Popular Imagery, the Press and Militarism:

Identifying Militarism in French Culture and Society, 1830-1840

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Introduction

Military history is one of the oldest forms of historical writing in many cultures and in recent decades it has been subject to increased scrutiny. The polarizing nature of military history is perhaps due, in part, to the popularity of the discipline with the public. Another reason could be the notion that military historians glorify or romanticize the very subject they study, war.[1] David A. Bell asserts that many interpret militarism as having a relatively negative connotation and that the term is usually associated with societies considered barbaric and primitive. He continues, "[the] spirit of conquest," is often associated with the military and military culture.[2]

Traditionally, military scholarship has focused on combat; fighting technique and strategy, leadership within the army, and military doctrine. Despite the traditional nature of the genre, military history has recently experienced an increase in scholarship with a sub-genre referred to as military-cultural history, which also draws in many aspects of social history.[3] The turn towards military-cultural history has been a product of the Cultural Turn in historical scholarship, although many such studies have focused on culture within the military sphere. This includes examining the character of armies and soldiers, along with their thoughts and reflections on combat experiences in the years that follow conflict. Tracing social implications of the military, such as how soldiers interact, reaction to combat, and interactions with the populace, also generated profound change in the discipline.

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[1] Stephen Morillo and Michael F. Pavkovic, *What is Military History?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2006) 1-2.
[2] David A. Bell, "The Birth of Militarism in the Age of Democratic Revolutions," in *War, Demobilization and Memory: The Legacy of War in the Era of Atlantic Revolutions*, ed. Alan I. Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall, 30 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[3] Philip G. Dwyer, "War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the 'Experience of War' in the Nineteenth Century," *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (October 2011): 564, doi: 10.1177/0265691411419471.,

Socio-cultural studies of the military have focused on the soldier and have largely omitted civilian culture, whether the blending of military and civilian culture, or the imposition of one sphere upon the other. Some studies of military-cultural history have focused on the experience of war, specifically with memoirs, diaries and accounts from soldiers and veterans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such studies concentrate on the men in the military and have dealt mostly with the military sphere of society. Those who have studied French military culture have primarily focused on the values and motivations of the Napoleonic soldier, and political culture and its relationship to combat in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods (1789-1815).[4]

Very few studies have been dedicated to the identification of militarism in French civilian culture in the nineteenth century. Even fewer yet have investigated the impact of military culture on civilian culture, and vice-versa, in the years following the fall of Napoleon.[5] One reason for this could be disagreement as to when a line between civil and military cultural spheres can be drawn. This is not to say that civil and military institutions existed separately before 1815; rather, the societal and cultural distinction between the two spheres was not yet recognizable. The collapse of the estates system allowed the military sphere, previously reserved for the nobility, to be infiltrated by commoners. Upon the fall of the Empire, veterans of the Napoleonic campaigns returned to France and brought military culture and values back home. Bell asserts that a

[4]David G. Chandler, *The Campaigns of Napoleon* (New York: Macmillan, 1966)., Collingham, H. A. C., and R. S. Alexander. *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848*. London: Longman, 1988., Dwyer, "War Stories., Philip G. Dwyer, "War Stories: French Veteran Narratives and the 'Experience of War' in the Nineteenth Century," *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (October 2011): doi: 10.1177/0265691411419471., Douglas Porch, *Army and Revolution: France 1815-1848* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1974)., Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

[5] Interactions between the military and civilian spheres and the impact that either would have on the other is largely due to political forces including the political mobilization of various groups. Interaction between the groups also included social interaction following Allied victory and subsequent French demobilization in 1815.

distinction between the two spheres can be made in France only after 1815 and the fall of Napoleon. Further, Bell states that the French language did not have a word akin to the modern definition of civilian prior to 1834, indicating that the populace did not recognize separate spheres linguistically until that time.[6]

Identifying militarism is difficult, especially in this period. The strongest sign of militarism consists of advocating use of a strong military to forcibly secure national interests abroad, but international relations in the 1830s dictated that very few of the French publicly advocated such a strategy. A second indicator is however more useful for the purposes of this paper - militarism can consist of the glorification of military ideals, values, personnel and warfare as a positive and strong model for society. At base, militarism can be seen in desire for a strong military force, but much depends upon the purpose for which that force is intended.[7]

There are numerous examples of militarism in the period; however, it is often difficult to identify the degree to which such examples are explicitly militarist. Does making a common soldier the subject of a play necessarily indicate militarism? It might, if the soldier is depicted as a role model because he sacrifices himself. But does he sacrifice himself for the pursuit of glory, or to defend the security or independence of the homeland? What if he does so for both reasons? It should also be noted that not all parlance of the military is inherently militarist, as often such discussions are relatively neutral and do not indicate militarism. These cases include passively mentioning military exploits in the press and neglecting details of battle, in an effort not to glorify war. Despite the seeming frequency of militarism in the period, there are also examples

[6] Bell, "The Birth of Militarism in the Age of Democratic Revolutions," 32, 34.
[7] Alfred Vagts' definition of militarism includes, "a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thoughts associated with armies and wars… militarism displays the qualities of cast and cult, authority and belief." Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military* (New York: Free Press, 1967) 13-14.

of pacifism and hostility to the military. Calls to demobilize the troops, or veterans recounting horror stories of war and the military to the public in an effort to deter militarism, are but two examples of this.

Previous scholarship of Napoleonic Europe that discusses the social and cultural aspects of the military allows a definition of military culture and militarism to emerge from the period. Michael J. Hughes asserts that Napoleonic military culture was motivated by five main factors, "honour, patriotism, a martial and virile masculinity, devotion to Napoleon and coercion."[8] Many studies investigate the thoughts, interactions, tendencies and values of those who had served in the military, and how these relate to military culture. These factors are commonly studied in the war memoirs of common soldiers, or correspondence between officers, although there is a very limited number of studies that investigate the effect of military culture on the civilian sphere.[9] This, perhaps, is an area of study that can be expanded in the future to further show the connection between the civilian and military spheres, although, this is not the intention of this paper.

The numerous changes in regime since 1789 also caused intense economic, political, social and cultural change within France. The instability caused by the many revolts through the nineteenth century divided the population both politically and socially. The new social order brought on by the Revolution of 1789 saw previously marginalized classes emerge socially, and

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[8] Michael J. Hughes, *Forging Napoleon's Grande Armée: Motivation, Military Culture, and Masculinity in the French Army, 1800-1808*, 12 (New York: New York University Press, 2012).
[9] R. S. Alexander, 1954. *Napoleon* (London: Arnold, 2001)., Jean Paul Bertaud, *The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1988)., Dwyer, "Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing.", Dwyer, "War Stories.", Alan I. Forrest, "The Military Culture of Napoleonic France," in *Napoleon and Europe*, ed. Philip G. Dwyer, 43-59 (Essex: Longman, 2001)., John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (New York: Westview Press, 2008)., Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France*. Hanover: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011., Jeremy D. Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835*, (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

others to take a less prominent role. Politically, the nation was divided as well with a mix of left-wing liberals and radicals, right-wing ultra-royalists and moderates. No one group, or regime could gain loyalty from the majority, and the social and political diversity would facilitate an intermixing of cultures, especially civilian and military, which had not previously been seen in France.[10]

The number of men who returned to France from the Napoleonic wars is estimated to be near 400,000. Through the balance of their lives, most veterans would continue as potential vectors of militarism within the civilian sphere. While the restored Bourbon Monarchy was generally in opposition to these men, the July Monarchy viewed them with far more sympathy.[11] In recent years, scholars such as Natalie Petiteau have successfully argued that after 1830 veterans were no longer looked down on as outlaws or brigands, and that they often gave their best attempt at reintegrating into civilian life.[12] It seems inevitable that some military values would have stayed with them and perhaps permeated into civilian culture.[13] The decrease in social gap between the two spheres would also allow some degree of imposition of the civilian sphere on the military. Qualities such as thrift, hard work, and productivity, all values of the commoner, would find their way into the military sphere via civilian-military interactions.[14]

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[10] Collingham, and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 1.
[11] Natalie Petiteau, "Survivors of War: French Soldiers and Veterans of the Napoleonic Armies," in *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*, eds. Alan I. Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall, 44 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)., Porch, *Army and Revolution*, 1.
[12] Petiteau, "Survivors of War," 44.
[13] David M. Hopkin, "*La Ramée*, The Archetypal Soldier, as an Indicator of Popular Attitudes to the Army in Nineteenth-Century France," *French History* 14 no.2 (June 2000): 116, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1093/fh/14.2.115.
[14] David M. Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Royal Historical Society, 2002), 285-287.

It is important to note that the veteran was not implicitly militaristic; rather veterans' memoirs reveal a great variance in support of war in the Napoleonic period. Philip G. Dwyer has argued that since the eighteenth century, signs that soldiers were not in favour of war were present in memoirs. Even pacifist tendencies were evident, corresponding to a "'culture of sensibility' in armies" that had been adopted since the end of the eighteenth century.[15] These memoirs were often in opposition to Napoleon or the Revolution; however, pride in personal military achievement and themes of heroism are frequently present. Extraordinary feats on the battlefield associated with glory were especially present, emphasizing the importance of individual achievement and glory. The state consciously propagated the hyper-masculine image of a soldier who loved to fight and was successful in war.[16] While these themes of militarism and military culture were undoubtedly present within the *Grand Armée*, universal support and dissemination of these qualities remains unclear. Just as unclear is the role veterans played in pushing militarism into civilian culture.

The 1830s saw further socialization and exposure of veterans and soldiers to civil society; many had Bonapartist sentiments. Nevertheless, Bonapartism did not mobilize politically as a desire to install a Bonaparte heir as head of state until after 1848.[17] Many studies give an indication as to the differences between the civilian and military spheres, and how the two spheres became increasingly interconnected in the nineteenth century. As the field of Napoleonic memory and cultural studies of the post-Napoleonic era grows, there is a greater sense of the difference between military values and Napoleonic values, although there is also overlap.

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[15] Dwyer, "War Stories," 576-577.
[16] Ibid., 577.
[17] Stanley Mellon, "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth," *Yale French Studies*, no. 26 (1960): 71, doi:10.2307/2929226.

The Napoleonic legend was not the only factor that shaped depictions of the army in the 1830s. Romantic art and literature often evoked values such as patriotism, self-sacrifice, and pursuit of glory. The latter values were associated with the army and often added to public fascination, although such values were not exclusive to the army. Contemporary artists also depicted the suffering of neglected common soldiers, or portrayed the veteran as "a vagabond, a spendthrift, a thief, a braggart and a libertine".[18] Thus while some Romantic depictions may have had a militarist character, some did not.

The paper will begin with a brief discussion of key events in France in the 1830s in order to establish context for a discussion of primary sources. Military involvement in many of these events, including the July Revolution, Belgian Crisis, and *retour de cendres* helps to explain why the public was preoccupied with the military in the period.[19] These episodes had the potential to stir militarist tendencies and a discussion of the events will allow the identification of instances of militarism connected to the events.

The examination of historical episodes through secondary literature will then lead to interrogation of primary sources accessible to the author. These sources include two contemporary newspapers that discuss the arts and news in the period, *Le Corsaire* and *L'Indépendant*. These will be accompanied by an analysis of four different popular images published and circulated during the period. Prior to the source analyses, the advantages and limitations of the media the author has chosen will be discussed, along with the approach that will be taken while interrogating the material.

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[18] Hopkin, "*La Ramée*, The Archetypal Soldier, as an Indicator of Popular Attitudes to the Army in Nineteenth-Century France," 117.

[19] The return of Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena, the *retour de cendres*, included a larger funeral procession through the streets of Paris that would lead to *les Invalides*, where Napoleon would be laid at his final resting place.

Finally, conclusions will be drawn in an effort to examine the extent to which militarism was present in select journals and imagery and to identify the complexity involved in identifying militarism in a culture so fascinated by its army. Due to a number of factors, the massive scope of the subject and limited scholarship on this subject from the period, this project will not attempt to assess the extent of militarism in French society in the 1830s. As the first chapter will demonstrate, the civil sphere had many reasons for interest in the army, although the extent to which this interest allows for the identification of militarism remains to be discussed.

Potential Militarist Events, 1830-1840

Through the course of the 1830s, France would experience a number of events that had potential to reveal militaristic tendencies. These did not necessarily involve war or military engagement; however, certain military values such as defence of the *patrie*, exportation of liberty, and glory were evident. The army certainly played a prominent role through the decade, although it functioned in different capacities. The single year,1830, saw a number of events where the military was implicated: in June, France would invade Algiers, leading to an extended military campaign in the region, and during the July Days, the army deserted the Restoration Monarchy, allowing the founding of a new regime without directly participating in regime change. In the Belgian Crisis of 1830-32, Louis-Philippe threatened and would subsequently use military action in more than one instance. Finally, three separate Bonapartist events occurring towards the end of the decade indicated that neither the military nor the populace could be politically swayed by Bonapartist sentiments during the period.

The above events affected culture and society in France throughout the 1830s. For the purposes of this paper, this section will present a brief account of the role of the army in, and public reaction to, the July Revolution, the Belgian crisis, and the three Bonapartist episodes. Each of these developments encouraged the public to view the army from a particular perspective.

Les Trois Glorieuses, July 1830

The July Revolution took place over three days, with the fighting centered in Paris.[20] The events were largely spearheaded by a group of liberal bourgeoisie, comprised of journalists and some members of the Chamber of Deputies, and a body of popular support, including the urban poor. This mass of lower-class individuals was responsible for most of the insurrectionary activity, although the bourgeoisie certainly attempted to push the masses to engage in resistance to the Bourbon Monarchy. The grievances of the revolutionaries stemmed largely from the July Ordinances, a series of orders designed to silence the Left and quash unrest in the Capital.[21]

In the wake of the ordinances and the appointment of Maréchal de Marmont, crowds began to loot and pillage shops, and build barricades in the streets.[22] Popular unrest did not last long, as Charles X abdicated the throne on 2 August, leaving behind an unstable military and political situation. In assessing the Fall of Bourbon Monarchy in 1830, the role of the revolutionary masses must not be understated. Despite the contribution of the masses in the revolution, high levels of desertion in the army that was supposed to uphold the regime certainly played a major role in the event.[23] In the wake of the revolution, the liberal press would assist Louis-Philippe's ascension to the throne. Irene Collins argues that newspapers presented Louis-

[20] Uprisings were common in smaller centres such as Lyon, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Lille and Dijon in the days following the revolution in Paris. The insurrections outside of Paris after the revolution were largely orchestrated by representatives of those who had taken political control in Paris. See James Rule and Charles Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830-1832," in *1830 in France,* edited by John M. Merriman, 71-72 (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975)

[21] Porch, *Army and Revolution*, 34-35.

[22] Maréchal de Marmont was a former Napoleonic officer who had fought for France through the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. After the fall of Paris in 1814, he was a popular scapegoat for the fall of the capital who was widely loathed by the populace. Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 9.

[23] David H. Pinkney, "The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830," *The American Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (1964): 1, doi:10.2307/1842095., Porch, *Army and Revolution*, 36.

Philippe as a "guardian of France against counter-revolution on one hand and republican disorder on the other."[24]

Although the public displayed some violent tendencies during the July Days, the presence of popular violence is not enough to qualify the masses as militarist in this context. Revolutionary symbols, such as the tricolour flag, were raised by the crowd, and as royalist forces were sent through the city in waves, the revolutionaries fired from the upper windows of buildings that lined the streets. The three waves of the army who were sent to supress the revolutionaries would each reach their objectives within the city, but all three would be surrounded by insurrectionaries shortly after reaching their goal. As a result, all three waves would be forced to retreat to avoid losing all soldiers in the defence of the government.[25]

The populace knew its battleground – the urban center was an advantage for the revolutionaries, whereas it presented challenges to the repressive forces comprised of army, gendarmerie and national guard personnel. In pondering the extent to which the populace was militarist, a few details of the July Days can be singled out. First, the presence of Napoleonic veterans, civilian militia veterans, and a limited number of students from the *École Polytechnique* shows that the insurrectionaries had some professionally trained leadership.[26] The revolutionaries used a combination of barricade defenses and defence from within buildings, firing down on the soldiers on the ground. Although these tactics were not dissimilar to those used in 1789, the notable addition of retired military personnel to the masses suggests a mixing

[24] Irene Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959)., Brecht Deseure, "Republican monarchy in the 1830 revolutions: from Lafayette to the Belgian Constitution," *History of European Ideas* 45, no.7, (2019): 996, DOI: 10.1080/01916599.2019.1628085.
[25] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 9.
[26] Pinkney, "The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830," 14.

of military and civilian cultures.[27] Next, the presence of revolutionary and military symbolism and language when elevating Louis-Philippe to the throne suggests militarism. Central to Orleanist propaganda were allusions to glory, especially the King's association with the battles of Jemappes and Valmy. The press would also refer to Louis-Philippe as "patriotic and courageous," two key characteristics of the army.[28]

In the wake of the July revolution, themes of glory, sacrifice for the nation, and heroism would continue to be propagated, and they explicitly linked the new regime to Napoleon and the Empire. By such means, Louis-Philippe and Orleanist propagandists attempted to draw support from Bonapartists and others sympathetic to the Empire.[29] However, despite the best attempts of the new regime, its foundation was built on an unstable revolution with little cohesion.[30] The extent to which either the populace or the army could be trusted to stay loyal remained a question throughout the regime.

The image of the army was affected in many ways by the July Revolution and its aftermath. Initially, the army had fought and killed revolutionaries, although as the revolution progressed, many soldiers deserted and the army adopted a position of neutrality. This change in position allowed a regime change, although it did not show active support for the incoming government. In the aftermath, many leading Imperial officers rallied to the July Monarchy; however, troops were used again to repress republican revolt, principally at Paris and Lyons. These developments indicate that some elements of the public had reason to praise the army,

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[27] Rule and Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830-1832," 66.
[28] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 13.
[29] Philip G. Dwyer, "Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars," *French Historical Studies* 33, no.2 (April 2010): 243, doi: https://doi.org/10.1215/00161071-2009-026.
[30] Porch, *Army and Revolution*, 47.

while others had reason to fear and despise it.

The Belgian Revolution, 1830-32

France was not the only Western-European country to experience a revolution in 1830, as Belgian insurrectionaries began a revolt against the Dutch in August of the same year. The revolutionaries were largely motivated by adverse economic conditions which produced bread riots in the preceding months and the Dutch king's withdrawal of the state budget from parliamentary control.[31] Liberal revolutionaries declared an independent Belgium free from rule by the King of the Netherlands on 4 October and subsequently elected a constituent National Assembly. In response to the crisis, France initially adopted a policy of non-intervention in the revolution and demanded that the other European powers stay out of Belgium.[32] Belgian revolutionaries were skeptical of France's intentions, and feared military intervention in the matter. France, however, would continue to stay true to its mandate through the end of 1830.

At the same time, from October 1830 onwards, France, Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia began the London Conferences to deliberate the events in Belgium. From the outset, France recognized an independent Belgium, and worked to garner support and recognition for the country from the other Great Powers.[33] In early 1831, Belgian rebels invaded Luxembourg

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[31] Deseure, "Republican Monarchy in the 1830 Revolutions," 999.

[32] Although France outwardly proclaimed a policy of non-intervention, it was more concerned about domestic reaction to intervention near its boarders than questions of sovereignty and principle. This is evidence that the government was concerned with popular opinion surrounding border security, military mobilization, and intervention. Matthew Rendall, "A Qualified Success for Collective Security: The Concert of Europe and the Belgian Crisis, 1831," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 18 no. 2 (2007): 275, DOI: 10.1080/09592290701322358.

[33] The Great Powers met beginning in October 1830 in London at the so-called London Conference. The conference would agree to protocol 19 in February 1831, recognizing Belgian claims and affirming the right of the Great Powers to intervene on behalf of the Belgians. As part of the conference, Antwerp would be recognized as Belgian territory. Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 192., Rendall, "A Qualified Success for Collective Security," 280.

and annexed the territory for Belgium. Following this event, the Powers issued an ultimatum to Belgium – any subsequent attack on Holland would be met with blockades. Although Austria and Russia wanted intervention on behalf of the Dutch king, neither country was in a position to intervene themselves. None of the three eastern Powers had intentions of intervention, so Belgium was granted Luxembourg in exchange for concessions elsewhere.[34] By the late spring of 1831, however, the political climate had changed and France agreed that the German Confederation had the right to intervene in Luxembourg on grounds of protections that were established in 1815. Although the Confederation would not intervene, this acknowledgement showed the Powers that France would cooperate in restraining Belgium.

The suspicions of the other Powers surrounding French intentions to intervene in Belgium would eventually be realized. In 1831, France would mobilize its first intervention in response to a Dutch invasion of Belgium. The Belgians appealed for French support, which Louis-Philippe provided without initial approval from the other Powers. The French succeeded in driving the Dutch from Belgium, and the Powers would eventually recognize the intervention as legal in the Concert.[35] Nevertheless, many were fearful that France would attempt to make subsequent territory grabs. These fears were not unfounded, and had Britain not been so vehemently opposed to it, the French almost certainly would have taken advantage of the situation.[36] Recognizing the danger of the situation, Louis-Philippe would take a number of measures to maintain stability among the Powers, including a swift withdrawal from Belgium, and increased cooperation with the British.[37]

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[34] Rendall, "A Qualified Success for Collective Security," 279-280.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 192.
[37] Ibid.

The protocols agreed to at the London Conferences set the borders of an independent Belgium, including the city of Antwerp, but the terms were not acceptable to the Dutch. They responded by refusing to evacuate their former territory that now belonged to Belgium. By the fall of 1832, France and Britain were forced to send an ultimatum to the Dutch, mandating the evacuation of Belgian territory. Upon refusal by the Dutch, French troops besieged Antwerp, resulting in a 5-week battle ending in French victory. The British would also involve themselves by instituting a naval blockade of Dutch ports until evacuation was complete. As in 1831, the French withdrew their forces quickly, but this second intervention was meaningful in that it generated nostalgia for the Napoleonic era: H.A.C Collingham notes the presence of old "songs of the empire".[38]

Despite the many nuances of the events, France was intent on maintaining foreign security, even if it meant military action.[39] The Belgian crisis certainly helped the domestic image of Louis-Philippe. By intervening in Belgium, Louis-Philippe became even more appealing to a population that was still full of revolutionary fervour and was happy to see their government defend its borders. In exporting liberty and left-wing nationalism, and engaging militarily with a much smaller European nation, the French regime improved is own domestic security. In the press, certain expressions were suggestive of militarism, as the King's sons were said to have received their "baptism of gunfire" in Belgium.[40]

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[38] Ibid., 193.
[39] G.W.T. Omond admits his personal confusion with the events of the Belgian crisis through the 1830s and acknowledges that even Prince Klemens von Metternich's uncertainty regarding the negotiations and nuances of the Belgian Crisis. G. W. T. Omond, "The Question of the Netherlands in 1829-1830," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1919): 170, doi:10.2307/3678256.
[40] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 193.

Yet not all of the public was satisfied. The Belgian revolution was but one of a series of revolts in Europe during the period, and in Italy, Germany and Poland the French government failed to act as a vector of liberal revolution while the eastern Powers promoted repression. Cooperation with the other Powers, specifically with the London Conference, did help forestall feared intervention in France by the Quadruple Alliance, but it did not bring about territorial expansion. From the onset of the Belgian revolt, at least part of the public and the press had hoped for re-annexation of Belgium; hence disillusion with the initially pacifist policy of the regime began to set in. All the same, the Belgian crisis shone a favourable light upon the army, and the entire episode was ripe for expressions of militarism.

Napoleon and his Nephew: Bonapartist Episodes 1836-1840

Napoleon and the Revolution were fondly remembered by many in France and memory of Napoleon would continue to have social and political implications. The previously discussed use of Napoleonic and Revolutionary memory by Louis-Philippe to appeal to the populace shows the extent to which the public remembered the Empire. Much of the Napoleonic legend consisted of personal memories or was transmitted by veterans of the Napoleonic campaigns.

Philip G. Dwyer states that many veterans came to share stories wherein details were not important. Rather, they gave an audience the feeling that war was at times "hideous" and "miserable," but that the hardship of war never prevented the soldier from wanting to see military engagement. Many stories even described some elements of battle as "the most pleasant thing I know."[41] Stories were often told in the company of other veterans, demonstrating the fraternity still held among many. It was not uncommon for individuals to recount tales from their

[41] Dwyer, "War Stories," 576.

experiences in battle in public spaces such as schools, barns, or town centers. Dwyer, however, acknowledges that while these stories were certainly told, we know little surrounding how the tales were received and to what extent veterans were accepted in civilian society.[42] Despite this uncertainty, it is evident that that some of these stories glorified combat and the fraternity that membership in the military produced.

In an effort to secure the reliability of the army as an instrument of order, the Orleanist regime began to implement measures designed to reduce contact between soldiers and civilians. Hence regiments were more frequently moved to new stations to prevent fraternization with seditious elements.[43] Despite such measures, contact continued in cafes, taverns, and other gathering places, but governmental fears of subversion may have been exaggerated. H.A.C. Collingham argues that the public held the army in high regard because it represented stability and unity in a society in which such traits were frequently missing.[44]

While plotting a coup to begin in Strasbourg in 1836, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte prepared the ground by contacting officers and soldiers at the garrison in Strasbourg. However, he was trapped within the barracks and neither the army nor the populace rose to revolt. Instead, the plot led to his exile in the United States without trial. The memory of Napoleon was one thing; revolt in his name proved another.[45]

Louis-Napoleon would attempt another coup in 1840. This second attempt would come in the months preceding the *retour des cendres*. While in London, Louis-Napoleon wrote to the commander in Boulogne, attempting to suborn the army much as he had four years earlier.

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[42] Dwyer, "Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing," 236-238.
[43] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 242.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 242., Mellon, "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth," 71

Accounts indicate that Boulogne was not a center of Bonapartism, and the coup failed due to lack of popular support, and the ability of officers loyal to the government to keep control of their men. This time, Louis-Napoleon was put on trial, found guilty, and imprisoned in the Fortress of Ham. [46]

Despite the disturbance caused by his nephew in Boulogne, Napoleon's ashes would be repatriated as planned in the following months. The decision had been made by the government in the spring of 1840, largely in accord with the general acceptance of past regimes by the July Monarchy. Foreign minister Adolphe Thiers spearheaded the initiative to return the Emperor's remains to France largely to promote association of the July Monarchy with patriotism and glory. Supporters of the action disputed over where the body should be laid to rest: at Saint Denis, the "usual resting place of kings," or *Les Invalides*, where all great French soldiers rest.[47] Other deputies feared the consequences of returning the remains at all, unsure if the public would interpret the event as a national spectacle, as intended, or if it would incite Bonapartist revolution. It was eventually decided Napoleon would be laid to rest at *Les Invalides*, with a simple inscription, "*à Napoléon ... seul*".[48]

Many have debated as to why Louis-Philippe and his government repatriated the remains of the Emperor, especially in the immediate aftermath of Louis-Napoleon's attempted coup. Stanley Mellon gives a succinct answer to the question;

> The government hoped France would draw the contrast between the ineffective prisoner at Ham and the genuine reception given a great French hero. Every

[46] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 246., Mellon, "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth," 77.
[47] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 245.
[48] Mellon, "The July Monarchy and the Napoleonic Myth," 77.

> care was taken to make the celebration sober and national rather than emotional and Bonapartist.[49]

At least in the short term, the government seemed to succeed in maintaining the celebration as a national event, as opposed to a Bonapartist rally. The affair celebrated a number of military values, liberty, *patrie,* and glory, and the presence of such values certainly allowed the military to maintain its prominent role in France.

Assessing the relation of the three Bonapartist episodes to militarism is not straight forward. Clearly the role of the army remained prominent, and the *retour des cendres* associated Napoleon and the army with French martial glory and national sacrifice. Napoleon, in turn, was associated with conquering and the assertion of French power abroad. He was, however, also seen by many of his admirers as a vector of world progress who continued the Revolutionary project of carrying liberty to the oppressed peoples of Europe. Bonapartist propaganda repeated Napoleon's assertion that he had fought solely in defence of the *patrie*, and Louis-Napoleon indicated that, like Napoleon in 1815, he was not in a position to forcibly challenge the territorial changes of the Vienna Settlement. It does seem probable that militarist sentiment lurked among at least some of the million or so who attended the *retour des cendres*, but drawing more than impressionistic conclusions requires a more precise examination of evidence.[50]

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[49] Ibid., 78.
[50] Michael P. Driskel, *As Befits a Legend: Building a Tomb for Napoleon, 1840-1861*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press) 20-23., Dwyer, "War Stories.", 566, 577.

Identifying Militarism in Newsprint and Popular Imagery

The press and popular imagery played a significant role in society, popular opinion and politics in the 1830s and the media offer a unique look into the culture of the period. In analyzing both types of source, a better understanding of the extent that militarism was present in media can emerge. Journals and cheap prints were intended for a broad audience, with newspapers appealing primarily to the upper and lower bourgeoisie, and imagery frequently being directed towards lower bourgeois and poor folk.[51] The intention here is to investigate both media so that a larger social base may be considered, both the literate and non-literate masses.

The presence of the military in contemporary images, news, or theatre does not necessarily constitute militarism. Militarism is at times evident in sources, such as depictions of battle in imagery such as *Napoléon à Arcis-sur-Aube* (*Figure 4*). In other cases, militarism may be less obvious, although still present: for instance, a newsprint article citing 'glory' as a celebrity of the nineteenth century.[52] Public fascination with the military remains clear, although the focus of this analysis will remain on the message transmitted by the sources in question, not the actual reception of the content.

Through the Restoration Monarchy press censorship and restrictions created an adverse climate for many journals, especially those in opposition to the regime. In the years leading up to July 1830 several newspapers began publication, largely in reaction against these restrictions.

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[51] David M. Hopkin argues that censors and imagists knew their audience was by-and-large the poor in society. This would lead to relatively tight censorship, when compared to newsprint, and imagists responded with creativity when attempting to portray a controversial message. While Hopkin makes it clear that the group most affected by popular images during the period was lower-class individuals. Conversely, Jeremy D. Popkin alleges that the press was largely a bourgeois system where popular (and wealthy) journals would pay caution money for the right to publish political opinion. These journals often influenced public political attitude. See: Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870*, 37., Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835*, 67.

[52] *L'Indépendant,* 31 December 1836.

All translations within this paper are from the original text and are the work of the author.

The press would play a major role in the July Revolution by sharing information with the public, giving political opinion and acting in open defiance of the Monarchy. Papers such as *Le National, Le Globe, Les Temps, Le Constitutionnel,* amongst others, were the first to bring to public awareness the July Ordinances as early as 26 July.[53] By 27 July, raids of presses by the gendarmes of Paris had been ordered by the prefect of police. Information about the King's attack on the Constitution of 1814 had already spread to the people.

Following the revolution, Paris would experience an increase in published journals, partly due to article 7 of the Charter of 1830. The article "contained a categorical statement that censorship was abolished," and established the right to publish opinions freely in France, as long as they were in accordance with the law.[54] This reduction in censorship would allow previously suppressed print outlets to emerge in the period, although the high price of production drove many presses to cease operations shortly after they had begun publishing.[55] Relaxation of censorship would remain through much of the period; however, beginning in 1834 a series of laws sought to restrict the influence of the press. These laws included a requirement that hawkers obtain a licence to distribute journals, and in 1835, a law was introduced to tighten the rules of libel against Louis-Philippe and his government.[56]

Newsprint in the 1830s covered a wide range of topics, ranging from the arts to politics to military matters. Political newspapers, such as *Le National* and *Le Consitutionnel*, had large

[53] The four ordinances of 25 July called for restriction of the press to only pre-authorised publications, further restriction to the voting franchise, dissolving the elected chamber, and called a new election with the newly restricted franchise. For a political analysis of the events of the *Trois Glorieuses,* see: Rule and Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830-1832," 64-66.
[54] Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881,* 62. Although the 1830 Revolution brought new and relaxed censorship to the press, the Charter of 1830 included no definition of publishing laws leaving it up to future censors to decide what was acceptable to publish.
[55] Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881,* 72.
[56] Ibid., 80-83.

subscriptions due to their financial position, and because of quick action in declaring support for the new regime. The most popular military journal through the 1830s was *Le Spectateur militaire.* First published in 1826 by officers, the journal focused on "operations and administration of armies with a particular emphasis on the combat arms of the infantry and the cavalry."[57] *Le Spectateur* regularly displayed militarist tendencies, especially glory, liberty, the *patrie*, and Napoleonic memory in great detail. Although most military publications were not widely read by civilians, it allowed readers to engage with militarist ideas and consume a publication that "came to represent a cross section of thinking within the army."[58] Both of these genres of newspaper are useful for interrogating certain sections of society, but they were not truly popular in character.

One access point to popular culture consists of journals that discussed news, theatre, arts and literature. Unlike journals such as *Le Constitutionnel*, which expressed partisan political opinion overtly, such journals addressed politics through broad satire, or discussion of the arts.

The two journals to be analyzed, *Le Corsaire* and *L'Indépendant,* were both left-leaning Parisian newspapers that primarily discussed literature, the arts, and news about current events. While they discussed similar topics, some elements within the papers differ. *L'Indépendant* was more serious in tone and contained mostly news, theatre reviews and advertisements. *Le Corsaire* was a satirical newspaper largely intended to make light of current events and give the public information regarding "theatre, literature, the arts, morals and fashion."

[57] Michael Bonura, "Napoleonic Memory and the French Officer Corps: An Analysis of Le Spectateur militaire from 1826 to 1836," *Napoleonica. La Revue*, 15, no.3, (2012): 109, doi: https://doi.org/10.3917/napo.123.0106.
[58] Ibid.

Our analysis will seek to identify language deemed to be militarist, in discussions of combat, details of campaigns, articles concerned with liberty, glory, the *patrie,* and discussions of theatre concerned with the military. Discussion of *Le Corsaire* will focus on the days leading up to and following the July Days, through 1832 and the Belgian Crisis. Analysis of *L'Indépendant* will begin in 1833 and span the rest of the decade. The elements that will be identified explicitly will include theatre performances that have military, revolutionary or Napoleonic themes. This will be found either in review sections or play bills printed in the journals. News, such as reports on foreign military engagement, and reactions to such events will also be interrogated in an attempt to identify militarist values in the journals.

Imagery is another important medium to interrogate the social and cultural climate of the period. Four images will be analyzed. These images allow access to a wider audience – including the lower classes – that newspapers do not. Popular imagery is defined as a "cheap, coloured woodcut image," although there is more nuance to the genre than this simple definition.[59] The genre extends to postcards and images similar to British broadsides from the period. In addition to defining popular imagery, one must note that imagists did not enjoy the level of freedom that journalists did in the wake of the July Revolution. Imagists and producers were subject to strict controls by the *dépôt legal,* where publishers and imagists were directed to submit images prior to publicizing their work.[60] In short, publishing of popular imagery was not nearly as free as newsprint in the period and was subject to much heavier censorship.

In the 1830s, north-east France became an important region for the production of popular imagery. The town of Epinal served as the center for printing, although others, including Nancy

[59] Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870,* 19.
[60] Ibid., 33-34.

and Metz, would also become key in producing popular imagery.[61] The prints produced by one of the most well know publishers in Epinal, the Pellerin firm, were some of the most widely circulated throughout the country, with many being peddled on the streets of Paris, although prints from other firms also reached the capital. As with newsprint, imagery depicted a range of topics, although characteristically they were concerned with sharing political opinions through satire and religious or historical scenes. Critically, many imagists from the period were republican, and often had Bonapartist sympathies.[62] Many images from the period contained some depiction of revolutionary or Napoleonic tradition, falling in line with Louis-Philippe's goal of amalgamating these traditions into a distinctly French national narrative.[63] Three of the four images to be analysed originate from Epinal, with the fourth being from Metz.

Limitations to how these texts and images can be used are numerous. Perhaps the most obvious is the relative unknown of who consumed the information, and the way they interpreted the message. This is being addressed by situating each analysis in context and only discussing the message transmitted by the piece being analyzed, not the reception. Newsprint is inherently limiting because only those who were literate would have been able to read the journals. Despite this, there is evidence that members of the revolutionary bourgeois read journals aloud to the illiterate masses during the July Days.[64] Generally, journals from Paris were not directed to the working class. Such journals would only begin to be published in Lyon in 1831.[65] There are also

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[61]Barbara Ann Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art: Nationalism and the Spirit of Rebellion in France (1815-1848)* (University of Delaware Press, 1999) 37.
[62] This is certainly the case with the Pellerin firm, as Nicolas Pellerin was a republican and many of his associates and employees, including Francois Georgin, had Bonapartist sympathies. Much the same can be said about Dembour in Metz, as the firm frequently printed both republican and Bonapartist imagery. See Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art*, 14, 52., and Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870*, 50.
[63] Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art*, 14.
[64] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy*, 13.
[65] Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835*, 135.

limitations with identifying a theatrical performance as militarist. Identifying these productions as strictly militarist is not the intention of this paper, as the author is limited in that scripts and firsthand accounts of the events are not readily accessible. This paper will therefore simply identify instances of theatre dealing with such themes using titles, and reviews of the plays when applicable.

In addition, the newspapers do not overlap with publication dates – *Le Corsaire* is available through the French National Library from 1830-1832, while access to *L'Indépendant* is limited to 1833-1840. In using both publications, the intent is to provide continuity throughout the period; however, the journals and the editors are not the same. This, at times, may result in differences in how articles are written. The choice of using two journals is intentional; to highlight two smaller publications, while still providing continuous press coverage over the period.

Imagery is also limiting due to the expansive amount of publishing following the July Revolution, which included caricatures found in journals. With imagery, themes and references were often continued from publisher to publisher. Readers would have to be consuming imagery daily in order to fully understand humour or political references. David S. Kerr has even argued that "an adequate understanding of caricature in the 1830s can only be achieved … by studying the newspapers as a whole rather than the contribution of a single artist."[66] While Kerr's argument pertains solely to caricatures, much the same can be said about popular imagery. In an attempt to avoid missing continuity between images, three of the four images originate from the same publisher, and all four are products of well-known and well circulated publishers from

[66] David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture, 1830-1848: Charles Philipon and the Illustrated Press,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 19.

north-east France. As with the newsprint, the messages of the sources will be of focus, not the reception or reaction to the images themselves.

Identifying Militarism in *Le Corsaire and L'Indépendant*

Newspapers that discuss the arts, such as *Le Corsaire* and *L'Indépendant*, offer two windows on French society in the 1830s – one in the news that is discussed, and the other in the conversations of the arts that are offered. Both publications give important commentary on the events of the period. *Le Corsaire* will provide the bulk of the commentary on the July Days and Belgian Crisis, while the analysis of *L'Indépendant* will begin after 1832. In both journals, strong evidence of military culture can be identified, but the case regarding militarism is mixed.

Beginning in July 1830 with *Le Corsaire*, at first glance, one notices the 3-day gap in publishing from 27 to 29 July during the revolution. The 26 July edition had little indication the presses would be halting publication through the July Days; everything was as normal, including the operation of all but one theatre. On 26 July, a suggestion of militarism can be identified in the habitual *éphémérides* column.[67] The column identified the day as the anniversary of the death of Maréchal de Biron, who had been killed in 1592 at the siege of Epernay.[68] Biron, a distinguished sixteenth-century officer, played a major role in subjugating parts of Normandy to the Bourbon monarchy of the time. The Maréchal symbolized sacrifice for both the nation and the monarchy. Themes of glory and patriotism are also evident in calling to remember the death of an officer that had taken place over 200 years prior.

[67] The column can be equated to a modern 'today in history' announcement.
[68] *Le Corsaire,* 26 July 1830.

The first day the journal was published following the revolution, on 30 July, there is discussion of the revolution of the preceding days. Of interest to this paper, the language used is certainly revolutionary, but it also deploys terms often associated with the military. Honour, glory, and courage are all keywords found throughout the passage. While these themes are commonly also associated with revolutionary ideals, the addition of a citizen army in combat against the Restoration regime's soldiers and the honour of the actions of Parisians in the preceding days, also indicate ties to military culture. In addition to these themes, the journal also honours the *École Polytechnique* for their leadership and participation in the events.[69] A number of students from the university acted as leaders amongst the citizens during the July Days and they were responsible for disseminating military tactics. In honouring the *École*, the editors of *Le Corsaire* are glorifying an institution that had been a military academy under Napoleon and had retained a military ethos.

Following 10 July, *Le Corsaire* would continue to use terminology associated with the military, but evidence of militarism is mixed in the news through 1831. These instances were largely centered around reaction to Belgian Independence and more generally, the role of France in the crisis. By-and-large, the themes of the entries are revolutionary, concerning exporting liberty to Belgium, and promoting independence for the state. Signs of militarism are present in the press in late November and early December 1830, and in the fall of 1831 in the wake of the first intervention in Belgium. One was an article headline from 27 November 1830 entitled, "*Aurons-nous la Guerre?*"[70] Bellicosity within the article is apparent in much of the revolutionary rhetoric, especially the journal's proposal that France would not hesitate to engage

[69] *Le Corsaire,* 30 July 1830.
[70] *Le Corsaire,* 1 December 1830.

militarily if liberty or independence in Belgium were challenged. Yet the article also calls for peace and only to engage in military intervention if French values are compromised.

Commentary on the Belgian Crisis would continue in *Le Corsaire* through 1831. Most of the news would be published in the fall of 1831, after the French had begun military intervention in Belgium. On 5 August, *Le Corsaire* comments on speed with which the French regiments came to the aid of the Belgians. The piece continues on commenting, "when we have beaten Holland to a pulp," indicating the both the imminence and perceived ease of victory that lies ahead.[71] Pleasure at the thought of combat is apparent. Further discussion of the intervention on 28 August comments that Maréchal Soult, a high-ranking Napoleonic officer turned minister of war in 1830, would resign if the military were pulled out of Belgium. The column in question was, however, a satirical jibe at Soult, as the piece comments on the possibility of the Duke of Wellington coming to fight against the July Revolutionaries.[72] Soult had preformed poorly during the Waterloo campaign, so the jibe perhaps indicated Bonapartism and lingering antagonism towards the British. Finally, on 19 November the journal comments on the ongoing battle between Dutch King William and French Maréchal Gérard. Here again, the language used is not overtly militarist. In likening the battles between the opposing sides to games of cat and mouse the article makes light of the events. The article describes the ongoing intervention as entertainment for the parterre, reducing the battles to a theatrical production. No militarist language is used to describe the intervention, nor is war glorified as previous articles had done.

The final article for analysis concerned with the Belgian Crisis was published in January 1833 in *L'Indépendant*. The article is found on the front page and serves to provide a year in

[71] *Le Corsaire,* 5 August 1831.
[72] *Le Corsaire,* 14 August 1831.

review of 1832. The article describes the year in terms of glory and defence of the *patrie*, but the language is not overtly militarist. The passage recounting French intervention in the Belgian crisis concerns itself somewhat with freedom for the Belgian people, but above all, the success of the intervention in firmly establishing France and Louis-Philippe within Europe. Despite the French withdrawing their army from Belgium, the press indicates that war was still a very real possibility. An article published in June 1833 by *L'Indépendant* entitled "*Vous Voulez la Guerre? Vous Aurez la Paix*" comments on the uncertain situation in Belgium, and Europe as a whole. Despite the discussion of the possibility of war, the article preaches peace and calls war a crisis. In using such language, this article can be identified as pacific, and to some extent non-militarist.

In some cases, evidence of militarism in the press was not limited to news or articles on the arts. Advertisements also occasionally suggest celebration of war. In late 1835 and early 1836, a series of advertisements for a publication called *Campagnes des Français* was printed in *L'Indépendant.* The advertisement describes the contents of *Campagnes des Français* which include descriptions of 54 battles, David's portrait of Napoleon, and an additional 100 celebrated generals from the Napoleonic campaigns.[73] The newspaper does not explicitly endorse the item it is advertising, although the book certainly glorifies the Imperial era, the Napoleonic wars, and the military. For these reasons, this advertisement can be identified as presenting militarism to the public.

From these snapshots of reporting in the period, it is clear that despite the presence of frequent military discussion in the press, militarism is not readily apparent in most cases.

[73] *Le Corsaire,* 31 December 1835., *Le Corsaire,* 7 January 1836.

Revolutionary news and rhetoric were far more apparent than militarism. However, in addition to the 'news', examination of discussion of the arts, literature, and theatre published within the journals is necessary. Play bills and reviews may allow the possibility of the identification militarism in productions. Many productions featured soldiers as leading roles, possessed themes of honour or liberty, and recounted events under the Empire such as military campaigns. Identifying these productions as militarist simply by the title or review may be problematic, and they may simply indicate the presence of military culture. Despite this limitation, the presence of these productions in society indicates they were consumed by the public.

Throughout the July Monarchy, theatre would continue to play a large role both culturally and socially. Productions would also provide a space in which the bourgeois and lower classes would have opportunity to mix. The extent to which military personnel and civilians would have interacted in this space is limited, although, individuals attending the theatre would be exposed to some elements of militarism in the productions at the theatre. For this reason, the theatre is a very good access point to the civilian culture in the period. It was primarily small boulevard theatres that hosted productions that displayed elements of the military, Bonapartism or revolutionary ideals.

Many of the productions showed Napoleon as the hero.[74] Plays portraying the Emperor almost always focused on defence of the *patrie* and memories of the Empire.[75] Following the July Revolution, there was a high frequency of productions with soldiers playing key roles. The

[74] Collingham and Alexander, *The July Monarchy,* 244.
[75] Productions and articles concerning the Empire and spirit of revolution were frequent. One such example is a summary and review of a publication, *Histoire de la Révolution et de L'Empire,* in *Le Corsaire* on 22 December 1830. The publication is touted as a simply written popular history of the revolution, although the review discusses the presence of the masses in the production. Although this material is revolutionary, it is important to note the inclusion of the masses in the account as it indicates the revolutionary sentiment held by the public. *Le Corsaire*, 22 December 1830.

play *Le Déluge* had an act entitled "*La vie d'un soldat*," and although there is no contemporary synopsis or analysis of the play in the journal, the title shows discussion of the daily life of a soldier. The play was produced six times in 1830 in the month of August alone, immediately following the revolution. This is but one play with the soldier as a theme of the production.

Although *L'Indépendant* did not publish an article immediately following the *retour des cendres*, the journal did publish a review of the production *Le Dernier voeu de l'Empereur* in January 1841. The production, a dramatization of the *retour des cendres* from St. Helena to *Les Invalides*, gets rave reviews from the press. The review comments on the great honour of the *patrie* the play represents, and the glory associated with the event in general. This review differs from the others analyzed because it has an act-by-act account of the production. While there are some Bonapartist elements in the play such as veterans of the Imperial Army, the *grognards*, the review does not indicate that militarism was present in the production.

Both *Le Corsaire* and *L'Indépendant* detail many other productions concerned with military values such as honour, and glory, and representations of war. Productions such as *Le Déluge* and *Histoire de la Révolution et de L'Empire* put the military on display and illustrate that the military was celebrated in the public sphere.

Similar sentiments are apparent in a poem entitled *Le Soldat Blessé* published in the journal on 16 August 1830 to encourage readers to remember and think about the "glorious victory of the citizens."[76] The poem, first published in the *Revue de Paris* on 18 July, has strong militarist elements. References to the veteran, soldier, glory, victory, and liberty are present, along with a call to arms for citizens. The timing of this poem is, however, significant in that it

[76] *Le Corsaire*, 16 August 1830.

reveals how the value of liberty and recognition of the importance of the army could merge. In August 1830 fear that the Quadruple Alliance would intervene again to restore the Bourbon Monarchy was widespread. Assertion of French independence thus might entail armed struggle.

Popular Imagery in France, 1835-1841

Popular imagery was a widely accessible medium in France in the 1830s. As this section will show, images frequently depicted soldiers or referenced the military in some capacity. In some cases, the soldier and civilian are depicted as coming together in a social context; however, this is not always the case. Images did not always depict a shrinking gap between lower-class and military; rather, in some cases the gap between the military and civilian spheres seemed to be widening.

We can begin with Pellerin's 1841 print, *La Vie du conscrit* (*Figure 1*). The woodcut was produced in a panel-style, similar to a modern comic panel. This example clearly depicts militarism, not only because of the repeated image of the soldier, violence and combat, but also because of how military service changes the conscript. The first number of panels depict a conscript leaving his family and friends for war, although he is shown stopping for a drink and to engage in a duel on the way. This shows a man who is young and has yet to mature – he leads an irresponsible and unfulfilling life. Once the conscript has left for combat, he is hurt and is promptly awarded the cross of honour. The conscript returns home to a hero's welcome where he is pictured with a scythe. The man proceeds to marry, presumably his "*amie*" whom he left when departing for the army. The man is finally depicted as a family man, acting as a good father and leading an ideal and fulfilling life. The military has transformed the boy into a man, and therefore glorifies both the military and war itself. After returning home, the man is now

responsible for a wife and family, both of which he does with honour. The image is the representation of a veteran as the "ideal national type".[77] Further, the image clearly shows military culture being depicted as a model for civilian life. The representation portrays a man who was once an underproductive member of society being reformed into a military hero and contributor to society. Bravery, courage and honour emerge as prominent themes in a final analysis of the image.

The following image, *Crédit est mort, les mauvais payeurs l'ont tué* (*Figure 2*), belongs to a series of images published under the same name. This is the only image not printed in Epinal to be analyzed. The image was printed by the Dembour firm from the nearby town of Metz. The image has its roots in a collection of sayings from 1623, although imagery with the name dates to the early 18th century.[78] The original function of the image was to show a shopkeeper could tell customers that credit was not accepted in their store, usually because defaulters had "killed him." Three characters were always complicit in the murder: the painter, the fiddler and the fencing master. The fencing master was a representation of a soldier – either retired or active. It was the soldier who habitually delivered the final blow to Credit. Dembour's 1835 recreation of the image replaces these characters with *Le Gourmand*: a portly gentleman with knife and fork in hand, *Le Paresseux*: a lazy, well-dressed gentleman, and *Le Glorieux*: an extravagantly dressed officer. David M. Hopkin notes that the image includes a fourth character, *L'Ambiteux*: a knife-grinder who has no role in the murder of Credit. The characters are initially observed standing over the body of Credit, with the former three looking unbothered by the situation while *L'Ambiteux* has a concerned expression. The second panel shows the men at the funeral

[77] Hopkin, "*La Ramée*, The Archetypal Soldier, as an Indicator of Popular Attitudes to the Army in Nineteenth-Century France," 116.
[78] Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870*, 262.

procession of Credit. The knife-grinder has his arms crossed and appears frustrated, while the other three characters have sad and solemn facial expressions.

This image serves to contrast the lower class with elements of society that are deemed non-productive, but most notably the working-class man against the military officer. By including a lower-class individual in the image, the imagist is able to show the disparity between the lower classes and the upper classes. The image also demonstrates the economic divide between an urban artisan and the three bourgeoise men. This is perhaps most evident in the dress of the four characters, as *L'Ambiteux* is dressed in trousers with patches while the other three men are wearing far more formal clothing. The knife sharpener is positioned directly beside the officer who is wearing a gold-embroidered jacket and tricorne. Both the difference in dress and contrast in attitude in the first panel between the officer and urban artisan show the disparity between them. In describing the officer as *Le Glorieux*, the imagist further separates the military man from the knife sharpener and likens the officer to the other upper-class men in the frame. The image encouraged the urban lower classes to distain the officer corps and perhaps soldiers in general, and it shows the upper class as identifying with military values more than the lower classes.[79] Further, the image demonstrates class disparity and social division within French society. In depicting the officer as part of the upper classes, a clear divide is established between the officer and common man.

The third image to be analyzed belongs to another of a canon of images, *The broad and narrow way*, which originated in Protestant Germany. The image would be adapted in Britain with similar Protestant themes – the narrow path leads to the city of Jerusalem where salvation

[79] Hopkin, "*La Ramée*, The Archetypal Soldier, as an Indicator of Popular Attitudes to the Army in Nineteenth-Century France," 116.

and Jesus are waiting, while the wide path leads to hell. Popular images related to this canon were first published in France in the early nineteenth century.[80] The French re-creations are known as *Les 3 chemins de l'éternité,* and include three paths, as opposed to two. Pellerin's 1837 interpretation of the theme, *Le Chemin du ciel et le chemin de l'enfer* (*Figure 3*) features both French and German language captions probably because the imagist wanted to broaden his viewership and reach both French and German audiences.[81] Pellerin's image differs from most images in the canon in that it does not feature the city of Jerusalem as heaven; rather, it depicts the entrance of a classic Roman palace. This gives the image somewhat more of a secular tone, although the imagist has still included representations of God and Christ at the gates to heaven, and demons and flames in the pits of hell. More significant for this paper is that the image shows only the most pious members of society, nuns, monks, priests and a child, as following the 'narrow road' to heaven. Notably, all the soldiers and officers depicted are on the road to hell along with the King. Thus, it calls into question how righteous and legitimate militarist values, such as honour and glory, are when considering the afterlife.

Despite not including the soldier or officer on the road to heaven, the image still drives a divide between the two parties. The officer is on the 'middle road' with the aristocracy and other members of the upper classes, while the common soldier is relegated to the lowest road with paupers, musicians and poor folk. Both roads lead to hell; however, the image shows the class divide within society is ever-present, even in purgatory. The image also offers anecdotes or explanations to accompany the characters in purgatory. Alongside the character of the officer is a caption, "the measure you take against others will be taken against you," which serves to indicate

[80] Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766-1870*, 275-276.
[81] Ibid., 278.

that because he has sinned by killing others, he is destined for hell. The officer does not appear to interact with others on the road. The same can not be said for the soldier, who is seen actively engaged with others on the 'wide road.' He is following a dancing woman and two male musicians while he walks hand-in-hand with another woman. This image clearly shows the mixing of civilian and military cultures, perhaps suggesting the self-indulging nature of many conscripts. Despite this, the extent to which either the soldier or civilian is affecting the other is unclear.

The final image that will be interrogated, *Napoléon à Arcis-sur-Aube* (*Figure 4*), is a depiction of the 1814 battle at Arcis-sur-Aube. The image was printed by the Pellerin firm, although the attributed author is François Georgin, a highly regarded imagist from the period. The image follows a style of military depiction characteristic of Georgin showing Napoleon participating in battle, although not as the Emperor, but as the "Little Corporal". Napoleon is in the middle of the battle, with his men, actively engaging in combat. Barbara Ann Day-Hickman argues that in depicting Napoleon as the Little Corporal, the imagist would have been distancing Napoleon from Imperial or Bourbon rule to evoke the humble soldier who possessed the traits of the common folk.[82] Both of these factors would serve to give the public greater faith in the military. Despite not including civilians in the print, the inclusion of common soldiers would have made military personnel more approachable and accessible to the public. In portraying the initiative the Little Corporal undertook during battle, the image also displays courage, national sacrifice in defending the *patrie*, and honour – all traits characteristic of military culture. This image can be identified as militarist because it glorifies war and appeals to nostalgia for the Napoleonic wars. Despite the fact the *Grande Armée* retreated from Arcis-sur-Aube, Napoleon

[82] Day-Hickman, *Napoleonic Art*, 84-85.

still played a vital role in a battle that would have been remembered by the public during the July Monarchy. Moreover, the battle was waged in France as the country was invaded by a much larger Allied force. The image thus depicts Napoleon and the common soldier combining to defend the *patrie* from foreign subjugation. Once again, French liberty and the army are joined.

The four images analyzed have shown varying levels of militarism in relation to civilians. Two of the images, figure 2 and figure 3, were not explicitly militarist, although they included soldiers as characters. This indicates that the soldier and military values played an important role in society and culture, but, if anything, the images tended to be anti-militarist in character. In contrast, figure 1 has a clear militarist component in that it depicts the army as a role model for society. Like figure 1, figure 4 glorifies warfare, but the battle depicted was waged in defence of French liberty. Thus, in combination the four images do yield elements of militarism, but depictions of the army were far from uniformly militarist.

Conclusion

Through the 1830s, the soldier was frequently present in works that reflected French culture such as popular imagery and newsprint. In a study of this scope it is not possible to assess the extent to which military culture influenced culture generally, but it is evident that the French were highly preoccupied with the military. Past experience in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic era, contemporary international relations, frequent military participation in critical events, and the infusion of roughly 400,000 veterans into civilian life help to explain this absorption with military matters.

To what extent did fascination with the army indicate militarism? Answering this question, even with a limited number of primary sources, is complicated by the need to take context into account. The French were justifiably afraid that aggression might trigger a repeat by the Powers of the invasions of 1814 of 1815. So one finds few public calls to advance national interests by waging wars of conquest.

Taking context into account also complicates evaluation in other ways. Certain values were strongly associated with the military, but not exclusively; the difference between military culture and civilian culture was perhaps mostly a matter of degree and it could vary in terms of the value in question. Many viewed the army as a bulwark of social order, but its role in suppressing revolt was not admired by all. Moreover, the circumstances of the 1830s meant that the army figured strongly in the thoughts of the advocates of patriotism, liberty, and national independence. Did that necessarily make liberals and patriots militarist?

Praise of the willingness of civilians to fight was common during the July Revolution, and the role of veterans and students in the fighting was reported. As demonstrated in *Le Corsaire*, students from the *École Polytechnique* were even glorified in the days following the

revolution. The fight was however strictly domestic, against an increasingly despotic French government. Afterwards fear of invasion by the other Powers strengthened association of the army with national independence and liberty. These strengthening sentiments were apparent in Figure 4, along with representations of defence of the *patrie*. So praise of a fighting spirit might be an indicator of militarism, but it might not.

Reports on the Belgian Crisis definitely revealed bellicosity and pleasure at the thought of engaging in combat and defeating the Dutch but such comments were combined with expressions of hope for peace, and potential combat was justified as necessary to secure Belgian independence. It is possible that demands that the Belgians be free were a just a cover for seeking to advance French interests while acquiring material advantages, but this study reveals little evidence to support that conclusion. Although pleasure at the thought of battle is not explicit in any of the images, Figure 1 certainly glorifies battle as innately good and praises the army as a model for society. This is perhaps the strongest evidence of militarism in the primary sources. In depicting battle as a vector for change for the the character of the conscript, war transforms the man, making him a better father and member of society. A similar effect could be achieved even with passing reference to Maréchal Biron in *Le Corsaire*, in that the great Frenchman displays honour and love for the *patrie*, two traits a good role model possesses. Yet the evidence also reveals inclination to make fun of Maréchal Soult and intervention in Belgium, and Figures 2 and 3 actually suggest hostility to the impact of the military on society.

Ultimately what this study reveals is that one can find clear evidence of militarism in French civilian culture, but that it is not preponderant in the sources. Perhaps a more important finding is that the process of evaluating militarism is a complex one once one moves from abstract definition to examining the evidence in a historical context.

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Appendix

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1*:* Pellerin, *La Vie du conscrit*, 1841. Bibliothèque national de France, Paris.

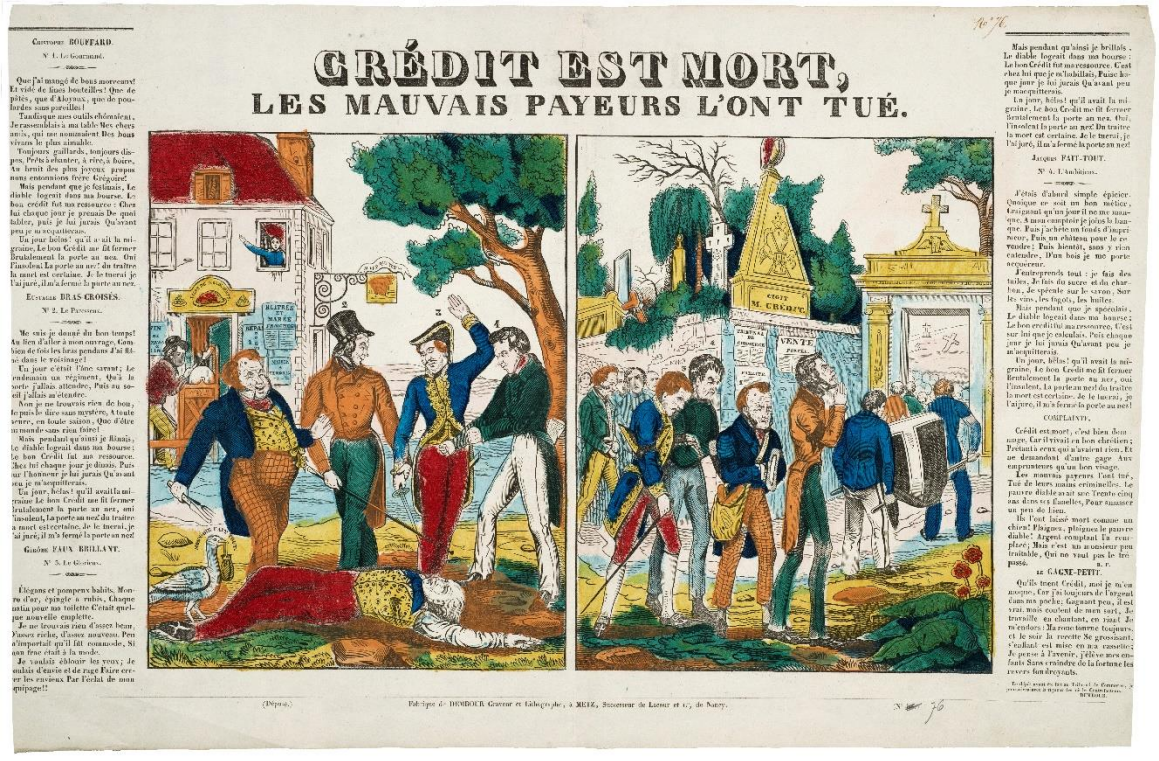

Figure 2: Dembour, *Crédit est mort, les mauvais payeurs l'ont tué*, 1835. © Musée de l'Image – Ville d'Épinal / cliché H. Rouyer.

Figure 3: Pellerin, *Le Chemin du ciel et le chemin de l'enfer*, 1837. Bibliothèque national de France, Paris.

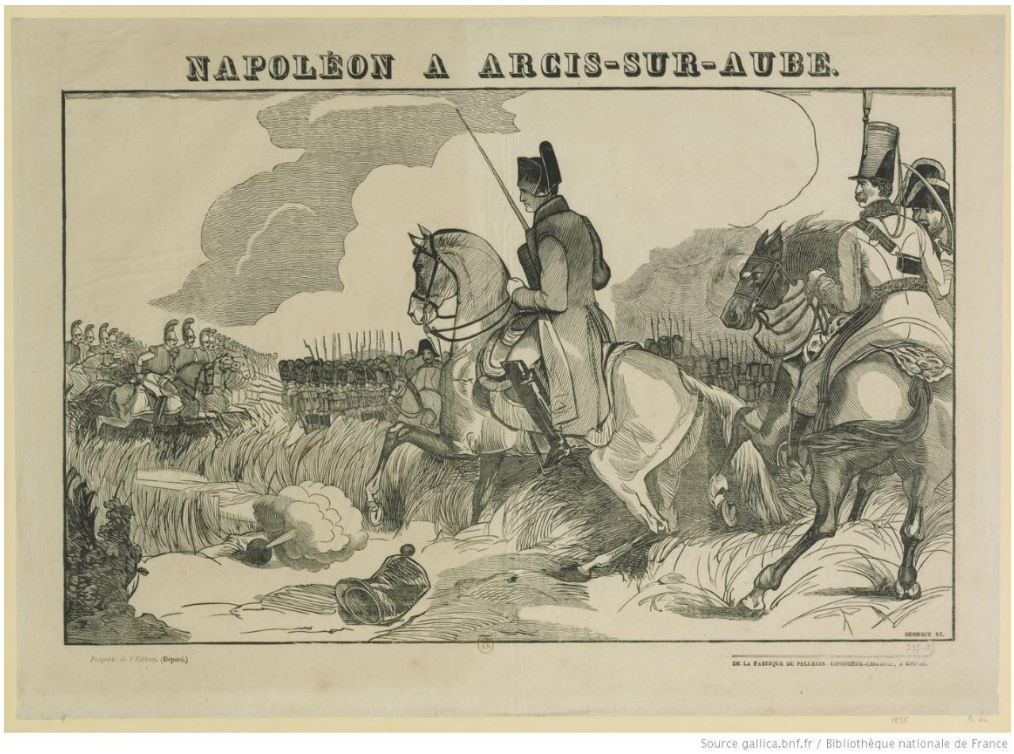

Figure 4: Georgin, *Napoléon à Arcis-sur-Aube*, 1835. Bibliothèque national de France, Paris.