as he launches into his exposition of transformism and recapturing the attention of his pupils. 'Entre Jean et sa classe, s'est rétabli un incessant échange de courants. Il la sent onduler et frémir à son commandement.'<sup>(1)</sup> In contrast to Barois's openness and refusal to modify his views to avoid the disapproval of his superiors, the directeur, abbé Miriel, is represented as hypocritical and bigoted. His features betray insincerity and sanctimony: '...un regard pâle, d'une lucidité avertie et sans indulgence. Sur les lèvres minces, un sourire d'enfant, factice peut-être, mais d'un grand charme.'<sup>(2)</sup> Miriel's manner in the classroom, as well as the methods he adopts in gathering evidence on his colleague's teaching and in communicating his criticisms to him through a third person, bear out this estimation of his character. Unable to accept Miriel's ultimatum to restrict his instruction to the examination syllabus - which he believes is contrary to the higher obligations of a teacher '...de porter à un degré plus élevé l'éducation générale de ses élèves, et de donner des motifs d'exaltation à leurs personnalités naissantes',<sup>(3)</sup>-

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(1) Ibid, p. 290.

(2) Ibid, p. 288.

(3) Ibid, p. 296.

Barois tenders his resignation and, after his rupture with his wife, founds with other libre-penseurs the review, Le Semeur.

Thus, the description of the Church school emphasises the narrowness of the teaching and the intolerance of the administration. The portrait of the teacher-priest in Martin du Gard's works is generally unflattering. We shall see in the examination of the process of education in Les Thibault that the directeur of the demi-pensionnat in Le Cahier gris, abbé Binot, bears a considerable similarity to Miriel. However, if one is permitted to attribute to the author the views on the Church schools expressed by his principal character, Jean Barois, then Martin du Gard's opposition to the écoles libres does not imply that he is an advocate of their suppression. One notes that Jean Barois, unlike the more sectarian members of the Semeur group, is not a virulent anti-clerical. He views the position of the Catholic schools with the same respect for justice and liberty which he had shown at the time of the Dreyfus case. In his speech at the Trocadéro he does not suggest that these institutions should be closed; rather he maintains that the opponents of the Church should open their own schools to counter its influence in education. Similarly, later, at the time of the law of separation and the Comhist legislation he condemns the excesses of anti-clericalism.

The tertiary institutions find frequent satirical reference in Martin du Gard's early writings. In Devenir!, for instance, the circle of friends of André Mazerelles mainly comprises students of the grandes écoles or the Sorbonne. In the description of Cayrouse, a member of this group, Martin du Gard mocks the affectation of the normalien.

Il possède de l'esprit, du meilleur: général et très personnel; mais il a une façon de souligner d'un rire averti et satisfait ce qu'il dit, et une manière spéciale de prononcer "je", qui sent de loin l'Ecole normale...Au demeurant, il est d'un commerce sympathique; il ne pose jamais l'érudit, au contraire; il poserait plus volontiers l'homme du monde qui n'a besoin de rien savoir; et ce pédantisme-là est aussi de la pure tradition normalienne.(1)

Mazerelles, himself, after completing his licence ès lettres at the Sorbonne enrolls at the Ecole du Louvre where the study requirements are minimal and the lectures few (one lecture a week in the winter months during the three year diploma course at which attendance is not compulsory).

Son cours du Louvre avait lieu tous les lundis: il durait une heure entière, qu'interrrompaient des projections.

L'érudition du professeur, onctueuse, légère, parfumée comme une brillantine, s'épandait sur un public de choix, presque uniquement composé de jeunes filles accompagnées de leurs femmes de chambre, et de petits vieillards desoeuvrés ou pédants. C'était les auditeurs: les élèves ne paraissaient jamais qu'aux examens. Il flottait sur l'assistance une insaisissable vapeur d'iris et de violette, comme aux sermons de carême.(2)

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(1) Devenir!, C.C. I, pp. 32-3.

(2) Ibid, p. 81.

The Ecole des Chartes, Martin du Gard's former school, is accorded no more sympathetic treatment than the Ecole normale or the Ecole du Louvre. Laulan<sup>(1)</sup> in his study of Roger Martin du Gard's attitude towards the Ecole des Chartes quotes extracts from Devenir! to suggest that in 1908 when this work was written his view of his training tended to be deprecatory. Certainly, Bernard Grosdidier's thoughts on the application of scientific methods to historical research which the chartistes were taught would seem to support Laulan's point.

Ces pulsatiens étaient d'une scrupuleuse conscience scientifique et d'une belle honnêteté morale; ils avaient presque tous l'abnégation et la foi qui font les vrais savants. Mais ils faisaient songer à l'aveu des Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse: "Le regret de ma vie est d'avoir choisi pour mes études un genre de recherches qui ne s'imposera jamais, et restera toujours à l'état d'intéressantes considérations sur une réalité à jamais disparue".(2)

It is of interest to follow the evolution of Martin du Gard's thoughts on the Ecole des Chartes. A few years after Devenir! he confessed to his friend Margaritis that his formation as a chartiste was conflicting with his vocation as a literary artist. At this stage (1918) he was dissatisfied with the historical approach which had threatened to stifle the movement of Jean Barois - this '...fatras idéologique, érudit, documentaire, qui alourdit Barois...',<sup>(3)</sup> - and

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(1) R. Laulan, 'Roger Martin du Gard et la formation chartiste', Mercure de France, no. 1147, March 1959, pp. 550-1.

(2) Devenir! O.C. I, p. 18.

(3) Letter of 1 Sept. 1918 'Lettres à Pierre Margaritis', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1130.

determined to attempt a suppression of documentary detail in order to create an '...oeuvre de sensibilité'.<sup>(1)</sup>

'Il faut étouffer le chartiste et ressusciter le poète de mes quinze ans.'<sup>(2)</sup> Yet, if Les Thibault was conceived as a novel of character and emotion the methods of the Ecole des Chartes were too deeply ingrained for him to abandon. Furthermore, his formation as a chartiste would appear to meet the exigencies of his nature. For is not the precise, methodical documentation of Roger Martin du Gard a legacy of his background of lawyers and notaries? One sees from the Souvenirs<sup>(3)</sup> that the writing of Les Thibault was also preceded by careful preparation of fiches and drawing up of plans. Although in the early novels of the roman-fleuve the emphasis is upon the psychological development of the characters with little reference to the historical background, in L'Été 1914, after the original plan for Les Thibault was abandoned (for reasons which Schalk<sup>(4)</sup> links with his attainment of historical consciousness),<sup>(5)</sup> the chartiste more obviously reappears and there is a reversion to the

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(1) Ibid, p. 1125 (First letter of 6 Feb. 1918).

(2) Ibid, p. 1127 (Second letter of 6 Feb. 1918).

(3) See Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. lxxx-lxxxii.

(4) D. Schalk, Roger Martin du Gard - The Novelist and History, pp. 99-103.

(5) In the original plan the saga of the Thibaults was to be continued into the post-1918 period. Antoine would marry Jenny and the plot would revolve around their relationship and the upbringing of their daughter, Anne-Marie, and Jean-Paul, the son of Jenny and Jacques. (See Souvenirs, O.C. I, pp. xcv-c.)

oeuvre d'idées, with a minute chronicle of the events leading up to the war interwoven with the human drama.

After his early doubts regarding the relevance of his training at the Ecole des Chartes, Martin du Gard would finally endorse the value of his studies. In a letter to Bloch in 1935 he writes:

Notre formation d'historien ou de chartiste est quelque chose de fort, de durable, qui explique une part de nous. Je l'éprouve pour moi. J'ai été un mauvais chartiste. J'y ai, du moins, appris des méthodes de travail, une "probité" qui m'ont servi, énormément, me servent encore chaque jour.(1)

The Souvenirs, as we have seen, confirm his warm approval of the discipline and the scholarly procedures he had learnt from his maîtres at the Ecole des Chartes.

This gradual acceptance of the value of his tertiary education may be seen as part of the trend towards support of middle-class educational priorities in his writings after World War I, to which reference has been made in the discussion of his attitudes towards familial education. Maurice Martin du Gard in an article which recounts his talks with Roger Martin du Gard at Nice, 24-29 December 1934, provides a valuable insight into the stage of development of his cousin's general views on education at that time. A central topic of their conversations was the education of the sons of Pierre Margaritis. Roger Martin du Gard, who after the death of his friend in World War I had felt it his duty to superintend the children's upbringing,

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(1) Letter of 8 April 1933. 'Correspondance Bloch - Martin du Gard', Europe, no. 427-8, Nov. - Dec. 1964, p. 249.

stated his conviction that they had been lacking '... une règle morale...' (1) which would have supported them against the moral laxity of the age. "Les enfants vivent aujourd'hui dans un monde de tentations. Il faut leur donner le moyen de ne pas y succomber." (2) Furthermore, he declared that it was the function of the school to instil discipline and respect for industry. "Quant à l'instruction, on a vraiment trop tendance à en faire un plaisir...C'est une conception fausse. On doit s'appliquer et trouver sa récompense dans l'effort." (3) Such an opposition to soft pedagogy bears a close similarity to Duhamel's views on the educative process and it is interesting to note that in conversing with his cousin, Roger Martin du Gard admitted his indebtedness to his friend, Georges Duhamel, for clarifying his ideas on education. 'Il [Roger] me dit que Duhamel avait des idées sur ce sujet et que je ferais bien de le consulter.' (4) Martin du Gard's continuing concern with the education of the sons of Pierre Margaritis is evident in the letters he wrote to one of the boys, Florian Margaritis, between 1929 and 1958, which were published in the Cahiers du Sud. Of particular interest are the letters which warn the young student against moral contamination at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. The writer flays the generation of students of the nineteen forties, whom he

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(1) M. Martin du Gard, 'Les Mémorables - L'Education des fils', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Nov. 1967, p. 48.

(2) Ibid, p. 49.

(3) Ibid, p. 49.

(4) Ibid, p. 49.

brands as 'grossiers-nés',<sup>(1)</sup> lacking distinction and a sense of responsibility. 'Ce goût d'épater, les B. Arts le poussent jusqu'aux limites du grotesque et du mauvais goût.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Martin du Gard in his later years is clearly against experimentation and a defender of traditional methods of school instruction. He shares with Duhamel a hostility towards American trends in teaching, associating the American school with extreme permissiveness. His somewhat reactionary opinions on this subject are outlined in a letter to Gide in 1948 when he writes:

La mentalité, comme on dit, de la jeunesse estudiantine dans une université des U.S.A. m'est un sujet inépuisable de stupefaction. Nos gamins de douze ans ont plus de maturité physique et intellectuelle. Etrange résultat d'une incroyable liberté et d'une éducation mixte...<sup>(3)</sup>

It is evident, then, that like Duhamel and Romain, Martin du Gard places a high priority upon effort and discipline in formal education and is anxious lest the distinctive character of the teaching in the French middle-class schools be obliterated by foreign influences.

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(1) Letter of 28 Feb. 1940. 'Lettres à l'architecte', Cahiers du Sud, no. 349, 1958, p. 344.

(2) Ibid, p. 343.

(3) Letter of 18 August 1948. Correspondance Gide - Martin du Gard, vol. II, p. 419.

CHAPTER III: JULES ROMAINS (1885- )

1. The Family (a) Autobiographical details.
  - (b) General views on the educative process.
2. The School (a) Autobiographical details.
  - (b) General views on the educative process.

For Jules Romains,<sup>(1)</sup> born Louis-Henri-Jean Farigoule on 26 August 1885 at La Chapuze in the Haute-Loire, the early family experiences would be those of an only son in the home of a Parisian instituteur of modest income. Like Duhamel his memories of childhood would be filled with the struggles of his parents to maintain an adequate standard of living and to provide for future needs.

Neither of his parents was a native Parisian ; his mother, née Marie Richier, came from Saint-Julien-Chapteuil in the Haute-Loire to which she had returned for the birth of her child at her mother's home, while Henri Farigoule originated from Loudes. It is obvious from his writings that Romains holds in deep admiration this father who had pulled himself up from the milieu populaire by his energy and intelligence. Henri Farigoule's father had been an entrepreneur rural de maçonnerie at Loudes and at the same time the farmer of a small property. The formal education of the son had been neglected until the father's remarriage, when he

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(1) After the publication of L'Ame des hommes Jules Romains became the pseudonym of Louis Farigoule and his legal name in 1953. For the sake of consistency he will be referred to as Jules Romains throughout this study.

was sent as a boarder to a school conducted by the Christian Brothers. Although, then, at the age of fourteen, he could scarcely read or write, he soon proved to be an apt pupil. Romaines writes of his father's ability in these terms:

Et beaucoup plus tard, il ne cessait de m'émerveiller par la sûreté de son orthographe, de sa grammaire, de sa géographie, par sa virtuosité en calcul, de même que par ses dons de conteur, par ses goûts pour le grand style classique en littérature.(1)

No doubt the Christian Brothers had discerned in the young Henri Farigoule a suitable recruit for teaching in their schools, but instead, he was to take advantage of the increased demand for instituteurs laïques which resulted from the passing of Ferry's laws on compulsory primary education and enter the State service to spend his teaching career in the écoles of Montmartre. Fewer references are made in Romaines's works to his mother, Marie Farigoule, but from his comments on his background one has the impression that she exemplified the virtues of the petite bourgeoise - seriousness of purpose, diligence, economy and honesty. For Romaines, then, the family situation differed from that of Duhamel in the respect that both parents provided an example of eminent respectability and were acutely conscious of their parental responsibilities. As Jules Romaines declares:

'J'appartenais à une famille de moeurs irréprochables, et qui prenait la vie très

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(1) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romaines discutée par Jules Romaines, p. 25.

au sérieux'. (1)

Nor would there be for him, as in the case of Martin du Gard, a feeling of dissatisfaction at the morality of his class, the complacent acceptance of material ease and social privileges. As the son of an instituteur who was by vocation closely associated with the working classes and their emancipation, Romain would be freed from this sense of guilt of enjoying unearned advantages while still developing a social conscience and early forming a determination to work towards the goal of justice and fraternity.

The influence of Henri Farigoule on his son was both that of teacher and parent as from the age of four until his transfer to the Lycée Condorcet the boy attended his father's school in the rue Hermel. In the account which is given of Henri Farigoule's education of his son the emphasis on intellectual training is clearly evident. To stimulate his son's imagination he would often recite to him, as was his custom in class, traditional tales such as Canne de fer, each time embellishing the narrative with his own inventions. He would also draw on his knowledge of the classical authors (whose books featured in the small but select family library) and attempt to explain to his son the perfection of style and language.

...Je le réentends encore me déclarer, un soir que je m'étonnais de le voir relire pour la quatrième ou cinquième fois une tragédie, de Corneille sauf erreur: "C'est

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(1) Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 26.

si bien dit!"(1)

In addition Jules Romains was introduced by his father at an early age to the works of Zola, which would have an important influence on his literary development.

In Zola et son exemple (1935) he expresses his admiration for the architect of the Rougon-Macquart series and traces his interest in Zola to his childhood experiences.

C'est le plus net de mes souvenirs littéraires, en tout cas le plus net parmi les anciens. J'avais dans les cinq ou six ans. Je revois une petite salle à manger, rue Marcadet; la table sous la suspension à pétrole. Mon père, qui était instituteur, nous lisait, à ma mère et à moi, par fragments, d'un soir à l'autre, la Débâcle... Il lisait bien et lentement. Certaines images de guerre, telles impressions de soldats couchés dans un champ qui entendent les balles vibrer au-dessus et autour de leurs têtes comme des abeilles, me saisirent à ce point, par un caractère qui devait être leur vérité humaine - il y a une vérité humaine perceptible au plus jeune esprit - qu'elles devinrent inséparables pour moi de l'idée de guerre...(2)

Another memory of this period was when the small boy was taken by his parents to hear Zola at the Trocadéro recite extracts from Lourdes. 'Ma mère, fervente catholique, avait découvert ainsi le moyen de concilier sa foi religieuse et son admiration littéraire.'(3)

It is small wonder that with this literary background and the example of earnestness and idealism which his parents gave him that Romains in his writing would be conscious of the high functions of literature and the duties and responsibilities of a moral and intellectual

(1) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romains discutée par Jules Romains, p. 26.

(2) Zola et son exemple, pp. 7-8.

(3) Ibid, p. 9.

order which are imposed on the artist. 'Dans un milieu comme celui-là, l'on ne pouvait s'occuper de littérature qu'en s'interrogeant sur le sens profond de cette activité.'<sup>(1)</sup> Underlying his work there would be the belief that the only literature of worth is that of serious purpose which has '...quelque chose à dire...'<sup>(2)</sup> as through his art the writer possesses the means of acting upon the collective conscience.

In Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain he writes:

N'oublions pas que la littérature...reste une des hormones les plus actives d'une civilisation comme la nôtre, ou, si on préfère une autre image, que les cristallisations qui s'y forment servent d'amorce et de modèle, d'excitant, à des cristallisations beaucoup plus volumineuses de la conscience publique.<sup>(3)</sup>

In other ways Henri Farigoule's teaching would be imprinted on his son. As a principle of education the instituteur believed that there should be an organic connection between schooling and social life. In particular he encouraged his pupils to explore their environment and to discover the qualities of their community. Each year, as Romain has recalled, he would ask the new intake of pupils the following question: '"Quels sont ceux d'entre vous qui ont déjà vu la Seine?"'<sup>(4)</sup> and would be dismayed at the lack of real knowledge of the city which the children of Montmartre possessed. Henri Farigoule, himself, had a great love of Paris and a prodigious knowledge of its

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(1) Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 26.

(2) Hommes, médecins, machines, p. 47.

(3) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, pp. 36-7.

(4) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romains discutée par Jules Romains, p. 112.

history and geography which he communicated to his son on their regular walks through the city. Not only did Farigoule assist his son to appreciate the colour and the atmosphere of the city but also he impressed upon him the necessity of retaining the information he had gained from his balades. In his reply to Bourin's study of his childhood influences, Jules Romains describes his father's remarkable capacity for assimilating exact information.

Mon père, qui n'était pourtant pas vantard, disait volontiers qu'il savait où étaient situées toutes les rues de Paris, et me demandait de le vérifier en le questionnant avec l'indicateur en main. Sauf exception, il triomphait de l'épreuve. Vous ne l'imaginez pas n'ayant rien transmis de ce savoir à son fils unique.(1)

The collection of extracts selected by Mme Lise Jules-Romains, the second wife of the author, and published in 1949 as Paris des Hommes de bonne volonté, would render obvious the extent to which Jules Romains inherited from his father a love of Paris and the ability to describe the life of the city in exact detail.

In this section we have seen that Henri Farigoule had a keen sense of parental obligation in directing the intellectual development of his only child. Certainly, Romains's recollections of his childhood would seem to indicate that he shared a closer relationship with his father than either Duhamel or Martin du Gard enjoyed. One might speculate whether the virile

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(1) Ibid, p. 112.

masculinity of Romain's works<sup>(1)</sup> - the lucidity of gaze, the containment of emotion, as well as the sardonic humour of the comedies and the characteristic dominance of the male over the female in the novels - has some connection with the strong identification of the child with his father? It is significant that Duhamel, whose writings are more evidently based on feeling, had been drawn towards his mother rather than his father in childhood.

Both Henri and Marie Farigoule shared in the moral and social training of the young Jules Romain. Together they provided an example of rectitude and social responsibility. Romain believes that it was because of their efforts to maintain the unity of the foyer that they had concealed from him, until the death of Henri Farigoule in 1933, the fact that his mother was his father's second wife - the first having died after a few months of marriage.

Il faut voir là plutôt une horreur de tout exhibitionnisme; et davantage encore la conviction qu'un enfant doit garder de ses parents, et du ménage qu'ils forment, une idée aussi exemplaire, aussi édifiante que possible. Un premier mariage, rompu par la mort, s'il n'a certes rien de déshonorant, diminue tant soit peu cette simplicité exemplaire.(2)

This view that the parents' affairs are no business of the children is a typical bourgeois and nineteenth century attitude.

Unlike other militant instituteurs Farigoule was

- (1) See on this point J. Prévost, 'La Conscience créatrice chez Jules Romain', N.R.F., no. 187, 1 April 1929, pp. 482-3
- (2) A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romain discutée par Jules Romain, p. 27.

not a violent anti-clerical and acceded, in the question of his son's religious instruction, to the wishes of his wife who had been brought up as a Catholic in Le Velay - an area which according to Romaines gained its strength of religious conviction from the fusion of Catholicism with elements of seventeenth century Protestantism and possessed '...un esprit religieux plus éveillé, plus vivant, un sens moral plus rigoureux que dans beaucoup de nos provinces.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Jules Romaines received catechism instruction and made his first communion at the church of Notre-Dame-de-Clignancourt. Like Duhamel and Martin du Gard, he was to reject the teachings of the Church in early adolescence but in his case the crisis of faith appears to have been more severe. He tells us that as a child his experience of religion had been dramatic. '...J'ai pris la religion (catholique en l'espece) au sérieux, et presque au tragique.'<sup>(2)</sup> His break with the Church was precipitated by the spirit of rationalism in his studies at the Lycée Condorcet. As with others of his age Renan's Vie de Jésus would be instrumental in liberating him from belief in the literal truth of scriptures and Lucretius would release him from his religious terrors. Yet, he confesses that his strict upbringing as well as certain '...tendances névropathiques naturelles...'<sup>(3)</sup> rendered more difficult his decision to abandon his childhood faith.

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(1) Ibid, p. 24.

(2) Ibid, p. 109.

(3) Ibid, p. 109.

Mais, je le répète, ce qui a retardé mon émancipation, ce fut le moralisme dont j'étais imprégné (depuis ma petite enfance), à quoi s'ajoutaient les tendances névropathiques congénitales dont j'ai déjà parlé, et qui m'ont plus d'une fois menacé d'une récurrence (sous des aspects qui d'ailleurs n'avaient plus rien de religieux).<sup>(1)</sup>

Madeleine Berry has also noted this tendency towards anxiety and inner conflict. She observes that Romain has been '...dès l'enfance, un être tourmenté; l'inquiétude, l'anxiété, puis l'angoisse n'ont cessé de lui tenir compagnie...',<sup>(2)</sup> although he has managed to prevent these strains from inhibiting his creative activity or unduly affecting his social relationships. To what extent these neuropathic disturbances are hereditary or linked with his familial education is uncertain. However, one wonders whether the theme of solitude and the isolation of the individual which is found throughout his works, but stated with especial poignancy in his poetry,<sup>(3)</sup> reflects the torments of the sensitive, lonely child who was denied the social experiences available to children in larger families. A further factor to consider was his position as a pupil in his father's class which would tend to mark him off from the other children, who in any case were drawn principally from a lower social strata. For the only child of imagination and sensitivity, with his need for social belonging, the attraction of the group - the unanime - is strong, but, as well, the difficulties

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(1) Ibid, p. 110.

(2) M. Berry, Jules Romain, p. 105.

(3) See in particular Odes et prières (1913).

of adjustment to relationships within the peer group exert a contrary pressure, to withdraw within himself. Berry suggests that Romain's taste for solitude, which is as characteristic of him as his joyful immersion in corporate activity and his celebration of the soul of groups, is the '...besoin qui s'impose à l'enfant si sensible, et, toute la vie, à l'être trop particulier pour éveiller autour de lui de grandes résonances, trop exigeant aussi pour se contenter d'adhésions relatives'.<sup>(1)</sup>

In view of this it seems possible to assert that Romain's concept of unanimism with its analysis of the spiritual relationship of the individual and the collectivity is linked to some degree with his early experiences in the family - the tension between the need for solitude and the thirst for involvement in the group. Indeed, Romain has declared that the inner motivation for unanimism was a reaction against a morbid pre-occupation with the self.

J'en étais arrivé, à la suite de douloureuses expériences personnelles, à considérer le repliement...du moi sur lui-même, et l'excès d'attention qu'il apporte à ses propres états, comme la source des tourments les plus incurables. Dénoncer le culte du moi, détourner l'individu de prendre l'individu comme fin et objet, devenait le commandement suprême.<sup>(2)</sup>

The ties of the Farigoules and the extended family were strong. During the summer holidays the young Parisian renewed acquaintances with his country cousins at La Chapuze when he returned on his annual visits to

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(1) M. Berry, Jules Romain, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 264.

(2) Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 40.

stay at his grandmother's house where he had been born. Three of these cousins became his firm friends - Jacques, the son of his mother's elder brother, and Camille and Rose the children of her second brother. From his holidays in the Haute-Loire Romains would gain a sympathetic understanding of the paysans of Le Velay - these '...Vellaves précis, narquois, volontiers frondeurs'<sup>(1)</sup> with their rigorous morality. Above all the Vellaves were noted story-tellers whose strange tales and legends fed the introspective imagination of the young visitor from Paris, as Berry has suggested.

Rapts, apparitions, crimes impunis, ces récits n'emplissaient pas seuls les veillées. Grande était la place des contes marqués par l'humour propre à ces Vellaves...<sup>(2)</sup>

Not only would Romains draw on these experiences for the settings of his works - Cromedeire-le-Vieil, Knock, Les Copains - but also it appears likely that there is a relationship between his taste for the unusual, the mysterious and the mystical and the myth-making propensities of the Vellaves.

This brief study of the familial education of Jules Romains makes it clear that his relationship with his parents was not marked by the antagonisms present in the parent-child interaction in the homes of the other two writers. In his references to his upbringing Romains invariably expresses respect and gratitude for the integrity of his parents and the care with which they supervised his education. His home, then, was not one

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(1) M. Berry, Jules Romains, p. 10.

(2) Ibid, p. 10.

which aroused resentment or induced revolt. He counts himself fortunate that he belonged to:

...Un milieu familial modeste, qui ne se mêlait aucunement de nos lectures; qui n'avait à nous transmettre aucun snobisme, aucune mode, rien d'artificiel, même pas l'envie de contredire; l'envie qui vous prend de détester Bourget, ou Samain, pour la seule raison que votre père ou votre mère ne parlent que d'eux.(1)

Apart from his first year at the Ecole normale and his period of military service at Pithiviers he continued to live with his parents in the rue Lamarck until the age of twenty-four when he was appointed to the Lycée de Brest.

Berry<sup>(2)</sup> suggests that the young normalien was wary of marriage responsibilities. This is corroborated by Romain in Amitiés et rencontres (1970), a collection of reminiscences on his literary acquaintances.

During his period at the Ecole normale he had often discussed with his friend Chennevière

...l'institution du mariage dans les termes les plus libres (non point tant parce que le mariage mettait fin à la liberté sexuelle, que par la menace générale qu'il était pour l'indépendance de l'individu).(3)

He affirms that Chennevière's sudden marriage had an important influence upon his views on this subject.

'Je dois même avouer que mes idées sur le mariage en subirent une sérieuse mise au point...'(4). It was in 1912 that Romain married in his turn.(5)

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(1) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, p. 9.

(2) M. Berry, Jules Romain, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 67

(3) Amitiés et rencontres, p. 177.

(4) Ibid, p. 178.

(5) Romain's first wife, who is referred to by his biographer, Madeleine Berry, as G.G..., is the model for Juliette Ezzelin in Les Hommes de bonne volonté.

The family is not accorded a prominent place in Romain's literary works. This may be partly explained by his involvement in the unanimist movement. After the semi-mystical experience which he had received while walking in the rue Amsterdam in October 1903 when he gained a direct intuition of the psychic life of groups, Jules Romain's literary activity would be directed towards the exploration of collective phenomena in his poetry, plays and novels, and the elaboration of unanimist theory in his articles and essays. For the unanimist like Jules Romain the tendency in literature for writers to concentrate on small groups such as the family is too restrictive; he looks beyond to the free communion of men that transcends considerations of family, community or even country, and unites individuals in a psychic continuum. Thus, Figueras comments on Romain: '...les villes du monde sont pour lui comme une famille'.<sup>(1)</sup> For Romain there is a contrast between society with its system of institutional restraints and la vie unanime - '...la libre respiration des groupes humains'.<sup>(2)</sup>

It is true, however, that in his early poetry he praised the family as an example of la vie unanime. In the collection of poems of that name, first published in 1908 on the press of the Abbaye, he describes the solidarity of the extended family which keeps vigil around the bed of a grandparent, bonded in sympathy and

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(1) A. Figueras, Jules Romain, p. 74.

(2) 'Essai de réponse à la plus vaste question', N.R.F., no. 311, 1 Aug. 1939, p. 191.

conscious of its strength.

Oh! l'ingénu plaisir d'exister! La famille,  
 Qui savoure sa vie et qui se trouve belle,  
 Etale sur son corps le regard bienveillant  
 De toutes ses prunelles.(1)

Similarly in Odes et prières (1913) in the two prayers to the family he expresses the almost religious experience of oneness in the family which the poet fleetingly feels before he withdraws into solitude.

Les dieux n'attendent plus, même, que je les prie,  
 Ils approchent. Leur force est ici qui me cerne.  
 Leurs lèvres vont courir sur mon âme écorchée.(2)

Later there would be an abatement of this idealistic veneration of all forms of family life. In the Psyche trilogy of novels (Lucienne (1922), Le Dieu des corps (1928), Quand le Navire...(1929)) which takes as its major theme the growth of love of two young people, Lucienne and Pierre Febvre, to the point where with the fusion of their spirits and bodies, the union of husband and wife in its '...extase religieuse',<sup>(3)</sup> makes of the two individuals an unanime with a collective soul or dieu, there is a contrast between the understanding of the couple and the discord of the family. To Lucienne, the heroine of the trilogy, who in the first novel of the series is engaged as a music tutor at F...-les-Eaux in the home of a middle-class, provincial family, the Barbelenets, the family circle appears at first intimate and harmonious. But gradually she becomes aware of the

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(1) 'La Famille', La Vie unanime.

(2) "Seconde Prière à la famille", Odes et prières.

(3) Le Dieu des corps, p. 222.

sources of family friction. The esprit de la famille is finally seen as illusory as the jealousy of the two daughters over their cousin, Pierre Febvre, develops into an open feud. If there is unity in the Barbelenet family it is the unity of self-interest - the common resolve that Pierre should not be lost to an outsider (Lucienne).

The suggestion that such organised groups as the family have destructive potentialities as unanimes, which was made in the Manuel de déification (1910), is illustrated elsewhere in Romain's works - particularly in the play Jean Le Maufranc (1927) where the principal character seeks escape from his family which, like other mechanisms of the State, threatens to stifle his spontaneous enjoyment of la vie unanime, and in Les Hommes de bonne volonté where, as will be discussed later, the Chalmers family and the Leblanc and Le Burec clans are examples of the group acting as a fortress of individuality, anti-social and possessive. The danger that the unanimity of the family might become one of proprietorial interests is touched upon in the collection of essays, Situation de la terre (1958), where Romain briefly considers the social conditions which have given rise to the family:

Il se peut aussi que le sentiment de propriété ait joué son rôle. Très faible chez l'individu primitif, il n'a cessé de se développer au cours des âges. Et il est naturel qu'il se soit appliqué non seulement aux biens matériels mais aux personnes.(1)

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(1) Situation de la terre, p. 95.

In his more recent works Romains has turned to a consideration of the causes of the disintegration of the family in modern society and the loss of its authority. The development of his thought has followed that of Duhamel and Martin du Gard. The young idealist who at the turn of the century in La Vie unanime (which to Duhamel who had assisted in the type setting at the Abbaye seemed to have '...la contagieuse ferveur d'un évangile'<sup>(1)</sup>) had expressed the confidence of his generation in their ability to re-make the world:-

Nous sommes à vingt ans, de la flamme qui pense,  
De la force qui part;  
La vapeur frénétique agite les chaudières;  
Nous allons vers demain, et nous quittons hier  
Comme un train qui s'ébranle et qui sort de la  
gare...<sup>(2)</sup>

- would see the fading of his utopian vision in the thirties and forties. Looking back on his youthful optimism when he had had '...ce rêve que le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle où nous venions d'entrer serait une de ces époques de grands constructeurs, une époque où l'humanité édifierait plus qu'elle détruirait',<sup>(3)</sup> Romains declared in 1958 with bitter irony: 'A distance, c'est risible, n'est-ce pas?'<sup>(4)</sup> In his essays since 1945 he has expounded his views on the catastrophe which contemporary society is courting with its cult of the machine and technical specialisation (Le Problème numéro un (1947), Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? (1955),

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(1) Le Temps de la recherche, p. 53.

(2) 'Nous', La Vie unanime.

(3) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, p. 27.

(4) Ibid, p. 27.

Hommes, médecins, machines (1959)) and made a savage indictment of the political and social decadence of his age - the failure of the institutions of the Fourth Republic, the greed of the shopkeeping classes, the effect of the mass media on lowering cultural standards, the lack of the humanitarian spirit, the disregard for reason (Examen de conscience des Français (1954), Pour Raison garder (1960-1967), Lettre ouverte contre une grande conspiration (1966)).

This disabused tone spills over into the novels which depict family relationships. Madame Chauverel, the adventuress who is the principal character of four novels - Une Femme singulière (1957), Le Besoin de voir clair (1958), Mémoires de Madame Chauverel I (1959), II (1960), - is presented by Romain as a type who has multiplied in the upper strata of society since the Second World War.<sup>(1)</sup> For Madame Chauverel, who had served her apprenticeship as a demi-mondaine under her mother and been taught by her to use her sexual attractiveness for social advancement, children are a hindrance to her ambitions. She abandons her twins to a nurse in South America to seek a husband of standing in France. After her marriage with Chauverel, a widower who is a professor at the Faculté de Droit, she ensures that Henri, her stepson, is removed from the home - first to a maison d'enfants in the suburbs and later to a pensionnat at some distance from Paris.

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(1) See Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu? pp. 160-1

Because of the circumstances surrounding his upbringing the attitude of Henri to his stepmother will be one of hostility and he will endeavour to uncover the scandal of her past.

A more normal family situation is seen in Le Fils de Jerphanion (1956). This novel is of particular interest for the study of the educative process in the family as it follows the theme which is also touched on in Les Hommes de bonne volonté: that in the ravages of World War I the family lost its strength and its position has been weakened further by the social conditions of the post-1918 era. In his comments on Le Fils de Jerphanion Romains takes pains to point out that this does not constitute a direct continuation of Les Hommes de bonne volonté although the main figures, Jean and Odette Jerphanion and their son Jean-Pierre, feature in the roman-fleuve. But he does maintain that this choice of characters makes more obvious the difference of the generations of father and son:

...Le contraste que je m'attachais à faire sentir entre une génération nouvelle et la précédente avait des chances d'être plus évident si nous partions d'un terme de comparaison intimement connu.(1)

The contrast here is between the generation of Jean Jerphanion, raised in a period of stability at the turn of the century, and that of Jean-Pierre, born in 1917, whose upbringing has been affected by the overthrow of traditional values. It is suggested that the war

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(1) Ibid, p. 159.

years with the lack of paternal authority and the state of anxiety of mothers, together with the general feeling of demoralisation in the aftermath of the war, gravely affected the education of the children. 'On peut dire que, sauf exception, tous les éléments de leur formation ont été ou défavorables, ou franchement détestables.'<sup>(1)</sup> Whereas certain of the children raised during World War I would find a remedy for their situation by turning back to the past for guidance - 'Il est remarquable...qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux aient plutôt réagi contre la vague précédente, aient montré une nostalgie des valeurs traditionnelles'<sup>(2)</sup> - others, such as Jean-Pierre, who were born in catastrophe would be marked by it. After the son, whose youth had been characterised by lack of direction and an inability to conform to conventional patterns, drifts into criminal activities, the parents question themselves whether with a more controlled home environment '...une éducation mieux dirigée, plus surveillée...' <sup>(3)</sup> they could have provided him with a stronger moral defence against the corrupting influences of his age. Jean Jerphanion's sense of blame for his son's disgrace is communicated by Jean-Pierre's lawyer, Maître Dezobrit:

"A coup sûr, m'a-t-il dit, il n'avait pas l'étoffe d'un de ces héros qui parviennent, on ne sait comment, à préserver en eux, fût-ce au milieu des atrocités du haut moyen âge, ou dans une tribu d'anthropophages hurleurs, une conscience délicate et les impératifs d'une

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(1) Le Fils de Jerphanion, p. 141.

(2) Ibid, p. 141.

(3) Ibid, p. 206.

morale éternelle. Mais à côté de ces exceptions, il y a les individus de l'honnête moyenne, dont on réussit à faire des gens possibles en ne les exposant à des contagions trop massives, en désinfectant l'eau qu'ils boivent et l'air qu'ils respirent. Était-il de cette sorte-là, et sommes-nous coupables, sa mère et moi, de ne pas l'avoir mieux protégé?"(1)

There is, then, in Le Fils de Jerphanion an advocacy of greater parental responsibility and an appeal for a return to stricter methods of child control with the isolation of the child from moral dangers, those methods in fact which have been traditionally accepted amongst the bourgeoisie, as we have seen in Part I.

It is clear that if Jules Romains has been pre-occupied by the enrichment of the individual through his free and spontaneous enjoyment of la vie unanime, his experience of the social disequilibrium resulting from two world wars has convinced him of the importance of the constraints placed upon the individual by such social institutions as the family.

#### THE SCHOOL:

As with Georges Duhamel, Jules Romains's earliest memories of school are of the école primaire. Until the age of ten he attended his father's school at Montmartre in the rue Hermel. Although this school was housed in a wooden baraquement of the type which had been hastily erected by the authorities to cope

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(1) Ibid, pp. 206-7.

with the pupil explosion after the laws on compulsory education, Romains remembers it as being light and airy and in many respects providing a better learning environment than the older established school in the rue Sainte-Isaure to which his father later transferred. Even when the écolier made the transition to the petit lycée attached to the Lycée Condorcet in 1895, profiting from the law of that year which offered free places in State secondary schools to the sons of teachers, he remained in close contact with the world of the instituteurs. In a conversation reported by Alègre which was published in the Education Nationale in 1966 he recalls that through his father he gained an intimate knowledge of the hardships and satisfactions of the teacher's life. His visits to the homes and schools of his father's colleagues would provide him with the '...souvenirs multiples'<sup>(1)</sup> from which would be created the figures of the instituteurs in his works. He declares that he is unable to walk through the streets of Paris without reviving memories of those days.

Un nom de rue, tout à coup, éveille dans ma mémoire, un visage d'instituteurs, la façade d'une école. Voyez-vous! Il y a plus de soixante-dix ans que j'ai quitté l'école primaire de la rue Hermel: et pourtant, aujourd'hui encore, Paris reste toujours pour moi comme une véritable carte de géographie scolaire...(2)

The high quality of the teaching staff at the Lycée Condorcet at the end of the century is shown by the

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(1) J. Alègre, 'Quand ils étaient écoliers - Jules Romains', Education Nationale, no. 791, 19 May 1966, p. 32.

(2) Ibid, p. 32.

fact that one of the chairs of philosophy was held by Emile Chartier (the writer Alain) and the other by Léon Brunschvicg. Amongst other '...professeurs de haute qualité...' (1) were Hippolyte Parigot, Romain's professeur de lettres and Charles Salomon who taught Latin and Greek. Under these masters Romain proved to be a pupil of high intelligence and originality who was equally proficient in the classics, the sciences and philosophy.

It was in the classe de philosophie that he was taught by Brunschvicg, the author of La Modalité du jugement who was later to be appointed professor of general philosophy at the Sorbonne. Although there was a relationship between Brunschvicg's critical idealism and Bergson's intuitionism, in that Brunschvicg gave a prominent place to the mind's inventiveness and spontaneity, his philosophy, unlike that of Bergson, asserted the superiority of reason as the way to truth. Romain has attributed to Brunschvicg '...le mérite... de m'avoir immunisé contre les tentations d'un irrationalisme facile, qui commençait d'être à la mode'. (2) In addition Brunschvicg, like Lévy-Bruhl later at the Ecole normale supérieure, impressed upon Romain the importance of simplicity of expression. He had, as Romain recalls:

...la conviction que même les pensées profondes peuvent s'exprimer dans un langage accessible, et qu'une certaine logomachie,

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- (1) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, p. 9.  
 (2) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romain discutée par Jules Romain, p. 113.

philosophique ou scientifique, est un fléau moderne, une forme de poudre aux yeux et de charlatanisme.(1)

A year later in carne, which after his successful completion of his year of philosophie in 1902 Romain entered at the insistence of Blanchet, the proviseur, to study for the entrance examination to the Ecole normale supérieure, it was necessary for Hippolyte Parigot to correct the tendency towards over-elaboration which had reappeared in his prose.

Parigot réussit à m'en guérir. Il enracina définitivement en moi la conviction - déjà conforme, je crois, à ma nature - que le grand style est fait avant tout de vérité et de simplicité. La fantaisie et les ornements ne se justifient que dans la mesure où telles nuances de la vérité ne s'expriment qu'à leur aide.(2)

Although Romain expresses his gratitude to his teachers of French literature at the Lycée Condorcet for providing him with '...une solide discipline intellectuelle, et d'une horreur du mauvais goût, du maniérisme en littérature...' (3) he echoes Duhamel's criticisms that his professeurs, while competent in classical literature, tended to ignore the contemporary writers - '...En général, ils évitaient de toucher à la littérature récente, et nous laissaient donc à cet égard...une entière responsabilité'. (4)

Another teacher who was to influence the young Jules Romain at the Lycée Condorcet was Charles Salomon whose thorough teaching of the classics and the figures of

(1) Ibid, p. 113.

(2) Ibid, p. 114.

(3) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, p. 9.

(4) Ibid, p. 9.

rhetoric and poetics impressed him profoundly.<sup>(1)</sup> In the preface to La Vie unanime which was included in the 1926 edition of the collection, Jules Romains acknowledges his debt as a poet to the classical authors, Homer and Sophocles, for their example of creative power and breadth of vision.

Au début de ce siècle, les jeunes gens qui faisaient de fortes études -- surtout dans un lycée comme Condorcet préservé de la cohue des provinciaux pressés d'aboutir, et de leur émulation grossière -- parvenaient à une familiarité des oeuvres anciennes qui excluait l'admiration de commande et tout pédantisme...

L'on me dira que cette culture antique se montre bien discrètement dans la Vie unanime... Justement à mon sens une culture qui se voit, qui s'affiche, est une culture suspecte. Et j'admirerai sans réserve les critiques quand ils sauront déceler que la description d'un autobus part d'une main qui a feuilleté l'Illiade.<sup>(2)</sup>

It is interesting to note that Romains's earliest literary inspiration came from his studies at school. After he had attempted a verse comedy modelled on Molière entitled Les Surprises du divorce, the lycéen was prompted to write a Historia Gallorum after reading in class the Epitome and the De viris illustribus. Berry<sup>(3)</sup> suggests that Romains is classical by taste as well as formation and that from his school-days he has revered the Ancients. She points out that at one time he even had his hair cut 'à la Titus' and adds that his pseudonym aptly expresses his respect for Roman civilisation.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Note in this respect Romains's skilful parody of the Latin discourse in Les Copains, pp. 85-9.

(2) Preface to La Vie unanime, pp. 14-15.

(3) M. Berry, Jules Romains, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 41.

(4) Romains's interest in Roman history remains alive. In 1968 he wrote the biography Marc-Aurèle ou l'Empereur de bonne volonté.

There is one aspect of the teaching of the classics at the Lycée Condorcet about which Romain has reservations. In his view the practice of close analysis of structure and grammar which his teachers followed in the study of a text tended to diminish the beauty of the passage as well as disrupt the sense of unity in the work. He does admit, nevertheless, that this dissection of the text, if at times carried to excess, did serve the purpose of making the pupils aware of the need for accuracy in the use of language. So that the pupil might gain an appreciation of the literary values of the text as well as receive a linguistic training in precision and exactness in word-usage, he proposes a compromise which would have suited his experience as a young lycéen.

Il eût aimé...qu'avant de commencer phrase à phrase l'explication d'un texte figurant au programme - et il arrivait que cette explication piétinante ne dépassât pas la centième ligne - l'on procédât à une première lecture du texte en entier, et le plus près possible de l'allure qui est celle de la lecture normale.(1)

This method, Romain maintains, would have benefited the more able pupils by increasing their appreciation of classical literature - although he admits that correspondingly the weaker pupils would have suffered from it. Romain, it is clear, has little sympathy for the cancre.

Despite his two years in cancre the lycéen failed to gain entry to the Ecole normale supérieure on his second attempt. Disappointed by his results in the concours

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(1) Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 20.

d'entrée Romain then proceeded to the Sorbonne to study Latin and Greek for the licence ès lettres. He admits that during his year at the Sorbonne his attendance at lectures was irregular as, relying on his preparation in cagne, he spent much of his time accompanying his friends Chennevière and Cuisenier on balades through Paris.

Nous en arrivions à traverser Paris dans les sens les plus imprévus. Et, s'il en résultait pour moi un retard tel que mon entrée dans la salle de cours eût manqué de décence, je sacrifiais le cours. Dans certains cas le sacrifice s'étendait à toute une journée. (1)

Nevertheless, in July 1905 he successfully sat the examinations for the licence, gaining the highest marks in Greek, and at the same time achieved his ambition of entrance to the Ecole normale, receiving from his philosophy examiner, Lévy-Bruhl '...une note éblouissante' (2) and gaining second place in the overall classification. But because of his military training it was not until October 1906 that the new entrant was able to take up residence in the rue d'Ulm.

As Romain had already completed his licence ès lettres he was given permission to enrol in Normale-Sciences and study for a licence de sciences naturelles in physiology, histology and botany. These scientific studies were continued into his second year when under Lalande, the professeur de philosophie des sciences at the Sorbonne, he carried out experiments for a diplôme

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(1) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romain discutée par Jules Romain, p. 126.

(2) Ibid, p. 127.

d'études supérieures on the Variations de l'individualité chez les thallophytes. Romain declares that at this stage his biological investigations provided an opportunity to explore ideas pertaining to unanimist theory.

He comments:

Tout problème concernant la formation de groupes, et les formes de passage, dans les deux sens, entre le groupe et l'individu, est essentiel à la pensée unanimiste. Et mon étude, qui portait principalement sur quelques végétaux inférieurs et les colonnes bactériennes, m'amenait à discerner certains rythmes, et même à formuler certaines lois...(1)

One notes that it was at the Ecole normale that Jules Romain was introduced to the work of the sociologists Durkheim and Tarde. But despite certain similarities between their studies of groups and his doctrine of unanimism he has consistently denied that the social investigations of Durkheim and Tarde have influenced the elaboration of unanimism.(2) His final year as a normalien was devoted to the preparation of the agrégation in philosophy. However, the future teacher of philosophy and writer did not lose his enthusiasm for the sciences. Between 1918 and 1923 he undertook research into the existence of sight organs independent of the eyes which would be published under the title of La Vision extra-rétinienne et le sens paroptique.

If Romain benefited from his studies at the Ecole normale supérieure it would seem he gained even more of value from his participation in the life of the school.

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(1) Ibid, p. 127.

(2) See, for example, Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu? pp. 37-8.

Although Romain has been quoted as declaring that as a young student his motives for applying for entry to the Ecole normale were primarily materialistic - "L'Ecole normale, ce fut simplement pour moi l'accession à une carrière qui pût m'assurer la vie matérielle et me permettre de poursuivre mon oeuvre"<sup>(1)</sup> - it is clear that he found at the rue d'Ulm an atmosphere propitious for his intellectual and social development. The reforms instituted by Lavissee at the Ecole normale at the turn of the century had provided the students with more freedom but the distinctive features of the institution had been retained. Like other normaliens before him Romain experienced the exaltation of sharing in the free interchange of ideas amongst students recruited from the élite of the lycées of France. The legendary spirit of fantaisie in the Ecole normale with its expression in the elaborately planned canulars released Romain's inventive wit and his delight in mystification. Indeed, in his three years at the Ecole normale Romain would win an enviable reputation as a monteur de canulars. According to the evidence of his friends Romain was always prominent in the life of the group - leading them on wild chases through the streets of Paris or on excursions to the country districts.<sup>(2)</sup> During one

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(1) Quoted by R. Bourget-Pailleron in 'La Nouvelle Equipe - Jules Romain', Revue des deux mondes, 15 Nov. 1933, p. 354.

(2) See, for example, C. Vildrac, 'Sous le Signe de l'amitié', Les Cahiers des Hommes de bonne volonté II, July 1948, pp. 1-5.

vacation he and three companions followed on bicycles the course of the Loire to Auvergne - a journey which would form the basis of the invasion of Ambert and Issoire by the student farceurs in Les Copains.

There is little doubt that for him involvement in group activity was exhilarating and that through it he realised himself as a personality. As we will see later in the study of Les Hommes de bonne volonté, in the chapters which deal with the normaliens Jerphanion and Jallez, Romain would draw on his own experiences to portray the élan of this select student body.

Whereas, in the case of Martin du Gard one is forced to rely mainly on the works of fiction for evidence of his interest in the process of education, it is possible for an understanding of Romain's attitudes to education to discover the direct expression of his views in essays and articles. However, one must not ignore the place of education in his novels, plays and poems, such as the student verve of Les Copains (1913) and Sur les Quais de la Villette (1913) and the satirical portrait of the pretentious professeur de géographie, Le Trouhadec<sup>(1)</sup>, in the plays M. Le Trouhadec saisi par la débauche (1923), Le Mariage de Le Trouhadec (1925) and Donogoo (1931). Also, apart from the homage

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(1) Knowles suggests that the name Le Trouhadec is modelled on Gallouedec - an inspector of secondary schools and an author of manuals of geography. See D. Knowles, French Drama of the Inter-war Years 1918-1939, p. 77.

to the instituteurs in Les Hommes de bonne volonté, there is the celebration of the civilising mission of the teacher in L'Homme blanc (1937):

L'école est neuve au flanc de la montagne.  
Le vent est vif; il gèle dans l'azur.  
Les écoliers réchauffent leurs doigts gourds.  
Ne faiblis pas, homme qui les enseignes...  
Le tableau noir pépianant sous la craie,  
Carre magique où le jour vient se prendre,  
C'est ton labour à toi; les mots en rang  
Ouvrant le sol aux semailles sacrées...

Instituteur, c'est toi, maître d'école,  
Que l'homme blanc charge de son dessein;  
Et ton soldat, ton calme fantassin,  
C'est lui, ô république universelle! (1)

It was also to the instituteurs as well as his friends Duhamel and Martin du Gard that Romain addressed a special plea in his speech relayed by the B.B.C. on 2 August 1940 that they might preserve the freedom of the spirit in occupied France.

Je vous vois d'avance, l'automne, l'hiver prochains, dans vos petites écoles de la montagne, de la plaine, vos écoles de village cachés par milliers dans les plis de la terre de France comme les germes de l'avenir. Je sais que vous ne trahirez pas. (2)

Romain's ideas on the educative process gain validity from his practical experience as a professeur de philosophie at lycées at Brest and Laon from 1909 to 1914 and then from 1916 to 1919 at the Collège Rollin and the Lycée de Nice. He recalls that at his first post he found himself with classes in philosophie which had a reputation for intimidating young teachers.

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(1) 'Hymne', L'Homme blanc.

(2) Text of the speech of the 2 Aug. 1940 reprinted in the appendix to Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 240.

Si, à la suite du cours d'ouverture, ces chefs, répondant d'ailleurs au vœu de leurs camarades, décrétaient: "Celui-là va être bon à chahuter", vous étiez perdu: et les punitions que vous distribuiez, forcément anodines (deux heures de consigne, par exemple), achevaient de vous couler.(1)

He resolved to maintain class control not by a show of strength but by preserving an appearance of calmness and competence while remaining constantly alert for signs of inattentiveness, to forestall the spread of disorder. It would appear that theory was successfully translated into practice as Romaines prides himself on the fact that throughout his teaching career he was never obliged to punish a pupil, finding that a sharp reprimand was sufficient to preserve discipline. Confirmation of his ability as a teacher comes from a former pupil at the Collège Rollin, Gabriel Audisio, writing in the Nouvelles Littéraires, 29 August 1965.

...Il émanait de cet homme de ses yeux très clairs, de sa parole mesurée, une autorité calme, jamais menaçante, souvent souriante, parfois ironique, et telle que pas une seule fois notre troupe de garçons vifs ne se laissa entraîner, je ne dis pas même à une humeur chahuteuse...A un de ses rares élèves qui aurait eu quelque tendance à larigolade évasive, il arriva que M. Farigoule demandât doucement: "Pourquoi ne faites-vous pas l'effort de travailler? Est-ce par hygiène? Dans ce cas, ce serait très respectable." Tel était son style de morale sans sanction.(2)

After his resignation from the State service in 1919 Romaines engaged in a different form of teaching when he directed for a short period Copeau's Ecole du Vieux-

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(1) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romaines discutée par Jules Romaines, p. 164.

(2) G. Audisio, 'Mon Prof' de philo', Nouvelles Littéraires, no. 1982, 29 Aug. 1965, p. 6.

Colombier, which formed the actors for the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier. At the Ecole he and his fellow unanimist, Chennevière, introduced a course of poetical technique, including both theory and practice. (The material for these lectures was published in 1923 in the Petit Traité de versification.) In an article in the Nouvelle Revue Française (1 July 1921) he defended the principle of such instruction, refuting the criticisms of the teaching of the arts at the Ecoles des Beaux-Arts, the Conservatoires and the Instituts, and claiming that there was no proof that the teaching in these institutions inhibited the creativity of the artist. '...Dès qu'il y a activité spéciale ou métier, il y a un système de procédés techniques qui ne sauraient survivre, se perfectionner, s'accroître que par un enseignement.' (1) According to Romains, the need for instruction in poetry was urgent as the writer alone of the artists is deprived of formal training, but he declared that in the course which he envisaged there would be a minimum of formality and that the freedom of the student in choice of subject matter would be respected.

In his general views on education Romains follows closely the conventional middle-class attitudes which we have seen in Duhamel and Martin du Gard, particularly in his pronouncements on the function of the school since 1945. He warmly defends the humanist traditions

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(1) 'Petite Introduction à un cours de technique poétique', N.R.F., no. 94, 1 July 1921, p. 22.

against: '...les saboteurs et démolisseurs' (1) of classical culture

... - ...cette culture qui précisément avait pour objet de mettre les jeunes esprits en contact avec les sages d'il y a deux mille et deux mille cinq cents ans, avec d'immortels spécialistes non de la machine à laver et de la fusée téléguidée, mais du souverain bien. (2)

As well, he shares Duhamel's aversion for the specialist who has not received a broad cultural background of studies at the secondary school level. On behalf of the honnête homme he assails the hermetic world of the specialist who with his '...vanité professionnelle...' (3) and his language intelligible only to the initiates, repulses examination of his methods and his postulates.

L'"honnête homme", en conséquence, ne se croit plus le droit de discuter, de peser les arguments - n'en ayant plus les moyens - ni même, presque de s'étonner. Il est en face de la science comme en face d'une source miraculeuse. (4)

In Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? he suggests that scientific developments have compromised the concept of cultural unity and that this will have grave repercussions on society.

...Un minimum d'unité dans la formation mentale et la culture est indispensable pour que subsistent une société ou une civilisation. Pour que subsistent les nôtres, au premier chef.

Or les spécialistes, si on ne les contrôle pas, et s'ils ne se contrôlent pas, travaillent contre cette unité...Le danger, estimeront certains, se limite au champ des activités

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- (1) Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous?, p. 196.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 196.  
 (3) Pour Raison garder I, p. 26.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 27.

intellectuelles. C'est une erreur. La lézarde commence dans le haut de la civilisation, mais elle se propage de haut en bas.(1)

Romains reaffirms his belief in the principle that early specialisation should be discouraged and that a primary function of the school is to promote a cultural homogeneity,<sup>(2)</sup> and he adds his opinion that the school should instil in its pupils the distrust of scientific jargon and academic obscurity. 'Si l'université, l'école étaient plus sévères au galimatias prétentieux, les jeunes ne contracteraient pas des habitudes aussi déplorables.'<sup>(3)</sup> The discussion on this problem between Romains and President Kirk of Columbia University, which is reported in Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous?, brings forth the following suggestion on pedagogical practice from the writer:

-Ne croyez-vous pas que ce serait une excellente chose que de soumettre les étudiants, dans les examens de toutes les spécialités, à l'épreuve suivante: exposer par écrit une question très spéciale en prenant pour règle de n'user que du langage le plus clair et que des enchaînements d'idées les plus compréhensibles? Même dans les cas où le résultat ne pourrait pas être atteint, l'effort pour l'atteindre serait très utile, et servirait à classer les esprits.(4)

Thus, for Romains the school is 'une citadelle du libéralisme...et aussi de l'humanisme'<sup>(5)</sup> which must be preserved with its traditional emphases, as social

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(1) Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? pp. 72-3.

(2) Ibid, p. 77.

(3) Ibid, p. 76.

(4) Ibid, p. 77.

(5) Ibid, p. 65.

equilibrium is largely dependent upon its capacity to reconcile specialisation and cultural unity by infusing in the future specialist a respect for the études désintéressées and providing him with the basis of '... une éducation philosophique suffisante...' (1) in order that he might be able to weigh the advances in technique against its costs in human terms.

Yet, if he praises the school for its civilising potential, he does not fail to see the social limitations on its effectiveness, as well as the possibility of intervention by the State to divert education from its higher objectives towards narrowly national interests. In Le Problème numéro un (1947) he dwells more on the negative aspects of the process of education, using the German experience as an example of the way in which the ends of education may be perverted.

...Il était réservé à notre époque de contempler jusqu'à quel point le niveau élevé de l'instruction, la diffusion des lumières, peut être sans effet sur la moralité générale d'un peuple, et même, chose plus étonnante, sur la conduite d'opérations mentales où l'on croirait que l'intelligence exercée, la lecture, l'information variée, donnent un avantage décisif. Il n'y avait pas de peuple où l'instruction fût plus répandue qu'en Allemagne. Il n'y en a pourtant pas qui ait fait preuve d'un tel aveuglement politique, d'une crédulité si déshonorante, ni ensuite d'un retour si rapide et si aisé aux sauvageries de la horde, aux cruautés insanes du primitif qui arrache les ongles de ses victimes ou les regarde brûler à petit feu. C'est qu'en effet l'instruction n'est pas grand'chose si elle se borne à distribuer des notions toutes faites ou à enseigner des méthodes spéciales, sans cultiver d'abord ce qui est à la racine de toute notion et de toute méthode, à savoir la

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(1) Hommes, médecins, machines, pp. 236-7.

raison et l'esprit critique. Mais le pire est que la raison et l'esprit critique peuvent être domestiqués, élevés comme des animaux de basse-cour; dirigés vers des tâches définies; prohibés là où ils seraient une menace pour la folie régnante. On l'a vu aussi en Allemagne.(1)

Romains comments that certain critics would see in this failure of reason in Nazi Germany a justification for placing emphasis on the formation of character rather than the training of the intellect. However, he states that he cannot concur with this view as he considers that character training as an educational aim is equally susceptible to ideological influences.

On ne reprochera certes pas aux maîtres de la jeunesse nazie d'avoir sacrifié la formation des caractères au raffinement de l'intellect. Dresser de jeunes brutes, fanatiques et sanguinaires, méprisant la pensée, loyales seulement à leurs chefs, c'est une formation du caractère comme une autre. Elle nous est odieuse à juste titre. Mais elle prouve que "former le caractère" n'est pas un programme. Encore faut-il savoir quel titre d'homme on se propose d'obtenir.(2)

Romains is committed to the primacy of intellectual development, provided that such education is carried out in a spirit of freedom and liberality - in this respect Pour Raison garder with its denunciation of the worship of the banal and the trivial in contemporary society represents his call to a return to reason and common sense. To ensure that the school is free to fulfil this function without political interference Romains proposes that education should be overseen by an independent body, a spiritual power comprising the highest

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(1) Le Problème numéro un, pp. 177-8.

(2) Ibid, p. 179.

intellectual and spiritual authorities.

Il entrerait encore dans la compétence du pouvoir spirituel d'examiner les règles et coutumes qui président ici et là à la formation mentale de l'individu. Depuis le phénomène nazi-fasciste, l'on commence à s'apercevoir que l'instruction publique chez un peuple n'est pas strictement une affaire intérieure; qu'elle peut avoir de graves conséquences pour l'ensemble du monde; et qu'il est vain en particulier d'espérer une amélioration de la moralité internationale si chaque gouvernement reste libre d'inculquer à la jeunesse le fanatisme guerrier, le mépris des autres peuples, le culte de la violence, l'idolâtrie de l'Etat etc.(1)

As well as expressing his concern at education being placed at the service of the State, Romains warns of the dangers of education falling into the hands of sectional interests and being manipulated for commercial purposes. His criticisms of American trends in education closely resemble those of Duhamel and Martin du Gard. In Salsette découvre l'Amérique (1942) and Lettres de Salsette (1950) he describes the impressions of America of Salsette, a bourgeois lettré, who, because of the war, has left his university position in France to seek a teaching post in a New England university. If at first he regards the American way of life with naïve wonder, later he will show a more realistic appraisal of American culture - realising its faults, but resigned to its errors. Even in the first book where the new arrival is still filled with the freshness of his experiences, his acquaintance with American university life brings a realisation of the enfantillage of the

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(1) Ibid, pp. 219-20.

students. Indeed, a Professor F., with whom he discusses the differences of French and American education, stresses that the French student who receives his tertiary education at Paris or other main cities has a wider experience than the American student whose environment is restricted to the college campus. 'Les nôtres, formés dans ces milieux artificiels, restent des enfants.'<sup>(1)</sup> While Salsette is prepared to accept the fact that the American students tend to be less mature, he considers that this is balanced by the greater camaraderie of the campus life and the increased opportunities for participation in student activities. But in Lettres de Salsette the traces of naïvety have vanished and in his correspondence the universitaire provides an ironical commentary on American culture. As far as education is concerned, the target for his criticism is the private universities who compete for students and are reluctant to impose high standards which would reduce their support amongst the affluent upper class. In addition to this '...mollesse dans le recrutement et les sanctions...'<sup>(2)</sup> the universities are too closely allied with commercial interests with, in addition to the traditional disciplines, sections specialising in industrial techniques or advertising. Such an equation of the humanities with pure technique fills Salsette with horror as he sees this as a further threat to the notion of an intellectual élite, and he

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{1) Salsette découvre l'Amérique, p. 223.  
 {2) Lettres de Salsette, p. 328.

declares that such trends will eventually lead to the disappearance '...du public d'élite, ou d'un public hiérarchisé...'(1)

Romains's later work, Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? (1955), which is a collection of articles from L'Aurore on his visit to the United States in that year, takes a different approach to the educative process and emphasises the positive contribution which education can make towards curing society's ills. The discussions which Romains held in 1955 with Americans prominent in education, the arts and the sciences convinced him that there was a need for the school to teach an ethic of progress - a hierarchy of values which would serve man to adjust to the machine age. Although he entertains doubts whether public education has as yet measured its full responsibility for diffusing a philosophy of life which is concerned with the quality of human experience in a technological society - a new humanism which draws its strength from the values of the past - he is in agreement with Berle and Oppenheimer that in this area the schools have a vital task to perform.

Il faut apprendre à l'homme à se servir des commodités, des jouets (car ce ne sont parfois que des jouets), des loisirs que lui prodiguera de plus en plus ce progrès matériel. A s'en servir pour réaliser peu à peu la forme de vie la meilleure, la plus digne de l'être humain, la plus fidèle du même coup à la Sagesse de tous les temps. A choisir parmi les commodités nouvelles qu'on lui propose ou qu'on lui fait prévoir, celles qui répondent

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(1) Ibid, p. 317.

le mieux à la nature éternelle du Bien, à la hiérarchie imprescriptible des Biens. C'est par la pression de ces choix que s'orientera, dans une société d'hommes libres, le progrès futur. D'où le rôle primordial de l'école.(1)

However, Romains's major theme in his essays and articles since 1945 is that with the disequilibrium of society caused by unchecked technological advances it is necessary to create a spiritual power which would control the developments of technique and channel material progress into directions which would benefit man instead of imperilling his very existence. Thus, in his article in Conférenca (15 Oct. 1948)<sup>(2)</sup> he outlines his theory of the three curves - of human nature, institutions and technique - which up to 1900 rose steadily and harmoniously, but whose balance since that date has been upset by the rapid progress in technology. In view of the moral deficiencies of man and the limited effectiveness of his institutions, Romains considers that there is little possibility of restoring equilibrium unless power is granted to the few who possess the intellectual and spiritual gifts to find solutions to this problem. He then proposes a council of sages - '...une Cour Suprême dont les fonctions seraient loin de se limiter à l'ordre judiciaire ou constitutionnel; dont l'activité serait infiniment plus complexe, positive, créatrice...Un organe...de méditation, de prévision universelles'<sup>(3)</sup> - who would

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(1) Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? pp. 206-7.

(2) 'Les Chances actuelles de l'homme', Conférenca, no. 10, 15 Oct. 1948, pp. 397-410.

(3) Le Problème numéro un, p. 221.

act in a consultative capacity to advise national governments.

This concept of an intellectual aristocracy, a reign of mandarins, has obvious links with the notions of an élite of the bourgeoisie. There is the same denigration of the masses and the assumption that the lower orders of society are incapable of ruling their lives by reason.

L'humanité - au moins dans sa moyenne - éprouve en face de l'intelligence un complexe d'infériorité qui la rend hostile, qui fait qu'elle renâcle et recule. L'humanité se méfie de l'esprit...

Elle ne laisse entrer l'esprit dans la conduite de ses affaires qu'en contrebande ou sous déguisement. Elle se montre bien meilleure fille en face de la force, ou du mensonge.(1)

Furthermore, the sage whom Romans nominates as a representative of this spiritual power would appear to be a twentieth century version of the honnête homme. Indeed, he sees in the attitudes towards technique of the cultivated man of Montaigne's time a model for modern man.

...L'homme d'élite, nourri dans les bibliothèques et féru de lettres anciennes ...loin de n'accorder, comme on le croit trop souvent, qu'un coup d'oeil distrait au monde des structures matérielles, et aux perfectionnements que le génie humain peut y apporter, était on ne peut plus vigilant et "sensibilisé" de ce côté-là.(2)

As one sees in Passagers de cette planète où allons-nous? Romans's sages are drawn principally from the university

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(1) Ibid, p. 223.

(2) Hommes, médecins, machines, p. 216.

world and are men who are both broadly cultured and highly trained in a specialist area. This makes it clear that his vision of spiritual power is based on the concept of the complete man - the ideal of the bourgeois schools since the seventeenth century. It is the homo plenarius<sup>(1)</sup> with his encyclopaedic culture whom he, like Duhamel, sets against the pure specialists and whom he pronounces qualified to question the legitimacy of their enterprises. Yet there is a note of pessimism in Romain's later works as he recognises that the traditional aim of producing sujets d'élite is losing ground. His displeasure at the direction of French education in recent years is expressed in Amitiés et rencontres (1970) when he recalls the small classes of select students at the turn of the century and compares these with '...les énormes affluences des classes actuelles...'.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) See Lettre ouverte contre une vaste conspiration, pp. 129-30.

(2) Amitiés et rencontres. p. 97.

CONCLUSION TO PART II:

In this section we have examined the extent to which the family and the school contributed to the personal development of the three writers. Although, as we have seen, there are considerable differences in their background, their experiences of family life and formal training in the lycées and the faculties have reflected the general educational priorities and emphases of the nineteenth century middle classes. Moreover, to their inheritance of the values, attitudes and prejudices of the bourgeoisie, were added the social climate and the prevailing currents of thought at the turn of the century. As lycéens and students at the Sorbonne or the grandes écoles they were influenced by rationalism and placed their faith in science. Fired with the optimistic belief that the intellectual socialism of Jaurès would bring an age of fraternity and humanitarianism they looked confidently to the future. But the twentieth century would dash these high hopes and bring a more realistic understanding that the fault lies more in man's nature than in the political and economic organisation of society. Even if they retain some hope for the future, despite the signs of decadence in modern civilisation which they see, it is still true that in their later works there is an elegiac tone and a tendency to retreat to the past for guidance and solace. It is this adduction to the period prior to World War I to which Magny refers in her study of Martin du Gard:

On dirait que sa montre s'est arrêtée au moment où meurt son héros, Antoine, et qu'il n'a plus progressé spirituellement à partir de 1918, qu'il a cessé de vouloir accompagner le monde dans son évolution peut-être parce qu'il ne s'était jamais intéressé à cette évolution en tant que telle.(1)

Similarly, Brée and Guiton<sup>(2)</sup> comment that Duhamel's social views are clearly related to the values and beliefs of the pre-World War I petite bourgeoisie - a point which Michael-Titus<sup>(3)</sup> suggests applies equally to Romains.

Their works of maturity show evidence of their valuation of the traditional role of the family and the school in middle-class thought as supports of the balance and order of society. Although their own experience of the educative process in the bourgeois family and school may have raised doubts as to the necessity for rigid social restraints and may have aroused personal antagonism against the attitudes of their educators, they were not driven to non-conformism nor to blanket condemnation of the place of the family or the school. They appear to have been generally well-adjusted socially, without the burning hatred of middle-class conventions of certain of their contemporaries. Their youthful desire for independence and freedom from constraints would later become a more ready

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(1) C.-E. Magny, Histoire du roman français depuis 1918, vol. I, pp. 349-50.

(2) G. Brée and M. Guiton, An Age of Fiction - The French Novel from Gide to Camus, p. 63.

(3) See C. Michael-Titus, 'Aspects et orientation de la pensée bourgeoise laïque en France', Nottingham French Studies, vol. II, no. 1, May 1963, p. 44.

acceptance of the responsibilities of the educator to prepare the child for his social roles - a task which requires discipline and direction. It has been suggested that this movement towards endorsing traditional patterns of child rearing does not only reflect the process of maturation but more importantly represents a reaction against what they consider to be a crisis in family authority in the interwar years and a decline of the formal, academic school catering for an élite.

But if finally the three writers reveal that they have been deeply influenced by the values of the pre-1914 bourgeoisie, this generalisation must make allowance for variations in their overall acceptance of middle-class ideals, resulting from the particular circumstances of their upbringing. Apart from the personal factors which have affected their degree of identification with middle-class thought, there has been the difference in attitude to middle-class culture of the boursier and the héritier, to employ the distinction of Thibaudet which was quoted in Part I.<sup>(1)</sup> Duhamel and Romain represent the boursier who has had to work himself up from his lower-class origins through his intelligence and conscientious effort, and who tends to value more highly the cultural privileges he has won than the héritier who has received this culture as of right. As Prost suggests '...Il est certain que les "héritiers" prennent plus facilement leur distance

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(1) See also the study of the differing attitudes towards education and culture of the héritiers and boursiers in P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, Les Héritiers; les étudiants et la culture, pp. 29 ff.

à l'égard d'une culture qui ne leur a jamais manqué.<sup>(1)</sup>

While Duhamel and Romain, the boursiers, reveal themselves in their pronouncements on the family and the school to be staunch defenders of the middle-class culture and the prerogatives of the intellectual élite, Martin du Gard, the héritier, has struggled to maintain his artistic independence against the stereotype of middle-class thought. His reservations concerning the institutional rituals and traditions inherited from the nineteenth century bourgeoisie are apparent in his novels, even though, finally, he accepts that the strengths of the middle-class cultural patterns far outweigh the weaknesses.

This brief study of the educational experiences of the three writers and of the movement of their thought towards support of traditional middle-class attitudes in regard to familial and formal education, serves as a background for the examination of the novel-cycles which, published in the period leading up to World War II, provide clear evidence of the greater rigidity with which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain view educational issues.

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(1) A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, p. 366.

PART III:                    THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS IN CHRONIQUE DES PASQUIER, LES THIBAUT AND LES HOMMES DE BONNE VOLONTE.

CHAPTER I:                CHRONIQUE DES PASQUIER  
 (a)     The Family  
 (b)     The School  
 (c)     Conclusion

THE FAMILY:

It is clear that the writers of the three roman-fleuves consider that the child's early relationship with his parents is an important determinant of character and personality. Constantly they relate the personality characteristics, behavioural patterns, values and beliefs of their characters to the different social-psychological environments to which they have been exposed as members of a family. The process of familial education - the conscious or unconscious transaction between parents and children in the home which is crucial for intellectual, social, emotional and moral growth - is a dominant theme in Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté.

Chronique des Pasquier is primarily a study in family relationships. Duhamel chooses as his subject a family whose circumstances are similar to his own, members of the urban petite bourgeoisie at the turn of the century. One might draw the parallels closer and suggest that the devoted, harassed mother, Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier, and the irresponsible father, Raymond Pasquier,

are reflections of his own parents, while in Laurent Pasquier, the idealist who is wounded by the quarrels and the betrayals of family life, there is something of Duhamel himself. Indeed, in Inventaire de l'abîme Duhamel readily admits that for the portraits of the mother in Chronique des Pasquier he has borrowed much from life, but he adds that '...par la suite et le récit prenant de l'ampleur, mes peintures se sont, en bien des façons, éloignées des modèles'. (1) What becomes obvious as the saga of the Pasquiers unfolds is that the kinds of experience which Laurent, Joseph, Ferdinand, Cécile and Suzanne Pasquier receive in their family are basically similar to those which have influenced Duhamel's development.

The Pasquier clan is not seen in isolation. The author has said that the basis of the work is an attempt to understand '...comment se formait l'élite, en France, environ la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du XX<sup>e</sup>'. (2) The psychological study of family life is doubled by a sociological examination of the forces which lead to the rise of the family. If all but one of the Pasquier children gain distinction in their chosen careers, the origins of their motives and drives may be traced to the attitudes and values in which they were immersed in their formative years. It is, then,

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(1) Inventaire de l'abîme, pp. 60-1.

(2) Ibid, p. 26.

the portrayal of familial education in the first three novels of Chronique des Pasquier which sets the scene for later developments.

Although Chronique des Pasquier follows the history of a family, it tends to concentrate on the années d'apprentissage of one member of the clan - Laurent Pasquier. It is Laurent who is the narrator in Le Notaire du Havre, Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages and Vue de la terre promise, the three novels which depict the upbringing of the young Pasquiers. The descriptions of the process of education gain immediacy by this first person approach as we are taken into the family and see the interaction between parents and children through the eyes of the child. Yet if the sense of wonder and of awe with which the child of limited social experience views family relationships is skilfully maintained, there are subtle shifts of focus which remind us that it is not the child who is directly relating his experiences but the mature savant, Laurent Pasquier, who is attempting to re-create his childhood vision some forty years after the events had occurred and who is deliberately selecting those experiences which he believes were significant for his character formation.

From the beginning of Le Notaire du Havre Laurent acknowledges that through his family he has received the imprint of the petite bourgeoisie. He situates himself proudly in a middle class which if it is '...moyenne....

dans l'ordre de l'argent...'(1) is the class which gives spiritual leadership to French society.

...Elle brille par l'esprit, le savoir, le désintéressement et les oeuvres au premier rang d'une société à laquelle elle prodigue sans compter des maîtres, des chefs, des principes, des méthodes, des clartés, des exemples, des excuses. A plaisir les démagogues diffament cette élite sans comprendre qu'elle apporte à leurs rêveries une légitimation magnifique.(2)

As we shall see, the Pasquier family does in itself sum up the hopes and aspirations of the petite bourgeoisie in the pre-1914 period. With Raymond Pasquier's social ambitions and his belief that one may '... s'élever par le savoir...'(3), Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier's warmth of affection, practicality and thrift, as well as the importance that is placed upon culture and upon the family unit as the basis of social order, the Pasquier clan reflects the values and attitudes of this milieu. The patterns of child rearing are those of the petite bourgeoisie and it is with the traditional vertus bourgeoises that the young Pasquiers become impregnated.

But as well as the general influence of the cultural patterns which are transmitted to him through the family, there is also for Laurent Pasquier the specific influences of the personality and behavioural characteristics of his parents. If, as we shall discover in the other romans-fleuves, there is an overall coherence in the kinds of

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 15.

(2) Ibid, p. 15.

(3) Vue de la terre promise, p. 116.

educational experience which parents provide for their children, stemming from the cultural setting and the established social priorities, there is also within each family a set of educator and learner variables which includes the individual differences in character, temperament and outlook of parent and child. In the introduction to Le Notaire du Havre Laurent sees himself as the product of both groups of influences. While his development owes much to the imprint of the demands and expectations of the petite bourgeoisie, he is also affected by circumstances peculiar to his family. He suggests that his behaviour may be explained in part as a conscious reaction against his father - a process which he describes as a '...discipline anti-héréditaire...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

...Mon existence n'a, jusqu'à ce jour, été qu'une persévérante et victorieuse réaction contre un certain nombre de caractères transmissibles - je ne dis pas transmis. Par ce dire je ne me sens pas en contradiction avec mon expérience de savant, bien au contraire: je me rattache et même docilement au déterminisme héréditaire. Le rebours est un des deux visages évidents de l'hérédité. Je ne critique pas non plus, et dès l'abord, mon patrimoine moral et physique. J'ai réagi, soit! Mais on réagit d'autant mieux qu'il faut lutter contre des puissances plus vives.<sup>(2)</sup>

However, it becomes readily apparent in Chronique des Pasquier that there is no hard and fast line between the educational experiences which derive from the personal interaction of the parent and the child and

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 8.  
 (2) Ibid, pp. 24-5.

those that originate in the traditions and beliefs of the middle-class social structure to which the family belongs. The two sets of influences merge at many points.

This may be illustrated by a brief examination of the attitudes that the young Pasquiers learn towards work. The phrase 'miracle n'est pas oeuvre' which Laurent claims to be the key to his spiritual life <sup>(1)</sup> may be interpreted as the reaction of the child against the '...onirologie familiale' <sup>(2)</sup> - the wild enthusiasms and optimistic dreams with which his father had infected the family and which had never been realised. In Le Notaire du Havre the family lives in hope that the expected legacy from Mme Pasquier's aunt Delahaie will be the decisive event which assures the rise of the tribe. Anticipating the inheritance, the father incurs debts to improve their standard of living and to pursue his ambitions to become a doctor. Finally, the long awaited news from the lawyer at Le Havre brings to an end the great expectations of the family. The legacy, reduced by legal costs, is barely sufficient to cover the financial obligations of the Pasquiers. At the end of Le Notaire du Havre Laurent declares that he is '...guéri, pour jamais, du miracle, des prodiges et des événements magiques'. <sup>(3)</sup> The lesson which he learns is

(1) Ibid, p. 24.

(2) Ibid, p. 102.

(3) Ibid, p. 235.

that it is futile to hope for outside intervention to change one's lot. Rather one must rely upon one's own resources of energy and determination. As Mme Pasquier says to her husband after the first moment of despair has passed: '-...C'est fini. Je ne veux plus compter que sur nous, sur nos quatre bras, sur nos deux têtes.'<sup>(1)</sup> If the father is incurably optimistic and fails to learn from the harsh realities of life, the Pasquier children are quick to profit from his mistakes. All are marked by industriousness and strive to succeed. Whereas later Laurent reaches a position of eminence in science, his siblings will distinguish themselves in other fields - Joseph in business, Cécile in music, Suzanne in the theatre. Only Ferdinand, the bureaucrat, fails to lift himself above mediocrity. However, if the children tend to scorn their father's extravagant visions of advancement, they forget that notwithstanding his false starts he had made the initial ascension to the middle class which had facilitated their success, and this despite the difficulty he had faced of rising in a society where social mobility was a comparatively recent phenomenon - a situation which had magnified his reliance on the legacy to improve his position.

But there is behind the decision of the young Pasquiers to choose works rather than miracles a general as well as a specific motivation. 'Miracle n'est pas

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(1) Ibid, p. 234.

oeuvre' is a reflection of lower middle-class attitudes to individual effort. One notes that at the end of Le Notaire du Havre the mother, Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier, appears almost relieved at the disastrous news from Le Havre, exclaiming: '...Ça vaut mieux comme ça.' (1) To rise in social status by other than the fruits of one's own efforts is not the way of the petite bourgeoisie as Curnier points out:

...Si les malheureux Pasquier ne reçoivent à peu près rien "ça vaut mieux", dit la mère. En effet, ils vont être, de ce fait, obligés de travailler, et ce n'est que par le travail que "le menu peuple" mérite "l'ascension", par le travail et non grâce à de l'argent qui n'a pas été gagné. (2)

This same belief in the sanctity of work is seen in Laurent's distinction between the attitudes of the members of the affluent bourgeoisie, such as his friend Emmanuel des Combes whose family traditions are those of preserving and passing on inherited wealth, and those of his class who have received little from their forbears except the determination to succeed.

Je causais, le mois dernier, avec mon ami Emmanuel des Combes et lui déclarais, je ne sais plus à quel propos, qu'il m'était impossible de jouir pleinement d'un bien que je ne l'eusse conquis moi-même. Il me fit répéter cette confidence, réfléchit un instant et me dit avec sérénité qu'il ne comprenait rien à mes scrupules et qu'il jouissait quant à lui, d'autant mieux des biens qu'il les trouvait plus francs de souvenirs pénibles et, si l'on peut dire, moins trempés de sueur.

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{1} Ibid, p. 234.

{2} P. Curnier, 'Présentation de Le Notaire du Havre', Le Français dans le monde, no. 32, April-May 1965, p. 27.

J'allais répondre à des Combes que tout bien temporel est toujours trempé de la sueur de quelqu'un, mais à quoi bon? Nous ne pouvons peser au même poids les fruits de la terre: la famille d'Emmanuel est de robe depuis le seizième siècle et fut toujours très bien pourvue.(1)

Michael-Titus makes the following comment on Laurent's views:

Laurent apparaît ici comme l'exemple le plus représentatif peut-être du bourgeois laïque et la manière dont il juge son ami Des Combes est celle de sa classe, celle que sa classe a toujours adoptée envers l'autre bourgeoisie: la bourgeoisie de robe, bourgeoisie catholique, conservatrice, bien pourvue... Le mérite intellectuel, l'intelligence, le succès commercial et l'activité politique sont à la base des traditions de la bourgeoisie laïque et elle s'oppose ainsi à celle qu'elle a trouvée en place, qu'elle doit surpasser et souvent combattre.(2)

Laurent is, then, the inheritor of the traditions of this petite bourgeoisie which has struggled up from its peasant origins. He is ever conscious of the toil of the generations which had preceded him and which had made the rise of his tribu possible. As he looks about him he sees that these traditions of effort and striving are shared by those amongst his contemporaries who have achieved greatness.

Je suis donc, moi, Laurent, à deux générations de la bêche et à trois de la charrue. Si je cherche dans mon voisinage, je vois que la plupart de mes amis, de mes pairs, hommes distingués par leurs talents, par leurs mérites, n'ont qu'à

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, pp. 15-16.

(2) C. Michael-Titus, 'Aspects et orientation de la pensée bourgeoise laïque en France', Nottingham French Studies, vol. II, no. 1, May 1963, p. 39.

regarder derrière eux pour nommer soit un laboureur, soit un tout modeste artisan. Victor Legrand est petit-fils d'herbagers et Vuillaume de vigneron. Les ancêtres de Roch étaient quelque chose comme couteliers et le père de Schleiter a ravaudé de vieilles nippes.(1)

One sees elsewhere in Chronique des Pasquier confirmation of the persistence of these peasant traditions. There is, for example, Raymond Pasquier's mania for gardening, which, thwarted by city dwelling, vigorously returns when the family takes up residence at Créteil.

Mon père, fils de petites gens, mi-paysans, mi-jardiniers, s'était détourné de la terre pour "s'élever par le savoir", comme il disait volontiers. A peine eût-il un jardin, le désir de gratter le sol aussitôt le tourmenta. Il bêchait, il binait, il sarclait, bientôt ruisselant de sueur, la chemise bouffante au-dessus du pantalon, dédaigneux du soleil, du vent, des ondées, saisi de fureur géorgique.(2)

Joseph Pasquier shares this need to return to the soil and experiences in tilling his land '...un plaisir un peu rageur, mais glouton et voluptueux'.(3) Indeed, his passion for possessing property may be seen as a reflection of the attachment to the land of his peasant ancestors. It is significant in this respect that his first purchase is of a domain at Nesles, the pays natal of the Pasquiers. Similarly, a yearning for the country life is felt by others in his family, in particular Ferdinand and Suzanne. As Suzanne says in

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre pp. 14-15.

(2) Vue de la terre promise, pp. 115-16.

(3) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 140.

Suzanne et les jeunes hommes: 'Il me semble qu'aller à Nesles, ça serait toucher la terre, me purifier, reprendre force et courage.'<sup>(1)</sup> These details bear out the comment which Laurent makes in the introduction to Le Notaire du Havre: '...Que notre pensée soit colorée, nourrie par la sève rustique, voilà ce que mille faits et conjonctures s'accordent à prouver.'<sup>(2)</sup>

As he considers his inheritance Laurent observes that each of the generations which had preceded him had contributed to the ascension of the family. It is to Charles-Bruno Pasquier, his paternal grandfather, that he traces the commencement of the slow climb of the Pasquiers from the 'ombre inférieure'.<sup>(3)</sup> The son of a paysan, Charles-Bruno Pasquier had raised sufficient capital to purchase a small market garden at Nesles-la-Vallée. The impetus for his change of status had been an endowment of energy and intelligence.

Charles-Bruno, si j'en crois la fable familiale, était un esprit inculte, mais inventif et curieux. Bien qu'il tienne encore à l'humus et qu'il en tire subsistance, c'est à partir de lui, dans l'ordre intellectuel, que la courbe s'élève.<sup>(4)</sup>

His mother's immediate family had also been characterised by a vigorous determination to improve their position. The father, Mathurin Delahaie, who had been in partner-

(1) Suzanne et les jeunes hommes, p. 58.

(2) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 15.

(3) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 112.

(4) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 14.

ship with his brother in Paris, had left in 1848 the small passementerie which they operated to seek his fortune in Peru, undeterred by the fact that it was necessary for him to leave behind his ailing wife and infant daughter in his brother's care. Consequently, Laurent's mother had been brought up in the home of the scrupulous and prudent Prosper Delahaie.

With this background of industry and ambition it is not surprising that as educators Raymond and Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier should continually urge their children to strive for upward mobility and emphasise those skills and habits which would assist the épanouissement of the family. The father, despite his Balzacian airs, his massive pride and self-indulgence, his extravagant dreams and visions, is the inspiration for the social ambitions of the family. He has, as Laurent readily admits, a rational appreciation of the direction in which he must go to help his children and he sees that he must give the example to his family by striving to gain medical qualifications in late middle age.

Mon père était semblable à ces enragés solitaires, non par calcul égoïste, mais par logique et raison, parce que tout ce qu'il voulait dépendait d'abord de lui-même et que, s'il fallait s'instruire, s'élever, comme il disait, le mieux était encore de commencer tout de suite et de commencer par soi.(1)

Raymond Pasquier's energy as a parent is directed towards impressing upon his children the importance of

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(1) Ibid, pp. 159-60.

intellectual development, which he firmly believes to be the key to the '...ascension de la tribu'.<sup>(1)</sup> In particular, he gives a priority to language skills as the basic tool for the acquisition of knowledge.

Il savait tout et l'expliquait clairement. Il était notre vivant lexique. J'ai compris, par la suite, qu'il avait fait un effort immense et naïf pour apprendre les mots et leur sens et que, dans ses calculs, c'était bien là le commencement de tout, l'échelon initial, le premier grade nécessaire à l'ascension de la tribu.<sup>(2)</sup>

One finds that because of the father's fanatical regard for accuracy in word-usage a Littre is the most prized possession in the Pasquier household - 'le livre sacrosaint de la maison'.<sup>(3)</sup> Similarly, literature is held in high esteem. Raymond Pasquier, himself, is an avid reader of Balzac and at night studies in a robe de bure in his honour. He has definite opinions on what the children should or should not read. Laurent recalls that he was once admonished by his father at the age of fourteen for reading the Chevalier de Faublas. Even in straitened circumstances when it is necessary to send their chattels to the Mont-de-Piété, the Pasquiers cling to their books, as is shown in Le Notaire du Havre.

Maman fit le voyage du Havre. Il fallut, pour parer à cette dépense immédiate, engager encore quelque chose, et ce fut la bibliothèque. Je parle du meuble, bien sûr. Pour les livres, nous nous serions fait tuer plutôt que de nous en dessaisir.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, p. 136.

(2) Ibid, p. 65.

(3) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 67.

(4) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 196

Raymond Pasquier firmly believes that academic qualifications provide the '...clef de la terre promise..'

(1) It is true that his own desire to become a doctor is partly motivated by selfish considerations - the prestige of the title and the wealth and consideration which professional status would bring - as well as by vocational interest. However, in impressing on his sons the desirability of performing well in their studies he is not merely considering the utilitarian benefits of formal education. He is convinced that through exercising their minds men will improve. 'C'était vraiment un homme du dix-neuvième siècle, de ce siècle qui n'a pas voulu douter du savoir souverain, de ce siècle qui a fait la sourde oreille aux avertissements de Schopenhauer et s'est plu tenacement à confondre science et sagesse' (2)

Commenting on the violent temper of his neighbour, Wasselin, in the rue Vandamme, he says: "De telles vulgarités disparaîtront quand les hommes seront plus instruits. La cause de toute cette bassesse, croyez-moi, c'est l'ignorance." (3)

Having dedicated himself to academic success, Raymond Pasquier has no sympathy for those who lack the same dedication. He is profoundly disappointed when his eldest son, Joseph, announces his intention to leave school and seek commercial employment and is scornful of

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(1) Vue de la terre promise, p. 68.

(2) Le Notaire du Havre, pp. 110-11.

(3) Ibid, p. 110.

Ferdinand's failure in the certificat d'études. Of the children it is Laurent who is most susceptible to his father's example. From observing his father's efforts to gain his diplôme de docteur en médecine at an age when other men would be considering retirement, Laurent would gain some inkling of the satisfactions of mental effort. Possibly the influence of the father is heightened by the contrast with the tribu des Courtois, the family from whom the Pasquiers borrow while awaiting the Delahaie legacy. Certainly, M. Courtois, the elder, who has achieved the ambition of the commercial classes of retiring early, displays every sign of moral and intellectual decline.

While Raymond Pasquier establishes the intellectual priorities for the education of the children, their implementation is mainly left to his wife. There is a clear separation in their educational roles, with the father setting the overall goals and the mother providing the direct instruction, as M. Pasquier lacks the patience to teach the children and normally is too engrossed in his personal affairs to provide them with the varied experiences essential for their intellectual growth. Hence, it is chiefly from their mother that the children gain mental stimulation. She teaches them to read and write before they enter school. At the end of Vue de la terre promise we see the mother at the time when her older children are about to leave the foyer

recommencing her educational tasks by assisting Suzanne with her reading.

Her interest and encouragement continues when the children enter school. The opening of the novel-cycle shows the mother preparing the evening meal and at the same time supervising the homework of the elder boys while Laurent, who because of his health has not yet commenced his schooling, is reciting multiplication tables. For the children this period before tea when they gather about '...cette lumière enchantée'<sup>(1)</sup> to study or to play in the dining room is one of close intimacy, thus strengthening and adding to the idea of the rising tribe by associating learning and pleasant memories of their childhood.

Although Mme Pasquier had received only an elementary education she, like her husband, realises the importance of a higher education. It is she who arranges for Laurent a bourse at the Lycée Henri-IV. As she says to Joseph in an effort to persuade him to continue with his studies: "'...Des études, il paraît qu'avec les progrès de maintenant c'est absolument nécessaire.'"<sup>(2)</sup>

There is, then, a strong intellectual emphasis in the training of the Pasquier children, bearing out the comments made in Part I on the importance placed on this aspect of education in the French lower middle-class

(1) Ibid, p. 33.

(2) Ibid, p. 135.

home. Clearly, also, the child-rearing practices of the families belonging to this social class radiate about the concept of achievement.

Nor are cultural values neglected. Apart from the priority given to literature, music occupies a dominant position in the lives of the children. From the moment when the piano arrives in their apartment in the rue Vandamme the music of Cécile becomes the accompaniment to the moments of joy or despair of the Pasquiers. It is Cécile, the gifted musician, who is able to bring calm and restore peace in the family.

Si j'ose, après tant d'années, raconter les traverses de notre vie sans éclat, c'est que la musique est là, partout présente, jaillissante. Ce noble et riche accompagnement rehaussait toutes nos misères. Il y eut, en ce temps-là, pour chaque instant de chaque jour, pour chacune de nos pensées, des mélodies, des accords, des concerts ineffables.(1)

As with the books which the Pasquiers cannot part with even in times of financial embarrassment, Cécile's piano is regarded as inviolable and is not to be pawned even when financial stringency demands it.

A high importance is also placed upon character training. In this aspect of familial education, as in the priority given to intellectual development, the Pasquier family may be seen as typical of the lower middle-class families. Prévost remarks on this value placed on moral and spiritual development in his article on Georges Duhamel:

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(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 189.

Il est avant tout l'homme (et l'enfant) de la petite bourgeoisie - celle qui ne possède et transmet que des biens moraux et spirituels, celle qui veut prodiguer à ses enfants un héritage de courtoisie, de tendresse et de délicatesse. C'est par là que nous pourrions préciser son humanisme moral, mot vague, autrement, trop large et trompeur.(1)

There is in Raymond Pasquier a strong streak of the preacher and the moralist, but apparently he sees no contradiction between his own behaviour and his condemnation of similar conduct in others. Thus, he is self-righteous in his censure of the belligerent outbursts of his eldest son, Joseph, - this despite the fact that he is, himself, subject to sudden angers. He cannot conceive that the rage which he vents on his family to relieve his tensions, causes them deep distress. As Laurent says '...Ses colères ont été l'un des grands soucis de mon enfance.'(2) M. Pasquier has '...le goût des femmes'(3) yet he criticises the infidelity of others and warns his sons against loose associations. Although insulting to strangers in public, particularly those who suffer from tics or physical disabilities, he impresses the importance of good manners and courtesy on his children, sharply reprimanding them for yawning at the table or making grimaces. However, although by precept Raymond Pasquier encourages his family to accept the vertus bourgeoises of consideration, self-discipline

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(1) J. Prévost, 'Georges Duhamel', N.R.F., no. 257, 1 Feb. 1935, p. 217.

(2) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 117.

(3) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 79.

and rectitude, his own behaviour seriously undermines these values. His moral influence is most apparent on his eldest son. Joseph's aggressive manner, his lack of scruples and his indifference to the feelings of others may be traced to the life-style which he has learnt from his father.

The moral qualities which the other siblings adopt would seem to derive from their mother. She is the stable element in the family who gives them security and binds them closely to her with her warmth of affection. It is the inexhaustible love of a mother which illuminates the early volumes of Chronique des Pasquier. This depiction of the affective ties of mother and child, the important first stages in the personality formation of the child when rewarding and gratifying experiences with his mother develop in him a sense of trust, is, as Simon suggests, a unique contribution to French literature.

On respire ainsi, dans Le Notaire du Havre et dans Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, un charme d'enfance et une tiède odeur de nid, qui sont quelque chose de neuf dans notre littérature de qualité, puisque, seule jusqu'alors, à un niveau élémentaire d'art et de style, la Bibliothèque rose en avait donné le pressentiment. (1)

The life of Mme Pasquier revolves around her children and she finds in caring for her family her fulfilment. It is her family that matters to her. Her approach to motherhood is not intellectual in

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(1) P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, p. 119.

that she does not attempt to generalise the role of mother or the function of the family. Instinctively she realises that her children need her and that her satisfactions are bound up in her free offer of love and understanding. This is seen when Laurent says to her:

-Toi, du moins, tu as des principes.  
Toi, tu sais où tu vas, tu sais ce que tu  
veux. La famille! A tout prix!

Her reply is:

-Oh! la famille, c'est bien grand,  
c'est bien vague. Non, ma famille, voilà  
tout. Je ne vois pas beaucoup plus loin.  
J'ai tant de choses à faire.(1)

The mother is ever attentive to the needs of her husband, of whom she is '...cette épouse extasiée...', (2) and of her sons and daughters. 'que l'un de nous tousse, ou même simplement soupire, et la voici, offrant ses mains magiciennes...' (3) Her love and affection is lavished upon each of her five children but, with an intense desire for justice for her children, she attempts to compensate with her maternal care for the failures of the least endowed of them, the second son, Ferdinand.

Il ne sera pas dit, ô mère, qu'un de  
ces enfants de ta chair sera plus malheureux  
que les autres. On prétend qu'il est mal  
doué? Raison de plus, alors, pour le chérir,  
pour le choyer, pour chanter sa louange, pour  
le défendre contre tout et contre tous.(4)

One notes that as he describes the extra attention which

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- (1) Vue de la terre promise, pp. 210-11.  
(2) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 111.  
(3) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 189.  
(4) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 185.

his brother had received, Laurent still retains some remnants of his childhood jealousy.

C'est ainsi. C'est bien ainsi. Qui donc oserait s'en plaindre? L'homme juste doit reconnaître qu'on ne peut tout avoir. Et pourtant, à certaines heures, il comprend que l'on peut être jaloux de tout, même de certaine pitié.(1)

Undoubtedly, it is from Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier that the children have gained a sense of security. Because of the restless nature of their father the family had been frequently uprooted. Thus, Laurent points out in the introduction to Le Notaire du Havre that he was born at Honfleur, Joseph at Nesles, Ferdinand and Suzanne at Paris and Cécile at Rouen. 'Ainsi les graines vagabondes se dispersent au gré du vent.'<sup>(2)</sup> Even in the first three books of Chronique des Pasquier which follow the childhood and adolescence of the young Pasquiers, the family seems continually on the move - from the small apartment in chapter I of Le Notaire du Havre to the rue Vandamme, from the rue Vandamme to the rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, where the three years which they spend is a 'répit mirifique'<sup>(3)</sup> in their nomadic existence. Then, they shift again to the suburbs, to Créteil, before once more returning to the city. In their unsettled childhood the love of their mother had been the one constant factor which shielded them against these unsettling changes of

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(1) Ibid, pp. 185-6.

(2) Ibid, p. 13.

(3) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 38.

environment. The mother had also offered protection from the abrupt changes of mood of their father and his sudden explosions of anger. If Raymond Pasquier's rash plans, his whims and fancies threaten to disrupt the life of the family she provides stability and order and strives to maintain an even climate in the family relationships. It is fortunate for the well-being of the family that she possesses the calmness and the practical common sense that her husband lacks. As Laurent remarks, his mother is '*...la moins chimérique des créatures...pétrie de prudence et de crainte*'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Whereas her husband is impatient and peremptory in his dealings with the family she shows kindness and consideration. Their different styles are contrasted in the opening chapters of Le Notaire du Havre. When the children question their father as to why they are being sent to bed early, he uses his authority. '-Parce que c'est comme ça.'<sup>(2)</sup> There is instant obedience for the father as the children are in awe of his unpredictable temper but it is noticeable that they show no such alacrity to carry out their mother's instructions. However, Mme Pasquier makes no attempt to be a stern disciplinarian. Her aim is to create a close relationship between herself and her family so that her children will act out of love not fear. Her relaxed disciplinary manner is seen at its best in chapter IV. When the

(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 56.

(2) Ibid, p. 37.

noise of the children becomes too loud for her to sew the mother taps her thimble on the table and exclaims the ritual phrases: 'Ah! Bourdon de Notre-Dame!' or 'Ah! Colonel!'<sup>(1)</sup> and effectively restores peace and harmony by this good-natured approach.

Through her example Mme Pasquier teaches her children the moral values of the petite bourgeoisie, and, as well, a basic attitude to life. Prévost describes this process of learning in these words:

...Ce qui reste à l'enfant, ce sont moins des sentiments spontanément enfantins, que les sentiments communs à la mère et à l'enfant...[Duhamel] ou ses personnages garderont ces soucis et ce goût du souci, la crainte du nouveau, le patient courage d'améliorer et de préserver, qui sont d'une mère de famille chez les petites gens... L'enfant pauvre ne tire pas de sa mère seulement une tendresse inquiète, mais son premier sens pratique, une défense humble et efficace contre la vie...<sup>(2)</sup>

Many of the attitudes and values which the young Pasquiers will adopt may be traced to the influence of the mother. If there develops in each of the children a sense of family, a '...discipline du clan...'<sup>(3)</sup> then one must see the beginnings of this feeling in the close bonds which the mother endeavours to establish amongst them. She gathers them under her '...aile de couveuse'<sup>(4)</sup> and attempts to implant in them the concept of considering themselves collectively rather than individually. The use of the first person pronoun 'mine' or

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(1) Ibid, pp. 63-4.

(2) J. Prévost, 'Georges Duhamel', N.R.F., no. 257, 1 Feb. 1935, p. 218.

(3) Vue de la terre promise, p. 118

(4) Le Désert de Bièvres, p. 77.

the adjective 'my' is discouraged. Such training forms a habit of address in all but Joseph, whose acquisitive instincts ran counter to such notions of group ownership. Laurent comments on this aspect of his familial education in these words:

...Je disais "le nôtre", parce que, depuis l'enfance, mère ne nous apprenait guère les pronoms et les adjectifs que dans cette forme plurielle. Maman fut réellement stupéfaite quand elle découvrit que Joseph disait instinctivement "mon nom, ma maison, mon dîner."(1)

But if Mme Pasquier believes that through her example of selflessness and consideration for others her children will learn to live in harmony, then her hopes are doomed to failure. As the personalities of the children harden, conflicts develop. Between Laurent and Joseph, in particular, there is a bitter clash of personality. This conflict had originated in childhood, possibly as the result of the abuse of authority of the eldest boy over the youngest.

Quand nous étions petits, Joseph, conséquent à sa doctrine d'autorité, nous distribuait des taloches. Cette coutume a duré jusqu'à ma douzième année, jusqu'à certaine bataille en règle où j'eus peut-être le dessous, mais qui, du moins, m'assura l'autonomie.(2)

One sees this animosity deepening as they grow older, fanned by their fundamental differences in outlook. Joseph is calculating, mercenary and anti-intellectual, whereas Laurent is idealistic and imaginative. Each repudiates the attitudes of the other: Joseph dismisses

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(1) Vue de la terre promise, p. 133.

(2) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 151.

Laurent's romanticism, while Laurent despises Joseph's materialism. In Vue de la terre promise Laurent declares to his brother that his sordid pursuit of wealth has destroyed his faith in man's capacity to rise above material concerns. '-Tu disais des choses dégoûtantes, des choses épouvantables. Enfin, tu salissais tout ce que je respecte au monde.'<sup>(1)</sup> As a symbolic gesture Laurent seeks to purify himself from this obsession with money by destroying the first thousand franc note that he receives.

While the principal quarrel is that between Laurent and Joseph, the other members of the family are also involved in disputes. In their antagonisms and clashes of will their behaviour resembles that of the caged animals<sup>(2)</sup> of the Jardin des Plantes which lies near their home in the rue Guy-de-la-Brosse or like Ferdinand's sticklebacks which bristle at the approach of another in their fish bowl.<sup>(3)</sup> Mme Pasquier, distressed by the friction in the home, feels that she has failed in her task of creating unity and co-operation amongst the members of the family. Despairingly the mother exclaims in Vue de la terre promise: '-A quoi me sert de vous aimer, si je n'ai pas pu faire que vous vous aimiez entre vous?'<sup>(4)</sup> She longs to return to the time when the children were fully dependent upon her and she could calm

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(1) Vue de la terre promise, p. 29.

(2) See Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 234.

(3) See Vue de la terre promise, p. 160.

(4) Ibid, p. 133. 145

their passions.

Mon Dieu! comme j'aurais voulu que vous restiez toujours mes petits, mes tout petits. J'avais du mal; mais j'étais si heureuse. Je vous écoutais, la nuit, respirer contre moi, et rien ne m'était trop dur. Maintenant, voilà que vous êtes là, tous, avec vos idées, vos tracas, toutes vos histoires à vous que je ne comprends même plus et dont vous ne me dites rien.(1)

One notes here that Mme Pasquier is not able to accept the fact that her function as an educator is to bring her children to the point where they can exist as fully-integrated individuals. While her family is in need of her maternal care she is contented, but once her sons and daughters start to think independently and show signs of wanting to leave the foyer her world begins to crumble. "'Comme je suis seule"'(2) is her plaintive cry as she finds herself displaced from a central position in the lives of her children.

Yet, despite the conflicts and feuds, there is indeed amongst the Pasquiers a strong attachement familial. Jacques de Lacretelle points to this essential unity when he says that the Pasquiers constitute: '...cette cellule unique où chacun reconnaît son sang', despite '...ses jalousies étouffées, ses abus de confiance réciproques...!'

(3) There is an esprit du clan which endures regardless of how strained the relationships become. If Laurent and Joseph are often in violent opposition, they are

(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 174.

(2) Ibid, p. 138.

(3) J. de Lacretelle, 'Georges Duhamel', Le Figaro littéraire, no. 1044, 1 April 1966, p. 8.

Pasquiers first and foremost and create a united front to the outside world. Even when the family is apparently disintegrating as the older children begin to follow their own careers, the bonds of kinship hold them in close fellowship. It is with a sense of wonder that Laurent notes in La Nuit de la Saint-Jean that the family has miraculously survived.

...Quand j'ai quitté Créteil pour venir vivre seul, dans ma chambre de la rue du Sommerard, je pensais que c'était fini, que la famille était en miettes. Quelle erreur! On n' imagine pas ce qu' une famille a la vie dure. Voilà, nous sommes tous partis, chacun de son côté, sauf Suzanne, bien entendu, puisqu' elle n' a guère que treize ans aujourd' hui. Nous sommes tous partis et la famille a continué. C' est comme ça, et c' est presque incompréhensible. Elle a continué, elle continue et, qui mieux est, elle ne se porte pas trop mal.(1)

As Mme Pasquier had emphasised: ' -Nous sommes une famille unie!' (2) One feels that it is her example of self-sacrificial love, her warm, attentive mothering of her children which has provided them with a common fund of happy memories of infancy, that is at the core of the family unity. In addition, her efforts to teach co-operation have made them conscious of each other's needs. This is evident in times of crisis when the members of the family display their solidarity. Although each of the Pasquiers shares this sense of responsibility for the welfare of the other members of the clan it is Laurent who appears to feel most strongly his family obligations. At the end of Chronique des Pasquier he

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(1) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, pp. 77-8.

(2) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 220.

will welcome into his home his aged mother and will offer a haven for the wife and daughter of Joseph after the failure of his brother's marriage. This may possibly be attributed to the extra responsibility which his mother had given him to care for his younger sisters - a task which had caused him irritation at the time and had made him envy the position in the family of Justin Weill. '-Fils unique! Je ne peux pas imaginer ce que ça représente, moi qui ai toujours eu une petite soeur, à garder, à faire jouer.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Apart from these social learnings, the probity and sensibility of Mme Pasquier would seem to have had a considerable effect upon the character formation of the children. Her honesty and her self-abnegation counterbalance the inconstancy and the vanity of Raymond Pasquier. The impetuosity of this man who is '...badin, fuyant, insaisissable'<sup>(2)</sup> is matched by her cautious business sense, practicality and thrift. Her personal conduct is exemplary and she is anxious to guard her children against her husband's irresponsibility. Although submissive as a wife, she is outspoken in her condemnation of intemperate language or of actions committed in front of the children which could endanger their moral health.

It is from their mother that Cécile and Laurent, in particular, would seem to gain their basic attitudes

(1) Ibid, pp. 31-2.

(2) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 23.

and values. Whereas Joseph and Suzanne appear to take after their father, with their selfishness and flamboyance, Cécile and Laurent share their mother's sensitivity and compassion. From the beginning of Le Notaire du Havre Laurent underlines the resemblances between his nature and that of his mother. Although he has the build and the blue eyes of the Pasquiers he has the temperament of the Delahaies. Like his mother his chin trembles in moments of distress. It is also noticeable that Mme Pasquier emphasises the similarity in outlook of Laurent and herself. From childhood she appears to have deliberately turned Laurent against his Pasquier inheritance by contrasting the instability and egotism of the Pasquiers with the honesty and prudence of the Delahaies.

As has been mentioned earlier, the values of Mme Pasquier are essentially those of the petite bourgeoisie. She preaches balance and equilibrium and strives for stability in the family. She is cautious, avoiding sudden impulses which might involve changes to the established order. Although her life is spent in a constant surveillance of the finances of her family - paying expenses, accumulating savings against possible emergencies, - money is not an obsession for her. Money for Mme Pasquier is not, as for Joseph, the avenue by which one gains power and position, rather it is the means of ensuring the security of her family and of improving the quality of their life. Above all she demonstrates by her example the moral and spiritual

gifts of sympathy, understanding and love. Mme Pasquier, then, represents an ideal which Laurent will strive to incorporate in his own life - the combination of intelligence and feeling.

Maman n'est pas très instruite...enfin, elle est instruite, bien sûr, mais pas comme nous. Elle ne sait rien du latin, par exemple. Eh bien! elle est extraordinairement intelligente. Elle comprend tout. Pas le latin mais les choses qui arrivent, ce que font les gens, ce qu'ils disent et même ce qu'ils pensent.(1)

Hence, Mme Pasquier personifies this '...règne du coeur'(2) which Duhamel believes enriches human experience.

While Chronique des Pasquier follows in its later volumes the ascension spirituelle of Laurent, it would appear that Laurent's gradual development of a consistent philosophy of life is basically an elaboration of the moral and spiritual values which he had learnt in his home. As Simon points out, the bourgeois ideal that Duhamel preaches is that of 'le bourgeois sauvé'. Laurent will be saved from the egotism of an élite who have economic, social and cultural advantages over the mass of the people by his love and compassion.

Si, comme l'a écrit Emmanuel Mounier, le bourgeois s'est perdu pour avoir perdu l'amour, en Duhamel il est permis de saluer le bourgeois sauvé.(3)

Although Laurent receives intellectual, moral and spiritual nurturance in his family which will deeply affect his future development, his religious instruction

(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 33.

(2) La Possession du bonheur, p. 226.

(3) P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, p. 194.

follows 'pures conventions mondaines.'<sup>(1)</sup> Raymond Pasquier represents the bourgeoisie laïque which if not violently anti-clerical regards religion with an '... indifférence polie'.<sup>(2)</sup> He is the man of the nineteenth century whose gods are science and reason. Laurent suggests that his mother who had received a Catholic upbringing could have remained, in other circumstances, a pious believer. But her faith cannot resist the indifference of her husband. Apart from her oft repeated phrase in moments of distress, 'Pour l'amour de Dieu!', God has little place in the life of the family, although perfunctorily baptisms and first communions are observed. The responsibility for instruction in the catechism is left to an obliging neighbour, Mlle Bailleul.

In one sense this religious training which is 'rien de fanatique : quelque chose de calme et de réglementaire'<sup>(3)</sup> will be ephemeral for Laurent. At the age of fourteen he loses his faith without any real feeling of regret, but with the sensation '...d'un adieu, d'une séparation prochaine'.<sup>(4)</sup> However, it becomes obvious later that if Laurent rejects Christian solutions he is impregnated with Christian attitudes. His continual search for pardon and spiritual salvation, as well as his longing to make atonement for the sins of his family

(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 128.

(2) Ibid, p. 128.

(3) Vue de la terre promise, p. 153.

(4) Ibid, p. 154.

may be seen as the remnant of his religious education. Unlike his sister, Cécile, Laurent, the scientist who has received the imprint of his father's ideas on the primacy of reason, is unable to return to his childhood faith. Hence, in Cécile parmi nous he cannot bring himself to share with Cécile the solace of religion.

Mais non, ce n'est pas possible. J'ai bu, dès le commencement, des breuvages qui m'ont empoisonné pour le restant de mes jours. Il faut maintenant que je me débattes avec cette pesante raison qui ne me comble pas, mais qui m'a donné des habitudes tyranniques et dont je sens bien que jamais je ne pourrai me délivrer. Mais je t'envie, soeur, je t'envie.(1)

Hampel adds this comment: 'He cannot turn his back on the question of salvation. The intellectual side of his nature will not permit him to be converted following his sister Cécile's example. Yet his heart has a deep nostalgia for her faith.'<sup>(2)</sup>

To this point we have discussed the kind of familial education which the Pasquier children have received. It has been suggested that this training reflects the attitudes, motives, values and ways of thinking prized by the culture in which the Pasquier family is situated - the lower middle-class at the turn of the century. At the same time, however, one must not neglect the individual circumstances in the parent-child interaction which affect development. As we have already noted, Laurent, in the introduction to Le

(1) Cécile parmi nous, p. 277.

(2) C. Hampel, 'Georges Duhamel and the Problem of Religion', French Review, vol. XXII, no. 5, March 1949, p. 377.

Notaire du Havre explains that the growth of his personality has been influenced by a '...discipline anti-héréditaire...'(1) Even in middle age he avoids looking into mirrors, possibly because this action reminds him of his father's vanity, but also, one suspects, to avoid recognising his father in his own features, and he is determined, unlike his father, to accept the process of aging gracefully. For Laurent, therefore, there is constant vigilance lest the traits and characteristics of his father reappear. The action of the first three novels of the Pasquier saga explains the violence of the reaction of the son against the father. Whereas the relationship of Laurent and his mother undergoes only slight modification as he progresses from childhood to adolescence the father-son interaction passes through three distinct phases.

In the first stage the father is seen as an omnipotent figure who is infallible and possesses unlimited power. The seven-year-old boy at the beginning of Le Notaire du Havre hero-worships his parent as is obvious in this extract:

Avec ses longues moustaches blondes,  
presque rousses, ses yeux bleus, sa belle  
prestance, il ressemblait à Clovis, au  
Clovis de mon livre. Il était beau.  
Nous l'admirions.(2)

The period from childhood to adolescence is a transitional phase in which Laurent gradually becomes aware of the deficiencies in his father's character. He

(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 8.

(2) Ibid, p. 35.

becomes troubled by his father's temper and his treatment of his mother as '...du petit bien'.<sup>(1)</sup> The recklessness with which Raymond Pasquier borrows money against the expected inheritance and his rash speculation on the Incanda shares sap the son's confidence in his father's judgment. He sees that the grandiose schemes of his father come to nothing and that because of his irresponsibility the family is plunged into misery. It is this experience which determines Laurent to choose works rather than miracles, to translate into action the dreams of success which had diverted his father. 'Miracle n'est pas oeuvre.'<sup>(2)</sup>

However, the decisive blows to the son's idealised portrait of his father come at adolescence when Laurent is struggling with his burgeoning sexuality and obsessed with his own impurity. The agitation of the adolescent is clearly conveyed in the following passage:

Je suis un adolescent. Eh bien! pitié pour moi! Pitié pour tous les adolescents du monde! Je ne suis pas heureux. Tout en moi est discordance et combat...Je suis impur, je le sais, j'en ai pris mon parti, je le cache avec honte; mais, heureusement, le monde est pur autour de moi...Je donnerais avec ardeur cinq ans de ma vie! Oui, cinq ans, pour en avoir fini de cette odieuse adolescence. Cinq ans et je serai tout à fait un homme!<sup>(3)</sup>

The adolescent seeks reassurance that only his values are in turmoil and that outside there is stability and purity. It is the sudden knowledge that his father is

(1) Ibid, p. 153.

(2) Ibid, p. 24.

(3) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, pp. 107-8.

incurably promiscuous which increases Laurent's désarroi. The intensity of the hatred which he feels for his father as his infidelity is revealed indicates that there is a strong sexual element in the conflict between father and son. It would seem that not only is Laurent projecting onto his father his own guilt feelings for his sexual fantasies but also he is experiencing jealousy of his father's sexual prowess and attractiveness to women. Later, Laurent makes this confession to his friend Justin Weill:

Ce qui m'a troublé le plus - je ne l'ai dit à personne, je ne t'en ai même pas parlé - c'est que toutes ces femmes après qui mon père courait, toutes elles m'avaient troublé, je les avais désirées, enfin elles me tourmentaient. (1)

In Vue de la terre promise we witness the beginning of the third stage in this love-hate relationship of son and father. With the passing of adolescence Laurent's passionate loathing of his father shows signs of declining. Nevertheless, it will be a number of years before he will be able to regard Raymond Pasquier with equanimity and the rejection of his father's attitudes will have an enduring effect upon his personality.

When Laurent, at the conclusion of the third novel in the cycle, asserts his independence from his parents by renting a room in the rue du Sommerard, the feeling remains that family life intensifies imperfections of character and hurts and wounds those who are subjected

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(1) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 79.

to it. The disillusionment which his relationship with his father has caused him is generalised into an antipathy towards the family itself. He cannot accept his mother's view that all social relationships require compromise:

'-...Quand on vit ensemble...il faut se faire des concessions mutuelles et savoir fermer les yeux.' (1)

With his youthful idealism offended by his experience of family interaction he declares:

"Est-ce donc ça une famille? Des duperies, des trahisons, des querelles, des chantages et des mensonges! Cela vaut-il vraiment tant d'amour, tant de peines, tant de travail, tant d'angoisses?...

Que ferait-on de tant d'amour, que ferait-on de tout l'amour et de toute la tendresse et de tout le travail du monde, s'il n'y avait pas toutes les familles du monde pour s'en repaître et au besoin pour en crever!... La famille est un monstre inventé pour dévorer tout l'excès d'amour du monde." (2)

Yet, if Laurent seeks liberation from the family which has brought him disheartenment, the despair which he feels will be temporary. Maurois suggests that the episodes of the novel follow 'cette courbe, espoir suivi de chute...'. (3) But this order would seem to place upon the novel-series a more pessimistic interpretation than is warranted. Rather, the order should be discouragement followed by renewal of hope. If in one respect Laurent takes after his father then it is in this basic optimism which triumphs over adversity. As

(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 220.

(2) Ibid, p. 233.

(3) A. Maurois, Etudes littéraires II, p. 102.

he tells Justin in Vue de la terre promise: 'Je n'ai aucune raison d'espoir et je suis plein, mais absolument plein d'espoir.'<sup>(1)</sup> To be 'plein d'espoir' would seem to be characteristic of Laurent's attitude to the échecs which he will experience in his spiritual ascension. Neither Laurent's relationship with his family nor his experience of the failure of the famille selon l'esprit at Bièvres - this free association of artists which is based on Duhamel's memories of the Abbaye - will make him withdraw into himself. Even in the midst of his despair he will not turn away from the idea of rearing his own family in an environment more congenial to development than that which he had known. 'Pour oublier la maison, l'ancien chez nous, il me faudrait avoir un chez moi, fonder un foyer, créer mes traditions.'<sup>(2)</sup> That Laurent succeeds in his aim will be seen later in this chapter.

Although the descriptions of the upbringing of the Pasquier children in the first three novels of Chronique des Pasquier constitute the main body of information on familial education, there are glimpses of other families which add to the points which have been already made. The other family of the petite bourgeoisie which we find in Le Notaire du Havre, the Wasselins, who are the neighbours of the Pasquiers in the rue Vandamme, repeats the theme of the irresponsible

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(1) Vue de la terre promise, p. 152.

(2) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 82.

father and the steady mother who is protective towards her children. Unlike the Pasquiers, however, the Wasselins appear larger than life; they have the air of '...un couple de cabotins jouant leur vie à la façon d'une pièce tragi-comique'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is the petit bourgeois quest for social advancement which is again mirrored in the preoccupations of this family. While Raymond Pasquier attempts to lead his family to the promised land by borrowing and speculating, M. Wasselin resorts to baser means. The result for the Pasquiers is misery and humiliation but the consequences of M. Wasselin's gambling and embezzlement are more far-reaching. The father is taken to prison, the family is evicted and in his grief and shame at the exposure of his father's criminality, the youngest son, Désiré, commits suicide - an act which casts a pall over Laurent's memories of childhood, as Désiré had been his friend and protector. Throughout Chronique des Pasquier we see this pattern in the family. Greed, the obsessive pursuit of wealth, destroys the moral and spiritual values in the family and without these values the family itself collapses.

It is amongst the members of the money conscious bourgeoisie that these tendencies are most apparent. The tribu des Courtois, from whom the Pasquiers borrow money in Le Notaire du Havre, are representative of this group, with their discourtesy and their arrogance.

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 80.

However, the harshest condemnation of this bourgeoisie d'argent is made in the last of the novels in Chronique des Pasquier - La Passion de Joseph Pasquier. In this novel Duhamel exposes the moral vacuum of the family which has its basis in self-interest rather than warmth of affection and collective responsibility.

It is noticeable that when Duhamel's attention shifts from the first generation family of the Pasquiers to the second generation families which Cécile, Laurent and Joseph establish, his vision is essentially that of a moralist, not a sociologist or historian. His concern is to show the strengths or weaknesses of certain family environments. Trends within the family structure, the differences between a post-war familial education and a pre-war upbringing are not explored to the same degree as in Romains's Les Hommes de bonne volonté. Nathan remarks on this point: 'Les faits historiques, toujours présents, et la marche du temps modifient très peu les personnages, et le contraste entre l'avant et l'après-guerre reste discret.'<sup>(1)</sup>

In La Passion de Joseph Pasquier it becomes evident that the kind of education which Joseph has provided for his children is one which has warped their sense of values. Although, now, as a member of the caste dirigeante, Joseph Pasquier's social ambitions force him to affect an interest in art and in cultural activities, and to simulate an admiration for the intellectual

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(1) J. Nathan, Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine, p. 174.

qualities which previously he had denigrated, the attitudes which his family learn from him are a cynical disregard of the rights of others and an arrogant materialism. Joseph may claim pompously that he has brought up his children '... dans le culte des valeurs spirituelles',<sup>(1)</sup> but the real effect of his behaviour is to destroy the character of those who come in contact with him. Hélène, his wife, whom Laurent had known as an intelligent, gentle, fellow student at the Sorbonne is '...josephifiée'.<sup>(2)</sup> Her maternal instincts are thwarted by her husband's insistence that the children be reared by a nurse and increasingly she turns away from the family dominated by her husband, where she has no role, to seek pleasures outside it. Lucien, the elder son, shares his father's attitudes towards wealth and power and is filled with the same egotistical drives. Although his father may at times appeal to a sense of family loyalty by addressing him as '...l'homme qui t'a élevé...l'homme qui te nourrit...',<sup>(3)</sup> Lucien feels no respect for his father nor any obligations to his family.

Equally harmful is the influence of Joseph Pasquier's personality on his daughter Delphine and the younger son Jean-Pierre. Although Hélène admonishes him for treating his children harshly, he appears to believe that too much sympathy or affection would be

(1) La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, p. 117.

(2) Les Maîtres, p. 21.

(3) La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, p. 87.

undesirable for their character formation. '...Si je vous écoutais, je ferais de ce garçon une moule, un incapable.'<sup>(1)</sup> His domineering manner and his lack of understanding produce in his children a lack of self-confidence and a feeling of despair at their personal deficiencies.

The conclusion of Chronique des Pasquier emphasises the moral that those who abdicate ethical responsibilities will bring upon themselves their own destruction. When, at the end of La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, Joseph's financial empire is threatening to collapse, a contributing factor is the intrigue of his son, Lucien. Similarly, his lack of warmth and affection result in the split in his family with his wife and children leaving him. In the breakdown in family relationships guilty and innocent alike suffer. The family circumstances which lead to the suicide of an unloved child (Désiré Wasselin) in Le Notaire du Havre are paralleled by those which motivate the attempted suicide of Jean-Pierre in the final volume of Chronique des Pasquier.

But the unhappiness of the children is more typical of those families in Chronique des Pasquier which are corrupted by money. Against these homes Duhamel places those which represent the bourgeoisie cultivée. In La Nuit de la Saint-Jean Victor Legrand, a member of the intellectual circle which meets at the Restaurant Papillon, makes this distinction between the bourgeoisie

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(1) Ibid, p. 101.

d'argent and the bourgeoisie cultivée:

-...Vous avez tort de ne faire aucune distinction entre la bourgeoisie d'argent, dont je suis loin d'approuver toutes les fautes, et la bourgeoisie cultivée, cette forte élite bourgeoise qui fait la grandeur d'un pays...Un pays ne peut vivre et travailler sans une classe intelligente qui lui fournit des maîtres et des chefs et qui connaît, depuis longtemps, les traditions, les recettes... (1)

A moving portrait of a mother's love is given in Cécile parmi nous. Cécile, the musician, discovers in motherhood the satisfactions that had eluded her in art. For her the child is an object of worship, '...[un] petit roi...[un] petit dieu...'.<sup>(2)</sup> She shows in her relationship with her two-year-old son, Alexandre, the same maternal care and warmth with which her mother had surrounded her children.

...Cécile saisit à plein bras le corps du petit garçon. C'est bon. C'est chaud, c'est douillet. Quel fardeau précieux! Comme il est lourd et léger! Comme il s'applique bien étroitement à la poitrine de la mère.

Cécile regarde avec transport cette petite créature qui n'existait pas, naguère, et qui est apparue soudain et qui remplit maintenant si bien tout l'espace de l'univers.<sup>(3)</sup>

The descriptions of the mother playing with her child or teaching him to speak have a simple charm which avoids the excesses of sentimentality and renders more pathetic the ending of the novel when the child dies from a sudden illness. One feels, though, that had Alexandre lived,

(1) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 106.

(2) Cécile parmi nous, p. 7.

(3) Ibid, p. 169.

Cécile's love would not have been sufficient to overcome the deficiencies in the child's environment. There is friction between husband and wife. Cécile has soon realised that her marriage to Richard Fauvet has been a tragic mistake. She had been attracted to him by his reputation in the scientific and literary world and had believed that he would add to their marriage the intellectual gifts that she believes she lacks.

Je ne vous connaissais pas comme je vous connais aujourd'hui...Je pensais que, chez nous, les Pasquier, nous étions trop instinctifs et qu'un enfant pourrait tirer bénéfice de cette sorte d'intelligence qui est en vous et dont je pensais être vraiment dépourvue...(1)

However, Fauvet's culture is proved to be shallow and his intellectualism lacking humanity. He fails to fulfil his responsibilities both as a husband and as a father.

To be effective as educators both parents must work in partnership to create a warm, affectionate relationship with the children and to provide the experiences which stimulate and enrich. After exposing deficiencies in the family, Duhamel points to two homes which illustrate the heights to which the family can rise - the Baudoins, who are seen in Suzanne et les jeunes hommes, and the family of Laurent Pasquier which is glimpsed in La Passion de Joseph Pasquier.

It is suggested by some that the descriptions of the Baudoin tribu at Cavée des Portes in the Nesles valley present an over-idealised picture of family interaction.

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(1) Ibid, pp. 249-50.

Santelli<sup>(1)</sup> questions whether the episode in Suzanne et les jeunes hommes, when Suzanne, the actress, stays with this family, is not a figment of her imagination, representing her yearning for pastoral simplicity. Barjon also suggests that there is a dream-like quality to the novel and infers that this stems from Duhamel's search for an '...oasis de rêve'.<sup>(2)</sup>

On rencontre partout dans l'oeuvre de Duhamel se profilant sur l'horizon du rêve, l'une ou l'autre de ces demeures miraculeuses, paradis perdus où l'homme est exclu, mais qui ne laissent pas d'exercer sur le coeur une invincible attirance. Frais gazons, terrasses sablées, chambres profondes, compagnons fantaisistes et charmants, rien n'y manque pour assurer les délices et le repos de l'hôte d'un jour qu'on y convie. Tel ce domaine heureux des Baudoin qui offrit un temps refuge à Suzanne.<sup>(3)</sup>

Certainly, in a literature which, as Hubbard<sup>(4)</sup> points out, has tended since 1914 to concentrate on conflicts in the home, Duhamel's representation of a family in which the interpersonal relationships are generally harmonious provides a striking contrast. Indeed, in a lecture on his work in 1950 Georges Duhamel criticised the writers of '...la littérature de malédiction...' who treat the family as '...le lieu de tous les mensonges, de toutes les hypocrisies et de toutes les servitudes.'<sup>(5)</sup> Furthermore, he defended

(1) See C. Santelli, Georges Duhamel, p. 143.

(2) L. Barjon, Mondes d'écrivains - Destinées d'hommes, p. 112.

(3) Ibid, p. 112.

(4) See L. Hubbard, The Individual and the Group in French Literature since 1914, p. 3.

(5) 'Les Auteurs et leurs livres - Chronique des Pasquier', Conférenca, no. 3, March 1950, p. 111.

his portrayal of the life of the Baudoins on the grounds that such families exist and are part of the French tradition.

Dans le tome 11 de La Chronique, une autre famille est présentée, celle des Baudoin. J'ai trouvé certains traits de cette peinture dans une famille française que j'ai bien connue, que je connais toujours et dont le nom, fort ancien, figure dans La Chronique de Roland. On sait que le nom de Baudoin s'y trouve aussi. J'ai donc voulu, par un tel choix, montrer que mon récit pousse des racines jusqu'au principe même de notre histoire nationale.(1)

Of the Baudoins, M. Lavoine, a close friend of the family says:

"La France est grande et on aurait tort de la juger en trois mots. Il y a cette famille Baudoin, par exemple...Ah! si le monde pourrait savoir que la France est aussi capable de cette famille Baudoin."(2)

The priority of the Baudoins is clearly the life of the spirit. Wealth has little meaning for them. The small pension of the father, Jérôme Baudoin, is supplemented by the older members of the family but '...il était d'usage, entre les gens du clan, de parler le moins possible de ce sujet ingrat et de se débrouiller au plus juste'.(3) It is music that unifies the family. The father has taught each of his eight children to read music and to play an instrument, and the mother has taught them to sing. Although the different members of the family are often absent during the day - Philippe is a painter, Marc a sculptor and Hubert is preparing a licence ès sciences at Paris - they retain the habit of

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(1) Ibid, p. 114.

(2) Suzanne et les jeunes hommes, p. 132.

(3) Ibid, p. 126-7.

returning for the evening meal and continue the tradition of forming a family choir around the piano. Music is '...le truchement entre les âmes, le langage secret, la nourriture eucharistique'. (1)

From their parents, the Baudoins have learnt to live unselfishly and co-operatively. One notes that as in the Pasquier home the use of the possessive adjective 'my' is frowned upon.

On ne disait pas "mon bonnet de loutre", mais "le bonnet de loutre". Cela n'était certes pas un signe de désintéressement et d'abnégation, au contraire, mais bien une manière de montrer que chacun se trouvait des droits naturels sur toutes choses de la tribu. (2)

Whether in working for the benefit of the family (Jérôme Baudoin wears garments which are spun by his daughters) or in entertaining each other with music or theatricals, the Baudoins demonstrate their basic unity. They are filled with a family pride which has no relationship to the collective egotism of the characters in Mauriac's novels of family life. Rather it is a feeling of pleasure in membership of a group of talented individuals. One sees something of this pride in Thérèse's recital of her accomplishments:

Thérèse répondit avec une grande simplicité: -J'aide ma mère, je fais la cuisine, je tire l'eau du puits. Je couds, je brode. Et puis...  
-Et puis?  
La jeune fille rougit, sourit doucement et dit:  
-Je sais aussi faire la lecture à haute

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(1) Ibid, p. 122.  
(2) Ibid, p. 148.

voix pour mon père, chanter, danser et jouer de l'alto.

-Vous savez danser? s'écria Suzanne avec joie. Peut-être avez-vous suivi des cours? Quel était votre professeur?

La jeune fille secoua la tête d'un air effarouché:

-Mes professeurs étaient maman, et même papa, avant...avant la guerre.

-Attendez! Attendez! s'écria soudain l'un des deux frères, un grand garçon aux longs cheveux bouclés, à la grosse voix en même temps trop grave et puérile. Attendez, elle ne dit pas tout ce qu'elle sait faire. Elle sait saler le beurre, cuire les confitures de cassis, préparer le sirop de mûres, trouver les morilles au printemps et même soigner les abeilles...Et je ne dis pas tout! Non, non, je ne dis pas tout.(1)

This group which is a kind of phalanstère is heavily idealised. It has undertones of later Pétainism with the return to the land and the revival of the values of Travail, Famille, Patrie. We have, then, in the description given by Duhamel of the upbringing of the Baudoins, with its flavour of the simple country life which is at the base of traditional and conservative French values, a programme for familial education which appears both balanced and complete - the instilling of moral and spiritual values which are essential for the life of quality, and the teaching of practical arts and skills as a preparation for social roles.

From the references made to the interaction in the family which Laurent and Jacqueline Pasquier establish,

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(1) Ibid, p. 51.

it would seem that as parents Laurent and Jacqueline attempt to provide similar educational experiences for their children. Both husband and wife have a deep sense of social duty. If from his search for values Laurent has been made aware that each person is responsible for his own destiny, he also feels obligations towards others in society. As he tells Justin in Les Maîtres: '...Je suis un individualiste tolérant et discipliné...Je n'oublie jamais qu'il me faut vivre en société.'<sup>(1)</sup> In his career he has discovered that the only science which he can serve is that which proves of benefit to men. He brings, then, to his role of parent humanitarian ideals and a strong belief in the importance of the vie de l'esprit. While Laurent possesses the qualities to carry out the functions of the bon père de famille his wife, Jacqueline, proves herself eminently fitted for the role of mother. She is intelligent, cultivated, with the faith in humanity and the sympathetic understanding of the former social worker.

In La Passion de Joseph Pasquier the warmth and stability of this family is opposed to the spiritual emptiness of the family of Joseph and Hélène Pasquier. Laurent's home blends the traditions of the past with the new ideas and practices of the modern family as

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(1) Les Maîtres, p. 219.

three generations dwell under the same roof. The old mother, after the death of Raymond Pasquier in 1922, has come to live with Laurent, Jacqueline and their three children, as neither Joseph nor Ferdinand are prepared to accept the responsibility of caring for her.

Ce n'est pas trois enfants que nous avons, Line et moi, mais quatre enfants. Matin et soir, Line la peigne, la lave et la poudre, lui fait toutes sortes de petits soins et de petits pansements avec une adresse allègre, avec beaucoup d'imagination dans la gentillesse et la simplicité. (1)

One feels that Laurent's family gains from this experience. For the children the grandmother will be that link with family origins and with the values of former generations which Duhamel believes to be of primary importance. Through her references to her childhood and her upbringing in the home of her uncle Prosper Delahaie she will imprint on her grandchildren a sense of inheritance of the attitudes of the nineteenth century petite bourgeoisie.

Thus, if Duhamel begins the Chronique des Pasquier by analysing the flaws in the educational environment of the Pasquier family which cause Laurent to revolt against familial domination, he concludes the novel-series by showing that Laurent has learnt from his parents' errors and is making an earnest effort to provide a familial education along traditional lines which will promote the optimum development of his children.

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(1) La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, p. 110.

THE SCHOOL:

In Chronique des Pasquier the reaction of pupils to their formal schooling receives the same critical attention from the author as the response of the children to the informal educational experiences in the family. As in the case of the parent-child interaction, the imaginative interpretation which Duhamel makes of the teaching-learning process in the classroom appears solidly based on personal experience. There is an obvious resemblance between Laurent Pasquier's formal education and that which Duhamel had received, with primary instruction in an école communale followed by a classical secondary training and tertiary studies divided between the science laboratories of the Sorbonne and the anatomy theatres of the Ecole de Médecine. The parallel is drawn even closer when one notes that Duhamel's own teachers - Dastre and Richet, as well as his maître à penser, the biologist Charles Nicolle,<sup>(1)</sup> are referred to in the novels. However, it is not intended in this study to delve deeply into autobiographical details in Chronique des Pasquier other than those which support the basic points that Duhamel has chosen to set his characters in the educational situations which he is most competent to assess and that through his personnages he gives some glimpse of the development of his ideas concerning the educative process

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(1) See Duhamel's tribute to Nicolle in, 'La Vie est équilibre - Charles Nicolle', Conferencia, no. 11, 1 Jan. 1939, pp. 67-80.

generally, and scientific and medical studies in particular.

The educational setting is principally the system organised for the training of the cadres supérieurs. As has been mentioned earlier, the classical lycées and the faculties are predominantly middle-class institutions. We see here, in Chronique des Pasquier, that the members of the bourgeoisie cultivée gain their culture not only from their families but also from their schools. The secondary schools and the tertiary institutions add to their social and economic superiority the advantages of a rich and varied formal education which is denied to the mass of the people. In Le Notaire du Havre a contrast is offered between the elementary instruction offered to the children of the lower classes and the culture générale which the children of the élite receive.

The emphasis in Chronique des Pasquier, as far as the process of education in the schools is concerned, is clearly upon the nature of the relationship of teacher and pupil. This teacher-pupil interaction is treated primarily from the point of view of one learner - Laurent Pasquier. Duhamel follows Laurent's progress from his commencement at primary school in 1889 until the completion of his two doctorates in medicine and science in 1911. It is the last stage of his formal training that is examined in most detail - the period when Laurent, working on his research projects, is in close association with his maîtres. In this highly personal situation, as Duhamel makes clear, the quality of the relationship of teacher and pupil is

crucial for effective learning. Apart from Laurent's experiences, only minor references are made to the education of the other Pasquiers. However, there is some interest in the attitude to education of Joseph Pasquier. Just as Joseph appears to provide a contrast to Laurent's views on the function of the parent, so too does his denial of the importance of formal education conflict with Laurent's prizing of intellectual and cultural values. If the downfall of Joseph Pasquier is brought about principally by his failure to observe ethical standards, the collapse of his social ambitions is also directly attributable to his educational deficiencies.

As well as the close scrutiny of the personal transaction between teacher and pupil in Chronique des Pasquier, attention is given to the broader issues which affect the schools, particularly the question of the classical curriculum in the secondary schools and of specialisation at the tertiary level. But as in the case of the family, only passing references are made to the process of change in education, though the novel-cycle does chronicle the decline of the universités populaires in the period immediately prior to World War I. It is in La Nuit de la Saint-Jean that Schleiter announces '...le crépuscule des Universités populaires où les bourgeois sentimentaux viennent jouer à la fraternité'.<sup>(1)</sup> Later, in Cécile parmi nous, Laurent

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(1) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 104.

Pasquier and Justin Weill visit the université populaire in the faubourg Saint-Antoine. Although they accept the sincerity of the organisers of the universités populaires who, like Gagnepain in the faubourg Saint-Antoine, are devoted to the cause of popular education - '...la meilleure façon de libérer le peuple, c'est d'abord de l'instruire'<sup>(1)</sup> - they foresee that these institutions are doomed, as acts of middle-class benevolence are no longer sufficient to remove the frustrations of the working classes at educational and social inequalities. As Justin says: 'Le temps du sentimentalisme est fini. Nous pénétrons, bon gré, mal gré, dans un nouvel âge du monde. L'âge de l'économie pure.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Although, apart from this reference to the fate of the universités populaires, Chronique des Pasquier reflects few of the developments in formal education in the early twentieth century, it does provide information on the traditional patterns of instruction in the schools. In tracing the educational steps by which Laurent Pasquier has secured his position in the intellectual élite, Duhamel gives clear evidence of his support of the classical education which the lycées receives, and the value placed upon the development of the reasoning powers in the secondary schools through the study of the culture générale, before embarking upon

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(1) Cécile parmi nous, p. 156

(2) Ibid., p. 158.

specialised training in the institutes of higher learning.

The Laurent Pasquier who introduces himself at the beginning of Le Notaire du Havre is the product of this kind of intellectual training. He sees himself as indelibly imprinted with the attitudes of the savant. The habits of his scientific training invade his attempt at an analysis of his physical, mental and moral qualities.

L'examen auquel je me suis livré est parfaitement objectif. Pas de complaisance bien sûr. Et moins encore de cette cruauté que l'on se réserve à soi-même en se tutoyant avec dégoût et qui est une manifestation ordinaire de l'égoïsme éperdu... Non, non. Du calme, du détachement, cette tendresse aussi, cette tendresse attentive que je voue naturellement aux objets de mon étude et qui se colore de curiosité, de piété, de scepticisme, d'ironie, selon les heures. Attitude professionnelle, chez l'homme de laboratoire et, particulièrement, chez le biologiste qu'il faut dire que je suis avant tout.(1)

It is obvious, here, that the scientific attitudes of Laurent in which reason co-exists with feeling have little relationship with the excesses of nineteenth century scientism. Laurent is the scientist of the twentieth century who has lost the naive enthusiasm of Renan and Taine for scientific rationalism.

But if Laurent Pasquier, who occupies the chair of biology at the Collège de France, is a man '...blanchi sous le rude harnais de la science, dans la lumière glacée du laboratoire...', (2) he is also a man of wide

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 9.

(2) Ibid, p. 27.

culture, whose interests are free-ranging and who draws, to illustrate his points, on his knowledge of music, literature and history. Even his prose, with its harmony and studied elegance betrays that the writer has not sacrificed aesthetic values to the utilitarian imperatives of his profession.

Thus, Laurent Pasquier represents the ideal of the traditional middle-class education. With his double culture he is equipped for life's demands, protected against the fragmenting effect of the high degree of specialisation which advanced civilisation requires, by a liberal education which combines the best of ancient and modern thought.

Nevertheless, before it was possible for Laurent to take his place in the social elite at the secondary school and acquire the elements of the classical culture prized by the middle classes, he had first to pass through the working class school. When, in Le Notaire du Havre, Duhamel describes Laurent's experiences at the école primaire, one detects unmistakable traces of middle-class condescension towards the lower classes. There is unreserved admiration for the instituteur who, as a representative of the bourgeoisie, brings enlightenment to the lower orders of society. Yet, at the same time there is a stress on the disorderly behaviour of the pupils, their roughness and their ignorance. Duhamel tends to exaggerate the differences in attitudes between the petite bourgeoisie and the peuple,

contrasting the virtues of the former with the failings of the latter, as is seen in the following passage:

C'étaient des enfants de manouvriers. Ami, ennemi, nourriture et poison, le vin était mêlé sans cesse aux pensées, aux effusions et aux chamailles de leurs familles. Pouvais-je expliquer au bon maître que je ne connaissais pas le vin, que chez nous jamais nous ne buvions de vin, que mon père brassait lui-même dans une futaille, à la cave, une boisson économique tantôt écumante et légère, tantôt inerte et douceuse?(1)

From the first, the middle-class child finds himself at the école primaire in an atmosphere which differs markedly from the security of his home environment.

Nous arrivions rue Desprez. La cour fourmillait d'enfants dont les cris me terrifièrent, ignorant que j'étais encore de l'école et de ses coutumes. Un gringalet grimaçant s'approcha de moi, saisit mon béret et prit la fuite. J'étais perdu.(2)

Amongst these children status depends upon physical strength. It is Desiré Wasselin, the cancre, '...un colosse',<sup>(3)</sup> who wields authority in the cour of the school and who protects Laurent from the aggressiveness of his fellow pupils.

Control of a different kind is exercised over the ecoliers by M. Joliclerc, the directeur of the school in the rue Desprez. His ability to restore order when he appears in the cour makes him a reassuring figure. The pupils of M. Joliclerc are accustomed to a military-

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(1) Ibid, p. 77.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 72.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 70.

like discipline. Following the blasts of his whistle they form into lines and proceed to march in order into the classrooms. When a pupil approaches him in the cour he gives a '...salut militaire...' (1) as a mark of respect to his superior. Yet, it is apparent that M. Joliclerc's control of his pupils is far from being harshly authoritarian. From the manner in which Laurent describes the directeur, it is evident that he has won the affection and the respect of the écoliers. In class there is a close rapport between teacher and pupils. Indeed, Laurent maintains that this sympathetic and good-humoured instituteur has taught him more than any other the value of discipline and obedience to external authority.

Il m'a dès mes premiers pas dans la bataille, donné, de l'autorité, une image à la fois forte et supportable. Merveille! Supportable est faible. Mettons plaisante et mettons chère. Si, par la suite, beaucoup plus tard, dans le grand débat intérieur que j'ai dû soutenir... j'ai pu conserver une position raisonnable, je le dois tant à ma nature que sans doute aux enseignements d'un honnête maître d'école qui faisait avec bonheur et bonhomie bien des choses que je tiens pour les plus difficiles du monde. (2)

In his classroom procedures M. Joliclerc exhibits a clear understanding of the principles of learning. The lesson in arithmetic which he takes with his class is based on the experience of the pupils. For practice in division each child must choose a different group of

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(1) Ibid, p. 73.

(2) Ibid, p. 75.

objects to be distributed to illustrate the problems written on the blackboard. "En vingt-huit combien de fois cinq....Cela signifie que, si j'ai vingt-huit billes à partager..."<sup>(1)</sup> In this way the reasoning process is assisted by reference to concrete examples and the practical application of the exercise is emphasised.

In other ways, also, Joliclerc's pedagogical skills and sensitive appreciation of the child's problems are apparent. When the children are summoned into line at the beginning of class they begin to sing in unison - a daily ritual which not only curbs their natural restlessness before their entry into the regulated atmosphere of the classroom but also instils in them a sense of corporate identity.

La musique accomplissait son prodige  
naïf et l'on oubliait qui son mal de dents,  
qui la colère matinale d'un papa, qui  
l'embuscade et la bataille au coin de la  
rue de l'Ouest, qui son ventre creux, qui  
ses galoches percées.<sup>(2)</sup>

M. Joliclerc from his experience of children knows that at times the child is filled with anxieties which affect his school performance. When on one occasion Laurent is inattentive in class and confuses 'Le Havre' with 'un havre' because of his preoccupation with the financial problems of his family, the instituteur is sympathetic.

...Il me mit un mauvais point, pour  
le principe, sans colère, car il savait que  
les enfants, même petits, apportent de chez

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{1) Ibid, p. 75.

{2) Ibid, p. 74.

eux toutes sortes de soucis cachés que l'on peut respecter, bien sûr, sans chercher à les comprendre.(1)

Thus, in M. Joliclerc, the directeur of the école communale in the rue Desprez, Duhamel shows the virtues of the primary teacher of the Third Republic which, as we have noted in Part I, have been consecrated by literary tradition - dedication, rectitude and compassion. He is the leader, the dominating personality who, as Romain Rolland would declare, unites the group and transforms it into an unanime. The dependence of the ecoliers on Joliclerc is made clear when, at the end of the term, the conscientious effort that the instituteur has maintained to teach the rudiments of instruction to the reluctant pupils begins to tell on his strength and his enthusiasm flags. With the teacher's exhaustion the energy of the pupils which had been channelled into productive thought is released and there is a return to violence and disorder in the playground. Only occasionally does Joliclerc recapture their attention and restore the spirit of the class: 'M. Joliclerc, exténué, s'endormait au gouvernail. Parfois, il se réveillait pour nous lire une histoire, et la classe retrouvait une âme.'(2)

Amongst the ecoliers there are different attitudes to the school. Laurent, for example, has mixed feelings regarding his primary education. As he reflects on his

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(1) Ibid, p. 108.

(2) Ibid, p. 115.

period at the école primaire he is filled with a '...  
tendre tristesse'.<sup>(1)</sup> There is gratitude for the  
benevolence and even temper of Joliclerc but a certain  
melancholy at the position of the child who, conscious  
of his different social class origins, is confined in  
a classroom with the children of labourers and workmen.  
One glimpses in the following passage the feelings of  
the lower middle-class child who finds himself in a  
foreign environment:

J'allais, saisi, écoeuré, enivré pour  
la première fois par l'odeur de l'école,  
par cette odeur d'humanité misérable, de  
cendre refroidie, de paperasse, de colle,  
d'encre, de nourriture et d'eau de Javel...<sup>(2)</sup>

It is also possible to see in Laurent's description of  
the classroom activity a criticism of the inadequacy  
of the elementary education which fails to meet the  
deeper needs of the pupils. Despite Joliclerc's  
efforts, the daily routine of lessons does not hold  
the attention of the écoliers. At times the passivity  
of instruction creates boredom:

La leçon se poursuivait dans un  
ronnement assoupi que troublaient  
parfois la chute et le roulement d'une  
bille - cinq mauvais points! - ou les  
appels d'un impatient qui sollicitait  
en claquant des doigts l'autorisation de  
descendre quelques instants dans la cour.<sup>(3)</sup>

Occasionally, the class erupts into boisterous activity  
as a reaction against the restrictiveness of the school.

...Parfois toute la classe, désempourbée,  
saisie par le démon, se prenait à jacasser, à  
ruer dans les pupitres, à frapper sur les

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(1) Ibid, p. 74.  
(2) Ibid, p. 74.  
(3) Ibid, p. 108.

tables, à barboter dans les encriers de plomb au rebord corrodé. M. Joliclerc tonnait, lourdement, orage contre orage.(1)

Yet, even if there are moments of discouragement, Laurent appears to find satisfaction in his studies. For the child conscious of his intellectual superiority the school is: '...l'un de ces lieux bénis où l'orgueil sème et récolte avec un bonheur constant'(2) and later, in 1891, Laurent will gain his certificat d'études primaires '...de manière précoce et brillante'.(3)

In contrast with Laurent whose self-respect is strengthened by scholastic success, two other écoliers - Désiré Wasselin and Ferdinand Pasquier - suffer from their lack of academic ability. Désiré, the cancre, who has been held back with pupils three years his junior, provides an interesting case-study of factors which contribute towards pupil failure. His character and personality excite Laurent's admiration; his cheerfulness and courage despite his inferior, ignored position in his family and his gentleness of spirit, make the younger boy look to him for support against the cruelty of the other pupils in the rue Desprez. Yet Désiré, whose clumsiness is a continual target of paternal ridicule, is pathetically aware of his dullness and his evasive answers to Ferdinand's persistent questioning on his schoolwork demonstrate the demoral-

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(1) Ibid, p. 109.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 138.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 212.

ising effects of adverse home conditions on his experience of formal education.

-Tu ne travailles pas?  
 Désiré secoua la tête.  
 -Non.  
 -Tu n'aimes pas ça?  
 -Non.  
 -Tu ne comprends pas ce qu'il y a dans tes livres?  
 -Si.  
 -Alors? fit Ferdinand stupéfait.  
 Désiré hochait lentement sa grosse tête.  
 -Ça ne m'intéresse pas.  
 -Ah! Et qu'est-ce qui t'intéresse, toi?  
 Rien?  
 -Si.  
 -Quoi?  
 -Des choses, des choses...(1)

But, if Désiré is conditioned to accept failure at school he shows in other activities which are suited to his abilities and in which he receives encouragement and reward, abundant effort and determination. Thus, Désiré takes pride in memorising the catechism in the lessons that he and Laurent receive from Mlle Bailleul. To the surprise of Laurent, Désiré, the cancre of the rue Desprez, proves to be '...un aigle du catéchisme'.(2)

Ferdinand represents the conscientious child who attempts to compensate for his intellectual limitations by his industriousness.

Il était lui-même considéré comme un élève médiocre et mal doué; mais il travaillait et il en tirait orgueil, car il ne pouvait dès cet âge enfantin, concevoir qu'un effort grand et douloureux dût, en bonne justice, demeurer stérile.(3)

Nevertheless, if Ferdinand does gain pleasure from his effort in his studies, despite his moderate ability, the

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(1) Ibid, p. 72.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 132.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 71.

competitive examination system will publicly brand him as a failure. To be forced to repeat the certificat d'études is a source of deep humiliation for him and one which robs his work of its satisfactions.

In the case of Joseph Pasquier, who has continued his primary education in the cours complémentaires in the rue Blomet, the decision to leave school without qualifications is motivated not by the increasing difficulty of the subjects but by their inutility in his eyes. Joseph considers that the period spent in the school will not provide him with the skills necessary for a career in commerce and he believes that these are best learnt in employment.

...Je ne suis pas plus bête qu'un autre, mais toutes ces histoires ne me disent rien du tout. Ce n'est pas mon genre. Et je suis même sûr que les trois quarts de ce qu'on apprend, c'est parfaitement inutile, au moins pour ce que je veux faire.(1)

The different reactions to primary schooling which are seen in Le Notaire du Havre are paralleled in Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages by the portrayal of the attitudes of the lycéens to their secondary education. However, unlike the direct descriptions of the classroom interaction of teacher and pupil in Le Notaire du Havre the relationship of the professeur and the lycéen receives scant attention in Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages. The one occasion in which Laurent is shown in class is when he is asked to recite from memory the

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(1) Ibid, p. 136.

passage from Virgil's Georgics: 'Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaesque...' (1) and is sharply reprimanded for standing with his hand in his pocket by his teacher, M. Cortaillod. Apart from this reference to the formality of the classroom there is also a suggestion that the pupils find the lesson uninteresting - '...la classe languit'. (2)

For Laurent Pasquier, who has succeeded in transferring from his école in the rue Desprez to the Lycée Henri-IV as a boursier, there is the realisation that his future depends upon the mastering of the classical curriculum of the secondary school. He has before him the example of his father who had had to teach himself Latin and Greek late in life in order to realise his ambition to enter the professions. His preoccupation, then, is with his classical studies. For the child whose evenings are filled with the preparation of his Latin thèmes, or the memorisation of his Latin verses, a Thursday brings a liberation from his scholastic endeavours. 'Le jeudi est un jour magique, un jour chaleureux, sucré, riche de rayons et de parfums.' (3) Yet, despite the anxiety which his schoolwork produces in him, there is also for the lycéen a feeling of emptiness when the summer holidays arrive, as is seen in the following passage:

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(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 101.

(2) Ibid., p. 101.

(3) Ibid., p. 77.

Virgile et Salluste sont en vacances.  
 Il n'y a plus pour moi, que d'immenses  
 journées désertes, des virées dans l'ombre  
 sans miséricorde, au long des ruelles  
 assoupies, un jardin sec où je m'égaré  
 avec mes livres et mes rêves.(1)

The esteem in which Laurent holds the liberal arts and his conviction that the study of the classics provides a broadening of the mind and an enrichment of the spirit obviously reflects Duhamel's attitudes towards the études désintéressées. However, the author does not present merely a one-sided view of the question of the humanities. The belief of the lycéen that there are long-range values in studies which are not directly related to life is countered by Joseph's opinion that the worth of the curriculum should be assessed by the immediate benefits it brings.

-Les gens de ton espèce, gronda  
 Joseph enfin saisi de sa querelle, ont  
 tendance à s'imaginer qu'on ne peut pas  
 faire de grandes choses sans avoir, au  
 préalable, récité Virgile par coeur.  
 C'est un point de vue de pion.(2)

Joseph also criticises the view that through the classics the pupil is taught to think analytically. He points out that despite the classical education which he is receiving, the lycéen is still naïve and unobservant. But, as we shall see later, Duhamel's descriptions of the two brothers in adulthood will justify Laurent's contention that the student nurtured on the classics possesses special skills and aptitudes.

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(1) Ibid, p. 187.

(2) Ibid, p. 158.

Moreover, with his broad culture and trained intelligence, Laurent Pasquier will gain the acceptance and respect in the bourgeoisie that Joseph, despite his meteoric rise in the business world, will be denied because of his lack of education. It is to be noted, however, that Joseph's attitudes to a classical education will change once he becomes prominent in financial circles. He will insist, primarily for social reasons, that his sons receive a grounding in the classics at a lycée. His elder son, Lucien, will conform to his father's wishes but with a blatant disregard for the less tangible values of his studies. '-Je ne sais plus un mot de latin. J'ai retenu tout ça juste le temps qu'il fallait pour passer l'examen. Et après, pfiitt...en quelques jours, tout était évaporé.'<sup>(1)</sup> It is possible that Lucien's attitude is not only intended to represent the imprint of his father's materialism but also to illustrate Duhamel's belief that there has been a tendency to devalue the classical humanities in the lycées after 1918.

Of the lycéens in Chronique des Pasquier, it is Laurent's friend, Justin Weill, who seems most at home in the intellectual atmosphere of the secondary school. An academically gifted pupil, Justin is stimulated by his formal studies and carries this feeling of mental excitement away from the school.

Il était encore tout chaud du lycée

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(1) La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, p. 43.

et de nos querelles...Ses larges yeux, visités de lueurs intelligentes, s'élargissaient encore pour suivre le vol d'une idée, l'explosion d'une image, la course d'un mot.(1)

Justin possesses a retentive memory and an inquiring mind. He is '...enivré de littérature'(2) and his passion for poetry, unsatisfied by the traditional works in the manuels de littérature, directs him towards the contemporary writers, particularly Verlaine and the Symbolists. It is Justin who infuses Laurent with his enthusiasm for literature. In this as in other ways Justin's wide-ranging interests make Laurent aware of concepts and ideas which he had not met in his formal school experiences. Later, Laurent will think with gratitude of his association with this eager, intelligent student who had been his mentor as well as his friend.

Il y a vingt ans environ qu'au sortir du lycée Henri-IV tu t'es mis à m'expliquer, un soir, sur la place du Panthéon, que les mots qui parvenaient d'un verbe latin étaient formés, en général, du supin, et non pas de l'infinitif de l'indicatif, comme un vain peuple pourraient croire. Aucun de mes professeurs ne m'avait jamais mis le nez dans cette évidence philologique.(3)

However, Justin's involvement in the educative process appears to be marred by his sensitivity to his Jewishness. At school in the 1890's he is conscious of a climate of anti-semitism. His feeling of persecution affects his relationship with

(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 9.

(2) Ibid, p. 192.

(3) Le Combat contre les ombres, pp. 53-4.

his teachers. This is evident at the beginning of Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages when he states to Laurent his belief that one of the teachers, Lyon-Després, has described him as a 'sale Juif' to the censeur.

-Sale Juif...Sale Juif...Oh! rien qu'à leur façon d'avancer les lèvres, rien qu'à leur façon de sourire, je comprends qu'ils parlent des Juifs, je devine qu'ils parlent de moi.(1)

Not even Laurent's protestations that the professeurs at the Lycée Henri-IV consider him a remarkable student will fully convince Justin that they do not despise him for his Jewish background.

At the end of Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages Laurent declares that his intention is to study to become a savant. This prepares for the change in scene to the physiology laboratory of M. Dastre in Vue de la terre promise when Laurent is engaged in carrying out research. During the five years which have elapsed between the two novels Laurent has completed his secondary education and gained his licence at the Sorbonne. In this as in the succeeding novels - La Nuit de la Saint-Jean; Le Désert de Bièvres, Les Maîtres - Laurent will pursue his dual interests in biology and medicine. As much of his time is spent working in the laboratories of hospitals, institutes and faculties under the close supervision of eminent scientists he becomes alive to their idiosyncracies, attitudes and traits. Whereas the

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(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 11.

professeurs in the secondary schools are shadowy figures who barely enter into the action of the novels, the maîtres at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France or the Institut national de biologie are delineated with great clarity.

The teaching which Laurent hopes to receive from his maîtres goes beyond the acquisition of skills or knowledge in a subject area. He looks to them for evidence that involvement in scientific research purifies and ennobles the human spirit. For Laurent there is, as Simon<sup>(1)</sup> suggests, a need to fill the religious void left by his rejection of Catholicism. Influenced by his father's belief that through the génie scientifique man will be perfected, Laurent had turned to science for his salvation. But if Raymond Pasquier, who had appeared to his family to be '...la statue de la science',<sup>(2)</sup> had claimed that science would improve men - "Les travaux des grands savants comme Pasteur rendront l'humanité plus sage et plus heureuse"<sup>(3)</sup> - his own example had denied these redemptive possibilities of science which he professed. As Laurent tells Valdemar Henningsen, the tutor of Cécile, in a fit of depression at his father's hypocrisy:

-Ils disent...que la science élève  
l'homme. Je peux t'affirmer que non.  
Je ne t'expliquerai pas pourquoi, mais

(1) See P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, pp. 127-37.

(2) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 201.

(3) Ibid, p. 200.

je peux t'affirmer que non.(1)

For Laurent, then, there is a need to seek maîtres whose examples would restore his faith in science and exorcise this memory of his father's betrayal of the image he had formed of the savant.

In some of his teachers he seems to find confirmation of the values for which he is looking. Léon Schleiter, the assistant of M. Dastre, impresses Laurent by his reasoned approach to the life sciences. His thesis on La Structure des graisses phosphorées dans les oeufs d'oiseaux, with its basis in figures and chemical formulae, represents in Laurent's eyes '...la charte de notre science, la somme de toutes les idées raisonnables sur la vie'.(2) To Justin, Laurent declares that the example of Schleiter has cured him of the disgust which his father had produced in him. 'C'est Schleiter qui m'a redressé, définitivement redressé.'(3) It is noticeable that throughout his ascension spirituelle Laurent Pasquier, with his need to admire, which must be linked with his failure to identify with his father, will tend to magnify the abilities and the qualities of his teachers. If at first he respects Schleiter's mathematical rigour in his scientific studies and his penetrating mind, increasingly he becomes disenchanted with his cynicism and lack of feeling. Later Laurent will reach the

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(1) Ibid, p. 204.

(2) Vue de la terre promise, p. 43.

(3) Ibid, p. 150.

conclusion in Le Désert de Bièvres that Schleiter is '...sec d'âme et de corps, tranchant d'esprit et de visage...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

M. Dastre, himself, obviously exercises a profound influence on his pupils. If Schleiter has a corrosive intelligence and a tendency towards dogmatic utterance, Dastre is moderate in his views and appears to Laurent to possess those qualities of benevolence and courtesy '...tels on veut imaginer les gentilshommes de légende'.<sup>(2)</sup> Although in Vue de la terre promise the summer term at the Sorbonne has concluded and the patron is absent, working on his own research, his presence is still felt in the laboratory where his students are continuing their experiments. Both Schleiter and Hélène Strohl (Laurent's fellow student who will later marry his brother Joseph) have unconsciously adopted Dastre's mannerisms and address Laurent as 'mon petit'. The persisting effects of this association are seen in Le Combat contre les ombres where one finds that Schleiter, now involved in politics, has retained this habit of speech, although unlike his maître, '...il colorait le mot d'un rien de condescendance'.<sup>(3)</sup> Similarly, Laurent is profoundly influenced by Dastre and will be constantly reminded of his wise counsel to caution and order.

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(1) Le Désert de Bièvres, p. 165.

(2) Vue de la terre promise, p. 51.

(3) Le Combat contre les ombres, p. 253.

It is in Vue de la terre promise that Duhamel introduces the life of the laboratory which will provide the setting for Laurent's slow climb towards intellectual and moral maturity. The scientific activity in which his characters are involved is not pervaded by the excitement of dramatic research developments. Rather it is the methodical routine of scientists who painstakingly gather measurements and note observations. As Laurent says: '...Je m'assoupis dans ces fades petites besognes qui sont mon pain quotidien.'<sup>(1)</sup> Yet it is through the performance of these 'fades besognes' that scientific progress is made. For the student of biology such as Laurent Pasquier, the atmosphere of the laboratories in the institutes of higher learning breeds a respect for precision and for attention to detail. Duhamel makes it clear that creativity in science as in other fields does not preclude disciplined effort. Thus, Laurent who feels 'cette passion des savants en quête d'illumination'<sup>(2)</sup> realises the importance of the tedious accumulation of data out of which he hopes to bring order and intelligibility.

Créer, en définitive, est la seule joie digne de l'homme et cette joie coûte beaucoup de peine...Et nous nous assoupissons volontiers dans de petites besognes médiocres. Nous rampons sur notre chemin en espérant l'heure du bond, l'heure de l'envol ~~sur~~prenant.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Vue de la terre promise, p. 171.

(2) Ibid, p. 94.

(3) Ibid, pp. 94-5.

As well as Dastre in Vue de la terre promise, certain other real-life maîtres of Duhamel reappear in Chronique des Pasquier, in particular Charles Nicolle and Charles Richet. Nicolle is referred to as a friend of Chalgrin in Les Maîtres and his rejection of a narrow scientism is compared with Chalgrin's belief that there are other avenues to truth than the exercise of reason. Similarly, in the same novel Rohner's insensitivity is contrasted with Richet's compassion.

But the main interest in the novel-cycle centres on the fictional characters. It is in La Nuit de la Saint-Jean and Les Maîtres that Duhamel probes deeply into the relationship of the tertiary teacher and the pupil. If, as Bruner says, there are three dimensions to the teacher's role - he is not only a '...communicator of knowledge...' and '...a model of competence' but also '...an immediately personal symbol of the educational process, a figure with whom students can identify and compare themselves'<sup>(1)</sup> - then it is this latter function that is emphasised in Laurent's interaction with his maîtres. As Laurent tells Justin in Les Maîtres, he has chosen to live in '...le rayonnement des grands'<sup>(2)</sup> as it is on these men that he hopes to model his attitudes and values.

Je veux apprendre - c'est-à-dire  
prendre, saisir - je veux m'accroître,  
peut-être parce que j'appartiens à une

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(1) See J. Bruner, The Process of Education, p. 90.

(2) Les Maîtres, p. 28.

famille en pleine poussée de sève, en pleine ascension, comme dit Joseph qui, lui, confond l'ascension et la richesse. Ce que je demande...c'est de la nourriture, de la substance. Je veux un enseignement.(1)

In La Nuit de la Saint-Jean and Les Maîtres Laurent demonstrates his tendency to over-idealise the qualities of his teachers. It is his need to admire that makes him initially blind to their imperfections, and the gradual realisation that his maîtres are also subject to human frailty brings with it the same crushing disillusionment and discouragement which he had experienced when he discovered faults in his father's character.

To Laurent his thoughtful, unassuming patron at the Hôpital Boucicault, Renaud Censier, appears to aggregate all that is best in the man of knowledge.

-Les idées de gratuité, de générosité, de spéculation pure! Qui nous aurait parlé de ça, dans ma famille?...Il faut de grands loisirs pour arriver au libre jeu des idées...Il nous a fallu les chercher en gémissant. Où? Dans les livres, en nous, dans la vie, dans l'entretien des maîtres. M. Censier m'a fait comprendre bien des choses.(2)

The fact that in La Nuit de la Saint-Jean Laurent sees in Censier a father-substitute is developed further when he tells his fellow student Laure Desgroux that if it had been possible for him to choose a father he would have preferred 'un homme comme le patron...un homme du caractère de M. Censier'.(3)

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(1) Ibid, p. 30.

(2) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 112.

(3) Ibid, 176.

But Laurent does not perceive Censier's increasing sense of frustration with his research. His long and successful career as a biologist no longer gives him cause for satisfaction. Moreover, the teacher-pupil relationship with his young student, Laure Desgroux has become complicated by love. Like Laurent, Censier is attracted towards Laure and his despair at the gulf which separates him from his young student, the difference in age as well as the barrier of his marriage, makes him question the values he has held and the goals he has sought. He begins to realise the futility of his solitary existence and his self-sacrificial absorption in scientific research. Laure's youth and beauty makes him agonisingly aware of the signs of old age - the taches de vieillesse on the back of his hands. 'Ces taches-là, je n'ai commencé de les voir que depuis quatre ou cinq mois, depuis que je vous connais.'<sup>(1)</sup>

In Censier's inner turmoil, then, Duhamel indicates that even the savant who has trained his mind and moulded his life on a discipline scientifique is defenceless against the metaphysical crisis, which, according to Dastre,<sup>(2)</sup> comes in late middle age. If the reawakened sexuality which Dastre links with this experience is ridiculed elsewhere, as in the prurience of the biologist Rohner (Les Maîtres), or in the infatuation with an actress of the philosophy professor

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(1) Ibid, p. 89.

(2) See Vue de la terre promise, p. 155.

Chérouvier (Suzanne et les jeunes hommes), Censier's conflict between his passions and his sense of responsibility towards his students is treated in La Nuit de la Saint-Jean with sympathy and compassion.

For Laurent Pasquier the discovery that there are flaws in the personality of Censier whom he had believed to be '...un vrai maître'<sup>(1)</sup> is more than a personal disappointment; it threatens to destroy his world-vision. There is evidence of this in his bitter remark, when reminded that Censier is separated from his wife and has rejected his son, that: '-Le monde est plus malheureux, plus pitoyable et moins intelligent qu'on ne saurait l'imaginer.'<sup>(2)</sup> Yet, although he is deeply wounded by the disclosure that an intimate relationship has developed between Censier and Laure, his loyalty to his teacher remains undiminished, as is seen in the tribute he pays to his '...maître amical...'<sup>(3)</sup> in the preamble to the novel.

If Censier's human qualities of charity and pity are those that attract Laurent to him, the same qualities draw him to M. Hermerel, Censier's successor at the Hôpital Boucicault. It is Hermerel '...un bougre de premier ordre...'<sup>(4)</sup> who, when in Le Désert de Bièvres Laurent inoculates himself with the virus they are studying in the laboratory, shows in the treatment of his assistant a therapeutic concern for

(1) La Nuit de la Saint-Jean, p. 56.

(2) Ibid, p. 176.

(3) Ibid, p. 10.

(4) Les Maîtres, p. 27.

the patient which provides a sharp contrast with the diagnostic interest in the course of the disease of the professeur, Rohner, in a similar case in Les Maîtres.

It is in this sixth novel, Les Maîtres, that Laurent emerges from his state of dependency as a pupil who looks to his teachers for moral guidance as well as intellectual training. At the beginning of Les Maîtres he is still searching for masters who possess the ideal qualities of the savant. 'On ne choisit pas sa famille - et c'est bien regrettable... Pour ma consolation, je crois que l'on choisit ses maîtres. Je suis sûr que l'on peut et que l'on doit choisir ses maîtres.'<sup>(1)</sup> During the course of the action of this novel Laurent's mode of thinking undergoes a radical transformation as he is painfully forced to accept the fact that the conscious choice of role models produces results that are no more satisfactory than the parent-child interaction.

Unwittingly, Laurent selects two professeurs whose views on science are implacably opposed - Olivier Chalgrin, the scientist of the Bergsonian age who believes that knowledge cannot be gained by the exercise of reason alone and Nicolas Rohner, who rejects all but rational explanations and clings to a positivistic approach. Laurent, who spends the mornings studying under Chalgrin at the Collège de

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(1) Ibid, p. 55.

France for a doctorate in science and the afternoons in Rohner's laboratory preparing a doctoral thesis in medicine, is in a unique position to assess their differences in attitudes and personality. Whereas Chalgrin is a savant of broad culture and wide vision who is apprehensive of the social effects of a science which ignores human values, Rohner is presented by Duhamel as the narrow specialist, the research worker who worships at the shrine of technique and imperils human existence with his obsession with scientific progress. The styles of Chalgrin and Rohner as educators are in contrast. While Olivier Chalgrin is informal in his approach and does not force his ideas upon his student, Nicolas Rohner is dogmatic and intolerant, as is seen in his harsh criticisms of Laurent's paper.<sup>(1)</sup> His scorn of opinions contrary to his own leaves his pupil with a sense of inferiority - 'Si je quitte son entretien avec le sentiment de n'avoir pas été ridiculement au-dessous de moi-même, je peux m'estimer satisfait.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Nevertheless, if we accept Bruner's contention that an essential function of teaching is to provide a model of competence, then in this respect both of Laurent's maîtres fail. He had sought their tuition because of their acknowledged authority in biological research but it soon becomes readily apparent

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(1) See Les Maîtres, pp. 93-4.

(2) Ibid, p. 155.

that reputations for accuracy and impartiality do not preclude the distortion of facts or the disregard of evidence to prove theories or to discredit contrary opinions. Rohner fails to show in his study of streptococci the esprit critique which he vaunts. As Laurent observes, in his eagerness to substantiate his hypothesis that the streptococcus he had isolated causes nephritis and endocarditis he appears to be a man with an idée fixe.

Et, soudain, j'ai compris...qu'il ne cherchait pas la vérité, mais seulement la confirmation de ses songeries et qu'il allait faire en sorte de trouver cette confirmation, coûte que coûte, qu'il allait interroger les tissus de telle manière que les tissus, tourmentés, répondraient n'importe quoi.(1)

Similarly, Chalgrin's determination to disprove Rohner's theories by reworking his experiments, has a touch of the fanatical. For Laurent, then, there is the distressing spectacle of two distinguished scientists, each unwilling to admit that the other possesses a valid point of view, who allow their evaluations of each other's work to be distorted by the personal antagonisms which had stemmed from the time when both were in the classe de rhétorique at the Lycée Henri-IV. The denigration of a colleague's ability seems to Laurent a denial of the scientific spirit to which, in their teaching, they have paid homage.

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(1) Ibid, p. 203.

...L'idée qu'ils pourraient ne pas s'estimer, ne pas s'admirer, m'offense et me déconcerte. Ils sont intelligents au suprême degré, que diable! Ils n'ont qu'à lire, à réfléchir et à comprendre. Qui pourrait mieux qu'eux le faire?(1)

The impact which the personalities of his maîtres makes upon Laurent has a significant influence on the extent to which he accepts their different approaches to scientific research. He is drawn to Chalgrin by his consideration and courtesy towards his students, while Rohner's aloofness and cold precision rebuffs him. Despite the division of his loyalty between his two teachers, it is only Chalgrin whom Laurent addresses affectionately as patron. This regard for Olivier Chalgrin makes Laurent receptive to his views on the limitations on the applicability of the scientific methods of the nineteenth century savants, which had been based on a stringent exercise of reason, and to his firm belief that there are spiritual truths that may be reached only by the exercise of the intuition and the imagination.

Rohner's forcefulness both attracts and repels Laurent. At first he is full of admiration for his cold efficiency and energy which reminds him of Joseph's decisiveness.

...Dans certains de ses propos, il me semble que le professeur Rohner s'exprime comme le ferait mon frère Joseph, si toutefois Joseph était mille fois plus instruit qu'il ne l'est. Or, ce qui, chez Joseph, me déconcerte et me

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(1) Ibid, p. 89.

révolte, me devient, chez M. Rohner, thème d'étonnement et d'admiration.(1)

However, further acquaintance with Rohner dispels his illusions. The callous manner in which Rohner treats his assistant, Catherine Houdoire, who has contracted the virus they are studying in the laboratory, fills Laurent with horror at a scientific spirit which is devoid of feelings of pity. Rohner shows indifference to the suffering of his patient, concerned only that the course of the fatal disease should bear out his prognosis and prove his theories on endocarditis. As a result Laurent declares:

'...M. Rohner est en train de me faire comprendre que la plus belle des vertus, c'est la charité, dont il est cruellement dépourvu.'<sup>(2)</sup> Finally, the insensitivity with which Rohner performs the autopsy after his assistant's death makes Laurent feel for his maître '...une véritable haine'.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Chalgrin-Rohner conflict climaxes in a scene which leaves Chalgrin paralysed and incapable of speech. The tragic result of this quarrel appears to have a cathartic effect upon Laurent. The feelings of hostility which he had felt towards Rohner because of his inflexibility and his uncompromising attitudes toward Chalgrin are purged and he faces the prospect of having to continue working with him with resignation.

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(1) Ibid, p. 93.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 183.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 202.

Although Laurent's search for the ideal in his maîtres ends in failure, similar to the disillusionment with his father which is a prelude to this, the tone of the concluding chapter of Les Maîtres is not one of despair. This, as Simon points out, is in keeping with the rythme moral of Chronique des Pasquier.

Ce qui caractérise...la volonté de Laurent...c'est, après chaque échec, un perpétuel rebondissement, non seulement parce que l'échec même comporte une leçon, une expérience, une secrète richesse et souvent, par un signe de plus grande force que l'âme en reçoit, une espèce de victoire.(1)

Laurent learns from this experience the folly of expecting his teachers to be masters of their feelings and passions as well as of their intellect - to be saints as well as instructors. Hence, he declares that he will now look to Rohner only for the skills and knowledge that he is competent to impart to him. 'Il m'apprendra sûrement quelque chose. Je ne lui demanderai que ce qu'il peut me donner.'(2)

It is at the end of Les Maîtres that there emerges a more mature Laurent who has painfully acquired mental and moral equilibrium and who has abandoned his pursuit of absolutes. 'Il faudrait se contenter de ce que l'on possède...J'apprends tout doucement à vivre avec des êtres imparfaits qui ont parfois de belles heures, parfois des minutes

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(1) P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, pp. 137-8.

(2) Les Maîtres, p. 267.

éblouissantes'.(1) This experience determines him to work '...pour l'ordre et l'équilibre'.(2)

The portraits of Laurent's mâtres, Dastre, Censier, Hermerel, Chalgrin and Rohner are among the most perceptive in Chronique des Pasquier. With fine psychological detail Duhamel has exposed their weaknesses as well as their strengths as educators. If later it is suggested that Romains shows a deep understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of the instituteurs then it is also certainly true that few writers have painted more accurately than Duhamel the world of the savant.

In addition to the teaching of the mâtres who have directly guided him in his research, Laurent's general formation as a savant and a future maitre is influenced by the example of other members of the faculties. Richard Fauvet,<sup>(3)</sup> Cécile's husband, reinforces, for instance, Laurent's antipathy towards an intellectualism which is lacking in warmth of human concern.

Fauvet, who has excelled academically in philosophy as well as the natural sciences, holds a position in the laboratory of experimental psychology at the

(1) Ibid, p. 268.

(2) Ibid, p. 167.

(3) The satirical portrait of Fauvet expresses Duhamel's suspicion of those who set themselves up as leaders of literary fashion. (See the earlier note on Duhamel's relationship with Romains. Note also that Fauvet's educational background closely parallels that of Romains.)

Sorbonne. But it is in the field of literature that his real interests lie. Indeed, he considers that as an intellectual he should of right be granted the freedom to follow his own pursuits.

Il était assez peu bavard en tout ce qui pouvait toucher ses fonctions universitaires et il se lamentait seulement, par des propos allusifs, sur la nécessité fâcheuse où peuvent se trouver parfois les serviteurs de l'intelligence d'avoir à gagner leur vie comme les autres mortels.(1)

Yet, despite Fauvet's reputation as a brilliant conversationalist and the esteem in which he is held as the inspiration of a literary group - the Moncéliens, the founder of a review - Les Cahiers du Nouveau Portique, and the originator of the doctrine of l'investigation inconditionnée, there is concealed by his verbal facility an aridity of mind and spirit. The dialectical exercises with which he dazzles his '...ferventes disciples...' (2) of the Sorbonne or his former colleagues at the Collège de France are not proof of a productive and creative mind. Indeed, Fauvet is an intellectual parasite who feeds on the genius of others.

Il souffrait, sans en rien dire, de sa grande aridité. Il avait eu longtemps l'espoir, à nul être humain confessé, que la présence, l'influence, peut-être même l'amour de Cécile, artiste douée à miracle, le féconderait, le transformerait, mieux encore, le dénouerait, ferait jaillir quelque fontaine de ce terrain rocailleux. (3)

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(1) Cécile parmi nous, p.127.

(2) Ibid, p. 48.

(3) Ibid, pp. 57-8.

Self-engrossed, '...sec et cynique...',<sup>(1)</sup>  
 lacking in humanitarian feelings or spiritual awareness, Fauvet represents the pure intellectualism to which Cécile is referring when she warns Laurent of the dangers of a philosophy based narrowly on reason: '...L'intelligence est en train de vous transformer et de vous corrompre.'<sup>(2)</sup>

The difference between Fauvet's parade of cleverness and true creative ability is further emphasised by other references in Chronique des Pasquier. There is, for example, Joseph Pasquier's criticism that the teaching of the Sorbonne is '...pure vanité'.<sup>(3)</sup> He claims that it is upon the students who are prepared in the écoles spéciales, not the licenciés of the faculties that progress in science depends. 'Vous autres, vous êtes des objets de luxe, des personnages représentatifs, des manieurs d'idées, des symboles de la science, rien d'autre.'<sup>(4)</sup> Laurent Pasquier is equally aware that many of the research projects of the '...savants stériles...'<sup>(5)</sup> such as Vaxelaire (Vue de la terre promise) or Blomberg (La Nuit de la Saint-Jean) make no real contribution to knowledge. '...Ces chercheurs infortunés...se réfugient dans l'érudition qui les trompe comme elle trompe tout le monde: entre le trouveur et l'érudit, le peuple ne

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(1) Ibid, p. 58.

(2) Ibid, p. 14.

(3) Les Maîtres, p. 48.

(4) Ibid, pp. 48-9.

(5) Vue de la terre promise, p. 95.

voit point l'abîme.'<sup>(1)</sup> Moreover, the further Laurent advances in his career the more he realises that while there are a few like Nicolle or Dastre who have creative ability and are devoted disciples of a '...science rédemptrice'<sup>(2)</sup> which serves humanity, there are many savants who run after honour and glory.

It is in Le Combat contre les ombres when Laurent, now a chef de service at the Institut national de biologie, becomes involved in a dispute with his director, Larminat, over the inefficiency of his laboratory assistant, that Duhamel reveals the extent to which the scientific world is filled with intrigue and hypocrisy. Previously, Laurent had as a pupil seen only the faults of his maîtres. Now, as he becomes the victim of a virulent newspaper campaign following the publication of his article attacking scientific administration, he discovers the reality to which his naïvety had blinded him. The reluctance of the professeurs Blot and Chartrain to come to his assistance after they had initially congratulated him on his article, the revelation that other savants, including his colleague Vuillaume, are using the opportunity to discredit him for personal gain, cause Laurent to see that in science as in other forms of human endeavour one finds '...la lâcheté des hommes...la bêtise des hommes...'<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, pp. 95-6.

(2) P.-H. Simon, Georges Duhamel ou le bourgeois sauvé, p. 134.

(3) Le Combat contre les ombres, p. 283.

The picture which Duhamel paints of the men to whom higher education in science is entrusted is, therefore, one which shows clearly personal inadequacies and lack of professional competence. Yet, despite his experiences, Laurent Pasquier remains fundamentally optimistic.

Les grands hommes se chamaillent;  
la pensée marche quand même. Le monument  
du savoir s'édifie, malgré les querelles.  
Toutes les feuilles sont gâtées, tous les  
arbres sont malades, mais la forêt est  
magnifique.(1)

The example of his patrons, Dastre, Censier, Hermerel and Chalgrin, is for him an indication of the existence of a humble, human science which recognises the limitations of rational inquiry. From them he has learnt a balance between mind rule and heart rule, an equilibrium of spirit resulting from the fusion of a disciplined intelligence and idealism. It is this view of science which combines humanitarianism and a respect for the esprit critique which in turn Laurent will transmit to his pupils at the Collège de France.

Throughout Chronique des Pasquier we have seen the theme of the function of education developed. In Le Notaire du Havre Raymond Pasquier had stated the firm conviction of the man of the nineteenth century that through education men would be perfected. Laurent's experiences both in the family and in the world of science cast doubts on the validity of this

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(1) Les Maîtres, p. 268.

belief. The savant has not necessarily learnt wisdom, nor has he learnt to rule his passions. Laurent, whose views reflect the more cautious approach of the twentieth century scientist who sees both the benefits to mankind of scientific developments and the dangers which certain scientific and technological advances present, is less prepared to establish a definite correlation between the expansion of factual knowledge and character development. Yet, it is equally certain that Laurent Pasquier, who has been formed by the culture générale of the lycée and whose '...discipline intellectuelle...' (1) and 'attitude professionnelle...' (2) which is characterised by a '...tendresse attentive...' (3) and a poignant awareness of '...l'effrayante humilité de notre condition...' (4) derived from his specialist training in medicine and biology, is convinced that the study of the disciplines provides the possibilities of mental and moral growth. For the man who seeks enlightenment, the man who seeks to extend his powers of inquiry to understand himself and other men, the man who seeks to refine his moral and aesthetic perceptions, education provides the essential tools by which some degree of self-mastery may be achieved.

It is fitting that Duhamel, who has traced in his

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(1) Le Notaire du Havre, p. 27.

(2) Ibid, p. 9.

(3) Ibid, p. 9.

(4) Les Maîtres, p. 198.

novel-cycle the educational development in the lycées, the faculties and the institutes of Laurent Pasquier, should in the concluding volume examine the position of Joseph Pasquier, the critic of education, who had steadfastly maintained the irrelevance of higher learning. La Passion de Joseph Pasquier offers a contrast between the situation of Laurent who has been moulded by the disciplines and who has internalised their values and that of Joseph whose education had been terminated at the elementary level. If Laurent has found peace with himself and, with his equilibrium and calm, shows a sagesse which Duhamel believes is lacking amongst men in a technological age, Joseph is tormented by doubts and torn by contradictory forces. The strength of his personality for which Laurent had been unable to conceal his admiration is revealed to be devoid of a solid foundation. Without education Joseph is not an integrated individual equipped for dealing with life as a whole. Despite his affirmations to the contrary the trained intelligence of the highly educated compels his attention and respect. This is discernible in his relationship with his wife, Hélène.

Comme elle était intelligente! Il était allé la chercher, au temps jadis, dans cette Sorbonne qu'il exécrait d'instinct. Lui qui, de si bonne heure, s'était détourné des choses de la culture, il était allé prendre sa femme dans le temple même de cette maudite culture. Elle l'intimidait toujours quand elle le regardait ainsi, avec ce regard

attentif. Elle l'intimidait malgré tout.(1)

The inferiority he feels towards the cultivated members of the social class in which he moves makes him over-compensate for his lack of education by attempting to prove his intellectual worth with patronage of the arts. His reasons for offering himself as a candidate for the Institut may be glimpsed in this passage:

L'Institut, c'était autre chose!  
Diable! c'était vraiment de la besogne épineuse. Mais bah! il réussirait. Il montrerait aux autres, à Laurent, à Cécile, à Suzanne, par exemple, qu'il était, lui aussi, à sa manière, un maître de l'intelligence moderne.(2)

Increasingly, Joseph is distracted from the control of his financial interests by this imperious need to emulate the success of the other members of his family in intellectual and artistic circles. Duhamel, one notes, underlines the irony of this situation by choosing imagery which relates Joseph's attitudes and actions to the schools whose value he had decried.

'Avec une application d'écolier qui copie son modèle, Joseph commença d'écrire...'(3)

'Sur chaque pièce, était collée une étiquette avec une date, un chiffre, parfois une remarque écrite à la main, de la grosse écriture scolaire de Joseph Pasquier.'(4)

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(1) La Passion de Joseph Pasquier, pp. 224-5.

(2) Ibid, p. 203.

(3) Ibid, p. 68.

(4) Ibid, p. 73.

'Il bredouillait, lamentable soudain, cherchant ses mots comme un écolier honteux.'<sup>(1)</sup>

'Joseph s'excusait, bredouillant comme un écolier pris en faute.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Although he will not admit that his decision to leave school early with only an elementary education is at the root of his present dissatisfaction, he is unable to prevent his mind from turning to his school days.

'Des souvenirs confus, naïfs, scolaires, se pressaient dans l'esprit de Joseph. Il revit un livre de "leçons de choses", avec le dessin de la grande ourse.'<sup>(3)</sup>

There is, then, this unavowed regret for passing up his educational opportunities which is at the heart of Joseph Pasquier's désarroi in the final volume of Chronique des Pasquier. Preoccupied by intellectual ambitions but without the educational background to achieve them, Joseph, who with his single-minded determination and aggressively competitive nature had been a dominating personality in the earlier volumes of Chronique des Pasquier, ends the novel-series a weak and pitiable figure.

Thus, Duhamel, by probing the confusion of the uneducated man, leaves us in no doubt as to the importance of a deep and broad personal culture and the place of school as the means by which the elements of this culture may be acquired.

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(1) Ibid, p. 75.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 205.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 66.

CONCLUSION:

In Chronique des Pasquier, then, there is abundant evidence of Duhamel's interest in the two main socialising agencies - the family and the school. As Duhamel's vision is characteristically limited to the middle class, the patterns of instruction in the family and the school which are seen in the novel-series tend to reflect the educational priorities of this milieu - the stress upon intellectual development, the emphasis upon a broad, general culture.

Duhamel views both learning institutions, the family and the school, with a critical but tolerant eye. It is obvious that his appreciation of the importance of familial education avoids the sentiment of Bordeaux, Bazin or Bourget, who, in the pre-1914 period had preached the virtues of the family as the means of restoring national strength. But neither does his description of family interaction incorporate the pessimism of Mauriac or the hatred of familial domination of Gide. Duhamel's approach to the family's role in the process of education would appear to preserve a satisfactory balance between these two extremes.

It is certainly true that he exposes the deficiencies in familial education when the parent, not subject to checks or balances or outside controls, abuses his authority and fails to provide a home atmosphere in which healthy child development may take place. In Chronique des Pasquier the consequences upon the

mental health of the children of a harsh parent such as M. Wasselin or Joseph Pasquier are clearly shown. Similarly, the irresponsible parents - the Raymond Pasquiers or the Richard Fauvets - are condemned as agents of disorder who disturb the equilibrium of their families and harm the moral growth of the child. As Tison-Braun says: '[Duhamel] ne nie rien des imperfections de la société et de l'homme: la famille, les groupes professionnels sont peints avec leurs petitesesses.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Yet, if Duhamel probes the faults and weaknesses of parents as educators he does so, one feels, almost with regret. According to Arland the most remarkable feature of Chronique des Pasquier, a work which is '...à la fois calme et tourmentée, sombre, mais traversée d'éclans',<sup>(2)</sup> is the attitude of the writer: '...un long conseil de scrupuleuse attention et de grondeuse, mais active charité'.<sup>(3)</sup> Although Raymond Pasquier contributes towards the moral and spiritual confusion of Laurent with his deceit and his egocentricity, Duhamel takes pains to emphasise the redeeming features which enliven his personality - his unfailing optimism and irrepressible high spirits as well as his sincere belief in the primacy of reason. Even Joseph Pasquier, who as a parent has a baleful

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(1) M. Tison-Braun, La Crise de l'humanisme, vol. II, p. 387.

(2) M. Arland, 'Chronique des romans - Le Notaire du Havre', N.R.F., no. 236, 1 May 1933, p. 823.

(3) Ibid, p. 823.

influence on his family, arouses the sympathy of the reader as one senses behind his aggressive determination to succeed an imperious need for attention and reassurance.

Above all in the mothers of Chronique des Pasquier Duhamel demonstrates his deep respect for the women of the middle classes. From the numerous studies of the mother-child relationship - Mme Pasquier and Laurent, Mme Wasselin and Désiré, Cécile and Alexandre, Jacqueline and her three children, - there emerges an image of the responsible mother whose love and attentiveness to the child's wants lay the affective foundations for personality growth. There is expressed in Chronique des Pasquier a belief in:

...certains sentiments "élémentaires":  
humilité, patience, amour d'une mère pour  
son enfant, d'une femme pour son époux; -  
l'oeuvre de Duhamel est la louange des  
vertus essentiellement féminines.(1)

If the mothers tend to be excessively protective and over-anxious in their attitudes towards their children's behaviour, this is excused as evidence of their maternal warmth. It may be suggested that this portrait of the mother lacks credibility as there is little variation in the stereotype of the middle-class

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(1) Ibid, p. 823.

mother who is both affectionate and efficient. Whereas considerable differences exist between the attitudes of fathers to their children, there is a basic similarity in the relationships of mother and child. The harsh mother, the casual mother, the unresponsive mother and the ineffective mother find little place in Chronique des Pasquier. It would seem that Duhamel's vision of the mother-child relationship is a narrow one, centred on the capacity of the mother to provide security and understanding, and the position of the mother in performing this role is idealised.

Prévost supports this point in his discussion of Duhamel's attitude to family life:

Dire que Duhamel décrit, défend et préfère à tout le reste la famille et le foyer, c'est trop large encore: les institutions ne l'intéressent guère. C'est l'amour du nid et de la nichée qu'il faut dire; c'est là son instinct, son climat; c'est au nom des nids et des nichées humaines qu'il juge et condamne le monde; c'est du fond de son nid que parfois il tourne le dos aux espoirs et aux efforts des hommes.(1)

The school is treated in Chronique des Pasquier in the same equitable spirit as is the family. There is again the unmasking of the hypocrisy, egotism and ambition of some educators, but this is balanced against the idealism of a Joliciere and the warm humanity of a Dastre, a Censier, or a Chalgrin. If with certain of his maîtres Laurent experiences

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(1) J. Prévost, 'Georges Duhamel' N.R.F., no. 257, 1 February 1935, p. 217.

disillusionment at an apparent lack of sensitivity and fellow-feeling, this will not prevent him from expressing admiration for their intellectual gifts, their skills and abilities and their competence as instructors. The criticisms which Laurent makes of the teaching personnel do not disguise his strong belief in the value of the formation he has received, not only as a specific training for his career as a biologist but also as a general preparation for life. His condemnation is of individual educators - not of the system as a whole. There is in Chronique des Pasquier a firm defence of the traditional emphasis of the educational system on the training of the intellect and the development of the reasoning powers. Between the attraction of physical and mental prowess Laurent (and Duhamel) opts for the development of the powers of the mind.

Il aurait aimé, jadis, de réunir les mérites de l'athlète et du clerc, d'avoir des membres puissants aux ordres d'une cervelle ingénieuse. Il paraît décidément que ce n'est pas facile. Il paraît que l'on se trouve, en fin de compte, et même au début de tout compte, dans l'obligation d'opter.(1)

With this stress on the educational priorities of education, there is also the value placed upon a broad, general cultural background based on the study of the humanities as the instrument through which the spirit might be refined and the moral will informed. As

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(1) Le Combat contre les ombres, p. 8.

Laurent declares in Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, these disinterested studies are the foundation of intellectual and moral discipline: '-Même ceux qui tracent les routes, même ceux qui construisent des bateaux ou des locomotives, ils ont récité Virgile.'<sup>(1)</sup> Finally, Duhamel makes effort and determination the principal virtue of the student. Learning, he suggests, involves self-discipline and the willingness to persist with tasks which appear repetitious and arid. 'Il faut pour qu'une seule idée heureuse vienne à maturité, beaucoup de grise besogne...'<sup>(2)</sup>

Thus, in Chronique des Pasquier Georges Duhamel, with the observation of the biologist, the compassion of the doctor and the insight of the imaginative artist, assesses the impact upon the learner of his educational experiences in the family and in the school. The conclusion that he reaches on the far-reaching effects of this twin group of influences may be summed up in the words of Laurent Pasquier who states: '...un homme, c'est un ensemble inextricable d'âmes, de forces et d'influences'.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Le Jardin des bêtes sauvages, p. 158.  
 (2) Le Combat contre les ombres, p. 21.  
 (3) Les Maîtres, p. 221.

CHAPTER II:LES THIBAUT

- (a) The Family
- (b) The School
- (c) Conclusion

THE FAMILY:

In Les Thibault one penetrates into the social world to which Raymond Pasquier had aspired - the affluent middle class. Of his children only Joseph would come closest to this milieu in terms of material possessions, but, as we have found, his lack of culture as well as his position as a parvenu bar him from entry to a haute bourgeoisie with established family traditions, an in-built conservatism and a strong link with the Catholic Church. There is, then, the sharp contrast in the setting for familial education between Chronique des Pasquier and Les Thibault which is reflected in the patterns of child rearing. Against the warmth of the lower middle-class home of the Pasquiers, which, according to Prévost,<sup>(1)</sup> typifies the spirit of this class, Martin du Gard places the bigotry and authoritarianism of the Thibault foyer. It is Oscar Thibault, the widower, who directs autocratically the education of Antoine and Jacques, whom Tison-Braun sees as the archetype of the pre-1914 bourgeois in a dying, paternalistic system in which order and authority appear synonymous and the social hierarchy is

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(1) See J. Prévost, 'Georges Duhamel', N.R.F., no. 257, 1 Feb. 1935, pp. 218-19.

justified as part of God's plan. 'L'ordre de M. Thibault est essentiellement l'acceptation d'une certaine hiérarchie qu'il croit voulue par Dieu et la nature parce qu'elle satisfait ses besoins...'(1)

While the Thibaults, as members of the bourgeoisie bien pensante represent the last vestiges of an organic society based on authority, conservatism and tradition, the Protestant Fontanin family, who also belong to the upper middle-class society of acquired wealth and established position, stand for the forces of social and religious liberty. As Thérive points out, there is in Les Thibault a conflict between conformity and nonconformity, whether this is stated in religious terms or in the conflict of generations over social or educational issues. There is a confrontation '...entre deux morales, entre deux sociétés, entre le traditionalisme et le libertarisme - mieux encore, entre la jeunesse et la vieillesse du monde'.(2) However, the opposition between the two sets of forces does not resolve itself into a simple condemnation of one or endorsement of the other. This is obvious in studying the principles which guide the upbringing of the Thibaults and the Fontanins. Whereas the intolerance and the harsh authoritarianism of the Thibault foyer cause Jacques to revolt against paternal domination, the lack of a moral lead in the Fontanin home is revealed to

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(1) M. Tison-Braun, La Crise de l'humanisme, vol. II, p. 196.

(2) A. Thérive, 'Les Thibault - La Consultation, La Sorellina', N.R.F., no. 178, 1 July 1928, p. 127.

be at the root of the psychological, social and moral disequilibrium of Daniel and Jenny.

As well as being separated from the Pasquiers by social class, the Thibaults and the Fontanins share significant differences in family structure which affect the patterns of familial interaction. The interpersonal relationships within the family are dissimilar because of the disparity in the composition of the group. Whereas the Pasquier family is complete and with the parents and five children constitutes a warm, living tribe, in both the primary family groups in Les Thibault one parent is absent. Oscar Thibault's wife had died following the birth of the younger son, Jacques, and the aged gouvernante, Mlle de Waize, is, for all her good intentions, an inadequate surrogate mother. Similarly, in the Fontanin home the mother, Thérèse de Fontanin, must supervise the upbringing of her two children, Daniel and Jenny, without male support as her husband, the profligate Jérôme de Fontanin, neglects the needs of his family and returns infrequently to the foyer. Hence, in neither home in Les Thibault do the conditions for a normal parent-child interaction exist and the difficulties of social and emotional adjustment of the children of both families are linked with the unfavourable environmental situations in early childhood.

The depiction of the process of familial education is also affected by the technique which the author employs. Unlike Duhamel who unfolds the action of the Pasquier saga through the eyes of one of the

participants, Roger Martin du Gard in Les Thibault assumes the position of the omniscient observer and the style indirect libre which he employs is a technical tour de force linking effectively reported speech and narrative comment, while maintaining an appearance of authorial neutrality. This third person approach is a flexible instrument which facilitates a widening of the range of reactions to the educative process in the family, as the writer is permitted to probe the responses of different members of the family to the same event. The situations are not limited, as in the early volumes of Chronique des Pasquier, with their basically linear structure, to those within the immediate experience of the narrator. By this method Martin du Gard injects into the world of the Thibaults the appearance of reality. He creates a solid world in which the complex mechanisms of the characters are revealed by subtle psychological touches; their hypocrisy and self-deception being exposed by the discrepancies between thoughts and actions, words and deeds. Picon makes this comment on Martin du Gard's skilful characterisation:

Une part essentielle des personnages et de leurs rapports est laissée dans l'ombre: et le romancier montre cette ombre d'un doigt léger sans le dissiper. Quelques mots, quelques gestes qui peuvent échapper au lecteur inattentif, suggèrent que les vrais rapports de Jacques et du père ne se réduisent pas à l'hostilité qui gouverne leur conduite; mais l'auteur ne nous en dit pas plus que les personnages n'en savent eux-mêmes - qui ont enfoui leur tendresse dans la région la plus obscure de leur coeur.(1)

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(1) G. Picon, 'Portrait et situation de Roger Martin du Gard', Mercure de France, no. 1141, Sept. 1958, p. 20.

The psychological depth<sup>(1)</sup> of the portraits of the members of the family in Le Cahier gris, Le Pénitencier and La Belle Saison, the first three novels in the cycle which are most relevant to the study of familial education, compensates for the comparative absence of detail on the early stages of child nurture in the Thibault family. Whereas in 1889 at the beginning of Chronique des Pasquier Laurent is still a child, in 1904, when the action of Les Thibault commences, Antoine has reached adulthood and Jacques is in mid-adolescence. As we have seen, Le Notaire du Havre describes chronologically Laurent's education from the age of seven to the age of ten at a period when his nature is essentially plastic and he is still fully dependent upon his parents and receptive to their influence. But in the corresponding volume in the Thibault cycle, Le Cahier gris, Jacques is already at fourteen years of age asserting his emotional independence of his father. The critical formative years are behind him and his defiance of external controls demonstrates his increasing self-awareness. It is true that from the brief references of Antoine and Jacques to their childhood, the few reminiscences of Oscar Thibault or Mademoiselle de Waize and the glimpse which one is given in Oscar Thibault's diaries in La Mort du père of his relationship with his wife in

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(1) On this question of the complex psychology of the characterisation in Les Thibault see J. Vrolyk, 'The Psychological Mutations in some of the Major Characters of Roger Martin du Gard's Les Thibault resulting from World War I', Inter-University French Seminar 1969, pp. 57-66.

the early years of their marriage, one does gain some insight into the nature of the familial education which the children had received. That the perspective of past actions influencing the present is maintained without lengthy flashbacks which would break the flow of action, is a tribute to Martin du Gard's skilful interweaving of significant details from the past into the narrative. However, the basic difference in the depiction of the educative process still exists.

Chronique des Pasquier deals with the education both of the child and the adolescent while Les Thibault is primarily concerned with the latter developmental period.

Although in treatment the examination of familial education in the two novel-series offers certain dissimilarities, in two respects Duhamel and Martin du Gard are in accord. Firstly, both base their analysis of family interaction upon their own experience of family life. We have noted the resemblance in broad outline of Duhamel's itinerant lower middle-class family with the Pasquier clan. Similarly, Martin du Gard centres his cycle on a family of the same social circumstances as that in which he had received his upbringing. The account of Jacques's development from a cancre to an able pupil who wins a place in a grande école follows closely the shape of Martin du Gard's adolescence as related in the Souvenirs. At the same time in Antoine the steady, balanced doctor of robust mentality one might see a reflection of the disciplined,

methodical chartiste he later became.

Indeed, the writer admits to a dédoublement in Les Thibault which would allow him to explore the contradictory sides of his nature.

Dès janvier, pendant le répit que je m'étais accordé après la réouverture du Vieux-Colombier, j'avais été brusquement séduit par l'idée d'écrire l'histoire de deux frères: deux êtres de tempéraments aussi différents, aussi divergents, que possible, mais foncièrement marqués par les obscures similitudes que crée, entre deux consanguins, un très puissant atavisme commun. Un tel sujet m'offrait l'occasion d'un fructueux dédoublement: j'y voyais la possibilité d'exprimer simultanément deux tendances contradictoires de ma nature: l'instinct d'indépendance, d'évasion, de révolte, le refus de tous les conformismes; et cet instinct d'ordre, de mesure, ce refus des extrêmes que je dois à mon hérédité.(1)

It is, then, the effects of an upbringing in an upper middle-class family which Martin du Gard sets out to explore in Les Thibault. The patterns of educational experience which the sons and daughters of the haute bourgeoisie receive in their families are the subject of his enquiry in the early novels of the cycle. Like the author, the Thibaults are imprinted with '...cet ensemble de vertus, de préjugés, d'habitudes et d'écus, dont se composent la culture morale et l'éducation de la bourgeoisie'.(2)

However, if one is able with justification to point to general similarities in the shape of education of the young Roger Martin du Gard and that of the Thibaults, one must avoid overemphasising parallels of

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(1) Souvenirs, O.C. I, p. lxxx.

(2) Devenir, O.C. I, p. 13.

incident or personality. Although the Thibaults and the Martin du Gard's belong to the same social class the composition of the family is different. Similarly, it is unwise to suggest that the relationship of the father and the sons in Le Cahier gris necessarily reproduces the situation in the Martin du Gard home. In fact, Maurice Martin du Gard, the writer's cousin, denies that his uncle was characterised by bigotry or insensitivity although his tendency towards pomposity was a source of family amusement.

On n'a souvent demandé si dans La Mort du père qui est un des beaux morceaux des Thibault, et auparavant dans Le Cahier gris et Le Penitencier, Roger avait dépeint le sien. Le père Thibault, pour moi, n'a jamais ressemblé au père de Roger qui, pontifiant, empesé sans doute (on me disait attention! tu as avalé la canne de Paul!) était tonifié par une espèce d'ironie, et très bon, pas le moins du monde garde-chiourne.(1)

If for the descriptions of familial interaction both Duhamel and Martin du Gard tend to choose characters from their social background, they also share a belief that class differences in education as well as the individual differences present in the training of the child in the family have persistent and enduring effects upon development. The importance which Martin du Gard attaches to the upbringing of children in Les Thibault is noted by Boak<sup>(2)</sup> who claims that education is an essential theme of the novel-cycle. The structure of

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(1) M. Martin du Gard, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Revue des deux mondes, 1 Oct. 1958, p. 471.

(2) D. Boak, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 208.

Les Thibault makes clear this preoccupation with the education of the child in the home which will have a major bearing on intellectual, social and emotional growth. Les Thibault begins and ends with a consideration of the educational needs of children. The action, particularly in the first two novels, Le Cahier gris and Le Pénitencier, has as its focal point the responses to their upbringing of Antoine and Jacques Thibault and Daniel and Jenny de Fontain. Although, in L'Eté 1914, the tragedy weighing upon European society overshadows the portrayal of the interrelationships of the members of the two families, in the Epilogue child education is restored to prominence. It is now the education of Jean-Paul, Jenny and Jacques's illegitimate son, which occupies the thoughts of Antoine, who is dying from the effects of gassing in the war. In his diary the yvérité makes notes for the guidance of the child who will grow up in the troubled years after the war, and his last entry concludes with the words 'Jean-Paul',<sup>(1)</sup>

Like Laurent Pasquier, Antoine and Jacques Thibault struggle against the determinism of their upbringing as well as their heredity. Just as Laurent attempts to shake off the values and attitudes of his father, so too does Jacques repudiate his father's life-style and strive to free himself from the influence of his family and the regulating pressures of the cultural group of

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 1011.

which his family is a part - the upper middle class. Whereas Duhamel in Chronique des Pasquier allows Laurent partial emancipation - the ability to overcome his father's example by a 'réaction anti-héreditaire' - while emphasising in other ways how closely he is bound to his family and the extent to which his moral formation is indebted to the educational experiences he had received in his home, Martin du Gard's characters are more firmly enmeshed in their heredity and education. As Ikor declares:

Les trois Thibault sont vraiment le père et ses deux fils. L'identité se trouve à la racine même de leurs caractères et sans truquage. Ils parlent la même langue, ils sont de la même chair, ils sont des Thibault, comme l'explique un jour, avec une exaltation juvénile, Antoine à Jacques... Dans tous les moments critiques les deux frères s'étonnent et souvent s'indignent de découvrir en eux, et surtout l'un en l'autre, des ressemblances avec leur père.(1)

However, such a stress by Martin du Gard upon the twin forces of heredity and education does not necessarily imply that the actions of his characters are limited at every turn by a mechanistic determinism. Picon refers to Jacques's silence after his return from the penitentiary at Crouy when one would have imagined his reaction to his imprisonment by his father to be violent rebellion, as an example of '...les trouvailles par lesquelles, échappant à la détermination de leur caractère, les personnages accèdent à l'imprévisibilité de la vie'.(2) One might cite in support of this

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(1) R. Ikor, 'L'Humanité des Thibault', Europe, no. 6, June 1946, p. 33.

(2) G. Picon, 'Portrait et situation de Roger Martin du Gard', Mercure de France, no. 1141, Sept. 1958, p. 21.

contention Antoine's comment that if he has been aware of the strength of atavistic forces and the potency of heredity and upbringing he has not felt helpless in their grip.

(Savons trop, nous autres, que nos actes sont la conséquence de ce que nous sommes et de ce qui nous entoure. Responsables de notre hérédité? de notre éducation? des exemples donnés? des circonstances? Non, c'est l'évidence même.)

Mais j'ai toujours agi comme si je croyais à ma responsabilité absolue.(1)

The Thibaults of Martin du Gard's novel-cycle of eight parts, with their comfortable but not ostentatious town house in the rue de l'Université and their country house at Maisons-Laffitte, their retinue of servants and tradition of a nurse or governess to assist with the education of the children, their links with the Catholic hierarchy and the Institut de France, and their connections through the father, Oscar Thibault, a former député of the Eure, with extreme Right republican politics, move in a different world to that of the families of the petite bourgeoisie in Chronique des Pasquier. They belong to the powerful bourgeoisie of inherited wealth which is determined to hold fast to what it possesses and is conscious of its obligations to protect the honour of the family. As Oscar Thibault is proud to declare: 'N'avons-nous pas derrière nous deux siècles de roture, dûment justifiée? C'est quelque chose. Pour ma part, j'ai conscience d'avoir, selon mes moyens, accru ce patrimoine respectable...'(2)

(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 958.

(2) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, pp. 913-14.

For Oscar Thibault the notion of family, the sense of dynasty or 'race', is strong. The family is more than a social unit to protect and train its members; it is the means of preserving influence, of retaining the reins of the Republic in the hands of the capitalists. It is this concept of the all powerful bourgeois family that he attempts to explain somewhat incoherently to his eldest son Antoine, from his sick-bed in La Sorellina.

"Toi, tu as une fâcheuse tendance à l'individualisme!" fit-il tout à coup, en jetant vers Antoine un regard courroucé.  
 "Tu changeras sans doute quand tu seras grand."  
 Il rectifia: "...quand tu auras vieilli, quand tu auras, toi aussi, fondé une famille...  
 Effectivement, mon cher, si l'on admet que la famille doit rester la cellule première du tissu social, ne faut-il pas...ne faut-il pas qu'elle constitue cette...cette aristocratie plébéienne...où dorénavant se recrutent les élites? La famille, la famille...Réponds: ne sommes-nous pas le pivot sur lequel...sur lequel tourne l'Etat bourgeois d'aujourd'hui?"(1)

Yet it would seem that Oscar Thibault's urging of his sons to succeed and to add to their inheritance is akin to Raymond Pasquier's efforts to obtain for his family social elevation. In both Chronique des Pasquier and Les Thibault the writers clearly indicate the competitiveness of the middle classes, their refusal to remain static, their aggressive drive forward. Thus, the Thibault sons like the Pasquiers are filled with a tribal instinct to dominate and they, too, trace the origin of the vigour and determination of their 'race' to Norman peasant stock. The cult of difference has

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(1) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1152.

been handed down from father to son. The pride of Oscar Thibault in his own achievements and in those of his predecessors is communicated to Antoine and Jacques and finds expression in Antoine's demagogic recital of the virtues of his 'race', in Le Pénitencier.

Nous ne sommes pas seulement deux individus, Antoine et Jacques: nous sommes deux Thibault, nous sommes les Thibault...Et ce qui est terrible, c'est justement d'avoir en soi cet élan, ce même élan, l'élan des Thibault...Nous autres, les Thibault, nous ne sommes pas comme tout le monde. Je crois même que nous avons quelque chose de plus que les autres, à cause de ceci: que nous sommes les Thibault. Moi, partout où j'ai passé, au collège, à la Faculté, à l'hôpital, partout, je me suis senti un Thibault, un être à part, je n'ose pas dire supérieur, et pourtant si, pourquoi pas? oui, supérieur, armé d'une force que les autres n'ont pas.(1)

As with the Pasquiers, the cultivation of the intelligence is a means of channelling this aggressive competitiveness to achieve personal ambitions: the acquisition of a career in the professions, the earning of a reputation in social and intellectual circles, the winning of titles and honours. Oscar Thibault, who from his father's factory, had through the lycée at Rouen and his studies of law gained entry to the fashionable circles of Tout-Paris, urges his two sons to follow his example. Although his satisfaction with their academic accomplishments is rarely expressed directly, nevertheless it is real - a fact which Antoine discovers later, when, in a conversation with his father's coiffeur, Faubois, he is told of his father's

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 763.

pride at Jacques's passing of the baccalauréat and his own successful progress through the Ecole de Médecine.<sup>(1)</sup>

While this cult of energy, this determination to succeed, to develop one's powers to the fullest, to impose one's will by the force of intelligence, is one major theme in the education of the young Thibaults, the other is the contradictory pressure to preserve the equilibrium and order of society, to respect custom and tradition and to conform and obey. This opposite tendency towards conservatism in the bourgeoisie is evoked by Antoine at the funeral of his father as he gazes at the representatives of his father's society:

...Ils sont tous pareils. Interchangeables. En décrire un, c'est les marquer tous. Des frileux, des clignotants, des myopes, qui ont peur de tout: peur de la pensée, peur de l'évolution sociale, peur de tout ce qui déferle contre leur forteresse!<sup>(2)</sup>

The conflict between the two sets of forces, the one individualistic, the other conformist, is equally apparent in the upbringing of the Pasquiers with the stress upon individual effort and enterprise, tempered by the counsel to caution and order, the necessity to control the passions by the exercise of reason - the lay morality of the petite bourgeoisie. But in the education of the Thibaults the opposition between the twin patterns of behaviour is more pronounced; the conservative pressures are strengthened by an austere Catholicism, the established family traditions of

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(1) See La Sorellina, O.C. I, pp. 1208-9.

(2) La Mort du père, O.C. I, pp. 1360-1.

authority and obedience, the higher social status as well as the particular circumstances of the family - the absence of a mother who would shield the children from paternal domination. That Oscar Thibault, himself, is unable to synthesise the competing demands of free individual expression and respect for order and authority becomes evident as Martin du Gard uncovers facets of his complex personality and achieves what Camus describes as '...le portrait en épaisseur...'.(1)

Outwardly, Oscar Thibault appears an autocratic, insensitive, proud, paterfamilias. At his appearance in Le Cahier gris, when with his elder son, Antoine, he receives news from the teachers of the Catholic Ecole that Jacques has apparently run away, the abruptness of his speech, his commanding manner, his ready censure of his son's actions create the impression of intolerance and austerity. The sense of authority which the father possesses, his psychological domination of those near him - his two sons, his servants, his secretary, M. Chasle, and the governess, Mademoiselle de Waize, - is emphasised by the physical descriptions which dilate him into a monolithic figure.

M. Thibault, ramassé sur lui-même, gardait une immobilité massive; il faisait songer à ces pachydermes dont la puissance reste cachée tant qu'ils sont au repos; de l'éléphant d'ailleurs il avait les larges oreilles plates, et aussi, par éclairs, l'oeil rusé.(2)

His titles proclaim his importance, the position which his vigorous pursuit of worldly success has brought

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(1) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to O.C.I, p. ix.

(2) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 723.

him, and indicate the extent of his involvement in the Church and in philanthropic organisations, particularly those concerned with the moral education of the child.

Ancien député de l'Eure - Vice-président de la Ligue morale de Puériculture. - Fondateur et Directeur de l'Oeuvre de Préservation sociale. - Trésorier du Syndicat des oeuvres catholiques du Diocèse de Paris.(1)

It is to be expected, then, that Oscar Thibault's style as an educator is heavily authoritarian. The atmosphere in the Thibault home in the rue de l'Université is repressive; the pattern of life of the two sons is rigidly controlled. The description of the family at the dinner table indicates the nature of the interpersonal relationships which exist in the home. A ritual of silence is imposed on Antoine and Jacques who must sit passively in submittance to the authority of the father.

Aux repas, [Antoine] restait silencieux; il écoutait son père. D'ailleurs, le gros homme était si autoritaire et d'un commerce si rugueux, que tous les êtres obligés de vivre à son foyer se réfugiaient silencieusement derrière un masque...M. Thibault jouissait de ce silence déferent, qui laissait libre cours à son besoin d'imposer ses jugements, et qu'il confondait naïvement avec une approbation générale.(2)

The sons see their father as one who is stern and unresponsive and who arbitrarily limits their freedoms. A strict censorship, for instance, has been imposed on Jacques's reading - "On ne me donne jamais que les gros bouquins rouge et or, à images, genre Jules Verne,

(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 596.

(2) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 766.

des imbécillités",<sup>(1)</sup> he complains bitterly to Daniel. The father's wrath is aroused when at the beginning of Le Cahier gris he learns from Antoine that Jacques had borrowed books from his friend, Daniel de Fontanin, during the summer holidays at Maisons-Laffitte.

- "Comment? Des livres prêtés? Est-ce que tu n'aurais pas dû m'avertir?"

- "Ça ne me semblait pas bien dangereux", répliqua Antoine... "Du Victor Hugo", expliqua-t-il, "du Lamartine. Je lui confisquais sa lampe pour le forcer à s'endormir."<sup>(2)</sup>

Every move of the younger son is watched for signs of vice. Even at fourteen Jacques is continuously under the surveillance of his father and Mademoiselle de Waize. Thus he informs Daniel that he is not even permitted to remain alone in his room. 'Ils ont dévissé mon commutateur, crois-tu? pour que je ne puisse pas toucher à l'électricité.'<sup>(3)</sup> The deviations from the normal pattern of behaviour which the father rigidly imposes are seen by Oscar Thibault as not only challenges to his paternal authority but also as compromising the honour of the family. Jacques, with his rebellious nature, is branded as a '...vaurien...'<sup>(4)</sup> his fugue - the flight from his school and family to the South of France with Daniel de Fontanin, which is the central episode in Le Cahier gris, - is described as a '...scandale...'<sup>(5)</sup> This attitude of the father

(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 649.

(2) Ibid, p. 585.

(3) Ibid, p. 649.

(4) Ibid, p. 669.

(5) Ibid, p. 669.

towards the indiscipline of his son is clearly stated later when, in delirium brought on by fever, Oscar Thibault relives the past and castigates Jacques's defiance.

-"Va-t'en!" reprit-il. "Tu as oublié tout ce que tu dois à ton père, à son nom, à son rang! Le salut d'une âme! L'honneur d'une famille! Il y a des actes...des actes qui dépassent notre personne! Qui compromettent toutes les traditions! Je te briserai!"(1)

Nor is the adult son, Antoine, exempt from his father's domination. Antoine, who at the commencement of Le Cahier gris is an interne in a hospital after completing his medical studies, remains subject to his father's '...gouvernement de droit divin...'.(2) One notes that, in the interview with abbé Binot at the Ecole, Antoine's opposition to his father is hinted at and this becomes more explicit in the second novel when he confronts his father over the harsh treatment of Jacques. But although Antoine makes an effort to avoid a clash of wills, Oscar Thibault is harsh in his condemnation of his son's insubordination. He corrects Antoine like '...un gamin'(3) for opposing his views and brands his action in going to Crouy to interview Jacques at the penitentiary as an '...acte d'indiscipline...'.(4)

To both Antoine and Jacques, Oscar Thibault's reaction to his younger son's rebellion and his flight

(1) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1153.

(2) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1343.

(3) Le Penitencier, O.C. I, p. 729.

(4) Ibid, p. 729.

to Toulon appears consistent with his attitudes towards child discipline. Oscar Thibault believes in the efficacy of harsh restraints and strict controls to teach the child to subject his mind and body to the discipline of his reason. Unlike Mme de Fontanin's forgiveness of Daniel when the police capture the two boys and return them to their families there will be no pardon for Jacques. It is to '...broyer sa volonté'<sup>(1)</sup> that the father commits his son to the 'Colonie pénitentiaire pour les enfants vicieux' which he had founded at Crouy and which represents the fruits of twenty years' study of the treatment of juvenile offenders. There, Jacques will spend nine months in solitary confinement until as the result of Antoine's intercession his father consents to his release.<sup>(2)</sup>

As well as attempting to eradicate the evil tendencies in his sons' nature Oscar Thibault strives to protect them from corruption from without. It is for this reason that he has supervised their reading, directed their choice of companions and sought in their upbringing to ensure that they meet only those influences which will be beneficial for their moral growth. As he says in La Sorellina: "'Est-ce que je n'ai pas veillé à leur éducation, à leur instruction?"<sup>(3)</sup> His primary concern to protect his foyer from the

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(1) Ibid, p. 680.

(2) This episode appears based on the experience of Pierre Margaritis to whom Les Thibault is dedicated. Margaritis had also at this age been imprisoned in a maison à correction at his father's request.

(3) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1153.

encompassing evil is reflected in his condemnation of Daniel de Fontanin to whose malignant influence he attributes his son's waywardness.

"Des voyous comme ce Fontanin," gronda-t-il, en se levant, "est-ce que ça ne devrait pas être enfermé dans des maisons spéciales? Est-ce qu'il est <sup>admirable</sup> que nos enfants soient exposés à de semblables contagions?"(1)

He argues that apart from providing the disciplined environment in which Jacques's anti-social behaviour might be corrected the pavillon spécial at Crouy to which parents are able to commit voluntarily their recalcitrant sons would effectively isolate the boy from his undesirable association with Daniel.

"Ainsi, mis à l'abri des tentations pernicieuses, purgé de ses mauvais instincts par la solitude, ayant pris goût au travail, il atteindra sa seizième année, et je veux espérer qu'alors il pourra sans danger reprendre auprès de nous la vie familiale."(2)

One notes that the middle-class educators in Les Thibault are all acutely aware of the contagiousness of corruption. In her turn, Daniel's mother, Mme de Fontanin, entertains fears that her son and daughter might be affected by the example of their father's libertinism: 'L'exemple peut être funeste, le mal est si contagieux.'"(3) For Mademoiselle de Waize, who supervises the upbringing of her niece, Gise, in the same household as the two young Thibaults, moral and physical threats are linked. 'Depuis qu'elle avait recueilli Gise, la pauvre demoiselle vivait dans la

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- (1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 597.  
 (2) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 680.  
 (3) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 606.

terreur des contagions.'<sup>(1)</sup> She fears Antoine Thibault for the diseases which he might bring into the home from his work at the hospital, as well as for the possible moral contamination of her niece's mind.

'Il va sans dire qu'Antoine, avec son relent d'hôpital, ses troussees et ses livres, lui semblait un danger permanent.'<sup>(2)</sup> For Gise, the young Creole sorellina of Antoine and Jacques whom Mlle de Waize has introduced into the foyer, the restraints on individual action are even more pronounced. One sees in La Belle Saison that even at the age of sixteen she is not permitted to leave the house without permission. Nor is she allowed to read works such as Great Expectations until Jacques convinces her aunt that this is necessary for her progress in English. However, unlike Antoine and Jacques, she does not appear to be affected unduly by her restrictive upbringing. She is '...une plante saine qui se développerait n'importe où, échapperait à toutes les tutelles'.<sup>(3)</sup>

The repressive atmosphere of the home is associated in the minds of the children with an austere Catholicism. It is Mademoiselle de Waize, his late wife's childhood nurse, a woman of proven piety and integrity, whom Oscar Thibault has engaged to supervise the moral and spiritual training of his two sons. Her age and her legalistic interpretation of Christianity create

(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 747.

(2) Ibid, p. 748.

(3) Ibid, p. 750.

a barrier between her and her charges despite her efforts to show them affection and to compensate for their lack of a mother's love. The faith which she has taught them is one which sharply divides between good and evil. The word péché is constantly on her lips. The passage in which the return of Jacques to the family is described at the end of Le Cahier gris illustrates both her pathetic attempt to provide sympathy and understanding and her strict religious beliefs which link sin and divine wrath.

Elle l'avait saisi et le dévorait de caresses, tandis que sa voix trébuchante psalmodiait, sur une seule note aiguë:  
- "quel péché! Le sans-cœur! Tu voulais donc nous faire mourir de chagrin? Dieu bon, quel péché! Tu n'as donc plus de cœur?" Et ses yeux de lama s'emplissaient d'eau.(1)

The Catholicism of Oscar Thibault is even more pharisaical. His is a puritanical faith with stringent moral demands which finds expression in philanthropic activities and works of service for the Church, but which lacks a spirit of charity. Both in their relationship with Mlle de Waize and their father Antoine and Jacques would see the negative side of religion - its restrictiveness and inflexibility. As Antoine later tells abbé Vécard, his father's spiritual director: "'...Je n'ai jamais vu Dieu, hélas, qu'à travers mon père.'"(2)

It is clear that emotional undercurrents affect

(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 668.

(2) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1389.

the response of both sons to their religious training. Filled with resentment at the repressive atmosphere of their home, they fail to internalise the beliefs and doctrines which are taught to them. Antoine makes the point that he has developed no real religious feeling and at best has only superficially accepted the practices and habits of religious observance when, in his discussion with Mme de Fontanin, he describes the process by which he has abandoned the faith in which he has been brought up.

La vérité est que j'ai pratiqué fort tard. Je suivais la routine, sans vraie piété. Dieu était pour moi une espèce de proviseur auquel rien ne pouvait échapper, et qu'il était prudent de satisfaire à l'aide de certains gestes, d'une certaine discipline; j'obéissais, mais je n'y trouvais guère que de l'ennui... Comment ai-je perdu la foi? Je n'en sais plus rien. Lorsque je m'en suis avisé - il n'y a pas plus de quatre ou cinq ans - j'avais déjà par ailleurs atteint un degré de culture scientifique qui laissait peu de place à des croyances religieuses.(1)

For Jacques as well it is the harshness of his father which colours his image of religion. At fourteen at the beginning of Le Cahier gris he has, according to Robidoux, a deep need for religious belief.

Chez lui, le sentiment religieux est l'un des premiers canaux à recevoir le jaillissement passionné d'une nature riche et violente. Il a des aspirations, de l'idéal, une force vague et juvénile, son âme passionnée a besoin de croire.(2)

His correspondence with Daniel betrays a religious fervour as does the occasion at Marseille when he enters a church and feels himself in '...une présence

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 796.

(2) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 189.

surnaturelle...<sup>(1)</sup> But the experience he receives of a formalistic, unforgiving Christianity in his home is one which will turn him resolutely against organised religion.

Oscar Thibault would blame outside forces for his sons' rejection of Catholicism - the influence of the Protestant Daniel de Fontanin on Jacques and of scientific studies on Antoine. He fails to see that the fault lies in himself; that his austere behaviour has hidden from them the emotion which he feels and which he expresses in his private communion when, alone in his bedroom, surrounded by the furniture he has inherited from his parents, he returns to a child-like simplicity. Yet if both sons reject the faith which they have been taught, they remain firmly bound by the code of morality which their father has transmitted to them. Although Jacques revolts against his father's mantle of divine right and his God-like demands for humility and obedience, and attempts to cast off the conventions imposed upon him by his family and by society, he is unable to free himself from a sense of faute or a burning awareness of his impurity.

S'il a répudié certaines contraintes, de la morale chrétienne, il en a conservé pratiquement le principe fondamental, la division objective entre le bien et le mal, se maintenant de cette manière, à quelques licences près, dans une voie tout à fait traditionnelle.(2)

For Jacques there is an instinctive antipathy to the

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 636.

(2) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 197.

gidisme of his friend Daniel who builds his life philosophy around Les Nourritures terrestres. The licentiousness of Daniel he brands as impur - 'Toutes les aventures de Daniel étaient impures... Impurs, tous les désirs charnels.'<sup>(1)</sup> Ikor summarises Jacques's reaction to gidisme in these words:

Pour Jacques, en effet, le gidiste est surtout un être falot et sans grandeur, méprisable par cela même; un être qui ignore la noblesse, la dignité, la responsabilité. Si Jacques condamne, c'est par sens de la droiture morale, par goût du stoïque et, au fond, par un sentiment quasi kantien du devoir...<sup>(2)</sup>

Similarly, Antoine who, as will be seen later, develops from his studies of science and his experiences as a doctor a cult of action which is both materialistic and positivistic, discovers that although he disclaims the relevance of any moral law, his actions are governed by a transcendent morality. The reason why he maintains his scrupulous attitudes, his dedication as a doctor, is one which continually exercises his mind. '"Au nom de quoi?"'<sup>(3)</sup> Antoine asks himself after refusing the solution of euthanasia to end the suffering of Héquet's daughter in La Consultation and he returns to this basic question of moral motivation in his conversation with abbé Vécard in La Mort du père.

[Antoine] sentait bien, une fois de plus, que, entre son manque de croyance morale et l'extrême conscience qu'il apportait dans sa vie, il y avait une inexplicable incompatibilité. Il faut aimer ce qu'on fait. Et pourquoi donc

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(1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 954.

(2) R. Ikor 'L'Humanité des Thibault', Europe, no. 6, June 1946, p. 37.

(3) La Consultation, O.C. I, p. 1126.

le faut-il? Parce que l'homme, animal social, doit concourir par son effort à la bonne marche de la société, à son progrès...Affirmations gratuites, postulats dérisoires! Au nom de quoi? Toujours cette question, à laquelle jamais il n'avait trouvé de véritable réponse.(1)

In the Epilogue as he lies dying on his hospital bed Antoine finds himself no closer to establishing a rationale for his actions: 'Au nom de quoi les sentiments désintéressés, le dévouement, la conscience professionnelle etc?...Au nom de rien, voilà tout.'<sup>(2)</sup> The closest he can come to an answer is that a moral instinct has been implanted in him by his heredity and education<sup>(3)</sup> - a concept which he had expressed earlier in his dialogue with abbé Vécard after his father's funeral. '"Cette conscience? Dépôt, laissé en chacun de nous par dix-neuf siècles de christianisme...Peut-être me suis-je trop hâté, tout à l'heure, en évaluant à zéro le coefficient de mon éducation-ou plutôt de mon hérédité."<sup>(4)</sup>

While one group of influences in the Thibault home acts as<sup>a</sup> restraint on the child, creating within him an awareness of his social obligations, imprinting on him a pattern of conformity to the mores of the middle-class society, preparing him for submission to group control, another set of influences operates to release the child's individuality and to encourage his aggressiveness. The apparently conformist education of Antoine and Jacques Thibault also includes a training of their will and a nurture of their egotistical drives.

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(1) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1388.

(2) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 964.

(3) See Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 962.

(4) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1388.

The example of the father is one of excessive ambition, pride and oppressive strength. Oscar Thibault's service to the Church and to social welfare organisations, his position on committees and boards is part of his need to dominate. Oscar Thibault in his various roles - the domineering father, the overbearing employer, the forceful organiser - is essentially an egocentric individual, who, although he relishes the admiration and respect of others, has an aristocratic scorn of his fellow men who do not possess the élan of a Thibault. In his relationship with his sons one senses a tension between his need to impose his will and to exact their obedience, and a hidden admiration for their independent spirits which provide proof that they share his volonté. Thus, he urges them to adopt a competitive attitude to life. This is seen in his reaction to Jacques's acceptance for the Ecole normale supérieure.

"Eh bien", fit-il, après avoir déplié sa serviette et posé les poings de chaque côté de son couvert, "il s'agit maintenant de ne pas t'en tenir là. Nous ne sommes pas des imbéciles et, si tu es entré troisième, pourquoi ne pourrais-tu pas, en travaillant, sortir premier?"(1)

But when their vitality is directed towards resistance of his paternal authority, his wounded pride demands stern reprisals - "...Les extravagances et les écarts de Jacques l'atteignaient toujours au point le plus sensible, dans son amour-propre."(2) Yet, it is

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(1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 904.

(2) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 588.

noticeable that beneath his condemnation of their acts of independence there is a certain satisfaction at the strength of their will. The father's attitude towards Jacques is not simply the hostility which appears on the surface. It would seem that in his son Oscar Thibault unconsciously recognises a reflection of his own nature with the '...mêmes sensibilités contractées, même violence secrète des instincts, mêmes rudesses...' (1) Similarly, if the father resists the growing independence of Antoine, at the same time he betrays an approval of his endowment of energy. After the angry scene in which he reproaches his son for his opposition to Jacques's incarceration at Crouy in Le Pénitencier, he relates Antoine's acts of defiance to abbé Vécard.

Toutefois, la considération qu'il portait à Antoine, augmentée même à son insu par ces actes d'indépendance qu'il lui reprochait, ne cessait d'être sensible à travers ses paroles...(2)

However, there are other factors which add to the ambiguity of the father-son relationship. As Brenner says: 'Le personnage d'Oscar Thibault est très complexe et pourrait symboliser aussi bien (et mieux...) l'ambivalence des rapports pères-fils...' (3) The religious and moral principles which the father has adopted force him to attempt to discipline his passions and those of his sons. It is while reading his father's papers after his death that Antoine glimpses the inner turmoil of Oscar Thibault - the conflict between his

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(1) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1338.

(2) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 729.

(3) J. Brenner, Martin du Gard, pp. 95-6.

nature and his conscience. Oscar Thibault is keenly aware of the responsibilities of parenthood. Even in the first year of marriage he had commenced compiling a history of paternal authority. It is perhaps because of his Jesuit upbringing that he is so profoundly aware of the duties of the father to teach his children obedience to the will of God and acceptance of authority. He believes that the educator must be harsh towards himself to force the esteem of others. To teach effective self-control he must first restrain his own passions. Thus, Oscar Thibault has deliberately sought l'enroissement - the curbing of his will, the repression of his sensibility. The letters which Antoine reads written by his father to his mother are filled with a tenderness which he had not known him to possess. But there is also evidence that Oscar Thibault had attempted to force upon his young bride, Lucie, the same rigorous self-discipline and asceticism which he has striven to incorporate in his own life. An insight is given into the relationship of the couple in the following letter:

Je t'en conjure, Lucie, ne profite pas de mon absence pour perdre ton temps à étudier ton piano. Crois-moi. Cette sorte d'exaltation que procure la musique exerce sur la sensibilité d'un être encore jeune une action néfaste; elle accoutume à l'oisiveté, aux écarts d'imagination, et risque de détourner une femme des vrais devoirs de son état.(1)

Thus, one gains the impression that the wife whom Oscar Thibault describes to his sons as "Votre Sainte mère" (2)

(1) La Mort du père, O.C.I, pp. 1330-1.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 1331.

had, during her short married life, been moulded as ruthlessly as the children.

It is from reading his father's papers that Antoine gains some appreciation of the intensity of his father's inner conflict between his instinctive nature and the system of ideals which he has imposed upon himself, with the consequent mutilation of his desire for love and affection and enforced isolation from his family. The despair of the man who finds himself unable to attain the spiritual goals he has set is mirrored in phrases such as the following: 'Gardez-vous de moi, Seigneur, car je vous trahirais si vous m'abandonniez à moi-même.'<sup>(1)</sup> Tison-Braun makes this comment on Oscar Thibault's struggle between his passions and his beliefs:

M. Thibault est la première victime de la stérilité de son système. Ascète sans amour, il est traqué par l'angoisse. 'La sérénité semblait d'année en année se dérober toujours davantage à cette âme empressée de certitudes.' Angoisse de son insuffisance spirituelle, protestation d'une âme écrasée, angoisse de la liberté du péché, ou simple angoisse humaine?...M. Thibault n'est pas le privilégié du droit divin, il en est le martyr.<sup>(2)</sup>

If Antoine only begins to understand his father after his death and does not realise till then that his prior knowledge has been limited to '...la fonction paternelle...',<sup>(3)</sup> the reader is permitted, from the opening of the novel-cycle, to perceive the contradictions in the father's personality and the ambiguity in the relationship of father and sons which lie hidden

(1) Ibid, p. 1340.

(2) M. Tison-Braun, La Crise de l'humanisme, vol. II, p. 196.

(3) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1343.

from the characters themselves. Thus, when Jacques confronts his father after his fugue in Le Cahier gris, the reader can glimpse the agitation of Oscar Thibault which is not apparent to the onlookers and witness the struggle of the father to control his natural feelings of compassion.

Du premier coup d'oeil il aperçoit Jacques et ne peut se défendre d'être ému. Il s'arrête cependant et referme les paupières, il semble attendre que le fils coupable se précipite à ses genoux, comme dans le Greuze, dont la gravure est au salon.(1)

The reference to the works of Greuze emphasises the fact that the father is playing a role; he models his behaviour on the authoritarian style of the eighteenth century père de famille. This scene, the punishment of the disobedient child, is played before an audience of servants and the harsh attitude which the father adopts is influenced by the need to preserve appearances.

Gibson<sup>(2)</sup> points to other cross-currents of emotion which complicate the love-hate relationship of Oscar Thibault and Jacques. He suggests that M. Thibault's feelings towards Jacques are exacerbated by the situation of the son as the cause of his wife's death in childbirth. Again, Magny,<sup>(3)</sup> in her analysis of the rappports of the child and the father, claims that the father sees his son as one who will ensure the survival of his race yet with his great will to live he

(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 668.

(2) See R. Gibson, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 74.

(3) See C.-E. Magny, Histoire du roman français depuis 1918, vol. I, pp. 334-5.

is unconsciously hostile towards the child who will inevitably replace him.

Jacques suffers from his father's failure to show him love and affection. As Robidoux says: 'La révolte du jeune garçon ne provient pas de la haine, elle est plutôt le réflexe de l'amour déçu.'<sup>(1)</sup> His need for understanding is increased by the absence of a mother in the foyer. Mademoiselle de Waize has conscientiously attempted to fill this void but with age her ability to gratify the child's needs has waned.

C'est entre ses deux bras écartés qu'un soir, trébuchant sur le tapis du couloir, Jacques avait fait vers elle son premier pas; et quatorze ans de suite, elle avait tremblé pour lui, comme elle tremblait maintenant pour Gisèle. Tant d'amour et une incompréhension totale.<sup>(2)</sup>

Deprived of a mother's warmth Jacques looks to his father to provide him with sympathetic understanding and attentive care. His desperate need for affection and his desire to love and respect his father is seen in his conversations with Daniel on the road to Toulon in the first novel and with Antoine at the penitentiary in the second. Despite the severity of his treatment, he strives to convince himself that his father has his interests at heart. "Papa est bon, tu sais...très bon même, je t'assure."<sup>(3)</sup> "Papa est bon, tu sais, dans le fond..."<sup>(4)</sup>

However, the role which Oscar Thibault has

(1) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 190.

(2) Le Penitencier, O.C. I, p. 748.

(3) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 649.

(4) Le Penitencier, O.C. I, p. 706.

adopted as the autocratic, inflexible father frustrates Jacques's longing for parental affection. The child reacts to the emotional deprivation in his upbringing by aggressive behaviour. One feels that the belligerence which Jacques shows in his confrontations with his father is a trait which he has structuralised into his self for its functional value of gaining attention. The tendency towards self-dramatisation is apparent in the description he gives to Daniel of his temper tantrums.

"Oh, moi", reprit Jacques en fronçant les sourcils, "je sais bien que je suis insupportable. Ça ne peut pas être autrement. Ainsi, tiens, j'ai des colères, quelquefois, je ne connais plus rien, je casse, je cogne, je crie des horreurs, je serais capable de sauter par la fenêtre ou d'assommer quelqu'un! Je te dis ça pour que tu saches tout", ajouta-t-il. Et il était visible qu'il éprouvait une sombre jouissance à s'accuser.(1)

One sees in the first three novels of Les Thibault the resentment of the adolescent at his father's apparent rejection deepening. The cold reception which he receives after the return from Toulon which contrasts with the demonstrative affection of Mme de Fontanin for Daniel and the harshness of his punishment as against Daniel's pardon, increases his bitterness. In addition, as his self-assurance develops his strong will clashes with that of his father. He is too proud to beg for forgiveness and resists the restrictions and limitations which are placed on his freedom. Already at fourteen his hostility towards paternal domination

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, pp. 648-9.

has become generalised into an aversion towards the family as a social institution which suppresses the free expression of individuality. Hence, at the end of Le Cahier gris when he is restored to his father's authority he feels that he is a '...prisonnier des mécanismes de la famille, de la police, de la société'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The period of confinement at the penitentiary at Crouy which is related in the second novel leaves Jacques temporarily spiritless and apathetic. It is Antoine who realises the dangers to the mental and moral health of the adolescent which incarceration at Crouy presents. After procuring his release Antoine is entrusted by his father with the responsibility of caring for his brother. His immediate aim is to revive the spirit of Jacques and to reintegrate him into society. As Boak<sup>(2)</sup> suggests, the restoration of Jacques's will after his dehumanising experiences at the penitentiary where, it is hinted, he has suffered the homosexual attentions of his guards, is stated mainly in sexual terms. It is Lisbeth Fruhling, the niece of the conciergerie of the Thibaults who, at the urging of Antoine, becomes the instrument of Jacques's sexual liberation. But, as well, Antoine arranges a study programme which will enable his brother to resume his schooling and provides him with the independence he needs to mature. Unlike his father Antoine believes

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(1) Ibid, p. 667.

(2) D. Boak, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 71.

that Jacques's life - energy must not be restrained:  
 'Il avait conscience que la nature de Jacques était  
 riche, et qu'il y avait fort à gagner à la laisser se  
 développer à sa guise et dans son propre sens.'<sup>(1)</sup>

The gradual reawakening of Jacques's personality which  
 takes place in the latter part of Le Pénitencier is  
 accompanied by a renewal of the antagonism towards the  
 father: 'Il avait le sentiment que l'injustice passée  
 ne serait jamais effacée...'<sup>(2)</sup>

In La Belle Saison which resumes the narrative  
 after five years have elapsed, one finds that Jacques,  
 now aged twenty, has been unable to gain equilibrium  
 and balance. He is filled with a savage hatred of the  
 oppressive forces of society and a desire to:

...stimuler les forces de destruction  
 qui s'agitaient en lui, se jeter, de toute  
 sa rancune, contre... - il n'aurait su dire  
 quoi - contre l'existence toute faite, la  
 morale, la famille, la société! Rancune  
 ancienne, qui datait de son enfance;  
 sentiment confus d'avoir été un être  
 méconnu, auquel étaient dus certains  
 égards, et auquel, sans répit, tout le  
 genre humain avait manqué.<sup>(3)</sup>

The bitterness he feels towards his father is now  
 projected onto the society which his father represents  
 and he revolts against the middle-class attitudes  
 towards worldly success, property and position. At  
 Maisons-Laffitte, where the Thibaults as well as the  
 Fontanins spend the summer holidays, he reaches the  
 decision to break with his past - a decision which is

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 766.

(2) Ibid, p. 767.

(3) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 818.

precipitated not only by his unwillingness to compromise with bourgeois conventions but also by the ambivalence of his relations with his sorellina, Gise, and Jenny de Fontanin. Thereafter, Jacques disappears from the family for three years, until his reappearance in La Sorellina.

The later developments in Jacques's life are firmly linked with the inadequacies of his home background. His continuing instability and inability to achieve satisfactory human relationships are related to the emotional unresponsiveness of his father and to the severe deprivations he had suffered in his family environment and in the penitentiary at Crouy. The analysis which Antoine makes of his brother's personality in the Epilogue would seem to support the suggestion that these deficiencies in his formation have arrested his emotional and social growth at the adolescent stage of development.

Je pense à Jacques... Juvenile: épithète qui lui convenait si bien! N'a jamais été qu'un adolescent. (Voir dans les dictionnaires les caractères typiques de l'adolescent. Il les avait tous: fougue, excessivité, pudeur, audace et timidité, et le goût des abstractions, et l'horreur des demi-mesures, et ce charme que donne l'inaptitude au scepticisme...) Aurait-il été, dans son âge mûr, autre chose qu'un vieil adolescent?(1)

The conflict between father and son has, as has been mentioned, broadened into a rejection by Jacques of the values and ideals of Oscar Thibault's social class. Involvement in socialism is the logical outcome of this alienation with the milieu in which he has

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 931.

been brought up and the events in L'Eté 1914 concern Jacques's participation in revolutionary groups which are implacably opposed to the bourgeois ideologies. Yet, as a socialist militant who finally gives his life for his cause in an abortive mission to halt the war by dropping leaflets over the front lines, Jacques retains the imprint of his middle-class familial education. He is unable to escape the weight of his bourgeois heritage. As Wood points out, Martin du Gard's characters are prisoners of their environment and although Jacques seeks freedom from what he feels to be the hypocritical attitudes and the materialistic values of his background, his efforts are doomed to failure.

His characters belong to the bourgeoisie; they have their roots in a certain kind of society, from which they derive their ideas and to which they react. According to their temperament they will be more or less passive recipients of an accepted scale of values, more or less hostile, or more or less ready to accept a compromise. But all of them, men or women, measure the present and the future against the heritage of the past; none of them, not even the rebel Jacques can completely sever the roots from which they have sprung.(1)

Hence, in Switzerland where he has fled from his family in an attempt to lose his old identity Jacques discovers after his meeting with his brother the indissolubility of the ties which bind him to his family.

Il venait d'apercevoir combien vite il se rattachait malgré lui à son frère...et, par ce frère, à tout le passé! Hier, encore, un fossé infranchissable...Et la moitié d'un jour avait suffi...Il crispa

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(1) J. Wood, 'Roger Martin du Gard', French Studies, vol. XIV, no. 2, April 1960, p. 133.

les poings, baissa la tête, et se tut.(1)

His inability to suppress his emotional and intellectual attachment to the past prevents him from becoming a true revolutionary. Through the process of familial education which has indoctrinated him with the culture of the bourgeoisie he remains fundamentally élitiste in his attitudes and beliefs. His acceptance of socialist doctrine is filled with contradictions. His proud idealism and burning sense of justice attract him to the socialist cause but he is unable to share the total condemnation of middle-class values of the more sectarian socialists and he retains doubts about the possibilities of founding a new and better society by systematically destroying all vestiges of the middle-class civilisation.

Lui, il ne parvenait pas - bien qu'il fût, autant que ses camarades, persuadé que, dans le domaine de la civilisation, la bourgeoisie avait atteint le terme de sa mission historique - il ne parvenait pas à accepter la suppression systématique et radicale de cette culture bourgeoise dont il se sentait encore tout pénétré. Il se mettait à la défendre dans ce qu'elle avait de meilleur, d'éternel, une sorte d'aristocratie intellectuelle, très française...(2)

One notes that if Jacques claims that since the age of twelve or thirteen he has been in revolt against the world of his father which with its bonnes oeuvres, its paternalistic benevolence towards inferiors, its example of energy and diligence, is the world of the possessors, the '...jouisseurs...' who lead 'une vie de

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(1) La Sorellina, O.C. I, pp. 1249-50.

(2) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 35.

privilégies...'<sup>(1)</sup> nevertheless, he cannot prevent himself from feeling a deep-rooted respect for the material comforts with which the bourgeois surrounds himself. Hence, when he visits Antoine at the family home on his return to Paris from Geneva his reaction to Antoine's redecoration of the house with his share of the inheritance is hostility towards 'la vanité aristocratique du bourgeois'<sup>(2)</sup> mingled with '...une pointe d'envie'<sup>(3)</sup> as he compares this opulent installation with the bare room which he rents.

Jacques, whose upbringing has both caused his rebellion against his milieu and prevented his full identification with other groups, is a victim of determinism. His isolation, his restless spirit and his instability prepare him for the apparent absurdity of his death. He, himself, sees that his final gesture, the flight over the trenches with Meynestrel, will not achieve its pacifist objectives, but in a mystical sense this act is the only means of his salvation. "Je ne sauverai personne, personne d'autre que moi-même.... Avoir raison contre tous! Et s'évader dans la mort..."<sup>(4)</sup>

His solution to the conflicts and contradictions of personality which have originated in his childhood experiences is, in effect, suicide - a means of escape from his inner turmoil and the hostility of society which he had considered as a child at the moment of his

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(1) Ibid, p. 153.

(2) Ibid, p. 123.

(3) Ibid, p. 123.

(4) Ibid, p. 706.

recapture by the police at Toulon. (1)

From the beginning, Antoine Thibault's development proceeds in a different direction from that of his younger brother. There is significance in his position in the family as the elder son, the one in whom the father tends to concentrate his hopes and ambitions for the future and who incarnates the youthful love of the parents. As well, as the elder son in the family, Antoine feels a sense of responsibility for his younger brother and his efforts to re-educate Jacques with sympathy and understanding in Le Pénitencier is the first step in the breaking down of his egotistical self-interest, a process which will be continued with his love affair with Rachel Goepfert and completed by his war experiences which bring him closer to suffering humanity. Another important factor which must be taken into account is the experience which he had had of his mother's love during his formative years. The feeling '...de tendre chaleur' (2) which Antoine experiences as he gazes at the photograph of his mother amongst his father's papers suggests that the mother-child relationship has been warm and gratifying.

Nevertheless, Antoine also suffers from his experience of familial education. The desire of the boy to feel secure in his father's love and attention is frustrated by the father's coolness and aloofness. The inflexible discipline to which the child is subject

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(1) See Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 652.

(2) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1329.

prevents him from coming close to his father and establishing a strong identification with him. Later, Antoine will declare that there had been no real communication between father and son - '...entre ce père et ce fils, aucun langage pour communiquer, aucune possibilité d'échange: deux étrangers!' (1)

The reaction of Antoine to his father has a similarity with that of Jacques but without the intensity of his brother's revolt. There is a certain ambivalence in the filial attachment. At one moment he affirms his loyalty and devotion to his father, the next he is filled with '...une haine subite...' and he exclaims '- "Rassurez-vous, Madame: je n'aimais pas mon père." (2) Similarly, although he does not break out into open rebellion, there is in his relationship with his father a concealed hostility betrayed in his speech by '...une façon provocante de faire sonner la fin de ses phrases, qui fouetta la colère de M. Thibault'. (3)

However, better balanced and less impulsive than Jacques, Antoine finds a positive means of asserting his individuality and winning independence from paternal domination; his escape from his father's influence is in the exercise of his vocation as a doctor. But even in this choice of a career Antoine is directed by forces and drives from his home background. For Antoine medicine is less an avenue of

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(1) Ibid, p. 1344.

(2) Ibid, p. 1314,

(3) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 721.

service than a way of developing his culte du moi.

Descloux comments on this point:

...Malgré tout ce qu'il rejette, Antoine demeure dans les grandes lignes un Thibault à l'image du père. Tout ce qui l'entoure: l'austérité de l'habitat, la rigueur du ton, l'attention de la maison pliée à l'autorité paternelle, tout cela contribue à faire naître l'idée du respect. Il sera grand, important, respecté avant tout.(1)

The élan of the Thibaults, their pride of race and sense of tribal superiority, manifest themselves in different ways in each of the Thibaults, but they share this same need to achieve greatness - Oscar Thibault seeks grandeur as a philanthropist and a pillar of the Church, Jacques as a revolutionary and a martyr and Antoine as a medical specialist. But if Antoine like his father is excessively ambitious and filled with an inflated sense of his own importance, even to the extent of appearing to Jacques to be taking on the pomposity of manner and the '...ton prudhommesque...'(2) of Oscar Thibault, he is, for all that, a man of bonne volonté. He is not the predatory bourgeois of the fiction of Flaubert, the exploiter who ruthlessly uses others to satisfy his greed for power and wealth - although it is true that after he receives the inheritance from his father he succumbs temporarily to the '...empoisonnement par l'argent'(3) and briefly experiences '...le plaisir de dominer, par l'argent'.(4)

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(1) A. Descloux, Psychanalyse du docteur Thibault, p. 88.

(2) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 152.

(3) Épilogue, O.C. II, p. 820.

(4) Ibid, p. 821.

Antoine's ambitions are channelled into socially useful activity - he chooses a conformist role to make his way in life, consistent with his sense of responsibility and duty. As he says of himself in the Epilogue:

'...J'avais très fort le sentiment, - éducation chrétienne? - du mérite et du démérite.'<sup>(1)</sup> Although he shares with his father social myopia and political complacency in the pre-war period, he bears also the imprint of the strong sense of social obligation of Oscar Thibault, who, proud of his position in the classe aisée, recognised that '...cette aisance impose certains devoirs...'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Thus, with his prudence and balance - 'ce fameux équilibre d'Antoine',<sup>(3)</sup> - his respect for order and convention and his determination to succeed by his own efforts, Antoine is closely identified with the attitudes and values of the middle-class home in which he was formed.

The upbringing of Antoine and Jacques Thibault in the haute société catholique is contrasted with that of Daniel and Jenny de Fontanin in the haute société protestante. As educators Oscar Thibault and Thérèse de Fontanin would be placed at opposite ends of the restrictive - permissive continuum. For Mme de Fontanin, as it is for M. Thibault, the attitude which the parent must take towards the education of children

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(1) Ibid, p. 958.

(2) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1152.

(3) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 143.

is dictated by a system of religious beliefs. As a Protestant, a member of the Church of Christ, Scientist, her emphasis is on nonconformism and personal freedom as against Oscar Thibault's rigid Catholicism. For this reason neither of her children is bound by the prohibitions which are placed on the members of the Thibault family by their tyrannical father. The stern discipline and harsh punishments which Oscar Thibault considers essential to character formation have no place in her philosophy. Her way is love and tolerance. She believes that the child should not be forced to obey the will of his parents as finally the destiny of the child is in God's hands. Her faith has taught her resignation to the will of God, as is seen in the prayer that comes to her lips in moments of crisis: 'que Ta volonté soit faite',<sup>(1)</sup> Thérèse de Fontanin's reluctance to attempt to interfere with God's plan is described by Daniel in the following passage:

C'est avec ces principes-là, que tu as toujours laissé...les autres...suivre seuls et librement leur destinée, sans intervenir, - même quand la voie qu'ils suivaient étaient manifestement mauvaise, - même quand cette destinée ne pouvait apporter que de la souffrance dans leur vie...et dans la tienne!(2)

The reference which Daniel makes to les autres is clearly directed at the father, Jérôme de Fontanin, to whom the children feel hostility as the outsider in the foyer, but the remarks could equally be applied to the mother-child relationship.

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(1) L'Ete' 1914, O.C. II, p. 193.

(2) Ibid, p. 288.

There is a great disparity between the way she regards her children and the way Oscar Thibault regards his. When M. Thibault reads in Jacques's cahier the correspondence between his son and Daniel he immediately suspects a homosexual relationship. Mme de Fontanin, however, instinctively rejects any condemnation of her son. It is only with reluctance that she brings herself to accept that her children could lie to her. She tends to expect the best from Daniel and Jenny whereas Oscar Thibault is alert for signs of immorality in his sons. Similarly, her forgiveness contrasts with Oscar Thibault's stern administration of justice. Daniel, for instance, is certain that his mother would have pardoned him for the disgrace into which he had fallen following the discovery of the cahier gris and would have taken his side against the school authorities if he had gone to her for help.

...Pas un instant, il n'avait pu se débarrasser de cette certitude, que si, au lieu de fuir, il avait couru tout expliquer à sa mère... elle l'eût protégé contre tous, et rien de mal ne iût arrivé.(1)

When they are discovered by the police at an inn on the road to Toulon, Daniel is relieved: 'C'était fini! Déjà sa mère le savait vivant, l'attendait. Il lui demanderait pardon; et ce pardon effacerait tout...'(2)

This contrasts with Jacques's desperate thoughts of suicide as he envisages parental retribution.

But Mme de Fontanin's stress on the liberty of the

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 639.

(2) Ibid, p. 652.

individual does not necessarily mean that she adopts a laissez-faire attitude towards the education of her children in the home. Her principal concern is for the moral and spiritual welfare of Daniel and Jenny. For her the quality of life is of paramount importance. Hence, her aim is to '...inculquer aux enfants...qu'il n'y a rien de plus précieux que la vie, et qu'elle est incroyablement courte.'<sup>(1)</sup> From their mother, the daughter of Pastor Perrier of the Church of Christ, Scientist, Daniel and Jenny de Fontanin would gain their moral scruples. The moral demands that she makes of herself and of her children are as exacting as those of Oscar Thibault, although they are couched in different terms. It is because their relationship with their mother is so close that they are receptive to her teaching, whereas the deep-rooted antagonisms which Oscar Thibault arouses in his sons inhibit introjection of the father's values. The effect of his mother's example is seen in Daniel's '...manie d'évaluation morale...'.<sup>(2)</sup> During his adolescence he is stricken by feelings of guilt, torn between his conscience and his strong sexual appetites. One notes that after his sexual initiation by a young woman at Marseilles, he is overwhelmed by a sense of shame. Later, for two years after he had left school, Daniel suffers a series of '...crises de scrupules...'.<sup>(3)</sup> His eventual liberation from his mother's moral influence is due to

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 792.  
 (2) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 830.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 828.

factors over which Thérèse de Fontanin has no control - the predisposition to sensuality and the contagion of his father's example, although the immediate cause is the reading of Gide's Les Nourritures terrestres.

Les sentiments, auxquels jusqu'alors il ne s'abandonnait qu'à contre-volonté, se libérèrent soudain et prirent joyeusement la première place; cette nuit-là, en quelques heures, se trouva renversée l'échelle des valeurs que, depuis son enfance, il croyait immuable.(1)

The moral imprint of the mother's Protestantism is more enduring in the case of Jenny. Her hypersensitivity and lack of confidence may also stem from a desire to emulate her mother's moral example. Although like Daniel she has not come to share her mother's religious beliefs, she bears the mark of her upbringing in her '...raideur protestante...'.(2) At each lapse she suffers from her inadequacy. It seems likely that the mysterious fever which afflicts Jenny in Le Cahier gris, following Daniel's disappearance, is intended to appear psychosomatic (though the melodramatic circumstances surrounding her cure by the faith-healer, Pastor Gregory, when she is on the brink of death, cast some doubt on the medical or psychological validity of a reaction of this intensity). Her illness appears to be partly motivated by her anxiety for her brother, but one could also postulate that a further cause lies in her deliberate deception of her mother and the weight of the secret on the child's mind. Before leaving, Daniel had

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(1) Ibid, p. 830

(2) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 844.

made Jenny promise that she would not tell their mother that she knew of his plans. Her fever develops from the moment she tells her first lie to her mother - that she had not seen Daniel return home on the Sunday morning. Although she deceives Antoine by her innocent replies, Mme de Fontanin glimpses her inner torment.

Elle s'assit et se releva presque aussitôt. Son visage était tourmenté. "Elle sait, elle sait, maintenant j'en suis sûre!" s'écria-t-elle soudain. "Et je sens aussi qu'elle mourrait plutôt que de laisser échapper son secret."<sup>(1)</sup>

Jenny is frightened by the strength of her emotional responses as is seen in the development of her relationship with Jacques Thibault. Her inhibitions prevent her from responding to his advances when at Maisons-Laffitte in La Belle Saison their common interests have drawn them together. The consciousness that she is attracted to Jacques is profoundly disturbing for her.

La honte l'oppressait, empêchait les larmes de monter jusqu'aux yeux. Et elle était dominée par un sentiment nouveau: la peur. La peur d'elle-même.<sup>(2)</sup>

Later in L'Été 1914 when she reviews her past life she remembers '...son enfance inquiète et scrupuleuse...'.<sup>(3)</sup>

Mme de Fontanin's efforts are also directed to the intellectual side of her children's development. At the beginning of Le Penitencier we see her reading aloud to her children. Literature is obviously more highly prized in the Fontanin household than in the home of Oscar Thibault. Madame de Fontanin appears to

- (1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 595.  
 (2) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 967.  
 (3) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 374.

read widely; apart from moral works and the Bible which she habitually consults for comfort and guidance, she reads English as well as French novelists. There appear to be no restrictions on her children's reading. Indeed it is from Daniel that Jacques Thibault has borrowed Rousseau's Confessions and Zola's La Faute de l'abbé Mouret which are discovered in his desk at the Ecole.

Along with the majority of parents of the bourgeoisie in the romans-fleuves, Thérèse de Fontanin believes in the importance of formal education. The mother's pride in her son's scholastic achievements at his lycée is revealed when she shows to Antoine her trésors. 'Dans un tiroir de son secrétaire, gisaient, alignées, une vingtaine de couronnes de laurier en carton peint.'<sup>(1)</sup> Jenny is taught at home by an institutrice. To Jacques's gibe that education is of little importance to a girl Jenny replies: 'Ce n'est pas l'avis de maman. Ni de Daniel.'<sup>(2)</sup> Yet, consistent with her belief that each individual has a right to follow his own way, Mme de Fontanin does not oppose Daniel's decision to leave school once he has obtained his baccalauréat. Nor does the period from sixteen to eighteen when, temporarily disorientated, he spends his time in sketching, bring from her any reproach, despite the fact that the family resources are already strained by her husband's

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 806.

(2) Ibid, p. 800.

prodigality.

Apart from reading, other cultural and recreational pursuits are encouraged in the Fontanin home. Whereas Oscar Thibault dismisses artistic accomplishments as trivial, Thérèse de Fontanin approves of cultural activities. Jenny is a proficient pianist and, as in the case of Cécile Pasquier, the music of Beethoven or Chopin is for her a means of release from inner tensions. At Maisons-Laffitte the Fontanins as well as the Thibaults are members of a tennis club. This, indeed, is one of the rare occasions in which a reference to sport is made in the romans-fleuves. Tennis appears to meet with the approval of these parents of the bourgeoisie primarily for social class reasons. Mme de Fontanin evidently sees in the tennis club an opportunity for Jenny, whose social circle is restricted, to meet other young people of her milieu.

It may be seen, then, that Thérèse de Fontanin has conscientiously endeavoured to provide a free and generous education for her children. In the contrast between her child-rearing practices and those of Oscar Thibault it is her openness and her forgiving nature that gains the sympathy of the reader, particularly at a time when the cold, rejecting home climate is considered to have a harmful effect on the child's mental health.<sup>(1)</sup> Yet, one must remember that if Antoine and Jacques Thibault have difficulties of adjustment the

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(1) See K. Bernhardt, Discipline and Child Guidance, pp. 149-50.

same is equally true of Daniel and Jenny de Fontanin.

It has been suggested that Thérèse de Fontanin is a permissive parent. This is true to the extent that she will not stand in the way of her children if they have decided on a course of action. Nevertheless, she effectively limits the extent to which they can initiate independent action by her emotional domination. Her children are closely bound to her and it would appear that this warm relationship which she has cultivated with her children is as restrictive on their thoughts and actions as Oscar Thibault's overt authority over Antoine and Jacques. In practice she is over-solicitous and despite her conscious aim to allow her children the maximum of independence, this results in a loss of personal freedom, as is seen in the following passage:

...Si Daniel s'avisait de vouloir relever les bûches croulantes, sa mère, avec un geste joueur, lui enlevait prestement les pincettes des mains: "Non, non", disait-elle en riant, "laisse, tu ne connais pas les mœurs du feu!"(1)

Verville<sup>(2)</sup> suggests that this kind of mother domination may have a harmful effect on the child as the emotional dependency on the mother may cause him to distrust his own abilities.

In some ways one may regard Mme de Fontanin as a victim of circumstances. If her home is strongly matriarchal just as Oscar Thibault's is patriarchal,

(1) L'Eté 1914, O.C. II, p. 374.

(2) See E. Verville, Behaviour Problems of Children, pp. 381-2.

this is largely because of the character of the father, Jérôme de Fontanin, who has opted out of his parental responsibilities and who retains little of his own Protestant upbringing except vague regrets at his libertine existence and at the way in which he has squandered his fortune and reputation. Mme de Fontanin's motives for her decision to isolate the children from her husband's influence are mixed. Her stated reason is that his example would be injurious.

"Le mal que vous m'avez fait, Jérôme, il ne m'atteint plus, moi seule, dans mon... affection: il entre ici avec vous, il est dans l'air de notre maison, il est dans l'air que respirent mes enfants. Je ne le supporterai pas. Voyez ce qu'a fait Daniel cette semaine... Je suis sûre que votre exemple l'a aidé à faire le mal. Serait-il parti aussi facilement, sans souci de mon inquiétude, s'il ne vous voyait disparaître sans cesse... pour vos affaires?"(1)

One notes in this passage, in the reference to 'mes enfants', an unmistakable element of exclusiveness. This is confirmed after the death of Jérôme: 'Sans qu'elle se l'avouât, la disparition de Jérôme éclaircissait l'horizon. Dorénavant, elle serait seule et libre, entre ses deux enfants...'(2) Like Mme Pasquier she needs the continual demonstration of her children's love, possibly as a compensation for her marital misfortunes. One sees how in Le Pénitencier she insists that Daniel embrace her in front of Antoine, thus proving her emotional hold over her son.(3)

Further evidence that their attachment to their

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, pp. 662-3.

(2) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 286.

(3) See Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 794.

mother has influenced their attitudes is seen in the way in which the children regard their father. For both there is a tension between their need for a father's love and the feeling that to express this would be an act of disloyalty to their mother. Hence, although Daniel is strongly attracted to the masculine role which his father represents, he still retains some vestiges of the '...tendresse exclusive, jalouse...' (1) which he had felt for his mother in early childhood. Jenny also feels both love and hate for her father.

Jenny avait vécu, toute son enfance, si près de sa mère, qu'elle avait très jeune, subi le contrecoup des souffrances maternelles, et qu'elle avait, très jeune, porté sur son père un jugement sans indulgence. (2)

It is Daniel who is shown to be most affected by the influence of Jérôme de Fontanin. Throughout Les Thibault Martin du Gard demonstrates his belief in the strength of atavistic forces. The characters revert to type. Thus, Antoine and Jacques Thibault discover in themselves the characteristics and traits of Oscar Thibault and Daniel finds that he shares the sensual nature of his father. But if Daniel does have these predispositions to act in certain ways, Martin du Gard makes his behaviour all the more credible by emphasising factors in his upbringing which would magnify these congenital conditions. As has been seen, a careful psychological foundation has been laid for Daniel's personality development. If in childhood he was drawn

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 656.

(2) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 984.

close to his mother, in adolescence his need to free himself from libidinal attachment to his mother and forge his own identity makes him more aware of the masculine role model which his father represents and by the process of identification he unconsciously adopts his father's behavioural patterns. His later development, certainly, closely parallels his father's search for erotic experience until emasculation from a shrapnel wound in the war leaves him embittered and withdrawn. Yet if Daniel's immaturity and inability to adapt himself to the practical realities of life appear to be primarily the result of his father's influence one must also recognise that Mme de Fontanin has indirectly prepared him for the life of a voluptuary by her over-attentiveness and her indulgence. Thus, Jenny tells Antoine in the Epilogue when they discuss Daniel's refusal to emerge from his self-pitying isolation: "Daniel a toujours eu la vie trop facile... Tout lui était dû." (1) It is the mother who has fed his egotism and developed in him the habit of expecting others to gratify his needs. Her unhealthy attachment to her son which in itself is an expression of the deep sensuality which attracts her to males, as is seen in her relationship with Jérôme and Antoine Thibault, contributes towards his sense of superiority and of sexual dominance over women.

If Daniel's moral and emotional growth is profoundly influenced by the home environment, this is

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 846.

also true in the case of Jenny de Fontanin. Her insecurity and introspectiveness would seem to be closely linked with her isolation in the family. Daniel emphasises her loneliness when he describes her as a "Petite âme mal poussée, mal partie, sans équilibre, ... trop mûrie par la réflexion, la solitude, les lectures..."<sup>(1)</sup> Jenny suffers from her position in the family as the psychologically rejected child. Magny provides this valuable insight into the relationship of mother and daughter in the Fontanin home:

Pour qui aime Jenny, il est évident que Mme de Fontanin n'est pas la mère admirable qu'elle paraît; elle ne comprend sa fille, ni ne la préfère véritablement; au fond, c'est Daniel seul (et Jérôme), les mâles de la famille, sans que Jenny puisse éviter de le sentir confusément et d'en souffrir; et si Jenny est à ce point timide et rétractée, devant Jacques comme devant toutes choses, c'est qu'elle a toujours été la petite fille que personne n'aime.<sup>(2)</sup>

Like Jacques Thibault, Jenny feels alienated from her family. She is separated from her father by his absences from the foyer and senses that Daniel is the preferred child of her mother. Although Daniel and Jenny appear to coexist harmoniously in the family scenes in Le Cahier gris, Le Penitencier and La Belle Saison, it is suggested that no deep understanding has developed between them.

Ah! c'avait toujours été une souffrance de l'aimer tant, ce grand frère et de n'avoir jamais trouvé rien à lui dire, rien qui pût faire tomber une bonne fois ces cloisons que la vie, leurs natures, que leur fraternité peut-être, élevaient contre eux!<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 983.

(2) C.-E. Magny, Histoire du roman français depuis 1918, vol. I, pp. 326-7.

(3) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 266.

A further contributing factor to the feeling of loneliness which Jenny experiences is the absence of adequate peer association. Jenny has been brought up as a Protestant and is a member of a family which would appear to have few intimate friends except Pastor Gregory, because of the father's poor reputation. In Le Cahier gris Oscar Thibault refers to this social unacceptability of the Fontanins. "A Maisons, personne ne les reçoit; c'est tout juste si on les salue."<sup>(1)</sup> Jenny's social contacts, therefore, are severely limited. Moreover, unlike her brother she is kept at home by her mother and receives her education privately. Her lack of opportunity to develop relationships with her peers which would help her to practise social techniques, would seem to be at the heart of her nervousness in the company of others and her tendency to withdraw into herself and to be '...indéchiffrable'.<sup>(2)</sup>

The situation in which Jenny de Fontanin finds herself has a basic similarity with that of Jacques Thibault. Both feel that their position in the family is marginal and that the attention of their parents is centred on their elder brothers; both also are alienated from their social group. The love of Jacques and Jenny which ripens from its adolescent beginnings in La Belle Saison to its consummation in L'Eté 1914 is, in effect, the union of two solitudes.

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 585.

(2) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 881.

Apart from the relationships in the Thibault and the Fontanin families little is seen of the interaction in other middle-class families. However, in two of the homes closely connected with the Thibaults and the Fontanins one sees the effect on the child of the unfaithful wife. The prodigal husband who endangers the security of the foyer is a theme studied by Duhamel, but the promiscuous middle-class wife who neglects her children is a figure foreign to the romans-fleuves of Duhamel and Romain. Noémie Petit-Dutrenil, the cousin of Thérèse de Fontanin, is another of Jérôme's conquests and the decision of the daughter, Nicole, to leave home is precipitated by the knowledge of this liaison. However, an even more disturbing portrait of the lack of maternal sentiment is found in the descriptions of Anne de Battaincourt - '...la terrible Anna...' (1) as Jacques describes her in La Belle Saison. Wilful, independent, selfish, Anne de Battaincourt, who becomes the mistress of Antoine in L'Été 1914, abandons the care of her invalid daughter to her husband and her governess while she leads the life of a mondaine at Paris. It is the second husband, Simon de Battaincourt, cut off from his Protestant upper-class family by his decision to marry against their wishes a woman fourteen years his senior with a reputation as an adventuress, who provides the affection and understanding for his step-daughter that the mother refuses, and who teaches

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(1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 929.

the child at Berck French, history and geography. There is also in La Belle Saison a brief glimpse of the lower middle-class family of Chasle, the secretary of Oscar Thibault. The members of this family are grotesque figures. The mother of Chasle is irascible and tyrannical and forces her adult son, whom she habitually addresses as 'Dadais', to endure humiliation and servitude.

As in Chronique des Pasquier, the novel-cycle concludes with a consideration of the attitudes towards familial education of the second generation of parents. Jacques's death in August 1914 leaves Jenny to care alone for their son, Jean-Paul. Jenny, as Antoine discovers during his convalescence with the Fontanins in the early summer of 1918 at Maisons-Laffitte, has not been crushed by the shock of Jacques's death or the stigma of bearing an illegitimate child. On the contrary, with maturity Jenny has gained assurance and balance and now begins to resemble her mother in manner and appearance. She finds fulfilment in her role as a mother and lavishes upon Jean-Paul an attentive care. Jenny, though, has a clear view of the difficulties facing her as a solo parent in rearing her child.

"Le devoir qui me reste est lourd", dit-elle, "faire de Jean-Paul ce que Jacques aurait voulu faire de son fils. Par instants, ça m'épouvante..." Elle releva le front: une lueur d'orgueil glissa dans son regard. Elle semblait penser; "Mais j'ai confiance en moi." Elle dit: - "Mais j'ai confiance en ce petit!"(1)

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(1) Epilogue, OCII p. 839.

Education is a central issue in the concluding volume of Les Thibault - Jenny is concerned that Jean-Paul might receive the advantages of a good '...éducation française...';<sup>(1)</sup> Gise, who now lives with the Fontanins, is troubled by Jenny's refusal to allow the child a traditional religious upbringing: "'Qu'elle en fasse un petit protestant, si elle veut! Mais qu'elle n'élève pas le fils de Jacques comme un chien!";<sup>(2)</sup> and Antoine's thoughts are never far from the child and the importance of '...une éducation convenable...';<sup>(3)</sup> which would release in him the inner strength of the Thibaults.

Jenny demonstrates in her conversations with Antoine that she has studied her child and attempted to understand his nature. Not only does Jean-Paul resemble his father in physical appearance but also he has inherited identical patterns of behaviour. Indeed, with this insistence in the Epilogue that the three-year-old child should present an exact replication of his father's characteristics, Martin du Gard's atavism, one suggests, strains credibility. However, Jenny, in her interaction with the infant is determined not to repeat the mistakes of Oscar Thibault by applying harsh restraints to his strong will and independent spirit, this '...force intérieure irrésistible...'.<sup>(4)</sup> Punitive measures, she declares, increase his stubbornness, but affection and attention gain his confidence.

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(1) Ibid, p. 882.

(2) Ibid, p. 797.

(3) Ibid, p. 915.

(4) Ibid, p. 840.

Yet one detects in Jenny's warm nurturing of her son the same possessive love which her mother had shown towards her children. Here, there is a further example of the working of atavistic influences and hereditary forces which re-create the patterns of the past. Like Thérèse de Fontanin, Jenny finds satisfaction in a fatherless family situation in which she has exclusive rights to the child's affection. Her firm refusal to accept Antoine's offer of marriage to legitimatise the child, is motivated, one suspects, less by respect for Jacques's memory or scorn of bourgeois conventions of marriage, than by her reluctance to share her child with an outsider. Thus, Jenny will rear her son in an environment as potentially harmful for the child's psychological and social growth as that in which she had been formed.

Antoine is attracted to the child who reminds him so insistently of his brother. His observations of Jean-Paul at play are recorded with the detail of the trained observer of child behaviour, particularly the two incidents which highlight the infant's stubbornness and refusal to be directed - his persistent attempts to climb out of a ditch and his rage when Antoine declines to allow him to touch his knife. It becomes obvious to the onlooker that Jean-Paul possesses the élan of the Thibaults.

"L'énergie des Thibault", songea Antoine complaisamment. "Chez mon père, autorité, goût de domination... Chez Jacques, impétuosité, rébellion... Chez moi, opiniâtreté. Et

maintenant? Cette force que ce petit a dans le sang, quelle forme va-t-elle prendre?"(1)

During the last few weeks of his life Antoine's thoughts continually turn to the education of Jean-Paul. In analysing the reasons for his interest in the child's upbringing, he lays bare some of the deeper motivations behind the process of education. A primary motive is a sense of duty, a feeling of responsibility for the child's welfare because of their blood relationship. The child is a Thibault by nature if not in name and Antoine considers that he must make an attempt to instruct him how to utilise the inner strength which his father, uncle and grandfather have possessed. For Antoine there is the hope that in Jean-Paul the mingling of the two heredities, the vigour and élan of the Thibaults and the generosity and warmth of the Fontanins, might produce the culmination of the Thibault race which has been slowly ascending from its farming origins in Normandy.

Et pourquoi cet enfant ne serait-il pas le prédestiné? l'aboutissement de l'obscur effort de la race pour fabriquer un type parfait de l'espèce Thibault?(2)

Hence, in his diary Antoine composes notes addressed to his nephew which are designed to help him reach his destiny : on vocation (8 August), truth (14 August), morality (20 August), use of his life-force (29 August), personality (7 September).

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(1) Ibid, p. 869.

(2) Ibid, p. 920.

Antoine foresees grave dangers which could affect Jean-Paul's development. He seeks by his counsel to counteract the effects of Jean-Paul's indoctrination by Jenny with Jacques's 'doctrine' - or at least his supposed system of political and social views as neither Antoine or Jenny appear to realise fully the hesitations and doubts that had marked Jacques's attitudes to socialism. However, Antoine is anxious that Jean-Paul should avoid the intellectual blindness of the doctrinaire and he is convinced that the 'doctrine' which Jenny is determined to teach her son in his father's memory is '*...plus dangereuse...pour le développement d'un jeune cerveau, que l'exemple oisif de l'oncle Dane, ou que le chauvinisme à courte vue de la grand-mère*'.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus, Antoine warns his nephew to retain his intellectual freedom: 'Ne te laisse pas affilier'.<sup>(2)</sup> Also, he believes that in the aftermath of the war the social conditions will make it harder for the boy to develop into an homme de valeur. Like a middle-class bon père de famille he enjoins his nephew to accept a 'discipline patiente'<sup>(3)</sup> and not to reject the counsel of those who pass on the accumulated wisdom of the preceding generations. 'Je voudrais...que tu ne rejettes pas trop impatiemment les avis de tes maîtres, de ceux qui t'entourent, qui t'aiment.'<sup>(4)</sup>

But behind this final role of educator which Antoine adopts there are more personal reasons. For

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(1) Ibid, p. 848.

(2) Ibid, p. 982

(3) Ibid, p. 967.

(4) Ibid, p. 950.

him there is the feeling that to pass on to the next generation what one has received - 'Assurer la continuité... Transmettre ce qu'on a reçu, - le transmettre amélioré, enrichi' <sup>(1)</sup> - gives sense and purpose to life. There is in Antoine a 'besoin superbe de lutter contre l'effacement, de laisser son empreinte'. <sup>(2)</sup> Like his father he determinedly endeavours to ensure for himself a kind of immortality. One remembers the horror of disappearing without trace which Oscar Thibault had experienced. Throughout his life he had endeavoured to create symbols of his presence which would resist the passage of time - the Fondation Oscar-Thibault, the prize for virtue, the desire to have his hyphenated name continued by his descendants. As Borgal <sup>(3)</sup> says, the characters in Les Thibault are haunted by the fear of death. Antoine feels that this will to survive comes from his father - 'Besoin que j'ai hérité de lui. Moi aussi, secret espoir d'attacher mon nom à une oeuvre qui me prolonge, à une découverte, etc.

On n'échappe pas à son père! <sup>(4)</sup>

When he writes of his hope that Jean-Paul will one day read the notes addressed to him by his uncle and discover there his '...dernière empreinte...' <sup>(5)</sup> it becomes clear that he is seeking to perpetuate himself through Jean-Paul. Is not, then, the parent, by

{1) Ibid, p. 989.

{2) Ibid, p. 921.

{3) See C. Borgal, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 115.

{4) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 921.

{5) Ibid, p. 933.

consciously attempting to mould the child to his own ideal, not only striving to preserve the values and beliefs which he cherishes, but also trying to transmit something of himself - his personality and his character - which will endure? For Antoine who is deprived of the opportunities of fatherhood and who is denied the possibility of the continuation of his name by Jenny's steadfast refusal to marry him the role of surrogate parent which he adopts in the last weeks before his death in November 1918 is his final resource to defeat the transience of life.

It is this rich psychological detail that one finds in Martin du Gard's study of the parent-child interaction that reveals the extent to which the educative process is affected by the hidden drives and unconscious needs of both the educator and the learner.

#### THE SCHOOL:

Even if the descriptions of familial education and the study of the effects of early training in Les Thibault are more detailed than the examination of the teacher-pupil interaction and the analysis of the extent to which the school influences the development of the child, there is still in the novel-cycle a considerable place given to the school in its function of reinforcing the middle-class values and attitudes and in promoting the intellectual enrichment of the learner. In this respect the school is seen by Martin du Gard as

supplementing the cultural training given in the home and representing an important determinant of the personality.

The dédoublement which we have observed in the different reactions of Antoine and Jacques Thibault to family life - Antoine the conformist, Jacques the rebel - is again evident in the way in which the Thibaults regard formal education. The author's early difficulties of adjustment at secondary school link him with Jacques's revolt against the teaching at the Catholic Ecole which he attends as a demi-pensionnaire. In the same way, in Antoine's steady and unspectacular progress through his medical training one might recall the instruction of the young student, Roger Martin du Gard, at the Ecole des Chartes. The contrasting nature and temperament of the two Thibaults produce sharply divided views on the function of the school. Jacques's non-conformism tends to bring him into conflict with school discipline. His experience of the authoritarianism of the secondary school which leaves him with a burning hatred of teachers and a belief that the school is a social institution designed to restrict the full development of the individual, is fundamentally different from Antoine's feelings of satisfaction with the instruction which has prepared him for his position in the ruling classes. Hence, the attitudes towards the school of Jacques and Antoine Thibault highlight the two aspects of the school system between which there is constant tension - Jacques emphasises the conditioning

function of formal education and Antoine its liberating function.

Although, as regards the parent-child relationships, a wide variety of responses to family life ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> found in Les Thibault, the teacher-pupil interaction is concentrated upon the experiences in the schools of Antoine and Jacques Thibault. Only brief reference is made to the lycée education of Daniel de Fontanin, who, although an able student, shares his father's lack of ambition and fails to proceed further with his education after obtaining his baccalauréat. His sister, Jenny, does not receive formal instruction in the schools but is provided with private tuition by an institutrice in her home. However, no details are given of the content of her instruction.

A further restriction in the depiction of the learning situation stems from the social background of the Thibaults. Whereas for Laurent Pasquier the introduction to formal education is in the école primaire, for Jacques and Antoine Thibault there is direct entry to the educational institutions of the middle classes, the State lycées or the Church schools. Primary education, for this reason, is not conspicuous in the predominantly bourgeois world of the Thibaults. Indeed, only a few references are made to instituteurs or institutrices, mainly in L'Eté 1914 when Jacques mixes with those outside his social class in the socialist groups. The cleavage between the militant younger teachers imbued with international socialism and the

older generation of teachers who had preached a bellicose nationalism is emphasised. Ferry's primary schools are blamed for fomenting militarism and anti-German feeling. As Antoine's associate, Studler, says immediately prior to the outbreak of war: "Dès l'école, les gosses ont l'esprit faussé - par la façon dont on leur parle des guerres anciennes, de la gloire, du drapeau, de la Patrie... Nous payons cher, aujourd'hui, ces insanités." (1)

There is a concentration, then, on the role of the secondary school in forming élites. Just as Joseph Pasquier acts as the critic of the school system in Chronique des Pasquier, so too does Jacques Thibault underline the weaknesses in the process of education in the private and public secondary schools he attends in Les Thibault. His hostility to authority, which we have observed in his relationship with his father, makes him unable to accept the moulding process which produces élites. He is an individualist who is incapable of conforming to the dictates of any system and his rebellious nature tends to bring down upon him the full forces of repression which act in defence of the system. This is evident in the account of the inflexible discipline at the Catholic college he attends as a demi-pensionnaire in troisième at the beginning of Le Cahier gris. It is obvious that Jacques's strong will has created friction between him and his teachers and that this has made them all the more unprepared to accept his

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(1) L'Ete 1914, O.C. II, p. 483.

explanation when the entries in the cahier gris they discover hint at a homosexual relationship between him and the lycéen, Daniel de Fontanin. At the same time, the priests at the Ecole in the rue de Vaugirard appear to lack the necessary moral and intellectual qualities to handle their reluctant pupil with sympathetic understanding. They seem to share Oscar Thibault's view that the child in their care has no freedoms or rights. There is at the Ecole the same authoritarianism as in the home of the Thibaults, with severe restrictions on the child's movements, strict supervision of his reading and denial of his rights to privacy. Indeed, it is the fact that the priests have searched through his belongings and removed from his desk the cahier that contains his correspondence with Daniel that provokes Jacques's angry outburst in the office of the directeur, which results in his being placed in solitary confinement in a cellule de récitation and warned of possible expulsion.

Moreover, the directeur of the Ecole, abbé Binot, reveals himself to be hypocritical and small-minded. Jacques describes to Daniel Binot's '...air mielleux' <sup>(1)</sup> as he attempted to make the écolier reveal his guilt and he claims that the priests had deliberately exaggerated reports of his misbehaviour to ingratiate themselves with his father.

"Papa ne m'a jamais pris au sérieux.  
A l'Ecole, les abbés lui disent que je suis

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(1) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 633.

un monstre, par lèche, pour avoir l'air de se donner beaucoup de mal en élevant le fils de M. Thibault, qui a le bras long à l'Archevêché, tu comprends?"(1)

This appraisal of Binot's character is confirmed by the manner of the directeur when he informs Oscar Thibault and Antoine at the Ecole of Jacques's misdemeanours. His unctiousness is displayed when he refers to the pupil as 'le cher garçon...'(2) and attempts to minimise Jacques's part in the affair by placing the blame for the offence on the influence of the lycéen, Daniel de Fontanin, "...un camarade dangereux, comme il y en a tant, hélas, dans les lycées de l'État"(3) who, with his Protestant background and his father's reputation as '...un sauteur...'(4) has little chance of defending himself. Furthermore, Binot irritates Antoine by the description he gives of the discovery of Jacques's illicit reading material - copies of Rousseau's Confessions, Zola's La Faute de l'abbé Mouret and the translation of an Italian novel, Les Vierges aux rochers. This account delivered '...sur un ton presque joyeux'(5) and with knowing winks to Antoine creates the impression that the priest takes a genuine pleasure in ferreting out corruption. Later, the vicious side of Binot's nature is laid bare when in the presence of the Thibaults he confronts Daniel's mother. Confident that he has Oscar Thibault's support in the attack on the son of the

- 
- (1) Ibid, p. 649.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 583.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 583.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 585.  
 (5) Ibid, p. 584.

'...huguenote'<sup>(1)</sup> he cruelly thrusts the evidence of the cahier gris before her '...avec une joie de roquet bâtard'<sup>(2)</sup> and replies to her protestations of her son's innocence with '...une intonation railleuse'.<sup>(3)</sup>

While the priests of the Catholic demi-pensionnat are painted in an unsympathetic light with their bigotry and their hypocrisy, the professeurs at the Lycée Amyot, the classes of which Jacques also attends, are not exempt from criticism. When Quillard, the censeur of this lycée, is informed by the priests at the Ecole of their findings in the cahier gris, he too leaps to the conclusion that a homosexual relationship exists between the two boys, in these matters apparently having been disabused by '...la triste expérience des internats'.<sup>(4)</sup> Like Binot he bases his accusation on the tone of the letters between the two pupils, contained in the cahier gris. The slenderness of this evidence is obvious from the contents of the cahier gris when these are revealed in chapter VI. It is true that there is a certain ambiguity in phrases such as '...notre intime union',<sup>(5)</sup> Jacques's use of the term 'ô mon amour'<sup>(6)</sup> and in the references to the friendship as '...ces moments, trop rares, hélas, et trop courts, où nous sommes entièrement l'un à l'autre.'<sup>(7)</sup> However, one might interpret these equally as well as the

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- (1) Ibid, p. 601.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 599.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 600.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 585.  
 (5) Ibid, p. 620.  
 (6) Ibid, p. 621.  
 (7) Ibid, pp. 619-20.

outpourings of adolescents who grope for words to describe the deep intellectual and emotional satisfactions which their friendship brings. As O'Brien suggests, their comradeship is '...passionate...sudden... and pure'.<sup>(1)</sup> Their exclusive love is exalted by their overwhelming desire to be understood and to gain experience of the world outside the narrow confines of their families. The proof that there is no sexual element in their relationship is provided when in the hotel on the road to Toulon they are too embarrassed to undress before each other. Both Quillard and Binot, then, show in the way they handle this incident a cynical view of human nature and a tendency to act on supposition rather than on clear evidence.

The note which is intercepted between the two pupils the day before they abscond to avoid the threatened expulsions is a fair commentary on the kind of justice which they have received:

"Aux gens qui accusent lâchement et sans preuves, à ceux-là, Honte!

"HONTE ET MALHEUR!

"Toute cette intrigue est menée par une curiosité ignoble! Ils voulaient farfouiller dans notre amitié et leur procédé est infâme!(2)

Apart from the disciplinary attitudes of the teachers, other references to the way in which Jacques has been taught would seem to imply that there were serious deficiencies in his experience of formal education.

(1) J. O'Brien, The Novel of Adolescence in France, p. 160.

(2) Le Cahier gris, O.C. I, p. 627.

Judging by Binot's horrified reaction to Jacques's forbidden reading - the works of Rousseau and Zola which are discovered in the search of his desk - the range of literature taught in the Ecole would seem to be narrow. One notes that Jacques's interest in literature has been awakened not by his teachers but by Daniel. Daniel's enthusiasm for modern novelists and the Romantic poets has developed in Jacques a desire to write. In the cahier gris one observes that he has composed a poem in imitation of the Harmodius et Aristogiton, commenced an ode on martyrdom and is planning a novel. (1)

The schools have not succeeded in taming Jacques's independent spirit nor in capturing his interest through the programme of studies. He is undervalued by his teachers at both the Catholic demi-pensionnat and the lycée and considered to be a cancre. But his failure to make academic progress is not due to lack of ability; rather the cause lies in his inability to discipline his mind into conventional channels. Unlike his friend, Daniel, who is untroubled by the demands of the school - 'L'esprit clair de Daniel était en avance sur l'effort qu'on exigeait de lui', (2) Jacques refuses to adapt to the routine of school life - an attitude which earns him a certain prestige amongst his fellow pupils and even a grudging respect from his teachers.

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(1) Ibid, pp. 624-5

(2) Ibid, p. 630.

...Parmi ces enfants, dont la personnalité somnolait dans l'habitude et la discipline, auprès de ces maîtres, dont l'âge et la routine avaient usé l'énergie, ce cancre, au visage ingrat, mais qui avait des explosions de franchise et de volonté, qui paraissait vivre dans un univers de fiction, créé par lui et pour lui seul, qui n'hésitait pas à se lancer dans les aventures les plus saugrenues sans jamais en craindre les risques, ce petit monstre provoquait l'effroi, mais imposait une inconsciente estime.(1)

Jacques's unfortunate experience of formal education continues at the penitentiary at Crouy after his recapture from the mad flight to Toulon with Daniel. The reform school which Oscar Thibault has founded at Crouy with the assistance of the archdiocese of Paris is far from being a repressive bagne d'enfants as Antoine at first fears. The principal, M. Faïsme, prides himself on his liberal attitudes to the reform of young offenders and takes a lively interest in modern pedagogy. Corporal punishment is banned and the young inmates, aged between ten and eighteen, spend their time profitably learning trades and workshop skills. But the treatment of Jacques has obvious deficiencies. The middle-class child is isolated from the other inmates and confined to the pavillon spécial in the sole charge of a guard. The academic programme which he is set does not compensate for his lack of social contacts. Despite the claims of Faïsme that the pupille is studying conscientiously for eight hours each day, Antoine is informed by Jacques that the truth of the matter is that his time is spent in idleness, listening to the rambling

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(1) Ibid, p. 631.

reminiscences of the old teacher from Compiègne who is employed to supervise his secondary studies. From his examination of Jacques at the penitentiary it is evident to Antoine that without intellectual stimulus Jacques's mind is becoming dulled and that contrary to Oscar Thibault's theories of the correction and the reformation of the child through isolation, the withdrawal of the child from association with his peers and the placing of him in the hands of a guard "...sans instruction..."<sup>(1)</sup> and a teacher who is clearly incompetent has produced a situation in which the boy suffers moral, emotional, social and intellectual deprivation. Therefore, Antoine warns his father:

"...Il est visible que déjà son intelligence devient incapable du moindre effort...Il est tombé dans un tel état d'indifférence, et sa faiblesse est telle, que s'il restait quelques mois encore dans cette torpeur, il serait trop tard pour lui rendre <sup>Jamais</sup> la santé."<sup>(2)</sup>

Although with the assistance of abbé Vécard, his father's spiritual advisor, Antoine succeeds in gaining his father's consent to Jacques's release and ensures that he is provided with remedial instruction which permits him to resume his studies at the lycée, the association of the school with repression and incompetency will remain with Jacques. Even though he makes rapid progress in his school work and finally shows his academic potential by passing the concours d'entrée for the Ecole normale supérieure, his interest in his

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 730.

(2) Ibid, p. 723.

studies is never complete. He is subject to sudden enthusiasms for poetry, for mathematics, for philosophy, for religion, followed by periods of lassitude when '...les leçons, les ergotages des textes, la belle morale des honnêtes gens...' seem to him to be '...d'un ennui mortel'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The reasons for Jacques's dissatisfaction with the aims and objectives of formal education are stated with more clarity when he makes his decision not to continue to higher education, after being accepted for entry to the Ecole normale. Foremost amongst his objections to a tertiary education is that the conformist attitudes in the secondary school are present also in the higher schools of learning. He believes that even in the Ecole normale there is an inherent conservatism which stifles individuality. To Jacques, the life of the normalien would be merely a '...prolongement déguisé' du collège'<sup>(2)</sup> with its restrictiveness and the necessity to conform to the social dictates of the institution. To Jacques, the individualist, the spirit and the camaraderie of the students are abhorrent.

"Ces cours, ces leçons, ces gloses à l'infini! Ce respect de tout!...Et cette promiscuité! Toutes les idées mises en commun, piétinées par le troupeau, dans ces réduits sans air, leurs turnes! Rien que leur vocabulaire de cagneux, tiens! Leur pot, leurs calmans!"<sup>(3)</sup>

We see here clear evidence of Jacques's social maladjustment. He is, as Martin du Gard, himself,

- (1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 960.  
 (2) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1231.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 1231.

expressed in a letter to Lallemand: '...sur le plan intellectuel et social, un 'esprit faux', irrémédiablement faux...'(1) Excessively romantic and egotistical, Jacques is, for reasons which appear to be linked primarily with his home background, unable to adapt himself to the discipline of a system. In this respect his hatred of regimentation, of set syllabuses and of ordered social life in the schools may be considered as a manifestation of his proud rebellion against paternal authoritarianism and the norms of his father's society.

However, Jacques's decision to abandon his plans to enter the Ecole normale is based not only on his reservations about the educative process in itself but also on his belief that as the end result of this process there would be for him a '...vie dérisoire'(2) as a teacher. Although he admits that there are some idealistic teachers who have faith in their profession - "Ils sont touchants, bien sûr, à cause de leur dignité, de leur effort spirituel, de cette fidélité si mal rétribuée"(3) - Jacques is firmly convinced that they have been deluded as to their actual social function. For, according to Jacques, the professeurs are in reality agents of repression who place restraints upon individual expression and who limit the possibilities of men reaching their full stature. Hence, after his initial excitement at having passed the entrance examination for the Ecole normale has waned, he begins to

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(1) 'Lettres à un ami', (1 Feb. 1945), N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1146.

(2) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1231

(3) Ibid, p. 1231.

reproach himself bitterly for having submitted himself to the judgement of men like the Greek examiner who have been conditioned into pedantry. 'Il revécut quelques secondes de son examen oral de grec, l'instant exact où il avait commis sa faute: il revoyait le vert du tapis et le doigt du professeur, écrasé sur les Choépores, avec son ongle bombé comme un copeau de corne.'<sup>(1)</sup> As well, his pride makes him feel ashamed of having contemplated a career such as theirs in which he would perpetuate the conformist traditions and attitudes with which the schools had attempted to mould him.

"J'en suis honteux. Oui, honteux! Non seulement d'être reçu, mais honteux d'avoir accepté le...le jugement de tous ces...! Ah, si vous saviez ce qu'ils sont! Tous fabriqués par le même moule, par les mêmes livres! Les livres, et toujours les livres! Et il a fallu que, moi, j'aie mendier leur...Moi! Je me suis plié à...Ah!...Je..." Les mots lui manquaient.<sup>(2)</sup>

If Jacques has bitter memories of the teachers at his Catholic school and the lycée, his disenchantment with teaching is deepened by his acquaintance with two normaliens, Favery and Jalicourt. Favery, who is teaching at Saint-Louis, is among the first to congratulate Jacques after the affichage of the results of the concours. Yet, as they walk away from the Ecole normale, Favery clearly indicates his dissatisfaction with his vocation. To him teaching is simply '...le gavage...'.<sup>(3)</sup> The recital he makes of his day's

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(1) La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 823.

(2) Ibid, p. 962.

(3) Ibid, p. 824.

activities emphasises the dull routine of the teacher's life in which all actions are governed by the clock. Moreover, Favery, whose interests lie in writing more than in teaching - 'il méprisait le professorat, rêvait de journalisme...' (1) - declares that his teaching programme allows him insufficient time for his personal work. "A huit heures tapant, je monte en chaire, et le gavage commence. Vous voyez à quelle heure il finit... Quand voulez-vous que je travaille?" (2)

But the key episode, according to Boak, (3) is Jacques's meeting with Jalicourt, a lecturer at the Ecole normale. The importance which Martin du Gard places on this incident for Jacques's future development is seen in the fact that it is described twice, the first time when Antoine hears Jalicourt's brief account of the interview, and the second when Jacques's relates to Antoine details of the conversation which Jalicourt's pride had made him reluctant to disclose.

For Jacques, Jalicourt had been an inspiration. There had been for him the feeling that the atmosphere of the Ecole normale could be endured if he were the pupil of Jalicourt.

"Il était le seul qui nous paraissait valoir la peine, comprends-tu? Nous savions par coeur ses vers. On colportait des traits de lui, on citait ses mots... Un type enthousiaste, lunatique, extravagant, mais riche et généreux, une grande conscience moderne, celui qui, pour nous, avait su mettre le doigt sur tous les points sensibles!" (4)

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(1) Ibid, p. 823.

(2) Ibid, p. 824.

(3) See D. Boak, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 74.

(4) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1232.

It had seemed to Jacques that as a teacher Jalicourt was one at least who had not lost his integrity and had retained his originality and flexibility of mind, as evident in his published works and his lectures - '...de longues improvisations lyriques, pleines de vues hardies, de digressions, de brusques confidences, de mots crus...'.<sup>(1)</sup> Hence, it is with a sense of trust that Jacques comes to Jalicourt seeking advice as to whether or not he should pursue his studies at the Ecole normale.

But the Jalicourt whom Jacques surprises at his home bears little resemblance to the distinguished '...vieil aigle'<sup>(2)</sup> of the lecture theatre. Jacques discovers instead 'un Jalicourt voûté, sans monocle, une vieille vareuse à pellicules, une pipe éteinte, la lèvre maussade'.<sup>(3)</sup> Moreover, just as Laurent Pasquier had found flaws in the character of his maîtres, so too does Jacques glimpse in Jalicourt egotism and insincerity. As the interview progresses and Jacques's disillusionment becomes more evident, Jalicourt, obsessed by the fear that he is losing his influence over the young generation, allows his feeling of failure to appear. In a passionate speech he warns Jacques against repeating his mistake. He admits the falseness of the conventional arguments with which earlier he had advised him to continue his education and he declares that it is not in an academic atmosphere but in the world of action that one develops the writer's craft. At the urging of

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(1) Ibid, p. 1232.

(2) Ibid, p. 1233.

(3) Ibid, p. 1233.

Jallicourt to 'Allez vivre' Jacques abandons his plans to enter the Ecole normale and in order to flee his family and the complications of his relationship with Gise and Jenny he leaves France and spends the following three years in a bohemian existence in North Africa and Europe.

Nevertheless, Jacques is unable to shake off the effects of his experience of formal education. Although he becomes a socialist and mingles with revolutionaries who plan the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the destruction of its institutions, he is marked by his middle-class intellectuel formation. In a letter to Lallemand in 1936 Martin du Gard remarked that Jacques is unalterably bound by his middle-class education:

Il y a du flou dans l'intelligence de Jacques... C'est un intellectuel, par formation et par goût naturel. Et un fils de famille, quoi qu'il fasse! Tunique de Nessus... Il ne peut pas devenir tout à coup semblable à un enfant du peuple, qui par sa naissance même et sa jeunesse, s'est trouvé "nourri" dès le berceau et n'a eu qu'à grandir parmi les siens. ... Perpétuel décalage en lui, flottement. Trop raisonneur, trop habitué à voir le pour et le contre de tout. Il est frère d'Antoine, par le sang! par son passé!(1)

Jacques in his political debates with Antoine in L'Eté 1914 voices his sense of injustice at the privileged position which the educated men of the middle classes hold in society with their enjoyment of mental satisfactions - '...toutes les joies, tous les amusements, que procurent le travail intelligent...'(2) - and their consolidation of their power through an

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(1) 'Lettres à un ami', (19 May 1936), N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1144.

(2) L'Eté 1914, O.C. II, p. 153.

educational monopoly which reduces the position of the worker to that of a '...servitude abrutissante...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Yet, although his humanitarianism leads him to be critical of a situation in which the gens instruits reserve for themselves '...la part intellectuelle...' and delegate to the proletariat '...la part manuelle...' <sup>(2)</sup> it is evident that Jacques is not fully convinced that the men of the peuple possess the intellectual capacities to replace the middle-class élite. One notes his reservations in this extract:

"[Le travailleur] doit avoir le temps de songer à lui-même; il doit pouvoir développer au maximum, selon ses aptitudes, sa qualité d'homme; devenir, dans la mesure où il le peut - et cette mesure n'est pas aussi restreinte qu'on le croit - une véritable personne humaine..."

Il avait dit: "et cette mesure n'est pas aussi restreinte qu'on le croit", avec la force persuasive d'un convaincu; mais avec une intonation sourde, où un observateur plus averti que son frère eût peut-être perçu la résonance d'un doute.<sup>(3)</sup>

Amongst his fellow socialists Jacques's defence of an intellectual élite is more explicit. To Périnet's criticism of the exploitation of the workers by a minority who hold the positions of power he replies:

"Non seulement ils les tiennent en fait...mais, pour l'instant, ils ont presque un certain droit à les tenir... Car, enfin, où trouverait-on...du jour au lendemain, en nombre suffisant, des hommes instruits, spécialisés, capables de prendre leur place?"<sup>(4)</sup>

He, himself, feels that his education marks him off from those amongst the circle who have their origins

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(1) Ibid, p. 155.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 155.  
 (3) Ibid, pp. 158-9.  
 (4) Ibid, p. 41.

in the labouring classes and who lack his culture. The training which he has received in the schools has developed in him a habit of examining both sides of a question; he is unable to ignore the discrepancies in the doctrines of international socialism or to accept the naïve faith of Meynestrel or Mithoerg in the utopian society which would be established after the revolution.

Jacques songeait à son éducation. "Culture classique...Formation bourgeoise... Ça donne à l'intelligence un pli qui ne s'efface pas...J'ai toujours été tellement plus enclin à regarder, à enregistrer, qu'à juger, qu'à conclure...Une faiblesse, évidemment, pour un révolutionnaire!" se dit-il, non sans angoisse. Il ne trichait guère avec lui-même; du moins pas consciemment. Il ne se sentait ni inférieur ni supérieur à ses camarades: il se sentait autre; et, à tout prendre, moins "bon instrument de révolution", qu'eux. Pourrait-il jamais, comme eux, abdiquer sa conscience personnelle, fondre sa pensée, sa volonté, dans la doctrine abstraite, dans l'action commune, d'un parti?(1)

To Mithoerg Jacques remains a '...dilettante rationaliste ...'(2) not a true revolutionary, who lacks commitment to an ideal. "Ce qui te plaît, à toi, c'est de balancer d'abord d'un côté et ensuite d'un autre... Comme le bourgeois, sur son sofa, avec sa pipe, qui joue, bien tranquille, avec le contre et avec le pour."(3)

Whereas Jacques has reacted against school authority and resisted its encroachment upon the free expression of his individuality, Antoine has experienced no such conflict between his personal goals and

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(1) Ibid, p. 78.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 82.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 82.

the objectives of the school. For Antoine the school provides the means by which he may realise his ambitions. The role in life which he seeks is the grand one which will give him prestige and importance and yet at the same time will allow him to display those strengths and abilities which he feels he possesses. Unlike Jacques who in adolescence is plagued by insecurity and uncertainty, Antoine early lays plans for his future. 'Depuis l'âge de quinze ans, la médecine n'avait cessé d'exercer sur lui une attraction singulière.'<sup>(1)</sup> This fascination with medicine is in large part a realisation of its potentialities to satisfy his exalted pride, both by the challenge it presents as well as by the opportunity given to gain recognition and honours. His self-satisfied musings in Le Pénitencier reveal these egotistical motivations:

C'est bien une carrière pour des Thibault!  
Dure, mais quelles satisfactions quand on a un peu le goût de la lutte, un peu d'orgueil!  
Quels efforts d'attention, de mémoire, de volonté!...Et puis, quand on est arrivé! Un grand médecin...Un Philip, par exemple...  
Pouvoir prendre cet air doux, assuré...Très courtois, mais distant...M. le Professeur...  
Ah, être quelqu'un, être appelé en consultation par les confrères qui vous jalourent le plus!(2)

The educative process is, then, an essential part of Antoine's culte du moi - this deliberate utilisation of his abilities to '...dépasser les autres! S'imposer!'.<sup>(3)</sup> The force of will with which Jacques

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(1) La Consultation, O.C. I, p. 1130.

(2) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 753.

(3) Ibid, p. 764.

resists threats to his freedom is transmuted into Antoine's fierce determination to succeed scholastically. He remembers himself at the age of nine as '...un petit garçon têtù, appliqué, personnel...'.<sup>(1)</sup> Less gifted intellectually than his brother (in the Epilogue he will admit the extent of his limitations - 'Facultés moyennes, en harmonie avec ce que la vie exigeait de moi. Intelligence moyenne, mémoire, don d'assimilation'<sup>(2)</sup>), Antoine has suffered from his weakness in handling abstractions. '...Je traversais parfois des heures mortifiantes...Un lourdaud qui veut jongler avec des bulles de savon.'<sup>(3)</sup> Essentially pragmatic, with little aptitude for philosophy, Antoine was forced to repeat his year in philosophie at Louis-le-Grand to gain his baccalauréat.

However, it is in the exact sciences that he discovered a field of inquiry that was challenging and stimulating. 'Le gamin qu'on lance, peu à peu, dans les mathématiques, dans la physique, dans la chimie... trouve brusquement devant lui tout l'espace pour se dilater.'<sup>(4)</sup> The scientific spirit with which he is indoctrinated in the laboratories at the turn of the century will be the means of liberation from his father's religion. To the young lycéen religious belief appears '...étroite, fallacieuse, irraisonnée'.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1329.

(2) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 989.

(3) Ibid, p. 963.

(4) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1385.

(5) Ibid, p. 1385.

Yet, the materialism which he consciously adopts owes as much to his nature as to his scientific formation for Antoine according to the observations of the directeur of the Ecole, abbé Leclerc, possesses no real religious sense. It is only to please his father that he has maintained his pretence of faith and has continued to practise religion with '...une indifférence polie'.<sup>(1)</sup>

As well as the influence of his scientific studies, the attitudes of the teachers at his lycée have made him question the validity of the doctrines which he has been taught by the priests at the Ecole. The teaching of the professeurs laïques inspired Antoine with confidence. Whereas the priests appeared to lack assurance in their teaching and to '...se mouvoir avec gêne dans ces ténèbres, d'aller à l'avenglette, de tourner avec un inconscient malaise autour de ces dogmes hermétiques',<sup>(2)</sup> the lay teachers showed proof of competence and understanding of their subject matter. Above all, it seemed to Antoine that in the lycée there was more intellectual honesty and a greater readiness amongst the professeurs to admit the limitations of their knowledge.

Même quand leur science se trouvait en défaut, leur attitude n'avait rien de trouble: leurs hésitations, leurs ignorances mêmes, s'étaient au grand jour. Ça donnait confiance, je vous assure; ça ne pouvait éveiller la moindre arrière-pensée de...tricherie...Plus j'avais vers les hautes classes, moins les prêtres de l'Ecole m'inspiraient cette espèce de sécurité que j'éprouvais auprès de nos professeurs de l'Université.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, p. 1386.

(2) Ibid, p. 1384.

(3) Ibid, p. 1385.

The admiration which Antoine showed for these professeurs laïques contrasts with Jacques's sharp criticism of his secondary teachers both at the lycée and the demi-pensionnat. There is here, then, the difference in impression of the school between the convergent child and the divergent child.

Although, as Alméras suggests, Antoine is strongly influenced by his period at the Ecole de Médecine - 'De la médecine, lui vient l'acceptation de la vie telle qu'elle est, et de sa formation médicale du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le refus de toute mystique quelle qu'elle soit',<sup>(1)</sup> - he, himself, makes few direct references to his teachers or to the kind of training he had received as a student of medicine. Antoine does, however, suggest that although by the time he had commenced his medical training his basic attitudes to life had formed ('Je n'avais pas attendu les études semi-scientifiques de première année pour m'aviser qu'on ne peut croire sans preuves...et qu'il faut renoncer à la notion de vérité stable...'<sup>(2)</sup>), the period at medical school had helped him to synthesise these principles and beliefs into a personal philosophy of action.

D'assez bonne heure (dès ma première année de médecine),...j'étais assez bien arrivé à concilier toutes mes tendances, à me confectionner un cadre solide de vie, de pensée; une façon de morale...Je m'étais commodément installé au centre de quelques principes...qui convenaient aux besoins de ma nature, et à mon existence de médecin. (En gros: une philosophie

(1) G. Alméras, La Médecine dans 'Les Thibault' de M. Roger Martin du Gard, p. 41.

(2) La Mort du père, O.C. I, p. 1386.

élémentaire d'homme d'action, basée sur le culte de l'énergie, l'exercice de la volonté, etc.)(1)

The esteem in which Antoine holds his maître, Philip, is a further result of his training at the Ecole de Médecine. For two years he had been a student under Philip and during this period he had come to appreciate his considerable professional skills and the humanity and wisdom which at first sight was hidden by his abruptness and acerbity. But his manner rebuffed only '...les nouveaux venus ou les médiocres'.(2)

En fait...nul praticien n'était plus en faveur auprès de ses malades, nul maître plus estimé de ses confrères ni recherché avec plus de ferveur par les élèves, ni davantage respecté par la jeunesse intransigente des hôpitaux.(3)

Antoine's deep admiration for Philip closely resembles the way in which Laurent Pasquier regards his maîtres. Just as Laurent feels inferior as he compares his gifts with those of his maîtres, so too does the presence of Philip make Antoine feel his dependency despite the seven years which they have worked together as colleagues and friends since Antoine has qualified.

Dès qu'Antoine se trouvait auprès de Philip, insensiblement, sa personnalité se modifiait, subissait comme une diminution de volume: l'être indépendant et complet qu'il était l'instant d'avant retombait automatiquement en tutelle.(4)

In effect, the teacher-pupil relationship has continued with Antoine, the '...fils spirituel'(5) of Philip

(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 947.

(2) La Consultation, O.C. I, p. 1065.

(3) Ibid, p. 1065.

(4) Ibid, p. 1063.

(5) Ibid, p. 1063.

consciously modelling his techniques upon those of his patron. It is the professional attitudes that Philip has taught him which dominate his actions as, for instance, in his rejection of the solution of euthanasia for Héquet's suffering child in La Consultation. 'Il crut entendre la voix nasillarde de Philip: "Pas le droit, mon petit, pas le droit!"' (1)

The death of Oscar Thibault releases Antoine from Philip's domination - morally, as his administration of the drug which hastens his father's death represents a denial of Philip's medical ethics and professionally, as with his inheritance he is able to carry out research for the agrégation. In order to realise his ambition to become a maître Antoine establishes the Laboratoires A. Oscar-Thibault with a small team of research assistants.

It is in L'Eté 1914 when Antoine has the financial independence to follow his own study interests that it becomes obvious that he is continuing his father's life-long interest in education and the welfare of children. Previously, he had been content to be a children's doctor; now he has the resources to initiate research into broader aspects of child development - mental growth, language difficulties. Through the biometrical studies of school children and the accumulation of tests Antoine Thibault's research team propose to prepare reference material for educators as well as medical specialists. Thus, up till the outbreak of war,

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(1) Ibid, p. 1123.

Antoine's work is closely connected with the field of education. Even after his lungs and throat are affected by mustard gas he has plans of continuing his research during his convalescence. Ironically it is the consultation with his patron, Philip, whose reputation as a child specialist he has attempted to emulate that gives Antoine the sudden realisation that he is doomed.

From the entries in his journal in the Epilogue which describe the course of his illness one gathers a clear impression of the extent to which medical training and the study of science have influenced Antoine Thibault. Up to the time of his suicide he keeps a dossier on his state of health which he hopes may be of service to specialists studying such cases as his. The objectivity and lucidity of the scientist and the doctor are obvious in the manner in which Antoine observes his symptoms and analyses his thoughts at the approach of death.

But more importantly, his meditations on the meaning of life reflect the scientific orientation of the process of education at the turn of the century. Like Laurent Pasquier, the scientific spirit of the schools and faculties in which he has received his intellectual formation prevents him from accepting religious interpretations of existence and enjoying the security of faith. Science fills his vacuum of belief and the relative optimism with which he sees man's future gathers its strength from this source.

However, he does not attribute to science any miraculous powers to change the world or to improve human nature drastically - in this he shares Laurent's realistic appreciation of the limitations of science. As Maurois suggests, the aggressive faith in science and reason which was evident in the nineteenth century savants in Jean Barois has turned to scepticism in the scientists of the twentieth century in Les Thibault.

Les grands savants se refusent à faire de la science une religion. Les grands médecins doutent. La science n'est pas infallible, mais la méthode scientifique demeure la seule petite lumière qui permette de voir un peu clair en cette immense et hostile obscurité.(1)

However, Antoine does believe in progress even if he rejects the notion of '...la belle avance'<sup>(2)</sup> - the utopian vision of those who see man on the threshold of his millenium. From his study of biology he envisages a slow but steady avance towards a higher state.

Cet état d'intuition joyeuse, de confiance active, qui m'a perpétuellement soulevé et soutenu, c'est, je crois, dans le commerce de la science qu'il a pris sa source et qu'il a trouvé de quoi s'alimenter chaque jour...

Si je voulais aujourd'hui justifier cet élan continu qui m'a porté durant quinze ans, si je cherchais le fin mot de cette indomptable confiance, ce que je trouverais serait peut-être assez proche d'une foi...En quoi? Eh bien, ne serait-ce qu'en la croissance possible et sans doute infinie des formes vivantes. Foi dans une accession universelle à des états supérieurs...(3)

Again, in a later entry in his diary Antoine declares that science gives him a feeling of calm and resignation as he contemplates his oblivion.

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(1) A. Maurois, 'L'Univers de Martin du Gard', N.N.R.F., no. 72, 1 Dec. 1958, p. 1033.

(2) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 994.

(3) Ibid, p. 965.

[La science] peut enseigner à l'homme à accepter ses limites naturelles, les hasards qui l'ont fait naître, le peu qu'il est. Elle peut l'amener de façon durable, à ce calme que j'éprouve ce soir. (1)

Camus suggests that of the two brothers the character of Antoine is the richer '...par sa complexité, sa souplesse romanesque...'. (2)

Quoi de plus profond...et de plus persuasif, que ce grand mouvement qui s'opère à l'intérieur d'un homme heureux, équilibré, plein de force et d'une sincère estime de soi-même (marque de la noblesse, selon Ortega y Gasset) pour l'amener à la reconnaissance d'une misère commune, où il trouvera à la fois sa limitation et un épanouissement. (3)

Certainly, in the Epilogue Antoine, far from wallowing in self-pity, faces death stoically and experiences a bond of sympathy with his fellow men who share his mortality and who suffer and die as he does. Far from recording the last, bitter thoughts of a lonely man, the Epilogue is a hymn to fraternity and solidarity amongst suffering mankind. In the sense that Antoine abandons his egocentricity and takes his place among men, the Epilogue is the account of a victory, not a defeat. Although the immediate cause of this change from the fashionable young doctor with his grandiose ambitions, his smug complacency and his exaggerated sense of importance to the contemplative, compassionate invalid who anxiously ponders the fate of humanity is the war and hospitalisation, one senses that the study of science and the practice of medicine have prepared

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(1) Ibid, p. 971.

(2) A. Camus, 'Roger Martin du Gard', Preface to O.C. I, p. xx.

(3) Ibid, p. xx.

the ground for this transformation. Ikor suggests that rather than an abrupt reversal there has been a slow evolution.

En soi, la médecine est capable d'enseigner l'homme à qui sait la comprendre; et Antoine est accessible aux leçons.

Aussi, grâce à son métier, s'habitue-t-il dans le réel le plus concret, celui de la souffrance; il devient aisément indulgent aux faiblesses humaines et admet tout l'homme. En même temps, dès le début et d'abord à son insu, il pratique cette solidarité agissante qui, rompant la solitude individuelle, ouvre le chemin de l'homme. Il en éprouve un orgueil sain qui le fait s'accepter aussi bien qu'il accepte les autres. En somme déjà son activité professionnelle le place au niveau de l'humain.(1)

But, it is not till the isolation and the enforced inactivity of the ypérite allow time for meditation and reflection on the broader issues affecting civilisation, the human values threatened by the world holocaust, that the full épanouissement of Antoine Thibault becomes evident. Previously, he had been the slave of his profession, as he puts it in L'Eté 1914. "Je n'ai plus jamais le temps de réfléchir... Réfléchir, ça n'est pas penser à mes malades, ni même à la médecine: réfléchir, ce devrait être: méditer sur le monde."<sup>(2)</sup> In the Epilogue he regrets that his culture has been limited to his profession and that he, unlike the real hommes de valeur, has been too narrowly specialised.

Les grands, les vrais grands, ne sont pas limités à leur spécialisation. Les

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(1) R. Ikor, 'L'Humanité des Thibault', Europe, no. 6, June 1946, p. 43.

(2) L'Eté 1914, O.C. II, p. 145.

grands médecins, les grands philosophes, les grands mathématiciens, les grands politiques, ne sont pas uniquement médecins, philosophes, etc. Leur cerveau se meut à l'aise dans les autres domaines, s'évade au delà des connaissances particulières.(1)

It is now in the months of July to November 1918 that Antoine exhibits the flexibility of mind and broad vision which is the mark of Laurent Pasquier, the savant in Chronique des Pasquier, or the normaliens, Jallez and Jerphanion, in Les Hommes de bonne volonté, with his meditations on the possibilities of world peace, disarmament and world federation.

The Antoine Thibault of the Epilogue has, like Laurent Pasquier, received his formation in the middle-class schools. He has been intellectually and morally conditioned by the general studies and broad range of mental disciplines of the lycées as well as by his professional training in science and medicine in the faculties; he has had all the educational advantages of those of his milieu - 'instruits, nourris de lectures, ayant vécu dans l'intimité de gens intelligents et libres dans leurs propos...'.(2) The intellectual qualities which he possesses are those which the French middle-class traditions of education have sought to instil: lucidity, calm judgement, precision of thought. He is an esprit pondéré who faces death with logic and realism. Above all, he places his faith in the exercise of reason as the means of gaining knowledge of

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 990.

(2) Ibid, p. 950.

oneself and understanding of other men, and as the instrument by which improvement of man's condition may be won. Antoine's suicide on 10 November 1918 at the age of thirty-seven is not a desperate gesture. Rather it is a rational act, methodically planned and prepared over a period of four months for the time when mind and body reach the limit of endurance. By his self-administration of the drug which kills him, Antoine Thibault performs an act of reason which proves to him that finally he is the master of his destiny.

#### CONCLUSION:

Whereas our examination of Chronique des Pasquier has discovered an emphasis upon the warmth of the nid in the family of the petite bourgeoisie - the attentive nurturing of the young children in the family which lays the affective foundation for healthy emotional and social development - in Les Thibault one discovers a stress upon the other side of family interaction - the lack of understanding in the middle-class family, the inability of parents to communicate with their children or of one sibling to comprehend the motives or feelings of another.

As we have noted at the beginning of this chapter, the particular circumstances of the Thibault and the Fontanin families increase the possibilities of disharmony and misunderstanding. In each case the family

is mutilated as an essential member of the family is missing and it is clear that the development of the children has suffered from the absence of either maternal or paternal care. For this reason, the families are, as Ikor points out, atypical.

En fait, pas plus que Jean Barois, les Thibault ne nous présentent une vraie famille...Nulle part de réelle intimité conjugale; tous ces êtres sont au fond des solitaires. Il semble que délibérément Martin du Gard ait évité de peindre la vie commune de deux êtres autour desquels s'agglomèrent les enfants, la vie de famille proprement dite.(1)

Savage<sup>(2)</sup> notes that the motherless family is a feature of Martin du Gard's fictional world. Apart from the Thibaults, Leandro and Amalia, the brother and sister who share an incestuous relationship in Confidence africaine, have no mother, nor do Thierry and Isabelle in Un Taciturne and Jean Barois also suffers maternal deprivation. In one sense the absence of mother figures is positive proof of the importance of the mother's role in creating unity in the family circle and in surrounding the children with affectionate care, as the personality problems which these characters experience may be linked with their unbalanced home life. But Martin du Gard's concentration upon abnormal family situations is probably an expression of his vision of man as an essentially lonely creature, who feels his metaphysical solitude and must work out his destiny without outside intervention in this

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(1) R. Ikor, 'L'Humanité des Thibault', Europe, no. 6, June 1946, p. 31.

(2) C. Savage, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 48.

'univers sans issue' <sup>(1)</sup> in which he finds himself. It is this continual search of the characters for personal values and life meaning that merits his title as 'the Corneille of the bourgeois novel.' <sup>(2)</sup> The absence of maternal figures in the portrayal of family life heightens the possibilities of dramatic conflict and widens the gulf between the surviving parent or the surrogate parent and the children. Thus, we have found that the members of the families in Les Thibault move in isolation, divided by an '...aveugle incompréhension...'. <sup>(3)</sup> They are strangers to each other, separated in their own worlds and unable to reach out to gain sympathy and understanding. The sense of regret that they feel at the incompleteness of their interpersonal relationships is expressed by Antoine who, after the death of his father, becomes deeply aware of his loss.

"...J'ai maintenant avec certitude le sentiment que, malgré tout, - bien que jamais je n'aie constaté entre nous le moindre commencement d'échange - malgré tout, jamais il n'y a eu et jamais plus il n'y aura dans le monde un autre être, - même pas Jacques - si bien fait pour être compris de moi dans les profondeurs de son essence ni mieux fait pour pénétrer <sup>d'en bas</sup> dans les profondeurs de la mienne... Parce qu'il était mon père, parce que je suis son fils!...Et il est trop tard", conclut-il, "c'est fini, à tout jamais". <sup>(4)</sup>

However, if we accept the point that Martin du Gard's figures are individualists who are cognisant of the insuperable barriers which stand between them and

- (1) C.-E. Magny, Histoire du roman français depuis 1918, vol. I, p. 328.  
 (2) G. Brée and M. Guiton, An Age of Fiction - The French Novel from Gide to Camus, p. 76.  
 (3) R. Robidoux, Roger Martin du Gard et la religion, p. 172.  
 (4) La Mort du père, O.C. I, pp. 1344-5.

the other members of their families, we must also admit that at a deeper level of their consciousness they apprehend the bonds which have been forged by their heredity and environment. Beneath their surface hostility there is an accord between Oscar Thibault and his two sons and a feeling of oneness as the representatives of the Thibault 'race'. In this sense the Thibaults are a collective entity, although the tenderness that they feel for each other is rarely directly expressed - more often they reveal their regard obliquely or in conversations with a third party. Just as there is a clan Pasquier so too do the Thibaults form a coherent, tribal group. As Antoine says to Jacques in an effort to revive his feeling of group membership after the divisive experience of the penitentiary: "Nous ne sommes pas seulement deux individus...nous sommes les Thibault."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Thibault family has an essential unity and the sense of kinship survives internal rifts, the despotic rule of the father and the natural desire of the young to free themselves from the constraints of the group. Not even the rebel, Jacques, is able to destroy the homogeneity of the group; his attempt to sever his bonds with the family and to liberate himself from emotional dependency on his kin ends in failure.

In their view of the family as an educational institution there appears to be considerable agreement

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(1) Le Pénitencier, O.C. I, p. 763.

between Duhamel and Martin du Gard. Both show that the upbringing of the child has far-reaching effects upon moral, emotional, intellectual and social development. It is apparent that Martin du Gard concurs with Duhamel's belief that at the heart of the educative process there is love and understanding and the willingness of parents to allow their children to grow up in an environment which, while maintaining the security of parental authority, does not impose harsh restraints upon individual expression. The major difference in their views would seem to lie in their estimation of the possibilities of the middle-class family providing these optimum conditions for child education. Duhamel in Chronique des Pasquier expresses his faith in the ability of mothers to create a climate of warmth and affection in the foyer and depicts the interaction in two families which come close to the ideal in parent-child relationships - the Baudoins and the family of Laurent and Jacqueline Pasquier. Martin du Gard, however, on the evidence of Les Thibault, is less optimistic. His portrayal of the educators in Les Thibault is basically sympathetic, stressing their good intentions, but also revealing the full extent of the human failings of parents as well as of children which diminish the likelihood of real understanding existing between father and son or mother and daughter. According to Magny: '...La dialectique la plus convaincante des rapports familiaux, c'est sans doute chez Martin du Gard qu'on

la trouve...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The descriptions of the educative process in the families of the bourgeoisie in Les Thibault constitute a reasoned account of the ills of family life, the weaknesses which restrict the efficiency of the family's teaching function. But these criticisms must in no way be interpreted as an attack on the place of the family as the basic cell of society. Martin du Gard, like Duhamel, is a moralist of family life; unlike his friend Gide, he is too anchored in middle-class conventions, too proprietorial to question the family's role. It is true that there are echoes of Gide in Les Thibault - both Jacques and Daniel are haunted by the 'Chambres quittées! Merveilles des départs!...Familles, je vous hais!' of Les Nourritures terrestres.<sup>(2)</sup> But the condemnation of gidisme is severe, as Ikor points out: '...Les Thibault m'apparaissent comme une sorte de réplique à Gide...'.<sup>(3)(4)</sup> The temptation to liberty leads to ruin and destruction. Jérôme de Fontanin and Daniel, who incarnate the tentation gidiste, lack dignity and fail to find fulfilment in their search for sensual pleasure. Even Jacques Thibault finds it impossible to accept their libertarianism; despite his struggles against family restraints, his morality is closer to that of his father than that of the Fontanins. But it is through

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(1) C.-E. Magny, Histoire du roman français depuis 1918, vol. I. p. 333.

(2) See La Belle Saison, O.C. I, p. 819.

(3) R. Ikor, 'L'Humanité des Thibault', Europe, no. 6 June 1946, p. 36.

(4) S. Spurdle in her article, 'André Gide, Roger Martin du Gard and some characters in Les Thibault', Trivium, no. 4, 1969, pp. 76-95, deals more fully with this question of gidisme in Les Thibault and Martin du Gard's overt disapproval of Gide's ideas.

Antoine that Martin du Gard expresses the antithesis of gidisme. Although he prizes his individualism, he sees the necessity for order and discipline and supports the institutional role of the family in preparing the child for his place in society.

Apart from the general comment on the importance of familial training, it is apparent that Martin du Gard is concerned with the specific contribution of the middle-class family to forming élites in this period before 1914. Again, we might suggest that his guiding principle is strict impartiality. Gibson's view<sup>(1)</sup> that in his portrayal of middle-class society Martin du Gard avoids the distortion of satire appears closer to the truth than the contention of Massis<sup>(2)</sup> that in Les Thibault he is taking his revenge on the bourgeoisie and the Church. The faults of the bourgeois - the prejudices, the conservatism, the complacency, the paternalism which are transmitted from one generation of privilégiés to the next - are carefully delineated. But there is no sweeping condemnation of middle-class values and attitudes. The positive features of a middle-class upbringing are stated with equal clarity. One finds that the parents of the haute bourgeoisie teach their children beliefs and ways of thinking that are essentially similar to those in the lower middle-class families of Chronique

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(1) R. Gibson, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 67.

(2) H. Massis, 'Le Romantisme de l'adolescence', La Revue universelle, 15 Sept. 1922, p. 753.

des Pasquier. Although there are obvious differences in style as educators between Oscar Thibault and Raymond Pasquier or Thérèse de Fontanin and Lucie-Eléonore Pasquier they pass on to their children the same cluster of ideas and concepts which may broadly be described as middle-class. Despite their higher social status and acquired wealth, the Thibaults share with the Pasquiers a puritanical respect for the virtues of hard work and individual effort. From Oscar Thibault who has received his financial inheritance from his father's factory at Rouen but has declined to live ostentatiously or self-indulgently Antoine gains his resolution to avoid excess and to lead a useful life. It is true that in the period immediately prior to the war Antoine is in danger of losing his equilibrium and sense of perspective under the strain of sudden acquired wealth but there are signs before the outbreak of war that he is beginning to tire of his facile existence. Even so in 1918 he records the danger that his inheritance of the fortune carefully amassed by his family over two hundred years has presented to his values. His tirade against 'l'empoisonnement par l'argent. Par l'argent hérité surtout. L'argent qu'on n'a pas gagné...!',<sup>(1)</sup> in the Epilogue recalls Mme Pasquier's remarks in Le Notaire du Havre which have been quoted earlier. As Tison-Braun says: 'La famille Thibault a laissé sur ses fils une empreinte de volonté et de rigueur

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 820.

morale',<sup>(1)</sup> and both these qualities, the will to progress and the scruples attached to the manner in which such advances may be won, are shared by the Pasquiers as well as the Bastides and the Jerphanions in Les Hommes de bonne volonté and would seem to represent deep-rooted middle-class beliefs.

Less is seen of the middle-class schools in Les Thibault than the middle-class family. There is not the same depth of psychological analysis in the description of the relationship of the pupil and the teacher that exists in Chronique des Pasquier, though the interaction of Antoine and Dr Philip has some similarities with that of Laurent Pasquier and his patrons. In Les Thibault Jacques and Antoine view the educational systems from two different angles. Jacques refuses to conform to the dictates of the system and his experiences expose the inflexibility of the lycées and collèges and the restrictions upon individual expression in both public and private schools. Antoine, on the other hand, is well motivated in his studies and discovers in the sciences a deep source of intellectual satisfaction. Their attitudes towards the school are reflected in their image of the teacher. For Jacques the teacher leads a '...vie dérisoire...' <sup>(2)</sup> whereas Antoine associates the professeur de lycée with professional competence, maturity of thought and broad knowledge. But if as lycéens their attitudes to the school differ, there is

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(1) M. Tison-Braun, La Crise de l'humanisme, vol. II, p. 196.

(2) La Sorellina, O.C. I, p. 1231.

a marked resemblance in their impressions of the effect of formal education upon their intellectual development after they have passed through the system. Both endorse the intellectual training given in the lycées and justify the creation of an aristocracy of skills and disciplined intelligence. Even Jacques, the revolutionary, is unable to condemn a system which produces the gens instruits equipped with the specialised knowledge and skills balanced by a broad cultural background which fit them for leadership in the Republic.

As we have seen, it is in L'Eté 1914 (which was published in 1936 after a break of seven years in the saga) and the Epilogue (1940) that the author's sense of loss at the disintegration of the old order becomes more apparent. As Schalk<sup>(1)</sup> has noted, the political and social climate of the late thirties made Martin du Gard acutely aware of the detrimental affect of the First World War on the inheritance of nineteenth century bourgeois values. Both Antoine and Jacques in L'Eté 1914 endorse the contribution of the bourgeoisie to the intellectual and social life of modern France. However, it is in the Antoine Thibault of the Epilogue that Martin du Gard gives finest expression to the qualities which have led to the rise of the bourgeoisie. Antoine comes close to the concept of the homme de valeur and takes on the qualities of the author, himself. Indeed, Lalou suggests that '...des deux frères Thibault, le plus

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(1) D. Schalk, Roger Martin du Gard - The Novelist and History, chapt. IV.

proche de son coeur est...cet Antoine qui affronte la vie sans illuminisme et sans découragement'.<sup>(1)</sup> The homme de valeur is clearly the desired end-product of the traditional middle-class home and the middle-class school. He views the world with lucidity and calm judgement, believing in the efficacy of reason and the esprit scientifique, and basing his moral and intellectual life upon the values of '...la mesure, le bon sens, la sagesse et l'expérience, la volonté de justice...'.<sup>(2)</sup> Moreover, with these qualities of mind he possesses feeling, compassion, the revolutionary spirit of freedom and liberty, and the gift of imagination. 'Il faut beaucoup d'imagination pour être un homme de valeur.'<sup>(3)</sup> It is the homme de valeur whom we see in Antoine in the Epilogue, profoundly disturbed by the disequilibrium he foresees in the post-war era and the threat to the values he prizes. The man of the generation of 1914-18 defends the traditional beliefs and values of his milieu. Through his diary he speaks to the younger generation disoriented by war and urges them to heed the teaching of the past. The date of publication of the last part of the novel-cycle, 1940, makes the plea of the dying soldier in 1918 all the more poignant.

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(1) R. Lalou, Roger Martin du Gard, p. 27.

(2) L'Été 1914, O.C. II, p. 516.

(3) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 982.

CHAPTER III LES HOMMES DE BONNE VOLONTE

- (a) The Family
- (b) The School
- (c) Conclusion

THE FAMILY:

In Les Hommes de bonne volonté the focus of attention is shifted from a family of a particular milieu to a view of society as a whole. Both Chronique des Pasquier and Les Thibault are family sagas; the first three volumes of each of these novel-cycles examine the influences in the home which affect the later development of the characters. It is true that as the members of the family gain independence and leave the foyer the perspectives widen to include a view of society as a whole - in this sense the novel-cycles merit the term fresques historiques. However, even in Les Thibault, which after the revision of Martin du Gard's original plan in 1931 introduces in L'Été 1914 the sweep and movement of history, the original characters, the Thibaults and the Fontanins, remain at the centre of the action. Romains rejects this structural focus for reasons which he explains in the 1932 Preface to Les Hommes de bonne volonté. He suggests that if the primary aim of the writer is to trace the rise and fall of a family as in the romans de développement, then such a framework for the novel is beyond criticism, but that if the interrelationships in the family circle are a secondary consideration and

the principal aim of the author is to make a tableau of society there is the possibility that the interaction of the different members of the family will become a mere artifice of composition to allow the author to enlarge his canvas and include different milieux or introduce a variety of settings and incidents. This, Romaine claims, is the weakness of the theme of the family in Zola's Rougon-Macquart. Consequently, the unanimist novel which he introduces is one which is not centred on an individual, nor on a particular family, but on society itself and the groups or unanimistes within which the individual components merge in a psychic continuum. Central to the unanimistic novel, then, is '... la vie et le mouvement de la société en elle-même, des groupes dont elle se compose ...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Nevertheless, if in Les Hommes de bonne volonté the emphasis is upon the collectivity and in particular those areas of la vie unanime in which men join freely and spontaneously, rather than social institutions as such, the relationship of child and family is not overlooked. As Cuisenier observes, the characters in Les Hommes de bonne volonté are not mere abstractions but gain their individuality from their home background:

Au sein des groupes si variés et si complexes, les individus n'apparaissent plus - tels les passants d'une rue ou les atomes d'une molécule - comme de simples éléments interchangeables. Ils sont d'une maison, d'un quartier, d'une

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(1) Souvenirs et confidences d'un écrivain, p. 146.

famille ... (1)

Yet, one must admit that the links of many of the characters with their families are often tenuous. The personnages whom Romain chooses for his novel-cycle are representative figures whose individual psychology is of less importance than the attitudes of the milieux from which they are drawn. The author, himself, admits that his subject and the parallel method of narration which he employs render it difficult to achieve psychological depth in the characterisation.

En donnant à l'action centrale, ou au faisceau d'actions centrales, un caractère encore plus éloigné de la destinée individuelle, je rendais l'oeuvre encore moins accessible au lecteur, qui est malgré tout un individu; et je m'enlevais les occasions d'exprimer sur la psychologie individuelle, et ses relations avec celle des divers "unanimes", des façons de voir qui ne me paraissaient nullement négligeables. (2)

Thus, Jallez, Jerphanion, Louis Bastide and Clanricard are individus-synthèses who, as Martin-Desliás points out, '... ne parviennent à notre conscience que par leurs paroles et par leurs actions; ce sont ces paroles et ces actions qui dessinent le type auquel ils appartiennent'. (3) It is the general influences of a particular class which Romain analyses in sketching the background of his characters. Unlike Duhamel and Martin du Gard who explore what might be

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(1) A. Cuisenier, Jules Romain et Les Hommes de bonne volonté, p. 276.

(2) Ai-je fait ce que j'ai voulu?, p. 135.

(3) N. Martin-Desliás, Jules Romain ou Quand les Hommes de bonne volonté se cherchent, pp. 68-9.

termed the psychology and the sociology of the educative process in the family - the personal transaction of parent and child which influences the growth of personality, as well as the attitudes and values prescribed by the milieu which are transmitted by the family - Romain is concerned with the latter function of the family. His major interest is the currents, forces and pressures which unite men rather than those which produce individual differences. Although there may be missing the rich interplay of characters that exists in the families of the Pasquiers or the Thibaults, there is gained a close examination of the patterns of upbringing at different levels of society and the ways in which the class structure determines what the child will be taught and what he will learn.

In Chronique des Pasquier and Les Thibault the action revolves around families of the bourgeoisie. Les Hommes de bonne volonté, on the other hand, presents a wide range of families extending from the lower orders of society - the peasant farmers such as Jean Jerphanion's relatives at Saint-Pierre in the mountains of Le Velay<sup>(1)</sup> - to the highest social caste - the old landed gentry represented by the Saint-Papouls.<sup>(2)</sup> However, it must be admitted that many

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- (1) See the conservative attitudes of the paysan, Pierre Crouziols, Jerphanion's maternal uncle, to child education in Le Drapeau noir, Les Hommes de bonne volonté, vol. II (subsequently H.B.V. II), p. 1133.
- (2) The caste elements in the training of the children amongst the aristocratie de naissance are visible in the stress on family honour and position, and the sheltering of the children from social contamination. Note the restrictive upbringing of Jeanne de Saint-Papoul in Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, chapt. VIII.

of these groups are allowed only a brief generalisation and that the detail on familial education tends to be confined to the middle classes, on whom attention is focussed in this study. Although Romain with his '... esprit encyclopédique' <sup>(1)</sup> carries his investigation to virtually all corners of French society, the 'Men of Goodwill' who animate this vast panorama belong almost exclusively to the bourgeoisie cultivée and have their roots in the petite bourgeoisie. It is this milieu in which the young Louis Farigoule had received his early education that holds the predilection of Jules Romain, the writer, as is obvious from his following comment in which he admits to a close identification with the class of Louis Bastide:

Que dans Louis Bastide et ses voyages "au cerceau" j'ai mis certaines de mes expériences d'enfant, ce n'est pas douteux. Dans sa psychologie aussi, certaines de mes tendances. Le milieu de toute petite bourgeoisie, travailleuse, honnête, économe, qu'une menue perte d'argent tourmente et inquiète, que la perte d'une place affole, m'était familier; et je n'avais pas besoin, pour m'identifier à ces gens, de me "pencher" sur eux, dans un mouvement de pitié condescendante. Mais, il n'y a en somme, là-dedans, qu'assez peu d'autobiographie proprement dite. (2)

Madeleine Berry underlines Romain's debt to the petite bourgeoisie in these words:

'Ce petit peuple est, de toute évidence, la source mère de l'auteur; c'est de lui que va sa

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- (1) A. Rousseaux, 'La Fin des Hommes de bonne volonté', France-Illustration, no. 68, 18 Jan. 1947, p. 75.  
 (2) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romain discutée par Jules Romain, p. 99.

prédilection; c'est en lui, finalement, qu'il place ses dernières espérances.'(1)

As well as the broadened social perspective, there is in Les Hommes de bonne volonté the widening of the perspectives in time. More obviously than Martin du Gard or Duhamel, Romain Rolland is concerned with social change. Les Thibault, which concludes in November 1918, depicts the collapse of the old order and makes only oblique references to the new age, while Chronique des Pasquier, which spans the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, fails to make a clear distinction between the pre-war and the post-war social environment. However, Romain Rolland, who believes in the existence of ondes historiques - rhythms of events which correspond approximately to a period of twenty-five years - is, within the limits of the onde historique he has chosen, 1908 to 1933, involved in a search for trends, for tendencies and for influences on the tenor of events. It is Verdun that stands at the apex of the onde historique and divides the interval into two distinct periods of time - the one leading up to the battle in which an orderly, optimistic society is inevitably drawn to its destruction, and the other describing the political and social unrest in the post-war years. Within this historical framework Romain Rolland attempts to illustrate the disruption in family life which occurred after

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(1) M. Berry, Jules Romain, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 278.

World War I, with the decline of parental authority and disturbances to family solidarity. In Les Hommes de bonne volonté the author pursues an inquiry into the nature of parent-child relationships in middle-class families during the interwar years and contrasts the pattern of family life in the twenties and thirties against that of the pre-war era.

Foremost amongst the families of the rural petite bourgeoisie in Les Hommes de bonne volonté is the family of Jean Jerphanion in Le Velay - the region to which Romain is linked by birth and ancestry. Jerphanion, who is first introduced in chapter VI of Le 6 octobre becomes one of the principal porte-paroles of the author in the novel-cycle. Indeed, one detects that the relationship of Jerphanion and his fellow normalien, the Parisian, Pierre Jallez, to Jules Romain, is similar to that of Antoine and Jacques Thibault to Roger Martin du Gard. Maurois suggests that these two characters - Jallez who chooses a reflective role as a literary artist and Jerphanion the man of action, committed socially and politically - represent a dédoublement of Romain's personality.

Ils représentent deux aspects de l'auteur, l'un son côté lyrique, l'autre son côté réaliste. Ce n'est peut-être pas par hasard que leurs deux noms commencent par le J de Je. Une conversation de Jallez et de Jerphanion est un dialogue de Jules Romain avec Jules Romain. (1)

In reply to a similar statement by Bourin, Romain has given his qualified agreement:

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(1) A. Maurois, Etudes littéraires II, p. 148.

'Ce que vous dites de la part de moi-même que j'ai mise dans les deux principaux personnages individuels des Hommes de Bonne Volonté est juste en somme ... En vérité je n'ai pas procédé à une distribution réfléchie et soigneusement pondérée des traits dont je dotais l'un et l'autre.' (1)

Like Jules Romains, Jean Jerphanion, the son of an instituteur whose family are peasant farmers in Le Velay, attributes his realism and his strength of purpose to his origins amongst the montagnards of the Haute-Loire. He has been brought up at Boussoulet which is the home district of his mother and has gained his elementary education in his father's school. Although he believes that in build he takes after his father who is from a peasant family at Brioude, in character he tends to resemble his mother. Very few details are provided on the nature of Jerphanion's familial education or his relationship with his parents, although he does inform Jallez that his father was '... peu bavard ...' (2) and that there was little communication between father and son. 'Il ne s'est jamais ouvert à moi, ni devant moi, de ce qui pouvait être sa façon de comprendre la vie.' (3) In another reference he suggests that his upbringing has been strict and that his father's vocation as an instituteur ensured that he would not receive the indulgence which is frequently accorded the only child.

... Les instituteurs élèvent mieux, en général,

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(1) See A. Bourin, Connaissance de Jules Romains discutée par Jules Romains, p. 67.

(2) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1021.

(3) Ibid, p. 1021.

leurs enfants, même uniques, qu'on ne fait dans les milieux équivalents. Pourquoi? parce qu'ils sont imbus de science et de savoir-faire pédagogiques? Non à mon avis; mais, parce que, tout en se dévouant aux enfants, ils ont "souffert" d'eux, comme on dit; ils connaissent à satiété leurs défauts, leurs malices, leurs petites comédies; et quand ils rentrent à leur propre foyer, ils sont hors d'état de s'attendrir sur des pleurnichailles et du cabotinage de même aloi. Et l'enfant de son côté sent très bien que la fausse-monnaie sentimentale qu'il aimerait tant fabriquer ne passera pas auprès du changeur fatigué qui en manie et refuse du matin au soir.(1)

A further reason why his father and mother were strongly of the opinion that parents should not be over-attentive to the wants of the child stemmed from the peasant traditions of large families and the necessity for strict rule of the parents over the numerous children.

Moi, j'étais bien fils unique; mais ... j'étais élevé dans un milieu où se gardait la tradition des familles de sept ou huit enfants, et où les humeurs d'un morveux n'étaient pas encore considérées comme des manifestations célestes, dignes d'être étudiées de près par les aruspices.(2)

From his mother he has gained a religious education in the Catholic faith - he is '... catholique de naissance et par l'éducation maternelle ...'.(3) It is out of respect for her piety that Jerphanion, during the holidays that he spends with his parents while attending the Ecole normale, occasionally accompanies her to worship. However, the influence of his religious upbringing appears to have little lasting effect upon him and by the time he enters the Ecole

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(1) Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, p. 1069.

(2) Ibid, p. 1069.

(3) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 322.

normale the emotional as well as the spiritual attachment to his childhood faith have vanished.

The references of Jean Jerphanion to his upbringing and the manner in which he describes his mother and father create the impression of austerity rather than intimacy in their family relationships. His attitude towards his parents is that of the dutiful son who respects the integrity of their life and who considers that they have well acquitted their responsibilities as parents. But there is a noticeable absence of warmth of feeling towards them. There is little hint of the tenderness which Laurent experiences for his parents or even of the hidden affection of the Thibaults for their father. The detached tone in which in Journées dans la montagne Jerphanion discusses the inability of his parents to adapt to town life at Saint-Julien after his father's retirement, and criticises his mother's treatment of his father as '... un enfant paresseux'<sup>(1)</sup> because of his failing memory, bears little trace of real filial devotion.

It is possible that the reasons for this lie in the different circumstances of the parents and the son. Between Jean Jerphanion and his parents there is the gulf of formal education, culture and social class. It is true that his father had also risen in status by gaining his brevet in the school at the chef-lieu of the canton. But as a village schoolmaster his

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(1) Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, p. 991.

links with the rural community had not been severed. As Jerphanion declares: '... Ce n'est pas au milieu "instituteur" qu'il appartient. C'est au milieu rural, et de petit pays.'<sup>(1)</sup> However, for Jean Jerphanion, who from his father's school has proceeded to the Lycée du Puy and then from the cagne at the Lycée de Lyon gained entry to the Ecole normale, the status of the normalien amongst the intellectual élite and his role in the classes dirigeantes, effectively limit his ability to identify himself with the milieu of his family. Yet, if socially and intellectually he finds himself at variance with his origins, he realizes that he cannot be a déraciné in any real sense as the habits, attitudes and values of the petite bourgeoisie are firmly imprinted on his personality.

Jean Jerphanion shows a resemblance to Laurent Pasquier and Jacques Thibault in that he finds that the influence of his familial education is pervasive and profound. As a young student travelling to Paris at the commencement of his first year at the Ecole normale he despairs at his provincial manners: 'Ses mouvements qu'il observe par l'intérieur ne lui plaisent pas. "Je manque de grâce. Je suis un fils de paysan."<sup>(2)</sup> At the Ecole normale he senses his inferiority to the students like Jallez from the Parisian lycées: 'Je manque de prestige ici, parce

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(1) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1022.

(2) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 39.

que reçu dans un mauvais rang, provincial frais débarqué, peu brillant causeur',<sup>(1)</sup> and he is self-conscious of his rural accent which though diminishing still bears traces of '... la lourdeur paysanne ...'.<sup>(2)</sup> But apart from this embarrassment at his country background he shares the feeling of the Pasquiers and Antoine Thibault that his capacity as a man of action and his reserves of strength which create a disposition for intense physical as well as mental activity, are drawn from his peasant ancestors and the tradition of hard work of the lower classes. 'Je me rends compte que j'ai un appétit inassouvi de travail manuel; et quand je commence à y céder, je ne m'arrête plus. Hérité, sans doute.'<sup>(3)</sup>

However, even if Jerphanion as a young normalien feels within himself the energy to become a grand homme d'action and like Antoine Thibault has proud dreams of grandeur, to the extent of adopting as his motto Memento magnitudinis, he, too, is saved from megalomania or destructive egotism by the strict morality of his upbringing. It is suggested that he shares the purity of his race, the peasants of Le Velay, whose Catholicism is enlivened by '... un reste de rigueur protestante ...'.<sup>(4)</sup> The idealism which Jerphanion later shows in his political career as a député for the Haute-Loire in the Radical-Socialist

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(1) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 317.

(2) Ibid, p. 318.

(3) Crime de Quinette, H.B.V. I, p. 273.

(4) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 322.

party is attributed to his family background. Thus, his patron, Bouitton, declares that the probity and earnestness of his protégé and his inability to accept political compromises represent an '... excès de puritanisme ...'(1) and are '... des traces du virus'(2) of his nonconformist ancestry. In addition, Jerphanion sees in his own dedication to the cause of removing social injustices a reflection of his position as a village teacher's son. From the instituteurs like his father who incarnate the spirit of 1848 he has learnt respect for liberty and justice. Despite his membership of the petite bourgeoisie he has been intimately involved with the working classes and, in consequence, acquainted with social inequalities 'dans ses replis tout suintants de douleur quotidienne'(3) unlike the typical '... fils de bourgeois qui se "penche" sur les questions sociales'.(4)

Although Jerphanion, the grand homme d'état, will reject subterfuges and avoid the duplicity and conniving of certain of his colleagues, he will not prove himself to be politically naïve. There is in his realism, further evidence of the permeation of his personality with the habits and ways of thinking of his milieu. As Pierre Jallez says of Jerphanion's native caution and shrewdness in his political role: 'Pas si bête qu'on veut bien le dire, notre rusé'

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(1) Les Travaux et les joies, H.B.V. IV, p. 60.

(2) Ibid, p. 60.

(3) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 322.

(4) Ibid, p. 322.

montagnard. (1)

The honesty, moral strength and sense of duty which Romans associates with the rural petite bourgeoisie to which the Jerphanions belong are also the characteristics of the families of the minor salaried employees and officials in the urban environment. In considering the stratification sociale of Paris, Torchecoul, the economist, stresses that the traditional categories are inexact and that a more appropriate measure for examining the social structure is the pouvoir d'achat of each group. The economic basis for his division between '... des humbles ...' and '... des gens à leur aise ...' (2) is a purchasing power of ten francs a day. Thereafter there is a gradation in category until fifty francs a day.

'A partir de là ce sont déjà les riches ... Il est bien évident aussi qu'entre une famille à 50 et une famille à 150 francs par jour, il y aura des différences notables. Mais elles ne seront pas essentielles. La vraie coupure se fait à 50 francs par jour'. (3)

There is, then, in Les Hommes de bonne volonté a distinction between les humbles and les superbes.

Amongst les humbles we find the Bastide family who live in the rue Duhamel in Montmartre. The father of Louis Bastide is, in 1908, a supervisor in a porcelain factory earning seven francs a day. Thus, Mme Bastide who must budget on this meagre sum for the household expenses has, like Mme Pasquier, '... l'esprit

(1) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 287

(2) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 922.

(3) Ibid, p. 923.

tourmenté ...' (1) and '... une susceptibilité nerveuse en matière de dépense'. (2) Again, as in Chronique des Pasquier the relationship of mother and child in the family of the petite bourgeoisie is portrayed as warm and accepting, even though Mme Bastide seems to exercise more direct authority over her son. 'Malgré sa tendresse, elle aimait contredire et avoir le dernier mot.' (3) The father, also, has certain similarities with M. Pasquier. In the circumstances which lead to his dismissal from his place of work he is shown to be proud and intransigent. Despite the hardship which unemployment causes his family he cannot bring himself to offer the apology to his former employer, M. Yvoy, which would restore his position. This uncompromising attitude had also characterised his relationship with his children. As the result of the paternal inflexibility, the elder son, Paul, had broken with his family in a dramatic manner which recalls the sudden disappearance of Jacques Thibault. However, Louis has benefited from this earlier family crisis as his father has endeavoured to treat his remaining son less harshly.

Louis Bastide's position is, then, effectively that of an only child. He has been thrown onto his own resources and has developed an intense inner life. The account of his solitary travels through Paris with

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(1) Ibid, p. 830.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 831.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 829.

his hocp provides an insight into the workings of the child's mind whose vivid imagination invests his errands with excitement and danger.

... Il était né pour une présence très grande de l'esprit. Mais son attention ne l'empêchait pas de s'exalter ... La course à travers les rues devenait une aventure touffue et mystérieuse, dont l'enchaînement ressemblait à celui des rêves, et dont les péripéties inexplicables l'amenaient peu à peu, et tour à tour, à des moments d'enthousiasme, ou d'ivresse ou de soulevante mélancolie.(1)

The mother-dependency which was apparent in the Fontanin household in Les Thibault and in the Pasquier foyer is again evident in Louis Bastide's relationship with his mother. His torments in Le 6 octobre over whether or not he deserves the reward of the chaussures jaunes which his mother has bought him for the school prizegiving arise from his knowledge of the financial sacrifice which the new shoes cost her, as well as his remorse for creating the impression that he has definitely won a prize for his school work. He has a deep-rooted fear of causing her distress and of losing her love and attention. Both his dependency on his mother and his mother's protectiveness are glimpsed in the following quotation:

Il serrait plus fort la main de sa mère. Elle fut saisie tout à coup, atteinte au cœur par la pensée qui tourmentait son enfant ... Penchée sur lui, caressant ses cheveux, son béret, elle lui dit, sur un ton d'effusion sourde: - Mon petit garçon! mon pauvre petit garçon! mon petit Louis chéri!(2)

This picture of mother-child love rivals any found in

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(1) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 101.

(2) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, pp. 834-5.

Chronique des Pasquier or Les Thibault.

The psychological portrait which Romain makes of Louis Bastide emphasises his '... fond de scrupule et d'inquiétude ...'.<sup>(1)</sup> He is conscientious to a fault, applying himself determinedly to his tasks. For Louis, every activity must have some purpose or goal and must involve effort and sacrifice. The pressures in the lower middle-class home for social advancement, a phenomenon of which both Duhamel and Romain are acutely conscious, spur his achievement. One notes that the first action of the écolier after his return home from school is to present to his mother his exercise books and his marks. Conscience for Louis Bastide is less a question of absolutes than of discrimination between actions which would please or displease his parents. For instance, later at the Collège Chaptal, which he has entered on a bursary, Louis despairs at his lack of mathematical ability, primarily because he feels that he is failing to fulfil his parents' expectations.

N'est-ce pas un abus de confiance que de laisser des parents vous nourrir, vous entretenir, parce qu'ils vous croient destiné à un avenir brillant? Si vous leur disiez la vérité: "Je ne comprends pas les mathématiques; je ne puis plus continuer ...", ils s'imagineraient peut-être que vous êtes pris d'une crise de paresse, comme il arrive à d'autres qui ont votre âge; que vous en avez assez des livres; que vous avez envie de traîner dans les rues comme petit livreur, ou de rire avec des camarades dans un atelier.<sup>(2)</sup>

Although Louis is sent to catechism each Tuesday

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(1) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 101.

(2) Mission à Rome, H.B.V. II, p. 970.

after school, his parents do not seem to be strong Catholics. At least this is the impression of abbé Jeanne who has Louis Bastide in his first year catechism class. 'Il se peut que la famille sans être hostile, l'ait tenu en dehors de l'atmosphère chrétienne'.<sup>(1)</sup> One has the feeling that without this background of parental interest in his religious education, Louis will soon outgrow his early training. Already he has begun to question what he has been taught. It is true that he seeks confession with abbé Jeanne to exorcise his guilt at his thoughts of Mme Yvoy, in which sexual feelings are admixed with revenge for the humiliation which he had experienced when he had attempted to intercede with her on his father's behalf, but this appears to be a nervous reaction motivated by self-disgust rather than an expression of true religious sentiment.

Adolescent crisis with its moral, psychological and religious elements reappears in the descriptions of his childhood and youth given by Pierre Jallez, the Parisian whose academic brilliance causes Jerphanion to sense the inadequacies of his provincial background at the Ecole normale. As in the case of Louis Bastide he is '... vcué à l'inquiétude, au scrupule ...'<sup>(2)</sup> and subject to fits of despair at his own unworthiness.

Je revois cette impériale de tramway du dimanche. J'allais au bois de Boulogne avec

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(1) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 909.

(2) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 487.

mes parents. Les gens du dimanche ne prenaient pas garde à ce pauvre petit homme de treize ans qui, serrant les lèvres, portait l'abîme chrétien sur l'impériale ensoleillée.(1)

For Jallez, religious education had not brought calmness and peace but terror of losing the state of grace. His first communion had been for him a 'journée d'affres et de tremblement ...'(2) and from his reading of the Gospels had come 'la hantise du péché mortel et de la communion sacrilège'.(3) But this crisis which had reached its apogee when Jallez was thirteen was not solely fed by religious despair. His '... hantises sexuelles ...' also figured in this inner torment 'nourrissant la nuée des scrupules secondaires'.(4)

Although delivered of this first crise by the reading of Lucretius and Renan's Vie de Jésus, Jallez would suffer a second moral crisis at the age of seventeen, which represented the '... dévoration de l'esprit par le cancer de la conscience morale'.(5) As with Laurent Pasquier and Jacques Thibault, the adolescent is torn between his thirst for purity and his sensuality. His recovery from these obsessions in late adolescence is painful and slow.

Romains leaves the reader in little doubt that the storm and stress of Jallez's adolescence is in part at least a product of the moral atmosphere of

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(1) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, p. 526.

(2) Ibid, p. 525.

(3) Ibid, p. 525.

(4) Ibid, p. 528.

(5) Ibid, p. 529.

his home. As in the other lower middle-class families which we have seen there are strong pressures exerted on the child to conform to adult standards of behaviour. There is the father who is ambitious and who seeks to better his social position - M. Jallez has risen from the position of a clerk in a branch of the *Crédit Lyonnais* at Chartres to that of an assistant manager at Paris, - and the archetypal lower middle-class mother who is '... d'une moralité irréprochable ...'<sup>(1)</sup>, scrupulously honest, cautious and thrifty and who exercises a strict control over her son's activities.

Ma mère avait ... les goûts policiers de beaucoup de ses pareilles. Elle essaye encore parfois de les exercer à mes dépens. Comme à cette époque-là elle n'aurait pas douté une seconde de travailler pour mon bien ...<sup>(2)</sup>

The influence of his upbringing may be seen in Jallez's attitudes towards security. As a student, his tendency towards dilettantism and his avid curiosity for all forms of intellectual activity which contrast with Jerphanion's steady application, cause him acute anxiety. He feels the distrust of his milieu for profitless activity which would compromise his chances of future success. This conflict between his nature and the moral imprint of his familial education is evident in the self-analysis the normalien attempts in Eros de Paris.

Il y a bien la hantise du concours, à la

(1) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 482.

(2) Ibid., p. 492.

fin de la troisième année, qui ne me quitte jamais tout à fait; qui tend peut-être même à s'aggraver, parce que j'ai l'impression d'être parti pour une série de vagabondages de l'esprit qui m'éloignent de plus en plus du travail scolaire. Encore une inconséquence de ma nature. Je sens en moi le plus extrême, le plus sincère détachement pour les biens matériels, et en même temps un besoin, très frileux à certaines heures, de sécurité matérielle. Le déclassé, à la recherche d'une situation qui lui échappe ... cette vision-là m'angoisse.(1)

Linked with this need for security is Jallez's attitude towards money. He confesses to Jerphanion:

'... Je tiens de mon éducation de petite bourgeoisie une probité vétilleuse en matière d'argent.'(2) The

decision which he takes after completing his agrégation to refuse the post offered to him at the Lycée de Digne and to employ the five thousand francs which his uncle has set aside for him towards establishing himself as a writer leaves him

'... tourmenté et inquiet ...'.(3) The acceptance of this inheritance offends his middle-class morality - 'Même si je rembourse un jour mon oncle, j'aurai admis par le fait qu'un homme de mon âge peut accepter de vivre sur l'argent de la génération précédente, donc en parasite'.(4)

Earlier it has been suggested that whereas Jerphanion is the man of action, Jallez is the lucid observer of events, who avoids commitment, preferring to remain aloof from the political and social world,

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(1) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, pp. 524-5.

(2) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 487.

(3) Recours à l'abîme, H.B.V. II, p. 618.

(4) Ibid, p. 618.

affecting '... le détachement du sage ...'.<sup>(1)</sup> This thirst for freedom and independence will divide him early from his parents as well as his contemporaries. One supposes that it is his opposition to the restrictiveness of family life which results in his leaving his home in the avenue de la République and entering the Ecole normale as an interne for the first two years of his studies and then in his third year applying for a demi-pension d'externe and renting an apartment in the rue Lhomond. Eventually Jallez will blame himself for failing to reciprocate the love and attention of his parents and to express his filial devotion in gratitude for their conscientious efforts as educators - 'un fils qu'on a si fidèlement aimé, si soigneusement élevé!'<sup>(2)</sup> In the prison at Simbirsk where he is held in 1922 because of his articles on his mission to Eastern Europe and Russia, he is filled with bitter self-reproach for his failings as a son. "J'aurais dû les aimer plus, mieux le leur montrer, mieux les aider à être heureux à ces époques-là, moi qui pouvais tant pour les y aider."<sup>(3)</sup>

Pierre Jallez's opposition to group constraints also affects his attitude to marriage. Whereas Jean Jerphanion and Louis Bastide experience no difficulty in adapting to the roles of husband and father, Jallez, who lacks their emotional maturity and their sense of

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(1) Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 378.

(2) Le Monde est ton aventure, H.B.V. III, p. 967.

(3) Ibid, p. 969.

social responsibility, is unwilling to give up his bachelor freedoms by entering into a lasting, sharing relationship. He avoids serious entanglements and is satisfied with a series of brief liaisons. The over-abundance of erotic detail in Les Hommes de bonne volonté which many commentators have noted, particularly in Le Tapis magique, where Jallez seeks through the liberation of the senses to enter a different plane of reality, may create the superficial impression that Romain sides with those who flout convention and despise conformity. Such is not the case, as Cuisenier declares:

Le roman ne glorifie nullement, du reste, l'union libre et adultère: l'amour conjugal y apparaît même le point culminant, le chef-d'oeuvre de l'aventure amoureuse, chef-d'oeuvre auquel chaque couple imprime sa marque propre.(1)

Even Jallez in middle age will tire of the unfettered existence of the célibataire coureur and at the conclusion of the novel-cycle his love for Françoise Maieul will overcome the last of his reservations about the obligations and duties of marriage.

It is clear from the examination of the familial education of Jean Jerphanion, Louis Bastide and Pierre Jallez, who with the instituteurs Clanricard and Sampeyre are amongst the finest representatives of the 'Men of Goodwill' in the roman-fleuve, that Romain's concept of la bonne volonté is closely associated with the process of education in a family of the lower

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(1) A. Cuisenier, Jules Romains, L'Unanimité et Les Hommes de bonne volonté, p. 178.

middle class - this group of braves gens whose virtues are opposed to '... paresse, désordre, profligalité ...', (1) who are energetic and honest and invested with reserves '... de savoir, de compétence, de courage ...'. (2)

Although the families of Jean Jerphanion, Louis Bastide and Jean Jallez are separated by a number of geographical, economic and social factors, morally and spiritually they belong to this élite of the petit peuple. The impression which is created in Les Hommes de bonne volonté is that it is upon the children educated in such families that Romain pins his hopes for the defence of the cultural patrimony.

The fact that each of these lower middle-class families constitutes a small domestic unit is significant: Jerphanion is an only child while Jallez and Louis Bastide are the younger sons, separated from their brothers by a large age-gap. In each of these cases the child enjoys almost exclusively the affection and attention of his parents. It would seem that this is the kind of environment which Romain considers presents the best opportunities for the child's educational development, possibly because this represents his own experience of family life. Certainly, the tribu or clan, the large lower middle-class family with its intricate relationships is treated harshly in Les Hommes de bonne volonté. For example, the Chalmers family which Jallez describes in Recours

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(1) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 92.

(2) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 1064.

à l'abîme is seen to be destructive of the individual freedoms of its members. Jallez, who has witnessed how, in a dining room in the Fond des Ternes, the fifteen members of the extended family are welded into an unanime filled with an '... excès de cohésion égoïste ...', (1) describes the group as 'une pieuvre de petite bourgeoisie'. (2) Not only does the Famille Chalmers think with one mind but also its exclusivism is intolerant and selfish, its actions opposed to la bonne volonté.

On se dit sans doute que l'époque n'est plus le règne des Familles, qu'elle est plutôt un âge d'individus et de groupes. Depuis hier, je songe qu'il y a sûrement, accrochées à des emplacements de premier ordre, des Familles Chalmers, dont on ne parle pas, et qui n'ont qu'à allonger un de leurs membres pour toucher un point vital de la Société, ou pour faire une effrayante ponction à la substance commune. (3)

The Le Burec family which one also finds in Recours à l'abîme is a smaller group but it too forms a tribu. Here, there is condemnation of the evil atmosphere in which the young are raised. Despite the first appearances of order and decency in their apartment in the rue de Chaligny, the Le Burecs, similar to the incest-ridden peasant family, the Leblancs (4) at Vaurevauxes isolated in the mountains of Le Velay, are morally corrupt and all members of the family, the old father, his elder son and daughter-in-law, his daughter

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(1) Recours à l'abîme, H.B.V. II, p. 624.

(2) Ibid, p. 623.

(3) Ibid, pp. 623-4.

(4) See Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, chapt. IV.

and younger son, are marked by sexual deviancy. It is even suggested that the young brother has been systematically initiated into vice by the other members of the family. 'Ils doivent se mettre à tous à faire son instruction. Il ne risque pas d'avoir des ignorances.' (1)

Apart from these aberrations, the image of the family of the petite bourgeoisie in Les Hommes de bonne volonté is almost unfailingly one of honest endeavour and virtue. But this is not the case of the affluent middle-class family. The bourgeoisie d'argent as opposed to the bourgeoisie de formation libérale is represented by such figures as Mme Yvoy, the wife of the porcelain manufacturer who dismisses Louis Bastide's father from his post. She is proud, insensitive and condescending towards her social inferiors. 'Elle respirait l'orgueil, la domination, la colère. Elle ressemblait aux despotes tuméfiés de l'Ecriture Sainte et de l'Histoire' (2) The picture which Romain Rolland paints of the wives of the rich industrialists and the nouveaux-riches businessmen is as savage as his representation of the mothers of the petite bourgeoisie is compassionate. Romain Rolland has the same respect for the members of the lower middle-class as Duhamel and he, too, feels that the temptation of the bourgeois to become engrossed with profit and possessions destroys his endowment of moral virtues.

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(1) Recours à l'abîme, H.B.V. II, p. 730.

(2) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 905.

However, the egotistical tendencies of the bourgeois are revealed more directly in the women of the bourgeoisie d'argent, whereas, as Berry points out, Romaine shows more tolerance for the men involved in the monde d'affaires who '... ne sont pas dénués de tendresse, de charité, ni même de "bonne volonté"'. (1)

The reasons for this discrimination are obscure, but may possibly reflect the essentially masculine viewpoint of Jules Romaine to which attention was drawn in Part II.

The attitudes towards the education of children in this milieu of the superbes are disclosed in the descriptions of the family life of the Sammécauds. By marrying the daughter of an oil magnate, Roger Sammécaud has become a member of the Cartel du Pétrole. Yet his wife, Berthe Sammécaud, lacks breeding and her vulgarity is ill-concealed under a veneer of respectability.

Berthe Sammécaud partit, là-dessus, dans une de ces colères, où l'éducation disparaît soudain comme un maquillage dans la sueur. Sammécaud constata qu'une fille de gros industriels possède, sans qu'on s'en explique bien l'origine, un bagage de mots orduriers à peine moins riche que celui d'une blanchisseuse. (2)

Berthe Sammécaud is, then, the stock figure of the bourgeoise orgueilleuse who is '... repue d'argent ...'. (3)

She is as harsh in her handling of the children as she is in her management of the servants, sharply

(1) M. Berry, Jules Romaine, p. 95.

(2) Les Superbes, H.B.V. I, p. 731.

(3) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 409.

critical of her husband's more sympathetic treatment of their two sons and daughter, and jealous of the preference the children plainly show for their father.

...Si elle avait à se plaindre un peu sérieusement de leur conduite, en particulier lorsque telle de leurs incartades accusait avec évidence les défauts de son système d'éducation, elle exigeait que Sammécaud se chargeât de la réprimande, et elle ne le trouvait jamais assez rude. "On dirait que vous avez peur d'eux. Si vous m'aimiez, vous me feriez respecter. Mais je sens très bien qu'au fond vous leur donnez raison. Il est fatal que des enfants se moquent de leur mère, quand ils savent que leur père se mettra de leur côté."<sup>(1)</sup>

If the younger son, Raymond, later appears to follow after his father, sharing his father's esteem for education and studying for a career in industrial management at the Ecole centrale, Didier Sammécaud, the elder son, is unstable and inactive, although he is seen to share his mother's grasping nature. '...Il gaspillait moins d'argent qu'il ne s'en donnait l'air. Il tenait de sa mère un fonds d'avarice.'<sup>(2)</sup> His habits of life which seem to Roger Sammécaud to be '... d'une vulgarité insurpassable'<sup>(3)</sup> are a further link with his mother's coarseness.

Nevertheless, this image of the upper middle-class family is relieved by the Maieuls. Although M. Maieul is a successful businessman and until the economic crises of the interwar years he and his wife and daughter are accustomed to the privileges of wealth, the Maieul family belongs more to the bourgeoisie

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(1) Les Superbes, H.B.V. I, p. 731.

(2) Les Travaux et les joies, H.B.V. IV, p. 86.

(3) Ibid, p. 86.

cultivée than the bourgeoisie d'argent. The formality and affectation of the Sammécauds give way to the intimacy and simplicity of the Maïeuls. Moreover, in Les Hommes de bonne volonté the Maïeuls have a place as a transitional family who illustrate the profound changes affecting the parent-child relationships in the modern family.

The majority of families who have been discussed up to this point are nineteenth century families with the children being born at the end of the century and brought up according to the rituals and traditions of that period. Françoise Maïeul, on the other hand, is of the new age. She is born in 1910 and will benefit from the increased freedom allowed girls after World War I.

Of all the characters who appear in Les Hommes de bonne volonté Françoise<sup>(1)</sup> is the only one whose life is traced from birth, through childhood and adolescence, to maturity. It is from studying her development that one gains valuable insights into patterns of child-rearing in this transitional period.

The home of the Maïeuls in the rue de Saint-Pétersbourg reflects the self-satisfied complacency of the pre-1914 bourgeoisie. 'Les meubles fidèles, les étoffes entretiennent un optimisme de foyer

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(1) Berry suggests that Françoise is modelled on Romain's second wife, Lise Dreyfus, the young licenciée en droit and licenciée ès lettres whom he married in December 1936 after his divorce in June of that year. See M. Berry, Jules Romain, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 253.

bourgeois.'<sup>(1)</sup> The girl who is born in this family will receive all the educational and social advantages of her class. The attention of Mme Maïeul is centred on her daughter. Romaines is moved to pity by the spectacle of the middle-class mother who gazes with solicitude at her feverish child in Mission à Rome.

Deux ans et deux mois et demi. Pauvre petit chef-d'oeuvre! Un si beau visage, déjà tendre et fier; de si beaux yeux sous leurs paupières closes, des lèvres qui font, en s'écartant à peine, celle du dessus dépassant l'autre d'un rien, une de ces moues qu'on appelle adorables, parce qu'une foule de significations y sont merveilleusement contenues; dont beaucoup sont futures.<sup>(2)</sup>

Capron<sup>(3)</sup> suggests that Romaines's theatre is singularly lacking in warmth. Scenes such as the above make it clear that this criticism cannot be levelled at Les Hommes de bonne volonté.

The description of the day's activities of the young lycéenne in La Douceur de la vie shows the care with which Mme Maïeul has supervised her daughter's upbringing. Françoise's time-table for Thursday is as minutely organised as her emploi du temps at the lycée, filled with activities which will develop in her the attributes considered desirable in her milieu - in particular the cultivated mind and graceful manners which are the sign of good breeding. At breakfast she converses in German with her institutrice, Mlle

(1) Montée des perils, H.B.V. II, p. 223.

(2) Mission à Rome, H.B.V. II, p. 772.

(3) M. Capron, 'Le Théâtre de Jules Romaines et la tendresse', Cahiers de la Compagnie Madeleine Renaud - Jean-Louis Barrault, 9<sup>e</sup> cahier, 1955, pp. 35-42.

Hengsi, and at ten she attends her piano lesson with Mlle Courtaud. Then follows a half hour of gymnastique rythmique. It is Mme Maïeul who attends to these arrangements and who accompanies her daughter to lessons. Later in the afternoon there is for Françoise a rehearsal in costume for a performance at a fête enfantine. At this stage, from her parents, Françoise has gained some inkling of her importance in society and sees no injustice in the privileges which she enjoys. However, she has also been taught to show courtesy towards inferiors who are not '... "favorisés du sort"'. (1)

Françoise's familial education appears at first restrictive but there is in her relationship with her mother more intimacy than is evident in the mother-daughter interaction in earlier families such as the Saint-Papouls whom we find in Les Amours enfantines. Mme Maïeul, indeed, believes that 'la situation d'une mère et d'une fille, autrefois, c'était peut-être d'une stupidité moyenâgeuse...'. (2) Françoise and her mother discuss sexual relations and pregnancy without visible embarrassment. Nor is Françoise pressured into marriage at an early age. She is permitted to study at the Sorbonne in preparation for a career. It is only when the father's business interests fail that Mme Maïeul broaches the subject of marriage with a wealthy suitor, but although psychological pressure is

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(1) La Douceur de la vie, H.B.V. III, p. 513.

(2) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 220.

applied to Françoise to marry in the family's interests, the final decision is left in her hands.

Romains appears to be of the opinion that the war years gravely affected family relationships and that with the social disruption caused by the absence of fathers from their homes, discipline in the family considerably weakened. To this relaxation of home control he attributes the break-down of manners and morals in the post-war years.

...Les mères, désespérées et un peu folles, après avoir hésité entre une gifle et un baiser passionné, optaient pour le baiser et pressaient dans leurs bras un gosse qui haussait les épaules: "Mon petit monstre chéri! comme tu me fais de la peine." Les pères, quand ils sont revenus, ont mieux aimé faire semblant de ne s'apercevoir de rien. Ils étaient si fatigués! L'urgent, pour eux, c'était de rattraper un peu de bonheur, et non de moucher des morveux.(1)

Obviously, Françoise Maïeul is not one of those whose upbringing has been neglected. Her petite enfance was over before the war had begun and her father had been separated from his family for only the first two years. Moreover, Mme Maïeul possessed the qualities of character to '...réussir une éducation normale dans une époque qui l'était si peu'.(2) Françoise, whose familial education is closer in character to that of the pre-war period will find herself to have little in common with other enfants de guerre in the post-war era. The young men, in

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(1) Cette Grande Lueur à l'est, H.B.V. III, p. 631.

(2) La Douceur de la vie, H.B.V. III, p. 518.

particular, she considers to be '...d'une telle prétention, d'une telle grossièreté. Une vulgarité d'âme à faire peur',<sup>(1)</sup> a factor which attracts her to Pierre Jallez, whose traditional upbringing and background are closer to her own.

The education of the children of the younger generation of parents brings into sharp focus the transformation in family life after World War I. As fathers Clanricard, the instituteur, Jerphanion and Louis Bastide appear to be more involved in the upbringing of their children than those of their father's generation. Whereas the fathers of the nineteenth century had retained overall authority but delegated the education of the children to the mothers, the twentieth century fathers participate in the management of the household and share the responsibility of child training with their wives.

Odette Jerphanion and Mathilde Clanricard are representative of the new generation of middle-class mothers. Both are intelligent and cultivated and have trained for careers prior to marriage. As Odette says: 'J'aime entendre parler de toutes sortes de choses qui, je sais bien, auraient profondément ennuyé ma mère; où elle n'aurait absolument rien essayé de comprendre.'<sup>(2)</sup> For these young parents who are less bound by convention and less forced to maintain hypocritical pretences of concord and unity than the previous generation, the

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(1) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 229.

(2) Le Drapeau noir, H.B.V. II, p. 1201.

foyer nevertheless has a value which transcends personal considerations. It is true that there are cases of infidelity but they do not result in dramas which disrupt the home. Thus, Mathilde Clanricard resumes briefly her liaison with her former lover, Laulerque, and her husband in his turn takes as his mistress the young Russian, Nadia. But there is no thought of having recourse to the easier divorce procedures available, nor are there reproachful scenes which would cause distress to the children. Indeed, Odette Jerphanion's attitude towards occasional marital lapses is understanding. As she admits to Jallez:

"Si tant d'hommes d'un certain âge, mariés à des femmes d'un certain âge voisin, prennent de jeunes maîtresses - sans être pour cela des débauchés, sans cesser d'aimer leur femme - il faut bien que cela réponde à une fatalité de la nature..."(1)

She agrees that provided such a liaison is conducted with discretion and without causing harm to the family, '[cela] n'altère pas gravement l'atmosphère conjugale'.(2)

On the question of whether or not the family has weakened, Odette Jerphanion has also definite views which she declares are unashamedly different from those of '...une petite bourgeoise d'une autre époque'.(3) She believes that despite appearances young parents are more conscientious than their elders in attempting to understand their children and she makes a comparison

(1) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 893.

(2) Ibid, p. 893.

(3) Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, p. 1107.

between the way she endeavours to educate her son, Jean-Pierre, and the kind of upbringing which Pierre Jallez had received. Jallez had had a tormented childhood without either of his parents having paid attention to his problems and as a result he had felt alone and abandoned in the midst of his despair. But Odette, like other young parents, has determined to act differently towards her own children.

"Nous sommes des parents plus évolués, voilà tout. Nos enfants ne sont peut-être pas plus nerveux ou plus tourmentés que ceux des générations précédentes. Mais nous y faisons plus attention. Nous y attachons plus d'importance. Nous ne pensons pas que cela s'arrangera tout seul. Il s'ensuit, évidemment, que dans une certaine mesure nos enfants hésitent moins à étaler leurs petites misères et à se rendre intéressants. C'est vrai surtout pour la nervosité pure, les caprices, les colères. Et c'est peut-être le cas de Jean-Pierre, en effet. Mais lorsque, derrière ces troubles plutôt physiques, se cachent des complications morales, nous avons plus de chances que nos prédécesseurs de nous en apercevoir; et c'est tout de même la première condition pour y porter remède!"(1)

Both Odette's son, Jean-Pierre, and Jean, the son of Edouard and Mathilde Clanricard, prove to be turbulent children who seem to be affected by the restlessness of the post-war years. But while Jean Jerphanion is concerned at his young son's frequent temper tantrums Odette believes that this is a stage of development which will soon pass. Similarly, although Jean Clanricard's rebellious nature causes problems at the petit lycée he attends, his mother

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(1) Ibid, p. 1107.

refuses to be over-concerned at these signs of his unruliness. "Tous les enfants ont leurs défauts. Cela se corrige peu à peu si l'on n'en fait pas des montagnes."<sup>(1)</sup> However, it is noticeable that the husbands are unconvinced by their wife's theories on upbringing and tend to retain opinions on child discipline which are more conservative. They are anxious for the moral health of their children in the unsettled years following World War I and resist the weakening of parental authority. Again, in this issue, one detects Romains's bias for male rather than female attitudes. Clanricard and Jerphanion do not envisage that the modern conjugal family with its greater intimacy should attempt to re-create the authoritarian climate of the foyer in a previous age, but they do believe that an over-solicitous attitude towards the child with an exaggerated emphasis on the child's integrity and freedom could inhibit easy socialisation. Hence, Jerphanion declares that 'la tendresse familiale...' must be counterbalanced by a '...goutte de discipline régimentaire...',<sup>(2)</sup> and he chides his wife for her indulgence of Jean-Pierre which is turning him into an enfant gâté. Clanricard, the instituteur, has a similar aversion to the principles of the child-centred theories of modern pedagogy. He is of the opinion that firm handling is required of parents in dealing with their children. 'Il faut surveiller ses enfants

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(1) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 956.

(2) Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, p. 1069.

de plus près que ne le conseille le laisser-aller moderne.<sup>(1)</sup> With their conservative views on child discipline the "Men of Goodwill" demonstrate their affinity to the attitudes of the pre-war lower middle-class families in which they had been formed.

Finally, one sees the link with the old traditions in the home of Louis Bastide. In 1933 the child who had played with a hoop in the streets of Montmartre at the commencement of the first volume in 1908, has become an '...agent de l'Empire'<sup>(2)</sup> and as an engineer brings to North Africa the technical skill as well as the culture of French civilisation. Just as at the end of Chronique des Pasquier, Laurent Pasquier's foyer links with the past through the old mother, so too has the presence of Mme Bastide senior in the home of Louis and Annette Bastide in Morocco been a constant reminder to the family of their moral and cultural heritage of petit bourgeois values. One notes that the mother's pressure on her son to improve his position through education has been repeated in the relationship of grandmother and grandchild. Louis Bastide, as he meditates on his family while driving towards the South, recalls that before her death Mme Bastide had implanted in his younger daughter the idea of becoming a doctor.

Il y a un an, quelques semaines avant de mourir dans la maison de Casa, la maman Bastide a dit elle-même devant la petite: "Moi, si j'avais des filles, et que j'habite ce pays, il y en a une au moins que je

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(1) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 968.

(2) Ibid, p. 1058.

pousserais vers la médecine"...La petite a entendu; et depuis elle a répété plusieurs fois: "Moi, je veux être une femme docteur, comme grand-mère l'a dit."(1)

Also it is appropriate that at the end of Le 7 octobre, the twenty-seventh and final volume of his magnum opus, Romain, who has stressed the extent to which his characters are influenced by the events of their childhood and the milieu into which they were born, should indicate the freshness of the memories of childhood of Louis Bastide and his tender regard for his parents. There is hidden in the soul of the engineer and the bon père de famille, the boy with the hoop in the rue Duhesme. As Louis realises, the facts of upbringing are indelibly imprinted on the mind, heart and spirit of man.

Une vie d'homme est une substance étrange, qui semble ne pas avoir de dimensions certaines et fixes. Les points de votre vie ne gardent pas les mêmes distances. La nuit, par exemple, quand on va s'endormir, un moment de votre enfance est soudain tout près; bien plus près que la conversation que vous avez eue avec le directeur dans la journée; et plus important.(2)

#### THE SCHOOL:

The school looms large in Les Hommes de bonne volonté; the principal figures in this monumental reconstruction of French society from 1908 to 1933 are either active participants in the educative process in the institutions of learning as students or teachers,

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(1) Ibid, p. 1059.

(2) Ibid, p. 1060.

or as gens instruits with their trained intelligence and broad culture formed by the common academic diet of the lycées and further developed by specialist training in the faculties and institutes, they bear the mark of the process. Indeed, the 'Man of Goodwill' is seen in this fresque historique to be endowed with energy and character by his lower middle-class family background and to be equipped by the middle-class educational system with the lucidity and the discernment to judge and evaluate the social trends and to resist threats to the French moral and cultural civilisation.

If the primary, secondary or tertiary teacher in Chronique des Pasquier or Les Thibault was in the main a secondary figure, now one finds that the teacher is precipitated to the forefront of the action. This is particularly the case of the instituteurs - the cultural missionaries of the lower middle class. A brief comparison of the situation of the instituteur, Joliclerc, in Chronique des Pasquier and the position of his counterparts, Clanricard and Sampeyre, in Les Hommes de bonne volonté makes clear the essential differences in treatment. Despite the obvious sympathy with which Duhamel portrays the directeur of the primary school which Laurent Pasquier attends in Le Notaire du Havre, Joliclerc remains a humble, isolated figure whose sphere of activity is limited to the working-class children of the quartier. But Romain's instituteurs exert a spiritual influence

over the nation, for, as Berry suggests, Romains possesses '...cette foi à la Michelet qui ne trouve ses prédicateurs d'élection que parmi les "calmes fantassins" des écoles communales'.<sup>(1)</sup> He sees that in the hands of these instituteurs rests the moral strength of the Republic. The primary teachers such as Clanricard and Sampeyre are noble figures who possess the ability to lead and inspire others; they are lay saints who personify the moral and spiritual resources of the Republic. As Jerphanion proclaims: '...La République est une espèce de grande cathédrale populaire, avec beaucoup de portails, de chapiteaux, de niches, qu'il faut meubler. Par des figures inspirantes, qui aient vertu de symbole. Sampeyre en était une...Clanricard en est une...'<sup>(2)</sup>

Of the role of the teachers in Les Hommes de bonne volonté Cuisenier says:

Les instituteurs et normaliens ne se placeraient pas à un niveau très élevé de la "stratification sociale". Mais, par leur vocation d'"intellectuels", ils sont, mieux que d'autres, des témoins de l'époque.<sup>(3)</sup>

The teachers clearly see the danger of the direction in which Europe is heading and they struggle to create a climate of opinion which would force the politicians to take urgent steps to avert the impending disaster. It is the Wednesday evening meetings of the petit noyau which Sampeyre has formed around him, based on his former students at the Ecole normale d'Auteuil,

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- (1) M. Berry, Jules Romains, sa vie, son oeuvre, p. 276.  
 (2) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 840.  
 (3) A. Cuisenier, Jules Romains et Les Hommes de bonne volonté, p. 21.

that constitute the nucleus of such an effort to overcome public complacency. For the idealists who are conscious of their powerlessness as individuals to move the collectivity - a feeling which is represented in the title of Clanricard's essay Nous sommes tellement seuls<sup>(1)</sup> - there is the need to search for effective means of action, for groups or églises through which their ideas could be disseminated. Amongst the teachers, then, there is the attraction of political parties, freemasonry or private organisations and syndicates.

It is this dedication to the cause of peace which the militant instituteurs such as Clanricard or Laulerque took into the classrooms of the écoles primaires in the early years of the twentieth century. At the beginning, as at the end of Les Hommes de bonne volonté, the instituteur appears as a prophet-like figure warning of the approach of war. In 1908, Edouard Clanricard, a young teacher imbued with these pacifist views which are opposed to the bellicosity and fierce patriotism of his nineteenth century predecessors, feels that it is his duty to inform his pupils of the potential dangers of the European situation. The exposition that he gives to his class of the consequences of an outbreak of war in the Balkans is simple and direct but effective in that it makes the écoliers in the Montmartre school aware for

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(1) See Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 963.

the first time of the reality of war, stripped of the romantic appeal of glory and honour.

...Les petits voient tout à coup la guerre noircir au loin comme un terrible nuage, tournoyer et se creuser en cercles de plus en plus vastes comme une effrayante fumée. Les batailles brillantes qu'on leur a contées dans d'autres classes, les images des généraux vainqueurs qu'ils ont contemplées sur des couvertures de cahiers à deux sous...toutes ces fantasmagories ont disparu.(1)

It is the quiet sincerity of the teacher which impresses his words on his pupils. Clanricard is fully aware of the importance of his role as a teacher and conscious that he must exercise his power over the young minds in his class responsibly. For, even as a young teacher with a new class, Clanricard senses that he holds complete authority - a control asserted not by enforced discipline but rather by his capacity to adjust his teaching to the needs of his pupils.

Il est capable d'en suivre les réactions les plus fugitives, sans aucun retard, et de se régler là-dessus. Si Clanricard pense une chose pour sa classe, pour qu'elle passe dans sa classe, et s'installe immédiatement dans la cinquantaine de petites têtes ébouriffées, il n'a qu'à vouloir, et aussitôt il lui vient des mots, un ton de voix, un tour de phrase tels que personne ne bronche plus, et que la classe visiblement pense cette chose qu'il veut.(2)

The scrupulous concern that Clanricard shows not to abuse his position to indoctrinate the pupils with his own beliefs has been taught to him by his maitre, Sampeyre, at the Ecole normale d'Auteuil who had impressed upon him that '...le métier ne consiste pas

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(1) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 31.

(2) Ibid, pp. 30-1.

à discourir, devant les enfants, sur les idées qui vous sont chères'.<sup>(1)</sup> The teacher's influence should be more discreet: 'On laisse un rayonnement d'idées, pour ainsi dire un champ d'idéal s'établir autour de vous et orienter silencieusement les esprits.'<sup>(2)</sup>

Yet, one notices that although Clanricard conscientiously attempts to avoid communicating his value-judgements in his lesson on the Balkans, the reaction of the class to his manner of presenting the information and to his choice of words makes it obvious that he is unable to achieve the objectivity he seeks. He is not aware that his voice betrays an emotion and gives dramatic impact to the words 'la guerre' and 'les gouvernements'. 'Même le mot est neuf: la guerre. M. Clanricard est le premier homme qui leur en ait parlé. "Les gouvernements." Ils les voient aussi. Ils ne les aiment pas.'<sup>(3)</sup>

Clanricard in 1908 is, therefore, one of the younger generation of teachers of the Third Republic who reject militarism and turn towards socialism and pacifism. However, elsewhere there is confirmation that the text-books of the period continued to glorify war and to take the theme of la revanche. For example, Jerphanion recalls that at his village school the books had recounted the deeds of the French military heroes.

Les couvertures de ses cahiers d'écolier  
lui montraient Mac-Mahon, Chanzy, Faidherbe...

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(1) Ibid, p. 31.  
(2) Ibid, p. 31.  
(3) Ibid, p. 31.

Le livre de lectures lui contenait des histoires de franc-tireurs, de siège de Paris, de charges à la baïonnette. La leçon de récitation lui faisait apprendre le Clairon de Déroulède, des pages de l'Année terrible.<sup>(1)</sup>

If, however, the internationalism of the young teachers commencing their careers at the turn of the century represents a break with the ardent republicanism of Ferry's instituteurs of the 1880's, they inherit from the pioneers of compulsory State primary education a fund of idealism and dedication. Clanricard belongs to this tradition. Behind his attitudes to teaching there is a spirit of optimism. He believes that despite the meanness of their condition the pupils may be improved in mind and spirit through education. 'Ils ne sont pas encore incurables.'<sup>(2)</sup> Moreover, the children are the instruments through whom the populace may be reached; the agents by whom educational ideas may be spread. 'Un mot raisonnable qu'un enfant rapporte de l'école exerce parfois une petite influence.'<sup>(3)</sup> It is his strong conviction in the importance of his mission that renders tolerable the depressing conditions in which he is called to serve - the classroom crowded with fifty-four pupils, from whom emanates a smell like that of '...une ménagerie de petites bêtes tristes, surettes, musquées'.<sup>(4)</sup> Yet, although as a man of the petite bourgeoisie, Clanricard

(1) Ibid, pp. 93-4.

(2) Ibid, p. 30.

(3) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 959.

(4) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 30.

experiences a natural revulsion for the atmosphere of the school in which he is called to serve and acutely feels the loneliness of his position, his attitude towards the écoliers, most of whom are from a working-class background - though they include Louis Bastide whose lower middle-class family of modest means is unable to afford the expense of a lycée education - is one of sympathy and understanding. His pity is evident as he looks around his class and imagines the reactions of his pupils if he opened the windows of the poorly ventilated classroom and let the cold October air in.

Aucun de ces pauvres gosses ne se plaindrait peut-être. Mais on en verrait qui pâliraient un peu plus. Ils sont déjà bien assez pâles. D'autres ramèneraient leurs genoux nus sous leur tablier. Cet autre, au premier banc, qui a de si beaux yeux bleus, et si graves, se tournerait vers la fenêtre, et avec une toux légère qui serre le coeur, regarderait le dehors non pour se plaindre d'être exposé au froid, mais comme pour s'excuser d'être faible et frileux.(1)

Like Joliclerc his relations with his class are warm. The friendly manner in which he speaks to his pupils, whom he addresses as 'mes enfants', and the impression he conveys to them that he possesses a high estimation of their capacity to understand, invite co-operation and attention. The scene when the teacher leaves his classroom in the école in the rue Sainte-Isaure and is surrounded by children '...dont certains lui prenaient la main, le tiraient par la manche'(2) shows the extent

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(1) Ibid, p. 30.

(2) Ibid, p. 57.

to which this humane and generous teacher has won the affection of his pupils.

In the twenty-five years that elapse between 1908 and 1933 the character of Clanricard and his teaching style change little. He is still a noble but unassuming figure, who, despite the disappointments of his personal life, retains his idealism and his sense of vocation. Nor is he ambitious to leave Montmartre and the school in the rue Foyatier of which he is now the directeur, even though he is offered by Bouitton and Jerphanion a post in a central school where 'la besogne est moins lourde', and where he would find '...certains avantages matériels'.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is in his capacity as directeur of his small school that one sees Clanricard's general attitudes towards discipline. Previously, when he was a classroom teacher, little reference had been made to his methods of control. However, now as a head teacher he must assume responsibility for the overall discipline of the écoliers and assist young teachers in the maintenance of authority. Although Clanricard strives for a relaxed manner of teaching and for the establishment of a close rapport between teacher and pupil based on mutual trust, he is convinced that the teacher must be vigilant and firm. He entertains no illusions as to the results of permitting the working-class children who are compelled by law to attend the écoles primaires

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(1) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 957.

to have increased freedom. '...Nos garnements sont très capables d'abuser d'un homme faible.'<sup>(1)</sup> The qualities he looks for in his teachers are authority and the teaching skills to capture the interest of the pupils, as distraction leads to indiscipline. This is evident in his report on the teaching style of the new instituteur Michel whose class he inspects shortly after the commencement of term.

Il a fort apprécié les dons d'exposition de Michel. Il a surtout fait attention aux élèves, aux rapports qui s'étaient déjà établis entre eux et le maître, à la première habitude qu'ils avaient prise de recevoir son influence. Michel est un doux, et peut-être un timide. Mais il a de l'action. Il séduit ce petit auditoire. Il ne le perd pas de l'oeil. C'est un timide, mais un timide vigilant. Il n'aura pas une discipline de fer. Il parlera un peu trop avec les mauvaises têtes. Mais les gros incidents ne sont pas à craindre; et l'ensemble de la classe travaillera comme il faut.<sup>(2)</sup>

'Le père Clanricard', himself, inspires respect in his pupils. His air of authority is based partly on his strength of character and the powers of his office and partly on the prestige which his reputation as a war hero, supported by his missing arm and his Légion d'honneur, gives him in the eyes of the pupils. As in the case of Joliclerc in Chronique des Pasquier he wields an almost magnetic power over the pupils in the school yard.

Les gamins d'une cour d'école ne se flattent certainement pas de l'intimider. Au moment des jeux les plus criards, il n'aurait qu'à s'avancer de quelques pas

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(1) Ibid, p. 958.

(2) Ibid, p. 958.

et qu'à lever le bras qui lui reste pour  
que toute la cour soudain devînt immobile.(1)

Yet, the directeur is able to communicate in the classroom as effectively as of old. This is seen in the moving address he makes to the pupils in Michel's class, recalling that twenty-five years before he had spoken to his class about the possibility of a European conflagration and warning that even amongst Frenchmen there were some who were fomenting war. Now, in 1933, he declares that the situation has changed and that it is not the French who are endangering the peace but '...les autres en face...'.(2) Whereas as a young teacher he had been hesitant to voice his opinions, Clanricard, the mature instituteur whose experiences of war have convinced him of the importance of working for peace through all means possible, now speaks directly to the écoliers about his views on the international situation and even suggests to the children that they should report to their parents his statement and his conclusion:

"Comme nous pensons que la France est dans le vrai, et comme nous n'avons pour ainsi dire plus la ressource d'agir sur les autres, soyons le moins divisés possible pour ne pas trop nous affaiblir."(3)

Thus, Clanricard, a teacher who is deeply involved with his pupils, who is certain that they are capable of understanding political and social issues -  
'Clanricard est sûr, s'il s'en donne la peine, de

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(1) Ibid, pp. 956-7.  
(2) Ibid, p. 960.  
(3) Ibid, p. 960.

faire comprendre à sa classe n'importe quoi - n'importe quoi d'essentiel' (1) - and who believes that discussions of contemporary issues are of more educational value than rigid prescriptions and set syllabuses, visualises that the school is an effective organ for spreading the principle of la bonne volonté.

In the admirable figure of Clanricard Romains combines the characteristics of the idealistic, dedicated, sympathetic instituteur of literary tradition. (2) It is obvious that in personality and in manner there are strong similarities between Clanricard and the instituteurs who have been referred to earlier, such as Joliclerc in Chronique des Pasquier and Ennberg in Vieille France.

These same features are also apparent in Sampeyre who at the Ecole normale d'Auteuil has shaped the attitudes of a generation of young teachers. Nor has his influence diminished after his retirement from his position in 1907. To his home in Montmartre where he lives surrounded by his books and the portraits of his masters - Michelet, Hugo, Renan - come his former students - Clanricard, Laulerque, Darnould, Legraverend - together with others who find inspiration in his calm wisdom and his humanitarianism.

In the meetings of the petit noyau Sampeyre demonstrates the same freedom from prejudice which had characterised his history lessons at the Ecole normale.

(1) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 30.

(2) See M. Reboullet, 'Permanence de l'instituteur français', Le Français dans le monde, no. 19, Sept. 1963, pp. 33-8.

Although his political sympathies are to the Left he has attempted to prevent his personal views intruding into his lectures: '...dans son enseignement, il se plaisait à rendre justice, du point de vue historique, au catholicisme.'<sup>(1)</sup> Similarly, he respects the opinions of his students and encourages them to express their own views, reserving his intervention to clarification of the points raised. Thus, in the political discussions of the petit noyau Sampeyre has a '...façon d'"attendre la réponse"...' which recalls '...telle classe de jadis à Normale Primaire d'Auteuil'.<sup>(2)</sup> Sampeyre's teaching style falls, then, into an integrative pattern rather than a dominative pattern.<sup>(3)</sup>

Clanricard and Sampeyre contribute to the formation of the image of the teacher as one who is a témoin - a lucid observer of the age, but also an engagé - one who strives to translate his idealism and humanitarianism into action. Yet, if these two exemplary characters dominate the world of the instituteurs in Romain's novel-cycle there are portraits of other teachers which indicate that Clanricard and Sampeyre are not necessarily typical of primary teachers. It is Jerphanion who suggests that the village schoolmaster with minimal educational qualifications like his father, although equally dedicated, lacks the social awareness of the better educated and trained Parisian teachers. Moreover, having spent their teaching service in the

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(1) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1014.

(2) Crime de Quinette, H.B.V. I, p. 298.

(3) See N. Flanders, 'Teacher Influence, Pupil Attitudes, and Achievement', Studying Teaching, pp. 42-68.

écoles communales of villages or small towns they become identified with the attitudes of the rural community.

...Ce n'est pas au milieu "instituteur" qu'il appartient. C'est au milieu rural, et de petit pays. Son atmosphère est la même que celle du juge de paix, du receveur ruraliste, du garde-forestier, du patron de l'hôtel, des deux ou trois propriétaires chasseurs... Ses attaches avec le "corps enseignant" sont d'ordre administratif ou corporatif.(1)

But Jerphanion believes that as more of the younger teachers pass through the écoles normales of the départements they will bring intellectual and spiritual leadership to the countryside.

...Ils emportent dans le froid de leurs villages de montagne le souvenir de ces trois ans de chaleur commune; d'un maître qui avait du prestige, de l'influence sur eux, qui interrompait les leçons pour parler des événements actuels, qui leur faisait, dans leur peau dure de paysans venus là pour acquérir une place sûre avec retraite, des injections d'idéalisme et d'enthousiasme.(2)

Hence, Jerphanion, who from his position of a normalien refers disparagingly to the low standards of education in the country, feels more in common with the members of Sampeyre's petit noyau, who with their primary training at the Ecole normale d'Auteuil constitute an élite of instituteurs with a high professional status within their profession.

But even amongst the petit noyau which represents amongst the Parisian teachers '...un secteur privilégié, à concentration exceptionnelle'(3) there is the

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(1) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1022.

(2) Ibid, p. 1022.

(3) Ibid, p. 1022.

activist, Laulerque, whose violent revolutionary spirit and instability of character are in sharp contrast with Clanricard's moderation and balance. The view which is given of Laulerque in the classroom in Montée des périls<sup>(1)</sup> indicates that his political preoccupations impinge upon his performance as a teacher, with the children failing to respond to his lesson on the classification of mammals and being summoned to attention by threats, while he himself finds it difficult to concentrate on his subject. Laulerque's support of violent action to avert war ('le 17 Brumaire veille du 18'<sup>(2)</sup>) and the contradiction between his fanaticism and his responsibilities as a teacher to provide moral guidance for children cause Jerphanion to offer this cynical comment: "Et ce type-là est instituteur dans une école de la Ville de Paris... quand on dit qu'un métier comme celui-là tue son homme! C'est consolant."<sup>(3)</sup> Mathilde Cazalis, the institutrice at the Petit Lycée Condorcet who becomes the mistress of Laulerque in 1911 and renews her liaison with him in 1922 after her marriage to Clanricard, is another whose commitment to teaching is in doubt. Whereas Clanricard is closely identified with the working-class population, she, according to Laulerque, although expressing socialist sympathies retains middle-class prejudices against the children of the peuple - 'Elle se flatte d'opinions avancées.

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(1) See Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 312.

(2) See Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, chapt. VI.

(3) Ibid, p. 1029.

Mais les gosses de Montmartre, de près, sentent un peu l'aigre. Elle pense gentiment à eux, tout en racontant des fables aux gosses de bourgeois.'<sup>(1)</sup>

If Clanricard shows a marked resemblance in manner and attitude to Joliclerc, the instituteur in Chronique des Pasquier, there is also considerable similarity in the way Laurent Pasquier as an écolier regarded his teacher, and Louis Bastide's attitude towards Clanricard in the early novels of Les Hommes de bonne volonté. He looks upon his teacher with the same mixture of affection, loyalty and respect. Again, it is the affectivity of the teacher's role which is clearly evident in the teacher-pupil interaction. The child's esteem for his teacher is seen when Clanricard asks Louis to take a message to his parents and he sets off '...rose de fierté et de reconnaissance'.<sup>(2)</sup> The amical fashion in which Clanricard addresses him is indicative of the way in which he has won his pupil's confidence and dispelled his fears, for, as Louis admits, at the beginning of each year the child is apprehensive of his new teacher. '...L'on ne sait jamais si beaucoup d'attention et de travail suffiront à plaire au nouveau maître. La faveur des grandes personnes contient toujours des éléments mystérieux. De bons et de mauvais hasards ne cessent d'intervenir.'<sup>(3)</sup>

Wilson<sup>(4)</sup> makes the point that the teacher's

(1) Ibid, p. 1035.

(2) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 57.

(3) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 871.

(4) See B. Wilson, 'The Teacher's Role', Education, vol. XIV, nos 1 and 2, Feb.-March 1965, pp. 20-8.

role in the educative process is essentially diffuse. The teacher's relationship with the pupil is not limited to intellectual training in the classroom but pervades other areas of his life. Certainly, this is true of the interaction of Louis Bastide and Clanricard. It is to his teacher that Louis turns when his father loses his position. Similarly, later, when it is a question of Louis's educational future, it is Clanricard who intervenes to persuade the parents that Louis should attempt to obtain a bursary for the Collège Chaptal. Nor does the bond between pupil and teacher fade once the pupil has left the école in the rue Sainte-Isaure. It is as a mark of his enduring regard for his former instituteur that fourteen years later Louis Bastide, now qualified as an engineer, calls upon Clanricard to introduce to him his fiancée and announce their plans to settle in Morocco. The fact that the relationship of primary school teacher and pupil has features of the mother-child interaction is made obvious in this scene when Clanricard regards Louis with a '...douce stupéfaction maternelle'.<sup>(1)</sup> Just as Clanricard is unable to escape the vision of the child he had taught '...le petit garçon, grave et consciencieux, du premier banc de la classe...'<sup>(2)</sup> and prevent a note of parental protectiveness creeping into his voice, so too does Louis Bastide show by his increasing emotion as their conversation progresses

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(1) Cette Grande Lueur à l'est, H.B.V. III, p. 764.

(2) Ibid, p. 763.

that he, also, is transported back to the classroom to the time in 1908 when '...cet homme si bon...en classe parlait si doucement contre la guerre'.<sup>(1)</sup>

Neither Louis Bastide nor the other lycéens in Les Hommes de bonne volonté tend to look upon the professeurs de lycée with the same unmixed admiration and respect. There is a clear division in attitude towards the school between the écolier and the lycéen as is seen in the case of Louis Bastide. Like Laurent Pasquier, Louis Bastide, a conscientious pupil from a lower middle-class background, must leave the école primaire for the secondary school in order to gain the qualifications necessary for entrance to the professions. He enters the more impersonal world of the secondary school with its intense competition and its demands for discipline and obedience. For the diligent, conforming pupil caught up in this system which is geared to producing an élite by elimination through examination, there is an obsession with marks and placings and an anxiety to produce the right responses.

The stress produced by the failure-oriented system is reflected in Louis's state of mind as he awaits the announcement of the results of the composition de mathématiques at the Collège Chaptal.

Cette annonce officielle des places  
est toujours quelque chose de très  
impressionnant; et dans les minutes qui

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(1) Ibid, p. 767.

précédent, Louis cesse vraiment de vivre pour n'être plus qu'un malade de l'attente aux genoux brisés par l'événement prochain.(1)

It is in the incident of Louis Bastide's seventeenth placing in mathematics that Romain analyses the reactions of both the collégien and the professeur to pupil failure. For Louis there is despair that his low position in this subject will compromise his chances of reaching the élite. He has visions of being trapped in a cycle of failure with his inability to comprehend becoming increasingly obvious, for he is already committed to a course of studies in which mathematical aptitude is of primary importance.

'L'épouvante, c'est de ne pas comprendre, quand on s'est justement engagé dans une voie où, faute de comprendre, on sera tôt ou tard perdu.'(2) The distress of the collégien is deepened by the attitude of his teacher, who, when he discovers that his pupil has not understood the points in the lesson, shows '...un peu de colère...' (3) and then while he reads out the placings for the composition betrays that he is already beginning to class Louis amongst the failures. 'Louis a été dix-septième! Le professeur a manifesté une trace de surprise, mais si brièvement! Lui-même semblait s'être vite consolé.'(4) One sees in the contrast of attitude between the instituteur, Clanricard, and the professeur de mathématiques the

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(1) Mission à Rome, H.B.V. II, p. 968.

(2) Ibid, p. 969.

(3) Ibid, p. 969.

(4) Ibid, p. 968.

difference between the position of the primary teacher dealing with young children of lower-class origins whose intellectual ambitions are limited, and the secondary teacher whose relationship with his older pupils is affected by the competitive atmosphere of the collège and as a result has become less sensitive to the effect of failure. However, one must add that Louis is less the victim of the rigid academic standards of the secondary school than of an unrealistic assessment of his abilities which had placed him in a course for which he was unsuited. The difficulties which Louis experiences at the Collège Chaptal and later at Centrale are attributable in part to the advice of Clanricard who had directed the pupil whose strengths were in languages and literature to a scientifically oriented programme of studies. Later Clanricard will recognise in Louis Bastide's struggle to gain an engineering degree 'un exemple de vocation manquée...'<sup>(1)</sup>

Other glimpses of secondary school pupils emphasise the pressures exerted by the competitive examinations. Thus one finds the lycéens in their study-rooms in Présentation de Paris à cinq heures du soir '...mordillant leur porte-plume ou fourrageant leurs cheveux...'<sup>(2)</sup> and at the end of the scholastic year we see the candidates for the baccalauréat completing their compositions écrites with '...le coeur barbouillé...'.<sup>(3)</sup> For the professeurs who

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(1) Cette Grande Lueur à l'est, H.B.V. III, p. 763.

(2) Le 6 octobre, H.B.V. I, p. 108.

(3) Province, H.B.V. II, p. 75.

are conscious of the imperatives of the examination-oriented system there is the obligation to remain closely bound to the programmes of study. It is only when the requirements have been fulfilled, that the teacher can unbend and introduce the class to works outside the syllabus: 'C'était l'époque des classes de fin d'année, qui ont lieu toutes fenêtres ouvertes. Pendant la dernière heure de l'après-midi, le professeur prend dans sa serviette un livre d'un aspect inaccoutumé, et lit à haute voix un fragment d'un auteur moderne.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Nor are the lycéennes exempt from these intellectual demands. It is in the area of girls' education that one is most aware of dramatic changes in educational provision during the twenty-five years which Romain's novels span. Les Hommes de bonne volonté chronicles a shift of emphasis amongst middle-class parents from an educational provision which will fit their daughters for future roles as wives and mothers to one which will prepare them for a career. As Jallez says in 1914, it is no longer the age '...des jeunes filles élevées au couvent, ou au pensionnat, les petites sauvagesses à bonnes manières'.<sup>(2)</sup> Germaine Baader, the actress, is representative of the women who had been amongst the first to acquire the cultural opportunities and the academic instruction of the men of the bourgeoisie. Even so, at the Lycée Fénelon at the end of the

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(1) Province, H.B.V. II, p. 75.

(2) Le Drapeau noir, H.B.V. II, p. 1201.

nineteenth century, it had proved necessary for her to obtain private lessons to pass both sections of the baccalauréat classique. But for the younger women, such as Odette Jerphanion or Françoise Maïeul, the programmes followed in the lycées de jeunes filles leading to the baccalauréat were similar to those in the lycées de garçons even if, as Françoise declares: 'L'enseignement chez les garçons est plus sérieux.'<sup>(1)</sup> For the twentieth century lycéennes, therefore, the period of secondary schooling is marked by tension and stress similar to what the lycéens experience and their anxiety to gain academic success is increased in like manner by parental demands and the knowledge of the insecure future for the unqualified. The changing views of parents, particularly in the post-war period, are expressed by Mme Maïeul in Naissance de la bande.

-Nous ne sommes plus du tout à une époque comme celle d'il y a encore quinze ou vingt ans...J'espère bien que tu n'auras jamais à gagner ta vie. Mais autrefois des parents dans une certaine position pouvaient se dire: "Nous sommes sûrs que notre fille n'aura jamais à gagner sa vie... Il est très bien qu'elle se cultive suivant ses goûts. Mais pourquoi étudierait-elle des matières ingrates, en vue d'un diplôme qui ne lui servira jamais à rien?" Qui peut avoir cette assurance aujourd'hui?(2)

Françoise admits to Jallez that in order to pass her baccalauréat (latin-langues and philosophie) she was forced to concentrate on what is examinable and that

(1) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 852.

(2) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, pp. 215-16.

this rapidly memorised, unassimilated knowledge was rapidly lost once it had served the purposes of the conventional examinations. "Je sais très peu le latin. Je l'ai appris trop vite. Pour la philosophie...j'ai appris ce qu'il fallait pour l'examen." (1)

The attitudes of the lycéens and the lycéennes to the teaching they have received in the secondary schools range from high esteem to sharp criticism. Thus, Germaine Baader praises the able, cultured teachers at the Lycée Fénelon and in particular "...une maîtresse qui savait tout obtenir d'elle, parce qu'elle avait l'air de considérer comme établi que de Germaine Baader, la petite blonde aux yeux bleus du deuxième rang, on pouvait tout obtenir". (2) Similarly, Jerphanion expresses his respect for the outstanding teachers of the Parisian lycées such as Brunschvicg and Chartier. (3)

The minority opinion of hostility towards the school and antipathy for the role of the professeur de lycée is held by Pierre Jallez, though even in his case, despite his repeated comments on the deadening routine of school life one finds evidence of his satisfaction with the intellectually stimulating atmosphere of the higher classes of the Lycée Condorcet. (4) The views that he expresses on the secondary school when he is a student at the Ecole normale echo the reservations of Jacques Thibault. Like Jacques,

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(1) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 852.

(2) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1070.

(3) Ibid, p. 1180.

(4) Ibid, p. 1077.

Pierre Jallez is an individualist who has leanings towards literature and has a horror of a conformist role. When he refuses the post which is offered to him at Digne, after passing his agrégation in 1911, he declares in his letter of explanation to Jerphanion his fear that buried in the country at Digne, away from the intellectual life of Paris, his existence as a teacher would resemble that of a Trappist monk.<sup>(1)</sup> His major criticism of teaching is that it lacks variety and challenge, and the very security it offers imperils creativity and invites stagnation.

Note que si, en ce moment, je sortais du lycée de Digne, ma serviette sous le bras... je n'aurais que sarcasmes intérieurs pour ma situation, je la verrais avec épouvante se prolonger dans l'avenir, en ligne droite comme une allée sans surprise et sans espérances qui vers le bout devient allée de cimetière par transition naturelle. Et je me représenterais avec des bonds de nostalgie au coeur une libre vie hasardeuse, des rues de Montmartre, des réunions de camarades écrivains et peintres, tous divorcés d'avec la sécurité.<sup>(2)</sup>

Nevertheless, one notes that with maturity Jallez's attitudes to the school will change. In Françoise his approbation of the traditional emphases of the secondary school, in particular the prominence of Latin and philosophy in the curriculum, will provide evidence that his views on the educational system have become more conservative.<sup>(3)</sup>

His fellow normalien, Jean Jerphanion, whose experience of the secondary school has been gained at

- (1) Recours à l'abîme, H.B.V. II, p. 616.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 619.  
 (3) See Françoise, H.B.V. IV, pp. 852-3.

the Lycée du Puy and the Lycée de Lyon, has fewer objections to a career as a teacher, although it is true he has moments of doubt when confronted at the Sorbonne by the colourless and pedantic lecturer, Honoré.

...Voici Honoré, l'érudition virulente, les embuscades successives des examens et des concours; et si par miracle tout se passe bien, des leçons à préparer et des copies à corriger pendant quarante ans; l'ennui de ma jeunesse à revomir intarissablement sur de plus jeunes. Ça, jusqu'aux cheveux blancs. Comme suprême perspective, la situation d'Honoré. Chemin faisant, une femme à lunettes, un peu osseuse, modérément emmerdante. Quatre gosses. Un eczéma. Et la rosette de l'Instruction Publique.(1)

Yet after this student reaction Jerphanion will accept without serious reservations appointments to teach philosophy at lycées in La Rochelle and Orléans before the outbreak of war and a temporary position at the Collège Rollin after demobilisation, before entering politics.

From the references which are made to Jerphanion's short and successful career as a professeur de lycée it is possible to compile a list of the qualities which Romains considers essential in the secondary teacher. It is suggested that as a teacher Jerphanion possesses certain '...dons exceptionnels...',<sup>(2)</sup> he is intelligent, eloquent, sincere and energetic. Above all, he has an air of authority. Like Clanricard, Jerphanion is certain that the teacher must have the

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(1) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, p. 576.

(2) Les Travaux et les joies, H.B.V. IV, p. 71.

capacity to exert firm control over his pupils.

Il avait un autre don, l'un des plus rares et des plus mystérieux: l'autorité, l'art de se faire respecter et obéir sans en prodiguer les moyens et même parfois sans les avoir. Il n'avait jamais été un professeur "chahuté", même dix minutes à ses débuts. Il avait passé des trimestres sans avoir à donner une punition (les punitions étaient d'ailleurs devenues si anodines!)...A son avis, et d'après les comparaisons qu'il avait pu faire, aucun métier ne demandait plus d'autorité naturelle que celui de professeur, surtout dans les grandes classes, où tout se combine pour favoriser l'indiscipline des "gouvernés": pétulance de l'âge encore intacte, malice et cruauté de la nature humaine dans toute leur fraîcheur, aptitude déjà mûre à la préméditation et au complot, absence de toute sanction réelle.(1)

But if on the basis of this passage Jean Jerphanion appears to have a somewhat pessimistic view of the child's nature and to hold authoritarian attitudes towards discipline, his relationship with his pupils has, according to his wife, Odette, been friendly rather than formal. Indeed, Odette is of the opinion that with his trust and sympathy Jerphanion is better suited to teaching than to the world of politics.

...Il aimait avoir confiance, et lier les gens par la confiance. La méthode lui avait en somme réussi avec les élèves et les soldats. Elle avait moins de chances à l'égard des parlementaires.(2)

After his war experiences Jerphanion leaves teaching to enter politics but this decision is prompted by his political and social idealism and his feeling that he must choose a direct means of action to work for peace and stability rather than a

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(1) Ibid, p. 71.

(2) Ibid, p. 71.

dissatisfaction with the process of education in the schools or with the duties which fall to the lot of the teacher - the difficult conditions of service which his wife, Odette, describes as: '...ses corvées, ses routines, ses heures de classe trop nombreuses...'.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus, Jerphanion, in announcing his candidature for the Radical-Socialist party in December 1923 at his speech at the banquet of the Amicale des Instituteurs de la Haute-Loire, pays tribute to his former profession. The vocation of the professeur de lycée is '...un beau métier, un des plus beaux qu'on puisse avoir...'.<sup>(2)</sup>

Jerphanion and Jallez are products of the State schools as indeed are the majority of the principal figures in Les Hommes de bonne volonté. However, as in Les Thibault there are references to schools outside the State system, some of which, it is implied, are less intellectually demanding than the formal, academic lycées. Gilbert Nodiard, for example, the son of a wealthy businessman, received his education at the country boarding school, the Ecole des Roches. Similarly, Françoise Maieul's elder brother, Jacques, has been placed en pension by his upper middle-class parents at an exclusive private school set in rural surroundings. The Catholic schools are also frequently mentioned. The sons of the Marquis de Saint-Papoul attend a Catholic institution (Ecole Bossuet) as well as a lycée (Louis-le-Grand), while

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(1) Ibid, p. 70.

(2) Journées dans la montagne, H.B.V. III, p. 1000.

their sister, Jeanne, is a pupil at the Pensionnat Sainte-Clotilde. It is suggested that such a school caters primarily for the children of upper-class families. One notes that Jeanne's '...traces fugitives d'affectation...' (1) are attributed to the influence of the pensionnat she attends. Another of these private girls' schools is the Institution Sainte-Marthe. From the comments which abbé Jeanne makes about this school it would appear that scholastically it is inferior to the State schools and prepares its pupils for a '...rôle de future épouse, de future maman'. (2) The emphasis is upon the social graces and although it is nominally a Catholic institution the pupils have only '...quelques vagues répétitions de catéchisme' (3) and it appears that the headmistress regards religious instruction '...exactement comme une heure de piano ou de danse'. (4) One must also add Jallez's comment on teaching in the private girls' schools when he compares the honesty of Françoise's writing in the first letter she addresses to him, with the modelled elegance of the handwriting of the products of the Catholic pensionnats.

"Cette jeune personne n'a pas été formée par les Oiseaux, ni par aucun de ces pensionnats mondains-religieux, où l'on persiste à doter les demoiselles de cette écriture parfaitement ridicule, que l'on considère sans doute comme une savonnette à vilains, mais dont l'effet est de rompre la main à un exercice de

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(1) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 370.

(2) Les Humbles, H.B.V. I, p. 978.

(3) Ibid, p. 978.

(4) Ibid, p. 979.

vanité et de faux-semblant. Une fille de ferblantier enrichi d'après-guerre n'est un complet chef d'oeuvre qu'avec l'écriture des Oiseaux...Ceci est une écriture de lycée et de Sorbonne. Tant mieux. Je n'avais jamais si bien senti que l'écriture de lycée est à sa manière un indice d'honnêteté intellectuelle.(1)

The impression is given that the suppression of the schools under the control of the teaching congregations which had provided an education of quality before the Combist legislation has created a vacuum in private education. However, from two sources comes evidence that the orders are still alive and quietly resuming their activities. In 1908 Haverkamp acts as the intermediary in a transaction, the purpose of which is to prevent the former Jesuit college at Saint-Cyr-sous-Dourdan falling back into the hands of the order.(2) In another reference to the congregations in 1910, it is suggested that at the town of M..., where abbé Mionnet is temporarily stationed, the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart are renewing connections with the pensionnat from which they have been expelled.(3)

If the Marquis de Saint-Papoul follows tradition and sends his children to Catholic schools until it becomes obvious that this will prejudice his chances of election as a candidate of the Left, Marie de Champcenais, at the urging of her lover, Roger Sammécaud, makes the decision to send her backward son, Marc, to an English college. The reasoning

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(1) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 797.

(2) See Les Superbes, H.B.V. I, chapt. VI.

(3) See Province, H.B.V. II, chapt. XIX.

behind this move is that the needs of the child of below average ability are neglected in the French schools and that the character training given in the English colleges would be more appropriate for Marc than the '...morne travail dans les cahiers et les livres...' (1) of the lycées. Moreover, the stress on all-round development would allow the child to compensate for his intellectual inferiority and his rough manner by his abilities in other directions, and correspondingly enable him to gain the acceptance of the teachers and fellow pupils.

...Les Anglais, même à cet âge-là, sont plus tolérants, plus respectueux des singularités d'autrui. Il suffira qu'il acquière un rien de supériorité dans un sport quelconque; et je l'en crois très capable. Il ne sera pas malheureux de tout.(2)

Later glimpses of Marc de Champcenais, the future coureur d'autos, show that his English education has had a marked effect upon his personality development. The enfant arriéré on his return from his English college has the air of '...un fils de lord des montagnes d'Ecosse...'. (3) As Sammécaud had predicted, the child has found the atmosphere of the college more satisfying than the intellectualism of the French schools and has relished the opportunities for outside activities. 'Il se classait très honorablement dans les compétitions sportives. Son peu de goût pour les livres ne lui nuisait pas auprès

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(1) Les Superbes, H.B.V. I, p. 767.

(2) Ibid, p. 767.

(3) Le Drapeau noir, H.B.V. II, p. 1160.

de ses camarades.' (1)

It would seem that with these references to the character training which Marc receives in his English school, Romains is attempting to place the French approach to secondary education into international perspective. The generalisation which he makes clearly indicates a fundamental difference in attitude towards the child, with the English tradition which aims to educate the whole child contrasted with the French stress upon training the mental faculties and equipping the child with the powerful instrument of reason - a simplification of national characteristics in education which nevertheless in Halls's view contains more than a grain of truth. (2)

When one proceeds beyond the secondary schools to the tertiary institutions in Les Hommes de bonne volonté, one finds more overt criticism of the teaching methods and of the calibre of the teaching personnel.

Laurent Pasquier's experience while a student of science and medicine, of the hypocrisy, intellectual dishonesty, overwhelming ambition and sterility of thought in the world of the savants is paralleled by Albert Viaur's disillusionment with the lack of integrity of the tertiary teachers under whom he carries out his research. His supervisor for the agrégation in biology is Pétiaux, who holds the chair of histology. Pétiaux, as Viaur soon discovers,

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(1) Ibid, p. 1160.

(2) See W. Halls, Society, Schools and Progress in France, pp. 1-2.

'...comme savant et comme professeur manquait de sérieux',<sup>(1)</sup> having gained his reputation as an original mind by plagiarising foreign sources and attributing as his own the research findings of his students. Viaur's later experience of the refusal of the representatives of official science, the two '...polichinelles...'<sup>(2)</sup> Janteaume and Robertet, to give careful consideration to his experiments into the effect of the will on cardiac rhythm and their obvious disbelief that a humble doctor attached to the spa at Celle-les-Eaux is capable of serious scientific inquiry, confirms the low opinion he has formed of '...les moeurs des pontifes...'.<sup>(3)</sup>

Indeed, it would seem from the treatment of this theme of scientific creativity that Romains<sup>(4)</sup> is of the opinion that the academic atmosphere inhibits research and that consequently it is from men such as Dr Viaur who work independently, outside of academic circles, that scientific advances come, rather than from the members of the scientific establishment who are motivated by a vain search for '...les places du concours, les sièges d'Académie, les traitements, les décorations...les bustes de marbre à l'entrée des bibliothèques'.<sup>(5)</sup> Certainly Viaur, himself, believes that the scientist must resist the destructive nature of university teaching which drives out originality and

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(1) Les Créateurs, H.B.V. II, p. 768.

(2) Mission à Rome, H.B.V. II, p. 950.

(3) Les Créateurs, H.B.V. II, p. 769.

(4) Perhaps this also reflects Romains's disappointment at the reaction of the scientific world to his theories on "eyeless sight".

(5) Les Créateurs, H.B.V. II, p. 797.

substitutes dull uniformity.

Il sentait d'instinct que les grandes entreprises de l'intelligence n'ont jamais été possibles que parce qu'il y avait des hommes capables de s'accorder, en dépit des fonctionnaires du savoir, cette insolente liberté de jeu.(1)

The dissatisfaction which Viaur feels with the science faculties is echoed by students in other departments of the university. For example, Françoise Maïeul, the post-war student at the Sorbonne and the Faculté de Droit, criticises the conservatism of her lecturers in the law school and the reactionary spirit in the student body.

...Je trouve les cours horriblement ennuyeux. Et je n'aime pas l'esprit de la Faculté. Tu n'imagines pas cette cohue de petits jeunes gens paresseux, infatués, chahuteurs, réactionnaires. Comme si on avait réuni tous les cancre de bonne famille des lycées et des boîtes religieuses.(2)

However, the most damning judgements on the inefficiency of tertiary education come from the two normaliens, Jallez and Jerphanion. As first-year students at the Sorbonne in 1908 they are irritated by the pedantry and dry erudition of their lecturers Honoré, Mauduit and Leroux. Nor is their main objection to the failure of such a '...studieux imbécile'(3) as Honoré to stimulate their minds with his dull recital of facts and references and the conceited manner in which he presents his material - '...ses vaines élégances et ses redites...' (4) - but

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(1) Ibid, p. 799.

(2) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 215.

(3) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 325.

(4) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, p. 576.

more particularly the pseudo-scientific approach to a literary text which ignores its value as a work of art. Jerphanion's censure of this method is seen in the following passage.

A coup sûr, Honoré était content. Il disait sur les poètes de la Renaissance, des choses qu'il avait studieusement préparées et qu'il croyait délicates. Il citait des références, dictait des notes bibliographiques... Ensuite Jerphanion n'écouta plus. Il rêvait. Il transformait en acroté intérieure la lumière des lampes de la salle, et le bruit des plumes sur le papier.

"J'ai vingt-et-un ans, et je suis là. Et je m'occupe à ça. Un poème qui glorifie l'amour se décompose en une grappe de notes, philologiques, comme une belle chair attaquée par le mal se fait bourgeons de lupus ou chapelet de pustules."(1)

The aversion of Jallez and Jerphanion to this '... érudition virulente...' (2) which destroys the aesthetic values of a literary work is motivated by their belief that the methods of science are inapplicable to literary appreciation. Slightly younger than Laurent Pasquier or Antoine Thibault, they would seem to be less influenced by science and the positivist spirit. As will be seen later, their attitudes towards the study of science tend to be deprecating - even in the case of Jean Jerphanion who has excelled in sciences and lettres at the secondary level and could have proceeded to the Ecole polytechnique.

One notes that their objections to the rigidly analytical nature of the explication de texte are

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(1) Ibid, p. 576.

(2) Ibid, p. 576.

repeated by the post-war generation of students. Tanguier declares to his fellow student at the Sorbonne, Françoise Maïeul, that:

[Le poème] n'a pas été fait pour qu'on s'arrête trois fois par vers et qu'on intercale des remarques à n'en plus finir sur l'emploi du conditionnel, sur une allusion historique ou biographique, sur un emprunt de l'auteur à Tibulle et à Propertius. Ces gens-là ne se demandent jamais si ce vieux poème, tel quel, est encore capable de nous émouvoir, ou si nous sommes capables, nous, de le sentir, de sentir qu'il est beau. Ça ne les intéresse pas. Ils seraient épatants pour faire un cours sur Raphaël à des aveugles. Et ils dicteraient des notes, des notes...et à l'examen de fin d'année les aveugles seraient reçus...(1)

If the students associate the grand universitaire with dry scholasticism, this image does not fit one of the lecturers, Zabiesky, to whose lecture on the concept of age in Montaigne, Romains devotes a chapter in Naissance de la bande. Zabiesky impresses with his depth of knowledge and genuine understanding of his subject as well as his ability to capture the interest of his students with his oratorical skill. Although his material is but loosely linked with his lecture topic, the development of his ideas and the conclusions he draws are always stimulating. Above all Zabiesky demonstrates the same intuitive understanding of the thoughts and feelings of his audience and the same capacity to clothe his ideas in words that stir the imagination which Clanricard shows in his lessons at the école in the rue Sainte-Isaure or Jerphanion in

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(1) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, pp. 212-13.

his address at the banquet of the Instituteurs de la Haute-Loire.

Although Zabiesky's lectures entertain with their digressions and flashes of wit, they also, Romain suggests, have an educational value not found in the formal, methodical analyses of the pedants.

Les renseignements précis, les développements tout arrangés, cela se trouve toujours dans les bouquins. Zabiesky, au milieu de ses fariboles, vous jette de temps en temps une idée que vous n'auriez rencontrée nulle part. Il vous émoustille l'esprit. Il vous habitue à ne pas aligner des pensées connues d'avance, et qui ont leur place numérotée. (1)

As with the lycéens, the sorbonnards are conscious of the limitations placed upon their studies and the restrictions on the free development of their intellectual interests by examination pressures. The frustrations of the candidates for the agrégation who feel confined by the programmes of study are expressed by Jerphanion: 'En ce moment, hélas, je ne lis pas les poètes, je les explique. Mais plus tard, quand je pourrai les lire sans penser au concours, quelle revanche!' (2) Jerphanion is one who suffers from '...l'obsession des examens...' (3) '...le spectre des examens' (4) He is aware that '...reçu dans un mauvais rang...' (5) in the concours d'entrée for the Ecole normale and with the handicap of his provincial education he must impose upon himself a rigorous self-

(1) Ibid, p. 201.

(2) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, p. 577.

(3) Ibid, p. 625.

(4) Le Drapeur noir, H.B.V. II, p. 1104.

(5) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 317.

discipline in order to succeed. Behind the energy and concentration with which he prepares his mémoire for the licence on the subject of Rousseau législateur and the determination with which, after his licence has been passed with distinction, he pursues his research for the agrégation, is the knowledge that with his rural background and his parents' lack of financial resources he must rely upon his own strength to achieve his academic and social ambitions. Hence, as he tells Jallez as they discuss the agrégation, his failure would be '...un drame'.<sup>(1)</sup> "'...Je suis prêt à tous les sacrifices provisoires pour éviter l'expérience."<sup>(2)</sup>

Amongst other academically highly talented students at the Ecole normale the examination system in higher education breeds cynicism. As Caulet remarks: "'J'ai choisi la grammaire parce que c'est la grammaire qui passe pour la plus facile. S'il y avait eu une agrégation d'alphabet, j'aurais choisi l'agrégation d'alphabet."<sup>(3)</sup> With the sceptics and the cynics in the ranks of the normaliens there are the '...pédants frivoles...'<sup>(4)</sup> the bûcheurs whose vision is narrowed to the formally academic. Although Jerphanion has '...un côté bon élève...'<sup>(5)</sup> he is scornful of his fellow students who fail to take advantage of the wider cultural opportunities which are afforded by higher education. Thus, he expresses his contempt

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(1) Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 363.

(2) Ibid, p. 364.

(3) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 313.

(4) Crime de Guinette, H.B.V. I, p. 272.

(5) Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 363.

for:

...toute une bande de pauvres diables en train de piocher dans les thurnes. Employés honnêtes. Rayon des oeuvres de l'esprit. Pindare et Lucrèce, qu'ils mettent sur fiches, leur tiennent au coeur comme une paire de chaussettes. Leurs prédecesseurs ont prêté serment au Second Empire; et sans restriction mentale, hélas! Ils éreintaient Hugo dans les classes de rhétorique.(1)

Nor, as we have seen, is a normalien of the brilliance of Pierre Jallez who is 'reçu avec éclat'(2) exempt from the stress of competition for examinations and concours, even if with his high intelligence and keen inquiring mind he is not forced, as in the case of Jerphanion, to regulate his activities nor sacrifice his many-sided interests in the arts to fulfil his study requirements. Besides, Jerphanion is aware that behind his friend's air of detachment from the travail scolaire and his reputation as a dilettante and a fantaisiste there is a fundamental seriousness of purpose - "...Tu te fiches moins d'être reçu à l'agrégation que tu n'en as l'air"(3)

Jerphanion's comment reminds us that the expressed views of a student such as Jallez do not necessarily indicate his true position. Nor should the criticisms of the process of education in the tertiary institutions of the students seen in Les Hommes de bonne volonté be taken to represent finality of opinion. Indeed, Romain in his study of the

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- (1) Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V. I, p. 317.  
 (2) Ibid, p. 317.  
 (3) Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 363.

reactions of students to the educative process underlines the difference between the tendency of the young learners to be intolerant of the weaknesses of the system and their later view which is one of general approval. For example, Françoise Maieul, after gaining her licence, will revise her estimation of the value of her training at the Sorbonne. Whereas before she had concurred with Tanguier's condemnation of the methods in the explication de texte now she defends the Sorbonne against the accusation that it promotes an '... érudition desséchée...' (1) and declares to Jallez that the results of her instruction have been largely beneficial, developing habits of accuracy and precision.

Mais n'est-ce pas, s'être habituée à comprendre un texte dans le détail, à ne jamais confondre deux emplois d'un mot, à ne laisser passer aucune allusion sans tâcher d'y voir clair, ce n'est pas ce qui empêche d'être sensible?... Mes explications de la Sorbonne ne m'ont pas gênées, au contraire, quand je me suis mise à lire Proust ou Gide...(2)

The metamorphosis is even more striking in the case of Pierre Jallez who had expressed his contempt for the sterility of the teaching at the Sorbonne in 1908, but who, fifteen years later, in his conversation with Françoise reveals himself a staunch supporter of the traditional procedures of higher education. Romain, obviously, is not one of those who questions the effectiveness of higher education in developing the analytical mind.

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(1) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 853.

(2) Ibid, p. 853.

There is one tertiary institution which escapes the criticisms of the students - the Ecole normale supérieure. If the faculties and the institutes are subject to conformist pressures the impression remains that the spirit of free inquiry prevails amongst the normaliens. This is best exemplified in the discussions of the students in their thurnes. The lively exchange of ideas between students who have been drawn from different parts of France - Jallez, the Parisian, Jerphanion from Le Velay, Caulet from the Beauce, Sidre, the Bourbonnais - each of whom has different convictions and ideals, is vital to the development process of the esprit normalien.

Of all the educational institutions in Les Hommes de bonne volonté none is painted with such clarity and evident sympathy as the Ecole normale supérieure in the rue d'Ulm. It is as if Romains, like Jean Jerphanion in Les Travaux et les joies, is making a pilgrimage back to the Ecole to recapture his '...élan initial...',<sup>(1)</sup> his youthful idealism. From the moment that in Crime de Quinette Jerphanion steps inside the unprepossessing building in the rue d'Ulm, with its façade creating the impression of a '... tristesse administrative...',<sup>(2)</sup> the reader is plunged into an environment redolent with the exuberance of youth and the camaraderie peculiar to those who discover that they share the same insatiable hunger for

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(1) Les Travaux et les joies, H.B.V. IV, p. 22.

(2) Crime de Quinette, H.B.V. I, p. 265.

knowledge and the same passion for new experiences. This heady, intellectual atmosphere of the Ecole normale is evident in the description Romain makes of the thurnes.

Chaque "thurne" de première année était une pièce d'environ trois mètres cinquante de large, sur cinq de profondeur, avec un plafond élevé. Le mobilier se composait de quatre ou cinq tables rectangulaires, d'autant de chaises et de deux rangées de petites armoires-étagères, fixées aux deux murs latéraux. Un gros calorifère rond occupait un des angles. Le tout ressemblait à un bureau de ministère désaffecté. Et pourtant, chaque fois qu'on ouvrait une de ces portes, il en sortait une espèce de bouffée psychique dont la teneur n'était pas pénible... Ici on respirait sans doute l'arôme des jeunes pensées, qui est un tonique incomparable.(1)

The Ecole normale which Romain reveals in Les Hommes de bonne volonté is one which has lost its major teaching role to the Sorbonne in the 1905 reforms but which under the benevolent eye of the Secretary General, Dupuy, still retains its traditions and its reputation for liberal thought. For the students, the freedom which they are allowed in this unique institution '...qui tient du séminaire, du laboratoire, de l'hôtel meublé, de l'abbaye de Thélème'(2) is conducive to intellectual endeavour and broad speculation. The Ecole normale is an unanime which spiritually strengthens and brings moral and mental elevation, and takes its place amongst the personnages of Les Hommes de bonne volonté with a character and a

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(1) Ibid, p. 265.

(2) A. Cuisenier, Jules Romain et Les Hommes de bonne volonté, p. 23.

personality of its own.

It is the stimulus of the group which Romain Rolland indicates to be a powerful factor in education. Even the traditional exuberance and delight in mystification which the normalien brings from his Parisian or provincial cagnes where 'Chacun s'ingénie, invente' and attempts to create '...une sorte de vie inimitable'<sup>(1)</sup>, with its manifestation in the canulars at the Ecole normale, are seen as part of the process of intellectual development - a means of mental sharpening and of exercising the imaginative and creative powers. It would appear that in a real sense the normaliens educate each other and by sharing their ideas and opinions, they broaden their vision and avoid the dangers of narrow specialisation. Hence, Jerphanion, the provincial, becomes infused with Jallez's great love of Paris and his enthusiasm for all forms of modern art, and he in turn influences Jallez with his absorption in political and social issues. The narration of the debates of Jallez and Jerphanion, whether on their balades through the streets of Paris or in their thurne at the Ecole normale,<sup>(2)</sup> with the encyclopaedic range of topics that they subject to judgement by their highly developed esprit critique, provides a sharp contrast with the passivity of instruction at the Sorbonne and the general lack of student involvement in the process of education at the tertiary level.

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- (1) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1077.  
 (2) See in particular the chapter entitled Jeunesse-Travail-Poésie in Les Amours enfantines, H.B.V.I.

However, it is obvious that Romain in his picture of the Ecole normale attempts to avoid nostalgic distortion. As young normaliens, both Jallez and Jerphanion, conscious of their position in an intellectual aristocracy, are subject to intellectual arrogance and tend to undervalue the ability of those who have not their background of the culture générale. This is found in Jerphanion's self-satisfied musings on the roof of the Ecole normale which Nadeau describes as '...une petite gigue faustienne...',<sup>(1)</sup> or in his estimation of the qualities which differentiate him from the instituteurs Clanricard or Lauferque.

Le "primaire" différerait d'un homme de formation classique, même si leurs origines sociales se ressemblent, par une susceptibilité de sens critique beaucoup moins vive. D'où un certain défaut de distinction. (2)

Yet, shortly before, Jerphanion had acknowledged Clanricard's superior knowledge of political and social affairs and had felt as intimidated as a '...petit garçon...devant ce timide instituteur du dix-huitième...'.<sup>(3)</sup> Similarly, the episode in which Jerphanion consults Clanricard in connection with his search for an église exposes his weakness in critical argument. Romain suggests that the eagerness of the normalien to construct strikingly original arguments presents the danger of confusing form for substance. The '...ivresse royale...'<sup>(4)</sup> which Jerphanion

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(1) M. Nadeau, Littérature présente, p. 99.

(2) Recherche d'une église, H.B.V. I, p. 1046.

(3) Ibid, p. 1018.

(4) Ibid, p. 1012.

experiences in the formulation of balanced arguments and the symmetrical presentation of ideas - a habit which is formed by the practice of the literary and philosophical dissertation - makes him a '...dupe de la symétrie des idées...',<sup>(1)</sup> and inclined to place over-reliance on the validity of this approach. As a result, when Clanricard indicates the error in his reasoning Jerphanion is '...un peu décontenancé... devant les dégâts que l'objection venait de faire dans la belle symétrie toute neuve.'<sup>(2)</sup>

The intolerance of Jallez and Jerphanion is also turned towards those of their fellow students who do not share their attitudes or ideals - the pedants, the thalas, - the conservatively-minded Catholic minority - and, in particular, the scientifiques. The student of the humanities mocks the inelegance and the lack of culture of the student in Normale-Sciences with '...sa blouse crasseuse, sa tignasse, sa trogne de potard mal embouché...'.<sup>(3)</sup>

But, as Jerphanion progresses through the Ecole normale and gains a more mature judgement of his individual worth and a deeper critical sense, one sees the development of the esprit normalien. The miracle of the Ecole, as Romains demonstrates, resides in the formation of a trained mind which combines clarity of thought and breadth of vision. It is this mental

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(1) Ibid, p. 1014.

(2) Ibid, p. 1013.

(3) Eros de Paris, H.B.V. I, p. 607.

sharpness and flexibility which the students of the Ecole normale take into their various careers.

Later views of the normaliens show the extent to which they have been imbued with the spirit of the Ecole normale. The purity of vision of Jean Jerphanion, his idealistic faith in the efficacy of the twin forces of la bonne volonté and la raison to usher in the reign of justice, are attributable in great part to his experiences as a normalien, to the training he has received and to the contacts he has made. If his background in a family of the petite bourgeoisie of modest means has developed in him humanitarian ideals and a feeling of solidarity with the oppressed, these sentiments have been broadened and deepened by his studies of philosophy and literature. His hopes and his ideals for an equitable society are linked with a chain of radical thought which extends back through Hugo and Michelet to Rousseau. Jerphanion, in his political involvement, provides proof that the normalien allies flexibility of mind and independent judgement with honesty of purpose and scorn of subterfuge, as do his fellow normaliens in their chosen areas of activity - Jallez in literature, Budissin in literary criticism and Sidre and Caulet in teaching.

Nevertheless, one notes that the qualities of the normalien are called to question by the politician, Reibeman, in Naissance de la bande, who attacks the esprit normalien and criticises the prestige which the

title of normalien possesses, particularly in political circles:

"Dans le cas particulier qui nous occupe, à côté des défauts individuels, il y a ceux qui proviennent de la formation... En ce moment-ci, nous avons un peu trop de Normaliens dans les cadres supérieurs de la politique. Outre qu'ils se poussent entre eux, ils se ressemblent tous par certains côtés... Pendant la guerre, nous avons été un peu victimes de l'esprit polytechnicien. Il ne faudrait pas que nous le fussions aujourd'hui de l'esprit normalien." (1)

But Jallez is of the opinion that the political arrivistes such as Reibeman are prejudiced against the intellectual qualities of the normaliens of the 'République des professeurs', whose sharp critical sense and formidable logic defeat the attempts of the opportunists to gain influence, and unmask their intrigues and machinations. "Il n'aime pas les Normaliens, et je le comprends. Son pédantisme de banquier penseur, son machiavélisme infatué n'ont pas chance de produire une grosse impression sur les archicubes." (2)

Clearly, it is the civilisés like Jerphanion, Caulet, Jallez, Sidre or Budissin, the normaliens of Jerphanion's promotion, whom Romain sees as the spiritual leaders of France, and who in their different spheres of influence, whether politics, literature or education, act upon human destiny as representatives of '...la volonté humaine, bonne et

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(1) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 287.

(2) Ibid, p. 287.

raisonnable...'.<sup>(1)</sup> They are the gens instruits to whom Laulerque looks for a reconstruction of society: '...[des] hommes tout à fait modernes, d'une forte culture philosophique et scientifique, d'un niveau intellectuel éminent'.<sup>(2)</sup> With the élite group of instituteurs formed by the Ecole normale d'Auteuil - Sampeyre, Clanricard, Laulerque - they share the intellectual and moral characteristics of the 'Men of Goodwill' which, in his note to the readers written at the conclusion of the novel-series, Romaines describes as '...un certain goût de la liberté et de l'honnêteté intellectuelles; une certaine tendresse, exempte de naïveté et de faux-semblants, pour l'aventure du genre humain...Une horreur fondamentale pour la bêtise...'.<sup>(3)</sup> It is true that la bonne volonté and la raison are not exclusively held by this group and that the 'Men of Goodwill' are found at other levels of society but it would seem that in this company the concept gains its fullest expression.

It is clear, therefore, that if Romaines has pertinent comments to make on the process of education in the schools, he supports the general principles of the French approach to formal education, particularly the traditional training of the reason through the study of the culture générale. The élite intellectuelle formed in the lycées, the facultés and the grandes écoles with a balanced culture, are

(1) Comparations, H.B.V. IV, p. 457.

(2) Les Travaux et les joies, H.B.V. IV, p. 140.

(3) L'Auteur aux lecteurs, H.B.V. IV, p. 1129.

those who will preserve and enrich the values of French civilisation. For if Jerphanion and Jallez are filled with the humanitarian ideal and look forward to a brave new world of political and social justice they do not envisage a society in which the moral and spiritual values which they have inherited from the past would be replaced by a mass culture. Jallez's horror of such a society is expressed in this passage:

Il y a une bassesse du goût public qui tient non à la suprématie de l'argent, mais à la suprématie du grand nombre. Il ne suffira pas pour améliorer le goût d'émanciper économiquement le grand nombre. Viens Poupoule plaît à beaucoup plus de gens que le thème de Mélisande dans Pelléas. J'ai peur que pour beaucoup l'image de la société future, ce soit de fredonner Viens Poupoule en pêchant à la ligne. Il ne suffira pas de supprimer le capitalisme pour que les ouvriers aient moins de plaisir à chanter Viens Poupoule. Il faudra les en déguster patiemment, et faire non seulement qu'ils aiment autre chose, mais qu'ils croient n'avoir changé de condition que le jour où ils aimeront autre chose... La Révolution sera bonne dans l'ordre de l'esprit si elle remplace l'élite de l'argent par une élite intellectuelle qui donnera aux masses des mots d'ordre, des goûts, des susceptibilités...(1)

The final tableau of Romains's pageant of French history from 6 October 1908 to 7 October 1933 represents the dashed hopes of the gens instruits who had set out with student idealism in the early years of the century to restructure society with the instruments of la raison and la bonne volonté. The participants in this Petite cérémonie conjuratoire de l'amitié et de l'amour are members of the same '...

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(1) Montée des périls, H.B.V. II, p. 370.

famille spirituelle...'(1) and belong to the same '...  
 race de "nobles"...'.(2) Apart from the Englishman,  
 Bartlett, each of the six has been moulded by the  
 disciplines of the French middle-class educational  
 institutions, Jerphanion, Jallez, Caulet and Budissin -  
 the normaliens, Odette and Françoise - the representa-  
 tives of the new intellectual élite of women who have  
 been trained in the lycées and the faculties, represent  
 the kind of intellectual aristocracy which the  
 traditional French classical education has sought to  
 produce.

Although they have not lost their hope for human  
 progress, they feel strangely out of place in the post-  
 war era with its popular culture, its brash commercial-  
 ism, its nouveaux riches, its worship of science and  
 technology, and they share a nostalgia for the period of  
 their formation which with its order and its stability  
 had allowed a place of honour to the civilisé - the man  
 of sharp intellect and broad culture whose education  
 had preserved the traditional balance between the  
 intrinsic and the extrinsic, the esprit apollinien and  
 the esprit prométhéen.(3) Their reservations concern-  
 ing the new age are summed up in Jallez's final remark:

-Ce monde moderne serait tout de même  
 quelque chose de bien épatant, si...Aucun  
 des autres n'avait besoin qu'il expliquât  
 le si. Aucun non plus n'avait sous la  
 main une réponse.(4)

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(1) L'Auteur aux lecteurs, H.B.V. IV, p. 1129.

(2) Françoise, H.B.V. IV, p. 797.

(3) See Romains's historical analysis of the growth  
 of the disequilibrium between the humanities and  
technique in Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, chapt. XXIV.

(4) Ibid, p. 1125.

CONCLUSION:

Throughout this chapter we have examined Romain's treatment of the dual contribution of the family and the school to the development of personality and character. If one does not find in Les Hommes de bonne volonté a psychological study in depth of the interaction of teacher and learner or parent and child, one does gain a valuable insight into the role played by the family and the school in enculturation - the process by which culture is handed on by the society and acquired by the individual, whether by the informal training in socially accepted forms of behaviour and the cultivation of appropriate attitudes and values in the home or the formal teaching of skills and knowledge in the school.

As we have seen, Romain skilfully probes the determinant influences of the milieu and exposes the social pressures and forces brought to bear on the child through the institutions of the family and the school. He stresses the differences in value orientations between the child who has been brought up in a lower middle-class home and has received an elementary education in an école communale before gaining entrance to the élite via the lycées and the tertiary institutions, and the child whose early training has been in a family of the bourgeoisie d'argent.

Of the social groups and classes in Les Hommes

de bonne volonté it is without doubt this petite bourgeoisie which is seen to best advantage. It is this class which produces the race of "nobles" - Jerphanion, Jallez, Sampeyre, Clanricard - who act as a conscience, an animating intellectual spirit on their age. Jallez, the writer, Jerphanion, the homme d'état, Louis Bastide, the engineer of the new Empire, have in common their rearing in a modest middle-class family in which the child-rearing practices radiate about the concept of achievement and give emphasis to the virtues of determination, honesty, caution and thrift, as well as their formal endowment in the lycées and collèges with the aptitudes and attitudes of mind prized by the middle-classes - clarity and precision of thought and respect for order and balance.

Romains does not blind himself to the restrictiveness of the small, neo-malthusian family unit in which the attention of the parents of the petite bourgeoisie is centred on the child, although he appears to prefer the nuclear family to the older pattern of the extended family in which individuality is lost when the members are subject to a '... solidarité par la tripe',<sup>(1)</sup> as in the case of the Famille Chalmers. Nor does he ignore the conformist practices in the secondary schools and the deficiencies in the teaching at the tertiary level. But in the final analysis Romains lends his support to

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(1) Recours à l'abîme, H.B.V. II, p. 624.

these institutions which have formed the homme de bonne volonté with a broad culture by which he may view the age and compare the present with the past, as well as a keen mind to search for new solutions and abundant reserves of goodwill to draw him in a spirit of fraternity closer to his fellow men. As Michael-Titus points out, Romain's ideal of the homme de bonne volonté is steeped in the traditions of the bourgeoisie laïque.

L'homme de bonne volonté, dépeint sous tant d'aspects par Jules Romain n'est autre que "le bon père de famille", c'est le "bonhomme" de nos jours qui sort de l'école et de la famille que la pensée bourgeoise laïque lui a données, qui vit dans la société et dans la patrie que cette pensée lui a données et qui ne pense qu'à vivre en paix et en liberté.(1)

If Jallez, Jerphanion and Louis Bastide, to name but few of the figures in Romain's '...roman-Orénoque'(2) who attempt to inject into an ailing society a dosage of reason and goodwill, owe a debt to the middle-class family and the middle-class school, it is primarily to these institutions as they existed in the period prior to World War I. Les Hommes de bonne volonté records the progressive disillusionment of the men educated at the turn of the century in an age of easy optimism at the turn of events in the period from 1908 to 1933. It would not be true to say that they are left utterly despondent but their early optimism has faded by the twenty-seventh and

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- (1) C. Michael-Titus, 'Aspects et orientation de la pensée bourgeoise laïque en France', Nottingham French Studies, vol. II, no. 1, May 1963, p. 44.  
 (2) M. Nadeau, Littérature présente, p. 97.

final volume of the series. Jerphanion, Jallez and their companions on this journey into the twentieth century cannot help but look back with nostalgia to the age in which they were formed as they find evidence that the ways of thinking, the beliefs and values with which they had been brought up, are ignored or derided. To employ Françoise Maïeul's generalisation of manners and attitudes, the hommes de bonne volonté are the products of one of '...les époques bien élevées...' and they find themselves after the bouleversements in society occasioned by the war in an '...époque...mal élevée.'<sup>(1)</sup>

The tone of regret in the final volumes of Les Hommes de bonne volonté is unmistakable and no doubt reflects the fading faith of the author himself. As Bourin comments:

Est-ce à dire que le Jules Romains d'aujourd'hui a renié les élans de sa jeunesse et de son âge mûr? Ce n'est pas certain, mais le monde d'à présent n'offre plus de tremplin à sa ferveur et il lui semble que les hommes d'à présent s'engagent dans des voies qui ne peuvent que les conduire à leur perte...C'est peut-être pour s'être montré dans sa jeunesse trop enclin à l'optimisme que Jules Romains l'est si peu désormais. Mais toute son oeuvre est là pour attester quelle confiance il fit à l'homme du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Impossible de connaître cet homme, ses luttes et ses rêves, sans ouvrir les romans de Jules Romains.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 230.

(2) A. Bourin, 'Jules Romains romancier', Biblio, vol. XXXIV, no. 8, Oct. 1966, p. 7.

CONCLUSION TO PART III:

In Part II we established certain parallels in the formation of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland and in their general views on education. Such parallelism extends to the treatment of the process of education, particularly as it affects the child in the home and the pupil in the school, in their three romans-fleuves.

Each of the three writers sees the family and the school as prime determinants of the mental, moral and social qualities of the individual. It is through the experience of familial education and formal training in the schools that the child acquires his major impulses and habits, attitudes and values, sentiments and ideals. But if there is agreement on general principles there are significant differences in emphasis. As we have seen, Martin du Gard employs a modified form of nineteenth century determinism in which the individual is firmly bound by his particular heredity and educational environment. Duhamel, similarly, lays stress upon the twin forces of heredity and education - like the Thibaults, Laurent Pasquier is deeply conscious of his inseparable bonds of union with the members of his clan and his susceptibility to the traits and characteristics of his father. However, in Chronique des Pasquier one has not the sense that the characters are as narrowly confined as their counterparts in Les Thibault. If in Les Thibault Daniel de Fontanin becomes a philanderer like

his father, and in the pre-war period Antoine Thibault is seen to be assuming the attitudes and even the mannerisms of Oscar Thibault, Laurent Pasquier is allowed partial escape from the imprint of his family by a 'réaction anti-héréditaire'. Romain, on the other hand, shows less concern for hereditary factors or the particular set of socio-psychological circumstances which affect the parent-child or teacher-pupil relationship. For Romain, it is the general influence exerted by the milieu or the group which is of overriding importance.

L'hérédité semble compter peu pour Jules Romain, mais le milieu, le genre de vie et le métier déterminent inflexiblement l'homme, son aspect, ses gestes, ses opinions et ses amours.(1)

A family or a school, then, may have a group personality of its own but it is also part of wider groups or sections of collective life to which its individual members are linked in psychic continuity.

The family which is accorded most prominence in each of the three novel-cycles is the conjugal family of the middle class in the period immediately prior to World War I. Although there are obvious differences in social status, economic circumstances, religious belief and even in the quality of family relationships, from the point of view of familial education the Pasquiers of Chronique des Pasquier, the Thibaults and the Fontanins of Les Thibault and the Bastides and

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(1) J. Nathan, Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine, p. 176.

the Jerphanions of Les Hommes de bonne volonté have fundamentally the same attitudes and the same approaches. In each of these families the parents are concerned with the welfare of their children and prepared to make sacrifices for their education.

It is true that the families of the petite bourgeoisie in Chronique des Pasquier and Les Hommes de bonne volonté appear to have more in common with each other than with the wealthy middle-class families of Les Thibault. The characteristics of the lower middle-class upbringing of the Pasquiers reappear in the family of Louis Bastide. The values which the Pasquiers are taught - competitiveness, integrity, the abhorrence of easy money - are evident in the training of Pierre Jallez and Jean Jerphanion. Yet such attitudes and values are also learnt by Antoine and Jacques Thibault in their family of the affluent bourgeoisie. The lay morality of the Pasquiers or the Bastides is replaced by an austere Catholicism and the warm relationship of mother and child in the lower middle-class family is superseded by a harsh authoritarianism, but the moral inheritance of the children is similar. The Thibaults, like Laurent Pasquier or Jean Jerphanion, are endowed with energy and a compelling drive to succeed. They, too, are men of goodwill who are concerned more with people than property and their ambitions are directed towards the liberal professions rather than industry or commerce.

The view, then, which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and

Romains give of the middle-class family is far removed from the savage portraits of Flaubert or Maupassant in the nineteenth century or even of Gide or Mauriac in the twentieth. Their families of the bourgeoisie are not the large, extended families whose members are cultural philistines, avaricious and rapacious, obsessed by the notion of property, that one finds in the fiction of naturalism. However, whether the middle-class family of the romans-fleuves is necessarily any more representative of the bourgeoisie as a whole, is open to question. As has been pointed out, Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains tend to concentrate on that section of the bourgeoisie with which they are best acquainted. Their upbringing in families involved with the professions - medicine, law, teaching - oriented towards intellectual achievement and the acquisition of a broad culture, obviously influences their social vision. In Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté the emphasis is placed upon a bourgeoisie cultivée which is acutely conscious of its cultural inheritance and of its obligations to pass it on enriched to the next generation.

The reaction of the children to their upbringing follows similar lines in each of the romans-fleuves. The theme of the adolescent who flees the restraints which the family places upon his personal development constantly reappears. To different degrees, Laurent Pasquier, Jacques Thibault and Pierre Jallez rebel

against familial domination and assert their independence of their parents. But if there is estrangement from the family, this is temporary. Even the classic rebel, Jacques Thibault, finds that he is unable to detach himself permanently from the family circle. Nor in the name of individualism do these characters show an enduring hostility to the family as a general concept. Their bitterness is directed against particular circumstances in the parent-child interaction, not against the family institution. Laurent Pasquier prizes his autonomy but will accept the responsibilities of fatherhood and the management of the foyer; Clanricard, Jean Jerphanion and Louis Bastide will seek to fulfil to the best of their ability the middle-class ideal of the bon père de famille; even Pierre Jallez whose artistic nature instinctively rejects restrictions on his personal freedom will weary of a life of self-gratification and become prepared to subordinate his personality to the obligations of the marriage partnership. It is true that the war cuts short Jacques and Antoine Thibault in their manhood before they have contracted marriage. But before the outbreak of war Antoine had begun to tire of his easy existence and his fleeting liaisons and, as we have seen, the entries in his journal indicate the depth of his longing for family life. It is perhaps pointless to conjecture how Jacques would have fared as a parent. No doubt the comment which Thérèse de Fontanin makes that with their similarity

in nature and their emotional and social immaturity the conjugal life of Jenny and Jacques Thibault would have caused both deep suffering, is a fair estimation of their future, based on their past behaviour. Yet the abrupt change which motherhood brings to Jenny is a hopeful sign and one that suggests that even Jacques, given time, might have discovered the equilibrium and the sense of duty which Oscar Thibault had shown towards his sons.

The young middle-class wives, well educated and with the advantage of greater freedom than their mothers enjoyed, are almost invariably conscientious, morally upright and warm in their relationship with their children. In attitude and manner there is little to separate Jacqueline Pasquier and Odette Jerphanion or even Cécile Fauvet and Jenny de Fontanin. In this they tend to follow their mothers for if they are over-protective and inclined to bind their children close to them in emotional dependency, Mme Pasquier, Mme Bastide and Mme de Fontanin surround their children with affection and possess a zealous desire to shield them from moral threats.

Although in Chronique des Pasquier and Les Hommes de bonne volonté the picture of a middle-class family upbringing appears to emphasise the positive contribution which the middle-class morality taught in the home makes to the life of the Republic, the reverse side of this portrait is also shown. Raymond Pasquier and M. Wasselin are marked by irresponsibility

in financial matters and their lower middle-class ambition to rise in social status has found expression in extravagant dreams rather than the accepted avenues of practical action. Duhamel also seems to suggest that competitive attitudes towards worldly success, the pursuit of wealth and power, have corrupted Joseph Pasquier. His harshness towards his family stems from his disregard for human values and for order and stability in social relationships. Like Duhamel, Romain tends to divide his middle-class families between those of modest means who are the defenders of the middle-class virtues, and the powerful bonnes familles, the members of the money conscious bourgeoisie, who are the captains of industry and the leaders of commerce, whose empires have extended during the course of the nineteenth century. As we have seen, the rich bourgeoise such as Berthe Sannécaud is shown to lack the moral awareness of her petite bourgeoisie counterparts and her management of her children shows less evidence of warmth or understanding. Martin du Gard, however, views the educational values of the middle-class family with more impartiality. He has not the obvious sympathy for sections of the middle-class society that affects the portrayal of la vie familiale in Chronique des Pasquier and Les Hommes de bonne volonté. The haute société catholique as represented by the Thibaults and the haute société protestante as shown in the Fontanins are both observed critically and the strengths and

weaknesses of the two principal families are set down with pitiless accuracy. The dangers presented to the normal development of personality and the growth of moral and social attitudes by a harsh upbringing in an austere Catholic environment or by indulgence and excessive freedom are clearly revealed.

Yet if there is one general attitude that each of the writers shares it is that of support, not altogether unqualified but nevertheless real, for the traditional priorities of the middle-class family - probity, endeavour, practicality, economy, equilibrium and balance. If the Pasquiers, the Thibaults, the Bastides and the Jallezs suffer from middle-class complacency in social or political matters, if they share the prejudices of their kind against working-class attitudes and ideals, if they accept the privileges of their caste with smug assurance, they are still members of the race of honest, energetic citizens in whom the intellectual and moral spirit of the Republic is invested.

Whereas the families of the bourgeoisie vary in quality while reflecting the general principles of middle-class child rearing, the school system presents a coherent whole. The features of the écoles primaires which the middle classes have provided for the elementary instruction of the masses are recorded in a similar way in Chronique des Pasquier and Les Hommes de bonne volonté. The instituteur, the petit bourgeois who is filled with idealism and

humanitarian concern to bring the rudiments of instruction to the people, is portrayed with equal sympathy by Georges Duhamel and Jules Romains. The primary teachers, Joliclerc and Clanricard, heroically combat apathy amongst the working-class parents and hostility amongst the less liberal-minded section of the bourgeoisie. As teachers they are patient and considerate yet inspire respect by their firmness and sense of justice. On the other hand the professeurs, whether in the lycées or the faculties, receive less generous treatment. Disapprobation of the authoritarianism, the pedantry and the formality in the teacher-pupil relationship in the schools is expressed in all three cyclical novels. Yet here, as in the case of the family, there is no generalised criticism of the function and the practices of the middle-class educational system. If as artists and intellectuals Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains have little patience for conformist pressures in the schools which curb creativity, or for teaching which is dull and spiritless and which deforms the culture which it is the function of the professeur to transmit and diffuse, they show through their characters their approval of the general direction of the formal education which the French schools have traditionally provided. The mental discipline, clarity of thought and flexibility of mind which Laurent Pasquier, Jacques and Antoine Thibault, and Jean Jerphanion and Pierre Jallez gain from their experience of formal schooling is a clear indication of support for the basic principles of

such a training for the castes dirigeantes.

Finally, one might suggest that in the bilan which the three novel-cycles together establish of the half-century of French life from the 1880's to the 1930's there is a clear note of conservatism and traditionalism as regards the educative process. Romain Rolland provides an eloquent warning that the effectiveness of the middle-class family to pass on to the next generation the middle-class virtues has become weakened by the war and the social upheaval in its aftermath. He suggests that the traditional controls of parents over the behaviour of their children have slackened and that even in the families of the 'Men of Goodwill' where the parents such as Jean Jerphanion and Edouard Clanchard are characterised by robust common sense and balance, the social climate undermines the example of integrity and probity which the children are shown. In such circumstances, Romain Rolland implies, even more care and disciplinary vigilance is required on the part of parents. In Chronique des Pasquier Duhamel places the emphasis on the continuation of the practices of child-rearing of the past. Joseph Pasquier's refusal to allow his wife to assume the traditional role of the principal educator of the child which the petite bourgeoisie accord to the mother, his failure to fulfil with consideration and restraint the responsibility entrusted in him for the leadership of the family and the defence of the foyer as the bon père de famille, in addition to his denial of the

importance of culture and intellectual development, are contrasted with the home of Laurent and Jacqueline Pasquier, who in the post-war period bring up their children in the best traditions of the pre-war middle class. Martin du Gard, also, through Antoine Thibault in the Epilogue to Les Thibault counsels order and calm and warns the post-war generation not to be led astray by current enthusiasms in an age of disequilibrium. He foresees '... un grand désarroi'<sup>(1)</sup> resulting from '... la rupture brusque avec le passé, l'effondrement des anciennes valeurs ...'.<sup>(2)</sup> Antoine Thibault, then, is the representative of the old order who teaches to the new the virtues of patient discipline and the authority of reason.

In Les Hommes de bonne volonté Bouitton establishes a moral distinction between the groups of men he observes in 1928, based on a chronological classification:

... Il y a ceux qui ont été formés par l'avant-guerre, puis par la guerre; il y a ceux qui ont été formés seulement par la guerre; il y a ceux qui pendant la guerre n'étaient que des gamins abandonnés à eux-mêmes, qui ont été formés par les bars et les dancings ... Trois tranches, séparées chronologiquement par un très mince intervalle, mais moralement, chacune de la suivante, par un bon demi-siècle ...<sup>(3)</sup>

The major characters in the romans-fleuves belong to the first group, as do their creators. They have received their upbringing and their schooling in an

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(1) Epilogue, O.C. II, p. 981.

(2) Ibid, p. 981.

(3) Naissance de la bande, H.B.V. IV, p. 364.

optimistic, stable society which was to be shaken to its foundations by the tragedy of 1914-18. It is their disillusioning experience that the three massive reconstructions of bourgeois life portray. The attitudes and values which Laurent Pasquier, Antoine Thibault and Jean Jerphanion determinedly cling to are the traditional virtues, ideals and beliefs of the middle classes, which at the time of writing of the three novel-series were in peril. In Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté, the well educated middle-class man of disciplined intelligence and abundant goodwill in his various guises: the bourgeois cultivé, the homme de valeur, the civilisé, the homme de bonne volonté, who has received his formation at the turn of the century, in the name of the French moral and spiritual heritage points to the lessons of the past and reminds the generation which has not been permitted time to recover from the experience of one world war before embarking on the second, of the values of their civilisation which lie in the balance.

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CONCLUSION:

In this study we have traced the development of the thoughts on familial and formal education of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland from their early writings through to their works of maturity. The romans-fleuves, to which particular attention has been accorded, stand as their major achievements and provide a substantial record of their views on the educative process in their later years. Evidence has been provided in the novel-cycles as well as in their other literary works that although each of the three writers might approach the question of the process of education from a different viewpoint or shed light on another aspect of the educator-learner interaction, the trio are linked by their dissatisfaction with modern trends in education and their vigorous defence of the traditional controls in the family and the formal, academic curriculum of the schools. ...

This conservatism in matters of education would appear to have become more apparent in the post-1918 period and to be influenced considerably by their experience of war and the subsequent social upheavals. Although this pattern of increasing conservatism may also be attributed to the natural process of hardening of attitudes with age, the abrupt change from youthful optimism and idealism to middle-aged disillusionment suggests a definite historical basis to this transformation. For men born into a balanced, orderly, middle-class society and educated in an age

of scientific optimism, the trials and tribulations of the twentieth century would bring discouragement. But if they despair at the transformation of society since 1918, they are able to find comfort and guidance in the past, in the period of their early formation. In this Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland with their humanism, despite the fading of its early fervour, differ from the younger generation of writers such as Sartre and Camus who have not to the same degree their inheritance of a stable morality nor their ability to identify with the social patterns of the past, and so must seek new philosophies and value-systems for twentieth century men. The characters in Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté - works which may be interpreted as spiritual testimonies of the authors as well as chronicles of an age - are less inclined to look for new solutions than to turn back to old ones. Indeed, the romans-fleuves may be seen as forming an integral part of the educative process - acting as the medium by which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland, who received their upbringing in the late nineteenth century - '... ce grand siècle ...',<sup>(1)</sup> - direct their readers to the values and ideals of a past era as a corrective to the social and moral ills of the present. The didactic tone of the final volumes of the cycles is obviously linked with the rise of fascism and the fear

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(1) Le 7 octobre, H.B.V. IV, p. 1086.

that the features of the French middle class civilisation which had been eroded by one world war would be utterly destroyed by the next.

Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que 1933, l'année où parut Le Notaire du Havre, est une date que les historiens retiendront comme l'une des plus dramatiques dans la vie des peuples. On entrainait dans le royaume infernal de la "nuit et du brouillard". Aussi, dans la même période et dans le même esprit, Roger Martin du Gard relançait-il dans un nouveau sens son "cycle" des Thibault (1922-1940), tandis que Jules Romains commençait à publier ses Hommes de bonne volonté (1932-1946). (1)

It is not suggested in this study of the educative process in the works of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romains that the three writers should be included amongst the grands maîtres d'éducation in the sense that Rabelais (Gargantua), Montaigne (Sur l'Institution des enfants), Milton (Of Education) or Rousseau (Emile) may be considered both as great artists and as educationalists. They have not broken new ground in educational thought, nor have they established coherent systems or elaborated programmes for the education of children. Nevertheless one is able to affirm that the examination of the views on the process of education of this trio of writers is useful from three points of view. Firstly, Chronique des Pasquier, Les Thibault and Les Hommes de bonne volonté chronicle a period in which educational goals were under close scrutiny and in which family and

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(1) P. Curnier, 'Présentation de Le Notaire du Havre', Le Français dans le monde, no. 32, April-May 1965, p. 25.

school life **were** undergoing a radical transformation. The well documented account which Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland give of this slice of French history is, then, valuable to those who wish to observe the background to modern developments in French education. We are able to judge from their works the weight of tradition and the strength of middle-class conservatism which have resisted moves towards a modernisation of the educational system. Secondly, the fictional representation of the educative process which the writers provide in their novel-cycles adds to the knowledge of the educational experiences to which the child was exposed in the middle-class family and school system during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is complemented by the psychological insights of the imaginative artist into the personal transaction between teacher and pupil and parent and child which lies at the heart of the educative process. Finally, the reflections of Duhamel, Martin du Gard and Romain Rolland on the place of man in modern society are relevant to the formulation of goals and aims for education in a technological age. It must be conceded that the bias of the three novelists towards a literary culture and their defence of the prerogatives of an intellectual élite appear more appropriate to a past age of leisured upper classes in rigidly hierarchical social structures than to modern democratic societies. Similarly their emphasis on authority, effort and the mental training

afforded by the study of the traditional subject matter curriculum may seem dated at a time when educators are concerned with adapting curricula materials to the needs of the child and stimulating the pupil's active curiosity by inductive methods. However, the contention that a liberal education is the best preparation for life remains valid in a technological age when, as Philip Phenix<sup>(1)</sup> points out, a broad, general education is more than ever necessary to minimise the dispersing and depersonalising effects of the mechanisation which is transforming man's environment.

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(1) See P. Phenix, Realms of Meaning - A Philosophy of the Curriculum for General Education, chapt. III.

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- I Books and articles which are relevant to the study of Georges Duhamel. (pp. 517-22)
- II Books and articles which are relevant to the study of Roger Martin du Gard. (pp. 523-8)
- III Books and articles which are relevant to the study of Jules Romaines. (pp. 529-36)
- IV General. Books and articles which relate to the general educational, literary or social background of the period studied. (pp. 537-49)

Each of the first three sections is divided into two sub-sections:

- A Works by the authors.
- B Critical studies of the authors' works.

In all four sections books are separated from articles and contributions.

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- (a) CHRONIQUE DES PASQUIER. 10 vols. 1933-1945.
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