Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France

Horowitz, Sarah

Published by Penn State University Press


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

Page numbers in italics refer to figures; those followed by n refer to notes, with note number.

Acte additionnel, 43
Adam, Juliette, 160, 161
Adams, Christine, 31
Adélaïde, Mme, 128
Agoult, Marie d’, 106, 160
Aide toi, le ciel t’aidera, 52
Allart de Méritens, Hortense
and Béranger, 83, 89
as Chateaubriand’s mistress, 86–87, 89, 104, 142, 143, 164
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 102–3, 105, 106, 106–7, 107; limitation of to elites, 158;
sources on, 92
personal life, documentation of, 12
political activity of, 133–34, 142, 150, 151, 157
politics of, 11, 101, 102–3, 103–4
and Sainte-Beuve, 82–83, 87, 93
alliances, formation of, women’s role in, 142–49
“ami” and “amitié,” definitions of, 10
Ampère, Jean Jacques, 99, 101, 102
Anselot, Virginie, 57
Anisson du Perron, Mme, 84
Anne de Montmorency, 23
anomie, post-Revolution, 41–48, 60, 64. See also factionalism; social cohesion
and Balzac’s Illusions perdues: on friendship, as positive form of individualism, 60, 64; on friendship as solution to problem of atomizing self-interest, 60, 63–64; on impossibility of friendship in public competitive world, 61, 64
echoes of through French history, 156
French concern about, 39–40
ideological divide of Restoration and, 42, 44–48, 114, 181n20
and parliamentary government, necessity of trust in, 115, 116, 142
political uses of friendship as remedy for, 131–32, 154–56
Restoration police state and, 48–53
and trust, lack of, 3–4, 9, 22, 33–34, 154
variety of political beliefs and, 41
anthropological approach to political practice, 6
Arconati-Visconti, marquise, 162
associational life. See also anomie, post-Revolution; salons; social cohesion
efforts to control: Napoleon era, 36–38; Restoration era, 49, 52–53
18th-century, and rise of democratic sensibility, 27
increase in, in late 19th century, 159
in July Monarchy, 54
post-Revolution: and friendship, reshaping of, 29; government shutdown of, 31, 34–35
in second half of 19th century, 159–60
Baier, Annette, 8–9
Ballanche, Pierre Simon de
friendship network, 99, 99, 101, 102, 106, 107
politics of, 100, 101, 101
Balzac, Honoré de, 2, 42, 57–59, 78. See also
Illusions perdues (Balzac)
Barante, Prosper de
biography of, 168
and Broglie, Mme de, 84, 88, 96, 136–38, 150
Barante, Prosper de (continued)
correspondence, homoerotic overtones in, 76–77
and Dino, Mme de, 69
on friendship, 2
friends of, exchange of favors among, 79–80
and Guizot: correspondence, 70–71, 72–73;
friendship with, 79–80, 118
and Molé, correspondence, 76–77
political career of, 2
politics of, 101
and Récamier, 167
and Rémusat, 76–77
sister of as confidante, 84
women’s political activities and, 136–38, 150
Barère, Bertrand, 31
Barrot, Odilon, 56, 132
Barthe, Félix, 54–55
Bellaguet, Louis François, 79–80
Béranger, Pierre Jean de
and Allart, 81, 89
biography, 164
and Cauchois-Lemaire, 83
character and personality of, 12–13
and Chateaubriand: friendship with, 12, 13,
17, 108, 164; political dealings with, 142,
150
and Constant, alliance between, 125–27
and Dupont, 118
family of, 155
female correspondents, 83
friendship network, 118, 164–65;
characteristic salutation in letters of,
93, 188n16; 1825–1829, 98, 99, 101, 101, 102,
104, 170, 171; 1843–1847, 105, 106, 106, 107,
107–8, 110, 172, 173; maintenance of by
female friends, 89; politics as influence
on, 91, 101, 101, 102, 104–5, 107, 107; sources
on, 94–95, 105
friends of: among elites, 12; exchange of
favors among, 78; factionalism of July
Monarchy and, 54–55; factionalism of
Restoration and, 47; financial assistance
interchanged with, 17, 78; importance
to Béranger, 13; women as, 81, 100
and Lafayette, 189n12
and Lamartine, 12, 107
and Lebrun, 78
and Manuel, friendship with, 1, 94;
closeness of, 97; as political act, 1, 2, 102,
118; possible erotic component of, 1, 75
political career, 14, 125, 164
politics of, 1, 11, 12, 101, 101, 104
representativeness of, 13–14
on Restoration, foreign military support
of, 45
social class of, 12
as songwriter, 1, 13–14
sources on, 133–34
tomb of, 1
Bérard, Louis, 78
Berry, duchess de, 51
Berry, duchess de, 165
Berryer, 106, 107, 109
Biran, Maine de, 181n20
Boigne, comtesse de, 96
Bonaparte, Lucien, 164
Bonaparte, Napoleon. See also Hundred
Days
on atomization of French society, 36
and homosexuality, 75–76
return to France in 1815, and political
factionalism, 4
Bonaparte family, friendship network, 99, 102
Brissot, Jacques Pierre, 32
Broglio, Albertine Ida Gustavine de Staël
Holstein, duchesse de
and Barante, correspondence, 84, 88, 96,
136–38, 150
biography of, 168
female correspondents, 84
friendship network, 94, 96, 99, 99, 101, 103;
sources on, 92
and Guizot: correspondence with, 17,
83–84, 85, 135; friendship with, 97
and husband’s friendship network,
maintenance of, 88–89
personal life, documentation of, 12
political activity of, 135, 136–38, 149, 150
politics of, 11, 101
and Récamier, friendship of, 97
as salonnière, 116
as source, 105
Index

Brogie, Victor de
and Barante, friendship with, 118
biography of, 168
character and personality of, 89
on friendship, 2
friendship network, 99, 101, 102, 106, 107;
maintenance of by wife, 88–89
and Guizot: correspondence, 72;
friendship with, 65, 69, 118, 121, 140
political career of, 2, 111
and political instability, suffering due to, 65
politics of, 101
and Rémuais, political support for, 121, 140
Brune, Marshal, 44
Bulwer-Lytton, Henry, 83

character and personality, 13, 95, 108
correspondence, salutations used in, 188n6
and duchesse de Berry affair, 14
and Duras, 86, 87
ex-mistresses, continued friendship with,
86–87
and factionalism of Restoration, 48
as faction leader, 115
friendship network: and definition of
friend, 96–97; 1825–1829, 98, 99, 101, 101–2,
105, 170, 171; 1843–1847, 105, 106, 107, 107,
107–8, 110, 172, 173; maintenance of by
female friends, 89; members of, 165–67;
politics as influence on, 91, 101, 101–2,
105, 104–5, 107, 118; sources on, 94–95, 105
on friendships with women, 81
friends of: financial assistance and, 17, 78;
women as, 81, 100
on Hundred Days, disgust created by, 43
and Hyde de Neuville, 118, 166
on individualism after Revolution, 39
and Martignac cabinet, negotiations
surrounding, 119–20, 121
and Montcalm, 167
police surveillance of, 51
political career of, 103, 131, 138, 139, 191138
politics of, 11, 12, 101–2, 108, 143–44
and Récamier: love affair with, 51, 87, 166,
167; politics of, 100
representativeness of, 13
sister of as confidante, 84
social class of, 12
sources on, 13
women correspondents, 83, 86
women’s political activism and, 138–41,
142, 150, 151, 157
Chevreuse, duchesse de, 96
Choiseul-Praslin, duc de, 158
Choiseul-Praslin affair, 158
cholera epidemic (1832), 65
Church, sentimentalism as challenge to, 26
Cicero, 74
Clausel de Coussergues, 118
clubs
18th-century, and democratic sensibility,
rise of, 27
increase in, in late 19th century, 159
in July Monarchy, 54

café, and democratic sensibility, rise of, 27
Cassatt, Mary, 162
Castellane, Cordélia Greffulhe, comtesse de
and Broglie, Mme de, 84
Chatteaubriand and, 81, 85, 86, 105
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 105, 106, 107,
109; sources on, 92
political activity of, 139
politics of, 101, 109
Catellan, Mme de, 98, 99, 101
Catholics, on individualism after
Revolution, 39
Cauchois-Lemaire, Judith, 83, 106, 107
Caveau (songwriters and authors group), 47
center-left, friendship networks of, 106, 107
Cercle de l’Union, 52
Charles et Marie (Souza), 68
Charles X (king of France), 100, 157
Chatteaubriand, François René de
and Allart, as mistress, 86–87, 89, 104, 142,
143, 150, 164
and Béranger: friendship with, 12, 13, 17,
108, 164; political dealings with, 142, 150
biography of, 165–66
and Castellane, 83, 85, 86, 105

213
clubs (continued)
of Napoleonic era, surveillance of, 36–37, 37–38
post-Revolution: and friendship, reshaping of, 29; government shutdown of, 31, 34–35
Restoration era, 33
Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 23
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 29
Comédie humaine (Balzac), 49
compromise, political uses of friendship and, 157
conservatives
on Hundred Days, disgust created by, 43
on individualism after Revolution, 39
Constant, Benjamin
and Acte additionnel, 43
and Barante, 168
and Béranger, alliance between, 125–27
friendship network, 99, 99, 101, 102
police surveillance of, 51
politics of, 46, 101
and Récamier, 100, 167
Constitution of Year III, 34
cooperation among politicians, women’s role in facilitation of, 133, 133, 138–41
Corbière, 139
Corps législatif, Napoleon’s ban on debate in, 36
correspondence
importance to elite friendships, 93
markers of deference in, 131
salutations as indication of friendship, 93, 112, 188n6
as source, reliability of, 67, 94–95
of women, characteristic salutation in, 93
Couchery, Jean Baptiste, 38
Cousin, Victor, 90, 96
Le Cousin Pons (Balzac), 78
Couthon, Georges, 32
Custine, Astolphe de, 76
Custine, Delphine de (née Sabran), 86–87
Danton, Georges, 33, 34
Daunant, Achille de, 169
De Amicitia (Cicero), 74
Decazes, Élie, 51, 123–24, 167
Defection faction, 100, 113, 119
Degas, Edgar, 162
De la Démocratie en France (Guizot), 147
Les Délégués (Dupaty), 49
“De l’Esprit de conquête et de l’usurpation” (Constant), 43
democracy
government by friendship networks and, 158
Tocqueville on atomism of, 39
Democracy in America (Tocqueville), 39
democratic sensibility
sentimentalism and, 26–27
socializing in clubs and cafés and, 27
denunciations
and culture of fear, 33, 34, 50
as duty, during Revolution of 1789, 33
frequency of, 49
motives of, 49
in Restoration period, 41, 48–50
and social cohesion, destruction of, 35, 41
Deputies
emotions experienced by, 28–29
and political friendships, 30
Désaugiers, Marc Antoine, 47
Desmoulins, Camille, 33
Dictionnaire de l’Académie française (1835), on “ami” and “amitié,” 10
Diderot, Denis, 26
Dino, Dorothée de Courlande, duchesse de and Barante, friendship with, 69
biography of, 168–69
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 109; sources on, 92, 94
and Guizot, 88, 97
politics of, 101, 102, 103, 109
as salonnière, 98
Directory period, self interest as focus of, 34
distrust among citizens. See also anomie, post-Revolution; social cohesion; trust
Napoleon’s police surveillance and, 22, 35, 37–38
political denunciations and, 33, 34, 50
political side-switching of Hundred Days and, 43–45
political side-switching of Restoration and, 50
the Terror and, 33–34
Index

doctrinaires, 2
correspondence and support among, 70
friendship network, 98, 100, 101
ideology, 100
leadership of, 115
surveillance of during Restoration, 52
Dosne, Eurydice Sophie Matheron, 116, 140–41, 149
Dreyfus, Alfred, 162
Dreyfus Affair, and late 19th century
parallels with post-Revolutionary era, 159, 161–62

*droit d’aubaine*, abolishment of, 30
Drumont, Édouard, 162
Duchâtel, Charles Tanneguy, 74, 75
Dupaty, Emmanuel, 49
Dupin, André, 54–55
Dupleix de Mézy, M., 51
Dupont de l’Eure, Jacques Charles
biography of, 165
friendship network, 94, 99, 101, 102, 106, 107, 118
and Manuel, friendship with, 118–19
politics of, 101
Duras, Claire Louisa Rose Bonne Lechal de Kersaint, duchess de
biography of, 166
and Chateaubriand: affair with, 51, 87; correspondence, 83, 86, 87; friendship between, 87, 103
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 103
political activity by, 138
politics of, 101

early modern France, and expressions of love
as political tool, 22–23
Éméric, Louis Damien, 81–82
emotionalism, in novels of 18th century, 26
emotions
control of, as value in Old Regime, 25, 26
feminization of in early 19th century, 89–90
functional (empty) expressions of:
identification of, 15, 16; as marker of political loyalty, post-Revolution, 10–11, 16, 111–19, 121–22, 122–23, 130, 147–48;
as political tool in Old Regime, 21, 22–25
historical mediation of, 14
of long-dead individuals, difficulty of investigating, 1, 9, 14–16, 73
male: calming of, as role of women, 139–41; discussion of, in friendships with women, 13, 17, 81–87, 137, 141, 146, 148, 153
sincerity of expressions of, as issue, 11, 15, 16, 67
Estates General, opening of, as emotional event, 28

fractionalism. See also anomic, post-
Revolution; social cohesion
causes of, 42, 44–48, 181n20
and denunciations, 49
and friendship: important political function of, 5–5, 114; in July Monarchy, 55–56; shaping of, 6
in July Monarchy, 4, 41, 53, 54, 55–56, 104, 110
political consequences of, 157–58
in Restoration, 3–4; Balzac on, 42, 59–61;
and political alliances, difficulty of forming, 143
return of, in second half of 19th century, 160–62
women’s bridging of, 4, 5, 91, 98–100, 101, 102–4, 103, 109–10, 133, 149
factions, functioning of as political parties, 115–17

family
as political force in 19th century, 3
as source of connection and affection, 155
far left, friendship networks of, 106, 107
favors, exchange of
as expectation among friends, 78–80
and self-interest, overcoming of, 79–80

fear
denunciations and, 33, 34, 50
in Napoleonic era, 22, 35, 37–38
police surveillance and, 52
politics as brutal arena and, 4, 48, 50, 51, 55–56, 58–59
Revolution of 1789 and, 29; and failure of *fraternité*, 28, 30–31
White Terror and, 43–44, 143

Ferry, Jules, 160
Fiévée, Joseph, 38, 75–76
financial assistance, as norm of male-to-male friendship, 17, 61, 78–79
Fischer, Claude, 176n21
Fontette, M. de, 147, 148
Fouché, Joseph, 32, 37, 38, 51
France, Anatole, 162
François I (king of France), court politics under, and personal ties as political tool, 23–24
fraternité
as duty, under étatiste model, 31–32
efforts to unite post-revolutionary France through, 28, 30–35, 40
vs. friendship, differences between, 30
as product of sentimentalism, 30
replacement of with étatiste model, 31
Freemasonry
and democratic sensibility, rise of, 27
in Napoleonic era, 36
Restoration government concerns about, 52–53
friend(s)
use of term among elites, 95–97
political, distinction between personal friends and, 96, 97
as political allies, 118
as stand-in (proxy) for friends, in political transactions, 4–5, 113, 117–22
friendship
Balzac’s Illusions perdues on: impossibility of, in public competitive world, 61, 64;
loyalty and assistance as expressions of, 62–63, 77, 78; as positive form of individualism, 60, 64; as solution to problem of atomizing self-interest, 60, 63–64; true nature of, 62–63
centralization of, under étatiste model, 31–32
clubs and salons and, 29
cultural importance in early 19th century, 2, 15–16
definition of, 9–10
denunciations of Restoration period and, 50
as elective tie, 155–56
and factionalism: in July Monarchy, 55–56; political functions of friendship within, 3–5; shaping influence of, 6
and fear of betrayal, 33–34 (See also fear)
female-to-female, expressions of affection in, 85
female-to-male, 80–88; as bridge to private inner life, 72–73, 81, 90; confidences and secrets in, 83–84; erotic overtones in, 86–88; expressions of affection in, 85–86; and friendship networks, maintenance of, 88–90, 98–100; normative expectations for, 66; normative texts on, 81–82; play of formality and intimacy in, 82–83; psychological relief as function of, 69, 81, 82, 84–85; self-exploration as function of, 84; self-revelation (éprouvement) as expectation in, 11, 17, 81–87, 137, 141, 146, 148, 155; as understudied subject, 8;
unreciprocated love in, 87–88
as focus of official concern, 32–33
vs. fraternité, 30
in friendship network analysis, 93–94, 95–98
functional (empty) expressions of (see also friendship, political uses of):
identification of, 15, 16; as marker of political loyalty, post-Revolution, 10–11, 16, 111–19, 121–22, 122–25, 130, 147–48; as political tool in Old Regime, 21, 22–25
as highly gendered, 66, 69, 90
impossibility of in public competitive world, 61, 64, 66, 69
male-to-male, 69–80; circumscribed range of, 132; emotional expressions and, 69–72; expression of through loyalty, 66, 77–80, 121; expression of through support and patronage, 17, 62–63, 77–80, 82, 90; homoerotic overtones in, 70, 73–74, 75–77, 82; normative expectations for, 66–68, 69, 78; similarity and union as expectation of, 69, 74–75, 77, 102, 104, 108, 111, 113; as solution to anomie in Napoleonic era, culture of fear in, 37
and Napoleonic era, culture of fear in, 37
normative texts on, 74–75, 78; confluence with individual’s expectations, 66–67; on female-male friendships, nature of, 81–82; focus on male friendships in, 81;
on male-male friendships, nature of, 81–82
in novels of 18th century, 27
political uses of: in early transition to parliamentary government, 113–14, 115, 154; friends as stand-ins (proxies), in political transactions, 4–5, 113, 117–22; limited effectiveness of, 132–33; as marker of political loyalty, 10–11, 16, 21, 22–25, 111–19, 121–22, 122–25, 130, 147–48; in reduction of political tensions, 125–31; as remedy for post-Revolution anomie, 3–5, 7, 131–32, 154–56; as repetition of Old Regime practices, 117, 122, 156; in second half of 19th century, 159–61; as subject of scholarly interest, 7–8; as substitute for political parties, 102, 113, 155–17; in Third Republic, 156; as undemocratic, 158; as unhealthy form of politics, 156–58
reality of: as issue for friends themselves, 16–17; as issue for modern researchers, 11, 15–16, 17–18, 67
reshaping of, post-Revolution, 29–30, 47–48
rise of as paradigm, sentimentalism and, 27
and romantic love, blurred boundary between, 2, 9–10, 65, 76, 86, 87–88, 94
self-exploration as function of, 65, 66, 68
self-revelation (épachten) as expectation in, 17, 67–69, 77; male-to-female friendships and, 13, 17, 81–87, 137, 141, 146, 148, 155
as solution to problem of atomized self-interest, 60, 63–64, 67, 73, 77, 79–80
as statement of political affiliation, 2–3
trust as basis of, 74, 80; Balzac on, 80, 62, 64; Guizot on, 65; in male-female relationships, 81; and male loyalty, expectations for, 66; normative expectations on, 66, 67–68, 69, 80; normative texts on, 66
friendship network analysis, 8, 91–92. See also friendship networks
friendship networks
coalescing of political groups around, 28, 32
and differences of men’s and women’s ties, 91
1823–1829, 17, 98–104, 99, 101, 170, 171
1843–1847, 104–10, 106, 107, 172, 173
and friends as stand-in (proxy) for friends, 4–5, 113, 117–22
social relations illuminated by, 92
sources on, 92–98; and definition of friendship, 93–94, 95–98; as incomplete record, 92–93, 94–95; reliability of, 94–95
of women, as bridge across political factions, 4, 5, 91, 98–100, 101, 102–4, 105, 109–10, 133, 149
women’s role in maintenance of, 88–90
Gambetta, Léon, 160, 161
Gasparin, Auguste de, 169
Gasparin, Gabrielle Henriette Catherine
Laure de Daunant de
biography of, 169
friendship network of, 106, 107
political activity of, 145, 149, 152
Gaultier de Biauzat, Jean François, 28
Genlis, Madame de, 38, 49
Girondins, friendship networks among, 32, 33
girouettes, 43–48
Guérin, Pierre Narcisse, 47
Guizot, Elisa (née Dillon), 84
Guizot, François
and Barante: correspondence, 70–71, 72–73; friendship with, 79–80, 118
biography of, 167–68
and Broglie, Mme de: correspondence with, 17, 83–84, 85, 133; friendship with, 97
and Broglie, Victor de: correspondence with, 72; friendship with, 65, 69, 118, 121, 140
circle of friends, correspondence of, 67
character and personality, 13
Index
INDEX

Guizot, François (continued)
correspondence: characteristic salutation between friends in, 91, 112, 18806; political, 111–12
and corruption of July Monarchy, 138
death of first wife, emotional correspondence occasioned by, 72–73
and Dino, 88, 97
and factionalism of Restoration, 48
as faction leader, 115
family of, 115
female correspondents, 83–84; expressions of affection toward, 85–86
on friendship, 2
friendship network, 112, 118, 167–69;
friendships of: exchange of favors and, 78–80; Guizot’s pride in, 13; male, freedom from emotion, 70; with women, 81, 100
on friendships with women, 81
and Gasparin: correspondence, 83, 85–86, 88; friendship with, 109, 152, 153, 157–58
and Lieven, 35, 109–10, 157
Mélanges biographiques et littéraires, 96
and Mollien, correspondence with, 83
and Montalembert, 96, 147–48
on Napoleonic era, 35
personal life, documentation of, 12
political career, 2, 11, 120, 146–47
political education, 115
and political instability, suffering due to, 65
politics of, 11, 12, 101, 102, 109
on politics of July Monarchy, 55–56
and public-private distinction, 7
on Récamier, friends of, 96
and Rémusat: correspondence, 71, 73;
friendship with, 16–17, 55, 71–72, 73, 109, 120–21, 132, 169
on Restoration, factionalism in, 18806
and Revolution of 1848, 137–38
Royer-Collard and, 71
secrets shared with friends, 17
social class of, 12
and Soult, political alliance with, 124–25
sources on, 131
and Thiers: correspondence, 111–13;
political alliance with, 121–22, 143, 152, 169; rivalry with, 54, 55–56
and Thiers’s cabinet, negotiations over, 120–22, 123
on women, role of, 7, 134, 152
women’s political activity and, 114, 139, 142–43, 146–49, 150–51, 152–53
Guizot, Guillaume, 17, 83
Guizot, Pauline (née de Meulan), 72, 73, 167–68

Halévy, Ran, 27
Hardin, Russell, 8–9
Havet, Olympe and Louis, 162
Henri II (king of France), 23
Higonet, Patrice, 31
homoerotic overtones in male-to-male friendship, 70, 73–74, 75–77, 82
homosexual relationships
language of friendship used to describe, 76
of long-dead persons, difficulty of evaluating, 1, 9, 75
perception of in 19th century, 75–76
perception of in Old Regime, 75–76
scholars of, on political functions of friendship, 8
honor, importance of for men of 19th century, 79–80
Hume, David, 26
Hundred Days
appeal of Napoleon during, 43
and ideological divisions, reigniting of, 42–46
political side-switching in, and post-Revolution anomie, 43–45
Restoration concerns about loyalty following, 51
Hunt, Lynn, 26, 29
Hyde de Neuville, Jean Guillaume de biography of, 166
and Chateaubriand, friendship with, 13, 17, 78, 118, 166
friendship network, 99, 101, 105, 107
and La Trémolière, correspondence with, 88, 135–36
and Montcalm: correspondence, 88; friendship with, 143–45, 151–53, 166, 167
political career, 119–20
politics of, 101
women’s political activity and, 143–46, 149, 151–52
on women’s role, 152

Illusions perdues (Balzac), 59–64
on corrosive effects of factionalism and self-interest, 42, 59–61
on friendship: impossibility of in public competitive world, 61, 64; loyalty and assistance as expressions of, 62–63, 77, 78; as positive form of individualism, 60, 64; as solution to problem of atomizing self-interest, 60, 63–64; true nature of, 62–63
friendships in, as exclusively male, 81
plot of, 60
Impressionists, Dreyfus Affair and, 162
individualism. See also self-interest
desire for autonomy, in novels of
19th century, 26
friendship as positive form of, 155–56; in Balzac’s Illusions perdues, 60, 64
of post-revolutionary era (see also anomie, post-Revolution): Directory period, 54; French concern about, 59–40, 154, 155; and friendship, role of, 3–5, 154; Napoleon’s efforts to counter, 35–38; as specifically French problem, 40; the Terror and, 34–35; Thermidorian period, 34

‘Institutions républicaines” (Saint-Just), 31

Jacob, Margaret, 29
Jacobins
on fraternité as duty, 30–32
on friendship, 32–33
James, Henry, 160
Jaubert, Hippolyte François, 120
Josephine, Empress, 37
Jouy, Etienne de, 52

Jules; ou, La Nouvelle Héloïse (Rousseau), 26, 27

July Monarchy
associational life in, 54
electorate, size of, 116
elite reconciliation in, 53, 104
and factional hostilities, decline of, 41, 53, 54, 104, 110
and men’s personal ties, effect of politics on, 91
ministry-Chamber disputes in, 19114
and police state, 37, 53, 54
political culture of, 162–63, 19113
political instability, causes of, 156–58
politics in: alliances in, 56; as brutal arena, 4, 55–56, 58–59; and factional hostilities, 4; organization of around patronage networks, 54; problem of self-interest in, 53, 56–59; scholarly interest in, 5; uses of friendship in, 115

July Ordinances, 157
juste milieu
friendship networks of, 105, 107
politics of, 103

Kale, Steven, 149–50, 158
king, love for, sentimentalist views on, 26–27

La Boétie, Étienne de, 75
La Bourdonnaye, François Régis de, 44–45
Lafayette, Marquis de
and Béranger, 12, 189112
friendship network, 99, 101, 102
and July Monarchy, 189112
and love affairs, effect of politics on, 48
police surveillance of, 51
politics of, 101
La Ferronnays, comte de, 119
Laffitte, Jacques
and Béranger, 12, 164
friendship network, 102, 106, 107
La Fontaine, Jean de, 62
Lamartine, Alphonse de
and Béranger, friendship with, 12, 107
friendship network of, 106, 107
Lamennais, abbé de
and Béranger, friendship with, 12, 107
foreign relations, 106–7
friendship network, 105, 106, 107
politics of, 108
INDEX

Lamourette, Antoine Adrien, 32
land nationalizations, and post-Revolution tensions, 42
language of friendship
implication of political equality in, 130–31
as marker of political loyalty, 10–11, 16, 21, 22–25, 111–19, 121–22, 122–25, 130, 147–48
La Trémoïlle, Mme de, 88, 135–36, 138, 149, 152
Law of 22 Prairial, 33
Law of Suspects, 31–32, 33
Lazare, Bernard, 162
Lebrun, Pierre, 78
Leclercq, Théodore, 75–76
leftists

gathering places in Paris, 116
and White Terror, distrust created by, 44–45
Légion d’honneur, 36
Legislative Assembly, and kiss of Lamourette, 32
legitimists

friendship networks of, 105, 107
politics of, 105
Le Moine, Jean Baptiste, 96–97
Lenormant, Amélie (née Cyvoct)
friendship network of, 106, 107
political activity of, 146–49, 150–51
Récamier and, 100
Leroux, Pierre, 39–40
Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel, 24
Le Tellier, Michel, 23
L’Honnête homme à la cour et dans le monde (1816), 68
liberal opposition in Restoration
as product of Hundred Days, 45, 46
fragmentation of in July Monarchy, 54
liberals

friendship networks of, 100, 101, 102
gathering places for, 116
ideology, 100
on individualism after Revolution, 39
in July Monarchy, 104
police surveillance of, in Restoration, 51
Lieven, Dorothea von (née Benckendorff)
biography of, 169
friendship network, 105, 106, 107; as limited to elites, 158; sources on, 92
and Guizot, 55, 109–10, 157
and male friendship networks,
maintenance of, 88–89
political activity of, 143
politics of, 109

as salonnière, 116, 158, 189n23
Liszt, Franz, 106
Louis-Philippe (king of France), 54, 56–57, 124
Louis XIV (king of France), 24
Louis XV (king of France), 24–25, 26–27
Louis XVI (king of France), 24–25, 31
Louis XVIII (king of France), 43, 100, 167
love. See also fraternité; romantic love
centralization of, under étatiste model, 31–32
expressions of in Old Regime, as political tool, 21, 22–25
vs. friendship, Balzac on, 62
in Napoleonic era, as basis of cohesion in military, 38, 76
sentimentalist view of: as challenge to Old Regime views, 21, 25–26, 27–28; as horizontally-operating, freely-chosen bond, 21, 25–26
loyal opposition
French inability to imagine, 45, 127
political uses of friendship as precursor to envisioning of, 127
loyalty

as expectation of male-to-male friendship, 66, 77–80, 121
political, language of friendship as marker of, 10–11, 16, 21, 22–25, 111–19, 121–22, 122–25, 130, 147–48
Loynes, Mme de, 162
Luynes, duchesse de, 96
Maistre, Joseph de, 39, 41
male affection, celebration of, 2
Manuel, Jacques Antoine

and Béranger, friendship with, 1, 94;
closeness of, 97; as political act, 1, 2, 102, 118; possible erotic component of, 1, 75
biography of, 165
and Dupont, friendship with, 118–19
friendship network, 99, 101, 102
police surveillance of, 51
political career of, 118
Index

politics of, 1, 101
tomb of, 1
Marguerite de Navarre, 23–24
marriage
19th century conception of, 9
as political force in 19th century, 3
sentimentalist views on, 26
“La Marseillaise” (Rouget de Lisle), 78
Martel de Janville, comtesse de (“Gyp”), 161–62
Martignac, vicomte de, 119–20
Masons. See Freemasonry
mass politics, rise of, reshaping of political terrain by, 159–60
Mazarin, Cardinal, 23
Mélanges biographiques et littéraires (Guizot), 96
memoirs, reliability of, 94
men’s clubs, as gathering places for liberals, 116
Mignet, François, 142
moderates
friendship network, 100, 101
gathering places in Paris, 116
political platform of, 100
Molé, Mathieu, comte
and Barante, correspondence, 76–77
friendship network, 99, 101, 109
Guizot and, 55–56
and love affairs, effect of politics on, 48
political career, 128
politics of, 101
and Talleyrand, political alliance with, 127–31, 132
women’s political role and, 139
Mollien, Juliette Dutilleul, comtesse, 83
Le Moniteur secret (Couchery), 38
Montagnards
on fraternité, as duty, 31
on friendship, as suspicious activity, 33
friendship networks among, 32
Montaigne, Michel de, 74–75
Montalembert, comte de, 96, 146, 147–48
Montbel, comte de, 119–20
Montcalm-Gozon, Armande Marie
Antoinette de Vignerot du Plessis de Richelieu, marquise de biography of, 167
and Chateaubriand, friendship with, 167
and factionalism of Restoration, 48
on friendship, elusiveness of, 17, 48
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 103; sources on, 92
health of, 144
and Hyde de Neuville: correspondence, 87, 88; friendship with, 143–46, 151–53, 166, 167
on ideological divisions of Restoration, 46–47
personal life, documentation of, 12
political activity of, 134, 139–40, 141, 143–46, 149, 150, 151–52
politics of, 11, 101, 105–4, 149
on women’s role, 134
Montmoiroy, Mathieu de, 99, 131, 138–39, 150, 167
Les Mystères de Paris (Sue), 10, 68
Napoleon. See also Hundred Days
on atomization of French society, 36
and homosexuality, 75–76
return to France in 1815, and political factionalism, 4
Napoleonic era
court life in, 37, 38
culture of fear in, 22, 35, 37–38
and ideological passions, cooling of, 35–36, 38, 179–82
military of, love-based cohesion in, 38, 76
new elite, creation of, 36–37, 38
police surveillance in, and distrust among elites, 22, 35, 36–37
and social cohesion, efforts to restore, 35–38, 42
social model, failure of, 40
Le National (periodical), 151
National Assembly, arrival of First and Second Estate members, as emotional event, 28
National Convention, and abolishment of clubs and societies, 31
National Guard, and fraternité, 30
new groups, entry into parliamentary life, political culture of friendship and, 157
Ney, Marshal, 43
Noailles, duc de
friendship network, 106, 107, 109
INDEX

Noailles, duc de (continued)
  Guizot and, 146
  women’s political activity and, 147
Nord, Philip, 159–60
notables, 12, 159–60, 191n6

Nouveau guide de la politesse (Éméric), 81–82

novels
  of 19th century, 26–27
  of July Monarchy, homosexual and bisexual themes in, 76
  of 19th century (see also Illusions perdues [Balzac]): celebration of male affection in, 2; on friendship, 17, 81

“Of Friendship” (Montaigne), 74–75

Old Regime
  collapse of, and social order, efforts to replace, 28
  emotional self control as value in, 25, 26
  personal ties as political tool in, 21, 22–25, 113, 117
  political practices, reuse of in early transition to parliamentary government, 4, 6, 22, 113–14, 134, 156
  sentimentalism as challenge to order of, 21, 25–26, 27–28
  women’s role in, 4, 113, 134
Orglandes, Mme d’, 48

pacification, as term, 179n62

Pamela (Richardson), 26

“Parisian Sketches” (James), 160
parliamentary government. See also political parties
  and alliances, importance of, 142
  British model and, 115, 117
  and political uses of friendship, as unhealthy, 156–58
  political uses of friendship in early transition to, 113–14, 115, 154
  Restoration as apprenticeship in, 6, 114–15, 154
  and trust, necessity of, 115, 116, 142
  women’s role in functioning of, 133, 142, 153, 156
patronage
  expression of friendship through, in post-Revolution period, 77–80 62–63
  in Old Regime, and personal ties as political tool, 22–25

Péguy, Charles, 162
Penal Code, Article 291 of, 36–37, 52, 54
Périer, Casimir, 51, 65
Périsse (deputy), 29–30
Peyrat, Alphonse, 161
Picquart, Colonel, 162
Piscatory, Théobald, 88
Pisieux, Mme de, 138
Pissarro, Camille, 162
police
  Rémusat on, 54
  in Restoration: anomic generated by, 155; inheritance of from Napoleon era, 37, 42, 51; tactics of, 50–52
  surveillance, and distrust among citizens, 22, 35, 37–38
Polignac, prince de, 142, 157, 166, 191n4
  political campaigns, male friends as proxies in, 118–19
political parties
  absence of, and alliances, necessity of, 142
  creation of in Third Republic, 159, 161
  factions/friendship networks as substitute for, 102, 113, 115–17
  French rejection of British model for, 115
  of Third Republic, political legacy of July Monarchy and, 116
politics
  and friendship networks, influence on, 100–102, 101, 104, 105, 107, 108–10
  in July Monarchy: alliances in, 56; as brutal arena, 4, 35–36, 58–59; and factional hostilities, 4; organization of around patronage networks, 54; poisoning of by self-interest in, 53, 56–59; scholarly interest in, 3; uses of friendship in, 115
  perception of as brutal arena, 4, 48, 50, 51, 55–56, 58–59 (See also denunciations)
  post-Revolution, lack of necessary institutions for, 3–5
  in Restoration: as apprenticeship in parliamentary government, 6, 114–15, 154; electorate, size of, 116; ideological divide in, 3–4, 42, 44–48, 181n20; influence on latter half of 19th century,
162–65; Old Regime political practices, use of, 4, 6, 22, 113–14, 134, 156; political instability, causes of, 156–58
post-structuralism, social history and, 92
Protestantism, and self-exploration, 84
psychology, early 19th century, and feminization of emotions, 89–90
public–private separation
breaching of in common practice, 7, 8
emergence in 19th century, 3, 6–7
and personal ties, political importance of, 3
and women as bridge to private inner life, 72–73, 81, 90
and women in friendship networks, 100
women’s political role and, 103, 109, 134, 148, 153, 154
Putnam, Robert, 9
Ramel, General, 44
Récamier, Juliette (née Bernard)
biography of, 167
and Broglie, Mme de, 97
as Chateaubriand’s mistress, 51, 87, 166, 167
daughter of, 146
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107; Guizot on, 96; sources on, 92, 95
political activity by, 138–39, 150
politics of, 100–101, 101, 103
as salonnière, 98
The Red and the Black (Stendhal), 78
Reddy, William, 14
Régis de Cambacérès, Jean Jacques, 37, 75
Régusse, Charles de Grimaldi, marquis of, 23
Reinach, Joseph, 162
Rémusat, Claire de, 37
Renneville, Mme de, 161
Republican France, political uses of friendship in, 159–65
Restoration
anomie during, 41 (See also anomie, post-Revolution)
as apprenticeship in parliamentary government, 6, 114–15, 154
and associational life, efforts to control, 49, 52–53
crisis of trust in, 3–4
electorate, size of, 116
friendships destroyed by ideology in, 47–48
ideological divide in, 3–4, 42, 44–48, 181n20
influence of political culture on latter half of 19th century, 162–63
leftist opposition to, 45
and men’s personal ties, effect of politics on, 91
and Old Regime political practices, use of, 4, 6, 22, 113–14, 134, 156
and police state: anomie generated by, 135; inheritance of from Napoleon era, 37, 42, 51; tactics of, 50–52
political instability, causes of, 156–58
scholarly interest in, 3
Revolution of 1789. See also anomie, post-Revolution
August 4 events, 29
culture of sentimentalism and, 21
damaged social fabric due to, 3
eyearly years of, positive emotions in, 28–29
fear engendered by, 29; and failure of fraternité, 28, 30–31
and friendship, reshaping of, 29–30
influence on French history, 160, 161
and love as element of social order, destruction of, 21–22
political polarization created by, hopes for fraternité and, 33–34
on police surveillance in July Monarchy, 54
political career, 120–21, 132
politics of, 101
as source, 105
women’s political activity and, 140–41, 149
INDEX

Revolution of 1789 (continued)
recovery from, as subject of scholarly interest, 5–6
and sexual attitudes, 76
Revolution of 1830, causes of, 157
Revolution of 1848, causes of, 157
Richardson, Samuel, 26
Richeieu, duc de
and Decazes, 123–24
friendship network, 103
political career, 136, 191n4
and women’s political activity, 134, 138,
139–40, 141, 143–46, 150, 151
on women’s role, 154
Robespierre, Maximilien, 32, 33, 34
Roger, Madame, 49–50
Roland, Jean Marie, 32
Romanticism
French, Chateaubriand and, 165
and willingness to discuss emotions, 81
romantic love, and friendship (platonic affection), blurred boundary between,
2, 9–10, 65, 76, 86, 87–88, 94
Rosanvallon, Pierre, 6, 31
Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph, 78
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 26, 27
Royer-Collard, Pierre Paul, 39, 71, 88, 109
Sainte-Barbe, Edward, 76
Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin
and Allart, 82–83, 87, 93
friendship network of, 106, 107
Saint-Just, Louis Antoine de, 31, 32
salons
attendance at, as marker of political allegiance, 115–17
bridging of political factions by, 98–99
and democratic sensibility, rise of, 27
and elite social reproduction, 158
and friendship, reshaping of, 29
in Napoleonic era: surveillance of, 38; use of to create new elite, 37
in second half of 19th century, 159, 160–61
and women’s impulse toward reconciliation, 149
and women’s role as social facilitators, 89
Salvandy, Narcisse Achille de, 46, 50, 52
Sand, George, 76, 106
Scènes de la vie politique (Balzac), 57–59
Scheffer, Ary, 106, 107, 107
Scheurer-Kestner family, salon of, 161
Sébastiani, Horace, 106, 107, 107
Second Empire, institutions of sociability in, 159
secrets, revelation of. See self-revelation (épanchement)
self, as permeable, and conception of friendship, 65–66, 68, 73, 75, 77, 86
self-exploration as function of friendship, 65, 66, 68
Protestantism and, 84
women’s role in facilitating, 84, 90
self-interest. See also individualism
destructive influence of, post-Revolution, 4, 9, 18, 34
friendship as solution to destructive influence of, 60, 63–64, 67, 73, 77, 79–80
in July Monarchy, poisoning of politics by, 41, 53, 56–59
in Old Regime, 25
self-revelation (épanchement) as expectation in friendship, 17, 67–69, 77
in male-female friendships, 13, 17, 81–87, 137, 148, 146–48, 159; and political role of women, 5, 7, 88–90, 137, 141, 146, 148, 152
Sennett, Richard, 27
sentimentalism
democratic current in, 26–27
efforts to unite post-revolutionary France through, 28, 30–35, 40
fraternité as product of, 30
and friendship, rise of as paradigm, 27
love in: as challenge to Old Regime views, 21, 25–26, 27–28; as horizontally-operating, freely-chosen bond, 21, 25–26
Napoleonic era and, 38
and the Terror, 34–35
Serre, Hercule de, 116
sexual attitudes, upheaval of Revolution and, 76
sisters, as confidantes, 84
Smith, Adam, 26
Smith, Jay, 23
Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, 76

224
social cohesion. See also anomie, post-Revolution
friendship’s role in restoration of, 3–5, 7
Napoleon’s efforts to restore, 35–38
and the Terror, 34–35
women’s role in restoration of, 3, 7, 91
social history, post-structuralism and, 92
social organization, post-Revolution, lack of credible model for, 40
social ties, importance of, in Old Regime politics, 23–25
Société des Amis de la presse, 52
Soult, Marshal, 124–25
sources, 11
 correspondence as, 67, 94–95
 on friendship networks, 92–98; and definition of friendship, 93–94, 95–98;
as incomplete record, 92–93, 94–95; reliability of, 94–95;
and sincerity of affection, as issue, 11, 15, 16, 67
Southey, Robert, 29
Souza, Mme de, 68
Spuller, Eugène, 161
Staël, Auguste de
and Broglie, Mme de, 94
friendship network, 99, 101
politics of, 101
on Restoration, factionalism in, 181
Staël, Mme de, 99, 167, 168
Stendhal, 2, 78
Sue, Eugène, 2, 10, 68
Tackett, Timothy, 29
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de
death of, 109
and Dino, Mme de, 97, 168–69
friendship network, 99, 101, 102, 103;
maintenance of by female friends, 88
and Molé, political alliance with, 127–31, 132
political career of, 128
politics of, 101, 102
Tallien, Jean Lambert, 34
tensions, political, relief of through language of friendship, 125–27
the Terror
origins of, 31
and sentimentalism, 34
and social cohesion, destruction of, 34–35
spread of distrust during, 33–34
Teste, Jean Baptiste, 158
Teste-Cubières affair, 158
*Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Smith), 26
Thermidorian period, 34
Thiers, Adolphe
 Béranger and, 55
biography of, 165
cabinet of, negotiations surrounding, 120–22, 123, 140
friendship network, 98, 99, 101, 102, 106, 107, 107
gathering places of followers, 116
and Guizot: correspondence, 111–13;
political alliance with, 121–22, 143, 152, 169; rivalry with, 54, 55–56
and Le National, 151
opposition to, 143
political education of, 115
politics of, 101, 102, 104, 107
Rému sat and, 55
supporters of, 106, 109
women’s political activity and, 140–41, 142
Third Republic
institutions of sociability in, 159–60
legacy of Old Regime and, 6
political landscape in, 159–61
political parallels with post-Revolutionary era, 161–62
political uses of friendship in, 156
Thompson, Victoria, 76
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 39
Touchard, Jean, 95
trust. See also distrust among citizens
as basis of friendship, 74, 80; Balzac on, 60, 62, 64; Guizot on, 65; in male-female relationships, 81; and male loyalty, expectations for, 66; normative expectations on, 66, 67–68, 69, 80; normative texts on, 66
crisis of, in Bourbon Restoration, 3–4
definition of, 8–9
emotions as means of creating, 144
in parliamentary system, necessity of, 115, 116, 142
political importance of, 9
trust (continued)
among politicians, women’s role in creating, 133, 135, 138–41, 147, 148, 153
in politics of July Monarchy, self-interest and, 53, 56–59
post-Revolution anomie and, 3–4, 9, 22, 33–34, 154
as subject of scholarly interest, 9
two Frances
origins of, 42
and politics in Republican France, 159, 161, 162–63
The Two Friends (La Fontaine), 62
ultras
friendship networks of, 100, 101
gathering places in Paris, 116
and Hundred Days, disgust created by, 43
in July Monarchy, 54, 104
platform of, 46
police surveillance of, in Restoration, 31
political platform of, 100
as product of Hundred Days, 45–46
tone of politics of, 193
utopian generality, 31
Vaudémont, Mme de, 128
Versailles, personal ties as political tool at, 22–25
Veuillot, Louis, 146
Villèle, Joseph de
and cabinet negotiations, 119–20
Chateaubriand and, 165
and friendship in politics, 117
political career, 139
women’s political role and, 138, 151
Virieu, comte de, 29–30
Vitet, Ludovic, 74, 75, 79
Vitrolles, baron de
friendship network, 99, 101, 102, 103
politics of, 101, 102
Vues politiques (Salvandy), 46, 50
White Terror
excesses of, 44
fear created by, 43–44, 143
and ideological divide, widening of, 44–46
Woloch, Isser, 36
women
in Anglo-American politics, 5
as connection between families, 24
 correspondence of, as less often preserved, 14
friendships with men, 80–88; as bridge to private inner life, 72–73, 81, 90;
confidences and secrets in, 83–84;
erotic overtones in, 86–88; expressions of affection in, 85–86; and friendship networks, maintenance of, 88–90, 98–100; normative expectations for, 66; normative texts on, 81–82; play of formality and intimacy in, 82–83;
psychological relief as function of, 69, 81, 82, 84–85; self-exploration as function of, 84, 90; self-revelation (épanchement) as expectation in, 13, 81–87, 137, 141, 146, 148, 153; unreciprocated love in, 87–88
official exclusion from public sphere, 3, 6–7; and bridging of political factions, 103, 109, 134, 148, 153, 154
political role: access to men’s emotions and, 5, 7, 88–90, 117, 141, 146, 148, 152; alliance formation as, 142–49, 157; as behind-the-scenes political brokers, 7; calming of male emotions as, 139–41; cooperation among politicians, facilitation of, 113, 135, 138–4; and culture of political friendship, unhealthiness of, 157–58; effectiveness of, as result of apolitical stance, 134–35; for ends of others, 136, 138; for ends of their own, 137, 138; as entirely through men, 133, 135, 135; factional unity, ensuring of, 135–38; and female politics, evidence for, 149–50; and functioning of parliamentary government, 133, 142, 153, 156; inability to reach beyond elite class, 158–59; information circulation as, 135–36; limited political power of, 149, 151–53, 158; male views on, 134, 135; manipulation of by men, 141;
manipulation of men in, 144; motives for, 144, 149–52; in Napoleonic era, 37; in Old Regime, 23–24, 113; political factions, bridging of, 4, 5, 91, 98–100, 101, 102–4, 105, 109–10, 133, 149; public-private separation and, 103, 109, 134, 148, 153, 154; roots in Old Regime role, 134, 156; scholarly interest in, 7; in second half of 19th century, 162; significance of, 153; and social cohesion, rebuilding of, 3, 7, 91; tools employed in, 137, 144 role of, early-19th century opinions on, 7, 134, 152 social role of: as bridge to private inner life, 72–73, 81, 90; as facilitator of male relationships, 88–90 “Z. Marcas” (Balzac), 57–59