Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France

Horowitz, Sarah

Published by Penn State University Press

Horowitz, Sarah.
Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France.
Penn State University Press, 2013.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/28730.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/28730

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=1075789
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. On the politics of funerary practices, see Fureix, France des larmes. On Manuel dying in Béranger’s arms, see Béranger, Ma Biographie, 197 n2. For the song about Manuel using “tu,” see Bonnal, Manuel et son temps, 416. On the tradition of friends sharing a tomb, see Bray, The Friend.

2. See, for instance, Baudouin, Dictionnaire des gens du monde, 11; Lemaire, Conseils d’un père, 94–96; and Honnête homme à la cour et dans le monde, 53–55.

3. Mme de Barante to François Guizot, 7 January 1867, in Archives nationales de France (hereafter AN), Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 175; Broglie, Guizot, plates; Witt, Monsieur Guizot dans sa famille, 339; Guizot, Lettres à sa fille Henriette, 980. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s own.

4. Recent works discussing the family as producing social cohesion include Desan, Family on Trial; Rosanvallon, Demands of Liberty; and Surkis, Sexing the Citizen.

5. One example of the political uses of family ties can be found in chapter 6, where the marquise de Montcalm served as a crucial intermediary for her brother, the duc de Richelieu.

6. See, for instance, Allgor, Parlor Politics; and Charmley, Princess and the Politicians.

7. Recent works on the politics and political culture of the Restoration and July Monarchy include Alexander, Re-writing the French Revolutionary Tradition; Broglie, Monarchie de Juillet; Démier, France de la Restauration; Fureix, France des larmes; Gunn, When the French Tried to Be British; Kroen, Politics and Theater; Margadant, “Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary”; Price, Perilous Crown; Rosanvallon, Monarchie impossible; Skuy, Assassination, Politics, and Miracles; Waresquiel, Histoire à rebrousse-poil; and Waresquiel and Yvert, Histoire de la Restauration.

8. Rosanvallon, Monarchie impossible. Other works that examine the Restoration as France’s education in constitutional government and parliamentary life include Alexander, Re-writing the French Revolutionary Tradition; Bertier de Sauvigny, Bourbon Restoration; Kroen, Politics and Theater; Price, Perilous Crown; and Waresquiel and Yvert, Histoire de la Restauration.

9. Waresquiel and Yvert, Histoire de la Restauration, 479.

10. Works on separate sphere include Hunt, Family Romance; and Landes, Women and the Public Sphere. For the British case, see Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes. On male rationality and the privatization and feminization of emotion, see Goldstein, Post-Revolutionary Self; Reddy, Navigation of Feeling; and Vincent-Buffault, History of Tears.
11. One example is in Guizot to princesse de Lieven, 7 July 1837, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 100, no. 24.

12. Adams, Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood; Davidson, France after Revolution; Hesse, Other Enlightenment; Rogers, From the Salon to the Schoolroom. Margadant, New Biography, studies the public personae of notable women in the nineteenth century.

13. On political sociability, see Kale, French Salons.


15. Three foundational texts in this tradition are Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men; Sedgwick, Between Men; and Smith-Rosenberg, “Female World of Love and Ritual.” More recently, see Bray, The Friend; Marcus, Between Women; Martin, Napoleonic Friendship; and Merrick, “Male Friendship in Prerevolutionary France.”

16. See, however, Colwill, “Epistolary Passions.”

17. Two early—and formative works—in sociology are Granovetter, “Strength of Weak Ties”; and Wellman and Berkowitz, Social Structures.


20. On this issue and on definitions of trust more generally, see McLeod, “Trust.”

21. Putnam, Making Democracy Work; and Putnam, Bowling Alone. This is not to say that Putnam’s claims are uncontroversial. See, for instance, Fischer, “Bowling Alone.” Fischer suggests that the changing nature of interpersonal connections, including the rise of individualism and the privatization of social ties, can better account for the decline of trust in contemporary America that Putnam notes in Bowling Alone. In this respect, Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France follows Fischer’s model more closely than it follows Putnam’s.

22. Works discussing an endemic lack of trust within French society include Algan and Cahuc, Société de défiance; and Rosanvallon, Counter-Democracy.


24. For instance, in a letter to Aberdeen written after the death of his mistress princesse de Lieven, Guizot spoke of his relationship with Lieven as being an “amitié.” Guizot to Aberdeen, Val-Richer, 25 February 1857, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 211, 145.188. Likewise, the correspondence guide Modèles de lettres uses the term “amitié” to describe a relationship between siblings.

25. Sue, Mystères de Paris, 1248.

26. In this book, I refer to women by their last name or the names by which they were referred in their lifetime, with the exception of the first reference to women whose lives or relationships I substantively discuss. In this case, I provide their full names as well as their maiden names in instances where the maiden name is available but not part of their full married name (as it was for Montcalm and Broglie). Thus Armande Marie Antoinette de Vignerot du Plessis de Richelieu, marquise de Montcalm-Gozon, is generally referred to as “Mme de Montcalm” or “Montcalm.” Perhaps because of her bourgeois background or her status as an unconventional woman of letters, Allart is typically referred to as “Hortense Allart,” as opposed to “Madame Allart,” a convention that I follow here. For women who are only mentioned, I use the naming conventions of the nineteenth century and do not provide their full names.

28. On the elite neighborhoods of Paris, see Martin-Fugier, *Vie élégante*, 100–112. On the notables as the ruling class during this period, see Jardin and Tudesq, *France des notables*.


32. On songs and political protest, see Darriulat, *Muse du peuple*.


35. For instance, there is the relationship between Mme de Broglie and Mme Récamier, two women who called each other friends but never really liked each other, as discussed in chapter 4.

36. See, for example, Rémusat, *Mémoires*, 1:439, 444.


CHAPTER 1


4. There has been considerable debate among historians as to how to understand these utterances of affection. Some scholars have described this language as a reflection of actual feeling, while others describe this rhetoric as a mask for relations of domination and subordination. For the debate, see Beik, *Absolutism and Society*; Herman, “Language of Fidelity”; Kettering, “Friendship and Clientage”; Mousnier, “Concepts de ‘ordres,’ d’états, de fidélité, et de ‘monarchie absolue’”; and Smith, “No More Language Games.”

5. Rentet, “Network Mapping.”


7. Ibid., 160.


12. Smith, *Culture of Merit*.


18. See Halévi, *Loges maçonniques*, where the phrase “democratic sociability” appears in the subtitle. On Masonry, see also Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*; and Loiselle, “New but True Friends.” On salons, see Goodman, *Republic of Letters*. For a view that salon practices were tied to hierarchical aristocratic norms, see Lilti, *Monde des salons*.

19. Sennett, *Fall of Public Man*.


24. On emotions and friendship in particular during the Revolution, see Linton, *Choosing Terror*. Unfortunately, *Choosing Terror* was published after this book went to press.


27. Quoted in Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 156.


30. Quoted in Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 150.

31. Ibid.
32. Quoted in ibid., 174–75.
34. Quoted in Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 256.
35. Quoted in ibid.
36. Quoted in David, *Fraternité*, 74.
37. On the distinction between friendship and fraternity, see Linton, “Fatal Friendships,” 56.
40. Adams, *Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood*, 45. The earliest manifestation of this anti-associational tendency was the Le Chapelier Law of 1791.
42. David, *Fraternité*, 127, 137.
44. Quoted in David, *Fraternité*, 125.
45. Ibid., 124.
50. Quoted in ibid., 63–64.
51. Ibid., 51–60.
52. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 200–202. However, even after Thermidor, some continued to see a political role for sentiment. See Vincent, *Benjamin Constant*.
59. Quoted in Steinberg, “Afterlives of the Terror,” 166.
60. Ibid., 167.
61. Ibid., 162–209; Desan, “Reconstituting the Social.”
62. Guizot, *Mémoires*, 1:113. The word “pacification” was also used in the nineteenth century in colonial contexts to describe French attempts to end resistance, including in Algeria; as a politician of the July Monarchy, Guizot supported this effort. “Pacification” thus had connotations of ending political resistance, including through force if need be.
64. Woloch, *Napoleon and His Collaborators*, 177.
68. Lentz, *France et l’Europe de Napoléon*, 224–38. Surveillance of associations during the Napoleonic era can be found in AN, F7 8779, objets généraux.


76. Fouché, *Mémoires*, 45. Although there is some debate as to whether Fouché actually wrote his *Mémoires*, the consensus is that he contributed to them and was involved in their writing, even if others did much of the work. See Zanone, *Écrire son temps*, 355.


84. See, for instance, Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 506–8; and Tocqueville, *Old Regime and the French Revolution*, xiii.


86. Lukes, “Meaning of Individualism.”


Chapter 2


180
6. Serna, République des girouettes, 240. See also Waresquier, Cent jours, 58–63.
7. Quoted in Waresquier and Yvert, Histoire de la Restauration, 181. See also Démiер, France de la Restauration, 109.
8. Pilbeam, Constitutional Monarchy, 7; Rémond, Right Wing in France, 61; Resnick, White Terror.
10. Quoted in ibid.
15. Rémond, Right Wing in France, 33.
16. The heterogeneity of the liberal opposition is a theme of Alexander, Re-writing the French Revolutionary Tradition.
17. Ibid.; Price, Perilous Crown, 83–84; Resnick, White Terror.
19. Montcalm, Mon Journal, 89. See also pp. 26, 121, where she repeats this theme.
20. Other authors of the time, including Guizot, his fellow doctrinaire Auguste de Staël, Mme de Staël’s son, and the philosopher Maine de Biran, all spoke of the hatred that ran rampant throughout French society in the aftermath of the upheaval of 1815. See Guizot, Mémoires, 1:113; Maine de Biran, Journal intime, 1:195; Waresquier and Yvert, Histoire de la Restauration, 278. See also Kale, French Salons, 105–64.
22. Ibid., 159. See also Genlis, Dictionnaire, 1:218.
23. Béranger, Ma Biographie, 151, 143; Béranger, Correspondance de Béranger, 2:15111.
27. Ibid., 122.
30. A sampling of anonymous denunciations can be found in AN, F7 6612, notes de police, from May 1816.
31. One example of a personally motivated denunciation can be found in AN, F7 6915, police politique, dossier 8285, letter to the director of the departmental administration of the police, Paris, 10 December 1821.
33. Dupaty, Délateurs, 10, 13.
34. Salvandy, Vues politiques, 76.
35. On the politicization of the police in the Restoration, see Merriman, Police Stories.
36. For the surveillance of Napoleonic officers, see Martin, Napoleonic Friendship, 149. AN, F7 6612, notes de police, May 1816, details the surveillance of an ultra gathering.
39. AN, F7 6718, députés, dossier 9; AN, F7 6719, députés, dossier 8; AN, F7 6720, députés; AN, F7 6720, députés, dossier 8371.
40. AN, F7 3796, police générale, Minister of the Interior, Office of the Police, Bulletin, 26 July 1825, no. 64 and AN, F7 3796, police générale, Minister of the Interior, Office of the Police, Bulletin, 20 August 1825, no. 70; AN, F7 6961, police politique, Minister of the Interior, Office of the Police, to the Prefect of the Bas-Rhin, Paris, 13 April 1827.
41. For instance, the information the police obtained about Auguste de Staël clearly came from his servants. AN, F7 6952, police politique, folio 11558, Prefect of the Police to Minister of the Interior, Paris, 17 January 1824.
42. Thus, in two instances, the police mentioned not being able to listen at doors or windows. One involved Horace Vernet and the other involved Lafayette. AN, F7 6923, police politique, folio 8953, Prefect of the Police to the Minister of the Interior, Paris, 16 July 1823; AN, F7 6720, députés, dossier 8371, Prefect of the Police to the Minister of the Interior, Paris, 1 October 1822. On using ruses, see Année, Livre noir, 2:389.
48. See AN, F7 6699, affaires politiques, dossier 27, on the Cercle de l’Union; and AN F7 6960, affaires politiques, dossier 12024, on the Société de la morale chrétienne.
49. AN, F7 6700, affaires politiques, folio 29.
50. Agulhon, Cercle dans la France bourgeoise; Harrison, Bourgeois Citizen. However, Duprat, Usage et pratiques, describes the strength of early nineteenth-century philanthropic organizations.
51. Recent works that discuss the problem of social cohesion in the July Monarchy include Andrews, Socialism’s Muse; Bouton, “Reconciliation, Hope, Trust, and Instability”; and Broglie, Monarchie de Juillet, 256–91.
54. Backouche, Monarchie parlementaire, 244; Bastid, Institutions politiques, 297.
55. Touchard, Gloire de Béranger, 1:446.
56. Béranger to Virlet d’Aoust, 5 November 1834, in Béranger, Correspondance de Béranger, 2:257; Béranger to Antier, Tours, 4 October 1837, in Béranger, Correspondance de Béranger, 3:58.
57. Béranger to Gilhard, Passy, 9 January 1843, in Béranger, Correspondance de Béranger, 3:269–70. See also Béranger to Thiers, Passy, 18 February 1833, Papiers Adolphe Thiers, Correspondance, 1830–34, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAF 20601, no. 169, where Béranger reassures Thiers of his continuing friendship, suggesting that Thiers was concerned about the state of their relationship.
58. See Rémusat, Mémoires, 1:439.
Notes to Pages 56–67

65. Ibid., 748.
66. Ibid., 738–39.
67. Ibid., 755.
68. Ibid., 750.
69. Ibid., 738.
70. Ibid., 761.
71. The literature on Balzac and the market is large. See, for example, Thesen, *Function of Gift Exchange*.
74. Ibid., 741.
75. Ibid., 749.
76. Ibid., 765.
77. Ibid., 735.
78. Ibid., 736.
79. Ibid., 656.
82. Ibid., 651.
83. Ibid., 656.
84. Ibid., 655.
85. Ibid., 661.

Chapter 3

2. On this issue, see the essays in part 2 of Johnson and Sabean, *Sibling Relations*.
3. The literature on epistolarity is large. Crucial works include Altman, *Epistolary*; Dauphin, Lebrun-Pézerat, and Poublan, *Ces Bonnes lettres*; Goodman, *Becoming a Woman*; and Redford, *Converse of the Pen*.
4. *Honnête homme à la cour et dans le monde*, 54.


7. See, for example, *Politesse et les usages du monde*, 52; Bouilly, *Conseils à ma fille*, 225–26. See also a letter from Rémusat to Alexis de Tocqueville quoted in Arlet, *Rémusat*, 212, which uses the word “épancher.”


9. Ibid., 1253.


12. See, for instance, Barante to Guizot, Thiers, 8 October 1827, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 12; and Barante to Guizot, 21 September 1828, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 14.


15. See, for example, Guizot to Lenormant, Brompton, 11 January 1849, in Guizot, *Années de retraite*, 25, for the use of “mille amitiés.” See Guizot to Théobald Piscatory, Val-Richer, 10 October 1838, in Guizot, *Lettres de M. Guizot à sa famille*, 178, for the use of “tout à vous.”

16. Charles de Rémusat to Guizot, Grenoble, 9 June 1826, in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 204, no. 29.

17. On the sovereignty of reason, see Craiutu, *Liberalism under Siege*, 123–53.


19. On men and the sentimental culture of mourning in the post-revolutionary era, see Fureix, *France des larmes*.

20. Guizot to Prosper de Barante, Château de Broglie, 27 September 1827, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 224.


25. Ibid., xxv.92.

26. Frame, *Montaigne in France*, 16–27. References to this essay can be found in Guizot, *M. de Barante*, 9; and Mme de Dino to Barante, Marseille, 7 November 1825, in Barante, *Souvenirs*, 3:291.


28. Ibid.

34. The classic study of male homosocial desire is Sedgwick, *Between Men.*
41. Ibid., 1:380, 455.
42. See Béranger, *Lettres inédites à P. Lebrun et à Mme Lebrun.*
45. Barante to Guizot, 26 July 1834, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 37; Barante to Guizot, 5 June 1834, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 36.
46. Barante to Guizot, 10 August 1837, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 45; Barante to Guizot, St. Petersburg, 1 July 1839, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 47.
47. Barante to Guizot, 27 September 1834, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 39.
48. Barante to Guizot, St. Petersburg, 1 July 1839, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 47; Mme de Barante to Guizot, St. Petersburg, 1 July 1839, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 47 bis.
49. Barante to Guizot, St. Petersburg, 16 March 1841, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 51.
51. Guizot to Sarah Austin, Paris, 18 April 1852, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 180, no. 130. For Chateaubriand’s statement, see Chateaubriand, *Mémoires,* 1:1435.
52. On the impact of Romanticism on notions of personal relations, see Houbre, *Discipline de l’amour.*
54. This is true in the correspondence between Guizot and Mme Mollien and Guizot and Mme Lenormant. For the Mollien/Guizot letters, see AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 210. For the Lenormant/Guizot letters, see AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 199. However, Guizot used “chère amie” with both Mme de Gasparin and Mme de Broglie.
57. Theis, François Guizot, 201; Guizot to Mme de Broglie, 20 August 1835, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 221.
58. Guizot to Mme de Broglie, 20 August 1835, in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 221.
59. Ibid.
60. Mme de Broglie to Guizot, Coppet, 17 July 1837, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 269.
61. Mme de Broglie to Barante, Broglie, 6 October 1828, in Barante, Souvenirs, 3:466.
62. See, for instance, Mme de Broglie to Mme de Castellane, Cauterets, 29 August 1820, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 67–68.
64. For statements of affection between female friends in the doctrinaire circle, see Mme de Broglie to Mme Anisson du Perron, Eaux-Bonnes, 21 July 1820, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 54; and Mme de Broglie to Mme Anisson du Perron, Coppet, 16 September 1822, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 102. On the emotional intensity of female friendships, see Marcus, Between Women, 23–108; and Smith-Rosenberg, “Female World of Love and Ritual.”
65. See, for instance, Chateaubriand to Castellane, Paris, 31 January to 4 February 1826, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 7:131; and Chateaubriand to Mme de Duras, 21 August 1815, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 3:51.
66. Mme de Broglie to Guizot, 13 July 1836, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 179.
71. Berchet, Chateaubriand, 909.
74. See, for example, Chateaubriand to Mme de Duras, 10 May 1822, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 5:98.
75. See, for example, Mme de Broglie to Mme Anisson du Perron, 12 January 1820, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 33, for an example of a letter between women that contains society gossip; as well as Mme de Broglie to Mme Anisson du Perron, Coppet, 18 July 1818, in Broglie, Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 12, where Mme de Broglie requests that her friend send her political news.
76. See, for instance, the letters reproduced in Hyde de Neuville, Mémoires, 2:297–305, 353–57.
Notes to Pages 88–92


79. See, for instance, Mme de Broglie to Guizot, Coppet, 8 November 1826, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 158; and Mme de Broglie to Guizot, Broglie, 2 July 1827, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 161.

80. Prosper de Barante to Guizot, Turin, 24 August 1838, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 38; Barante to Guizot, 6 September 1842, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 200, no. 60.

81. Mme de Dino to Guizot, Rochecotte, 30 July 1828, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 250, no. 4; Mme de Dino to Guizot, Valençay, 2 October 1828, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 250, no. 7; Mme de Dino to Guizot, Valençay, 9 September 1836, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 250, no. 33.

82. Madame de Broglie to Guizot, Broglie, 4 August 1828, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 170.


85. See, for instance, ibid., 296.

86. Goldstein, *Post-Revolutionary Self*.

CHAPTER 4

1. On this idea—and on social network analysis as one of a number of methodologies that could revive social history—see Ruggiu, “A Way out of the Crisis”; and Thompson, “Working within the Crisis.” Two relatively early uses of network analysis can be found in Padgett and Ansell, “Robust Action”; and Spitzer, *French Generation of 1820*.


3. It should be said that not all of these women were part of these men’s networks in both the 1820s and 1840s. Broglie, Duras, and Montcalm all died before the 1840s, while
Notes to Page 93

Castellane and Lieven were not close to Guizot in the 1820s. These women’s networks are studied only in the periods when they were close to these men.


On the social calendar of Parisian elites, see Martin-Fugier, *Vie élégante*, 117.

6. On the importance of this salutation for Guizot, see Theis, *François Guizot*, 109. In Guizot’s case, those who were mere political allies merited the salutation “mon honorable ami,” the same term used to refer to allies in the Chamber of Deputies. See, for example, *Moniteur universel*, 2 March 1842, 345; and 2 April 1846, 833. Guizot’s use of the salutation “mon honorable ami” appears throughout his correspondence with his political allies in the 1830s and 1840s, as in a letter from Vigier to François Guizot, 15 September 1843, in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 128, where Vigier used the salutation “Monsieur et honorable ami.” Béranger used the terms “mon cher ami” interchangeably with the salutation “mon cher” followed by the name of his correspondent. Thus Dupont de l’Eure was often “mon cher Dupont.” For his part, Chateaubriand used a variety of salutations for his male friends, such as “mon cher ami,” “mon fidèle et bon ami,” or “mon excellent ami.” He also used “mon honorable ami” with his friends, whereas for Guizot this did not indicate any personal tie. See, for example, Chateaubriand to Hyde de Neuville, 21 February 1826, in Chateaubriand, *Chateaubriand et Hyde de Neuville*, 46. In a few instances, however, men who were friends—and in some cases quite close ones—did not use these salutations. Notably, when Chateaubriand and Béranger began their friendship in the July Monarchy, they often used the highly formal salutation “monsieur” with each other. For the Béranger/Chateaubriand letters, see Béranger, *Correspondance de Béranger*, vol. 3. For Chateaubriand’s description of their friendship, see Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 2:2380. See also Touchard, *Gloire de Béranger*, 2:165–79.

7. See, for instance, the letters from Mme de Broglie to Guizot in Broglie, *Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie*.

8. Although it is much easier to find this type of personal news in letters between men and women or those between women, male friends still included personal information in their letters to one another, but to a lesser extent.

9. In cases where there is a lack of certainty about whether a friendship existed, I have gone with the preponderance of evidence. If memoirs and biographies suggest that two individuals were close, I count them as such even if their patterns of correspondence do not always display the hallmarks of friendship.
10. In some cases, we have the correspondence or memoirs of these individuals; this is particularly true in the circle around Guizot. See Rémusat, Mémoires; and Barante, Souvenirs. The correspondence, memoirs, and biographies of our three principals also provide additional information. For instance, the fact that Dupont and Manuel were friends is largely clear through the Béranger/Dupont correspondence.

11. For example, I count Mme Récamier as a friend as opposed to a lover here, despite the complications of their relationship as discussed in chapter 3. This is the category that their biographers use to describe their bond in the late 1820s, as the two had ceased their physical relationship. See Berchet, Chateaubriand, 721.

12. For instance, in his autobiography, Béranger stated that he never really trusted Lafayette. Béranger, Ma Biographie, 250. Béranger may have wanted to distance himself from this man because of Lafayette’s role in ushering in the July Monarchy, a regime of which Béranger was critical. Lafayette had given Louis-Philippe’s reign a very public blessing in 1830, one that assured that the king would have the support of the left. Béranger’s discussion of his deep-seated suspicion of Lafayette may have had more to do with the nature of the latter’s actions in 1830 than the state of his feelings in the 1820s.

13. For instance, Mme de Gasparin asked Guizot to burn her letters. See Broglie, Guizot, 210. His daughter Henriette was guilty of destroying one set of correspondence; she disliked Mme de Dino so much that she destroyed all of Dino’s letters after 1857, the year in which Dino and her father became close. See Broglie, Guizot, 434.

14. Guizot, Mélanges biographiques, 111.
15. Ibid., 144.
17. Montalembert to Guizot, Maîche, 23 August 1868, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 265, no. 15
18. See, for instance, Chateaubriand to Jean Baptiste Le Moine, Lausanne, 14 June 1826, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 7:394, where he refers to Le Moine as “mon vieil ami.”
19. One example is the relations between Benjamin Constant and Béranger discussed in chapter 5.
20. Wagener, Madame Récamier, 279.
21. Dino’s letters to Guizot can be found in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 250.
23. Kale, French Salons, 141–44. For instance, Lieven’s salon attracted politicians, diplomats, and foreign visitors, particularly from Britain (where she had lived for many years) and Russia (her native country) during the years of the July Monarchy, Second Republic, and Second Empire. A list of the visitors to her salon in the 1850s can be found in the British Library, Additional Manuscripts 47392–94, Lieven Papers.
24. On this issue, see Agulhon, Cercle dans la France bourgeoise; Goodman, Republic of Letters; and Vincent-Buffault, Exercice de l’amitié, 185–247.
25. This idea is particularly evident in Agulhon, *Cercle dans la France bourgeoise*, where he posits an opposition between the mixed sociability of aristocratic salons and the all-male sociability of bourgeois men's clubs. See also Kale, *French Salons*, where he describes the persistence of salons and aristocratic sociability as an example of the legacy of the Old Regime. In contrast, Mona Ozouf has suggested that gender mixing is characteristic of French sociability. See Ozouf, *Women's Words.*

26. Included in this faction are Hortense Bonaparte and Caroline Murat (two friends of Récamier). They are included in the liberal opposition because they belonged to the Bonaparte family, although both lived in exile and were not necessarily politically active during this time.

27. The politics of the doctrinaires during the Restoration are explored in Craiutu, *Liberalism under Siege*; and Rosanvallon, *Moment Guizot*. Also included in this faction is Achille de Daunant, a lifelong friend of Guizot. Although he was not active in doctrinaire circles during the 1820s, Guizot indicated that the two men had the same political beliefs. See Guizot, *Mélanges biographiques*, 371–96. On Guizot’s first wife’s politics, see Bates, “Madame Guizot and Monsieur Guizot.”


29. However, within these factions, individuals are not situated according to their politics. For instance, Royer-Collard was more conservative than was Guizot, but their placement within the doctrinaire camp is not an indication of their relative political positions. On the difference between their politics, see Theis, *François Guizot*, 95.


35. On Talleyrand’s politics at this phase in the Restoration, see Waresquiel, *Talleyrand*, 561. On Dino’s politics as being the same as his, see Ziegler, *Duchess of Dino*, 186–89.

36. Ziegler, *Duchess of Dino*, 163. Their letters can be found in Dino, “La duchesse de Dino et le baron de Vitrolles.”


38. Récamier was particularly insistent that her salon be a “neutral space,” in her words. See Herriot, *Madame Récamier et ses amis*, 2295. Yet in 1816, she tried to pull Benjamin Constant to the right. See Constant to Récamier, November 1816, in Constant, *Lettres de Benjamin Constant à Madame Récamier*, 504–12.


40. Included in this camp are Lieven and Récamier, both of whom claimed to be neutral. Lieven was not particularly interested in domestic politics, although she did pull
Guizot into a more conservative direction. See Guizot, Mélanges biographiques, 207–8; and Theis, François Guizot, 160–63. Little is known about Récamier’s politics in this era, although she was horrified by the Revolution of 1848. See Lenormant, Madame Récamier, 345.

41. Touchard, Gloire de Béranger, 2:118.

42. Lamennais was also close to the baron de Vitrolles, a legitimist. See Lamennais and Vitrolles, Correspondance inédite.

43. Atkin and Tallett, Right in France, 63.

44. Quoted in Berchet, Chateaubriand, 823.

45. Chateaubriand, Mémoires, 2:2380.

46. Touchard, Gloire de Béranger, 2:209.

47. The one exception is Charles Lenormant, who had affinities with liberal Catholics. However, Lenormant was not a politician but a scholar, and Guizot was in any case closer to his wife than to Lenormant.

48. On the importance of ideological similarity for Guizot’s friendships, see Pouthas, Jeunesse de François Guizot, 390; and Theis, François Guizot, 106–45.

49. See, for example, Sédouy, Comte Molé, 180, where Castellane helped Molé and Guizot reconcile with each other in 1836.

50. Mme de Dino to Barante, Sagan, 6 December 1848, in Barante, Souvenirs, 7:397.

51. On Lieven’s influence on Guizot’s foreign policy, see Theis, François Guizot, 160–63.

52. See, for example, Guizot to Gasparin, London, 10 September 1840, in Guizot, Guizot et Madame Laure de Gasparin, 205–7.


CHAPTER 5

1. Thiers to Guizot, February 1836, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 246, no. 11.


3. This is not to say that there were no differences between the political culture of the Restoration and that of the July Monarchy. As the electorate expanded after 1830, politics became less exclusively aristocratic; newspapers also became more important after 1830. On the composition of the Chamber of Deputies in the July Monarchy, see Higonnet and Higonnet, “Class, Corruption, and Politics.” On the press, see Popkin, Press, Revolution, and Social Identities.

4. In the Restoration, at least, the ministry did not need a majority, and as a result there were times when the government was at odds with the Chamber of Deputies. One occurred at the beginning of the Restoration when the ultra Chambre introuvable opposed the moderate Richelieu ministry. Another occurred at the end of the regime when liberals dominated the Chamber but the head of the government was the archconservative prince de Polignac. Nevertheless, there were still some in the Chambers who backed these ministries.
5. In principle, the composition of the cabinet was up to the king. See Bastid, *Institutions politiques*, 299. But in practice, the composition of any ministry relied on input from the Chambers and on negotiations among politicians.


13. The way in which Old Regime salon culture was reappropriated to fit the needs of the post-revolutionary era is a central theme of Kale, *French Salons*.

14. Moniteur universel, 2 March 1842, 345; and 2 April 1846, 333. See also Vigier to Guizot, 15 September 1843, in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 128, where Vigier used the salutation “monsieur et honorable ami.”

15. See, for instance, the speeches in Goodrich, *Select British Eloquence*.


17. For these maneuvers, see Waresquiel and Yvert, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 409, 434.

18. On Montbel as mayor of Toulouse, see ibid., 434.

19. Thiér to Guizot, 2 March 1840, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 246, no. 12. 


22. Waresquiel and Yvert, “Duc de Richelieu et le comte Decazes.”

23. Quoted in Waresquiel, *Duc de Richelieu*, 368 n. The dispute between them is described on pp. 356–68.


25. Soult to Guizot, Soult-Berg, 30 September 1847, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 256, no. 48.


29. Ibid.


31. Ibid., 1:356.

32. Ibid., 1:356.


34. Ibid., 575.

35. Ibid.
36. Dupuy, Duchesse de Dino, 262.
38. Thus Chateaubriand served as ambassador to Rome in 1829 because of his personal and political affiliation with the comte de La Ferronnays, who was minister of foreign affairs. See Chateaubriand to Mme Récamier, Rome, 20 January 1829, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 8:218.
40. See, for example, Mathieu de Montmorency to Chateaubriand, Paris, 13 May 1822, in ibid., 5:431–33.

Chapter 6

1. Montcalm, Mon Journal, 144.
2. François Guizot, Moniteur universel, August 19, 1842, 1812.
3. On this issue, see Gunn, When the French Tried to Be British.
4. See, for example, Hyde de Neuville, Mémoires, 2:283–86.
5. Mme de Broglie to François Guizot, Coppet, 8 November 1826, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 158; and Mme de Broglie to François Guizot, Broglie, 2 July 1827, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 214, no. 161.
8. For instance, Mme de Montcalm called her “the queen of the ultras.” See Montcalm, Mon Journal, 224.
10. Mme de Broglie to Barante, Cauterets, 21 July 1820, in Barante, Souvenirs, 2:449.
13. Diesbach, Chateaubriand, 348, 382. See, for example, Chateaubriand to Mme Récamier, Berlin, 20 January 1821, in Chateaubriand, Correspondance, 4:43.
15. In his classic work on the right-wing in France, René Rémond suggests that while ultras and moderates both feared revolution, the ultras were characterized by their “immoderate excesses and verbal violence” and thus by the tone of their politics. See Rémond, Right Wing in France, 33.
17. Rémusat, Mémoires, 3:304.
18. In his words, “I exaggerated my concerns to her about the remarks that were being launched at me.” Ibid.
19. Ibid., 5:252.
26. Ibid., 144.
30. Ibid., 2:302.
31. Mme Lenormant’s letters to Guizot can be found in AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 199.
33. Ibid., 16.
34. Guizot to Mme Lenormant, Brighton, 9 February 1849, in ibid., 27.
35. Guizot to Mme Lenormant, Brompton, 27 March 1849, in ibid., 32. “Entente cordiale” is underlined in the original.
36. Comte de Montalembert to Mme Lenormant, 18 September 1848, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 199, no. 32 bis.
37. Comte de Montalembert to Mme Lenormant, 14 March 1849, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 199, no. 70.
38. On Guizot and the monarchical fusion, see Johnson, *Guizot*, 45.
40. See, for example, Montcalm, *Mon Journal*, 89.
41. In ibid., 214, she speaks of her royalism and her dislike of both the far-left and the far-right.
43. In contrast, Kale sees salonnières as far less engaged and as facilitators who were often without their own political goals.
44. Comte de Montalembert to Mme Lenormant, 14 March 1849, AN, Archives privées, Fonds Guizot, 42 AP 199, no. 70.
47. Ibid., 2:459.
Notes to Pages 152–162

52. For Hyde’s views on women’s political involvement, see Montcalm, Mon Journal, 144.
53. Hyde de Neuville, Mémoires, 2:469.
54. Lieven, Lieven-Palmerston Correspondence, 181–99.

EPILOGUE

1. As Rémusat stated about Guizot in the 1840s, “I have enough pride to believe that he would not have done certain things if our intimacy had survived.” Rémusat, Mémoires, 4:40.
2. Fortescue, “Morality and Monarchy.”
5. On the shift away from salons to political parties, see ibid., 165–99.
6. Various historians have dated the end of the reign of the notables differently. André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq end their La France des notables in 1848, whereas Daniel Halévy dates the transition to the 1870s, and Philip Nord dates the shift to the 1860s and 1870s. See Jardin and Tudesq, France des notables; Halévy, End of the Notables; Nord, Republican Moment. Thus the shift away from a politics based around the notables should be seen as gradually occurring over the course of the mid-nineteenth century.
9. See ibid., 44; James, Parisian Sketches, 54–56.
10. Martin-Fugier, Salons de la IIIe République, 58.
12. On the establishment of political parties in France, see Kreuzer, Institutions and Innovation, 23–51.
13. Harris, Dreyfus, 293. My discussion of the Dreyfus Affair is heavily indebted to Harris’s work.
15. Harris, Dreyfus, 250–54.
17. Harris, Dreyfus, 274, 286, 293.