French Studies at the University of Melbourne, 1921–1956



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Abstract The French program, one of the oldest language programs at the University of Melbourne, is currently housed in the School of Languages and Linguistics. Its history is intimately bound up with the career of prominent academics, including A. R. Chisholm, who was arguably "the most influential university teacher of French literature in twentieth-century Australia" (Kirsop 1981, p. 300). In this chapter I briefly retrace the history of French Studies at the University of Melbourne, from its beginnings in 1884, until today. However, in relating this history, I place a particular emphasis on the period of Chisholm's tenure from 1921 to 1956, since his influence in shaping the curriculum over this period continues to resonate today.

Keywords History of languages · Languages education · French studies · Nineteenth-century poetry · University of Melbourne · A. R. Chisholm

I suppose I was born to be a student of languages as a gum tree is born to secrete eucalyptus. (Chisholm 1958, p. 133)

1 French Studies at Melbourne: A Brief History

Founded in 1853, the University of Melbourne did not initially offer foreign-language courses in Arts degrees. Classics (Latin and Greek) had been on the syllabus since 1854, but modern languages had to wait three decades. The French Studies program is indebted to John Edward Bromby (1809–1889)—a

schoolmaster and Anglican cleric who advocated for the admittance of women at the University of Melbourne, where he was the first Warden of the Senate. It was Bromby who championed the introduction of language studies at Melbourne.

On 3 May 1880 Bromby gave the Council notice that, reflecting a Senate resolution, he intended to move that French and German should be taught in the Arts degree—they had, of course, been taught at matriculation since 1862. After some shilly-shallying, Bromby's motion was carried (Selleck 2003, p. 167).

The creation of a new chair in English, French and German languages and literature—a very large chair!—was decided in 1882 (Selleck 2003, p. 200). However, Edward Ellis Morris, the former headmaster of Melbourne Church of England Grammar School who had been appointed to the position, delayed his start at the University.

1.1 E. E. Morris

Edward Ellis Morris held the position of Professor of Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Melbourne from 1884 until his death in 1902. According to Selleck:

Morris's qualifications were not overwhelming. Neither French nor German was taught at Oxford when he studied there. He had spent time, however, in France and Germany learning these languages as an accomplishment that a well-educated man should acquire. (Selleck 2003, p. 200)

Morris, "a liberal who supported academic freedom, higher education of women [...] and extension of educational opportunity" (Wykes 1974, para. 4), put a lot of effort into promoting the Modern Languages and Literatures program, where he:

introduced pass courses of two years in English and one year of both French and German, and the final honours course and master of arts degree, lecturing single-handed in all three subjects. The university awarded him its first doctorate of letters in 1899. (Wykes 1974, para. 3)

However, as Barko and Martin note, "the major emphasis of the chair was on English, and Morris's earlier requests to have French and German lecturers appointed to help him with the subjects were doomed to failure" (1997, p. 29). This pattern of administrative attempts to teach French more cheaply by combining responsibility for multiple languages under a single umbrella role would repeat itself over the course of the next century.

1.2 F. I. Maurice-Carton

Morris was succeeded by French native Ferdinand Isidore Maurice-Carton, who was appointed Lecturer in French in 1902 and "lectured to ever-increasing numbers of students" (About People 1934, p. 11). According to the "List of Graduates, from 14th May, 1856, to 21st March, 1896" published in the University of Melbourne Calendar of 1897, Maurice-Carton had been awarded a Master of Arts. The University Archives hold a professional portrait of him "wearing academic robe, standing at the outside entrance to a building" (McKellar 1914). Maurice-Carton was very active in the promotion of French Studies and published several books. A "List of contributions to literature and science published by members of University staff and students working in the University laboratories, for the year ended 31st July, 1914" mentions four titles that demonstrate Maurice-Carton's dedication to French Studies:

M. Maurice-Carton, M.A., B.ès.L. -

Le Petit Français en Australie (monthly).

Revised edition (5th) of "Abrégé de l'Histoire de France".

Le Français à l'Université de Melbourne (published every two months).

A monthly contribution to the *Education Gazette of Victoria* on the teaching of French. (University of Melbourne 1915, p. 655)

According to Chisholm himself, "M. Carton [sic] was distinguished by that tremendous vitality (and longevity) which one finds so often among French provincial people" (Chisholm 1934b, p. 18).

Maurice-Carton's efforts were also recognized in his native land: "For his life work in disseminating the French language and French culture in foreign countries, he was awarded the distinction of Associé de la Légion d'Honneur" (About People 1934, p. 11).

It would indeed be a challenge to follow in the wake of such a successful teacher.

1.3 A. R. Chisholm

Alan Rowland Chisholm would be the man to take up this challenge.

Born in 1888 in the New South Wales town of Bathurst, Chisholm was a brilliant student. His memoirs reveal that his passion and respect for learning were sparked by figures of his childhood—first by erudite bush eccentric "Old Mr Ross", and then by a succession of Sydney schoolteachers and headmasters.

As a child, he developed a keen interest in learning Latin. His sensitivity to music and poetry also became apparent at this time.

In high school Chisholm began learning French. He soon fell in love with the language, thanks to innovative teacher Henry Tasman ("Tas") Lovell.

Chisholm continued French at the University of Sydney under George Gibb Nicholson, who in 1921 would become the first chair of French to be appointed in Australia. Nicholson's demanding standards developed linguistic discipline and confidence in Chisholm, who graduated at the top of his class in 1911.

Chisholm's undergraduate years introduced him to two more men who would highly influence his already strong interest in poetry and literary criticism: fellow student and future poet, lecturer and critic Randolph Hughes; and Christopher Brennan, poet and head of German and comparative literature at Sydney, "the two most creative scholars Chisholm ever knew at first hand" (Scott n.d., p. 43).

Chisholm had a first class teacher's classification with the Education Department of New South Wales, which was "based on the teacher's efficiency as shown by their classroom work and also on their results in the in-service written, oral and practical examinations set by the Department" (NSW State Archives & Records 1912–1923). After graduating, he taught for almost 18 months, first under Alexander James Kilgour's demanding headmastership at Fort Street (from 16 January 1911), then at the district school of Glen Innes, and very briefly at North Sydney Superior Public School (from 13 April 1912) (Scott n.d., p. 44).

For his scholarly promise and effectiveness as a teacher, Chisholm was awarded a departmental travelling scholarship, which gave him the opportunity to visit Europe and—to his own delight but against Nicholson's advice!—entailed learning German (Scott n.d., p. 44).

This European tour (1912–1914) would take him to Germany, France and England, where he would experience "the learning of a language from the inside" (Scott n.d., p. 49). Chisholm moved first to Berlin in 1912 to undertake a German intensive course at the Institut Tilly, a school run by the highly regarded Australian linguist William Tilly (1860–1935). After an initial career teaching in rural New South Wales, Tilly (né Tilley) had left in 1890 for Germany, where he dropped the "e" in his surname. His rigorous teaching methods gained him many devotees during his time in Germany and later at Columbia University, where he taught English and phonetics (Thomson 1990).

After a successful period studying phonetics, in 1913 Chisholm travelled to France where he attended the Sorbonne, enjoying in particular literary historian Gustave Lanson's lectures and linguist Paul Passy's classes. Making the most of his overseas experiences, Chisholm graduated in Phonetics in both French and German and returned to Australia just before the war broke out, fully equipped for teaching at university level. In his biography of Chisholm, Stan Scott details this return home:

But the omens of war were now unmistakable. Chisholm returned to Australia, where his lecturing career began in earnest. He was appointed lecturer in French and German under Alexander Mackie at the Sydney Teachers' College, and taught there from 15 July 1914 until late 1915.

When Nicholson was practically forced by his job as censor to give up some of his university teaching, Chisholm became acting lecturer in French as well, at the

¹ Stan Scott (1927–2014) was a disciple of Chisholm. An outstanding and tireless teacher, he specialized in medieval and Renaissance French language and culture and was recruited as a lecturer at the University of Melbourne in 1956. Chisholm's close friend and collaborator, Scott was also his literary executor. He devoted many years to writing Chisholm's biography, and his 270-page manuscript sits in the Archives of the University of Melbourne where it can be consulted. It has recently been edited and published by Wallace Kirsop (Scott 2019).

beginning of 1915, to look after second and third year prose classes—a notable honour in view of Nicholson's very high standards and his special regard for prose composition (Scott n.d., pp. 56–57).

Determined to serve his country, Chisholm was soon to contribute to the war effort. His double qualification in French and German and his cultural knowledge of both France and Germany made him ideal for a strategic role. Enlisting in 1915, he spent the last two years of the war at the Western Front "at forward posts intercepting enemy communications" (Scott 2007, p. 211).

Chisholm spent his "three and a half years' active service mostly at the front line or close behind" (Scott n.d., p. 84) and his dedication was rewarded with decorations that included the British War Medal.

Even during these war years, Chisholm always showed an interest in teaching foreign languages:

In his last months of service, Chisholm functioned as "Supervisor of Modern Languages" to the 7th A. I. Brigade, running classes or getting instructors for them, and providing for those who sought further training in England or France before returning home. (Scott n.d., p. 82)

Back in Australia, Chisholm took up his position at the Teachers' College on 1 July 1919 as Senior Lecturer in French and German, and also resumed his work as an examiner in French for the Leaving Certificate examination. But his capabilities were soon to be more broadly recognized:

Margaret Kerr has described the revolution in modern language teaching wrought at the college by [...] Chisholm, [whose] courses in literary appreciation, especially of nineteenth century authors, were notable for "dispensing altogether with the use of manuals." In growing acknowledgement of his exceptional competence, the Modern Language Teachers' Association resolved to launch a journal with Chisholm as its editor. This was the *Modern Language Review of New South Wales* (1920–1921), which was warmly praised in the Sydney Press and in education journals at home and abroad. (Scott n.d., p. 90)

When a lectureship position was advertised at the University of Melbourne, Chisholm applied and submitted his application on 7 August 1920. Although retiring Lecturer in French Ferdinand Maurice-Carton "had strongly advised the appointment of another Frenchman as his successor" (Scott n.d., p. 101), Chisholm's application had the support of eminent scholars such as George Gibb Nicholson, his previous teacher at the University of Sydney, who praised "his literary and artistic taste" as well as "his effectiveness in teaching prose composition" (Scott n.d., pp. 101–102). The selection was very competitive, with 17 applications received, from which Chisholm seems to have stood out conspicuously.

Maurice-Carton's recommendation that his successor should be a native French speaker was nevertheless taken up by Chisholm in his appointment of Théophile

Rouel to the position of Assistant Lecturer. Upon Rouel's retirement in 1923, the post was taken up by a second Frenchman, Nazar Karagheusian.²

At his arrival in 1921, Chisholm had the challenging task of reorganizing the French Department after the First World War. There were about 120 students, many of them returned soldiers, who, as Chisholm noted in his memoirs, like himself, "were so glad to be alive and out of uniform that their temperament was robust and forward-looking, and their quiet cheerfulness was infectious" (Chisholm 1958, p. 114).

Chisholm enjoyed his position within the university, which for him was "a pleasant village" (Chisholm 1958, p. 105). His "effective academic leadership" (Scott n.d., p. 112) played an important role in the Faculty of Arts, of which he was Dean during the Second World War. The French program flourished during his many years of service (1921–1956), as we shall see later.

1.4 After Chisholm

1.4.1 Ronald Francis Jackson

In 1957, Ronald Francis Jackson took over from Chisholm as Professor of French at the University of Melbourne. However, the "changeover in Melbourne was a difficult one and caused more bitterness than was reasonable. A 35-year old reign had come to an end" (Barko and Martin 1997, p. 77). Barko, Holland and Jones identify three figures who were particularly significant in the personal and scholarly development of Ronald Francis Jackson:

The three major intellectual influences in Ron Jackson's life were, chronologically, G. G. Nicholson, Sydney's strict and stern professor of French who inculcated in his students a sense of accuracy and rigour that Ron Jackson always retained, even after he had progressed well beyond the narrow limits of Nicholsonian discipline, and almost simultaneously John Anderson, Sydney's charismatic professor of philosophy whose philosophical realism and political, ideological and religious non-conformism made a profound impact on several generations of Sydney intellectuals, and, last but not least, through his writings Jean-Paul Sartre whom Ron Jackson admired for his intellectual power, his psychological insight as well as his philosophy of personal responsibility and his courage and idealism in the ideological and political arena. (1979, p. 3)

The choice of Kara was a particularly happy one, as he turned out to be a dynamic witness to his native French culture and way of life, an impressive if unorthodox teacher, and a source of animation throughout the Faculty of Arts. If his influence in the department was often complementary to Chisholm's, he was nonetheless an omnivorous reader in French and English, with a spontaneous delight in stylish composition and a wide picturesque vocabulary in both languages. (Scott n.d., p. 116)

Karagueusian was promoted to senior lecturer in 1928.

²The choice of Karagueusian ("Kara") as Assistant proved to be very successful according to Scott:

Following his death in 1976, an obituary notice entitled "Adieux à Ron" was published for Jackson in *Le Courrier australien* (1976, p. 8), an indication of his significance to the Australian French and Francophile community.

1.4.2 Allan Keith Holland and Colin Ryder Duckworth

Among those to head the French department in the years that followed were Allan Keith Holland and Colin Ryder Duckworth. Holland (BA Syd.), a specialist of eighteenth-century literature, including l'Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, was both Chairman of the department and Reader. Duckworth, who passed away in 2012, was not only a dedicated teacher, but had a strong engagement with the community outside academic circles, particularly in the domain of theatre. He created "bilingual adaptations" of French plays, directed multiple plays by Beckett, and even acted in film and television roles, including the popular Australian shows "Blue Heelers" and "Neighbours" (Duckworth 2013).

1.4.3 A.R. Chisholm Chairs

To honour Chisholm's contribution to his alma mater a chair was named after him. The A. R. Chisholm professorship was established in 1993, with Professor Colin Nettelbeck appointed as the inaugural chair in February of the following year, followed by Professor Anne Freadman (2004–2011) and then Professor Véronique Duché (2013–today).

2 The French Curriculum

The University of Melbourne was not the only tertiary institution to teach French. But its philosophy of teaching seems to have been different from other universities. At the University of Sydney, the French studies program began in the 1850s with the appointment of Dr Anselme Ricard who was followed around 2 years later by "Pierre-Amboise Dutruc, a Sydney wine and spirits merchant and subsequently Mayor of Randwick" (Barko and Martin 1997, pp. 24–25). However, "French was discontinued at the University of Sydney throughout the eighteen seventies, to be re-introduced in 1882" (Barko and Martin 1997, pp. 26), the same year as Morris's appointment at the University of Melbourne.³

³Outside of Sydney and Melbourne, the University of Tasmania was the first university to teach French, beginning in 1892. At the University of Adelaide, classes in French were given by the Professor of English and other casual lecturers during the 1880s and 1890s (Fornasiero and West-Sooby 2012, pp. 142–144), but the first dedicated appointment in French did not take place "until 1918 when John Crampton, a London graduate, took up a lectureship" (Barko and Martin 1997,

Although the two universities were establishing French programs around the same period, from the outset there were divergences in their philosophies when it came to teaching French. Barko and Martin observe that "Whilst Sydney's adoption of the Oxford model, with a strong emphasis on classical education, was not generally challenged, the founders of the University of Melbourne hesitated between different educational philosophies" (1997, p. 26).

2.1 From Maurice-Carton to Chisholm

The curriculum created by Maurice-Carton, as acknowledged by Scott, was not very well balanced:

Maurice-Carton's course had been solidly founded on the theory and practice of phonetics (with transcriptions), and stressed translation, grammar, reading, dictation and conversation; but literary, linguistic (mainly etymological) and general history were administered in what would now be thought massive, indigestible doses. There was no real honours school, and no systematic teaching in philology or Old French literature. (Scott n.d., p. 106)

Chisholm modernized Maurice-Carton's course by broadening its focus to cover medieval and Renaissance texts, as well as more contemporary literature. His intention, he clarified, was to throw "a little more weight on to *modern* French literature than has been done by [his] predecessor" (Scott n.d., p. 106). By 1923, Chisholm had succeeded in replacing the old curriculum with one that was at once varied and thorough. Gone was the requirement to take English subjects as part of undergraduate French studies. Instead, Chisholm introduced a new subject, "French Language and Philology", which approached grammar and literature from a historical perspective in its examination of Old and Middle French (Scott n.d., pp. 107–108).

In expanding the historical scope of the French program, he also expanded its cultural scope by introducing the study of art and history. The overall aim of the course was defined as "an informed and intelligent appreciation of French culture, with an emphasis on literature, but with due attention to art and history" (Scott n.d., p. 205).

Chisholm was keen to apply his European scholarly experience. Convinced of the importance of phonetics and of following the methods he learnt during the classes he attended in Berlin with William Tilly and then in France with Paul Passy, Chisholm brought Viëtor-Passy teaching to Australia. He adapted Passy's *Les Sons du français* (1887) to Australian conditions in his own *Manual of French Pronunciation* (1924). However, although his education aligned closely with European standards, Chisholm always strongly claimed the right to intellectual independence, as stressed by Kirsop (1970, p. 7).

p. 31). For discussion of Queensland and Western Australia see Barko and Martin (1997, p. 36), and, for Canberra and New England (1997, p. 42).

Throughout his long teaching career at the University of Melbourne he succeeded admirably in furthering this aim and creating a French school that was not a pale imitation of some foreign model but a pioneer in critical and exegetical approaches to literature, notably of the Symbolist period.

2.2 The Literary Curriculum

Despite the changes he introduced, Chisholm did not neglect nineteenth-century literature in the curriculum. It was at the University of Melbourne that he began publicly pursuing his interest in nineteenth-century Symbolist poetry, on which he gave several lectures before integrating the subject into the undergraduate Extension course.⁴

Deeply influenced by Christopher Brennan, who introduced him to French Symbolism and Mallarmé, Chisholm developed his own reading of French Symbolist poetry, initiating a research trend that would soon be known internationally as "The Melbourne School". For Chisholm, however, research and teaching always nourished each other, as shown by one of his greatest publications, *Towards Hérodiade: A Literary Genealogy* (1934a), which had grown out of his second and third year literature course in 1932: "Evolution de l'esthétique de la poésie française pendant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle" (Scott n.d., p. 142).

In *Towards Hérodiade*, Chisholm continued the themes of his Rimbaud study and described the evolution of nineteenth-century poetry in terms of a breakdown of the plastic structure of the universe. The discovery first of an incessant flux (musicalization) and then of the void behind it (silent music) is observed in Leconte de Lisle's search for Nirvana, Baudelaire's fusion of the spiritual and phenomenal worlds and, as a culmination of the enquiry, in Mallarmé's adumbration of the eternal void. His Hérodiade, the virginal and sterile heroine of an incomparably beautiful dramatic dialogue, renounces phenomenal existence and seeks beauty only in death. (Scott n.d., p. 143)

The changes introduced by Chisholm were very successful. He prided himself on maintaining a curriculum and teaching style that were as engaging as they were demanding, and which gave students the skills and enthusiasm to tackle Symbolist poets such as Mallarmé and Valéry. According to Scott, "Chisholm's systematic policy [combined] the width of historical survey (pursued largely as a means) with

⁴According to Scott, Chisholm

gave a single Extension lecture on "French Symbolist Poetry and its International Influence". In 1925 there was also a talk on Symbolism at a combined meeting of the French Club and Literature Society (July 21) and, in subsequent years, a course of five Extension lectures covering the precursors and the aftermath of this movement. Unfortunately, of course, the text of these lectures has not survived, and we can only speculate on the approach he is likely to have adopted after the impact of Brennan but before his own deep immersion in Schopenhauer. The titles of these lectures show a critical bias towards psychology and imagery. (Scott n.d., p. 112)

the depth of textual exegesis, which was the true end" (Scott n.d., p. 210). Distinguishing himself from the old ways of teaching literature, Chisholm showed a total respect for the text. He took justifiable pride in this new curriculum:

The one reasonably big thing I think I have achieved here is to lift the standard of literature teaching to a level where senior students can and do appreciate even such things as the *Coup de dés* or the work of poets like Valéry. Not only that: they are enthusiastic about it. (Scott n.d., p. 207)

The depth of Chisholm's expertise was further demonstrated in the variety of subject areas studied by postgraduate and fourth-year Honours students, from medieval texts to contemporary literature and poetry. From that point on, the three main emphases of the honours course were Arthurian Romance, the nineteenth-century novel, and Symbolist poetry (Scott n.d.., p. 209). Scott highlighted the growing number of students doing research under Chisholm's supervision:

[...] he directed an impressive range of research students, in medieval as well as nineteenth and twentieth-century literature in general, imbuing them also with his sense of exegetical rigour and, perhaps especially, with an even deeper sense of the human and metaphysical mysteries that remain long after the mere letter has been elucidated. (Scott n.d., pp. 214–215)

This success initially created some difficulties for Chisholm and his assistant Karagheusian, when teaching and administrative burdens grew as the French Department soon became the second largest in the Faculty of Arts, with 207 students of French in 1924 (made up of 94, 42 and 26 in the 3 years respectively and 45 evening students) (Scott n.d., pp. 112–113).

2.3 Later Developments

In the decades after Chisholm's retirement, French studies faced significant challenges as administrators sought to make foreign languages accessible to a broader audience. From the 1970s, beginners courses were offered at universities, and around the same time there was a shift away from the teaching of literature in French studies programs. Barko and Martin argue that literature was not well suited to language programs that sought to be inclusive:

Literature was seen by many as an "elitist" area of study, unsuitable for a growing proportion of the new student body, irrespective of its level of language proficiency. The rise of modern linguistics, a natural companion discipline to language study, was seen by some to be a valid alternative to the study of literature, as was the foreign culture in the broadest sense, in contradistinction to "high culture" of which literature was the obvious, because language-based, manifestation [...]. The questioning of the so-called "literary canon" and that of the concept of mandatory *bagage culturel* occurred in French departments in Australian universities before it affected English studies. (1997, pp. 55–56)

Barko and Martin also note a more general shift in how language programs were conceived:

Another change that has gradually affected most of our French programs, is the broadening of the very meaning of French studies [...]. A broader, decentralised idea of France, with an appreciation of its regional diversity, [has] been discovered and embraced, and the cultural and linguistic richness of the French-speaking world outside France has been incorporated in our syllabi. (1997, p. 56)

2.4 Extra-curricular Activities

Maurice-Carton encouraged the foundation of the French Club (1903). Under Professor T. G. Tucker's presidency, the Club organized regular French readings and conversation groups. As noted by Scott, it boasted its own official organ: *Le Français classique*, edited by Maurice-Carton from 1908 onwards. After 1910 this was merged with *Trident, a journal of Modern Languages and Literatures*, which was edited in English, French and German (Scott n.d., pp. 113–114).

Chisholm was also a fervent supporter of extra-curricular activities to which he devoted much of his time. He was not always on the Parkville campus, and his many responsibilities often meant travelling around the state. For years, he regularly visited Victorian towns—Ararat, Bendigo, Yarrawonga, among others—as an examiner in French and German dictation and orals (Scott n.d., p. 153).

Despite these administrative demands, Chisholm was dedicated to extracurricular activities, giving talks to audiences at the Melbourne University French Club and the Alliance Française, which are both still very active today.

Chisholm also believed in full and healthy co-operation between schools and universities. He created several refresher holiday courses for French teachers during the 1930s, as well as heading the Modern Languages Standing Committee of the Schools Board (Scott n.d., pp. 156–157).

Believing that students needed a solid linguistic foundation to get the most out of university-level French, and, in particular, to increase pupils' and students' experiences of spoken French, Chisholm launched the "Brighter French" movement in 1938 to encourage secondary-school pupils through French-language music and drama events:

It took the form of musical evenings and the production of plays in the schools themselves or, in collaboration with the Alliance Française, at the University's Union Theatre. The casts of these now almost forgotten productions often included celebrities-to-be: Bronnie Taylor, Gardner Davies, Ninian Stephen [...]. The movement did much to popularize French in Victoria generally and reflected the sound but unpedantic nature of Chisholm's approach, his lightness of touch and his undercurrent of humour. (Scott n.d., p. 158)

Chisholm's successors embraced this passion for extra-curricular activities, as shown by the establishment of the French Choral, directed by Dr Alan Herbert,⁵ or

⁵ See "Songs the French sing", a recording published by Broadcast Exchange of Australia Pty Ltd., 33 ^{1/3} RPM.

the Melbourne French Theatre, founded in March 1977 by students Michael Bula and A. David Gorrie.⁶

3 Conclusion

A. R. Chisholm's appointment at the University of Melbourne and his 35-year-long service have had a lasting impact on the French program as well as on French teaching in Melbourne more generally.

After Chisholm, the increased numbers of students led to numerous appointments, and the students of French had the opportunity to benefit from the expertise of many lecturers, French natives as well as Australians.

Ironically, Chisholm never pursued a postgraduate degree. He had no need to, as his work was recognized many times over in the numerous honours he received: Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, OBE, Knight of the Italian Republic, Honorary Doctor of Letters, and Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

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⁶ See Jana Verhoeven (2013).

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