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University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

History

Rieucros and Brens Camps 1938-1944: Internment, Women and Everyday Life

by

Catherine Frances Robson

Thesis for the degree of Master of Philosophy

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Abstract

Faculty of Humanities

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This thesis presents a study of the only women's internment camps in France – Rieucros in Lozère and Brens in Tarn – during the years 1939 to 1944, a period which spans Third Republic and Vichy France. Drawing on extensive use of primary archival sources from Lozère and Tarn, as well as on relevant scholarship and literature, the subject is approached from the two perspectives of the administration and the internees. It examines the setting up of the camps against the background of the camp system and analyses their internal administration, paying particular attention to the pivotal role of the camp commander. It demonstrates that the camp structure and demography were not static but constantly evolving to reflect increasingly repressive government policy. It also examines the effect of outside influences to show how policy could bow before pragmatism.

The study of the complexities involved in the concept of undesirability, encompassing as it did Jews, Gypsies, nomads, politicised (mainly communist) women and 'foreignness', provides a prism through which to view the internment of prostitutes, in which German involvement was key. The daily lives of all these 'undesirables' under the rod of internment as they battled with cramped conditions, food shortages, sanitary deprivation and emotional suffering is examined through a detailed study of their individual dossiers, summaries of which have been collated into a database. The 'ghetto-ising' of the prostitutes in the camp is highlighted as an illustration of the prejudice not only of the administration but also of the other internees, a tragic inversion in which they embrace the exclusionary ideology that has interned them. In contrast, however, the creativity produced by internment as the women embarked on cultural activities, education, writing and even employment, the support they drew from friendship, religion and correspondence with those outside, is celebrated, again drawing on the records of individual dossiers. I argue that the stereotype of victim-hood gives way to women's agency as their experience of internment unlocks resilience and talent; that although they fall neither into mainstream Holocaust nor resister, refugee nor women's history, yet they straddle every category and indeed identify a new category of 'other'; and that in their very ordinariness, not only their suffering but also their courage, their accomplishments and their resistance are worthy of detailed study and memorialisation, pushing back the boundaries of mainstream history and uncovering the effects of a brutal and increasingly arbitrary internment policy.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

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Introduction

The Second World War still makes ripples, even in a small corner of the suburbs of London. Our neighbours were Polish Jews. The lady, who never went outside, was an Auschwitz survivor; possibly her husband was too. According to the latter, they never spoke about it. Further down the road a German Jewish lady is married to a French Jewish man whose entire family – with the exception of one aunt – was murdered at Auschwitz. I had the privilege of viewing his family’s private photograph album of Auschwitz, and also of interviewing his aunt at her flat overlooking the river in Paris in 2002. She described her arrest (as a resister, not a Jew) in the streets of Paris when she was caught transporting firearms in a bag, and her subsequent transportation east. Rieucros and Brens camps which I have chosen to write about, did not contain the horrors of Auschwitz or of the other death camps. Rieucros camp was unique in the Unoccupied zone in that it was the first “concentration” camp set up in France under the Third Republic, and later the first women’s-only camp catering for all types and nationalities of prisoners, not just Jews, under Vichy.¹ When the camp was moved to Brens, the camp population eventually became weighed towards prostitute inmates, making it unique in this way, too. Although a women’s camp, Jargeau, existed in the Occupied zone, Gypsy and nomadic inmates considerably and consistently outnumbered the prostitutes there.

This thesis falls somewhere between refugee history – since anti-fascist, Spanish and Jewish refugees were sent to Rieucros; women’s history, social history, as there were criminal internees in the camps; and a history of the Holocaust: roughly a quarter of inmates at Rieucros were Jews, thirty one of whom, when incarcerated at Brens were deported via the camps of St Sulpice-La-Pointe and Drancy in August 1942.² The thesis also straddles internment history and

¹ *Le Matin*: quoted in *La Croix de la Lozère*, 26th February 1939: Mende, Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL): 1 PER: 212.

² Report of July/August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: Albi, Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 7. Bi-monthly report of 16th-31st August 1942 of the Chef du

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everyday life since, in Chapter Five I add an affective dimension to the study by animating the women's felt experience of camp life and illustrating their "quotidien". Hanna Diamond has contributed an invaluable insight into women's everyday lives in the Toulouse region during the war. Not far north of Toulouse, at Gaillac in Tarn, the women of Brens followed a very different regime in the internment camp.³ Her book encompasses choices as well as constraints; the camp women were largely deprived of choice. My study attempts to depict everyday life as it was for internees in Rieucros and Brens, hopefully bringing to life what has largely been treated as a subject viewed from an official angle. I shall, however, also consider the camps from a "top-down" perspective when I deal with the history of the camps and their administration under the Third Republic and Vichy.

My sources for this thesis fall into three groups. First, archival sources drawn mainly from the departmental archives of Lozère and Tarn; second, contemporary journals and diaries of internees together with fictionalised autobiographical accounts; third, the body of scholarship and literature relevant to my subject. Each of these diverse categories needs to be evaluated differently and will be considered in turn.

In addition to local departmental archives – Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL), Mende, the Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT), Albi – I have used material from my visits to the the Archives départementales de l'Hérault (Montpellier) and Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban; the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris, and the Fortunoff Video Archives at Yale. Even here there are variations: the ADL material relating to Rieucros camp is found scattered throughout the archives of the Police (M series) and the Cabinet du Préfet (W series), while the Tarn Archives, in addition to the Fonds du Cabinet du Préfet (506 W series), has created a separate series (495 W) devoted to the Fonds du Camp d'Internement de Brens. The records of the prefecture, emanating as they do from the administrative service, by definition present an official character; however, the camp records include, as well as official reports, individual dossiers of internees containing "inter alia" background material, gendarmes' and wardresses' reports and censored correspondence. A study of a single incident, the suicide of internee Anna Boutonnet on 24th August 1943, illustrates the differences. The report "Situation Administrative du Quinzaine " for the period 15th-31st August 1943 merely lists her as

Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34. St Sulpice-La-Pointe will subsequently be referred to as St Sulpice.

³ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (London, New York: Longman, 1999). Oral testimony adds a strong and original angle to this book.

“décédée”; the camp commander’s August 1943 report states that “the first death has occurred at Brens camp. An internee has hanged herself in a fit of desperation”; while the individual dossier of Anna Boutonnet contains detailed reports of the inquiry into her death from the camp doctor and two police inspectors and five statements from infirmary and surveillance staff.⁴ Her “Individual Identity slip”, with sad irony, lists “person to contact in case of accident: nobody; neither relatives nor friends.”⁵

The discovery in the archives of a rich vein of material to be mined must, however, be handled with attention to criteria of critical analysis as to integrity, authenticity, credibility, biases, projected audience and motive; and the political background to the official administrative “story” must be held in play. In the example of Anna Boutonnet above, it is interesting that the camp commander emphasised that this was the first death at the camp; furthermore an attempted suicide, that of Marcelle Gandon early in 1944, is not referred to at all in the commander’s reports and only emerges as a side issue in a later inspection report, indicating a degree of selection.⁶ The prefects’ reports to the ministry of the Interior were also likely to present things in the best light; however, these were largely collations of all the reports presented to the prefect each month with the wording often lifted verbatim; the same is true of letters from the prefecture. For instance, in his letter of 19th January 1942 to the Interior minister, the prefect of Tarn simply repeats the reports of the commander and the head of the Tarn General Information Office.⁷

Letters from internees found in the dossiers must equally be subjected to scrutiny and the possible preferences and motives of the writer taken into account. The knowledge that their letters would be read by censors could also have influenced the form and content of internees’ correspondence, while communist political prisoners’ letters, designed to encourage and motivate, emanate from a strong ideological basis. Some positive reports of camp life could well have been written to curry favour with the authorities, while Herte Neumayer’s letters from

⁴ ADT 495 W: 33; ADT 495 W: 7; ADT 495 W: 55.

⁵ Individual dossier of Anna Boutonnet: ADT 495 W:55.

⁶ Report of 30th April 1943 of M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. The camp commander will subsequently be referred to as “the commander”.

⁷ Letter of 19th January 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur; report of 16th January 1942 of the Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Tarn (Albi); letter of 17th January 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

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Germany extolling the advantages of her new life have the obvious motives both of vindicating her decision and of encouraging her friend (internee Simone Pion) to join her.⁸ Correspondence from internees sometimes casts an interesting light on the machinations of the bureaucratic process. Irène Baillet, for example was arrested by order of the prefect of Hautes-Pyrénées on the basis that she had escaped from Rieucros camp; an impossibility since she had not previously been interned there. However, the prefects of Tarbes and of Bouches-du-Rhône claimed that the order for internment had come from the military authority at Toulouse, although this was untrue, according to Irene. Her fury at the double false accusation against her and the collusion of three prefects underlines the frustration and helplessness felt by internees who had no recourse to review and no opportunity of self-vindication.⁹ More factually based documents – gendarmes’ reports of arrests for example – may score highly on authenticity and credibility but add few insights into the deeper background; however, internal reports, for example on personnel, such as that of Camp Commander M Aulanier on M Jean Galanier provide vivid vignettes of the character, habits and discipline of staff and camp life.¹⁰

The archives also contain (in series PER, Lozère, and FOPER, Tarn) copies of every local newspaper of the time. However, there are differences between Lozère and Tarn; although Tarn boasted a higher number of publications (*La Croix du Tarn*, *Le Mémorial de Gaillac* and the *Journal de Gaillac* being the most immediately relevant to Brens), there is very little mention of the camp. The Lozère press, on the other hand, whose main organs were *La Croix de la Lozère* and *La Cévenne Républicaine*, voiced the rage of local inhabitants at the siting of Rieucros on their doorstep and fed into the pervading atmosphere of fear and prejudice. Both through articles and the publication of letters, the local press took every opportunity to revile the camp and its inhabitants, circulating wildly exaggerated accounts of luxurious living.¹¹ Some editors used sarcasm to undermine the camp, as for example, in the report of the recapturing of two internees who “responding to the... fine sunny day...” had gone “for a stroll in the country”.¹² Although the preferences of contemporary press reports is obvious (despite subtle differences between publications), nevertheless they provide valuable tools with which to measure both the temperature of local feeling and the “quotidien” of the population.

⁸ Individual dossier of Herte Neumayer: ADT 495 W: 65.

⁹ Censored letters, 21st August 1941: ADL: 2 W: 2603.

¹⁰ Report of 24th December 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens on M Jean Galanier: ADT 495 W:7.

¹¹ For example the articles “Les réfugiés sont nourris tandis que les Lozèriens ont faim”, *La Croix de la Lozère*, 5th March 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212 and “Conditions de vie des internées sont enviables”, *La Croix de la Lozère*, 25th June 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212.

¹² *La Cévenne Républicaine*, 28th September 1941; ADL 1 PER: 229.

Mechtild Gilzmer's book *Camps de femmes: Chroniques d'internées, Rieucros and Brens 1939-1944*, falls into my second category. She has compiled a marvellous collage of impressions of Rieucros and Brens camps using inmates' writing, art and oral testimony, praised by Anne Grynberg when presented as part of a colloquium on the camps in Toulouse in 1990.¹³ *Cévennes, terre de refuge* by Philippe Joutard et al presents another wonderful collection of testimonies, among them the memoir of a German-Jewish prisoner, Dora Schaul, incarcerated in both camps successively.¹⁴ There is a sense in which some of the testimonies from inmates of Rieucros possess a numinous quality. It is perhaps for this reason that writers like Philippe Joutard and Mechtild Gilzmer have left some accounts by inmates of Rieucros to speak for themselves, so that Chapter Two of *Cévennes, terre de refuge* is a simple transcript of Dora Schaul's experience of the camp whilst Chapter Three of Mechtild Gilzmer's book records an excerpt from the original diary of Ursula Katzenstein.¹⁵ Whilst the arrangement of autobiographical material in such primitive form adds a certain power to the experiences recorded, it can also result in a frozen memorial posture which resists critical analysis. There is therefore a place for assessment of this material alongside archival sources, press reports and other information about the period; not to intrude, but in order to reach a deeper understanding of life in the camps and the felt experience of inmates. Where possible, I have tried to verify events recorded in these testimonies – such as the Kundt commission's visit to the camp described by Ursula Katzenstein in her diary – from archival camp records.¹⁶ However, although the diary potentially redresses a gap in official documents providing the only record of the refurbishment of the infirmary (the "pride" of the camp) on 9th May 1940, there is no way of corroborating the accuracy of her statement.¹⁷

¹³ Mechtild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes, Chroniques d'internées, Rieucros et Brens, 1939-1944*, trans. by Nicole Bary (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2000). Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français 1939-1944* (Paris: La découverte, 1991), note 58, p.355.

¹⁴ Philippe Joutard, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006).

¹⁵ Ibid., pp.61-74. This book also contains testimony from Jews living in the Lozère and surrounding regions during the early 1940s; *Camps de femmes* pp.121-136. Mechtild Gilzmer also includes a chapter from *Tanguy* in her collection: *Camps de femmes* pp.113-119; Michel Del Castillo, *Tanguy* (Paris: Julliard, 1957).

¹⁶ *Camps de femmes* p.133; Weekly reports of the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2603; see also Françoise Seuzaret-Barry, *Justine, une oubliée de Rieucros* (Pont-St-Esprit: La Mirondale, 2007), p.133.

¹⁷ *Camps de femmes* p.129.

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This verification is even more important where the account is presented as fictionalised autobiography. There are three such works : *Tanguy* by Michel del Castillo and *Justine* by Françoise Seuzaret-Barry – which portray Rieucros camp through the respective lenses of childhood and adulthood – and Vera Traill’s autobiographical account (thinly disguised as fiction) of life at Rieucros, references to which thread through the study, bringing camp experience to life.¹⁸ Since her book was written in 1944 and the other two in 1957 and 2007 respectively, it is likely that she had to conceal facts and identities. A British communist inmate, it is interesting to note in this regard records of a 1943 tapped telephone call in London between Ivor Montague and Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, in which they discuss a letter Ivor Montague had received from Vera Traill.¹⁹ Claiming that her late husband, Robert, knew Ivor Montague, she was requesting a meeting with him to discuss the content of a book she was writing about her experience in France as “she doesn’t want to put anything in the book that would not be the right thing”.²⁰ The conversation hints that a certain amount of concealment must be present in the book. However, sometimes Vera Traill’s account is borne out by other sources: her claim that on her return in 1941 the camp had lost its “bivouac character” and become “more solid” corresponds with Monique-Lise Cohen and Eric Malo’s assertion that after the transition to Vichy the camps lost their temporary character.²¹ However, her estimate of the number of internees – 600 – is a slight exaggeration and it is not difficult to find discrepancies between archival records and some of Vera Traill’s characterisations. Her description of a new commander does not accord with reports of M Faggianelli who must have taken over at that time; described by the prefect of Isère as zealous and committed and by other internees as “even likeable”, Vera considered him pompous and arrogant.²² Similarly in *Tanguy*, Michel del Castillo asserts that wardresses carried guns; although in February 1942 M Faggianelli requested 40 sets of uniform and 40 pistols for male guards, there is no suggestion in the archival records that female wardresses were ever armed.²³

¹⁸ *Tanguy; Justine*; Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944).

¹⁹ Vera Traill also features in Alain Brossat’s book *Agents de Moscou: Le stalinisme et son ombre*. Alain Brossat, *Agents de Moscou: Le stalinisme et son ombre* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1988).

²⁰ Record of a telephone call of 8.2.43 on Temple Bar 4277 between Harry Pollitt and Ivor Montague: N A Kew KV2/2390. There is no evidence from the conversation that Vera Traill’s letter mentions internment.

²¹ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.225; Monique-Lise Cohen and Eric Malo, *Les Camps du Sud-ouest de la France: Exclusion, Internement, Déportation, 1939-1944* (Toulouse: Privat, 1994), p.22.

²² *The Cup of Astonishment*, pp.225-7.

An important measure of the credibility of independently created testimony is whether the sources agree. However, shared experiences must be assessed in the light of the differences in perspective of the individual writers, whose recollection of events has not remained in its frozen memorial posture but been moulded by intervening experience as well as the timing and circumstances of their recall. Inevitably each account is coloured by subjectivity. Michel del Castillo, for example, the frightened child, paints a picture of cruel, coarse, quarrelsome women in the political barracks, swearing and screaming; this contrasts with Dora Schaul, Vera Traill and Ursula Katzenstein's accounts of an overcrowded but more ordered environment.²⁴ Again, whereas he describes the wardresses as gross and vulgar, persecuting their charges, Vera Traill considered them – in the beginning at least – as “very nice... helpful and chummy”.²⁵ Mechtild Gilzmer reproduces drawings and cartoons created by internees, among them Dora Schaul, who appears as Rachel in *Tanguy*; Michel del Castillo considered that these romanticised camp life. Despite the fact that the above works are not – and not intended to be – historically factual accounts, they nevertheless provide invaluable insights into the experience of internment which itself was not uniform but differed according to personality, circumstance and duration. What the experience meant to individuals in its recollection not only provides a rich source of emotional history but also adds to the tapestry of actuality in the camps.

The personal “truth” revealed in Dora Schaul's memoirs (2006) confirms this theory and expands our knowledge of what it was like to be interned in Rieucros. Of all writers, Dora presents the experience as being one of relative freedom, discussing as she does her weekly overnight stays at the Hausers' farmhouse and the listening in to London which French internees did on a wireless in the woods. More than any other “rememberer” she evokes a sense of the texture of Rieucros site which lent a certain freedom to internees to roam about. She also mentions opportunities for teaching available to internees and occasional visits to Mende to pick up passes – or even to get married – at the mayor's office. In this case, the time gap does not appear to have dulled Dora's perception of events and her memoir reads as if it were yesterday that these things took place. However, her motives in writing about the camps so many years later need to be taken into account and all the life experience encountered between her perceptions as a young woman and her point of view in later years. What is the effect of hindsight on memory? In this case, since Dora got married whilst at Rieucros and was able to

²³ Monthly report of February 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

²⁴ *Camps de femmes*, p.122; *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.72; *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.35.

²⁵ *Tanguy*, p.23; *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.35.

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spend every Sunday night with her husband at the farm, her experiences are likely to have been more positive than, for instance, Anna Boutonnet at Brens who had no relatives or friends to be contacted in case of her demise. Since Dora never saw her husband again after her escape from Brens in July 1942, her description might be coloured by fond memories interspersed with the dreariness of internment life. It is precisely this subjectivity which is of interest here, providing evidence of the richness of the experience described rather than diminishing it.

In my third category, literature specifically about Rieucros and Brens is not extensive. Joseph Weill's contemporary report on southern French internment camps provides an insight into life at Rieucros and Brens.²⁶ Preoccupied mainly with combating the "maladie de la faim" which spread like wild fire throughout the southern camps, Dr Weill was concerned with children's education and improving conditions for sick inmates. Noting the presence of 40 children at Rieucros, he writes that the older children went to school in Mende, whilst teachers for younger children had been found among the inmates. Although he reports that the Unitarian Service Committee intended creating a school and a children's garden at the camp, there is no evidence to suggest these improvements were ever implemented.²⁷ These camps feature in various parts of Denis Peschanski's admirable book on the French camps.²⁸ Although there is a passing reference in Renée Poznanski's classic history of Jews in France during World War Two, Rieucros and Brens are not included in her chart of Jewish inmates in southern French camps.²⁹ In *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français, 1939-1944*, Anne Grynberg devotes a chapter to Rieucros and Asher Cohen mentions Rieucros in his chapter on the camps in *Persécutions et Sauvetage: Juifs et Français sous L'Occupation et sous Vichy*.³⁰ Although Insa Meinen's book on the role of the Germans in controlling prostitution in Occupation-era

²⁶ Dr Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l'Histoire des Camps d'Internement dans l'Anti-France* (Paris: Editions du Centre, Centre de Documentation Juive et Contemporaine, 1946).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.130.

²⁸ Denis Peschanski, *La France des Camps: L'internement 1938-1946* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2002).

²⁹ Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001), p.173. Both the English and French versions of this book are cited in this study. Rieucros is lacking from her chart "Population approximative des camps, de février 1941 à juillet 1942 (chiffres concernant principalement les Juifs)", Renée Poznanski, *Les Juifs en France pendant la Seconde guerre Mondiale* (Paris: Hachette (Littératures), 1997), pp.220-221.

³⁰ *Les camps de la honte*; Asher Cohen, *Persécutions et sauvetage: Juifs et Français sous L'Occupation et sous Vichy* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1993).

France has provided essential background reading to this subject, she only makes a passing reference to Brens.³¹ Richard Vinen mentions the prostitute contingent at Brens in an endnote in his study of *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* and Hanna Diamond cites the arrest of prostitutes who were subsequently sent to local camps in 1942 for the duration of Pétain's visit, but no one has yet written in any depth about the prostitute inmates at Brens camp.³² In fact it remains an under-researched area – a “hole in the knitting” of Vichy studies – which I aim to redress here.

However, literature about Occupation-era France is rich, dense and varied in scope. In my assessment of literature relevant to my subject I involve texts which deal with excluded or victimised minorities, such as refugees, women and Jews and the camp system in France which, in turn, formed part of the Holocaust. Whilst lauding Robert Paxton's revolutionary interpretation of the Vichy regime, Jean-Pierre Azéma criticises his coverage of French public opinion under Vichy and claims that the focus of more recent studies has “shifted away from Vichy's corridors of power and toward the dark years seen from the street level, away from Vichy France and toward the French under Vichy.”³³ Whilst Pierre Laborie has redressed the lacuna in the area of French public opinion under Vichy, Julian Jackson has integrated a study of the “corridors of power” with “street level” perspective in his monumental study of the “dark years” which has justifiably become the definitive work on the subject in English.³⁴ The book sets the Occupation years firmly in their historical context, charting the ideological and political tensions of the French inter-war years and analysing how these currents and cross-currents moulded Vichy against the background of a rapidly changing economic and international situation. He deals comprehensively with the ideology, policies and outworking of the National Revolution and its increasing repression. He demonstrates that ambiguity was inherent at every level; choices were not obvious, opinions and positions were susceptible to change and contradictions rife. His work opens with a survey of the historiography of the post-war years whilst an analysis of the battle for the creation of myth and collective memory closes his account.

³¹ Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation (1940-1945)*, trans. by Beate Husser (Paris: Editions Payot et Rivages, 2006).

³² Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (London, New York: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2006), p.173, p.399 (endnote 71). *Women and the Second World War*, p.40.

³³ Sarah Fishman and others, eds., *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, trans. by David Lake (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), p.18.

³⁴ Pierre Laborie, *L'opinion française sous Vichy* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1990); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years: 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

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The distinction between the ‘native’ and the ‘foreign’ that scholars such as Vicki Caron have interrogated in relation to Third Republican and Vichy policy towards both immigrants and Jews illuminates both continuities and ruptures in the kind of official construction of ‘undesirability’ that is of central concern in this thesis. In her comprehensive and meticulously researched account of French Jewish refugee policy in *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942*, Vicki Caron presents a complex and nuanced picture. Her incisive study of France’s policies regarding German and central European refugees in the 1930s shows how these paved the way for Vichy’s anti-Jewish statutes of the 1940s.³⁵ She shows that far from being a linear progression, the road leading ultimately to the tragedy of deportation (which affected the foreign Jews of Bressanone) followed the twists and turns of successive governments responding to pressure from public opinion, middle class professional bodies and the native Jewish community. She demonstrates the vacillations of policy resulting from the shifting constitution of each coalition cabinet, bringing political considerations to the fore. Although her focus is Jewish refugees, she sets this in the context of a wider history and skilfully points up the centrality of her subject to an understanding of the policies of the period. The changes in attitude in response to the Depression, the refugee crisis and the concept of political asylum paved the way for the crumbling of French Republican principles and the institution of the restrictive, exclusionary and repressive measures leading to internment, imprisonment and deportation.

Although France had become a country of “transit” rather than refuge, almost half a million Spanish refugees came trudging over the Pyrenees in January 1939, shedding burdensome memorabilia on the way. Some of them ended up at Rieucros. Scott Soo’s fascinating recent investigation into the lived experience and memory work of Spanish refugees expands the field of refugee literature in unprecedented ways. Regarded as of “a different mentality and class background”, considered lazy, insolent, no less in Lozère, where Rieucros camp was situated, than in Dordogne, the department cited by Scott Soo in this regard, they were generally excluded from employment in their host country. Although many found themselves on the windswept beach of Argelès-sur-Mer in a makeshift camp, many were interned in camps like Rieucros – in fact they were among the first arrivals there – where they were despised by local people.³⁶ Citing more than forty titles of Spanish exilic press in 1939, Scott Soo concludes that this fecundity of activity reflected “the ideological and geographical labyrinthine quality of the

³⁵ Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Spanish republican exile.”³⁷ His celebration of internees’ creativity finds parallels in the literary and artistic achievements of Rieucros/ Brens internees. Later on, wary of damaging French-Spanish relations, commemorations included French sympathisers and ceremonial acknowledgement of the asylum offered, whilst underplaying the inhospitable beginnings of Spanish republicans in the French camps.³⁸

The construction of undesirability was central to family policy, and the treatment of women generally under the Vichy regime. An expansive array of women’s studies now graces the Vichy canon. In 2015, when Geneviève de Gaulle and Germaine Tillion were admitted to the Panthéon, women’s studies gained yet more momentum.³⁹ The sociologist Francine Muel-Dreyfus, in *Vichy and The Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender* and Miranda Pollard in *Reign of Virtue: Mobilising Gender in Vichy France* examine the Vichy years through the lens of gender.⁴⁰ The former dissects and examines the construct of “the eternal feminine” under the Vichy regime and argues that gender division, the sexual re-centring of the social world, was the basis which enabled the National Revolution to develop and deliver the repressive policies which led to the internment of many unorthodox women in camps such as Rieucros and Brens. Like Francine Muel-Dreyfus, Miranda Pollard argues that Vichy’s politics were inseparable from its sexual policies as propaganda and myth became crystallised into policy and action. France in June 1940 was coping with swift military defeat by creating the illusion that defeat could be turned into a social, political and moral victory.⁴¹ This illusion had to have a concept to drape itself round to give it substance; Francine Muel-Dreyfus argues that this central concept was the notion of an “eternal feminine” with its associated contrition/redemption motif. Miranda Pollard’s work, on the other hand, illustrates the two-

³⁶ Scott Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939-2009* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.104.

³⁷ *The routes to exile*, p.104.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.204-5.

³⁹ The recent addition of Simone Weil to the Panthéon also contributes to the importance of women in history.

⁴⁰ Francine Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. by Kathleen Johnson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001); Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998).

⁴¹ It was thought to be a rebuilding which would engage its citizens. “This possibility of *doing something* thrills men of every walk of life.” Interview with Paul Baudouin in the *Journal de Genève* reprinted in *Le Temps*, July 1940.

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pronged fork of the dehumanisation of women; the first the creation of a narrative of ideal womanhood, the “femme au foyer” surrounded by little (French) children, divorced from the realities of women forced in the battle for survival to take on “male” roles in the absence of husbands, a myth that dehumanised because it was abstract. The second was a dehumanising of those who fell outside the state model of womanhood, from the independent feminist to the prostitute, sweeping the latter from the dark corners of society into internment camps like Brens in the cleansing of the “patrie”.

According to Francine Muel-Dreyfus, women, posited under the construct of mother, saviour and protector of France, had been seduced by the spirit of pleasure which had led to a declining birthrate and the weakening of the family cell; however, their embracing the spirit of contrite sacrifice – a perceived feminine characteristic – could effect the regeneration of France. The cycle was an eternal one: women must return to their origins to bring forth the New Revolution which completed the circle and left no room for deviation, interruption or contradiction such as that posed by unorthodox women. The model for the hierarchical structure of the family encapsulated in the Family Charter of September 1942 reflected a political order with the Marshal dispensing love and authority to his children (the masses) mediated by the women of France who train their own children in the virtues of “good” femininity and respect for natural hierarchy. Thus the victims of domination became the agents of domination and by their participation gave legitimacy to repressive Vichy family policy. The cruelty and illogical blindness of the outworking of the Vichy feminine construct is graphically illustrated by Miranda Pollard – on the one hand in the potentially “ideal” mother ripped from her foyer leaving young children uncared for, arbitrarily interned like Marthe Deiner at Rieucros (whose papers were not in order) or deported because she was Jewish – and on the other, in the women hauled before the Special Tribunals and subjected to humiliating and hostile investigations into the sexuality which had ultimately led to abortion.⁴² Miranda Pollard’s powerful analysis of the gendered politics of the National Revolution provide a backdrop for the reasons for internment of Rieucros/Brens women, whilst Francine Muel-Dreyfus’s analysis of Vichy’s core agenda of sexual inequality and social submission, shrouded in the quasi-religious cloak of the “eternal feminine”, is encapsulated in the concepts of otherness and undesirability which under-girded the internment policy informing this study. She expresses with chilling clarity the onward march

⁴² Individual dossier of Marthe Deiner: ADL 2 W: 2603. Francine Muel-Dreyfus cites the establishment of the law of 15th February 1942 which made abortion a crime – not only against an individual but against society, the state and the race – punishable by death, hard labour or imprisonment.

of the National Revolution as – playing disparate organisations and institutions like puppets on a string – it strode towards the logical conclusion of the concept of “otherness”, the exclusion (or incarceration) and finally the extermination of the “other”.

Karen Adler in ‘Reading National Identity: Gender and Prostitution during the Occupation’ has produced one of the few studies available concerning official attitudes to prostitution which is at the far end of the undesirability spectrum. Her work shows how widespread and deeply rooted the association of prostitution with national betrayal was in this period and sheds light on my arguments in Chapter Three which examines the prostitution question.⁴³ She draws on the contemporary clandestine press to examine the construct of the prostitute. Interestingly she demonstrates that the mainly communist publications adopted Vichy rhetoric on women and invoked the protection of women and children as an act of opposition – to food rations, food and fuel exports to Germany and to forced labour. The resistance press, championing family values, associated prostitutes with danger, betrayal and a suspect relationship with France. Any relationship between a French woman and a German was defined as prostitution and such a woman, having *relinquished the right to be French*, deserved to be punished.⁴⁴ These distinctions, however, like so many other theoretical positions, did not survive the rigours of collision with the enemy. Those women returning from Germany – whether they had gone voluntarily as prostitutes or been forced into sex-work once there; whether they had gone to join prisoner husbands, for economic reasons or as forced labour – were on their return subjected to the same hostility and persecution. Niceties of behaviour were bulldozed into the ground by those striving to reassert male “Frenchness”.

Richard Vinen extends an interrogation of the everyday into areas of relevance to this thesis and his focus, like that of this study, is on those whose story is often omitted from histories of the period.⁴⁵ He entitles his book “The Unfree French”; however he defines “the French” as anyone normally resident in France, thus encompassing refugees, Jews, prisoners, those on the fringes of society who might under Vichy’s redefinition of citizenship have been ineligible for the title “citizen”, thus shedding new light on the concepts of undesirability and exclusion – concepts fundamental to this study. By examining the relationship between the French and the Occupier,

⁴³ Karen Adler, ‘Reading National Identity: Gender and Prostitution during the Occupation’, *Modern and Contemporary France*, 7,1 (1999), 45-57.

⁴⁴ While resister women had no sexuality as far as the press was concerned, female sexuality was perceived as servicing betrayal.

⁴⁵ Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (London, New York: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2006)

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(focussing particularly on women and Jews), he analyses the impact of the Occupation on basic survival in the face of food shortages, the black market and the denuding of France of her young men.⁴⁶ In this way he subtly underlines Vichy's exclusionary policies. Having looked at life as it was for a prisoner of war or a worker in Germany, such as those women workers in Germany detailed in Chapter Three of this thesis, he analyses the difficulties, disappointment and sometimes persecution suffered by the returners after the Liberation.⁴⁷

Hanna Diamond probes the everyday life of women in depth, helpfully elaborating its gendered nature and presenting a grounded analysis of the lives of women in the Toulouse area from 1939 to 1948. Skilfully weaving oral testimony with archival sources, she paints a complex picture of women's lives charting their choices and constraints in the realms of employment, physical survival and relationships lived out in the presence of Occupation forces. Comparing life in Finistère with life in Haute-Garonne, she contrasts choices and opportunities in the Occupied zone with those available in the Unoccupied zone, which will provide the focus of this thesis.⁴⁸ Written in two parts, Part One, which is most relevant to my chosen period, is divided into coverage of survival factors regarding the acquisition of supplies and a consideration of the thin line between the interpretations of collaboration and resistance. She examines the constraints placed on women in their daily lives and discusses whether their decisions were born of necessity or conscious choice; constrained by economic pressure and the challenges of physical survival, she argues that the war years forced women to make choices and gain access to the workplace, although their wages were consistently lower than men's.⁴⁹ Furthermore, survival was "intensely gendered" since women were mainly responsible for finding the necessary food to feed their families.⁵⁰ Whilst quoting Célia Bertin's assertion that some women reverted to being the second class citizens they had been before the war, Hanna Diamond concludes that many women during the war achieved a new self-perception which challenged traditional

⁴⁶ He widens his catchment area to include French people in Germany – deportees, "Relève" or "Services du Travail Obligatoire" (STO) draftees or voluntary workers – who also had to navigate the constraints of life under German officialdom.

⁴⁷ The brevity of Richard Vinen's book belies the breadth of his scholarship and depth of his analysis, illuminating as it does through letters, memoirs and archival sources the many facets and complexities of life for the "Unfree French".

⁴⁸ Prior to November 1942 when the Germans invaded the *zone sud*.

⁴⁹ *Women and the Second World War*, p.48 & p.47.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.49.

gender divisions – in contrast to Rieucros/Brens internees who, in the main, kept traditional gender roles and were commended for it.⁵¹

Whilst focusing her study on everyday life, Shannon Fogg addresses the diversity embraced by the concept of undesirability and identifies the differences in attitude between the Vichy government and the local population. Limiting her scrutiny to three different specific groups on the margins of society – Jews, Gypsies and Alsatian refugees – and to one area, Limousin, she examines the relationship of these groups, the incomers, with the local population through the prism of chronic food shortages and material deprivation. Using detailed archival research and oral testimony she propounds her thesis that attitudes and behaviour towards incomers were governed by a pragmatism driven by material needs rather than ideological dogma. She illustrates how any alignment with Vichy policies was more or less accidental as the concepts of “insider” and “outsider” were re-defined to accommodate economic realities. Those with whom a socio-economic relationship was possible – through the black market for example – became insiders, whilst those who stretched the scant resources of the locality were outsiders. As a result, Jews, because of their value to the economy, were more accepted despite their official exclusion than Gypsies, for whom government policy reserved a place.⁵² Shannon Fogg’s analysis of the experience of outsiders in Vichy France from the angle of food shortages and the resultant changes in social structure is an illuminating counter-balance to a study of the experience of these groups within the camp system; and although the “model” camp of Saliers was set up to educate and integrate Gypsies as French citizens, the archives relating to Rieucros and Brens reveal Jews, Gypsies and Alsatian refugees arbitrarily interned together under the same label of “undesirable”.⁵³

⁵¹ Célia Bertin, *Femmes sous l'occupation* (Paris: Editions Stock, 1993) p.218. *Women and the Second World War*, p.207.

⁵² This was subject to the discriminatory practices following the 1912 law on identity cards: Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.88. Shannon Fogg develops the comparison between Jews and Gypsies in her article: Shannon L. Fogg, “‘They are Undesirables’: Local and National responses to Gypsies during World War II”, *French Historical Studies*, 31,2 (2008), 327-358. Alsatian refugees were viewed with suspicion as fifth columnists by the local population because of their German accents and alien culture; Daladier had, however, exhorted the local population to welcome them.

⁵³ Gypsies are classed as “nomads” although they are sometimes referred to as vagabonds (“vagabondes”) or tramps (“clochardes”) in correspondence or reports.

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Denis Peschanski's comprehensive work, *La France des Camps: L'internement 1938-1946*, is the definitive study to date on internment camps in France between 1938 and 1946.⁵⁴ His work has been invaluable to this study as, in a major re-interpretation of the period, he analyses many of the themes – including undesirability – examined here. Taking a chronological approach to the camp system starting at the First World War, he majors initially on the location of the camps, whether already in existence, converted from existing buildings (as Rieucros and Drancy were) or hastily constructed, as at Argelès-sur-Mer. He highlights the continuity and ruptures between the policies of the Third Republic and Vichy and examines the running of the camps adding the relative role of the Germans into the equation. Moreover he emphasises the diversity of the camp population, focussing on political prisoners (mainly communists) and Gypsies and illustrating how, as was the case at Rieucros and Brens, the initial population of Spanish, German and Austrian refugees transmogrified to include political prisoners, common law offenders, black marketeers, prostitutes, Gypsies and Jews.

Denis Peschanski offers a fresh interpretation of Bousquet's role in the Final Solution, although his work expands well beyond internment in the Holocaust. However, since Jews and resisters were deported from Brens camp, Holocaust studies are relevant to this thesis. The work of Martin Gilbert and Renée Poznanski constitute a monumental contribution to the field which has rightly become one of the main focal points of twentieth century history.⁵⁵ However, as a contrast with memoirs from Rieucros and Brens, the diary of Héléne Berr makes a valuable contribution; free to roam in Paris until her arrest and deportation, she captures the joys and pains of life under the Occupation in her unique journal. Like Jewish women at Brens she was also deported to Auschwitz via Drancy describing "... this horrible thing (deportation)... that will be felt as... uninterrupted suffering from the moment it occurs."⁵⁶ Unlike the fifteen year old Hungarian, Ana Novac who claimed she would continue to write her journal: "(taking) the trouble to find... the strongest word", Héléne Berr did not return from Auschwitz.⁵⁷ However,

⁵⁴ Denis Peschanski, *La France des Camps: L'internement 1938-1946* (Paris, Éditions Gallimard 2002).

⁵⁵ Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (Great Britain, Fontana/Collins, 1990); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001). See the Bibliography for other editions.

⁵⁶ Héléne Berr, *The Journal of Héléne Berr*, trans. by David Bellos (New York: Weinstein, 2008) p.133. There is a sad irony in Héléne Berr's last message to her sister written on the day of her arrest: "We certainly intend to come back." Ibid., p.263.

⁵⁷ Zoë Vania Waxman, *Writing the Holocaust: Identity, Testimony, Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.76.

Primo Levi's friend, Steinlauf, encouraged fellow prisoners to "survive to tell the story..."; similarly Kitty Hart "had to last out... some of us had to live, to defy them all, and one day tell the truth."⁵⁸ These diary entries poised as they were between life and death provide a sharp contrast with that of Ursula Katzenstein at Rieucros who described a typical day at camp: "This is how we live at Rieucros: in the morning I work as a cobbler, after lunch I do some knitting or some little thing for myself, or I read..."⁵⁹ I cite this journal entry, not to undermine the kind of suffering at Rieucros but to give others, who have no special claim to "otherness", the chance to speak.

In my study of the camps I have tried to cast off the pre-conceptions of the present. Falling as it does somewhere between gender history, Vichy history, Holocaust history and memory studies, about all of which much has been written, it would be all too easy to follow the path of "presentism", applying the morals, mores and more particularly the received interpretations of the present to the material unearthed. However, if history is a story of the past that is in constant dialogue with the present, then the records of the past are being constantly revisited and re-assessed by historians drawing out new truths and striving for better explanations. Denis Peschanski notes that difficulties arise out of the fact that there is no central location for inmates' dossiers and records concerning these camps, a problem which perhaps mirrors the confusion experienced by inmates at the time.⁶⁰ To address this difficulty, I have scrutinised tens of thousands of archival documents and used previously unresearched material to create my own database of internees of Brens camp – including those moved from Rieucros in 1942 – a segment of which can be found in Appendix G. From this empirically gathered evidence, I have analysed the original sources in the light of the issues addressed while applying accepted methods of textual criticism and drawing the conclusions argued in this thesis.

I approached my study of these sources through the lens of certain research questions concerning two aspects of my subject: first the camps themselves, their role, structure and organisation, and second the experience of internment from the internees' perspective. Of the

⁵⁸ Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*, trans. by Stuart Woolf (New York: Collier, 1961), p.36: quoted in *Writing the Holocaust*, p.75. Kitty Hart, *Return to Auschwitz: The Remarkable Story of a Girl who Survived the Holocaust* (London: Grafton, 1983), p.127: quoted in *Writing the Holocaust*, pp.76-7.

⁵⁹ Ursula Katzenstein's diary entry for 24/09/40 quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.135.

⁶⁰ *La France des Camps*, p.399. His statement refers to the broad spectrum of camp life whereas my focus is largely the archives relevant to Rieucros and Brens camps, namely, AD Lozère, AD Tarn, and AD Hérault.

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camps I ask, What were the differences and similarities between the camps under the Third Republic and under Vichy, particularly in terms of population and administration? Did the nature of the camps change over time, and if so was this a result of government policy or simply a pragmatic response to changing circumstances? Who were the women interned in the camps and why were they there? Did the nature of the population, the nationalities and reasons for internment develop to reflect a broadening concept of undesirability or a gendered perception of what constituted a threat to national security? How did the administrative hierarchy and structure develop and what was the effect of this on internees, personnel and the site? What impact did the role of the camp commander have on the life of the camp?

Of the experience of internment I ask, What were living conditions like in the camps, particularly with regard to provisioning, health, overcrowding and sanitation? How was accommodation arranged and what were the pressures of living in close proximity with others? Did conditions change over time and were any attempts made to improve them? How did the camp “quotidien” compare with life outside the camp? I ask how the women cope with the conditions and also with the mental and emotional pressures of internment – what coping mechanisms did they use? Was any one group better equipped to cope than the others? What factors were important and did a common femininity and incarceration over-ride the divisions and prejudices of diversity? Did the women show any signs of resistance to their plight and to what extent did agency prevail over victim-hood during the internment period?

The structure of the thesis follows these two lines of questioning. Chapters One and Two address those relating to the camp itself. My first chapter examines the background to the camp system and the origins of both Rieucros and Brens camps from the perspective of government policy – both under the Third Republic and Vichy – and the impact of that policy on the demography of the camp in terms of numbers, nationality and grounds for internment. I argue that whereas the initial purpose of the camps was as an assembly centre for foreign, mainly male refugees, this gave way to the increasing internment of French women as the parameters of perceived undesirability and its concomitant danger to public order and national security were continually extended and new categories added. My second chapter relates to the hierarchy and administration of the camp, the continuities and discontinuities in the transition from the Third Republic to Vichy and also the rupture of the move from Rieucros to Brens. I examine the role of the camp commander and contend that his competence and personality were pivotal in the life of the camp. I highlight tightening of bureaucratic requirements and the difficulties relating to personnel and building works faced by the commander. I argue that although there was continuity in the overall authority and structure, the constantly changing mesh of bureaucratic

requirements which expanded over the life of the camp placed an onerous burden on him and could thwart his efforts at improvement.

My third chapter forms a bridge between the camp system from an official perspective and the experience of the internees. I focus on the under-researched area of the internment of prostitutes and examine the history of their management and incarceration, the role of the Germans in initiating or delivering the policy of interning them and the impact of their presence in the camps on both administrative concerns and the experience of the internees. I argue that the internment of the prostitutes – the majority of whom were in the end French – added a new twist to the concept of undesirability, equating feminine sexuality with resistance, communism and “anti-France”. I contend that their presence required significant changes in the arrangement of accommodation, medical segregation and increased surveillance; but that despite their ostracisation by some of the other internees their protests led to improvements in conditions. Finally I argue that opportunities accorded for volunteering to work in Germany and the volte-face involved in the decision to release the prostitutes demonstrate a triumph of pragmatism over policy.

Drawing heavily on individual internees’ dossiers, censored correspondence and memoirs, Chapters Four and Five address those questions which relate to the women’s experience of internment. Chapter Four examines living conditions and the “quotidien” – hunger, cold, overcrowding, and the pressures of an extraordinary diversity among the women. Apart from the 25 nationalities represented, there were younger women, older women; healthy, unhealthy; lower class, upper class (from tramps to aristocrats); heterosexual, lesbian; “politicals”, prostitutes and Jews and non-Jews present in the camp. I examine the provision of health care and sanitation and the emotional suffering of incarceration and its resultant separation from all that was familiar. I argue that despite efforts made by the authorities and outside agencies to improve conditions, the women’s overriding experience was one of severe bodily privation and mental stress, boredom and humiliation; and that although in the area of food shortages conditions in the camp mirrored – and magnified – those outside, the suffering of camp women was compounded by their lack of freedom to seek alternative sources of supply. In Chapter Five I turn to the question of how the women coped with their privations and loss of freedom, analysing the support they received and the coping mechanisms they used, whether through activities such as crafts, education, artistic endeavour and employment or through less tangible means such as friendship and religion. I argue that the ability of the women to bring creativity and camaraderie out of the recurrent nightmare of internment breaks the mould of the narrative of the victim-internee to demonstrate the triumph, for most internees, of agency over victim-

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hood. The foreign Jewish inmates faced deportation in the summer of 1942, and showed great courage during that time. It is interesting to note that there are no discernible pointers to be found in the individual dossiers that Jewish inmates differed from their non-Jewish counterparts in the period before deportation; in fact the Jewish women are not separately identified in the dossiers. I will therefore be arguing that the agency displayed by Jewish women in the camps was as significant as that of the non-Jewish women.

My final chapter analyses two further facets of the life of Rieucros and Brens camps: their role in the deportations of 1942 and the afterlife of the camp following the Liberation of Gaillac on 17th August 1944. I argue that despite the obvious political shift from the Third Republic to Vichy, the bigger ruptures for the camp came in 1942 with first, the move from Rieucros to Brens in February and then the stark and shocking exposure of the brutality of the camp system in the deportations which started in August. The shock was immense: until this point, whatever the deprivations and harsh discomfort of their lives, whatever the frustrations and depressing delays, the women had been able to believe that ultimately they would return to the outside world. That illusion was cruelly shattered with the departure, amid fierce and physical protests by other internees, of the foreign Jews. It put the whole experience of internment in a different perspective, underlining the limits of agency in the face of ultimate victim-hood. However although the impact of the deportations on the camps has to some extent defined their nature, their history is more nuanced and in my conclusion I have examined the camps from the perspective of collective memory and memorial, setting this micro-study in the wider context of existing scholarship about internment under the Third Republic and Vichy France. I have traced the development of the post-war battle for a unified historiography of that era and I argue that while the pendulum has swung in memorial from the mythologising of resisters to a recognition of the suffering of Jews, there is a complexity that is as yet unacknowledged. All those who endured the camps had been robbed of their liberty by a repressive regime, but the diversity between them, from Spanish refugees to petty criminals, grey marketeers, prostitutes and intellectuals, has not been reflected in memorialisation. They, as well as those claimed by the Holocaust, deserve a voice in women's history and by bringing new insights into the impact of internment on the lives of individual women, this study aims to push the bounds of memorial to include the suffering of those previously un-renowned.

My study of the sources led to some unexpected findings. Paradox underpins the Occupation: for example, even as Jews were being rounded up and deported from the camp, Marguerite Denis was interned for writing an anonymous letter to the German authorities denouncing her

Polish Jewish neighbour, Wulach.⁶¹ Similarly, Jeanne Bézard, an assistant at Nîmes hospital, was interned by the French for asserting to the German Occupier that the war would soon be over, while on the other hand Marguerite Flèche who lived near the demarcation line, was interned for abandoning 11 “escapees” whom she had guided illegally across the line, leading to their arrest by the German authorities.⁶² Equally, the findings challenge the received perception of Vichy stereotypes – concerning the officials for example, whose job was to implement repressive Vichy policy – and highlight the importance of individual decisions and actions in the creation of the enclosed world that was Rieucros and Brens. The experiences of the women, too, as recorded by themselves in letters and diaries and through camp records, underline that diversity prevailed over uniformity as each individual responded differently to the same environment. It follows, therefore, that their backgrounds – economic, social, educational, political – and personalities, those very elements which in historical analysis might be lumped under “bias”, are critical to an understanding of the effects and outcomes of internment. One of the tenets of this thesis is that, despite the constraints, hardships and indignities they suffered, the interned women (though not ultimately the Jews) were nonetheless to some degree able to take charge of their own destiny as agents and to retain a sense of dignity and purpose.

It is my hope that this thesis will contribute to the wealth of studies pertaining to Occupation-era France, not only as a micro-history presenting detailed research, but as a tool for new interpretations; and that it will enlarge the boundaries of historical actuality as new questions are asked and previously under-researched groups – such as prostitutes – are foregrounded. Above all, I hope that it will give a voice and a memorial to all the unknown women who suffered in these two particular “camps of shame” and redress the implicit complaint voiced in the title of Françoise Seuzaret-Barry’s book *Justine* – one of the “forgotten ones” of Rieucros.⁶³

⁶¹ Individual dossier of Marguerite Denis (ép Voisin): ADT 495 W: 58.

⁶² Individual dossier of Jeanne Bézard (vve Roynaud): ADT 495 W:54; individual dossier of Marguerite Flèche (ép Chaloyard): ADT 495 W: 59.

⁶³ The phrase “camps of shame” is taken from the title of Anne Grynberg’s book. *Les camps de la honte*. It is possible that *Justine: une oubliée de Rieucros* is a biographical rather than an autobiographical account; however, the level of accurate detail contained in it suggests autobiography.

Chapter One

Demography of Rieucros and Brens camps (1939-1944)

In this chapter I address the questions, What were the differences and similarities between the camps under the Third Republic and under Vichy, particularly in terms of population and administration? Did the nature of the camps change over time, and if so was this a result of government policy or simply a pragmatic response to changing circumstances? Who were the women interned in the camps and why were they there? Did the nature of the population, the nationalities and reasons for internment develop to reflect a broadening concept of undesirability and a gendered perception of what constituted a threat to national security?

I shall examine first the background to the camp system and the setting up of Rieucros camp in the context of the immigration policy of the 1930s and the momentous events of 1939. I argue that it was initially an assembly centre for foreign *male* refugees but that the outbreak of war resulted in a foundational change both in the scale and intensity of internment and the nature of those interned; and that as a result Rieucros was decreed a women's-only camp for those posing a threat to national security. I then trace the evolution of the women's camp, the confusion surrounding who was to be interned there and the concept of undesirability in that context. I argue that the decree laws of November 1938 and November 1939 underpinning internment were susceptible of varying interpretation by individual prefects, resulting in a tension between policy and pragmatism, while the scope of those considered worthy of exclusion widened as foreign Jews, communists, prostitutes, Gypsies and common criminals were included in the in-gathering.

While the outbreak of war caused the first major rupture in internment, the transition to the Vichy government in July 1940 represented the second. I next consider the continuities and

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discontinuities between the Third Republic and Vichy in the context of camp life and argue that while the structure and organisation of the camp stayed the same and day to day life remained largely unaffected, the impact on the demography of the camp was more profound. As well as introducing the new element of German involvement (for example via the Kundt commission) the changes to citizenship implemented by Vichy denuded many naturalised foreigners – particularly foreign Jews – of their rights making them potential targets for internment. The most significant measures, however, were the decree of 3rd September 1940 authorising prefects to intern anyone they deemed dangerous for national security and the Jewish Statutes which heralded the tightening grip of anti-Semitism and gradually marked the course towards the ultimate fate of foreign Jews – deportation.¹

The chapter continues with an analysis of the camp population first by nationality then by grounds of internment. I demonstrate that whereas in its early life the camp was overwhelmingly foreign in its population, from 1942 onwards the majority of internees were French nationals; and I argue that this reflected the growing trend to intern French prostitutes, as well as the loss of foreign internees through repatriation and deportation. Through detailed analysis of individual internees' dossiers as well as official reports, I argue that the bases for internment were subject to the individual and varying interpretation of decree laws by local prefects; that the official categories expanded over time and that there was considerable scope for overlap between categories. Furthermore the grounds for internment appearing on internees' individual "identity slips" did not necessarily indicate or accord with the categories recorded in camp statistics. This chapter concludes that internment was often arbitrary and that political dogma gave way not only to pragmatism but also to ideological and bureaucratic confusion.

France was at the forefront of refugee reception in the 1930s with the displacement of anti-fascists, German Jews, and Central and Eastern European refugees.² Although diversity of opinion and instability of government produced fluctuations the Third Republic became synonymous with the ideal of asylum; two German refugees at Rieucros, actress Steffie Spira and journalist Gertrude Rast, refer in a poem to "gentle France" where they had expected to be

¹ Although French Jews were not targeted directly by the Germans for deportation they would be used to fill quotas if a sufficient number of foreign Jews was not available. Julian Jackson (2001) Oxford University Press: *France: The Dark Years: 1940-1944*, p.151.

² Scott Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939-2009* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.27.

welcomed.³ Despite a 1932 law limiting the number of foreign workers, immigrants continued to cross France's borders, fleeing persecution. Once the economic squeeze hit the French middle classes a deepening fear of foreigners led Pierre Taittinger – deputy and founder of the far right league – to insist: “We must first consider our own people.”⁴ The first government crackdowns on refugees came in 1934-35 and, although the Popular Front victory in 1936 brought a short-lived softening of policy, refugees arriving in large numbers – Germans and Austrians escaping Hitler, Eastern European Jews escaping pogroms, Spanish refugees fleeing the civil war – aggravated fears of France being dragged into war.⁵ The Munich crisis and the murder of Ernst Von Rath hardened anti-Semitic attitudes, whilst refugees became increasingly associated with the Bolshevik threat.

1938 heralded two major anti-immigrant decrees; first, the decree of 2nd May 1938 – stressing the urgency of “ridding our country of ‘unwanted foreign elements’” and extending the powers of police and prefects – introduced the possibility of placing illegal immigrants in an assigned residence or expulsion.⁶ Second, Article 25 of a decree of 12th November 1938 reflected hardening attitudes, mandating the creation of more detention centres, a far more repressive regime than the assigned residence and, in fact, the beginning of the camp system.⁷ By the end of the Third Republic, the exclusion policy, catering for fear and xenophobia provoked by the outbreak of war with Germany, was seriously adopted, and camps sprang up all over France to house those perceived as posing a threat to national security.⁸

³ Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p.354. Immigration had been increasing rapidly after the open door policy of the previous decade and Barbara Vorneier estimates the number of foreign workers registered in 1931 as 2,714,697. However, the law of 1932 limited the number of foreign workers which, the latter claims, had dropped to 2,198,236 by 1936: Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte* (Paris: La découverte, 1991), p.24 (unnumbered footnote). Poem entitled *Rieucros* by Steffie Spira and Gertrude Rast, quoted in Mechtild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes, Chroniques d'Internées, Rieucros et Brens, 1939-1944*, trans. by Nicole Bary (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2000), p.166. Gertrude Rast appears in the camp log as Anna Graesser: ADT 495 W: 27.

⁴ ‘Débats parlementaires, Chambre de Deputés: compte rendu in extenso’, 13th November 1931, *JO*, p.3850.

⁵ The government were driven by the Depression and pressure to retain control of the professions.

⁶ Decree of 2nd May 1938, *JO* 3rd May 1938. This decree encapsulated Albert Sarraut's (Minister of the Interior) circular of 14th April 1938. Powers of the border control were increased by this decree.

⁷ Decree of 12th November 1938, *JO* 12th November 1938, p.12923.

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Some camps, like Argelès-sur-Mer, the “lodging” which greeted Miguel, the Spanish prisoner cited by Scott Soo in his study of routes to exile, were hastily constructed.⁹ Among other camps set up to cope with large numbers of Spanish refugees fleeing over the border was Rieucros (Lozère); previously a religious retreat house, the site consisted of 40 hectares of woodland and two stone buildings.¹⁰ When Spanish refugees were arriving in droves and the construction of a camp was required in the locality, the mayor and the prefect persuaded the church to cede the site back to the state.¹¹ By the time the decree of 21st January 1939 setting up Rieucros camp was published in the *Journal Officiel*, work – estimated at a cost of one million francs – had begun on its construction, a slower process than at Argelès.¹² The provision of an adequate water supply had always been a problem on the site: although the agreement with the Grand Seminary in 1939 allowed for four cubic metres of water per day, it was way below the daily requirement of 49 litres for each internee.¹³ The curtailing of the water supply when the Grand Seminary refused to renew their three year agreement was one of the main reasons for the move to Brens in February 1942.¹⁴

⁸ When war broke out male refugees were released to join the Foreign Legion; others were sent to work on agricultural collectives.

⁹ *The routes to exile*, p.1.

¹⁰ The camp was situated in the village of Le Mas, near Mende; only 13 hectares of the site were usable. The river/stream in the valley below was called ‘Rieucros’. The buildings had belonged to the church since medieval times. Other camps set up to cope with large numbers of Spanish refugees were Rivesaltes, Gurs, Noé, Nexon, St-Sulpice-La-Pointe, Milles and Vernet.

¹¹ The mayor was M Bourrillon and the prefect was M Bizardel. All taxes, charges and insurance paid by the proprietor, were to be reimbursed. Those involved were the Director of the Grand Seminary and the Bishop of Mende. Letter of 25th July 1939 of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur, Direction de la Police Nationale, 2^{ème} Bureau: Mende, Archives Départementales de la Lozère (ADL) 2 W: 2805.

¹² Decree of 21st January 1939, *JO* 4th February 1939, p.1644. Dossier entitled: ‘Travail au camp’: ADL 2 W: 2805.

¹³ Report of 19th September 1941 on the organisation of Rieucros camp: ADL 2 W: 2805. They did, however, allow sixteen-eighteen cubic metres in winter. The church had bought land in the north-west of the property to protect the Grand Seminary’s water supply in 1923. Report of 29th March 1940 of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Secrétaire d’Etat, Ministre de l’Intérieur (paragraph 3): dossier entitled ‘Fonctionnement’: ADL 2 W: 2805. Report of 4th February 1939 of the Ingénieur du Génie Rural to the Préfet de la Lozère: dossier entitled ‘Eau’: ADL 2 W: 2805.

¹⁴ As far as I am aware this has not been documented as such by writers about the camps. Letter of 16th January 1942 of Mgr Combette, Supérieur du Grand Séminaire, to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL

On 23rd February 1939 it was announced in *Le Matin* that the first French concentration camp had been established at Rieucros; according to *La Croix de la Lozère*, apart from Spanish refugees – republicans or former members of the International Brigade – there were Austrians, Germans, Poles and White Russians.¹⁵ It should be noted that initially the camp, which was considered an assembly place for foreigners who could not be extradited, held mainly *male* occupants numbering 72 by August 1939.¹⁶ The press voiced local inhabitants' rage at refugees lodged in the locality with comments ranging from "dangerous foreigners" to "gangrene on our doorstep" whilst Lozèrian parliamentarians, including Senator Bringer, M de las Cases and the president of Born town council protested unanimously.¹⁷ Fear in the local population was also recorded: one old couple were afraid to go out, local locksmiths made a roaring trade out of the installation of the camp, whilst thieves used the presence of inmates to mask their crimes.¹⁸

The declaration of war on 3rd September 1939 accelerated the process of internment and intensified concerns for national security, aggravating the fear of foreigners. Women were targeted when a circular of 17th September 1939 ordered all prefects to make a list of foreign women "posing a threat to public security" who could potentially be interned at Rieucros, and on 19th September, by a ministerial decree, Rieucros became a women's camp.¹⁹

2 W: 2805. Notice of 14th February 1942 of Mgr Combette, Supérieur du Grand Séminaire to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2805. Letter of 21st January 1942 of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2805.

¹⁵ *Le Matin*, 23rd February 1939. Quoted in *Les Camps de la Honte*, p.19. *La Croix de la Lozère*, 5th March 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212. The heir to the throne of Andorra was also interned at Rieucros.

¹⁶ Report of 8th August 1939 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2805.

¹⁷ *La Croix de la Lozère*, 26th February 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212. *L'Eclair*, 22nd February 1939: *Les camps de la honte*, p.19. Born was a nearby commune; M de las Cases was president of the General Council. Their protests were in February and March 1939. *La Croix de La Lozère*, 26th March, 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212. *La Croix de la Lozère*: 26th February, 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212.

¹⁸ *La Croix de la Lozère*: 18th February 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212. This story also appeared in *Le Matin*. There is no evidence that one group of internees was feared locally above others, since, by the time the camp was opened, the press had sensationalised prospective inmates, tarring them all with the brush of undesirability.

¹⁹ Dossier entitled 'Camp de Rieucros, "mesures d'internement (1939-1934), mouvements des effectifs (1939-1944), statistiques et rapports (1941-1942)": ADL 2 W: 2603.

Rieucros becomes a women's-only camp

“Undesirability” was at this time principally equated with foreignness; but following the banning of the Parti Communiste Français in August 1939 and the dissolution of the communist party on 26th September 1939, its former members joined German and ex-Austrian nationals as individuals dangerous to public order and national security. The moral language of the concept of undesirability underpinned official perceptions of who should be interned at Rieucros. The prefect of Lozère, insisting that: “Rieucros camp is reserved... for political extremists not for indisciplined women”, contradicted the Interior ministry’s moralizing tone when instructing prefects about who should be interned there, namely “women of ‘dubious’ life-style...; not political prisoners, but those accused by civil law, murderers, thieves, black marketeers.”²⁰ In fact, the prefect refused some applications, for example in a letter to the prefect of Haute-Vienne he refused to accept the Spanish Anita Oran, at Rieucros, since she was accused by her home prefect of causing “incidents” in her “home” centre.²¹

The Third Republic took measures which broadened the scope for internment in November 1939; whereas Article 25 of the decree of 12th November 1938 had opened the way to the internment of *foreigners* considered dangerous to national security and public order, the decree of 18th November 1939 widened the net by introducing measures to be taken against *individuals* considered dangerous; such individuals could “by the decision of the prefect be removed by the military authority... and be compelled to reside in a centre”.²² A Sarraut’s 14th December 1939 circular to prefects elaborated on the application of this decree, which he said “puts into your hands *exceptional* power.”²³ (Italics mine). A key point of the decree of 18th November was that it was an administrative and not a judicial measure, to be applied only when there was no other legal means – such as the criminal laws, already extended in time of war – to reach such individuals. In effect, this meant that anyone suspected of committing an act likely to undermine “the... moral potential of the fatherland” or even of *intending* to commit such an act, could be

²⁰ Undated letter of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police ADL 2 W: 2603.

²¹ Anita Oran was a refugee. Letter of 29th December 1939 of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Préfet de Haute-Vienne: ADL 2 W: 2805. The prefect of Lozère’s rough reply has “NON” striped on it in red ink.

²² Article 25 of the law of 12th November 1938 modified Article 11 of the law of 2nd May 1938, which encompassed any irregularity of papers. Decree of 12th November 1938: *JO* of 12th November 1938, p.12923. Decree of 18th November 1939: *JO* of 19th November 1939, p.13218.

²³ Circular no 12 of 14th December 1939.

interned. No commission, no judgement, no conviction was necessary and therefore no possibility of defence: suspected intention was enough and prefects were urged in their “task of purification” to take preventative precautions which were “as imperative as that of the repressive measure”.²⁴ It must be noted that these measures were to be used as “complementary to the law” i.e. beyond, not within it.

Given the underlying ambiguity as to what constituted a threat to public order and security compounded by the extraordinarily wide powers given to prefects, it is not surprising that the prefect of Lozère was bombarded with requests from departmental prefects from all over France to accommodate those deemed “undesirable” (a concept which now encompassed not only political extremists but petty criminals, prostitutes, foreign Jews and Gypsies). At least ten different prefects feature in the correspondence – which exposes the wide disparity in the interpretation of the rubric “dangerous to national security” – requesting admissions to the camp from regions as far afield as Somme in the north and Var in the south.²⁵

As an illustration of the confusion surrounding this period it is interesting to note that, although the first large group of prisoners was a 100 foreign “politicals” from La Petite Roquette prison in Paris, the relevant dossier contains only one request for the admission of political prisoners: for two anarchists who had been circulating propaganda in Ceilhes camp.²⁶ Nonetheless, convoys arriving at Rieucros, such as that of 35 “foreign suspects” in November 1939 did contain political prisoners.²⁷ The perceived danger here was not in the physical realm, as from common law prisoners, but ideological, from politicised women. However, many internees had been convicted at common law and were sent to Rieucros on their release from prison, for example, the Italian Antonia Meni and the German, Marie Eisenhofer came almost straight from prison, a Romanian woman had had numerous stays in prison; a Polish woman, a Spanish woman and a Swedish woman arrived after serving sentences at Rennes prison.²⁸ Some of the refugees had been expelled as “undesirable” for bad behaviour and petty offences and there

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Dossier entitled ‘Mesures d’internement anonymes 1939-41’: ADL M: 11215.

²⁶ Ceilhes camp was in Hérault. Letter of December 1939 of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Préfet de la Seine-et-Marne: ADL M: 11215. The date is illegible.

²⁷ Hans-Albert Walter, quoted by Mechtild Gilzmer in her survey of camp life, noting the steady increase in numbers at Rieucros, mentions “politicals” almost as an after-thought. *Camps de femmes*, p.49; quoting Hans-Albert Walter, *Deutsche Exilliteratur, 1933-1950. Band 3: Internierung, Flucht und Lebensbedingungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1988), p.91. These prisoners came from Var.

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were a number with convictions for theft, including an Austrian with seven convictions.²⁹ Since the order for re-internment was made in some cases (Erna Stracke and Virginia Pla Caballe, for example) before the prison sentence had come to an end, it seems that prisoners were simply transferred from one jurisdiction to another; the exception was Marie Eisenhofer who had been released “yesterday” – not exactly an extensive period of freedom.³⁰ Left without any possibility of reform or amendment, the fact of their previous incarceration automatically rendered them “undesirable”.

It is clear that departmental prefects took the opportunity of ridding their departments of those commonly perceived as “undesirables”. The bureaucratic muddle over admission to the camp was exacerbated by the fact that, for the first three months, records were haphazard. It was not until 11th December 1939 that the minister of the Interior required the prefect of Lozère to provide the General Administration of National Security with a weekly tally of inmates, listing grounds for their internment.³¹ These figures show that the number interned by the Third Republic reached 249 by 14th December 1939; thereafter the population rose slowly but steadily until May 1940 when the ministry of the Interior ordered the internment of all German women nationals aged between 17 and 65, now regarded as enemy aliens.³² This resulted in a rapid rise in the population of the camp from 395 in May to 570 on 11th July 1940 at the start of the Vichy regime.

The transition from the Third Republic to the Vichy regime

The transition from the Third Republic to Vichy had both an immediate and longer term impact on the life of the camp. Perhaps it is for this reason that Monique-Lise Cohen and Eric Malo seem ambivalent in their assessment; on the one hand they maintain that the camp system did not systemically change between the Third Republic and Vichy, displaying instead a “spectacular continuity”. On the other hand, they assert that “the camps lost their temporary quality, becoming a repressive institution representing the regime’s exclusionary policy.”³³ I

²⁸ The Romanian had been in Nanterre prison. Dossier entitled ‘Mesures d’internement anonymes: 1939-41’: ADL M: 11215. The reasons for their conviction is unfortunately not cited in the dossier.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Dossier entitled ‘Mesures d’internement anonymes 1939-1944’: ADL M 11215.

³¹ Letter of 11th December 1939 of the Ministre d’Etat de L’Intérieur to the Préfet de la Lozère: 2W: 2603.

³² *Les camps de la honte*, p.81. On 15th May 1940 the government ordered the internment of all German males aged 17-56 years. It was later extended to 17-65 years. Ibid.

argue that the effect on the population of the camp was almost immediate, while over the longer term increasingly repressive measures were reflected in internment policy.

The first and most obvious change was that those previously deemed “enemy aliens” were no longer so; the armistice and establishment of the Vichy government was therefore followed by a corresponding decrease in the camp population as many women were repatriated – the Kundt commission visited Rieucros on 6th August, for example, with a view to the reclamation of interned German nationals – and by the end of August 1940 the total number at camp was down to 398.³⁴ In particular the number interned as “suspect from a national point of view”, which had risen to 165 in June 1940, had dropped to 100 by September. They were replaced in the camp by nationals and foreigners considered a threat to public security, often for no other reason than the practice of prostitution or the commission of a petty theft. With the defeat of 1940, and male virility under question, prostitutes – who became seen as a threat to France’s future strength and reproductive potential – were gradually interned in large numbers. As early as July 1940 Vichy started the process of de-naturalising foreigners who had acquired citizenship since 1927, thus denuding many foreign refugees and immigrants of any legal status and making them vulnerable to internment for lack of papers.³⁵ Although not explicitly so, this measure was aimed at foreign Jews; despite accounting for less than 1% of the foreign population in 1940, 40% of those stripped of citizenship under these measures were Jews (6,000 out of a total of 15,000).³⁶

³³ Monique Lise Cohen and Eric Malo, *Les Camps du Sud-ouest de la France: Exclusion, Internement, Déportation, 1939-1944* (Toulouse: Privat, 1994), p.29 and p.22.

³⁴ These women were principally Germans and Austrians. The Kundt commission was willing to “consider the release and transfer into German-occupied territory of all the ladies – Aryan or Jewish, German or foreign – who would apply for it.” Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), pp.127-8. Sandrine Peyrac, Claire Martin, and Jean-Christophe Labadie, *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros, 1939-1942: L'internement, de la République à l'État français* (Mende: Archives départementales de la Lozère, Service éducatif, 2008), p.43. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry notes preparations for the visit of the Kundt Commission at the end of July 1940 and she dates the visit as 4th August: Françoise Seuzaret-Barry, *Justine, une oubliée de Rieucros* (Pont-St-Esprit: La Mirondale, 2007), p.133. Weekly statistics for 29th August 1940 which says 59 inmates reclaimed by the German authorities were taken to Chalon-sur-Saône “ce jour” suggests that these women were selected by the Kundt commission earlier in the month: ADL 2 W 2603.

³⁵ Caron, Vicki, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p 323.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.325. There are four stages of Pétain’s anti-Jewish legislation: 13th July 1940, a decree stating that only men of French parentage may belong to ministerial cabinets (i.e. no Jews in

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Similarly, after the laws of 4th October 1940, foreign Jews were targets of Vichy's escalating repressive exclusion policy. However, no internees were interned because they were Jewish; this rubric does not exist in camp records – some other rubric was employed.

Finally, the transition to Vichy saw a shift in the balance between French and foreign internees. Under the Third Republic, the internees were almost entirely foreign with 25 nationalities represented; French nationals did not begin to arrive until spring 1940, Mathilde Péri, wife of the communist leader Gabriel Péri, being among the first.³⁷ The Vichy government, however, saw a rise in the number of French internees who eventually formed the majority at the camp; a development which illustrates the change in the nature of the camp from a “reception centre” for foreign refugees (originally male) to an internment centre for “undesirables”, both French and foreign, indicating a stretching of the concept of undesirability.

These changes were reflected in the appellation of the camp. Although the local press in its original campaign against Rieucros used terms such as “concentration camp”; “internment camp”; “Rieucros B&B”; “the Bizardel-Bourrillon Foundation”; “the Bizardel-Bourrillon International Hotel” and “Rieucros Forced Labour Camp”, its official designation used by the Interior minister in November 1940 was the “Foreign Assembly Centre at Rieucros”; while later that month M Faggianelli was appointed Special Police Commissioner to “Rieucros Reception Centre”.³⁸ However, by a circular of January 1941 Rieucros became a “concentration camp”.

government posts); 17th July 1940, a decree limiting civil service posts to individuals born in France to French fathers (which excluded a lot of naturalised French citizens such as foreign Jews); 22nd July 1940, a law permitting the government to de-naturalise all foreigners who had acquired French citizenship since the 1927 Naturalisation Act: not even veterans or family members of war dead were exempted. This measure obviously hit immigrant Jews who had fled to France to escape pogroms/persecution. On 23rd July, a decree authorised cancellation of citizenship of all French nationals who had departed France after May 10th 1940 without valid reason. (This caught Jews who had fled the country at the defeat, including bankers, statesmen etc).

³⁷ The presence of Mathilde Péri is mentioned in a report by Felix Chevrier of 1st April 1940: CDJC: (CCLL XIII, 70). Gabriel Péri was shot by the Germans on 15th December 1941.

³⁸ Dossier entitled ‘Camp de Rieucros créé par décret 21/01/39’: ADL 2W: 2805. M Bizardel was the Prefect of Lozère and M Bourrillon was the mayor of Mende. *Le Soc*, 16th April 1939: ADL 1 PER: 215. Other appellations were: the “prison colony”, “Bizardel Camp”, “select establishment” and “Centre d’accueil”. Letter of 6th November 1940 of the Ministre d’Etat de L’Intérieur to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2805. Order of 10th November 1940 signed at Vichy by M Peyrouton: ADL 2 W: 2699.

Terms referring to the camps seem to have been used interchangeably. For instance, in July 1941, the camps, including Rieucros, were referred to collectively as “Surveillance Camps” and “Regional Internment Camps”.³⁹ All official correspondence from the camp at this time though, from January 1941 until the move to Brens in February 1942, bears the stamp “Camp de Concentration de Rieucros”.⁴⁰ The camp system, which already lacked clarity under the Third Republic, developed under Vichy in a piecemeal, fragmented and pragmatic way, a situation regretted by the heads of concentration and surveillance camps on 23rd and 24th September 1941, when they minuted that no distinction was made between the different camps and the types of internees they received.⁴¹

Provenance and nationality of Rieucros and Brens internees

A survey of the provenance of a third of Brens internees reveals a wide net thrown out over France as a whole not just the local areas of Lozère and Tarn.⁴² It is interesting to note that very few came from the locality of the camps; from the selection chosen only one came from Lozère (Rieucros) and 12 from Tarn (Brens).⁴³ One page in the log illustrates the striking diversity of inmates and the jumbled assortment of women, coming as they did from different countries and, prior to arrest, from various regions in France.⁴⁴ Listed were: a Syrian, a Romanian and a Hungarian who came from Haute-Garonne, Alpes-Maritimes and Pyrénées-Orientales, suggesting a possible – though not certain – previous involvement in the Spanish civil war. To different nationalities was added the mix of local custom ingathered from these localities into the community of the camps. (See Appendix O).

³⁹ Letter of 26th July 1941 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général de la Police to the Prefects (of the southern zone): ADL 2W: 2805. Letter of 30th September 1941 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général de la Police to the Chefs des Camps: ADL 2W: 2805.

⁴⁰ “Rieucros Concentration Camp”. It certainly must not be confused, however, with the death camps of the east at this or any other point in time, as a reading of David Rousset’s *L’univers concentrationnaire* will confirm: David Rousset, *L’univers concentrationnaire* (Paris: Hachette, Les Editions de Minuit, 1965).

⁴¹ Report of a conference of “Chefs du Camps de Concentration et Centres de Séjours Surveillés”, 23rd and 24th September 1941: ADL 2 W: 2805.

⁴² This includes inmates transferred from Rieucros to Brens in February 1942.

⁴³ Information taken from Brens camp log: Albi, Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 26-29. The camp log includes those internees transferred from Rieucros to Brens. The sample was a third of internees present during the entire life of the camp.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

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An analysis of the nationalities at the camp reflects the regime change, external events influencing internment policy and the balance of the population of the camp. It is not surprising, since the camp had originally been installed to house refugees fleeing the Spanish civil war, that by May 1941 the largest single nationality out of the 25 represented were the Spanish, who accounted for over a quarter (26%) of internees. There seems to have been an influx of refugees in early April 1941 when the population of those “interned for other reasons” rose by 50 in one week and the number of children (now allowed to be admitted) leapt from 15 to 45; since three-quarters of the children in the camp were Spanish, it seems reasonable to assume that a group of Spanish women with children had arrived then.⁴⁵ The next largest group was the Poles, representing just over a fifth (21%), followed by the Germans who formed 18% of the camp population. In contrast, the number of French prisoners was 44 out of a population of 367, just 12% of the total. The population of the camp was thus overwhelmingly foreign at this point. (See Appendix C).

After the spike in May 1941, outside political influences again impacted the camp population, leading to a reduction in numbers when the Bommel Commission visited Rieucros on 13th and 14th May to recruit workers for Germany. Unlike the Kundt commission, whose aim had been the reclamation of interned German nationals, the Bommel commission targeted eastern and northern Europeans, accepting 36 women (of whom 26 were Poles) who were to be transported to the demarcation line on 20th May.⁴⁶ The commander wrote in his report that all those accepted were prostitutes or convicted at common law.⁴⁷ May 1941 also saw a number of Spanish internees conducted to the frontier for repatriation and the transfer of others to Bompard Hotel,

⁴⁵ Weekly reports for 27th March 1941 and 3rd April 1941 of the Préfet de la Lozère to Amiral de la Flotte, Ministre de l’Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2603. The first reference to children in the camp was for 27th June 1940 when there were 41 internees’ children below the age of 17 living at camp. Weekly report entitled ‘Situation numérique par catégorie’ of 27th June 1940 of the Préfet de la Lozère to M le Ministre de l’Intérieur, Direction de la Surveillance du territoire et de la police des Etrangers – 7^{ème} Bureau: ADL 2 W: 2603. Subsequent reports show fluctuating numbers for children: 11th July, 42 children; 18th July, 33; 1st August, 24; 22nd August, 11; 12th September, 9. Weekly reports of 1940 of the Préfet de la Lozère to M le Ministre de l’Intérieur, Direction de la Surveillance du territoire et de la police des Etrangers - 7^{ème} Bureau: ADL 2 W: 2603.

⁴⁶ Letter (no 2429) of 15th May 1941 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2805. Although 36 women were accepted only 32 went because four changed their minds. Undated letter of the Préfet de la Lozère to the Secrétaire Général de Police (7^{ème} bureau) réf. telegram of 13th May and letter of 17th May of the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2603. This letter spells Bommel as Baumel.

Marseille, with a view to emigration. (See Appendix K). Although the total population stabilised after the drop which followed the Bommel commission and remained at around 350 until the transfer to Brens, the balance of the constituent parts changed. By August 1941 the percentage of French internees had risen to 22% and, by the time the camp moved to Brens in February 1942, this had risen to just over 30%, while the Spanish had dropped to roughly 15%, the Poles to 18% and the Germans to 7%.⁴⁸

The trend towards a majority of French internees continued in 1942/1943; the percentage of French internees rose to over 40% by October 1942, 50% by April 1943 and 64%, the highest recorded, in August 1943, remaining in the region of 50-55 % for the rest of the life of the camp.⁴⁹ Of other nationalities, while the Spanish remained fairly constant at around 15%, the Poles gradually fell to 7% while the Germans dropped to 4% in September 1942 and to less than 1% by 1944.⁵⁰ The sharp increase in French internees to 64% of the camp population from summer 1943 corresponds with the growing trend to intern prostitutes and the decline from September 1943 reflects the sudden unilateral decision in August 1943 to release them; a decision which perhaps more than any other illustrates the triumph of pragmatism over policy.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Letter (no 2429) of 15th May 1941 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2805. Weekly reports for 27th March 1941 and 3rd April 1941 of the Préfet de la Lozère to Amiral de la Flotte, Ministre de l'Etat de l'Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2603.

⁴⁸ By the time the camp moved to Brens, then, the number of French internees represented over a quarter of the population of the camp. Dossier entitled 'Statistiques bimensuels des effectifs/rapports du Chef du Camp, 1941-1942': ADL 2 W: 2603. Dossier entitled 'Situation numériques hebdomadaires des internées par catégorie': ADT 495 W: 32. Nationalities taken from a survey of a third of Brens internees were: French (88); Polish (41); Spanish (31); German (22); Italian (21); ex-Austrian (10); Belgian (8); Romanian (5); Stateless (5); Hungarian (4); Russian (4); English (4); Dutch (3); Czechoslovakian (3); Luxembourgers (2); Latvian (1); Sarroise (1); Syrian (1); Bulgarian (1); Hellenic (1); Slav (1); Swiss (1); Portuguese (1) and Indeterminate (1). Information taken from Brens camp log: ADT 495 W: 26-29.

⁴⁹ Bi-monthly reports of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34.

⁵⁰ Ibid. French prostitutes consistently outnumbered foreigners at Brens.

⁵¹ Covering letter of 6th August 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police, 8^{ème} bureau, Vichy, enclosing a recent report on Brens camp by the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45. Letter of 13th August 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Prefects of the zone libre; it is signed Cado, Adjoint au Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 45. Letter no 1887 Pol 14 et 8 of 13th August 1943 of the Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

Grounds of internment in the camps

Internment went through a sea change in 1939 after certain big ruptures; the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of 23rd August and the declaration of war with Germany on 3rd September which added enemy aliens, sadly including German anti-fascists, to the groups being interned. Then the banning and dissolution of the Communist Party on 26th September initiated the rounding up of communists who were immediately imprisoned or interned – for instance the group of 100 interned at Rieucros.⁵² The “exceptional power” put into the hands of prefects by the Third Republic by the 18th November 1939 decree law was also extensively used to intern women whom it was considered should be swept out of sight into the camps; the internment of local prostitutes during Pétain’s tours illustrates the continuation of this philosophy under Vichy.⁵³ The basis for all internment, however, whether for foreigners or nationals, was the suspicion of being an individual dangerous to national security.

However, the interpretation by local prefects of who was considered a danger to national security varied widely and, although for administrative purposes categories for internment were set out, I argue that there was considerable overlap between the categories, which in any event changed over the life of the camp, leading to confusion both for commanders and internees. I illustrate the fact that individual internees could easily have been interned under more than one rubric, since although the *reason* for internment (where known) was recorded on individual identity slips, the *category* of internment was not. There was not necessarily any correlation between the reason for internment and the category, thus making official statistics a blurred snapshot of the constitution of the camp. I also examine the impact of the black market on internment and illustrate that even for those operating for profit, the sentences were light. I also assert that women could, however, be interned for a relatively considerable period for minor or arbitrary reasons; (Blanche Oziol, for example, was interned for four months for a single, derogatory comment against Pétain) and that often no reason at all was given.⁵⁴ I maintain that social status provided no immunity from internment and that gaining release from the camp, sometimes even at the end of a fixed-term sentence, was often as arbitrary as the original grounds of internment given by officials.

⁵² *The Dark Years*, p.114; *Philippe Joutard*, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.62.

⁵³ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (London, New York: Longman, 1999), p.40.

⁵⁴ Individual dossier of Blanche Oziol: ADT 495 W: 64.

Official records kept by Rieucros from September 1939 to February 1942 divide internees into four categories of grounds of internment: “convicted at common law”; “holding extremist opinions”; “suspect from a national point of view”; and “other reasons”.⁵⁵ A little later, the Chevrier report states that Commander Baleste grouped inmates into three categories: “convicted at common law before the war”; “suspect from the point of view of national defence”; “lack of valid papers, soliciting and other reasons”.⁵⁶ I will take the official version as the most accurate one here, since the categories were encapsulated in the requirements of the letter of 11th December 1939 from the minister of the Interior to the prefect of Lozère.⁵⁷ It can be seen from the dossiers that economic prisoners and prostitutes were initially not separately identified and were presumably subsumed into the first or fourth groups.⁵⁸ Trends can be traced for each group showing a peak between May and September 1940 for “suspect from a national point of view” and “other reasons”, after which “suspects” declined, as did “extremists”. Those convicted at common law, however, rose steadily from 10 in December 1939 to 75 in January 1942; “other reasons” showed a spike in May and June 1941, followed by an upward trend that continued to January 1942. This trend could be a reflection of the growing number of petty crimes as many people were forced to trade on the black market for survival. However, at Rieucros, there is no way of confirming this theory since economic prisoners were subsumed into the “other reasons” category, which, by the time of the move to Brens, accounted for 48% of foreign internees and a staggering 56% of French.⁵⁹

Clearly the system of recording at Rieucros had not been considered adequate to reflect the reasons for internment and, after the move to Brens, a fifth category, “black market”, was included in May 1942 which, in September 1942, became “economic”; a sixth category “not yet

⁵⁵ Report (undated, but thought to be after September 1939) entitled ‘Renseignements concernant le Camp de Rieucros’; dossier entitled ‘Rapport d’ensemble sur le fonctionnement du camp et règlement’: ADL 2 W: 2805.

⁵⁶ M Baleste was camp commander of Rieucros at the time. Soliciting was recorded as “galanterie”. Report of 1st April 1940 of Félix Chevrier: Paris, Archives du Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, dossier CCLXIII.

⁵⁷ Letter of 11th December 1939 of the Ministre d’Etat de L’Intérieur to the Préfet de la Lozère: 2W: 2603.

⁵⁸ It is therefore unclear how Denis Peschanski estimates that more than a fifth of inmates were interned for theft, prostitution and abortion at Rieucros camp. Denis Peschanski, *La France des Camps: L’internement 1938-1946* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2002), p.398. He is citing here the period of the “drôle de guerre”.

⁵⁹ Bi-monthly report of 15th-28th February 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 32.

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known” was also added.⁶⁰ It was not until April 1943 that there was any significant reduction in the level of “other reasons” when a separate category “prostitute” appeared and the number of those interned for “other reasons” dropped from 92 to 12 among French and from 63 to 21 among foreign internees. Since the first record under the “prostitute” rubric showed 83 French and 31 foreign prostitutes for that month, it can be deduced that prostitutes had previously been mainly recorded under the rubric “other reasons”. In addition, “suspect from a national point of view” and “holding extremist opinions” were subsumed into the “political” category. In February 1944 “nomads” were treated as a separate category, making seven categories in all.⁶¹ The records are further complicated by the fact that they were required to be kept separately for French and foreign internees, so each prisoner could appear in any one of 14 columns. (See Appendices N and F).

The overlap between categories and the numerous changes in terminology make it extremely difficult to translate with certainty the “grounds for internment” as it appeared on “individual identity slips” or in the camp register, into a number in a column of bi-monthly statistics; in fact, women could have been interned under more than one alternative rubric in camp records. The documents give no indication of the basis of the decision regarding each individual. For example, Raymonde David could have been described as “convicted at common law”, in that, on 17th July 1941, she was given a one year suspended sentence by the magistrate’s court in Lyon for distributing communist tracts. Having been in prison pending appeal, she was released when the sentence was passed, only to be the subject of a new order sending her immediately to Rieucros. The reason for internment given on her “individual identity slip” simply cited the distribution of tracts and subsequent suspended sentence.⁶² It would be surprising, however, if she was categorised as other than “holding extremist opinions”, though it is impossible to ascertain individual categorisations from available data.

It was clearly not the intention that internees’ custodial sentences be served at camp; the arrival of Gabrielle Watremez at Rieucros, for example, was delayed by a month to enable her to serve a one month sentence at Lons-le-Saunier gaol.⁶³ However, the violinist Gabrielle Cornu, who

⁶⁰ “Non parvenu”. All information in this paragraph is taken from the dossier entitled ‘Situations numériques hebdomadaires des internées par catégorie’: ADT 495 W: 32.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Individual dossier of Raymonde David: ADT 495 W: 58. For information on individual internees see the database in Appendix G.

⁶³ The sentence was imposed *after* the order for her internment. Letter of 3rd October 1941 of the Préfet du Jura to the Préfet de la Lozère. Individual dossier of Gabrielle Watremez: ADT 495 W: 69.

had been convicted by a military tribunal on 18th June 1942 for “requesting help from a foreign power” and sentenced to one year’s imprisonment, could be said to be serving out her custodial sentence when after seven months she was transferred from St Michael’s prison to Brens.⁶⁴ The emphasis of A Sarraut’s circular of 18th November 1939 on taking preventative measures against any person tainted with criminality encouraged prefects to sweep into the camps any former offenders and those coming to the end of their sentences, regardless of when they had been convicted.⁶⁵ In some cases internees were transferred straight from prison; in others, the convictions were long past. Claudia Montet, for example, was interned in 1942 principally on the grounds of her antecedent conviction for infanticide in 1936.⁶⁶ It seems that prefects interpreted the rubric loosely to intern any person with a conviction who, like foreign Jews, prostitutes and nomads, were perceived to encapsulate the meaning of “undesirable”.

It is significant that it was thought necessary to create a separate category of black market – which Vichy defined as any “ transaction, action or economic exchange that constitutes an infraction against a state regulation” – in May 1942.⁶⁷ However, the inadequacies of the rationing system introduced by Vichy on 23rd September 1940 and the inefficiency and inequity of their food management had resulted in the growth of a parallel market of “under the counter” transactions.⁶⁸ The situation was exacerbated by the fall in food production caused by the absence of male workers; difficulties of transportation as horses were requisitioned and fuel rationed; and the increasing demands of the Occupiers for provisioning. In addition, British food blockades in the Mediterranean and the Allied invasion of North Africa prevented the import of supplies. It is not surprising that, as even official rations could not be met through regulated means, in their daily fight for survival those who could took recourse to buying food wherever it could be found, often direct from producers.

In these circumstances, a culture of illegality developed with the unspoken acceptance of government officials, who had neither the resources, nor perhaps the will, to enforce the

⁶⁴ Official telegram no. 00920 of 25th January 1943 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général de la Police. Individual dossier of Gabrielle Cornu (ép Brouillac): ADT 495 W: 57.

⁶⁵ Circular no 12 of 14th December 1939.

⁶⁶ Individual dossier of Claudia Montet: ADT 495 W: 64. She was convicted when she was 16 years old.

⁶⁷ Dossier entitled ‘Situations numériques hebdomadaires des internées par catégorie’: ADT 495 W: 32; Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

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multifarious regulations; as Hanna Diamond observes, “The black market was in fact more of a ‘grey market’, an acceptable alternative way of procuring food”.⁶⁹ This tacit acknowledgement of the situation was encapsulated in the law of 15th March 1942 which Sarah Fishman describes as a “further indication that the government turned a blind eye to black market consumers”.⁷⁰ The law exempted from its provisions those “infractions committed solely for the satisfaction of the personal or family needs of the delinquents,” thus differentiating between those who dealt on the black market for profit and those concerned merely with family welfare.⁷¹ The penalties for profiteers, however, were increased to two to 10 years imprisonment and fines of two to 10,000 francs.⁷²

Spring 1942 saw a worsening of the food situation and considerable unrest among the population which continued to engage in illegal activities; it was against this background that “black market” was introduced as a separate category at Brens.⁷³ However, although many offenders were operating for profit and therefore not subject to the exemption in the law of 15th March, they did not incur the harsh penalties imposed by that law. For example, Marie Rose Péillon was arrested and interned for illegal dealing in alcohol following a police raid on the “Bar Léon” which she ran with her husband who made his living through black marketeering and handling stolen goods.⁷⁴ She was interned for a fixed term of three months and was released at the end of it. Similarly, Antoinette Gilone, a grocer, who was part of a cartel dealing illegally in provisioning tickets, served only three months at camp.⁷⁵ There were more exotic operators such as Janine Lang, interned for allegedly trafficking in gold; even so she served only six months at camp.⁷⁶ Antoinette Goldschmidt, on the other hand, was interned for allegedly

⁶⁹ Kenneth Mouré, ‘Food Rationing and the Black Market in France (1940-1944)’, *French History*, 24, 2 (June 2010) 262-282 (p.277). Jean Achard, the Minister of Food Supply, resigned to avoid prosecution for black market charges. *Women and the Second World War*, p.59.

⁷⁰ Sarah Fishman, *The Battle for Children: World War II, Youth Crime and Juvenile Justice in Twentieth-Century France* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p.56. This is an example of pragmatism prevailing.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ At Rieucros such internees had been categorised under the rubric “common law” or “other reasons”.

⁷⁴ Her husband had five previous convictions. Individual dossier of Marie Rose Péillon (ép Sacco): ADT 495 W: 65.

⁷⁵ Individual dossier of Antoinette Gilone (ép Ducret): ADT 495 W: 60.

trafficking in opium, despite having been acquitted by two courts of any such offence.⁷⁷ She remained at camp for seven months, an illustration of the fact that the decree of 18th November 1939 was outside the law and that acquittal was no certain road to release. The relatively short stay of economic prisoners, even those operating for profit, contrasts sharply with the internment period of, for instance, prostitutes, which could in some cases be two years or more.⁷⁸ This is a manifestation of the Vichy perception of women; those scavenging for food were fulfilling their role as family guardians, whereas prostitutes were perceived as threatening the nation's health and renewal.

The categorisation at Brens changed from "black market" in September 1942 to "economic"; many of those interned under this rubric were shopkeepers or farmers. As the war progressed and food shortages became more acute, increasing numbers of ordinary people turned to alternative methods of foraging for food. According to Shannon Fogg, the complexity of the regulations, coupled with fear of breaching them, resulted in producers' reluctance to take their goods to official markets.⁷⁹ Consequently, those who could, scoured the countryside to buy direct from producers; consumers, as well as vendors, paid the punitive price. Georgette Carrance was given a month's fixed term sentence for going round to farms paying an elevated price, while Louise Camhi served one month for buying a chicken direct from a farmer.⁸⁰

Amongst the farmers a common offence was watering down milk; some like Marguerite Carles, who threatened officials and refused to allow any inspection – overturning barrels – went to extraordinary lengths to avoid detection.⁸¹ Sometimes the explanations offered by black marketeers stretched the imagination; Pierrette Tarius spent six weeks at Brens for selling meat illegally from her house at 85 francs a kilo. She claimed to have bought a sheep alive from an

⁷⁶ Individual dossier of Janine Lang (ép Abramovitz): ADT 495 W: 62. Wife of a fur merchant, gold bars had been found at her home.

⁷⁷ Individual dossier of Antoinette Goldschmidt (div Dervaux): ADT 495 W: 60. The latter was heiress to a large estate owned by a well-known Paris family.

⁷⁸ Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation (1940-1945)*, trans. by Beate Husser (Paris: Editions Payot et Rivages, 2006), p.208.

⁷⁹ *Politics of Everyday Life*, p.30.

⁸⁰ Individual dossier of Georgette Carrance (ép Meyer): ADT 495 W 56; individual dossier of Louise Camhi (ép Barouch): ADT 495 W 56.

⁸¹ Individual dossier of Marguerite Carles (ép Marro): ADT 495 W: 56. She was pregnant at the time.

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unknown farmer who killed it simply to make it easier for her to carry.⁸² It was all too easy for farmers to find markets for their produce outside official channels or to keep it back for home consumption. Anaïs Bouteilloux, for example, received a six month sentence for failing to declare the slaughter of three pigs, while Alice Dupasquier, caretaker at the Château de Pin, was interned for one month for complicity in the illegal slaughter of a cow.⁸³ Although those involved in the “grey market” were guilty of infraction of state regulations, the severe punishments of the March 1942 law did not always apply. Since there is no evidence that Anaïs and Alice were operating for profit, the exception of meeting familial needs might well have been effective in reducing their punishment.

It must have been difficult to comply with the minutiae of provisioning regulations and therefore easy to commit an infraction. Bakers Jeanne Giraud and Claire Anselmini, for example, were interned on grounds of “infraction” because their tickets did not match the quantity of bread sold. Jeanne Giraud pleaded inexperience as she had only just taken over the bakery.⁸⁴ However, dealings on the “black” and “grey” market were so widespread that local gendarmeries could not apprehend every culprit; only the unfortunate few were caught. Therefore economic miscreants did not account for more than a small proportion of internees: for example in June 1942, nine were recorded out of a total camp population of 329 – just 3%.⁸⁵ In October 1943, at the high point of the Vichy crackdown on black marketeers, there seems to have been a spike of 68; however, since this fell to seven the following month, it is likely there is an error in the records because both French and foreign internees were recorded at 34, an unusual duplication.⁸⁶ By spring 1944, when the camp was moved to Gurs, seven French and no foreign economic internees were recorded.⁸⁷ The shortness of their sentences (usually between one and three months) means that the low percentage at any given time does not truly reflect the number of economic prisoners who passed through the camps between 1939 and 1944.

⁸² Individual dossier of Pierrette Tarius (ép Ferre Fabregas): ADT 495 W: 68.

⁸³ Individual dossiers of Anaïs Bouteilloux (vve Capet): ADT 495 W: 55; Alice Dupasquier (ép Cadot): ADT 495 W: 59. Gendarmes had found butchery implements in a cellar.

⁸⁴ Individual dossier of Jeanne Giraud (ép Melicat): ADT 495 W: 60; individual dossier of Claire Anselmini: ADT 495 W: 53.

⁸⁵ Bi-monthly report of 3rd June 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 32.

⁸⁶ If there were no such error, these internees would have had to have been convicted, admitted to the camp and released, all in the space of one month.

⁸⁷ Bi-monthly report of 13th October 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 32. Bi-monthly report of 24th May 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 32.

In many cases grounds for internment were never established; for example 81 women were sent to the camp in June 1940 for an unknown reason.⁸⁸ From September 1942 “reason not yet known” was listed as a separate category and in February 1943 there were 36 such internees, accounting for just over 11% of the camp population.⁸⁹ Internees often arrived at camp on the basis of nothing but a telegram; correspondence in individual dossiers frequently reveals attempts by the prefects of Lozère or Tarn to elicit the reason for an internee’s internment. The pianist Désirée Demazière, for example, was interned by an order of 25th February 1943 with no reason given; in May, the prefect of Tarn requested her release in the absence of any grounds for internment.⁹⁰ Arriving at camp at the same time, also with no grounds for internment, was Henriette Azema who was recommended for release on the basis that – as with Désirée Demazière – no sign of political activity had been detected.⁹¹ Although her friendship with Mme Demazière was noted, Henriette attributed her internment to her association with M Demazière who had been imprisoned for Trotskyist activities.⁹² Eventually a “grounds for internment” was produced: “of doubtful conduct and morality;” the “doubt” arose, it seems, because of her ideas about the formation of a workers’ party, suggesting a link between communism, workers and prostitution in the Vichy imagination.⁹³

Although social status offered no protection against arbitrary arrest, when Madeleine Beaudy, widow of Colonel Berthelon de la Couldre was conducted to the camp on 14th November 1942, following an order of the prefect of Gers, the regional intendant of police wrote to the commander requesting that she be treated with the utmost consideration in view of her position.⁹⁴ No reason for internment was supplied and a telephone call on 19th November secured her release. The commander seemed to have been nonplussed by the arrival, with her

⁸⁸ Weekly statistics for 27th June 1940; dossier entitled, ‘Camp de Rieucros, Mesures d’Internement 1939-1944’: ADL 2 W: 2603.

⁸⁹ Dossier entitled ‘Situations numériques hebdomadaires des internées par catégorie’: ADT 495 W: 32.

⁹⁰ Proposal for release of 21st May 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur. Individual dossier of Désirée Ailhaud (ép Demazière): ADT 495 W: 53.

⁹¹ Proposal for release of 9th April 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur. Individual dossier of Henriette Azema (ép Beinse): ADT 495 W: 53. The commander had requested the reason for her arrest on 26th February from the prefect of Bouches-du-Rhône but it was not communicated.

⁹² Proposal for release of 9th April 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur. Individual dossier of Henriette Azema (ép Beinse): ADT 495 W: 53.

⁹³ Ibid.

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daughter Guillemette on the night of 7th/8th April 1944, of Mme d'Astier de la Vigerie, wife of Général d'Astier de la Vigerie and sister-in-law of the resister Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie.⁹⁵ He wrote on 8th April to the prefect of Tarn informing him of their arrival, while enquiries as to the grounds for their internment elicited a negative response from their home prefect; nonetheless, mother and daughter were not released until one month later.⁹⁶

The attitude of the home prefect in the case of Simone Force was revealing in that he showed no interest in probing the grounds for her internment; when asked by the prefect of Tarn to provide the reason after her arrival at camp, the prefect of Savoie simply replied that he would not intervene in the affair and that, in any case, a lot of people had been arrested in his department on 9th/10th July.⁹⁷ She was eventually released on 1st September on the basis that no-one knew why she was there.⁹⁸ It seems that, as the war progressed, internment for no apparent reason increased and individuals were able to settle old scores. Camille Chapuisaud – whose husband had been a municipal councillor before 1939/40 – was convinced that political jealousy was behind her internment, for which no reason was given. She was incarcerated at Brens for three months, finally securing her release on 8th May 1944.⁹⁹ Madeleine Delahotte was released at almost the same time; she had been interned for two months with no grounds for internment, having worked as a secretary at the mayor's office; again, a personal grudge was suspected.¹⁰⁰ At the receiving end of the confusion, vagaries and inconsistencies of internment were the internees themselves. However, correspondence in individual dossiers reveals that not only the women, but also the camp commanders, were often ignorant of the reason for which the women had been interned in Rieucros/Brens. This conundrum is neatly encapsulated in Marina Strasde's poem "Retour au Camp" where the reason for the protagonist's re-internment is

⁹⁴ Letter of 15th November 1942 of the Intendant Régional de la Police to the Chef du Camp de Brens; individual dossier of Madeleine Beaudy (vve Berthelon de la Couldre): ADT 495 W: 54. Her husband was killed on active service.

⁹⁵ Individual dossier of Marie Salignac-Fénélon (ép d'Astier de la Vigerie): ADT 495 W: 67.

⁹⁶ The home prefect (the prefect of Limoges) claimed he had merely been following the instructions of the head of government. Letter of 8th April 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn; letter of 19th April 1944 of the Préfet de Limoges to the Préfet du Tarn; individual dossier of Marie Salignac-Fénélon (ép d'Astier de la Vigerie): ADT 495 W: 67.

⁹⁷ Letter of 3rd August 1943 of the Préfet de la Savoie to the Préfet du Tarn; individual dossier of Simone Force (vve Marion): ADT 495 W: 59. She arrived at camp on 14th July 1943.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Individual dossier of Camille Chapuisaud (ép Pasteur): ADT 495 W: 56.

¹⁰⁰ Individual dossier of Madeleine Delahotte (ép Blicq): ADT 495 W: 58.

ironically (and ridiculously) presented as collecting milk in the typical chamber pot issued at camp.¹⁰¹ (See Appendix M).

Conclusion

The assembly centre of makeshift wooden barracks which had received mainly male refugees at Rieucros had changed beyond recognition by the time Brens camp was moved to Gurs in June 1944. The metamorphosis which took place under Vichy had already started under the Third Republic as the constitutional framework for internment was put in place and the need to provide shelter for those fleeing war or persecution gave way to the paranoia which reached its zenith at the outbreak of war. However, in this chapter, I have illustrated that although Vichy continued to operate the system and laws it had inherited, nevertheless there were considerable changes between 1940 and 1944 as repression increased – changes in demography as the constituent nationalities of the population shifted and the nature of the camp moved from holding exclusively foreign inmates to housing a majority of French; and changes in the concept of undesirability as Jews, Gypsies, prostitutes, anyone of so called “loose morals” or criminal conviction were added to the demonisation of communists, refugees/foreigners, already victimised by the Third Republic. The move to Brens in 1942 signalled a rupture as repression intensified and new categories of internment classifications – “black market” (followed by “economic”), “prostitute”, “nomad”, and, most sinister, “not yet known” – were added, reflecting the extending tentacles of “undesirability”.

I have argued, however, that some aspects of internment remained the same. There was an ambiguity and arbitrariness both under the Third Republic and Vichy and the “grounds for internment” were by no means as clear cut as neat graphs and confident statistics would suggest. The appellation “dangerous to national security...” of the decree of 18th November 1939 was wide-ranging and open to individual interpretation of which local prefects took advantage. They could intern whomsoever they would without regard to the niceties of legality or judicial conviction, the decree having been expressly promulgated to encompass those against whom prosecution would not be successful. Unfettered by judicial review, the administration of both the Third Republic and Vichy were free to use internment as a means of implementing their ideologies and, in the case of Vichy, increasingly repressive policies; policies which were themselves subject to change and which, in some instances, had to bend to pragmatic solutions. In the next chapter I turn from the perspective of the political and ideological background to the camp system to a consideration of the hierarchy, organisation and administration of the camps

¹⁰¹ Although this poem was found in another internee’s dossier, it is attributed to Marina Strasde.

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themselves, adding texture to the relationship between Vichy and the local prefect on the one hand and the prefect and the camp commander on the other. The prefect, who implemented Vichy policy with a local twist, formed a bridge between the two.

Chapter Two

The Camp Administration and the role of the Camp Commander

In this chapter I turn to the administration of the camp system, both under the Third Republic and Vichy, and the organisation of Rieucros and Brens camps with particular reference to the role of the camp commander.¹ I examine both the hierarchy of the camp system and the management structure within the camp and I contend that there was little unity of administration, a situation that did not change with the transition to Vichy; and that multifarious government departments impacted the running of the camp, leading to conflict and ineffectiveness. I explore the responsibilities of the commander in overseeing the site itself, staff and surveillance, provisioning, health and sanitation and the welfare of internees, in addition to the onerous demands made on him by increasingly complex bureaucratic requirements. I focus particularly on three areas – personnel, building works and the importance of his role in procuring the release of internees – to demonstrate my argument that his efforts were often thwarted by Vichy bureaucracy. I assert that his was a pivotal role in the running of the camp since he was the interface not only between government departments and the camp, but also with building engineers, purveyors of food, foreign embassies, aid agencies, and of course on a daily basis, personnel and internees. His dedication, personality and competence could have a major impact on the life and morale of the camp, an assertion illustrated by a comparison of successive commanders. I also demonstrate that M Faggianelli, who oversaw the move to Brens and whom I focus mainly on here, was the antithesis of the indolent, sadistic camp chief portrayed by Vera Traill in her novel, in that he lived on site and worked zealously, cajoling the authorities for funds, to improve living conditions for internees and staff alike.²

¹ I refer subsequently to the camp commander as “the commander”.

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Rieucros camp was one of the few camps not under military authority; set up under the Third Republic by the Prison Service in collaboration with the ministry of the Interior, Article 2 of the decree of 21st January 1939 placed the camp under the authority of the prefect of Lozère.³ The day to day running of the camp was in the hands of the commander who reported to the prefect, who in turn reported to the Interior ministry. However it was financed by the ministry of Justice who drafted in M Bougereau from Nîmes Central Detention Centre to run the finances, a responsibility subsequently passed to the bursar of penitentiary establishments, M Auzepy.⁴ Thus although the commander, M Baleste, had theoretically been given complete authority over the camp, he had no control over the budget as M Auzepy reported direct to the ministry of Justice. The former highlighted this problem: “Every organisation needs a unity of... direction which doesn’t exist in this regime,” requesting that every aspect of the camp including budgetary control be placed under the prefect’s authority.⁵ M Baleste was the only commander to serve at Rieucros solely under the Third Republic, replaced in May 1940 by M Poudevigne who remained in office until November, straddling the transition to the Vichy administration.⁶ However, no particular differences can be discerned from archival evidence between the running of the camp under the Third Republic and Vichy; it was not until April 1941 that the finance system changed.⁷

This fragmentation of administration compounded the difficulties of running the camp, but even that part of the organisation which *was* under the Interior ministry was fragmented. A circular of 30th January 1942 from the Vichy minister of the Interior lists the government departments involved in running internment camps.⁸ No less than seven different departments were involved. The National Police Personnel Administration, 3rd Division, was responsible for matters of

² Mirsky, Vera T. (1944) London, The Cresset Press: *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.34. Vera Traill is referring here to M Baleste. M Fagiannelli was described as a “zealous person”. Letter of 4th February 1941 of the Préfet de l’Isère to the Préfet de la Lozère: Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL), Mende, 2W: 2699.

³ Decree of 21st January 1939: *Journal Officiel (JO)*, 4th February 1939, p.1644.

⁴ Letter of 2nd February 1939 of the Ministre de la Justice to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2699.

⁵ Report of 29th March 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Ministre de l’Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2805. Report of 29th March 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Ministre de l’Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2805.

⁶ M Poudevigne was appointed on 11th June 1940. Decree of 1st June 1940 signed by Georges Mandel and Albert Lebrun. Dossier entitled ‘Personnel’: ADL 2W: 2699.

⁷ Letter no 918 of 11th April 1941 of the Secrétaire Général pour la Police to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2699.

recruitment, administration of personnel, provisioning and security; the 7th Division was responsible for questions of organisation, management and buildings; the General Police Administration, 8th Division, was responsible for matters relating to French internees and the 14th Division for foreigners, including the length of internment, transfers and releases. The Police Administration for the Region and for Foreigners (4th and 9th Divisions) was also involved, along with the General Inspectorate of Regional Camps and Internment Centres.⁹ Within the camp itself, the administration and surveillance personnel were split between permanent staff and ancillary staff who were appointed on a temporary basis by order of the Interior ministry, 2nd Division.¹⁰

The multiplicity of government departments involved with the camp meant that the commander was required to produce numerous reports. A September 1941 report on organisation cites a “Weekly Situation Report” to be produced every Thursday, giving the statistics of the camp, arrivals and departures. Then there were “Fortnightly Situation Reports” to be addressed to the prefect and the General Administration of National Security, which should contain an analysis of statistics by nationality, religion, profession and age of internees, a general report, a health report, and a review of censored correspondence.¹¹ There was a further “Monthly Situation Report” which should be addressed to the 6th Division of the Interior ministry on the number of repatriations.¹² From 30th September 1941, commanders were required to produce, in triplicate, a report on the 30th of each month – for the prefect, the General Inspection Services and the

⁸ Circular no 127 of 30th January 1942 from the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur to MM les Préfets et MM les Intendants de Police: ADL 2W 2805.

⁹ Circular no 127 of 30th January 1942 from the Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur to MM les Préfets et MM les Intendants de Police: ADL 2W: 2805.

¹⁰ Permanent staff were appointed by order of the Secretary of State for the Interior and under the National Police Administration, 1st Division. Undated report (deemed early 1941) entitled “Rapport d’ensemble sur le fonctionnement du camp de Rieucros, Organisation”: ADL 2W: 2805. A letter of 13th December 1941 of the Secretary of State for the Police, 2nd Division, to the prefect and the police supervisor, clarifies this point and outlines procedures for grading and promotion of personnel recruited to the camps, in line with existing regional police conditions: Letter of 13th December 1941 of the Secrétaire Général pour la Police (2^{ème} bureau) to the Préfet de la Lozère and the Intendant de Police: ADL 2W: 2699. The ancillary staff’s lower rate of pay was fixed by the Admiral of the Fleet on 14th March 1941: arrêté of 14th March 1941: ADL 2 W: 2699.

¹¹ Report of 18th September 1941 on the “Organisation of Rieucros Camp”: ADL 2W: 2805. The fortnightly “Situation Report” was required by Circular no 2181 pol 7 of 29th April 1941.

¹² Report of 18th September 1941 on the “Organisation of Rieucros Camp”: ADL 2W: 2805.

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services of the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the National Police Administration, covering statistics, every aspect of personnel, the internees and the camp.¹³ Even this was only the tip of the iceberg. Two years after the September 1941 report, a report on the organisation of the camp dated 21st September 1943 lists the reports required of the commander.¹⁴ They number twenty different monthly reports, four fortnightly reports, one every ten days and three weekly reports, while 18 separate recipients are listed, from the prefect to various Vichy departments.¹⁵

The tangled skeins of bureaucracy resulted not only in a crushing workload for the commander but also confusion and conflict in the administration of the camp. In the beginning there had been the additional problem of lack of cohesion amongst the various camps, although they had been set up during the same period – an issue flagged up by Admiral Ven after his tour of inspection in April 1941.¹⁶ It was at this time, too, that the personnel attached to Rieucros from the prison administration were replaced by those of the General Administration of National Security, 2nd Division.¹⁷ While this arrangement was presumably intended to solve the problem of the relative independence of the bursar's office, it is worth noting that it was the Secretary General of Police who appointed all staff to the camp, merely informing the prefect of a "fait accompli".¹⁸ Furthermore, as was pointed out at a meeting of camp chiefs in September 1941, some camp deputies – police commissioners – often worked directly with the prefecture and the court, without any recourse to the commander.¹⁹ In an attempt to unify the divergent methods used, Henri Chavin proposed the creation of a department to centralise all camp affairs and to which all correspondence should be addressed; he also confirmed that each commander had

¹³ Letter of 30th September 1941 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général pour la Police to MM les Commandants des Camps: ADL 2W: 2805. This was to be executed in considerable and specific detail.

¹⁴ Report of 21st September 1943 by the Chef du Camp de Brens on the "Organisation of Brens camp": Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT), Albi, 495 W: 4. The reports are listed in Annexe 2 of the dossier.

¹⁵ These included the police department at Toulouse and the General Information Office at Albi.

¹⁶ The General Inspector of Camps. Circular no 711 of 30th April 1941: ADL 2W: 2805.

¹⁷ Letter no 918 of 11th April 1941, of the Secrétaire Général pour la Police to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2699.

¹⁸ Letter no 3237 of 27th July 1941 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699.

¹⁹ Procès-verbal of 12th November 1941 of the Ministre de L'Intérieur, Direction de la Police Nationale: procès-verbal de la réunion des Chefs des Camps tenue à Vichy les 23 et 24 septembre 1941: ADL 2W: 2805.

authority over *all* functionaries and employees.²⁰ However, it appears that conflicts continued and the Secretary General of Police sent out a circular to regional prefects on 17th August 1942, reiterating that the commander should have entire responsibility for the camp and complete authority over all personnel, a pattern which he deemed necessary for the smooth running of the camps.²¹ It is clear from fragments of correspondence and the strength of the language used (“warring clans”) that the administration of the camp had been seriously hampered by internal conflict, for instance resentment of permanent staff by ancillary staff.²² He also instituted a new system of reporting so that all reports were to be addressed in the first instance to the commander whatever their ultimate destination.²³

Despite these attempts to unify, problems of bureaucratic multiplication, as identified by M Lebegue in his report of 30th April 1943, remained.²⁴ The inspector pointed out that the camp fell within two offices of the First Division; the Second Bureau (General Police) for French internees and the Third Bureau (Aliens’ Office) for foreigners. In addition, instructions were received from three different offices of the Central Administration – the 8th, 10th and 14th Bureaux. Frequently these instructions related to only one category of internees, resulting, for example, in differences of treatment between French and foreign women regarding the receipt of parcels, permitted visits and applications for release. M Lebegue proposed centralising all matters relating to the camp under the Second Bureau of the First Division.²⁵ However, it would take more than one inspection report to change entrenched bureaucratic procedures. A circular

²⁰ Circular no 711 of 30th April 1941: ADL 2W: 2805. Henri Chavin was the Secretary General of Police.

²¹ Circular no 476 of 17th August 1942 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to MM les Préfets Régionaux at: Lyon, Marseille, Nice, Montpellier, Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, Toulouse: Objet: Situation de Commissaires, Inspecteurs des Cadres de la Police Nationale affectés dans les camps d’internés: ADL 2W: 2699.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Report of 30th April 1943 of M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

²⁵ It may be that M Lebegue’s comments had arisen out of a letter sent by the prefect to M Faggianelli on 12th February 1943, sharply reminding him of the requirement to report the fortnightly statistics of French and foreign internees separately and also their state of mind and requesting that he personally oversee strict adherence to the instructions concerning the forms and their delivery to the appropriate bureaux. Letter of 12th February 1943 from the Préfet du Tarn to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

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of 9th June 1943 set out detailed requirements for a monthly report in five sections to be completed separately for French and foreign internees, and its delivery.²⁶ The requirements relating to the form, content and recipients of the various reports changed constantly – the circular of 9th June 1943, for example, abrogated those of 30th September 1941 and of 9th May 1942, and was itself soon augmented by a circular of 20th October 1943.²⁷

As has been noted, the commander, under the authority of the prefect, was responsible for the smooth running of all services of the camp, for maintaining order and discipline and for executing the regulations required by the 5th and 7th Bureaux.²⁸ He held responsibility for the site, security, administration, personnel and internees and he also had oversight of provisioning for the whole camp as well as health and sanitation. It is not surprising that in June 1941 M Faggianelli, describing the task of running the camp with just 40 people, claimed “...since I am responsible for so many different functions... I need a senior police officer to assist me.”²⁹ By the time of M Jean-Faure’s August 1942 report, six months after the move to Brens, the organisation of the camp had evolved. He noted that the commander personally controlled the offices of entries and exits, the archives, dossiers, the work of organisation and management and all questions of discipline, assisted by a police inspector in charge of personnel, censorship, administrative and office staff. M Jean-Faure described three further offices: first, administration, run by a chief inspector, assisted by an assistant inspector and accounting and administrative staff; secondly, police, under two inspectors; and thirdly, censorship, which merited a separate office.³⁰

²⁶ Circular no 252 of 9th June 1943 from the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur to MM les Préfets Régionaux, les Préfets et les Directeurs des Camps d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7. The circular also prescribed the different roles of the commander, the departmental prefect, the regional prefect, the delegation of Paris, the General Inspectorate of Internment camps and the gendarmerie in disseminating the report after its receipt.

²⁷ Circular no 448 of 20th October 1943 headed Pol. Camps: ADT 495 W: 7. It is little wonder that M Faggianelli was reprimanded on 19th July 1943 for not correctly addressing in a list at bottom left on page one, the six recipients of his report and not underlining in colour, as prescribed, the relevant one. Letter no 2075 of 19th July 1943 from the Inspecteur Général des Camps et Centres d’Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

²⁸ Report of 18th September 1941 on the Organisation of Rieucros Camp: ADL 2W: 2805.

²⁹ Report of 17th June 1941 (no 2765) of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to M l’Intendant de Police, Montpellier: ADL 2 W: 2699.

³⁰ Report of 17th August 1942 of M Andre Jean-Faure, Le Préfet, Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d’Internement du Territoire: ADT 495 W: 7. Previously the Préfet de l’Ardèche, M Jean-

As numbers of personnel increased, the organisation became even more complex. M Aulanier, M Faggianelli's colourful successor, described a pyramidal structure under the commander's direction.³¹ The top layer of management consisted of four main offices: the Directors' Office, responsible for all matters of personnel; the Police, under whose control were the areas of General Information, the judicial department and the secretaries; the Central Service of Surveillance with responsibility for guards and wardresses; and Administration, divided into Accounts Management and management of equipment. A separate report listed surveillance as run by the police, and added the Health Office – encompassing the infirmary, nursery, disinfecting services and aid agencies.³² Each area was further subdivided into individual roles and responsibilities so that there could be no possible confusion concerning the chain of authority.

The camp commander and problems relating to personnel

The transition of Rieucros from a small men's camp of 72 internees in July 1939 to a women's camp whose numbers had risen to over 300 by January 1940 resulted in major logistical difficulties. The problem of recruiting adequate staff in terms of numbers and quality to deliver an acceptable level of surveillance and services was one that had plagued successive commanders since the beginning, even though authorisation to recruit extra female staff addressed the issue of the lacuna of male candidates.³³ M Baleste had been appointed on 6th February 1939 to the position of Special Police Commissioner at Mende and he continued in office when the camp became a women's-only camp in September 1939, supported by Mlle Vallot, head wardress, assisted by police inspectors, MM Guilbert and Vécembre.³⁴ The male Faure was made Inspector General of Camps in September 1941. Marrus and Paxton, quoted in *Les camps de la honte*, p.236.

³¹ Monthly report for September 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

³² Report dated 21st September 1943 entitled "Organisation": ADT 495 W: 4.

³³ Yannick Pépin, 'Rieucros, un Camp d'Internement en Lozère' (unpublished maîtrise thesis, Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier III, June 1998), p.88.

³⁴ M Baleste was appointed by a decree signed by Albert Sarraut at the ministry of the Interior. Individual dossiers of surveillants and surveillantes: dossier entitled 'Camp de Rieucros: personnel': ADL 2 W: 2699. M Guilbert was reputedly a brutal individual whom Vera Traill nicknamed Pontibus, explaining that he threatened to kick inmates with his enormous boots. Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), p.34. Dora Schaul in: Philippe Joutard,

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guards already employed at the camp also continued in office. The longest serving commander was M Faggianelli who, on his arrival at Rieucros in November 1940 was already the third commander in three years, remaining in office until ill health forced his resignation in September 1943.

One of his main problems was the personnel under his authority. Even with bureaucratic approval, the recruitment of staff was problematic because of a dearth of suitable male candidates. Applications were made to the prefecture and the prefect made his selection of staff on the basis of moral probity, the need for employment and personal recommendation. He required a report from the gendarmerie and an investigation was conducted into candidates' family background, honesty and morality – almost in the same terms as reports on internees. In fact, the profiles of some wardresses were not dissimilar to the internees; for example, Mlles Moulin, Cellier and Laget were all single mothers, whilst Mlle Laurent, one of seven siblings, had a brother-in-law in prison for theft; each of the siblings was reported on by the gendarmerie.³⁵ The sociological portrait of male and female warders differed between men and women; the absence of younger men meant that most male guards were retired, often from administration, 45% being more than 50 years old. M Beraud, for example, a retired accountant, was born in 1875 into a family of 10, of whom three brothers were priests; while M Laurens, three times wounded in the 1914-1918 war was born in 1888 and had worked in insurance.³⁶ On the other hand, the female Lozèriennes were young, with 35% under 25 years old and none over 50. Many were unmarried and living with parents; some were young widows or wives of prisoners-of-war left to support children. For these Lozère women, employment was an absolute necessity, a factor taken into account by the prefect. However, by some strange anomaly in a patriarchal society like Vichy after the move to Brens women personnel, including married women, were allowed the same housing allowance as heads of families, making the job of wardress at the camp financially appealing.³⁷

A continuing theme in correspondence is pleas of the commanders to the prefect of Lozère for improved staffing levels. For example, in December 1941, when the number of internees was

Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.63.

³⁵ Dossier entitled 'Personnel': ADL 2W: 2699.

³⁶ M Laurens and his brother were both appointed to the camp: ADL 2W: 2699.

³⁷ Letter of 5th July 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Chef du Camp de Brens: No.359 Pol. Tec. Nat.: Objet: Indemnité de logement; réf: Votre lettre du 21/6/43. ADT 495 W: 18.

393, M Faggianelli reported that the total personnel numbered 50, whereas, according to his estimate, he needed 75 staff for the successful running of the camp.³⁸ In a letter of the same year he justified the need for increased levels of personnel, reiterating points already made by his predecessors: that the nature of the site made surveillance very difficult, its 13 hectares of rugged terrain being painful to cross especially in long hard winters; that the arrival during the year of those with serious grounds of internment together with long periods of incarceration sapped morale and produced morbid reactions; that the high proportion of prostitutes, criminals and “undesirables” required more active surveillance to prevent theft and disputes and to ensure the security of the camp; and finally, that the service had to be delivered 24 hours a day.³⁹

After the move to Brens in March 1942 warders totalled 34; in addition there were eight members of the administration, two in charge of vehicles; one camp commander, two police inspectors; and three infirmary employees. However, whilst M Faggianelli claimed that recruitment was under way (he needed a further 17 guards and six wardresses), in his report to the Secretary of State for the Interior for June 1942 the prefect of Tarn confirmed that, whilst the arrival of nine new guards had contributed to the efficacy of surveillance at the camp, their number was still inadequate to maintain the rotas necessary for 24 hour surveillance.⁴⁰ One year later, however, in June 1943 the total number of personnel for whom the commander was responsible had risen to 149, an increase of over 100 since his June 1941 report.⁴¹ There were now 61 guards and 33 wardresses, representing a significant improvement in surveillance levels.⁴²

However, it was not only the recruitment of adequate numbers of warders/wardresses which was problematical, but also the maintenance of discipline within their ranks. M Heyl reported in May 1942: “... (the staff) are left in a complete state of abandon... not given any instruction.”⁴³

³⁸ At this point 76 internees were “outside the camp”. Monthly report for December 1941 from the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère. Dossier entitled: ‘Camp de Rieucros créé par décret’ 21/10/1939: ADL 2 W: 2805.

³⁹ Letter of 1941 (no date, presumed December) of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet du Tarn: ADL 2 W: 2805.

⁴⁰ Report of June 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Ministre d’Etat de l’Intérieur: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴¹ Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Six were attached to the regional police and two to the national police.

⁴² Included in this number eight male guards and 10 female were office-based.

⁴³ Monthly report of March 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. Report of 11th May 1942 by M Heyl, *Intendant de Police, Toulouse*, ADT 495 W: 7. Later, M Jean- Faure considered

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The conflict between factions together with the inexperience of the personnel contributed to indiscipline. At Rieucros, a wardress was dismissed on 17th December 1939 for conflict with Mlle Vallot, while in April 1940 two were dismissed for incompetence.⁴⁴ Mme Galerne, bypassing hierarchy and no doubt causing trouble for the commander, wrote directly to the prefect of Lozère demanding that some of her subordinates be replaced by “conscientious wardresses”.⁴⁵ Even the commanders had difficulties maintaining discipline. M Baleste requested the dismissal of the arrogant troublemaker, M Bonicel; M Poudevigne demanded the removal of four police inspectors, deeming their presence in the camp intolerable, while in July 1941 M Faggianelli requested the removal of an “obstinate chief brigadier.”⁴⁶ Problems of discipline carried over to Brens. The prefect reported taking disciplinary measures against a guard (Jula), a warder (Cellier) and a brigadier (Bellanger) whom he had suspended for insubordination against M Faggianelli.⁴⁷ During his term of office M Aulanier demanded the replacement of the security inspector, M Maréchal, and alleged that Inspector Jean Galinier had abandoned his post; in fact, during his tenure three inspectors left taking three other employees with them.⁴⁸ Furthermore, five warders were made redundant because of sexual activity with prostitute internees at Brens; two lesbian wardresses, one the lover of a prostitute internee from Toulon, were also cautioned by the authorities.⁴⁹ There is no suggestion that they were treated

the personnel “not bad”. Report of 17th August 1942 of M Andre Jean-Faure, Le Préfet, Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d’Internement du Territoire: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴⁴ ‘Rieucros, un Camp d’Internement en Lozère’, p.92.

⁴⁵ Undated letter from Mme Galerne to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2699.

⁴⁶ Letter of 21st March 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699. Letter of 26th June 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699. The police inspectors belonged to the Sûreté Nationale, a division of the Interior Ministry, responsible for all police forces except the gendarmerie and the Paris Préfecture de Police. The brigadier was called Bagnard. Letter of 21st March 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699. Letter of 26th June 1940 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699. Letter of 27th July 1941 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2 W: 2699.

⁴⁷ Report of June 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Ministre d’Etat de l’Intérieur: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴⁸ He maintained that M Maréchal was of “an undisciplined disposition”. Letter of 24th December 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495W:7. Letter of 13th January 1944 of the Chef du Camp to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴⁹ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. Unfortunately there is no individual dossier for Sordo, this prostitute internee.

any differently from male warders and the implication from the dossiers is that it was the internees who harassed warders rather than sexual harassment from the staff towards inmates.⁵⁰

Relations between staff and internees seem, at Rieucros at least, to have been initially courteous, even amicable; there was certainly no evidence of violence towards inmates. Mlle Vallot and the female guards took what steps they could to improve internees' daily lives, and friendships sometimes formed to the extent that the former had to tell her subordinates to be less familiar with the prisoners. Ironically, Mme Galerne, who had complained on that score, after her transfer to Rivesaltes kept up a friendly correspondence with one of the internees.⁵¹ However, some wardresses despised certain categories of internees – prostitutes, common law prisoners, “undesirables” – who were perceived to be vulgar, and the atmosphere seems to have soured after the arrival of these groups, who were also repugnant to political internees. Vera Traill remarked on the change on her return to camp in 1941 after 14 months' absence: the staff had deteriorated to “gendarmes in petticoats... lips... pressed together (with) a cutting tone of voice.”⁵² The dislike was sometimes reciprocated and inexperienced wardresses were derided by certain internees. However, at Brens, relations between wardresses and internees were still sometimes amicable; wardress Clavel, for example, authorised a cake and 15 bottles of wine to be brought into the camp for Mme Sarrazin's daughter's birthday.⁵³ Sometimes relations were too friendly; internee Jeanne Blanc and guard Paul Court were disciplined for getting drunk on the way back from the town hall at Brens.⁵⁴ M Court was suspended for eight days while Mlle Blanc was given 15 days' withdrawal of privileges; her state of inebriation was such that she had to spend the night in solitary confinement.⁵⁵ Thus, although discipline was meted out by the commander, it was of a relatively gentle nature, compounding the impression of a lenient regime.

⁵⁰ Report of 9th September 1943 of Inspecteur Principal Georges Mutschler to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. M Mutschler refers to internees' “dirty tricks” and difficulties experienced by male staff, particularly at night.

⁵¹ ‘Rieucros, un Camp d'Internement en Lozère’, p.91.

⁵² *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.36.

⁵³ This was on 24th February 1943. It probably helped that Mme Sarrazin, an economic internee, ran a café/ restaurant. Individual dossier of Jeanne Sarrazin (ép Torset): ADT 495 W: 67. Internees were addressed by their maiden name at camp.

⁵⁴ Report of 17th December 1943 from the Inspecteur Principal to the Chef du Camp de Brens. Individual dossier of Jeanne Blanc: ADT 495 W: 54.

⁵⁵ Letter of 21st December 1943 from the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn. Individual dossier of Jeanne Blanc: ADT 495 W: 54.

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In some cases internees seem to have run rings around the staff at Rieucros; for example, four internees returning from hospital gave the unfortunate Mlle Bonnal, their sole guard, the slip at La Bastide station by boarding a train going the wrong way.⁵⁶ However, there is more documentation of difficulties in discipline of internees at Brens, no doubt because of internment dragging on for certain internees. Mlle Bonnal, who moved with the camp, seems to have had some particularly recalcitrant charges; she, along with wardresses Arnal, Maloury and Meilhac, caught Mlle Le Bars, a kleptomaniac, stealing fruit paste from the Red Cross office; caches of everything from plates to petticoats were found in her bunk.⁵⁷ On 17th November 1942 Mlle Bonnal reported a furious fight in Barrack 17 between internees Mlles Muraro and Palmari during which Mlle Muraro suffered a seriously bitten finger; wardress Mme St Martin had been unable to separate them and it took the arrival of a brigadier to resolve the situation.⁵⁸

Unrest in the camp increased during the acute food shortages of summer 1943. It is also interesting to note that the memory of the deportations at the end of August the previous year had deeply affected internees. The commander's report for July 1943 cites the resultant depressing atmosphere and the "edginess" of internees at the peak of the internment of the prostitutes.⁵⁹ M Mutschler also reported specifically about difficulties being experienced by male personnel, particularly at night, and the discontent among the guards generally, which was resulting in increased sick leave being taken, causing problems of surveillance; the resultant recent escapes had encouraged the perceived "bad" elements among the internees to persist in their "dirty tricks".⁶⁰ Furthermore, many of the prostitutes from Barracks 17 and 18 menacingly threatened to set fire to their barracks and jump "en masse" over the barbed wire enclosure on 15th September 1943; they had, they said, nothing to lose.⁶¹ The political prisoners meanwhile,

⁵⁶ *Gendarmerie* report of 7th January 1942. Individual dossier of Marie-Thérèse Métadier: ADT 495W: 63. They were subsequently apprehended but claimed that it had been a genuine mistake.

⁵⁷ Report of 4th October 1942 by O. Bonnal. Individual dossier of Jeanne Le Bars: ADT 495 W: 62. Mlle le Bars had been the subject of numerous wardresses' reports; she "... had replied in a vulgar way." Report of 30th January 1942 by G. Moulins.

⁵⁸ Individual dossier of Marie Antoinette Muraro: ADT 495 W: 64. Mlle Bonnal was a 44 year old wardress, a former chambermaid who had transferred from Rieucros.

⁵⁹ Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. This was causing anxiety in the camp.

⁶⁰ Report of 9th September 1943 Inspecteur Principal Georges Mutschler to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

although staying calm, encouraged potential escapees by providing false papers with the complicity of outside contacts; a method less noisy than their counterparts but more effective.⁶²

Morale among personnel also reached its lowest point by summer 1943, partly due to material difficulties facing the camp at this time and the consequent effect on internees. The situation was not improved by numerous applications for transfers from established staff which, in turn, had a deleterious effect on newer recruits and produced more anxiety for the commander.⁶³ Inspector Mutschler singled out four internees particularly notable for gross indiscipline towards personnel; they drew others into their hostile attitude and had already been sent to the magistrate's court, to no avail. He recommended they be interned at Castres prison before, under their influence, indiscipline and opposition in the camp reached even higher proportions.⁶⁴ The impression from reports and exchanges of correspondence is that by September 1943 discipline in the camp, both among internees and personnel, was veering out of control and the structure and organisation crumbling.

This section has shown that the recruitment of suitable staff and the maintenance of discipline – not only among internees but also among personnel – was a recurring problem for the commander and one which was considerably exacerbated by acrimony amongst different categories of personnel (particularly between the permanent and ancillary staff), which, in turn, were the result of the complexities of the Vichy bureaucratic system. Despite improved staffing levels it seems that problems in managing internees persisted; both the quality of the staff and their supervision were open to question. The staff, not all of whom were involved in surveillance, were as much a part of the camp system and community as the internees, and it is possible to identify similarities between the two.

⁶¹ They reckoned they should have been released by this date. Letter no 5678 of 9th September 1943 of l'Inspecteur Georges Mutschler to the Chef du Camp de Brens. The prostitutes had evidently been allocated Barrack 18 as well as Barrack 17 which is the only one mentioned specifically in April 1943 by M Lebegue.

⁶² Report of 9th September 1943 by Inspecteur Principal Georges Mutschler to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. The economic and black market prisoners tended to be interned for a fixed term and presented less of a problem for the staff and administration since they were more confident of eventual release.

⁶³ Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁶⁴ Letter of 10th September 1943 from Inspecteur Principal Georges Mutschler to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. The internees were: Anne Renaud, Marie-Louise Baduel, Rose Delmont and Aïda Parrouffe.

The camp commander and problems relating to building works

If M Faggianelli had complained of the difficulties of surveillance owing to the terrain at Rieucros, how much greater the difficulties facing him at Brens. The most obvious difference between Rieucros and Brens was the size of the site – where Rieucros occupied 13 hectares, the buildings of Brens were crammed onto only two, and the plans show building to the very edges.⁶⁵ (See Appendix L). He had been shocked by his first sight of the camp, forcibly voicing his objections in a report to the prefect of Lozère on 17th January 1942: the infirmary was almost non-existent since it had no sanitary installations, so that sick internees would have to go outside for all their needs; there was no office or administrative accommodation, no laundry, showers, or garage accommodation – and no fence.⁶⁶ Having said it would be difficult to use the camp at all he set out the work needed to bring it up to even the minimum level of Rieucros: replacement of all beds, halving the number per barrack and changing to a “box” system of three to a cubicle; the bleaching of the kitchen and adjoining refectory and communal rooms; the installation of showers, an infirmary, a laundry, administrative buildings, a guard-post and a garage; and the erection of a fence. These works needed to be carried out urgently before the camp could be occupied.⁶⁷ M Faggianelli was concerned that internees’ health would be affected by the lack of sanitation and their morale by the restricted space. However, his objections were overruled and after the hasty erection of a barbed wire fence and the beginnings of essential building works, the camp was moved into what was essentially a building site on 15th February 1942. It was only after the move that the most serious difficulty became apparent: the water installations were not in working order and the pumps were beyond repair. There was therefore no drinking water at the camp – a cruel irony since the cost of piping water had been the reason for the rejection of the Holtz factory site at Graulhet.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ibid. Attempts were made to get permission to expand the camp but they were refused.

⁶⁶ Report of 17th January 1942 from the Chef du Camp du Brens to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADT 495 W: 7. The infirmary was no more comfortable than the barracks.

⁶⁷ Ibid. The number of beds in the dormitories would thereby be halved.

⁶⁸ Letter of 23rd February 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Letter of 19th January 1942 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7; monthly report of March 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. This alternative site could have contained the horrors of Milles camp, however; a former tile factory where clouds of red dust – a mixture of brick dust, earth and straw – filled the eyes, mouths and nostrils of the prisoners and permeated everything they touched, even what little food there was. <http://www.yvesjeanmougin.com/production/camp_des_milles/camp_des_milles_en/camp_des_mil

M Faggianelli was closely involved with the building works, designing some buildings himself and pressing for those works essential to internees' health.⁶⁹ His greatest difficulty, however, was in overcoming bureaucratic obstacles to financing the work which involved liaison with the prefect of Tarn, the departmental architect, the rural engineer, the Inspector of Administrative Services and the Secretary General of Police.⁷⁰ Since the 300,000 francs' payment for urgent work – promised by M Jean-Faure and M Maissonnet, Inspector of Administrative Services – was not forthcoming, the contractors stopped work on 4th April.⁷¹ The architect, M Daurès, pointed out to the prefect that it had been on the express instructions of the relevant authorities that the work had been started as a matter of urgency in the first place.⁷² This seems to have put the cat among the bureaucratic pigeons; in a letter of 5th May 1942, the Secretary General wrote to the prefect that MM Maissonnet and Jean-Faure were not qualified to authorise expenditure and that all matters relating to the work should have been submitted directly to him. This seemingly petty insistence illustrates the way in which Vichy authorities could block progress. The Secretary General of Police requested a report from the prefect and a detailed schedule of works estimated now at 976,185 francs from the departmental architect, for his personal approval.⁷³ (Compared with works carried out at Gurs between January and August 1942, estimated to have cost around six and a half million francs, this was a modest sum).⁷⁴ The scale

les_en.html> [accessed on 1st September 2018]. See also: Yves Jeanmougin, *Memory of the Camp de Milles, 1939-1942* (Marseille: Metamorphoses/ Le Bec en l'air, 2013).

⁶⁹ For instance, a copy of his design for the piggery can be found in ADT 495 W: 7.

⁷⁰ The departmental architect was M Léon Daurès.

⁷¹ Estimate of 20th March 1942 of M Léon Daurès, Architecte Départementale: ADT 495 W: 8. M Jean-Faure was Inspector General of Camps. Monthly report for March 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. The pumping in of drinking water was still incomplete at this time.

⁷² Monthly report of March 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7; letter of 31st March 1942 of M Léon Daurès to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁷³ Letter of 5th May 1942 of the Conseiller d'Etat Secrétaire Général pour la Police to the Préfet du Tarn ADT 495 W: 8. Schedule of works of 30th May 1942 of M Léon Daurès, Architecte Départementale, ADT 495 W: 8.

⁷⁴ Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte* (Paris: La découverte, 1991), p.242. Her source is a report of 31st October 1942 of André Jean-Faure on Gurs camp: AMAE 152/261-269. M Faggianelli subsequently had to navigate the shortage of building materials which further hampered the progress of the works. Report of August 1942 of M Jean-Faure on Brens camp ADT 495 W: 7. When M Lebegue inspected the camp in April 1943, he commended the commander for the works carried out which, he said, reflected the latter's "practical common sense": report of 30th April 1943 of M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

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of the task had been enormous and it was not until July 1943 that M Faggianelli could report “the main building works are finished”.⁷⁵

The camp commander and the concerns of internees

It is difficult to discern the exact relationship between M Faggianelli and the internees by whom he was regarded as “fair and likeable”.⁷⁶ Antoinette Goldschmidt, a wounded military nurse from a prominent Paris family, interned for trafficking opium (despite being acquitted by the magistrate’s court at Nice and the court of appeal at Aix-en-Provence) thanked M Faggianelli for his “great kindness” at the time of her mother’s death.⁷⁷ There does seem to have been a genuine appreciation of the commander who had obtained the necessary permission from two prefects for a fortnight’s “exeat” to Nice to sort out her mother’s affairs.⁷⁸ He seems to have been genuinely concerned for internees’ welfare; for instance, he instituted twice monthly walks at Brens to improve morale, while his wife and mother visited prisoners until M Lebegue advised against this practice.⁷⁹

A great deal of the commander’s correspondence was concerned with, and on behalf of, internees. As well as the constant barrage of correspondence with the prefecture, ministry of the Interior and other government departments, the commander was in contact with outside agencies such as the Red Cross, whose representative, Mlle Brand worked in the camp, the Catholic Aid Association for Foreigners and the equivalent Protestant organisation, CIMADE, as well as local pastors and religious leaders who visited the camp – and sometimes lawyers. For instance, the commander corresponded with Antoinette Goldschmidt’s lawyer to secure her release.⁸⁰ As far as foreign internees were concerned there were often enquiries from relevant

⁷⁵ Monthly report for July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁷⁶ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, of l’Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement on the Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. All internees interviewed gave a glowing report of the commander.

⁷⁷ Undated letter of Antoinette Goldschmidt to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 60.

⁷⁸ Ibid. In an earlier letter of 16th January 1942 she had referred to his “humanity and understanding”; letter of Antoinette Goldschmidt to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 60.

⁷⁹ This was in spring 1943. Report of 30th April 1943 of M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁸⁰ Letter of 3rd February 1942 of Robert Argentino, lawyer, to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 60.

embassies, refugee and aid agencies which had to be addressed, sometimes with a view to repatriation, while for all internees the commander's role was pivotal in effecting their release.

Aid agencies were often involved in securing the release of prisoners, particularly in the case of refugees. For instance, numerous letters were written by the Red Cross highlighting the plight of Madeleine Kohler, one of a large family expelled from Metz, interned on 29th July 1941 for "living as a prostitute". Her father was interned at Sisteron, leaving her sick mother to care for nine children. General Verdier, administrator of the French Red Cross who first wrote to the prefect of Lozère on 22nd September 1941 persisted in his attempts to secure her release, finally writing to the Inspector General of Camps in December. She was eventually released to an assigned residence in April 1942.⁸¹ The Red Cross interceded too on behalf of Jeanne Pauly, a war widow expelled from Lorraine and interned for drunkenness; the loss all her possessions and no news of her 28 year old son since June 1940 had caused her to drink, which she deeply regretted; nonetheless she was still interned from July 1941 until May 1943.⁸² In the case of Alice Marchal the Red Cross had a slightly different role, delivering a letter from a prisoner in Stalag 1A Stalack to the prefect of Tarn enquiring whether his wife had been interned. The correspondence which ensued between Prisoner 3412FZ, the Red Cross and the prefect tactfully avoided mentioning the grounds for her internment – "notorious conduct".⁸³

Letters, whether to or from aid agencies, refugee associations, internees or their families, were crucial in the initiation of the process of release and those inmates who were illiterate or spoke little French were at a great disadvantage. There are records of hearings signed with three crosses amongst the dossiers, and examples of letters in many different handwritings, indicating the need for amanuensis.⁸⁴ Every letter to the prefect requesting release, whether from the internee herself or some interested party, would be forwarded to the commander with a request for a hearing and every argument was considered; it was therefore not a futile exercise, despite the apparent lack of progress which sometimes ensued. The dossiers in the Tarn archives are full of pleading letters from both internees and their supporters. The youngest authors were the children of Marguerite Camuseau, wife of an officer in the infantry regiment. Interned in February 1942 for "loose morals" because of fraternisation with the Occupying forces, it turned

⁸¹ Individual dossier of Madeleine Kohler: ADT 495 W: 62.

⁸² Individual dossier of Jeanne Pauly (ép Lafontaine): ADT 495 W: 65. This dossier is wrongly titled: it should be Jeanne Lafontaine (vve Pauly).

⁸³ Individual dossier of Alice Marchal (ép Danière): ADT 495 W: 63. Alice was released at the end of her fixed term sentence.

⁸⁴ Individual dossier of Marie Miallet (vve Combebias): ADT 495 W: 64.

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out that she was an interpreter for them. The commander noted “her daily protestations of innocence” and on 23rd October 1942 her children, aged eight and six, wrote to the prefect of Tarn asking why it was necessary to keep their mother in a camp since their father was a prisoner of war. This appeal did not prove efficacious. The prefect of Nièvre opposed her return and Mme Camuseau was not released until 8th September 1943.⁸⁵

The separation of mothers from children was a recurring theme of the correspondence, as was the impact of internment on the whole family: M Salvy, Francine Houlès’s husband, wrote that he, her nine month old baby, sick mother-in-law and 80 year old dependent grandmother had all been victims of his wife’s internment; while Marguerite John’s father said that her 22 month old daughter cried for her, he was shortly to have surgery and his wife had a bad heart and could not look after the child.⁸⁶ Parents, then, as well as children suffered because of the internments; Mme Sicant and her husband had been left without any means of support since, with their sons being prisoners-of-war, the family’s sole breadwinner was her daughter-in-law, internee Marie Sogas.⁸⁷ Eighty three year old M Signé and his wife – whose middle-aged daughters normally worked their farm and were interned for their refusal to pay taxes and threatening officials with pitchforks – sought the latter’s release on the grounds that they were needed on the farm.⁸⁸ Letters range from the highly articulate, such as those of Odette Capion’s mother – whose copious correspondence included a letter to Marshal Pétain – to the semi-literate, but the sentiments expressed were essentially the same: set our women free.⁸⁹

The first step for the commander was the preparation of a “hearing with a proposal for release” for the local prefect; if both the commander and the prefect recommended release, then the internee’s “home” prefect was applied to.⁹⁰ However, since this would also normally be the arresting prefect, approval would often not be forthcoming and the commander and prefects of Lozère or Tarn would have to approach a different prefecture to accept the released internee. In the case of Madeleine Kohler, interned with her two children, the Secretary General of Police

⁸⁵ Individual dossier of Marguerite Meyer (ép Camuseau): ADT 495 W: 63. The children’s appeal was sent on a postcard.

⁸⁶ Individual dossier of Francine Houlès (ép Salvy): ADT 495 W: 61; individual dossier of Marguerite John (ép Lefort): ADT 495 W: 62.

⁸⁷ Individual dossier of Marie Sogas (ép Sicant): ADT 495 W: 68.

⁸⁸ Individual dossiers of Maria Signé and Augusta Signé: ADT 495 W: 67.

⁸⁹ Individual dossier of Odette Capion (ép Fabregas): ADT 495 W: 56.

⁹⁰ Copies of this document, sometimes several for each internee, can be found in almost all the individual dossiers contained in: ADT 495 W: 53-69.

was asked to overrule after refusals from multiple prefectures.⁹¹ In his attempt to procure Mme Nouvel's release, the commander applied to the director of the Departmental Placement Office at Albi for a place for her as a "farm maid" and received four job offers with accommodation, each of which was blocked by the relevant regional prefect before she was placed on a farm in Hautes-Pyrénées after two and a half years' internment for what she claimed was a calumnious false accusation against her.⁹² The bulk of her individual dossier is taken up with the commander's attempts to secure her release.⁹³ The commander also intervened in the case of Louise Grobert Carcasses who had been interned on 30th November 1942 for "dealings compromising the provisioning of the country", but not for a fixed term. The commander pointed out in his letter to the prefect on 2nd April 1943 that similar offenders would normally have been given a fixed term of between 15 days and three months; she was in any event acquitted by the criminal court of her putative offence but even so not released until 20th July 1943.⁹⁴

The commander's "opinion" section of the "hearing" form which contained comments on the internees' conduct and behaviour while at camp was certainly a factor in securing their release. Very rarely were these negative, even in the case of those internees who had been the subject of incident reports or spent time under "bodily constraint" in prison.⁹⁵ The kleptomaniac Jeanne Le Bars, for example, a 46 year old refugee from Paris, noted by wardresses for constantly provoking violent, abusive disputes was reported to have "always behaved well at camp" although the commander conceded that she showed "an awkward streak" from time to time.⁹⁶ Those who worked in some way were often specially commended; Mme Nouvel worked "assiduously" in the workshops, while Maria Nicolas, a prostitute whose husband was in prison

⁹¹ Individual dossier of Madeleine Kohler: ADT 495 W: 62.

⁹² Letter of 25th January 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to M le Directeur de l'Office de Placement Départemental; individual dossier of Marie Nouvel (ép Nouvel): ADT 495 W: 64. Out of her six children, one was with her at camp and the others had been left in the care of the Public Assistance.

⁹³ Individual dossier of Marie Nouvel (ép Nouvel): ADT 495 W: 64. Her maiden name is the same as her married name.

⁹⁴ Letter of 2nd April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn; individual dossier of Louise Grobert (ép Carcasses): ADT 495 W: 61.

⁹⁵ This would have been in Mende or Albi.

⁹⁶ Individual dossier of Jeanne Le Bars: ADT 495 W: 62.

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for attempted murder, showed a “commendable attitude” and had worked voluntarily in the kitchen to everyone’s satisfaction.⁹⁷

The commander also took repentance into account in determining individuals’ release. Jeanne Pauly profoundly regretted her drunken behaviour, while Blanche Oziol wrote a letter of abject apology to Pétain himself after an outburst of anti-government sentiment in a butcher’s queue had provoked her internment. Similarly the commander wrote of Marie Louise Gottardini, “Considering her conduct, her repentance, and, above all... two long years’ internment for such grounds, my verdict is favourable”.⁹⁸ Alice Grandvoinet, too, a prostitute with numerous convictions, including for recruiting a minor, interned for a fixed term of three months, was considered after 11 months to “show true repentance”.⁹⁹ She was released after 13 months – on the same day as Blanche Oziol. Juliette Masson, a 20 year-old with six siblings who had been forced into prostitution at a young age, was released unconditionally after eight months. The commander asserted – after her revelation that “the more I think about my past, the more horrified I am” – that she “shows a real desire to live a normal life”.¹⁰⁰ The statement also reveals the commander’s preconceptions about what constitutes normality. For some internees M Faggianelli’s zeal for and hope of reform resulted in conditional release; having noted her excellent conduct and voluntary undertaking of work in the camp, he wrote of Marie Miallet, a prostitute with three convictions for theft, that she would benefit from conditional release “to encourage her reform”; while the prostitute Renée Guillet, who had been interned at Rieucros on 13th October 1941, was placed in a “moral rehabilitation house” at St-Ysmier in Isère.¹⁰¹

Behaviour at camp could be a deciding factor in the commander’s decisions; the worst level of judgement from him was usually “has not provoked any unfavourable comment”. However, the

⁹⁷ Individual dossier of Marie Nouvel (ép Nouvel): ADT 495 W: 64; individual dossier of Maria Nicolas (ép Daine): ADT 495 W: 64. Her work in the mess kitchen also probably helped Blanche Laplanche, a communist, to an early release in April 1942 after nine months at camp: individual dossier of Blanche Laplanche (sép Somville) ADT 495 W: 62.

⁹⁸ Individual dossier of Jeanne Pauly (ép Lafontaine): ADT 495 W: 65; individual dossier of Blanche Oziol, (ép Bruscoli): ADT 495 W 64; individual dossier of Marie Louise Gottardini: ADT 495 W: 60. The latter had got drunk on a bench with her long-term partner and was interned for suspected prostitution.

⁹⁹ Individual dossier of Alice Grandvoinet: ADT 495 W: 61.

¹⁰⁰ Individual dossier of Juliette Masson: ADT 495 W: 63.

¹⁰¹ Individual dossier of Marie Miallet (vve Combebias): ADT 495 W: 64; individual dossier of Renée Guillet: ADT 495 W: 61.

repercussions stemming from the attempt of political prisoners to physically prevent the police from removing German and Polish (Jewish) internees in an act of protest at the deportations in August 1942 demonstrate that the prejudice of the commander could also influence successful release.¹⁰² For example, having given “a favourable verdict” to Raymonde David’s release in May 1942, the commander was still stalling in October “because of the ambivalent attitude she displayed on the occasion of the departure of Jewish internees for another camp.”¹⁰³ Therefore, whilst M Faggianelli was clearly disposed to release whomever he could – perhaps with a view to ridding the camp of more troublesome elements – it has to be remembered that he was also the servant of the Vichy regime and an instrument of their policy. Although he had an agenda of character reform his perception of moral and political subversion reflected that of his superiors.

The strain of the job took its toll on M Faggianelli who was forced to resign on health grounds in September 1943, having taken no leave since 1940.¹⁰⁴ The saga of the three commanders who followed him in quick succession clearly illustrates the impact of the role. The first, M Aulanier, caused alarm among personnel and internees by his capriciousness, drunkenness, gross behaviour – which provoked repugnance among internees – and fondness for firearms. Having demanded the sacking of several senior staff he disappeared from view before the end of the year.¹⁰⁵ After an interregnum, his innovative replacement, M Errard, achieved efficient reorganisation and material improvements, boosting confidence and morale among the personnel (for whom he secured increased rations) and internees, who regarded him as “fair and understanding”.¹⁰⁶ His departure caused considerable consternation. His replacement was M Legarçon, one of the old guard, a Lieutenant in the Gendarmerie who had seen active service and whose regime came to an abrupt end when he was called upon on 2nd June 1944 to move the whole camp to Gurs within 24 hours.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Monthly report of August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁰³ Individual dossier of Raymonde David: ADT 495 W: 59.

¹⁰⁴ Monthly report of October 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, l’Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement on the Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁰⁵ This was in addition to the six who left.

¹⁰⁶ Report of 11th April 1944 of M Jean Galinier, Inspecteur de Police to M le Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service Départementale de Renseignements Généraux à Albi: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁰⁷ Communication from the Etat major de liaison Br B. no 1856/44 containing the translation of a telegram in German of 28th May 1944 of Sub-Lieutenant Strisser to M Kunt, the Prefect of Tarn (translated 30th May 1944): ADT 495 W: 9. Letter of 2nd November 1944 of the Directeur du Centre Surveillé de Brens (M Legarçon) to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

Conclusion

Clearly the dedication and competence of the commander was a key element in the smooth running of the camp. In this chapter I have examined the complex mesh of bureaucratic requirements with which he had to contend, and have illustrated their constantly developing nature under Vichy as well as the rivalries between departments and between different cadres of staff which he had to navigate. Although answerable to the departmental prefect under whose authority he functioned, the commander was responsible for every aspect of the running of the camp – the site, the staff, the internees, the health, welfare, provisioning (dealt with in Chapter Four) and security of all those under his care. Like the spider at the centre of a huge web, he operated lines of communication with organisations ranging from multifarious government and police departments at local, regional and national level, to foreign embassies and aid agencies, from purveyors of food and materials to camp inspectors and other individuals affecting the life of the camp.

Far from being a mere cog in the bureaucratic machinery or a puppet of a repressive regime, the commander had the potential to influence every aspect of the day to day running of the camp. His role was, in fact, pivotal and his competence materially impacted living conditions in the camp. His job was arduous and demanding and in this chapter I have analysed some of the difficulties he faced. These were not always perfectly resolved, and the problems of recruiting and retaining suitable staff and the difficulties of discipline of both staff and internees were ongoing. However the impression of MM Faggianelli and Errard is of humane men, doing their best to make life bearable for staff and internees alike, to the detriment of the former's own well-being; certainly at Brens, the commander's efforts were appreciated by the internees, one of whom wrote: "We are fortunate... in having a wonderful camp commander..."¹⁰⁸ There is no evidence from archival sources that the German Occupation of the Southern zone in November 1942 had any impact on the organisation of the camps; indeed the influence of the Germans was more in the realm of internment itself, particularly relating to prostitutes, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸ An excerpt from a letter contained in the bi-monthly report for 15th-30th April 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W:33. The correspondent's name is missing from the dossier. She is referring here to M Errard.

Chapter Three

Prostitutes and prostitution

In this chapter, I address the under-researched area of prostitution during the Occupation as it impacted Rieucros and Brens camps. Against the broader background of prostitution in the 20th century, I ask whether the transition from the Third Republic to Vichy created a rupture in official attitudes to prostitution and to what extent policy changed; whether the driving force behind Vichy's management of the prostitute question was the anti-feminist ideology of the regime – the concept of woman as “the angel of the hearth” – or a pragmatic need to contain and regulate what was an essentially commercial enterprise; and whether in the end it was the German Occupier rather than Vichy gender policy, the need to control disease rather than to punish women, that resulted in the removal and incarceration of prostitutes.¹ I argue that while the trend from abolitionism to regulation had begun before Vichy (accelerated by the grave difficulties of management of venereal disease encountered in the First World War) it was under the Vichy government that “regulation” was stretched beyond surveillance to internment.

Underpinning the second question is the ideological rationale for the internment of prostitutes – the concept of undesirability. I argue that this had its roots in a Vichy construct which politicised women, not in the sense of empowering them but of using them as tools in the perceived regeneration of France, in a cynical manipulation to effect the National Revolution.²

¹ E. Escartin y Lartiga: quoted in Mary Nash, ‘Uncontested Identities’, in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. by Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliffe, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), p.30. “The first, man, is... apt for public life... the second, woman is, by essence, the angel of the hearth.”

² This positing of women is shockingly encapsulated in ‘La femme d’Aujourd’hui’: “a woman... exists in reference to man”. Paul Doncoeur, ‘La femme d’Aujourd’hui’, in *La Femme d’aujourd’hui*

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As Francine Muel-Dreyfus eloquently demonstrates, the biological differences between male and female became a metaphor pervading medicine, education, employment and family hierarchy and providing the cloak for repressive legislation concerning the role of women.³ That role was primarily motherhood, involving on a practical level the replacing of the catastrophic losses of the First World War and on an ideological level the mystical notion of a feminine redemption through sacrifice of a female mea culpa. Prostitutes posed a threat to this construct, both morally, as perceived destroyers of family life and physically, because of the risks prostitution presented of the spread of venereal disease.⁴ Since pronatalism had become a central pillar of family policy in the inter-war years and producing progeny for the nation was a perceived duty of French men, prostitutes posed a direct threat to the healthy reproduction of the race.⁵ I argue that there was a bind at the heart of Vichy policy in that while family policy pointed to abolitionism, the pragmatic need to manage disease resulted in acceptance and increased management through regulation. I assert that although the treatment of prostitutes was a manifestation of a deeper Vichy fear of femininity, ultimately pragmatism took precedence over ideology in the official volte-face in August 1943 which led to their release.

My third question adds a new element to the equation, that of the role of the Germans in the internment of prostitutes and I argue that an analysis of their role in the Occupied zone, in so far as it can be ascertained – the establishment of brothels for the use of their own troops (including separate establishments for officers), the increased health checks and surveillance and the orders to French authorities to intern unregistered prostitutes – suggests that a similar influence was exerted in the Southern zone after November 1942.⁶ The irony which emerges is that in order to avoid prolonged internment, whether at the instigation of French authorities or of German

(Paris: Ed de L'Orante, 1943), from a collection of subscription brochures published in 1941. Cited in Francine A. Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. by Kathleen Johnson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 62, endnote 59.

³ *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*.

⁴ Venereal disease was known to have increased exponentially during the First World War and could cause infertility in men and miscarriage in women. Michelle K. Rhoades, 'Renegotiating French Masculinity: Medicine and Venereal Disease during the Great War', *French Historical Studies*, 29 no.2 (2006) 293-327, (p.294, p.304).

⁵ *Vichy and the Eternal feminine*, p.73; 'Renegotiating French Masculinity', p.295, pp.309-10.

⁶ Here I am indebted to Insa Meinen's work: Insa Meinen, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation (1940-1945)*, trans. Beate Husser (Paris: Editions Payot et Rivages, 2006).

officials, many prostitutes volunteered for work in Germany, a subject embraced at the end of the chapter.

The involvement of the Germans in prostitution is redolent of the First World War; the striking difference however, is that it was German soldiers not the French military who were now at risk. The First World War had seen two different approaches to containing venereal disease. The first targeted the soldiers through whom the disease spread; this was the American system of discipline and enforced medical prophylaxis which viewed venereal disease as an avoidable self-inflicted affliction.⁷ By contrast the French, for whom fighting and the conquest of women were intertwined in the popular imagination, resisted interference in male sexual conduct; instead they focussed on controlling and regulating prostitution.⁸ This gendered response, adopted by Vichy, placed responsibility for the spread of venereal disease squarely on women and specifically on prostitutes, thus heightening their perceived threat to public health and security; however, I argue that a further bind in German involvement in the internment of prostitutes was their reluctance to allow interference by French authorities in the relationships of the Occupying troops with French women.⁹ The French authorities were compliant in following German initiatives, however brutal, and in this sense the treatment of “loose women” could be seen as a mirror of the treatment of the Jews. However, whereas the prostitutes were suddenly and surprisingly released in August 1943, the Jews were systematically rounded up and transported to the death camps.

The lot of the prostitutes was nonetheless a cruel one. Insa Meinen notes the brutish nature of the control of prostitution during the Occupation; not only were women interned in hospitals, prisons, young offenders’ institutions and brothels but incarcerated in camps. Some prostitute internees, including those “suspected” of prostitution, were even bundled from one camp to another.¹⁰ Women scavenging for food or keeping produce for home consumption were fulfilling their role as family providers and, even for those manipulating the black market, sentences were very light; whereas prostitutes were perceived as undermining the building blocks of society and posing a threat to the family and the nation’s and soldiers’ health. They were therefore excluded from society and incarcerated, often for an indeterminate period; in

⁷ ‘Renegotiating French Masculinity’, p.295, pp.309-10.

⁸ Ibid., p.321.

⁹ Conclusion of the Superior Consultative Commission of the Military Health Service 1918, cited in ‘Renegotiating French Masculinity’, p.323. Robert Gildea, *Marriane in Chains* (London: Macmillan, 2002), p.73.

¹⁰ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.225.

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fact, the Feldkommandantur of Orléans instructed French authorities in September 1941 that internment for this category of prisoner was envisaged “sur la durée”.¹¹ It is the one area of internment where the German Occupiers seem to have dominated French officials who, in turn, were willing to participate in the victimisation of this minority group, although German military chiefs in the north were relying on a French decree law – article 45 of a regulation dated 31st December 1940 – which allowed for the detention of those prostitutes who appeared dangerous for the security of the population.¹²

The trend from abolitionism to “regulation” in twentieth century France came to the fore when municipalities took strict control of health checks and closed hotels thought to be guilty of spreading venereal disease.¹³ Publications like *Mme Bovary* and *La Garçonne* by Viktor Marguerite had challenged the stereotype of the degenerate prostitute and exposed women’s sexuality as an independent notion, not just the flip-side of male dominance.¹⁴ Soliciting on the pavement, in fashionable tea shops and hotel lounges had gradually superseded enclosed licensed brothels of which only 27 remained in Paris in 1935.¹⁵ Since the number of ambulant, unregistered prostitutes was increasing, there was a shift from enclosure to surveillance; gradually, containment of disease became the main issue of the time, sanitation triumphing over morality. In 1936, after the failure of Henri Sellier’s bill in which he wanted to make soliciting an offence, he issued a memorandum stating that new brothels would be subject to the permission of the ministries of Health and the Interior.¹⁶ In 1939 official approval was given to the creation of a specific health authority for the prevention of venereal disease whilst increased

¹¹ “for the duration of the war”: *ibid.*, p.208. Many were, in fact, interned for two years or more.

¹² This was an “arrêté-type”. *Ibid.*, p.117.

¹³ I am indebted to Alain Corbin’s work. Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.337.

¹⁴ *Mme Bovary* (Flaubert) was published in the nineteenth century; *La Garçonne* in the in the twentieth century. *Ibid.*, p.332 and p.336.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.337-338. The “maison de dancing” and the “maison de théâtre” were short-lived “meeting” places.

¹⁶ Miranda Pollard mentions Henri Sellier’s 1936 proposals: Miranda Pollard, *Reign of Virtue: Mobilizing Gender in Vichy France* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1998), p.67. Alain Corbin records that at the General Assembly of Brothel-keepers, 627 members out of 1,300 were French and they had set up a support fund of 49,472,000 francs for the financing of an intense campaign aimed at defeating the bill. *Women for Hire*, p.340.

repression was exercised on unregistered prostitution.¹⁷ By the end of 1940 the Occupiers had introduced an ordinance intended to service Wehrmacht troops in the Occupied zone, which, for the first time in French history, gave brothels an official status and made “free” prostitution illegal.¹⁸ The official recognition of licensed brothels which became taxable with the tax placed at the disposal of local municipalities, far from criminalising prostitution, made it a legitimate and profitable form of commerce.¹⁹ There was, then, a surprising dichotomy at the heart of Vichy policy which aimed to restore enclosed prostitution, defend the brothel and apply secure disease prevention.²⁰ As Alain Corbin concludes, “One finds here the subtle mix of traditionalism and technocratic modernity that characterised the Vichy regime.”²¹

Vichy also perfected the cleaning up of prostitution begun under the Third Republic. When sanitary surveillance and enforcement of compulsory registration was instigated in a memorandum of January 1941, doctors – superseding police – became more closely involved in monitoring prostitutes; those who missed health inspections could be forced to undergo medical examinations, they were forbidden to operate outside brothels and to change employers without authority from the police and health departments.²² However, while in 1940 “2,000 prostitutes worked in brothels and there were 100,000 street prostitutes”, there were still an estimated 80,000 to 100,000 unregistered prostitutes working in Paris in 1941.²³ The limited scope of

¹⁷ Comprehensive tests were performed on all prostitutes. *Women for Hire*, p.243. “Medical triumphalism” is the phrase Alain Corbin uses for these comprehensive tests. Some “maisons de tolérance” appeared like medical clinics and some even possessed air-raid shelters. A law of July 1940 increased penalties for pimps who were regarded as immoral purveyors of defeat. *Ibid.*, p.344. *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.119. The law was modified in 1942 when the role of procurer was widened. Another law of 1941 (code civil 3 art. 331) conferred retrospective legitimacy on illegitimate children if the parents subsequently married.

¹⁸ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.115.

¹⁹ *Reign of Virtue*, p.67. Brothels had to occupy the whole building where they were situated and be run by native French manageresses. *Women for Hire*, p.344; *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.116.

²⁰ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.344.

²¹ *Women for Hire*, p.344.

²² *Reign of Virtue*, p.67. Furthermore, prostitutes over four months’ pregnant were forbidden to work.

²³ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (London, New York: Longman, 1999), p.39. *Reign of Virtue*, p.158.

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employment for married women, the absence of husbands, growing food shortages and the presence of Germans, led many married women into prostitution for the duration of the war.²⁴

The internment of prostitutes and the role of the Germans

Although prostitution was legal in brothels in France at this time, the arrest of “free” prostitutes, who were particularly targeted with the aim of wiping out venereal disease, was rife.²⁵ After listing camps proven to have received prostitute inmates, Insa Meinen discusses in detail the camps of La Lande and Jargeau.²⁶ It is curious, then, that when the prefect of Loiret in the Occupied zone approached the Interior ministry in September 1941 about the possibility of interning prostitutes, he was informed that no such camp was available for this class of internee.²⁷ Insa Meinen draws the conclusion that the French administration did not easily bend to the Occupier’s desire to intern yet another category of prisoner, thus contradicting somewhat her thesis that the internment of prostitutes was widespread.²⁸ However, since we know that prostitutes had been interned at Rieucros from near the beginning of the war – for instance, a group of ex-landladies from Grenoble who continued to operate from their officially closed premises – since “prostitution” or “suspected of prostitution” is marked on individual identity slips, either the Interior ministry was being coy, lying, or simply defying the German wish to control prostitution through internment.²⁹

There is a case for reserving judgement about who was mostly to blame for the persecution of prostitutes during the Occupation. The subject is likely to remain a complex mesh of interwoven factors, not easily unravelled. However, a communication from the MBF (the military

²⁴ For instance, out of 1,900 unregistered prostitutes in Lille, 1,142 were married. *Women for Hire*, p.343. Alain Corbin gives no date for these figures.

²⁵ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation (1940-1945)*, pp.82-3.

²⁶ These camps were: Ponchaillou, Poitiers, Montreuil-Bellay, Mulsanne and Mérignac. *Ibid.* p.203.

²⁷ Eight prostitutes were involved here. *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.207.

Prostitute inmates had been at Rieucros for almost two years at this point. It is in fact possible that prefects from this area had already sent prostitutes there.

²⁸ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.203.

²⁹ Among them were Renée Guillet, Yvonne Guillot, Félicie Hory, Marcelle Mare, Georgette Vasseur and Jeanne Veysseier. Individual dossiers of the following: Renée Guillet, Yvonne Guillot and Félicie Hory; Albi, Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 61; Marcelle Mare, ADT 495 W: 63; Georgette Vasseur: ADT 495 W: 68; Jeanne Veysseier: ADT 495 W: 69. These women were all arrested on 8th October 1941. A significant group was interned at Rieucros from Grenoble and similar measures were taken in other towns, particularly in Isère.

commander in France) to the OKH (the high command of the land army) at the end of 1940 reported that the Vichy Interior ministry had ordered the regulation of prostitution and brothels according to *German* requirements and ideas.³⁰ It seems that the Germans were more active in the field of the internment of prostitutes in the north than has previously been thought; even though they continually tried to place responsibility for the management of prostitution onto French authorities, they still ended up taking control of prostitution there much of the time. However, by the time of the Occupation of the Southern zone in November 1942, prefects implementing Vichy policy had already been sending prostitute internees to Brens.³¹

There was a “bind” at the centre of the German attitude to prostitution. They regarded their victory as giving them first claim on French women and regarded any interference by French authorities in relationships between German soldiers and local women as a slight to German honour.³² They were also obsessed by the fear of venereal disease and its consequent danger to the health of the Occupying forces, demanding that French authorities clamp down on unregistered prostitution by regulating it. In Angers, straight after the arrival of the Germans, the Feldkommandantur required local police to close unofficial establishments and ordered that those women working in hotels, bars, cafés or private houses be rounded up and medically examined, on the basis of which they were to be sent either to clinics or brothels. Separate brothels were to be established for French men and German soldiers.³³ In Vannes in August 1940 the German military chief went a step further. Having complained that “... professional prostitutes are particularly dangerous; they circulate freely!”(sic), he determined to find a way of interning them.³⁴

Internment was part of the surveillance mechanism in which the Germans and Vichy cooperated. In a further tightening up of control of prostitution in September 1941, the Feldkommandantur at Orléans sent detailed instructions to the prefect to “work together...

³⁰ Quoted in *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.116.

³¹ See the individual identity slips printed in Appendix Q. Individual identity slips (“notices individuelles”) for: Jeanne Chardin (div Renault): ADT 495 W: 56; Cécile Fouilleux: ADT 495 W: 59; Henriette Courvoisier (ép Paulello): ADT 495 W: 57. Proposal of internment for Marthe Coupou (div Muffat-Joly): ADT 495 W: 57.

³² Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains* (London: Macmillan, 2002), p.73. They reckoned that their men had failed to defend them.

³³ As mentioned above there was an elite version for officers. *Ibid.*, p.77.

³⁴ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.203.

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towards the internment of (“free”) prostitutes”.³⁵ These were interned at Jargeau with instructions that they were not to be mixed up with the Gypsies already there; as noted above, their internment was envisaged as indefinite.³⁶ In October 1941 the head doctor of the Occupation administration attending a health check organised for prostitutes, gave five French women the choice of working in a Wehrmacht brothel or administrative internment and ordered all other healthy prostitutes present to be sent to Jargeau.³⁷ The noose tightened when the German chief military doctor rounded up all prostitutes who failed to attend health checks, sending them onto the camp after a medical examination.³⁸ The net widened when, in January 1942, the Occupation administration gave a direct order to the prefects of Loir-et-Cher, Cher, and Eure-et-Loire to intern *registered* as well as “free” prostitutes.³⁹ (The term used for unregistered prostitutes was the animal metaphor, “wild prostitutes”). It was at this point that the Germans themselves engaged in rounding up prostitutes to be sent to Jargeau and in February 1942 the first internees from Cher arrived followed by those from Eure-et-Loire in May.⁴⁰ A letter of 13th June 1942 from the ministry of the Interior to the Vichy Secretary of State for Health confirmed that a more rigorous repression should be envisaged if official enrolment of prostitutes on a police register failed – administrative internment, which, “in its specifically French incarnation epitomised the Vichy state.”⁴¹

As noted above, the control of prostitution instigated by the German health authority was anchored in a French decree law which allowed for the detention of those prostitutes who proved dangerous for the security of the population; they pressed French authorities to enforce this measure and provide them with a list of potential women suspects.⁴² However, although a close relationship between French and Germans developed in this regard, the main priority for French police was maintaining public order; the control of prostitutes was just part of that mandate, particularly in places and at times where German troops and French women mingled freely and where fights could break out.⁴³ In these circumstances, German authorities were often

³⁵ Ibid., p208.

³⁶ Ibid., p.208. Jargeau had re-opened on 5th March 1941.

³⁷ Ibid., p.209. There were 22 healthy prostitutes; infected prostitutes were to be sent to hospital.

³⁸ Ibid., p.209.

³⁹ Ibid., p.210.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.211.

⁴¹ *Reign of Virtue*, p.68; *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.201.

⁴² They were relying on article 45 of a regulation dated 31st December 1940: *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.117 and pp.206-7.

⁴³ For instance in Saturday night “hotspots”.

directly involved. Robert Gildea cites a fight in Nantes in September 1941 between two Frenchmen and two German soldiers in which the two soldiers were injured and the two Frenchmen arrested. In this instance both French and German police took part in the operation.⁴⁴

The French administration also wanted to mete out internment orders with the result that the prefect of Loiret agreed to inform the German authorities of the “internments which *I will order*,” on 1st and 15th of every month.⁴⁵ (Italics mine). However, the prefect of Cher, when sending prostitutes to Jargeau claimed he was acting under German orders.⁴⁶ Whether archival sources are patchy or whether only skeletal information was given at the time, it is sometimes difficult to discern which authority – French or German – gave the orders for internment of individuals.⁴⁷ A legal basis for internment was often missing from the dossiers, even later on – as in the case of Michèle Joly at Brens camp. Interned in 1943, “She was brought to the camp by the Orléans police” but no internment slip was ever produced; what seems clear is that orders for internment were given by both French and German authorities working in parallel.⁴⁸ Although the detailed information available in the northern archives regarding the agency of the Germans in this field is missing from the Tarn archives, it seems fair to assume that after the Occupation of the Southern zone in November 1942 they played a part in the internment of prostitutes in the southern camps, though this cannot be proved from available sources. Important differences, worthy of note, however, between Jargeau and Brens were that, first, whereas Jargeau served only the immediate and neighbouring departments, women, including prostitute inmates, were sent to Brens from many areas of France. Secondly, between its reopening in March 1941 and December 1945, 303 prostitutes out of 1720 prisoners were interned at Jargeau, which contrasts with Brens where prostitutes formed the majority of inmates, certainly in summer 1943 (See Appendices P and E).⁴⁹ Thirdly, apart from one Belgian and three Polish women the inmates of Jargeau were French, whereas although the majority of prostitutes at Brens were French there were also foreigners among their number.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Marianne in Chains*, p.76.

⁴⁵ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.210 and 217.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.228.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.221. It is interesting to note that she was brought from the north to the south. No dossier exists in the Tarn archives for Michele Joly; however, there is a dossier for Marie Joly who is a different person: ADT 495 W: 62. *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.204.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.206. See the chart in Appendix F: taken from the bi-monthly reports of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 32.

⁵⁰ *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation*, p.251.

However, common ground for the two camps was that the authorities had no qualms about interning minors; the youngest prostitute inmate of Jargeau was 15 years old; neither did they balk at interning those just “suspected of prostitution”.⁵¹ From summer 1942, the SS took over from the German military authorities and they, in turn, interned prostitutes in the north; interestingly, they first sent the arrested women to a German prison.⁵² Both Alain Corbin and Insa Meinen mention prisons in passing, Alain Corbin the prison at Nanterre; Insa Meinen, Orléans prison and an unnamed German prison. However, they simply state that the prostitute inmates were moved on from the prisons to an internment camp – in the case of Insa Meinen, to Jargeau. So far, I have found only one explanation as to why prostitute inmates were not kept in French prisons and that is that, according to Pierre Pédrón, the prisons were full to overflowing, a fact borne out by Insa Meinen’s comment about Orléans prison that it was “more than full”.⁵³

The concept of undesirability

It needs to be understood that prostitution encompassed a variety of grounds for internment at Rieucros and Brens. There were undoubtedly professional prostitutes among the internees but women could be interned for a variety of reasons, summarised often on individual identity slips as “prostitution”, “suspected of prostitution”, “loose morals” or “scandalous behaviour”. However, although “prostitution” might be mentioned on women’s individual identity slips, it must be taken into account that the *category* “prostitution” was not present at Rieucros (or in the early days of Brens) where “other reasons” or “dangerous for public security” were employed as grounds for interning individuals. An appreciation of the Third Republic/Vichy perception of undesirability is necessary to an understanding of the internment of women – particularly prostitutes – during the period. A shocking incident under the Third Republic shows that the notion of undesirability had its roots before Vichy. In an expression of the coalescence of female sexuality and foreignness the Chief Rabbi claimed that the inmates were “undesirable” simply because they were desirable to men – a tragic, twisted irony indeed.⁵⁴

⁵¹ The young prostitute was interned in 1942. Ibid., p.251 & p.228.

⁵² Orders could also be given by the Kreiskommandanturen: *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.235. No information is provided about why prostitute internees were not kept in prison.

⁵³ Pierre Pédrón, *La Prison sous Vichy* (Paris: Les Editions de l’Atelier, 1993), p.11. *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation*, p.206.

⁵⁴ The rabbi’s speech is recorded in Ursula Katzenstein’s diary entry for 9/5/1940: quoted in Mechtild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes, Chroniques d’Internées, Rieucros et Brens, 1939-1944*, trans.

The representation of women, Jews and Gypsies in the official press, based largely on xenophobia and the Vichy concept of women as “femmes au foyer”, engendered prejudice in the populace. Growing anti-Semitism fuelled by press propaganda – although Vichy played it down – led to an added suspicion of Jews, placing Jewish women near the top of the scale of foreignness and undesirability.⁵⁵ Vichy’s stereotypes further penetrated French consciousness with a brand of prejudice all its own, extending the concept of “undesirable” to include all those who did not fit neatly into the idealised French-pastoral mould of matronly women guarding the nation’s honour and young people working the land. Ironically, whilst Resisters were presented in the resistance press as asexual – mothers guarding the home and the nation’s well-being – collaborators were presented in terms of sexuality.⁵⁶ I would add that “foreignness” was linked to sexuality and prostitution in the Vichy consciousness and the two categories of persons labelled, among others, as “undesirable”. The perceived threat was not so much a physical one of a threat to the national order but a psychological one of threatening the essence of Frenchness, now a complex and shifting commodity in the light of immigration in the 30s and Occupation in the 40s. Furthermore, whilst Spanish, German and Austrian refugees all represented places and were fleeing from a specific “place”, the threat posed by Gypsies, Jews and unorthodox women – particularly prostitutes – was a more nebulous one, seeping in the Vichy imagination into secret corners of society and polluting it. Karen Adler, in fact, asserts that prostitution as presented in the women’s clandestine press “became a metaphor for the uncertain status of national identity... to be identified as a prostitute during the Occupation was to (relinquish) the right to be French”.⁵⁷

There is a further twist, not noted by Karen Adler, in that resisters were also viewed in terms of sexuality in camp discourse; at times associated with prostitution, therefore undesirability. An antifascist woman living in a secure relationship with a partner could well have been labelled as a prostitute, ironically linking the “resister” perception of women to that of Vichy.⁵⁸ For instance, Fidéa Castex an “ex-communist party sympathiser” who currently lived with Sempastous off the proceeds of the tract form of the communist journal *Le Travailleur* and had

⁵⁵ Pierre Laborie’s phrase “the normalisation of anti-semitism” is helpful here. Pierre Laborie, *L’opinion française sous Vichy* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1990).

⁵⁶ K. H. Adler, *Jews and Gender in Liberation France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p.43.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.41-42.

⁵⁸ Individual dossier of Marie-Louise Gottardini: ADT 495 W: 60.

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previously worked with him at the “Imprimerie du Centre Agen”, was interned for “loose morals”.⁵⁹ Thus, in a negative conflation, if a gendered view of collaboration lay within the female body – demeaned through prostitution – the politically engaged woman was also presented as prostituting herself, in this case, with communism and anti-fascism.⁶⁰ In this troublesome female equation, woman was reduced to the level of body, the male elevated to judge and administrator of the Vichy system.⁶¹ Foreigners, particularly foreign Jews, were likewise devalued; the law of 3rd October 1940 declared Jews to be different from other French citizens and the law of 4th October gave discretionary powers to prefects regarding the internment of foreign Jews.⁶² Gradually, Jews were systematically excluded from mainstream society. Since, at Rieucros/Brens, prostitutes, political activists, Jews and foreigners were incarcerated side by side, a further blurring of the edges of female identity occurred, alongside the ironic devaluation of the moral stand of the politicised woman resister.

Prostitutes were also despised by some other categories of internees; in fact, the hostility between prostitutes and other internees was the subject of official correspondence. In February 1943 the Secretary General of Police wrote, “It is noted that the internees of (Brens) view the... arrival of a... number of prostitutes with trepidation,” presumably because of the potential for venereal infection.⁶³ In July the commander warned of rising tensions; he viewed the situation as “dangerous from every point of view” and requested the removal of the prostitutes to a more suitable place (“Gurs, for instance”).⁶⁴ Their subsequent release, however, did not placate remaining internees who resented the benevolence shown to “women... who in the main are a danger to national security...”⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Individual dossier of Fidéa Castex: ADT 495 W: 56. She had also worked under Sempastous at the print works ‘La Prolétarienne’ until its closure, suggesting a long term relationship.

⁶⁰ *Jews and Gender in Liberation France*, p.43.

⁶¹ Karen Adler suggests a further complication arising if an article in *Femmes françaises* is taken into account where women at home are admonished to recognise the needs of her men and not to “distance herself from them”.

⁶² Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001), p.68.

⁶³ Letter of 20th February 1943 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45. He is referring here to the bi-monthly report submitted by the Chef du Camp.

⁶⁴ Letter of 21st July 1943 from the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁶⁵ They also dubbed the prostitutes as “women who will pick up their life of debauchery”. Report of 28th September 1943 of the Inspecteur Principal de Police to the Chef du Camp de Brens: Objet:

The physical implications of the presence of the prostitutes at Brens and the release of the prostitutes

The presence of prostitutes in the camps presented an ongoing dilemma for the commander who was under perpetual pressure – because of the threat of disease – from the higher authorities to separate them from other internees, thus creating a sub-category of “other”. In this section I shall consider the physical implications of their presence and the pragmatic attempts, later, to secure their wholesale release. In a letter to the prefect of Tarn, the commander betrayed his prejudice against this category of prisoner, describing them on their arrival with a group of nomads in Gaillac in terms of “human wrecks”, accusing them of being “deeply tainted” both physically and mentally and expressing concern about the moral implications of their presence for camp children.⁶⁶

Whereas at Rieucros internees had latterly been lodged according to grounds for internment, after the move to Brens essential building works meant this system had to be modified and nationality was also a basis for segregation.⁶⁷ In August 1942 the regional prefect of Toulouse notified the prefect of Tarn of his intention to intern 37 prostitutes – most of whom had been hospitalised for venereal disease – for an unlimited duration.⁶⁸ A further influx of prostitutes in February 1943 and the consternation this caused to other internees, as well as disquiet at the prospect of further arrivals, led the Secretary General of Police to order an urgent examination of conditions for the separation of the prostitutes.⁶⁹ The commander assured the prefect that the latest influx had been isolated in the south-west corner of the camp next to the “criminal” barrack and separated from the rest of the camp by the administrative buildings; they were also prohibited from moving freely in other areas of the camp, a measure applauded by the Secretary General of Police, although for the prostitutes this was a double imprisonment.⁷⁰ However, that did not solve the problem of the previously interned prostitutes and in March 1943 the Inspector

l’Etat d’Esprit des Internées: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁶⁶ Letter of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁶⁷ For instance, the Spanish occupied two barracks. Letter no 1277 of 27th March 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Conseiller d’Etat Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 45. Letter no 2121 of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁶⁸ Letter of August 1942 (no further date) of the Préfet Régional de Toulouse to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁶⁹ Letter no 524P of 20th February 1943 of the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

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General of Camps ordered urgent measures for their segregation; admitting the difficulties of accommodating the 102 prostitutes in two barracks of 40 beds, he suggested using two and a half barracks.⁷¹

By April 1943 the number of prostitutes had risen to 129 and the commander sent a telegram communicating the impossibility of re-grouping internees to the prefect, "Impossible continue categorisation internees if prostitutes, Gypsies, tramps still sent to camp".⁷² (The difficulties had been compounded by the arrival of a group of Gypsies from Saliers).⁷³ The response of the Secretary General of Police was an admission of defeat; he requested a list of prostitutes susceptible of amendment who might be sent to charitable institutions.⁷⁴ At the time of M Lebegue's inspection report in April 1943 prostitutes were housed in Barrack 17 and half of Barrack 13, next to the commander's house; a further 60 prostitutes were scattered throughout the camp. However the remarks of internee Suzanne Pichoud-Barbaz in autumn 1943 about massive releases from Barrack 13 bis, 17 and 18, suggest that an eventual separation had been accomplished, though official reports do not corroborate this.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Letter no 1470 of 16th March 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn; Objet: Isolement des internées prostituées: ADT 495 W: 45; letter no 916P of 13th April 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁷¹ Letter no 1277 of 27th March 1943 of the Inspecteur Général des Camps to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45; letter no 7416 of 27th March 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 45. In fact there were 42 beds in each barrack: letter no 2121 of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45. Currently only one and a half barracks were assigned to the prostitutes.

⁷² Undated telegram no 00922 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45. The Chef du Camp also claimed to have sent a letter on the same day: Letter of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45. At the same time the camp commander requested the removal of all children from the camp, a request which was not immediately successful.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Letter no 9168 of 13th April 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45. He requested details of their family situations and an indication of whether they would be capable of "moral" work.

⁷⁵ Report of October 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service Départemental des Renseignements Généraux du Tarn: Objet: l'Etat d'Esprit des Internées: ADT 495 W: 7.

The drive for physical separation of the prostitutes was partly predicated on the threat of contamination with infectious diseases to internees and staff. The influxes of 1943 had put a strain not only on accommodation but also on sanitation, despite the fact that certain improvements had been completed by the time of M Lebegue's report.⁷⁶ The Secretary General of Police asserted that the "melée" in which political and economic internees had to live in close proximity with prostitutes was regrettable, particularly as far as medical services were concerned; he prescribed separation during stays in the infirmary and different hours for consultations.⁷⁷ Both M Lebegue's and Dr Ferrié's reactions reveal prejudice against the prostitutes. M Lebegue criticised Dr Ferrié for treating *decent* women at the same time as prostitute internees in the treatment room whilst Dr Ferrié claimed he had carried out all instructions regarding consultations, blaming "the cramped nature of the buildings" which prevented a "strict separation" in the infirmary and suggesting: "a project of (extension) which would allow the separation of women according to their *social status*".⁷⁸ (Italics mine). However, the inspector highlighted justifiable sanitary concerns, pointing out that, not only did the prostitutes represent 28% of the camp population at this time, but two thirds of their number were suffering from venereal disease, therefore he strongly recommended that the old wooden examining table – used for *all* internees – should be replaced by a more hygienic model.⁷⁹ By the time of the release of the prostitutes, a staggering 91 of them were undergoing treatment at the infirmary.⁸⁰

Both the measure of the internment of prostitutes and the negotiating of release seem to be without any recognisable cohesive principles under Vichy. Nowhere was pragmatism more

⁷⁶ Showers had been installed, there were 25 toilets in the infirmary as well as a "magnificent" washbasin. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁷⁷ Letter of 9th April 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn, 'Objet: Séparation des internées': ADT 495 W: 45.

⁷⁸ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7. Letter of 30th April 1943 of Dr Ferrié, Médecin du Camp to the Chef du Camp de Brens in response to letter F 3142 Pol. 8 from the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police; 'Objet: séparation des internées du camp de Brens': ADT 495 W: 45. Dr Ferrié was subsequently requested to furnish estimates for such an extension.

⁷⁹ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁸⁰ Report of 1st September 1943 of the Médecin du Camp to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45.

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evident than in the shift in government policy which led to the release of the prostitutes from Brens. As well as the pressure on accommodation and sanitation, there were constant difficulties of provisioning. Competition for scarce resources, overcrowding, the fear and revulsion with which other internees viewed the prostitutes led to unrest and a volatile situation, culminating in riots by the prostitutes in July 1943.⁸¹ Therefore on 6th August 1943, the prefect of Tarn requested the Secretary General of Police not to allow any more prostitutes to be sent to Brens and on 13th August, with no explanation given, the latter recorded his decision to free all French prostitutes who did not pose a threat to public health and security.⁸² A separate memo dealt with foreigners and by the end of September 1943 only 25 (22 French and three foreign) prostitutes remained at camp out of 132.⁸³ The conditions for release were detailed and distinguished between French and foreign prostitutes; each had to undergo a medical examination and be certified as non-contagious nor categorised as posing a danger to public health and/or security.⁸⁴

The release of the prostitutes proceeded in a steady trickle: 19 were released on 23rd August 1943, 28 on 15th September and 35 on 22nd September, until by January 1944 only five – all French – were left in the camp. The releases of this period mirror the increasing disorder and uncertainty as Vichy values and policies behind the internments crumbled in the face of the shifting international situation – for instance, the previous Allied victory in N Africa, the German defeat at Stalingrad and Kursk, the Allied invasion of Sicily – and the insurmountable difficulties at home which required pragmatic action. The peak of the internments was over and

⁸¹ Letter of 25th July 1943 of the Inspecteur Chef-Adjoint au Gestionnaire du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁸² The riots by the prostitutes in July could well have influenced this volte-face. Covering letter of 6th August 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police, 8ème bureau, Vichy, enclosing a recent report on Brens camp by the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45; letter of 13th August 1943 from the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police to the prefects of the *zone libre*; it is signed Cado, Adjoint au Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 45. Letter no 1887 Pol. 14 et 8 of 13th August 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Générale à la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁸³ Letter no 1887 Pol. 14 et 8 of 13th August 1943 of the Secrétaire Générale de la Police to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45. See Appendix F for charts detailing the grounds of internment (“motifs d'internement”) of Brens internees between February 1942 and June 1944 taken from ADT 495 W: 32.

⁸⁴ Report of 1st September 1943 of the Médecin du Camp to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45. Dr Ferrié, charged with this categorisation, warned that those women already undergoing treatment should not be released until its completion.

by 24th May 1944 there were only 145 women and six children left who would be moved on to Gurs in June.⁸⁵

Contradictions inherent in the decision to release the prostitutes spilled over into the reaction of internees. On the one hand the camp had been relieved of its perceived turbulent elements and the food scarcity alleviated; on the other, as noted above, the benevolence shown to this category of inmates caused dismay to those who had endured long internment for political beliefs.⁸⁶ “A certain unrest reigns among political internees,” reported the commander on 28th September 1943, whilst Suzanne Pichoud-Barbaz wrote, “The... releases from Barracks 13b, 17 and 18 have discouraged us. We want to be with our families.”⁸⁷ The family was a solid pillar of Vichy society, and those who were perceived to undermine it – like the prostitutes of Brens – were considered beyond the pale. One can only conjecture that the threat of more serious riots caused by lack of satisfactory provisioning led the authorities to want to expel this perceived troublesome group of internees from the camp.

Voluntary workers for Germany

I am including voluntary workers for Germany in this chapter since the majority of volunteers from Brens were prostitutes. In the early days of Rieucros the voluntary transfer of internees to Germany was more akin to repatriation than to the later organised recruitment of the German Placement Office. The Kundt Commission, which visited Rieucros on 6th August 1940, felt it their duty to help those who had been interned on suspicion of pro-German sympathies; subsequently 50 women, mainly prostitutes – though some “politicals” were included in their number – set off from Mende.⁸⁸ Curiously, there is no evidence to suggest that these women

⁸⁵ This was the date of the commander’s last report from Brens.

⁸⁶ Monthly report of December 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Report of 28th September 1943 of the Inspecteur Principal de Police to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁸⁷ Report of October 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service Départemental des Renseignements Généraux du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁸⁸ Vera Traill notes the visit of the Gestapo to Rieucros although she puts the date as September 1940. They were willing to “consider the release and transfer into German-occupied territory of all the ladies – Aryan or Jewish, German or foreign – who would apply for it.” Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), pp.127-8. Sandrine Peyrac, Claire Martin, and Jean-Christophe Labadie, *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros, 1939-1942: L'internement, de la République à l'État français* (Mende: Archives départementales de la Lozère, Service éducatif,

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were screened for venereal disease before departure. Vera Goldstein later recounted the visit of a German commission recruiting “women... to go and work in Germany” – this was the Bommel Commission, at Rieucros on 12th and 13th May 1941, whose target was northern and eastern European women: “Virtually all the Poles, Slavs... registered.”⁸⁹ However, by 1942 it was against the background of the Relève, and later the Service du Travail Obligatoire (STO), that the Placement Office visited Brens periodically to recruit workers for Germany, whose labour became vital as the war progressed. A visit of the head of the German Placement Office at Castres, for example, was recorded on 4th August 1942, followed by visits in November and December that year.⁹⁰

For those internees who responded, a “favourable opinion” had to be obtained from the commander, the local prefect and the Secretary General of Police. A note by the prefect of Tarn of a telephone call from Vichy on 9th March 1943 recorded that the procedure for internees must be the same as for the Relève: “1. The prefect must give a favourable opinion, 2. He must report to the German authorities on the suitability of internees, 3. In case of doubt, inform Vichy, 4. Send a list of those going, to Vichy.”⁹¹ Those who successfully contracted an engagement for voluntary work in Germany were given an allowance of 1,000 francs.⁹²

The recruitment drive seems to have been effective; a list submitted by the commander on 15th January 1943 (following the November/December visits) had 14 names. (See Appendix H).⁹³ Nine out of 14 went, on 30th April 1943, and seven of them were prostitutes, making 78%. On

2008), p.43. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry also notes preparations for the visit of the Kundt Commission at the end of July 1940 and she dates the visit as 4th August. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry, *Justine, une oubliée de Rieucros* (Pont-St-Esprit: La Mirondale, 2007), p.133. *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.129.

⁸⁹ Letter of 17th May 1941 of Vera Goldstein to her husband: censored letters: Mende, Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL) 2 W: 2603.

⁹⁰ This was M Sahn Willy. Letter of 19th April 1942 from the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn referring to the forthcoming recruitment visit of M le Délégué de l’Office de Placement Allemand (Albi) on 21st April 1942: ADT 495 W: 47; Letter of 15th May 1941 no 2429 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADL 2W: 2805. A distinction was made between French and foreign internees.

⁹¹ Note of 10th March 1943 by M le Préfet, Albi, of a telephone call with Vichy of 9th March 1943: ADT 495 W: 47.

⁹² Letter of 4th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 47.

⁹³ Dossier entitled ‘Travail: volontaires pour travailler en Allemagne: candidatures, correspondances, état’, list of 14 volunteers on 15/1/1943, all for Germany: ADT 495 W: 47.

24th May 1943 the commander submitted 30 names; and on 10th July 1943, 19.⁹⁴ There had also been convoys of volunteers departing from the camp on 26th November 1942 and on 5th January 1943.⁹⁵ The promise of food, shelter, a degree of freedom, an escape from the miseries of camp and the possibility of a fresh start, must have been appealing to camp women who “see a way of getting out of the camp...; the mirage of getting better treatment has no doubt played its part,” concluded the commander.⁹⁶ It was largely the prostitutes – shunned and excluded from society, both outside the camp and to some extent within – who responded most readily to the opportunity. This was especially true of those who had already had relations with Occupation troops or shown pro-German sympathies. Richard Vinen asserts that in a list of 28 he cites, only six were prostitutes and that the perception that prostitutes made up a large proportion of volunteers is false.⁹⁷ However, this does not accord with the evidence of the Tarn archives: of the 14 mentioned above, 10 were prostitutes, three were not and one was a vagabond; of the 30 names there were only two non-prostitutes; one was “grounds of internment not yet known”, 25 were prostitutes and two were interned for debauchery; and of the 19 names, 11 were prostitutes plus four “debauchery/very poor conduct”; one was a Gypsy, two “grounds of internment not yet known”, and one economic prisoner. From individual dossiers it appears that all those leaving on 26th November 1942 and 5th January 1943 were actually prostitutes.⁹⁸ It is worth noting that, as earlier at Rieucros, there is no record of health inspections at this time as proof that volunteers were free from disease, an indicator of how desperate the Germans were for volunteer labourers.

There were many reasons why internees volunteered. Each candidate wrote a letter of application to the prefect and while some consisted of little more than a sentence, others elaborated on their motives. Joséphine Troncoso wrote on 2nd February 1943 that she wanted to rejoin her husband in Köln while Alice Ribe wrote “my parents are old... and no resources... By

⁹⁴ Dossier entitled ‘Travail: volontaires pour travailler en Allemagne: candidatures, correspondances, état’: ADT 495 W: 47.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Richard Vinen refers to a list of 28 women from Brens “suited to go to work in Germany” but gives no date. Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (London, New York: Allen Lane Penguin Books, 2006), p.173.

⁹⁶ Fortnightly report of 16th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33.

⁹⁷ *The Unfree French*, p.174.

⁹⁸ Individual dossiers of, for example: Brigitte Geneste; ADT 495 W: 60; Alice Giraudoux; ADT 495 W: 60; Marie Paulhe; ADT 495 W: 65; Andrée Noble; ADT 495 W: 65; Gabrielle Pontzele; ADT 495 W: 65; Marthe Van der Ryt (ép Chateau); ADT 495 W: 68.

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going to work in Germany... help them.”⁹⁹ (Sic). Ennemonde Diard, a surprising candidate since she had been interned for communist sympathies, circumvented usual procedure and merely told the prefect she was going; on 20th January 1943 she received an offer of employment as a “social assistant.”¹⁰⁰ Anti-nationalist Françoise Torrès, however, was refused.¹⁰¹ Thus, although prostitutes, petty criminals and nomads were generally all granted a “favourable opinion”, not everyone who volunteered was accepted. Richard Vinen claims that “some women were... forced to go and such compulsion was especially likely to be applied to...: prostitutes, foreigners, criminals, *inmates of internment camps...*”; this does not, however, seem to have been the case at Brens.¹⁰² (Italics mine). Not all those whose names appeared on the “approved” lists ended up going to Germany; for example out of the 14 mentioned above, only nine actually left in the convoy (of whom seven were prostitutes). Some, such as Marcelle Coche, who had written enthusiastically about working as a “nurse/interpreter” were released shortly afterwards whereas Lucienne Simiand, for example, pulled out at the last minute.¹⁰³ Although no reason was stated for his decision, the commander wrote to the prefect of Tarn in April 1943 that 10 internees, three French and seven foreign, “were ruled out the day before they were due to leave.”¹⁰⁴ Not only could internees withdraw from their arrangements but it was possible to return from Germany. Alice Giraudoux, a prostitute interned on 11th June 1942, left for Germany in the convoy of November 1942, “from where I was sent back...”¹⁰⁵ There are no details about how she accomplished this, but she may have fared better by remaining since she was re-arrested at Marseille on 5th April 1943.

Where an internee had already received the 1,000 francs to which she was entitled, there followed the problem of recovering the money for which the camp treasurer would have to account; the dossier of Françoise Torrès contains considerable correspondence on that point.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Letter of 2nd February 1943 from Alice Ribe to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 47.

¹⁰⁰ She had visited the German Placement Office at Lyon before her internment. Letter of 2nd February 1943 from Ennemonde Diard, Baraque 2, to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 47. She wrote, “j’ai décidé à signer le contrat et je vous en informe respectueusement.”

¹⁰¹ Report of the Chef du Camp de Brens contained in the individual dossier of Françoise Torrès: ADT 495 W: 66.

¹⁰² *The Unfree French*, p.169.

¹⁰³ Individual dossier of Marcelle Coche (ép Monossohn): ADT 495 W: 57. She wrote “with my Russian husband... in four languages”. Individual dossier of Lucienne Simiand: ADT 495 W: 67.

¹⁰⁴ Letter of 4th April 1943 from the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 47.

¹⁰⁵ Individual dossier of Alice Giraudoux: ADT 495 W: 60.

¹⁰⁶ Individual dossier of Françoise Torrès: ADT 495 W: 68.

The money was presumably intended to equip internees; on 21st November 1942, a few days before departure, Mlle Brand, the Red Cross worker, took a group of internees (including Gabrielle Pontzeele and Yvonne Joubert) shopping in Gaillac. However, complaints from shopkeepers revealed that they had shoplifted 1kg of green beans and a pair of clogs. Perhaps because of their impending departure, the commander took no disciplinary action but simply returned the goods.¹⁰⁷

The commander had described a “mirage”. The life of volunteer workers is beyond the scope of this study, but a letter from Herta Neumayer encouraging her former camp-mate to join her gives an interesting insight. Anticipating “a job in a big import company” she had found herself working as an interpreter in a large aircraft factory, which she enjoyed, but shared a room with three French women in a nearby house, which she did not.¹⁰⁸ The food, however, “seemed unreal”: weekly rations of 125g butter, 50g margarine, 500g bread or pastries, 175g jam, 350g meat and 4kg potatoes, as well as vegetables, fish and unlimited sausage.¹⁰⁹ The price came later, but compared with life at camp, living conditions in Germany must have seemed attractive; and Herta perhaps spoke for all the volunteers when she wrote, “I am happy to leave this demeaning life... which has become... repulsive to me.”¹¹⁰

Conclusion

My analysis of the history of prostitution before and during the Occupation in this chapter traces the change from abolitionism to regulation, from moral considerations to sanitation, as registration and health checks were introduced and imposed and health authorities became more involved against the increased threat of venereal disease in time of war. A study of Insa

¹⁰⁷ Witness statements contained in the individual dossier of Gabrielle Pontzeele: ADT 495 W: 65.

¹⁰⁸ Letter of 4th November 1942 from Herta Neumayer to M Giuseppe Neumayer, Trieste, Italy; letter of 23rd December 1942 from Herta Neumayer to Simone Pion, Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 65. Both letters are quoted in the bi-monthly report of 16th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet de Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33.

¹⁰⁹ Letter of 23rd December 1942 from Herta Neumayer to Simone Pion, *Camp de Brens*: ADT 495 W: 65.

¹¹⁰ Letter of 4th November 1942 from Herta Neumayer to M Giuseppe Neumayer, Trieste, Italy, quoted in the bi-monthly report of 16th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet de Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33. Letter of 11th November 1942 from Herta Neumayer to M Jean Debas, Paris: quoted in the bi-monthly report of 16th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet de Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33.

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Meinen's work adds the dimension of German involvement, showing that in the Occupied zone the presence of German troops exacerbated the problem and led to pressure – initiated by the German authorities – to intern prostitutes. The camp at Jargeau was used for this purpose although, as I have shown, the proportion of prostitutes interned there was never as high as at Brens. I went on to discuss the relative roles of French and German authorities in the internment of prostitutes, at first in the Occupied zone and subsequently the whole country, highlighting inherent contradictions in German attitudes.

However, the parameters cited above make it impossible to assess accurately how many prostitutes were interned during the course of the Occupation. Until April 1943 there was no *category* of prostitution in recording grounds for internment; as I have shown, those regarded as prostitutes (with or without evidence) were interned under the grounds of “other reasons”, “dangerous for public security” or “suspect from a national point of view”. My discussion of undesirability highlights that “prostitute” is a wider concept than could conveniently be contained in brothels or similar establishments and, both under the Third Republic and Vichy, the term had connotations of foreignness, femininity, politicisation; that it included those who were deemed to have relinquished the right to be French whether through collaboration with the enemy or through political (chiefly communist) views.

I have shown that exclusion spilled over into camp life as the joint pincers of camp administration and the hostility of other internees squeezed the prostitutes into segregated areas of the camp and separation became an overriding priority in the administration agenda. Little wonder, then, that many took advantage of the opportunity to volunteer for work in Germany; I have demonstrated that a very high proportion of those who went were prostitutes. Inspector Lebegue neatly exposed Vichy's difficulties in his assessment of prostitution in relation to the camps: “The question of prostitution in France... needs to be reviewed in its totality since internment only partially resolves the social implications of this important issue.”¹¹¹ However, M Lebegue does not outline a solution to this “social ill” and, in spite of attempts to redress the problem of overcrowding at Brens in the spring and summer of 1943, and the attempted separation of prostitutes, difficulties at Brens remained.

The culmination of tensions between prostitutes and camp administration came in July 1943 when, at the height of the food shortages, the prostitutes rioted. This incident neatly

¹¹¹ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

encapsulates the contradictions and ironies inherent in the Vichy construct of feminine identity. Women in Paris food queues, discussed by Paula Schwartz, were the epitome of the Vichy concept of femininity: mothers, at whose hands the family (and by extension France), was nourished and whose protests arose out of their inability to fulfil their “providing” role.¹¹² At Brens it was the prostitutes, perceived immoral destroyers of family life, who rose up in protest over food shortages. But it was the voluntary workers for Germany who lived out the protest by absconding – albeit officially – from the camp to take up a new life; they were provided for in a way that had become impossible in German-Occupied France. Ironically it was this protest – and the impossibility of containment and provisioning – that led to the release of the prostitutes in autumn 1943 in what was regarded as an insult by those mothers and long-interned “politicals” left behind.

It is clear from archival sources that prostitutes provoked a reaction partly coloured by the sheer weight of their numbers and resulting pressure on scant resources and sanitation. But the underlying hostility went deeper – not only from the camp authorities, but also the inmates – and reveals a perception of the prostitute as a threat to their position as women. Their demands for segregation, for creating a further category of “other” – sub-feminine, sub-French or even sub-human – are a tragically ironic reflection of the very Vichy values which led to their own incarceration, values which proved stronger than the common bonds of womanhood. As for the authorities, both in the camp and further up the hierarchy, their response to the problem shows a further inversion: that the Vichy values and policy behind the internment of prostitutes were readily abandoned in the face of insurmountable difficulties which required a pragmatic solution. This issue betrays Vichy prejudice and inconsistency perhaps more than any other in the history of Occupation-era France. In the next chapter I examine the effects of many categories of women, including prostitutes, all confined in one legal space, and explore in more detail aspects of the living conditions they endured, considering among other factors, food shortages, medical facilities and mental health issues in the camps.

¹¹² Paula Schwartz, ‘The Politics of Food and Gender in Occupied Paris’, *Modern and Contemporary France*, 7, 1, (1999) 35-45.

Chapter Four

Living Conditions

As two of the three specifically female camps in the Southern zone during the war years, Rieucros and Brens merit detailed investigation.¹ In this chapter I endeavour to bring some insight into the daily lives of the women, drawing heavily on their own correspondence found in individual dossiers as well as official reports in the Lozère and Tarn archives. I ask, what were living conditions like in the camps, particularly with regard to provisioning, health, overcrowding and sanitation? How was accommodation arranged and what were the pressures of living in close proximity with others? Did conditions change over time and were any attempts made to improve them? I set this against the background of the “quotidien” in France generally and also compare conditions with those in other camps, particularly Gurs, where remaining internees were transferred in June 1944.² I examine three main areas; first, food shortages; second, the pressures of living in a mixed community (mixed in terms of nationality, social class, sexual orientation); and third, sanitation, health and available medical treatment. I also consider efforts made by the authorities to improve living conditions.

I argue that 1942 marked a worsening of conditions at the camp. Following the major rupture of the move to Brens in February, food shortages increased over time and rations decreased, until by July 1943 provisions were at starvation level. Although the food shortages endured in the camp in part reflected the situation outside the camps, they were considerably worse than those

¹ The other camp, Vittel, was for British and American female prisoners, but also contained some families.

² Report no 422/2 of 9th June 1944 of Sous-Lieutenant Hivet, Commandant de la Section Gendarmerie de Lavaur. Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 9. Report of November 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

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suffered by free women in the Unoccupied zone; however, they were better than those in some other internment camps.³ The move impacted other aspects of living conditions too: the site was a fraction of the size of Rieucros and built to the very edge, marking an end to rambling or sunbathing in the woods. An inconvenient, hilly but pastoral site had been replaced by regimented buildings in narrow rows and a depressing, limiting outlook of yet more walls. Finally, 1942 marked an intensification of Vichy repression as more categories of internment were added, prostitutes and grey marketeers incarcerated – and the Final Solution penetrated the camps of the Unoccupied zone, leading to increased fear and anxiety among the internees and the second big (horrific) rupture of 1942, the deportations. I assert that although some improvements were brought about by the authorities and outside agencies, the women were subjected to hunger, cold, overcrowding, the pressures of diversity, inadequate provision of health care and sanitation and above all the emotional suffering of incarceration and its resultant separation from all that was familiar. The overriding experience was one of severe bodily privation and mental stress, boredom and humiliation with consequent deleterious effects on the health and well-being of the women interned.

Ideological issues in war-time France became subsumed in the search for daily provisions and the battle for physical survival, although the severity of the situation varied from one area to another depending on what was produced locally and the efficacy of available transport and container facilities. Until the defeat in summer 1940, apart from restrictions on the sale of meat and alcohol, the war had not had a major impact on food supplies, although butchers' shops in Lozère were forced to close on Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays from 21st January 1940, while the purchase of alcohol was forbidden on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays from 24th March.⁴ However, German requisitioning after the armistice and Occupation, along with disruption of transport and loss of access to Atlantic ports for imports, quickly led to food shortages and a system of rationing was introduced on 17th September 1940. The average allowance for French civilians – classified according to age and employment – fell below that of any other occupied country in Europe; according to Dominique Veillon, for Category A consumers (adults aged 21-70) rations in 1940 were around 1327 calories a day.⁵ This category of consumers was allowed 350g of bread daily, 50g of cheese and 300g of meat weekly; and a monthly allowance of: 250g

³ Although Gurs' internees had a ration of 400g of bread in summer 1940, this was rapidly reduced when some remnants were discovered. Hanna Schramm and Barbara Vormeier, *Vivre à Gurs: Un camp de concentration français 1940-1941* (Paris: François Maspero, 1979), p.17.

⁴ The closure of butchers' shops was reported in *La Croix de la Lozère* on 21st January, 1940: Mende, Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL) 1 PER: 212; *La Croix de la Lozère*, 24th March 1940: ADL 1 PER: 212.

of pasta; 200g of fat; 200g of margarine; 500g of sugar and 50g of rice; certain categories – pregnant and breastfeeding mothers and manual workers, for example – received slightly more.⁶ Not only were initial rations set at starvation levels, but as food production decreased due to shortages of labour, fuels, fertilisers and horses, so too did rations.⁷ Potato output fell by 50% during the Occupation, milk by 60%; daily bread rations decreased from 350g in 1940 to 175g in November 1943, while prices rose by over 100%.⁸ Standard rations which began at 1300 calories a day fell to between 1250 and 1100 calories, until in 1944 the decline reached below 1000 a day.⁹

However, rations set for ordinary citizens were far in excess of those allocated to internees. The Hygiene Sub-Committee of the Nîmes Committee made a comparative study in summer 1941 of the relative state of nutrition in the Marseille region and that implemented in the camps.¹⁰ The average daily calorie intake of the free population was 1700 calories (since this was above the official ration level it must have included unofficial supplements), whereas camp inmates consumed on average 800 calories.¹¹ However, the following year Dr Joseph Weill, of the Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants (OSE) in his contemporary report on southern French internment camps, estimated rations for internees at 500 calories a day which he outlined as:

⁵ Kenneth Mouré, 'Food Rationing and the Black Market in France (1940-1944)', *French History*, 24, 2 (June 2010) 262-282, (p.263).

⁶ The meat was on the bone. Category A was the most numerous category. Dominique Veillon, *Vivre et survivre en France, 1939-1947* (Paris: Payot, 1995), p.116. The rations (set by the Occupiers) for Germans resident in France were the same as those allocated to German citizens – 2570 calories a day, almost twice as high as French civilians. 'Food Rationing and the Black Market in France (1940-1944)', p.267.

⁷ Ibid., p.272. Even if rations could be obtained they were inadequate for survival. Alfred Sauvy cites the example of a lawyer who stuck rigidly within the law regarding provisioning, resulting in malnutrition in 1942: Alfred Sauvy, *La Vie Economique des Français de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), p.123.

⁸ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (London, New York: Longman, 1999), p 59.

⁹ Ibid., p.268.

¹⁰ They worked in collaboration with the Rockefeller foundation.

¹¹ Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français 1939-1944* (Paris: La découverte, 1991), p.248, footnote 44, p.373. Dr Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l'Histoire des Camps d'Internement dans l'Anti-France* (Paris: Editions du Centre, Centre de Documentation Juive et Contemporaine, 1946), p.37.

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“Bread, daily: 180-200g; fats?: sugar: 2-3g: meat: 40g ? twice a week: pulses: Jerusalem artichokes, turnips, in soup form: (and) a quart of coffee.”¹² (Sic). So intense was the need for every morsel that Ursula Katzenstein recounts an incident at Rieucros concerning “the *fatal* spilling of coffee” which she and Reina, returning to the place of the spillage, gathered up – *grain by tiny grain*.¹³ (Italics mine). The hyperbole of Ursula’s statement was justified; hunger was a very real problem and many internees could not tolerate the camp diet; “...our food can only be described as sinister... carrots... without anything else.”¹⁴ Vera Traill, however, suggests a definite improvement in living conditions at Rieucros as a result of inmates’ protests: “... we obtained... meat three times a week instead of once...”¹⁵ Certainly, initially, the number of days meat was served at Rieucros corresponded roughly with the days of the week on which restaurants were allowed to include meat products on their menu and the number of days meat was allowed to be purchased.¹⁶ The meat may, however, have continued to be of dubious quality – it was certainly “unfit for human consumption” in the early days of the camp – as illustrated by the case brought against Adrien Perret, a Mende butcher, in April 1939. In his defence, the butcher alleged that the camp authorities offered him such a low price that he was forced to sell them “third category” cuts.¹⁷ It was a far cry from the cornucopia available at “the 122”, the Jamets’ Paris brothel.¹⁸

¹² Dr Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l’Histoire des Camps d’Internement dans l’Anti-France* (Paris: Editions du Centre, Centre de Documentation Juive et Contemporaine, 1946), pp.39-40. This is Dr Weill’s well-known report on internment camps in the southern zone.

¹³ Ursula Katzenstein's diary entry for 28/01/40. Reproduced in Mechtild Giltmer, *Camps de femmes, Chroniques d’Internées, Rieucros et Brens, 1939-1944*, trans. by Nicole Bary (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2000), p.125.

¹⁴ Undated letter of Sylta Busse, *Camps de femmes*, p.189.

¹⁵ Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), p.42. See also: Ursula Katzenstein’s diary entry for 3/08/40, quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.132 for a report of the hunger strike in Barrack 2.

¹⁶ This compared favourably with Thiers prison where, according to Mme Joubert’s son, meat was served only twice a week. Undated letter of 1941 from M Joubert, Thiers prison, to Mme Joubert, Rieucros: censored correspondence: ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹⁷ Certificate of 10th April 1939, Serge Zapalski, Directeur des Services Vétérinaires de la Haute-Loire et de la Lozère: Procès-Verbal, Adrien Perret: dossier entitled ‘Questions Sanitaires’: ADL 2W: 2805.

¹⁸ On one occasion M Jamet covered a side of veal and a whole pig in cloths and passed off his contraband as a sick patient destined for the hospital for infectious diseases in Paris: Fabienne Jamet, trans. by Derek Coltman, *Palace of Secret Sin*, (London: Allen Lane, 1977), p.104.

A reading of one of my main sources for this chapter, internees' individual dossiers, confirms that the reduction in rations in 1941 was reflected in the camp although provisions evidently varied. Antonine Planche complained: "They have reduced our bread ration," which, she claimed, was their principal food stuff. On her re-incarceration at Rieucros in April 1941 after a year in an assigned residence in Mende, Vera Traill implied a total lack of meat on the menu; "The bread ration... was insufficient when unsupported... *by any other solid food*"; furthermore, the morning coffee had turned to hot water.¹⁹ (Italics mine). Mme Combet regretted the mixture of swedes and Jerusalem artichokes: "... even the dogs wouldn't eat it."²⁰ A letter from Mlle Fanny Wisnick to Mme Fernandez in Marseille in May, however, cited the addition of a dessert, jam or fruit and at this time it seems that internees were also receiving a quarter of red wine a day which may have rankled with the local population who envied the suspected luxury of "Château Rieucros" inmates.²¹ The provision of wine was, in any case, not to last; according to Cécile Boissière in November 1941, "for three months we have had no wine."²²

In winter 1941 The Hygiene Sub-Committee of the Nîmes Committee, encouraged by Dr Weill (OSE), Dr René Zimmer of the Unitarian Service Committee (USC) and Maurice Dubois of the Secours Suisse, made another assessment of the level of nutrition in southern internment

¹⁹ Censored letter of 9th March, 1941, from Antonine Planche to Mme Guite Planix. Individual dossier of Antonine Planche: ADT 495 W: 65. *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.225. No reason is given for Vera Traill's release or subsequent re-incarceration. However, a form including four names with hers among them, notes the order for her being in forced residence in Mende. See *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.76. She was there from 26th February 1940 and returned to the camp on 18th April 1941. See *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.225. The reason for her internment is given as "suspecte au point de vue national". 'Etat numérique' of 7th March 1940 from the Préfet de la Lozère to the Ministre de l'Intérieur: ADL 2 W: 2603. She was hospitalised in Montpellier on 22nd December 1939 to 26th February 1940: ADT 495 W: 29. She was transferred to Bompard camp, Marseille, on 21st April 1941 with a view to emigration to England.

²⁰ However, Mme Combet maintained that the standard of food had improved at the time of writing to her husband at St Sulpice-La-Pointe (May 1941). Censored letters: ADL 2 W: 2603. St-Sulpice-La-Pointe in the Tarn was the male equivalent to Brens camp.

²¹ Letter of May 1941 from Mlle Fanny Wisnick to Mme Fernandez in Marseille: Censored letters, ADL 2 W: 2603. *La Croix de la Lozère*, 24th March 1940: ADL 1 PER: 212.

²² Censored letter of 13th November, 1941 from Cécile Boissière to M Gilbert, Aulas: ADT 495 W: 55.

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camps.²³ Their report provoked a shocking response from André Jean-Faure, Inspector General of Camps, in which he agreed with the principle of dispensing extra rations to especially needy internees, but insisted that General Supplies could not effect this since they did not have the necessary raw materials.²⁴ A circular then alerted camp commanders in the Southern zone to a forthcoming visit of doctors representing aid agencies, warning that “under-nourishment is seriously rampant in the camps” and requiring them to make available the food usually given to sick inmates. It continued, “Aid agencies are... devoting their efforts to fighting starvation... for those with a wasting disease; private organizations will take responsibility for additional food” and concluded with the shocking statement that “The state therefore officially *offloads responsibility for them.*”²⁵ (Italics mine). However, thanks to aid agencies, at the end of six months’ intensive attention from a medical and alimentary point of view improvement was found in certain internees’ conditions.²⁶

After the move to Brens the situation seems to have deteriorated. Marie Soenein complained in a letter to the prefect that she had lost 15 kilos in her eight months of internment at Brens, whilst Herta Neumayer wrote, “...to suffer hunger is the most tragic aspect of my situation.”²⁷ In one inspection report Doctor Ferrié – who had moved with the camp – was criticised for not noticing that a five year old Spanish girl had lost three kilos during her three month internment.²⁸ Marcelle Gandon claimed they had, in fact, very little to eat: “in the evenings a spoonful of water which they call soup,” whilst Ennemonde Diard described “prison fare: a clear broth (with) vegetables.”²⁹ The menu (reproduced in Appendix J) consisted mainly of soup which Simone Baudinet later praised after the inclusion of Jerusalem artichokes, claiming that it

²³ An inspection of Rieucros camp had been made by the Croix-Rouge represented by Dr Cremer on 28th September, 1941. *Les camps de la honte*, p.248.

²⁴ They were waiting for the “generous support” of aid agencies. *Ibid.*, p.247.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.245 & p.247.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.249.

²⁷ Letter of 17th June 1942, from Marie Soenein (vve Bellinzona) to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 68. The weight loss was not helped by the recent death of her husband. Letter of 4th November 1942, contained in an official report, from Herta Neumayer to M et Mme Giuseppe Neumayer, Italy: ADT 495 W: 33.

²⁸ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

²⁹ Letter of 11th November 1942, from Marcelle Gandon to Mme Gandon: ADT 495 W: 60. Undated letter from Ennemonde Diard to M Talière in St Etienne, quoted in the monthly report of November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

was complemented with cheese and jam; the general consensus three months later, however, was “the broth is too thin”.³⁰

The availability of produce affected provisioning in the local area and in the camp. In 1943 there was a total lack of milk and potatoes in Gaillac and a dearth of meat in Tarn, although some must have been available on the black market since MM Jamet, Mijouls and Armel were suspended from the staff at Brens for illegal slaughter.³¹ In April 1943 an inspector’s report listed food rations at Brens as: 1.5kg of green vegetables and 10g of fat daily; 700g of meat and 200g of cheese per month. Bread, sugar and coffee were distributed according to regimented rations, along with three litres of red wine a month with the possibility of an additional litre of white wine.³² In terms of cheese, the amount was in line with the 1940 French rations, but both fat and meat were about a third. Even so, this represents more than twice as much meat as Dr Weill’s 1942 estimate of internees’ rations. It seems, then, that by 1943, however bad the situation appeared to internees, rations at Brens exceeded those at other camps.

However, the fare of Brens internees was more meagre than those outside the camp. This difference would be even greater if the “unofficial” provisions available to Tarn inhabitants are included in the equation. As the situation worsened towards summer 1943 internees became more dependent on food parcels (and during the bread crisis, bread coupons) from outside and also, for those who could afford it, the thriving black market – centred around the infirmary – within the camp.³³ The infirmary cook, internee Françoise Rimère, with the tacit consent of the infirmary nurse, Mme Foubert, was selling sick patients’ rations to well-off internees.³⁴ Mme

³⁰ Letter of January 1943 of Simone Baudinet, quoted on 15th January 1943 in a Rapport du Chef du Camp de Brens (Etat 7): ADT 495 W: 33. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

³¹ Later, at Brens camp it was the Red Cross worker who delivered milk for children to the camp, the locality having virtually run dry by this time. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

³² Ibid. These figures were reported to the camp inspector by the “chefs de baraques” (“barrack leaders”).

³³ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens, p.8: ADT 495 W: 7. To alleviate the bread crisis in 1943, families were allowed to send bread tickets in parcels to internees.

³⁴ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7. Françoise Rimère had been interned at Rieucros in November 1940: ADT 495 W: 66. She stayed in Mme Foubert’s house after her release from Brens, en route to an

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Rimère also stole from patients' food parcels; for instance, a chicken portion which she sold for 100 francs and 50g of bread for 15 francs.³⁵ Mme Foubert was the conduit of supplies for the wealthy British aviator Marcelle Sintrain-Neumegen, interned for possession of drugs and suspected of arms trafficking. She acquired supplies – for instance eggs, cutlets and tobacco, which was illegal in the camp – from the latter's fiancé in Toulouse, returning to the camp with the contraband. Marcelle Sintrain made cigarettes which Panek (Barrack 3) and Burdet sold on to internees Fournier and Reguina, both prostitutes from Barrack 18, for eight francs each.³⁶ They would then be sold on to their compatriots at the rate of about a ten cigarettes a day.³⁷ Sintrain's excessive spending was thought to be a contributory factor to the extraordinary success of the black market at Brens; it was subsequently decided to limit internees' spending to an astonishing 350 francs per week. It was, then, not only Tarn housewives who could supplement their inadequate rations by illegal means. But their starting point was completely different; although both groups were affected by scarcities and rationing, local women were free to queue, to barter, to enlist the help of family or friendly farmers, whereas for internees the basic ration was lower and only the wealthy few could use the black market or even buy vegetables from the camp shop.³⁸

The administration and food shortages at Brens camp

In spite of the internees' perception, the Inspector General of Camps had reported in August 1942: "On the whole, the food (at Brens) is healthy and substantial," although every meal basically consisted of soup, and "whenever opportunity permits, fish and meat"; menus for July even featured red wine three times a week.³⁹ However, "The provisioning of the camp is quite assigned residence in Le Vigan in Cévennes. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Panek had been Marcelle Sintrain's housekeeper. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7. No first name is mentioned in the report for the former or any other of these participants and they have no individual dossiers.

³⁷ Reguina paid a Spanish guard 95 francs for a packet of cigarettes – the selling-on price is not reported, but at 10 francs a piece she would make over 100 francs profit. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

³⁸ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.225.

³⁹ Report of 17th August 1942 by M Jean-Faure, Inspecteur Général des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire: ADT 495 W: 7.

difficult and is organised on a day to day basis"; this meant that there were no stocks and the camp was essentially only ever one day away from starvation. The difficulties would be compounded in the ensuing months as the year 1943 brought more severe shortages and by summer 1943 the provisions of April, when the menu had included pasta, chick-peas, sardines, dried figs, dates and bananas, must have seemed quite luxurious.⁴⁰ The deterioration was the result of a culmination of factors. Internally, numbers at the camp had risen steadily from 367 in March 1943 to 472 in September. Externally, the prolonged dry spell which coincided with this period had a catastrophic effect on the harvest, while such food as was produced was increasingly requisitioned for the "war effort". Bureaucratic inconsistency and inept distribution along with a thriving black market – which Kenneth Mouré asserts was fuelled by Vichy's price controls and rationing policy – exacerbated the situation.⁴¹

During the desperate summer of 1943, the commander – who had already been augmenting rations from General Supplies by buying from local wholesalers – tried every avenue at his disposal to bolster supplies.⁴² However, increased shortages coupled with the introduction of new vegetable ration cards in Gaillac left him "with the... impossibility of calling on... fresh vegetable suppliers in the future."⁴³ Furthermore, stocks of dried food had been exhausted and on 9th July 1943 the camp manager reported that he had only four days' supply left to feed the camp – with no prospect of further provisions of dried vegetables or conserves.⁴⁴ The commander repeatedly pleaded for supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables; while the Departmental Delegate for Fruit and Vegetables was not able to oblige, he was assured that his request had been forwarded to the Central Committee for Provisioning of Potatoes, Garlic and Onions.⁴⁵ Although the immediate crisis was alleviated by a delivery of supplies, there were no

⁴⁰ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴¹ 'Food Rationing and the Black Market in France (1940-1944)', pp.262-282.

⁴² This had not been authorised by his superiors. Report of 17th August 1942 by M Jean-Faure, Inspecteur Général des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire: ADT 495 W: 7. Letter of 12th July 1943 of the Délégué Départemental de Fruits et Légumes to l'Intendant, Directeur de Ravitaillement du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁴³ Letter of 9th July 1943 of the Chef-Adjoint to the Gestionnaire du Camp de Brens to the Directeur Départemental de Fruit et Légumes: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ This request eventually produced 200kgs of onions and 330kgs of tinned vegetables for the month of August. Letter of 12th July 1943 of the Comité Départemental de Ravitaillement de Fruits et Légumes to the Chef du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Brens: ADT 495 W: 8.

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reserve stocks (the list of provisions drawn up by the camp manager needed to create such a reserve had been described as “fantasy” by the authorities) and the serious situation was ongoing.⁴⁶ Once again the commander took matters into his own hands. He found a supplier in Dordogne willing to provide fresh vegetables and also tried to acquire provisions from Pyrénées-Orientales; however, in both cases the necessary authorisations from General Supplies via local prefects were not forthcoming and supplies were blocked by the bureaucratic chain; in any case there was a complete dearth of suitable containers.⁴⁷ The commander sought authorisation from the prefect of Tarn to buy directly from producers throughout the department, although the result of this application is not known.⁴⁸ In desperation, M Faggianelli had also sent a pleading telegram to the Central Body for the Purchase of Standard Commodities (OCADO) on 3rd August 1943, the outcome of which was affiliation with OCADO of Castres which then became the official supplier of the camp.⁴⁹ The switch to OCADO does not seem to have alleviated the situation; M Faggianelli complained that he had only received 1,300 kg of tomatoes from them in August, which was “insufficient to feed Brens Camp” and inadequate supplies to provide “complete meals” in September.⁵⁰ M Faggianelli, however, proved himself to be ahead of the trend. The Administration, both at departmental and government level, sought ways to improve the provisioning situation. Aware of the difficulties of provisioning the camps in certain regions (and presumably unaware of M Faggianelli’s lack

⁴⁶ Letter 2944VI/SS (courrier réservé) of 12th August 1943 of the Intendant Directeur Départemental du Ravitaillement to the Préfet du Tarn: Objet: Approvisionnement du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁴⁷ Letter HL/GB no 131 of 21st August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8. Letter LF/GV no 5422 of 30th August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8. Letter LF/GV no 5422 of 30th August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁴⁸ Letter of 27th September 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8. The Red Cross and the Secours Suisse helped with food supplies at the camp – usually dried goods, including dried milk – throughout the shortages of this summer; special treats were distributed at Christmas. ADT 494 W: 7.

⁴⁹ Telegram of 3rd August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to OCADO: ADT 495 W: 8. The “Organe Centrale d’Achats de Denrées Ordinaires” was the army supplier. OCADO at Toulouse already supplied the camp at St Sulpice and was the camp commander’s preferred supplier but Brens was apparently outside the area covered by Toulouse.

⁵⁰ Letter no 5423 of 30th August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Directeur de Ravitaillement Général at Albi: ADT 495 W: 8. Letter of 27th September 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

of success), the Secretary of State for Agriculture decided to use OCADO as the supplier for all internment camps because of the difficulties of acquiring supplies through wholesalers.⁵¹

The rations at Brens at this time must have been lower than those accorded to judicial prisoners since, when the provisioning situation finally improved in January 1944, the commander (now M Errard) attributed this to the passing of legislation granting administrative internees the same rations as judicial prisoners.⁵² The resulting increased provision of bread, sugar, oil and meat as well as potatoes, fresh and dried vegetables and pasta had assured the feeding of the internees and obviated the need to have recourse to local suppliers. As a good example of women's agency, this measure had been suggested to Inspector Lebegue in April 1943 by communist internee Mme Valignat and was passed in September that year, but the bureaucratic tangle at Vichy had hindered its implementation; not even the Secretary General of Police was aware of the new legislation until November 1943.⁵³ The arrival of M Errard had breathed new life into the battle for supplies; he agitated to acquire three tons of potatoes from St Paul d'Eyjeaux, 400 kg biscuits from Gurs and three pigs from Noé.⁵⁴ He also insisted on implementing the extra ration entitlement for personnel which had previously been refused.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Letter of 28th October 1943 of the Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Agriculture to the Directeur Départemental du Ravitaillement Général of the Isère, Saône-et-Loire, Basses-Alpes, Bouches-du-Rhône, Haute-Vienne, Creuse, Tarn, Ariège, Basses-Alpes and Haute-Garonne: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁵² Letter no 1368 D/Sg of 15th March 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre de l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général au Maintien de l'Ordre, Direction et Administration Général des Camps d'Internement: Bureau de Matériel; Objet: ravitaillement Camp de Brens: réf Votre note no 378 Pol. Camp 2 du 3 Mars 1944: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁵³ Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7. Letter of 15th November 1943 of the Conseiller d'Etat, Secrétaire Général à la Police, Direction des Services Techniques to the Préfet du Tarn: Objet: ravitaillement des camps: ADT 495 W: 8; letter of 3rd March 1944 of the Secrétaire Général au Maintien d'Ordre, Direction Générale de la Police Nationale to the Chef du Camp de Brens: Objet: ravitaillement des Camps Internées: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁵⁴ Letter of 28th January 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Inspecteur Général des Camps: Objet: demandes de cession de pommes de terre: ADT 495 W: 8. Letter of 3rd February 1944 of the Chef du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Brens to the Inspecteur Général des Camps, Vichy: Objet: Cession de Vivres: Ref no 497/D: ADT W: 8; report of 17th August 1942 of M Jean-Faure, Inspecteur Général des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁵⁵ Letter no 1368 D/SG of 15th March 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général au Maintien de l'Ordre, Direction et Administration Général des

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The daily struggle to provide food from scant resources to keep starvation at bay exercised successive commanders and in this they reflected the overriding obsession of women throughout France who battled hunger and the daily anxiety of looming famine, trying to feed their families in conditions similar to those at Brens. The commanders were energetic in pursuing every avenue to scavenge supplies for both internees and personnel, but as has been demonstrated, Vichy authorities often blocked rather than supported their efforts. For the women themselves, comparisons with those in other situations were of little comfort as they summoned the will to endure the rigours and suffering of camp life.

The physical environment and the mixed community

Although inmates were from diverse backgrounds and nationalities, all were subject to the same conditions, restrictions and regime of camp life. In this section, after outlining the physical environment, I examine that diversity and its effect: did it increase the pressures of internment or was the cohesion of certain groups a source of strength and encouragement? I argue that whereas bonds of nationality and belief influenced behaviour, it was ultimately the fact of incarceration itself which most impacted the women's response. Vera Traill opens her book with the dramatic assertion: "The camp stood on a mountain:" however, in contrast to the beauty of the surrounding countryside, it actually consisted of a few rotten wooden barracks "arranged in groups... on different levels."⁵⁶ On arrival at Rieucros, inmates were provided with: one straw mattress, one blanket, one prison dress, one pair of clogs, one night dress, one tin dish, one tin mug and a new chamber pot.⁵⁷ However, by November 1941, Odette Capiion was complaining of "the lack of shoes"; whether this referred to the above-mentioned clogs or leather shoes, like the ones photographed by Ursula Katzenstein which she entitled "La

Camps d'Internement: Bureau de Matériel: Objet: Ravitaillement Camp de Brens: votre réf. note no 378 Pol Camp of 3rd March 1944: ADT 495 W: 8.

⁵⁶ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.7. "In reality it was just a few wooden barracks eaten away with damp, encircled by a barbed wire fence"; Michel Del Castillo, *Tanguy* (Paris: Julliard, 1957), p.27. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry, *Justine, une oubliée de Rieucros* (Pont-St-Esprit: La Mirondale, 2007), p.82.

⁵⁷ Philippe Joutard, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.63. The chamber pot was "made in Germany". The mattress was a "paillasse", described by Vera Traill: "Palliasses were laid out on the boards. They contained a thin layer of damp straw, and as the sacks were made of coarse and very shabby material; the straw stuck through and pricked you." (Sic) *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.13.

Cordonnerie”, is unclear.⁵⁸ New inmates were also confronted with a formidable set of rules which stupefied new arrivals and were so extensive that wardresses often turned a blind eye to miscreants.⁵⁹ As for the daily routine, it must have been humiliating, irksome and physically uncomfortable to be summoned for roll call five times a day – in fact friends of former internee Marie-Thérèse Lamart cited “roll call” as part of the suffering from which she was now free; it took place at 7am (later 7.30), noon, 4pm, 7pm and 10pm.⁶⁰ However, the rigidly structured day must have provided some relief from the deadly timelessness of camp life in contrast to La Petite Roquette prison where part of the torture of the daily regime – which consisted of sitting on stools in silence with no clocks or watches – lay in not knowing whether there were two or 10 hours left to endure.⁶¹

At Rieucros women were originally lodged in different barracks according to nationality; Ursula Katzenstein maintained that Barrack 3 was for Germans and Barrack 1 for Poles although Sylta Busse says the Germans joined the Poles in Barrack 6 after the reshuffle at the end of March 1940.⁶² Since both Germans and Poles were numerous, it is possible that they each straddled two barracks. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry asserted that Spanish women were in one barrack, a fact upheld by Lucie River who lamented their departure from her barrack (7).⁶³ From April 1940 inmates were housed according to both nationality and grounds for internment; however, the division in the various barracks could be arbitrary: although there were barracks for “Politicals”, criminals, prostitutes and spies, some of the women in the political barracks were unmistakably prostitutes and “communists could easily be lodged in the criminals’ barracks”.⁶⁴ There was not always room in the appropriate barrack; for instance, when describing the arrival of Dorothea,

⁵⁸ Letter of 13th November 1941 from Odette Capion to M Léonard at Montpellier. Censored letters: ADL 2W: 2603. Ursula Katzenstein photographed two women making shoes in an unnamed camp, presumably Rieucros. The undated photograph is reproduced in *Camps de femmes*, p.99. Internees were also complaining about the lack of shoes at Brens. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁵⁹ The rules were common to all camps and posted on the doors of the barracks: *Les camps de la honte*, p.252. See Appendix R.

⁶⁰ Letter of 11th August 1942 from Clementina, Santos and three other illegible signatures: individual dossier of Marie-Thérèse Simon (ép Lamart): ADT 495 W: 67. Monthly report of October 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁶¹ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.38.

⁶² Ursula Katzenstein’s diary for 29/03/1940, quoted in: *Camps de femmes*, p.127 and p.74.

⁶³ *Justine*, p.109. Lucie River, quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.74.

⁶⁴ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.22.

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Vera Traill claimed the latter was staying in the infirmary “till a palliasse could be found for her in the ‘spies’ barracks”.⁶⁵ The arrival of 81 internees arrested in June 1940 under the rubric “not yet known” must have confused the situation.⁶⁶ The inmates made a joke about the occupants of Barrack 15, nicknaming the *cas divers* (miscellaneous cases), the *cas d’hiver* (winter cases): this might have been an invidious comment about the haphazard nature of internment or a reference to this barrack’s enviable temperature.⁶⁷ There certainly seem to have been differences in the comfort levels of the barracks as is demonstrated by Lucie River’s comments on the “Thieves, back-street abortionists, pimps, traffickers in drugs or girls” of Barrack 1 and the “*femmes de luxe* of Barrack 19”, who had “the privilege of living in a building which is warm in winter and cool in summer.”⁶⁸ Later, at Brens, the prefect of Tarn informed the Secretary General of Police that there were 10 barracks divided into: two for Politicals; two for Spanish (one for those with children); one for black market prisoners (French and foreign), one for “various reasons” or “not yet known”; one “condemned at common law”; one and a half barracks for prostitutes, half a barrack for arrivals awaiting classification and one barrack housing a workshop.⁶⁹

Brens “was restricted to women... of doubtful morals. Perfectly honourable women were (also) found there...”; in fact the inmates were from very diverse backgrounds; “representatives of every race... mentality and social class were gathered there.”⁷⁰ Certainly some internees were perceived as part of an elite, superior to the others: Walter Tritsch, historian of the Catholic Church, complained that his Polish wife was being held in Barrack 9 among “truly undesirable” foreign prisoners.⁷¹ Similarly, the exemplary Clare Abelas was being considered as a foreigner worthy of clemency; the Hungarian Minister at Vichy was her personal champion and her father

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ The prefect’s weekly statistics for June 1940: ADL 2 W: 2603.

⁶⁷ *Camps de femmes*, p.73. The miscellaneous cases were women without papers, petty thieves and low-level prostitutes.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Letter no 7416 of 27th March 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire Général de la Police: ADT 495 W: 45. It is perhaps confusing that the commander reported in April 1943 that there were 13 barracks with 42 beds in each. Letter no 2121 of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁷⁰ *Contribution à l’Histoire des Camps d’Internement dans l’Anti-France*, p.69. In no way do I wish to imply that class has anything to do with moral probity. “Comme on peut s’y attendre j’ai échoué dans un milieu si mélangé quelques échantillons de toutes les races, les religions, les mentalités, les classes sociales sont réunis ici”. Censored letter from B. Perry to Marthe Levy, May 1941: ADL 2 W: 2603. The exact date is not given.

was a Hungarian judicial councillor.⁷² Prominent French families were also represented: for example, Jeanne de la Poix de Fréminville of Château de Messey-sur-Grosne and heiress Antoinette Goldschmidt, while Jewish Janine Lang was the daughter of a well-known industrialist; interned for trafficking gold, she had studied at the Faculty of Law in Strasbourg and held a diploma from the School of Commerce.⁷³ Other prominent intellectual or wealthy prisoners included Lucienne Arbos, a Jewish intellectual; Esther Goloubkine, a doctor of chemical science and the pilot, Eileen Forbes of Château Noir in Aix-en-Provence where Paul Cézanne had previously rented a room.⁷⁴ Lydia Kalé, local Red Cross president was a founder of “Friends of the USSR”; her husband held the “War Cross” and was a member of the “Legion of Honour”; Marguerite Wysocka’s father was director of a petroleum plant and her husband had associations with the Belgian consul.⁷⁵ Madeleine Faraut’s husband was “Honorary Registration Receiver” at Nice, who used his long-standing friendship with a member of the National Council as a lever to get his wife released from the camp.⁷⁶

On the other end of the social spectrum were common law criminals, Gypsies, nomads – many of whom had been expelled from their home region for disruptive behaviour – for instance, Jeanne Blanc, a refugee interned for bad conduct and sent to Brens from Noé who got drunk with her guard on the way back from the town hall. Anna Bee was also interned for drunkenness, Rose Casson for violence and begging, and then there were the prostitutes, already considered.⁷⁷ In between were those interned simply because their identity papers were not in

⁷¹ Undated letter from Walter Tritsch to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 45. His wife had been acquitted by a military tribunal of any offence.

⁷² Letter GM/ JP no. 1747: no. 688 of 23rd May 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: Objet: Internées marquantes susceptibles de faire l’objet d’un examen bienveillant. Réf. Votre lettre no. 252-1/3 du 15 mai 1942: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁷³ Individual dossier of Jeanne de la Poix de Fréminville (ép Joubert) ADT 495 W: 58; individual dossier of Antoinette Goldschmidt (div Derveaux): ADT 495 W: 60; individual dossier of Janine Lang (ép Abramowitz): ADT 495 W: 62. The latter had won first prize at the Conservatory of Dramatic Art.

⁷⁴ Individual dossier of Lucienne Arbos (ép Bloch): ADT 495 W: 53; individual dossier of Esther Goloubkine (ép Stern): ADT 495 W: 60; ‘Notice individuelle’ of 14th September 1942 for Eileen Forbes: ADT 495 W: 59. She held a pilot’s licence.

⁷⁵ Individual dossier of Lydia Kalé (also Kahle) (ép Joubert) ADT 495 W: 62; Marguerite Wysocka (ép Geoffroy): ADT 495 W: 69.

⁷⁶ Individual dossier of Madeleine Faraut: ADT 495 W: 59. The councillor was M Léon Baréty.

⁷⁷ Individual dossiers: ADT 495 W: 54; ADT 495 W: 54; and ADT 495 W: 56, respectively.

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order, such as Marthe Deiner at Rieucros, or those like Simone Force caught up in a police round up.⁷⁸ Dr Weill's assessment of "Assortments of disparate groups... in the punitive camps" where he noted criminals placed alongside harmless people who had fallen under suspicion because of an anonymous letter or a concierge's denunciation, could equally apply to the women's camps.⁷⁹ Dora Schaul reveals her prejudice against certain "characters" in Rieucros who, she maintained, made co-habitation in narrow spaces difficult, for example: "Cali, a gypsy (or) Maria Sevenich dressed as a nun, whom they nicknamed 'the saint'" and the violent kleptomaniac, Jeanne Le Bars.⁸⁰ Although Yadwiga's complaint – "What I find most painful of all... is the close proximity ('promiscuité') of other inmates" – provoked cruel amusement among some internees, since Yadwiga was a prostitute, her sentiment was no doubt shared by other inmates.⁸¹

Vera Traill's definition of proximity was more detailed: "How well you can stand unceasing... noise, people treading on your feet, depends upon your powers of physical endurance."⁸² I would add that this may also depend on powers of emotional endurance. Cramped conditions made privacy impossible at Rieucros; according to Lenka Reinerová, "In the overcrowded barracks one can't ever be alone."⁸³ The tumultuous atmosphere of the camp threads through Sylta Busse's letters in a tapestry of complaint: "it is just necessary... to overcome the... lack of concentration."⁸⁴ Women with different outlooks, priorities and sexual orientation were incarcerated under the same roof, sometimes with resultant prejudice from other inmates. Inspector Lebegue later reported twenty couples spread over six barracks at Brens in April 1943 after a delicate enquiry in response to a complaint from an anonymous source.⁸⁵ Perhaps the

⁷⁸ Individual dossier of Marthe Deiner: ADL 2 W: 2603; individual dossier of Simone Force (vve Markon): ADT 495 W: 59.

⁷⁹ Dr Weill's May 1941 report was later given to Pétain by Cardinal Gerlier. Quoted in: Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001), p.178.

⁸⁰ *Philippe Joutard, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.64; individual dossier of Jeanne Le Bars: ADT 495 W: 62.

⁸¹ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.12. The name is likely to have been changed.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.40.

⁸³ Letter of Lenka Reinerová quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.156.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Report of 30th April 1943 by the Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

sleeping arrangements were the most trying aspect of camp life; Sylta Busse's first impression of Rieucros was coloured by recognising "Hélène Maywald sitting... a few mattresses away...".⁸⁶ Opinion varies as to the average number of inmates sleeping in individual barracks; Dora Schaul mentions "about 60"; Vera Traill cites the figure of 80 per barrack and "one woman per 25 by 65 inches of wooden board to live on..." and the tight space in which inmates were forced to sleep: "you had to lie quite straight – unless by special... agreement with your neighbour you were allowed to bend your knees into her bended knees".⁸⁷ However, at Brens, Augustine Bruchlen, describing her sleeping arrangements, claimed that her "cell-mates" – the name given to a group sharing the "box" arrangement of metal beds – were "touchingly" kind to her; by contrast with Rieucros her barrack apparently contained 37 women and she shared her cubicle with two others.⁸⁸ It is worth noting the contrast with Gurs where the 145 internees transferred from Brens in June 1944 refused to sleep in the lice and rat-infested barrack, spending the night outside instead.⁸⁹

While the close proximity in which they lived involved discomfort and inevitable clashes, there was also a solidarity among certain groups; the communists, for example, formed themselves into cells, while in other cases nationality was the bond. According to the sources, this was strongest among the Spanish, a fact corroborated by Scott Soo in his fascinating study of Spanish internees in southern French camps. Ursula Katzenstein's claim that in Barrack 7, "you heard songs sung by the international brigades when they were setting off for battle," suggests that politics might have been a binding element here too, although a shared language and culture must have played a part.⁹⁰ From available evidence other nationalities do not seem to have had the same level of camaraderie as the Spanish women; and Jewish prisoners (French or foreign) did not noticeably form any particular bond apart from political affiliations.

⁸⁶ Letter of 25th February 1940, quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.90.

⁸⁷ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.63; *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.12.

⁸⁸ Although the night before writing to Léon Jouhaux she had not slept and tears had failed to relieve her of "all my heart is full of and which hurts me." Letter of 11th January 1943 from Augustine Bruchlen to Léon Jouhaux, Evaux-les-Bains: ADT 495 W: 55. By April 1943 the number of beds in the barracks was reported to be 42, therefore we can conclude that this barrack was not full. Letter no 2121 of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

⁸⁹ Report no 422/2 of 9th June 1944 of Sous-Lieutenant Hivet, Commandant de la Section Gendarmerie de Lavaur: ADT 495 W: 9.

⁹⁰ *Camps de femmes*, p.74.

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However, whatever the bonds between them, whether nationality or belief, politics or social class, the fight for individual survival – “aggressive self-defence from the other five hundred and ninety-nine” – was paramount.⁹¹ Dora Schaul recalled: “Among... women classed as ‘criminals’... brawls often broke out”; even in her barrack, where the occupants tried to preserve decorum, tensions might erupt during the bread distribution.⁹² One wonders if there were scenes resembling that described by Hanna Schramm at Gurs, questioning if she had “fallen among savages” because “the cries (were) so violent that you thought they wanted to kill each other”; similarly Lou, a communist internee at Rieucros, lamented inmates descending into animality.⁹³ A physical fight was reported by Inspector Aybalen on 17th December 1942 in Barrack 17: “An argument broke out, followed by reciprocal blows.”⁹⁴ Andrée Leidvanget, a prostitute internee, and Mireille Brailly had a set-to when the former hung a sanitary towel outside Mireille’s window to dry. The punishment inflicted by the commander was three days for each participant in solitary confinement; the isolation block was, however, furnished and well lit.⁹⁵ Querying whether the conflict was a result of being in a women’s camp or a result of being foreigners – “exile squared, exile multiplied” – Vera Traill concluded that people were not cut out for internment.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Vera Traill’s estimate of the number of prisoners at Rieucros camp is exaggerated. In fact, the maximum number of inmates in the camp, taken from the monthly report of M Baleste the Chef du Camp to the Prefect of Lozère was 570 in July 1940, a statistic which conflicts, however, with the Kundt report quoted by Barbara Vermeier, which gives the figure as 503. (Quoted in a note in Asher Cohen, *Persécutions et sauvetage: Juifs et Français sous L’Occupation et sous Vichy* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1993), p.93. The date of this estimate was September, 1940, however). See the numbers of internees taken from camp statistics in Appendix E.

⁹² Ursula Katzenstein’s diary entry for 3/08/40: quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.132: *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.72.

⁹³ *Les camps de la honte*, pp.83-84; *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.65; *Vivre à Gurs*, p.43; *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.26. The name “Lou” is likely to be fictitious, though Vera Traill’s book is based on real people and situations.

⁹⁴ Letter of 17th December 1942 of Inspecteur Aybalen to the Chef du Camp de Brens: Obj: Les internées Leidvanget, Andrée et Brailly, Mireille: ADT 495 W: 63.

⁹⁵ The verdict of the Chef du Camp de Brens is marked in bold ink on the letter. Letter of 17th December 1942 of Inspecteur Aybalen to the Chef du Camp de Brens: Obj: Les internées Leidvanget, Andrée et Brailly, Mireille: ADT 495 W: 63. Report of 30th April 1943 of M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁹⁶ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.26.

Sanitation, health and medical treatment in the camps.

In this section, after outlining the sanitary conditions that prevailed in the camps, I examine the physical and mental health of internees. I argue that cramped conditions, cold, damp and lack of nutrition took their toll but that unlike other camps – for instance, Récébédou – the administration attempted to improve medical facilities. Dora Schaul’s assessment that when it was raining at Rieucros, “the latrines were impossible to reach” echoes reports of Vernet which “became transformed into a mud bath after... (rain);” by contrast, in summer, “Rieucros stream... was... dried up.”⁹⁷ Although Dora perceived that “sanitary conditions left much to be desired,” Sylta Busse claimed “the loos were all right...”; she also claimed to have had three blankets.⁹⁸ Later, Ennemonde Diard was less impressed with facilities at Brens, claiming they washed in the *one* available chamber pot and “wee in a corner by the big stove.”⁹⁹ Although sanitary conditions at Rieucros were better than those in other camps, there were still the inevitable illnesses which accompany malnutrition and crowded living conditions. However, whereas in the so-called “hospital camp” of Noé, where the only medical equipment available in summer 1941 was a blood pressure machine and medical treatment was often no more than a façade, at Rieucros there was a genuine infirmary.¹⁰⁰

The Rieucros infirmary had 23 beds, two isolation rooms, a doctor and a nurse. Patients would be examined during the first 48 hours of their stay and appropriate action taken in the case of severe illnesses. According to Sylta Busse the doctor made a visit to the camp every eight days; patients in the infirmary were allowed visits every day and a special diet if necessary.¹⁰¹ In the hospital at Gurs in June 1939 there were 200 beds and two isolation rooms for the contagious or gravely ill and an infirmary in every block, though conditions were no more comfortable than in the main barracks.¹⁰² According to Vera Traill, conditions improved at the Rieucros infirmary as a result of inmates’ protests: “The door was left open at night, the sick got hot water... for

⁹⁷ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.65; *Les camps de la honte*, p.83.

⁹⁸ Letter of 25th February 1940: quoted in *Les camps de la honte*, p.90. “I had been allocated a mattress, a sleeping bag, three blankets, dishes and cutlery, everything clean and proper.”

⁹⁹ Undated letter (presumably November 1942) from Ennemonde Diard to M Laste, St Chammond, quoted in the monthly report of November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁰⁰ *Les camps de la honte*, p.210. Anne Grynberg is quoting from the “Rapport moral du directeur du camp de Noé” dated 3rd June 1941, although her text reads “September 1941”. Conditions in Récébédou, another “hospital camp”, were no better.

¹⁰¹ *Justine*, p.148.

¹⁰² *Les camps de la honte*, p.155.

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washing;” they also had more blankets.¹⁰³ Ursula Katzenstein recorded a stay in the infirmary from 17th May 1940 with a case of phlebitis – “at the infirmary, we spend our days in bed.”¹⁰⁴ Françoise Seuzaret-Barry also described a stay there in autumn 1940 when she suffered from “camp sickness”, described by Sylta Busse as “this ghastly dysentery accompanied by a high fever”; after treatment, Justine, though weakened, returned to her barrack; she mentioned in passing that Sylta Busse had hepatitis, perhaps a result of the earlier jaundice she had suffered from in March.¹⁰⁵

Both aid agencies and the camp inspectorate monitored conditions at the camp and were involved in efforts to improve them. On 9th January 1941 an agreement was reached between the minister of the Interior, General Inspection of Camps Division and the Delegation of the French Red Cross, clarifying the role of the latter in improving conditions in internment camps, though it was not until April that the mechanism of the General Inspectorate was set in motion and September before a law was passed detailing its official mandate.¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, Mme Joly, Red Cross Committee President in Mende, was nominated as inspector for Rieucros; along with the district chief, M Rouquet, she was in charge of inspecting the organisation and condition of the Rieucros infirmary. The camp doctor’s official report for May 1941 stated that the infirmary was in a satisfactory condition and Mme Laplana, writing to Josefa Ulied at Argelès in May 1941, reported that they were regularly given clean sheets and gowns and “the hygiene is excellent”.¹⁰⁷ This assessment contrasts sharply with Gurs internee Dr Ludwig’s report of extreme filth and “no medical equipment... at our disposal.”¹⁰⁸ However, as with all aspects of camp life, internees’ perceptions of the Rieucros infirmary varied; Vera Traill recounted the story of Elsa who had been in a German camp where she had received no treatment for a chronic ovarian disease after she admitted to being a communist; however, she was left in the infirmary for the entire length of her stay: “it was warm, clean... the food was tolerable.” She went on, “Here I lie in filth... and feed on turnips twice a day” (recalling Vera’s

¹⁰³ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.42.

¹⁰⁴ Inflammation of the veins: *Camps de femmes*, p.129.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.104-5. Undated letter, *Justine*, p.148. She had also been taken to the infirmary with gall bladder trouble. Letter of Sylta Busse dated 31st March 1940: quoted in *Camps de femmes*, pp.102-103.

¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately the year date is missing from this correspondence. I have deduced that it was most likely to be 1941. Dossier entitled ‘Croix-rouge française et américaine’: ADL 7 W: 213. See also *Les camps de la honte*, p.235.

¹⁰⁷ Censored letter from Mme Laplana to Josefa Ulied, May 1941: ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹⁰⁸ *Les camps de la honte*, pp.155-156.

own description of “turnips floating in greasy water”).¹⁰⁹ Apparently, other Germans disagreed with Elsa; in Germany they reckoned the camps were hell, whereas they considered Rieucros more pleasant by comparison; perhaps Elsa had forgotten the German doctor’s sentence on her: “Let her die” – the word “krepieren” which he had used usually referred to animals.¹¹⁰

Those who were too ill or infectious to stay in the infirmary were sent to hospital. In his report for May 1941, the camp doctor objected to the arrival of three Spanish women whom he had recommended sending to appropriate hospitals: the first to Montpellier hospital with a long-standing trachoma infection; the second with a cervical infection to the “Préventorium Palavas” and the third to Pontails sanatorium with tuberculosis.¹¹¹ Other hospitals included Florac, Nîmes, the “Clinique St-Eloi” in Montpellier, Villefort hospital, the sanatorium at Grau-du-Roi and the psychiatric hospital at St Alban.¹¹² (See Appendix R). After the move to Brens there were about twenty internees still hospitalised at some distance from Gaillac and in May 1942 the prefect of Tarn suggested investigating places nearer Brens for these sick internees; unfortunately, the result of his search is unknown.¹¹³ As a result of the removal or isolation of some infected internees, epidemics such as those at Gurs were less severe, although a trachoma epidemic which affected 17 children was reported by the camp doctor in 1941; perhaps his objections in May had been well founded. It seems, too, that dysentery was rife, as it was at Gurs.¹¹⁴ However, the mortality rate was much higher in Gurs camp. Claude Laharie estimated 611 deaths at Gurs between November 1940 and February 1941, whereas Renée Poznanski quotes 1,005 deaths at Gurs between October 1940 and June 1942.¹¹⁵ By sharp contrast, the commander’s monthly report for August 1943 – 18 months after the move – states that “the first

¹⁰⁹ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.31 & p.22.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹¹¹ Monthly report of May 1941 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros: ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹¹² An undated form from the doctor at the psychiatric hospital at St Alban lists three internees in his care: ADL 2 W: 2604. Dossier entitled: ‘Santé’: ADT 495 W: 51.

¹¹³ Report of 27th May 1942 (Réf. votre rapp. 1515T.P. Cab. 12.5.42) of the Préfet du Tarn to the Préfet Régional: dossier entitled ‘Santé’ ADT 495 W: 51.

¹¹⁴ Undated letter, quoted in *Camps de femmes*, pp.104-5. Hanna Schramm cites six deaths from dysentery in summer 1940: *Vivre à Gurs*, p.51.

¹¹⁵ Eric Malo, ‘Les Camps de la Région Toulousaine 1940-1944’, in Jean Estèbe and others, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi Toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1996), 91-130 (p.106). Eric Malo does not quote Claude Laharie’s source for this information. Renée Poznanski, *Les Juifs en France pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Hachette (Littératures), 1997) p.227.

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death has occurred at Brens...; an internee has hanged herself in a fit of despair.”¹¹⁶ It is significant that the only death of an internee recorded in the life of the camp was the result of a mental rather than physical condition. Clearly, however, the physical health of internees suffered as a result of internment – and could be affected long after internment had ended, as in the case of Marina Strasde who died in 1949 as a result of illness contracted at camp.¹¹⁷ However, mental suffering is more difficult to quantify: “Reason is pushed to its limits. Who knows what depths this suffering... will drive us to?”¹¹⁸ My reading of individual dossiers in the Tarn archives also confirms despair among certain Brens internees; for instance, Herta Neumayer claimed her “sad, desperate existence” provoked her volunteering to work in Germany.¹¹⁹

It is impossible to know what individual tragedies lay behind the cases of “madness” recorded in Rieucros camp records; and although there were never more than two recorded at any one time, these did not necessarily refer to the same internees. (These women could be Pollaczek who, according to Vera Traill, walked and even danced on a wall in all weathers and a woman with nihilistic delusion, though there is no way of knowing whether they were the same women).¹²⁰ In fact, three women were admitted to a psychiatric hospital: Berthe Silberstein, a Polish prostitute, Loy Florentine, a Polish political internee and Mina Rosenblatt, a Romanian, were hospitalised after four months, 14 months and five months at camp, respectively.¹²¹ At the

¹¹⁶ Bi-monthly report of 15th-31st August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 33. Monthly report of August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹¹⁷ *Camps de femmes*, p.265.

¹¹⁸ *Les camps de la honte*, p.158. Léon Moussinac (Gurs camp) is the writer here.

¹¹⁹ Letter of 4th November 1942 from Herta Neumayer to M Giuseppe Neumayer, Trieste, Italy, quoted in the bi-monthly report of 1st-15th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33. Letter of 11th November 1942 from Herta Neumayer to M Jean Debas, Paris: quoted in the bi-monthly report of 1st-15th November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33.

¹²⁰ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.30.

¹²¹ Berthe was admitted to hospital on 14th January 1940; Loy on 21st December 1940 and Mina on 28th August 1941. Information contained in an unsigned, undated note, presumably from the prefect of Lozère to the head of the psychiatric hospital of St Alban: ADL 2 W: 2604. The first internee is referred to in official correspondence as both Berthe and Maria: it seems most likely that they are the same person. Similarly, the second internee is referred to as Loy and sometimes Sowa. Mina had already been interned by the prefect of Alpes-Maritimes in Nîmes prison for one year for “breaking an expulsion order”.

time of the move to Brens in an undated form the hospital doctor claimed each of them was “catatonic” and recommended they remain under his care for the foreseeable future; by May Mina presented “a serious melancholic condition with depressive tendencies”.¹²² Although it cost the camp 22 francs a day for the upkeep of these internees for as long as they were hospitalised under the authority of the camp and despite attempts on the commander’s part to have them transferred to hospitals in their usual place of residence, it was not until February 1943 that a ministerial circular addressed this illogical situation: if after six months of treatment in a psychiatric institution an internee was not cured, she would then be automatically released from the relevant camp’s authority.¹²³ The commander of Brens confirmed to the prefect of Tarn on 7th July 1943 that Berthe Silberstein and Mina Rosenblatt had duly been released from Brens camp’s authority. Where they were sent remains a mystery, as does the omission from the letter of Loy Florentine’s fate.¹²⁴

Given both the physical and mental strain imposed on internees, it is not surprising that the Rieucros camp doctor had maintained that it was better to reserve Rieucros for “people who... can tolerate the regime and whose state of health is not a threat to their neighbours.”¹²⁵ In fact, the inability to tolerate conditions in the camp could be used in support of an application for release; Mme Lescahier, for example, was released after a medical certificate stated that prolonging internment might prove fatal.¹²⁶ Reporting about a sixty-two year old woman in December 1943, M Dolor, camp inspector for Brens, included the doctor’s report which described Mme Espitalier as “an absolute wreck”, the former insisting “the most basic humanity requires her immediate release.”¹²⁷ Such pleas sometimes fell on deaf ears, however; Josephine

¹²² An undated form from the doctor at the psychiatric hospital at St Alban: ADL 2 W: 2604. Mina showed no sign of improvement in the near future. Report of 27th May 1942, from an unnamed doctor at the “Hôpital Psychiatrique de St Alban”, sometimes referred to as the “Asile St Alban”, to the Préfet du Tarn: ADL 2 W: 2604. It is unclear why the main dossiers of these internees remained in Lozère after Rieucros camp was moved to Tarn.

¹²³ Letter of 14th May 1942, of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADL 2 W: 2604. Circular of 3rd February 1943: ADL 2 W: 2604.

¹²⁴ Letter of 7th July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: Objet: Mina Rosenblatt and Maria Silberstein: ADL 2 W: 2604.

¹²⁵ ‘Rapport Sanitaire’ of 1st-15th May 1941 of Docteur Michel Marguerit (Médecin du Camp de Brens): ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹²⁶ The medical certificate was dated 30th June 1943.

¹²⁷ Individual dossier of Louise Espitalier: ADT 495 W: 59.

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Gauthier's dangerous condition did not move her home prefect who repeatedly refused her release, despite the prefect of Tarn's repeated pleas for him to reconsider his position.¹²⁸

Conclusion

In this chapter I have focussed on the lives of the women as they navigated the camp regime on a daily basis. Using individual dossiers, official reports and correspondence drawn from the archives as well as subsequent memoirs and testimonies, I have examined living conditions at Rieucros and Brens in terms of provisioning and food scarcity, overcrowding and diversity, health and sanitation. I have argued that although efforts were made by the administration and the camp inspectorate to improve conditions, many factors such as national food shortages and the political situation were outside their control; and that the internees suffered on physical, mental and emotional levels.

On the physical level they had to contend with cramped conditions, sickness, constant hunger, malnutrition and, in winter, bitter cold. The constant overcrowding imposed on so many different types and nationalities of women, the lack of any private space and the restricted nature of the buildings, were in the long term difficult to tolerate. On the mental level, Dr Weill claimed "the lack of privacy... brought moral harm" to certain internees.¹²⁹ There was also the stress of uncertainty over why – in some cases – and for how long they would be interned; the hopes of release raised and dashed, the stress of boredom and seemingly endless internment. Perhaps most difficult of all, on the emotional level, there was isolation from family and uprooting from all that was familiar, the turmoil of close cohabitation with literally hundreds of disparate, diverse and sometimes alien-seeming inmates, and the resultant conflicts and pressures. Despite the diversity of the individual internees and the different groups that formed amongst them – for instance the "family" cells of the communists, the bickering of the common law inmates and the riots by the prostitutes – and resultant tensions, they all shared the same suffering and deprivation.

Vicki Caron contends that by the end of 1938 it was no longer clear whether it was Hitler or his victims – for instance, communists and refugees whom the French regarded with alarm – who constituted the greatest threat to the populace.¹³⁰ The same question could be asked about

¹²⁸ Josephine Gauthier's home prefect was the prefect of Montpellier. Individual dossier of Josephine Gauthier (ép Privat): ADT 495 W: 60.

¹²⁹ *Contribution à l'Histoire des Camps d'Internement*, p.69.

¹³⁰ Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p.186.

women in the camps: from their point of view was the greater enemy the government which had interned them, be it the Third Republic or Vichy; or the camp officials who ruled over them; or fellow internees who competed for food and space, who irritated or even persecuted them, who were capable of violence and cruelty; or was it their own individual reaction to internment? In the next chapter I shall examine the dichotomy between victim-hood and agency and argue that many of the women exercised more power over their lives than might appear; that the coping mechanisms developed by some could lead to creativity, camaraderie, community and strength of character previously untapped.

Chapter Five

Coping Mechanisms

In this chapter I address the question of how the women coped with the conditions outlined in the previous chapter and with the mental and emotional trauma of internment – what coping mechanisms did they use? Was any one group better equipped to cope than the others? What factors were important and did a common femininity and incarceration over-ride the divisions and prejudices of diversity? Did the women show any signs of resistance to their plight and to what extent did agency prevail over victim-hood? Some of the women were interned for a matter of days, while others stayed in the camp for over four years; however, at the outset none of them knew for certain how long they would be incarcerated and it was essential to develop some sort of strategy for coping with daily living to counter the psychological strain of uncertainty and separation from all that was familiar.¹ Obviously experience of internment varied widely among internees; their success in withstanding the pressures of camp life not only depended on the length of internment – where known – but also the reason for their imprisonment. For instance, although no differences in the ability to cope with internment can be discerned between Jewish and non-Jewish women, when deportation became a certain outcome for foreign Jews in August 1942 the experience of the Jews would be completely different from, for example, a short stay economic prisoner working out a fixed term sentence. Similarly, the established support networks of long-term inmates contrasted with the reactions of newcomers feeling their way in an alien-seeming environment; for instance Augustine

¹ It should be noted that even fixed term prisoners were often not released on time. Madeleine Beaudy was in the camp five days, but this was exceptional. Individual dossier of Madeleine Beaudy, (vve Berthelon de la Coudre): ADT 495 W: 54. See also: individual dossier of Anna Graesser (ép Rast), ADT: 495 W: 61; individual dossier of Alice Grandvoinet: ADT 495 W: 61.

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Bruchlen, unable to sleep, reported that the tears she cried all night soon after her arrival had failed to relieve her of “all my heart is full of and which hurts me.”²

I start with a consideration of the support given through outside agencies such as welfare and religious organisations which provided facilities and moral support before examining the wide range of activities undertaken by internees, such as gymnastics, attending classes and workshops and undertaking various kinds of employment. I outline a variety of cultural activities available to inmates including teaching, music, writing poetry, the theatre and art and highlight the importance of maintaining contact with the outside world.³ Inside the camps, friendship groups and special occasions helped internees to cope as did visits from outside organisations, while some drew on the succour provided by religious festivals and religion; far from damaging religious faith, internment seemed to enhance it. I argue that Rieucros and Brens women did not conform to the received narrative of the victim-internee and demonstrate that Scott Soo’s observation – that it would be misleading to view Spanish republicans in exile as “passive victims of circumstance... rather they responded... with initiative, innovation, perseverance” – could equally be applied to the majority of these women.⁴ I argue too that although the camp provided opportunities for women to undertake perceived masculine tasks, identity reconstruction did not produce a sea-change; rather, traditional roles resurfaced in the camps, to the approbation of officials.

Although the administration favoured the women’s activities – whereas at Gurs for example, sewing items “under the covers” could potentially result in severe punishment – according to Gurs internee Hanna Schramm, the powerful protest which internment provoked produced a paradoxical blossoming of creativity.⁵ If the creativity, or any degree of coping, was a form of protest, it was not the only one. It is significant that Rieucros/Brens internees frequently protested about conditions at camp: for instance the hunger strike by Barrack 2 in August 1940 (and the prostitutes’ riots at Brens in response to shortages), Mme Valignat’s proposal to bring inmates’ rations into line with those of judicial prisoners and Vera Traill’s citing of successful

² Letter of 11th January 1943 from Augustine Bruchlen to Léon Jouhaux, Evaux-les-Bains: ADT 495 W: 55. A long internment could, however, result in hopes dashed and resultant disillusionment.

³ It should be noted that all the pursuits outlined here, and accomplishments assessed, pertain to women’s achievements during their time in the camps.

⁴ Scott Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939-2009* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.93.

⁵ Hanna Schramm and Barbara Vormeier, *Vivre à Gurs: Un camp de concentration français 1940-1941* (Paris: François Maspero, 1979), p.135.

protests regarding living conditions and the inmates' facility to write letters.⁶ Although Anne Grynberg has documented some anecdotal evidence of inmates' activities she does not draw out the significance of victims' agency during the internment period.⁷ However, while the pincers of internment produced positive results at Rieucros, productivity diminished at Brens, whether through a dearth of materials, the attitude of internees or their lives being punctuated by live radio broadcasts.⁸ Ironically, the most extreme protest, the physical restraining of the guards by other internees on the occasion of the deportation of the foreign Jews from Brens resulted in victim-hood prevailing for the latter at this tragic rupture – despite their previous agency.⁹

Welfare and religious organisations played a significant role in internment camps, some appointing voluntary “inmates” inside the camps and carrying out at least six inspections and visits in 1942-3, including ones from the Activités des Groupements d'Assistances étrangers and the YMCA.¹⁰ Aid agencies were certainly involved in the camps in March 1940 when Félix Chevrier of the “Commission des centres de rassemblement” (CCR) designated internee Rose

⁶ Ursula Katzenstein's diary entry for 3/08/40; quoted in Mechtild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes, Chroniques d'Internées, Rieucros et Brens, 1939-1944*, trans. by Nicole Bary (Paris: Editions Autrement, 2000), p.132. An election was held for a representative of Ursula's barrack who would attend a meeting to discuss the strike. Ibid. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement: ADT 495 W: 7. Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), p.42.

⁷ Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français 1939-1944* (Paris: La découverte, 1991), p.258.

⁸ This facility was claimed by M Jean-Faure to “enliven” their daily routine. Inspection report of M André Jean-Faure, August 1942, from Le Préfet, Inspecteur Général des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police: Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 7.

⁹ Bi-monthly report of 16th-31st August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34. Report of July/August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁰ Memo no. 4570 of a telephone call of 5th December 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens and the Préfet du Tarn: ‘Objet: Activités des Groupements d'Assistances étrangers: réf: votre communication téléphonique de ce jour’: ADT 495 W: 49. Report of 24th September 1943 of George Mutschler on Brens camp: ADT 495 W: 49. Letter of 5th June 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Chef du Camp de Brens authorising the visit of Marie-Louise Mavrin, YMCA representative: ADT 495 W: 49. Welfare workers shared the same accommodation as inmates but not necessarily the same diet.

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Wolfstein as intermediary in distributing goods donated by the agency to all internees after discovering that goods were being withheld from internees dubbed “undesirable”.¹¹ One of the main organisations offering support was CIMADE (Comité intermouvements auprès des évacués) which set up the Protestant Help Barrack which was a hub of activity providing discussion groups, workshops, services – and the odd tin of sardines.¹² CIMADE placed resident workers in the camp: Madeleine Barot, a Protestant worker, lived on site as did Mme Bonnal, who joined in 1943, while Suzanne Loiseau-Chevally lived outside.¹³ It seems, however, that the help given could exceed the remit; although Mme Bonnal initially confined her activities to pastoral care and the distribution of CIMADE parcels, she was later investigated – after rumours that she was clandestinely acting as a courier – for late-night entertaining of political prisoners in her room and frequent unexplained absences.¹⁴

Cynics might have alleged that proselytisation could have been a motive behind the aid given, but faith-based agencies made a significant contribution to improving the lives of the women. The Quakers, for example, provided women’s as well as children’s clothes in the camps including 39 dresses and 40 pairs of shoes supplied to Rieucros in April 1940; and a letter to Henriette Courvoisier at Brens reassured her that they had sent a number of items of clothing to her small son outside.¹⁵ The Swiss Catholic Aid Association joined the Quakers in providing food to supplement rations while Rabbi Hirschler organised the visit of a Brens internee to Vernet in order for her husband to meet his baby.¹⁶ The Red Cross was also active in providing

¹¹ *Camps de femmes*, pp.109-11. Mechtild Gilzmer calls her Rosi, although her signature appears to say Rose: *Camps de femmes*, p.110. The CCR was set up in November 1939: *Les camps de la honte*, p.72. Its role was limited to putting aid agencies in touch with needy internees and delivering goods to the camps.

¹² The same was true of the Protestant Help Barrack at Gurs.

¹³ Mlle Loiseau visited the camp three times a week. Letter of 1st June 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 49. Caroline Moorehead refers to her as Suzanne Loiseau: Caroline Moorehead, *Village of Secrets: Defying the Nazis in Vichy France* (London: Vintage, 2015), p.229. Suzanne Loiseau-Chevalley, who was awarded the title of “Righteous Among The Nations” by Yad Vashem in July 2007, helped many children escape over the mountains to Switzerland.

¹⁴ Letter of 15th January 1944 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 49.

¹⁵ Letter of 22nd April 1940 from Rose Wolfstein to Félix Chevrier (CCR); quoted in, *Camp de femmes*, p.111. Individual dossier of Henriette Courvoisier (ép Paulello): ADT 495 W: 57. The letter is contained in a dossier entitled ‘Action Sociale’: ADT 495 W: 49.

practical help, regularly supplying dried foods as well as treats on special occasions.¹⁷ They were also involved in working for the release of interned refugees while Mlle Brand, the Red Cross worker at Brens often mentioned in correspondence, undertook to re-house internees in one of the reception centres under the authority of the Archbishop of Lyon – one such application hopefully suggested that a place could be found in Cantal for one of her protégées.¹⁸ They also joined forces with The American Friends Service Commission to help fund a holiday for 13 camp children in summer 1942.¹⁹ Not all the agencies offering assistance were able to support an aid worker in the camp, but by working together with the representatives of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant communities, a support network could be consolidated which provided both pastoral and practical care for the internees.

Entertainment, workshops and classes

Certain days were treated as special days and intended as a diversion; no doubt the administration's motives were mixed. For example, directives instructing commanders in the Southern zone to improve conditions in the camps on 1st May 1942 (Labour Day) had been sent out prior to the day with instructions to provide suitable entertainment for the celebrations, although no guidelines were provided except that they were to liaise with local police in order to prevent unrest.²⁰ It was the camp administration which imported a cinema into Brens in 1943 about which there was copious correspondence between the prefect of Tarn, the regional prefect and police chiefs concerning the credentials of the cinematographer, M Vieillerivière, a “decorated war veteran”, culminating in the procuring of the cinema.²¹ Although the local prefect recommended that political prisoners be excluded from the event, the regional prefect

¹⁶ *Les camps de la honte*, p.266. The UGIF met the cost, not only of her travel expenses, but also of her accompanying guard.

¹⁷ Monthly reports of March, April and December 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹⁸ Undated letter from the Direction des Centres d'Accueil, Lyon, to Mlle Brand, Assistante Sociale de la Croix-Rouge Française, Camp de Brens, Gaillac, Tarn. Letter of 15th June of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: 'Objet: Centres d'Accueil': ADT 495 W:49.

¹⁹ Letter of 26th March 1942 from Helga Holbek, American Friends Service Committee, to the Préfet du Tarn; letter of 20th June 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W:49. The excursion was organised by the AFSC and funded jointly by the Red Cross, the National Rescue Service and the camp administration.

²⁰ Letter of 29th April 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 49. Telegram no. 0626244 82/81 circular 06136 1/3 No 00207 of 28th April 1942 of the Interior Police, 9th Division, to the Prefects of Toulouse, Pau, Perpignan and Albi: ADT 495 W: 49.

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overruled, stipulating that, as long as films were filtered by the commander, he was willing to allow this diversion for *all* Brens internees.²²

There were opportunities for inmates to attend workshops and classes organised by the administration.²³ The development of workshops was initiated by the ORT in conjunction with the Nîmes Committee; according to Anne Grynberg, Brens was the first camp to have this facility installed, although no date is mentioned.²⁴ Since she attests to the AIP's support of Etty Rapoport's raffia workshop first at Rieucros, then Brens, workshops must have been installed prior to February 1942 when the camp was moved. The exact time these projects were initiated is unclear. However, workshops were certainly open during the course of 1943 as a censored letter from Mme Galatoire mentioning the present of a brooch (hand-made by Anna Graesser) to her mother-in-law, confirmed.²⁵ Whether it was made in Etty Rapoport's workshop or "under the covers" is unclear.

²¹ M Vieillerivière was the Adjudant-Chef du Service Cinématographie de L'Armée. Letter of 25th October 1943 of M Vieillerivière of the Cinématographie du Sud-Ouest to the Préfet du Tarn. Letter of 28th October 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Préfet Régional de Toulouse. ADT 495 W:50. Report of 23rd November 1943 of the Préfet Régional de Toulouse to the Préfet du Tarn. ADT 495 W: 50.

²² Letter of 7th November 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 50. Reports from the Préfet Régional de Toulouse and the Chef du Camp de Brens were enclosed in an application to the Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Direction Générale de la Police du Territoire et des Etrangers, 8^{ème} bureau. The reports from two Camp Chiefs (of Brens and St-Sulpice) and the Préfet Régional de Toulouse were enclosed in a letter of 13th December 1943, from the Préfet du Tarn to the Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Direction Générale de la Police du Territoire et des Etrangers, 8^{ème} bureau. ADT 495 W: 50. Undated letter from the Directeur Général de la Police, 8^{ème} bureau presumed to be to the Préfet du Tarn. ADT 495 W: 50.

²³ These were often supported by aid agencies.

²⁴ *Les camps de la honte*, p.213.

²⁵ Undated censored letter from Mme Galatoire of Brens camp to Mme Galatoire in the Indre: ADT 495 W: 4. Anna Graesser was a German internee, later deported from Brens. Letter no 7416 of 27th March 1943 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Secrétaire Général de la Police says that there were 10 barracks divided into: two for Politicals; two for Spanish (one for those with children); one for black market (French and foreign), one for "various reasons" or not known; one condemned at common law; one and a half barracks for prostitutes, half a barrack for arrivals awaiting classification, one barrack set up as a workshop: ADT 495 W: 45.

There is sparse information in the Lozère archives concerning the work of aid agencies and the presence of workshops. Although a painting and cabinet-making workshop was set up at Rivesaltes, an arrangement which could easily have been followed at Rieucros since Ursula Katzenstein was a carpenter, the latter described the three carpenters at Rieucros working in “a small corner” they were given, a notion corroborated by a photograph entitled “Shoemaking” which shows two internees working on a bench outside.²⁶ It does not appear that they had a real workshop. However, at Brens, there was a shoemaking workshop as well as hairdressing and dressmaking workshops which the National Rescue Service was willing to organise providing the administration brought in basic supplies.²⁷ Although no information is available about the nature of internee Lucie Astruc’s workshop, the fact that she took charge of a workshop at Brens might have influenced the leave of absence she was granted during her mother’s illness.²⁸

Although a library was evidently present at Rieucros – since Rose Wolfstein thanked Félix Chevrier for the CCR’s gift of 19 books in April 1940 – there is little information about classes held there.²⁹ However, a wide range of classes providing opportunities for intellectual stimulation was available to Brens internees, alongside a programme of physical exercise; gymnastics were held each morning before work and afternoons from 2pm until 6pm were taken up with a programme of courses.³⁰ Apart from French and history classes for adults, there was literature on Mondays; English on Tuesdays; Italian and Spanish on Wednesdays; Bible study on Thursdays; spelling on Fridays and Italian and singing on Saturdays.³¹ A library was open on Tuesdays and Saturdays and a foyer was available for internees’ use from 9am to noon and 1pm

²⁶ Photograph by Ursula Katzenstein: printed in *Camps de femmes*, p.99. Mechtild Gilzmer claims that a “sort of shoemaking workshop” was formed, though she does not mention a date or a source. Ibid., p.102.

²⁷ Periodical report of May/June 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Report of 2nd June 1942 from the Préfet du Tarn to the Préfet Régional de Toulouse: Objet: Rapport d’Inspection sur le Camp de Brens: réf.: Vos transmissions no. 1701 du 13/5/41 et no. 1502. B. du 11/5/42. ADT 495 W: 7.

²⁸ Individual dossier of Lucie Astruc: ADT 495 W: 53.

²⁹ *Camps de femmes*, p.111. She specifically mentioned the library at Rieucros.

³⁰ I have diluted Scott Soo’s phrase “identity reconstruction” as the stronger notion does not seem to fit with Rieucros and Brens camp women. *The routes to exile*, p.106. Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: 495 W: 7.

³¹ Inspection report of August 1942 of M André Jean-Faure, Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d’Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d’Etat à l’Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W:7.

to 4.30pm daily.³² As well as those subjects listed above, by July 1943 there were opportunities to learn typing and geography as well as four languages at different levels. The evenings saw further activities such as choir practice and, on Sunday evenings, concerts.³³ The classes were taught by internees and equipment was often provided by aid organisations; however, the offer of equipment from the UGIF was refused in May 1942 when the administration decided it should not be dependent on a Jewish source.³⁴

Teaching, music and work

According to Dora Schaul, a German Jewish inmate, many of the classes and much of the cultural life in the camps was organised by militants and intellectuals.³⁵ As a result of political unrest, many of the Spanish children at Rieucros had hardly been to school. There were, then, opportunities for women like Suzanne Freund and Perla Blum – the latter taught French at different levels – to teach children at Rieucros, alongside a professional teacher, Lisa Kirbach. (There were opportunities for inmates to teach adults at Brens). Dora Schaul reminisces about teaching Spanish, arithmetic and drawing.³⁶ The teaching at Rieucros is likely to have been shared since Michel del Castillo mentions Pastor Gall as one of his teachers; however, a teacher chosen by the prefect of Tarn in March 1942 had been engaged to teach the 26 children at Brens by May 1942.³⁷ Fernande Valignat and Dora Schaul taught French language to adults there; the former also teaching French literature and history (including the history of the communist party), which, the latter maintained, was used as a political propaganda machine, a suspicion confirmed in November 1943 when some adult courses were blocked because of Mme Valignat's communist sympathies. This would have been a loss to inmates as the prefect of Tarn

³² Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ For instance, the USC provided teaching materials at Rieucros. Philippe Joutard, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.66; *Les camps de la honte*, p.259. The Préfet du Tarn felt that an Israelite organisation funded by foreigners was an unsuitable benefactor for the camp. Report of 2nd June 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Préfet Régional de Toulouse: Objet: Rapport d'Inspection sur le Camp de Brens Ref.: Vos transmissions no. 1701 du 13/5/41 et no. 1502. B. du 11/5/42: ADT 495 W: 7.

³⁵ *Les camps de la honte*, p.85, endnote 58: taken from Gilbert Badia and others, *Exilés en France, Souvenirs d'antifascistes allemands émigrés (1933-1945)* (Paris: Maspéro, 1982), pp.220-221.

³⁶ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.66.

³⁷ Dossier entitled 'Activités culturelles et Cultuelles': ADT 495 W: 50. Report of 8th May 1942 on the Inspection du Camp de Brens by the Chef du Camp: ADT 495 W: 7.

had previously praised the latter's skills and success.³⁸ Teaching programmes provided scope for political comment and opportunities for inmates to express themselves; however, it is surprising that a known communist was engaged in such activities.

In May 1940 Rose Wolfstein thanked Félix Chevrier (CCR) for the gift of a gramophone and records which enabled internees to have concerts.³⁹ Similarly, the Brens choir gave women a chance to express themselves positively; on the concert programme for 10th May 1942 an advertisement for new singers was placed at the end.⁴⁰ M Jean-Faure's inspection report includes programmes for five Sunday concerts in April and May 1942 at which talented internees had given piano recitals; Mmes Rosenthal, Freund and Mlle Christianson played a classical programme ranging from Bach to Chopin, while Mme Rosenthal's choice of Scriabin preludes contrasted with the lively foxtrot of Mme Neuberger. Internees represented their varied cultural heritage: Mmes Berkau, Tchevnienko and Merkerw, for example, entertained by playing Russian popular dances.⁴¹ It is unclear whether any of these performers were professional musicians, unlike at Gurs, where the organist of Strasbourg cathedral performed alongside the first violin of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.⁴² However, performances gave camp women an opportunity to reminisce about life outside; for instance, Mlle Seli's rendering of "My old

³⁸ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.66. The courses were blocked on 25th November 1943: dossier entitled 'Activités culturelles et Cultuelles': ADT 495 W: 50. Monthly report of May 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Ministre d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Direction du Personnel et de l'Administration de la Police, 2me Bureau: ADT 495 W: 7. Mme Valignat was also one of three internees recommended for imprisonment in Castres prison: ADT 495 W: 53.

³⁹ For instance, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: *Camps de femmes*, p.111. No reference is provided for this information.

⁴⁰ Appendix to Rapport d'Inspection de M André Jean-Faure, août 1942 from Le Préfet Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁴¹ One of the programmes printed in the camp report was organised by the CIMADE. Rapport d'Inspection de M André Jean-Faure, août 1942 from Le Préfet Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 7. It seems likely that dancing took place since Mechtild Gilzmer includes pictures of internees dancing in a chapter about Brens camp: *Camps de femmes*, p.235.

⁴² Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001), p.188. They were Hans Ebbecke and Fritz Brunner.

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house” was complemented by Mme Dalcroze’s performance of “The Hamlet”, possibly her native village. Heim K. of Vernet wrote, about concerts, “afterwards we retain a feeling part melancholic, part full of hope.”⁴³

Gardening was cited by the commander as another way in which internees’ morale was lifted; however, although tasks such as planting potatoes benefited the whole camp it was a voluntary activity.⁴⁴ Was it possible, then, for internees to earn money from employment at the camps? Certainly shoe-making and carpentry at Rieucros did not produce any income – although Ursula Katzenstein earned 15 francs in January 1940 for mending shelves.⁴⁵ In a letter about Mme Lamart to an unnamed recipient, the head nurse of Rieucros emphasised that it would be difficult to employ her “in a paid capacity”.⁴⁶ Similarly, the job of teaching children and adults was unpaid. However, according to Mechtild Gilzmer, knitting socks for soldiers, though shunned by political prisoners, was paid, as were activities like button-making which was contracted by a Mende businessman.⁴⁷ Paid work gave internees the opportunity to purchase extra supplies from the camp shop, such as cigarettes and occasionally vegetables, as well as boosting self-esteem and morale.⁴⁸ Taking the entry from the dossier “Comptabilité: Salaires

⁴³ *Les camps de la honte*, p.255. See also note 11, p.374.

⁴⁴ Bi-monthly report of 17th April 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

⁴⁵ *Camps de femmes*, p.123.

⁴⁶ Letter of 25th October 1941 from the Infirmière Majeure of Rieucros camp to an unnamed female recipient: Objet: Marie-Thérèse Simon (ép Lamart). It seems likely that the recipient was Mme Poulet, Directrice du Service Social et Sanitaire du Camp de la Planète at Tarbes, where Mme Lamart had previously been interned. It is likely her opinion was sought regarding the potential release of Mme Lamart: ADT 495 W: 67.

⁴⁷ *Camps de femmes*, p.96. Mechtild Gilzmer does not name her source but writes that Mlle Vallot requested an advance payment in June 1940 in order to pay the Spanish internees for their knitting. Bi-monthly report of 1st-15th April 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet de la Lozère: ADT 495 W: 34. A dossier entitled “Comptabilité: Salaires aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943” corroborates the fact that paid employment was available at Brens. Dossier entitled ‘Comptabilité: Salaires aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943’. The dossier contains monthly accounts of salaries paid to internees between the dates given: ADT 495 W: 14. A photograph taken by Dora Schaul entitled “Au travail” could also, potentially, be referring to paid employment. *Camps de femmes*, p.99.

⁴⁸ Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), p.225. Although Vera Traill is citing the camp shop at Rieucros, it seems reasonable to assume that products on sale

aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943” for April 1943 as an example, various kinds of cleaning jobs were performed by internees, such as general cleaning of the camp, the offices, the infirmary and the toilets.⁴⁹ Cleaning of the camp brought in 120 frs for 30 hours’ work; whereas cleaning of the showers and toilets brought in 150 frs for the same hours.⁵⁰ Strangely, the cleaning of the Red Cross building, aptly cleaned by Mlle Hôpital, only brought in 90 frs for 30 hours’ work.⁵¹ Mlle Castillo worked in the infirmary kitchen, although there is no way of knowing if this was her usual employment, a pattern of activity favoured by the prefect of Tarn.⁵² Other jobs included working in the piggery, the linen room, the laundry, peeling vegetables and, in winter, woodcutting, a job performed by Mlles Jezequel and Vojcik; 34 hours brought in 144 frs. The laundry and linen room brought in 180 frs for 30 hours’ work, as did the piggery. The rate for Mlle Christiansen, a nursing assistant (and a performer at some of the Brens concerts) was 135 frs for 27 hours’ work.⁵³ The most highly paid jobs were those of manual worker and shopkeeper, which brought in 480 frs and 510 frs respectively, for 30 hours’ work. The shop sold goods at a higher-than-the-market rate and had made a 34,000 franc profit by May 1942, thus the higher pay was not surprising.⁵⁴

Certain jobs available to internees introduced them to more typically male kinds of work, like wood-cutting, manual work, gardening and working in the piggery.⁵⁵ However, those performing domestic jobs were evidently favoured by the administration, as is demonstrated in the case of the communist, Blanche Laplanche. Several times imprisoned before ending up at Rieucros, then Brens, this inmate managed to persuade the commander to militate on her behalf

were similar at Brens, apart from tobacco which was banned.

⁴⁹ Presumably this was the barracks used as an infirmary before the purpose-built one was finished.

⁵⁰ Dossier entitled ‘Comptabilité: Salaires aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943’: ADT 495 W: 14. Accounts for January 1943.

⁵¹ Dossier entitled ‘Comptabilité: Salaires aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943’: ADT 495 W: 14.

⁵² Report of 2nd June 1942 of the Préfet du Tarn to the Préfet Régional de Toulouse: Objet: Rapport d’Inspection sur le Camp de Brens: réf.: Vos transmissions no. 1701 C.R. 844 D du 13/5/41 et no. 1502 I.B. du 11/ 5/ 42: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁵³ Dossier entitled ‘Comptabilité: Salaires aux internées: février 1942-juillet 1943’: ADT 495 W: 14: accounts for March 1943.

⁵⁴ Report of 8th May 1942 on the Inspection du Camp de Brens by the Chef du Camp: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁵⁵ Bi-monthly report of 17th April 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

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to secure her release because she worked in the mess “to (his) entire satisfaction”.⁵⁶ Since in her dossier can be found evidence of contact with the communist leader Gabriel Péri and energetic proselytising, the administration might have been expected to regard her as a prime enemy of the state. However, through reverting to a traditional female role, a committed communist, in personal touch with communist leaders, was able to secure her release through work which fulfilled Vichy’s expectations of virtuous women.

Art and the theatre

It was perhaps in the cultural arena that Rieucros and Brens internees most distinguished themselves. Although artistic endeavours were coping mechanisms employed by internees, the dedication and standard of work achieved was truly remarkable; for instance, Hélène Maywald wanted to work for at least two hours daily.⁵⁷ An interesting parallel can be drawn between a set of drawings by Dora Schaul and the production of “Snow White” by internees, which took place at Christmas 1939. The drawings depict the artist’s failed attempt to obtain valid papers, her arrival at La Petite Roquette prison, various scenes at the prison, then her departure from Paris by train. One picture, presented in cartoon-like form, accurately reflects the arrival at Rieucros by moonlight of three women, backs bent, clutching heavy bags.⁵⁸ Steffie Spira described the content of the play, “Snow White”, in terms which parallel the content of the drawings. One scene was set on the station platform, depicting the departure from Paris towards the unknown; the other, the internees’ night time arrival at Mende.⁵⁹ Taking a well-known fairy tale as an ironic basis for the production of “Snow White” is a good example of inmates’ talent, though, unlike the musical internees, the cast had at least two professional actresses among its number.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Individual dossier of Blanche Laplanche (sép Somville): ADT 495 W: 62. Letter of 9th January 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général de la Police: ADT 495 W: 62.

⁵⁷ She worked on landscapes, portraits and life drawing. She was the sister of a famous photographer, Wally Maywald. Letter of 10th March 1940 from Sylta Busse to an unknown recipient: quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.154.

⁵⁸ Quoted in *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.62. Françoise Seuzaret-Barry describes the same scene: Françoise Seuzaret-Barry, *Justine, une oubliée de Rieucros* (Pont-St-Esprit: La Mirondale, 2007), p.82.

⁵⁹ However, the printed version of the play sets Act 1 in a wooded setting through which the internees have evidently trudged for a long time. Quoted in *Camp de femmes*, pp.151-152.

⁶⁰ These were Steffie Spira and Marina Strasde: *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.66. Janine Lang (ép Abramowitz) also won first prize at the “Conservatoire de Diction et Comédie”. Individual dossier

The play provides a critique of the arbitrary nature of internment, the isolation of the camp and the incompetence of the guards. In an atypical female representation of Germany as the wicked queen, the latter is shown as being responsible for the inmates' plight, whereas the male "hunter", France (usually presented as Marianne), is merely carrying out orders; it is not clear whether this was intended as a humorous twist or a statement about sexual politics.⁶¹ The guard settles on placing Snow White in a foreigners' camp, where he claims she will be forgotten. A highlight at camp at the time, the play aptly encapsulated the experience of being interned at Rieucros, presented here as a fate worse than death.

Many women did not know the reason for their internment; even the commander was often unaware of it. Marina Strasde's unpublished poem "Retour au Camp" written at Brens, parodies this anomaly and picks up the themes of the Rieucros play.⁶² (See Appendix M). One can imagine the gusto with which this professional actress performed the piece, which frivolously encapsulates the arbitrary nature of internment, caricatured in the poem as resulting from collecting semi-skimmed milk in a chamber pot.⁶³ The subject of the chamber pot, described as a "real treasure" in an earlier work, is introduced as a camp souvenir in the first stanza of "Retour au Camp".⁶⁴ The presentation of the unruly world, contrasted here with the regimented routine of camp life, evokes a sense of the difficult readjustment to life outside. The camp and the outside world merge, ironically, in the confused perception of the protagonist. As a former internee, symbolised by her neat arrangement of chamber pots and her eagerness to receive post, she is singled out from other lodgers in her house whose attitude demonstrates the prejudice against former internees.⁶⁵ The rules are different for the ex-internee: if she makes a noise, her house-mates become angry, whereas they make a deafening noise at unsociable hours. She is mocked for eating frugal portions. When "like all the others", attempting to fit in, she stands in line for milk, clutching her chamber pot, she causes an uproar and is soon arrested and sent back to camp. The reason for her subsequent internment is – supposedly – the container she chose for milk collection. Arrested "without a word"; the ironic triviality of the offence suggests the self-perpetuating nature of arrest and internment. It also hints at the mystery often surrounding

of Janine Lang: ADT 495 W: 62.

⁶¹ Quoted in: *Camps de femmes*, p.150: "It is, in fact, nasty and a pain but I have to do it."

⁶² "Return to Camp".

⁶³ The person sending this poem (Raymonde David), presumably to another inmate, says it was written by Marina *Strade*, but the name is so similar to Marina Strasde that it seems likely that it is the same person.

⁶⁴ The earlier poem is entitled "Adieu au Camp".

⁶⁵ The chamber pot was used in the camp for all manner of purposes.

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grounds for internment. The “crime” and unexpected internment expose the danger to unconventional women of the Vichy prejudice against them.

Bearing in mind that all the work discussed was produced at the camp, some of the art work aptly exposes constant undernourishment and lack of satisfactory facilities. The ubiquitous chamber-pot, an image of sanitary deprivation, sits amongst a collection of motley items under the lower bunk in a picture entitled “In the Barrack” by Sylta Busse.⁶⁶ The fact that physical ailments were a constant menace to internees’ comfort during internment is demonstrated by another barrack scene: while one woman soaks her feet in a metal container, another agonisingly clutches her scarf-entwined face. However, as well as drawing inspiration from the “rich assortment of prostitutes... really grand ladies” of her barrack (3), Sylta Busse relished drawing portraits of newly rounded figures of women, bloated from malnutrition.⁶⁷ Her painting entitled “Bathing”, showing a small, naked group washing in a cattle trough, presents a good example of these striking shapes. B. Perry’s “impression of being... with rare specimens of women, whose portraits are so strikingly accurate that they have become legendary” suggests that Sylta Busse captured a true likeness of those depicted.⁶⁸

However, some of the most entertaining sketches were produced by Dora Schaul in a similar cartoon-like style which underplays suffering and in doing so provides a seamless comment on it. We gain an impression of what meal times were like through a painting entitled “The Family” which shows nine internees, back view, sitting at a table in front of a window. Outside, a child-like image of a gaily painted tree pops up behind a window pane. The back view of the internees creates a sense of their isolation – or solidarity.⁶⁹ Similarly, the sleeping arrangements at camp are reflected in a picture of eight brightly coloured heads poking out of sleeping bags, all lined up on a two-tiered giant bunk – the sleeping internees of Rieucros’s Barrack 15.⁷⁰

While there is a certain frivolity present in Dora Schaul’s paintings inside Rieucros, Odette

⁶⁶ Printed in *Camps de femmes*, pp.198-209.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.73. Alfred Döblin attributes heightened creativity and spiritual awareness to lack of food. Alfred Döblin, *Destiny’s Journey*, trans. by Edna McCown (New York: Paragon House, 1992), p.123.

⁶⁸ Censored letter from B. Berry to Marthe Levy, May 1941 (the date is not legible): ADL 2 W: 2603. Perhaps the most striking portrait by Sylta Busse is one of the gypsy Cali, a prominent – and difficult – figure in the camp. (I have adopted the spelling used by Joutard et al). Printed in *Camps de femmes*, p.88.

⁶⁹ Printed in *Camps de femmes*, p.69.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Capion complained in a letter to Mathilde Péri, when bad weather was keeping inmates indoors at Brens: “There is a heavy atmosphere in the barrack.”⁷¹ There is no evidence of art work at Brens; Dora Schaul did not paint again whilst there. The changing constituent parts of the camp, moving as it did from a predominance of political prisoners to economic, prostitute and criminal internees, might have played a part in the decline. Photographs taken there of self-conscious arrangements of internees with a barrack lurking in the background with “another barrack opposite and... sodden earth”, suggest that the straitened architectural landscape might also have been responsible for the retreating creativity of inmates during this phase of the camp.⁷²

The encroaching dangers of the outcome of internment was symbolised by the transition from a fairytale heroine, Snow White, at Rieucros to a religious martyr, Joan of Arc, in a play performed at Brens in which Joan’s vocation, her leaving the Meuse and ending up in prison are covered in three acts. It is interesting that the internees chose to perform a play whose mystical subject, as Eric Jennings illustrates, had been aggressively adopted, reincarnated and promoted by Vichy as an icon of sexism, anglophobia and Catholicism.⁷³ It was perhaps their attempt to reclaim Joan as the defiant combatant who had risen from the people and crossed gender barriers to repel the Occupier, betrayed by the king and church she had served.⁷⁴ Both plays, however, reflect the internees’ situation: the first the uncertainty of where they were being taken and what their fate will be; the second, Joan’s persecution and her time spent in a prison cell. Significantly, Joan’s martyrdom does not feature in the play – perhaps it was a subject too near the raw edge of suffering for Brens internees to contemplate. As the period of internment progressed and deportations gained momentum, escapism rather than representation or political comment took precedence in artistic endeavour at Brens; time and space were used as coping mechanisms, either by retreating into the past or presenting pageants from far-away places.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Mathilde Péri had evidently been released from Rieucros by this time. Censored letter of June 1941 (date illegible) from Odette Capion to Mathilde Péri: ADT 495 W: 56.

⁷² Letter of 11th January 1943 from Augustine Bruchlen to Léon Jouhau, Eveux-Les-Bains: ADT 495 W: 55.

⁷³ Eric Jennings, ‘Reinventing Jeanne: The Iconology of Joan of Arc in Vichy Schoolbooks, 1940-44’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29, no. 4 (Oct.1994) 711-734 (p.711).

⁷⁴ Gerd Krumeich, ‘Joan of Arc between right and left’, in *Nationhood and nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War 1880-1918*, ed. by Robert Tombs (London: Routledge, 1991) 63-74 (p.64).

⁷⁵ Photographs exist of women dressed in Japanese, Haitian and Cossack costumes. Printed in *Camp de femmes*, p.227 and pp.234-235.

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Creative writing, acting and art work provided not only an emotional outlet for internees but furnish an invaluable insight into the internment experience, although Michel del Castillo complained of Mechtild Gilzmer's romanticising of camp life in the drawings and other material collected in her book. He claimed they portray that "degrading world of hunger, cold, boredom, horrific isolation, dirt and shame", through rose-tinted lenses, in the same way as Félix Chevrier's description of Rieucros presented – probably as a gloss for the Interior ministry – a pastoral idyll.⁷⁶

Special occasions and contact with the outside world

In the monotony of camp life special occasions provided a much needed distraction; for instance, Christmas 1939 when Mayor Henri Bourillon organised a turkey dinner, stood out in Dora Schaul's memory as a high point in camp life.⁷⁷ Later, in December 1942, in a letter to Mme Louvatière, Odette Capion claimed that inmates "...were preparing Christmas *just like the ones* at Rieucros."⁷⁸ (Italics mine). A similar success accompanied New Year festivities at Brens the following year, when Cécile Boissière reckoned that the celebrations had passed off, "in the most agreeable manner imaginable".⁷⁹

Another special event was an exhibition of internees' works at the *mairie*, dominated by domestic artefacts like knitting, clothes, lingerie – all traditionally associated with "women's work". Although Françoise Seuzaret-Barry's fiancé's comment that "... (The "Political")... have been able to knit, sew, embroider", contains a certain amount of irony, it is likely that the "typically" feminine content of the exhibition encouraged locals' approbation.⁸⁰ Surprisingly, the intention of another staged event, the celebration of the Russian October revolution – of

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.18. Félix Chevrier's description might have been influenced by a writer in *La Croix de la Lozère* quoting a report from *Le Matin*: "A pleasant valley bathed in silence two kilometres from Mende, a brook swollen by melted snow babbling among the rocks, between two lines of trees." Report of 1st April 1940 of Félix Chevrier: "Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine": CCLXIII, 70. *Le Matin*, 26th February, 1939; quoted in *La Croix de la Lozère*, 26th February, 1939: ADL 1 PER: 212.

⁷⁷ Dora Schaul cites Henri Bourillon's death as being in a German concentration camp (*Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.67); however, according to local opinion, he died in transportation.

⁷⁸ Censored letter of 17th December, 1942 from Odette Capion to Mme Louvatière. ADT 495 W: 56.

⁷⁹ Letter of 14th January 1943 from Cécile Boissière to Julie Brignon at Montauroux (Var): ADT 495 W: 55.

⁸⁰ *Justine*, p.121.

which Vera Traill's father Alexander Guchkov had been a prominent opponent – far from being political, was to draw sympathy to interned mothers and hasten their release.⁸¹ The nature of Rieucros as a centre for foreigners was reflected in performers' national costumes, which no doubt stimulated identity recovery and also demonstrated the folkloric nature of feminine identity under Vichy.⁸² Using the commemoration of a political event to attempt to re-unite families reflects the women's unconscious association with the Vichy pattern of womanhood, the husband being head of the family with the wife in a subordinate role.⁸³ Not women's rights as equals in society, but women's rights as mothers in a family, to be re-united with their children, were foremost in the dramatised scene. On the other side of the coin, whether the nude sunbathing enjoyed by Armande Delluc can be cited as a special occasion is an interesting question.⁸⁴

Given the adverse conditions of internment, it was essential for internees "to re-create links" with the outside world; it was imperative for them to discover "news... about ... the war" which might affect their situation.⁸⁵ In the beginning, non-political newspapers were allowed in the camp, although Dora Schaul's arrangement to pick up newspapers deposited by two peasant boys with whom she had made contact across the barbed wire fence did not last long.⁸⁶ However, Dora Schaul often went to a local farmer's house to listen to radio broadcasts,

⁸¹ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.67. The cradle used would probably have been carved by Ursula Katzenstein and her workmates; see the photograph in *Camps de femmes*, p.78. Alexander Guchkov was the leader of Russia's "Octobrist" political party which was seeking democracy. He was one of Vladimir Putin's childhood heroes. At the time of the 1917 revolution he was supporting the "White Guard" and, when they were finally defeated, he emigrated to Berlin with his family, though they ended up living mainly in Paris.

⁸² *Justine*, p.153. This was a perceived, ageless association with maternal values. Francine A. Muel-Dreyfus, *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political Sociology of Gender*, trans. by Kathleen Johnson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), p.314.

⁸³ Article 54 of the draft constitution of the Conseil National of July 1941; quoted in *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine*, p.176. Although the play took place a few months before the draft constitution was drawn up, this hierarchy in the family was already in place.

⁸⁴ Individual dossier of Armande Delluc: ADT 495 W: 58.

⁸⁵ *The routes to exile*, p.63; Denis Peschanski, *La France des Camps: L'internement 1938-1946* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2002), p.418.

⁸⁶ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.70. Ursula Katzenstein's diary entry for 30/5/1940: quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.129.

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including the night the Wehrmacht attacked the Soviet Union.⁸⁷ As for French inmates, “they listen regularly to London... Their links with the country is intact...”.⁸⁸ Gurs internees Professor Reich and Hanna Schramm used the image of survivors of a shipwreck – “who have seen a boat, but who have not been seen...” – to evoke the despair of non-receivers of incoming post. Similarly, at Rieucros, Sylta Busse claimed to be “indescribably sad when one could not rush hopefully towards the postman.”⁸⁹ The Spaniard, Eulalio Ferrer, went further, claiming that news of family and friends was as important to camp people as food; however, Renée Poznanski notes that the isolation experienced by internees was exacerbated by the knowledge that their plight was often hidden from the world; communicating the injustice of internment was as important as receiving information.⁹⁰

Although Gurs internees were allowed to write three letters a week, according to Mme Louvatière Rieucros inmates were only allowed to write twice a week and, according to Vera Traill, even this was a result of inmates’ protests.⁹¹ This facility would have been invaluable when internees had to use up their quota of letter-writing on applying for visas or trying to secure their release, either personally, or through contact with aid agencies or friends outside.⁹² Suppressing their right to communicate through letters was often used as a punishment; for instance, by April 1943 Mme Valignat had not been allowed to write letters or have visits for months.⁹³ There was initially no limit to the amount of correspondence (or packages) internees could receive, although a complaint from Lucie Schandrin to Pierre St Blancat suggests that

⁸⁷ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.71 and p.73. Harold Hauser was on a list of Jews being watched in the Mende area. His mother had been interned briefly at Rieucros where she met Dora Schaul and others. When she got married, Dora Schaul and her husband would meet at the Hausers every Sunday night.

⁸⁸ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.26. French internees also composed leaflets which they managed to smuggle out of the camp. Ibid.

⁸⁹ *Jews in France during World War II*, p.183; *Vivre à Gurs*, p.120; undated letter of Sylta Busse, quoted in *Camps de femmes*, p.107.

⁹⁰ *The routes to exile*, p.63; *Jews in France during World War II*, p.182.

⁹¹ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.42. No doubt the original restrictions applied because of the number of political inmates at Rieucros.

⁹² The visas were often for Mexico. *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.52.

⁹³ *Camps de femmes*, p.107. Mme Valignat was being disciplined because of keeping up an active correspondence with political internees who had been released from the camp. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement, sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

parcels were limited to two per month by early December 1942.⁹⁴ It must have been equally shocking to internees when all visits were suppressed in October 1942; writing to her husband, whom she addressed as “Dear old boy,” Eileen Forbes described this as one of many “wretchednesses” of camp life.⁹⁵ When, in January 1943, visits were restricted to “family only”, Augustine Bruchlen complained to her correspondent that she had “no family in the free zone.”⁹⁶ A few months later, Suzanne Godin complained that all visits were forbidden; “we can no longer have any contact with the outside world.”⁹⁷

In communicating their plight the women of Rieucros/Brens broke out of Vichy’s apolitical schema and made their voice heard, though their pleas fell largely on deaf ears. After the euphoria and fellowship of certain landmarks in camp life, for instance the play performed at Rieucros and the exhibition mounted, or the concerts at Brens, a heightened awareness would set in of “...the meannesses that made camp life so awful.”⁹⁸

Friendship, religion and example

How did friendship groups work out in the camps? Renée Poznanski notes that every camp had makeshift social groups coming together with the aid of relief agencies, an arrangement Dr Weill considered a “caricature of life.”⁹⁹ Despite the conflict and differences detailed earlier, there was a genuine impression of good fellowship drawn from the tone of the correspondence; Dora Schaul contested that camaraderie was not an idle word at Rieucros, maintaining that inmates knew each other in a deeper way than was usual in the outside world.¹⁰⁰ Similarly at

⁹⁴ Letter from Mme Louvatière to Marcel Louvatière, 20th May, 1941: ADL 2 W: 2603. According to Vera Traill, inmates were originally allowed to write only one letter a week: *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.42. Letter of 5th December, 1942, from Lucie Schandrin to Pierre St Blancat, Toulouse: ADT 495 W: 67. She mentions two “colis de 5 kilos par mois”.

⁹⁵ Letter of 8th October 1942 from Eileen Forbes (ép Tailleux) to M Tailleux: ADT 495 W: 59.

⁹⁶ Augustine Bruchlen also complained in a letter to M Sinot in November 1943 that she was only allowed to write two letters a week from Brens: letter of 11th January 1943 from Augustine Bruchlen to M Sinot: ADT 495 W: 55.

⁹⁷ Letter of 7th December 1943 from Suzanne Godin to M Caillot: ADT 495 W: 60.

⁹⁸ The play was “Blanche-Neige”. The quotation is from Ursula Katzenstein’s diary quoted in *Camp de femmes*, p.126.

⁹⁹ *Jews in France during World War II*, p.127. Dr Joseph Weill, *Contribution à l’Histoire des Camps d’Internement dans l’Anti-France* (Paris: Editions du Centre, Centre de Documentation Juive et Contemporaine, 1946), p.101.

¹⁰⁰ *Cévennes, terre de refuge*, p.65.

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Brens Mme Ducros claimed, “both of (my cellmates) are quite charming...”¹⁰¹ (The writer is referring here to the group of three beds which comprised a “box” at Brens).¹⁰² Writing about camps in general, Denis Peschanski quotes the “deep solidarity” among political prisoners observed by the commander of Choisel-Chateaubriant which included “the equal sharing of parcels.”¹⁰³ In the same way, Rieucros/Brens women were also able to share food parcels. Eileen Forbes claimed her friends sent her so many she was never hungry, although there is no evidence that she shared her booty; nor that Cécile Boissière had shared her father’s parcel when she wrote that its contents were finished.¹⁰⁴

The commander of Brens estimated that the “Politicals” – mainly communists – were well organised, forming groups or “families”, sharing ideas and news: “... groups of six... Real communities...” and that their leader, Mme Valignat, described by Suzanne Godin as “an adorable, intelligent woman”, who had given a moving address on Christmas night 1942 exhorting her Barrack (6) to take courage, was mentioned frequently in correspondence.¹⁰⁵ Those who had been released (as a number were in April 1942, including the communist Raymonde Cochet) kept in close touch with those remaining at camp.¹⁰⁶ Inmates shared the joy of family visits and celebrations. The 1st May celebration of 1943, with red tablecloths, ribbons and flowers in the barracks and a parade around the camp, resulted in a month’s internment at Albi prison for six of their number.¹⁰⁷ They shared their tragedies too, lending solidarity and

¹⁰¹ The arrangement of beds in groups of three in the later stages of Brens camp were referred to as “cells” or “boxes”. Letter of 31st December, 1942 from Marie-Jeanne Duthil (ép Ducros) to M. R. Ducros at St-Sulpice camp: ADT 495 W: 59. Her “cellmates” were Virginie (Mme Chauvet) and Germaine Duhec-Quatremaire.

¹⁰² See the photographs in ADT 495 W: 7. The beds replaced the original tiered bunks at Rieucros.

¹⁰³ *La France des Camps*, p.401.

¹⁰⁴ Undated letter from Eileen Forbes to her husband contained in the individual dossier of Eileen Forbes: ADT 495 W: 59. It is possible, however, that this was a gloss for the recipient. Censored letter of 13th November 1941 from Cécile Boissière to M Gilbert, Aulas: ADT 495 W: 55.

¹⁰⁵ This information is contained in the bi-monthly report of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: Rapport (Etat modèle 8) of November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34. Letter of 26th December 1942 from Suzanne Godin to M Maurice Caillot: individual dossier of Suzanne Godin: ADT 495 W: 60.

¹⁰⁶ Rapport (Etat modèle 8) of November 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34. List of releases: individual dossier of Odette Bacconet (ép Fougeron): ADT 495 W: 54. Raymonde Cochet was Mme Louvatière.

¹⁰⁷ Individual dossier of Augustine Sauze: ADT 495 W: 67.

support to the deportee Anna Graesser, whose courageous reaction to her sudden removal from the camp by three gendarmes prompted the admiration of the chief inspector.¹⁰⁸ That courage was equally necessary when Mme Chauvet's son was among those shot at Eysses prison on 23rd February 1944; the 1st May celebration that year was a solemn occasion, conducted, wrote the chief inspector, with "dignified calm" and marked by a minute's silence.¹⁰⁹

The closely knit community of the "Politicals" could be resented by other internees; Juliette Monaco, for example, complained that: "The communist group didn't want me at their table because I'm not a communist, you see the level of solidarity... among us."¹¹⁰ However, they were not insular; for instance, according to Sylta Busse, it was Steffie Spira, an original anti-fascist internee, who organised daily gymnastics, and others, who were involved in teaching and presenting cultural events for *all* internees at camp.¹¹¹ It is notable that it was not the "politicals" who rioted in summer 1943, who would have been used to organising protests, but the prostitutes – although how much planning went into the event is not evident from the relevant dossier.¹¹²

In a throw away line about Brens Denis Peschanski hypothesizes about "the role (veteran internees)... played in camp life over the years."¹¹³ Communist Anna Graesser had been in the camp(s) for four years, from 1940 to 1944, Mme Valignat, the ring leader who successfully taught history classes until she was stopped by the authorities, was another long-term inmate of Rieucros, then Brens, until her escape in 1944, as was Dora Schaul. It also seems likely that Taddy, a faithless lover who abandoned Häschen for another woman, was one of the senior

¹⁰⁸ Report of 3rd December 1943 of the Inspecteur Principal du Camp de Brens to the Chef du Service Départemental des Renseignements Généraux at Albi: ADT 495 W: 4.

¹⁰⁹ Report no 910 of 3rd May 1944 of L'Inspecteur Principal de Police to the Chef du Service Départemental des Renseignements Généraux at Albi: ADT 495 W:7.

¹¹⁰ Bi-monthly report of 1st-15th July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34.

¹¹¹ Similarly, at Brens, it was the communist barrack (6), that organised fund raising and the distribution of toys to the children at New Year: quoted in *Camp de femmes*, p.95. Marie Touret wrote, in a letter of 4th January 1943 to Aucouturier-Gredat (no first name given), of the children: "ils aiment bien les dames de Baraque 6" and described songs sung by them. Individual dossier of Marie Touret (ép Aucouturier): ADT 495 W: 68.

¹¹² Letter of 25th July 1943 of the Inspecteur Chef-Adjoint au Gestionnaire du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8.

¹¹³ *La France des camps*, p.394.

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members of the camp.¹¹⁴ So, the women organised themselves into family groups – and some had lovers, although there is no way of telling from the dossiers which category of internees had love affairs in the camps. Vera Traill held an opposing view of the situation, which could simply be a result of a more taciturn personality: “our... misery provoked no signs of solidarity between us;” however, her own friendship with Dorothea and Lou, whom she mentions on virtually every page of her memoir somewhat disproves her theory.¹¹⁵ Another exception was the camp inspector’s assertion that the “Politicals” made false papers in order to help other inmates escape.¹¹⁶ Since they were, in general, interned for a long period, for the “Politicals”, the discipline and camaraderie inherent in their support network was a life-line for survival and morale, in stark contrast to other groups (notably common law prisoners) who fought and bickered among themselves. For all internees, however, to a greater or lesser extent, friendship groups, individual friendships and love affairs provided the warp and weft of the tapestry that was camp life.

Although not every religion was represented at Rieucros and Brens, the main ones, Christian, Judaism and Islam, had adherents in both camps.¹¹⁷ For those requiring religious nourishment, Abbé Combettes performed weekly Protestant mass at 10 am; Catholic Monseigneur Arrity and Free Church Pastor Gall at 10.30 am whilst on the Sabbath Rabbi Schilli presided over a service for Jewish inmates.¹¹⁸ Unlike many camps which, like Brens, possessed a chapel on site, meetings at Rieucros took place in the hall where the Chief Rabbi had delivered his controversial speech.¹¹⁹ At Brens, no times are mentioned for services, but whilst the Protestant service was conducted by Pastor Comord, an unnamed curate and rabbi presided over Catholic and synagogue congregations.¹²⁰ Catering for religious preferences was sometimes used as a ploy by commanders to forestall trouble in the camp; for instance, the Interior Police strongly

¹¹⁴ Taddy, who was the older had “played mother” to Häschen; they had been living together in Barrack 19: *Camp de femmes*, p.127.

¹¹⁵ *The Cup of Astonishment*, p.27 and (for instance), p.20.

¹¹⁶ Report of 9th September 1943 of Inspector Principal Georges Mutschler on Brens camp: ADT 495 W 7.

¹¹⁷ B. Perry asserted that every religion was represented in the camp. Censored letter from B. Perry to Marthe Levy, May 1941: ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹¹⁸ Pastor Gall was based at Florac, the second town in Lozère. The archives held there were burned after the war. L’Abbé Combettes was the director of Mende Grand Seminary. There is no evidence of provision for Muslims: ADL 2 W: 2805.

¹¹⁹ A protestant temple and a catholic church were constructed on Brens site as part of the extensive building works.

suggested keeping an Israelite feast for that purpose.¹²¹ Camp authorities at Brens also made sure that Easter week 1944 provided the required number of services for Catholics, just as they provided kosher food for Jewish internees.¹²² (See Appendix C).

Instead of faith diminishing, many internees became devoutly religious during the internment period.¹²³ According to Rabbi Kapel's estimate, not only were there were 1,300 practising Jews requesting kosher food in the southern camps but internees' "religious fervour" in makeshift buildings contrasted favourably with synagogue congregations of the time.¹²⁴ Religious involvement could render camp life more acceptable. For example, an anonymous internee maintained that religion (Catholic) boosts morale: "Father Bernard of CHABANNES (is) an exceptional man... Thus our morale is able to hold out here."¹²⁵ Obviously, the writer might have had ulterior motives for such praise, intending to impress the administration. Evidence is also found in the archives of requests by pastors to visit their co-religionists at Brens; for instance M Herzog, President of the Neo-Apostolic church in Toulouse, recorded a request for a pastoral visit from Mlle Eugénie Jedrasita on 23rd October 1942.¹²⁶ There is a curt reply to the prefect of Tarn, however, from Rabbi Hirschler concerning the former's refusal to allow a local rabbi to visit the camp.¹²⁷ Dr Weill summarised the role of religion as "(breathing)... hope into camp life, preserving courage... in these unfortunates".¹²⁸

¹²⁰ Rapport d'Inspection de M André Jean-Faure, août 1942 from Le Préfet Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire to the Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹²¹ Telegram no. 07204 of 10th May 1942: dossier entitled, 'Activités culturelles et Cultuelles'. ADT 495 W: 50.

¹²² An excerpt from a letter contained in the bi-monthly report for 15th-30th April 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn. ADT 495 W:33. (The correspondent's name is missing from the dossier).

¹²³ *Les camps de la honte*: see note on p.267. This might have been a result of material support provided by religious groups, however.

¹²⁴ *Jews in France during World War II*, p.189. See also *Les camps de la honte*, p.117 & p.256.

¹²⁵ An excerpt from this letter is contained in the bi-monthly report for 15th-30th April 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 33. The correspondent's name is missing from the dossier.

¹²⁶ Letter of 23rd October 1942 of M Herzog, President of the Neo-Apostolic church, Toulouse, to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 50.

¹²⁷ Letter of 10th May 1943 of Grand-Rabbin René Hirschler to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 50.

¹²⁸ *Contribution à l'Histoire des Camps d'Internement*, pp.78-101.

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The chief inspector at Brens noted another kind of morale booster, that of example, in a letter regarding French political internees.¹²⁹ It concerned an account written about the departure of a German deportee by Mme Galatoire: “her departure moved us. (She) displayed exemplary courage... we will retain an unforgettable memory of her good example.”¹³⁰ Mme Bailly also recounted this precipitate departure in a letter to M Ripel describing the deportee, Anna Graesser, as “a true woman”.¹³¹ Denis Peschanski notes another inspirational and poignant moment, – which he uses as an example of diversity in Brens camp, involving the whole camp: “When 31 Jewish internees were transported to St-Sulpice on their way to Auschwitz via Drancy on 26th August 1942, the commander reported, ‘The departure took place against the background singing of the ‘Marseillaise.’”¹³²

Those whose religion was politics took a moral stand at every turn. Many of those deported for their race, religion or political stance framed a lasting image in onlookers’ minds. The rousing sound of the whole camp singing the “Marseillaise” moved even those in the administration. These two occasions when courage and emotional identification shone through the terror of deportation, reflect the nourishment to the soul provided by striking individuals and groups. There were no statutes or decrees which could extinguish the effect of heroism in adversity which sustained the internees of Brens camp – and others outside. For some inmates, religion – often laced with practical aid – provided an effective coping mechanism and an anchor for tattered emotions; for others, friendship and love (romantic or otherwise) provided a solid support system, and the example of individual heroism, a focus for the numinous. Others such as Marie Touret apparently found the strength of character within themselves: “My morale is high and will remain so until the end”.¹³³ However, although the remembered strains of the

¹²⁹ Letter J G/ S C no 215 of unspecified date of l’Inspecteur Principal, Chef du Service Départementale des Renseignements Généraux to the Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service Départementale des Renseignements Généraux at Albi: Objet: a/s de la correspondance: ADT 495 W: 4.

¹³⁰ Undated censored letter from Mme Galatoire of Brens camp to Mme Galatoire in the Indre: ADT 495 W: 4. The date of Anna Graesser’s departure was 24th November, 1943. Individual dossier of Anna Graesser: ADT 495 W: 61.

¹³¹ Letter of 25th November 1943 from Mme Bailly to M Marcel Ripel at St Sulpice camp: ADT 495 W: 4.

¹³² *La France des Camps*, p.383. Bi-monthly report of 16th-31st August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹³³ Letter of 17th December 1942 from Marie Touret (ép Aucouturier) to M Marien: ADT 495 W: 68.

“Marseillaise” being sung by Brens deportees – and those remaining behind – was a moral triumph, it was not a political one. The deportations continued as the Final Solution gathered pace.

Conclusion

Internment generally provoked extreme reactions. Whereas women in the outside world might, for instance, have negotiated for a packet of cigarettes and visited a café, watching the world go by, to take their minds off absent husbands and the many stresses of war, camp women had to navigate the rigours of confinement.¹³⁴ In this chapter I have used individual dossiers, official documents and secondary sources to analyse the support they received and the coping mechanisms they employed through practical, cultural, intellectual or religious pursuits, or even paid work. I have also highlighted the importance of friendship groups and support networks among the internees and the effect of background and personality in overcoming the rigours of internment.

I have argued for women’s agency, in their ability to bring creativity and camaraderie out of the recurrent nightmare of internment. If Scott Soo noted the range of publications which flourished in “the unlikely arena of the concentration camps”, the achievements of Rieucros/Brens women in the cultural arena were equally remarkable and break the mould of the narrative of the victim-internee to demonstrate the triumph, for most internees, of agency over victim-hood.¹³⁵

However, I have also noted the limits of that agency; although conditions definitely changed for the better in the camps as a result of inmates’ protests, no protest could prevent the deportation of foreign Jewish inmates. Although fellow internees engaged in physical combat with the guards in an attempt to protect the deportees, they were overcome, punished, and left with only the haunting melody of the “Marseillaise” and the memory of absent friends.¹³⁶ This is not to undermine the fact that Jewish women were agents alongside the other women before this tragic rupture; in fact the communists among them would have been well equipped to organise support networks and protests. I have also argued that despite all inmates’ participation in

¹³⁴ Cigarettes could be purchased at Brens camp on the black market but at extortionate prices. One internee paid 95 francs for a packet of cigarettes. Report of 30th April 1943 by M Lebegue, Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d’Internement sur le Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

¹³⁵ *The routes to exile*, p.105.

¹³⁶ *La France des Camps*, p.383. Monthly report of July 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Bi-monthly report of 16th-31st August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34. Report of July/August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7.

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activities traditionally considered to lie in the domain of masculinity, camp women did not essentially break out of the Vichy female schema whilst incarcerated.

Generally the women coped well with internment, although as noted earlier, there were at least two cases of mental illness at Rieucros; there was also a suicide at Brens. Dream, nightmare, heroism and degradation rode side by side in the complex unfurling of life at these camps. However, a certain ambivalence is evident in attitudes to internment and one which needs to be kept in play alongside its obvious suffering; for instance, whilst Sylta Busse's health suffered considerably, she relished opportunities for artistic endeavour provided by the camp environment. Furthermore, Marina Strasde's poem reflects the confusion felt by internees once released in the outside world and their felt need for safe perimeters within which to operate. However, as the internment period dragged on for many, they looked beyond the immediate to seek a grander scheme of things into which their efforts and suffering could slot, helping to rationalise the trauma of internment and bring it some significance in an eternal dimension. As Léona Schneider wrote to Irène Baillet from St Eloi clinic: "Nothing is useless... our internment will accomplish some purpose."¹³⁷ In the next chapter I examine that suffering from the perspective of memory and memorial and show that although incarcerated as women by a repressive, patriarchal regime, it was the perceived traditional female virtues of courage, fortitude, perseverance and patience that etched themselves on the internment period rather than female talent in a "man's" world.

¹³⁷ Letter of 25th August 1941 from Léona Schneider to Irène Baillet written from the Clinique St-Eloi in Montpellier: ADL 2 W: 2603. Also ADT 495 W: 34.

Chapter Six

Aftermath and Conclusion

To piece together a history of Rieucros and Brens camps now is like weaving a tapestry of nearly forgotten events or raking up “memories like reused fabric in a crazy quilt.”¹ My interest in the camps and the Holocaust had started with a bomb and a bag of pears. I was only a few hundred yards away when a bomb went off in Jo Goldenberg’s restaurant on the rue des Rosiers in Paris. It was loud and clear, as was its message. The pears were a gift from neighbours, whose garden every spring was a muddle of pink and white blossoms, forerunners of juicy pears to come. Marthe was an Auschwitz survivor whom I met once, invited – unusually – for a cup of tea. Another neighbour allowed me on another occasion to look at his family’s collection of photographs of Auschwitz and to visit his surviving aunt, Dr Miriam David, on the quai aux Fleurs in Paris, when she described her incarceration in Drancy before her deportation to Poland. Later on, as a guest at the celebration of the “Prix Mémoire de la Shoah”, I learned from Simone Veil, the main speaker at the event, that the master of ceremonies was unable to attend because he was at that very moment in conference with the President regarding recent anti-Semitic incidents. The persecution of the Jews is well-known but what I have attempted to do here is to memorialise Rieucros and Brens women who could not all lay claim to Jewishness but who nonetheless suffered under the repressive regime of the camp system in late Third Republic and Vichy France.

Memory has played a part in the unravelling of this history. Although relying mainly on contemporary archival sources, I have drawn insights from the retrospective writings of Dora Schaul (2006) and Françoise Seuzaret-Barry (2007) as well as the earlier *Tanguy* (1957). These

¹ Jonathan Boyarin, *Storm from Paradise: The Politics of Jewish Memory*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) p.xi. The citation Boyarin gives is “bell books 1990”. (Sic).

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must, by definition, be the past viewed from the perspective of the present. At best memory is fallible: Lucie Aubrac, when publicly challenged about the accuracy of her account, pointed out that she had written her memoirs of resistance activities entirely from memory at the age of 73 and there were bound to be inaccuracies, while Alban Vistel questions the ability of *passive* resisters “to keep a faithful memory.”² At worst memory is distorted by selection, the recollection of events massaged to fit ideologies of the present or simply obliterated to relieve the pain. Does this mean, then, that memory cannot be viewed as history, that individual testimony has no value in the construction and evaluation of events? The tension between scientific history and memory, between the professional historian’s objective analysis of events and the witnesses’ subjective recollection, has come to the fore in recent years as memorial history projects such as the British Library’s oral testimonies of Holocaust survivors and the “Association of Jewish Refugees”³ oral history project have burgeoned with the realisation that such opportunities will soon be lost.³ Hanna Diamond describes this tension as finding expression in the Liberation round table meeting between the Aubracs and eight historians on 17th May 1997 and concludes that where collaboration based on trust between the two sides breaks down, a valuable source of enrichment is denied the present day historian.⁴ For former internees, the suffering of internment had been indelibly seared into their consciousness and although detail might in some instances have faded, their accounts bring original insights into the experience of internment.

In this thesis I have held in play both witness testimony from internees’ writings and historical analysis from scholarship on the subject. My detailed examination of archival sources has produced insight into both the felt experiences of the women, mainly through censored correspondence, and the machinations of both Third Republic and Vichy administration of the camps. This is a unique opportunity therefore to bring together the subjective and the more empirically grounded and to accord them both a role in the moulding of ever-developing historical construct.

Drawing on this rich vein of primary archival material together with secondary sources, I have undertaken in this thesis the study of Rieucros and Brens camps in the Southern zone during the

² Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years: 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.629-630; Alban Vistel, *L’héritage spirituel de la résistance*, (Lyon: Lug, 1955) p.58 quoted in *The Dark Years*, p.606.

³ Holocaust Survivors Centre Testimony recording project www.bl.uk; Association of Jewish Refugees Oral History Project www.recollectionsofwwii.co.uk.

⁴ Hanna Diamond and Claire Gorrara, ‘The Aubrac Controversy’, *History Today*, 51 (March 2001).

war years. Setting them against the political background to internment in France, I have woven together the three main strands which thread through the development of the camps: the policies and role of government, the effectiveness of day to day administration and the lives of the women themselves. In doing so, I have illustrated that the camp represented a micro-community where not only internees but also personnel and administrators were thrown together in apposition to the outside world, that there were similarities as well as differences between the two and that relationships between them impacted both the smooth running of the camps and the morale of those who lived and worked in them. I have challenged the concept of a divide between Third Republic and Vichy attitudes – following Eric Malo and Monique-Lise Cohen’s assertion of “spectacular continuity” – the vilification of all Vichy officials and the stereotyping of both internees and their captors.⁵ I have argued that even in the most extreme circumstances, individuals, whether officials or prisoners, could influence the experience of internment. I also assert that, although Rieucros and Brens might represent “internment in its milder form”, it is important not to lose sight of the horror of the “camps of shame” or deny women – for the most part very ordinary – a voice in memorial.⁶

My first chapter, “Demography”, takes the first of those strands and analyses how government policy and the transition from war to defeat, from Third Republic to Vichy, affected the constituent population of the camp and its development. I have argued that although there was administrative continuity between the Third Republic and Vichy there was discontinuity in that the tightening grip of a repressive regime extended the tentacles of internment, a process which reached its climax in the collusion of French officials in the deportations from Brens camp. I have demonstrated that from a mainly *male* “reception centre” for assembling foreigners – totalling 72 – it became a camp holding well over 500 women of many nationalities and walks of life, from nomads to aristocrats.⁷ At first mainly foreigners, they were soon joined by French suspects and eventually outnumbered by them. I have presented an analysis of grounds for internment for both foreign and French internees, some of which appeared arbitrary.⁸

⁵ Monique Lise Cohen and Eric Malo, *Les Camps du Sud-ouest de la France: Exclusion, Internement, Déportation, 1939-1944* (Toulouse: Privat, 1994), p.29 and p.22.

⁶ Vera T. Mirsky, *The Cup of Astonishment* (London: The Cresset Press, 1944), p.42. The phrase “camps of shame” is taken from the title of Anne Grynberg’s book: Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: les internés juifs des camps français 1939-1944* (Paris: La découverte, 1991).

⁷ Report of 8th August 1939 of the Chef du Camp de Rieucros to the Préfet de la Lozère: Mende, Archives départementales de la Lozère (ADL) 2 W: 2805.

⁸ For instance, the “devout and hard-working” Appoline Falquet, mother of a gravely ill 16 year old, had been taken from her home and interned by order of the ministry of the Interior; not only was the

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My second chapter focused on the second strand, the administration of the camps and, after outlining the structure and hierarchy of the camp system, I assessed the important role of the commander in determining the lot of internees, detailing his complex task as he wrangled with Third Republic and Vichy bureaucracy and conflict among his staff. I argued that his pivotal role gave him the power to influence the experience and outcome of internment, using his leverage both to improve conditions in the camp and to facilitate the release of internees. However, I have noted two limits to his influence: the personal moral preconceptions and interpretations which could inform his actions and second, his inability (or lack of desire) to counter the orders of higher administration – in particular the carrying out of the deportations. I have detailed two areas of particular difficulty facing commanders: the recruiting and maintaining of personnel and responsibility for the physical condition of the site and associated building works; in the case of Rieucros, then Brens, M Faggianelli, particularly, showed diligence and apparent compassion in his improvements. Although one may question his motives, careful study of archival sources demonstrates a genuinely humane man, although warped by prejudice against certain categories of internees, namely prostitutes and nomads. I have majored on his role in monitoring conditions at Brens and the difficulties of accommodating large numbers of prostitutes before they were released. So important was the question of the internment of the prostitutes and so little the attention it has previously received that I have devoted a separate chapter (Chapter Three) to the “prostitute question” as it impacted Brens, and the release of prostitutes in 1943 – a volte-face in Vichy policy – and considered the motives of those who volunteered for work in Germany (from Brens, these were mainly prostitutes). I have outlined the importance of sanitation above morality in the Vichy agenda concerning prostitution, although the two were intertwined in the camps since the fear of contagion was linked to the perception of prostitutes as morally dirty, posing a moral as well as a physical danger. M Faggianelli was, however, forced to admit defeat in their separation from other prisoners.⁹

prefect of Tarn ignorant of the reason for her arrest but so too was her home prefect (Savoie) who attested to her good character; an administrative error was suspected but never admitted. Letter no 60165 of 29th October 1943 of the Préfet de Savoie to the Préfet du Tarn; individual dossier of Appoline Falquet (ép Pommier): Albi, Archives départementales du Tarn (ADT) 495 W: 59. Letter of 2nd October 1943 from Appoline Falquet to the Préfet du Tarn; individual dossier of Appoline Falquet (ép Pommier): ADT 495 W: 59.

⁹ Letter of 6th April 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 45.

The third strand, the lives of the women themselves, is explored in my fourth chapter which first considers the difficulties of internment from the point of view of inadequate provisioning – a constant source of distress – and difficult living conditions, for instance the sleeping quarters at Rieucros before the “box” system (a group of three metal beds) was introduced at Brens. I have also examined the genuine medical care at Rieucros, comparing it with filthy conditions at Gurs where the guard, after accompanying the 145 internees transferred in June 1944, wrote an outraged report at having to leave his charges in such an appalling environment.¹⁰ However, even at Rieucros and Brens, the suffering of internment cannot be underestimated and must be kept in play alongside the positive aspects women drew from the internment period. Scott Soo’s conclusion about Spanish republican exiles is relevant here: he maintains they embarked on “reconstructing themselves... through a diverse set of... cultural and social activities... which significantly developed from within the unlikely and barren landscape of the camps.”¹¹ Given these impediments, I have shown, in Chapter Five, the resilience of the women, demonstrating their coping mechanisms and celebrating their cultural achievements. I have argued that the background and personality of the women had a bearing on their ability to cope and that those who were able to organise themselves around shared nationality or political convictions fared better. Further, for those long-interned, holding fast to the strongly-held beliefs that had precipitated their internment brought meaning and deeper significance to their suffering. In this section the agency of camp women (including foreign Jews) has been juxtaposed with their victim-hood, agency generally triumphing at Rieucros and Brens except when it came to the tragedy of the deportations.

Ultimate victim-hood: the role of Rieucros and Brens camp in the deportations

I stated earlier that my interest in the camps began with the meeting in Paris of French Jewish Holocaust survivors in the context of present-day persecution. Rieucros and Brens have been labelled Jewish camps and in the summer of 2015 the link of Rieucros to deported Jews was foregrounded by a representative of a local memorial society claiming that “Rieucros’ ... history is entirely linked to... the deportation of Jews”.¹² However, as Chapter One demonstrates,

¹⁰ Report no 422/2 of 9th June 1944 of Sous-Lieutenant Hivet, Commandant de la Section Gendarmerie de Lavaur: ADT 495 W: 9.

¹¹ Scott Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939-2009* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), p.84. Jean Estèbe and others, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1996), p.116.

¹² Speech by an officer of the Association pour le souvenir de Rieucros (likely to be Sandrine Peyrac, President of the Association):

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Rieucros and Brens were not predominantly Jewish camps and Jews never accounted for much more than a quarter of their population. Indeed according to Eric Malo: “The Jews (at Brens) were not numerous, totalling only 80, and stayed at the camp for... a short time before being moved on to other camps; in the first instance, Vernet.”¹³ In fact, although the camp log states that 82 Jews were present when Rieucros camp moved to Brens, the reality was only 69, as the commander mistakenly included 13 Italian Christians in the tally in his bi-monthly report – an error later corrected.¹⁴ Since he mentions Vernet as the first destination for convoys of Jews and most convoys were initially sent to St Sulpice, Eric Malo must be referring here to a convoy of 10 Jews deported from Brens via Vernet on 25th March 1944, two years after the move to Brens; not, then, such a short stay.¹⁵ Neither is there any evidence that Jews were deported directly from Rieucros although there were, however, numbers of Jewish inmates at Brens destined for the death camps in the east generally via St Sulpice and Drancy. The outcome for foreign Jewish inmates was usually deportation although there were exceptions to the rule; for instance Suzanne Haenel, an Alsatian refugee, was given a one month term of imprisonment for making a false declaration to avoid having “Jew” placed on her identity card and was released on 13th September 1943 after just over a month at Brens. This was surprising since foreigners were the category of Jews targeted by the authorities.

It is essential to note here the difference in treatment of French and foreign Jews regarding expulsion since French Jews were not officially targeted during the deportations.¹⁶ In early August 1942 the Secretary General of Police detailed certain nationalities who had entered France after 1st January 1936 as eligible for expulsion, including Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Russians and people from Danzig and Saar. Among the nationalities exempted at this time were Belgians and Dutch; nonetheless, Belgians were included in a group sent from Vénissieux to Drancy at the end of August.¹⁷ Similarly it is

<http://www.camp-rieucros.com/images/stories/association/ag/discours_juillet_2015.pdf> [accessed on 6th March 2016]. The date chosen for the memorial ceremony – 16th July each year – is the anniversary of the round-ups at the Vel d’Hiv stadium in Paris.

¹³ *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain*, p.116.

¹⁴ Bi-monthly report of 1st-15th March 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34.

¹⁵ The full name of the camp is St Sulpice-La-Pointe, the male equivalent to Brens.

¹⁶ For instance, the French Jewish internee, Marguerite Mosse was released on 9th October 1943 at the end of a fixed six month term. Individual dossier of Marguerite Mosse (vve Mosse): ADT 495 W: 64. This internee’s maiden name and married name are the same.

¹⁷ Other exemptions included people over 60; unaccompanied children under 18; pregnant women; parents with children under five; war veterans with at least three months’ service; people unable to

possible that some French Jews were included in convoys when the number of available Jews did not reach the quota prescribed by the Germans.¹⁸ As Renée Poznanski points out, “In order to free up space on trains from the Occupied Zone, authorities began sending French Jews... to Pithiviers;” the first such transfer took place in September 1942.¹⁹ At the same time in Marseille authorities went even further and filled two empty cattle cars with random prisoners regardless of their eligibility for expulsion; they were sent off still in their night clothes with no possessions.²⁰ Even previous service to France did not influence outcomes: on 4th September on a train arriving at Drancy which included 150 prisoners from St Sulpice, two Austrian prisoners were seen wearing the red ribbon of the Legion of Honour.²¹ The following year on 10th September a brutal manhunt in Nice led by Aloïs Brunner flushed out French as well as foreign Jews; between 10th and 14th September a total of 1,819 Jews were sent to Drancy by train.²² It seems then that eligibility for deportation was fudged over in the frantic race to deliver enough Jews for the Nazis’ requirements.

So great was the psychological and emotional impact of the deportations on the life of Brens camp that it is not surprising that they have, in memory at least, defined its nature. Women interned for being German or Austrian, communist or anti-Vichy, or simply not in possession of a valid identity card – like Esther Kounsky who had been sentenced to 15 days’ prison for lack of papers on 9th May 1940 and was transferred to Récébédou, presumably for deportation, in September 1942 – they were murdered as Jews.²³ In a wider context there had been attempts to get the Jews out of the camps; for example the efforts of Gilbert Lesage and the “Office of Social Service for Foreigners” (SSE) or the “Main Office for Shelters” led by Abbé Glasberg, Nina Gourfinkel and Joseph Weill.²⁴ In the case of the former, three houses were opened and 57

be moved; people with French spouses or children; people with jobs in the national (economic) interest or a record of service to France. Susan Zuccotti, *The Holocaust, the French and the Jews* (London, Lincoln: Bison Books, 1999), p.118.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.132. In early August 1942 French police in the Unoccupied zone were preparing to hand over 10,000 foreign Jews to the Nazis. Ibid., p.118.

¹⁹ Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover NH: Brandeis University Press/ University Press of New England, 2001), p.285, p.287.

²⁰ *The Holocaust, the French and the Jews*, p.132. Susan Zuccotti is recording Raymond Raoul Lambert’s indignant witnessing of the event.

²¹ Ibid., p.133.

²² Ibid., p.391.

²³ Individual dossier of Esther Kounsky (vve Schuckler): ADT 495 W: 62.

²⁴ *Jews in France during World War II*, pp.193-4.

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Gurs inmates released into them during summer 1942.²⁵ Since inmates were not allowed to stray farther than five kilometres from the “Main Office” centres, it was easy for the authorities to identify them when raids and deportations began.

Deportations of the foreign Jews started in earnest from the Unoccupied zone in August 1942. German and Polish Jews held at Brens were separated from other detainees and deported to concentration camps outside France. Denis Peschanski notes two separate deportations from Brens, 26th August 1942 and 21st September 1942; in fact there were six.²⁶ From the commander’s bi-monthly reports it is possible to trace the numbers deported. The report for the beginning of August 1942 records the departure of two Israelites; presumably they formed part of a party of seven transferred “to another camp”.²⁷ This incident was received with trepidation among remaining internees who justifiably feared more deportations to come. Although Susan Zuccotti claims that all internment camps in the Southern zone were emptied by 25th August, the report for the second half of August duly records the departure of 31 Jews – also transferred to another camp – on 31st August followed by the poignant fate of “prisoner number 41” who was transferred on 27th August 1942 to “an unknown destination”, alone apart from a guard.²⁸ Dora Schaul narrowly escaped the August deportations fleeing Brens on 14th July 1942, just before the major departure of Jews.²⁹

²⁵ According to Nina Gourfinkel, the shelters – which were run on aid from the OSE – received 1,000 people in all including 40 teenage girls who had been freed from Gurs. Ibid. To my knowledge, no Brens inmates were received into these shelters; however, one Brens internee was transferred to “La Maison Fleurie”, a CIMADE centre at Chambon-sur-Lignon. Dossier entitled ‘Action Sociale’: ADT 495 W: 49.

²⁶ Denis Peschanski, *La France des Camps: L’internement 1938-1946* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2002), p.394.

²⁷ Bi-monthly report of 1st-15th August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

²⁸ *The Holocaust, the French and the Jews*, pp.125-6. Bi-monthly report of 15th-31st August 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 34; receipt of 27th August 1942 from the Chief Escort to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 44.

²⁹ Philippe Joutard, Jacques Poujol and Patrick Cabanel, *Cévennes, terre de refuge: 1940-1944* (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc (Club Cévenol), 2006), p.122. Dora used the 14th July celebrations as a cover for her escape. She walked to L’Isle-sur-Tarn and caught a train to Lyon where she was furnished with identity papers. She later learnt that her name had been second on the list of Jews to be transported on 26th August.

The commander's report for 1st-16th September 1942 referred to troubled spirits and a heavy atmosphere produced by the August deportations and the fear of further departures, a prospect realised in the second half of the month.³⁰ The report for 15th-30th September states that 14 Israelites were placed in the charge of the Tarn police and says this "...convoy of Israelites was prepared and effected in an atmosphere of total calm."³¹ It was not until 16th-31st October that the commander reported the "affair" at an end: "...no more convoys."³² However, the "affair" was far from over. Censored correspondence of 26th August 1943 notes: "...a departure for a special centre" and the monthly report for August shows 44 internees and five children "taken to the Douadic centre".³³ It is not known how many of these internees were Jews but there were at that time only 12 foreign Israelites and four French left in the camp. The final departure of Jewish prisoners took place on 25th March 1944 when 10 Israelites were transferred to Vernet en route for Drancy and Auschwitz.³⁴ Suzette Agulhon recounted that the "Marseillaise" was sung as usual in an act of solidarity with the Jews; afterwards sanctions were imposed whilst the leaders were placed in solitary confinement.³⁵ There was no doubt by now of the destiny of those who were deported.

³⁰ Bi-monthly report of 1st-15th September 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

³¹ Bi-monthly report of 16th-30th September 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

³² Bi-monthly report of 16th-31st October 1942 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 34.

³³ Monthly report for August 1943 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. Built as a camp for German prisoners of war in 1939, after the armistice the few Germans there were released and the camp became an internment camp for foreign refugees, especially Spanish. From 1942 onwards it became a transit camp for Jews (triage) who were then transported to Drancy and Auschwitz. <<http://www.ajpn.org/internement-Camp-de-Douadic-65.html>> [accessed on 28th June 2018].

³⁴ Report of 11th April 1944 (JG/ GP no. 751) of the Inspecteur de Police, Jean Galinier, to the Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service Départemental des Renseignements Généraux: Obj. "L'état d'esprit des internées au camp de Brens: (personnel et internées)." ADT 495 W: 7. It seems likely that this convoy contained French as well as foreign Jews.

³⁵ Suzette Agulhon, *Témoignage d'une résistante* <<http://www.camp-rieucros.com/images/stories/temoignage/SUZETTE.pdf>> [accessed on 20th January 2017].

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The main preoccupation of all internees was to get permanently released from the camp, a process involving a draining emotional roller-coaster of hope and despair as pleading letters were written and bureaucratic hoops navigated. However, all this must have faded into insignificance before the fate awaiting deportees. Length of internment, family intervention, aid agencies, good behaviour, the commander's opinion of internees and the willingness of local and home prefects to agree to the release of prisoners, could all have a bearing on outcomes. However, ultimately nothing could change the decisive factor for the foreign Jews as far as the German Occupiers and the Vichy government were concerned – race itself, an accident of birth whose outcome was the death sentence. The sombre sight of the deportations, the haunting strains of the “Marseillaise” and the courage of the deportees must have put the plight of remaining internees and their preoccupation with release into a different perspective. In a farewell postcard from Drancy (one of five sent by deportees to friends at camp), Sophie Zemanska wrote to Marie Jeanne Duthil (who had been refused leave of absence from the camp on the grounds of “her hostile attitude...to personnel...on the occasion of the deportation of the Jews”), “we leave tonight around four o'clock in the morning...tell the others that we are very courageous.”³⁶

The Afterlife of Brens camp

The final departure from Brens of all internees came on 3rd June 1944 when, following the requisitioning of the camp by the Occupation army, the remaining 145 women were transferred to Gurs leaving the camp ready for the arrival of German troops on 7th June.³⁷ The military residence did not last long and the troops were evacuated from the camp on 24th July 1944 leaving behind considerable damage.³⁸ This was not, however, the end of the life of the camp. In a curious twist of irony, the commander M Legarçon, who had remained in Gaillac, was summoned by the Divisional Chief of the prefecture on 20th August 1944, three days after the liberation of Gaillac, to resume the direction of the camp and prepare it to receive internees.³⁹ A sense of “déjà vu” pervades the preparations: the repair of water conduits and electrical installations, the bleaching of barracks, kitchens and refectory and the need for lighting paths.

³⁶ Individual dossier of Marie Jeanne Duthil (ép Ducros): ADT 495 W: 59. Sophia Zemanska had been in the convoy of 26th August 1942.

³⁷ Report of 9th June 1944 of Sous-Lieutenant Nivet: ADT 495 W: 9; Letter no 3012/D of 8th June 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn ADT 495 W: 9.

³⁸ Letter of 28th July 1944 of the Secrétaire Générale à l'Intérieur to the Préfet Régional de Toulouse: ADT 495 W: 9.

³⁹ Report of 26th September 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens on the organisation of the camp, to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 9. The Divisional Chief was Mr Rucher.

But M Legarçon, former Vichy servant, took care to establish his credentials even citing his son's rejoining the army, serving now in Germany, as he prepared to receive a very different clientèle.⁴⁰

There were three distinct phases in the after-life of Brens. The first internees were overwhelmingly French women categorised as "politicals"; at the end of October they numbered 65 and had been joined by one foreign political and three French economic prisoners.⁴¹ This stage of the camp lasted until the end of 1944 when 27 internees were left.⁴² The second phase started in January 1945 when the camp was filled with 246 men, 237 of whom were "politicals" including seven foreigners; 22 of the women remained.⁴³ By the end of April 1945, 315 men had been interned at Brens since the Liberation, of whom 166 had been released.⁴⁴ However, Brens emptied as quickly as it had filled and on 1st May 1945 the internees were moved to Noé, leaving the camp empty during May and June before the third phase of its life started with the arrival between 11th and 24th July 1945 of 406 internees, of whom 141 were children.⁴⁵ This time they were all foreign female "politicals" arriving from St Sulpice and awaiting repatriation – mainly German and Austrian – those who were unable to work because of old age or health, or because they had young children.⁴⁶ Numbers decreased during October and November when (reminiscent of the French Jews in 1942) the Germans were transferred to

⁴⁰ Letter of 2nd November 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. He had previously served in North Africa.

⁴¹ Report of 16th-31st October 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36; report of 29th November 1944 of the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 7. It is not clear whether "politicals" at this stage meant French collaborators, although perhaps the fact that former guards and wardresses were re-employed suggests a more nuanced interpretation. There were 18 male guards and 15 wardresses at that time. Report of 26th September 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens on the organisation of the camp to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 9; report of 16th-31st October 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36.

⁴² Report of 1st-15th December 1944 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36. Unfortunately there is no report for the period between 16th December 1944 and 15th January 1945.

⁴³ Report of 16th-31st January 1945 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36.

⁴⁴ Report of the Directeur du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Brens to the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Inspection Général des Camps, entitled 'Situation numérique des internés et internées détenus au Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Brens à la date du 30 Avril 1945': ADT 495 W: 36.

⁴⁵ Report of 16th-30th April 1945 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36. Monthly report of July 1945 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7; report for 16th-31st July 1945: ADT 495 W: 7.

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Pithiviers camp and by the end of the camp records – 15th January 1946 – there were 112 women, all foreign “politicals”, and 67 children. M Legarçon was still at his post as commander.⁴⁷

The concerns recorded in the monthly reports, particularly during the camp’s last phase, echo those of its earlier life: the provision of a school for the children (staffed by three qualified German internees), the health and nutrition of internees, the equipping of the infirmary and the contents of the censored correspondence (all agreed the food was better than at St Sulpice).⁴⁸ The wheel had come full circle: the internees, as at the beginning of the camp, were foreigners, mostly Germans and Austrians waiting to go home; while the staff from the locality had survived the military and political upheavals to resume their former roles. Perhaps, however, the most poignant irony is that also among the guards were those who had spent five years in captivity as prisoners of war; and – echoing the old days – that two of them were sacked for having relations with German women internees.⁴⁹

The sites of Rieucros and Brens camps and other memorials

Memory is endless, stopped in its tracks by memorial and remains – or lack of them.⁵⁰ If place is “an amalgam of bounded spaces... and affective sentiment generated by... interaction between individuals and sites,” then the site of Rieucros camp – and Brens after it – warrant consideration in any attempt to spin individual histories out of the tangled skein of internment.⁵¹ The actual sites of these two camps today are quite different. Remains of Brens survive, hidden behind the high enclosure which separates the site from the road. The “space” where Rieucros sat all those years ago is now a grassy place whose most prominent vestige is, ironically, a

⁴⁶ Joël Bercaire and others, *Documents et sources pour l’histoire de la seconde guerre mondiale dans le département du Tarn, Volume 2, Accueil des réfugiés, camps d’internement: répertoires numériques 348 W, 493 W et 495 W* ([Albi]: Conseil général du Tarn, Archives Départementales, 2001), p.245 footnote 24; p.241 footnote 16.

⁴⁷ Report of 1st-15th January 1946 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 36. Pithiviers camp was in the Loiret.

⁴⁸ There are no monthly reports for the “male” period of the camp, although statistics were recorded fortnightly.

⁴⁹ Monthly report of August 1945 of the Chef du Camp de Brens: ADT 495 W: 7.

⁵⁰ The statement is an adaptation of a line by T. S. Eliot in *The Four Quartets*: “Humility is endless.” T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1963).

⁵¹ David Cesarani, Tony Kushner and Milton Shain, eds., *Place and displacement in Jewish History and Memory: Zakor v’ Makor*, (London, Portland, Or.: Valentine Mitchell, 2009), p.142.

carved rock depicting a soldier with the dates 1789 and 1939 – commemorating the 150th anniversary of the French revolution – sculpted by Walter Gierke.⁵² Pushing the camp further back into the realm of myth is a stylised Grecian memorial bust erected in 1970 to commemorate the women internees. The historically “enclosed” bust contrasts sharply, for instance, with the expansive memorial to the Vercors resistance at Vassieux where the numbing tragedy of “before and after” is evoked by great sheets of glass which stream endless tears in the rain.

Writing of neglect in remembrance, rather like Denis Peschanski’s lament about the lack of a centralised archive base for the camps, Olivier Lalieu asserts: “The memory of internment camps in France remains... absent from any kind of national remembrance structure” – although by the time of his writing (2013) retrospective accounts of former internees had recently begun to appear in print.⁵³ There is an uneasiness in forgetting. I had started out tracing the history of the Holocaust as it related to Rieucros and Brens camps, particularly since scholars like Eric Malo had previously linked them to the “Jewish camps” of the Southern zone – only to find that the reality behind their history revealed a more dense texture, a complexity so far overlooked in attempts at memorialisation.⁵⁴ On closer investigation, I found that Brens camp housed mainly prostitutes in the later stage of its life as a women’s camp, and that these, and common law prisoners, have no memorial. However, an engraved stone and a small plaque in memory of Dora Schaul, for whom the road is now named, stand outside the entrance to Brens whilst a larger-than-life size stone statue of a woman bound in ropes tucked away in a small park near the station in Gaillac commemorates 31 German and Polish resisters transported to Auschwitz. (See Appendix A).

Brens camp had been constructed on land belonging to the Comtesse de Noblet d’Anglure whose son still baulks at the requisitioning of his family’s property and the fierce battle involved in reclaiming it from the authorities.⁵⁵ At least one dilapidated hut survives on the site, visible from the entrance along the road to Toulouse. Broken windows and a collection of bottles and debris outside are a reminder of one of the original reports on the suitability of Brens

⁵² Only those who knew about the existence of the camp would have been able to find it. Walter Gierke was a male internee.

⁵³ *La France des Camps*, p.399; Olivier Lalieu in: Yves Jeanmougin, *Memory of the Camp de Milles, 1939-1942* (Marseille: Metamorphoses/ Le Bec en l’air, 2013), p.193.

⁵⁴ Eric Malo, ‘Les Camps de la Région Toulousaine 1940-1944’, in *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain au temps de Vichy*, pp.91-130 (pp.91-2).

⁵⁵ Interview with the Comte de Noblet, Gaillac, May 2014.

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for an internment camp; it also evokes memories of M Court, the drunken guard and his wayward charge, Jeanne Blanc.⁵⁶ Perhaps the best memorial at the time of my visit was a pill box – situated just outside the main, beautifully sculpted gate– decorated with a huge black swastika with no comment at all. There was no indication of when it was painted or whether it was simply anti-Semitic graffiti. However, it was an unintentional memorial which evoked the stark devastation of Occupation-era France. It also hinted at a future threat.

Sometimes, then, absence of remains is its own memorial as at Rieucros, and memory, too painful to be scrutinised, is perhaps best kept tucked away behind enclosures as at Brens. It is only since the setting up of a memorial association in August 1992 that a few surviving internees have come forward to offer their testimony to ensure that the events of the past are not forgotten. Memorialisation has been a contradictory phenomenon with a double bind at its heart. On the one hand, where memory is too searingly painful to admit of tangible memorial, the danger is that the existence of the camps will be forgotten. On the other hand, the solid, static memorial can restrict and distort understanding of the suffering supposedly represented and fail to convey the complexities involved. The romanticised bust at Rieucros, for example, raises the perception of the women interned to the realm of a uniform mythology, choosing to by-pass the horror and physicality of their suffering and the diversity of their backgrounds; in doing so it inadvertently perpetuates the Vichy ideology of perfect womanhood, the eternal feminine. Conversely, the statue at Gaillac was limited in its focus to 31 specific women described as German and Polish antifascists; although in no sense wishing to diminish the significance of their deportation and deaths, it must be seen as inadequate in addressing the context and scope of internment and, in its original form, inaccurate in reflecting the truth of the racial, genocidal nature of the deportations of the Jews. Perhaps, so great is the diversity encompassed by internment, it will not be possible to embrace a single form of memorial which adequately illuminates the suffering of a myriad different internees; however, it has been the work of the memorial associations to give voice to the pain, to counter inaccuracies and to confront the shame of the presence of the camps.

Although it was a slow awakening, memorial associations commemorating Rieucros and Brens and their occupants have sprung up like morning mushrooms in recent years. The catalyst for this was an exhibition in Toulouse organised by historians in 1990 on “The Camps of Internment of the South of France, 1939-1944” which made no mention at all of Brens. To

⁵⁶ Letter of 12th January 1942 of l’Ingénieur de Génie Rural to the Préfet du Tarn: ADT 495 W: 8. Individual dossier of Jeanne Blanc: ADT 495 W: 55.

redress this deficiency and coinciding with the disbanding of “L’Amicale des Anciennes Internées de la Résistance des Camps de Rieucros et de Brens” which had been set up by former internees Fernande Valignat and Odette Capion, the “Association pour Perpétuer le Souvenir des Internées des Camps de Brens et de Rieucros” (APSICBR) was founded by MM Charles Couchet and Christian Bardou in 1991 with Dora Schaul as its vice-president. This was closely followed by the founding of the “Association pour le Souvenir de Rieucros” on 12th August 1992, whose stated aims were to “preserve the memory of the suffering of the camps’ internees but also to study the causes leading to the creation of such a camp...”; this association holds a commemorative ceremony at the site on 16th July each year.⁵⁷

A photographic exhibition in Brens community hall organised by the APSICBR to commemorate International Women’s Day seemed to provide a good compromise in terms of memorialisation; scenes depicting camp life were off-set by a concert of Eastern European Gypsy music and a play entitled “Les Indésirables”.⁵⁸ The programme unwittingly reflected many former internees’ ethnicity and activities at the camp. (See Appendix B). Memory work has also gained momentum with first, a documentary about Rieucros camp by Bénédicte Delfaut broadcast on 15th January 2015.⁵⁹ Secondly, a speech by a member of the “Association pour le souvenir de Rieucros” given at Mende on 16th July 2015 stressed the need to re-awaken a “living memory” to cater for those whose sense of connection with their mothers had been lost in the silence shrouding the internment period.⁶⁰ Those closely involved often preferred to forget; it is the next generation who want to commemorate their relatives’ past.⁶¹

The latest development in memorial is the addition of a new stele erected outside Brens camp in August 2015 placed under an earlier plaque. It finally attests to the racial nature of the August 1942 deportations there and admits the responsibility of the Vichy government, thus rectifying

⁵⁷ Statutes of the Association pour le souvenir de Rieucros, 12th August 1992: <<http://www.camp-rieucros.com/index.php/2014-08-02-03-40-15/presentation>> [accessed on 6th March 2016].

⁵⁸ The hut is called “L’Espace Socio-cultural de Brens”.

⁵⁹ The programme was broadcast on the television channel “Toute l’Histoire”. <<http://helenebourguignon.net/blog/les-indesirables>> [accessed on 18th November 2015].

⁶⁰ <<http://www.camp-rieucros.com>> [accessed on 25th November 2015].

⁶¹ One lady, searching for her mother’s history at the Tarn archives, asked me to piece together some of her mother’s story. Her gratitude was touching; it was a part of her mother she knew nothing about. The lady, who was visiting from Lozère, prefers to remain anonymous. Many dossiers from Rieucros were transferred from the Lozère to the Tarn archives.

Aftermath and Conclusion

the former omission.⁶² The pendulum has swung in this one event from memorialisation being weighted towards resisters, as in the Gaillac statue, to the commemoration focusing on Jewish deportees. A distortion of the truth has been reversed; however, those internees who were neither resisters nor Jews – the prostitutes, grey marketeers, communists, petty criminals, victims of malice or outbursts of their own temper – still struggle to find a voice. Most are now dead, but the work by scholars, memorial associations and internees' descendants goes on in order to gather information about internment under Third Republic and Vichy France. At last the camps of Rieucros and Brens are beginning to find independent existence in memorial defined by space and place rather than memory, after living for almost half a century mainly in the minds and memories of former internees. The associations responsible for this movement are local and many of their members have family links to internees; however, as interest in their work spreads, it is hoped that the camps will no longer be sidelined but take their place in the annals of the history of internment camps in France alongside those whose story has already been explored.

Rieucros and Brens in collective memory

In a wider context, I have set this thesis against the background of political events in France – the refugee policy, the Third Republic, the armistice and Vichy years. The individual memories of a thousand women and the minutiae of each dragging day of internment coalesce to find their place not only in local history but in the ever-developing picture of Occupation-era France. However, individual memory contributes to collective memory but is not confined by it; collective memory is not the sum of fragmented individual experiences but is a phenomenon subject to manipulation and construction as myths grow, emerge and wane in the face of new interpretations. The battle to find a collective memory of the Vichy years has itself become the subject of academic study as communists and Gaullists struggled to claim “ownership” of the emerging Resistance myths. But thousands of victims of the Occupation and of Vichy France – returning STO workers, deportees, the racially persecuted, the interned and excluded – had no place and therefore no memorial in the constructed narrative of a French nation of resisters, the “true France” united behind De Gaulle, which had freed itself from the interruption represented by Occupation. Individual resisters were sidelined, subsumed into the concept of resister France.

⁶² *La Dépêche du Midi*, 15th August 2015. According to the article the stele was erected by l'Association du Camp de Brens.

<<http://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2015/08/15/2160040-une-plaque-inaugurée-au-camp-de-brens.html>
> [accessed on 20th September 2015].

This battle for the construction of collective memory was symbolised through memorial. The communists were quick off the mark, holding ceremonies in memory of their martyrs on 6th October 1944 at Ivry and a few days later at Père-Lachaise cemetery; streets and squares in Paris were renamed in their honour.⁶³ De Gaulle, on the other hand, in his tour of France following the Liberation, represented a living memorial as he proclaimed the discourse of a united France emerging victorious from a thirty year war against Germany. The telling memorial in this case was the plaque in memory of Georges Mandel, former minister of Colonies shot by the Milice outside Paris on 7th July 1944; unveiled in 1946, it stated he had been “murdered by the enemies of France”.⁶⁴ This veil over the truth was even more evident in the censorship of the 1956 documentary film “Night and Fog” where an authentic photograph of French police participating in the arrest of Jews was ordered to be cut.⁶⁵

Absence – silence, emptiness – can itself be memorial, but not, perhaps, where other voices clamour to fill the void. The ceremony of 11th November 1945 commemorating the shooting of French hostages at Mont Valérien involved the burial at a different site of fifteen people, supposedly representative of those who had died for France; but while soldiers and resisters had their place, deportees and other victims were excluded.⁶⁶ Similarly, when the ashes of Auschwitz victims were buried at Père-Lachaise in June 1946, astoundingly no mention was made of Jewish deportees; the ceremony was organised by the communists and the monument erected referred to “men, women and children deported from France, exterminated at Auschwitz, victims of Nazi barbarism”.⁶⁷ Nothing distinguished Auschwitz as an extermination camp from any other camp. There are echoes of this denial in the memorial statue in Gaillac, mentioned above, which commemorates the deportation of 31 women and is significantly dedicated to Resisters, not Jews. (See Appendix A). Similarly the plaque placed at the entrance to Brens camp in 1969 referred simply to French Resisters and foreign antifascists, and the deportation of German and Polish women – an omission later rectified.

The limits inherent, then, in tangible memorial and the bind at the heart of memorialisation find expression not only at local but also at national level. The stifling unity of the

⁶³ *The Dark Years*, p.602.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* The documentary film was by Alain Resnais.

⁶⁵ S. Langlois, ‘La Résistance dans le Cinéma Français de fiction 1944-1994’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, McGill University, 1996): cited in *The Dark Years*, p.604, footnote 10. In general, the role of the Milice was sanitised out of films of the period.

⁶⁶ *The Dark Years*, p.610.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.612.

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Gaullist/Resistance myth not only belied the ambiguities and complexities of the Vichy years, but also denied disparate groups of victims any route to memorial, negating their suffering and eclipsing their fragmented memories. The construct of the continuous existence of the French state moving from France to London during the aberration of the Occupation and then returning to effect the Liberation, endured in national thinking at the highest level. When, in 1992, President Mitterrand refused to make an official apology for Vichy's crimes at the remembrance ceremony for the Vel d'Hiv round-ups, he did so on the grounds that the Resistance, the governments of De Gaulle and the Fourth Republic had been "founded on the denial of this 'French State'".⁶⁸ However, historians had by then begun to explode the Gaullist myth; it is with this dismantling in recent years that Rieucros and Brens women are beginning to find a place in the consciousness of memorial.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that as well as official records and professional scholarship, written memoirs, contemporary diaries and correspondence provide penetrating insights into the felt experiences of the time. I have communicated a flavour of internees' experience of internment not only through extensive use of official documents and individual testimony, but with reference also to the diaries and memoirs of former internees, personal letters and my own database based on internees' individual dossiers. (See Appendix G). Hanna Diamond demonstrates that oral testimony and written memoirs provide penetrating insights into the felt experiences and practical constraints of the time by her use of interviews with women in the Toulouse area – just down the road from Brens. She writes of the cross-fertilisation of oral and archival sources and, like Richard Vinen, of the importance of "bottom up" as well as "top down" history.⁶⁹ However, "top down" and "bottom up" eventually meet where the bare bones of statutes, decrees, policies and ideologies, of international events and domestic government take form in the lives of individuals. This is precisely the point of meeting which the internees of Rieucros and Brens had reached, the point where the three strands of government, administration and individual experience are knotted together.

⁶⁸ Eric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris: Gallimard 'Folio', 1996), p.42: cited in *The Dark Years*, p.622.

⁶⁹ Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France 1939-1948: Choices and Constraints* (London, New York: Longman, 1999) p.14.

The persecution of the Jews is well-known, and rightly so, as is Resistance history. But what I have attempted to do here, by drawing on the primary and secondary sources available to me, is to give a voice to those ordinary Rieucros and Brens women – who could not all lay claim to Jewishness, some not even to any particular “otherness” except that attributed to them by the authorities – nomads or aristocrats, political prisoners or prostitutes, Jews or Gypsies, black marketeers or resisters, whose story has not yet been told. I have shown that, far from being passive victims of repression and incarceration, they demonstrated resilience, creativity and camaraderie which in itself constituted resistance to the regime which interned them. However, this agency was still only possible within the constraints of camp life. Internees could not, like free women, walk into town to enjoy sitting in a café with a coffee or substitute or a cigarette (if they could obtain them on the black market); they could not take any control over the framework of their day, constricted as it was by roll-calls, timetables and lights out, or explode their racial identity. There is a sense in which some of the women who passed through Rieucros and Brens were unsung heroines; some were petty thieves. But at a time when women were oppressed by a patriarchal regime, each of them deserves some sort of memorial and a voice in women’s history. Those who survived the camps, as well as those who survived the Holocaust, are themselves living memorials of a time which should never have been.

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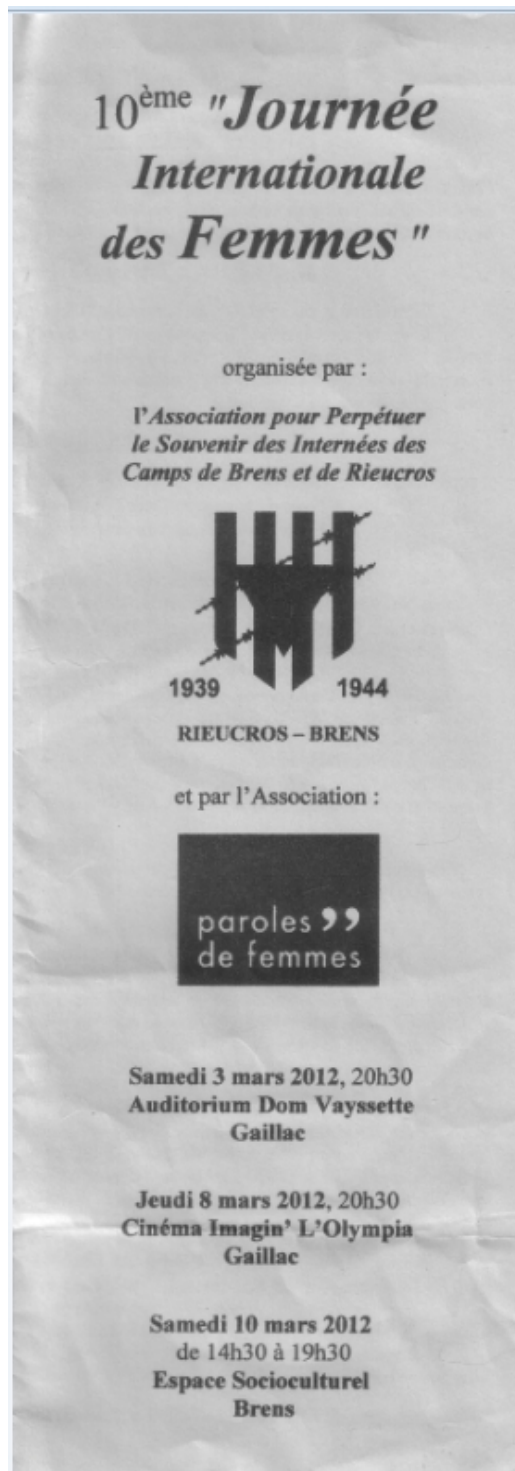
Appendix A

Memorial statue in Gaillac, Tarn



Appendix B

Journée Internationale des Femmes – programme front cover



Appendix C

Nationality and religion at Rieucros May 1941

The following table shows nationality and religion of internees at Rieucros for women aged 18-55 in May 1941.¹

Nationality	Christian	Jews	Muslim	Other
German	33	28		5
Austrian	2	9		
Ex-Sarroise	none			
Czech	6		1	
Armenian	3			1
Belgian	2	1		1
Bulgarian	2			
Spanish	82	1	8	3
Estonian	1			
French	28	3	11	2
Martinique	1			
Greek	4	2		
Dutch		1		
Hungarian	1	4		
Italian	6	1		
Lithuanian	1			
Luxembourg		1		
Norwegian	1			
Polish	43	33		1
Romanian	1	4		
Russian	13	2		
Syrian	1			
Turkish		1		
Ukrainian	1			
Yugoslavian				
unknown	1	4		
Stateless		6		

¹ADL 2 W: 2603.

Nationality and religion at Rieucros 1st to 15th August 1941

The following table shows nationality and religion of internees at Rieucros for women aged 18-55 between 1st and 15th August 1941.²

Nationality	Christian	Jews	Muslim	Other
German	16	17		3
Ex-Austrian	2	5		
Ex-Sarroise	none			
Czech	none			
Armenian	2			
Belgian	1			
Bulgarian	none			
Spanish	55	1		3
Estonian	1			
French	43	3		10
Martinique	1			
Greek	3			
Dutch	none			
Hungarian	2	2		
Italian	4	1		
Lithuanian	1			
Luxembourg	1			
Norway	none			
Polish	18	24		1
Romanian		3		
Russian	10	4		1
Syrian	2			
Turkish	1			
Ukrainian	none			
Yugoslavian	1			
Unknown	1	7		
Stateless	1	3		

²ADL 2 W: 2603.

Nationality and religion at Rieucros 15th to 31st August 1941

The following table shows nationality and religion of internees at Rieucros for women aged 18-55 between 15th and 31st August 1941.³

Nationality	Christian	Jews	Muslim	Other
German	13	14		3
Ex-Austrian	2	5		
Ex-Sarroise	none			
Czech	none			
Armenian	2			
Belgian	2			
Bulgarian	none			
Spanish	50			2
Estonian	1			
French	42	2		11
Martinique	1			
Greek	2	2		
Dutch	none			
Hungarian	2	1		
Italian	5			
Lithuanian	1			
Luxembourg	1			
Norway	1			
Polish	20	21		1
Romanian		3		
Russian	10	4		1
Syrian	2			
Turkish	1			
Ukrainian	none			
Yugoslav	1			
Unknown	1	7		
Stateless	1	3		

³ADL 2 W: 2603.

Appendix D

Nationality and profession at Rieucros May 1941

The following table shows numbers of internees at Rieucros by nationality and profession for women aged 18-55 in May 1941.⁴

Nationality	Professional	Industrial worker	Farm worker	Artisan	Shop keeper	Various	No profession
German	6	1		4	1	22	25
Polish	6	2	7	4	2	21	27
Spanish	5	14		15		17	23
French	2	4		1		14	12
Russian		2		2		3	6

Other workers of unspecified profession included:

Dutch	1
Hungarian	4
Italian	7
Latvian	1
Luxembourg	1
Romanian	3
Syrian	4
Turkish	5
Ukrainian	1
Yugoslavian	1
Austrian	9
Ex-Sarroise	1
Czech	7
Armenian	4
Belgian	3
Bulgarian	1
Estonian	1
Martinique	1
Greek	4
Unknown	8
Stateless	7

⁴ADL 2 W: 2603.

Nationality and profession at Rieucros 1st to 15th August 1941

The following table shows numbers of internees at Rieucros by nationality and profession for women aged 18-55 during 1st to 15th August 1941.⁵

Nationality	Professional	Industrial worker	Farm worker	Artisan	Shop keeper	Various	No profession
German	4			4	1	16	15
Polish	6		3	9	1	7	21
Spanish	2	9	1	12		14	24
French	6	8	2	7		18	19
Russian	2			4		5	7

Other workers of unspecified profession included:

Dutch	0
Hungarian	4
Italian	7
Latvian	0
Luxembourg	1
Romania	3
Syrian	2
Turkish	1
Ukrainian	0
Yugoslavian	1
Austrian	13
Ex-Sarroise	0
Czech	0
Armenian	4
Belgian	2
Bulgarian	0
Estonian	1
Martinique	1
Greek	5
Unknown	8
Stateless	7

⁵ADL 2 W: 2603.

Appendices

Nationality and profession at Rieucros 15th to 31st August 1941

The following table shows numbers of internees at Rieucros by nationality and profession for women aged 18-55 during 15th to 31st August 1941⁶

Nationality	Professional	Industrial worker	Farm worker	Artisan	Shop keeper	Various	No profession
German	4			4		11	12
Polish	6	1	4	7	1	10	19
Spanish	1	9	1	11		12	22
French	4	11		6		26	13
Russian	2			3		5	7

Other workers of unspecified profession included:

Dutch	0
Hungarian	3
Italian	6
Latvian	0
Luxembourg	1
Romanian	3
Syrian	2
Turkish	1
Ukrainian	0
Yugoslavian	1
Austrian	11
Ex-Sarroise	0
Czech	1
Armenian	1
Belgian	3
Bulgarian	0
Estonian	1
Martinique	1
Greek	4
Unknown	9
Stateless	3

⁶ADL 2 W: 2603.

Appendix E

Brens camp: 1942 (demography)

Numbers of women in the camp, selected from one entry for each month depending largely on legibility. The order of nationalities is recorded as it appears in the log: *Situation administratif du quinzaine, Camp du Brens*. ADT 495 W: 33.

1942	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Germany	23	24	24	22	22	20	13	13	13	13
Armenia	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	3
Austria	12	12	12	12	9	7	0	0	0	1
Belgium	3	3	4	5	5	5	6	6	7	8
Spain	50	51	48	46	45	46	46	45	48	50
Estonia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
France	95	93	97	92	93	93	124	123	146	135
Hellenic	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	3
Hungary	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Italy	16	22	23	27	26	27	27	23	20	20
Lithuania	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Norway	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	57	59	61	63	62	58	42	42	26	30
Romania	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	5	6	7
Russia	17	17	17	17	17	16	14	11	10	9

Brens camp: 1943 (demography)

1943	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Germany	13	14	10	10	9	9	10	6	8	9	7	5
Armenia	3	4	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Austria	1	0	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2
Belgium	8	7	6	5	7	6	4	2	3	3	1	1
Spain	50	49	54	58	52	46	45	35	35	35	24	22
Estonia	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
France	135	147	161	178	165	176	204	186	113	91	94	85
Hellenic	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0
Hungary	3	3	5	6	5	5	5	3	1	1	0	0
Italy	20	19	18	18	16	15	13	9	10	14	16	15
Lithuania	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poland	30	34	29	27	28	28	28	20	19	17	13	13
Romania	7	7	6	5	6	5	4	3	1	1	0	0
Russia	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	6	5	4	3
Syria	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Slovakia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turkey	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1

Brens camp: 1944 (demography)

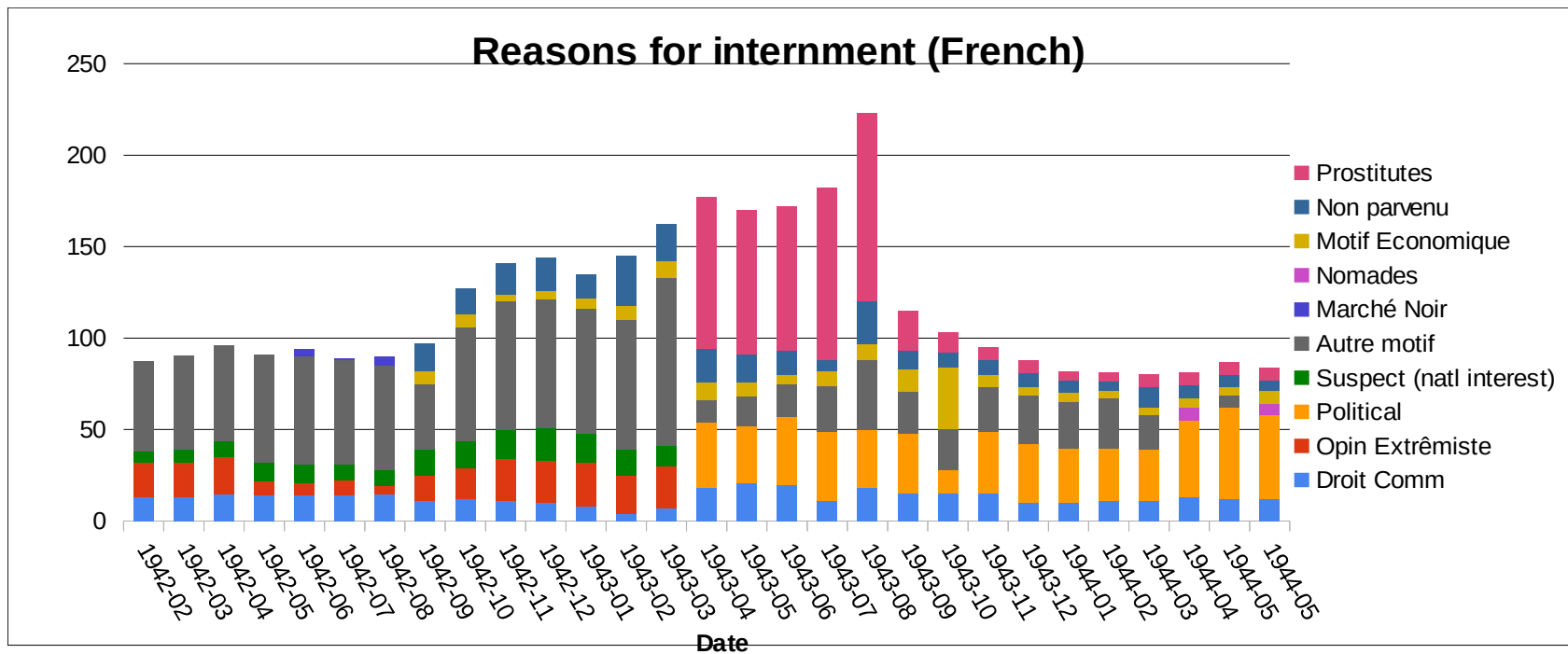
1944	Jan	Feb
Germany	1	1
Armenia	0	0
Austria	2	2
Belgium	1	1
Spain	24	21
Estonia	0	0
France	80	80
Hellenic	0	0
Hungary	0	0
Italy	15	13
Lithuania	0	0
Norway	0	0
Poland	16	16
Romania	1	1
Russia	2	2
Syria	0	0
Slovakia	0	0
Turkey	10	1

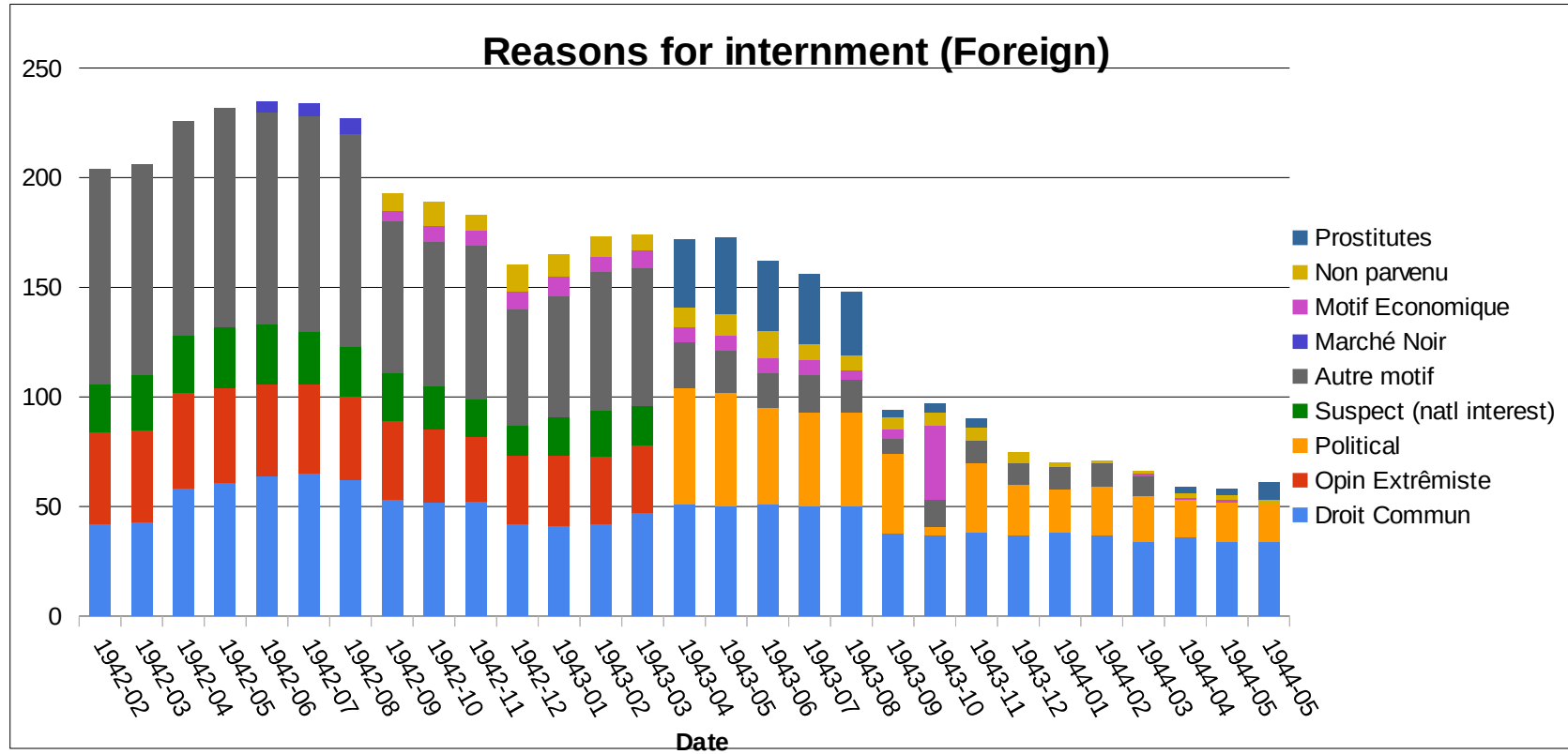
1944	Jan	Feb
Yugoslavia	0	0
Latvia	0	0
Netherlands	0	0
Luxembourg	0	0
Greece	0	0
Unknown	1	1
Stateless	2	2
Switzerland	1	1
England	2	2
Czechoslovakia	0	0
Canada	1	1
Portugal	1	1
Bulgaria	0	0
Brazil	0	0

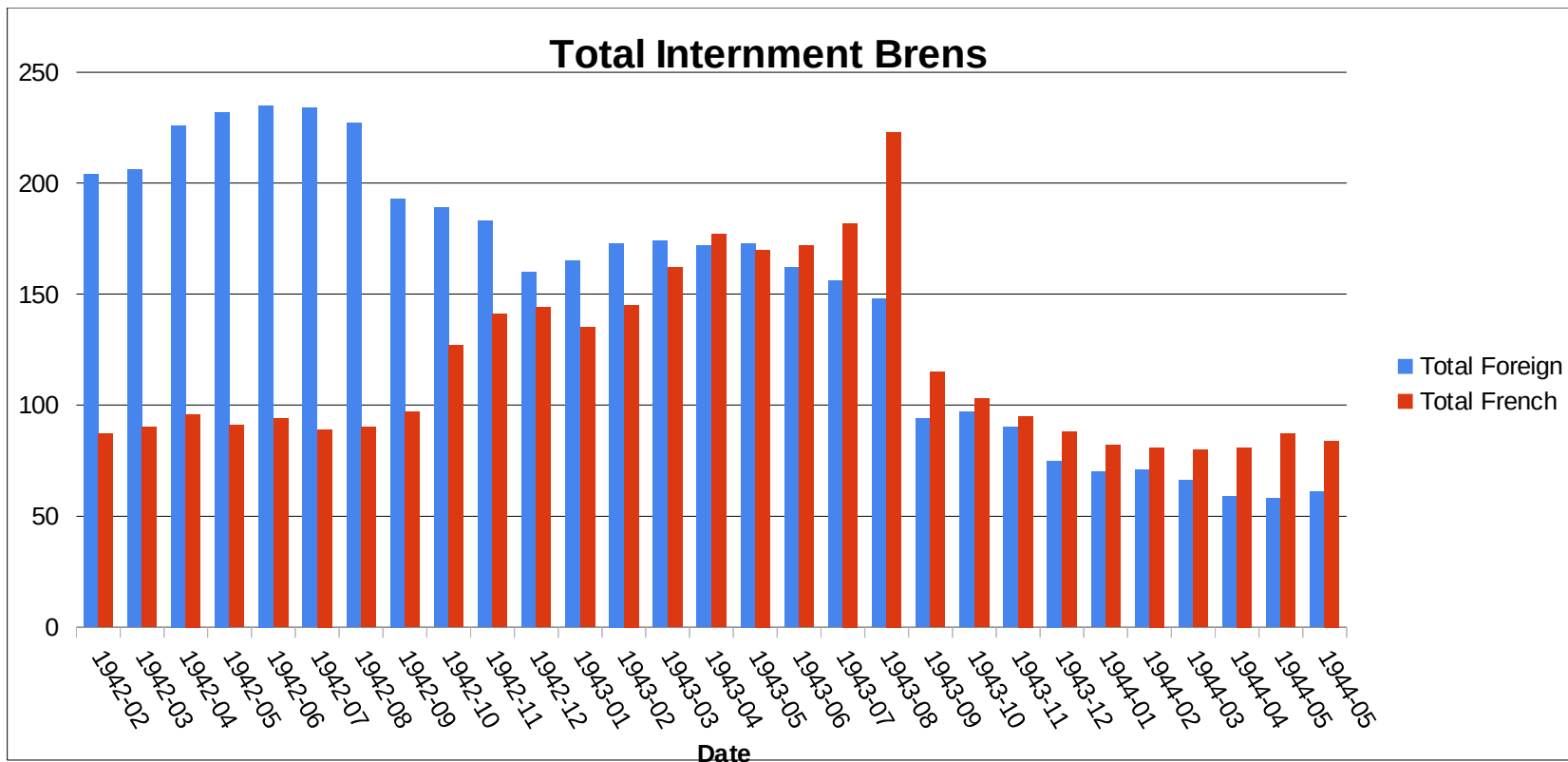
Appendix F

Reasons for Internment at Brens

Figures for the following charts are taken from *Situations numériques hebdomadaires des internées par catégorie, 19 février 1942 - 24 mai 1944*. ADT 495 W: 32.







Appendix G

Selected details from individual files of camp internees

The following table shows a selection of details about camp internees at both Rieucros and Brens. The information comes from handwritten and typed documents held by the Archives Départementales du Tarn (ADT), unclassified except by name of the individual.

Although more information has been gleaned from the Archives, the presentation of a more extensive selection of information is beyond the scope of this study .

In particular, it should be noted that the grounds for internment are simply what was stated on official documents. It takes no account of any denial by the person involved or any contrary evidence provided. Sometimes, the stated grounds for internment may have been the result of a false accusation or denunciation.

The following abbreviations have been adopted when referring to internees:

ép – épouse (spouse);

div – divorcée (divorced);

vve – veuve (widowed);

sép – séparée (separated).

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Adler Marie ép Winterstein; plus 2 enfants Winterstein George; Winterstein Albert	495 W: 53	15/12/1916; 1/7/1935; 30/10/1937	Fr	Ménagère et ouvrière de fabrique	Catholic	29/7/1941	23/9/1943	"Indésirable, réfugiée de Moselle, nomade, se livre à la prostitution"	Préf de l'Hérault. Arrested with Renoncourt Madeleine and Kohler Madeleine plus Kohler 2 enfants George (3 yrs) Madeleine (18 months). All escorted Rieucros together	Born Brig (Bas Rhin). Illiterate, réfugiée à Lodève (from Moselle) condamnée vol	
Adler Catherine ép Ohl	495 W: 53	30/7/1898	Suisse (French par ré-integration)	Vannier		28/5/1941	12/12/1942	Préfet seeking reason 16/10/41. She attributes arrest to violent row with drunken husband	Préf Hautes Pyrénées.	Expelled Strasbourg by German authorities	Husband Ohl Jean escaped camp de Sisteron. Avis favorable à la libération
Adder Catherine vve Suscara	495 W: 53	No info									
Ailhaud Désirée ép Demazière	495 W: 53	18/1/1913	Fr	Pianist		25/2/1943	13/8/1943	None given	M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Préf des Bouches du Rhône)	Born Marseille; married, 1 enfant; husband in prison Puy-en-Velay for Trotskyist activités	In absence motif d'internement and no sign political involvement, recommended for release

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Alamba Rose	495 W: 53	4/9/1920	Fr	Worked bar "La Belotte"		21/9/1943	(4/10/1943; she never arrived at camp because of state of health)	"Une dizaine de personnes en train de jouer à la passe anglaise" found at bar	Préf des Bouches du Rhône	Born Marseille	
Allaine Henriette Rose ép Reboul	495 W: 53	20/11/1920	Fr	Sans		8/9/1943	17/2/1944	Seen at manifestations de femmes et enfants contre ravitaillement du Martinet 8, 10, 18 July 1943... Anti-nationalist sentiments	Préf Régional de Marseille	Born St Florent (Gard) can read and write. Former bonne; married, husband miner, 3 yr old child	Recommended for release in view of good conduct and family situation
Allard Julienne ép Marquès	495 W: 53	21/2/1898	Fr	Chemisière	Protestant	10/4/1942	23/2/1942 arr camp	Militant communist	Préf du Gard. Arrested with daughter, term 6 months.	Born Clarensac (Gard). Husband interned Algeria, son St Paul d'Eyjeaux	Daughter also in Camp de Brens. Husband and son interned separately
Allirand Antonia ép Romeas	495 W: 53	29/4/1899	Fr	Débitante de boissons	Catholic	26/1/1943	4/5/1943	Marché noir	Préf de la Loire; arrested with Ribe Alice; 3 months fixed term	Born St Front. Sait lire et écrire	
Alzate Marie	495 W: 53	13/10/1905	Fr	Femme de chambre		16/2/1943	30/8/1943	Fille soumise	Préf de l'Hérault	Born St Pée sur Nivelles	Certified non-contagious

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Anselmini Claire	495 W: 53	8/2/1912	Fr	Boulangère	Catholic	29/6/1942	6/11/1942	Détourne tickets de pain	Préf des Bouches du Rhône	Born Marseille. Ran boulangerie after death mother 17 Feb 1942. "Vit maritalement avec Franceschi Pierre"	6 months fixed term
Aphatie Eugénie ép Durand	495 W: 53	20/3/1894	Fr	Sans	Catholic	27/8/1942	14/9/1942	Attitude anti-gouvernementale	Préf du Pays de Dôme	Born Lyon. B.S. Married, 2 children, husband ran tabac Mulhouse, left 1941. Secrétaire au Comité d'Organisation des Industries des Aliments.	Pref du Puys de Dôme "de bons renseignements a tous egards ont ete recueillis". Investigated as result comments in intercepted letter

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Arbos Lucienne ép Bloch	495 W: 53	22/3/1912	Fr	Professeur/ super- intendante de l'Associat- ion du Service Social, Lyon	Israélite	18/7/1942	4/3/1943	Menées Trotskyistes	Préf du Rhône. Arrested 8 days after husband on her return from congé	Born Grenoble. After mother's early death brought up by father, prof géographie Clermont Ferrand. Baccalauréat aged 17, lettres and licences, studied various institutions, husband student of sciences/math.	"N'avait donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Argaud Lydie	495 W: 53	24/5/1915	Fr	Fille soumise	Protestant	12/9/1942	23/9/1943	Contravention de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne; one of the 37 fille soumises Toulouse	Born St-Jeures (Haute Loire). 7 sisters, 1 brother. Child 3 yrs. Registered maison de tolérance 9/7/1941. Hospitalised syphilis	"Paraît être victime plutôt qu'une coupable... sa conduite n'avait donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable." "présente un état de santé plutôt précaire" incompatible with camp life. Registered maison de tolérance 9/7/1941.
Arnaud Jeanne div Bioules	495 W: 53	27/4/1899	Fr			4/12/1943	17/1/1944	Marché noir	Préf de l'Ardèche		Fixed term 1 month
Astruc Lucie ép Cance	495 W: 53	15/3/1900	Fr	Commerçante	Catholic	26/9/1942	5/3/1943	Marché noir	Préf des Alpes Maritimes	Born Bédarieux (Hérault). Père contre-maître de pierres. Worked as florist Marseille then took over pâtisserie; owned bar Cannes	Animatrice d'un atelier au camp et a maintenu l'autorité de celui-ci, facilitant ainsi la tâche de l'Administration. Mari a appartenu pendant neuf ans à une loge maçonnique. Interned St Sulpice.

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Aubert Louise (Marie) vve Levesque	495 W: 53	11/4/1872	Fr	Institutrice en retraite		23/7/1941	19/3/1943	Distribution communist tracts	Sous-Préfet de St Amand	Born Langrune (Calvados). Intelligent, active "l'oeil de Moscou"	Hospital 15/1/1942 - 7/3/1942. Late husband (décédé 1927) professeur révoqué pour propagande anarchiste. Assigned residence maison de retraite.
Avignon Marie Antoinette ép Rouxel	495 W: 53	18/3/1893	Fr			16/7/1943	22/8/1943	Manifestation ravitaillement	Pref de la Drome	Born Alès. Mme Rouxel's husband Directeur de l'agence des Enfants Assistés des Bouches du Rhône	Fixed 1 month
Aymard Yvonne	495 W: 53	24/5/1904		Ménagère		21/4/1943	?29/4/1943		Préf de la Drôme	Born Nyons	Liberée avant arrivée au camp

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Azema Henriette ép Beinse	495 W: 53	7/9/1911	Fr	Mannequin		28/12/1942	17/7/1943	Not communicated. She attributes to friendship with M. Demazières, "qui a été condamné pour motif politique."	Préf des Bouches du Rhône. Arr camp 25/2/1943.	Born Nevers. Married. Thinks interned for friendship M. Demazières, who was condemned "travaux forcés" in perpetuity for motif politique	Politique. Motif subsequently given as "conduite et moralité douteuse". "Attitude excellente" no sign political activity but friendship with Mme Demazières, interned Brens
Bacconet Odette ép Fougeron	495 W: 54	9/2/1913	Fr	Femme de ménage		24/10/1941	17/4/1942	Activité communiste	Préf Puy de Dôme	Born Beaumont. C.E.P. worked usine Michelin. Married, 1 son aged 10	Husband member communist cell. She says she not interested politics; "Conduite sans reproche"
Bacconnier Nelly vve Fustier	495 W: 54	17/11/1914	Fr	Fille soumise		31/8/1942	No info	Défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préfecture Haute Garonne, Préf Régional de Toulouse	Born Albon (Ardèche) vve Fustier Andre	Dangereuse santé et moralité publique

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Baduel Marie Louise	495 W: 54	7/11/1917	Fr			Arrivée 20/2/1943	8/10/1943	No info in dossier, but grouped with prostitutes	Préf de l'Hérault	Born Toulouse	9/9/43 recommended to be transferred maison d'arrêt Castres along with Renaud Delmont and Parrouffe to preempt "effervescence" in the camp.
Balloir Yvonne ép Charbonnel plus 2 children	495 W: 54	19/3/1903	Fr	Garde barrière		17/7/1943	22/12/1943	Elle a chanté la Marseillaise le 14 Juillet	Préf de la Corrèze	Born Sommepey (Marne). Married, 3 children. 70 yr old father in her care, brother prisoner of war. 2 children at camp with her, aged 9 and 13 (daughter)	(Identified for release by M. Vincent-Delors (inspector) in his report 15 Dec 1943). Chef nothing unfavourable

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Baptiste Georgette	495 W: 54	2/1/1924	Fr	Sans		27/10/1943	2/12/1943	Prostitution clandestine	Préf de l'Aude, Préf Régional de Montpellier. Arrested with sister Maria at Restaurant Ambassadeurs Narbonne "grivèlerie"	Nomad; du race gitane	Sister of Baptiste Maria. Vagabondes
Baptiste Maria ép Reilles	495 W: 54	17/6/1914	Fr	Sans		27/10/1943	2/12/1943	Prostitution clandestine	Préf de l'Aude, Préf Régional de Montpellier. Arrested with sister Georgette at Restaurant Ambassadeurs Narbonne "grivèlerie"	Nomad; du race gitane	
Baptiste Simone ép Mohamed	495 W: 54	9/2/1921	Fr	Sans	Catholic	27/4/1942	11/9/1942	Suspecte au point de vue nationale; moralité mauvaise	Préfecture Pyrénées Orientales; Perpignan		Vve de guerre; medical cert incompatible vie au camp
Castex Geneviève vve Barailhe	495 W: 54			Délégué de Croix Rouge		24/11/1942	No info	Dérobait marchandises destinées aux prisonniers			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bardin Marguerite	495 W: 54	23/4/1921	Fr	Modiste		13/5/1943	17/9/1943	Femme syphilitique, dangereuse pour santé publique	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse		
Baroukh Cammouna ép Borgel	495 W: 54	4/1/1911	Tunisienne	Fille soumise	Musulmane	27/3/1943	16/9/1943	Prostituée	Préf de Haute Garonne, Préf délégué de Toulouse	Ne sait ni lire ni écrire	Internée Camp de Noé, transférée au camp de Brens à cause de son indiscipline. Enceinte 5 mois. (Aug 1943)
Barraud Noëlie	495 W: 54	26/12/1900	Fr	Femme de ménage	Catholic	11/12/1942	5/1/1943	Prostituée de bas étage, adonnée à la boisson	Préf de l'Isère, Grenoble	Ne sait pas écrire	
Barres Jeanne	495 W: 54	19/4/1911	Fr	Travaille dans un hôpital		15/3/1944	2/5/1944	"Faute de service"; dénonciations anonymes			
Battista Nicole ép Anastassiou	495 W: 54	6/4/1903	Grecque	Couturière	Catholic	11/11/1942	5/1/1943	None given	Préf des Bouches du Rhône; Marseille		Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Baudet Marthe ép Albertini	495 W: 54	3/2/1910	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	2/8/1943	Défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse		Inscrite 24/8/1939; hospitalised; fille âgé 13; "ne fréquentant que des juifs". "Mesures collectives de répression contre la colonie des filles soumises"
Baudie Madeleine div Paillon	495 W: 54	8/12/1908	Fr	Couturière		16/7/1943	23/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine (armée occupation)	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse		
Baudie Renée	495 W: 54	18/3/1906	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	16/9/1943	Contraventions visite sanitaire; racolage	Préf Haute Garonne; Toulouse		Inscrite sur registre depuis 20/2/1937
Baudinat Simone	495 W: 54	21/12/1920	Fr	Rédactrice stagiaire		22/11/1942	3/9/1943	Détournements de documents confidentiels à la 4ème division de la préfecture de la Loire			
Baylet Clémence vve Belot	495 W: 54	18/3/1914	Fr	Ex-manutentionnaire	Catholic	16/6/1943	31/7/1943	Exploite une maison de rendezvous			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bée Anna	495 W: 54	12/6/1899	Fr	Cuisinière	Protest- ante	28/10/1941	9/2/1943	Attitude incorrecte et penchant pour la boisson			Expulsée de Mulhouse; "une personne simple d'esprit"; atteinte de bronchite chronique et d'insuffisance cardiaque; tr to hospice Lourdes

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Beaudy Madeleine vve Berthelon de la Couldre	495 W: 54	4/12/1895	Fr	Sans	Catholic	5/10/1942	19/11/1942			"Veuve d'un Colonel d'aviation, mort en service commandé. Je vous demanderais de bien vouloir donner à votre personnel toutes instructions pour avoir pour Mme Berthelon de la Couldre le maximum d'égards." Letter 15/11/42 l'Indendant Régional de Police to Chef du Camp	
Begon Jeanne ép Legay	495 W: 54	28/11/1900	Fr			5/2/1944	5/4/1944				Info requested by chef du camp. No other details available

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bellec Yvonne div Menn	495 W: 54	23/6/1911	Fr	Fille soumise		18/6/1943	8/10/1943	Conduite et moralités mauvaises	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse	Inscrite Toulouse 10/7/1942; inscrite Fumel et Montaubon. 1942 abandonné ses enfants et son mari Officier. Hospitalisée La Grave pour maladie vénérienne	
Bellet Véronique ép Pelissier	495 W: 54	2/3/1914	Fr			22/7/1943	15/8/1943	Not available			1 month fixed
Benoit Henriette	495 W: 54	7/4/1908	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	31/10/1941	24/11/1942	Mauvaise conduite et moralité	Préf des Basses Alpes	Expulsée Moselle	Sait lire et écrire. Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne. Prison 3 months for escroquerie
Bermond Andrée vve Pautric	495 W: 54	28/4/1919	Fr	Femme de ménage	Catholic	8/7/1943	23/9/1943	Conduite et moralité mauvaises	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Berrang Marie	495 W: 54	7/2/1906	Fr	Serveuse	Catholic	19/9/1941	30/8/1943	Mauvaise conduite et moralité; prostitution clandestine	Préf des Hautes Alpes	Réfugiée Lorraine	Applic. liberation mars 1942 rejected. 2 years in camp, nothing unfavourable. "Toujours une bonne conduite"
Berthomieu Lucienne	495 W: 54	19/3/1922	Fr	Sans		16/6/1943	27/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine	Préf Régional de Montpellier	Arrested with mother Delpech Albertine (no dossier) and Plaza Lucienne. Claimed dénonciation calomnieuse by jealous neighbour, despite 6 witness statements to the contrary.	Family under protection militaire allemand. Ref to lettre no 1887 Pol 14 et 8 13 Aug 1943; contagious, état B, hosp rec but liberated
Bertrand Thérèse	495 W: 54	1/1/1886		Ex-fille soumise		19/4/1943	17/9/1943	Reçoit à son domicile prostitueés clandestines	Préf de l'Hérault		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bétemps Jeannine ép Peloux	495 W: 54	11/4/1922	Fr	Bonne		26/7/1943	12/11/1943	Prostitution		Préf de l'Isère, Grenoble	1 condamnation for prostitution, 1 month prison. Tentative d'évasion 6/11/1943 on visit to dentist Gaillac.
Beugne Marie Louise ép Degaigne	495 W: 54	12/5/1896	Fr	Fille soumise		29/4/1943	8/10/1943	Dangereuse pour santé et sécurité publique		Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse	Inscrite jul 1931. 4 condamnations; reprise de justice
Beynel Elise	495 W: 54	11/6/1927	Fr			17/7/1943	23/9/1943	Elle aurait chanté La Marseillaise 14 juillet			Motif inconnu; chef du camp deduces reason from own enquiries
Bézar Jeanne vve Reynaud	495 W: 54	2/9/1912	Fr	Servante	Catholic	31/3/1943	2/5/1943	Anti-occupation			Clinic taken over by Germans, she told chief officer it shouldn't be under Hitler
Bigillon Cécile	495 W: 54	7/8/1900	Fr	Chocolatière	Catholic	27/3/1942	17/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine		Préf de l'Isère	"Ses repentirs paraissent sincères"
Blanc Camille	495 W: 54	14/8/1925	Fr	Comptable	Catholic	21/4/1943	10/5/1943	Provoque désordre			1 month fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Blanc Jeanne	495 W: 54	4/2/1888	Fr	Bonne		29/10/1943	29/2/1944	Mauvaise conduite	Préf Régional de Toulouse	Nomad	4 condamnations; provenance camp de Noé; 15 days privation for being drunk "pendant sa sortie à la mairie"; guard suspended 8 days
Bloch Alice	495 W: 54	No info			Israélite	6/11/1942	15/12/1942	Loi du 2 Juin 1941 recensement des Israélites	Proposition de M chef de la Police des Questions Juives, Montpellier. (Préfecture de l'Hérault)		
Blum Jeannine ép Kalm	495 W: 54	25/5/1919	Fr		Israélite	22/09/1943	End of internment 13/11/1942	Infraction ravitaillement	Préf des Basses Alpes	Born Paris	"Le nom de l'intéressée ne figure pas sur les registres du camp de Brens." Letter chef to Préf du Tarn 7/11/1942. Date arrest also given as 22/10/1943
Boas Delphine ép Marsolan	495 W: 54	24/4/1903	Fr			13/7/1943	16/10/1943	None given;? ravitaillement?			3 months fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bobo Marguerite	495 W: 55	20/1/1901	Fr	Fille soumise		20/2/1943	20/8/1943	Fille soumise	Pref d'Herault		destination hospice Notre Dame
Boissière Cécile	495 W: 55	20/10/1911	Fr	Sans	Catholic	25/12/1940 ca	15/1/1943	Dangereuse pour l'ordre publique	Préf du Gard	Born Bez (Gard), attained BE, lives with parents	"Education trop large a rendu capricieux et autoritaire..."
Bonifassy Raymonde	495 W: 55	11/12/1922	Fr	Femme de chambre	Catholic	13/11/1942	9/1/1943	Participe manifestation			
Bonnet Régina ép Chapre	495 W: 55	14/9/1891	Fr	Ménagère		27/4/1943	7/8/1943	Instigatrice manifestation re ravitaillement			Mari amputé de bras, mutilé de guerre de 1914/18
Borgeot Alice	495 W: 55	18/6/1911	Fr	Sans	Catholic	25/3/1942	1/1/1943	Suspecte au point de vue national	Préf Saône et Loire	Sait lire et écrire	Moralité très douteuse; relations troupes d'occupation; fille mère avant la guerre
Bory Marie vve Perrin	495 W: 55	16/3/1886	Fr			17/7/1943	20/8/1943	Irregular sale vegetables			1 month fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bosc Marie Louise ép Roussel	495 W: 55	21/1/1904	Fr	Prostituée		31/8/1942	No info	Dangereuse santé et moralité publique	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse	Depuis 1 jan 1942 15 contraventions pour défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage; hospitalisée syphilis. 3 condamnations connues: coups et blessures; ivresse; vagabondage	
Bouchet Marie Clémentine	495 W: 55	20/5/1915	Fr	Fille soumise		4/11/1942	30/4/1943	Fille soumise	Préf Haute Garonne, Toulouse	Father unknown	Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne
Bouffil Francine ép Abadie	495 W: 55	9/3/1906	Fr	Restauratrice		18/8/1943	25/11/1943	Achat au marché noir; dépassement du prix repas			3 months fixed
Bougerol Denise	495 W: 55	16/10/1901	Fr	Maitresse		9/7/1943	22/10/1943	Marché noir			3 months fixed. Hospitalised Albi 13/9/1943, liberated from there. DOB also given 17/10/1901
Bourgues Yvette vve Foche	495 W: 55	29/5/1914	Fr	Prostituée		16/2/1943	2/8/1943	Fille soumise	Préf délégué de l'Hérault		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bourniquel Madeleine ép Vannini	495 W: 55	21/8/1910	Fr	Commerçante		29/7/1943	14/8/1943	Infraction loi ravitaillement; hausse illicite			
Boursiac Juliette	495 W: 55	6/2/1919	Fr	Femme de chambre		2/7/1943	23/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine	Préf de Haute Garonne, Toulouse		A été trouvée couchée avec un militaire de l'armée d'occupation; hospitalisée syphilis; dangereuse pour l'ordre et la santé publics. Dob also 1911
Bousquet Paule	495 W: 55	23/6/1916	Fr	Fille soumise		29/4/1943	27/9/1943	Fille soumise syphilitique			Dangereuse; inscrite 11/5/1938; contagious Etat B
Bouteilloux Anaïs vve Capet	495 W: 55	27/9/1894	Fr	Propriétaire d'un débit de boissons	Catholic	17/3/1943	16/5/1943	3 porcs sans déclaration; abattage clandestin		Sait lire et écrire	6 months fixed; "elle se plie de bonne grace"
Boutonnet Anna	495 W: 55	25/6/1896	Fr	Prostituée enregistrée des mœurs depuis 1924	Catholic	21/12/1942	24/8/1943 (died at camp)	Scandale sur la voie publique; toutes sanctions pénales infligées inopérantes	Préf de l'Allier	10 condamnations pour vols; 5 pour infractions	Suicide - used torn up chemise to hang herself from the bars of the window while in isolation for drunkenness and violent behaviour

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bouzin Marie Jeanne ép Dallié	495 W: 55	23/2/1902	Fr			15/7/1943	16/10/1943	No info;? économique?	Préf Rég Haute Garonne sur la proposition Dir Rég Service du contrôle économique		3 months
Bove Fernande	495 W: 55	21/5/1911	Fr	Marchande de fruits et primeurs		29/7/1043; camp 11/8/1943	16/8/1943	No info; ? dangereuse pour défense nationale et sécurité publique?	Préf Régional de Marseille		
Boyer Laurence	495 W: 55	18/9/1900				4/11/1942					No further info
Bretagnolle Marie ép Peuch	495 W: 55	20/12/1899	Fr	Blanchiss- euse	Catholic	7/7/1941	27/7/1942	Communiste, propagande clandestin		Education primaire (song lyrics about the camp in dossier)	"Dotée d'une intelligence au dessous de la moyenne".
Breuza Julie vve Bardo	495 W: 55	29/9/1897	Fr	Bouchère	Catholic	8/8/1942	16/10/1942	Tickets de pari clandestin dans la main		Used avocat to intercede	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Braun Emilie ép Morante	495 W: 55	2/6/1912	Fr (expulsée d'Alsace)	Sans	Protestante	17/12/1942	5/2/1943	"Par ses agissements a prêté aide et assistance à des militaires allemands en vue de leur procurer un approvisionnement illicite auprès des producteurs"			Repatriée en Allemagne
Brachet Marie Rose	495 W: 55	23/5/1911	Fr			1/3/1943	26/12/1943	Manifestation contre la relève			Communiste 1934 à dissolution; secrétaire du comité mondial femmes contre la guerre et fascism
Brailly Mireille ép Mothard	495 W: 55	9/8/1913	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 12/6/1935	Catholic	12/9/1942	30/4/1943	Hospitalisée 3 fois syphilis; 13 contraventions racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire			Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Briantais Eugénie ép le Sommer	495 W: 55	11/7/1891		Coupeuse	Catholic	16/6/1941	17/4/1942	"Mêlée à des bagarres est devenue dangereuse pour le moral de la population"			Hospitalised Montpellier 17 Jan to 25 Feb 1942; liberation conditional for 3 months; return Haute Vienne prohibited by Prefect who expelled her.
Bringaud Fanny	495 W: 55	14/7/1919	Fr	Rédacteur auxiliaire	Catholic	26/1/1943	13/3/1943	No info		Attained B.E.	Motif d'internement requested 6/2/1943
Brioude Emilienne	495 W: 55	29/5/1914	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 2/1/1940	Catholic	12/9/1942	19/8/1943	Hospitalisée pour syphilis; 13 contraventions racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire	Préf Haut Garonne. Proposition d'Internement signed Toulouse. N.I. says Préf de l'Allier		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Bruchlen Augustine	495 W: 55	18/9/1899	Fr	Secrétaire	Catholic	9/1/1943	24/1/1943	None given	Préf du Lot. Sunday eve Commissaire Spécial told her to stay at house. 2 inspectors and 2 gendarmes came with Arrêté d'internement. Given time to pack valise in their presence then taken by car to camp	Born Mulhouse. Brevet Supérieure. Secrétaire and companion to M. Leon Jouaux, ex- secrétaire de la CGT (Centre d'Internement Evaux les Bains.)	
Brossette Marie ép Ladret	495 W: 55	5/5/1910	Fr			8/6/1943	11/9/1943	"Instigatrice et bénéficiaire d'opérations sur des produits alimentaires rationnés"		Arrested along with accomplice doctor medicine	3 months fixed; frail health
Brun Marie Antoinette vve Favard	495 W: 55	31/7/1885	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	21/4/1943	31/5/1943	Fraude; lait écremé dans une proportion non réglementaire			3 months fixed but not served

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Boyer Louise ép Delattre	495 W: 55	30/9/1900	Fr	Fille soumise		12/9/1942	19/8/1943	17 contraventions pour racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire	Préf Haute Garonne		Inscrite 2/12/1924; hospitalisée syphilis; dangereuse pour santé et moralité publique
Canetti Semoule	496 W: 56	27/12/1902	Turque			18/10/1939	10/10/1942	"Tire des ressources de la galanterie et racole dans les cafés des grands boulevards"	Objet d'un arrêté d'expulsion		Liberated for health reasons to assigned residence where remained until 18/10/1944
Capion Odette ép Fabregas	496 W: 56	16/12/1913	Fr	Employee Galeries Lafayette	Catholic	4/12/1940	6/2/1943	Militante active du parti communiste dissous faisant de la propagande clandestine	Préf de l'Hérault, arrested at shop where worked	Born Montpellier. Articulate mother (many letters from her in file including to Maréchal)	"Une conduite et attitude correct" 14/12/1942
Capuano ép Amoruzo	496 W: 56					?29/7/1943	15/8/1943		Préf Régional de Marseille		Durée limitée

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Carles Marguerite ép Marro	496 W: 56	27/9/1907	Fr	Laitière	Catholic	11/8/1943	29/10/1943	"Inculpée d'entrave à agent de la répression des fraudes." 3 condamnations mouillage de lait.	Overtured barrels and threatened official to prevent inspection.		Fixed term until 12/11/1942. 4-1/2 months pregnant
Carpano Catherine ép Hocquet	496 W: 56	31/7/1922	Fr by parents' naturalisation	Sans		16/7/1943	23/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine			Reçoit troupes d'occupation italiens; baby 10 months left alone all night.
Carrance Georgette ép Meyer	496 W: 56	29/9/1892	Fr	Sans	Israélite	22/10/1942	26/11/1942	"Parcourait les fermes à la recherche de denrées alimentaires... qu'elle payait à des prix élevés"			Fixed term 1 month
Carré Solange	496 W: 56	4/5/1923	Fr	Lingère; manutentionnaire	Catholic	25/10/1941	26/12/1942	Suspecte au point de vue national; relations avec autorités d'occupation (résidence en zone occupée)		Obtained C.E.P.	Refers also to liberation Carré Marie (mère)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Carrera Carmen ép Gaubert	496 W: 56	22/4/1922	Fr par mariage			23/7/1943	23/9/1943	None given	Hospitalised at La Grave for syphilis at time of order; arrived camp 16/8/1943		
Cassagne Denise	496 W: 56	24/11/1915	Fr	Manutentionnaire		16/7/1943	23/9/1943	Fille soumise dangereuse santé et l'ordre publique	Apprehended while soliciting Café Cristal palace		Previously hospitalised; militaires allemands
Casson Rose div Courage	496 W: 56	11/5/1893	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	19/10/1942	12/5/1943	"Trouble constant de l'ordre publique par sa inconduite. Menace de devenir dangereuse dans les crises d'alcoolism"	Préf des Alpes Maritimes	Born Lyon. Father carpenter. C.E.P.	"La conduite... n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable" 5/4/1943
Castaing Marcelle ép Hurreau	496 W: 56	6/9/1919	Fr	Bonne		22/5/1943	23/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine; très dangereuse santé publique			Hospitalised at La Grave, syphilis

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Castelli Geneviève ép Lucet	496 W: 56	8/7/1913	Fr	Travaille dans une usine		23/12/1942	5/1/1943	Prostitution	Préf Rég Grenoble. Arrested with Rousset Berthe, for soliciting Italian troops		"Elle hébergeait chez elle Rousset Berthe, fille de débauche, ancienne pensionnaire de maison de tolérance."
Castex Fidès	496 W: 56	2/2/1902	Fr	Employée de bureau	Catholic	3/7/1941	17/4/1942	"Communiste agissante" possibly involved with journal "Le Travailleur"			
Cavalié Juliette	496 W: 56	17/10/1922	Fr	Bonne		18/6/1943	9/10/1943	Conduite et moralité mauvaise. Prostitution clandestine	Arrested soliciting Gare Matabieu Toulouse		Previously hospitalised La Grave. "Dangereuse pour santé et l'ordre publique". Hospital Albi 6/8/1943 - 20/9/1943
Cazare Irène	496 W: 56	25/4/1908	Fr	No info				Liberation from Gurs refused 14/8/1944 "grave infractions et nombreuses récidives"			Previously Brens.

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Celli Yvonne ép Freyss	496 W: 56	31/10/1914	Fr	Sans	Catholic	3/8/1942	19/12/1942	"Inculpée de recel et infraction à la législation sur le ravitaillement"		Attained C.E.P	
Cerbelaud Germaine	496 W: 56	30/12/1889	Fr			23/10/1943	31/1/1944	Suspecte au point de vue national			3 months fixed term
Cerceau Fernande ép Schuller	496 W: 56	11/2/1901	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite à Toulouse	Catholic	4/11/1942	5/1/1943	Fille soumise			Volontaire aller travailler en Allemagne et a fait partie du convoi... dirigé sur Vierzon 5/1/43 pour être remise aux Autorités Allemandes Occupantes.
Chagnet Georgette	496 W: 56	17/4/1914	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	23/2/1942	7/5/1943	Personne dangereuse pour la sécurité publique	Documents seized from her room associated her with "Jeunes Filles Françaises", communists		6 months fixed ordered by Préfet des Bouches du Rhône
Champnier Pauline	496 W: 56	20/8/1918				3/12/1942					Remained Maison d'Arrêt Castres

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Chapeau Yvonne	496 W: 56	2/11/1899	Fr			12/9/1942	8/10/1943	Reprise de justice. Prostituée très dangereuse pour la sécurité publique			5 condamnations coups et blessures
Chapuisaud Camille ép Pasteur	496 W: 56	8/10/1900	Fr			3/2/1944	8/5/1944	None given			She attributes internment to political jealousy; husband interned St Sulpice had been conseiller municipal before 1939/40
Charbonnay Louise div Girardeau	496 W: 56	22/5/1900	Fr	Revendeuse en légumes		18/1/1943	1/5/1943	"La vente dudit vin avec infraction de hausse illicite extension irrégulière de son commerce"			
Charbon Jeanne ép Dutro	496 W: 56	20/11/1887	Fr	Logeuse - tenancière de maison de rendez-vous clandestine	Catholic	28/11/1941	19/1/1943	"Serait une tenancière d'une maison rendezvous clandestine"	Préf de l'Allier	Education primaire	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Chardin Cécile div Renault	496 W: 56	6/4/1909	Fr	Ménagère		16/9/1941	24/11/1942	Indésirable prostituée clandestine, conduite déplorable	Préf des Basses Alpes	Refugee, expelled Moselle. Sait lire et écrire	2 condamnations Metz, vol, vagabondage. Return prohibited Préfet des Basses Alpes. Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne
Chassary Elise ép Faure	496 W: 56	19/2/1917	Fr	Fille de salle		11/6/1943	27/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaise	Préf de Haute Garonne		Hospitalisée la Grave 30/6/1942 - 31/7/1942
Chasson Marie Irma vve Vincent	496 W: 56	2/7/1912	Fr	Ouvrière à Société Générale de Couchage		7/5/1943	18/10/1943	Instigatrice manifestation		Veuve de guerre	Joined at camp by son Louis born 25/12/1937 on 14/10/1943
Chauffard Claudine	496 W: 56	26/7/1911	Fr			30/11/1943	5/1/1944	Prostitution clandestine.	Préf Régional de Montpellier		Défense de résider ou paraître département Aude
Chaumeil Hélène	496 W: 56	9/6/1922	Fr	Inscrite fille soumise		21/12/1942	17/9/1943	Prostituée indisciplinée et refractaire à toute réglementation		From farming family	"Internement semble avoir un effet salutaire sur l'amendement de cette personne"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Chauvey Germaine vve Dumond	496 W: 56	7/7/1892	Fr			9/7/1943	5/12/1943				Released to assigned residence Creuse
Cherniajew Olga ép Tadjouimar	495 W: 57	31/12/1914	Fr Algerian par mariage		Ortho- doxe	23/7/1941	12/5/1943	Femme de mauvaise vie et conduite scandaleuse	Préf Haute Garonne		Origine Russe (Odessa) "notée comme bonne travailleuse"
Chrestia Mobareg Rose	495 W: 57	20/6/1919	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite		arr camp 28/11/1942	8/10/1943	27 condamnations pour défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne	Previously hospitalised	
Cinquin Yvonne ép Boudriot	495 W: 57	9/4/1906	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	8/12/1941	19/6/1942	Moralité douteuse, exerce le métier de passeuse	Préf Saône et Loire		Habitante d'une localité située à la ligne de démarcation
Ciuro Marcelle ép Coronnat	495 W: 57	30/6/1914	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite		14/12/1943	17/3/1944	Dangereuse pour la moralité, la sécurité et la santé des personnes. Racolage	Préf P.O.		Condamnation vol 12/8/1942, 4 mois
Claparède Juliette ép Prébin	495 W: 57	5/11/1910	Fr	Commer- çante		24/7/1943 9/3/1944	28/10/1943 2/6/1944	"Tentative coup de main contre la Maison d'Arrêt de Montpellier"			2 periods internment; fixed term 3 months 1943 and fixed term 2 months 1944.

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Clapier Mireille ép Boudjemia	495 W: 57	17/10/1917	Fr			18/2/1944	30/3/1944	Prostitution clandestine	Préf Montpellier	Husband arrested vol. violence etc;" indésirable"	
Coche Marcelle ép Monosohn	495 W: 57	26/1/1903	Fr	Sans	Catholic	10/2/1942	26/2/1943	"Dans une lettre à son mari elle a critiqué violemment l'ordre par Maréchal Pétain"		Brevet supérieur	"Bavarde incorrigible"
Cochet Raymonde ép Louvatière	495 W: 57	4/12/1909	Fr	Voyageur de commerce	Catholic	9/5/1941	17/4/1942	Militant communist, propagandist.		Directrice à l'Imprimerie Ouvrière Coopérative d'Oyonnax	Corresponded with ex-député communiste de l'Ain from the camp.
Coffinet Paulette ép Brevière	495 W: 57	9/11/1920	Fr	Caoutchout -ière		12/6/1943	25/10/1943	Conduite et moralité mauvaise prostitution clandestine	Hospitalised at La Grave at time of arrest; Préf Haute Garonne		"Elle a pris en horreur la vie galante"
Chapiotin née Collin	495 W: 57	No info									Transferred to Gurs. Contents dossier missing.
Cohen Bella ép Edelstein	495 W: 57	15/2/1908	Fr par mariage	Sans	Israélite	22/9/1942	17/11/1942	Infraction à la réglementation sur la ravitaillement			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Colli Marie ép Paoleschi	495 W: 57	28/1/1906	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	12/5/1943	Fille soumise, 10 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf d'Allier	Marseille 1933 "2 mois pour faux passeport et excitation de mineure à la débauche"	"Il est vraisemblable qu'elle ait été amenée à se prostituer par manque de travail et pour pouvoir élever son enfant" "Sa conduite est correcte"
Combe Marthe vve Roncaglon	495 W: 57	21/1/1905	Fr	Servante		17/12/1942	10/11/1943	"Prostituée de bas étage"	Préf de l'Isère		3 condamnations vol, outrages, rebellion
Cornu Gabrielle ép Brouillac	495 W: 57	18/6/1896	Fr	Violiniste		order 25/1/1943	4/5/1943	None given	Sent from prison St Michel Toulouse	Sentenced 1 year in prison "pour avoir demandé l'intervention d'une puissance étrangère"	"Internée d'excellente moralité"
Cotte Alfredine ép Siksik	495 W: 57	26/2/1893	Fr	Propriétaire d'un magasin		arr camp 11/7/1943	6/9/1943	"Sur la proposition de M le Directeur Régional aux Questions Juives de Lyon"			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Coste Jeanne ép Dubiez	495 W: 57	6/12/1909	Fr	"Fille galante"		21/12/1942, arr camp 26/3/1943	23/9/1943	"Prostituée particulièrement révoltée"	Préf du Rhône	3 previous convictions vol, racolage etc, Apprehended 4 times 1942	
Coupon Marthe div Muffat-Joly	495 W: 57	14/3/1903	Fr	Prostituée		4/3/1942, arr camp 12/4/1942	19/8/1943	Dangereuse pour l'ordre et la salubrité publics	Préf de l'Isère		"Toujours volontaire pour les travaux de camp"
Courvoisier Henriette ép Paulello	495 W: 57	16/9/1919	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	3/5/1943	Fille soumise, 11 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne		
Cousin Valida vve Meunier	495 W: 57	24/1/1897	Fr	Restauratrice	Catholic	8/5/1942	20/6/1942	Trafiquante du marché noir			1 month fixed
Créon Agathe div Gouze	495 W: 57	11/1/1898	Fr	Epicière		21/6/1943	17/9/1943	Hausse illicite sur les prix des abricots			3 months fixed. 1 previous conviction
Crétaine Renée	495 W: 57	6/5/1899	Fr	Négociante en vin		24/4/1943	25/8/1943	L'ordre économique			4 months fixed
Cros Juliette ép Iché	495 W: 57	12/5/1897	Fr	Femme de ménage	Catholic	16/3/1943	20/3/1943		Préf de Castres		
Croux Suzanne Marie	495 W: 57	11/5/1893	Fr			4/11/1942	21/11/1943	Fille soumise	Préf Haute Garonne		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Cussat Marthe	495 W: 57	29/6/1895	Fr	Femme de chambre		26/2/1943	20/8/1943	Fille soumise	Préf Rég Montpellier		Destination Paris
Cymutta Konstantine ép Tramet	495 W: 57	no info									
Calpe Mélanie ép Bouvier	495 W: 56	27/8/1922	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	11/3/1943	22/11/1943	Fille soumise, condamnations	Préf Alpes Maritimes	1 daughter 4 years	Attempted escape 27/28 March 1943
Camhi Louise ép Barouch	495 W: 56	7/5/1888 Constantinople	Fr by naturalisation	Négociante avec son mari	Musulman	9/12/1942	6/1/1943	Achat direct au producteur de volaille au dessus de la taxe		Parait assez lettrée	Claims not to be Israelite but unable to prove. Father Isaac
Canari Charlotte	495 W: 56	28/5/1901	Fr	Journalier		29/1/1943	23/2/1944	Indésirable en raison de ses nombreuses condamnations	Apprehended during police operation Marseille	N'a pas de domicile; illetrée	Condamnations vol, outrages, mendicité. "Sa présence au camp ne se justifiant pas. elle est la risée de toutes les internées"
Cathala Maria ép Jentet	496 W: 56	1/11/1900	Fr	Gérante au Restaurant Terminus, Carcassonne		12/6/1943	17/7/1943	Non parvenu	Préf de l'Aude		2 months fixed term; liberated early, danger to health

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Dab-Yacout Aïssa ép Bonnache	495 W: 58	presumed 1914	Fr (Alger)			28/5/1943	14/3/1944	"L'objet de plaintes quotidiennes; conduite déplorable"	Préf Haute Garonne	Vit en concubinage, enfant de 4 ans	
Damothe Marguerite ép Budin	495 W: 58	6/11/1892	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 10/3/1935		10/12/1942	30/8/1943	None given - but she thinks "à cause de ma conduite - je faisais un peu la noce"	Préf du Rhône	3 condamnations Lyon, vols et outrages	Release opposed 24/5/1943 "hésitation à l'égard du Gouvernement Français"
Darie Lucienne ép Soulassol	495 W: 58	16/9/1912	Fr	Boulangère	Catholic	15/4/1942	10/7/1942	Infraction loi retenue illicite et trafic de titres d'alimentation	Préf Haute Garonne		Health incompatible camp life
Darras Simone ép Jacquet	495 W: 58	7/10/1919	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 16/1/1942		21/12/1942	No info	Prostituée réfractaire à toute réglementation; racolage	Préf du Rhône	3 condamnations vagabondage	
Dauber Michèle ép Imbert	495 W: 58	19/8/1917	Fr			18/4/1944	25/5/1944	Moeurs très légères	Anonymous denunciation; liaisons inc. sous-officier Allemand; stock chocolat et huile	Femme de prisonnier; mère de 2 enfants	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Dausig Marie ép Kessler	495 W: 58	26/10/1900	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	4/11/1942	12/5/1943	"Inconduite et rapines; raisons d'ordre public"		Réfugiée de Lorraine; mother of 10, 9 living. Husband interned Fort Barraux where died 18/12/1942	
David Raymonde	495 W: 58	16/10/1918	Fr	Ouvrière sur galalithe	Sans	25/7/1941	12/11/1942	Distribution communist tracts 21/22 Nov 1940	Préf du Jura, sentenced 1 year prison avec sursis Chambre des Appels Correctionnel de la Cour de Lyon 17/7/1941. Had already been in prison pending appeal so released but new order conducted her Rieucros 3/8/1941	"Excellente famille" (Avocat letter)	"Dans le procès verbal le 28 mai 1942 j'avais mentionné qu'elle pouvait faire l'objet d'une mesure de libération. J'estime devoir maintenir cette réserve en raison de l'attitude équivoque prise par l'intéressée à l'occasion d'un départ d'internées Israélites pour un autre camp"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Debord (no other names given)	495 W: 58	No info		Cultivatrice		14/11/1942	No info	Infringement regulations milk/butter production			
Dejean Marie Antoinette ép Nininger	495 W: 58	22/9/1909	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 12/2/1938		12/9/1942, arr camp 1/4/1943	16/9/1943	Fille soumise, contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne	Parents farmers	"Son séjour a produit un effet salulaire"
Delahotte Madeleine ép Blicq	495 W: 58	27/7/1920	Fr	Secrétaire de Maire		10/3/1944	6/5/1944	None given			1 month fixed
De la Poix de Fréminville Jeanne sép Joubert	495 W: 58	1/5/1893	Fr			3/1/1944	25/5/1944	"Achète provisions aux paysans à des prix supérieurs à la taxe"	Denounced by local aubergiste	Comtesse de la Poix de Fréminville" née d'une des plus grandes familles de France"	4 months fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
De Libouton Yvonne ép Touraine	495 W: 58	13/12/1898	Fr	Industrielle	Catholic	23/7/1942	23/10/1943	"Graves infractions à la réglementation sur utilisation des denrées. Exploitant en dépit des règles d'hygiene une industrie alimentaire susceptible de porter atteinte à la santé publique"			3 months
Delluc Armande	495 W: 58	23/11/1915	Fr	Sans	Catholic	7/1/1942	30/10/1942	Inconnu but subsequently given as prostitution, mauvaise moralité		Parents cultivateurs Aynac (Lot) 1 of 8 children. Refugee from Paris	3 months fixed. Complaints at camp about "bains de soleil nue"
Delmas Marie Jeanne	495 W: 58	31/12/1912	Fr	Fille soumise		4/11/1942	16/10/1943	Prostitution clandestine, racolage	Préf Haute Garonne	Father cultivateur; 1 of 9 children, domicile hotel Carcassonne; inscrite Toulouse 14/9/1933	Hospitalised Albi 29/1/1943 to 19/3/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Delord Marguerite ép Fournet	495 W: 58	29/12/1891	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	24/1/1942	8/4/1942	"Se trouvait parmi les personnes qui manifestaient 20 janvier 1942 devant la sous préfecture d'Alès"		Sait lire et écrire	1 month fixed
Delpoux Jeanne ép Andrieu	495 W: 58	31/10/1880	Fr			25/7/1943	3/9/1943	Suspected accomplice to husband, Surveillant-Chef à la Maison d'Arrêt de Castres, who "s'est rendu coupable de nombreuses indélicatesses"	Interned by Préfet du Tarn despite letter 26/5/1943 Inspecteur Gén des Camps "sa femme ne sera pas internée"		3 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Denis Marguerite ép Voisin	495 W: 58	7/5/1883	Fr	Institutrice en retraite		19/5/1943	25/8/1943	Femme dangereuse capable toutes manoeuvres pour causer du tort à autrui. Lettres anonymes à l'encontre des gens qu'elle jalouse et qui lui déplaie"		1 daughter	3 months fixed
Deplace Marie Louise vve Lhoste	495 W: 58	21/8/1892	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	c26/12/194 1	23/4/1942	Moralité douteuse; réputation indigne d'intérêt; personne hypocrite; tres dangereuse			Depuis son internement, la conduite et la tenue de cette personne n'ont jamais donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable
Depollier Suzanne dite Giraud	495 W: 58	28/7/1882	Fr	Ex- employée de Mairie (Paris)		13/8/1943	24/11/1943	Ex-militante communiste suspectée d'avoir reprise l'activité subversive			
Desbats Jeanne ép Ugel	495 W: 58	22/12/1895	Fr	Tripière	Catholic	8/7/1942	27/7/1942	"Fraude en matières de ravitaillement"			15 days fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Descaillot Marguerite vve Laugerette	495 W: 58	3/3/1921	Fr			18/3/1943	3/6/1944	Voleuse professionnelle; laisse ses enfants à l'abandon.		Nomade; veuve; 3 enfants 5, 3, 2; sent from Camp de Saliers	
Aimée- Deslandes Maximilienne	495 W: 58	24/10/1908	Fr	Artiste variété		24/1/1942	25/6/1942	Entretien avec les membres de commission d'Armistice des relations pouvant nuire à la défense nationale			
Desmoulins Odette	495 W: 58	29/11/1918	Fr	Infirmière	Catholic	22/12/1942	5/3/1943	Conduite déplorable, mauvaise moralité	Préf de l'Isere	Mother of 5 year old. Femme naturelle. Brevet supérieure. Condemned vol Grenoble 9/4/1940 4 months.	
Diard Ennemonde	495 W: 58	26/3/1898	Fr	Journaliste	Catholic	25/11/1942	30/4/1943	Obtaining confidential documents Préfecture de Loire		B.E	Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Didier Renée	495 W: 58	17/7/1922	Fr	Ouvrière de l'usine	Catholic	5/12/1942	30/4//1943	Prostitution clandestine, racolage	Préf de l'Isere		Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne
Dintillac Yvette	495 W: 58	2/5/1923	Fr	Secrétaire	Catholic	21/2/1942	No info	None given			30 days fixed
Donner Elise ép Schuler	495 W: 58	10/2/1900	Fr			27/1/1942	12/2/1942	Mauvaise conduite		Réfugiée de Moselle. 6 children.	
Drai Rachel ép Borycki	495 W: 58	28/1/1897	Fr (Algeria)	Commerçante vêtements	Musulman	18/4/1943	24/5/1943	Marché noir			1 month fixed
Duc Marthe ép Bouteille	495 W: 58	19/10/1907	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	19/2/1943	9/3/1943	"Mouillage de lait a 27% environ"			
Ducasse Irma ép Rivière	495 W: 58	30/3/1908	Fr	Maraichère		11/7/1943	13/8/1943	Irregular sale vegetables		Femme de prisonnier	
Duhec Germaine ép Quatremaire	495 W: 58	10/12/1895	Fr	Travaille fabrique de chaussures		16/10/1942	17/12/1943	Militant communist		Husband interned St Sulpice, daughter interned Paris	
Dumas Yvonne	495 W: 59	31/8/1903	Fr	Dactylo au Greffe de la Justice de Paix	Catholic	24/1/1942	8/4/1942	Instigatrice de manifestation femmes 19/1/1942 Alès		Brevet Elémentaire	1 Month

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Dupasquier Alice ép Cadot	495 W: 59	6/1/1898	Fr	Concierge au Château du Pin		16/9/1943	23/10/1943	Complicité dans l'abbatage clandestin d'une vache dans une cave du château	Meat and implements found by gendarmes in cellar at chateau	2 children	1 month
Dupin Suzanne ép Gauron	495 W: 59	17/8/1888	Fr	Infirmière; "élève petite fille de 12 ans"	Catholic	21/4/1942	30/10/1942	"agent corrupteur et habile intrigante, dangereuse pour l'ordre public"	Masonic items found at her home; grandfather and father both grand masters	Former Infirmière diplôme militaire; decorated with medal for work Mexico epidemic; dec'd 1st husband professeur Lycée	Helped medically at camp with sick and children; "sa conduite m'a donné une très bonne opinion d'elle"
Duranton Marie ép Parrot	495 W: 59	29/4/1910	Fr	Travaillait l'usine Michelin	Catholic	30/1/1941	21/4/1942	Militante communiste, "elle recevait chez elle des distributeurs tracts"		Husband arrested 15/2/1941 for distributing communist tracts sentenced 6 months released 3/8/1941	Attitude correcte pendant séjour au camp

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Durdilly Marie ép Parent	495 W: 59	1/9/1904	Fr	Ouvrière métallur- giste	Catholic	26/10/1942	8/5/1943	"Suspecte du point de vue national"; "a incité ses camarades d'atelier à faire grève"	Arrested at place of work	Divorced, 1 enfant 17 ans	"Bonne conduite"
Duthil Marie Jeanne ép Ducros	495 W: 59	29/10/1879	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	13/3/1942	11/1/1943	Militante communiste notoire	Préf Lot et Garonne	Landowner; husband interned St Sulpice	Permission for absence to sort out dispute and possible fraud father's estate refused
Dutoit Charlotte vve Leblanc	495 W: 59	4/4/1906	Fr par mariage	Secrétaire au Consulat Suisse, Paris		13/7/1943	2/3/1944	Suspecte de point de vue national, accusée de complicité dans tentative évasion de son fiancé officier britannique"	"Mesures internement prononcés sur l'intervention de l'autorité militaire"	Education seconde supérieure; mari mutilé de guerre	Bonne conduite au camp
Duvernoy Jeanne	495 W: 59	13/5/1902	Fr			16/2/1943	23/9/1943	Fille soumise	Préf de l'Hérault		
Emmanuelli Marie ép Taddei	495 W: 59	10/3/1919 (Corse)	Fr			27/11/1943 and 7/1/1944, arr camp	28/1/1944	27/5/1944	No info		4 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Entremont Madeleine ép Marguet	495 W: 59	9/5/1910	Fr	Sans	Catholic	12/3/1943	27/4/1944	"A acheté un porc bloqué par le Ravitaillement Général"		Sachant lire et écrire. Mariée sans enfants	
Espade Céline	495 W: 59	9/9/1899	Fr			18/3/1943	10/5/1944	"Demi-folle, véritable dégénérée"	Internement demandé par M le Chef de Camp de Saliers	Nomade	"Par sa conception anatomique a fait l'objet de brimades de la part des enfants hébergés au Camp de Saliers"
Espitalier Louise vve Laissac	495 W: 59	30/9/1882	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	18/8/1942	3/9/1944	"Recevait fréquemment chez elle des femmes se livrant à la prostitution"	Condamnée 6 mois prison pour excitation de femmes à la débauche		"Son état santé impossible pour elle supporter vie au camp"
Falquet Appoline ép Pommier	495 W: 59	4/3/1892	Fr	Exploite épicerie-boulangerie		14/7/1943	7/5/1944	Unknown. ? internment administrative error?		Co-owner business	"De très bonne moralité. Dévouée et travailleuse"
Faraut Madeleine ép Milon	495 W: 59	10/2/1899	Fr	Institutrice revoquée	Catholic	9/9/1942	25/12/1942	Opinions politiques communistes; elle militait ardemment"	Breach of parole	Husband Receveur Honoraire de l'Enregistremnt, Nice	3 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Fargeat Rosalie div Chevrolat	495 W: 59	9/11/1893 or 9/10/1893	Fr	Revendeuse		12/7/1943	25/4/1944	Marché noir et antécédents judiciaires		Divorcée, 6 children 10 convictions	
Fargier Germaine ép Sourd	495 W: 59	17/7/1910				25/3/1944	4/5/1944	Ecrémage de lait			1 month fixed
Fassier Marguerite	495 W: 59	5/2/1922	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	25/10/1941	8/3/1942 to hospital Albi; 25/6/1942 from hospital to camp de Rivesaltes	"S'est signalée par ses relations avec autorités d'occupation et son attitude des plus suspectes à l'égard de la population Francaise des communes .."		Helped on parents' farm; mother did laundry German troops	
Faure Marie vve Seroul	495 W: 59	10/10/1899	Fr			16/7/1943	22/8/1943	Excite la population contre les pouvoirs publics	Protestation contre mesures prises pour le ravitaillement en légumes. Adopté une attitude aggressive.		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Faure Marie Héloïse	495 W: 59	16/3/1884	Fr	Ouvrière papetière		21/1/1943	24/3/1944	Propagande communiste	Condemned 25/7/1941 Trib Militaire Clermont Ferrand 2 ans de prison et 30 ans interdiction des droits civiques, civiles et de famille		Chef du camp recommends benevolence on 4 grounds: 1. Many militant communists distributing propaganda never condemned. 2. Duplicator found at her house was destined for a M. Feriol - she was merely a depot unaware of consequences. 3. Neither surveillance nor correspondence at camp reveal any political tendencies; conduct good 4. Old and health incompatible with camp life. (Med certs, heart)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ferus Félicie ép Sadek	495 W: 59	5/5/1911	Fr	Epicière		3/6/1942	No info	Suspecte de menées Trotskystes			
Fèvre Marcelle	495 W: 59	21/3/1896	Fr	Epicière	Catholic	3/4/1942	15/6/1942	Graves infractions au règlement sur ravitaillement			
Flèche Marguerite ép Chaloyard	495 W: 59	6/8/1912	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	19/7/1942	4/2/1943	"A abandonné 11 passagers clandestins sur la ligne de démarcation alors qu'elle s'était chargée de les conduire en zone occupée"		Vivait concubinage avec Vignier Alphonse, prisonnier de guerre. 2 enfants 6 and 8.	
Foichat Julie	495 W: 59	3/1/1895	Fr	Fille soumise		12/9/1942	24/11/1942	Fille soumise 10 condamnations défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage, dangereuse pour la sécurité et moralité publique	Préf Haute Garonne	Père non dénommé. C.E.P et B.E. 2 condamnation s	Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Fonlupt Anne	495 W: 59	15/4/1923	Fr	Elève infirmière	Catholic	27/10/1942	24/11/1942	Activité anti-nationale (Groupement "Combat")		Father: Jacques Fonlupt - Espéraber, Docteur ès Science Juridiques, Docteur ès Sciences Politiques et Economiques, Avocat Barreau de Strasbourg	1 month fixed
Fontana Cécile ép Cauvin	495 W: 59	11/6/1916	Fr	Bonne à tout faire	Catholic	21/11/1941	17/4/1942	"A professé et continue a professer des idées communistes"	"Résulte de l'interception de la correspondance"	Husband interned St Sulpice	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Fontanilles Albanie	495 W: 59	14/3/1891	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	27/9/1943	Fille soumise. 15 condamnations défaut de visite sanitaires et racolage. Prostituée de bas étage dangereuse pour la santé et salubrité publique	Préf Haute Garonne		"Elle s'est signalée par sa bonne volonté et demandé de travailler dans le camp ou elle est employée comme laveuse." (volontaire)
Fonvieille Gabrielle ép Ferret	495 W: 59	19/9/1896	Fr	Cirreuse	Catholic	16/3/1943	20/3/1943	None given			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Forbes Eileen ép Tailleux	495 W: 59	18/2/1915	Fr	Ménagère; previously travailleuse volontaire Paris	Protestan t	14/9/1942	6/12/1942	Suspecte au point de vue national. Attitude hostile au régime actuel. "Elle a facilité la fuite d'un membre d'une famille de juifs allemands alors que les gendarmes se présentaient à leur domicile pour les conduire au Camp des Milles... déclarant qu'elle avait honte d'être française"	Préf Bouches du Rhône. Elle "a enfermé le Brigadier de Gendarmerie dans une chambre permettant ainsi la fuite d'une juive luxembourgeoise e âgé de 18 ans et malade, son amie."	Daughter of James and Margaret Winthrop, born Paris. Father Avocat lives Rio de Janeiro. Education secondaire, passé son brevet de Pilote. Husband artist Francis Tailleux. Address Le Chateau Noir, Aix en Provence	"Conduite irréprochable"; but 6/10/1942 ses fréquentations au camp et son langage la présentent plutôt comme anglophile et gaulliste"
Force Simone vve Marion	495 W: 59	6/12/1897	Fr			Arr camp 14/7/1943	1/9/1943	None given despite repeated requests			

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Floret Yvonne	495 W: 59	27/9/1905	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 15/3/1928		27/4/1943, camp 12/5/1943	23/9/1943	Prostituée continue malgré de nombreuses observations, conduite et moralité de plus mauvaise	Préf Alpes Maritimes		6 months fixed
Foret Solange ép Corréard	495 W: 59	30/9/1910	Fr	Gérante	Catholic	8/8/1942	8/9/1942	"S'est fait expédier des colis familiaux de fruits et légumes. Infraction aux dispositions de l'arrêté réglementant la circulation des denrées et produits alimentaires destinées à la consommation familiales"			
Fouilleux Jeanne	495 W: 59	7/10/1885	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	13/12/1941	28/12/1942	"Fille soumise dont l'attitude et le sans-gêne sont un danger pour le morale publique"	Préf du Rhône		"Une bonne conduite"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Fournil Simone	495 W: 59	17/11/1911	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	12/9/1942	16/9/1942	Fille soumise, 10 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne	Parents cultivateurs	Hospitalisée syphilis
Fray Isabelle ép Maury	495 W: 59	5/10/1903	Fr	Secrétaire, fille soumise inscrite 21/5/1932. Exploitation de débit de boissons.	Catholic	12/9/1942	8/10/1943	Prostituée impénitente et spécialiste du vol à l'entôlage; 22 contraventions défaut visite sanitaire et racolage	Préf Haute Garonne	Titulaire B.E.; orpheline depuis longtemps	4 condamnations: vol (2), abus confiance.
Faugère Maria	495 W: 59	2/11/1884	Fr	Fille soumise		26/2/1943	16/9/1943	Infractions divers et racolage	Préf de l'Hérault		"Sa conduite est bonne"
Gaignière Anne Marie	495 W: 60	14/3/1920	Fr			1/4/1943	22/11/1943	"Mène une vie déréglée, fréquentait les casinos et boites de nuits. Sans domicile fixe, récidiviste de vol"	Préfet Alpes Maritimes	Orpheline de guerre. 4 condamnations de vol	6 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Galli Geneviève ép Vidot	495 W: 60	8/12/1922	Fr	Fille soumise		23/7/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille soumise... une plainte en contamination des autorités Allemandes. Très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics	1 juillet 1943 appréhendée au cours d'une rafle fait au Cristal- Palace. Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse.		
Gallot Marie ép Boutin	495 W: 60	4/3/1920	Fr	Ouvrière de l'usine	Catholic	15/10/1942	1/2/1943	Suspecte au pointe de vue national	"A pris une part active au mouvement de grève qui s'est déclenché à l'usine Berliet à la suite des opérations de recrutement de main d'oeuvre pour l'Allemagne, en vue de la relève"		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Gallon Marguerite ép Gnemmi	495 W: 60	17/8/1899	Fr	Marchande de bestiaux	Catholic	3/12/1942	15/1/1943	Motif économique. "A vendu 3 porcelets sans se préoccuper à la qualité et du pouvoir des acheteurs"	Préf du Rhône Régional de Lyon		3 months
Gamba Simone	495 W: 60	27/7/1917 (Monaco)	Fr			30/11/1943	5/1/1944	No info	Arrested with Chauffard Claudine, by secrétaire d'état à l'Intérieur Préfet Régional de Montpellier on basis of report by maire de Sigean		6 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Gandon Marcelle	495 W: 60	24/12/1904	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 28/1/1938 à Lyon. Modiste	Catholic	11/10/1941	10/11/1943	"Fille soumise. S'adonne à la boisson, cocaïnomane. Fréquente des repris de justice et des souteneurs." Prostituée indisciplinée, violente, un danger pour santé et moralité publique	Préfecture de Rhône	3 condamnation s. Outrages et violences aux agents, racolage. 1 fille.	"Nerveuse, impulsive, elle avoue avoir tenté de suicide"
Ganteaume Marie Louise ép Théron	495 W: 60	25/3/1915	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	13/11/1942	9/1/1943	Pour avoir participé à la manifestation qui s'est déroulé 11/11/1942 et avoir insulté les pompiers	Préfet du Gard		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Garcia Fernande	495 W: 60	12/8/1919	Fr	Epicière		21/6/1943 and 30/10/1943	22/7/1943 and 8/1/1944	Diverses infractions à la réglementation de la vente du lait."Elle servaient notamment le lait à leurs clients sans couper les tickets correspondants sur leur cartes"	Préfet de l'Hérault. Arrested with Walthey Joséphine who got 15 days		
Gardès Germaine	495 W: 60	14/11/1916	Fr	Gérante du Bar Désiré		2/7/1943 (camp 1/10/1943)	28/12/1943	Prostitution clandestine	Préfet de la Loire	1 enfant 7 ans	"Prostitution clandestine n'a pas été formellement prouvée"
Garre Georgette	495 W: 60	Fr				19/7/1943	31/7/1943	Manifeste sur la voie publique à Sornac 14 juillet 1943	Préfecture de la Corrèze		
Gasc Suzanne	495 W: 60	26/9/1904 (also given 1906)	Fr	Couturière. Fille soumise inscrite 24/4/1927	Catholic	12/9/1942	8/10/1943	Fille soumise dangereuse pour santé et sécurité publique	Préfet Haute Garonne	2 condamnation s tentative de vol. Père inconnu. C.E.P.	"Morphinomane" ; résidence surveillée recommended

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Gasch Fortunée ép Barthe	495 W: 60	3/1/1914 (Espagne)	Fr by marriage	Prostitute	Catholic	26/2/1943	23/9/1943	Fille soumise	Préfet de l'Hérault	Separée, 1 enfant 11 ans. Sait lire et écrire	"Mauvaise état santé"
Gaston Maria	495 W: 60	12/11/1911	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 24/4/1934, formerly marseillaise en lithographie	Catholic	12/9/1942	12/5/1943	10 condamnations pour défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage." Adonnant à la boisson. Dangereuse pour l'ordre et la santé publique"	Préfecture de la Haute Garonne. With sister Villemur; 3 months	2 condamnation s vol; sans domicile fixe; Hôtel Lutétia	"Sa conduite n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable"
Gauthier Joséphine ép Privat	495 W: 60	15/3/1887	Fr	Sans	Catholic	14/9/1942	17/7/1943	"Recevait chez elle des femmes qui se livraient à la prostitution clandestine"	Préfet délégué de Montpellier	Serious health problems; immobile 2 years following back operation. 1 enfant	Health suffers because of "froid vigoureux de camp". Chef du camp more than once tries get her released on health grounds
Genest Brigitte	495 W: 60	23/12/1922	Fr	Opticienne ouvrière		8/8/1942	24/11/1942 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	Attitude suspecte au point de vue national	Préfecture Toulouse	Had previously worked in Germany then Paris	"Cette personne me parait très suspecte"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Geusserand Marcelle	495 W: 60	10/3/1921	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	Catholic	12/9/1942	19/8/1943	Fille soumise 14 condamnations racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire. Dangereuse pour la santé et la moralité publique	Préf Haute Garonne	Dès l'âge 13 travailler dans l'usine. Prostituée since age 16. 1 condamnation	
Gévaudan Anna ép Tchernenko	495 W: 60	22/12/1910	Fr	Travaille usine; ouvrière en chausseur	Orthodoxe	30/6/1941	10/8/1942	"Idées extrémistes"	Préfecture Isère. Search of house found portraits Stalin.	Born Russia of Fr father and Russian mother. Arr Fr 1919. 1 daughter aged 5. Husband interned Le Vernet	"Elle est employée au service des cuisines et donne entière satisfaction par sa façon de travailler et de se comporter".
Gigoux Carmen ép Jackel plus Jackel Hubert	495 W: 60	22/2/1915; Hubert né 21/1/1943	Fr			10/12/1942	15/9/1943	Moralité déplorable, condamnations multiples, spécialiste de tous genres de vols	Préfecture d'Aveyron	6 condamnation s vol. Nomad. Mariée, 3 enfants 6, 4, 2	"Le lendemain de son arrivée au camp (20/1/1943) elle a du être dirigée pour l'hôpital Albi où elle accouche d'un quatrième enfant"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Gilone Antoinette ép Ducret	495 W: 60	24/8/1904	Fr	Epicière		2/9/1943	20/12/1943	Traffic de tickets d'alimentation			
Giordan Mireille	495 W: 60	23/4/1907	Fr			25/1/1943	20/8/1943	Prostituée très mauvaise moralité, un danger pour l'ordre public	Préf Bouches du Rhône		
Gioux Georgette ép Murat	495 W: 60	21/4/1911	Fr			19/7/1943	31/7/1943	Manifeste sur la voie publique à Sornac 14 juillet			
Giran Yvonne div Niel	495 W: 60	22/5/1913	Fr	Artiste lyrique		17/2/1943	14/5/1943	Prostituée clandestine avoir contaminé plusieurs personnes à Tarascon. Diffamation	Actually arrested for calumnous denunciation of 2 men to German officers. Préf Bouches du Rhône	2 children. Hospitalised Hôpital Prophylactique Marseille	Hospital Albi 27/4/1943 - 12/5/1943 "état semi-syncopal avec hémoptysies de petite abondance"
Giraud Louise	495 W: 60	24/9/1924	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	13/4/1942	21/6/1942	"Provoque du désordre dans cette commune" (Pierrelatte)		Fille naturelle (père inconnu). C.E.P.	1 month fixed "l'attitude sans reproches"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Giraudoux Alice	495 W: 60	6/6/1899	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	Catholic	11/6/1942 5/4/1943	26/11/1942 8/10/1943	Fille soumise, racolage, provoque de fréquents scandales.	Appréhendée très souvent par les Brigades de service des Moeurs. Plusieurs fois condamnée pour coups et blessures, outrages	Interned maison de fous de 14-15 ans. Condemned 1 month prison 1939. Interned 1942; partie travailler en Allemagne "d'où j'ai été renvoyée peu après à Marseille"	"Lettre no 1887 Pol14 et 8 du 13 août 43 M conseiller d'Etat Générale à la police envisageant libération prostituées du camp Brens." Giraudoux a été classée dans "l'Etat C, qui comporte les internées dangereuses pour la sécurité publique"
Girondeau Gabrielle ép Dumas	495 W: 60	31/1/1902	Fr	Couturière		1/9/1943	5/11/1943	"Achat de beurre à la ferme; expéditions irrégulières de colis familiaux; hausse illicite sur la revente du beurre acheté en fraude"		Père non dénommé. Condamnation vol 11/2/1927 tribunal Pontoise. 1 child	2 months fixed

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Giraud Jeanne ép Mélicat	495 W: 60	20/7/1887	Fr	Boulangère	Catholic	13/4/1942	21/6/1942	"Coupable au point de vue du Ravitaillement"	Tickets ne correspond pas au pain vendu	3 children	3 months fixed. "conduite irréprochable"
Ghibaudo Catherine ép Giraudo	495 W: 60	18/8/1909	Italienne	Laitière	Catholic	22/9/1942	8/3/1943	Fraudeuse récidiviste		Married, 4 children. 1 child gravely ill clinic Montpellier, 2 years treatment. 2 condemnations mouillage de lait	
Grobert Louise ép Carcasses	495 W: 61	12/8/1900	Fr			30/11/1942	20/7/1943	"Se livrant à des manoeuvres de nature à compromettre le ravitaillement du pays"		Mother of 5 children	Letter chef du camp to Préfet du Tarn 2/4/1943 pointing out similar offenders given fixed penalties of 15 days to 3 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Godin Suzanne div Delaville	495 W: 60	20/10/1902	Fr	Secrétaire until marriage	Catholic	18/7/1942	22/1/1943	"Vivant en concubinage avec le nommé Desrayes, alias Colonel de Marigny, principal inculpé de l'affaire 'liberté dévoilée' en Nov 1941. Stupéfiant, dangereuse pour l'ordre public"	Elle était en liberté provisoire. 14 juillet se trouvait dans le groupe des manifestants au Fort de St Nicolas pour réclamer la libération détenus.		M. Caillol, architecte, letter 11/11/1942, "prenant toutes garanties pour cette internée"
Goldschmidt Antoinette div Dervaux	495 W: 60	5/4/1908 Brussels	Fr	Infirmière pendant la guerre	Catholic	16/7/1941	5/2/1942	Se livre au trafic opium	"Mme Goldschmidt se trouve actuellement internée pour trafic de stupéfiants alors que deux décisions de justice affirme le contraire" (letter 2/2/1942, Robert Argentino, avocat)	Diplôme d'infirmière militaire; participe aux opérations de l'est, blessée en service. From well known honourable Paris family, heiress to large estate	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Goloubkine Esther ép Stern	495 W: 60	4/8/1885 à Tchousy (Russie)	Fr	Hôtelière	Israélite	30/12/1942	15/9/1943	"Par les manoeuvres frauduleuses et malhonnêtes a tenté de dissimuler des biens placés sous administration provisoire"	Administration provisoire chargé à vendre les biens de l'intéressée	3 children. Diplômes de docteur ès sciences chimiques, jamais exercé.	"Israélite, ses fréquentations au camp se bornent à quelques internées de sa confession" "bonne conduite"
Gonzalès Angèle ép Perret	495 W: 60	4/2/1913 Espagne	Fr par mariage	Fille soumise		16/4/1943	22/11/1943	Prostituée clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaise. Antécédents judiciaires. Mère dénaturée. A abandonné ses enfants en bas-âge depuis 1939	Préf Alpes Maritimes	7 condamnation s. Notoirement connue de services de police. 4 children 11, 8, 6, 4. Abandonné sa famille 1939	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Gottardini Marie Louise ép Antoine	495 W: 60	11/7/1912	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine/ bonne		8/9/1941	18/3/1944	"Femme de moralité et des moeurs défavorables. Soupçonnée de se livrer à la prostitution. Vit en concubinage avec le repris de justice Rossio. Se livre continuellement à la boisson et fait du scandale partout."	Préf de l'Hérault	Réfugiée à Taussac la Billière (Hérault)	25/1/1944 "Vu sa conduite, son repentir et surtout ses 2 longues années d'internement pour un motif semblable, j'emets un avis favorable de libération"
Goustille Madeleine	495 W: 60	20/6/1914	Fr	Employée de magasin		16/6/1943	23/9/1943	Prostitution clandestine. Atteinte de syphilis, conduite et moralité mauvaise, très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre public	Préf Haute Garonne		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Goutagny Jeanne ép Maurin	495 W: 60	23/11/1899	Fr			9/9/1943	21/12/1943	Réfraction à la législation des restaurants - continué à servir de l'absinthe à des clients			
Graesser Anna ép Rast	495 W: 61	25/5/1897 (Hambourg)	Allemande				Taken from camp by police from Toulouse 24/11/1943 for Clermont Ferrand			Born Hamburg	Reports of "effervescence" at her departure, internees both Fr and étrangères gathering and shouting "Vive la France" in protest
Graillot Germaine	495 W: 61	19/7/1912	Fr	Ancienne sous-maitresse de maison de tolérance a Berre l'Etang		5/4/1944	11/5/1944				
Grand Marguerite ép Chrétien	495 W: 61	26/8/1911	Fr	Cultivatrice		8/4/1943	7/7/1943	?Réfraction prix au ravitaillement			3 months

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Grandvoinet Alice	495 W: 61	1/3/1911	Fr	Fille soumise		21/11/1941	7/1/1943	Plusieurs fois condamnée pour rébellion, coups et outrages aux agents. Embauchage de mineure en vue de la débauche. Moralité et conduite très mauvaise. Fréquentations déplorables		Mère couturière, père perdu de vue. 4 condamnations inc 6 month prison sentence	3 months fixed. "Depuis plus de 11 mois qu'elle est internée la conduite et l'attitude n'ont donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable; manifeste un réel repentir."
Grobel Gabrielle	495 W: 61	30/5/1921	Fr	Cultivatrice		10/7/1943	25/2/1944	Compromise dans une affaire d'escroquerie et de trafic de pièces d'or		Parents tenaient un hôtel à Dunkerque. 1942 vécu à Lyon au sein d'une famille Israélite	"Maitresse d'un Israélite malhonnête, il semble qu'elle se soit rendue complice de ses agissements que par pures étourderies."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Groffal Germaine	495 W: 61	1/1/1921	Fr	Commis d'ordre à la Préfecture Délégué (employed along with Bringaud Fanny)	Catholic	26/1/1943	13/3/1943	Non parvenu	Arrested with Bringaud Fanny		
Guicciardini Anna ép Sentenac	495 W: 61	29/4/1907	Fr	Négociante en fruits et primeurs		29/7/1943	30/8/1943	Infractions ravitaillement			
Guillaume Germaine ép Lassalle	495 W: 61	19/4/1913 Belgique	Fr par mariage	Sans		13/7/1943	10/11/1943	Ex-fille soumise, se livrant à la prostitution avec des soldats allemands		1 daughter	
Guillet Renée	495 W: 61	1/8/1916	Fr	Cafetière	Catholic	8/10/1941	4/8/1942	"Elle racole les passants pour se livrer à la prostitution dans son logement attendant au débit"		Ex-tenancière "Restaurant Niçois" débit fermé mais servant encore de lieu de prostitution	"Sa conduite et sa tenue sont correcte... à mon avis elle pourrait être placée à la maison de relèvement moral de St Ysmier (Isère)"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Guillaumin Léonie dite "La Blanche"	495 W: 61	7/4/1889	Fr	Epicière	Catholic	13/1/1942	29/12/1942	"Maîtresse du Sieur Vignard interné Fort Barraux. Tient une épicerie buvette dont les locaux auraient servi de dépôt pour... tracts communistes"	Préfet de l'Allier		"Une très bonne conduite" libération conditionnelle recommended Oct 1942
Guillot Yvonne	495 W: 61	22/8/1915	Fr	Sans; gérante d'un café closed down by authorities Jan 1941	Catholic	8/10/1941	19/8/1943	"Se livre à la prostitution; elle racole les passants près de la porte de son logement"		Ex-tenancière "Bar Dégustation" débit fermé mais servant encore de lieu de prostitution	Une bonne conduite "elle parait manifester des regrets sincères de son passé"

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Guilly Thérèse ép Prône	495 W: 61	18/11/1899	Fr	Ouvrière au Parc d'Artillerie	Catholic	31/7/1941	24/4/1942	"Renseignements donnés par l'Autorité Militaire, communiste, notoire agissante, son internement est jugé indispensable par l'officier M.A... sa fille âgée de 17 ans est secrétaire d'un syndicat" (daughter actually 22)		15 yrs service Etablissement Militaire	Strong letter Chef du camp to M le Commissaire Divisionnaire de Police Spéciale 26/11/1941 pointing out "confondu communisme et syndicalisme" and flagrant contradictions between motifs given and declarations of Mme Prône.
Guyon Félicie ép Courbet	495 W: 61	18/1/1878	Fr	Ménagère, formerly florist		15/1/1941	9/7/1942	"Communiste propagandiste notoire n'ayant pas cessé sa campagne d'insultes... contre le gouvernement du Maréchal Pétain..."	Préfet de l'Ain	3 children. Son interned St Sulpice liberated 1 May 1942	Letter 18 May 1942 from Chef du Camp to Préfet du Tarn saying his enquiries show charges against her untrue and she interned because of son's support for Spanish civil war

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Haenel Suzanne ép Heidenreich	495 W: 61	25/8/1907	Fr	Employée de bureau	Israélite	9/8/1943	13/9/1943	"Fausse déclaration" pour "éviter l'apposition de la mention 'Juive' sur la carte d'identité... faux renseignements concernant sa religion et race"	1 month	Born Alsace	
Haon Marie ép Pagès	495 W: 61	30/6/1895	Fr	Cultivatrice		17/6/1943	17/7/1943	"Trafic important sur le beurre et autres denrées contingentées... commerce sans autorisation préfectorale"	Préf Haute Loire; durée 1 mois	Cultivatrice à St Paul de Tartas	
Haon Madeleine ép Pinet	495 W: 61	8/8/1900	Fr	Fille soumise		21/12/1942	27/8/1943	Vieille prostituée réfractaire à toute réglementation. "Arrêtée frequemment pour racolage."	Préf Régional de Lyon	Married; child aged 23. 4 condamnation s	"Une bonne conduite" initially. Frequent disputes with other internees, latterly calmed down.

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Hory Félicie ép Dockviller	495 W: 61	5/12/1895				13/10/1941	19/8/1943	"Racole les passants en se plaçant près de la devanture de sa logement"	Préf de l'Isère. Arrested with Veyselier Jeanne; Vasseur Georgette; Mare Marcelle; Guillet Renee; Guillot Yvonne (Grillo Marie; Negro Marie)	Ex-tenancière Café "Au Gratin Savoyard", fermé par décision autorité militaire. Père inconnu, placée à l'Assistance publique. Condamnation ouverture irrégulière d'un débit de boissons 1/4/1941	"l'internée était honorable et tout disposée à la reprendre à son foyer". "Son état général mauvais avec un séjour au camp"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Houzelot Léonie ép Leloup	495 W: 61	15/5/1908	Fr	Sans profession		Camp 14/10/1942 . Arrest requested 29/7/1942	24/3/1943	"Femme de mauvaises moeurs, condamnée pour outrages publics à la pudeur. La conduite est une cause de scandale..."	Internment requested by Services des Réfugiés, Digne (Provence). Liberated to Ubaye (B.A.)	Married 5 children. Prison 8 days. Refugee Alsace Lorraine. Affair railway employee Provence himself father 4 children. Leave young children with others while out in cafes	
Houlès Francine, ép Salvy	495 W: 61	5/5/1924	Fr	Ex-tenancière Cafe de Languedoc, Castres		5/11/1943	22/3/1944	Manifestement malhonnête dans l'exercice de sa profession; favorise prostitution clandestine; son établissement rendezvous gens dépravés; a servi alcool à des enfants mineurs	Préf Régionale de Castres, ? arrested with Cauquill Aurielle	Married, enfant 9 months. father cultivateur.	"Conduite depuis arrivée au camp toujours bonne"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Hugues Marie	495 W: 61	23/8/1890	Fr	Sans profession	Catholic	25/1/1943	8/3/1943	"N'a pu justifier l'emploi de 3000 kgs de blé qui lui avaient été remis par son fermier"		Unmarried. Parents farmers	3 months fixed. "L'état santé précaire lui permet difficilement de supporter le régime du camp"
Imbert Elisa (dite Lisette) Marie	495 W: 61	13/4/1922	Fr	Former femme de chambre		19/3/1943	5/2/1944	Inconnu. Suspectée d'activité anarchiste	Arrested by order Préf Limoges with Picard Maurice and Vachet Roger. Implicated in their activities	Vivant maritalement avec Vachet Roger à Bandol (Var)	"Picard et Vachet soient bien les seuls coupables dans cette affaire"
Imbert Marthe div Coste	495 W: 61	15/5/1896	Fr	Ménagère. Jusqu'à 1939 travaillé comme ouvrière dans le scierie à Vals-les-Bains	Catholic	11/3/1942	7/7/1942	Non parvenu. She says because of manifestation de ménagères à la mairie de Vals-les-Bains au sujet des rations de pommes de terre	Préfet de l'Ardèche says she incited protesters to use force. Seditious cries.	Préfet says well known to police as militant communist	"La leçon lui aura été salutaire"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Imbert Yvette	495 W: 61	10/6/1921	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite à Agen		22/5/1943 11/1/1944	17/9/1943 2/3/1944	Prostituée clandestine à Toulouse, très dangereuse pour l'ordre et la santé publics	Préf Haute Garonne	Déjà été hospitalisée pour maladie vénérienne	
Jacomelli Bruna vve Guidi	495 W: 61	9/5/1907 at Bagni de Montecani		Restauratrice		21/7/1943	29/10/1943	"Elle n'a pu produire bulletin de livraison pour important lot de viande; hausse sur prix des repas"		Veuve, 2 enfants	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Jadlowker Simone ép Aronowicz and enfant Aronowicz Jeannine	495 W: 61	16/7/1912 (Pologne); 14/6/1939	Fr par mariage; mari naturalisé 1/12/1931		Israélite	11/1/1943; tr from camp de Nexon 7/4/1943	13/8/1943	No info on original reason for internment. But "Comme... les intéressés n'ont pas souscrit la déclaration instituée par la loi de 2 Juin 1941 sur le recensement des juifs, ils devront être déférés au Parquet pour infraction à la dite loi."	Arrêté Préfet Haute Vienne	Troubles cardiaques graves; enceinte. Fillette de trois ans "chétive, atteinte d'adénopathie trachéo bronchique, ne peut sans risque être maintenue au camp de Nexon."	Sought release 8/5/1943, 22/5/1943 ("urgent"), 4/6/1943, 1/8/1943
Jakel Thérèse ép Guillemin and enfant	495 W: 61	14/2/1911	Fr	Marchande foraine		10/12/1942	4/9/1943	"Les époux Guillemin Jackel... indésirables. Ils ne travaillent pas..."; fréquentes rixes chez lui; mari 2 mois prison à Rodez violence	Préf de L'Aveyron	Mother of 4 children, 10, 8, 6, 2. Husband interned St Sulpice	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Jeannin Renée vve Dissard	495 W: 61	29/12/1896 Tunis	Fr	Employée d'usine		18/12/1940	15/12/1941 conditional 3 months	"Dangereuse pour la défense nationale et la sécurité publique... militante communiste..."	Préf Puy de Dôme	Veuve, 2 enfants	
Jezequel Françoise	495 W: 61	4/12/1882	Fr	Femme de chambre	Catholic	2/10/1941	29/6/1943	"Conduite et moralité déplorables, son exemple lamentable pour la moralité publique	Tribunal Correctionnel de Nice. Préf Alpes Maritimes	C.E.P; 4 previous condamnation s mendacité et vagabondage, 4 prison sentences	
John Marguerite Louise ép Lefort	495 W: 62	22/8/1921	Fr	Bonne à tout faire	Catholic	13/9/1941; 11/12/1941	camp 21/4/1942	"Fille soumise refoulée du camp retranché de Toulon. Recherche les fréquentations des marins et soldats du 21 RIC"	Préfet du Var	Réfugiée Alsace Lorraine. Parents cultivateurs, lived with them until ran away to Toulon June 1941	"Attitude correcte, une bonne conduite. Elle regrette ce qu'elle a fait"

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Joly Marie	495 W: 62	21/10/1910	Fr	Bonne à tout faire; fille soumise inscrite Lyon 1937		10/12/1942	Recomm 12/8/1943	"Prostituée réfractaire de toute réglementation arrêtée fréquemment pour racolage"	Préf Régional de Lyon	Célibataire; enfant 11 ans	"Depuis son arrivée au camp cette personne a eu à coeur de démentir le qualificatif d'indiscipline qui lui avait été donné... Elle a su se faire remarquée par son excellente conduite, sa patience et son silence rares dans un milieu aussi agité."
Jorelle Myrella	495 W: 62	14/4/1912	Fr			19/12/1942	23/9/1943	"Fille soumise qui a facilité l'évasion de l'hôpital Salvator de son amant Guille Louis, condamné à mort par contumance (sic)..."	Préf Régional des Bouches du Rhône	No family. Lived alone since mother remarried	"Sa conduite au camp bonne" "Elle aurait commis des erreurs parce que livré à elle-même dès son jeune âge et sans appui moral de son mère remariée"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Josso Albertine vve Sabathé	495 W: 62	7/2/1901	Fr	Travaille aux usines	Catholic	10/4/1941	14/10/1942	"Conduite déplorable" ivresse publique, racolage, défaut de visite sanitaire	Préfet de l'Allier; from 1st Aug 1940 to 9th April 1941 11 procès- verbaux ivresse publique, 5 pour racolage, 6 pour défaut de visite sanitaire. "Constitue un véritable scandale"	Sans domiclie fixe; parents cultivateurs Morbihan; husband employee chemin de fer killed accident 1932; 15 days prison outrages aux gendarmes	"Depuis son internement elle était plutôt tranquille et très docile." "Elle est d'un nature simple... manifeste regrets tardifs..."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Joubert Yvonne ép Frier	495 W: 62	21/5/1902	Fr	Sans; se livre à la prostitution	Catholic	27/3/1942	W 47	Travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne 24/11/1942. Info Pontzeel and lists 495 "A provoqué un certain nombre de plaintes et réclamations dans son voisinage. Elle est souvent en état d'ébriété. Spécialiste du vol à l'entôlage"	Préf de l'Isère "L'arrêté municipale de 1 août 1930 ayant aboli le réglementation de la prostitution à Grenoble, la police n'a pas d'autre moyen de mettre fin à l'activité de cette prostituée qu'en demandant son internement"	Condamnation s Grenoble: 27/11/33 2 ans prison complicité de vols qualifiés; 8/5/1934 2 ans prison vol et recel; 4/2/1941 1 mois prison vol	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Jouclard Francine ép Sprecher	495 W: 62	28/12/1887	D'origine française, suisse par mariage	Commerçante	Catholic	5/5/1942	29/12/1942	Nombreuses infractions - hausse illicite, vente sans facture, tromperie sur la dénomination de la marchandise vendue, fausse compatibilité, fausses factures..."	Préf du Rhône. She claims false denunciation by her employee, fabricated claims for personal vengeance	Condamnée T.C. Lyon 1/12/1938 à 25 frs d'amende pour blessures involontaires	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Kalé (also Kahle) Lydia ép Joubert	495 W: 62	28/6/1884 Orel, Russie	Fr par mariage	Former Infirmière major	?illisible	23/11/1940	7/7/1942	Dangereuse pour défense nationale. Présidente du Secours Rouge local, une des fondatrices "Amis de l'URSS", adhérente Comité Mondiale des Femmes. Recevait à son domicile membres importants du Partie Communiste. Sa fille a été écrouée pour détention et distribution de tracts communistes.	Préf Puys-de- Dôme	Sorbonne; certificats zoologie, botanique et géologie. 1st husband "mort pour la France" 1916, Croix de Guerre. 1916 she Infirmière Principale 5th Armée de l'Ambulance 7-10 at front. 2nd husband M. le Docteur Joubert, croix de Guerre, Légion d'Honneur. Daughter 22 in prison for tracts, 2 yrs, son 18.	"Très bonne conduite" "conduite irréprochable"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Kempfer Marie vve Hassli; plus 3 enfants	495 W: 62 (Moselle)	16/9/1896	Fr par ré-integration - Treaty Versailles	Ouvrière	Catholic	16/10/1941	10/12/1942	Dangereuse pour la sécurité publique. Très mauvaise conduite et moralité	Préfet de Basse Alpes: "La nommée Kempfer Marie est astreinte à résider avec ses trois enfants Pierre, Victor et Marie, âgé 10, 8, et 5 ans, au camp de Rieucros	7 (8?) enfants of whom 4 naturels. Age 29, 25, 17, 15, 13, 10, 8, 5. Expelled Alsace Lorraine by Autorités Allemandes. Vit en concubinage avec Winterstein, Chretien, himself married - "père de 4 enfants; il a abandonné sa famille"	"Bonne conduite"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Kenoueche Simone ép Semoff	495 W: 62	23/2/1917	Fr	Former secrétaire à la mairie Clermont Ferrand; maisons de rendez-vous à Nîmes, Béziers, Perpignan et Toulouse	Catholic	4/11/1942	18/7/1943	"Fille soumise. Condamnée 19/10/1939 par T.C. Clermont Ferrand pour excitation de mineure à la débauche, 6 mois prison, 5 ans interdiction de séjour"	Préf de la Haute Garonne	Fille de Mohamed Ben bachir, origin Algerian. Husband son of Isaac Semoff, Bulgarian origin, declares not race Juive. Protestant, vélo taxi à Castres. Semoff condemned 1939 inciting mineurs. 18/2/1942 6 mois prison défaut de visa	"Très bonne conduite à camp" "elle n'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable. Elle a fait preuve d'une réelle volonté de s'amender"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Klotz Marguerite ép Soubie	495 W: 62	3/10/1903	Fr	Bonne à tout faire; fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 7/2/1934	Catholic	18/11/1942	5/1/1943 Travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Prostituée de bas étage... dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics." "Egalement inscrite à Biarritz, Pau, Mazamet, Limoges." Depuis retour à Toulouse mai 1942, 5 fois verbalisé pour racolage.	Préf de la Haute Garonne	Père inconnu. hospitalisée syphilis	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Kohler Madeleine plus 2 enfants	495 W: 62	4/4/1921; Georges 2/2/1937, Joséphine 23/12/1939	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	19/7/1941	24/4/1942	"Astreinte à résidence - réfugiée de la Moselle, se livre à la prostitution"	Préf de l'Hérault "les personnes avaient été signalées à mon attention par M. le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur" (letter to Préf Lozère 8/9/1942) others Adler Marie ép Winterstein, Renoncourt Madeleine.	1 of large family expelled to Lodève. Father Kohler Bernard interned Sisteron	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Kops Jeanne vve Brignon	495 W: 62	12/4/1897	Fr par mariage	Sans		8/12/1941	12/5/1943	"Indésirable mauvaise conduite, s'adonne à la boisson"	Préf de Vaucluse, following letter Maire Carpentras 10/11/1941 reporting investigation into complaints neighbours and landlord	Born Allemagne. Widow 1938. 11 children inc 1 daughter who died in childbirth. Refugee Alsace Lorraine. 3 children 16, 14, 12, inculpée vol 2, Tribunal pour enfants	"Elle n'a guère justifié aucun des reproches qu'on lui faisait. Sa conduite a été bonne"
Kounsky Esther vve Schuckler	495 W: 62	6/3/1890	Russe	Couturière	Israélite	23/5/1940	14/9/1942 tr to camp de Récébédou	"Dangereuse pour l'ordre public"	Judgment 9/5/1940 TC Mende 15 days prison défaut carte d'identité. Seems she was never released; formal arrêté 7/11/1940	Russe; venue en France 1907 avec tante; vivait maritalement avec Ostrowsky Jacques, interné au camp de Rieucros, tr Camp de Vernat	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Laborde Marie ép Carré	495 W: 62	16/6/1899	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	8/11/1941	26/12/1942	"S'est signalée par ses relations avec l'autorité d'occupation et son attitude plus suspecte à l'égard de la population Francaise de la commune... A fourni des renseignements aux services Allemands sur les personnes qui franchissaient la ligne de démarcation..."	Préf de l'Allier; Carré Solange, and Fassier Marguerite	Parents cultivateurs. Married, son 21 and Solange, 18. Run small farm 15 years at Livry (close to demarcation line)	"(Elle) fait l'objet d'excellents renseignements de la part de mes services..." "une attitude irréprochable"
Lacoste Théodora ép Joachim	495 W: 62	26/3/1893	Fr	Sans	Catholic	21/7/1942	11/12/1942	"Transactions irrégulières, portant sur des lots importants de laine et de peau de moutons tannées"	Préf Haute Garonne	1 enfant, fils prisonnier en Allemagne. "Mari est réformé pour infirmité mentale de la guerre 14/18"	30/9/1942 Chef sought permission Préfet du Tarn for her to go to Toulouse to sort out affairs

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lafargue Marie vve Castagnol	495 W: 62	9/1/1902	Fr	Restauratrice depuis 11/8/1942		5/6/1943	18/8/1943	Non parvenu until telegram 19/7/1943 "4 revolvers avec munitions ont été découverts au domicile"	Préf Régional de Limoges	Widow 4/3/1941 3 enfants 15, 14, 13. Restaurant de la Gare (Gironde). 1942 condamnée outrages à agents de la force publique, TC de la Réole, 8 jours prison avec sursis et 1200 fr.	"Elle ne s'est en aucun moment signalée défavorablement. Sa conduite est bonne. A défaut du motif d'internement et en raison de gravité de son état de santé... libération urgente"
Lagaly Marcelle ép Renard	495 W: 62	25/5/1898	Fr	Professeur de sténo-dactylo	Catholic	22/1/1943		"Diffamation envers le Chef et les membres de la Légion par des lettres anonymes"	Préf Rodez. 1 mois fixed		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lalet Albertine ép Caudelier	495 W: 62	6/1/1897	Fr	Fille de cuisine		18/6/1943	17/9/1943	"Femme de moeurs légères qui se livre au racolage sur la voie publique. Conduite et moralité mauvaises. Très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics"	Préf Régional de Toulouse. "A été appréhendée cette nuit après le couvre-feu Place Esquirol."	Separated husband. hospitalised 14 Avril - 15 mai 1943	
Lamarque Alice ép Salles	495 W: 62	4/1/1896	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	2/9/1942	11/12/1942	"Avec le concours et complicité de son mari se livrait depuis quelques mois au trafic clandestin des denrées contingentées, infraction colis familiaux, hausse illicit"	Préf des Hautes Pyrénées	Mariée, 1 enfant	
Lambert Paule ép Espagne	495 W: 62	1/12/1923	Fr			29/4/1943	16/9/1943		Préf régional de Toulouse	Mariée	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lang Janine ép Abramovitz	495 W: 62	20/6/1911	Fr	Commerçante	Israélite	11/10/1942	14/4/1943	"Trafic d'or"	Arrêté de Ministre de l'Intérieur	Père industriel Strasbourg, filateur. Lycée Strasbourg; Faculté de Droit. Capacité en droit. 1er prix du conservatoire de diction et comédie; Diplôme de l'Ecole de Commerce. Husband commerçant en fourrure, Paris	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Laplanche Blanche ép Somville	495 W: 62	28/8/1905	Fr réintégré	1928 Coiffeuse; concièrge	Sans	15/5/1941	17/4/1942	"Arrêtée pour propagande communiste et condamnée a 1 an de prison 6/11/1940. Vit séparée de son mari depuis 6 ans"	Sortie 28 Avril 1941 de la maison d'arrêt de Limoges. Separated from husband so no papers. Réfugiée dans Haute Vienne	Mari Belge. Elle a été arrêtée Paris 28/4/1940 pour menées et propagande communistes; internée la Petite Roquette, dirigée Orléans, ensuite camp de St Germain les Belles. Condamnée par un TM de Périgueux 1 an prison 6/11/1940, sortie maison d'arrêt Limoges 29/4/1941	"Elle travaille comme cuisinière au mess du personnel où elle donne entière satisfaction" "une bonne conduite"
Laouna Janny	495 W: 62	3/4/1922	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	4/11/1942	5/1/1943 Travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	Fille soumise	Arrêté de Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur.	Domicile given as hotel Toulouse	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lassalle Marie Antoinette ép Zito	495 W: 62	4/11/1916	Fr	Coiffeuse, fille galante		21/12/1942 , arr camp 26/3/1943	20/8/1943	"Prostituée réfractaire à toute réglementation. A été arrêtée de nombreuses fois pour racolage et stationnement..."	(Lyon) Arrêté de Ministre secrétaire d'Etat a l'Intérieur.	Mariée; vit séparée; 2 enfants 5 et 3. Inscrite fille soumise 18/1/1939. Condamnée T.C. Lyon 8/5/1940, 4 jours prison pour outrages à agents	"Elle ne s'est pas encore signalée défavorablement" 25/5/1943, when liberation refused
Lascaux Yvette ép Bourdon	495 W: 62	26/12/1904	Fr	Commer- çante		1/9/1943	3/1/1944	"Vente illicite de beurre; trafic de denrées contingentées qu'elle été chargée de collecter et de répartir; hausse illicite sur ce beurre"	Préf de la Creuse	Père décédé, mère commerçante beurre, oeufs et volailles. Mariée, 2 enfants.	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Laverdure Louise	495 W: 62	26/6/1911	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 1937		10/2/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille soumise, a fait l'objet 26 procès-verbaux au cours de l'année 1940. Récidiviste impénitente dont la vie et les provocations constituent un outrage à la morale publique."	(Béziers) Préfecture de l'Hérault	Célibataire, 1 enfant 7 ans chez sa mère. Père décédé. Inscrite fille soumise à Béziers depuis 31/5/1941. Condamnée T.C. Béziers 21/4/1942, recel, 6 mois prison; juin 1942 entôlage, 6 mois prison.	"(Elle) n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une remarque défavorable. Sa conduite et moralité se sont nettement améliorées et tout porte à croire que son séjour au camp a été profitable à son amendement."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lavigne Suzanne	495 W: 62	23/9/1922	Fr	Employée auxiliaire Mairie de Monéin depuis juin 1939		?26/5/1943		"Détournement de 8.000 points de textile commi au préjudice de la Mairie de Monéin... une absence totale de moralité... très mauvaise réputation"	Préf de Région de Toulouse	Condamnée 17/2/1943 T.C. Pau 3 mois prison, 10.000 fr pour trafic de points de textile. A Mairie "tout d'abord chargée du service de la carte d'alimentation l'intéressée s'acquittait fort mal de ses fonctions... elle s'était vue retirer le service... en échange de celui des bons de chaussures et textiles"	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Le Bars Jeanne	495 W: 62	11/11/1894	Fr	Coupeuse modéliste		6/10/1941	27/11/1942	"Condamnée le 18 Juin 1940 à 4 mois de prison pour infraction aux décrets de 1er sept 1939 et 20 jan 1940. Suspecte au point de vue nationale"	Préf Puy de Dôme (Clermont Ferrand). (Letter 29/9/1941 Préf C.F. to Préf Lozère requesting he have her at Rieucros when she released Maison d'Arrêt C.F. on 9 oct 1941)	Refugee Paris. Arr C.F. Oct 1940. Daughter of ex-fonctionnaire de la Garde Républicaine à Paris. Condamnée Paris 1930 6 mois prison pour violation domicile; 18 juin 1940 T.C. CF 4 mois infraction; 22 Avril 1941 T.C. CF amende pour tapage.	"Toujours eu une bonne conduite. Cependant elle affirme un caractère difficile et ne se complait que dans la contradiction; elle présente d'autre part des symptômes de cleptomanie et rend son voisinage peu supportable" (24/2/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Leclainche Léa vve Gatel	495 W: 62	18/6/1887	Fr	Cuisinière et femme de ménage		21/10/1943		"L'intéressée a une conduite prête à de nombreuses critiques et a dissimulé les ressources de son travail afin de percevoir l'allocation de réfugiée"	Préf de Haute Garonne (Toulouse)	Née Vitré (Ille-et-Vilaine). Veuve de guerre. 2 enfants 34 et 28.	
Lefort Clotilde ép Solero	495 W: 63	112/5/1909	Fr	Sans		?29/4/1943	25/9/1943 but in prison St Michel at time	"Femme qui ne tire ses moyens d'existence que de la prostitution clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaise. Très dangereuse pour la santé publique"	Préf de Haute Garonne (Toulouse). At time of arrest "actuellement hospitalisée à la Grave pour maladie vénérienne"	Born Epchy (Somme). Mariée	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lefranc Fernande vve Flamméricourt	495 W: 63	1/5/1893	Fr	Viticulteur	Catholic	2/9/1942	4/10/1942	Procès-verbaux de 1er août 1942: "Mme Lefranc a conclu un marché de vins au dessus de la taxation permise par la réglementation en vigueur et à un prix notoirement exagérée"	Préf du Rhône. 1 mois fixed	Née Bar sur Aube (Rhône). Domicile Régnié (Rhône). Veuve, 1 enfant	"Sa conduite et son attitude étant satisfaisantes..."
Leidvanget Andrée ép Bouvet	495 W: 63	17/3/1915	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	Catholic	12/9/1942	5/1/1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	Prostituée de bas étage. Très dangereuse pour la santé et la salubrité publiques	Préf Haute Garonne	Born Paris. Sait lire et écrire. Séparée.	

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Lesage Marguerite ép Brigot	495 W: 63	25/3/1896	Fr	Travaillait dans les fabriques de porcelaine (Limoges) et de chaussures		11/10/1940	25/4/1942	"Dangereuse pour la défense et la sécurité publique... est un militant très active de l'ex-parti communiste"	Préf Haute Vienne. Internée au sorti de prison Limoges	Born Angoulême. Started work papeterie age 12. Mariée, séparée 1934. Condamnée T.C. Limoges juillet 1940 4 mois prison et amende pour propos défaitistes	"Elle a passé de longs séjours a l'infirmerie; elle a du entre temps être hospitalisée à Montpellier et au sanatorium de Laguiche." "Bonne conduite"
Lopez Sabina ép Perez	495 W: 63	24/8/1886 (Espagne)	Fr par naturalisati on	Ménagère	Catholic	11/1/1943	3/5/1943	Activité communiste	Préf Haute Garonne. She acquitted by Tribunal Toulouse 12/2/1943 (but still in camp May 43)	6 enfants, dont 2 ont combattu 1939/40. Husband interned St Sulpice then Prison Militaire de Toulouse	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lescalier Marie Louise ép Sauze	495 W: 63	28/3/1886	Fr	Gardiennne d'enfants		17/3/1943	13/8/1943	"Les membres de la famille Sauze recevaient à leur domicile agents de parti communiste. Certains même se livraient à une propagande intensive en faveur de ce parti"	Préf Régional de Marseille	Born Nîmes. Mariée, 3 enfants	"Jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable. Elle ne s'est jamais signalée au point de vue politique"
Lubat Denise	495 W: 63	18/6/1922	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	11/9/1942	12/5/1943	"Fille soumise... 13 condamnations pour racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire. Femme dangereuse pour la santé et salubrité publiques"	M. le Chef du Gouvernement Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat de l'Interieur. Arrested at same time (but not place) Masson Juliette. Arrested at parents' home by Gendarmerie	Born Dent (Gers) where parents cultivateurs. Bonne à Toulouse from age 17. Condemned T.C. Toulouse (no date) infraction à la Police de Moeurs	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Lullin Clémentine vve Métral	495 W: 63	1/6/1871				9/8/1943 (état mutation says 8/9/1943)	18/10/1943	Letter Préf H-S to Préf Tarn 13/9/1943: "Les intéressées avaient formé une sorte d'association facilitant le passage clandestin de la frontière"	Préf du Lyon. Arrêté says "Vu les propositions de M Le Préfet de la Haute Savoie" arrested with Métral Marie dite Gaby		Chef du camp still writing Préf Lyon 25/9/1943 asking motif d'internement
Lupori Angeline ép Culinati	495 W: 63	27/11/1911	Fr par naturalisation	Liquoriste	Catholic	12/3/1943	5/5/1943	"Infraction à un arrêté de fermeture de bar et pour vente de similaire d'absinthe..."	Préf du Marseille	Mariée, 3 enfants. Inscrite fille soumise radiée 21/5/1940	"Conduite n'a fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable"
Lyotard Jeanne ép Appietto	495 W: 63	No info					15/11/1941 pour 3 mois; definitive 17/4/1942		Var ?		"Cette internée a été libérée pour 3 mois par arrêté de Préf de Lozère en date 15/11/1941 pris après accord de son collègue du Var."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Macdonel Marguerite	495 W: 63	7/10/1907 Côte d'Ivoire	Fr	Fille soumise		2/8/1943	23/9/1943	None given		Préf Régional de Marseille	
Manche Jeanne	495 W: 63	9/1/1880	Fr	Sans	Catholic	4/4/1942	12/12/1942	Vit du produit de sa prostitution. Un danger permanent pour la moralité et la santé publiques	Ministre à l'Intérieur. Arrested by gendarmes at her domicile, Lyon	Célibataire. 3/10/1918 Assises du Rhône acquittée l'inculpation d'avortement et complicité	"Une bonne conduite"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Marchal Alice ép Danière	495 W: 63	14/9/1918	Fr	Sans	Catholic	20/5/1943	25/8/1943	Conduite notoire	Arrêté Préf du Tarn (Kuntz) on basis police report 17/5/1943 ordered internment 3 mois and closure Bar Universelle Castres	Père non dénommée. Mari Danière Benoit, prisonnier de guerre à Stalag IA Stablack. 1 fillette (avec grands- parents). Arrivée Castres juin 1940 venant Somme. Vit en concubinage Campo Firmin, tenancier Brasserie Universelle. He interned Fort Barraux	"Attitude sans reproche"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Mare Marcelle ép Villard	495 W: 63	13/2/1903	Fr	Limonadiè re	Catholic	8/10/1941	17/9/1943	"Ex-tenancière du Bar Dégustation, racole les passants pour se livre à la prostitution dans son logement attendant au débit"	Préf de l'Isere. Arrested on same basis Guillet Renée, Guillot Yvonne, Hory Félicie, Vasseur Georgette et Veysseilier Jeanne.	Born St Mards-en- Othe (Aube). Mariée, 2nd husband interned Sisteron then Sanatorium Laguiche, TB. 2 enfants 1er mariage, fille 13 et fils 18 marin Afrique Nord	"Une excellente conduite"
Marlot Marie	495 W: 63	14/12/1884	Fr	Propriétaire de maison close	Catholic	30/10/1941	10/12/1942	"Propriétaire du maison de tolérance à Toulon. A été condamnée pour embauchage de femme majeure en vue de la débauche et une deuxieme fois pour embauchage de mineure. Moralité et réputation très mauvaises"	Préf du Var. Condamnations 1938 et 1940 T.C. Toulon- Aix, 15 jours	Born Cambrai (Nord) propriétaire maison de tolérance 20 ans	"Jamais donné lieu à remarque défavorable. Etant donné son âge déjà avancé et sa résolution de vendre la maison... une libération envisagée..." 31/8/1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Masson Juliette	495 W: 63	10/1/1923	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 30/5/1941	Catholic	13/9/1942	12/5/1943	"Fille soumise. A été hospitalisée 3 fois pour maladie vénérienne. A fait l'objet depuis 1/1/1942 de 16 contraventions pour racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire. Femme dangereuse pour la santé et moralité publiques"	Préf Régional de Toulouse	Born Auch (Gers). Father maréchal-ferrant. 2 brothers 4 sisters. Unfavourable police reports re father. Forced into prostitution by 43 yr old souteneur, Eugène St Jacques, interned St Sulpice	In "recours à grâce" 2/4/1943, "toujours une bonne conduite... manifeste un réel désir de pouvoir vivre normalement."
Masson Madeleine	495 W: 63	25/6/1920	Alsace	Fr	Ex-serveuse Brasserie de Strasbourg/ Alsacienne, Perpignan; formerly couturière	8/5/1941	11/10/1942	"Attitude anti-nationale" "Fortement soupçonnée de communiquer avec les officiers français et allemands dans un but intéressé et d'ordre militaire"	Préfet Pyrénées Orientales. Arrested with Noël Ernestine	Born Durembach. Father sous-directeur d'usine. Refugee Alsace	"Sa conduite au camp et son attitude ont été des plus correctes. Elle regrette d'avoir eu des relations amicales avec les membres de la Commission Allemande" 28/5/1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Marquès Julienne ép Perretto	495 W: 63	29/9/1918	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	10/4/1942	22/1/1943	Militante communiste	Préfet Bouches du Rhône; durée 6 mois. Arrested with mother Allard Julienne ép Marquès	Born Nîmes. Parents agents PTT. "Soeur de Marquès Marius Jacques, militante communiste arrêté 2/2/1942, Fort St Nicolas. Père militante communiste notoire interned Redoute de Bossuet arrested Oct 1940. Mari Daniel Perretto interned 30/6/1941 St Paul d'Eyjaux	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Marty Philippine	495 W: 63	30/11/1920	Fr	Couturière		1/6/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille soumise de moeurs légères qui se livre à la prostitution clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaises. Ne se livre à aucun travail régulier... Très dangereuse pour la santé publique"	Préf Région de Toulouse. Actuellement hospitalisée à La Grave	Born Largardelle-sur Lèze (HG). A déjà été hospitalisée à la Grave 29 janvier - 2 mars 1943	
Martin Marthe	495 W: 63	20/10/1897	Fr	Marchande de journaux	Catholic	12/9/1942	1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	Fille soumise a été hospitalisée 3 fois pour v.d. depuis 1er Janvier 42. 10 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée de bas étage s'adonnant à la boisson	Préf Région de Toulouse	Célibataire. Inscrite fille soumise 14 mars 1919	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Martin Isabelle ép Guerre	495 W: 63	17/10/1911 (Espagne)	Fr par mariage	Commerçante primeurs et épicerie		15/6/1943	25/3/1944	"Le mari Guerre Pierre l'objet d'un mandat d'arrêt... complicité détention d'armes et explosives. Elle est signalée pour avoir participé avant la guerre à divers meetings communistes..."	Préf Région Toulouse en exécution des instructions M. le Secrétaire Général pour Police "dans la région pyrénéenne avaient pour but l'internement de tous suspectés de favoriser l'activité d'éléments anti gouvernementaux"	Mariée, 1 enfant 7ans. Says arrested because husband communist, she has no interest politics, just went to 1 meeting 1936 to represent him	"Elle ne s'est jamais signalée défavorablement. Elle nie formellement avoir fait parti du PC soit comme sympathisante soit comme militante. Mère d'un jeune enfant, il y a avait lieu de la libérer conditionnellement" 13/1/1944
Matha Cécile	495 W: 63	23/10/1921	Fr	Femme de chambre		9/7/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille de conduite et moralité mauvaises qui se livre à prostitution clandestine avec les militaires de l'armée d'occupation. Très dangereuse pour l'ordre et la santé publique"	Préf de Toulouse. Actuellement hospitalisée à la Grave depuis 1er juillet 1943	Born Guizerix (H Pyrénées)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Mathieu Lucie ép Donny	495 W: 63	26/11/1912	Fr	Ratacheuse dans usine	Catholic	16/2/1943	21/9/1943	"Fille soumise"	Préf de l'Hérault	Born Féré en Tardenoy (Aisne). Parents cultivateurs. Mariée 1929. Vit séparée de son mari. A sa charge deux enfants, 10, 8, plus sa grand-mère 85	"Jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable"
Mathieu Marie	495 W: 63	29/9/1919	Fr			29/4/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille syphilitique qui ne tire pas ses moyens d'existence que de la prostitution clandestine. Très dangereuse pour la santé publique"	Préf Région de Toulouse. Actuellement hospitalisée à la Grave.	Born Tanitry (Vosges)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Maurette Fernande	495 W: 63	Variously given 11/2/1899 1/12/1899 1/12/1900	Fr	Prostituée		16/2/1943	27/9/1943	"Fille soumise"	Préf de l'Hérault	Born St Girons (Ariège). Célibataire. 1914-1918 travail l'usine de munitions Béziers. Après décès de mère 1/11/1919, prostituée	
Meinhardt Berthe	495 W: 63	26/12/1919	Fr	Foraine/fille soumise	Catholic	31/10/1942	24/11/1942		Préf Bouches du Rhône	Parents forains. 4 enfants. Ne sait lire ni écrire	
Meiller Antonia	495 W: 63	4/11/1910	Fr			7/4/1943	2/11/1943	Non parvenu - requested by chef du camp 18/8/1943	Préf de l'Isère	Born La Ricamarie	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Métadier Marie Thérèse	495 W: 63	8/2/1919	Fr	Fille de salle/blanchisseuse		21/4/1941	21/4/1942	"Personnellement considérée pour une fille vicieuse et un esprit rebelle. Un réel danger au point de vue national"	Préf de la Corrèze on basis report Commissaire Spéciale de la surveillance du territoire à Limoges	Born Sornac (Corrèze) 2nd of 5 children, youngest 11. Père ouvrier agriculteur, died 1936. Lived at home St Rémy, left just before birth enfant naturel 21/6/1938. Returned home after period working cafés. Detailed autobiography statement 16/4/1941	"N'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune observation depuis son arrivée au camp... Parait avoir de sincères regrets sur son passé et promet à l'avenir de se racheter par des résolutions honnêtes de travail"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Meyer Pescha ép Lehmann	495 W: 63	10/9/1911 (Pologne)	Fr par mariage	Couturière	Israélite	9/3/1942	27/6/1942	"Coupable de l'infraction nettement caractérisée du marché noir"	Préf de La Dordogne; "l'intéressée a pris une part tres active à une grave affaire de marché noir, à la suite de laquelle j'ai déjà pris des sanctions contre plusieurs Israélites", 3 mois	Born Juljanow (Pologne). Sans enfants. Travail dans une usine à bonneterie. "Repliée à Bordeaux où avait été transférée notre usine, puis à Périgueux, les Autorités d'Occupation nous ayant chassés comme Juifs"	"N'a fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable... elle manifeste le regret de sa faute"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Meyer Marguerite ép Camuseau	495 W: 63	7/4/1912 Dresden, Allemagne	Fr	Interprète	Protestant	2/2/1942	8/9/1943	"Femme paraissant être légère. Signalée par ses relations avec les Autorités d'occupation, il a été établi qu'elle était utilisée comme interprète par celles-ci et son attitude est des plus suspectes à l'égard de la population française des communes de Veudre et de Chambon..."	Préf de l'Allier. Letter 13/2/1942 Préf de Gendarmerie d'Allier à Montluçon, "Il y aura lieu de procéder avec le maximum de discrétion et de doigté pour éviter tout incident avec les autorités d'occupation"	Fille naturelle. A fait ses études en Allemagne. Mariée, 2 enfants 8 and 6. Mari sous officier de carrière, infantry regiment, prisonnier de guerre. 6 mois prévention. A bénéficié d'un non lieu émanant du Tribunal Militaire Marseille	"Ne s'est fait nullement remarquer par les services de surveillance... ses protestations d'innocence qu'elle ne cesse de formuler chaque jour" 6/6/1942
Meyne Anne Marie ép Leymarie	495 W: 63	31/2/1894	Fr	Cultivateur	Catholic	21/11/1942	24/12/1942	Marché noir	Préf du Lot, 1 mois. Arrested at her house	Parents cultivateurs, mariée 1 enfant	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Moulin Renée	495 W: 64	12/8/1892	Fr	Voyageuse de commerce	Catholic	10/8/1942	5/6/1943	"Se livrait en zone libre à la recherche de renseignements pour le compte des Autorités occupantes sans qu'aucune preuve formelle n'ait pu être relevée à son encontre"	M. le Ministre Sec d'Etat de l'Intérieur. Arrested at demarcation line	Born Arçay (Vienne). Célibataire. Après juin 1940 mandataire acheteuse pour Mme Baschung, commerçante, à Fontainebleau	"Aucun rapport de police n'a confirmé les accusations portés contre elle. Travailleuse volontaire du camp, n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable" 16/2/1943
Mourand Rose	495 W: 64	21/4/1893	Fr	Boulangère	Catholic	29/6/1942	3/10/1942	Fraude en matière tickets de pain	M. le directeur des Affaires économiques" à l'occasion d'un contrôle". Préf Régional de Marseille, 3 months	Born Marseille	"Excellente conduite"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Muraro Marie Antoinette	495 W: 64	4/5/1921	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 7/7/1941	Catholic	16/9/1942	30/4/1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	Fille soumise	"Vu les instructions de M. le Ministre Sec d'Etat à la Police 4ème bureau 12/9/1942 prescrivant l'internement au camp de Brens de 37 filles soumises. Inscrite sur les contrôles des prostituées à Toulouse..	Born Piennes (MM) parents italien/français e. Parents cultivateurs. "Fait actuellement l'objet d'un information judiciaire pour vol, se trouve en liberté provisoire"	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Munch Marie ép Martin	495 W: 64	13/10/1906	Fr par filiation	Sans		3/11/1942	6/7/1943	"Néglige ses enfants à tel point que la plupart du temps ces derniers n'ont rien à manger. Constamment en état d'ivresse, délaissant complètement ses jeunes enfants, causant du scandale par son conduite notoire"	Préf des Basses Alpes on basis report on family Commissaire Principal Service de Réfugiés	Born Sarreguemines (Moselle). Expulsé Lorraine. Husband facteur-auxiliaire des P.T.T. "suspendu provisoirement de ses fonctions". Interned St Sulpice. 6 enfants	"Sa conduite est bonne et elle paraît s'être amendée de ses écarts passés. Son état de santé est très précaire"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Multon Alice ép Buret	495 W: 64	25/7/1895	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	18/2/1941	17/4/1942	"Dangereuse pour la défense nationale et la sécurité publique"	Préf de l'Indre on basis report 1/2/1941, commissaire spéciale de Police... Husband arrested same day sent to camp de Nexon	Born Petit Pressigny. Married, 2 sons (younger prisoner), 1 adopted daughter 17, and 2 refugees (Paris) 8 and 10. Husband wounded war, "facteur de poste... se livrerait à une propagande communiste au cours de sa tournée" (dénonciation, Joubert)	Mme Buret se défend avec énergie d'avoir appartenu à un parti politique, notamment au parti communiste ou d'avoir exprimé son attachement à l'un d'eux. Elle paraît sincère... son langage dépouillé de tout artifice...
Mouche Jeanne	495 W: 64	No info	Fr			12/4/1942	-----	-----	-----		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Muller Célestine	495 W: 64	26/6/1912	Fr	Sans		18/3/1943	24/12/1943	"Evadée récidiviste incorrigible, internement demandé par M. le chef du Camp de Saliers"		Born Kesseldorf (Bas Rhin). Concubine depuis 12 ans de Adler Joseph, 3 enfants 10, 9, 5. With sister at Lyon while mother at Brens	Depuis son arrivée au camp n'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable..."
Mosse Marguerite vve Mosse (sic)	495 W: 64	8/7/1886	Fr	Manu- facturière de vêtements	Israélite	8/4/1943	9/10/1943	"Elle a été condamnée par T.C. Nimes 1. le 23/5/1938 8 fois 5 fr amende pour infraction au code de travail; 2. le 20/8/1940 pour emploi des étrangers en situation irrégulière."	Préf du Gard, 6 months	Born Orange (Vaucluse). Husband wounded 1914-18 war, awarded citation and medal militaire. Subsequently died of wounds. 5 enfants. Brevet supérieur	La conduite toujours excellente

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Morlin Léontine ép Labatut	495 W: 64	26/6/1908	Fr	Ménagère		7/12/1943	14/3/1944	Flagrant délit de marché noir	Préf de l'Aude. 3 mois	Born Carcassonne. Mariée, 4 enfants	"Conduite n'ayant fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable..."
Montet Claudia	495 W: 64	21/8/1919	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	15/1/1942	17/4/1942	"Condamnée pour infanticide de 5 mois prison par le T.C. Villefranche sur Saône en 1936 avec sursis et 2 fois pour vol et abuse de confiance par le T.C, Macon 1941"	Préf Saône et Loire. Durée 1 mois. Measure taken "en raison de la conduite scandaleuse... Il était en effet reproché à l'intéressée de se livrer à la prostitution clandestine et de constituer un exemple dangereux pour la jeunesse de la localité"	Born Sennecé lès Maçon. Family practise viticulture.	"Elle ne fait l'objet d'aucune remarque particulière... Aucun renseignement n'a été fourni sur l'intéressée autre que l'énumération de ses antécédents judiciaires" 23/2/1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp	
Miallet Marie vve Combebias	495 W: 64	24/12/1899	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	16/2/1918	Catholic	12/9/1942	16/9/1943	"A été hospitalisée 2 fois syphilis... depuis 1 Jan 17 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée de bas étage, spécialiste de vol à l'entôlage. N'est digne d'aucun intérêt, Dangereuse pour la santé et moralité publique"	Préf Haute Garonne	Born Soulonnes (Lot). Parents cultivateurs. 3 condamnations 1/3/1919 Toulouse vol 8 8/5/1924 Cahors, recel 1 mois; 28/7/1938 vol à l'entôlage 2 mois. Veuve.	"Sa conduite est excellente et elle se montre très travailleuse, toujours volontaire pour les travaux du camp." 20/5/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Michard Marie ép Michard (sic)	495 W: 64	1/12/1899	Fr	Débitante	Catholic	5/11/1941	25/4/1942	"Reconnue militante communiste notoire, son activité est particulièrement dangereuse dans la région de Montluçon. Moralité bonne, jouit d'une bonne réputation auprès des voisins"	Préf de l'Allier. Arrested by gendarmes with husband at domicile 10/10/1941. Husband taken camp de Nexon, she to Rieucros	Born Doyet (Allier) married Michard d Antoine 1 daughter Marie. Arrested with husband 30/6/1941 released 8/7/1941 innocence established. Acquitted military tribunal Périgueux 23/9/1941	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Millet Rose	495 W: 64	29/11/1910	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	Catholic	12/9/1942	16/9/1943	"A été hospitalisée 1 fois pour maladie vénérienne... Depuis jan 1942 16 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée de bas étage se faisant journallement remarquer dans le centre de ville par son attitude. Dangereuse pour la santé et salubrité publique."	Préf Toulouse. "Vue les instructions Sec d'Etat de Police 12/9/1942 prescrivant internement 37 filles soumises inscrites Toulouse..."	Born Aurin. Parents viticulteurs.	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Nouvel Marie ép Nouvel (sic); Nouvel Clement	495 W: 64	11/7/1910; 4/12/1939	Fr	Ménagère		10/1/1941	1/6/1943	"Dangereuse pour la défense nationale et sécurité publique. Tel est l'avis unanime de tous les gens de son entourage"	Préf de St Amand (Cher). "Prise sur la demande de M. le Colonel Commandant du Dept Militaire de Cher en raison de l'attitude inqualifiable des intéressées à l'égard de plusieurs militaires français"	Born Guéhenno (Morbihan). Mariée à un veuf, Nouvel Alexandre; 5 enfants 11, 8, 7, 5, 2 plus 4 from his 1st marriage 18, 17, 16, 12. Arrested with husband dans les environs de Creusot, taken prison St Amand, youngest child with them. Sent sep camps, he now Camp de Bossuet (Algeria)	"N'a fait aucune remarque défavorable. Elle travaille avec assiduité aux ateliers du camp... plusieurs propositions de libération de ma part, les 3/3/1942, 8/5/1942 9/6/1942 et 31/8/1942"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Noël Ernestine	495 W: 64	2/2/1915 Alsace	Fr par réinté-gration	Fille de salle, Brasserie Alsacienne/ de Strasbourg, Perpignan	Catholic	8/5/1941	14/9/1942	"A eu des relations avec des officiers allemands de Montpellier et Toulouse, avec des militaires français qui allaient souvent chez elle"	Préf Pyrénées Orientales; internement prop by Commissaire Spécial de la Surveillance du Territoire (report 13/5/1941; had been under police surveillance)	Born Meyenheim (Haut-Rhin) parents maçons. Shared room with Masson Madeleine; both worked Brasserie Alsacienne (called Strasbourg in report); arrested at same time.	La conduite sans reproche... elle regrette vivement sa faute.

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Negrier Francine ép Foixet	495 W: 64	9/2/1908	Fr			25/1/1943	23/9/1943	"Très mauvaise moralité se livre à la prostitution clandestine dans le domicile de son amie Giordan Mireille, est un danger pour l'ordre public"	Préf de Marseille. Arrested with Giordan, Mireille	Born St Laurent de la Salanque (P.O.) parents killed 14-18 war. Married 2 daughters. Condamnée T.C. Aix en Provence 11/11/1942 1 mois prison pour achat d'une demie carte de pain	"(Elle) désire à s'amender, son mari lui pardonne sa mésaventure"
Neuner Balbine	495 W: 64	14/10/1916	Fr			19/4/1943	23/10/1943	"Réfugiée Alsacienne s'est fait remarquer par son inconduite et notamment par ces relations avec les troupes d'occupation... avec qui elle a été vue à différentes reprises"	Préf régional de Toulouse. Arrested Lourdes	Célibataire, 1 enfant 8 ans	"N'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Névodné Adèle ép Helvick	495 W: 64	22/11/1896	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	2/12/1941	15/9/1943	"Se livre à la boisson, Conduite déplorable, déchue de la puissance maternelle à l'égard de ses 4 enfants mineurs par jugement T.C. de Forcalquier. Cause le désordre et le scandale dans la commune de Mane (Basses Alpes)"	Préf des Basses Alpes (report to Séc d'Etat 22/8/1941) arrested at her home	Née Metz, expulsée de Moselle. Mariée, 5 enfants 21, 20, 18, 15, 8. Condamnée T.C. Forcalquier mars 1941 48 hrs prison, 30fr amende sous la prévention de recel. Mari interned same time, released before her	"N'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp	
Nicolas Reine	495 W: 64	29/6/1921	Fr	Noyauteuse dans une fonderie	Catholic	16/3/1942, 16/4/1942	both given	19/8/1943	"Se livre ouvertement à la prostitution dont elle vit. A fait l'objet de plusieurs procès-verbaux de Gendarmerie donnant sur son compte mauvais renseignements. Son frère et beau-frère ont été condamnés par la Cours d'Assises pour tentative de meurtre..."	Préf du Cantal	Born Monthermé (Ardenes), sister to Nicolas Maria. Father ouvrier d'usine. Célibataire, 1 fille décédée à 5 mois, 1 fils 2 ans. Formerly noyauteuse dans une fonderie at Deville, now réfugiée Neussargues, plongeuse à l'hôtel Parret.	"N'a fait l'objet d'aucune observation défavorable" 22/7/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Nicolas Maria ép Daine	495 W: 64	17/10/1910	Fr	Noyauteuse dans une usine	Catholic	16/4/1942	17/9/1943	"Se livre ouvertement à la prostitution... A eu querelles avec tous ses voisins. Son mari a été condamné pour tentative de meurtre 10 ans travaux forcés et 10 ans interdiction de séjour..."	Préf du Cantal... "C'est un indésirable dans mon département"	Born Fumay (Ardennes) father ouvrier d'usine. Mariée, 2 enfants 14 et 3. Sister to Nicolas Reine.	"Sa conduite n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable... son attitude a été correcte. (22/7/1942)... (elle) travaille volontairement depuis 1 an à la cuisine des internées et a donné entière satisfaction" (mai 1942)
Nardini Léa dite Josette	495 W: 64	15/3/1923	Fr	No info		5/12/1942	17/9/1943	No info	Préf de l'Isère	Born Lyon	
Namian Pierrette dite Liliane	495 W: 64	25/8/1902	Fr	No info		10/2/1943	8/10/1943	No info	Préf de l'Hérault	Born Lozanne d'Azergues	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Oziol Blanche Anaïs ép Bruscoli	495 W: 64	21/1/1908	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	22/9/1942	7/1/1943	Expressing anti government sentiments: "offense au Chef d'Etat"	Préf du Gard "en vertu d'un arrêté de M. le Ministre Séc d'Etat à l'Intérieur"	Born Genolhac. Kept Fr nat despite marrying Italian. 5 enfants, 13, 12, 9, 3, 1. Husband works in mines.	"N'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable"
Orpheuille Marie Jeanne	495 W: 64	12/9/1918	Fr			10/12/1943	10/2/1944	"Une personne sans scrupules, de moralité déplorable, dont la présence à Noailhac était jugée indésirable et susceptible d'avoir des répercussions graves"	Préf de Corrèze, au vu du rapport de police	Born Noailhac (Corrèze)	
Oiffer Myriam	495 W: 64	10/1/1923	Fr, race juive	Etudiante		4/3/1943	4/4/1943	Complicité dans l'organisation d'un dancing clandestin	Préf Alpes Maritimes	Father aviateur (dec'd)	"Bonne conduite au camp"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ohl Barbe ép Muller	495 W: 64	17/5/1918	Fr						Police report on her belongs in Adler ép Ohl, sister-in-law.		
Ohl Marie	495 W: 64	20/8/1901	Fr	Journalière, cuisinière	Catholic	8/5/1941	26/2/1943	Mauvaise moralité, vie en concubinage, refus de travail	Préf du Montauban. Arrested at house, rue Pintois à Beaumont	Née Hatten (Bas Rhin). Expulsée Alsace. Père charpentier. 1 enfant	"Parlant très peu le français, elle a toujours fait preuve d'une discipline absolue"
Parent Marie Jeanne ép Plautie	495 W: 65	3/11/1908	Fr			7/5/1943	27/8/1943	"A été appréhendée au cours d'une récente opération de police alors qu'elle transportait diverses denrées contingentées et notamment 8 litres d'huile ainsi que 40 boîtes de pâte"	Préf de Montpellier. 3 mois. Arrested with Séguy, Joséphine. Falsely denounced Fr police (Inspecteur Boulsier) to Autorités Allemandes; s/pref Narbonne intervened to save him.	Born Coursan (Aude). Condamnée T.C. Narbonne pour hausse illicite.	"Elle a eu au camp une attitude correcte"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Parrouffe Aïda dite Mireille	495 W: 65	6/4/1910	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite Béziers 1929, femme de chambre		16/2/1943	8/10/1943	"A toujours exercé dans la ville comme individuelle et fait l'objet de 10 procès verbaux au cours d'année 1942 pour infractions diverses notamment pour racolage. Récidiviste impénitente, dont la vie et les provocations constituent un outrage à la morale publique"	Préf de l'Hérault	Born St Paulet (Ariège)	"Cette personne s'est déjà faite remarquer par sa conduite qui laisse nettement à désirer." "Il est probable que son relèvement moral sera assez long et pénible"
Passant Suzanne ép Drot	495 W: 65	16/4/1905	Fr	Patissière		1/9/1943	2/12/1943	Complicité de trafic de denrées contingentées; achat de beurre à des prix illicites; ramassage illicite de beurre chez les producteurs	Préf de la Creuse. 3 mois	Born Aubusson (Creuse); mariée, 2 enfants; propriétaire de 2 fermes et d'une pâtisserie valu 200,000 fr	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Paulhe Marie	495 W: 65	14/8/1914	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 19/6/1939		12/9/1942	24/11/1942 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"A été hospitalisée 3 fois pour maladie vénérienne. A fait l'objet depuis 1 jan 1942 31 contraventions pour racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire..."	Préf régional de Toulouse, "par la décision M. le Ministre Sec d'Etat à la Police 12/9/1942"	Born Valence (Tarn), father ouvrier agricole. Célibataire, fille mère d'un enfant abandonné par elle à l'assistance publique. Sans domicile fixe	
Pauly Jeanne vve Lafontaine	495 W: 65	19/12/1894	Fr	Femme de ménage	Catholic	1/7/1941	12/5/1943	"S'adonne fréquemment à la boisson, c'est une ivrogne invétérée de moeurs très légères. Elle cause du scandale et a une conduite déplorable... a fait l'objet 3 procès verbaux pour ivresse"	Préf de Savoie. "Indésirable par sa conduite" sent from Centre de Refugiés à Albertville. Condamnée TC Chambéry 3 mois pour bris de clôture (no date)	Born Haroué (M & M). Expulsée Alsace Lorraine. Veuve de guerre - husband died 1925 TB resulting from gas attack.1 son, 28, of whom had no news since expulsion	"Sa conduite n'ayant donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable et l'attitude qu'elle a eu à un moment donné s'étant améliorée" (4/8/1941)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Peck Andrée	495 W: 65	20/1/1903	Fr	Fille soumise depuis 1932		10/2/1943	17/9/1943		Préf de l'Hérault	Born Boron (Belfort). Père inconnu. Réfugiée de Belfort. Daughter aged 12. Fille soumise Paris, Marseille, Béziers. Fiancé Grégoire Jean wants to marry her	"Ne s'est pas fait remarquer défavorablement"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Péillon Marie Rose ép Sacco	495 W: 65	17/7/1919	Fr	Liquoriste	Catholic	30/1/1943	29/4/1943	Trafic d'alcool; marché noir. "Vente de produits similaires d'absinthe"	Préf Bouches du Rhône following police report on raid on "Bar Léon" 16/1/1942; 3 mois	Born Hussein-Dey (Algérie), mari Sacco Roger Albert, patron bar, "qui se livre à ses opérations de marché noir" and is also intermediary stolen goods. He has 5 s (2 vol, 2 porte d'armes, 1 outrages)	"Aucune remarque défavorable n'a été relevée en son encontre"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pélessier Irène div Lestage	495 W: 65	19/2/1905	Fr	Employée (buandière) l'hôpital St Jacques, Agen		9/2/1944	2/5/1944	"Faute de service" "Je serais internée pour avoir approuvé les paroles suivantes, lors de la mort d'un milicien, un de moins."	Préf Lot et Garonne.	Born Agen; div; 1 daughter, 18, lives with father	"Celle ci maintient fermement qu'elle est accusée uniquement d'avoir approuvé certaines paroles prononcées par Mme Barres... si l'enquête ne prouve pas formellement sa culpabilité... je propose... bienveillance"
Pencolé Eugénie ép Fauroux	495 W: 65	6/3/1890	Fr	Tailleuse	Catholic	2/12/1942	3/5/1943	"Ex fille soumise, propagandiste révolutionnaire notoire... a toujours prêché la lutte des classes. Avant la guerre était une militante très active... reprise d'activité communiste..."	Préf Lot et Garonne	Née St Brieuc de Mauron (Morbihan). Père maçon. Mariée sans enfant, élevé une nièce de 20 ans, simple d'esprit. Mari interné St Paul Eyjaux	"Sa conduite au camp et sa moralité sont bonnes. Vu son âge déjà avancé, son état de santé déjà déficient, elle est percluse de rhumatisme.."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pequignot Louise div Koch	495 W: 65	9/7/1911								Born Mulhouse	Letter Préf du Tarn 11/9/1944 to Roger Irénée, exploitant forestier, saying Préf des Basses Pyrénées has dossier following transfer of internee to Camp de Gurs 4/6/1944
Péres Marie ép Sarrou	495 W: 65	6/1/1887	Fr	Ménagère, épouse d'un commer- çant en vins	Catholic	30/7/1941	21/4/1942	"Epouse Sarrou Ernest, membre des plus en vue du parti communiste à Agen. Elle épousait pleinement les idées de ce dernier et participait à toutes les réunions et propagande du parti"	Préf Lot et Garonne	Born Fonters du Razès (Aude). Mariée à un veuf, 1 s/enfant. Mari acquitted Tribunal Militaire Toulouse 6/2/1942 (dissemination communist prop.)	"La conduite de cette personne, ainsi que son attitude ayant été parfaites depuis son arrivée à Rieucros" (Préf du Lot et Garonne 26/1/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pervent Gabrielle	495 W: 65	30/1/1908	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 2/5/1938	Catholic	12/9/1942	8/10/1943	Hospitalisée 2 fois syphilis. 17 contraventions racolage et défaut visite sanitaire depuis 1er Jan 1942. Femme incorrigible et dangereuse pour la santé et sécurité publique.	Préf de Haute Garonne	Born Marseille. Célibataire. 4 condamnations: Marseille (vol), Toulon (vol), Lyon (recel) Toulouse (vol relaxée). Sans domicile fixe	
Pesse Simone	495 W: 65	1/9/1920	Fr	Coiffeuse	Catholic	13/1/1943	27/1/1943	"Par son conduite elle a provoqué la séparation d'un ménage et est en train de dissocier une famille de 3 enfants"	Préf Tarn et Garonne. Arrested at house. Préf T & G to Préf Tarn 15/1/1943 "a provoqué la dissociation de 2 ménages"	Born Dieuze (Moselle). Condamnée T.C. Metz 1940 6 semaines prison avec sursis pour complicité d'avortement.	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Peyron Mathilde	495 W: 65	23/2/1881	Fr	Marchande de soie	Catholic	18/8/1942	3/5/1943	"Se livrait à un activité anti-nationale d'inspiration Gaulliste. Donnant hospitalité à la sec dactylographe du comité national de l'organisation clandestin 'Combat', elle partageait l'activité de celle-ci, dactylographait les tracts ou journaux du mouvement..."	Préf régional de Lyon	Born Verniez (Isère). Célibataire. Former sec/administrat or Condamnée TC Lyon 30/10/1942 2 mois prison 2000fr d'amende pour propagande anti-nationale.	"La conduite et la moralité ont donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable. (Elle) comprend la bêtise qu'elle a faite... sa résolution de suivre le droit chemin n'en parait que plus ferme... sa maison de commerce assez menacée par son internement prolongé... propose libération." 16/3/1943
Picard Jeanne	495 W: 65	25/8/1899	Fr	Professionnel pianist; opened photographic studio		5/2/1944	5/4/1944	Motif inconnu	Chef du govt, Ministre de l'Intérieur	Born Paris. Célibataire	"Le motif de l'internement m'étant inconnu à ce jour. Sa conduite est correcte" 3/3/1944

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Picard Georgette ép Caplet	495 W: 65	28/7/1922	Fr	Prostituée clandestine		20/10/1942		Prostituée clandestine	Préf Régional de Lyon. Arrêtée au cours d'une rafle 20/10/1942 par le Service de la Sécurité Publique	Born Lyon. Mariée	
Pichoud-Barbaz Suzanne ép Fages	495 W: 65	23/10/1900	Fr	Comptable		7/11/1942	29/12/1943	"Condamnée 30/10/1942 TC de Lyon à 1 mois de prison et 1000fr d'amende pour menées antinationales et gaullistes. Internée à Brens en exécution des instructions M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur"		Born Rambouillet (S et O). Mariée sans enfant	"Il semble qu'un mois de prison et 11 mois d'internement soient une punition suffisante pour la faute commise par l'intéressée qui, d'après ses dires, avait agit par imprudence, ignorante le contenu du dépôt qui lui aurait été confié momentanément" 11/10/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pierrard Berthe	495 W: 65							Condamnée 2 ans 29/7/1942 TC Albi pour avortement. Elle sera libérable 12/6/1944 (report Adj-C Gendarmerie Albi 9/9/1942)			
Pierron Jeanne vve Scanff	495 W: 65	24/6/1888	Fr	Masseuse		6/5/1943	25/5/1943	"Dirigée Camp de Brens 11/5/1943... Telegram officiel No 00510 émanant du Ministre de l'Intérieur du 6/5/1943 prescrivant l'internement pour une durée de 15 jours"	Préf Régional de Limoges	Born Laval (Mayenne)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pinel Françoise ép Métayer	495 W: 65	23/5/1875	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	30/6/1941	10/12/1042	Suspecte au point de vue nationale	Préf de l'Allier: "a fait l'objet d'une perquisition effectuée 30/5/1941 à Montluçon par M le commissaire de Police en exécution d'une commission rogatoire 16/6/1941 de M Julienne Caffie Juge d'Instruction du Dép de la Ht Vienne..."	Born Commentry (Allier). Veuve, sans enfants	"La conduite au camp a été exempte de tout reproche depuis son internement 9 mois... en raison de son âge déjà avancé et son état de santé précaire... favorable de libération conditionnelle..." mars 1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pinguet Germaine	495 W: 65	15/10/1924	Fr	Sténo-dactylo- graphe		17/12/1943	31/5/1944	"A remis une copie d'un document secret à son fiancé, Angilbert André, réfractaire du S.T.O. appartenant à une organisation secrète"	Préf Clermont Ferrand	Born Clermont Ferrand. Father employé d'usine. CEP plus 2 ans cours supérieur. lives with parents, célibataire.	"Toujours calme et effacée, cette jeune fille ne s'est jamais faite remarquer des services de police du camp. Elle paraît sincèrement regretter son geste et promet de vivre tranquillement à l'avenir" 14/3/1944

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pion Simone	495 W: 65	24/10/1913	Fr	Sans	Catholic	23/7/1942	5/1/1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Suspecte au point de vue national. Vicieuse, une débauchée, de mœurs et de moralité déplorables. Elle se déplace fréquemment toujours en quête d'aventures galantes."	Préf régional de Clermont Ferrand... "Une demande internement par M. le Général Commandant la 13ème division militaire..." Apprehended trying leave for Nice.	Born Lezoux. Père ancien huissier. Mère propriétaire au Domaine de la Trade près Billon. A vendu 1940 des immeubles à la ville de Lezoux et autres pour 200,000 fr. Went Algeria 1940 then Paris where she had a liaison with a captain of the army of occupation; also a suisse allemand. Cert supérieur	"N'a jamais fait l'objet de remarque défavorable"
Piquot Germaine ép Fausser	495 W: 65	15/10/1909	Fr			22/9/1942			M. le Chef du gouv't, Secrétaire d'Etat l'Intérieur	Born St Denis (Seine)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp	
Pisaneschi Bianca	495 W: 65	1/5/1916	Fr; naturalisée par decret no 4451x31 du	Fille soumise inscrite		22/4/1941	21/4/1942	14/11/1942	24/8/1943	"Prostituée réfractaire à toute réglementation. Est remarquée journallement dans les grands cafés du centre ville où elle racole ses clients. A été arrêtée de nombreuses fois..."	Préf régionale de Lyon	Born Rocantica (Italie). Célibataire

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Planche Antonine	495 W: 65	18/6/1913	Fr	Polisseuse	Catholic	23/11/1940	30/1/1943	"Dangereuse pour la défense nationale et la sécurité publique. Communiste convaincue toute dévouée au parti. Militante communiste à Thiers..."	Préf rég de Clermont Ferrand. Condamnée 6/12/1940 T.C. Clermont Ferrand 8 mois prison avec sursis. Propagandiste acharnée de la 3ème Internationale	Born Ris (Puy de Dôme). Père tonnelier. Apprentie ouvrière dans une coutellerie	"Pendant les premiers temps de son internement cette personne s'est faite remarquer par sa correspondance tendancieuse. J'ai du la rappeler à plus de correction dans ses écrits... clémence pour l'instant prématurée..." 3/7/1942, Faggianelli. Avis favorable 27/10/1942
Plaza Lucienne vve Gomy	495 W: 65	5/5/1914	Fr	Fille soumise, inscrite		16/6/1943	23/9/1943	Prostituée habituelle, mauvaise conduite et moralité	Préf Rég de Montpellier on basis police list. Arrested with Delpech Albertine, Berthomieu Lucienne, Berthomieu Lucie.		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ponte-Noble Andrée	495 W: 65	3/5/1920	Fr	Sans, se livre à la prostitution		4/3/1942	24/11/1942	"Ne tire ses moyens d'existence que de la prostitution clandestine"	Préf de l'Isere. Internement conformément circulaire no 132 Pol 4 du 31 jan 1942. Arrested with Coupon Marthe, Bigillon Cécile, Joubert Yvonne, "femmes de mauvaise vie... Grenoble"	Born La Tronche (Isère). Mère de fillette 4 ans. Célibataire. A été déchue de ses droits par jugement 12/6/1939 Trib Civil de Grenoble.	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ponthier Mathilde ép Clément	495 W: 65	20/6/1910	Fr	Pensionnaire en maison de tolérance	Catholic	7/1/1942	19/8/1942	"Appréhendée dans une maison publique de Clermont Ferrand"	Préf de l'Allier. Letter Préf de l'Allier to Préf du Tarn 15/6/1942 "durée fixe 3 mois". Arrested with Delluc Armande, mistress of her husband Clément René	Born Boisset (Cantal). Father employee chemin de fer. Mariée, enfant, 5. Posséderait petite ferme à Vendat (Allier). Husband maison d'arrêt Cusset 2 ans pour emploi mineures destinées à la débauche et pour vagabondage spécial.	"Sa conduite est bonne"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pontzele Gabrielle	495 W: 65	13/10/1902	Fr	Sans	Catholic	16/10/1941	24/11/1942, travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne	"Mauvaise conduite et se livre à la prostitution clandestine, au vol à l'entôlage et à des habitudes d'intempérance. D'autre part cette femme ne se livre à aucun travail et s'adonne presque journellement à la boisson"	Préf des Basses Alpes. Arrested at Brayans, commune de Castellane.	Born Roubaix (Nord). Réfugiée de Metz. Age 13 ouvrière de filature; subseq femme de chambre et cuisinière. Divorcée Duterte Robert. Condamnée T.C. Lille 15/3/1936 13 mois prison recel de volailles.	"Toujours attitude correcte"; advises lib to assigned residence working in agriculture 2/4/1942. Avis fav liberation again 25/9/1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pothin Rose vve Garrigues	495 W: 65	30/10/1875	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite	Catholic	12/9/1942	16/9/1943	A été hospitalisée 4 fois pour maladie vénérienne. 31 contraventions depuis le début de l'année racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire. Très dangereuse pour la santé et la moralité publique, "malgre ses 67 ans..."	Préf de Haute Garonne	Born Castres (Tarn). Widowed 1920 but separated earlier	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Pouts Jeanne ép Gillot	495 W: 65	4/5/1899	Fr	No info					Préf Alpes Maritimes	Born Hautefort	Chef du Camp to Préf du Tarn 30/11/1942 re Arrêté de libération 11/11/1942 "la nommée Pouts Jeanne, ép Gillot, susnomée dans votre arrêté cité en référence, est inconnue sur les contrôles d'internement du camp de Brens"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Psilodimitris Anasthasie	495 W: 65	5/7/1922	Fr en vertu article 1 para 5&6 loi du 10/8/1926	Sans	Catholic	28/8/1941	26/12/1942	"Sa conduite scandaleuse constitue un véritable danger pour l'ordre public"	Préf de Haute Savoie. Arrested at house where lived with parents on basis police report 22/7/1941	Born Passy (Haute Savoie). Parents "vivent en concubinage". Father Greek, ouvrier d'usine, 2 younger brothers. Procès verbal Gendarmerie 2/3/1941 for theft 100 fr note but not proceeded with	"Elle a vu poser sur elle à plusieurs reprises des soupçons pour vol de divers objets sans que toutefois on ait pu l'incriminer de façon formelle." Avis fav. lib conditionnelle 16/5/1942 and 12/10/1942
Parrot Marguerite ép Raucaute div Bonhomme	495 W: 65	30/12/1907	Fr			29/10/1942	1/5/1943	"Professe des opinions extrémistes "	Arrêtée à Clermont Ferrand	Born Clermont Ferrand, div	
Ramoin Marinette ép Jourdanney	495 W: 66	26/5/1920	Fr	Fille soumise		12/8/1943	23/9/1943	"Se livre à la prostitution clandestine depuis 1939"	Préf des Alpes Maritimes" pour une durée de 6 mois"	Born Nice. Separated from husband	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Raymond Berthe div Maisonobe	495 W: 66	10/4/1888	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	12/1/1943	12/3/1943	"Elle a été convaincue de vente de tissus et vêtements sans tickets; création de commerce sans autorisation, défaut d'inscription au registre du commerce, non déclaration de stock et hausse illicite."	Préf du Gard, durée 2 mois	Born Alès (Gard). Married and divorced twice. At one time 14 workers in her business. Father entrepreneur	"Conduite correcte"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Raynard Elise ép Taiche	495 W: 66	7/2/1899	Fr	Ménagère		19/10/1942	1/12/1943	"Communiste ardente et convaincue, condamnée à un an de prison... ne s'est pas amendée au cours de sa détention qui a pris fin fév 1942. Poursuit une propagande insidieuse à laquelle il serait opportun de mettre un terme en la dirigeant pour 2 mois sur le centre de séjour Brens"	Préf de Clermont Ferrand. Arrested with brother-in-law and sister-in-law.	Born Brassac les Mines (P.D.D). Worked from age 13, pendant 10 ans faisait des courses pour un artisan; après fut ouvrière confectionneuse chez Michelin. Married, 2 sons 20, 22. Condemned 1941 1 yr prison "pour menées communistes"	Bonne conduite au camp 6/1/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Reboul Marie Louise div Coco	495 W: 66	3/5/1908	Fr	Propriétaire café bar, St Etienne		2/7/1943	5/2/1944	"Est propriétaire de 'Désiré Bar' depuis juillet 1932. La clientèle de ce débit se compose des femmes de moeurs légères et de fêtards. Plusieurs contraventions..."	Préf de la Loire. Arrested with Gardès Germaine	Born Riotord (H.L.). Divorcée sans enfants. Ran bar with Gardès Germaine (gérante). Bar closed by Order Préf 25/6/1943 (subject previous closures)	
Reboul Simone ép Susini	495 W: 66	11/4/1922	Fr			20/3/1944	20/5/1944		Préf Rég de Lyon	Born Vienne (Isère)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Regaudie Anna Marie ép Nanot	495 W: 66	9/2/1900	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	16/2/1943	22/3/1943	"Outrages à un magistrat et détérioration volontaire de produits alimentaire (farine)"	Préf de la Haute Vienne. Préf rég de Limoges. "Par arrêté 16/2/1943 j'avais fixé la durée à 3 mois. A la suite d'un nouvel examen du dossier j'ai décidé de la libérer 20/3/1943" (17/3/1943)	Born Châteauneuf la Forêt, parents cultivateurs. Mariée, 2 enfants	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Regimbal Léa ép Juillard	495 W: 66	17/6/1919	Fr			7/3/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille de débauche ne se livrant à aucun travail. (Elle) atteinte d'une maladie vénérienne s'est evadée le 29/3/1942 d'un établissement hôpitalier à Clermont Ferrand où elle a été en traitement" (Préf de l'Isère to Préf Tarn 16/6/1943)	Préf de l'Isère	Born St Flour (Cantal)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Renoncourt Madeleine	495 W: 66	27/3/1871; 27/3/1875; 10/8/1895	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	19/7/1941	19/8/1943	"Réfugiée de Moselle. Femme de mauvaise vie, se livrant à la prostitution. A été condamnée 2 mois de prison pour vol de lapin."	Préf de l'Hérault. Arrested with Adler Marie ép Winterstein and Kohler Madeleine.	Born Homberg 1871 or St Amand les Eaux (Nord) 1895. Latter her version. Divorcée. 4 enfants 30, 27, 24, 20; "se trouve sans nouvelles d'eux depuis une dizaine d'années". Réfugiée Moselle, sait lire et écrire	"Sa conduite est toujours bonne. Etant donné son âge avancé, 48 ans et son état de santé déjà déficient..." avis favorable pour libération. 1/6/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Requier Germaine	495 W: 66	3/2/1921	Fr	Femme de ménage		16/7/1943	19/9/1943	"Fille de conduite et moralité mauvaises. Se livre à la prostitution clandestine. Est actuellement hospitalisée à La Grave pour syphilis. A déjà été hospitalisée de 11/11/1941 à 15/12/1941. Très dangereuse pour l'ordre et la santé publics"	Préf rég de Toulouse	Born St. Saire (Seine Inférieure). Célibataire	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Respaud Lucie ép Favé	495 W: 66	17/2/1910	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 18/5/1933	Catholic	12/9/1942	28/9/1943	Hospitalisée une fois pour syphilis, 35 contraventions racolage et défaut de visite sanitaire depuis jan 1942. Prostituée incorrigible, dangereuse pour la santé et moralité publique	Préf Toulouse	Born La Bastide de Sérour (Ariège). Père ouvrier d'usine. Mariée. Husband's parents run hotel Luchon. Condamnation s 21/3/1934 Toulouse, outrages coups à agents, 8 jours avec sursis; 30/5/1934 vol 3 mois.	"N'a fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable" 26/5/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Revol Rachel ép Vernier	495 W: 66	28/7/1908	Fr	Lisseuse/dégraisseuse	Catholic	11/7/1942	24/10/1942	Non parvenu (husband communist)	Préf du Rhône	Born St Marcellin (Isère). Mariée avec le Sieur Vernier Emile. Sans enfant. Husband arrested.	24/10/1942 départ camp "permissionnaire pour une durée de 3 jours à la suite du décès de son beau-père, cette personne n'a pas réintégré le camp en raison de santé qui a motivé les prolongations de permission successives" (chef letter to Préf du Tarn undated reply to telegram 23/3/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Rey Aurélie ép Solans	495 W: 66	5/8/1916	Fr	Boulangère	Catholic	2/7/1942	10/10/1942	Non parvenu (économique)	Préf des Bouches du Rhône sur la proposition M le Directeur des Affaires Economiques, durée 3 mois	Born Velleron (Vaucluse). Parents farmers. Lost father age 6, mother age 9, brought up by sisters. Worked as commise in boulangerie. "Elle déclare avoir accepté 3 mois avant son internement la gérance d'une boulangerie". Married 20/6/1942.	"Son dossier demandé à M. le préfet des B de R ne m'est pas encore parvenu... en raison de son jeune âge et son inexpérience commerciale il n'y avait pas lieu de prolonger son internement..." (25/9/1942, letter Chef to Préf du Tarn)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ribe Alice div Wayoff	495 W: 66	16/5/1909	Fr	Infirmière	Catholic	26/1/1943	30/4/1943 convoi travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Abattage clandestin pour revente au marché noir. Détention stock de pardessus qui faisait l'objet d'un trafic illicite. Achat clandestin de vin et transport sans acquit"	Préf de la Loire, durée 3 mois	Born St Etienne (Loire). Div 1 enfant	
Richard Julie vve Gerin	495 W: 66	10/12/1906	Fr	Gantière		15/1/1943	27/9/1943	"Auteur d'une lettre anonyme qui par ses déclarations calomnieuses auraient pu entraîner des suites fâcheuses pour la personne désignée"	Préf de l'Isere	Born Petit Coeur (Savoie). Veuve	"Depuis son arrivée au camp, elle s'est fait remarquer par son état d'excitation anormale. Elle a été à l'origine de plusieurs incidents, étant persuadée que tout le monde lui veut du mal."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Rieu Marie	495 W: 66	25/8/1881	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	22/10/1942	1/12/1942	Ecrémage du lait 40%	Préf de l'Ardèche. Durée 1 mois	Born Largentière (Ardèche). Parents cultivateurs. Célibataire	
Rimère Françoise sép Vauclin	495 W: 66	11/10/1903	Fr	Cuisinière	Catholic	14/11/1940	7/1/1943	"Mauvaise conduite. Se livrait ouvertement à la prostitution et causait du scandale aux élèves d'une école primaire de filles située en face de son logement. Dangereuse pour la défense nationale et la sécurité publique"	Préf de l'Aveyron	Born Martinique.	"Cette personne ayant toujours eu une conduite et attitude très convenables et donne toute satisfaction dans son travail en qualité de cuisinière à l'infirmierie" (21/1/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Roche Lucette ép Meyssony	495 W: 66	12/5/1898	Fr	Surveillante de cuisine à l'Hôpital d'Alès		8/9/1943	25/2/1944	"Elle a favorisé l'évasion de l'hôpital d'Alès où il était en traitement du nommé Measson Claude, individu suspect recherché par la police aux fins d'arrestation"	Préf Rég de Marseille. Letter Préf du Gard to Préf du Tarn 26/1/1944 "je vous ai fait connaître qu'un internement limité à...1 mois me paraissait devoir être suffisant."	Born Saugues (Haute-Loire). Mariée	Son attitude est correcte
Roses Michelle	495 W: 66	13/12/1898	Fr	Négociante en vins	Protest- ante	1/2/1943	9/3/1943	Infraction de commerce (prix)	Préf du Rhône	Born Leucate (Aude). Parents propriétaires	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Rouassant Jeanne ép Heller	495 W: 66	21/3/1909	Fr	Ex-institutrice		10/5/1941	22/2/1942	"Exécution lettre no 94 en date du 9 mai 1941, Juge d'Instruction Montauban. Personne très dangereuse au point de vue national"	M Juge d'Instruction "s'étant personnellement rendu compte que la dame Rouassant sabotait les confrontations (affaire de son mari) a demandé d'urgence son internement" letter 16/12/1941 M Commissaire Chef de Renseignements Générales to Chef du camp	Born Hué (Annam) (Indochina). Education superieure. 1937 worked in Spain comité d'évacuation enfants, Madrid, then as infirmière militaire. 1939 Paris teacher until occupation. Married M. Heller, ex-Autrichien 9/4/1941, 10/4/1941 about to go to Marseille for embarcation Mexico when husband arrested for Communist activities.	"Toujours excellente conduite" 31/4/1942

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Roubaud Emmanuella ép Avril	495 W: 66	1/12/1917	Fr			14/3/1944	2/5/1944	"Fille de mauvaise vie, se livrant à la prostitution, serait capable de participer au pillage en cas d'évacuation de la population de Berre"	Préf Rég de Marseille	Born Berre (Bouches du Rhône). 17/12/1942 condamnée T.C. d'Aix pour vol, 2 mois de prison	
Rouet Clémentine vve Bouigue	495 W: 66	16/2/1889	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 9/4/1916		4/11/1942	19/8/1943	"Prostituée de bas étage qui n'est pas digne d'intérêt, reprise de justice et fille soumise syphilitique. Racole ses clients... dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born la Tardière (Vendée). Veuve. Condamnation s 21/1/1921, Toulouse, violences et voies de fait, 50 fr d'amende; 20/10/1923, Toulouse, coups et blessures, 15 jours avec sursis	"Elle n'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable" (11/3/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Roumezin Ginette ép Brea	495 W: 66	16/1/1921	Fr	Journalière		29/4/1943 (camp 13/5/1943)	17/9/1943	"Conduite et moralité mauvaise, s'est livrée à la prostitution clandestine. Est actuellement hospitalisée à la Grave pour syphilis. Dangereuse pour la santé publique"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born St Donat (Isère). Divorcée	
Rouquet Odette	495 W: 66	1/8/1924	Fr			9/8/1943	23/9/1943	"Se livrait au racolage et à la prostitution clandestine avec des militaires des troupes d'opération"	Préf délégué de l'Hérault	Born Sérignan (Hérault)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Rousseau Louise	495 W: 66	1/12/1921	Fr	Employée au magasin	Catholic	12/1/1943	8/5/1943	"Participe d'une manière active à des manifestations qui ont eu lieu le 6/1/1943 à Montluçon à l'occasion du départ d'un convoi d'ouvrières françaises pour Allemagne et qui ont revêtu un certain caractère de gravité. A tenté de paralyser l'action des services de police et gendarmerie d'assurer le départ du convoi"	Préf d'Allier. Condamnée 6 jours de prison par T.C. Montluçon 14/1/1943. Préf de l'Allier to Préf du Tarn 18/3/1943, "j'estime que la mesure d'internement... être limitée à une durée 2 mois"	Born Leyrat (Creuse). Parents "humbles cultivateurs". Célibataire	"Elle n'a jamais attiré l'attention sur elle... elle déclare avec force qu'elle se trouvait à la gare de Montluçon pour accompagner un voisin qui faisait parti du convoi de départ..." (2/3/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Roussel Charlotte ép Conquet	495 W: 66	9/12/1915	Fr	Hôtelière		7/6/1943	24/8/1943	"Propriétaire d'un établissement louche, déclaré lieu de débauche clandestin, fréquentée par... des filles galantes... qui ont été trouvées en compagnie de militaires allemands"	Préf Rég de Marseille. "Appréhendée lors des rafles et descentes de police effectués à Marseille après l'attentat contre le Dr. Bonysson"	Born Bagnols (Gard). Mariée	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Rouveure Mélie vve Théocliste	495 W: 66	27/9/1887	Fr	Sans	Sans	6/1/1942	19/1/1943	"Militante communiste qui même après la dissolution du parti faisait de la propagande anti-gouvernementale sur les marchés et gens"	Préf Rég de la Loire, durée 6 mois	Born St Georges les Bains (Ardèche). Veuve, 1 fils age 22. Husband died 1927. Taught English 1927-1936 then gave up because ill health	"Elle est désignée pour être une personne tranquille et sa conduite (est) sans reproches" 16/12/1942. Letter chef du camp to Inspecteur Gén du camps 5/2/1943 "Rouveure a été libérée la 1ère fois 19/5/1942 à St Marcel et la 2ème 19/1/1943 à St Etienne" but no other indication of this
Ruffier Anaïs	495 W: 66	28/8/1911	Fr	?étudiante		1/7/1943	11/10/1943	According to corresp, "pour avoir hébergé quelques nuits un jeune insoumis au STO"	Préf Rég Lyon. Letter to Préf du Tarn 3/9/1943 "j'ai décidé à limiter à 3 mois l'internement de (Ruffier)"	Born Randens (Savoie)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Roussel Berthe div Garnier	495 W: 66	23/8/1912	Fr	Fille soumise		5/1/1943	20/8/1943	"Fille soumise de mauvaise vie qui se livre à Grenoble à la prostitution avec des militaires italiens de passage"	Préf de l'Ain	Born Marq en Baroeul (Nord). Divorcée, 1 enfant 18 mois. Condamnée 26/11/1941 1 an de prison T.C. de Lyon pour avortement	"Elle parait s'etre amendée sérieusement et montre beaucoup de bonne volonté dans son désir de travailler honnêtement" (20/5/1943)
Sabatier Louise ép Richou	495 W: 67	16/2/1888	Fr	Retraite d'usine de cartoucherie	Catholic	22/12/1941	22/4/1942	Motif inconnu	Préf Haute Garonne, durée 6 mois	Born Toulouse. Parents marchands. Married 1907. Son Pierre born 1909, daughter Jeannine born 1913. Works small piece ground Tournefeuille bought by husband	"Cette personne est d'une attitude parfaite. Sa conduite et sa tenue ont été sans reproche" (Avril 1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Saignol Louise	495 W: 67	8/2/1903	Fr	Cultivatrice		31/8/1943	2/12/1943	"A apporté aide et assistance aux défailants au S.T.O."	Préf de l'Ardèche	Born Saint-Basile (Ardèche). Célibataire	"Conduite toujours très bonne" 5/11/1943. Avis fav
Sala Georgette div Jorro	495 W: 67	10/8/1903	Fr (Algérie)	Fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 14/7/1935	Catholic	12/9/1942	23/9/1943	Hospitalisée 1 fois syphilis. Reprise de justice et spécialiste du vol à l'entôlage. Depuis 1/1/1942 12 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée des plus dangereuses pour la salubrité et la sécurité publique.	Préf de Toulouse	Born Blida (Algérie). Père inconnu. Divorcée. Condamnations 1930 T.C. Perpignan 8 mois recel; 24/7/1935 T.C. Toulouse 4 mois vol à l'entôlage; 2/1/1940 T.C. Toulouse vol 15 jours sursis	"Sa conduite est bonne" 12/5/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Salignac-Fénelon Marie ép d'Astier de la Vigerie	495 W: 67	19/8/1890	Fr			5/4/1944	11/5/1944	No info	Préf rég de Limoges. Arrested with daughter Guillemette d'Astier de la Vigerie.	Born Gray (Hte Saône). Wife of ex-Général d'Astier de la Vigerie. Château de Rançay par Niherne (Indre)	
Samson Yolande ép Auzéby	495 W: 67	28/2/1896	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	4/2/1942	22/1/1943	"Fille soumise en avril 1932. Elle vient d'être condamnée par le T.C. Nimes le 4/2/1942 à 300 fr d'amende pour propos défaitistes..."	Préf du Gard, pour une durée 6 mois	12/3/1942 Cour d'Appel Nîmes 8 jours prison. Ne sait ni lire ni écrire	Cette internée "quoique de moralité douteuse a une bonne conduite au camp. Employée à la cuisine elle donne entière satisfaction" (1/1/1943, avis fav lib)
Sarrazin Jeanne ép Torset	495 W: 67	18/7/1897	Fr	Débitante, café-restaurant le Blanc		5/1/1943	13/3/1943	Marché noir, hausse illicite	Préf de l'Indre, durée 2 mois	Born Liglet (Vienne) mariée, 3 enfants	La conduite est correcte

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Sauze Augustine ép Schwartz	495 W: 67	6/12/1911	Fr			17/3/1943	15/3/1944	Les membres de la famille Sauze recevaient à leur domicile les agents du parti communiste. Certains même se livraient à une propagande intensive en faveur de ce parti.	Préf rég de Marseille	Born Nîmes, mariée, 2 enfants 7 et 3. Husband and mother arrested same time - mother is Lescalier Marie ép Sauze, released 13/8/1943 because of precarious state health	"(Elle) faisant l'objet de poursuites judiciaires sous l'inculpation de menées antinationales d'inspiration communiste à l'intérieur du camp..." (Avis défav de lib 7/6/1943)
Sanz Raymonde vve Arino	495 W: 67	15/4/1882 (Espagne)	Fr par naturalisation	Bouchère		7/1/1943	17/6/1943	"Convaincue d'avoir favorisé le passage clandestin de la frontière franco-espagnole"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born Castillón de la Plano. "Venue en France 1910 chez soeur Marseille. Mariée Luchon 1916, depuis j'exerce profession de bouchère". 3 enfants, veuve depuis 1933	"Jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable." 1/3/1943 letter to Préf du Tarn 13/2/1943 req lib on health grounds, refers to "motif demandé le 21/1/1943 et non parvenu à ce jour"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Schandrin Lucie	495 W: 67	4/4/1916	Fr	Sans	Catholic	12/9/1942	2/3/1943	"A été hospitalisée une fois pour syphilis. Depuis 1 Jan 1942 10 contraventions de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée incorrigible..."	Préf rég Toulouse	Born Anneville father ouvrier métallurgiste. Lost parents age 16. Went Paris find work then Africa. Fell ill, returned France 10/12/1940. Fréjus, Toulon, Perpignan, maison rendezvous Carcassonne; Toulouse inscrite 2/9/1941 but removed registre de moeurs after met M. Grèzes.	"Lors qu'elle a été arrêtée elle vivait une vie normale chez son ami M Grèzes... conduite au camp très correcte" (P.V. 2/2/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Sichler Charlotte (some documents call her Schiller) ép Peiffert and Peiffert Marceau né 26/4/1942	495 W: 67	31/7/1916	Fr par réintégration	Ménagère		2/3/1943	18/8/1943	"Femme qui par ses dénonciations calomnieuses sur son mari auprès des Autorités d'Occupation a tenté de troubler l'ordre public. S'est ainsi révélée dangereuse pour la sécurité publique"	Préf régional de Toulouse. 1 yr old son Marceau joined her at camp 9/8/1943	Born Laxou (Meurthe et Moselle). Married l'Adjutant Peiffert René; son born 26/4/1942	"Elle (déclare) n'ait dénoncé son mari que sur un geste de colère motivé par les mauvais traitements que lui faisait subir celui-ci. Elle regrette vivement son geste" (Avis fav lib 25/5/1943)
Schmitt Madeleine	495 W: 67	12/7/1913	Fr	Cartonnière		20/7/1943 (camp 16/8/1943)	23/9/1943	"Fille conduite et moralité mauvaise. Elle se livre d'après ses propres aveux à la prostitution clandestine avec des militaires de l'armée d'occupation... très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics"	Préf rég de Toulouse. "A été appréhendée au cours d'une descente faite au café Cristal Palace. Soumise à la visite sanitaire et été reconnue atteinte de syphilis et hospitalisée à la Grave"	Born Freyming (Moselle). Célibataire	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Schoepf Anne-Marie	495 W: 67	14/4/1922	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	3/4/1941	6/8/1942	"Constitue par son attitude un danger pour des habitants d'Argelès Gazost; se livrant au racolage et sa présence inquiète les gens honnêtes qui vivent dans son entourage"	Préf Hautes Pyrénées. Arrested with 4 others	Born Sélestat (Bas Rhin). 3 brothers 3 sisters resident Alsace. She expelled by Autorités Allemands "pour avoir giflé un militaire Allemand." Réfugiée since 25/2/1940 Argelès Gazost. Says has never been prostitute, just in company with femmes de moeurs legères	"Depuis son arrivée au camp cette jeune fille n'a pas toujours eu une bonne conduite. Elle a purgé deux peines de prison pour vol et évasion. Elle parait être revenue à de meilleurs sentiments et affirme des regrets qui semblent sincères." (undated P.V.)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Secula Françoise vve Kohler	495 W: 67	15/7/1907	Fr (Alsace Lorraine)	Sans		19/4/1941	20/8/1943	"Femme de très mauvaise conduite et moralité ayant la réputation de se livrer à la boisson, à la débauche et à la prostitution... caractère violent, mauvaise mère de famille..."	Préf de Hautes Alpes	Born Holzheim (Bas Rhin)	"Depuis son arrivée au camp l'intéressée n'a jamais fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable." 25/5/1943. "Bonne conduite..."
Séguy Joséphine div Pueyo	495 W: 67	16/3/1904	Fr			28/5/1943	28/6/1943	No info	Préf rég de Montpellier	Born Bellegarde (Aude). Divorcée	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Serres Renée	495 W: 67	29/10/1921	Fr			18/6/1943	16/9/1943	"Fille qui ne se livre d'aucun travail régulier. Tire ses moyens d'existence de la prostitution clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaise. Déjà été hospitalisée maladie ven. 23/3/1943 - 22/4/1943 la Grave. Très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics."	Préf Rég de Toulouse. "A été appréhendée cette nuit a 2 heures le matin apres le couvre feu, errant près du grand Rond..."	Born Toulouse. Célibataire.	
Servais Amélie	495 W: 67	4/8/1903	Fr			? jan 1942				Born Gilly (Hainaut)	
Severan Marie Louise ép Donninelli	495 W: 67	14/4/1899	Fr			29/4/1943	6/6/1943	"Provoque du désordre dans cette commune"	Préf de la Drôme. 1 mois		

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Sfedj Olga ép Hernandez	495 W: 67	4/1/1910	Fr (Algérie)	Professeur/étudiante		16/11/1942	7/7/1943	"Suspecte au point de vue national"	Préf Rég de Toulouse. 6 mois. "Au cours de l'enquête effectuée par 8 Brigade Police Judiciaire 12/11/1942 a été présentée au parquet inculpée de distribution et publication de tracts subversifs d'origine étrangère"	Born Constantine, Algérie. Lycée, Baccalauréat oct 1928, moved Paris study. Prof au Cours secondaire Godechoux (Paris) 3 ans. Réfugiée Toulouse juin 1940 "prépare actuellement doctorat de lettres."	Excellente conduite... du doute qui pèse sur sa culpabilité..." "Etudiante à la faculté de lettres Toulouse elle désirerait pouvoir se présenter à ses examens de fin d'année..." 13/5/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Signé Augusta	495 W: 67	6/4/1892	Fr	Cultivatrice		8/2/1943	19/8/1943	"Signalée par ses actes de violence... vis à vis représentants de la loi, qu'elle a l'habitude de recevoir avec une fourche... elle refuse systématiquement de payer (des Impots)... elle est l'incarnation de la méchanceté... a un mépris absolu de l'Autorité.."	Préf de l'Aude. Arrested with sister Signé Marie	Born Cascastel (Aude). Parents cultivateurs now aged 82 and 83. Célibataire, runs farm with sister Maria. Condamnation s 13/1/1938 200fr d'amende, complicité de violence et outrages; 7/1/1940 3 mois emprisonnement outrages à magistrats.	"Motif demandé et non encore parvenu par mes services. La conduite au camp n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable. La santé est nettement déficiente" 16/4/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Signé Maria	495 W: 67	28/8/1986	Fr	Cultivatrice	Catholic	8/2/1943 (camp 1/3/1943)	12/5/1943	Outrage magistrats et hostilité envers le gouvernement du Maréchal	Préf de l'Aude. Condamnée 5/2/1943 pour outrage à magistrats, 3 mois prison. Maison d'arrêt Carcassonne before camp	Born Cascastel (Aude). Parents, now aged 83 and 82, cultivateurs. Célibataire, works farm with sister Augusta	"Motif demandé est non encore parvenu par mes services" (18/3/1943). "Bonne conduite au camp... son état de santé nettement déficient..."
Simiand Lucienne	495 W: 67	8/7/1911	Fr	Pensionnaire à la maison de tolérance de Romans		3/7/1943	13/10/1943	Complicité d'une tentative d'évasion	Préf de la Drôme; 3 mois. "A été arrêtée lors qu'elle se rendait à Fort Barraux (Isère)... et trouvée porteuse d'une somme de 10,000 fr destinée... à favoriser l'évasion de son amant Poinat Paul" (interné Fort Barraux)		"N'ayant fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable... "

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Simonet Suzette	495 W: 67	2/10/1921	Fr	Coiffeuse	Catholic	23/6/1942	20/3/1943	"Doit être considérée comme très suspecte au point de vue national et qu'il y a lieu de demander la délivrance d'un ordre d'informer pour infraction à la loi de 29/7/1939..."	Préf de Lot et Garonne. "Cette fille avait été appréhendée en zone libre comme suspecte d'atteinte à la Sûreté Extérieure de l'Etat..." (commissariat de police no 69, undated) (6018)	Born Sadirac (Gironde). Father facteur de postes. Célibataire	"Selon ses déclarations, elle aurait eu des rapports avec un officier et un civil allemands afin de hâter la libération de son fiancé, prisonnier en Allemagne"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Simon Marie Thérèse ép Lamart and daughter Simon Marthe aged 7	495 W: 67	12/9/1911	Fr	Ménagère	Catholic	30/7/1941	4/8/1942	"Réfugiée à Tarbes, cette indésirable cliente assidue des bars mal famés de la ville se livre à la prostitution et donne ainsi le mauvais exemple à sa fillette et son entourage. Expulsée précédemment de Lourdes pour sa mauvaise conduite"	Préf des Hautes Pyrénées	Born Signy le Petit (Ardennes). Mariée 2 enfants. Father mouleur Signy le Petit. Educ C.E.P. Réfugiée, at Camp de la Planette, Tarbes	"Réfugiée du département des Ardennes, cette internée reconnaît volontiers sa mauvaise conduite au camp de la Planette. Elle paraît en manifester des regrets sincères et promets de se montrer exempte de tout reproche de l'avenir"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Soenein Marie vve Bellinzona	495 W: 68	14/2/1891	Fr	Femme de débauche		26/9/1941	23/9/1943	"Prostituée notoire, ancienne tenancière de maison de tolérance, conduite et moralité mauvaise"	Préf Alpes Maritimes	Born Lille (Nord). 1st husband Dumas died 1935. 2nd husband Bellinzona died 1942 while interned Sisteron	"(Une) personne qui ne s'est jamais livrée à un travail honnête, quoique d'un âge avancé reprendrait certainement ses habitudes de débauche" (July 1942). "Une conduite correcte" (April 43) .
Soula Francine	495 W: 68	28/7/1906	Fr			4/11/1942	9/10/1943	?Fille soumise?	Préf Haute Garonne	Born Cintigabelle (Haute Garonne)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Soulier Blanche ép Vergne	495 W: 68	8/7/1898	Fr	Boulangère		27/1/1943	Never arrived camp	"Une vérification des enveloppes de tickets remises au groupement départemental des farines a fait ressortir une fraude de 9 qx 27 pour le mois de novembre dernier." (1942)	Préf du Gard, 3 mois	Born Aigues Mortes	
Soulier Germaine ép Foullay	495 W: 68	3/6/1898	Fr	Secrétaire au service de Ravitaillement (textiles)		23/3/1943	5/2/1944	"A conservé chez elle... tracts communistes et Gaullistes... elle est soupçonnée de les avoir placé dans un portefeuille appartenant à son (séparé) mari pour le dénoncer à la police..."	Préf rég de Toulouse	Born Portet (H-G). Mariée juin 1927, séparée 20 Avril 1940	"Ne s'est pas fait remarquer défavorablement. Il s'agit d'une malade présentant de troubles pulmonaires qui est constamment à l'infirmerie" (Jan 1944)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Soustelle Arlette ép Baena	495 W: 68	1/1/1922	Fr	Ménagère	Protestant (also given Catholic)	24/1/1942	10/4/1942	"Se trouvait parmi les personnes qui ont manifesté le 20/1/1942 vers 14hrs devant la Sous-Préfecture d'Alès"	Préf du Gard, 1 mois	Born Alès (Gard). Père maçon. Mariée sans enfant. Before marriage commise à l'épicerie. Mari prisonnier de guerre Allemagne, repatrié jan 1941 pour blessure de guerre.	"Conduite au camp est des plus correctes... elle maintient que son mari n'a jamais manifesté de sentiments favorables aux idées communistes..." 23/2/1943, avis fav lib

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Sogas Marie ép Sicant	495 W: 68	17/12/1905	Fr	Infirmière à l'Hôpital St Jean de Perpignan		1/1/1941	22/4/1942	"Communiste enragée. N'a pas cessé de donner des preuves de son attachement au parti"	Préf des Pyrénées Orientales	Born Bages (P.O.) Mariée sans enfant. Part of communist cell May 1937 until dissolution, sec cell at hospital. Husband prisonnier de guerre Allemagne.	"Toujours une bonne conduite au camp... les regrets qu'elle exprime touchent notamment à sa situation d'internée et à celle de son mari prisonnier de guerre" (24/3/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Straub Elsa	495 W: 68	27/6/1923	Fr	Fille soumise	Catholic	7/3/1942	7/8/1942 remise Autorités Allemands	Infraction l'article 8 du décret de 27/10/1942	Préf de l'Allier. 3 mois internment ordered to follow completion prison sentence. Apprehended 9/12/1941 in front Maison de tolérance Vichy. T.C. Cusset 6/2/1942 3 mois prison	Born Strasbourg. Arr Vichy 1/7/1941. Given false papers to gain admittance maison de tolérance Vichy. M. Procureur, Cusset, inculpée de recol pièce d'identité. Placed Hôpital de Cusset, protection minors, but escaped 1/7/1941. Used sister's identity, Prostitute Toulouse, Clermont Ferrand .	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Sutter-Gerstenecker Marguerite	495 W: 68	30/8/1920	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite Toulouse 24/7/1942	Catholic	16/11/1942	5/1/1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Prostituée de bas étage, verbalisée 3 fois pour racolage, déjà été hospitalisée maladie vénérienne... dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics"	Préf de Haute Garonne	Born Mulhouse (Haut Rhin). Père ouvrier d'usine. Célibataire. Inscrite Limoges before Toulouse	
Storr Louise ép Begochina	495 W: 68	27/12/1906	Fr	Sans	Catholic	31/10/1942	30/4/1943 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Suspecte au point de vue national" "communiste militante"	Préf du Rhône	Born Outreau (Pas de Calais). Père mouleur sur métaux. Mariée	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Surdel Eugénie ép Plavan	495 W: 68	18/5/1895	Fr	Vivait de la prostitution, actuellement vit de mendicité			Date stamp illegible 7/8/1943	"Crée le scandale par toute la ville à cause de sa saleté et de son impudeur." 16 condamnations	Préf des Alpes Maritimes	Born Belfort. 16 condamnations Nice, 1926-1940, 14 of them with prison sentences ranging from 8 days to 3 months, for outrage, vagabondage, mendicité	
Tarrère Hélène	495 W: 68	28/10/1899	Fr	Sans	Catholic	29/9/1942	11/1/1943	"En compagnie du nommé (sic) Cahen prise de boisson... elle a tenu les propos "Vive les Juifs. Je suis aryenne. Vive L'Angleterre (x2) à bas l'Allemagne, à bas la collaboration. J'ai le courage de mes opinions"	Préf Alpes Maritimes 3 mois	Born Paris. Owned 2 magasins de bonneterie à Paris. Condamnée T.C. Grasse 5/11/1942 6 jours prison.	"Cette personne n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable... la mesure prise à son encontre ayant, à mon sens, porté ses fruits" (16/12/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Tarius Pierrette ép Ferre Fabregas	495 W: 68	16/5/1906	Fr			7/12/1943	16/1/1944	"Vendu irrégulièrement à son domicile de la viande de mouton au prix de 85 fr le kilo."	Préf de l'Aude. Durée given both as 1 mois and 3 mois	Born St Hippolyte. (Pyrénées Orientales). Mariée, 2 enfants	
Teissier Juliette ép Cellier	495 W: 68	1/11/1919	Fr	Bouchère		16/6/1943	28/8/1943	"...Inculpée à Auroux 28/5/1943 abattage clandestin, vente de viande sans tickets, présomption de hausse illicite..."	Préf rég de Montpellier durée 2 mois	Born Auroux (Lozère). Père menuisier. Mariée. Condamnation s T.C. Mende 1942 100fr pour vente de viande sans tickets; 1942 1000fr d'amende - confusion de peines - pour hausse illicite sur viande.	"Attitude ayant été sans reproche..."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp	
Thomas Juliette ép Imbert	495 W: 68	3/11/1891	Fr	Couturière	Catholic	23/2/1942	8/12/1942	"Elle était au courant de l'activité clandestine de sons fils. Elle a hébergé chez elle... membres influents des 'Jeunesses Communistes'... Cette femme est une militante (communiste) convaincue..."	Préf des Bouches de Rhône, 6 mois	Born Château Thierry (Aisne). Mariée, 1 fils Robert, who is a militant communist, arrested 23/1/1942 interned Fort St Nicolas Marseille.	"Cette personne n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable. Son attitude passée parait lui avoir été dictée par son sentiment maternelle très vif" (17/8/1942)	
Tincq Emma	495 W: 68	9/12/1885	Fr	Secrétaire de Dreyfus André. Antérieurement Inspectrice des Assurances Sociales à Paris	Catholic	27/8/1942, camp	20/9/1942	11/12/1942	"Exécution de la lettre no 4940 Pol cab du 20/8/1942 du conseiller d'Etat Sec Gén de la Police"	Préf du Tarn et Garonne	Born Paris. Father industrial chemist. B.E. sans diplôme	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Tailhade Fernande	495 W: 68	30/1/1914	Fr	Fille soumise inscrite 31/7/1938 Toulouse	Catholic	12/9/1942	1/10/1943	"A été hospitalisée 6 fois maladie vénérienne. Depuis 1er Jan 1942 26 contraventions défaut de visite sanitaire et racolage. Prostituée à bas étage digne d'aucun intérêt. Très dangereuse pour la santé et la salubrité publiques"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born Marseille. Célibataire.	
Tonellé Berthe ép Marty	495 W: 68	15/10/1908	Fr	Papetière		12/6/1943	28/9/1943	"Femme qui ne se livre à aucun travail régulier. Conduite et moralité mauvaise. Tire ses moyens d'existence de la prostitution clandestine"	Préf Rég de Toulouse. Arrêté. "A été appréhendée le 8 Juin 1943 au moment où elle racolait les militaires de l'Armée d'occupation"	Born Toulouse	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Touret Marie ép Aucouturier	495 W: 68	15/8/1893	Fr	Sans	Catholic	9/9/1942	6/2/1943	"Femme du meneur communiste Aucouturier, également interné, (elle) est une militante communiste de la première heure, propagandiste convaincue et active..."	Préf Alpes Maritimes, 3 mois	Born Diores (Indre). Mariée, veuve, remariée. Un fils prisonnier de guerre. (Other children) 10/6/1929 T.C. Nice 3 mois avec sursis pour manifestation politique. Husband also interned	"Cette personne a eu une bonne conduite..." (Avis favorable lib 22/12/1942)
Traill Vera née Goutchkoff	495 W: 29	2/3/1906	Anglaise	Sans		18/10/1939 (register stamp)	Assigned res Mende 26/2/1940; return camp 18/4/1941; 21/4/1941 camp Bompard Marseille, en vue émigration (register stamp) Angleterre avec enfant	Propagandiste communiste, aurait été en relations avec Andratieff Vadin, agent du E.P.V., impliqué dans l'affaire Reiss. Moralité douteuse	Expulsion et résidence 30/1/1940. No 231 - notification	Born Moscow to Goutchkoff Alexandre and Ziloti Marie	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Tritsch (/Fritsch) Georgette vve Abadie	495 W: 68	16/9/1897	Fr par réinté-gration	Sans, s'adonne à la prostitution		15/4/1943	16/7/1943	"Femme de moeurs légères. En relations suivies avec les troupes d'opérations pour le compte desquelles elle sert de rabatteuse pour l'achat de bétail et de denrées contingentées"	Préf Hautes Pyrénées. 3 mois	Born Mulhouse. Veuve 1 enfant	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Trives Mireille ép Diaz	495 W: 68	20/11/1920 (Algérie)	Fr	Sans		23/8/1943	23/11/1943	"D'une conduite notoire, est accusée de relations avec les troupes d'opération..."	Préfet Rég de Toulouse. Arrested "dans un but d'empêcher la dépravation dans notre ville..." (Commissaire de Police, Castres, 31/7/1943)	Born Mostaganen (Algeria). Mariée, 2 enfants 6 et 4. Arrived Castres July 1940. "Son mari est prisonnier de guerre et ses deux enfants précédemment élevés par sa belle-mère, Actuellement au Couvent Bleu"	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Troncoso Joséphine ép Fournier	495 W: 68	9/11/1904	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	8/2/1942	30/4/1943 Travailleuse volontaire pour l'Allemagne	"Exploite un établissement clandestin. Excitation de mineure à la débauche. Reçoit dans son établissement des personnes se livrant à la prostitution. S'adonne à la boisson..."	Préf d'Allier. No indication why gap arrest and camp	Born Montevideo (Uruguay). Mariée, sans enfants	"Il a été infligé une punition de 8 jours d'isolement et 150 fr d'amende pour avoir coupé une couverture afin de confectionner des pantoufles..." 28/9/1942
Truche Antonia div Laverrière	495 W: 68	20/8/1889	Fr	Débitante de boissons		15/3/1943	23/10/1943	"Exploitant un débit de boissons, lieu de rendezvous de souteneuses, filles soumises et repris de justice et lieu de réunion des trafiquants du "marché noir" fermé par mesure administrative. Ne s'est pas conformé à cette mesure"	Préf du Rhône	Born Bois d'Oingt (Rhône). Div, 2 enfants	"Sa conduite a été bonne." (Avis fav. 10/5/1943). 28/9/1943 says "mauvaises fréquentations" due to bad influence concubin Yves Nicolas, interné; recommended lib residence son-in law

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Trumel Jeanne	495 W: 68	20/1/1889	Fr		Catholic	26/2/1943	16/9/1943	Fille soumise	Préf de l'Hérault	Born Oissel (S.I). Célibataire. Worked various usines from age 13. Prostitute 1918 onwards. "Nov 1941 opération au ventre Toulouse... depuis j'ai cessé de me prostituer"	"N'a pas attiré défavorablement l'attention des services de police. Toutefois se trouvant sans aucune ressource et sans aucune personne susceptible de la recevoir..." (Avis défav 19/5/1943)
Tonelli Françoise ép Ramondetti	495 W: 68	12/8/1887	Fr par naturalisation	Marchande de fruits /ouvrière agricole		13/10/1942 ; 20/8/1943	21/3/1943; 25/11/1943	"A fait l'objet de poursuites pour infraction à la législation des prix à plusieurs reprises... récidiviste, incorrigible, doit être internée"	Préf Rég de Marseille	Born Pianfei, Italy. Mariée, 3 enfants majeurs. Parents cultivateurs. Sait lire et écrire en italien.	"La conduite n'ayant fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable..."

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Torrès Françoise	495 W: 68	2/4/1904	Fr	Fileuse sur cycles	Catholic	13/7/1942	18/2/1943	"A sollicité à 3 reprises, malgré le caractère anti-national de sa demande et malgré les injonctions qui lui ont été données, un emploi de douanière ou d'indicatrice de police, au Centre des Organisations économiques allemandes en France."	Préf de l'Indre	Born Le Blanc (Indre). Père espagnol. Célibataire. Condamnée à 50 fr d'amende T.C. Le Blanc pour coups et blessures. (No date)	"Cette internée n'a pas été autorisée à contracter un engagement volontaire pour l'Allemagne... en raison du motif d'internement"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Ulm Eva ép Mundschau	495 W: 68	6/7/1902	Fr	Sans		14/12/1942	3/9/1943	"De mauvaise conduite et moralité. A été condamnée 13/8/1942 à 2 mois prison sans sursis pour vol de tickets d'alimentation. Indésirable en premier chef. L'éloignement de cette personne s'impose comme une nécessité"	Préf du Gard	Born Weyersheim (Bas Rhin). Mariée, 18 enfants, 8 vivants. Expulsée Bas Rhin avec sa famille	"Ne fait l'objet d'aucune remarque défavorable" (29/4/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Van der Ryt Martha ép Chateau	495 W: 68	13/6/1919	Fr par mariage		Protest- ante	26/6/1942, 17/7/1942	24/11/1942 travailleuse volontaire pour Allemagne	"Etrangère ne vivant que du produit de la prostitution clandestine. Soupçonnée de vol de cartes d'alimentation"	Préf Haute Garonne	Born Onstwedde (Pays Bas). Arrived France 22/1/1933, married 1940, lived Paris. "Son.mari a travaillé en Allemagne pendant six mois." At camp de Récébédou since 23/4/1942	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Vallon Marcelle ép Franchi	495 W: 68	10/3/1912	Fr	Ménagère		12/10/1943	14/1/1944	"A été trouvée en possession des cartes de pain"	Préf Rég de Marseille. 3 mois. arrested on train carrying 32 cartes de pain	Born Lyon. Mariée sans enfant. Separated husband, Lives en concubinage. Condamnée T.C. Alès 3 mois prison avec sursis pour transport alcool sans autorisation	"Attitude... exempte de reproche" 12/4/1944
Vallette Germaine div Ambert	495 W: 68	2/4/1911	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	21/4/1943	24/5/1943	"A provoqué du désordre et des attroupements dans la commune de Pierrelatte"	Préf de la Drôme	Born Bordezac. Div, 1 enfant. Sait lire et écrire	"Attitude sans reproches" 13/5/1943

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Vasseur Georgette	495 W: 68	15/3/1913	Fr	Ex-tenancière "Favori-Bar" Grenoble		8/10/1941	1/8/1942	"Ex-tenancière de Favori-Bar". Continue à se livrer à la prostitution dans une pièce de son logement attenant au debit"	Préf de l'Isère. Arrested with Hory Felicie; Guillet Renée; Mare Marcelle; Veysseilier Jeanne	Born Boulogne sur Mer. Père garde champêtre. Worked fille de salle, vit en concubinage jusqu'à 1937. 3 enfants, exploite café bar Grenoble, fermé 5/2/1941 Autorité Militaire.	"A toujours eu une bonne conduite. Elle regrette son passé et promet de se racheter par une conduite exemplaire" (26/3/1942)
Venant Renée	495 W: 69	2/5/1920	Fr, attesté par Juge de Paix Pologne			25/5/1943	23/9/1943	"Fille de moeurs légères qui a tiré ses moyens d'existence de la prostitution clandestine. Conduite et moralité mauvaise... très dangereuse pour la santé et la sécurité publiques"	Préf Rég de Toulouse. "Elle est actuellement hospitalisée à La Grave"	Born Podgorz, Pologne. Célibataire	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Verando Joséphine	495 W: 69	9/4/1909	Fr			1/7/1943	8/10/1943	No info	Préf des Bouches du Rhône	Born Istres (B-du-R). Vit en concubinage avec Bouchet Barthélemy	
Vernet Antoinette ép Calmon	495 W: 69	24/8/1904	Fr	Sans		30/10/1943	23/11/1943 Tr by Gendarmes to centre administratif d'Evaux les Bains	"Signalée comme partageant les idées de son mari"	Préf du Lot	Born Verzac (Cantal). Mariée 1922, 1 enfant	
Vernin Henriette vve Alphonse	495 W: 69	15/3/1888	Fr	Fille soumise		29/1/1943	23/9/1943	No info; presumably interned as fille soumise	Préf Rég de Marseille	Born Chateauroux (Indre)	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Veysseilier Jeanne vve Schlichter	495 W: 69	19/3/1905	Fr	Ouvrière en soie; ex-tenancière café Sportif Grenoble	Catholic	8/10/1941	19/8/1943	"Se livre à la prostitution"	Préf de l'Isère. Arrested with Hory Felicie; Guillet Renée; Guillot Yvonne; Mare Marcelle; Vasseur Georgette	Born Vizille (Isère). Veuve de guerre - husband killed champ d'honneur 30/5/1940. Sans enfants. Sait lire et écrire. Tenancière Bar Sportif Grenoble until closed by Aut. 23/2/1940.	"Elle désire s'amender... regrette sincèrement ses fautes passées" (20/5/1943). Avis fav lib also Sept 1942, 27/10/1942, 25/11/1942, April 1943.
Vialat Renée	495 W: 69	4/10/1921	Fr			9/12/1943	27/1/1944	"Personne peu intéressante ayant vraisemblablement servi d'agent de liaison des éléments terroristes"	Préf de la Corrèze	Born Clermont Ferrand. Célibataire. Parents farmers. Studied cours supérieur, lives at home with parents	"Les mauvais renseignements fournis sur elle ne paraissant dus qu'à une jalousie de villageois.." (2/1/1943)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Victorion Solange ép Gobet/Gaubet (+ child Gaubet Raymonde)	495 W: 69	1/1/1920; 13/1/1940	Fr			11/5/1943	23/9/1943	"Se prostituait à des militaires des troupes d'opérations"	Préf des Hautes Pyrénées. Arrested with Merger Gilberte (possibly married name)	Born Montigny les Metz (Moselle). Mariée, un enfant. Mari sous-officier d'active, prisonnier de guerre. Arr Odos 18/5/1940	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Vidonne Marie Jeanne ép Castiglione	495 W: 69	12/7/1906	Fr	Ouvrière d'usine	Catholic	17/12/1941	22/1/1943	"Indésirable française"	Préf de la Loire, durée 6 mois. Condamnée Trib. Militaire Lyon, 10/4/1940, 1 an prison avec sursis, activité communiste	Born Monnetier Mornex (Haute Savoie). Started work age 13 Geneva, factories, restaurants etc... Mariée, 1 fils 23/9/1930. Inscrite parti communiste 1936 but ceased as husband opposed.	"Conduite au camp n'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défav" (Avis fav 13/6/1942, 16/12/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Vigneau Henriette ép Peres	495 W: 69	2/8/1912	Fr			11/6/1943	23/9/1943	"Femme qui est inscrite depuis 1939 Mont de Marsan. Se livre également ici à la prostitution. Conduite et moralité mauvaises, Très dangereuse pour la santé et l'ordre publics"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born Tarbes (H.P.) Mariée. Condamnée T.C. Toulouse 4/11/1938 vol d'un sac à main. 8 jours sursis	
Viguié Fernande div Darde	495 W: 69	26/5/1897	Fr	Entrepren- euse de transports	Catholic	9/4/1942	19/7/1942	"Connue publiquement pour être le rabatteur du marché noir, de moralité douteuse, emploie tous les moyens pour se défendre"	Préf de l'Aveyron	Born St Salvadou (Aveyron). Parents cultivateurs. Div. Built up successful transport business provoking jealousy leading to loss.	"Une très bonne conduite"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Villefroy Madeleine ép Schaff	495 W: 69	25/7/1914	Fr	Femme de chambre		10/4/1943	11/3/1944	"Est employée par intermittence au café "Désire Bar" ou il y a quelques jours un certain nombre de souteneurs et de trafiquants... ont fêté l'assassinat de l'Inspecteur de Police Brebis. Cette femme aurait même chanté et dansé..."	Préf de Loire, 2 mois	Born Le Tréport (Seine Inférieure). Parents ouvriers d'usine. Married, husband prisonnier en Allemagne. Sait lire et écrire	"N'a donné lieu à aucune remarque défavorable... (31/5/1943)
Vise Thérèse	405 W: 69	23/2/1908	Fr par filiation	Foraine		4/11/1942	No info in file	"Récidiviste du vol à la tire et au rendez-moi. Fait l'objet de très mauvais renseignements au point de vue moralité"	Préf Alpes Maritime	Born Martel (Belgique). Célibataire. 5 previous condemnations vol. 23/10/1942 T.C. Nice 8 mois prison, vol de pièces d'identité	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Vogt Jeanne ép Weber	495 W: 69	12/5/1902	Fr	Ouvrière en filature	Catholic	3/4/1941	12/11/1942	"Constitue par son attitude un danger pour le moral des habitants d'Argelès. Se livrant au racolage et sa présence inquiète les honnêtes gens qui vivent dans son entourage"	Préf Hautes Pyrénées	Born Sélestat (Bas Rhin). Mariée, 2 enfants 1925 & 1926. Réfugiée Argelès Gazost	"Sa conduite et son attitude n'ont donné lieu à aucune observation défavorable." (6/5/1942, 13/8/1942)
Watremez Gabrielle	495 W: 69	14/4/1895	Fr	Femme de ménage	Catholic	27/9/1941	12/1/1943	"Plusieurs fois condamnée pour intempérance. Sort de la maison d'arrêt de Lons-le-Saunier où elle vient de purger une peine de 5 mois prison pour ce motif: Conduite et moralité déplorable"	Préf du Jura. New condamnation T.C. de Lons-le-Saunier 1/11/1941, 1 mois prison pour entraves à la liberté du culte et ivresse en récidive. Détention maison d'arrêt prolongé jusqu'à 1/11/1941, tr camp same day	Born Béthencourt (Nord), 1 of 11 children, orphaned age 13, brought up by siblings. Réfugiée le Midi Fr W.W.1, lived Lyon then Lons le Saunier, married 1925, abandoned by husband. Div 1928.	"Une très bonne conduite... elle est toujours volontaire pour les travaux pénibles... manifeste des regrets sincères..." (10/4/1942)

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Welemberg Joséphine	495 W: 69	23/10/1904	Fr			10/9/1943	18/4/1944	"A fait l'objet d'un P.V. de gendarmerie portant contre elle présomption de vol d'argent. Vit en concubinage. La rumeur publique l'accuse de se livrer à la prostitution"	Préf des Basses Alpes	Born Kaysersberg (Haut Rhin). Réfugiée Thionville	"Très calme... ne s'est jamais signalée défavorablement, au contraire très travailleuse et propre, elle rend service à la cuisine..."
Wernert Mathilde ép Mai	495 W: 69	17/6/1905	Fr	Sans	Catholic	26/9/1941	16/6/1942	"Femme de moralité douteuse et de mauvaise réputation. Se livrerait à la débauche mais aucun délit n'a été relevé contre elle; n'a jamais cherché d'emploi depuis son arrivée à Embrun"	Karcher, Commandant pt la brigade	Born Hochfelden (Bas Rhin). Married Thionville 1937, 1 enfant. Sait lire et écrire l'Allemand	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Wieland Odette ép Blanc	495 W: 69	26/11/1915	Fr	Sans	Catholic	17/11/1942	21/11/1942	"A été arrêtée et internée à la suite d'une tentative de dépôt de gerbe (de forme croix de Lorraine) le 11 nov 1942 au Monument aux Morts et ensuite à la statue Jaurès, Castres."	Préf de Castres	Born Terminiers (Eure et Loir). Father boulangier married 3/10/1935 Escoussens, 2 enfants 5 & 3. C.E.	
Wieland Jeannine	495 W: 69	12/8/1924	Fr	Sans	Catholic	17/11/1942	21/11/1942	"A été arrêtée et internée à la suite d'une tentative de dépôt de gerbe (de forme croix de Lorraine) le 11 nov 1942 au Monument aux Morts et ensuite à la statue Jaurès, Castres."	Préf de Castres	Born Terminiers (Eure et Loir). Father boulanger. Célibataire	

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Wysocka Marguerite ép Geoffroy et fils Alain	495 W: 69	9/3/1921; 31/12/1941	Fr par option	Sans	Catholic	3/10/1942	15/1/1943	"A exploité la credulité de certains étrangers en leur promettant des visas de transit pour l'Espagne à des prix exorbitants"	Préf Rég de Toulouse	Born Nice to Polish parents. Father director usine de petrole. Died when she 2. Lived with mother Cannes on his fortune. B.E. études commerciales. Mother died 9/3/1942. Married 1941, husband 100,000 reserves, associé de M. Lamot, consul de Belgique, Nice, interned Sisteron same motif.	"Sa conduite au camp a été très bonne. Elle a avec elle au camp son bébé âgé d'un an"

Name	Dossier (ADT reference)	Date of Birth	Nationality	Profession	Religion	Date arrest	Date release	Grounds for internment	Nature of arrest	Social Background	Comments Chef du Camp
Yard Georgette	495 W: 69	28/6/1898	Fr	Commerçante de bonneterie		18/11/1942	23/1/1943	"A frusté (sic) le Ravitaillement Général d'une quantité importante de pommes de terres de semence"	Préf Alpes Maritimes	Born St Dizier (Hte Marne). Célibataire	"Rien dans son attitude ni sa conduite n'a laissé à désirer" (18/1/1943)
Zimmerman Madeleine ép Beller	495 W: 69	23/2/1914	Fr	Journaliste		3/4/1941	9/10/1943	"Constitue un danger par son attitude pour la morale des habitants d'Argelès; se livre au racolage et sa présence inquiète les gens honnêtes qui vivent dans son entourage"	Préf Hautes Pyrénées	Born Strasbourg. Mariée; "mari mobilisé au debut de guerre, sans nouvelles depuis; expulsée résidence Alsace par autorités allemands" (Croix Rouge 23/7/1941).	"Bonne conduite au camp... manifeste un profond repentir ... et parait vouloir racheter ses fautes par son désir de travailler honnêtement dans l'avenir" (27/5/1943)

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Alzate Marie.....	196	Courvoisier Henriette.....	229	Macdonel Marguerite.....	298
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Bacconnier Nelly.....	201	Cussat Marthe.....	230	Mare Marcelle.....	300
Baptiste Georgette.....	203	Calpe Mélanie.....	230	Marlot Marie.....	300
Baptiste Maria.....	203	Damothe Marguerite.....	231	Masson Juliette.....	301
Baptiste Simone.....	203	Darras Simone.....	231	Marty Philippine.....	303
Bardin Marguerite.....	204	Dejean Marie Antoinette.....	233	Martin Marthe.....	303
Baroukh Cammouna.....	204	Delluc Armande.....	234	Matha Cécile.....	304
Barraud Noëlie.....	204	Delmas Marie Jeanne.....	234	Mathieu Lucie.....	305
Battista Nicole.....	204	Didier Renée.....	238	Mathieu Marie.....	305
Baudet Marthe.....	205	Duvernoy Jeanne.....	240	Maurette Fernande.....	306
Baudie Madeleine.....	205	Espitalier Louise.....	241	Meinhardt Berthe.....	306
Baudie Renée.....	205	Foichat Julie.....	244	Muraro Marie Antoinette.....	311
Baylet Clémence.....	205	Fontanilles Albanie.....	246	Montet Claudia.....	315
Bellec Yvonne.....	208	Floret Yvonne.....	248	Miallet Marie.....	316
Bermond Andrée.....	208	Fouilleux Jeanne.....	248	Millet Rose.....	318
Berrang Marie.....	209	Fournil Simone.....	249	Negrier Francine.....	321
Berthomieu Lucienne.....	209	Fray Isabelle.....	249	Nicolas Reine.....	323
Bertrand Thérèse.....	209	Faugère Maria.....	249	Nicolas Maria.....	324
Bétemps Jeannine.....	210	Galli Geneviève.....	250	Parrouffe Aida.....	327
Beugne Marie Louise.....	210	Gandon Marcelle.....	252	Paulhe Marie.....	328
Bigillon Cécile.....	210	Gardès Germaine.....	253	Peck Andrée.....	329
Bobo Marguerite.....	212	Gasc Suzanne.....	253	Pervent Gabrielle.....	333
Bosc Marie Louise.....	213	Gasch Fortunée.....	254	Picard Georgette.....	335
Bouchet Marie Clémentine.....	213	Gaston Maria.....	254	Pisaneschi Bianca.....	340
Bourgues Yvette.....	213	Geusserand Marcelle.....	255	Plaza Lucienne.....	341
Boursiac Juliette.....	214	Giordan Mireille.....	256	Ponte-Noble Andrée.....	342
Bousquet Paule.....	214	Giran Yvonne.....	256	Ponthier Mathilde.....	343
Boutonnet Anna.....	214	Giraudoux Alice.....	257	Pontzeele Gabrielle.....	344
Brailly Mireille.....	216	Gonzalès Angèle.....	260	Pothin Rose.....	345
Brioude Emilienne.....	217	Goustille Madeleine.....	261	Ramoin Marinette.....	347
Boyer Louise.....	219	Graillet Germaine.....	262	Regimbal Léa.....	352
Canetti Semoule.....	219	Grandvoinet Alice.....	263	Renoncourt Madeleine.....	353
Carpano Catherine.....	220	Guillaume Germaine.....	264	Requier Germaine.....	354
Cassagne Denise.....	221	Guillet Renée.....	264	Respaud Lucie.....	355
Castaing Marcelle.....	221	Guillot Yvonne.....	265	Rimère Françoise.....	359
Castelli Geneviève.....	222	Haon Madeleine.....	267	Roubaud Emmanuella.....	362
Cavale Juliette.....	222	Hory Félicie.....	268	Rouet Clémentine.....	362
Cerceau Fernande.....	223	Imbert Yvette.....	271	Roumezin Ginette.....	363
Chapeau Yvonne.....	224	John Marguerite Louise.....	273	Rouquet Odette.....	363
Charbon Jeanne.....	224	Joly Marie.....	274	Roussel Berthe.....	367
Chardin Cécile.....	225	Jorelle Myrella.....	274	Sala Georgette.....	368
Chassary Elise.....	225	Josso Albertine.....	275	Schandrin Lucie.....	371
Chauffard Claudine.....	225	Joubert Yvonne.....	276	Schmitt Madeleine.....	372
Chaumeil Hélène.....	225	Kennouche Simone.....	280	Schoepf Anne-Marie.....	373
Chrestia Mobareg Rose.....	226	Klotz Marguerite.....	281	Secula Françoise.....	374
Ciuro Marcelle.....	226	Lalet Albertine.....	286	Serres Renée.....	375
Clapier Mireille.....	227	Laouna Janny.....	288	Simiand Lucienne.....	378
Coffinet Paulette.....	227	Lassalle Marie Antoinette.....	289	Simon Marie Thérèse.....	380
Colli Marie.....	228	Laverdure Louise.....	290	Soenein Marie.....	381
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Bretagnolle Marie.....215	Gévaudan Anna.....255	Parrot Marguerite.....347
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Capion Odette.....219	Guyon Félicie.....266	Rouveure Mélie.....366
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Cochet Raymonde.....227	Kalé (also Kahle) Lydia.....278	Soulier Germaine.....382
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Astruc Lucie.....199	Créon Agathe.....229	Garcia Fernande.....253
Castex Geneviève.....203	Crétaine Renée.....229	Gilone Antoinette.....256
Blum Jeannine.....211	Camhi Louise.....230	Girondeau Gabrielle.....257
Bory Marie.....212	Darie Lucienne.....231	Giraud Jeanne.....258
Bouffil Francine.....213	Debord.....233	Grobert Louise.....258
Bougerol Denise.....213	De la Poix de Fréminville	Goloubkine Esther.....260
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Bouteilloux Anaïs.....214	De Libouton Yvonne.....234	Grand Marguerite.....262
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Breuzza Julie.....215	Drai Rachel.....238	Guicciardini Anna.....264
Braun Emilie.....216	Duc Marthe.....238	Haon Marie.....267
Brossette Marie.....218	Ducasse Irma.....238	Jacomelli Bruna.....271
Brun Marie.....218	Dupasquier Alice.....239	Jouclard Francine.....277
Carles Marguerite.....220	Entremont Madeleine.....241	Lacoste Théodora.....284
Carrance Georgette.....220	Fargeat Rosalie.....242	Lamarque Alice.....286
Celli Yvonne.....223	Fargier Germaine.....242	Lascaux Yvette.....289

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Leclainche Léa.....	293	Passant Suzanne.....	327	Tarius Pierrette.....	388
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Lupori Angeline.....	297	Raymond Berthe.....	348	Tonelli Françoise.....	396
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Meyne Anne Marie.....	309	Ribe Alice.....	358	Viguié Fernande.....	406
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Bouchet Marie Clémentine.....	213	Klotz Marguerite.....	281	Ribe Alice.....	358
Brailly Mireille.....	216	Laouna Janny.....	288	Sutter-Gerstenecker	
Cerceau Fernande.....	223	Le Bars Jeanne.....	292	Marguerite.....	386
Chardin Cécile.....	225	Leidvanget Andrée.....	294	Storr Louise.....	386
Diard Ennemonde.....	237	Martin Marthe.....	303	Trochoux Marie Louise.....	394
Didier Renée.....	238	Muraro Marie Antoinette.....	311	Troncoso Joséphine.....	395
Foichat Julie.....	244	Paulhe Marie.....	328	Van der Ryt Martha.....	399
Genest Brigitte.....	254	Pion Simone.....	339		

Appendix H

Proposed voluntary workers in Germany

The *chef du camp* at Brens proposed the following list of women as *travailleuses volontaires pour l'Allemagne* (tva) in a letter of 15th January 1943.⁷

Argaud Lydie (*fille soumise*) lib 23/9/1943
Bouchet Clémentine (*fille soumise*) tva 30/4/1943
Brailly Mireille (*fille soumise*) tva 30/4/1943
Canari Charlotte (*condamnations outrages, mendicité, illiterate*) lib 23/2/1944
Coche Marcelle lib 26/2/1943
Combe Marthe (*prostituée de bas étage*) lib 10/11/1943
Diard Ennemonde (obtaining confidential docs) tva 30/4/1943
Didier Renée (*prostitution clandestine*) tva 30/4/1943
Muraro Marie (*fille soumise*) tva 30/4/1943
Ribe Alice (*abattage clandestine*) tva 30/4/1943
Roses Michelle (*infraction de commerce*) lib 9/3/1943
Storr Louise (communist) tva 30/4/1943
Trochoux Marie Louise (*fille soumise*) tva 30/4/1943
Troncoso Joséphine (ran *établissement clandestine*) tva 30/4/1943.

⁷ Dossier entitled *Travail: volontaires pour travailler en Allemagne: candidatures, correspondances, état*: List of 14 volunteers on 15/1/1943, all for *Allemagne*: ADT 495 W: 47.

Appendix I

List of personnel at Rieucros Camp in December 1941

The following details are transcribed from the *Rapport Mensuel de décembre 1941* for Rieucros camp. ADL 2 W: 2805.

Effectif du Personnel de garde par catégorie au dernier jour du mois.

Personnel de la surveillance des camps

- 1 Brigadier
- 5 Gardiens
- 1 Surveillante-Chef-Adjointe
- 1 Première-Surveillante
- 2 Surveillantes

Agents Spéciaux 2ème Bureau

- 1 Dactylographe
- 1 Lingère

Personnel Auxiliaire (à titre contractuel)

- 9 Gardiens
- 13 Surveillantes

Agents Spéciaux

- 4 Surveillants
- 2 Surveillantes

Personnel de la Police Nationale

- 1 Commissaire Spécial, Chef de Camp
 - (1 Adjoint au Chef de Camp
- 3 Inspecteurs (1 Secrétaire Générale
 - (1 Commissariat Spécial

Gestionnaire

- 1 Inspecteur-Chef remplissant les fonctions de gestionnaire
- 1 Brigadier-Chef adjoint au gestionnaire
- 1 Inspecteur-Secrétaire: censeur
- 1 Brigadier-Chef: trésorier-Vaguemestre

Appendix J

Sample menus for Brens camp

The meal plan listed below for Brens camp for the week of 26th July 1942 was transcribed from an appendix to a report on the camp.⁸

CAMP DE BRENS

JUILLET

MENUS DU 26

Pain 0,275	soupe de légumes
soupe de légumes	ragout de pommes des terre
fèves	salade
viande	

MENUS DU 27

Pain 0,275	soupe de légumes
Soupe de légumes	fèves
Pommes de terre	poisson frais
Salade	
vin rouge	

MENUS DU 28

Pain 0,275	soupe de légumes
soupe de légumes	ragout de pomme des terre
haricots	
poisson	

MENUS DU 29

Pain 0,275	soupe de légumes
soupe de légumes	fèves
oignons en sauce	vin rouge
poisson frais	

MENUS DU 30

Pain 0,275	soupe de légumes
soupe de légumes	céleri en sauce
oignons en sauce	prunes
viande	

⁸ Appendix to: *Rapport d'Inspection de M André Jean-Faure*, août 1942 from *Le Préfet Inspecteur Général des camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire* to the *Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, Secrétaire Général à la Police*: ADT 495 W: 7.

MENUS DU 31

Pain 0,275
soupe de légumes
salade (laitue avec oignons)
poisson

soupe de légumes
carottes en sauce
prunes

MENUS DU 1er AOUT

Pain 0,275
soupe de légumes
oignons avec sauce tomate
vin rouge

soupe de légumes
salade oignons et tomates
prunes

MENUS DU 2 AOUT

Pain 0,275
soupe de légumes
oignons au jus de viande
viande rotie

soupe de viande
salade haricots verts oignons et tomates
prunes

MENUS DU 3 AOUT

Pain 0,275
soupe de légumes
oignons en sauce
fromage 0,035

soupe de légumes
oignons en sauce
poisson
vin rouge

MENUS DU 4 AOUT

Pain 0,275
soupe de légumes
oignons sauce tomates
prunes

soupe de légumes
salade oignons et tomates
prunes

Appendix K

Release and transfer of inmates from Rieucros

The following table charts departures from Rieucros camp – the release of prisoners, their transfer to another camp or their transfer to work in Germany between 15th February 1940 and 24th July 1941.⁹

Date	Released	Assigned residence	Transferred to another camp	Work in Germany	Died
15.2.1940	Minette Rose (Lux.)				
22.2.1940	Philomène Gonzalez Cannan Romero (both Sp.)				
29.2.1940	Edith Levy (Fr.)				
7.3.1940	Elodie Lorrenzien (Belge) Maria Sollares (Sp.) Vera Traill (Brit) ¹⁰	Gertrude Lortscher Felicitas Haller Alice Nussbaum- Schizer (all Swiss) Greta Weil (German)			
28.3.1940	Helena Georgieff married German (Angeluschaff) Hildegard Kirchheimer (German)				
8.8.1940	Gertrude Lehmann Barbara Birnbaum Mathilda Reiners (released on German orders)				
22.8.1940	24 unnamed Spanish women taken to Cerbère to be repatriated				
29.8.1940	59 inmates reclaimed by German authorities: 13 women and 1 child sent to Luxembourg to be repatriated				
12.9.1940	1 woman and child (nationality not supplied) 2 Belgians to Crozas camp with a view to repatriation in Belgian convoy				
19.9.1940	173 inmates (nationality not mentioned) to Chalon-sur-Saône with a view to repatriation				

⁹ Dossier entitled *Camp de Rieucros: mesures d'internement (1939-1944), mouvements des effectifs (1939-1944), statistiques et rapports (1941-1942)*: ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹⁰ Traill writes that she was assigned to residence in Mende. Mirsky. p.76.

Date	Released	Assigned residence	Transferred to another camp	Work in Germany	Died
10.10.1940	Anna Althen (Swiss) to Switzerland; Olga Meckler (Russian) to Tarn: 5 Belgians repatriated.				
17.10.1940	4 Dutch to Dutch Consul, Lyon: Goldenberg given permission to live at Argenton				Hélène Gleizer (Mende hospital)
7.11.1940	Onypko Oksama delivered to demarcation line				
14.11.1940	Barrier (Fr) wife of Pelisson liberated by Prefect of Tarn: Rose Wolfstein delivered to Marseille with a view to emigration				
28.11.1940	Nadejda Spacker delivered to Nice to be repatriated by Italian authorities				
5.12.1940	Sarah Gorsenaite to Menton with a view to repatriation Russia				
12.12.1940	Louise Witzchel released by ministerial order: Yvonne Vasseur (married Robert: Fr.) released by prefectorial decree (Pyrénées-Orientales)	Eulan (no nationality or other name given)			
19.12.1940	Gertrude Schultheis; Wally Pietsch; Hélène Maywald; Elsie Christ (all Germans) delivered to demarcation line with a view to repatriation				
26.12.1940	Maria Karolewicz; Thérèse Ponweiser to Chéry-Lury with view to repatriation				
2.1.1941	Francisca Agnerade; Casimara Castro to Perpignan with view repatriation Spain: Elizabeth Anzlowar; Marie Colazono; Maria Fattoir; Juliette Fibbi; Antonia Meni: to Menton view repatriation Italy				
9.1.1941	Archalouse Keghian sent back to St-Etienne; Madeleine Haase authorised return to Périgueux	Agnieska Langer			
8.5.1941	11 French internees liberated for the 1 st May by Amiral de la Flotte				
15.5.1941	Herta Bass (Aust.): 1 French inmate liberated				
22.5.1941	11 Spanish (+ 4 children) to Port Bon to be handed over to Spanish authorities: 32 <i>étrangères</i>		16 to camp Bompard, Marseille with a view to emigration	32 Polish, Czech, Russian	

Appendices

Date	Released	Assigned residence	Transferred to another camp	Work in Germany	Died
29.5.1941	8 Spanish (+ 1 child) to Port Bon to Spanish authorities:2 Italians to Italian front with a view to repatriation: 2 French released				
(Gaps in archives here)					
3.7.1941	Gisèle Endrez (married Marianeck) to Drôme		Pauline Katz (Russian) sent to Rivesaltes		
24.7.1941			Frieda Scheier (married Taut) to Rivesaltes		

Appendix L

Objections to expansion of Brens camp

Objections by the Conseil Municipal of Gaillac to proposed expansion of Brens camp in 1943 published in *Le Mémorial de Gaillac*, 24th July 1943: ADT FOPER 267/24

← Agrandissement du Camp d'internement de Brens. Protestation du Conseil municipal.

— Le Conseil municipal, informé qu'une réquisition vient d'être notifiée au propriétaire du terrain sur lequel est établi le camp d'internement de Brens en vue d'une extension de ce camp,

Considérant que lorsque fut envisagée la création du camp d'internement M. le Maire de Gaillac, par sa lettre du 14 novembre 1941, adressée à M. le Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, a exposé les graves inconvénients que présentaient pour la ville de Gaillac la création projetée;

Considérant que les arguments présentés dans la dite lettre n'étaient pas sans valeur, puisqu'à la suite d'une enquête approfondie effectuée par un inspecteur venu spécialement de Vichy, M. le Ministre, Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur revint sur sa décision et considéra comme inopportune la création envisagée;

Considérant que si le camp fut finalement réalisé, ce fut sur une autorisation signée dans des circonstances absolument contraires au respect de la Municipalité de notre ville, celle-ci ayant été mise brutalement devant le fait accompli, sans avoir jamais été consultée;

Considérant que les événements sont venus prouver que les craintes formulées par la lettre du 14 novembre 1941 n'étaient pas injustifiées;

Qu'en effet, quelques évasions d'indésirables se sont produites, qu'il apparaît comme évident à toute personne de bonne foi, soucieuse de l'ordre public et de la sécurité de la population Gaillacoise que ces évasions d'individuelles, pourraient devenir massives et collectives dans les périodes troublées que la France risque de traverser;

Considérant que, quelle que puisse être la rigueur de la surveillance exercée, ces évasions se renouvelleront parce que rendues inévitables par la configuration même des lieux, ainsi que l'Inspecteur délégué par M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur l'avait reconnu à la suite de la lettre du 11 novembre 1941; Considérant comme absolument contraire à la sécurité publique la plus élémentaire l'existence d'un camp d'internement aux portes mêmes d'une ville (150 mètres dans le cas de Gaillac);

Considérant que la présence, à la sortie de Gaillac, en bordure d'une route départementale très fréquentée par les promeneurs, les enfants des établissements scolaires, d'un camp d'internement risque, par une sensibilité sans aucun doute déplacée, mais assez naturelle, d'apitoyer les promeneurs sur le sort des internées, créant ainsi une ambiance très dangereuse pour le bon ordre;

Considérant que le Camp de Brens a été installé dans un beau domaine avec parc et élégant pavillon, aux portes mêmes de Gaillac, dont ce domaine était l'une des parures; que les baraquements qui ont été édifiés sur ce terrain ont complètement changé l'aspect des lieux et achevé de ruiner la beauté de ce site, beauté qui avait déjà été fort malheureusement atteinte par les constructions récentes adossées à l'abbaye et l'église Saint-Michel et par le pavillon édifié à l'entrée du nouveau pont Saint-Michel. La Municipalité ne peut manquer à cette occasion de marquer son étonnement de voir M. l'Architecte départemental collaborer à la destruction de ce coin de Gaillac récemment classé;

Considérant enfin que la population du camp (internées, gardiens et leurs familles) pèse lourdement sur le ravitaillement de plus en plus précaire des habitants de Gaillac; que la fourniture d'eau potable assurée par la ville de Gaillac au Camp de Brens est prélevée sur la consommation normale des habitants; que cette fourniture déjà préjudiciable aux besoins de la population et à l'hygiène publique ne saurait être augmentée;

En conséquence, le Conseil précise respectueusement mais fermement, qu'il ne peut que désapprouver le projet d'extension du Camp d'internement de Brens comme gravement contraire à la sécurité publique, au ravitaillement de la population gaillacoise et à la beauté de ce site, ou du moins ce qu'il en reste;

Le Conseil, en raison même de la fidélité et de l'esprit de discipline qu'il a toujours montré à l'égard de l'Autorité supérieure, dont il émane, estime que son avis devrait être pris en considération;

Le Conseil précise encore dans le cas où le projet d'extension serait maintenu qu'il considère que la présente délibération dégage sa responsabilité et l'autorise à réserver son attitude pour l'avenir;

Emet, à l'unanimité, le vœu :

« Que la destination actuelle du Camp de Brens, en attendant sa destruction soit changée, par le retrait des indésirables et son affectation à des occupants ne présentant pas de danger pour la sécurité et la moralité publique (camp de jeunesse, colonies de vacances, œuvres scolaires ou autres). »

Le Conseil précise, pour terminer, qu'il considère qu'il aurait failli à son devoir s'il n'avait pas pris la présente délibération.

Appendix M

Retour au camp

The individual file for Raymonde David contains the following hand written poem. ADT 495
W: 58.

<p>Voici un monologue qui a été dit il y'a quelque temps déjà mais que j'avais oublié de vous expédier. Baisers à tous, Raymonde.</p> <p><u>Retour au camp</u> Par Marina Strade. B.5.</p> <p>Me voici de retour au camp Par suite d'un petit accident Et mon dossier, quelle pénible affaire! J'ai la remarque «mœurs légères» Je suis une étrangère Une simple ménagère, Mon homme est prestataire En Algérie. "Voilà ma vie". La vie de libérée que j'ai vécue Était un vrai malentendu Car tous les usages du camp Semblaient ailleurs fort déplaisants. En arrivant je me suis renseignée Bien poliment du jour de courrier D'un oeil craintif on m'a fixée Tout comme une pauvre aliénée. Pour cuisiner ma petite popote, J'organisais à peu de frais. On m'a traité tout comme une sottie Et même on invoquait la loi. Les mœurs sont tout autre hors du camp.</p> <p>Sans être punie, on lit "Le Temps".</p> <p>Tirant leurs chapeaux les Messieurs disent «Pardon» J'étais bouleversée par ce bon ton Mais par contre j'ai trouvé les gens Par trop avarés au Restaurant. Me refusant, riant très haut</p>	<p>Here's a monologue which was spoken already some time ago but which I'd forgotten to send you. Kisses to everyone, Raymonde.</p> <p><u>Return to the camp</u> By Marina Strade. B.5.</p> <p>Here I am back at the camp After a little accident And my dossier, what a painful affair! It has the note "loose morals". I'm a foreigner A simple housewife. My husband is a conscript In Algeria. "That's my life". The life of a freed woman that I lived Was a real misunderstanding For all the customs of the camp Elsewhere seemed very unpleasant. When I arrived I asked Very politely what day the post came. They fixed me with a timid eye Just like a poor idiot. To cook my small meals I arranged things at little cost. They treated me like a fool And even invoked the law. Customs were quite different outside the camp. Without being punished, one reads "Le Temps" Raising their hats, gentlemen say, "Excuse me." I was overwhelmed by this fine tone. But, by contrast, I found people Too mean in the restaurant. Turning me down, laughing out loud,</p>
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<p>Lorsque je réclamais mon tour de rabiot. Quand dans ma chambre, j'ai essayé A mon habitude, à m'installer Avec des planches Toutes neuves et toutes blanches. Quand frappant avec grand plaisir. Plaçant porte-manteaux, fixant clous aux murs Installant en ma cuisine une batterie De trois pratiques vases de nuits. Alors tout mon voisinage Etait en rage. Mais quand les voisins de la maison où j'habitais Criaient dans leurs chambres, sur le palier. Et quand alors je les invitais A respecter l'heure de silence on m'insultais.</p> <p>A si vous saviez quel labeur C'était le soir, l'extinction des lumières. Et, quand j'invoquais, c'est l'heure, c'est l'heure. Oh! Comme on me grondait mes chères. Après ces égarements si redoutables J'ai proposé d'élire une responsable Afin d'obtenir une vie exemplaire, Disciplinée, réglementaire. Quoique fort net et fort clair mon conseil N'a tombé partout qu'en sourde oreille On a hurlé, on a sifflé. Il m'en fallut de peu que je sois expulsée. Que me manquait alors la distraction De l'appel quotidien des noms! Que me manquait ce plaisant jeu de devenir Quel peut-être ce nom si mutilé Mais permettez que je vous cite Mon dernier crime et ses suites. Dimanche matin soudain j'ai vu Une foule énorme dans la rue Et l'on me dit que c'est une queue Pour lait écrémé sans ticket Je file vite chez moi pour chercher Ainsi que mon pot, ma monnaie Et à la queue toute essoufflée Comme tous les autres je me mets. Soudain j'écoute un chuchotement</p>	<p>When I claimed my turn at overtime. In my room, when I tried As usual to set myself up With some planks All new and white When hammering with great pleasure Placing clothes hooks, fixing nails to the walls Setting up in my kitchen a set Of three practical chamber pots. Well, all my neighbours Were angry. But when the neighbours in the house where I lived Used to shout in their rooms, on the landing And when I asked them To respect the hours of silence, they insulted me. If you knew what hard work It was in the evening, to put out the lights. And, when I pointed out, it's time, it's time.</p> <p>Oh! how they told me off, my dears. After such awful distractions I proposed electing someone in charge So that we could achieve an exemplary life, Disciplined, regulated. Although very clear and precise, my advice Everywhere fell on deaf ears. They yelled, they whistled. It needed little for me to be turned out Well, how I missed the distraction Of the daily roll call! How I missed this pleasant game of perhaps becoming this name so mutilated But allow me to tell you My last crime and its consequences. On Sunday morning, suddenly I saw An enormous crowd in the street. And I was told it was a queue For skimmed milk without a ration card I hurry home to find As well as my pot, my change. And in the queue, all out of breath, Like all the others, I placed myself. Suddenly I heard a whispering</p>
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<p>Qui bientôt va vite grandissant. Mais quel culot! Se servir d'un tel pot!¹¹ Quelqu'un crie même impudicité. Tout en visant mon pot au lait. On rit, on crie, on siffle, on gronde</p> <p>L'on croirait venue la fin du monde</p> <p>Et pour achever ce beau vacarme Ne voilà est-il pas qu'arrive deux gendarmes Qui d'un geste ferme et net Mais sans parole aucune, m'arrêtent. Un simple pot pour lait écrémé A pu noyer ma liberté. Me voilà de retour au camp Par suite d'un tel petit accident Je tremble que mon cher mari Toujours prestataire en Algérie N'apprenne que je suis, selon mon dossier Cette fois-ci internée Mon Dieu, quelle affaire Comme femme de mœurs légères.</p>	<p>Which soon became louder. What a cheek! To use a pot like that! Someone even shouted it was indecent. While targetting my milk pot They laughed, they cried, they whistled, they growled, You would have thought it was the end of the world And to put an end to this fine racket ... two gendarmes arrived Who with a firm and clear gesture But without any word, arrested me. A simple pot for skimmed milk Was able to drown my liberty Here I am back at the camp Following such a little accident I tremble that my dear husband Still a conscript in Algeria Should learn that I am, according to my file, Interned this time My God, what an affair, As a woman of loose morals.</p>
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¹¹ (C'est d'un pot de chambre qu'il s'agit.) (A handwritten note explains, "It's a chamber pot, that's being referred to.")

Appendix N

Rieucros camp numbers by category

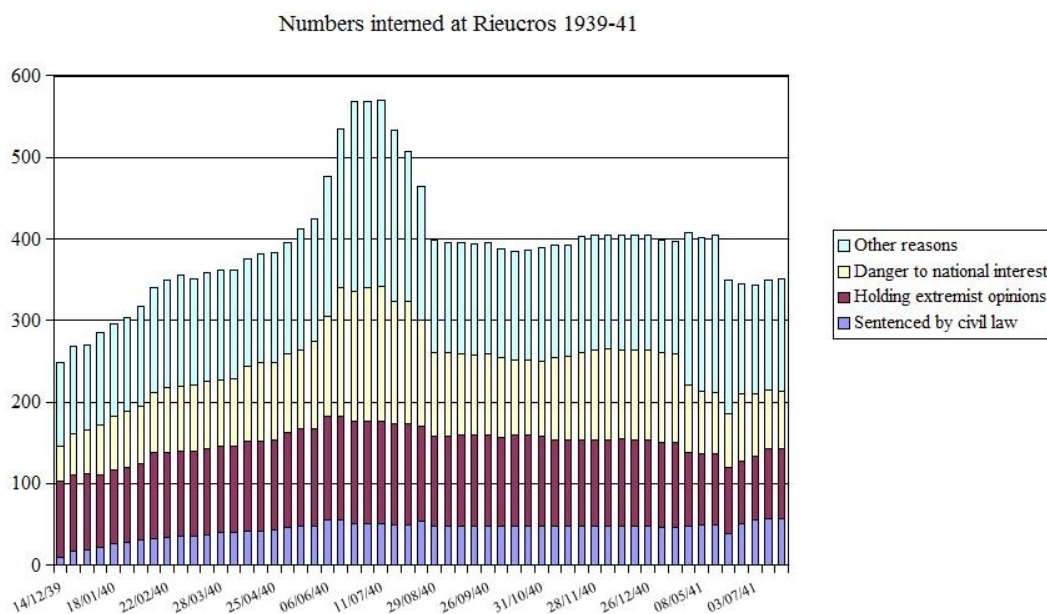
Table 1: showing numbers in Rieucros camp according to grounds for internment.¹²

Date	Sentenced by civil law	Holding extremist opinions	Danger to national interest	Other reasons	Total
14.12.1939	10	93	42	104	249
21.12.1939	17	93	51	108	269
28.12.1939	19	93	54	104	270
11.1.1940	22	88	62	113	285
18.1.1940	26	91	66	113	296
25.1.1940	28	91	69	115	303
1.2.1940	30	94	70	123	317
15.2.1940	32	106	73	129	340
22.2.1940	34	104	79	132	349
29.2.1940	35	104	80	136	355
7.3.1940	35	104	81	131	351
14.3.1940	37	106	83	133	359
28.3.1940	40	105	82	134	361
4.4.1940	40	105	83	134	362
11.4.1940	42	110	92	132	376
18.4.1940	42	110	96	133	381
25.4.1940	43	111	95	134	383
9/10.5.1940	46	116	97	136	395
23.5.1940	48	119	96	149	412
30.5.1940	48	119	107	151	425
6.6.1940	55	127	123	171	476
20.6.1940	55	127	159	194	535
27.6.1940	51	126	159	233	569
4.7.1940	51	126	164	228	569
11.7.1940	51	126	165	228	570
18.7.1940	49	125	149	210	533
1.8.1940	49	125	150	183	507
22.8.1940	54	116	130	164	464
29.8.1940	48	110	102	138	398
5.9.1940	48	110	102	136	396
12.9.1940	48	111	100	137	396
19.9.1940	48	111	99	136	394
26.9.1940	48	111	100	137	396
3.10.1940	48	109	97	134	388
17.10.1940	47	112	93	133	385
24.10.1940	47	112	93	135	387
31.10.1940	47	111	92	140	390
7.11.1940	47	107	101	137	392
14.11.1940	47	106	103	137	393
21.10.1940	48	106	107	142	403
28.11.1940	48	105	110	141	404

¹² The information contained in this table is taken from ADL 2W: 2603.

Date	Sentenced by civil law	Holding extremist opinions	Danger to national interest	Other reasons	Total
5.12.1940	48..	106	111.	140	405
12.12.1940	48	107	109	141	405
19.12.1940	48	106	110	140	404
26.12.1940	48	105	110	142	405
2.1.1941	46	105	109	139	399
9.1.1941	46.	105	108	138	397
1.5.1941	47	91	82	188	408
8.5.1941	49	87	77	188	401
15.5.1941	49	87	76	192	404
22.5.1941	38	81	67	163	349
29.5.1941	51	76	83	135	345
3.7.1941	55	79	76	133	343
24.7.1941	57	86	72	135	350
31.7.1941	57	86	70	138	351
9.1.1942	74	78	47	155	354

Table 2: showing numbers interned at Rieucros between 1939 and 1941¹³



¹³ The information contained in this table is taken from ADL 2W: 2603.

Appendices

Table 3: showing the release and transfer of inmates at Rieucros.¹⁴

Date	Released	Forced residence	Transferred to another camp	Forced labour in Germany	Died
15.2.1940	Minette Rose [Lux.]				
22.2.1940	Philomene Gonzalez Cannan Romero [both Sp.]				
29.2.1940	Edith Levy [Fr.]				
7.3.1940	Elodie Lorrenzien [Belge] Maria Sollares [Sp.] Vera Traill [Brit]	Gertrude Lortscher Felicitas Haller Alice Nussbaum- Schizer [all Swiss] Greta Weil [German]			
14.3.1940					
28.3.1940	Helena Georgieff married German [Angeluschaff] Hildegard Kirchheimer [German]				
4.4.1940					
11.4.1940					
18.4.1940					
25.4.1940					
10.5.1940					
23.5.1940					
30.5.1940					
6.6.1940					
20.6.1940					
27.6.1940					
4.7.1940					
11.7.1940					
18.7.1940					
1.8.1940					
8.8.1940	Gertrude Lehmann Barbara Birnbaum Mathilda Reiners [released on German orders]				
22.8.1940	24 unnamed Spanish women taken to Cerbere to be repatriated				
29.8.1940	59 inmates reclaimed by German authorities: 13 women and 1 child sent to Luxembourg to be repatriated				
5.9.1940					

¹⁴ The information contained in this table is taken from ADL 2W: 2603.

Date	Released	Forced residence	Transferred to another camp	Forced labour in Germany	Died
12.9.1940	1 woman and child [nationality not supplied] 2 Belgians to Crozas camp with a view to repatriation in Belgian convoy				
19.9.1940	173 inmates [nationality not mentioned] to Chalon-sur-Saone with a view to repatriation				
26.9.1940					
3.10.1940					
10.10.1940	Anna Althen [Swiss] to Switzerland: Olga Meckler [Russian] to Tarn: 5 Belgians repatriated.				
17.10.1940	4 Dutch to Dutch Consul, Lyon: Goldenberg given permission to live at Argenton				Hélène Gleizer [Mende hospital]
24.10.1940					
31.10.1940					
7.11.1940	Onypko Oksama delivered to demarcation line				
14.11.1940	Barrier [Fr] wife of Pelisson liberated by Prefect of Tarn: Rose Wolfstein delivered to Marseille with a view to emigration				
21.11.1940					
28.11.1940	Nadejda Spacker delivered to Nice to be repatriated by Italian authorities				
5.12.1940	Sarah Gorsenaite to Menton with a view to repatriation Russia				
12.12.1940	Louise Witzchel released by ministerial order: Yvonne Vasseur [married Robert: Fr.] released by prefectorial decree [Pyrénées-Orientales]	Eulan [no nationality or other name given]			

Appendices

Date	Released	Forced residence	Transferred to another camp	Forced labour in Germany	Died
19.12.1940	Gertrude Schultheis; Wally Pietsch; Helene Maywald; Elsie Christ [all Germans] delivered to demarcation line with a view to repatriation				
26.12.1940	Maria Karolewicz; Thérèse Ponweiser to Chéry-Lury with view to repatriation				
2.1.1941	Francisca Agnerade; Casimara Castro to Perpignan with view repatriation Spain: Elizabeth Anzlowar; Marie Colaziono; Maria Fattoir; Juliette Fibbi; Antonia Meni: to Menton view repatriation Italy				
9.1.1941	Archalouse Keghian sent back to St-Etienne; Madeleine Haase authorised return to Périgueux	Agnieska Langer			
1.5.1941					
8.5.1941	11 French internees liberated for the 1 st May by Amiral de la Flotte				
15.5.1941	Herta Bass [Aust.]: 1 French inmate liberated				
22.5.1941	11 Spanish [+ 4 children] to Port Bon to be handed over to Spanish authorities: 32 <i>étrangères</i>		16 to camp Bompard, Marseille with a view to emigration	32 Polish, Czech, Russian arranged by conseiller Baumel	
29.5.1941	8 Spanish [+ 1 child] to Port Bon to Spanish authorities: 2 Italians to Italian front with a view to repatriation: 2 French released				
[Gaps in archives]					
3.7.1941	Gisèle Endrez [married Marianeck] to Drôme		Pauline Katz [Russian] sent to Rivesaltes		

Date	Released	Forced residence	Transferred to another camp	Forced labour in Germany	Died
24.7.1941			Frieda Scheier [married Taut] to Rivesaltes		

Appendix O

Provenance of Brens internees

Provenance of a selection of internees (roughly a third from the camp log throughout the life of the camp).¹⁵

Place	Number
Paris	30
Haute-Garonne	29
Bouches-du-Rhône	26
Pyrénées-Orientales	18
Tarn	12
Alpes-Maritimes	10
Hérault	10
Hautes-Pyrénées	9
Loire	7
Rhône	7
Basses-Pyrénées	6
Gard	6
Var	6
Drôme	5
Isère	5
Tarn-et-Garonne	5
Vaucluse	4
Ain	1
Allier	1
Ardèche	1
Ariège	1
Aube	1
Aude	1
Aveyron	1
Basses-Alpes	1
Corrèze	1
Creuse	1
Dordogne	1
Doubs	1

¹⁵ The information in this table is taken from ADT 495 W: 26-29.

Place	Number
Hautes-Alpes	1
Haute-Loire	1
Haut-Rhin	1
Haute-Vienne	1
Ile-et-Vilaine	1
Jura	1
Lot	1
Lot-et-Garonne	1
Lozère	1
Morbihan	1
Nord	1
Saône-et-Loire	1
Savoie	1
Seine	1
Somme	1
Vienne	1

Appendix P

Provenance of prostitute inmates at Brens

Information in this table is taken from the individual dossiers: ADT 495 W: 53-69.

Ain 1	Haute-Garonne 67
(Sathonay-Camp)	(Carcassonne)
Allier 6	(Carbonne)
(Montluçon)	(Soueich)
(St Germain de Fosse)	(Toulouse)
(Vichy)	Haute-Savoie 1
Alpes-Maritimes 8	(Chedde)
(Beausoleil)	Hautes-Alpes 2
(Nice)	(Embrun)
Aude 2	Hautes-Pyrénées 6
(Sigean)	(Argèles-Gasost)
(Trebès)	(Lourdes)
Aveyron 1	(Odes)
(Espalia)	(Tarbès)
Basses-Alpes 4	Hérault 25
(Broyan)	(Béziers)
(Manes)	(Lodève)
Bouches-du-Rhone 12	(Montpellier)
(Berre d'Etang)	(Narbonne)
(Marseille)	(Sérignan)
(Port de Bouc)	Isère 13
(Tarascon)	(Grenoble)
Cantal 2	Loire 1
(Neusages)	(St Etienne)
Corrèze 3	Paris 1
(Nouilhac)	Puy de Dôme 4
(Troches)	(Clermont Ferrand)
Drôme 1	(Lezoux)
(Romans)	

Pyrénées-Orientales 3

(Perpignan)

Rhone 12

(Lyon)

Saône-et-Loire 3

(Narvilly)

(St Remy Deschamps)

Savoie 1

(Albertville)

Tarn 4

(Castres)

Tarn-et-Garonne 3

(Beaumont)

(Camp de Récébédou)

(Lavit)

(Montauban)

Var 3

(Toulon)

Appendix Q

Examples of individual records

**MINISTÈRE
DE L'INTÉRIEUR**

DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE
DE LA
SÛRETÉ NATIONALE

Signalement :

Age : _____
 Taille : 1.60
 Cheveux : roux
 Sourcils : dit
 Front : { inclinaison : _____
 hauteur : petite
 largeur : _____
 Yeux : gris
 dos : _____
 Nez : { hauteur : 1.50
 saillie : 1.50
 base : _____
 Bouche : mesurée
 Menton : peu
 Barbe : _____
 Teint : ordinaire
 Visage : oval
 Corpulence : mesurée

Signes particuliers et tatouages :
Incision de la peau droite
 l'occlusion de la dent
 gauche.

Modèle n° 11

NOTICE INDIVIDUELLE

Nom : Touilleux
 Prénoms : Jean
 Surnoms : _____
 Date et lieu de naissance : 7-12-1115 à Neuville (Hér)
 Domicile : _____
 Nom et prénoms du père : François (décédé)
 Nom et prénoms de la mère : Eugénie Chapot
 Profession de ces derniers : _____
 Quel est leur domicile ? _____
 Profession de l'inculpé : commerçant
 Résidences antérieures : _____
 Est-il marié ? non
 Date et lieu de mariage : _____
 Nom du conjoint : _____
 Nombre des enfants vivants : _____
 Situation de fortune : _____
 Contribue-t-il à l'entretien de sa famille ? _____
 Quel est son degré d'instruction ? _____
 Situation militaire : _____
 Bureau de recrutement : _____
 N° de la carte d'identité (pour les étrangers) : _____ délivré à _____
Nationalité française. Religion catholique.

Renseignements sur la moralité et la réputation :

Arresté à Neuville au Camp de Neuville par
 arrêté de M. le Préfet du Rhône en date de 5.12.41.

"Fille soumise sous l'attitude et le comportement
 en danger pour la moralité publique. Inculpé par
 cette et toutes les raisons. Condamné par J.C. de
 Lyon : 1^{re} le 5.11.1938 à 4 mois de prison avec sursis et
 100 f. d'amende. 2^e le 30.10.39 pour infractions au
 Code de famille 3^e à 9 f. de prison.

Signalement descriptif (1) :

FRONT	Arrière	NEZ	Racine (prof)	ORBES	bord. Orig	Sup	Post	ouv	part	LÈVRES	lab. labiale	PAUPIÈRES	hor			
	inclin		dos		base	lob. cont	adh	mod	haut		part		proém	vert		
	haut		Hauteur		Saillie	Largueur	q. trag. incl	prof	reuv		Vol		part	bord	mod. sup	part
	Larg		part		part	pli. inf	sup	forme	de		conque		part	épaisseur	part	part

Caractères synthétiques et observations : _____

(1) Le signalement descriptif ne devra être rempli que par les fonctionnaires et agents connaissant le portrait parlé.

Tournez S. V. P.

Figure 1: Individual identity slip: ADT 495 W: 59.

MINISTÈRE
DE L'INTÉRIEUR

DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE
DE LA
SÛRETÉ NATIONALE

NOTICE INDIVIDUELLE Modèle n° 11

Nom : Chardin épouse divorcée Renault
 Prénoms : Léonie
 Surnoms :
 Date et lieu de naissance : 15 Avril 1909 à St Bonnet (Verges)
 Domicile : Noyers/01/Valroy (Basses-Alpes)
 Nom et prénoms du père : Charles Louis Odéant
 Nom et prénoms de la mère : Caël Marie
 Profession de ces derniers : lâcheron
 Quel est leur domicile?
 Profession de l'inculpé : M. en affaire
 Résidences antérieures : Noyers (Morbelle) 28 Rue Chambrière
 Est-il marié? divorcée
 Date et lieu du mariage :
 Nom du conjoint : Renault Jean
 Nombre des enfants vivants : seulement 10 ans
 Situation de fortune :
 Contribue-t-il à l'entretien de sa famille?
 Quel est son degré d'instruction? lire et écrire
 Situation militaire :
 Bureau de recrutement :
 N° de la Carte d'identité (pour les étrangers) :
 Nationalité française : déclaré a
Religion : catholique

Renseignements sur la moralité et la réputation :
Interdite le 22 Septembre 1941 par arrêté de
4. le Préfet des Basses-Alpes, pour le motif
suivant :
" Se livre à la débauche et est y danger
pour la société. Est expulsée de la Morbelle. Alléguant
à Noyers/01/Valroy, elle se livre à la prostitution, chose de
notoire déplorables. Elle a été condamnée plusieurs fois
avant son expulsion de Noyers, pour vagabondage spécial,
tentative de vol et vol par le Tribunal de cette ville.
Elle a fait l'objet du P. V. de gendarmerie du 13 Février
1941. Prigade d'orange, pour racolage sur la voie
publique. Alléguant de maladie contagieuse.

Signalement descriptif (!) :

FRONT	Arc*	NEZ	Racine (prof)	OREILLE DROITE	bord. Orig*	Sup*	Post*	ouv*	part**	LEVRES	h° labiale	PAUPIÈRES	hor	
	inclin*		dos		base	lob. cont*	adh*	mod*	haut*		part**		proém**	vert
	haut*		Hauteur		Saillie	Largeur	a. trag. incl*	prof*	renv*		Vol*		part**	mod. sup*
	Larg*		part**		part**	part**	pli. inf*	sup*	forme		éc*		conque	part**

Caractères synthétiques et observations :

(1) Le signalement descriptif ne devra être rempli que par les fonctionnaires et agents connaissant le portrait parlé.

Tournez S. V. P.

Figure 2: Individual identity slip: ADT 495 W: 56.

**MINISTÈRE
DE L'INTÉRIEUR**

DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE
DE LA
SÛRETÉ NATIONALE

Signalement :

Age : 24 ans

Taille : 1 m 62

Cheveux : châtains

Sourcils : est

Front... { inclinaison :
hauteur : bombé
largeur : descendant

Yeux : marrons foyés

dos :
Nez..... { hauteur :
saillie : à l'équilibre
base :

Bouche : maigre

Menton : roulé

Barbe :

Teint : coloré

Visage : ovale

Corpulence : maigre

Signes particuliers et tatouages :

NOTICE INDIVIDUELLE Modèle n° 11

Nom : Courvoisier Ep. Paulelle

Prénoms : Benoît

Surnoms :

Date et lieu de naissance : 16-9-1919 à Rochejean (Doubs)

Domicile : 1 rue Bertrand de Borne Toulouse

Nom et prénoms du père : Marie-Félix

Nom et prénoms de la mère : Josephine Elise

Profession de ces derniers : Employé de commerce

Quel est leur domicile ? 11 rue Lebot Besançon

Profession de l'inculpé : Mlle Soumireu

Résidences antérieures : 33 avenue Carnot Besançon

Est-il marié ? oui

Date et lieu de mariage : 2-11-1940 à Besançon Doubs

Nom du conjoint : Paulelle Sabatier

Nombre des enfants vivants :

Situation de fortune :

Contribue-t-il à l'entretien de sa famille ?

Quel est son degré d'instruction ?

Situation militaire :

Bureau de recrutement :

N° de la carte d'identité (pour les étrangers) : délioré à

Religion : Catholique Nationalité : française

Renseignements sur la moralité et la réputation :

Arrivée au Camp le 16-9-49
dirigé par le Capitaine de Gendarme le 16-9-1949 par
M. le Capitaine de la Haute Gironde, Instructions
de M. le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur
en date du 12 septembre 1948 pour le motif suivant
Mlle Soumireu.

Signalement descriptif (1) :

FRONT	Arc	NEZ	Racine (prof)	OREILLE DROITE	bord Orig	Sup ^a	Post ^a	ouv ^a	part ^a	LEVRES	h ^a labiale	PAUPIÈRES	(hor	
	inclin ^a		dos		base	lob. cont	adh ^a	mod ^a	haut ^a		part ^a		prém ^a	(vert
	haut		Hauteur		Saillie	a trap. incl ^a	prof ^a	renv ^a	Vol ^a		part ^a		bord ^a	mod. sup
	Larg ^a		Largeur		part ^a ..	pli inf ^a	sup ^a	; forme	; éc ^a		convex		épaisseur	part ^a

Caractères synthétiques et observations :

(1) Le signalement descriptif ne devra être rempli que par les fonctionnaires et agents connaissant le portrait parlé. Tournez S. V. P.

Figure 3: Individual identity slip: ADT 495 W: 57.

Annexe 1

PREFECTURE de l'ISERE

COMPTE-RENDU d'ENQUETE et PROPOSITION d'INTERNEMENT 2^{ter}

Nom et prénoms : COUPON Marthe, divorcée MUFFAT-JOLY

Date et lieu de naissance : 14 Mars 1903 à Tencin (Isère)

Mode d'acquisition de la nationalité française : origine

Domicile : Grenoble, 6, Rue Très-Cloîtres

Situation de famille : divorcée, un enfant Marcel né en 1924 dont elle s'est toujours désintéressée complètement

Antécédents judiciaires : Condamnée par le Tribunal Correctionnel de Grenoble, le 8 Juillet 1930 à 50 frs d'amer de pour banqueroute simple.

Profession : sans - se livre à la prostitution.

Motif de l'internement : dangereuse pour l'ordre et la salubrité publiques.

L'arrêté municipal du 1er Août 1930 ayant aboli la réglementation de la prostitution à Grenoble, la Police n'a pas d'autre moyen de mettre fin à l'activité de cette prostituée qu'en demandant son internement.

Fait en triple exemplaire
A Grenoble, le 4 Mars 1942
Le Préfet,
[Signature]

Décision :

Figure 4: Proposal for internment ADT 495 W: 57.

Appendix R

Behaviour regulations for internment camps

Internees had to:

“cut (their) hair every month, supervise drying linen, talk softly, alert the head of the barracks to an outbreak of fleas... clean out the ditches, plant flowers, be affable towards (their) neighbours... polite to the guards; playing with dice is forbidden; they had not to: deal in drugs, use the camp telephone, ask for leave except in ‘cases of utmost seriousness’, get up in the night, throw rubbish, urinate in ditches, do their business in hygienic buckets, read brochures and journals before the censor had passed them, burn the straw of the mattresses, tear the blankets, escape, indulge in obscene behaviour, become involved in politics...”¹⁶

¹⁶ *Les camps de la honte*, p.252.

Appendix S

Illnesses recorded at Rieucros, May 1941

The following table shows the type of illness and the numbers of suffering inmates at Rieucros for May 1941, along with the number of hospitalisations:

Table 1: type of illness and numbers suffering from it at Rieucros.¹⁷

Illness	1-15 May 1941 Numbers	15-31 May 1941 Numbers
Minor illnesses	21	13
Hospitalised	25	25
Giving birth	1	0
Tuberculosis	3	3
Senility	1	1
Rheumatism	2	2
Stomach ulcer	2	2
Goiter	2	2
Enteritis	1	1
Disease of fallopian tubes. ¹⁸	2	2
Intestinal blockage ¹⁹	1	0
Cancer	1	2
Pott's disease ²⁰	1	1
Tubercular infection of a ganglion in the neck ²¹	1	1
Sickness	1	1
Madness	2	2
Dysfunction of cardiac valve ²²	1	1
Miscarriage	1	1
Trachoma ²³	1	1
Under observation	1	1

¹⁷ The information in the table is taken from ADL 2 W: 2603.

¹⁸ “Salpingite”.

¹⁹ “Occlusion”.

²⁰ “Mal de Pott”. Named after Percivall Pott, who discovered it in the 18th century. It is a form of tuberculosis outside the lungs, often the spine.

²¹ “Adenite tuberculose”.

²² “Insuffisance mitrale”. This could often be caused by a streptococcal infection.

²³ “Trachome”. A bacterial eye infection.

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1 N: 100-102

1 PER: 212, 215, 229

W: 933, 988

2 W: 462, 809, 925, 1024, 1270-71, 1298, 2589, 2603-4, 2694, 2699, 2721, 2743, 2785,
2799, 2805, 3132-4, 3180, 3182

7 W: 201-2, 213, 323, 419

9 W: 116

13 W: 110-11

1310 W: 7

1489 W: 1-7

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348 W: 83, 100, 332

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2 M: 54-55

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H: 14-15, 18, 21

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173, 176-180, 185, 218, 223-24, 270-71, 273, 314-19

Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) (Paris)

CCLXIII, 70

National Archives UK (Kew)

KV2/2390-91

Fortunoff Video Archives (Yale)

Resistance museum at Montauban

Resistance museum at Carcassonne

Resistance museum at Vassieux-en-Vercors

Resistance museum at Chambon-sur-Lignon

Temporary exhibition (2000) of Ruth Goodwin photographs at the CDJC

Temporary exhibition (2002) entitled *Résistances croisées, 1933-1945-2000* at Tence

Temporary exhibition (2012) of photographs from the Camp de Brens, Brens

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