Young Citizens: Children and Childhood in French Revolutionary Politics and Culture

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Abstract

This thesis explores the representations, voices and experiences of French Revolutionary children during the 1790s. It demonstrates the ways in which children and adolescents were integrated into revolutionary political culture and highlights the interconnection between ideas, practice and experience. The Revolution stimulated the development of a new relationship between children and the state, such that children became fundamental to French Revolutionary culture in multiple ways: they existed as symbolic objects, as the targets of new pedagogical reforms, and as active members of society who might engage in popular politics.

Chapter One discusses representations of childhood, from the mid-eighteenth century to Year II (1793–94). It underlines the development of a secular, sentimental paradigm of childhood virtue and innocence, and demonstrates how this paradigm was repurposed in political culture of the 1780s and 1790s, creating a society in which children were bound to both family and state. Chapter Two analyses schoolbooks teaching language and grammar which were published in the 1790s, demonstrating that children were integrated into revolutionary political culture through these elementary texts. Chapter Three studies public speeches and civic contributions made by children, from forgotten young patriots to the young Charles Nodier. Drawing on scholarship on children's agency, it argues that they could actively engage in local civic life. Finally, Chapter Four argues that childhood was reconceptualised after Thermidor. It analyses the proceedings of youth festivals (*fêtes de la jeunesse*) and school prizegiving ceremonies under the Directory and Consulate to show how these represented a new focus on the education of young men to stabilise society. Speeches by officials, teachers and pupils show how these ideas were presented directly to youths and how they engaged with them within the festival context.

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CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AHRF	Annales historiques de la Révolution française
AN	Archives nationales, Paris
BmB	Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon
Bull.	Bulletin de la Convention nationale
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Moniteur	Gazette nationale, ou Le Moniteur universel
SVEC	Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century

STATEMENT OF COPYRIGHT

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NOTE ON TRANSLATION

In quoting from source material in French, I have prioritised the English translation, for readability. Original quotations are provided in footnotes, or in the main body in the case of block quotations. However, in Chapter Two, this method has not always been appropriate, given the close analysis of language, spelling and grammar. I have therefore prioritised the original quotations where most beneficial to the analysis, with translations in brackets in the main text. All translations are my own, unless indicated otherwise or unless cited from secondary literature where no original is included.

INTRODUCTION

On 8 June 2004, thousands of people attended a funerary mass at the Basilique de Saint-Denis, on the outskirts of Paris. Four years earlier, DNA testing had identified the heart they entombed that day as that of Louis XVII, the young dauphin who, it could now be confirmed, had perished in his revolutionary prison in 1795. That same Tuesday morning, hundreds of French children and teens made their way to the Collège Joseph Bara, in Palaiseau (Essonne); to the École élémentaire Joseph Bara, in Agen (Lot-et Garonne); the École maternelle Joseph Bara in Lille; and the École Joseph Bara in Carvin (Pas-de-Calais). All four of these schools take their name from the revolutionary child hero whose statue (1881) still stands in his hometown of Palaiseau.

The legend of the revolutionary child remains embedded in French society. In Bara's case these are largely the remnants of his promotion in the Third Republic, when his story was used to inspire a new generation of French children.[1] For much of the nineteenth century, false 'dauphins' kept alive the memory of Louis XVII; the descendants of one prominent pretender, Karl Wilhelm Naundorff, maintain to this day that the prince escaped the Temple prison.[2] Writers of memoirs such as Stendhal and Charles Nodier on the one hand, and the Duchesse d'Angoulême, Marie-Thérèse, on the other, have transmitted their revolutionary childhoods through the generations, meditating on how the Revolution dominated their early years and contributing to history.[3] For UK theatregoers, the concept of the French Revolutionary child most likely conjures up anachronistic images of Victor Hugo's Gavroche—the plucky fictional gamin killed in the June Rebellion of 1832.[4]

This thesis explores revolutionary childhood in the 1790s. It discusses the representations, voices and experiences of French children that gave rise to, and yet were distinct from, the legacies observable today. The Revolution stimulated the development of a new relationship

[1] F. Wartelle, 'Bara, Viala: Le Thème de l'enfance héroïque dans les manuels scolaires (IIIe République)', *AHRF*, 241 (1980), pp. 365–389; R. Jaeglé, 'Bara: Un enfant de Palaiseau entré dans l'histoire', in S. Bianchi, ed., *Héros et héroïnes de la Révolution française* (Paris, 2012), pp. 333–342. Despite contemporary representations of Bara, Jaeglé notes that pupils of the school named after him in Palaiseau do not seem to know who he was, p. 342.

[2] D. Cadbury, *The Lost King of France: Revolution, Revenge and the Search for Louis XVII* (London, 2002), pp. 178–284; *Site Louis 17*, http://www.louis17.com/, accessed 23 August 2020.

[3] Stendhal, *Vie de Henry Brulard* (1890); C. Nodier, *Souvenirs, épisodes et portraits pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1831); M.-T.C. de France, Duchesse d'Angoulême, *Mémoire écrit par Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de France sur la captivité des princes et princesses ses parents depuis le 10 août 1792, jusqu'à la mort de son frère arrivée le 9 juin 1795* (1892).

[4] V. Hugo, *Les Misérables* (1862). A. Boubil and C.-M. Schönberg's musical-theatre adaptation is the longest-running musical of London's West End, first performed there in 1985.

between children and the state in this period, which was both symptomatic of its broader emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of individuals and a result of Rousseauvian conceptions of children's innocence, which became bound up with notions of the Revolution's own purity. As a result, children became fundamental to French Revolutionary culture in multiple ways: they existed as symbolic objects, as the targets of new pedagogical reforms, and as active members of society who might engage in popular politics. Yet there has been surprisingly little research on children's interactions with the state, or on how these roles and identities might overlap. This thesis explores the dynamics of that relationship, interrogating both how childhood was imagined as politically significant and how children and adolescents were expected to behave in light of these ideas. It illuminates the ways in which they might contribute to popular politics themselves and how they responded to these representations and expectations of childhood in doing so.

Existing scholarship

Existing scholarship dealing specifically with revolutionary children is sparse. The memorialisation of the republican child martyrs, Joseph Bara and Agricol Viala, in 1793–94, has been a fairly popular topic, though much of this is art history relating to Jacques-Louis David's painting of the former [Figure 1].[5] My own work on this subject concerns representations of the boys, using their commemoration in Year II to demonstrate the interplay between official and popular culture.[6] I return to them in Chapter One, below, as they epitomise the politicisation of a particular, sentimental image of childhood during the Revolution. Yet, because their deaths were so quickly politicised, there are few known impartial accounts of their lives.[7] Consequently, they can only be studied as abstract representations.

Marie-Françoise Lévy's edited collection on 'the child, the family and the French Revolution' (1990) compiles short introductions to a range of issues, primarily relating to

[5] M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère et al., *La Mort de Bara* (Avignon, 1989); H. Weston, 'Jacques-Louis David's La Mort de Joseph Bara: A Tale of Revolutionary Myths and Modern Fantasies', *Paragraph: The Journal of Modern Critical Theory*, 19 (1996), pp. 234–250; J. Sloane, 'David, Robespierre and The Death of Bara', *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, 74 (1969), pp. 143–160; R. Monnier, 'Le Culte de Bara en l'an II', *AHRF*, 241 (1980), pp. 321–344; cf. M. Vovelle, 'Agricol Viala ou le héros malheureux', *AHRF*, 241 (1980), pp. 345–364. On commemoration in education under the Third Republic, see Wartelle, 'Bara, Viala'.

[6] A. Perna, 'Bara and Viala, or Virtue Rewarded: The Memorialization of Two Child Martyrs of the French Revolution', *French History*, forthcoming.

[7] Jaeglé has succeeded in tracing Bara's life before he joined the army—though he was too young to enrol officially. Following the death of Bara's father, who had served the Duc de Condé, in 1784, the family became impoverished and was dependent on local poor relief. In 1792, Bara moved to Paris as an apprentice, before leaving with the army that autumn. Jaeglé, 'Bara', 339–340.

representations of childhood and social reforms.[8] In particular, essays in this collection demonstrate the abstract, or collective, child's association with the nation's future, in the context of new conceptions of the individual and the life cycle, or as shown in the symbolic pageants of revolutionary festivals, for instance.[9] Christian-Marc Bosséno's essay on children in revolutionary festivals is particularly pertinent to the current project, as it highlights the crucial—and changing—role assigned to children in these pageants throughout the revolutionary decade.[10] Yet this brief study tells us nothing about individual children, or about how children understood and committed to these roles. In fact, the collection overall is largely unconcerned with children's experience or agency. Pierre de Vargas' study of Marc-Antoine Jullien's childhood, adolescence and early career as a *représentant-en-mission* at age eighteen is a notable exception.[11] Vargas suggests that Jullien's contribution to the Terror was influenced by his desire to show himself as possessing a virtue that was in fact 'too highly exalted and indoctrinated', thus emphasising how the young man's upbringing affected his implementation of Jacobin policy.[12] Other notable essays include Jean Hébrard's on revolutionary catechisms and that of Serge Chassagne on children's forced labour in textile mills; there are several pieces concerning cultural representations of children and reforms to the family.[13]

Taken together, these essays add to the much richer history of revolutionary education, the family and political culture. All of these areas of society involved children, but scholarship has tended not to be concerned with their experience or agency; rather, the focus has largely been on culture and reforms themselves. Children themselves have been viewed largely in terms of their symbolic representation, or as passive objects of educational projects, who warrant little mention themselves. This is in keeping with much of the early historiography of childhood and its focus on cultural attitudes towards children.[14] However, since Lévy's

[8] M.-F. Lévy, ed., *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1990).
[9] J. Gélis, 'L'Enfant et l'évolution de la conception de la vie sous la Révolution', in ibid., 69–77; C.-M. Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', in ibid., 207–217.
[10] Ibid.
[11] P. de Vargas, 'L'Éducation du « petit Jullien », agent du Comité de salut public', in Lévy, *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, 219–239.
[12] Ibid., 239. 'trop exaltée et trop inculquée'.
[13] J. Hébrard, 'La Révolution expliquée aux enfants : les catéchismes de l'An II', in Lévy, *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, 171–192; S. Chassagne, 'L'enfant au travail dans les manufactures pendant la Révolution', in ibid., 97–103.
[14] See Chapter One, below.

collection was published in 1990, the history of childhood has developed in new directions, seeking to uncover children's voices and agency, in particular.[15]

On the subject of French Revolutionary childhood, the most recent and ongoing work seeks to identify their 'experience'. Siân Reynolds recounts children's long-term experience of the Revolution and its aftereffects. Like Vargas' chapter on Jullien, she has adopted a biographical approach in her research on the children of revolutionary politicians. In an article published in June 2020, she explores the trajectories of the surviving children of Girondin deputies who were targeted in 1793.[16] As Reynolds acknowledges, sources on this subject are limited, and some of the children are easier to track than others.[17] Nevertheless, she traces the lives of a number of children, including the schools they attended under the Directory and, in the boys' cases, their careers and adult political views, where these are documented. Relating to their childhoods, she emphasises the importance of relatives in aiding Girondin families in the aftermath of 1793. Ultimately, this sketch of their lives is more useful as a study of the Girondin story after 1793 than it is as a study of childhood in the Revolution. It is part of a larger project concerning the children of various revolutionary political factions; Reynolds' forthcoming essay on this subject will use a wider sample of children.[18]

Another current project is that of Julia Gossard. Still in its preliminary stages, her work, 'Little Republicans: Youth Inculcation and Experience in Revolutionary France', will explore 'the history of French inculcation and youth experience from 1789 to 1815'. Drawing on the records of revolutionary government committees, it seems that this will add to scholarship on revolutionary education as debated and imagined by the deputies of successive regimes, with a particular emphasis on efforts to instil the lessons and values deemed necessary for republican citizenship.[19] Indeed, Gossard has emphasised pupils' 'inculcation' in prizegiving ceremonies under the Directory, in a blog post for *Age of Revolutions*, to which I return in

[15] E.g. K. Moruzi, N. Musgrove, and C. P. Leahy, eds., *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Cham, Switzerland, 2019); M. Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth, and Education', *History of Education*, 45:4 (2016), pp. 446–459. See also Chapter Three, below.
[16] S. Reynolds, 'Children of Revolutionaries under Stress: The Case of the Bordeaux Girondins', *Nottingham French Studies*, 59:2 (2020), pp. 136–148.
[17] Ibid., 141.
[18] S. Reynolds, 'Revolutionary Parents and Children', in J. Heuer and M. Harder, eds., *Life in Revolutionary France* (London, forthcoming 2020).
[19] J. M. Gossard, 'In Progress', *Julia M Gossard*, https://juliamgossard.com/projects/in-progress/, 2015, accessed 20 August 2020.

Chapter Four.[20] The subject of revolutionary childhood, then, is seeing renewed interest. In studying both childhood and children, I aim to bridge the gap between representations and expectations of children, on the one hand, and their active engagement with politics and the state, on the other. More broadly, this thesis contributes to the growing scholarship on the place of childhood in the modern state. In particular, it speaks to work on the political instrumentalisation of children and their experience of this, demonstrating that similar connections between childhood and state existed in the 1790s and anticipated such developments in the twentieth century.[21] Indeed, the first French Republic anticipated many of the developments of the modern nation-state, not least through its (albeit short-lived) experiment with representative democracy and the mass mobilisation of society—including children—in the context of war, both through conscription and on the home front.[22] With regard to childhood, the revolutionaries conceived of children as the nation's future—as future citizens—and thus sought to create a national system of education to replace ancien régime institutions. Drawing on Enlightenment arguments for popular education, this was a question of moulding model citizens, rather than advancing social mobility; under the Directory, more advanced secondary education was prioritised, but again for the national good, and largely excluding the popular classes.[23] Yet, for the first time, the state was invested in initiating a national system, independent of the church. In addition, state welfare policies such as the mobilisation of citizen wet-nurses and tax reductions for large families prefigured the largescale development of the welfare state and its commitment to children a century later—even if revolutionary poor relief was enacted with little success.[24]

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[20] J. M. Gossard, 'Prix de Moralité: The Inculcation of Young French Citizens', *Age of Revolutions*, https://ageofrevolutions.com/2017/06/19/prix-de-moralite-the-inculcation-of-young-french-citizens/, 2017, accessed 22 May 2020.

[21] J. Sköld and I. Söderlind, 'Agentic Subjects and Objects of Political Propaganda: Swedish Media Representations of Children in the Mobilization For Supporting Finland During World War II', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 11 (2018), pp. 27–46; L. Dodd, 'Children's Citizenly Participation in the National Revolution: The Instrumentalization of Children in Vichy France', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, 24:5 (2017), pp. 759–780; C. Kelly and S. Sirotinina, '"I Didn't Understand, but It Was Funny": Soviet State Festivals through the Eyes of Children', *Forum for Anthropology and Culture*, 5 (2008), pp. 254–300; C. Kelly, *Comrade Pavlik: The Rise and Fall of a Soviet Boy Hero* (London, 2005).

[22] David Bell demonstrates the parallels between the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and the 'total war' of the twentieth century. D. A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston, 2007).

[23] On Enlightenment views of education, see H. Chisick, *The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes towards the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1981).

[24] A. Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor* (Oxford, 1981); O. H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto; Buffalo; London, 1992), pp. 53–88. Nascent state preoccupation with social welfare was evident by the eighteenth century, as indicated by royal patronage of charity schools and hospitals. In both cases, however, state investment was limited and initiative often came from the church. As Collins points out, there was little significant state investment in poor relief in the ancien régime, despite the

If the expansion of the franchise was what stimulated the state's extension into private life in European democracies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the French Revolutionaries' desire to create a sovereign people had similar effects. Even under the Directory, when political participation became more exclusive, the education of the young was conceived of as a means to support the state and uphold the values of the French Republic. In the context of revolution, there was also the sense of an absolute break with the past, such that children offered a means of constructing a distinct future—or 'regenerating' society. Similar ideas would affect childrearing in the early Soviet Union.[25] Indeed, this notion of children as the national future is largely associated with nineteenth- and twentieth-century regimes, though it has been recognised in the French Revolution.[26] If liberal democracy in France can be traced back to the Revolution, so can the national preoccupation with children as both present and future citizens.[27] Studying children's interactions with politics and the state in the French Revolution allows us to reintegrate childhood into the history of the developing modern nation-state.

Methods and scope

Methodologically, this is both a cultural and a social history of revolutionary childhood. It bridges representations and experiences of childhood in this period, drawing on qualitative analysis of different kinds of sources and on scholarship in art history and literary criticism, as well as sociology. Indeed, childhood is both a 'social construction' and an experience lived by individuals active in their own social relationships.[28] The French Revolutionary construction of a political-sentimental paradigm of childhood was a reciprocal process, as

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novelty of its involvement in social welfare. Moreover, the state's main motivation seems to have been a desire to prevent vagrancy, as evidenced by the increasing confinement of the able-bodied poor after 1768. J. M. Gossard, 'Tattletales: Childhood and Authority in Eighteenth-Century France', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 10:2 (2017), pp. 169–187; J. M. Gossard, 'The Crown's Catholic Subjects: Lyon's Écoles de Charité and the French State, 1660-1689', *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, 39 (2011), pp. 44–52; J. B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 191, 195, 221. On children and the creation of the welfare state in twentieth-century Britain, see L. King, 'Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain, 1930s-1950s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27:3 (2016), pp. 389–411.

[25] C. Kelly, 'Shaping the "Future Race": Regulating the Daily Life of Children in Early Soviet Russia', in C. Kiaer and E. Naiman, eds, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside* (Bloomington, 2006), pp. 256–281.

[26] See, for instance, H. Barron and C. Siebrecht, eds., *Parenting and the State in Britain and Europe c. 1870–1950: Raising the Nation* (Cham, Switzerland, 2017); Kelly, 'Shaping the "Future Race"'; King, 'Future Citizens'. As King argues, the association between children and the future may be 'timeless' (p. 393). On the French Revolution, see Gélis, 'L'Enfant et l'évolution de la conception de la vie', 77, and Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 213–217.

[27] A. Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror: The Republican Origins of French Liberalism* (Ithaca, NY, 2008).

[28] A. Prout and A. James, 'A New Paradigm for the Sociology of Childhood? Provenance, Promise and Problems', in A. James and A. Prout, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, 2nd edn (London and Philadelphia, 1997), p. 8.

children engaged with and appropriated ideas about childhood in their interactions with popular politics (Chapters Three and Four). As such, it is necessary to explore their relationship with the state from both cultural and social perspectives. Accordingly, the four chapters below discuss intellectual and cultural conceptions and representations of childhood in eighteenth-century and Revolutionary France; republican schoolbooks as a glimpse into the politicised worldview children saw through learning to read and write; case studies of their active contributions to popular politics and civic life; and youth festivals under the Directory.

Since childhood is socially constructed and therefore not historically constant, all historians of childhood must decide the definition of the term and parameters informing their research. In Revolutionary France, there was no clear upper age boundary. The age of majority was set at twenty-one, but childhood itself ended somewhere before that age. The Académie française, for instance, defined childhood as lasting 'until the age of ten or twelve years'; a grammar book targeted 'children from 10 to 14 years'.[29] Meanwhile, Mona Ozouf argues that nine was widely considered to be the cut-off point—based on medical prescriptions and festival activities—and that twelve to twenty-one was defined as adolescence or youth.[30] Yet, if nine was indeed a milestone, older children were evidently described as 'enfants' nonetheless. Further adding to the confusion, the eighteenth-century sentimental 'cult' of childhood attributed specific characteristics to children, focusing on their perceived purity and innocence, after Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Chapter One). As a result, it seems one might be considered a child based on one's demonstration of these traits, rather than on one's biological maturity. Indeed, due to their perceived sensibility and vulnerability, Rousseau described women as essentially 'big children'.[31] Furthermore, Vargas notes that both Saint-Just (born 1767) and the eighteen-year-old Jullien considered themselves to possess the natural purity that had come to be associated with childhood, due to their youth—adding to the incorruptibility to which the Jacobins aspired.[32] Vargas also observes that Jullien's mother continued to consider him a child in her correspondence with him in Year II.[33]

[29] 'Enfant' in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th edn (1762) and 5th edn (1798), https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=enfant, accessed 22 August 2020. 'jusqu' à l' âge de dix ou douze ans'. C. J. Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique, à l'usage des enfans de 10 à 14 ans, et des écoles primaires […]* (Paris, 1795).
[30] M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, A. Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 188–189.
[31] J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, A. Bloom, trans. (London, 1979), p. 211.
[32] Vargas, 'L'Éducation du « petit Jullien »', 219.
[33] Ibid., 234.

To avoid confusion or anachronism, I have tried to follow contemporaries' use of the word child (*enfant*), as far as this is possible. My case studies of individual children, in Chapter Three, were all identified as children in the primary sources, by themselves or adults. In Charles Nodier's last speech of Year II, he was fourteen; though he did not explicitly identify as a child on this occasion, he nevertheless emphasised his youth and the characteristics associated with childhood, as did the Besançon Jacobin club in its letter inviting him to speak (Chapter Three). However, my last chapter largely concerns adolescents, who were only occasionally referred to as children in my sources. I have made this decision because this was the age group principally celebrated in the youth festivals at the end of the decade; the nation's hope now resided in these youths, rather than in the imagined purity of younger children.

Of course, age is only one category of identity. In terms of political alignment in a divided nation, this project concerns children who complied with the state, rather than exploring counter-revolutionary children. The only exception is my analysis of representations of the Dauphin Louis-Charles and his royal siblings; this illustrates the political representation of children in this period. However, I do not explore émigré children, for instance, or those who fought in the counterrevolutionary armies.[34]

Regarding socioeconomic background (class) and gender, I do not deal specifically with any one experience. Rather, I explore the implications of a universalising vision of childhood for the political discourse presented to children and with which they engaged. Where possible, I have used parish records and secondary sources to trace individual children's backgrounds or those of pupils attending a particular school. Overall, it seems that children from professional or artisan families, established in the local community, had more opportunities for civic or political participation, but that poorer children nevertheless contributed. I consider how gender influenced the participation of individual children, but, at least before Thermidor, it does not seem to have been a barrier to participation, even after the abolition of women's clubs in autumn 1793. Youth festivals under the Directory, however, primarily involved boys whose families could afford to pay for their education. My purpose in studying that subject, is not, therefore, to illustrate an experience representative of all French youths in those years; it

[34] See K. Carpenter, 'Émigré Children and the French School at Penn (Buckinghamshire): 1796–1814', in L. Philip and J. Reboul, eds., *French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe: Connected Histories and Memories* (Cham, Switzerland, 2020), pp. 91–109.

is to analyse the new political model of childhood that developed, and how teachers, pupils and local officials understood and presented this.

There is also the question of geography and race. Many of the texts and images I study in Chapters One and Two were produced in Paris, but they also targeted audiences beyond the capital. Chapter Four offers the largest geographical scope insofar as it includes sources from a range of provincial cities as well as from Paris; Chapter Three presents case studies from two popular societies, in Paris and in Besançon. Additionally, France in the late eighteenth century possessed multiple colonies in the Atlantic, and it both annexed new European territories and created sister republics in the later 1790s, as well as launching an invasion of North Africa. I have tried to reflect this diversity in my discussion, whilst nevertheless focusing on metropolitan France. For instance, my discussion of the Institution nationale des colonies, a school whose pupils included state-funded boys from Saint-Domingue (later Haiti), enables a more complex analysis of the Directory's expectations of youths. Similarly, schoolbooks might be designed for pupils in annexed states.

Nevertheless, this project is intended to initiate new research and suggest new ways of conceptualising revolutionary childhood. It is not, nor can it be, an exhaustive analysis of French Revolutionary childhood. Indeed, my analysis draws on the methods of microhistory, rather than seeking a representative or quantitative study.[35] This is particularly true in Chapter Three, where I interrogate a small body of sources in order to illuminate the interactions of the individual (child) with adult, civic society and the state. I combine these strategies with current theories and methods relating to children's agency, set out in Chapter Three. In Chapters Two to Four, close reading of sources is intended to illuminate not only how childhood was represented, but also individual experience and interpretation, whether that of a child reading a schoolbook—through analysis of what was taught and how—or that of a schoolboy making a public address at a prizegiving ceremony.

Periodisation

While I would not dispute that the Revolution began in earnest with the convening of the Estates-General and the sack of the Bastille in 1789, revolutionary representations of childhood inevitably drew on earlier ideas. In particular, I argue that the politicisation of new,

[35] The classic work of Italian microhistory is C. Ginzburg, *Il Formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500* [The Cheese and the Worms] (Turin, 1976); see also C. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, J. Tedeschi and A. C. Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1983).

sentimental views of childhood predates 1789; I demonstrate this in a study of French royal portraiture of the 1780s. On the other hand, the Revolution has no clear end date. Traditionally, historians have tended to present the end of the Terror in Thermidor of Year II (summer 1794) as the cut-off point. This signalled the end of the Revolution's most radical phase, of its flirtation with popular democracy contemporaneous with violent repression. Thus, for instance, Simon Schama's epic, *Citizens,* spans almost nine hundred pages but offers only a cursory glimpse into events after the executions on 10 Thermidor, presented as an epilogue.[36] Schama follows in the tradition established by early histories of the Revolution: Jules Michelet likewise ended his account with Thermidor; Thomas Carlyle extended his only another year, considering the suppression of popular insurrection on 13 Vendémiaire, Year IV (5 October 1795) to have 'blown [the Revolution] into space'.[37]

More recent scholarship has reintegrated the Directory (1795–99) into revolutionary history, and some historians have concluded that 'The Revolution was over' only once Napoleon's authority was consolidated when he became Consul for life in 1802, having restored religious and military peace.[38] Howard Brown makes the claim most forcefully, in his *Ending the French Revolution*. Although Brown's assessment of the Directory is more pessimistic than that which I present in Chapter Four, his argument that the Revolution could not be over until a stable, strong and widely accepted regime was in place—and violence no longer prevalent—is significant.[39] Meanwhile, Gossard's current project on French Revolutionary childhood is planned to extend from 1789 to 1815, thus incorporating both the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods.[40] This will allow a more extensive consideration of the shifts in children's relationship with the state than I am able to offer here. Nevertheless, my case studies demonstrate the enduring significance of childhood to the successive regimes of the First Republic, in the period roughly to 1802.

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[36] S. Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (London, 1989).
[37] J. Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, vol. vii, 7 vols (Paris, 1853), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10558886, accessed 20 August 2020; T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History* [1837] (London, 1906), p. 784. Carlyle here refers to Napoleon's 'Whiff of Grapeshot'.
[38] P. McPhee, *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution* (New Haven ; London, 2016), p. 341; W. Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2002). McPhee's phrase pays tribute to the English translation of François Furet's controversial essay, 'The Revolution is Over' ('La Révolution est terminée'), published in his *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris, 1978). McPhee nevertheless focuses on the experience of revolution from 1789 to 1799.
[39] H. G. Brown, *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon* (Charlottesville, 2006), pp. 2–5.
[40] Gossard, 'In Progress'.

I consider Year II (1793–94) as a peak in both the political representation and participation of children, in accordance with the general significance of popular politics and the prime of the Jacobin clubs. This was the year in which two previously obscure boys, Joseph Bara and Agricol Viala, were exalted as martyrs and intended to be interred in the Panthéon. It was also the year in which two of my case studies, twelve-year-old Joséphine Fontanier and fourteen-year-old Charles Nodier, each gave a passionate public address at the invitation of their local popular society. The same year, a state competition for schoolbooks was announced; production of texts for children consequently increased, such that Year II is very well represented in Chapter Two. Yet a renewed emphasis on youth under the Directory saw the reconceptualisation of older children and adolescents—if not infants—that was no less important than that of Year II. Whereas previously, childhood had signified social regeneration and the purity of the Revolution, under the Directory hopes were vested in the moral and academic perfectibility of adolescent boys in order to bring about political and social stability. A second peak in production of schoolbooks under the Directory allows discussion of texts published in the later 1790s. Meanwhile, in Chapter Four, the source material I use to examine these new expectations of older children concerns the republican *fêtes de la jeunesse* (youth festivals) and *écoles centrales* (national secondary schools) which persisted until 1802. Like Brown's history of violence and repression, the history of revolutionary childhood cannot end before 1802. In fact, adults who had struggled to find consensus in revolutionary politics increasingly looked to the next generation to complete their work in the period leading up to that year. Childhood and youth became integral to the quest for stability.

Structure

The thesis is divided into four chapters, each dealing with different elements of French Revolutionary childhood. Chapter One discusses representations of childhood, from the mid-eighteenth century to Year II. Divided into two parts, it first highlights the development of a sentimental model of childhood in the years preceding the Revolution; it then discusses how these new ideas influenced revolutionary cultural production and policy relating to children and families. This chapter synthesises existing scholarship on the intellectual and cultural history of childhood in eighteenth-century France and Europe in order to illustrate the model of childhood that would influence children's interactions with the state during the Revolution. This is combined with original analysis of material including revolutionary fiction and royalist images of the Dauphin.

Chapter Two explores the ways in which children learned revolutionary values and politics from their schoolbooks. Rather than studying books explicitly designed to teach these values, such as secular catechisms, I take those teaching literacy and grammar as a case study. These texts demonstrate how children came into contact with political messages in their most rudimentary education. Learning to read and write French was itself perceived as a step towards citizenship, according to language politics in Year II. The texts discussed in this chapter demonstrate what and how children learned, and illuminate their role as consumers of political culture. At the same time, they reveal how pedagogues and printers on the ground interpreted politics and patriotism for children, acting as intermediaries in the relationship between child and state.

Chapter Three, as mentioned above, takes two case studies of children's local political participation before Thermidor (1790–94). The first is twelve-year-old Joséphine Fontanier, a Parisian girl who gave two public speeches before the popular society and general assembly of the Section de l'Unité, in Year II. Her speeches illuminate how a girl her age might engage with local politics and express her sense of public identity and citizenship in terms of age and gender. As Joséphine also made a patriotic donation towards the war effort on the second occasion, her case is also illustrative of the broader politics of donation and children's contributions to 'total war' on the home front. It is complemented by examples of other children's donations recorded in the *Bulletin de la Convention nationale* and in the records of the state Comité des trésoriers des dons patriotiques.

The second case study concerns the children of Besançon, in the Doubs. It centres on the public speeches of Charles Nodier, later a writer and librarian, in the Jacobin club and local revolutionary festivals. It also studies those of his lesser-known peers, who, like Nodier, might recite their speeches at the Festival of the Federation in 1790 or become club members at a young age. My analysis of these case studies is influenced by scholarship on children's agency; drawing on this, I argue that these children were actively engaged in citizenship and local political culture. Their speeches echoed, appropriated and shaped the politicised model of sentimental childhood.

Finally, Chapter Four turns to the reimagination of childhood and youth after Thermidor. It uses reports of proceedings of youth festivals, or *fêtes de la jeunesse*, which took place annually, and those of school prizegiving ceremonies, which were public events. Through close analysis of teachers' and local officials' speeches on these occasions, it demonstrates

the hopes and expectations of young men, publicly expressed by civil servants. This is followed by analysis of the speeches given by pupils themselves, which illustrate their public response to these expectations within the confines of the festivals. In this way, this chapter goes beyond existing scholarship on revolutionary festivals, which considers children merely as symbols; it seeks to reconcile questions of representation and agency.

CHAPTER ONE

New Concepts of Childhood: Rousseau, Revolution and the Sentimental Child

A child lies on the ground. Sandy curls frame his gasping face; they tumble over his shoulder to his collarbone, stopping short of the bare chest to which his hands are pressed. Those hands are clutching something, something precious; possibly it is a letter… and a tricolour cockade. The child's body is contorted; he has fallen to the ground. Yet he—or is this a girl?—wears an expression of calm surrender, approaching bliss. Lips are parted; eyes are closed. Something like smoke seems to hang in the air. If we could breathe in that air, we might taste the acrid gunpowder in it, for it seems a battle is nearby. The child, however, lies alone, his nude body an ode to the natural purity of his age, as he clasps the tricolour, closes his eyes, and takes one final, blissful breath.

So appears Joseph Bara, as imagined by the French Revolutionary master history painter, Jacques-Louis David [Figure 1]. David's *Mort de Joseph Bara* (The Death of Joseph Bara) was commissioned by the Convention in December 1793.[1] Printed copies were to be displayed in primary schools throughout France. This boy, claimed Robespierre, had died refusing to pronounce the heinous words, *vive le roi* (long live the king); instead, he had sacrificed himself, provoking the counterrevolutionary rebels who slew him, with an indignant cry of *vive la république*. To commemorate his patriotic martyrdom, Bara was to be laid to rest in the Pantheon, among the great men of France and other (adult) martyrs for liberty.[2] His story was recounted in Léonard Bourdon's state-commissioned collection of heroic and civic acts, to inspire others.[3] The real Joseph Bara had allegedly died taunting and swearing at his killers, who were trying to steal army horses from him. General Desmarres, in

[1] There is extensive scholarship on this painting, with various, contradictory theories to explain Bara's nudity, ranging from the painting being incomplete, or Bara's clothes having been stolen, to eroticism. My reading is informed by my analysis of eighteenth-century conceptions of childhood and aligns with that of Régis Michel. Amanda Strasik has also recently made a similar argument. R. Michel, 'Bara : Du Martyr à l'éphèbe', in M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère et al., *La Mort de Bara* (Avignon, 1989), pp. 42–77; A. K. Strasik, *Reconceiving Childhood: Women and Children in French Art, 1750–1814* (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2016), pp. 139–142; T. Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais, and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France* (New Haven ; London, 2006), pp. 171–185; H. Weston, 'Jacques-Louis David's La Mort de Joseph Bara: A Tale of Revolutionary Myths and Modern Fantasies', *Paragraph: The Journal of Modern Critical Theory*, 19 (1996), pp. 234–250; J. Sloane, 'David, Robespierre and The Death of Bara', *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, 74 (1969), pp. 143–160.

[2] *Moniteur*, 10 Nivôse, Year II.

[3] L. J. J. L. Bourdon de la Crosnière, *Annales du civisme et de la vertu. No. Ier. [...]* (Paris, 1793), p. 20; L. J. J. L. Bourdon de la Crosnière, *Recueil des actions héroïques et civiques des républicains français* (Paris, 1794), vol. i, pp. 32–33. Pagination varies between copies, so all references to the *Recueil* are to the Bodleian Library copy, at Vet. E5 f.172.

whose company he served, made this clear to the Convention, but his story was less effective for Robespierre's intentions.[4]

In presenting a vision of pure, patriotic sacrifice, the Jacobins repeatedly emphasised that Bara was a child. At thirteen, he was at the upper bound of childhood, but he was consistently portrayed as 'the young Bara, heroic child'.[5] The same was true of Agricol Viala. This fifteen-year-old, only ever described in official and popular print as having been eleven or thirteen years old, was to be pantheonized alongside Bara.[6] He had been shot dead by federalist rebels in the Vaucluse in July 1793, whilst trying to prevent them from crossing the Durance. Bara and this 'even younger hero'—two 'young republicans'—had attained the highest national honour.[7]

As it transpired, their pantheonization ceremony was never to take place. Scheduled for 28 July 1794—or 10 Thermidor, Year II—the event was postponed indefinitely, as Parisians were somewhat preoccupied at the Place de la Révolution that day.[8] Nevertheless, the Convention's plans represented the pinnacle of the Revolution's political idealisation of children. In creating martyrs to reconcile a nation torn apart by civil war and factional division, Robespierre and his allies appropriated a secular, sentimental image of innocent childhood that had developed in the preceding decades and which now became central to republican discourse.

This chapter explores how that idealised and pure image of the child came to be a political tool in the republican Year II. This image not only defined Robespierre's interpretation of Bara's death, but it also influenced representations of children by revolutionaries and royalists alike. It informed revolutionary political symbols, inspired policies relating to education and family, and influenced children's own interactions with politics and the state.

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[4] J.-B.-M. Desmarres d'Estimauville, letter to Convention, n.d., in *Moniteur*, 22 Nivôse, Year II. On the conflicting versions of Bara's story and the implications of Robespierre's adaptation of the narrative, see A. Perna, 'Bara and Viala, or Virtue Rewarded: The Memorialization of Two Child Martyrs of the French Revolution', *French History*, forthcoming.

[5] J.-L. David, *Rapport sur la fête héroique pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala* (Paris, 1794), p. 4. 'le jeune Barra, enfant héroïque'.

[6] I discuss the question of Viala's age elsewhere, drawing on parish records. Perna, 'Bara and Viala'.

[7] M. Robespierre, *Rapport fait au nom du Comité de Salut Public, par M. Robespierre, sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales. Séance du 18 floréal, l'an second, etc.* (Paris, 1794), p. 35. 'un héros plus jeune encore'. David, *Rapport sur la fête héroique pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala*, 13. 'jeunes républicains'.

[8] On 10 Thermidor, Robespierre and twenty-one other Jacobin politicians were publicly executed at the Place de la Révolution. For a blow-by-blow account of the 9 Thermidor coup, see C. Jones, 'The Overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre and the "Indifference" of the People', *The American Historical Review*, 119:3 (2014), pp. 689–713. Jones disproves the traditionally accepted view that the people were largely uninvolved or uninterested in these events.

In the first part of this chapter, I discuss the intellectual and cultural history of childhood in eighteenth-century France, with reference to influential developments in Great Britain. I demonstrate how new ideas about child development led to the construction of 'Rousseauvian' childhood, which inspired the sentimentalisation of childhood in art and literature and new childrearing practices. This occurred within the particular cultural movement of sentimentalism, which anticipated Romanticism in asserting the primacy of feeling and in constructing an image of childhood characterised by innocence and able to elicit profound emotion in adults. In the second part, I highlight ways in which these developments influenced political representations of childhood in the 1780s and '90s. At the same time, I demonstrate how new political contexts might stimulate the reworking of Rousseauvian childhood and the sentimental paradigm and give them new meaning. This chapter focuses primarily on the period up to the end of Year II (1793–94), when Bara and Viala's planned pantheonization signified a high point in the French Revolutionary political representation of children. My discussion is not exhaustive, but it includes a range of cultural output and individual political episodes which illustrate how childhood was conceived and utilised across the revolutionary decade. It synthesises key scholarship and draws connections between material hitherto largely studied in isolation.

1.1 | Constructing Innocent Childhood

New cultural contexts

Cultural historians have typically identified the eighteenth century as an important moment in the history of childhood as a socio-cultural construct. For Philippe Ariès, who first addressed the question in his 1960 seminal history of childhood and the family, no distinct concept of childhood existed prior to the early modern period: children were seen as indistinguishable from adults once they passed infancy.[9] Furthermore, due to high infant mortality rates, parents did not engage emotionally with young children. These views have been much debated in the intervening decades, but it is now generally agreed that, although such a dismissive view of medieval attitudes is flawed, constructs of childhood are time- and place-specific.[10]

[9] P. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1960). Ariès' work was translated into English as *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. R. Baldick (London, 1962).
[10] See C. Heywood, 'Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary—and an Epitaph?', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3:3 (2011), pp. 341–365; M. L. King, 'Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60:2 (2007), pp. 371–372; A. Immel, 'Children's Books and Constructions of Childhood' in M.O. Grenby and A. Immel (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Children's*

The eighteenth century specifically saw the growing distinction and idealisation of childhood as a phase of development. In this era, historians have pointed to developments such as new markets for children's literature, toys and clothing, as well as the separation of their graves from adults' in churchyards and cemeteries.[11] Though new markets for children's consumer items were tied to a growing commercial economy, they also reflected—and perhaps consolidated—changing conceptions of childhood. New scientific understandings of human nature and the cult of sensibility stimulated debates on childrearing and led to the birth of the idealised, sentimental child as a cultural motif.

Such developments have led historians to label this period as the source of our contemporary view of childhood. For instance, it is in this era that James Steward explicitly locates 'the origins of modern childhood', and that Anne Higonnet identifies the birth of what she—somewhat anachronistically—terms 'Romantic childhood'.[12] Despite subsequent challenges to this view, for Margaret King, 'modern' and 'sentimental' childhood remain synonymous. [13] Yet, although some of our contemporary notions of childhood—particularly that of childhood innocence—may be traced back to the eighteenth century, childhood occupied a specific place in eighteenth-century culture. The figure of the sentimental child was constructed largely in novels, but also in art, and it was formed in relation to philosophical writing on human nature and pedagogical writing. As Jessica Riskin argues, this was a period of 'reciprocal' relationship between ideas and other aspects of culture and society.[14] Similarly, John O'Neal has demonstrated the ubiquity of the philosophical theory of sensationism in late-eighteenth-century French culture, particularly in novels of the period.[15] With regard to

Literature (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 19–34; A. S. Benzaquén, *Encounters with Wild Children: Temptation and Disappointment in the Study of Human Nature* (Montreal, 2006), pp. 265–266. For a critique of Ariès, see A. Wilson, 'The Infancy of the History of Childhood: An Appraisal of Philippe Ariès', *History and Theory*, 19 (1980), pp. 132–153.

[11] J. H. Plumb, 'The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 67 (1975), pp. 64–95; L. A. Pollock, 'Foreword', in M. Brown (ed.), *Picturing Children: Constructions of Childhood between Rousseau and Freud* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. xvi-xvii; J. Chatelus, 'Thèmes picturaux dans les appartements de marchands et artisans parisiens au XVIIIe siècle', *Dix-huitième Siècle*, 6:1 (1974), p. 322; M.-F. Morel, 'Images du petit enfant mort dans l'histoire', *Études sur la mort*, 119:1 (2001), p. 27.

[12] J. C. Steward, *The New Child: British Art and the Origins of Modern Childhood, 1730-1830* (Berkeley, 1995); A. Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London, 1998), pp. 11–13, 15, 17. See also H. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), p. 2, on this as a general view expressed by L. Stone, L. deMause, E. Shorter and J. H. Plumb.

[13] Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 2; King, 'Concepts of Childhood', 371.

[14] J. Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago, 2002), pp. 16–17, quotation p. 16.

[15] J. C. O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience: Sensationist Theory in the French Enlightenment*, (University Park, PA, 1996), especially p. 245. See also G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in*

childhood specifically, intellectual thought influenced, and was influenced by, the developing literary and artistic representation of the sentimental child and also had an impact on childrearing practices.

Though produced by an educated elite, such cultural artefacts were widely available and subject to public engagement. First, access to art and literature reached an unprecedented high by the second half of the eighteenth century. With regard to paintings, the growth of the Salon (opened in 1737) in the eighteenth century enabled Parisians from all walks of life to view and engage with art first-hand.[16] Indeed, contemporary observers commented on the social diversity of Salon audiences and, in particular, on the high proportion of non-elite viewers.[17] By the end of the 1780s, a significant commercial art market had developed, with the Salon operating as an opportunity for artists to display work in order to sell it and seek commissions. Art criticism, moreover, was widespread, and it was generally recognised—if resented—that there was no longer a single prevailing public opinion; instead, numerous different voices engaged with and judged artworks, and, as Bernadette Fort has shown, popular pamphlets directly challenged the elite monopoly of art criticism.[18]

Furthermore, engagement with paintings extended beyond the Salon through print reproductions. Jean Chatelus' analysis of Parisian merchants' and artisans' probate inventories from 1726-59 demonstrates the popularity of artworks in the home, and particularly of prints, which accounted for 37 per cent of artworks listed.[19] Although Chatelus' study shows the overwhelming popularity of religious imagery, Kristel Smentek has shown that by the second half of the century, genre scenes were the most widely sold type of prints, with sentimental images accounting for a high proportion of these.[20] Buyers came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds: they ranged from aristocrats to bakers, indicating the widespread accessibility and popularity of contemporary art.[21] It is problematic, however, that most studies focus only on the Paris art market.

Eighteenth-Century Britain (Chicago; London, 1992), pp. 15–23, on the influence of scientific theory concerning nerves on novels.

[16] On the Salon and its audiences, see T. E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven ; London, 1985), pp. 1–22; B. Fort, 'Voice of the Public: The Carnivalization of Salon Art in Prerevolutionary Pamphlets', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22:3 (1989), pp. 381–383.

[17] Fort, 'Voice of the Public', 381.

[18] Ibid., 368–394; R. Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 103–112, 351.

[19] Chatelus, 'Thèmes picturaux', 309.

[20] K. Smentek, 'Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution', *Studies in the History of Art*, 72 (2007), pp. 220–243.

[21] Ibid., 222, 224.

Written sources, too, were widely consumed. Although the French language had not yet reached all corners of the Hexagon, northern and urban France were largely literate by the eighteenth century, and the rates of rural and female readers now increased. Books, moreover, became significantly more accessible, leading to what Martyn Lyons has called a 'reading fever'.[22] Reading habits also changed, with a significant increase in secular reading: by 1785, theological texts accounted for only 10 per cent of licensed books in France.[23] As for the novel, it became especially popular in the latter half of the century, and copies were purchased increasingly by artisans as well as aristocrats.[24]

In this cultural context sentimentalism developed. This genre of literature, whose principles are also found in art of the time, arose from the idea of sensibility—to which I return below—and was designed to elicit a strong emotional response in the reader or viewer, according to the understanding that such emotion was the source of virtue and morality.[25] With regard to the sentimental novel, this led to what Chartier calls '"intensive" reading'.[26] Indeed, as Darnton has shown, the lines between sentimental fiction and reality were often blurred in the minds of readers of Rousseau's *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*: they identified emotionally with its characters, and wrote to Rousseau to express the profound impact the novel had had on them, extending fiction into reality.[27] The Marquise de Polignac's response to the protagonist's death illustrates the level of intensity with which readers identified with texts:

> … I was past weeping. A sharp pain convulsed me. My heart was crushed. Julie dying was no longer an unknown person. I believed I was her sister, her friend, her Claire. My seizure became so strong that if I had not put the book away I would have been as ill as all those who attended that virtuous woman in her final moments.[28]

Diderot's review of Greuze's *Une Jeune fille, qui pleure son oiseau mort* (Young Girl Mourning Her Dead Bird, 1765) demonstrates a similar emotional engagement with

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[22] F. Furet and J. Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge; Paris, 1982), pp. 44–47; R. Chartier, 'Reading and Reading Practices' in A.C. Kors, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, 4 vols (Oxford, 2003), iii, pp. 401–402; M. Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Houndmills, Basingstoke; New York, 2010), p. 119.
[23] M. Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, 2010), pp. 120–128.
[24] Ibid., 112, 129–134.
[25] Emma Barker makes a strong case for including Greuze's paintings in the genre of sentimentalism. See E. Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge, 2005). On sentimentalism and didacticism, see W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 164-166.
[26] Chartier, 'Reading', 400; Lyons, *History of Reading*, 134.
[27] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, pp. 241–249. On these blurred lines, see also Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 166–168, and J. E. Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 233–236.
[28] Quoted in Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 243.

sentimental art. Diderot enters into a hypothetical dialogue with the girl, seeking to comfort her.[29] Though this paternal response undoubtedly differs from the Marquise's complete identification—demonstrating the gender dynamics of sensibility—it equally indicates the emotional engagement with characters that sentimentalism typically encouraged, and thus the blurred lines between representation and reality.

Whilst these sources cannot be said to reflect universal attitudes, recent scholarship clearly emphasises the widespread subscription to sentimentalism among the educated French elite.[30] Moreover, this elite was not a closed social group, but instead a literate public, whose numbers were multiplying, as I have demonstrated. Sentimentalism's values were not associated with the 'bourgeoisie', since, as Sarah Maza has shown, no 'bourgeois' or middle-class consciousness existed in pre-Revolutionary France.[31] Rather, it was imagined as a universalising concept, which, as Reddy puts it, 'stretched from the highest intellectual protégés of the courts to the lowliest scribblers of melodrama, including painters, composers, and pamphleteers along the way.'[32] Furthermore, literacy was not necessary for engaging with visual representations of sentimentalism: though it is difficult to assess how far those who left no written record subscribed to such ideas, they had access to expression of them. Sentimentalism was not, therefore, the exclusive cultural property of a small 'emotional community', but became a normative emotional landscape in late eighteenth-century France; it certainly shaped the outlook of the educated individuals who would influence—and indeed direct—revolutionary politics and culture.[33]

Whilst my principal sources are French, I also use material from elsewhere in Europe where appropriate, particularly from Britain, as the aforementioned changes in attitude were part of a transnational cultural development, in an era pre-dating the development of the nation state. Recent historiography has recognised and studied the Enlightenment as a cosmopolitan phenomenon, with a particular focus on intellectual and cultural exchange.[34] The old

[29] Quoted in Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 1–2.
[30] W. M. Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and Its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *The Journal of Modern History*, 72:1 (2000), pp. 119, 124; Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility*, pp. 1–17.
[31] S. C. Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA; London, 2003), p. 43 on sentimentalism.
[32] Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and Its Erasure', 124.
[33] On 'emotional communities', see B. Rosenwein in J. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49:2 (2010), pp. 237–265; on sensibility and Jacobinism, see D. Andress, 'Jacobinism as Heroic Narrative: Understanding the Terror as the Experience of Melodrama', *French History and Civilisation*, 5 (2014), pp. 6–23.
[34] L. Andriès et al. (eds), *Intellectual Journeys: The Translation of Ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland* (Oxford, 2013); A. Thomson et al. (eds), *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth*

'Republic of Letters' expanded now beyond an exclusive, albeit transnational, intellectual sphere: Enlightenment intellectuals sought to engage with a public audience, not just their peers.[35] This audience had broad geographical reach, due to the impact of international trade networks and translations in facilitating the spread of ideas. Mark Curran's study of the archives of a Neuchâtel printer and bookseller, the *Société typographique de Neuchâtel* (STN), reveals that translated books were sent as far as Lisbon and Moscow and that discourses were thus transferred between countries.[36] Although, as Seigel points out, the circulation of ideas led to their reinterpretation in different countries, this very reinterpretation is evidence that Western thinkers were in dialogue with one another.[37] The STN sold translations of a range of genres, including philosophical, religious and sentimental texts. In particular, works such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* or Samuel Richardson's sentimental novels, *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, were popular in French translation and influenced *philosophes* such as Diderot.[38] Vice versa, Rousseau's works were widely translated, and multiple English translations of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788) were published; a theatrical adaptation of the novel, by James Cobb, appeared on the London stage in 1800.[39] Furthermore, artists and writers moved between nations and, specifically, similar portrayals of childhood are evident across borders. Notably, scholars have recognised possible cross-Channel borrowing in the work of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, William Hogarth and Joshua Reynolds; Reynolds was likely influenced by Greuze's representations of children.[40] French conceptions of childhood were evidently not developed in a vacuum, but were part of a wider transnational development, which emerged within a broader European context.[41]

Sensationism and sensibility: human nature in the Enlightenment

In an era pre-dating child psychology, understandings of childhood and child development were largely informed by philosophy on human nature, with which the natural and human

Century (Oxford, 2010); J. Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680-1760*, (Cambridge, 2005).

[35] See Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment*, 38–40; D. Goodman, cited in ibid., 20; M. Fumaroli, *La République des lettres* (Paris, 2015).

[36] M. Curran, 'The Société typographique de Neuchâtel and Networks of Trade and Translation in Eighteenth-Century Francophone Europe' in Thomson et al., *Cultural Transfers*, pp. 257–267.

[37] Seigel, *The Idea of the Self*, 171.

[38] Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility*, 7–8.

[39] See L. Calè, 'Sympathy in Translation: *Paul et Virginie* on the London Stage', *Romanticism on the Net*, 46 (2007), accessed 15 February 2017, at http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/016135ar.

[40] E. Barker, 'Greuze and England', in Andriès et al. *Intellectual Journeys*, 133–55.Barker concedes that Greuze and Reynolds may simply have been independently influenced by the same cultural developments (143–145).

[41] For an in-depth study of transnational Enlightenment cultural exchange, see Andriès et al., *Intellectual Journeys*.

sciences were entangled. The principal philosophical and cultural developments that contributed to the emergence of the sentimental child were empiricism, sensationism and sensibility.

Enlightenment philosophy established new understandings of human nature. Crucially, empiricists such as John Locke and David Hume rejected rationalism, the Cartesian notion of innate ideas.[42] They instead propounded an empiricist, Aristotelian model of the acquisition of knowledge through sensory perception and experience. Thus, according to Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), the mind of the individual began as 'white paper' and was formed by a combination of 'sensation' and 'reflection'.[43] He explicitly advocated observation of children to support this hypothesis, describing for instance the vegetative—thus non-thinking—state of the human foetus and the ways in which observing children's subsequent development demonstrates that 'the mind by the senses comes more and more to be furnished with ideas'.[44] The individual was not completely passive, but nevertheless remained 'a sort of camelions [sic], that still take a tincture from things near us'; individual identities were constantly in flux, and at the beginning of life, prior to any reflection or experience, could have no inherent characteristics.[45] Although Locke's use of the child here was merely discursive, his arguments had profound implications for understandings of child development, which would inform later pedagogical treatises, including his own of 1692.[46] According to Lockean empiricism, the child was a *tabula rasa*.

This stance was taken further in France, by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, Claude Adrien Helvétius and Charles Bonnet, according to whose 'radically empiricist' philosophy, known as sensationism, all development—including consciousness, rather than mere ideas—resulted from sensory perception.[47] In his *Traité des sensations* (1754), Condillac questioned the importance Locke had ascribed to reflection, arguing instead that 'judgement, reflection,

[42] See J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, accessed 14 February 2017, at https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/l/locke/john/l81u/, I, ii.
[43] Ibid., II, i, 1–8, 23–4.
[44] Ibid., II, i, 6, 20-22; see also I, ii, 16.
[45] Quotation J. Locke, 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education, 1692', *Internet History Sourcebooks, Fordham University* (1998), http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1692locke-education.asp, accessed 13 March 2017, iv, p. 67. See also Seigel, *The Idea of the Self*, 88–92. Seigel emphasises the non-passivity of the Lockean individual, ibid., 88–89.
[46] See Locke, 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education'.
[47] L. Falkenstein, 'Étienne Bonnot de Condillac', in E. N. Zalta, ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2010 (2010), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2010/entries/condillac/, accessed 13 February 2017. Sensationism is also referred to as 'sensationalism'.

desires, passions, etc., are merely sensation itself transformed differently.'[48] Even the body was composed of what the senses perceived, or the memory of them—and memory itself was another instance of 'sensation transformed'.[49] To demonstrate this, Condillac used the analogy of a statue, whose interactions with the world were enabled by access to its senses, one by one. Smelling a rose for the first time, the statue, from its own viewpoint, *became* the scent of the flower, as this was the limit of its experience.[50] Having nothing with which to compare an individual sensation like this, it could feel neither desire nor suffering: in order for such sentiments to develop, the statue must become aware of the transience of a sensation.[51]

Unlike Locke, Condillac did not directly address childhood in his theory on human nature. His only substantial reference to children in this context was in relation to the development of language: he used abstract, hypothetical children to represent man's acquisition of a language, drawing on an ancient tradition dating back to an experiment recorded by Herodotus, in which Pharaoh Psammetichus tested which language children in isolation would acquire naturally.[52] As Jean-Gérard Lapacherie points out, Condillac and other eighteenth-century theorists of language used children merely speculatively and showed little interest in children's actual linguistic development.[53] However, despite the limited direct exploration of childhood in Condillac's work on human nature, sensationism, even more than empiricism, undercut the notion of innate ideas and emphasised the receptivity of the developing individual—thus, the child—to his or her environment. It enabled the rejection of original sin, allowing the child to be perceived as innocent, and had a profound impact on eighteenth-century pedagogy.

Certainly, sensationism had its critics, notably those who saw it as denying the unity of the self or those, who, like Rousseau and later the Abbé Sieyès, objected to the passivity the model assigned to the individual.[54] However, as O'Neal has shown, the theory became

[48] On rejection of Locke, E. B. de Condillac, 'Extrait raisonné du Traité des sensations' in *Traité des sensations* (Paris, 1937), pp. 30–32; quotation 'Dessein de cet ouvrage' in ibid., pp. 61–62. 'Le jugement, la réflexion, les désirs, les passions, etc., ne sont que la sensation même qui se transforme différemment.'
See also similar quotation p. 32. For a discussion of Condillac's debt to and criticism of Locke, see O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience*, 13–24.
[49] Condillac, *Traité*, 55, 34. 'la sensation transformée'. See also *Traité*, I, ii, 6–9.
[50] Condillac, *Traité*, I, i, 1–2.
[51] Ibid., I, ii, 1–5.
[52] See J.-G. Lapacherie, 'Les enfants dans les spéculations sur l'origine du langage', in É. Berriot-Salvadore and I. Pébay-Clottes (eds), *Autour de l'enfance* (Biarritz, 1999), pp. 151–162.
[53] Ibid., 161.
[54] J. Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA ; London, 2005), pp. 107–115, 122–125.

ubiquitous in French culture; its influence continued into the nineteenth century, whether or not philosophers agreed with it.[55] Moreover, sensationism was integral to the development of sensibility and its literary manifestation as sentimentalism.

Sensibility was fundamental to eighteenth-century culture, where it was manifested in medicine, morality and literature. Anatomically, it referred to the body's ability to sense external objects, to which these sensations caused it to respond.[56] The theory rejected the primacy of the soul; instead, in his *Encyclopédie* article on the subject, the physician Henri Fouquet asserted that feeling was 'the basis and preserver of life'.[57] As David Denby points out, Fouquet's emphasis on the foetus coming to life through the sensations to which it is passive is reminiscent of Condillac's statue.[58] It also suggests familiarity with Locke, whose argument Fouquet took further by emphasising the foetus' susceptibility to sensation: though Fouquet acknowledged that full access to sensation could not occur until birth, Locke had denied that the foetus had any ability of perception.[59]

Moral sensibility, meanwhile, was a 'tender and delicate disposition of the soul, which makes it easily moved, easily touched'.[60] Though it might render an individual susceptible to error, it also made him or her more virtuous, and was 'the mother of humanity [and] of generosity'.[61] It came to represent universality of feeling, an extreme empathy and virtue that could regenerate society. Thus, as mentioned above, emotion elicited by the arts was seen to serve a didactic purpose through inspiring virtue. As Diderot argued, regarding theatre: 'To say that one must not move [the audience] beyond a certain point, is to suppose that they must not come away from a play too enamored of virtue, or too cool toward vice'.[62]

In literature, the culture of sensibility led to the development of the sentimental novel, whose protagonist was exceptionally sensitive, and which emphasised the universality of feeling through the relationships it formed between novel and reader. Hence, Chartier's aforementioned 'intensive reading' developed and the Marquise de Polignac reacted as she

[55] See above, page 2; O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience*; Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self*, 141–148, 157–159.
[56] H. Fouquet, 'Sensibilité', in D. Diderot et al., *Encyclopédie*, accessed 24 February 2017, at http://encyclopédie.eu/index.php/physique/878677239-medecine/1119861315-SENSIBILIT%C3%89.
[57] H. Fouquet, quoted in D. Denby, 'Sensibility', in Kors, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, iv, 60.
[58] Ibid.
[59] See Fouquet, 'Sensibilité', and Locke, *Essay*, II, i, 21.
[60] Jaucourt, 'Sensibilité', *Encyclopédie*, accessed 24 February 2017, at http://portail.atilf.fr/cgi-bin/getobject_?a.112:43./var/artfla/encyclopedie/textdata/IMAGE/. Translation Denby, 'Sensibility', 60.
[61] Jaucourt, 'Sensibilité'. 'la mere [sic] de l'humanité, de la générosité'.
[62] Quoted in Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 164.

did to Rousseau's *Julie.* Of particular note is the marquise's emphasis on the physical reaction concomitant with her emotional anguish: sensibility united sensation and sentiment, as the body responded physically to feeling.

Furthermore, scholars have noted that women were seen as particularly *sensibles*, or sensitive. O'Neal, for instance, argues that Condillac's statue demonstrates feminine characteristics; indeed, the fact that the noun *statue* is feminine in French means that this hyper-feeling subject is referred to repeatedly by the female pronoun, 'she' (*elle*), so that the reader may identify her (it) as feminine.[63] Likewise, Barker-Benfield has demonstrated that women were seen as inherently more sensitive and prone to nerve ailments than men; from this accepted belief came the literary trope of the sentimental woman who was at once morally superior and vulnerable to men.[64] I explore below the ways in which such ideas extended to children and the implications of their frequent portrayal as feminine.

Finally, whilst philosophical writing suggested children's lack of innate ideas and dependence on their environment, science and medicine emphasised their physical vulnerability in infancy. Thus the comte de Buffon noted the precariousness of a new-born child's life, and how a new-born could not yet control its own organs or senses, rendering it 'an image of misery and pain, … weaker than any animal'.[65] Similarly, Jean-Charles Desessartz wrote of infants' 'extreme fragility', describing their weak, diminutive muscles and bones 'so tender' that they are malleable.[66] Not only was the child's psychological development dependent on his or her environment, but so was physical development and survival. Indeed, Buffon and Desessartz both emphasised infants' dependence on adults: Buffon's description in fact formed part of his treatise on childrearing. This focus on the child's physical weakness thus influenced childrearing practices and pedagogy; it also contributed to the development of a context in which the vulnerable child could be seen as a sentimental motif. Barker has emphasised the links between Buffon's writing and Greuze's sentimental images of children, highlighting the artist's attention to the child's 'smallness'

[63] O'Neal, *The Authority of Experience*, 110, 112.
[64] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, 23–36.
[65] G.-L. Leclerc, comte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, avec la description du cabinet du roy.*, P. Corsi and T. Hoquet, eds., vol. ii, (1749), accessed 13 March 2017, at http://www.buffon.cnrs.fr/ice/ice_book_detail-fr-text-buffon-buffon_hn-2-1.html, p. 445. 'une image de misère et de douleur, … plus foible qu'aucun des animaux'. Buffon's emphasis on senses suggests the influence of sensationism.
[66] J. C. Desessartz, *Traité de l'éducation corporelle des enfans en bas âge, ou, Réflexions-pratiques sur les moyens de procurer une meilleure constitution aux citoyens.* (Paris, 1760), p. 63. 'extrême délicatesse'; 'si tendres'.

and signs of physical weakness.[67] Scientific emphasis on young children's fragility further informed the development of the sentimental child in the eighteenth-century imagination.

The 'sentimental child' was a vision of childhood constructed in the context of new understandings of human nature, scientific writing on children's bodies, and a specific cultural predilection for intense emotion and its universality. As Gérard Lahouati has argued, Rousseauvian childhood, discussed below, was not restricted by age; it was a state of being.[68] Indeed, Martin Killias has observed that ancien régime childhood did not end abruptly according to 'clear-cut age-limits'; instead children reached adulthood 'gradually, according to the practical demands of life.'[69] Eighteenth-century dictionary definitions of 'enfant', which state that childhood ended at age 'ten or twelve' highlight this ambiguity.[70] Childhood was not arbitrarily defined in law or society, as it is now. The sentimental notion of childhood developed by Rousseau and his contemporaries centred on the attributes, rather than age, of the child.

Age of innocence: children's purity and virtue

> I should like all those condemned to death for their crimes to be asked the question: *have you loved children?* I am sure that they would answer no.
>
> Je voudrais […] qu'on fît une question à tous les malheureux qui vont subir la mort pour leurs crimes : *avez-vous aimé les enfants?* Je suis sûre qu'ils répondraient que non.[71]

Madame Geoffrin's statement epitomises the sentimental view of children developed by the later eighteenth century. The *salonnière*'s implication was that a guilty man could not be associated with innocence: devoid of virtue, he could never have loved children. Conversely, her statement might be read as Rousseau interpreted it, as a likening of all those who did not love children to (guilty) criminals. In fact, when D'Alembert cited Mme Geoffrin's statement in her eulogy, Rousseau perceived it as a personal attack on him for having abandoned his own children to a foundling hospital; however, he agreed that Mme Geoffrin's delight in observing children indicated her 'natural goodness'.[72] Delighting in children was thus

[67] E. Barker, 'Imaging Childhood in Eighteenth-Century France: Greuze's Little Girl with a Dog', *The Art Bulletin*, 91:4 (2009), pp. 435–436.
[68] G. Lahouati, 'L'invention de l'enfance: le statut du souvenir d'enfance dans quelques autobiographies du XVIIIe siècle' in Berriot-Salvadore and Pébay-Clottes, *Autour de l'enfance*, 172.
[69] M. Killias, 'The Emergence of a New Taboo: The Desexualisation of Youth in Western Societies since 1800', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research; Amsterdam*, 8:4 (2000), p. 467.
[70] 'Enfant' in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th edn (1762) and 8th edn (1798), accessed 28 March 2016, at http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=enfant. 'l'âge de dix ou douze ans'.
[71] Mme Geoffrin, quoted in J.-J. Rousseau, *Les Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (Paris, 2012), p. 154, note 4.
[72] Ibid., 153–156, quotation p. 154. 'une preuve de bon naturel'.

antithetical to wrongdoing. By the time Mme Geoffrin was writing, a vision of children embodying innocence and purity had evolved in France (and elsewhere). Moreover, the child's innocence had the capacity to move and redeem the adult: through this identification inspired by sensibility, social order could be restored. Mme Geoffrin's statement encapsulated the contemporary sentimental vision of the child.

The notion of childhood innocence was not entirely new but rooted in Christian tradition. Catholic doctrine held that baptised infants were incapable of sin and thus inevitably ascended to Heaven should they die, and the veneration of religious child martyrs was closely linked to indignation at the murder of an innocent victim. This is explicit in the naming of the Holy Innocents—still familiar as the namesake of the Parisian parish church and cemetery 'des Innocents', in use until 1787 and 1780 respectively. The early medieval Christian veneration of child martyrs and later accusations of Jewish blood libel in medieval and early modern Europe were likewise fuelled by this indignation—and in the latter case thus used children's perceived innocence to vilify the Jewish other.[73] Yet Calvinist theorists had advanced the view that children were tainted by original sin and needed to be corrected. Even outside this Protestant attitude, the innocence that guaranteed a place in Paradise came only with baptism. Prior to this, the new-born child was guilty of original sin, and so could not be buried in hallowed ground.[74] Though baptism remained crucial for French Catholic parents, the second half of the eighteenth century saw the development of a new, secular view of childhood innocence.[75] This innocence was no longer merely a theological question regarding the deceased child's soul, but concerned the living child, whose innocence was venerated in life.

[73] See, for example, P. H. Wasyliw, *Martyrdom, Murder, and Magic: Child Saints and Their Cults in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2008), especially pp. 82–83; Pawel Maciejko, 'The Blood Libel Against the Jews in Poland', in L.W.B. Brockliss and H. Montgomery (eds), *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 44–47.

[74] See R. Bertrand, 'Les enfants « qui remplissent le ciel ». Obsèques et sépulture des enfants en Provence aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles' in R. Andréani, H. Michel and E. Pélaquier (eds), *Naissance, enfance et éducation dans la France méridionale du XVIe au XXe siècles : hommage à Mireille Laget : actes du colloque des 15 et 16 mars 1996 organisé par le Centre d'histoire moderne et contemporaine de l'Europe méditerranéenne et de ses périphéries, XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Montpellier, 1999), pp. 193–196.

[75] For instance, there is evidence of the continued use of shrines for the temporary revival of deceased infants in order to baptise them, and even parents who abandoned their children were keen for potential benefactors to be informed whether they had been baptised. See Morel, 'Images du petit enfant mort', 20; and C. Seth, 'La Dame de cœur et le ruban couleur de chair: «Remarques» et «excuses» d'enfants trouvés des Lumières' in F. Magnot-Ogilvy and J. Valls-Russell (eds), *Enfants perdus, enfants trouvés: dire l'abandon en Europe du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2015), p. 220.

The origins of this view lie in Enlightenment philosophy. If, as the empiricists and sensationists asserted, the child was a *tabula rasa*, or shaped by sensations experienced in life, then it logically followed that children were not inherently sinful. Combining this with contemporary interest in primitive societies and natural man, Rousseau equated the child to his vision of natural man as superior to civilised man. Contradicting the empiricists, he asserted that both were born with inherent *amour de soi*—a more generous form of self-love, as opposed to self-seeking *amour-propre* cultivated by society and absent in the child.[76] Like natural man, then, the child could lay claim to what Peter Coveney terms 'original innocence' or 'original virtue'.[77] As Rousseau put it in the opening line of his pedagogical treatise, *Émile* (1762): 'Everything is good as it leaves the hands of the Author of things; everything degenerates in the hands of man.'[78] Prior to Rousseau, this notion of children's inherent innocence was rarely expressed; moreover, Rousseau's assertion was novel insofar as he did not even consider the impact of the Fall on new-born children.[79] *Émile* was highly influential, but found critics among both clerics and Enlightenment thinkers for this notion of innate innocence, as well as for the abstract nature of the pedagogical regime proposed: Émile was raised by a tutor, removed from society until ready to contribute to it.[80]

That said, Seigel highlights contradictions in Rousseau's assertion of man's inherent virtue, and demonstrates that his view of children was in fact complex and problematic.[81] Rather than growing up according to his own instincts, Émile required a tutor's guidance. These contradictions may explain why historians have not always been able to agree on whether Rousseau envisaged humans as naturally virtuous or merely born without sin. For instance, where O'Neal argues that Rousseauvian humans are 'innately good', Kenshur states that Rousseau's natural man was not virtuous.[82] However, Heywood suggests that the two are not synonymous, that 'virtue required an effort of will', as opposed to goodness, which meant only the absence of sin.[83] In any case, Rousseau was widely misinterpreted by his

[76] See J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile, or On Education*, trans. A. Bloom (London, 1979), iv, pp. 212-215. For a thorough discussion of Rousseau's views on man and nature in the wild and in society, see L. D. Cooper, *Rousseau, Nature, and the Problem of the Good Life* (University Park, PA, 1999).
[77] P. Coveney, *The Image of Childhood: The Individual and Society: A Study of the Theme in English Literature*, Revised ed, Peregrine Books (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 33.
[78] J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, A. Bloom, trans. (London, 1979), p. 37.
[79] See Plumb, 'The New World of Children', 68–69.
[80] On the reception of *Émile*, see C. Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 88–89.
[81] Seigel, *The Idea of the Self*, 223–227.
[82] J. C. O'Neal, 'Rousseau, Jean-Jacques', in Kors, *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, iii, 438; O. Kenshur, 'Human Nature' in ibid., ii, 230.
[83] Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe*, 90.

contemporaries, such that virtuous innocence certainly came to be associated with childhood.[84]

This innocence attributed to the pre-social child contrasted with society, which was widely perceived to be corrupt. The belief that French society was vicious and deeply flawed was evident as early as Montaigne and abounded in eighteenth-century literature.[85] For instance, Montesquieu and Graffigny used fictional foreigners as a means of presenting society's flaws from an outsider's perspective, and—in a perverse adaptation of the novel of education—Laclos' *Les Liaisons dangereuses* presented a manipulative, duplicitous and self-serving aristocracy.[86] Rousseau himself vehemently condemned society, claiming to have renounced it due to the persistent persecution he suffered: in *Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire* (1782), he wrote of 'treacherous caresses' and 'honeyed malice', emphasising his relief to be alone and close to nature.[87] He and others consistently condemned the selfishness and deceit that they perceived to be endemic in civilised (or polite) society.

Unlike civilised adults, children were perceived to be open and honest. As the Swiss painter Henry Fuseli (1741–1825) put it, 'All actions and attitudes of children are… divested of affectation and free from all pretence.'[88] The German schoolteacher Johann Friedrich Seidel (1761–1805) expressed the same notion, explicitly contrasting children and adults: 'The youthful soul is still so open, is still such a pure, uncorrupted mirror…; in the case of a man, one must at least suspect that he is not what he appears to be.'[89] The child was therefore the antithesis of adult deceit and corruption. In this regard, the child possessed the qualities associated with 'superior virtue' in the sentimental novel: the righteousness of a sentimental protagonist like Richardson's Pamela was grounded in 'simplicity, openness, and lowly rank' and the character could therefore resist corruption by worldly forces.[90] For the first time, virtue was linked to a conception of innate innocence, rather than associated with rational masculinity and noble rank.[91]

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[84] M. Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 87–93.
[85] E.g. M. de Montaigne, 'Sur l'utile et l'honnête', M. de Montaigne, *Essais*, trans. A. Lanly, vol. iii (Geneva and Paris, 1987), pp. 7–20.
[86] C.-L. de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes* (1721); F. de Graffigny, *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747); C. de Laclos, *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782).
[87] Rousseau, *Rêveries*, 149–152, quotations p. 149. 'caresses traîtresses', 'leur mielleuse malignité'.
[88] H. Fuseli, quoted in Steward, *The New Child*, 101.
[89] J. F. Seidel, quoted in A. Krupp, 'Observing Children in an Early Journal of Psychology: Karl Philipp Moritz's *Gnothi Sauton (Know thyself)*' in A. Müller (ed.), *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (Aldershot, Hants, 2006), p. 36.
[90] Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and its Erasure', 121.
[91] See ibid.

Further distinguishing them from adult society was children's association with nature. This was of course implied by Rousseau's comparison of children and natural man, given that neither had experienced 'unnatural' civilisation. He also directly linked nature and children, for example by comparing them to 'a young plant' that needed to be carefully cultivated.[92] The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a growing preference for living closer to nature, often as a means of escaping corrupt civilisation.[93] This idealisation of nature is evident, for instance, in the resurgence of pastoral literature—seamlessly blended with the sentimental in Bernardin's *Paul et Virginie*—as well as in medical idealisation of the countryside: in his treatise on infant childrearing, Desessartz denounced the impurity of urban air and argued that young children were less likely to die prematurely in country air.[94] Nature and the rural were superior to urban vice and pollution. Children's connection to nature was thus positive, tying them to the purity associated with nature.

As well as a lack of adult malice and deception, childhood innocence signified sexual innocence. Historians have typically identified the suppression of children's sexuality as a product of the modern era, with roots in the eighteenth century. Thus, for instance, Killias has demonstrated that the notion of a child's *de facto* lack of sexual agency and inability to consent did not exist in European law until the early nineteenth century, with the exception of very young girls.[95] The late eighteenth century, according to Foucault, saw the secularisation of questions of sexual morality; where children were concerned, medics such as Jean Goulin repeatedly warned against childhood masturbation and the waste of seminal fluid, which was perceived as essential for healthy growth.[96] For Rousseau, both the child and natural man were asexual but would respond to external stimuli; both represented an ideal, and it was society's corrupting influence that led to sexual desire.[97] Children's sexuality was thus beginning to be addressed in a secular context, where it was condemned but also denied. Their sexual innocence was a burgeoning ideal, which further divorced them from adult vice.

Finally, the sentimental child was representative of adult introspection and nostalgia. Literary historians have demonstrated the growing importance afforded to childhood in both fictional

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[92] Rousseau, *Emile*, 38.
[93] A. Benzaquén, 'The Doctor and the Child: Medical Preservation and Management of Children in the Eighteenth Century', in Müller, *Fashioning Childhood*, 20.
[94] Desessartz, *Traité de l'éducation corporelle*, xii.
[95] Killias, 'The Emergence of a New Taboo', 462–464.
[96] M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. R. Hurley, vol. i: *An Introduction* (New York, 1978), pp. 116–117; M. K. McAlpin, 'Innocence of Experience: Rousseau on Puberty in the State of Civilization', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 71:2 (2010), p. 246.
[97] McAlpin, 'Innocence of Experience', 260–261.

and non-fictional autobiographical writing during the eighteenth century.[98] Empiricism's emphasis on experience enabled childhood to be seen as formative to the adult self, which arguably legitimised focus on personal childhood memories. Such memories could therefore be cultivated by individual adults, whose emotional response to the cultural trope of the child was reinforced by this personal identification. As Ludmilla Jordanova has observed, constructs of childhood are by their nature 'integral to adult conflicts and struggles' and '[o]ur capacity to sentimentalize, identify with, project onto, and reify children is almost infinite': in the eighteenth century, this capacity developed intensely, insofar as the child was used to elicit an emotional response through appealing to the adult's personal nostalgia.[99]

Thus, Rousseau felt compelled to include bittersweet childhood memories in his autobiographical *Confessions* (1769, published 1782). Significantly, he justified such anecdotes by emphasising their sentimental importance for the author himself, and his delight in writing them: recalling them made him 'tremble with pleasure' and he implored his reader to permit a long account of a particular memory, 'in order to prolong [his] pleasure'.[100] Rousseau's consciousness of his self-indulgence and emphasis on the emotional impact of these memories suggests that he intended to move his readers with these accounts, encouraging a shared experience of remembering. It has been suggested that the *Confessions* was the result of Rousseau's effort to reconcile his true identity with the connotations of his now-famous name; thus, all introspection was performative and consciously designed to develop a more authentic relationship with his reader.[101] Indeed, he consciously constructed a connection between his author-persona and his audience, demonstrating what Darnton has called a 'metaliterary impulse' that drove him to transcend 'the barriers separating writer from reader'.[102] As Larry Wolff acknowledges, the reader might be 'reliving childhood along with' Rousseau. Because childhood was a universal experience, remembering it was both a

[98] G. Lahouati, 'L'invention de l'enfance: le statut du souvenir d'enfance dans quelques autobiographies du XVIIIe siècle' in Berriot-Salvadore and Pébay-Clottes, *Autour de l'enfance*, 163–190. For nascent examples of this in the seventeenth century, see L. Godard de Donville, 'Le Souvenir d'enfance chez quelques mémorialistes (XVIIe-début XVIIIe siècle)' in ibid., 135–150. On fictional memoirs, see F. Magnot-Ogilvy, '«And I am but a Little Girl»: L'Abandon à la première personne dans les romans du XVIIIe siècle', in Magnot-Ogilvy and Valls-Russell, *Enfants perdus*, 301–319. Magnot-Ogilvy argues that Daniel Defoe's emphasis on childhood in his novels was innovative.

[99] L. Jordanova, 'New Worlds for Children in the Eighteenth Century: Problems of Historical Interpretation', *History of the Human Sciences*, 3:1 (1990), pp. 75–76, 79.

[100] Quoted in Lahouati, 'L'invention', 171. 'tressaillir d'aise'; 'pour prolonger mon plaisir'.

[101] A. Lilti, 'Reconnaissance et célébrité : Jean-Jacques Rousseau et la politique du nom propre', *Orages, Littérature et culture*, 9 (2010), p. 92.

[102] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 234.

performed and shared introspection, creating a bond between reader and writer.[103] In this way, the child offered a means of adult escapism that was at once personal and universal.[104] At the same time, the purity children embodied symbolised hope for reform. As Rousseau put it in *Émile*, '[w]hen I imagine a child of ten to twelve years, healthy, vigorous, well-formed for his age, it causes to be born in me no idea that is not agreeable, whether for the present or for the future'.[105] This optimism inspired by the child underscored the sentimental child's redemptive value and united, in the vision of childhood, past, present and future in a timeless optimism.

The child thus became the image of adult salvation. The opposite of all that was wrong with adult society, childhood offered a channel for introspection and escapism, and a source of shared emotion coveted by a *sensible* eighteenth-century society. All these ideas were manifested in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's influential short novel, *Paul et Virginie* (1788).[106] Set on an idyllic tropical island (Île de France, now Mauritius), the novel concerns two children, whose mothers raise them in this exotic paradise, isolated from society and its vice. They lead simple lives, close to nature and full of exemplary virtue, until Virginie is forced to leave for the mainland at the behest of her wealthy great-aunt, who intends to raise her more conventionally. Growing up is the point at which Paul and Virginie's bliss is threatened, beginning with Virginie's nascent amorous feelings for her companion and resulting in her unhappiness in French society, which in turn leads to her death in the sinking of the ship bringing her home. The novel thus represents childhood as an ideal but ephemeral stage of life, whose naïve delights cannot persist or be regained in adulthood.

It also emphasises the children's natural virtue. This is particularly evident in the episode in which Paul and Virginie return an escaped slave to her master, compassionately seeking the latter's assurance that he will no longer mistreat her. Their naivety here is notably poignant: childhood innocence and virtue are juxtaposed against the cruelty of the slave owner—and of

[103] L. Wolff, 'When I Imagine a Child: The Idea of Childhood and the Philosophy of Memory in the Enlightenment', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31:4 (1998), p. 398.
[104] For an excellent discussion of the relationship between the adult self and the cultural trope of the child from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth, see C. Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (London, 1995).
[105] Quoted in Wolff, 'When I Imagine a Child', 397.
[106] Bernardin's novel first appeared in the third edition of his *Études de la nature* (vol. iv, 1788); its first legitimate publication as an independent text was in 1789, though a separate edition also appeared in 1788, which Malcolm Cook demonstrates to be counterfeit. This illustrates the novel's immediate popularity. See M. Cook, 'The First Separate Edition of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie', *French Studies Bulletin*, 29:109 (2008), pp. 89–91.

the adult reader, who is worldly enough to anticipate the master's betrayal.[107] As Malcolm Cook argues, the slave owner represents 'the kind of cruelty that was commonplace' in society; the juxtaposition of his behaviour with that of the children is arguably a deliberate distinction between adult and child perceptions of the world and between natural purity and the depravity of civilisation.[108] Bernardin's narrator made the distinction between nature and society directly, echoing Rousseau, by contrasting 'natural happiness' and 'social misfortune'.[109] Associated with nature and oblivious to social vice, children offered a means to critique this vice and imply that it is acquired behaviour.

The very fact that Bernardin chose children as his protagonists is demonstrative of the new place occupied by the figure of the child. His was the first French novel to use children as its protagonists. As Lynn Hunt has observed, he followed sentimental and Rousseauvian convention by using them as 'metaphors of innocence and simplicity' and as a means of exploring his pedagogical ideas. However, he broke with tradition in making their childhood fundamental to the story and portraying them as independent characters.[110]

Readers' responses to the text illustrate adult engagement with this use of children as naturally innocent protagonists, and the capacity of sentimental childhood to elicit emotion. Although the novel was recommended as instructive for children, adults were its intended audience.[111] Contemporary adult readers, moved by the children's innocence, praised Bernardin's affecting treatment of Virginie's death. For instance, the notary—and later revolutionary *Conventionnel*—Jean-Henri Bancal Desissarts, wrote to the author of how he 'could not hold back my tears, when I saw this virtuous girl ready to die, in the prime of life, victim of fortune and prejudice'.[112]

Visual artists likewise emphasised children's natural innocence. In Britain, this was exemplified by Joshua Reynolds' *Age of Innocence* (1788), whose title explicitly stressed

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[107] J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie* [1788] (Paris, 2013), pp. 23–32.
[108] M. Cook, *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: A Life of Culture* (London, 2006), p. 128.
[109] Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*, 33, 81–85, quotation p. 81. '[le] bonheur naturel… le malheur social'.
[110] L. Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London, 1992), pp. 27–28; see also D. J. Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760-1820* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 71, 89. Denby argues that the trope of the sentimental victim was linked to 'powerlessness and innocence'; these qualities were associated with children, so the 'unfortunate child' accordingly featured in sentimental literature—though typically as a minor character.
[111] Cook, *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, 110.
[112] Desissarts, 14 April 1788, quoted in Cook, *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, p. 109. 'je n'ai pû [sic] retenir mes Sanglots [sic], lorsque J'ai vû [sic] prete a [sic] périr, cette fille vertueuse dans la fleur de l'age [sic], victime de la fortune et des préjugés.' See also letter from Mme Mesnard to Bernardin, 24 April 1788, quoted in ibid., p. 108.

innocence as a childhood characteristic, and in France by Greuze's *Une jeune enfant qui joue avec un chien* (*A Young Child Playing With a Dog*, 1769) [Figures 2 and 3]. Both are genre paintings, representative of childhood, as opposed to portraits of specific children. Dressed in white, both girls embody childhood purity. Greuze's inclusion of a dog was also significant: children were often depicted with animals, which may have emphasised their proximity to nature, though Dorothy Johnson suggests that the presence of animals is due to the fact that children commonly kept pet dogs, cats or birds.[113] Indeed, the painting was also known, in its engraved version, as *L'Epagneul chéri* (*The Beloved Spaniel*), a title which emphasises the child's relationship with her pet. Seemingly, she relates more intimately to the spaniel than to the adult spectator, who seems to intrude on this intimate moment, causing her to look up in fright.

More significantly, the child's body came to be seen in the art world as the embodiment of natural grace, due to the spontaneity of its movements. As discussed above, children lacked premeditation in their actions; thus they could demonstrate the '[s]implicity and honesty in the movements of the soul… so essential for graceful movement'.[114] This kind of natural movement was emphasised in works such as Thomas Lawrence's *Portrait of Mrs John Angerstein and her son John Julius William* (1799), in which the mother is clearly posing, whilst the little boy's position suggests he is mid-movement, happily toddling about, oblivious to everything around him.[115] Likewise, Reynolds' and Greuze's little girls do not look posed, but exude a sense of spontaneity: the former sits comfortably and naturally on the ground, whilst the latter is caught in play, leaning forward with untidily-arranged limbs as she struggles to keep the dog on her lap. Furthermore, the conventional view that the child's body was not aesthetically pleasing, regardless of its movements, was challenged by those who linked childhood with grace, such as Watelet and Diderot.[116] Accordingly, Greuze and Reynolds deliberately emphasised their sitters' childish bodies, particularly 'large head, wide eyes… chubby cheeks and pudgy hands', as well as pudgy knees and toes [fig. 1 and 2].[117] In this way, the child's body came to be venerated and seen as aesthetically pleasing, due to children's associations with nature and innocence.

[113] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 434; D. Johnson, 'Engaging Identity: Portraits of Children in Late Eighteenth-Century European Art', in Müller, *Fashioning Childhood*, 110.
[114] Watelet, quoted in Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 432.
[115] For a full analysis, see Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 23–24.
[116] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 432–433.
[117] Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 104.

Though agreeable to behold, it was deliberately not sexualised, where the child was too young to be considered sexually available—the female age of consent was twelve years, and for boys it was fourteen, under canon law.[118] This demonstrates the impact of Rousseavian ideas concerning children's inherent sexual innocence. Sexual awakening, which Rousseau saw as the result of society's influence, was often portrayed in art as the end of childhood, and is alluded to accordingly by Greuze's sexualised pubescent girls mourning dead birds, or as an inevitable future in Gainsborough's *Cottage Girl with Dog and Pitcher* (1785).[119]

Rather than being sexualised, the young child's body invited adoration but not access. It was a 'feminized' body, but this drew on women's perceived innocence, virtue and sensibility rather than their status as objects of sexual desire.[120] Thus, as Barker has argued, Greuze reverses the sexual connotations of lapdogs by emphasising that the girl is not big enough to hold the dog properly.[121] Furthermore, both his and Reynolds' little girls have their chests covered, not only by their high dresses, but also by the dog and the girl's hands, respectively; the dog between her legs acts as a physical barrier between the spectator and Greuze's *jeune enfant*. A counterpoint to this might be Hubert Drouais' *Girl with a Cat* (1767), in which the child's neckline is especially low. However, this emphasises her lack of breasts; the ill-fitting dress equally suggests that she is not yet ready for adult beauty ideals, functioning in much the same way as Lady Penelope Boothby's modest, voluminous layers and oversized hat in Reynolds' portrait of 1788. On both sides of the Channel, therefore, portraits and genre paintings of girls were deliberately desexualised and instead emphasised children's innocence and vulnerability. They played upon the same vulnerability of the more sexualised, so-called 'Greuze girls', which nevertheless inspired a paternal desire to protect the sitter.[122]

The female body was indeed perceived to be closer to that of the child than the (post-pubescent) man's, to the point that Rousseau argued women 'seem in many respects never to be anything else' besides 'big children'.[123] Embodying childhood as female, but desexualised, thus emphasised children's distinction from the adult men who predominantly painted and

[118] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 429; P. Thane, 'Childhood in History', in M. King, ed., *Childhood, Welfare and Justice: A Critical Examination of Children in the Legal and Childcare Systems* (London, 1981), p. 9.
[119] See Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 429; Steward, *The New Child*, 206–208.
[120] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 440. On women, see Denby, *Sentimental Narrative*, 174–175.
[121] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 427.
[122] Diderot, quoted in Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 1; Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 435–436. Barker suggests that some viewers may have identified as the child's 'predator' rather than 'protector', but, given the virtuous aspirations of sensibility, it seems unlikely that this was Greuze's intention, or that many viewers would have felt this way. See ibid., 436–8.
[123] Rousseau, *Emile*, 211.

viewed them. It also doubly emphasised their sensibility. Meanwhile, contemporary portraits of boys often did not emphasise the attributes of sentimental childhood. Thus Drouais's *Boy with a Black Spaniel* (1769) and Greuze's *Boy with a Dog* (1757) are much more stiffly posed than their female counterparts and proudly meet the viewer's gaze. These catered to a growing taste for images of children, but did so according to traditions of male portraiture. Naturally, there were exceptions to this, such as Thomas Lawrence's aforementioned portrait of Mrs John Angerstein and her son, or Drouais' *Un Enfant tenant un nid d'oiseau* (A Child Holding a Bird's Nest, 1770). Paintings of girls, however, were able to emphasise children's sexual innocence and unavailability, because they upturned conventions of sexually-objectified depictions of women. Indeed, as Barker points out, Greuze's *Jeune enfant* was displayed in the Salon alongside two of his more erotic paintings of adolescent girls, which may have encouraged spectators to notice the juxtaposition between sexually available young women and chaste children.[124] Depicted by artists, it was thus the female child's body that became the visual incarnation of the transparency, innocence and virtue symbolised by childhood.

Nevertheless, there were limits to the child's perceived virtue in practice. For instance, a problematic view of children's innocence, or innate virtue, is presented in Mme d'Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* (1774), an educational work presenting dialogues based on the author's experience raising her granddaughter and winner of the Académie Française's Prix Monthyon in 1783. In one particular episode, the eponymous Émilie, aged five, catches a fly and announces her intention to pull off its wings in order to prevent it from flying away. Her adult guardian must prevent this action and explain why it would be wrong to harm the creature; thus the child is not inherently virtuous and requires adult intervention to preserve her innocence. However, her mother's guidance inspires a discussion of virtue, responsibility and children's vulnerability—and, of course, Émilie's renunciation of her cruel plans.[125] Innocent insofar as she lacks malicious intent, she was therefore merely ignorant of the consequences her actions would have. Indeed, d'Épinay highlights this explicitly through the mother's assertion that '[i]t's the ignorance, the carelessness of your age that makes children commit so much wrong without knowing it.'[126] Representative of all children, Émilie is therefore naïve, her actions spontaneous and transparent, just as Fuseli would have them.

[124] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', p. 429.
[125] L. d'Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, R. Davison, ed. (Oxford, 1996), iii, pp. 67–75.
[126] Ibid., 69. 'C'est l'ignorance, c'est l'étourderie de votre âge qui fait commettre aux enfans tant de mal sans le savoir.'

Furthermore, defining childhood, Émilie's mother states that 'a child is [at once] innocent, ignorant, careless, tiresome, tactless…'[127] Thus, for d'Épinay, children are not flawless, but neither is their innocence incompatible with their faults.

Grounded in actual pedagogical experience, d'Épinay's writing presents a compromise between idealised and real childhood. It also illustrates the aforementioned complexity of Rousseauvian childhood innocence highlighted by Seigel. In fact, Rousseau had argued in *Émile* that children's sensibility needed to be expanded outside themselves in order for them to act morally: this is the empathy that Émilie must be taught.[128] Thus, even a hypothetical child such as Émile was not perfect, but required suitable instruction. Indeed, idealised childhood existed on a spectrum, such that, whilst Rousseau and d'Épinay might portray essential goodness in need of instruction, others idealised the child as inherently virtuous, as we have seen. The nineteenth-century Romantics—such as William Wordsworth in Britain and Victor Hugo in France—would more unquestioningly idolise the child as faultless and superior. Yet, there were always opposing voices, too, which persisted in presenting children as sinful.[129]

Despite these limitations, the vision of innocent childhood was perceived to be universal. Sentimentalism transcended socioeconomic differences. Furthermore, as Sarah Maza demonstrates through her study of a court case, Mercier's plays and Rousseau's *Julie*, familial bliss—though imagined as a rejection of the traditional aristocratic preoccupation with lineage—was envisioned as universally desirable and achievable, and certainly as familiar to the labouring classes.[130] Just as the family cannot, therefore, be considered 'bourgeois', the sentimental child likewise cut across social divisions. Despite the 'immaculately white fragile dresses on their well-fed little bodies', the sentimental children in the paintings I have discussed were essentially classless, absorbed in their own juvenile world.[131] On the other hand, the rustic, rural child might be celebrated for the same reason, as

[127] d'Épinay, *Les Conversations d'Émilie*, i, 55. 'un enfant est innocent, ignorant, étourdi, importun, indiscret…'
[128] Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility*, 3–4.
[129] Heywood, *Childhood in Modern Europe*, 90–94. Even Wordsworth vascillated between idolising childhood and viewing children as sinful (p. 91).
[130] S. C. Maza, 'The "Bourgeois" Family Revisited: Sentimentalism and Social Class in Prerevolutionary French Culture', in R. Rand, ed., *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century France* (Hanover, NH; Princeton, NJ, 1997), pp. 39–47.
[131] Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 24–25; on material comfort in Greuze's *Jeune enfant*, see Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 429.

in the pastoral *Paul et Virginie* (or Ducray-Duminil's *Petit-Jacques et Georgette*, below). They symbolised a state of purity, outside corrupt urban society.

Nevertheless, this idealised vision belied the hardship many children faced in reality. Greuze perhaps acknowledged this in his paintings of the poor Savoyard boy obliged to leave home and work. As Barker argues, pathos for the labouring child's plight arises here because of the departure from the 'normative vision of [carefree] childhood'.[132] Yet, as Hugh Cunningham has shown, the idea that all children were entitled to a comfortable childhood was slow to develop.[133] The sentimental child was an imagined ideal; it represented purity and evoked universalising sympathy, but childhood itself was not—and is not—a universally identical experience.

Julie, or the new mother: raising the child in a sentimental home

New models of childhood coincided with, and contributed to, new models of the family. The exact cause and dynamics of the shift from large, patriarchal families based on extended kin networks to the modern, nuclear family have been much debated by social and cultural historians. In a classic study of the early modern English family, Lawrence Stone asserted that a model of a 'closed domesticated nuclear family' developed between 1640 and 1800, which he associated with growing individualism; Edward Shorter sees such a model becoming widespread in France and Germany in the nineteenth century, stimulated (paradoxically) by a 'sexual revolution' among the lower classes from the end of the eighteenth century and a bourgeois construction of motherhood by the nineteenth.[134] Other historians, meanwhile, have argued that the two-generation nuclear family was in fact not new at all.[135] However we might settle this debate, it is clear that France, in the second half of the eighteenth century, witnessed the development of an idealised family model that was based on conjugal and filial-parental affection.

This is manifested in the campaign for maternal breastfeeding in those years. Thinkers such as Buffon and Rousseau argued that adult care for infants was essential, as children were completely dependent. Rousseau pushed this further in arguing that maternal breastfeeding—

[132] Barker, 'Imaging Childhood', 438.
[133] Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*.
[134] L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York, 1977), pp. 219–480; E. Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975). Julie Hardwick's recent study of intimate relations among workers in early modern Lyon suggests that intimate, and even sexual, relations before marriage were already normalised, which undermines Shorter's theory somewhat. J. Hardwick, *Sex in an Old Regime City: Young Workers and Intimacy in France, 1660-1789* (Oxford; New York, 2020).
[135] See Maza, 'The "Bourgeois" Family Revisited', 39–40.

ergo childcare by parents, rather than in the home of a wet-nurse—could strengthen affective bonds within the family and thus develop virtue in society. Caring for children, Rousseau wrote,

> makes the father and mother more necessary, dearer to one another; it tightens the conjugal bond between them. When the family is lively and animated, the domestic cares constitute the dearest occupation of the wife and the sweetest enjoyment of the husband. Thus, from the correction of this single abuse [wet-nursing] would soon result a general reform; nature would soon have reclaimed all its rights.[136]

The bond between nursing mother and child was mutual and natural. If the child were sent to a wet-nurse, however, that bond would be severed: the infant would bond with the wet-nurse and the natural mother would be alienated from her child.[137] For Rousseau, therefore, it was not the quality of the milk that was at stake, but the emotional impact on both parents and children and the implications this had for society's morality.[138]

Along with wet-nursing, swaddling and corseting children were also condemned in childrearing manuals. Rousseau associated the former with callous wet-nurses, who wanted simply to restrain their charges so they could go about their business. He and Desessartz both emphasised not only the risks that inhibiting natural movement posed for children's physical development, but also the cruelty of the practice. Desessartz likened swaddling bands to 'enslavement' and 'torture'; Rousseau's graphic description of swaddled children hung on a nail and neglected, with 'violet faces' and unable to cry, contrasted with the domestic bliss that might be found in the parental home.[139]

On the other hand, the mother who eschewed these practices was idealised. In Rousseau's bestselling and highly influential sentimental novel, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*, the eponymous heroine presented a model of motherhood according to these prescriptions. Maternal (and paternal) devotion was a popular subject in the visual arts, too. The 'happy mother', who found 'emotional fulfilment' in caring for her children and supporting her husband, populated the work of Fragonard, Drouais and Greuze, and was popularised in prints, to the extent that Carol Duncan identifies a 'cult of motherhood' in eighteenth-century

[136] Rousseau, *Emile*, 46.
[137] Ibid., 45.
[138] Cf. M.-A. A. Le Rebours, *Avis aux mères qui veulent nourrir leurs enfans*, cited in M. Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk: Breast-Feeding and the French Revolution', in S. E. Melzer and L. W. Rabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 60–61. Le Rebours highlighted the perceived risk of corrupting or infecting a child with another woman's milk.
[139] Rousseau, *Emile*, 44; Desessartz, *Traité de l'éducation corporelle*, 85–86, 99, 108. 'esclavage', 'la torture'.

French visual culture.[140] Greuze, in particular, dwelt on the emotional implications that maternal breastfeeding and wet-nursing had for parents and children. For instance, he depicted the traumatic moment a child is relinquished from his wet-nurse, displaying the preference for her and the fear for his mother of which Rousseau had warned (*La Retour de nourrice* [Return from the Wet-Nurse], c. 1765–70).[141] In contrast, in *La Mère Bien-Aimée* (The Beloved Mother, 1769), he depicted the moment a father returns home, delighted to see a blissfully overwhelmed mother surrounded—or covered—in adoring children, as well as a happy grandmother. The image contrasted with Greuze's previous (no less sentimental) depictions of patriarchal authority; it represented a burgeoning ideal of conjugal happiness, centred on childrearing.[142] The popularity of this work suggests Salon-goers' approval of Greuze's representation of motherhood and domestic bliss.[143]

Despite these ideals, change was not immediate. Wet-nursing was the norm in eighteenth-century France, for mothers of all socioeconomic backgrounds and persisted despite these criticisms. Whilst more affluent mothers could afford to follow fashion and nurse their own children, many women had to work and therefore had no say in the matter.[144] However, many mothers did rise to the challenge, among them Mme Necker, Mme Roland and—briefly—Marie-Antoinette. The trends I have explored here became increasingly popular in bourgeois and aristocratic French households, where notions of childhood innocence and the desire for child-centred parenting had begun to take hold by the eve of the Revolution.

1.2 | Politicising the Sentimental Child

Constructed under the ancien régime, the vision of the sentimental child persisted in literature and art in the 1790s and beyond. *Paul et Virginie*'s popularity continued, such that it inspired two operas in the 1790s: Rodolphe Kreutzer's was first performed by the Comédie-Italienne at the Opéra Comique in January 1791, whilst Debreuil and Le Sueur's premièred at the

[140] C. Duncan, 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art', *The Art Bulletin*, 55:4 (1973), pp. 570–583, esp. pp. 582–583.
[141] On Greuze's emotional interpretation of Rousseau, see B. Fort, 'Greuze and the Ideology of Infant Nursing in Eighteenth-Century France', in Müller, *Fashioning Childhood*, pp. 117–134.
[142] Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 90; B. Fort, 'Greuze and the Ideology of Infant Nursing', 127–129.
[143] Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 90; Fort, 'Greuze and the Ideology of Infant Nursing', 126. The aforementioned Mme Geoffrin nevertheless criticised the children's clinging to their mother (ibid., 129).
[144] Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk', 54. Traditionally, more affluent mothers hired a live-in wet-nurse. See Fort, 'Greuze and the Ideology of Infant Nursing', 118.

Théâtre de la rue Feydeau early in 1794.[145] Both had successful runs, showing 105 and 46 times, respectively, by October 1795.[146] In the sections that follow, I argue that such representations of childhood were ubiquitous in French Revolutionary culture, including political culture. I demonstrate this through a series of vignettes, drawing on fiction, portraiture and Revolutionary politics. Scholarship has highlighted the ways in which children were incorporated into revolutionary iconography and discourse, from their representation in crowd scenes, to their place in the family or—in literature—as lost orphans, to the iconic martyrdom of Bara and Viala in Year II.[147] By reviewing these strands of cultural production, I demonstrate the continued importance of sentimental, Rousseauvian childhood and its malleability, which allowed it to be repurposed across different genres and media. In the royal portraits of the 1780s and then in literature, art and discourse of the 1790s, the sentimental child and its associations with domestic ideals were transposed onto new cultural and political contexts. This trope would become the poster child of revolutionary social regeneration.

The Sentimental child in 1790s fiction

The novels of François-Guillaume Ducray-Duminil illustrate the success of the trope of the sentimental child in fiction of the 1790s. Though largely excluded from the French literary canon, Ducray-Duminil was a highly popular author in his time, and would influence the work of more famous, nineteenth-century writers such as Hugo and Balzac.[148] His fiction has been rediscovered by cultural historians and literature scholars, who have demonstrated how

[145] R. Kreutzer, *Paul et Virginie, comédie en prose et en trois actes, paroles de Mxxx représentée pour la 1re fois par les comédiens italiens le samedy 15 janvier 1791.... Gravé par Huguet, musicien...* (Paris and Lyon, 1791); J.-F. Le Sueur and A. du C. Debreuil, *Paul et Virginie (ou le Triomphe de la vertu), drame lyrique en 3 actes, représenté sur le Théâtre Feydeau, paroles de l'auteur d'Iphigénie en Tauride de Piccinni* [1794] (Paris, 1796).

[146] A. Tissier, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant le Révolution: répertoire analytique, chronologique et bibliographique: De la réunion des Etats généraux à la chute de la royauté, 1789-1792*, vol. i (Geneva, 1992), p. 79; A. Tissier, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution […]: De la proclamation de la République à la fin de la Convention nationale (21 septembre 1792–26 octobre 1795)*, vol. ii (Geneva, 2002), pp. 98, 103, 459. These numbers put them among the most frequently performed plays in 1792–95, by Tissier's count.

[147] E.g. M. Vovelle, 'L'Enfant dans l'iconographie révolutionnaire', in M.-F. Lévy (ed.), *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1990), pp. 255–261; A. K. Strasik PhD thesis, *Reconceiving Childhood: Women and Children in French Art, 1750–1814* (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2016); Hunt, *Family Romance*. Hunt analyses the family as a whole in the Revolutionary psyche, but the study, by its nature, includes discussion of children's relations with their parents in this discourse.

[148] These points are made in Ł. Szkopiński, *L'Œuvre romanesque de François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil* (Paris, 2015). I am unable to access Szkopiński's work at present, due to COVID-19, so all references to this text are based on the following reviews: K. Astbury, review of *L'Œuvre romanesque de François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil*, by Ł. Szkopiński, *French Studies*, 71:3 (2017), pp. 418–419; M. Cook, review of *L'Œuvre romanesque de François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil*, by Ł. Szkopiński, *The Modern Language Review*, 112:2 (2017), pp. 510–512.

his and other contemporary works reveal revolutionaries' changing conceptions of interpersonal—and especially familial—relations. Katherine Astbury and Lynn Hunt focus in particular on his *Victor, ou l'enfant de la forêt* (1797), as indicative of revolutionary trauma, for the former, and as representative of the 'child novel' in the latter's work.[149] Hunt claims that the later 1790s saw the growing popularity of this genre; however, the novels she cites primarily concern young adult sons and daughters, rather than *children*.[150] She argues persuasively that the 'family romances' they depict represent 'experiments' in social regeneration; orphaned or adopted children search out their identities and their place in the world.[151] My analysis draws on these scholars' ideas of the novel as a site for reworking the problems, ideals and psychological impact of revolution, but with a specific emphasis on portrayals of children and filial relationships. Ducray-Duminil is a useful case study, because his works were particularly successful among juvenile and adolescent readers, though as Łukasz Szkopiński shows, he often wrote for a wider audience.[152] As such, his writing offers insight into how the sentimental child was packaged in revolutionary fiction and presented to large numbers of adults and children alike.

Ducray-Duminil's first novel, *Lolotte et Fanfan* (1788), was published the same year as *Paul et Virginie*. Like Bernardin's novel, it was a robinsonade with two naïve child protagonists; it was similarly successful at the turn of the century, running through six editions by 1795.[153] Its author continued to use the sentimental childhood trope in his later novels, including those published in a revolutionary context. My analysis takes two of these novels, published at opposite ends of the revolutionary decade: *Petit-Jacques et Georgette* (1791) and *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette* (Year VII [1798/9]).

Spanning four volumes, *Petit-Jacques et Georgette* begins as a pastoral. In the novel's opening lines, the narrator invokes the Auvergnat countryside where 'these two lovable

[149] K. Astbury, *Narrative Responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution* (Leeds, 2012), pp. 120–125; Hunt, *Family Romance*, 177–178.
[150] Ibid., 171–181. Ten-year-old Happy, the protagonist of Pigault-Lebrun's *L'Enfant du carnaval*, is the exception.
[151] Ibid., 178.
[152] On popularity with young readers, see *Mercure de France*, 15 Fructidor, Year VII (1 September 1799), quoted in M. Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance et la jeunesse sous la Révolution* (Paris, 1989), p. 88. This reviewer in fact claimed that Ducray-Duminil indeed wrote for children generally, not just in the specific work under review (which explicitly targeted a young readership). Astbury, 'L'Œuvre Romanesque de François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil', p. 419; Cf. J.-M. Goulemot, 'L'Enfant représenté : iconographie et littérature', in Lévy, *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, p. 245. Goulemot argues that Ducray-Duminil's novels were for a popular, adult readership, judging them inappropriate for juvenile readers.
[153] Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 85.

children' began their lives.[154] Though crudely educated and poorly dressed, Jacques and Georgette live a romanticised, isolated existence, in their 'simple cabin' with their father and his herd.[155] The children themselves are characterised as sweet and innocent, and the author intends that 'the touching image of your [their] childhood' will move their readers to love them.[156] Their childlike bodies—natural, with hair un-styled—moreover, are idealised, much as in the paintings of Greuze or Reynolds.

> They were both blond, each resembled the other perfectly. Their silver curls tumbled to their shoulders; two wide eyes appeared beneath two arches. Their dappled and ruddy cheeks were separated only by a little ruby-red mouth that was always smiling. They had the freshness and chubbiness of childhood; everything, down to their voices, was sweet and moving …'
>
> Tous deux étaient blonds, tous deux se ressemblaient parfaitement. Leurs cheveux argentés flottaient en boucles sur leurs épaules : deux grands yeux se dessinaient sous deux arcs. Leurs joues pommelées et colorées, n'étaient séparées que par une petite bouche vermeille qui souriaient toujours. Ils avaient le fraîcheur et l'embonpoint de l'enfance ; tout, jusqu'à leur voix, étaient doux et touchant …'[157]

Unlike Greuze's or Reynolds' bourgeois children, however, Jacques and Georgette are unkempt and ill-socialised due to their isolation. Their simple, rural existence associates them with nature, enhancing the connection between child and nature. Furthermore, the austerity in which they live is typical of revolutionary pastoral fiction, which sentimentalised the peasant cottage as the home of 'a happy and peaceful existence'.[158] Astbury stresses this idealisation as quintessential to pastoral novels of the early 1790s, in contrast with earlier work. She suggests that the rural cottage represents 'a microcosm of the new state', providing stability and 'a sense of community based on trust and *sensibilité*'.[159] Moving beyond the early Revolution, Malcolm Cook argues that, especially in Year II, the archetypal peasant represented a 'good republican', who was 'noble [of character] and worthy'. He concludes that fictional peasants were ready to serve the Republic but lived a simple life, going about their daily work.[160] By this point, children's innocence combined with pastoral simplicity could therefore serve as an idealised representation of republican patriotism. It did just this in Pierre Blanchard's *Félix et Pauline, ou Le Tombeau au pied du Mont-Jura* (Year II), another novel concerning two rural children, after the fashion of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's and

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[154] F.-G. Ducray-Duminil, *Petit-Jacques et Georgette, ou Les petits montagnards auvergnats*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Paris, 1793/4), vol. i, p. 11. 'ces deux aimables enfans'.
[155] Ibid., vol. i, 11. 'leur simple cabane'.
[156] Ibid., vol. i, 18. 'le tableau touchant de votre enfance'.
[157] Ibid., vol. i, 24–25.
[158] Astbury, *Narrative Responses*, 32.
[159] Ibid., 31–38, quotation p. 32.
[160] M. Cook, 'Les paysans dans les romans révolutionnaires', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, 100:4 (1993), pp. 567–572, esp. p. 572. 'bon républicain', 'noble et digne'.

Ducray-Duminil's work. Blanchard in fact spelled out his intention to encourage 'love of simplicity and nature', arguing that 'simplicity is the Republican's first virtue, and nature is the happiness of the free man'.[161] The fictional rural child embodied in Petit-Jacques and Georgette did not so much represent patriotism as it contributed to the sentimentalisation of an agrarian existence, an idealised vision of post-revolutionary society.

Yet Jacques and Georgette's pastoral idyll is not quite utopia: real domestic bliss was when the children's mother, Théodine, lived with them. Initially, it appears she has abandoned them, and this betrayal leads their father, Fliquet, to renounce society. Upon his death, Jacques and Georgette must make their own way in the world, leaving the mountains of the Auvergne. Events come full circle, however, when the Comte de Rosambel confesses to having kidnapped beautiful Théodine, unable to comprehend her existing domestic fulfilment. A happy ending is signified by the repentant Comte's adoption of Jacques and Georgette: he claims the dying Théodine forgave him and implored him to be a father to them should he find them. The children, like their mother, are moved by the Comte's regret and accept his proposition. Now older adolescents, they return, with Jacques' new bride, to the Auvergne, where they fondly greet the people they had left behind there. However, they ultimately live a comfortable, aristocratic life, rather than returning to rural hardship.

The novel thereby supports social mobility even as it embraces the pastoral. We might read this as optimism regarding the course of the Revolution: the threat of corrupt society might be neutralised and social wrongs righted, such that virtue need not be confined to a simple pastoral existence. This is conjecture, of course, yet Jacques and Georgette's outcome is markedly different from that of pre-revolutionary Lolotte and Fanfan, who, though they had a happy ending, returned to their island. Meanwhile, Bernardin's Paul and Virginie had succumbed when external influence intruded, whilst Jacques and Georgette are ultimately able to thrive beyond the mountains of the Auvergne.

Moreover, at the start of the novel, when reader and characters alike are made to believe that Théodine abandoned her family of her own free will, the children are raised by their father. Fliquet is portrayed as the epitome of good fatherhood and his final thoughts as he lies on his deathbed are, of course, of his children. At the end of the novel, Jacques and Georgette accept Rosambel as their new father, and it is as his son and daughter that they finally find

[161] Vol. I, p. xxvi, quoted in ibid., 571. 'l'amour de la simplicité et de la nature : la simplicité est la première vertu du Républicain, et la nature le bonheur à l'homme libre'.

happiness. Ducray-Duminil thus utilises the sentimental trope of the good father, as well as the innocent child; the novel's circularity suggests that finding someone to fulfil this role resolves the loss of ideal childhood. Astbury and Hunt have underlined the increase of this trope in French fiction during the early years of the Revolution; Hunt in particular points to the repentant father in Marmontel's story, 'L'Erreur d'un bon père' (*Nouveaux contes moraux*, 1792), arguing that, '[i]n Marmontel's vision of the world, fathers (and kings?) still have time to repent and win back their sons'.[162] Indeed, as Hunt emphasises, the King's relationship with his people was viewed as a paternal one, and fiction of the early 1790s often engaged with political questions, focusing on the issue of monarchy. As well as implicit references to kingship represented as fatherhood, there was an abundance of utopian literature featuring benevolent kings. These less subtle allegories expressed hope for the future of monarchy itself, simultaneous with disillusionment over the current state of affairs.[163]

Szkopiński stresses that Ducray-Duminil was careful not to make explicit political statements in his fiction, and that he stopped writing about kings altogether unless absolutely necessary.[164] (Indeed, one wonders whether this is the reason for what is ostensibly a typographical error in the 1793 edition of *Lolotte et Fanfan*: the word 'roi' is inexplicably replaced with 'livre' in a passage wherein the children ask the meaning of the former; the section is entirely omitted from the 1812 edition, published under Napoleon.[165]) Although in fact, as Szkopiński concedes, Ducray-Duminil did write more explicit republican propaganda into his short fiction in Year II, his novels were more subtle. Yet, as Astbury shows with regard to *Victor, ou l'enfant de la forêt* (1797), political events and the author's experience of them nevertheless influenced his writing.[166] Indeed, the theme of a fickle mother and impotent father were later replayed in *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette*; in *Petit-Jacques*, though the children's biological father was morally faultless, he was unable to protect—or keep—their mother, whilst Rosambel is a deeply flawed character, yet repents and becomes the good father. Following Astbury's analysis of revolutionary trauma in Ducray-Duminil's

[162] Astbury, *Narrative Responses*, 28; Hunt, *Family Romance*, 48.
[163] M. Cook, 'Utopian Fiction of the French Revolution', *Nottingham French Studies*, 45:1 (2006), pp. 104–113.
[164] Ł. Szkopiński, 'L'éléphant blanc ou le tabou politique dans la France révolutionnaire', *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Romanica*, 12 (2017), p. 272.
[165] F.-G. Ducray-Duminil, *Lolotte et Fanfan, ou les aventures de deux enfans abandonnés dans une isle déserte, rédigées et publiées sur des manuscrits anglais*, 5th edn (Charles-Town, et se trouve à Paris, 1793), p. 98; F.-G. Ducray-Duminil, *Lolotte et Fanfan, ou Les aventures de deux enfans abandonnés dans une isle déserte ; par M. Ducray-Duminil. Dixième édition, revue et corrigée...*, 10th edn (Paris, 1812), p. 93. Cf. F.-G. Ducray-Duminil, *Lolotte et Fanfan, ou les Aventures de deux enfans abandonnés dans une isle déserte, rédigées... sur des manuscrits anglais par M. D** de M** [F.-G. Ducray-Duminil]* (Charlestown ; et Paris, 1788), p. 104.
[166] Astbury, *Narrative Responses*, 120–125.

work and Hunt's psychoanalytic conception of the revolutionary 'family romance', I would suggest these representations of parents and children are influenced by the author's hopes and fears related to the Constitutional Monarchy.

Months before the publication of *Petit-Jacques*, in June 1791, Louis XVI had attempted to flee France with his family, getting as far as Varennes before they were identified and captured.[167] In the immediate aftermath of these events, the popular response was in many provinces disbelief and attempted rationalisation: while he was missing, the King had been kidnapped; or, by July, according to the minority still reluctant to blame him, the King had been manipulated or influenced by more malign characters. Louis' public reputation deteriorated quickly in the wake of his failed flight, as the people realised—and he admitted—he did not truly support the new regime.[168] The initial efforts to rationalise his behaviour, though, are similar to the excuses offered in *Petit-Jacques*. Théodine is not in fact an errant mother who has abandoned her children; she was kidnapped against her will. The Comte de Rosambel, though admitting his terrible error of judgement in abducting her, repeatedly claims he was influenced by his malicious manservant. Were these episodes perhaps ways to work through the national trauma of the King's disloyalty? Could Louis ultimately fulfil the role of good father to his people, as Rosambel did for Jacques and Georgette? If the peasant cottage represented the microcosm of a just society, the children's experience of impotent parenthood and betrayal mirrored the people's experience with authority. Seen in this way, the novel uses the plight of the sentimental child to represent the nation's quest for a good father and national 'domestic' content.

In the second novel studied here, Ducray-Duminil made explicit reference to the Revolution on multiple occasions, but the book remained ostensibly apolitical. *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette* (Year VII) is of interest here insofar as it demonstrates how the sentimental child trope might be transferred onto a revolutionary backdrop. Like most of Ducray-Duminil's fiction, the novel is a family drama with young protagonists; it is full of intrigue and mistaken identity, and completed with a happy ending.[169] This particular novel culminates in the heroine's selfless sacrifice of her own marital happiness in order to reunite her sister with the

[167] The earliest reviews of the novel seem to be those printed in the Mercure de France and the Journal de Paris in December 1791, which suggests that the novel was published around that time. See Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 86.
[168] T. Tackett, *When the King Took Flight* (Cambridge, MA, 2003), pp. 185–193.
[169] On typical plots in Ducray-Duminil's novels, see Astbury, review of *L'Œuvre Romanesque de François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil*, 419.

man she loves. The early pages of the novel tell of Jeannette's adoption as a moving event; they describe her adoptive mother's longing for a child and newfound maternal bliss, with Jeannette herself portrayed as the epitome of childhood innocence. (Rosalie, however, is fickle, and quickly moves on from her love for Jeannette when she gives birth to her biological daughter, Cécile.) At the end of the novel, once Jeannette has reunited Cécile with her beloved Briceval (or 'Saint-Ange') and both sisters are happily married, we are told that Cécile gives birth to 'a young and pretty little girl whom she breastfed'; this is in contrast to the son born out of wedlock, who was, unjustly, kept from her and given to a wet-nurse.[170]

Although most of the action takes places when the characters are—albeit young—adults, family bonds are idealised, with a particular emphasis not only on the sisters' relationship, but on maternal-filial intimacy. Unlike *Petit-Jacques et Georgette* or *Lolotte et Fanfan*, the novel is set neither in a foreign country nor a different time, so the family drama plays out against the canvas of the Revolution. The new divorce law is implicitly what enables Jeannette legally to make her sacrifice, though she must also convince her husband she is a bad wife in order for him to agree to a divorce. Indeed, the revolutionaries' view was that spousal rapport was more important than the preservation of marriage as an end in itself, such that divorce might be initiated on the grounds of incompatibility.[171] Jeannette's choice demonstrates perfectly how this could lead to happier marriages and domestic bliss. By Year VII, when the novel was published, however, the legalisation of divorce was under threat. Yielding to public pressure, the Council of Five Hundred established a commission to review this law, and—though only marginally—narrowed the grounds for divorce. Desan's study of petitions to the Directory reveals that many petitioners grounded their complaints in 'the emotional wreckage within the home' that divorce and new inheritance laws had caused.[172] Yet Jeannette's actions demonstrate how divorce could in fact promote domestic content, offering a subtle defence of this legislation. The birth of Cécile's second child and emphasis on maternal breastfeeding illustrate the continued idealisation of the maternal-filial relationship; as I discuss below, breastfeeding became a politicised act in the 1790s, so by suckling her child, Cécile was also fulfilling the role of republican mother.[173] Susceptible to

[170] F.-G. Ducray-Duminil, *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette*, 2 vols (Paris, 1798/99), ii, p. 251. 'devint mère d'une jeune et jolie petite fille qu'elle nourrit'.
[171] S. Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, 2004), pp. 96–98.
[172] S. Desan, 'Reconstituting the Social after the Terror: Family, Property and the Law in Popular Politics', *Past & Present*, 164 (1999), pp. 81–121, esp. pp. 89–96, quotation p. 96. Desan, *The Family on Trial*, chap. 7, pp. 249–282; see also Hunt, *Family Romance*, 161–162.
[173] See also Chapter Three on women's role in Year II and Chapter Four on the Directory, when *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette* was published.

the teachings of a fanatic church, Rosalie was perhaps ill-suited ever to be a good mother to Jeannette.

Overall, the novel is ambivalent to the Revolution, whose events essentially provide context for the plot. Whereas the divorce law benefits Jeannette and Cécile, the early Revolution causes terrible problems for the family. The girls' father, d'Éranville, loses his home due to a combination of vandalism and new inheritance laws, which enable a relative's illegitimate son to lay claim to his property. When he dies, both his biological and adopted daughter are left penniless. Before this, d'Éranville and Cécile have already had to leave their home under false names due to their aristocratic background. This disguise leads to Cécile's rape by the man she loves and her separation from the child she subsequently bears. (In line with contemporary understandings of rape as a moral issue, the episode is portrayed as a tragic misunderstanding rather than an act of violence. Drugged with narcotics as part of a convoluted, mistaken-identity revenge plot, Cécile is assaulted by Saint-Ange only because the other men are too intoxicated to fulfil their plan. When recounting the events to Jeannette, the victim recalls only a romantic dream about her beloved.[174]) In these episodes, Ducray-Duminil clearly denounces the early Revolution's destruction of aristocratic lives, and particularly its impact on domestic life and interpersonal relationships. The chaos caused by new laws on inheritance reflects popular feeling at the time, as expressed in petitions, even whilst Ducray-Duminil apparently rejected similar arguments against divorce.[175] The novel is significant here for its portrayal of motherhood and childhood in the context of revolutionary change: it shows how these continued to be measures of domestic happiness, alongside spousal and fraternal—or sororal—intimacy. In *Jeannette*, revolutionary upheaval threatens this happiness, but new legislation ultimately allows it to be recovered, even if the author does not make this connection explicit.

This preoccupation with childhood and the family, of course, also featured in more explicitly political work, such as Collot d'Herbois' play, *La Famille patriote* (1790). Combining the Festival of the Federation (1790) with a wedding, this play emphasised the parallels between the private and the national family explicitly; it also used children swearing a patriotic oath as

[174] Ducray-Duminil, *Les Cinquante francs de Jeannette*, vol. i, 227–237. Despite the emphasis on his good intentions(!), it is likely not coincidental that Briceval's alter-ego shares his name with Madame de Saint-Ange, the sexually depraved woman who corrupts the young Eugénie in Sade's *La Philosophie dans le boudoir*, published only a few years earlier, in 1795. Yet, Briceval is, apparently, no more a vile seducer than he is truly called Saint-Ange. One can only hope that the reference would have eluded Ducray-Duminil's younger readers!
[175] Desan, 'Reconstituting the Social after the Terror'.

a moving plot device, stirring one fictional wedding guest to renounce his aristocratic titles and highlighting the centrality of oath-taking to the new society.[176] Similarly, plays concerning Bara and Viala in Year II took up the connection between child hero and family, integrating the boys' stories into sentimental family drama.[177] Ducray-Duminil's own work in Year II would engage with the Jacobin ideology of that year. It is my contention here that his novels before and after that period were also influenced by contemporary politics, but that this was woven more obliquely into his plots, thereby updating tropes of sentimental childhood and parental-filial affective bonds to fit new revolutionary contexts. The family offered a microcosm of the nation, upon which, it seems, to play out hopes and anxieties about the future, and to criticise or support social reforms. The child's happiness, in particular, symbolised that of the nation.

Queenship and motherhood: Marie-Antoinette and her children in royal family portraiture and print culture, 1784–95

At the same time, the sentimental child also became a direct political tool. Children were used as emblems of both royalism and republicanism (or monarchy and revolution) in the 1780s and '90s, contributing to narratives of victimhood and martyrdom on both ideological sides—and far beyond the world of fiction. Additionally, new understandings of childhood would inform the perceived relationship between children and the state, though, as I will demonstrate, this did not signify a rupture between child and family. In this section, I show, first, how new ideas about childhood were manifested in portraits of Marie-Antoinette and her children in the 1780s; I then demonstrate the transposition of such ideas onto representations of the royal family, and particularly the Dauphin, during the Revolution. In the following section, I use portraits of revolutionary families to illustrate the politicisation of childhood and the family by those who opposed absolute monarchy.

The politicisation of sentimental childhood was not an invention of the Revolution, but had taken root by the 1780s, in the context of changing modes of representation within the public sphere. Royal portraiture focused increasingly on each of the Bourbon children and portrayed them with all the trappings of childhood innocence, rather than focusing on the Dauphin as heir, as had been traditional.[178] This typified the increasing de-formalisation of aristocratic portraits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a trend which European royal families

[176] C. Feilla, *The Sentimental Theater of the French Revolution*, eBook (London, 2016), pp. 109–121, http://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315552996, accessed 28 July 2020.
[177] Perna, 'Bara and Viala'.
[178] For an analysis of portraits of Marie-Antoinette and her children in this context, see Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 154–176.

slowly followed.[179] As Simon Schama argues, however, the most informal royal portraits tended to be for private display only, and there remained a line which could not be crossed—as Thomas Lawrence discovered when George III rejected his portrait of Queen Charlotte *en fichu*, and as Marie-Antoinette would find in the public outcry at her own self-image, in a France still theoretically ruled by divine right.[180] Nevertheless, portraits of the French royal children and their mother in the 1780s presented new ideals of childhood to a public audience. Several royal portraits, dating from 1783 to 1790, illustrate the burgeoning politicisation of the domestic ideal in this way; they also bear witness to Marie-Antoinette's attempts to navigate queenship and motherhood. Amanda Strasik has discussed the Queen's maternal persona in some of these paintings at length in her recent thesis on women and children in eighteenth-century French art.[181] I include them here, at the risk of repetition, because they demonstrate the triumph—and limits—of sentimental childhood and new ideas about childrearing at the highest echelons of French society, on the eve of the Revolution; they deepen our understanding of the way in which this vision of childhood was used politically.

Surely the most famous portrait of Marie-Antoinette and her children is that completed by the Queen's favourite portraitist, Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun, for the Salon of 1787 [Figure 4]. This is the only known portrait of the Queen with all of her children represented, and it clearly projects a maternal image of her. The children's affection towards their mother is evident in the infant Louis-Charles reaching to her breast—an allusion, perhaps, to her desire to breastfeed her children—and in Princess Marie-Thérèse's adoring gaze as she leans intimately on her mother's shoulder. The painting represents each of the children equally as intimate family members; the only indication of the Dauphin's superior rank is his slightly more confident stance, apart from his mother, as he gestures to the empty crib. This too, however, serves to emphasise his relationship to his siblings and, in fact, adds deliberate poignancy, for the crib is empty: the new-born Princess Sophie had died before the painting's completion. The Dauphin Louis-Joseph was himself to die, of tuberculosis, in June 1789, his

[179] S. Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17:1 (1986), pp. 155–183; A. Freund, 'The Revolution at Home: Masculinity, Domesticity and Political Identity in Family Portraiture, 1789–1795', in T. Balducci, H. Belnap Jensen and P. J. Warner (eds), *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789–1914*, eBook (n.l., 2017), https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Gi0xDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT36&lpg=PT36&dq=amy+freund+the+revolution+at+home&source=bl&ots=eNU7NZRj2H&sig=ACfU3U0n1rdEgl8udvz0V6qeAjmuuIt-dQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwja2Y-wv7nqAhWNecAKHVMlBCUQ6AEwA3oECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false, accessed 6 July 2020.
[180] Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty', 173.
[181] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', chap. 3, 130–186.

title passing to his younger brother, Louis-Charles, the infant depicted here on the Queen's lap.

Though Vigée Le Brun recorded the portrait as a success in her memoirs, its reception at the Salon was mixed.[182] In Schama's view, it was controversial because, in spite of the domestic harmony it proclaimed, it was ultimately too formal, or 'majestic', and thus 'suffered from an ideological defensiveness' incongruous with its maternal message.[183] Indeed, the Queen herself stares out somewhat regally towards the viewer, and the little group is seated at the entrance to the imposing Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. Contemporaries criticised this placement as inaesthetic and some criticised or struggled to interpret the Queen's apparent lack of expression.[184] Meanwhile, scholars see the portrait as an effort to improve Marie-Antoinette's public image, under attack due to her perceived profligacy and dissolute lifestyle, particularly in the wake of the Diamond Necklace Affair of 1785—a high-stakes hustle which had been extremely destructive to the Queen's reputation through her false implication in shady dealing.[185] The painting has been accepted as an attempt to dispel these accusations of selfish extravagance by focusing attention on Marie-Antoinette's motherly attributes.[186] Yet, to understand better Marie-Antoinette's political use of her children here, Vigée Le Brun's painting should be viewed in the context of other portraits of the royal children, with and without their mother. Motherhood had in fact long been part of the Queen's public self-image, and it would continue to be so.

Two portraits of Marie-Antoinette with her children directly emphasise maternity, though it is unclear whether the second was displayed publicly. The first was the diplomatic portrait by Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller, commissioned by Gustave III of Sweden and displayed at the 1785 Salon [Figure 5]. It depicts Marie-Antoinette walking in the English garden at the Petit Trianon, with a six-to-seven-year-old Marie-Thérèse and a three-to-four-year-old Dauphin Louis-Joseph. As Strasik demonstrates, the Queen's gestures to her children are affectionate

[182] L.-E. Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs of Madame Vigée Le Brun* [1879], vol. i (Cambridge, 2015), letter v, pp. 66–68.
[183] Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty', 177–179; Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, 221.
[184] M. D. Sheriff, 'The Cradle Is Empty: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Antoinette and the Problem of Intention', in M. Hyde and J. Milam, eds., *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 170, 178, 185.
[185] Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty', 178–179, after Joseph Baillio; Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 172.
[186] Cf. Sheriff, 'The Cradle Is Empty'. Sheriff speculates that Marie-Antoinette commissioned the portrait after her disappointment at that produced by Adolf Wertmüller (discussed below), but argues overall that any attempt to identify the painting's intention is fruitless. As the commission was made in September 1785, shortly after the Diamond Necklace Affair, this likely exacerbated the Queen's desire for an improved portrait.

and maternal, unlike a comparable, earlier portrait of Louis XIV's queen and that three-year-old dauphin (Charles Beaubrun, 1663). Marie-Antoinette guides her young son with a gentle, supportive hand, even as she draws the viewer's gaze to her daughter, suggesting equal love for both of her children, rather than favouring the future king as in traditional dynastic portraits.[187] The English garden, a fashion modelled after the 'uncultivated and wild' style of that in Rousseau's bestselling *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse,* was the perfect sentimental backdrop for a representation of natural childhood and maternal affection; the glimpse of the Temple of Love, peeping out from behind the trees, further emphasises the sitters' tender relationship.[188]

Similarly, in a miniature by François Dumont, in 1790—a private commission—the Queen enjoys the outdoors with her children [Figure 6]. Likely not for public display, this portrait is even more intimate than Wertmüller's, such that Strasik labels it 'the culmination of the queen's identity as the nurturing mother of France in a Rousseauian context'.[189] Seated at the foot of a tree, the Queen and her two remaining children cling affectionately to one another as they gaze outwards, inviting the beholder to share in their content. Indeed, the young Madame Royale is carving 'be mother to them all' into the tree trunk, thus indicating Marie-Antoinette's desire, amidst the upheaval of the early Revolution, to identify as tender mother to the French people, as well as to her children.[190] Both of these portraits emphasise the children's youthful innocence and charm—'cuteness', even—identifying them, and their relationship with their mother, with nature. This sentimental, pastoral representation of the royal children is also evident in portraits without their mother.

In 1784, Vigée Le Brun completed a painting of Marie-Thérèse and Louis-Joseph [Figure 7]. It is not immediately apparent that this a royal portrait. The children sit in an ambiguous outdoor setting, the princess wearing a straw hat. She holds her brother affectionately, almost protectively or maternally, and cradles a bird's nest in her lap; the Dauphin places a small hand on her arm, as though seeking reassurance, and clasps the bird in the other. The bird's nest, according to Strasik's analysis, represents 'the children's fragility and vulnerability',

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[187] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 164–165.
[188] Rousseau, quoted in C. Weber, *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution,* eBook, Kindle edn (New York, 2006), chap. 6.
[189] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 175; On the portrait's commission, see ibid. It is possible, however, that the portrait may have been included in Dumont's miniatures displayed at the 1791 Salon: *Explication des peintures, sculptures et autres ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie royale, dont l'exposition a été ordonnée suivant l'intention de Sa Majesté... dans le grand sallon du Louvre...* (Paris, 1791), p. 24, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9820575r, accessed 4 August 2020.
[190] 'Soyez à tous leur mère.'

and birds were associated with children's innocence.[191] Nests, specifically, were frequently depicted with small children, and they also symbolised the home and family love, with eggs emblematic of new life; here, the children are not only vulnerable, but they are a symbol of a happy home and the future of the royal family.[192] The roses—a symbol of the Habsburg dynasty—and straw hat at the children's feet allude to their mother's presence, furthering this notion of a family in the nest.[193] Marie-Thérèse had also gripped roses in her skirts in the Wertmüller portrait, emphasising her relationship with her mother. Displayed directly beneath Wertmüller's portrait at the 1785 Salon, Vigée Le Brun's image of the two children made a strong case for the Queen as virtuous mother.[194] Ironically, however, both were placed beneath the year's showstopper, David's *Oath of the Horatii*, which would come to be associated with radical revolution, despite having been commissioned to uphold the monarchy [Figure 8].

Two further, later portraits of the royal children likewise depict them as Rousseauvian children in pastoral settings. A painting of Louis-Charles with his beloved dog, Moufflet, is attributed to Vigée Le Brun's studio and may have been briefly displayed at the Salon of 1789, before political developments rendered it inappropriate [Figure 9]. It evokes earlier portraits associating small children with their pet dogs, such as we saw in Greuze's work. Here, the rosy-cheeked young prince cuddles the dog as he holds a bunch of grapes to its mouth; Moufflet turns her face away—rather wisely, as grapes are highly toxic to dogs. If this was known in eighteenth-century France, the pose may have been intended as a deliberate comment on the naivety of childhood.

Small children with grapes were, in fact, a motif in some eighteenth-century rococo and sentimental works, such as the children picking grapes in Boucher's *The Grape Harvest* (1748) or, across the Channel, Reynolds' *The Penn Family* (mezzotint by Charles Turner after Reynolds, 1819). Reynolds, in particular, also depicted very young children holding grapes, as Louis-Charles does here. This was the case in *Boy Holding a Bunch of Grapes* (c. 1770) and the touching *Child With Grapes* (1770s?). The latter is reminiscent of the artist's *Age of Innocence* or Greuze's *Little Girl with a Dog*: the white-clad little girl sits awkwardly with the bunch of grapes on her knees, clutching the fruit to her chest. In such paintings—and

[191] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 70–71, 170–171.
[192] 'A Young Girl with a Birds' Nest, William Hoare (1707–1792)', *British Antique Dealers' Association*, https://www.bada.org/object/young-girl-birds-nest-william-hoare-1707-1792, accessed 4 August 2020.
[193] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 171–172.
[194] Ibid., 172.

that of the Dauphin—the grapes may have served their traditional purpose as a symbol of fertility, thus associated with children, but they also suggest innocence and vulnerability: Reynolds' little girl seems perilously close to squeezing the (albeit white) juices onto her dress.[195] At the very least, the portrait of Louis-Charles emphasises his innocent associations with nature, presenting him, in the Salon, as representative of childhood purity, rather than princely grandeur.

More obviously a royal portrait, an image of the two royal children by Ludwig Guttenbrunn was completed around the same time [Figure 10]. The Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, where the painting currently hangs, dates it to 1788, along with a companion portrait of Marie-Antoinette as Erato, the Muse of love poetry.[196] It is possible, given Louis-Joseph's absence, that the portrait was in fact produced in 1789, during the peak of his illness. The children are depicted hand in hand at the edge of a path in the Tuileries gardens, in front of the Temple of Love. Yet, despite their intimacy in this pastoral setting, and despite the princess's informal dress (the *gaulle*, discussed below), their rank is not in doubt. Madame Royale wears a pendant containing a miniature of Louis XVI; the roses in her left hand represent the Queen. At her side, the Duc de Normandie—or Dauphin, if this was after June 1789—strikes a regal pose, with his feet planted confidently apart and his hand in his pocket; he wears the cordon bleu and insignia of the order of the Holy Spirit. Yet his pose is not complete: this typical kingly stance usually involved the free hand clutching a sword or sceptre, as in Hyacinthe Rigaud's coronation portrait of Louis XIV (1701). Instead, Louis-Charles reaches up to clasp his sister's hand. Unlike *Marie-Antoinette as Erato*, this portrait clearly identifies the sitters as royalty, but Guttenbrunn integrates this with a pastoral, Rousseauvian aesthetic.

These representations of the royal children show that the Queen and her portraitists embraced a vision of natural, Rousseauvian childhood. Indeed, Marie-Antoinette aspired to the associated new ideas of motherhood, even attempting to breastfeed her first child, so this was not merely aesthetic. These ideas and aesthetics were espoused by members of the aristocracy, too: Jean-Joseph Laborde, nouveau-riche royal banker, commissioned Greuze to paint him and his wife as the couple in *La Mère bien-aimée*.[197] Significantly, this now

[195] On earlier developments in the symbolism of grapes in art, see E. De Jongh, 'Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 7:4 (1974), pp. 166–191.
[196] 'The Bishop's Room | Palazzo Coronini Cronberg', http://www.coronini.it/en/museo/sale/stanza-del-vescovo/, accessed 3 August 2020.
[197] The Labordes did not come from traditional *noblesse d'épée*, but Schama rightly points out that they were 'far from bourgeois', to demonstrate the popularity of these ideas in the highest echelons of society. Schama,

contributed to the royal family's public self-image. The Dumont portrait shows explicitly that Marie-Antoinette conceived of motherhood, envisaged in this particular, sentimental fashion, as her major political, as well as domestic role. Furthermore, the Rousseauvian-child aesthetic fit naturally into that which the Queen had constructed at her personal retreat, the Petit Trianon. There she revelled in what Caroline Weber dubs the 'simple life', blurring social distinction in court etiquette and dress. She pioneered a new, rustic fashion, consisting of looser silhouettes, informal fabrics such as linen and muslin, and white and pastel colours in only subtle patterns.[198] Her critics condemned these outfits as 'undignified' and 'indecent'; a 1783 portrait of her dressed in the *gaulle*—a loose-fitting white dress tied with a sash, also known as the *chemise à la reine*—was denounced as depicting the Queen in her underwear ('en chemise'). The portrait was so controversial that its painter, Vigée Le Brun, had hastily to replace it.[199]

Nevertheless, Marie-Antoinette continued to dress her children in such fashions—the boys in comfortable sailor suits—even after she herself had resumed more appropriate attire. In so doing, she broke with custom that dictated children should dress as miniature adults, embracing the Rousseauvian celebration of childhood as a separate life-stage.[200] Her choice of clothing for the children is somewhat more complex, however, since these were styles she herself had promoted and did not completely renounce. In fact, Marie-Thérèse's dresses, loose and light-coloured as befitted the unconstrained, pure, Rousseauvian child, are smaller versions of those the Queen herself is depicted wearing. For instance, the pastel striped dress and *fichu* worn by the princess in Vigée Le Brun's portrait of her with her brother is strikingly similar to the lace-collared gown her mother wears in Dumont's portrait. Similarly, Guttenbrunn's Marie-Thérèse wears the notorious *gaulle*. It is telling of how popular Rousseauvian views on childrearing had become, that it should be deemed acceptable to dress Madame Royale in this way, when it was clearly problematic for her mother to dress likewise.

'The Domestication of Majesty', 175–176. Cf. Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment*, 90–99. Barker expresses some doubt as to whether Greuze fulfilled this request, but emphasises that the commission itself nevertheless demonstrates Laborde's identification with this representation of fatherhood and marital bliss.

[198] Weber, *Queen of Fashion*, chap. 6.

[199] Ibid. M. D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago, 1996), pp. 143–146. On types of dresses and their history, see K. Van Cleave, 'The Lévite Dress: Untangling the Cultural Influences of Eighteenth-Century French Fashion', *The Social Fabric: Deep Local to Pan Global; Proceedings of the Textile Society of America 16th Biennial Symposium* (Vancouver, 2018), https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/1119, accessed 5 August 2020.

[200] Weber, *Queen of Fashion*, chap. 7.

In this context, Vigée Le Brun's portrait of 1787, if it was an attempt to repair the Queen's reputation, sought to do so not through any novel association of Marie-Antoinette with motherhood, but through deliberately—and carefully—transferring this persona she was already cultivating into a royal setting. As Gita May put it, 'Vigée Le Brun is intent on conveying a political message by integrating this moralistic, bourgeois ideal [of motherhood] and family values into the context of absolute monarchy.'[201] Yet this ideal was not exclusively bourgeois, and it was not the first time Marie-Antoinette had espoused it; rather, it was the first time she and her portraitist emphatically associated it with her queenship. Thus the painting deposits the apparently classless sentimental child—and mother—into Versailles. The Queen, at last, is dressed appropriately for her rank, in a deep-red velvet gown *à la française*; though her daughter wears a loose *lévite*, it is in an elegant burgundy fabric, so that it simultaneously allows the child freedom of movement and demonstrates her station. Though stately, none of the sitters' attire is extravagant. The Queen wears an understated pearl bracelet and heavy drop earrings, but she eschews her diamonds and ruffles, and wears minimal lace. Her dress was in fact one of very few commissions she made to her designer, Rose Bertin, at this time. In the later 1780s, Marie-Antoinette sought to reduce her wardrobe expenses, regularly having older dresses mended rather than purchasing new ones.[202] Her fine jewels are shut away in the cabinet to her left: as Joseph Baillio has persuasively argued, the children are their replacement. Like the Roman matrona, Cornelia, Marie-Antoinette is claiming that her children are her finest jewels; they are the wealth she offers to France.[203] Indeed, Peyron's painting of Cornelia presenting her children as her jewels had been displayed in the preceding Salon, of 1785, so the Queen's portraitist was seemingly entering into dialogue with contemporary neoclassical art, in the taste of the day.[204]

This was the moment at which Marie-Antoinette and Vigée Le Brun strove in no uncertain terms to present the Queen as royal mother: the portrait did not emphasise the line of succession but displayed Marie-Antoinette as matriarch. At the same time, she apparently renounced a definition of queenship solely as consort to the king, since Louis XVI is

[201] G. May, 'Marie-Antoinette's Portraitist', in G. May, *Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun: The Odyssey of an Artist in an Age of Revolution* (New Haven and London, 2005), p. 41.
[202] Weber, *Queen of Fashion*, chap. 7.
[203] J. Baillio, cited in Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman*, 183. Sheriff argues that this interpretation is complicated by the Dauphin's gesture to his mother and siblings; the Queen's poise nevertheless suggests she is posing to display her young children to her audience.
[204] J.-F.-P. Peyron, *Cornélie, mère des Gracques*, oil on canvas, 1782, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse; *Explication des peintures, sculptures et autres ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie royale, dont l'exposition a été ordonnée suivant l'intention de Sa Majesté... dans le grand sallon du Louvre...* (Paris, 1785), p. 42, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5817167w, accessed 4 August 2020.

absent—at most alluded to in the jewel chest's royal insignia—as in all of the portraits of Marie-Antoinette and their children.[205] Defiant of her critics, she asserts herself as queen and as primary parent to all of the royal children. Through the Dumont portrait, she would continue to project this self-image, though returning to her preferred, pastoral aesthetic. Thus, sentimental, Rousseauvian ideals of childhood and motherhood were adopted at the highest level of French society, and simultaneously used aesthetically and politically to define the Queen's public image. As consort, Marie-Antoinette had long sought to carve out an independent role for herself; denounced for her profligacy and subject to a barrage of pornographic defamation and anti-Austrian slurs, she apparently turned to motherhood in the late 1780s as a means of undermining this libel and asserting her place at court.

However, in the tumult of revolution, the Queen would ultimately be characterised as the archetypal 'bad mother': in 1793, she was charged with acts of sexual perversion and calculated moral corruption against the Dauphin Louis-Charles.[206] These accusations were powerful not only because they continued the long denigration of Marie-Antoinette's sexual morals, but also due to children's cultural status and the new emphasis on love for children as indicative of good character.[207] Indeed, the charges were made in an effort to undermine tender reports of the Queen's care for her two remaining children in the Temple prison: Marie-Antoinette as devoted mother risked inspiring sympathy, and undercutting this image was therefore a significant means of dehumanising her.[208] In the courtroom the Queen herself joined in this battle of representations, dismissing the accusation of incest as a heinous charge made against a mother and not worthy of her denial: 'If I have not responded, it is because nature refuses to respond to such a charge made against a mother. I call upon those [mothers] who may be found here.' The natural bonds between mother and child, in the Rousseauvian paradigm, could not comprehend such a charge.[209] For her Jacobin accusers, however, this unnatural woman perverted maternal intimacy and threatened a child's precious innocence. The Dauphin and his sister, meanwhile, simultaneously represented childish innocence and the threat of monarchical corruption. To borrow from Strasik, '[a]s an innocent young boy,

[205] This is Sheriff's observation regarding the jewel chest: Sheriff, 'The Cradle Is Empty', 183–184.
[206] Hunt, *Family Romance*, 89–123.
[207] On pornographic pamphlets on Marie-Antoinette and their relationship to her trial, see L. Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution', in D. Goodman (ed.), *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen* (New York and London, 2003), pp. 117–138, and C. Thomas, 'The Heroine of the Crime: Marie-Antoinette in Pamphlets', in ibid., pp. 99–116.
[208] See Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, pp. 795–800.
[209] Quoted in C. Thomas, 'The Heroine of the Crime', 114. Thomas suggests Marie-Antoinette's appeal to mothers may also have been an allusion to hereditary monarchy, but the reference to nature suggests the Queen was evoking Rousseauvian motherhood. Ibid., 115 .

Louis Charles served as a hopeful emblem of France's regeneration under the Republic; however, the royal blood that pumped through his veins embodied the depravity of the former monarchy.'[210]

The revolutionaries' ambivalence concerning the Dauphin is evident in their efforts to educate him. Contrary to the image Marie-Antoinette had sought to project in the 1780s, the King was equally committed to his children's upbringing and continued to support their education in the Temple, where he had Cléry, his valet, teach the Dauphin to write and would entertain both children himself with riddles.[211] As Strasik demonstrates, a series of preparatory sketches by David in 1791 indicates that, early on, the revolutionaries intended to emphasise this paternal care and affection. The sketches were preparatory pieces, for a painting commissioned by the National Assembly to commemorate the King's acceptance of the constitution. They show Louis affectionately imparting the values of the new constitutional monarchy to his son.[212] The sketches are very loose, so it is difficult to comment on the representation of the young Dauphin. In one image, though, of the King showing him the constitution, the boy is barely taller than the table upon which sit the crown and constitution; he appears to hang back, as though in awe [Figure 11]. If this was David's intention, through the image he emphasised the child's vulnerability, endearing him to his viewer, as well as presenting the King as a good father—by implication, to his people and to his son. However, the sketches soon changed in tone and the painting was ultimately never executed.[213]

In those early days, nevertheless, the revolutionaries envisaged the Dauphin as a malleable child who could be raised to support the constitutional monarchy. He was even portrayed in the uniform of the National Guard, a costume which boys his age typically wore, to indicate their families' support for the Revolution, and as part of the symbolism of social regeneration in revolutionary festivals.[214] The representation of the Dauphin as National Guardsman implied the royal family's cooperation with the new regime and identified a future King who

[210] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 183.
[211] J.-B. Cléry, *A Journal of the Terror*, S. Scott, ed., Reprint of 1955 edn, with a new binding and colour illustrations (London, 2002), p. 29.
[212] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', 178–181.
[213] Ibid., 180.
[214] A. Moitte, *Le dauphin Louis Charles vêtu de l'uniforme de la garde nationale*, sanguine on beige paper, 94 1790, Château de Versailles, http://collections.chateauversailles.fr/#8c761ff1-c012-44fe-bc78-dadfc40e2f01, accessed 6 August 2020. Moitte's drawing is interesting, as it subverts the pastoral vison of Louis-Charles which Marie-Antoinette and her portraitists had cultivated. He is in a garden—possibly that of the Tuileries—with a watering can and rake nearby, yet dressed in uniform and wielding a musket. Childhood innocence and its natural associations are now associated with the promise of the young Revolution.

would fully support the values of the constitutional monarchy he would serve. Yet, with the regicide and denunciation of the royal family, respect for the young Dauphin dwindled. He would eventually be given a crude, 'sans-culotte' education, isolated from his family and subjected to abuse at the hands of Antoine Simon, a shoemaker and the boy's new gaoler, before he was neglected entirely until not long before his death.[215] On the other hand, just as the republicans disavowed Louis-Charles, royalist propaganda emphasised the boy's innocence. It did so not in an idyllic pastoral context, but it depicts the Dauphin as a sentimental victim: helpless and pathetic. An anonymous text described the Dauphin as 'beautiful like an angel; his persistent naivety and cheerfulness made the King and Queen forget on more than one occasion that they were in chains'.[216] The text was accompanied by woodcut illustrations of the Dauphin taken from his family and of the royals' gaolers at the Temple prison [Figure 12]. Royalist print culture generally included heart-wrenching images like this, depicting episodes such as the young boy seized from his family, and the King's final farewell.[217] The focus on such scenes and their emotional charge is symptomatic of sentimental interest in the family and in children. It recalls the tension of separation depicted in earlier works such as Greuze's aforementioned *La Retour de nourrice*, in which the young child clings to his nurse, not wanting to go with his mother. Now, however, the stakes were much higher. In Pierre Bouillon's 1795 engraving (after Jean-Baptiste Vérité) depicting the Queen's separation from her children in the Temple [Figure 13], Louis-Charles buries his face in his hands, shrinking into Madame Elisabeth's lap. The maternal-filial bond is severed excruciatingly: neither child can look at their mother as she holds her hands out to them; it is their aunt who holds the siblings.

In other prints, depicting the removal of the King from the prison, the children typically cling onto their father. The Dauphin's smallness is always emphasised, perhaps to elicit further pathos in the viewer, who senses his vulnerability and innocence amidst the anguish of the scene. This is even the case in an earlier print, also by Bouillon, after Vérité, in which the boy is not sobbing like his aunt and sister; active as a future king should be, he stands at the centre of the image, raising his hands in protest [Figure 14]. Yet the gesture is futile, and his hands barely reach the adults' elbows as his mother holds him back. By the time of his mother's

[215] See Cadbury, *The Lost King of France*, 104–163.
[216] 'Louis XVII enlevé a sa famille ; Santerre ; Simon, cordonnier : monsieur le Dauphin avait sept ans et demi lorsqu'il [fut] enfermé au Temple avec ses augustes parens... : [estampe] / [non identifié]', (1793), Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69501707, accessed 20 July 2020. 'beau comme un ange; sa naïveté et son enjouement ordinaires firent plus d'une fois oublier au Roi et à la Reine qu'ils étaient dans [les] fers'.
[217] Numerous such prints can be found in the digital collections of the BnF and the Château de Versailles.

arrest, in the engraving discussed above, even this vain protest has gone and the boy can merely weep.

Both episodes are as imagined by the artist. Although the King's valet Cléry describes in his memoirs a similarly distraught separation scene on Louis XVI's announcement of his condemnation to his family, the monarch chose not to see his family on the morning of his departure—despite having promised them he would do so—in order 'to spare them the pangs of so cruel a separation'.[218] The depiction of the Queen's removal from the Temple is purely fictional, since the Dauphin had in fact already been separated from his family before Marie-Antoinette's imprisonment in the Conciergerie in August 1793. Royalist print culture thus emphasised—and romanticised—the royal family's suffering, aptly casting them in the role of sentimental victims and evoking sympathy in particular through the plight of the innocent child. The domestic bliss Marie-Antoinette had sought to celebrate in earlier portraits was destroyed.

Regarding individual representations of the Dauphin, more optimistic earlier works had sought to portray him as a competent successor to his father. However, this shifted as he was increasingly represented as sentimental victim as events unfolded. For instance, a print after the Comte de Paroy's image of the boy, in 1790, represented him in armour; this image was popular among royalists because it represented hope that the monarchy would be strong enough to stand up to the revolutionaries.[219] However, as the royal family's plight worsened, royalist propaganda focused increasingly on their suffering and utilised sentimental tropes. A bust portrait engraved in 1795 emphasised the tragedy of the Dauphin's death and maltreatment at the hands of his republican gaolers [Figure 15]. The young boy's profile was captioned by a description of his age—'10 years 2 months and 16 days'—the precision of which surely emphasised his youthful vulnerability, making his 'awful treatment' by 'rebels' all the more despicable.

Fundamental to all of these images, to Marie-Antoinette's trial and to the treatment of the family in the Temple, is an abstract, symbolic concept of the family, and especially of the Dauphin. The revolutionaries used sentimental ideas of motherhood and childhood in their assassination of the Queen's character, but their reluctance to see Louis-Charles as anything

[218] Cléry, *A Journal of the Terror*, 126–127, 132, quotation p. 132.
[219] 'Heurs et malheurs de Louis XVII, arrêt sur images : Exposition temporaire Musée de la Révolution française Domaine de Vizille, 29 juin -1er octobre 2018', p. 7, https://musees.isere.fr/sites/portail-musee-fr/files/docs/dvi_-_dossier_de_presse_louis_xvii.pdf, 2018, accessed 3 August 2020.

more than a symbol, either of the new regime or the old, enabled them to dehumanise him, such that his gaolers might neglect him and that progress in alleviating his suffering after Thermidor was slow and limited. He died in 1795. Unlike Bara and Viala, 'Louis XVII' could not be celebrated as a hero, but he was idealised as a martyr, along with his family. Sentimental tropes of children's vulnerability and of the idealised family underscored royalist representations of the Dauphin; his tragic demise would make him a perfect Romantic muse in the nineteenth century.[220]

Revolutionary and republican parenthood: the political family vs. the Nation's children

In his survey of royal family portraiture, Schama contrasts Vigée Le Brun's domestic vision of Marie-Antoinette and her children with David's representations of stoic patriotism in the *Oath of the Horatii* and *Brutus*, both of which were highly praised during the Revolution.[221] Indeed, the painting's popularity in the 1790s underscored the notion that the state took precedence over the family, or at the least suggested tensions between loyalty to each. Yet there was no such clear-cut dichotomy. As Hunt shows, revolutionary politics was imagined within a familial framework, wherein patriarchal authority (representing that of the King) came under attack.[222] As we have seen in Ducray-Duminil's fiction, cultural production of the early 1790s expressed angst regarding the monarchy's future, played out on the domestic stage. Simultaneously, new legislation lowered the age of majority to twenty-one, allowed equal inheritance among siblings—including illegitimate children—and legalised divorce, all undermining the patriarchal family model. However, this did not constitute an attack on the family itself, and we should be wary of summarising some deputies' even more radical views as characterised by 'distrust' or a desire to prioritise the individual over the family.[223] As Suzanne Desan's work has brilliantly shown, the revolutionaries sought to regenerate the family, grounding it in bonds of affection rather than patriarchal authority.[224] A new vision of the family was in fact fundamental to revolutionary discourse and portraiture in the first half of the decade. It drew on sentimental representations of domestic harmony as it undermined patriarchal authority; it also embraced Enlightenment ideas of great men who demonstrated virtue in both the public and private spheres.[225]

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[220] On such representations, see ibid., 20–24.
[221] Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty', 179.
[222] Hunt, *Family Romance*.
[223] Ibid., 66–67. Hunt acknowledges, nevertheless, that most republicans did not seek to undermine the family per se. See, for instance ibid., 151.
[224] Desan, *The Family on Trial*.
[225] On the assault on paternal authority, see ibid., 64–67; on great men, see M. Ozouf, 'Le Panthéon : L'École normale des morts', in P. Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. i. La République, (Paris, 1984), p. 144 and D.

This section discusses how revolutionaries might imagine their domestic and citizenly identities through portraits; how family and politics intersected at home; and how new ideas about childhood informed revolutionary policy as a new relationship developed between children and the state. I will explore how childrearing became a question for the state, with a particular focus on the political appropriation of maternal breastfeeding, and an analysis of Lepeletier's proposal for state education—the height of Jacobin debate about children's place in society. Through analysis of these issues and synthesis of existing scholarship, I demonstrate that a direct relationship between child and state was formed in the first half of the 1790s, but that, even as this occurred, the sentimental family—and the child's place within it—was enshrined as the basis for that relationship where possible.

As with the royal family, portraiture illustrates the self-image revolutionary families sought to construct—though their portraits were not likely to be for public viewing. Amy Freund has demonstrated that early revolutionary family portraits integrated the Revolution into domestic life and thereby constructed a vision of male citizenship that united political and domestic virtue.[226] In such portraits, children were central to the construction of this identity; their depiction also indicates their own role in revolutionary society and politicises them as part of the reconceived family unit.

A 1791 portrait by Dominique Doncre depicts Pierre-Louis-Joseph Lecocq, recently appointed judge at the tribunal in Arras, with his family [Figure 16]. As Freund stresses, this portrait integrates politics into the domestic realm: at home with his wife and children, feeding sugar cubes to their dog whilst a servant brings in food, Lecocq wears his tricolour ribbon of office and poses his free hand on the table beside his judge's hat, to which is pinned a tricolour cockade. A *putto* holds out a Phrygian cap and laurel wreath as it draws the curtain on the badges and uniform of Lecocq's ancien régime position.[227] The judge's children are captivated by the activity of offering sugar cubes to the dog. As they enjoy this innocent pastime, their father seems to officiate, holding out a cube to a shy daughter. For Freund, the

Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 116–117.

[226] A. Freund, 'The Revolution at Home: Masculinity, Domesticity and Political Identity in Family Portraiture, 1789–1795', in T. Balducci, H. Belnap Jensen and P. J. Warner (eds.), *Interior Portraiture and Masculine Identity in France, 1789–1914*, eBook (n.l., 2017), https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Gi0xDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT36&lpg=PT36&dq=amy+freund+the+revolution+at+home&source=bl&ots=eNU7NZRj2H&sig=ACfU3U0n1rdEgl8udvz0V6qeAjmuuIt-dQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwja2Y-wv7nqAhWNecAKHVMlBCUQ6AEwA3oECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false, accessed 6 July 2020.

[227] Ibid.

portrait demonstrates the sitters' belief—in keeping with attitudes under the constitutional monarchy in 1791—'that political change can be reconciled with ancien régime social structures and hierarchies'.[228] Whilst paternal authority remains evident, the painting also plays out the revolutionary notion of patriotism beginning at home and illustrates children's relationship both to their families and the state.

Significantly, one of Lecocq's sons is dressed in a National Guard uniform. Whereas in the Dauphin's case, this uniform implied the embodied future of the constitutional monarchy, here it was a gesture of this particular family's support for the Revolution.[229] Interestingly, however, the uniform is not immediately obvious: the composition is such that the wearer's body is blocked from view, by his mother in her chair. The implication is that the values the uniform represents are so well integrated into the family's life that it does not need to take centre-stage. Yet, as Freund argues, Mme Lecocq's plumes draw attention to the boy, as well as to his father's action, and the son's face is at the centre of the composition. The boy in his uniform is therefore intended to be significant, but deliberately casual. Support for the Revolution is not only compatible with the Lecocq family life, but it is subsumed into the quotidian in their household. Moreover, the principal colours in the image are red, white and blue, and the children, even as they play with the dog, contribute to this allusion to the tricolour. The boy and girl to the left of the composition are dressed in these colours, one all in red, the other all in blue with a white sash and collar. The red, white and blue curves of the dog, the boy hunched down towards it and the girl leaning across her mother to receive a sugar cube evoke the round tricolour cockade; the colours complement the judge's tricolour ribbon of office and the cockade on his hat. This implies the family's commitment to the nation and connects the children to their father's public office.

By 1793, the Revolution had entered its most radical phase. At this point, the political idealisation of family and child reached its apogee. A portrait of the journalist Camille Desmoulins, originally attributed to David, depicts the idealised sentimental family, including husband, wife and nude, chubby infant [Figure 17].[230] Spousal, paternal, maternal and filial love all radiate from the sitters. Furthermore, Desmoulins embodies this paternal role even as he continues his work: he is writing, perhaps a political speech, perhaps a piece for his newspaper, *Le Vieux Cordelier*. (The latter is unlikely, as the first issue appeared in

[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Cf. Freund expresses uncertainty over the identities of the sitters. The Château de Versailles names the portrait as being of Desmoulins and his family, but this is not certain. Ibid.

December 1793, and Desmoulins' son, Horace, born in July 1792, does appears younger than eighteen months old.) As both family man and politician, he embodies public and private virtue.

His wife's apparent encouragement of his work is also reminiscent of the mutually supportive marriage enjoyed by the Rolands, who sought to educate their daughter, Eudora (1781–1858) according to Rousseauvian principles, in the midst of their joint working lives. Having persisted in her resolve to breastfeed her daughter, Madame Roland subsequently envisioned the little girl sharing her parents' thirst for study and loving nothing more than being close to them as they worked. As it transpired, the couple soon discovered that Rousseau's theories were not suited to a reality in which parents did not have all the time in the world for their children; Eudora herself was stubborn and ill-suited to study. (Of course, had they followed Rousseau *à la lettre*, they would have encouraged her to be outside and not tried to teach her to read before she was twelve—by which age she was soon to be orphaned.) [231]

The blissful marriage of work and family intimacy to which the Rolands aspired became a revolutionary ideal, whatever the realities of efforts to live it. The revolutionaries conceived of the (affectionate) conjugal relationship as a building block of regenerated society, and saw it as the duty of parents to produce and raise children for the nation.[232] This is evident in the Desmoulins portrait, where the three family members are physically close and fill the frame. As Freund observes, not only are their faces touching or almost touching, and arms interlinked—and I would also note that the child's fleshy, nude body merges into the face and neck of his parents—but, as in the Lecocq portrait, colour also plays a key role in demonstrating intimacy and political connection. Lucile's white dress and red sash and hair ribbon—an acceptable form of the *bonnet rouge* for a woman to wear—echo Camille's collar and lapel, as well as the white of the paper he is working on. The wife and child tenderly guide both his hand and his head: 'It is as if the woman and child are not only the source for, but also the very substance of, what the man is writing.'[233]

Thus, revolutionaries might construct their political identity as one grounded in the domestic, using their children to indicate and nurture their own virtue. In many ways, this was the same

[231] S. Reynolds, *Marriage and Revolution: Monsieur and Madame Roland*, eBook (Oxford, 2012), http://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199560424.001.0001/acprof-9780199560424, accessed 6 August 2020. On raising Eudora, see chap. 7; chap. 16 shows how this remained a concern during the Revolution. Struggles with childrearing aside, the marriage would eventually be damaged by Mme Roland's emotional affair with the Girondin deputy Buzot, chap. 25.
[232] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 47–92.
[233] Freund, 'The Revolution at Home'.

self-image Marie-Antoinette had sought to project—ironically, she and Desmoulins would be guillotined within months of one another. Yet it was also typical of revolutionary domestic ideals, which emphatically reimagined the father not as power-holding patriarch, but as one element of an intimately bonded nuclear family, in which the child was at the centre (literally, in both the Lecocq and the Desmoulins portraits). As it drew on sentimental notions of family harmony, it presented this as concomitant with patriotic virtue.

This was the ideal, but the revolutionaries would find themselves forced to recognise obstacles to this perfect paradigm of individuals in harmony with both the family and the nation. As Jennifer Heuer shows, wives whose husbands emigrated were obliged to seek a divorce in order to disassociate themselves from their spouse's crime; conjugal love did not excuse treason.[234] Children, on the other hand, were not criminalised for emigrating if under a certain age—first fourteen, then ten—due to their acknowledged lack of agency in such matters. Older children, however, would evidently be held liable.[235] In *la grande famille*, citizens' first loyalty had to be to the state, even as revolutionary culture sought to avoid the tragic tensions Brutus faced, by aligning familial with patriotic bonds and duties. In this respect, there is some truth in the notion that the early Revolution championed the individual at the expense of the family—though the issue was complex. At the heart of the family, children also had a new relationship with the state, sometimes direct and sometimes mediated through parents or educators.

Raising children in fact became a primary concern for the state, not just for parents, as children were perceived as fundamental to the Revolution's future. The major intersection between family and state with regard to childrearing centred on maternal breastfeeding. This was idealised as both allegory and reality. Symbolically, if the nation was mother, then the nation's breastmilk would rejuvenate her children. The proceedings for the Festival of the Unity and Indivisibility of the Republic, on 10 August 1793, thus began at the specially constructed Fountain of Regeneration. From the breasts of a statue of an Egyptian goddess flowed this rejuvenating 'milk' (water), from which drank the Convention's president and the deputies. Real mothers were expected to imitate this, nursing their own children so that they

[234] J. N. Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789-1830* (Ithaca, 2007), pp. 38–43.
[235] See K. Carpenter, 'Emigration in Politics and Imaginations', in D. Andress, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the French Revolution* (Oxford ; New York, 2015), p. 333, http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199639748.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199639748-e-019, accessed 8 August 2020.

would be strong and healthy citizens. This was enshrined in law, when the Convention decreed state aid to only those mothers who breastfed (or whom an officer of health certified to be unable), in June 1793. Thus, the Enlightenment advocation of maternal breastfeeding and its sentimental idealisation were appropriated by the state.[236]

Parenting children for the state extended beyond weaning, too. As Strasik's analysis of a set of early revolutionary prints demonstrates, good motherhood quickly became synonymous with imparting revolutionary values. Two of the engravings she studies depict mothers nurturing these values in their children. In the unattributed *Autel de la liberté française* (*Altar of French Liberty*, 1789), a mother plays commander for her children's make-believe battalion; in *Institutrice républicaine* (1792–95) [Figure 18], she helps her young son read from the Declaration of Rights of Man.[237] That these were popular prints demonstrates the circulation of such ideas among 'ordinary people'. Political print production had exploded during the Revolution, largely thanks to new production processes (etching), reprinting and reduced prices; pirate copies might further disseminate an image, and hawkers displayed their wares in the streets of Paris, so that even those who chose not to buy could not escape viewing.[238] Although Louis XVI was also depicted teaching his son revolutionary texts—for instance, in a print produced in 1790, as well as in David's unpublished sketches—mothers' role in their children's citizenly instruction was a particular point of emphasis.[239] By Year II, instilling republican values at home—in both husband and children—was officially considered women's fundamental purpose in society, as I discuss below, in Chapter 3. The maternal breast persisted as a fundamental republican symbol, even as real mothers were denied political participation.[240] Their duty was to raise children for the Republic, not for their families alone.

Moreover, infants deprived of their parental home were equally important as future citizens. Foundling children were recast as 'enfants de la patrie' and, as part of the reconfiguration of charity work that had previously been the domain of the religious orders—with limited state

[236] See Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk', 54–75.
[237] Strasik, 'Reconceiving Childhood', pp. 146–147. Strasik dates *L'Institutrice républicaine* to 1792, but the BnF catalogue lists it as 1792–95. It was more likely produced after the Bouquier law made the Declaration required reading material for schoolchildren in 1793 (see Chapter Two), though earlier images of the Dauphin learning to read the Rights of Man also circulated (see below).
[238] R. Reichardt and H. Kohle, *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London, 2008), pp. 35–39.
[239] On this print, see Vovelle, 'L'Enfant dans l'iconographie révolutionnaire', in Lévy, *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, 257–8.
[240] Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk', 61–71.

subsidies—wet-nursing of these children became a paid service to the state. As Olwen Hufton has stressed, these wet-nurses were fetishized as 'citoyennes précieuses' in political rhetoric, whilst their reality was one of bitter economic hardship.[241] That rhetoric, though, demonstrates not only the Constituent Assembly's commitment to nationalised, secular charity, but also its aforementioned idealisation and (non-sexual) objectification of the nursing breast, together with the nation's dedication to all of its children. As Hufton suggests, these women and their husbands were glorified as ideal citizens by welcoming foundlings into their homes and by 'giving of themselves to the state' through suckling them.[242] Even before it was erected, the Fountain of Regeneration had found corporeal incarnation in these women, who enabled the state to extend equal access to republican milk.

The state's input in orphaned children's upbringing might even extend to formal adoption—by the nation. When the regicide Jacobin deputy Michel Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau was assassinated, in January 1793, he left behind a daughter. Eleven-year-old Suzanne Lepeletier was the first child adopted by the nation. In practice, she was cared for by her uncles, though her guardians sought state intervention to prevent her marriage to a foreigner in 1797.[243] Suzanne's case sparked a wave of patriotic adoptions. In the autumn of 1793 and early 1794, these tended to concern the children of republican soldiers, deceased or absent. Provincial popular societies would 'adopt' these children, writing to the Convention to share the patriotism this demonstrated. In one case, the popular society of Saint-Paul-du-Var (now Saint-Paul-de-Vence, Alpes-Maritimes) adopted a little girl and named her Liberty (Liberté); whatever her family name, now she was a child of the Republic.[244] Meanwhile, the popular society of Indreville adopted a French child wounded in the siege of Mainz, and implored the Convention 'to give him the Republic for a mother'.[245] The Convention itself might also adopt children directly, as it had Suzanne Lepeletier. When a soldier named Richer was killed, his son—whose age is unclear—allegedly refused, much like Bara, to shout *vive le roi*, and so was killed by the same counterrevolutionary brigands as his father. The Convention honoured this family in a way similar to Bara, though it did not go so far as to pantheonize anybody. The deaths were to be recounted in Bourdon's collection of heroic and civic acts,

[241] Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 64–66, 82–84.
[242] Ibid., 64–65.
[243] J. Heuer, 'Adopted Daughter of the French People: Suzanne Lepeletier and Her Father, the National Assembly', *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 17:3/4 (1999), pp. 31–51.
[244] *Bull.*, 21 Frimaire, Year II. This particular child does not seem to have been a victim of war, but the reasons for her orphaned status or abandonment are not specified. On the vogue for patriotic baby names in Year II, see P. McPhee, *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution* (New Haven ; London, 2016), pp. 241–242.
[245] *Bull.*, 19 Brumaire, Year II. 'de lui donner la République pour mère'.

the family received a war pension and, crucially, the Convention adopted Richer's six surviving children.[246]

Nor were these only the children of patriots. Though the Convention's direct adoptions seemed to be in recognition of a deceased father's service to the nation (like Lepeletier or Richer), any child might be symbolically adopted by the Republic in this way. Michelet describes an episode, more recently recounted by Mary Jacobus, in which a war veteran sought the militant Chaumette's approval of his adoption of a baby whose father had been executed. Chaumette's response was that in adopting the child the man was rescuing her 'from the jaws of vile prejudice' and thus preserving her innocence; through raising her, the veteran was to 'show this child that she who is an orphan in law is herewith adopted by the Nation.'[247] Thus, in this adoption, the nation—represented by an upstanding citizen—took the place of the corrupt, absent parent. All children could be raised to be republicans, because they were inherently innocent and had yet to be moulded.

That said, it is unclear exactly how these children were raised. As Heuer has shown, the reality of Suzanne's guardianship was complex, as it was uncertain how far the state could really interfere as parent.[248] Yet the rhetoric surrounding these patriotic 'adoptions' indicates the revolutionaries' vision of the state and society as a whole having both ownership of and responsibility for French children. Where the family was unable to raise republican citizens, the state and other citizens were compelled to intervene.

The most radical vision of children's direct relationship with the state was perhaps expressed in a project for national education drawn up by Lepeletier before his death; this was presented posthumously to the Convention by Robespierre on 13 July 1793, shortly after the fall of the Girondins.[249] This project is of particular interest here because it seemingly imagined children to be the property of the state. As I shall show, the project itself and deputies' objections to it nevertheless framed their arguments within the schema of the sentimental family: this was not an attempt to undermine or destroy this biological and emotional unit. Rather, varying ideas—of whom children belonged to and who they should be—co-existed and intersected.

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[246] Ibid., 23 Nivôse, Year II.
[247] J. Michelet, trans. K. Botsford, quoted in Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk', 70–71.
[248] Heuer, 'Adopted Daughter of the French People'.
[249] J. Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale. Tome 2 / publ. et annotés par M. J. Guillaume*, vol. ii (Paris, 1894), pp. 34–62, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k29289p, accessed 19 July 2020.

Lepeletier's project imagined boys and girls taken from their parents at a young age and educated as republicans. This would be mandatory for all boys aged five to twelve and girls aged five to eleven; funded by the state, pupils would attend the proposed schools regardless of their social background. All would be dressed, fed and taught in the same way, creating equality and relieving poorer parents of the burden of feeding children who could not work if they were attending day school. Lepeletier proposed a physical and moral education, much like that which Rousseau gave to Émile, in order to inculcate future citizens of the new Republic. (He also advocated teaching them to read, however, of which Rousseau would not have approved.) He stressed that instruction was not enough to create future citizens; the state must take charge of children's *education*, or upbringing. Indeed, he drew on ideas of children's malleability, claiming that at the age during which the moral and physical being was formed, 'everything which must make up the Republic will be *cast in a republican mould*'.[250] In this way, the political appropriation of empiricist ideas about children's development is evident. The Republic's *tabulae rasae* must be inscribed early with republican values, for children belonged to the state.

That parents would have no say in their children's upbringing indicates mistrust of potentially corrupting influences on them, again drawing upon notions of children's malleability. Now, however, it was no longer merely parents' responsibility to love and raise their children; their upbringing was the responsibility—or prerogative—of the state. Indeed, other deputies explicitly claimed that children were the state's property, rather than that of their families. As Danton put it, when proposing a diluted version of the project a month later, 'my son does not belong to me, he belongs to the Republic; it is up to the Republic to dictate his duties to him so that he may serve it well'.[251]

That said, Lepeletier did not entirely disavow parents' role in educating their children. In fact, since the institutions he proposed were only for children over five, their first years would be spent at home—and Lepeletier was adamant that this should mean the parental home, not that of a wet-nurse. Mothers should care for their infants, and the state should encourage maternal

[250] Ibid., ii, 52. My emphasis. 'tout ce qui doit composer la République sera jeté dans un moule républicain.'
[251] Ibid., ii, 279. 'mon fils ne m'appartient pas, il est à la République; c'est à elle à lui dicter ses devoirs pour qu'il la serve bien'. See also Barère's proposal for the establishment of the École de Mars, on 13 Prairial, Year II (1 June 1794): *Moniteur*, 15 Prairial, Year II: 'children belong to the general family, to the republic, before belonging to private families' ('les enfants appartiennent à la famille générale, à la république, avant d'appartenir aux familles particulières'). Robespierre expressed similar sentiments: M. Robespierre, *Rapport fait au nom du Comité de Salut Public, par M. Robespierre, sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales. Séance du 18 floréal, l'an second, etc.* (Paris, 1794), p. 31: 'the patrie alone has the right to raise her children' ('la patrie a seule droit d'élever ses enfans').

breastfeeding, teaching mothers to see it as a pleasure rather than a chore.[252] In a way, this accorded with the Spartan element of Lepeletier's plan: Plutarch, recently quoted admiringly by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, had asserted that fidelity for Lycurgus came from early moral inculcation combined with the fact that he 'made [children] suck in with the milk of their nurse's breast the love of his laws and institutions'.[253] However, Lepeletier's emphasis on *mothers* nursing, and his desire to make them enjoy it, clearly sprang from Rousseauvian ideology.

Crucially, it was now up to the state to cultivate the sentimental maternal-filial bond: the Republic would pay mothers a sum of 100 *livres* for each child they presented to the new institutes of national education, provided they had breastfed them; after the fourth child, the sum would increase to 200 *livres*, and to 300 after the eighth. This financial incentive accorded with earlier pronatalist policy, as well as with the political idealisation of breastfeeding: besides the financial aid accorded to breastfeeding mothers in June 1793, a law of 13 January 1791 had introduced reduced taxation for families with three or more children and penalised bachelors over thirty-six.[254] Moreover, Lepeletier proposed that the state should prepare instructions for mothers on pregnancy and caring for infants.[255] His project thus provided a solution to what Rousseau had diagnosed as modern women's aversion to mothering, by providing financial and moral incentives to take on this responsibility.[256] Furthermore, the handing-over of children to the state once they had been weaned paralleled Rousseau's model of the child passed from mother to father to commence the next stage of education.[257] This is the moment at which Lepeletier would wrench the child from the family (though Rousseau did not suggest that paternal education should begin with the child as young as five). In Lepeletier's imagined state-operated reworking of Rousseauvian childrearing, education is a joint effort between mothers and the state, rather than between mother and father.

If, however, Lepeletier's Spartan scheme ultimately undercut the image of the child at the heart of a sentimental home, its critics seized on just that. For Abbé Grégoire, the project was

[252] Guillaume, *Procès-verbaux*, ii, 38, 52.
[253] J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, 'Of Education', in H. Hunter, trans., *Studies of Nature. By M. de St. Pierre. From the Translation of Henry Hunter, D. D. Minister of the Scots Church, London-Wall* [1784] (Dublin, 1800), p. 396. Bernardin himself proposed a system of national schools to which all children would have access, regardless of social rank, pp. 406–418.
[254] On policy regarding celibacy and fertility, see Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 55–56.
[255] Guillaume, *Procès-verbaux*, ii, arts 4–5, p. 56.
[256] Rousseau, *Emile*, 46.
[257] Ibid., 48.

problematic not only because it would be impractical to establish, but because it would take children (over five) from their parents, thus depriving them of an important element of their education. In the deputy's words, 'Nothing can replace the kindness of a father, the caresses of a mother. Let us leave children the opportunity of practising every-day filial piety.'[258] Despite his own posturing about his son belonging to the Republic, Danton proposed a version of the project in which full board would not be compulsory. This was the version the deputies accepted, though nothing ever came of it. As Freund has pointed out, such objections to the proposal demonstrate the enduring importance of the family as care-givers.[259] Specifically, they indicate the deputies' support for the sentimental, intimate notion of family that had developed in the late eighteenth century. Yet, a careful reading of Lepeletier's proposal demonstrates that he too was influenced by this notion and maintained the sanctity of the relationship between infant and mother. However, he envisioned the nation as an extension of the nuclear family, equally responsible for raising its children. The majority of deputies disagreed.

Lepeletier's ideas were not implemented, despite Robespierre's support and the radical political climate in which the Incorruptible presented them. Ironically, Suzanne Lepeletier would become an ardent royalist and marry an aristocrat in 1809—in spite of having been the first child formally adopted by the nation. Other national education plans, nevertheless, perceived children as instrumental to social regeneration, and, ultimately, the purpose of all the revolutionary education reform projects was to create citizens of the new regime. Suzanne's adoption was emblematic of a new relationship between children and the state, which her father's education project had implied, even if the revolutionaries were not always agreed as to how far the state might intervene.

'All of virtue': the child as hero and martyr

In republican discourse, children had become essential to the wholesale improvement of society, or social regeneration. This was partly a question of patriotic childrearing; it was also the case that children came to represent the French people, as they seem to have done in *Petit-Jacques et Georgette*. Their perceived innocence and virtue aligned them with the Revolution as a just and hopeful cause. Indeed, all French citizens were 'children of the *patrie*', as sung, for instance, in *La Marseillaise* (1792); in the national family, the nation or the Republic had assumed the parental role. Thus, children themselves were emblems of the

[258] Quoted in H. C. Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 122.
[259] Freund, 'The Revolution at Home'.

Revolution's purity and of the nation's newly won innocence. In revolutionary festivals, they performed roles symbolising this status: young girls in white, tricolour-sashed dresses radiated republican innocence; boys dressed as soldiers or national guardsmen imbued their uniforms with purity and foretold a regenerated society; mothers bearing infants at their breast embodied regeneration through republican milk.

Joseph Bara and Agricol Viala, once real children, became a symbol of republican virtue and innocence. In their deaths, the national cause was identified with the purity of childhood and pitted against cruel enemies of liberty. Unlike his ruthless killers, Bara demonstrated, in Barère's words, 'all of virtue …, as it came from the hands of Nature'—a clear reference to the opening line of Rousseau's *Émile*.[260] Furthermore, though both boys represented natural virtue—David claimed that 'at that age … everything is virtue'—Bara was praised for combining patriotism with filial piety.[261] The boy had sent his military wages to his indigent mother and siblings in Palaiseau, whilst campaigning with Desmarres in the Vendée.[262] Robespierre and David stressed that this filial piety went hand in hand with Bara's patriotism: 'Bara, heroic child, you provided for [nourrissois] your mother, & you died for the Patrie!'[263] In this exclamation, Robespierre presented the two virtues as complementary to one another, creating an equal dyad of mother and fatherland and inverting the image of breastfeeding mother to emphasise the boy's selflessness. In this way, he emphasised the importance of private and public virtue, and suggested that children belonged equally to their parents and the nation. Furthermore, he equated children's innocence, not only with natural affection for their mother, but with patriotic self-sacrifice, implying that to die for the Republic was a pure and natural instinct.

Moreover, the model of virtuous self-sacrifice juxtaposed with their killers' ruthlessness increased Bara and Viala's sentimental appeal. Ironically, this worked in a way not unsimilar to royalist emphasis on the Dauphin's helplessness, though Bara and Viala actively chose to sacrifice themselves. David Andress has invited us to read the politics of the 1790s as a 'revolutionary melodrama', arguing that the Jacobins, particularly Robespierre, experienced

[260] *Moniteur,* 10 Nivôse. 'la vertu toute entière…, comme elle est sortie des mains de la Nature'.
[261] David, *Rapport sur la fête héroique pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala*, 6. 'à cet âge … tout est vertu'.
[262] Desmarres, letter to the Convention, 18 Frimaire, Year II, in *Moniteur,* 27 Frimaire, Year II. This was in fact what prompted Desmarres to write to the Convention regarding Bara's heroism and death in the first place: he sought to secure an army pension for the boy's now-helpless mother.
[263] Robespierre, *18 Floréal*, 34–35. 'Barra, enfant héroïque, tu nourrissois ta mère, & tu mourus pour la Patrie!'.

life as a play, with individuals cast into set roles.[264] If we apply this concept to Bara and Viala's memorialisation, the boys fit the role of virtuous, sentimental victim. Robespierre intended that mourning them would stimulate patriotism through virtuous empathy: in his speech of 18 Floréal, he initially advocated weeping for Viala, before subsequently renouncing tears and calling for emulation and vengeance. Just as a sentimental play should inspire virtue through emotion, so should Bara and Viala.[265] Mourning innocent, virtuous children was therefore a means to accelerate social regeneration.

Returning to David's painting, in light of the new paradigms and understandings of childhood studied in this chapter, it is clear that the hero's body is celebrated as that of a *child*. Bara was not a young child whose infantile features could be portrayed *à la* Greuze or Reynolds; nevertheless, David painted the androgynous body of a prepubescent youth, rather than a more muscular, physically developed hero. This image celebrates the simple sacrifice of dying for the Republic, deemed as pure and natural as childhood itself.

As I argue elsewhere, the state could not monopolise interpretations of Bara's and Viala's deaths. In theatre and popular prints, their military, rather than Rousseauvian, attributes were frequently emphasised and the tension or union between family and state portrayed in different ways. Where their popular image did follow the official lines of interpretation, they were subsumed into the sentimental genre with ease. For instance, in a stage play performed in Paris in summer 1794, Agricol (Viala) is reminiscent of Paul and Virginie in his endearing naivety: his trust of a federalist spy resembles their faith in the slave owner to whom they returned the runaway slave.[266]

On the other hand, conflicting interpretations illustrate the heterogeneity of French Revolutionary culture and, particularly, of ways in which childhood was imagined in the everchanging political context. This chapter has highlighted some of the many ways in which the political culture of the 1780s and '90s both drew upon and repurposed the model of the Rouseauvian child and the sentimental family. The paradigm of virtuous, innocent childhood was appropriated by multiple voices, pens and brushes. The most significant development was that the sentimental child, breastfed by its mother (or 'Mother Republic'), was bound

[264] D. Andress, 'Living the Revolutionary Melodrama: Robespierre's Sensibility and the Construction of Political Commitment in the French Revolution', *Representations*, 114 (2011), pp. 103–128; Andress, 'Jacobinism as Heroic Narrative'.
[265] Reddy has demonstrated that the Jacobins saw sensibility as a means to inspire virtue. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 173–199.
[266] Perna, 'Bara and Viala'; L. Philipon, *Agricol Viala, ou le jeune héros de la Durance, fait historique et patriotique : acte en prose, mêlé de chant* (Paris, 1794).

now to the state as well as the family. The remainder of this thesis demonstrates how children's relationship with the state was borne out beyond its rhetorical construction, how, through their innocence and malleability, children might—and did—contribute to the progress of the Revolution. Chapter Two explores how they were inculcated in the values of the new state through their reading material.

CHAPTER TWO

A is for Assemblée nationale: The Politicisation of Language Teaching in Books for Children

When the demon Belphégor was dismissed from his post at the University of Paris, he took up the teaching of two children, in the city of Aristocratopolis. Here he prepared his young charges for their future careers in the military and the church. Lessons included how to destroy their enemies and mislead a population, and Belphégor gleefully presented one of the boys with a history of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. This is the story depicted in an anonymous coloured etching, entitled *L'Instituteur des aristocrates* (The Teacher of Aristocrats), which was produced in Paris in 1790 [Figure 19]. The print depicts the sinister tutor corrupting his two charges. Though his face and hands are human, a white, claw-like foot is visible beneath his cassock and horns protrude from his misshapen biretta. This image thus expresses hatred and contempt for both aristocracy and church, and highlights their perceived deviousness. It is a far cry from the sentimental depiction, which we saw in Chapter One, of a young mother helping her red-bonneted infant son trace the words of the Rights of Man [Figure 18]. In that image, education is intimate and pure, and it is revolutionary values which are imparted. Although these two unattributed prints portray contrasting images of education, they have something in common: a preoccupation with children's reading.

By Year II, it was clear that a republican education required republican schoolbooks. Lepeletier made the point in his education proposal, presented to the Convention in summer 1793.[1] The following January (3 Pluviôse) the Comité d'Instruction publique announced a national competition for new schoolbooks.[2] In his report on the competition, Abbé Grégoire, remembered for his anti-patois stance (see below), expressed his hope that the contest would produce books which would 'lead to the regeneration of a republican posterity, and consolidate through virtues the liberty [that had been] conquered through courage'.[3] Simple,

[1] J. Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention nationale. Tome 2 / publ. et annotés par M. J. Guillaume*, vol. ii, 6 vols (Paris, 1894), art. 26, p. 60 https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k29289p, accessed 19 July 2020.

[2] The Convention had already planned this in June 1793, before Robespierre presented Lepeletier's plan, but after he wrote it, since he had been assassinated some months earlier. On June 1793, see H.-C. Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques sous la Révolution*, A. Choppin, ed. (Paris, 1989), p. 19.

[3] Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique*, vol. iii (Paris, 1897), p. 369, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k29290w, accessed 11 April 2017. 'concourir à la régénération d'une postérité républicaine, et consolider par les vertus la liberté conquise par le courage'.

accessible texts were required to achieve this, Grégoire claimed. The competition initially had eight categories: advice manuals for pregnancy and raising young children; teaching manuals; reading and writing; grammar; mathematics; geography; natural history; and republican morality.[4] To these were added agriculture and a category for miscellaneous works.[5] Grégoire's observation regarding the morality category illustrates his sensationist understanding of child development, which evidently underpinned the need for a republican education. In explaining the need for appropriate morality books for the use of parents and teachers, he claimed that adults performing both of these roles had a responsibility 'to mould the child's character, to impregnate him with republican values, such that, living in a virtuous environment, he will aspire [to virtue] with all his senses'.[6] Although Grégoire was referring specifically to morality books, this was not the only genre which would seek to impart republican values.

The competition led to a dramatic increase in the production of textbooks, such that pedagogical works published in 1793–94 represented 41.87% of all such texts produced in the revolutionary decade.[7] This was the period of democratised pedagogy: as Hans-Christian Harten's analysis shows, authors writing on education came from a range of (usually bourgeois) occupations, and even passionate sans-culottes penned secular catechisms. After Thermidor, the numbers declined. When the Directory's Conseil d'instruction publique gave a second call for textbooks in 1798, it was only open to teachers (*professeurs*) and librarians at the regime's state secondary schools (*écoles centrales*). There was a second increase in pedagogical works, but the numbers remained significantly lower than in 1793–94: the percentage of authors who were primary-school teachers (*instituteurs*) dropped by almost two thirds, whereas that of *professeurs* more than doubled, indicative of a bigger shift from participatory citizenship and emphasis on elementary learning to a demand for expert opinion.[8]

This chapter analyses textbooks, across both periods, that dealt with literacy and grammar. Language was a key political issue in the 1790s, when it became tied to new notions of

[4] Ibid., iii, 369–370.
[5] J. Lakanal, *Rapport fait au Conseil des Cinq-cents, par Lakanal, un de ses membres, sur les livres élémentaires présentés au concours ouvert par la loi du 9 pluviôse, an II : séance du 14 brumaire, an IV*, 1795, pp. 34–38, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k489424, accessed 12 August 2020.
[6] Guillaume, *Procès-verbaux*, 1897, iii, 368. 'pétrir le caractère de l'enfant, l'imprégner de mœurs républicaines, en sorte que, vivant dans l'atmosphère de la vertu, il l'aspire par tous les sens.'
[7] Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques*, p. 11. My calculation is based on Harten's data for the years 1789–99.
[8] Ibid., pp. 11–18; on democratisation, see J.-L. Chappey, 'La « Terreur », temps des pédagogues?', in M. Biard and H. Leuwers, eds, *Visages de la Terreur: L'Exception politique de l'an II* (Paris, 2014), pp. 107–122.

citizenship. My analysis reintegrates children's revolutionary experience into this context, as well as that of education in this period. Concerned with what children actually saw and read, I focus on texts which were published, rather than manuscripts submitted to the competitions.[9] This enables education to be considered in terms of interactions between politics, writers and printers, and children.

French Revolutionary education and schoolbooks: a brief survey of the scholarship

The education of citizens became a government concern early on in the Revolution. Even before 1789, enlightened liberal thinkers, including Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, had composed plans for national education, and a project allegedly found among Mirabeau's papers when he died in spring 1791 was published that year.[10] That September, Talleyrand presented a project to the Constituent Assembly, in which he urged a response to the crisis of the old system and emphasised the need for adequate education in order for citizens to comprehend and interact with the new constitution and to live according to their new rights and duties.[11] Several such proposals would ensue; major legislation included the Bouquier law (December 1793), which set out to establish free, compulsory and secular primary education, and the Daunou law (October 1795), which created a three-tier education system under the Directory.[12]

It should be acknowledged, here, that the state was concerned with the public instruction of both children and adults. This was particularly evident in the creation of republican festivals, such as those established by the Daunou law, and earlier, in Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being and the programme for regular festivals he announced with it on 18 Floréal, Year II (7 May 1794). In this context, it is also true that, as Jean-Luc Chappey points out, the schoolroom was not the only site of children's education; much of their formative instruction occurred at the popular societies and festivals. Chappey argues that this changed along with the shift away from popular pedagogy under the Directory, but in those years the festival and school settings in fact often coincided, where juvenile participation was concerned.[13]

Schoolbooks, then, can only provide a limited window onto republican education. Nevertheless, they provide some insight into the reality—content and presentation—of that

[9] Many of these manuscripts, dating from Year II, can be found in AN F/17/11648.
[10] H. C. Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 29–53, 62–67; J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, 'Of Education', in H. Hunter, trans., *Studies of Nature. By M. de St. Pierre. From the Translation of Henry Hunter, D. D. Minister of the Scots Church, London-Wall* [1784] (Dublin, 1800).
[11] Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 68–79.
[12] See Chapter Four, below, on the Daunou law and education under the Directory.
[13] Chappey, 'La « Terreur »', 113–121. See Chapters Three and Four, below, on children's participation in clubs and festivals.

education in primary schools and, in some cases, the *écoles centrales*; sold by Parisian bookshops, many may also have been used at home. Studying schoolbooks therefore takes us beyond the well-documented projects for reform.[14] This chapter focuses less on the state's intentions or the extent to which it succeeded, than on how the education presented to children developed their relationship with the state.[15] I am concerned with what children saw and read, and how both established and self-proclaimed pedagogues interpreted republican politics—or packaged what they interpreted to be an appropriate version—and presented it to children, thus acting as intermediaries between children and the state. As Jean-François Chassaing has argued, these books open up a wide swathe of political culture to the historian in this way.[16] However, unlike Chassaing, I study textbooks from the perspective of what they were presenting to children and the techniques they were using, in other words, how pedagogy and ideology were integrated, rather than focusing on authors' ideas themselves.

This education-on-the-ground approach contributes to the work of historians such as Caroline Fayolle, Hans-Christian Harten and Marcel Guy, who have drawn on departmental archives to explore issues such as teachers' experiences and socioeconomic backgrounds, or how schools were organised.[17] Fayolle has also integrated this approach into her study of girls' education during the Revolution, where she explores pedagogy as imagined and practised by women in schools and political clubs.[18] There has also been scholarship on schoolbooks themselves—not least Fayolle's recent work on gender and the family in these texts.[19] Such

[14] Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*; R. R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton ; Guildford, 1985); D. Julia, *Les Trois couleurs du tableau noir* (Paris, 1981).
[15] On the state's success or failure, see J.-L. Chappey, 'Les écoles de la Révolution : pour en finir avec la thèse de la table rase', in M. Biard, ed., *La Révolution française : une histoire toujours vivante* (Paris, 2010), pp. 331–343. Chappey challenges historians' typically negative view of French Revolutionary education.
[16] J.-F. Chassaing, 'Les Manuels de l'enseignement primaire de la Révolution et les idées révolutionnaires', in J. Morange and J.-F. Chassaing, *Le mouvement de réforme de l'enseignement en France : 1760-1798* (Paris, 1974), pp. 98–99.
[17] C. Fayolle, 'Des Institutrices républicaines (1793-1799)', *AHRF*, 368 (2012), pp. 87–103; H.-C. Harten, *Elementarschule und Pädagogik in der Französischen Revolution* (Munich, 1990); L. W. B. Brockliss, review of *Elementarschule und Pädagogik in der Französischen Revolution*, by H.-C. Harten, *The English Historical Review*, 109:432 (1994), pp. 750–751; M. Guy, 'L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles centrales', *AHRF*, 53 (1981), pp. 89–119. On primary-school teachers, 1789–1835, see also R. Grevet, *L'Avènement de l'école contemporaine en France, 1789-1835 : laïcisation et confessionnalisation de la culture scolaire* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2001), pp. 191–233.
[18] C. Fayolle, 'Des petites républiques de filles : Projets et expérimentations pédagogiques révolutionnaires (1793-1794)', *La Révolution française. Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française*, 4 (2013), http://journals.openedition.org/lrf/803, accessed 6 April 2020.
[19] C. Fayolle, 'Les catéchismes républicains à l'épreuve du genre (1792-1794)', *On ne naît pas garçon ou fille, on le devient!* (presented at the Association Mnémosyne, Journée d'études 2016, Université Paris Descartes, 2016), https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x40o1vo_caroline-fayolle-les-catechismes-republicains-a-l-epreuve-du-genre-1792-1794_school, accessed 8 March 2017; C. Fayolle, 'Les fonctions politiques de la famille dans les livres d'éducation (1793-1816)', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 42 (2010), pp. 633–653.

scholarship broadens our understanding of the realities of French Revolutionary education, beyond government intentions and ideas.

In this chapter, I intend to build on one of the earliest studies of French Revolutionary schoolbooks (excluding the ideologically motivated studies by proponents of secular education in the late nineteenth century).[20] In 1935, US children's author and publisher, Esther Averill, published an article entitled 'Political Propaganda in Children's Books of the French Revolution'.[21] Averill sought to illustrate, through her study of French Revolutionary books, that contemporary European dictatorships were not unprecedented in targeting children with political propaganda. Published in a rather obscure journal for printing and book enthusiasts, some twenty-five years before Ariès birthed the history of childhood, this was problematic as a historical account. A small selection of books is highlighted, all highly political, and the author's knowledge of their context seems somewhat incomplete. The study is thus biased and limited in scope. However, the question of politicisation is important. In more recent years, historians have explored twentieth-century schoolbooks and children's literature as a propaganda device, showing how education has been used directly to consolidate various regimes and their ideologies.[22] As Averill emphasised in 1935, this was not novel; in Revolutionary France, however, it was much more so. Not all political messages, however, were as overt as those Averill highlights.

More than fifty years later, INRP published two books which should have been gamechangers for historians of French Revolutionary education and political culture. Whereas Averill had unearthed just seventeen schoolbooks—and claimed only two alphabets survived—Hans-Christian Harten and Michel Manson were able to identify hundreds of titles

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[20] Chassaing, 'Les Manuels de l'enseignement primaire', 97–98.

[21] E. Averill, 'Political Propaganda in Children's Books of the French Revolution', *The Colophon*, part 20 (1935).

[22] E.g. I. Dooley, 'New Nation, New Alphabet: Azerbaijani Children's Books in the 1990's', *Cotsen Children's Library*, https://blogs.princeton.edu/cotsen/2017/10/new-nation-new-alphabet-azerbaijani-childrens-books-in-the-1990s/, 2017, accessed 27 November 2017; K. Ferris, 'Parents, Children and the Fascist State: The Production and Reception of Children's Magazines in 1930s Italy', in H. Barron and C. Siebrecht, eds, *Parenting and the State in Britain and Europe c. 1870–1950: Raising the Nation* (Cham, Switzerland, 2017), pp. 183–205; E. Hooke, *Résistants and Résistantes in Youth Literature: Collection Patrie Libérée and the Gaullist Myth in Post-Liberation France* (M.A. dissertation, University of London Institute in Paris, 2016); E. J. Johnson, 'Under Ideological Fire: Illustrated Wartime Propaganda for Children', in E. Goodenough and A. Immel, eds, *Under Fire: Childhood in the Shadow of War*, Landscapes of Childhood (Detroit, 2008), pp. 59–76; J. K. Proud, *Children and Propaganda: Il Était Une Fois-- : Fiction and Fairy Tale in Vichy France* (Oxford, 1995).
Schoolbooks aside, other historians have considered the relationship between the development of mass education and patriotism, or nationalism, in various regimes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See L. Brockliss and N. Sheldon, eds, *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870-1930* (New York, 2012).

in their bibliographical works.[23] Manson identifies 411 titles published explicitly for children in the revolutionary decade, a large proportion of which are extant in the Bibliothèque nationale. Harten compiled a list of pedagogical writing, including published schoolbooks as well as manuscripts and plans for education: he identifies 1,346 titles. This research makes possible significant expansions on the developments in scholarship on revolutionary textbooks since Averill's article. Work in three countries had advanced the subject in the 1970s and '80s, but these historians were rarely in dialogue with one another, such that the subject was presented as novel each time and the sheer number of extant books was not adequately acknowledged.[24] In 1989, Manson and Harten each provided an invaluable reference.

Manson's bibliography is of particular interest to this project, as it exclusively contains texts for a juvenile audience. It includes both schoolbooks and children's literature more generally. Though it is by no means exhaustive, it provides a large sample of both types of book for children, published across the revolutionary decade, including foreign translations and re-editions of earlier works. This is especially important, as it allows us to consider the actual reading material available to children and to recognise that there was some continuity with the ancien régime. In the case of alphabets and primers, most were creations of the 1790s, since revolutionary education was intended to break with that of the ancien régime. As we shall see with regard to grammar books, however, earlier pedagogy did not become irrelevant; likewise, Manson's work demonstrates the continued vogue for pre-revolutionary children's novels such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[25]

Further useful details of Manson's bibliography are excerpts from book reviews where available—which are particularly useful for considering the reception of books, or the content of those no longer extant—and information on where surviving copies are located, including call numbers. The latter feature must be considered a guide rather than definitive, however, particularly for the researcher outside France, as Manson prioritises the Bibliothèque nationale collections, when other copies are occasionally held in libraries in Britain or

[23] Averill, 'Political Propaganda in Children's Books' [p. 5]; Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques*; M. Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance et la jeunesse sous la Révolution* (Paris, 1989).
[24] Harten, *Elementarschule und Pädagogik*; S. Vecchio, '"Les langues sont pour les peuples". Matériaux pour l'étude de la linguistique militante sous la Révolution française', *LINX*, 15:1 (1986), pp. 98–132; C. Pancera, *L'utopia pedagogica rivoluzionaria (1789-99)* (Roma, 1985); Chassaing, 'Les Manuels de l'enseignement primaire'. Pancera's work discusses how French Revolutionary morals and notions of the family and the ideal revolutionary child were manifested in schoolbooks. Chassaing (p. 98) acknowledged Averill's work, but there was little other precedent when he was writing in 1974.
[25] Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 81–82.

elsewhere.[26] Additionally, some items appear to have been relocated or re-catalogued since the book was published in 1989. On the other hand, Manson certainly could not have anticipated the digitisation of many of the works he listed, which has rendered some of his careful cataloguing unnecessary for contemporary researchers.[27] The bibliography remains an invaluable tool nonetheless.

Harten's bibliography is a useful complement to Manson's, focusing exclusively on pedagogical writing. However, as Manson recognises in his introduction, there was no clear distinction between didactic and imaginative literature for children, so in confining his collection to strictly pedagogical texts, Harten limits its use for historians of children's education.[28] On the other hand, Harten's inclusion of pedagogical literature for both adults and children means that he includes schoolbooks absent from Manson's bibliography. Manson depends overwhelmingly on book titles to indicate the age of their intended audience, and consequently neglects works that were not explicitly for children but which were used in primary schools.[29] Thus, although many of the same titles are inevitably recorded in both Harten's and Manson's bibliographies, a study of children's books would benefit from consulting both.

Although these bibliographies were published some thirty years ago, only a handful of scholars have utilised them, or otherwise worked on this subject.[30] More recent work on revolutionary books for children includes studies of secular catechisms and civility books, thus focusing in particular on the morals disseminated through children's texts.[31] Margaret Higonnet's work is of particular interest, as she considers how children may have interpreted the messages from these texts. She argues that revolutionary civility books brought together

[26] Manson includes libraries outside France only where the books in question are not known to be in any French library.
[27] Gallica is an invaluable resource for the researcher outside Paris, with digitised copies of a large proportion of the schoolbooks I analyse. See https://gallica.bnf.fr.
[28] Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, pp. 13–14.
[29] E.g. d'Aguesseau's *Traité des devoirs de l'Homme* (s.l., n.d.), which was to be sent to primary schools, under a Convention decree of 9 fructidor Year 3 (26 August 1795), or Bastiou's *L'Exposition des principes de la langue française* (Paris, 1798-9), widely used in Parisian primary schools under the Directory. See D. Julia, 'Enfance et citoyenneté : Bilan historiographique et perspectives de recherches sur l'éducation et l'enseignement pendant la période révolutionnaire (Deuxième partie)', *Histoire de l'éducation,* 49 (1991), pp. 38, 42.
[30] This is in spite of Dominique Julia's optimistic survey of the literature on schoolbooks so far, composed shortly after their publication. Ibid., 19–48.
[31] Fayolle, 'Les catéchismes républicains à l'épreuve du genre (1792-1794)'; A. Velicu, *Civic Catechisms and Reason in the French Revolution* (Farnham, 2010); J. Hébrard, 'La Révolution expliquée aux enfants: les catéchismes de l'An II', in Lévy, *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, 171–192; J. Hébrard, 'Les Catéchismes de la première Révolution', in L. Andries, ed., *Colporter la Révolution*, (Montreuil, 1989), pp. 74–81; M. R. Higonnet, 'Civility Books, Child Citizens, and Uncivil Antics', *Poetics Today*, 13 (1992), pp. 123–140; M. Higonnet, 'Civilité et citoyenneté', *Enfance,* 43:1 (1990), pp. 197–202.

eighteenth-century—and particularly Rousseauvian—ideas of children's natural superiority to adults, enabling them to identify as political agents, rather than being subjugated to adult authority. She briefly examines the relationship between the morals taught in civility books and a twelve-year-old girl's public expression of her own political identity. [32] This is crucial for considering children's place in republican society; however, Higonnet's small sample means she overlooks the more passive learning children also followed when learning catechisms or reciting from their texts. Moreover, the overtly politicised texts Higonnet cites could have been offset by more implicit works included in Harten's and Manson's bibliographies.

The final work of note is Penny Brown's chapter on revolutionary texts in her historical survey of French children's literature. Surveying a range of genres, with a particular focus on exemplary narratives and periodicals (rather than schoolbooks), Brown demonstrates the ways in which '[o]ld forms and traditional moral content were appropriated and reshaped to suit the changing times and a new social agenda, and writers began to explore new methods of entertaining and teaching'.[33] Situating this within her broader study, she argues that this was a fertile period for the production of children's literature.

My own analysis considers how this process of appropriation and innovation occurred within the subject of learning to read and write the national language. Drawing in particular on Manson's bibliography, I explore a range of alphabet and grammar books published in the 1790s, to show how children might encounter political ideas in even their most rudimentary lessons. Since Averill's work was published, the field has developed significantly, but empirical research has not matched bibliographical progress. Focusing on the teaching of just two subjects will illustrate techniques of political communication, including those more subtle than the 'propaganda' she identified. Revolutionary language politics in these years rendered learning to read French a political act in itself, particularly in Year II.

[32] Higonnet, 'Civility Books', 127; Higonnet, 'Civilité et citoyenneté', 199. Her case study, Joséphine Fontanier, is the subject of Chapter 3.1, below.
[33] P. Brown, *A Critical History of French Children's Literature*, vol. i (London, 2008), p. 218.

One language: the republican politics of language

> *'To read, write and speak the national language are indispensable abilities for every citizen.'*
>
> *'Lire, écrire et parler la langue nationale sont des connaissances indispensables à tout citoyen.*'[34]

In June 1794, the Comité du salut public decreed that 'In a republic [that is] one and indivisible, language must be one.'[35] Linguistic variety was associated with federalism and the ancien régime society of privileges and inequality; linguistic unity was seen as essential for the widespread 'extension of rational patriotism'.[36] Yet, according to Abbé Grégoire's famous report, at least six million French citizens had no knowledge of French.[37] Schools must therefore teach in French, and every effort must be made to suppress patois, the alleged language of counterrevolution. This contrasted with the earlier policy adopted by the National Assembly, which had prioritised maximising public understanding of the law through translation.[38] As early as 1791, Talleyrand had intended primary education to make French accessible to citizens, but attempts to institute this were unsuccessful due to a lack of teachers able to speak the language well enough. Talleyrand's motive, however, had been equality of language, to end 'this strange inequality'.[39] By 1793, Condorcet's emphasis on primary teaching in French had an added motive, that of linguistic unity, which Grégoire's report would promote.[40]

From October 1793, primary education was to be in French. Then, in January 1794, Barère gave a report on behalf of the Comité du salut public, in which he attacked patois and regional languages, arguing that they essentially cut off whole departments from the benefits of the revolution. Famously, he alleged that 'federalism and superstition speak Breton; emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German; the counter-revolution speaks Italian,

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[34] H. Grégoire, 'Rapport sur l'ouverture d'un concours pour les livres élémentaires de la première éducation, Séance du 3 pluviôse, l'an second […]', in Guillaume, ed., *Procès-verbaux du Comité d'instruction publique*, vol. iii, 368.
[35] 28 Prairial, Year II, quoted in M. Huchon, *Histoire de la langue française* (Paris, 2002), p. 205. 'Dans une république une et indivisible, la langue doit être une.'
[36] W. Sewell Jr, 'The French Revolution and the Emergence of the Nation Form', in M. A. Morrison and M. Zook, eds., *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World*, (Lanham, MD; Oxford, 2004), pp. 113–116, quotation p. 116.
[37] H. Grégoire, 'Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française', 16 Prairial, Year II, in M. de Certeau, D. Julia, and J. Revel, *Une politique de la langue: la Révolution française et les patois: l'enquête de Grégoire* (Paris, 1975), pp. 300–317. On the number of citizens unable to speak French, see p. 302.
[38] On this shift in policy and aims, see M.-C. Perrot, 'La politique linguistique pendant la Révolution française', *Mots*, 52:1 (1997), pp. 158–167.
[39] Ibid., 160–161, quotation Talleyrand, in ibid., 160.
[40] Ibid., 161–162.

and fanaticism speaks Basque'.[41] This initiated what Patrice Higonnet has dubbed 'linguistic terrorism' and Marie-Clémence Perrot 'the war against dialects'.[42] It culminated in Grégoire's inquiry into national knowledge of French and his report in June 1794, where he asserted that it was necessary to eradicate ('anéantir') patois. Then, on 2 Thermidor (20 July), the Convention decreed that all public and private acts must be written in French; breaking this rule was punishable by imprisonment.

Often overlooked is the fact that Grégoire also advocated reforming—or, rather, revolutionising ('révolutionner')—the French language itself, by both simplifying and standardising it.[43] This would seem to support Higonnet's argument that Jacobin 'linguistic terrorism' and 'grammatical extremism' (reforming the language) were ideologically motivated: these policies were fuelled by the desire to create a national community, a kind of equality which did not threaten property—not because dialects really posed a threat to the regime.[44] A more rational French, whose orthography matched pronunciation, would be more egalitarian.[45] This policy accounts for the entries into the schoolbook competition which proposed orthographical changes, though such texts do not seem to have been published.

This was a more extreme direction of the view, established by the eighteenth century, that French was a superior, rational language: it had become the language of European royal courts and was beginning to replace Latin as the language of instruction even before the Revolution.[46] That alone was a reason against translating legislation: relative to French, patois was incapable of expressing complex, abstract revolutionary ideas and this influenced Grégoire's early language politics, in 1790.[47]

After Thermidor, radical language policy was abandoned, along with much else from the Jacobin supremacy. An alternative model of grammar was introduced for older pupils at the *écoles centrales*, known as *grammaire générale*. This scientific study of grammar and syntax

[41] B. Barère de Vieuzac, 'Rapport du Comité de salut public sur les idiomes', 8 Pluviôse, Year II, in Certeau, Julia, and Revel, *Une politique de la langue*, pp. 291–299, quotation p. 295. '[l]e fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton ; l'émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand ; la contre-révolution parle l'italien, et le fanatisme parle le basque'.
[42] P. L.-R. Higonnet, 'The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism and Grammatical Hegemony during the French Revolution', *Social History*, 5:1 (1980), pp. 41–69, esp. p. 42; Perrot, 'La politique linguistique', 162. 'la guerre aux idiomes'.
[43] Grégoire, 'Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir le patois', 314–317.
[44] Higonnet, 'The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism'.
[45] Ibid., 56–57.
[46] Ibid., 50–52; Huchon, *Histoire de la langue française*, 203–206.
[47] Higonnet, 'The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism', 50–52, 58; Sewell Jr, 'The French Revolution and the Emergence of the Nation Form', 114.

was imagined to be applicable to the study of all languages, but in practice it was abandoned by a number of teachers, in response to demand from parents and pupils, for whom the subject was too complex.[48] Furthermore, French remained the language of instruction, as opposed to Latin.

Whilst government policy was concerned with teaching French, the language itself evolved independently of proposals to reform grammar and orthography. With revolution came the expansion of the lexicon to accommodate new political and cultural circumstances: new terms were composed, such as 'révolutionnaire' ('revolutionary'), 'contre-révolution' ('counterrevolution') or the short-lived 'républicaniser' ('to republicanise'); Greek words for units of measurement entered the language; and existing words such as 'nation' and 'citoyen' took on new meanings.[49] These words littered children's textbooks, so that they might use and understand them.

This, then, was the context in which children learned to read and write the national language in Revolutionary France. The very act of learning French was politically charged, especially in Year II, and the language itself was a site of revolutionary change. The schoolbook competition of Year II included two categories related to language teaching: the third category was for books teaching reading and writing; the fourth was for grammar books. Taken together, submissions to these categories constitute almost a third of all entries.[50] The two categories overlap somewhat, as grammar books might purport to teach writing, and reading was usually taught separately from writing. My analysis is therefore divided into that of alphabets and syllabaries—which taught the rudiments of the language in order to read—and grammars. Including texts published up to the end of the revolutionary decade, I demonstrate the ways in which these works imparted political ideas to young readers in the already-politically-charged context of the alphabet or grammar lesson.

Republican alphabets and syllabaries

Two types of book dealt with teaching to read: alphabets and syllabaries (*syllabaires*). Alphabets, or primers, presented children with the letters of the alphabet and their elementary

[48] F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française: des origines à 1900*, vol. 9.1 (Paris, 1927), pp. 327–342; A. Chervel, *... Et il fallut apprendre à écrire à tous les petits français : histoire de la grammaire scolaire* (Paris, 1977), pp. 70–83.

[49] See Huchon, *Histoire de la langue française*, 211–213; F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française: des origines à 1900*, vol. 9.2 (Paris, 1937), esp. pp. 635–48, on new words and pre-existing words whose usage increased dramatically. On popular language, see M. Biard, *Parlez-vous sans-culotte ? Dictionnaire du Père Duchesne (1790–1794)* (Paris, 2009).

[50] Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques*, 20.

lessons, whilst syllabaries focused on syllables as components of words. Syllabaries taught children to recognise and pronounce pairs or groups of letters forming syllables, or deconstructed words into syllables to facilitate learning to read.

Many new alphabets and syllabaries were printed in Year II, presumably as a response to the state Comité d'Instruction publique's competition for new schoolbooks in 1794. However, none of those entered into the competition was judged worthy of printing for primary-school use, and those which were shortlisted appear not to have been published.[51] This is not the case for grammar books, where the first- and second-prizewinning entries were printed at state expense to be used in schools. Nevertheless, republican alphabet books seem to have been purchased, by parents or private tutors. Printers such as Aubry or Jean-Baptiste Chemin-Dupontès published multiple works for children's instruction, and these books and pamphlets were often inexpensive.[52] Indeed, Aubry's *Syllabaire républicain* cost three sols, a quarter of the price of a loaf of bread in June 1793.[53] Chemin-Dupontès' *Alphabet républicain*, sold together with a print of the young revolutionary martyr Joseph Bara, cost five sols, or could be delivered for a total of six.[54] Wages increased dramatically between 1790 and 1793, making these alphabets a relatively negligible expense for households whose main income was from skilled work.[55] In Paris, they could be purchased from printers' shops, as well as, in some cases, from booksellers, haberdashers, grocers or stationers.[56] The aforementioned printer and editor Aubry wrote proudly to the Comité d'Instruction publique of how well his books were received, sending twelve copies of his *Syllabaire*, along with other educational

[51] A manuscript copy of Macquin's *Logographie linéaire*, which achieved special mention, survives, but there is no evidence of its publication. The text proposed an entirely new orthography, rather than teaching children to read using the existing system. AN F/17/11648/35. Macquin's first name unknown.
[52] Aubry's first name unknown.
[53] *Syllabaire républicain, pour les enfans du premier âge* (Paris, 1793-4), iv-v, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54363384/f13.image.r=ab%C3%A9c%C3%A9daire%20r%C3%A9publicain, accessed 7 April 2017; G. E. Rudé, 'Prices, Wages and Popular Movements in Paris during the French Revolution', *The Economic History Review*, 6:3 (1954), 254.
[54] J.-B. Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain, orné de gravures , & suivi de conversations à la portée des enfans, propres à leur inspirer l'amour de la liberté, de l'égalité, & de toutes les vertus républicaines ; et à les mettre en état de bien entendre la Déclaration des droits, & la Constitution […]* (1793), iii, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5438734g, accessed 7 April 2017.
[55] Rudé, 'Prices, Wages and Popular Movements', 254.
[56] *L'Alphabet français, a l'usage des petits enfans, pour leur apprendre à épeler et à bien lire […]* (1793), v, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55651408, accessed 1 May 2017.

books, to be entered into the competition.[57] Printers might also deliver outside Paris, and some texts, such as the *Alphabet républicain national*, were published in provincial cities.[58]

Although we can only speculate as to the actual extent of alphabets' circulation geographically and across socioeconomic circumstances, it seems likely that they were widely available in Paris. Later in the 1790s, the Minister for the Interior did name specific alphabets appropriate for schools, so these likely gained a wider audience—though schooling was more elitist and less accessible under the Directory than according to earlier revolutionary ideals. Independent schools, moreover, did not necessarily use prescribed texts. However, not all education took place in schools, and the sheer volume of alphabets produced in the 1790s, and especially in Year II, attests to this. Although Julia points out that the mass dissemination of one textbook was rare, studying a number of primers will open a broad window onto the types of messages children may have seen.[59]

One way in which alphabets and syllabaries introduced children to politics was in the texts selected for reading practice. The Convention had decreed that the Constitution and the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen should feature in children's elementary reading material, as specified in the law of 29 Frimaire (also called the Bouquier law, 1793), the decree of 8 Pluviôse (1794) and the Daunou law (1795). According to the Bouquier law, primary schools were to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, and pupils were to study the Rights of Man, the Constitution and the collection of citizens' heroic and virtuous deeds compiled by Léonard Bourdon.[60] Local authorities were anxious to obey this law, as evidenced by their correspondence with the Comité d'Instruction public: the municipal bureau of L'Aigle, Orne, wrote specifically to request means of supplying pupils with the Declaration—as well as the Constitution and Bourdon's text.[61] It was deemed so important for children to learn the Constitution and Declaration of Rights that, under the Directory, there could be heavy sanctions for schools that did not ensure their study: in 1798, one 'citoyenne Hébert' in the Eure department was barred from teaching and her school was

[57] AN F/17/1010A/2403, letter to Comité d'instruction publique, 13 germinal [Year II] (2 April 1794). Certainly Aubry had reason to emphasise his success, to impress the jury; nevertheless his decision to enter the competition was likely motivated by confidence in his work, so there is nothing to suggest gross exaggeration.
[58] *Alphabet républicain national* (Rouen, 1793), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k571646, accessed 7 April 2017.
[59] Julia, 'Enfance et citoyenneté ii', 38.
[60] For a concise overview of the Bouquier law and its application, see R. Grevet, *L'Avènement de l'école contemporaine en France, 1789-1835 : laïcisation et confessionnalisation de la culture scolaire* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2001), 62–64, 133–136; L. J. J. L. Bourdon de la Crosnière, *Recueil des actions héroïques et civiques des républicains français* (Paris, 1794).
[61] AN F/17/1010/B, letter to Comité d'instruction publique, 5 floréal Year II (24 April 1794).

closed down when she did not provide her pupils with copies of the Declaration, the Constitution or state-approved schoolbooks.[62] The Lot-et-Garonne department decreed in March 1798 that all literate primary- and private-school pupils must carry a copy of the 1795 Constitution on their person, or risk exclusion; schools were to provide copies to pupils unable to afford their own.[63]

Although it seems more probable that the alphabets published in Year II were used at home than in public schools, the politics of schooling reveal how instrumental political texts were considered to be for children's early education, throughout the revolutionary decade. In fact, though the resulting decree dictated that schoolchildren were to study the French language and the Rights of Man on alternate days, Barère had directly linked literacy and political rights when he advocated teaching literacy through reading the Rights of Man—just as Roman children had read the Twelve Tables, he claimed.[64] Accordingly, there is no shortage of alphabets that included the Declaration of Rights or the Constitution.

For the author of the *Alphabet républicain français* (Paris, Year II), the capacity to read these texts was the very purpose of learning to read, and he explicitly made this connection for the book's readers.[65] In doing so, he politicised the sentimental childhood image so far propagated in his work. 'N'est-ce pas un grand Plaisir que de lire des livres instructifs et amusans, et de savoir par cœur la DÉCLARATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN ?' the author cajoled.[66] Children who learned their lessons were 'aimables' ('lovable') and 'jolis petits enfans' ('pretty little children'), who would be rewarded with toys; these sweet, lovable children ought to be keen to learn the Declaration of Rights—and how 'charmant' ('charming') it was that they should be able to read the republican calendar![67] The author thus appealed to children's eagerness to charm and desire for toys, to encourage not just schooling but political participation. Here, therefore, children's potential as citizens was framed in sentimental terms: their patriotic participation was endearing, and presented to them as an incentive for civic engagement.

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[62] AN F/17/1344/33, letter from Administration centrale du Département de l'Eure, to minister of interior, 21 floréal, Year VI (10 May 1798).
[63] AN F/17/1344/33. *Arrêté de l'administration de Lot et Garonne, Concernant la Surveillance des Écoles particulières, Maisons d'éducation et Pensionnats. Séance du 15 Ventôse, an VI […].*
[64] Barère, 'Rapport', 295.
[65] Anonymous authors are assumed to be male unless there is evidence to the contrary.
[66] *Alphabet républicain français* (Paris, 1793), xiv, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54363421, accessed 7 April 2017. 'Isn't it a great Pleasure to read books [that are] didactic and entertaining, and to know by heart the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen?'
[67] Ibid., 12–14.

Children who learned to read with the *Alphabet républicain national* read the Declaration of Rights as soon as they could recognise the letters of the alphabet and basic syllables. The Declaration was broken into syllables, as reading practice, as were the 'Tables des droits' ('Table of rights') and the 'Tables des devoirs' ('Table of duties'), taken from the provincial paper, the *Feuille villageoise*.[68] In a story from that publication, this abridged version of the Declaration was presented, engraved in marble, by a local seigneur to a peasant. Both model citizens, they agreed to place the tables in the local church to highlight they were of equal importance to religious virtue.[69] The *Alphabet républicain national* being published in Rouen, it makes sense that the author would include the version of citizens' rights and responsibilities published in a provincial journal. Children reading this alphabet thus read the same text their parents were reading and learned to recite it—though it is likely no coincidence that the author made no reference to the original story, with its paternalistic portrayal of the nobility and acceptance of the church.

Elsewhere, political texts were included at the end of an alphabet book, not specifically presented as reading practice, but for children to learn once they could read. Dalloz's *Le joujou instructif* is an example of this: it contains the Constitution of 1793, preceded by the Declaration of Rights.[70] Although Dalloz himself was a boarding-school master, this particular book was intended to be used by parents—specifically fathers—teaching their children, rather than in schools.[71] Since children traditionally read aloud from syllabaries—albeit one letter or syllable at a time according to conventional methods—it is likely that in such a scenario, families learned their rights together, through the medium of children's reading lessons.[72]

Wherever these texts were printed in alphabets—even where broken into syllables—they were unabridged: children were expected to learn them verbatim, not merely to understand their essence. In this way, they were incorporated into adult political life, learning and studying the same texts that were fundamental to French Revolutionary citizenship. The

[68] *Alphabet républicain national*, 7–32.
[69] *Feuille villageoise*, nº 4, 21 October 1790, 51–58.
[70] Dalloz, *Le joujou instructif des enfants, avec lequel on peut apprendre à lire en moins de quatre mois, dès l'âge de quatre à cinq ans : ouvrage utile aux pères de famille* (Paris, 1794), pp. 129–142, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k490735, accessed 6 June 2017; see also *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'ABC et à épeller aux enfans en les amusant par des figures agréables et propres à leur faire faire des progrès dans la lecture* (Paris, 1793), pp. 44–51, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57174h, accessed 28 June 2017.
[71] Dalloz, *Le joujou instructif*, 1; On Dalloz, see Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 184. Dalloz's first ame unknown.
[72] R. Chartier, M.-M. Compère, and D. Julia, *L'Éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1976), 126–132.

convention of rote learning obliged them here to memorise the Constitution and Rights of Man; although they may not have fully understood them, they knew their rights and responsibilities as citizens from a young age. Outside of school and the home, children were expected to recite these core texts at political club meetings, thus applying what they had learned to engage directly with the political world.[73]

This is not to say that no effort was made to explain politics in a way more accessible to children. Chemin-Dupontès' alphabet culminated in a series of conversations on themes pertinent to revolutionary society, including definitions of government and liberty.[74] A founder of the theophilanthropy movement (a short-lived deist cult), Chemin-Dupontès also lauded the joys of nature in these conversations, presenting government as essential but secondary to agriculture.[75] This was appropriate for Year II's Cult of the Supreme Being, but is also indicative of the author's own religious sentiment, and shows that such ideas filtered through into children's books.

Similarly, the *Syllabaire républicain* printed by Aubry contained 'Les Dix Commandemens de la République française' ('The Ten Commandments of the French Republic') and 'Les Six Commandemens de la liberté' ('The Six Commandments of Liberty').[76] It propagated a civic, non-Christian religion, stating, in a section titled 'Religion', only that '[r]eligion consists in not doing unto another that which we would not like done unto us.'[77] This riff on the Golden Rule was adapted from the Rights of Man, the 1793 version of which preached the same rule: 'Do not do unto another that which you do not want done unto you.'[78] Devoid of any mention of the divine, the book nevertheless appropriated the trappings of a Christian education, parodying the Ten Commandments. The first set of 'Commandemens' preached militant sans-culotte patriotism, encouraging fighting tyrants, sacrificing one's own life for the defence of virtue and the law, denouncing traitors, seizing deserters' property, and keeping sacred the anniversary of the storming of the Tuileries (10 August 1792).[79] Very much in the spirit of Year II, it is unsurprising that these commandments did not appear in a later edition

[73] Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 134.
[74] Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain*, 7–35. Chemin-Dupontès published widely for children; I also analyse his grammar book, below.
[75] Ibid., 15; on Chemin-Dupontès' religious beliefs, see idem, *Manuel des théoanthropophiles, ou Adorateurs de Dieu, et amis des hommes […]* (Paris, 1796).
[76] *Syllabaire républicain*, 9–10.
[77] Ibid., 10. 'La religion consiste à ne pas faire à autrui ce que nous ne voudrions pas qui nous fût fait'.
[78] 'Constitution du 24 juin 1793', *Conseil constitutionnel*, https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/les-constitutions-dans-l-histoire/constitution-du-24-juin-1793, accessed 5 August 2018, art. 6. 'Ne fais pas à un autre ce que tu ne veux pas qu'il te soit fait.'
[79] *Syllabaire républicain,* 9.

of the text.[80] The second set of commandments, 'Les Six Commandemens de la liberté'—also removed from the Year VI edition—encouraged children's active participation in public political life. Readers were instructed regularly to attend meetings of their section, to keep themselves informed and to discuss opinions.[81] Appropriating the form of Christian commandments, the author presented these instructions as principles for life, not just for childhood. Children would have read them and learned to recite them, just as they learned to recite the Rights of Man, and perhaps been able to recall them in later life, thus prepared to participate in society as adult citizens. Furthermore, a list of institutions and members of society that constitute a Republic familiarised them with the regime's institutions and illustrated their own place in society: though at the bottom of the list, 'Les Enfans' were integral to the Republic in their own right, and would one day climb to the status of citizens, 'Les Citoyens & Citoyennes'.[82]

Aubry's explicit appropriation of Christian forms of teaching is merely a more extreme version of a general pattern—that which Harten has called the 'republican secularisation' of schoolbooks—which regained strength in the nineteenth century.[83] Pre-revolutionary alphabets had presented children with religious reading material; political texts now supplanted the liturgical ones that had served as the basis of eighteenth-century education. As late as 1789, children learned to read with such texts as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed. The idea having persisted into the late eighteenth century that Latin was a more logical language and therefore a necessary precursor to reading French, pupils had continued to read in both French and Latin, and were thus prepared to live a Christian (Catholic) life and participate in their local congregation.[84] With the Revolution's policy of de-Christianisation and its emphasis on individuals as citizens rather than subjects or congregants, Catholic instruction was no longer appropriate. Instead, children needed to be prepared for civic life. The form of learning, however, did not change. The multitude of revolutionary civic catechisms is the most well-known and obvious example of the

[80] *Syllabaire des deux premiers ages, a l'usage des écoles primaires ; contenant l'alphabeth [sic], les droits et les devoirs de l'homme […]* (Paris, 1797-8), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5563521p, accessed 27 April 2017.
[81] *Syllabaire républicain*, 10.
[82] Ibid., 14.
[83] Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques*, 13. 'sécularisation républicaine'.
[84] Chartier et al., *L'Éducation en France*, 126–127; E.g. *A B C, pour les petits enfans , selon l'instruction et l'ancien usage de l'Église catholique* (Strasbourg, 1789), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k54212208, accessed 1 May 2017; *Alphabet chrétien ou Instruction pour la jeunesse* (1760), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57358566, accessed 1 May 2017. The former included texts such as the Apostles' Creed in Latin.

appropriation of Christian teaching methods, but it occurred in other genres too.[85] Alphabets were part of children's earliest instruction, so the children who read those published in Year II began their education with civic instruction rather than the religious teaching their parents and even older siblings had received.

Symptomatic of the Revolution's complex relationship with the church, religious reading material began to reappear towards the end of the decade, following the religious amnesty of 1795. For instance, a new edition of Luneau de Boisjermain's *Vrais principes de la lecture* (1797–8)—itself an edited version of an earlier work by Nicolas-Antoine Viard—retained the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the prayers that had been in Viard's original.[86] This comprehensive manual taught grammar and history alongside literacy, but the religious texts were presented as 'pièces de lecture', rather than as religious instruction alone.

Other texts combined Christian and republican influences. A.-J. Legat did not include complete liturgical texts, but wrote of Providence deciding that ants should work for the good of all—implying a connection between God and society—and included Biblical terms in his lessons on pronunciation.[87] At the same time, he included republican catchwords such as 'dé-mo-cra-ti-e' and 'cons-ti-tu-ti-on' in his list of five-syllable words for learning to read.[88] Noël's *Syllabaire simplifié*—selected by the Minister for the Interior for primary school use—likewise used both religious and politically charged words in this way. Children were expected to read out 'vi-ve la ré-pu-bli-que u-ni-ver-sel-le' and taught to spell and pronounce both 'aristocratie' and 'démocratie' as well as 'archange' or 'eucharistie', for example.[89]

Children who used Noël's or Legat's work were thus taught to recognise words they would need in their lives as both citizens and Christians. The religious amnesty is manifested in many schoolbooks, including grammars as well as alphabets, and the more subtle combination of religious and republican influences found in Legat seems more common than Luneau de Boisjermain's blatant return to pre-revolutionary education.[90] For the most part,

[85] See Hébrard, 'La Révolution expliquée aux enfants'.
[86] P.-J.-F. Luneau de Boisjermain, *Les vrais principes de la lecture, de l'orthographe et de la prononciation françoise* (Paris, 1797), pp. 162–173; N.-A. Viard, *Les Vrais principes de la lecture, de l'orthographe et de la prononciation françoise, suivis de différentes pièces de lecture* (Paris, 1764), pp. 28–35, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6118491d, accessed 16 August 2018.
[87] A.-J. Legat, *Abécédaire extrait des 'Leçons élémentaires de la langue françoise' […]* (Paris and Senlis, 1798–9), 16–17, 23–37.
[88] Ibid., 14.
[89] L.-J. Noël, *Syllabaire simplifié* (Paris, 1798–1799), pp. 27, 53, 57, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49083g, accessed 17 June 2017. On the book's selection by the Minister for the Interior, see ii–iv.
[90] See grammar books, below.

children were shown that religion and patriotism were compatible. Of course, religion could not come first, as evidenced by the Directory's banning of religious processions and wearing clerical dress in public; it also ruthlessly deported clergy who refused to swear an oath of hatred of royalty after the coup of 18 Fructidor (1797). Schoolbooks reflected this, by making limited religious references accompanied by republican ones.

As the examples of Legat and Noël demonstrate, authors might use politically charged sentences and phrases, unconnected to a section of text. Individual words might be split into syllables, as they were in Legat's work, and were thereby used for children to practise pronunciation of the words they were reading. Noël explained that the child was to perfect each lesson before progressing to the next, which suggests that children re-read sections aloud multiple times, learning to pronounce these words and phrases perfectly. He also suggested that private tutors might use coloured cards to facilitate learning, with vowels in colour.[91] If this practice was used, these words may have been even better ingrained visually in children's memories.

It is important to acknowledge that these overtly politicised examples were the minority in Legat's and Noël's work. Published in Year VII, they did not conform to the radical republicanism evident in earlier schoolbooks. Alphabets published in Year II (1793–4) tended to be much more heavily politicised. This was the case in Chemin-Dupontès' alphabet and in the anonymous *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'ABC* (both Year II). In both of these books, a single word is associated with each letter of the alphabet, its potency further strengthened by association with images. Seizing on this format, Chemin-Dupontès introduced children to key revolutionary symbols and concepts: *p* was for 'pique' ('pike'), *r* for 'ruche d'abeilles' ('beehive') and *a* for 'Assemblée nationale'.[92] The pike was a popular revolutionary symbol that indicated overcoming evil and defending equality, when wielded by citizens; it might also be bound into a fasces, which symbolised revolutionary unity.[93] The beehive represented the community working together, a crucial democratic concept.[94] As for the Assembly, the accompanying illustration was a detailed depiction of the Convention, including busts of martyrs and David's paintings of the martyred Marat and Lepeletier which were hung there [Figure 20]. Chemin-Dupontès may have chosen to label it 'Assemblée nationale', as

[91] Noël, *Syllabaire simplifié*, vii–viii.
[92] Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain*, [iv, xiv].
[93] L. Hunt and J. R. Censer, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (Fairfax, VA, 2001), 12, http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/, accessed 20 August 2018.
[94] Ibid., 9.

opposed to 'Convention' (for the letter *c*) in order to account for the frequent changes he had witnessed in regime and title of the elected assembly. Perhaps he intended his label to be generic and applicable to any national assembly, despite the specificity of the illustration.

Equally politicised, the *Nouvelle méthode* depicts the allegory of Equality, personified as a woman with weighing scales: *e* is for *Égalité* [Figure 21].[95] Here, too, *r* is for *ruche* (hive).[96] This was an adaptation of a book whose 1792 edition, published in Lausanne, had not preached revolutionary ideals: in that edition, *e* had been for *empereur*, and *r* for *ramoneurs* (chimney sweeps).[97] Even the authors and printers of Year II did not, however, always opt for obvious political messages. *L* is not for *liberté*, but for *laboureur*, depicted ploughing a field in both the *Nouvelle méthode* and Chemin-Dupontès's *Alphabet* [Figures 21 and 22].[98] This was representative of how the revolutionaries valued agriculture; indeed, the author of the *Nouvelle méthode* included a description of the hard work of an agricultural labourer—Quartidi's reading practice—with another, corresponding, image of a man ploughing and a woman scattering seeds.[99] The author praised agricultural workers, teaching children to respect them highly: 'The first of all arts is, indisputably, agriculture. Those who practise it are greatly entitled to our gratitude.'[100] Children were thus taught to recognise and value agricultural work, which was considered fundamental to society. In Chemin-Dupontès' idyllic depiction of the farmer ploughing (*l* for *laboureur*), and his *c* for *campagne* (countryside)—long sunrays shining down on an abundant field, mountains and sheep—illustrations added to his proto-theophilanthropic 'conversations' discussed above. This country scene and an illustration of a robust woodcutter (*b* for *bucheron*) are placed immediately below the image of the Convention (*a* for *Assemblée nationale*) [Figure 20]. In the placement and selection of images, as well as the 'conversations', Chemin-Dupontès therefore echoed Rousseau in teaching children that political virtue and the natural world went hand in hand and were both fundamental to the regeneration of society.

Nature and agriculture aside, these alphabets' portrayal of ordinary workers is significant as a representation of revolutionary society and its values. Chemin-Dupontès's printer

[95] *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'ABC*, [iii].
[96] Ibid., [ix].
[97] *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'A.B.C. et à épeller aux enfans en les amusant [...]* (Lausanne, 1792), https://www.e-rara.ch/sikjm/3004454, accessed 17 April 2019.
[98] *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'A.B.C.* (1793–4), [viii]; Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain*, [xi]. Chemin-Dupontès nevertheless depicts allegories of Liberty and Equality at the end of the alphabet, [xx].
[99] *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'A.B.C.* (1793–4), 14–15.
[100] Ibid., 15. 'Le premier de tous les arts est, sans contredit, l'agriculture. Ceux qui l'exercent ont de grands droits à notre reconnaissance.'

('imprimeur', for the letter *i*) is appropriately attired, in his Phrygian bonnet [Figure 23]. The association of printing with patriotism is significant: Chemin-Dupontès was highlighting the importance of his own profession for republican culture, and—not so subtly—emphasising his personal patriotism. It is unclear exactly when this book was published, but Chemin-Dupontès was briefly arrested on charges of printing counterrevolutionary publications in June 1794.[101] This was not an unusual experience, and was the case for several of the children's authors studied here, as well as countless others. Similar fears may have influenced the author of the *Nouvelle méthode*, who remains anonymous but may well have printed his own work as Chemin-Dupontès did: in this text the printer is the only figure to wear a liberty cap [Figure 24]. Whereas the other images are more archaic and may demonstrate the re-use of old engravings, the author or printer was careful to ensure that the book trade was associated with patriotism. The author subsequently praised the arts and printing, specifically, for making texts more accessible.[102] Furthermore, the image of the printer as patriot in both books underscored the concept of reading and writing as a patriotic act, necessary for sovereignty and participation in revolutionary society. Certainly, young children are unlikely to have consciously interpreted either book's *imprimeur* in this way; nevertheless, they were learning to associate the printing profession with radical republicanism. In fact, in Chemin-Dupontès' alphabet, many of the figures are depicted as patriots, with their liberty caps: the blacksmith, the printer, the cooper and those receiving charity in the 'hospice d'humanité' [Figure 23]. The implication was that patriots could serve society in numerous ways, and were worthy of assistance when they needed it.

It is worth noting that, despite his evident republican values, the *Nouvelle méthode*'s author included a biblical image in his alphabet, retained from the Lausanne edition.[103] *J* and *k* are for 'Jonas sous le Kikajon', referring to the Old Testament story in which a gourd grows over Jonah, sheltering him from the elements [Figure 21]. The letter *k* is rarely used in French, so it likely proved difficult to find an appropriate noun beginning with it. Chemin-Dupontès thus depicted the foreign 'kalmuck', and showed his commitment to Rousseauvian principles with *j* for 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau' [Figure 22]. The *Nouvelle méthode*'s inclusion of Jonah, whatever its author's motivation, demonstrates that children might still come into contact with Christian lessons even in an ostensibly patriotic schoolbook, at the height of de-

[101] 'Jean-Baptiste Chemin-Dupontès (1760-1852?)', *Data.Bnf.Fr*, http://data.bnf.fr/12229334/jean-baptiste_chemin-dupontes/, accessed 22 April 2017.
[102] *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'A. B. C.* (1793–4), 17.
[103] Ibid., [p. viii]; *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'A. B. C.* (1792), [9].

Christianisation in Year II. This is without even taking into consideration those who continued to use pre-revolutionary texts, or whose parents supported refractory priests, of whom there must have been many.

Images were not always directly related to text, but the vignettes adorning text also integrated children into revolutionary culture. For instance, a large liberty cap accompanies Aubry's letters of the alphabet, as does a smaller one atop a pike.[104] The positioning of the caps links them to the alphabet: where the font is large, so is the liberty cap, placed before *A* but in among the letters, and where the font is smaller it is accompanied by the smaller bonnet on a pike [Figure 25]. It is almost as if the alphabet itself wears the liberty cap; in any case its association with republican patriotism is clear. Revolutionary symbols are as much a part of the republic's language as the letters of the alphabet are. Similarly, the small vignette printed below Dalloz's Rights of Man depicted unity and patriotism, with hands clasped together beneath divine rays and a Phrygian bonnet.[105] Children who were looking carefully at these texts in order to learn them—whether to recite the Rights of Man or to recognise the letters of the alphabet—could not have failed to observe these political images and become just as familiar with them as with the text they were learning.

Revolutionary slogans worked in much the same way. They frequently ended texts, so that they were the last thing children read after completing their lesson. This ensured they could read them accurately, and underscored the patriotic messages they had encountered in the main text. These slogans were often capitalised, too, making them more conspicuous. For instance, the *Alphabet républicain national* concluded thus:

> U-NI-TÉ,
> IN-DI-VI-SI-BI-LI-TÉ
> DE LA RÉ-PU-BLI-QUE.
>
> LI-BER-TÉ, É-GA-LIT-TÉ,
> FRA-TER-NI-TÉ,
> OU LA MORT.[106]

Where it is split into syllables, this popular revolutionary slogan acquires a drum-like quality when read aloud, emphasising the consonance and assonance within these words—in particular the 'té' sound. Each syllable is thus strongly emphasised so that every part of the slogan is made obviously significant. With monosyllabic words only, the last line becomes particularly emphatic, as one word falls on each 'beat'. In addition, the softer consonants of

[104] *Syllabaire républicain*, 3.
[105] Dalloz, *Le joujou instructif*, 132. See also 142.
[106] *Alphabet républicain national*, 32; See also *Alphabet républicain français*, xxxvii. 'Liberty, indivisibility of the Republic. Liberty, equality, fraternity, or death.'

this line seem echo-like, after the repeated hard *t* sounds. The effect is to emphasise the natural enunciation of the slogan, so that it sounds particularly powerful, and would likely have been more memorable for its child readers.

Symbols and slogans might also go together, as in the *Alphabet français*. This began with an image of a pike, axe and bonnet rouge, with the motto 'soyons dignes d'être des républicains' (let us be worthy of being republicans).[107] It ended with 'LA LOI' (the law) on a pike topped with a liberty cap, encircled with oak leaves and printed directly above the exclamation 'VIVE LA LIBERTÉ!' This symbol and patriotic exclamation were placed between sentences for reading practice at the end of the text, which ended with the promise that children who read well would receive 'le beau Livre d'or' (the lovely Golden Book).[108] On the previous page, they had read that girls who learned their lessons would be rewarded with dolls and dolls' houses, and boys a drum or gun.[109] These affectionate promises played into the idea of the sentimental child and emphasised the gender roles propagated by the revolutionaries: boys would grow up to fight for the Republic, and girls would be homemakers. The image and slogan amid these lessons underscored the patriotism expected of both genders. The inclusion of revolutionary symbols and slogans in children's alphabets demonstrates their ubiquity and shows how they integrated children into political culture.

As well as revolutionary imagery and slogans, children were inevitably familiar with the Revolution's songs. Songs played a vital role in revolutionary culture, from the militaristic *Marseillaise* or the *Chant du départ*, to songs composed for festivals, and to those spontaneously sung on the streets of Paris.[110] The *Syllabaire républicain* began with two songs to encourage children to be diligent in their learning. Both the 'Chanson du Papa ou de la Maman à l'Enfant qui lira bien' (Song of the Mummy or Daddy whose Child reads well) and the 'Chanson des mêmes à l'Enfant qui lira mal' (Song of the same whose Child reads badly) were to be sung to the tune of the Carmagnole [Figure 26].[111] As in the *Alphabet republican français* and the *Alphabet français*, children were cajoled into learning their lessons. Children who read well would be doted on by their parents, and dance the Carmagnole '[a]u joli son du violon' (to the pretty sound of the violin)—a pastiche of the more popular 'vive le son du canon' (long live the sound of the cannons). Those who read

[107] *L'Alphabet français , a l'usage des petits enfans*, [6].
[108] Ibid., [20].
[109] Ibid., [19].
[110] See R. Brécy, *The Revolution in Song* (Luynes; Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire, 1988).
[111] *Syllabaire républicain*, vi.

poorly, however, would be beaten and made to dance alone, '[a]u vilain son du violon' (to the dreadful sound of the violin). Though the second is somewhat threatening, the overall tone of both songs is light-hearted, and one can easily imagine parent and young child singing together, perhaps both doing the whipping action in the second song.

What is significant here for our purposes is the way in which the songs imitate the Carmagnole, sung to its tune and echoing its refrain. To the historian of French Revolutionary culture, this seems deliberately political, given the lyrics of the Carmagnole and its association with revolutionary violence, particularly given that it was sung directly after the storming of the Tuileries. However, the book ends with a final song, in which the child seeks a kiss for having read so well, this time to a more banal melody, that of *Robin ture lure lure*.[112] Despite the political education given throughout the main section of the book, it appears that the songs were merely intended to be familiar and appealing. The Carmagnole's inclusion here therefore shows the fluidity of revolutionary culture: a highly politicised tune could be adapted as a nursery rhyme. Children and their parents were assumed to be familiar with the tune, but its context was not restricted. Indeed, although it is referenced here by its revolutionary name, the Carmagnole was itself an adaptation of a folk tune.[113]

This is significant for how we read aspects of French Revolutionary culture more broadly: political culture and popular culture were rarely discrete. Rather than the model Lynn Hunt has proposed of quotidian activities acquiring political significance, political activities, such as singing the Carmagnole, could be ostensibly stripped of their new meaning.[114] The relationship between popular and political culture was thus fluid and complex, and children might be integrated into both simultaneously.

Overall, however, alphabet and syllabaries' heavy focus in Year II on a politicised education demonstrates that children were presented with a revolutionary worldview from their earliest lessons. Reading material, images and slogans introduced them to revolutionary law, concepts and symbols, so that they were well-versed in political culture. Alphabets published after Thermidor were in keeping with the less militant patriotism and politics of the Directory, but nevertheless continued to enact Barère's suggestion of teaching to read from the Declaration of Rights of Man, which remained at the core of primary education. The

[112] Ibid., 16.
[113] F. W. J. Hemmings, *Culture and Society in France, 1789-1848* (Leicester, 1987), 52.
[114] L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (London, 1984), 72. Hunt's work does show that political culture was fluid and meanings changed, but the point here is the fluidity of its boundary with popular culture.

speed of regime change meant that children within the same generation might be assimilated into a very different political culture from their peers born a year or two earlier or later—assuming parents and teachers were buying new books.

Where authors and printers were concerned, many similar ideas were manifested in those manuscript works submitted to the schoolbook competition for which there is no evidence of publication.[115] Authors evidently aimed to please the Comité d'Instruction publique with their patriotism and revolutionary political sentiment. During the Terror, demonstrating loyalty to the regime was not just lucrative, but could be a matter of life or death: consider again the implications of the printer depicted as patriot in Chemin-Dupontès' alphabet. The loyalties, fears and beliefs of these men and (occasionally) women were transmitted to the next generation, played out in children's elementary education.

Conjugating language and citizenship: republican grammar books

In the eighteenth century it was standard to teach reading and writing separately. Writing was taught through copybooks, which demonstrated the correct position for body and hand, as well as how to form the letters of the alphabet. Grammar, meanwhile, gave individuals the tools with which to express themselves, and thus to participate actively in society, as Grégoire hoped citizens would do. Unlike for alphabets, the state competition was successful in yielding grammar books appropriate for primary school use. First prize went to a new edition of Charles-François Lhomond's *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* and second to Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, for his *Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique*. Copies of each were to be printed for distribution in primary schools, and their authors received three thousand *livres* in prize money. Lhomond's work remained in use in many *écoles centrales* under the Directory.[116]

Since there are fewer grammar books than alphabets extant from this period, I analyse a selection of individual texts in detail. My analysis pays particular attention to the example words and phrases used to demonstrate grammar points. Much like in alphabet books, these could be used by authors to make a political statement or might reflect the political culture of the time and present it to children—again appropriating pre-revolutionary teaching methods. I explore how various editions of grammar books edited and removed inappropriate references, and how grammars first published under the Directory differ from earlier examples.

[115] AN F/17/11648.
[116] A. Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris, 2006), p. 222.

Though the competition called for newly composed books, pre-revolutionary and early revolutionary textbooks were among those entered, and were particularly successful; new editions of some of these were also published. Indeed, Lhomond's prizewinning entry was first published in 1780. Jean-Noël Blondin's *Précis de la langue Françoise* came third. Though the Committee of Public Instruction did not subsidise its printing, Blondin received a financial award, and a subsequent edition of his work was published in Paris, undated. Lhomond's success prompted Brunot's sardonic remark that a competition of this scale had proven somewhat pointless if the judges were only to select a book composed for pre-revolutionary *collèges*.[117] Yet the new edition of Lhomond's work was not that of 1780. Whilst the grammar remained unchanged, the new editions of both Lhomond's and Blondin's grammars removed and replaced references to religion and the monarchy.

Lhomond's work is particularly telling in this respect, as there are multiple editions to compare. First published in 1780, the grammar was an immediate success: it was used in the *collèges* of the ancien régime and was already in its fifth edition by 1786.[118] It was in fact a turning point in the history of grammar teaching, as it offered pupils a concise manual which aimed to provide all they needed to know, with no need for a follow-up text. Moreover, Lhomond's work was innovative insofar as it was not modelled on Latin grammar; it distinguished between noun and adjective—which at the time was radical. Other grammarians had continued to decline the noun, despite French having abandoned its case system at the end of the Middle Ages; they also categorised words semantically or morphologically, whereas Lhomond introduced, for instance, the distinction between common and proper nouns.[119] Chervel has demonstrated that Lhomond's grammar was fundamentally designed to teach the reader to write (or spell) in French, not, unlike its predecessors, as a stage in learning Latin. This, combined with its brevity and minimalism, arguably make it 'the first school grammar book'.[120] The book continued to influence grammarians and appeared in new editions throughout the nineteenth century.[121] It is

[117] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9.1, 356–357.
[118] Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français*, 220–222; C. F. Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise , par M. Lhomond,...*, 5th edn (Paris, 1786), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9620101k, accessed 27 June 2018.
[119] On Lhomond, see Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français*, 220–222; Chervel, ... *Et il fallut apprendre*, 51–63; on the case system in Old French and its decline in Middle French, see Huchon, *Histoire de la langue française*, 75–79, 109–110, 122–125.
[120] Chervel, ... *Et il fallut apprendre*, pp. 51–67. 'le premier manuel de grammaire scolaire'.
[121] Ibid., 63–67.

unsurprising, therefore, that it should have satisfied the state competition jury of the First Republic. It was, as Lakanal reported, well-suited for elementary French teaching.[122]

Its multiple editions, however, demonstrate that it was also adaptable to political change. The pedagogy was not in question, but the example words and phrases were repeatedly updated. For example, in the first edition published in 1780, and in subsequent editions from the 1780s, there were explicit references to the monarchy. Demonstrating how to use intransitive verbs, Lhomond gave the phrase 'plaire au Roi' (to please the King).[123] Then, in 1795, the edition published immediately after the schoolbook competition results, 'roi' was replaced with 'peuple', because it was the people who were sovereign, and no longer the King.[124] Under the Directory, however, efforts were made to quell radical, popular politics and the power of the crowd as a driving force of the Revolution. When in its final days, the Convention refused to give in to the insurrection on 1 Prairial (20 May 1795), the power of *le peuple* was really at an end. So, by 1797, 'Plaire au Peuple' ('to please the people') was no longer appropriate. At the same time, the Directory had officially ended the policy of de-Christianisation, with freedom of religion assured in the Constitution of 1795; thus the phrase became 'Plaire au Seigneur' ('to please the Lord').[125] The text's final example, in which Lhomond demonstrated the use of an exclamation mark to express admiration, shows how, by 1797, patriotism and Catholicism were compatible in the French Republic. 'Qu'il est doux de servir le Seigneur!' ('How sweet it is to serve the Lord!') had become 'Qu'il est doux de mourir pour la Patrie!' ('How sweet it is to die for the Patrie!') in 1795; both exclamations were included in the 1797 edition.[126]

The removal of specific words was ideologically motivated, and was due to their perceived power. In arguing for the abolition of the monarchy in 1792, Grégoire asserted that 'it is necessary to destroy this word "king," [sic] which is still a talisman whose magical force can serve to stupefy many men.'[127] The institution of monarchy was perceived to be bolstered by the words related to it: words had power. Thus, children who read the word 'roi' might be

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[122] Lakanal, *14 brumaire*, 18.
[123] C. F. Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise / par M. Lhomond,...* (Paris, 1780), p. 54, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k82630p, accessed 5 July 2017; C. F. Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise , par M. Lhomond,... Cinquième édition*, 5th edn (Paris, 1786), p. 58, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9620101k, accessed 27 June 2018.
[124] C. F. Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise, par M. Lhomond,...*, 9th edn (Paris, 1795), p. 57.
[125] C. F. Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise, par M. Lhomond,...*, 10th edn (Paris, 1797), p. 57.
[126] Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1780), p. 89; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1786), p. 92; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1795), p. 91; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1797), p. 91.
[127] quoted in Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 1984, 89.

inspired to serve the royalist cause. This was part of a larger culture of 'good' and 'bad' words. Brunot has shown how certain words became taboo, to the extent that the *'régisseurs* des *poudres et salpêtres*' (directors of gunpowder and saltpetre) objected to the etymological reference to royalty in their name; they were renamed the '*agence* nationale des poudres' (National Gunpowder Agency).[128] We might also think of the multitude of new place names. When Lyon became tarnished by its federalist uprising, it was renamed Ville-Affranchie, and communes whose names had religious associations were likewise given patriotic monikers.[129]

Much like 'Peuple', 'ce citoyen' ('this citizen', 1795), which previously had been a patriotic substitute for 'le prince' (1780; 1786)—in a phrase demonstrating how the verb precedes the noun in certain grammatical constructions—was associated with the Revolution's radical phase, and replaced by the apolitical 'cet homme' (this man, 1797).[130] Indeed, by Year IV, the word 'citoyen' no longer served unambiguously as a social leveller; Brunot argues that it became a term of contempt, suitable only for servants and capable of causing offence. According to Barruel-Beauvert, in his *Actes des Apôtres et des Martyrs*, the word was tainted by its association with Robespierre and the Terror, preventing him from using it to address anyone he respected.[131] Despite numerous official attempts to impose its use, Brunot asserts, *citoyen* was no longer a popular title.[132] However, Barruel-Beauvert's royalist journal certainly had reason to speak unfavourably of Year II and its associations, so it is likely an exaggerated account. In fact, the word *citoyen* was still used in speeches at official events, such as the youth festivals and public school prizegiving ceremonies I discuss in Chapter Four, so certainly it did not disappear, though its use in informal conversation may have declined. When Lhomond replaced the word with *homme*, then, he was not following the official policy of the Directory, but he was perhaps responding to popular ambivalence towards the word. By opting for 'homme', he avoided both 'monsieur' and 'citoyen', in this instance thus seeking a politically neutral option. Children who learned from this edition of Lhomond's work simply did not see the word 'citoyen' in it. They likely heard and used it less than earlier in their childhood; their schoolbooks reflected the culture in which they lived.

[128] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9.2, 650.
[129] McPhee, *Liberty or Death*, 241.
[130] Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1795), p. 78; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1780), p. 54; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1786), p. 58; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1797), p. 78.
[131] 1796, quoted in Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française* (1937), 9.2, 686.
[132] See ibid., 9.2, 686–689.

Thus, a comparison of pre-revolutionary editions with those published in 1795 and 1797 demonstrates the evolution of revolutionary values and language and how they were presented to children as circumstances changed. New editions of ancien régime and early revolutionary grammar books appropriated the pre-revolutionary method of delivering moral messages in phrases to illustrate grammar points, but they replaced the traditional references to monarchy and religion with revolutionary political messages. This was symptomatic of the same secularisation process we observed in alphabets. Nevertheless, as Lhomond's 1797 edition demonstrates, religious, and secular, patriotic morality might go hand in hand under the Directory.

If we consider *how* children were expected to use these books, these politicised examples become even more significant. It was standard for children to learn by rote, so they would have been expected to repeat and recall these patriotic phrases, thus learning indirectly to use republican rhetoric.[133] For phrases such as Lhomond's 'qu'il est Glorieux…!' they were even taught the appropriate emotional response to patriotism: the exclamation mark is 'le point d'admiration' (the admiration mark). Blondin advocated a method involving visual memory: he would show his pupils a grammar problem and explanation, before concealing it and testing his pupils' memory.[134] Even using this innovative method, children were required to memorise revolutionary language.

Nonetheless, these politicised examples were only a minority of the examples given in these particular books. Indeed, the competition jury did not value authors' patriotism and conformity to revolutionary values as much as it did the efficacy of their grammar lessons. The judges were unperturbed that Lhomond and Blondin had both published Latin and English grammars, or that Blondin's work was modelled on Latin grammar. (Blondin explained a case system for French).[135] Although this might have undermined official language policy and its emphasis on the superiority of French, the jury's report does not mention it. Instead, the focus is on Blondin's teaching method: he was praised for his visual learning technique, which taught children through their senses, as Condillac had argued learning naturally occurred. Lhomond's grammar was simply judged 'singularly suitable for

[133] Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement du français*, 241. On Lhomond and rote learning, see Chervel, ... *Et il fallut apprendre*, 67.
[134] J.-N. Blondin, *Précis de la langue française*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1794–5?), pp. i–iv.
[135] Ibid., 3–4; J.-N. Blondin, *Précis de la langue françoise. Honoré de la souscription de leurs Majestés et de la Famille Royale […]* (Paris, 1790), pp. 3–4.

primary schools'.[136] Lhomond's and Blondin's success shows that the Comité d'Instruction public favoured established grammarians. It was considered important to teach French grammar effectively, and if existing books could be adapted to serve that message, so be it.

Whilst new editions of Lhomond's widely used grammar were published during—and beyond—the Revolution, the work also influenced aspiring popular grammarians of the 1790s. For instance, an anonymous grammar sold by the aforementioned Aubry cited him in 1793, and Aubry's bookshop stocked Lhomond's *Élémens de grammaire française*, along with the work of Wailly and Restaut, the other influential grammarians of the century.[137] Meanwhile, Chemin-Dupontès, prolific patriotic printer that he was, produced his own adaptation of the work; his version reached its third edition in 1794 and its seventh by Year VI (1797–98).[138] This textbook rearranged Lhomond's grammar in catechism form (questions and answers), adding further information in the responses. This method sought to add to the accessibility of Lhomond's text, and was particularly well-suited to the conventions of rote-learning and recitation for which Lhomond's grammar had been designed. Like the official new editions of the *Élémens de grammaire française*, that of Chemin-Dupontès substituted in new, patriotic example words. Thus, for instance, Lhomond's 'apôtre' (apostle) and 'dévote' (pious)—illustrating the long and short *o* sounds—became 'nôtre' (ours) and 'notre' (our); the innocuous 'café' (acute *e* vowel) became 'humanité' and 'probité' (integrity); saints' names listed as nouns became 'Brutus', 'Caton' (Cato) and 'liberté'.[139]

Chemin-Dupontès also added his own, patriotic material. For instance, to Lhomond's dry explanation of pronouns, he also added a tribute to Rousseau and Rousseauvian childhood for his readers to aspire to. In his own, more detailed explanation of pronouns, he gave the example: 'le jeune Émile a toutes les vertus de l'enfance, et tous ceux qui LE connaissent, LE chérissent et désirent le voir souvent'. ('[T]he young Émile has all the virtues of childhood, and everyone who meets HIM cherishes HIM and wants to see him often'.)[140] He thus

[136] Lakanal, *14 brumaire*, 18. 'singulièrement propre aux écoles primaires'.
[137] *Petit traité de grammaire française ou notions élémentaires propres à préparer les enfans du second âge à l'étude de cette science, et à faciliter à ceux qui n'ont appris qu'à lire ou à parler patois le moyen de participer aux avantages inappréciables de l'instruction publique...* (Paris, 1793), pp. v–vi, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k63183904, accessed 13 August 2020.
[138] Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 70. It is unclear when the first edition appeared, but, given Chemin-Dupontès' patriotic printing history, it was likely not long before the 1794 edition.
[139] J.-B. Chemin-Dupontès, *Principes de la grammaire française, mis à la portée de la jeunesse et de toutes les personnes qui désirent parler correctement, et écrire suivant les règles de l'ortographe [sic]*, 7th edn (Paris, 1797), pp. 8, 11, 17, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49028b, accessed 12 August 2020; Lhomond, *Élémens de la grammaire françoise* (1786), 5–8.
[140] Chemin-Dupontès, *Principes de la grammaire française*, 26–27, quotation p. 26.

encouraged children to perform the sentimental ideal of childhood—in other words, to behave well in order to inspire love. At the same time, he exposed them to the Rights of Man, just as many alphabets did. Summarising the ten types of word as categorised after Lhomond, Chemin-Dupontès dissected the first article of the Declaration of Rights, identifying each word in these two sentences according to its grammatical function.[141]

If many authors were influenced by Lhomond, the winner of the second prize was critical of the judges' decision. Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, prolific printer and editor of the *Moniteur*, came second to Lhomond, with his *Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique*.[142] In the published edition of this text (1795), he questioned the jury's judgement, arguing that Lhomond's grammar was designed for students of Latin and so would merely hinder the progress of children of the popular classes.[143] This unfounded assumption was perhaps due to Lhomond's ancien régime success, if not bitterness on Panckoucke's part for having just missed first place.

Panckoucke's own work was composed specifically in response to the government's call. Unlike another grammar he had composed, which was dedicated to his daughters, this one was specifically for the use of children aged ten to fourteen, and also to be used in primary schools. Its author therefore sought to fulfil the state's request for elementary books, but also to widen his audience to include older children. Indeed, the jury elected to have the book printed at state expense, and it continued to be used in the *écoles centrales* under the Directory: one teacher in the Vendée recorded that his pupils learned twenty to thirty lines of it each day.[144]

In entering the state competition, Panckoucke also presented his grammar as a patriotic work. He emphasised his own patriotism in his preface, promising to produce further textbooks in other subjects if his grammar was successful and noting his 'desire … to serve his patrie and always to be an active citizen'.[145] He also engaged directly with government policy with

[141] Ibid., 68–70.
[142] Lakanal's report incorrectly uses the title of another grammar book Panckoucke had published for girls, but it is clear that he was referring to the Grammaire élémentaire. C. J. Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique, à l'usage des enfans de 10 à 14 ans, et des écoles primaires […]* (Paris, 1795), front matter; Lakanal, *14 brumaire*, 19. A manuscript listing the prize-winners mistakenly refers to it as *Elémens de grammaire*, perhaps confusing it with Lhomond's title. AN F/17/1331/B, Dossier 12.
[143] Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire*, 1795, 59–64.
[144] Unnamed teacher at the École centrale de Luçon, quoted in Chervel, *Histoire de l'enseignement française.* [I am unable to confirm the page number due to COVID-19 library closures.]
[145] Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire*, 1795, i. 'desir [sic] ... de servir sa patrie et d'être toujours un citoyen en activité'.

regard to the purpose of learning French. Writing in 1795 (when the book was printed, after the competition), he emphasised the importance of educating the people in order to prevent factionalism and rebellion—by implication, a return to civil war and Terror.[146] This was consistent with Daunou's aims, under the Directory, to end the Revolution through national education and patronage of knowledge and the arts.[147] The connection here, to French grammar, linked these aims to Grégoire's emphasis on the need for linguistic unity to enable citizenship and thwart counterrevolution.

Panckoucke was not the only author to make a connection between his work and official language policy. Chemin-Dupontès, for instance, wrote that citizens required knowledge of the French language to enable them to perform public functions and thus ensure equal access to such opportunities; the author of the *Elémens du jeune républicain* taught grammar as part of a civic education, claiming the principles taught were based on Robespierre's report on the Supreme Being.[148] The anonymous grammar sold at Aubry's bookshop, in Paris, echoed Grégoire's report and related its findings to ineffective grammar teaching. The author declared that the neglect of grammar teaching was responsible for the poor quality of citizens' French and the high rate of patois; he or she sought to remedy this with an accessible grammar. The pamphlet concluded with a spirited call to spread the French language in order to overcome counterrevolutionary plotting.[149] All of these authors clearly identified a market opportunity in producing grammars in line with contemporary politics. As we know, Aubry and Chemin-Dupontès both sold patriotic works for children in Year II.

In Panckoucke's case, the grammar clearly demonstrated its author's political position. Overall, his *Grammaire élémentaire* combined political and more banal example phrases, much like Lhomond. One particular chapter, however, went beyond these independent politicised examples. Chapter IV, comprising a conjugation table for the verb *être* (to be), was effectively a tirade against the Terror (Appendix 2).[150] For example, for the present tense, Panckoucke gave the first-person plural example: 'nous sommes tous déterminés à

[146] Ibid., p. 62.
[147] Daunou, 'Rapport sur l'instruction publique, 23 vendémiaire, an IV', 1795, https://archipel.uqam.ca/325/1/Lakn-Daunou.pdf, accessed 4 June 2020. See also Chapter Four, below.
[148] Chemin-Dupontès, *Principes de la grammaire française*, 5–6; *Élémens du jeune républicain. Alphabet composé d'après le projet présenté à la Convention nationale, pour honorer l'Être-suprême, pour célébrer les vertus républicaines et les fêtes décadaires, etc.* (Paris, 1793), p. 5. The author cites Robespierre's speech of 17 Floréal, when in fact Robespierre gave this speech on 18 Floréal.
[149] *Petit traité de grammaire*, iv–vi, 30–32.
[150] Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire*, 1795, 7–10. Given the timing of the competition (Year II) and the end of the Terror, Panckoucke probably rewrote this chapter in such a way, either shortly before submitting his entry, or when he published the book.

périr plutôt que de souffrir cette tyrannie' ('we are all determined to perish rather than suffer this tyranny'). This was followed by a third-person-singular, simple-past conjugation of 'il ou elle fut lâchement guillotiné' ('he or she was guillotined in a cowardly way'). In light of this, Panckoucke's stand against tyranny was evidently not an allusion to the ancien régime, but to the Terror, whose leaders were often referred to as tyrants during the Thermidorian Reaction. Children were thus presented, in what was ostensibly a grammar lesson, with an explicit condemnation of recent politics—of the violence and authoritarianism pursued under the Terror.

Moreover, memorising and reciting phrases which differed for each grammatical person surely encouraged young readers to relate to specific phrases and to distance themselves from others. For instance, children might identify with the first person in 'Nous fumes présens [sic] à son supplice' ('We were present at his/her execution'). Children did indeed witness public executions during the Terror, and readers may have recalled their own experiences, their memory of these now being shaped by Panckoucke's narrative of injustice. Other first-person phrases encouraged collective patriotism, with the *nous* form—'Nous serons tous attachés à la bonne cause' ('We shall all be attached to the right cause')—or personal dedication to justice: 'Je serai toute ma vie le défenseur de l'innocence' ('I will be all my life the defender of innocence').[151] Conversely, the connection of the third-person pronoun with the phrase 'altérés … de sang' ('bloodthirsty') encouraged distance between the child reciting the phrase and the vicious other—as well as exposing readers to typical post-Thermidor rhetoric, in which Robespierre and his accomplices are often referred to as bloodthirsty 'vampires'.[152] Every mention of the *terroristes* is in the third person, and this culminated with the explicit condemnation of named political figures: 'Il seroit l'homme le plus vil et le plus scélérat de la terre, si Robespierre et Marat n'eussent pas existé.' ('He would be the most vile and heinous man on earth, if Robespierre and Marat had not existed.')[153] Their victims are also mentioned in third-person phrases, whereas the first and second person, where they are used to comment on politics, are reserved largely for declarations of patriotism.

It is also significant that only the third-person examples give the feminine form of the past participle or adjectival agreements. The first person, whether singular or plural, is always assumed to be masculine. Panckoucke certainly did not envisage his work being used in an

[151] Ibid., 9.
[152] B. Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre*, M. Petheram, trans. (Cambridge, 1994).
[153] Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire*, 1795, 10.

all-male classroom: he stated in his preface that he had taught from it in a girls' school in Paris, and primary schools were mixed. Whatever Panckoucke's intentions, girls reciting this lesson were distanced from the first-person phrases which would inevitably have represented personal declarations when uttered by boys. In this chapter's politicised statements, the implication is that women, and therefore girls, could not participate actively in politics.

This was the accepted republican attitude, from the closure of women's political clubs in autumn 1793 and throughout the Directory's regime.[154] In grammar teaching, it was also suggested in 'Citoyen' Besse's *Journal à écrire,* a periodical designed to teach adults and children alike to read in up to four months. Like those of Panckoucke, Besse's choice of example phrases, in one particular instance, suggests different roles for boys and girls in republican society. States Besse, 'L'homme est né libre; l'homme est du masculin et du singulier', followed immediately by, 'Les femmes sont belles; femmes est du féminin et au pluriel'. ('Man is born free; man is masculine and singular. Women are pretty; women is feminine plural'.)[155] He thus presented the opening line of Rousseau's *Social Contract* as an axiomatic truth, as indisputable as the fact that 'l'homme' is a masculine, singular noun. Women, on the other hand, apparently had no political role. In fact, by labelling his abstract women 'belles', Besse dismissed even their state-sanctioned role of demure domesticity, observing them in a merely frivolous way. This was an isolated example and may not have been intended as a statement on gender roles; nevertheless, as in Panckoucke's work, its implication may well have been absorbed by children reciting the text—and writing it out, too, as Besse's text functioned simultaneously as a copybook.

Returning to Panckoucke and his anti-Terror grammar lesson, a subsequent edition removed some of his explicit political references, updating the piece according to political and cultural developments, much like Lhomond's work. This 1798 edition was published posthumously, by his widow, and in it, references to the Terror became generic, and conformed to the post-Thermidor interest in classical republicanism. Thus, *guillotiner* became the less politically-specific *égorger* (to slit someone's throat); Robespierre and Marat were substituted by the Roman tyrants, Nero and Sulla.[156] This edition also removed references to the Terror's victims: it no longer specified that it was 'ces prétendus aristocrates' (these so-called

[154] See Chapters Three and Four, below.
[155] Besse, *Journal à écrire tant pour les enfants que pour ceux dont l'éducation a été négligée... par le Cn Besse* (Paris, 1795–6), no. 9, 2 Germinal [p. 2].
[156] C. J. Panckoucke, *Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique, à l'usage des enfans de 10 à 14 ans, et des écoles primaires […]* (Paris, 1798), pp. 9–10.

aristocrats) who were ‘de zélés patriotes’ (zealous patriots), so that the phrase became general and no longer condemned what Panckoucke judged to be the misguided violence of the Terror.[157] This edition nevertheless advocated patriotism—but, without the specific references to revolutionary events, it was a more general patriotism, evoking that of the Roman Republic. Once again, the same grammar book might be adapted to suit changing political circumstances.

References to the classics in children’s grammar books reflect the political culture and concerns of post-Thermidor France, when, as Andrew Jainchill demonstrates, classical republicanism was the dominant model and political culture strongly dependent on classical examples.[158] Education in this period was largely concerned with inculcating republican morals and habits, as well as advancing knowledge in the arts and sciences. Classical discourse, combined with school awards ceremonies modelled on Ancient Roman prizegiving events, provided a framework for instituting republican morality in post-Thermidorian society.[159] Grammars first published in the later 1790s tended also to be more erudite, written by established teachers and linguists, rather than patriotic amateurs.

In 1799, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, an accomplished linguist and teacher of Arabic—one of the eleven languages he knew—published a French grammar.[160] In this text, both classical and religious examples abound. In one example phrase demonstrating the function of prepositions (in an archaic introduction to noun declension), he combined patriotism with religion and simultaneously evoked Ancient Rome: ‘*l’amour de la patrie; venir à Rome; fidèle à Dieu*’ (‘love for the patrie; to come to Rome; faithful to God’).[161] Such politically charged examples were banalised by the more benign phrases which followed in the next example, which demonstrated how the order of nouns might indicate their relationship to each other: ‘*Paul aime* [loves] *Sophie ; Sophie aime Paul*’.[162] The combination of banal phrases alongside references to classical republicanism and religion—compatible now, although relations between church and state remained somewhat strained—suggests that all

[157] Ibid., 9.
[158] Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror*, 6–11.
[159] See Chapter Four, on prizegiving and education under the Directory and Consulate.
[160] On Sacy’s career, see Manson, *Les Livres pour l’enfance*, 212.
[161] A.-I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Principes de grammaire générale : mis à la portée des enfants et propres à servir d’introduction à l’étude de toutes les langues* (Paris, 1799), p. 104, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k843472, accessed 21 August 2018. We know Sacy’s text was published under the Directory, since it was mentioned in the Journal de Paris in August 1799, before the coup of 18 Brumaire. See Manson, *Les Livres pour l’enfance*, 150.
[162] Silvestre de Sacy, *Principes de grammaire générale*, 104–105.

of these ideas were to form children's worldview: the political was part of the everyday, presented to children to form part of their worldview, just as they reflected that of their author. Moreover, even these ostensibly banal phrases reflected contemporary values: in this example, affective bonds of mutual love are emphasised—though there is no context.

The explicit patriotism of Year II also persisted somewhat in these later books, and might be presented in classical republican terms. In his grammar, Nicolas-Joseph Saladin encouraged love for the *patrie* in his example phrases and sentences to demonstrate the active verb and relative pronouns:

> Le verbe actif… Par exemple, quand je dis: *j'aime la patrie*, cela signifie que la patrie est l'objet de mon amour et que *je* ou *moi*, qui suis la personne du verbe, fais cette action d'aimer.[163]
>
> D. Qu'y a-t-il à remarquer dans l'emploi des adjectifs déterminatifs?
> R. La chose qui est ici la plus remarquable, c'est que l'adjectif conjonctif *qui, que, lequel* ; etc., ne sert qu'à lier les phrases. Ainsi, pour dire dans une seule phrase : *il y a une patrie, cette patrie est aimée des citoyens, et ces citoyens sont conduits par l'amour de la vertu*. Il faut dire, en employant l'adjectif conjonctif et relatif. *La patrie QUI est aimée des citoyens QUE l'amour de la vertu conduit.* Cet adjectif est toujours employé dans une phrase qui dépend d'une autre phrase, comme sujet, ou comme attribut.'[164]
>
> The active verb… For example, when I say: *I love the patrie*, that signifies that the patrie is the object of my love and that *I* or *me*, who am the subject of the verb, do this action of loving.
>
> Q. What is there to remark about the use of relative pronouns?
> R. The most remarkable thing here is that the relative pronoun *who, that, which*; etc., serves only to link phrases together. Thus, to say in a single phrase: *there is one patrie, this patrie is loved by citizens, and these citizens are guided by love of virtue.* You must say, using the relative pronoun. *The patrie WHICH is loved by citizens WHOM the love of virtue guides.* This pronoun is always used in a phrase which is dependent on another phrase, as a subject, or as a complement.

As in Panckoucke's grammar, the choice of pronoun is significant: the child reciting from Saladin's work declared active love for the nation. Yet it is still a generic patriotism, unrelated to specific events and capable of withstanding regime change. Saladin's reference to Tacitus, combined with this patriotism, was typical of grammar books under the Directory:

> LES GUILLEMETS […]
> Exemple: *Tacite rapporte que Néron demanda à Flavius pourquoi il avoit conspiré contre lui; « je te haïssais, lui dit-il : aucun soldat ne t'a été plus fidèle tant que tu as mérité d'être aimé : j'ai*

[163] N.-J. Saladin, *Éléments de grammaire française pour les écoles nationales* (Douai, 1795-6), pp. 25–26.
[164] Ibid., 15.

commencé à te haïr quand je t'ai vu parricide de ta mère et de ta femme, cocher, bateleur et incendiaire ».[165]

QUOTATION MARKS […]
Example: *Tacitus reports that Nero asked Flavius why he had conspired against him; 'I hated you,' he replied; 'yet not a soldier was more loyal to you while you deserved to be loved. I began to hate you when you became the murderer of your mother and your wife, a charioteer, an actor, and an incendiary.'*[166]

Quoting Flavius's explanation for his betrayal of Nero (as recounted by Tacitus), Saladin justified the overthrow of corrupt regimes. Much like Panckoucke's second edition, he thus used classical episodes to comment on contemporary political developments. Here he justified the Thermidor coup and the overthrow of the constitutional monarchy: regimes that had initially merited loyalty did not deserve to last if they became corrupt.

Roch-Henri Prévost de Saint-Lucien's was atypical of grammars published in the later 1790s, in his explicit use of a specific contemporary example. Demonstrating the superlative, he presented his readers with the assertion that '*Bonaparte* est le *plus* grand général de son siècle.' ('Bonaparte is the greatest general of his century'.)[167] This sentence would have stood out to readers due to its position in the text: it is the only isolated example of a superlative—the others appear in a longer extract—and it occurs at the end of a paragraph. This has the effect of emphasising the sentence and rendering it more significant than the more banal examples of comparatives which precede it; indeed, we might say it is the *most* significant phrase. The statement's simplicity, moreover, would have made it easier for pupils to learn and recite, embedding in their memories the proclamation that Bonaparte was unrivalled as a general.

Prévost's grammar book differed from many of the others insofar as its target readership was children and adults in areas recently annexed to France.[168] It contained a preface addressed 'to the citizens of the departments newly reunited to France', which exhorted its readers to

[165] Ibid., 124.
[166] Translation of Flavius' words from Tacitus, *The Annals (Complete Works of Tacitus)*, A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, trans., Perseus (New York, 1942), 15.67, https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0078%3Abook%3D15%3Achapter%3D67, accessed 12 August 2020.
[167] R.-H. Prévost de Saint-Lucien, *La grammaire française et l'orthographe apprises en huit leçons ... par le cit. Prévost St-Lucien...* (Paris, 4th edn, 1798), p. 14, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k826253, accessed 29 June 2017.
[168] The book's original subtitle was 'Nouvelle Méthode par laquelle un enfant ou un étranger peuvent connoître & écrire correctement tous les mots de la langue française, en huit jours'. See Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 146–147.

learn French in order to identify themselves as French citizens.[169] In this respect, the Bonaparte example is significant, since Napoleon was central to the republic's successful military campaigns abroad in the late 1790s. The book was first published in 1797, in the wake of his successful Italian campaign; when this edition appeared in Year VII (1798–9), he was in North Africa, and had presumably not yet been defeated at Acre. To foreign readers, French military superiority was a reality, and the assertion of Bonaparte's greatness was not inconsequential in this context. Although the book was designed for adults as well as children, its child readers were presented with the same text as those who were adults. Foreign children were thus taught to respect French authority, and French children to recognise their nation's superiority. Whether or not children knew much about Bonaparte or his campaigns, they learnt to recite a statement whose veracity was not debatable, to recognise and accept that France had produced the greatest general of the eighteenth century.

Besides this anomaly, Prévost did not name specific public figures or events elsewhere in his *Grammaire française*. Nevertheless, the keywords he presented to demonstrate grammar points were sometimes explicitly politicised or related to the classics—which were highly influential in post-Thermidorian politics. For instance, of nouns, his only examples were '*Brutus, Caton,* […], *Liberté,* [and] *Egalité*'.[170] On vowels, he explained that these were equivalent to syllables in words, proceeding to count the syllables in the following words: 'La France', 'Liberté', 'Egalité', 'Constitution', 'Inauguration', 'Imprescriptibilité', 'Incommensurabilité' and 'Inconstitutionnellement'.[171] Even less obviously important words, such as 'imprescriptibilité' had significant connotative meaning: French rights were imprescriptible.[172] As for 'inconstitutionnellement', this was a word whose very usage in France was owing to the Revolution: the words 'inconstitutionnel' (unconstitutional) and 'constitutionnel' (constitutional) pre-dated the Revolution but did not enter the Académie française dictionary until 1798 and were among the myriad newly-popular words deriving from 'constitution'.[173] In this way, children and adult readers alike were exposed to elements

[169] Prévost de Saint-Lucien, *La grammaire française*, iii–iv. 'Aux citoyens des départemens nouvellement réunis à la France'.
[170] Ibid., 6.
[171] Ibid., 3.
[172] 'Constitution du 24 juin 1793', art. 1.
[173] Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, 9.2, 642–645. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 5th edn (1798), vol. i, https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=constitutionnel&start=0&end=0 and https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=constitutionnel&start=0&end=0, accessed 8 August 2018.

of the Revolution's cultural framework through learning French grammar. French or foreign, they learned implicitly that the French language and the republic's political values went hand in hand. Foreign readers specifically, be they child or adult, were taught that French citizenship was defined by language and the French political system. Although it is unclear exactly where Prévost's text was circulated, it was evidently a success, reaching four editions in just two years.[174] Its success continued under the Consulate and Empire, though analysis of these later editions is beyond the scope of this chapter, and there are no extant copies of the first three editions, according to Manson's research. From this apparent success, we can surmise that the number of children exposed to Prévost's ideas was not negligible. Explicit politics was not a major feature of the grammar lessons his work contained, but, as in the other texts studied here, it was inescapable for the reader.

Conclusion

Indeed, it seems impossible that any child learning to read and write from books published in the 1790s was *not* exposed to revolutionary politics. Although grammar books tended to be more erudite than the primers of Year II, both types of text integrated political keywords and slogans into children's lessons; alphabets and syllabaries often combined this with republican imagery. Revisions to new editions demonstrate how printers and pedagogues responded to the ever-changing political landscape and sought to keep their work relevant. With the spectre of Belphégor looming over them, they might appropriate existing methods and adapt existing texts, but these were reworked to express and instil patriotism and to overwrite remnants of the ancien régime. Their motivation likely varied between genuine desire to promote a reformed education, to stress their own patriotism, and to compete commercially. The state competition of Year II created a lucrative market to which numerous individuals responded. On the other hand, if children did not have the most up-to-date copy of Lhomond's or Panckoucke's grammar, the texts' politicisation would have had little—or the wrong—effect on them; their grammar lessons would have contained references to the monarchy or to an outdated post-Thermidorian condemnation of the Terror. Children's experience of education, and the content of their lessons, depended on their access to schoolbooks and on authors' interpretations of revolutionary morals and politics. In this respect, these texts and their various editions highlight the complexity and, in some measure, the reality, of a revolutionary education, taking us beyond the state's intentions.

[174] Prévost de Saint-Lucien, *La grammaire française*, v; Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance*, 146–147.

Ultimately, the Revolution did not succeed in universalising French as a national language. By 1815, it had become the dominant language—arguably caused by Napoleonic conscription as much as by education—but there was still much to achieve. By this point, what had been achieved was the association of French with patriotism and national identity.[175] The process of 'diffusion of the standard [language]' would occur primarily over the course of the nineteenth century (and particularly towards the end of it).[176] It was propelled by several factors, including urban migration, industrialisation and mass politics, as well as the more comprehensive school reforms instigated by Jules Ferry in the 1880s.[177]

Yet this chapter has demonstrated that teaching French literacy and grammar was about much more than language alone. Through studying to read and write French, children were integrated into revolutionary political culture and were consumers of it—regardless of whether Grégoire's dream of national linguistic uniformity was realised. Through learning and reciting, they engaged in the wider politics of language and signs as instruments of social improvement.[178]

[175] Higonnet, 'The Politics of Linguistic Terrorism', 67–68; R. A. Lodge, *French: From Dialect to Standard* (London; New York, 1993), p. 216.
[176] Lodge, *French*, 200–229.
[177] Ibid., 216–226. The classic tale of the development of 'Frenchmen' is E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA, 1976). On factors accelerating the spread of the French language, see ibid., 67–94. Weber demonstrates that in some areas, patois persisted into the early twentieth century.
[178] See S. A. Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, CA, 2001).

CHAPTER THREE

Juvenile Identity, Patriotism and Civic Engagement, 1789–94

3.1 | Patriotic Giving and Republican Girlhood: The Public Speeches of Twelve-Year-Old Joséphine Fontanier, 1793–94[1]

> When the French are standing to defend their liberty, even their children must not remain useless spectators[.]
>
> Quand les Français sont debout pour défendre leur liberté, leurs enfans même ne doivent point rester inutiles spectateurs[.]
>
> —Joséphine Fontanier, aged 12, June 1794

On 14 December 1793, twelve-year-old Joséphine Fontanier addressed the popular society of the Section de l'Unité, in Paris. After reciting the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Joséphine gave a speech outlining men's and women's distinct roles in revolutionary society and swore an oath of loyalty to the nation. Following this, she was invited to speak before the section's general assembly, which she did on 18 June 1794, and her father gave a speech in response. This time, the subject was her patriotic donation to support the Republic's war effort. Together, she and her sister presented the society with lint they had made, to serve as military wound dressings, as well as their lead inkwells. Upon making this gesture, Joséphine explicitly asserted her worth as a child and her commitment to the regime. Her patriotism and eloquence so impressed her audience that both of her speeches were printed as pamphlets for further dissemination.[2]

In documents such as these, children's individual contributions to revolutionary society become visible. In Joséphine's words, analysed in detail below, her social identity is evident. Her speeches were undoubtedly tailored for their audience and occasion, but they thus reveal

[1] An abridged version of Chapter 3.1 has been published online as part of the *Joint Society for French Historical Studies Conference and George Rudé Seminar in French History and Civilisation*, virtual conference, July 2020. A. Perna, 'Patriotic Giving and Republican Girlhood in Revolutionary France: The Public Speeches of Twelve-Year-Old Joséphine Fontanier, 1793–94', video, H-France Salon, 12:8 (2020), #49, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9wH5P5kZnIo, accessed 28 August 2020. I am grateful to my fellow panellists and discussants for their supportive feedback and for the ideas our discussion stimulated.

[2] J. Fontanier and Fontanier, 'Discours prononcé à l'assemblée de la Section de l'Unité, le 24 frimaire, deuxième année républicaine, et ensuite à l'assemblée générale de la section' (Paris, 1793), AN MIC/F/1cIII/SEINE/27; J. Fontanier, 'Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Section de l'Unité, le 30 prairial, l'an second' (Paris, 1794), AN MIC/F/1cIII/SEINE/27. A copy of Joséphine Fontanier's second speech is also available digitally, at J. Fontanier, *Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Section de l'unité, le 30 prairial, l'an second... ([Reprod.]) / par la jeune citoyenne Joséphine Fontanier, âgée de 12 ans...*, 1794, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k425370, accessed 12 September 2018.

how she inscribed herself in revolutionary society and indicate the choices she made in self-presentation. This chapter studies the ways in which children and adolescents such as Joséphine actively contributed to the new regime up to the end of Year II. It takes two case studies: that of Joséphine Fontanier, in Paris, and that of Charles Nodier and several other children in Besançon. Though they are not my discovery, Joséphine's speeches have not yet been subjected to extended close analysis.[3] Similarly, Charles Nodier may be well-known for his adult career as a writer and librarian, but his juvenile writing has yet to be integrated into his literary corpus or contextualised with regard to the civic contributions of other children in Besançon. My analysis of these case studies demonstrates how children in two militant localities contributed to local civic life and conceived of themselves as citizens. It highlights their use of Jacobin rhetoric and the sentimental discourse that became fundamental to political expression, thus demonstrating that these were not the prerogative of adults.

Scholarship and methodology

Historians of revolutionary festivals and local politics have noted the participation of children and young people to varying extents. The festival has been recognised as a particular site of juvenile involvement. Raymonde Monnier and Christian-Marc Bosséno, in particular, have focused explicitly on children's role. In her study of Joseph Bara's commemoration, Monnier highlights the key role young people played in local commemorative festivals in the spring of 1794; Bosséno focuses more on the symbolic role boys and girls of different ages played, from the Fête de la Fédération (Festival of the Federation) in 1790 to the end of the decade.[4] Meanwhile, the classic studies of the revolutionary festival, by Mona Ozouf and Michel Vovelle, acknowledge children's import yet pay little attention to it. Whilst Ozouf comments only briefly on their presence, Vovelle explores the evolution of their symbolic meaning, much like Bosséno.[5] They played the part of future soldier and, under the Directory, the schoolboy became a celebrated figure.[6] Bosséno adds to this the figure of the 'pathetic' child,

[3] M. R. Higonnet, 'Civility Books, Child Citizens, and Uncivil Antics', *Poetics Today*, 13 (1992), pp. 123, 127; C. Fayolle, 'Des petites républiques de filles : Projets et expérimentations pédagogiques révolutionnaires (1793-1794)', *La Révolution française. Cahiers de l'Institut d'histoire de la Révolution française*, 4 (2013), p. 6, http://journals.openedition.org/lrf/803, accessed 6 April 2020.

[4] R. Monnier, 'Le Culte de Bara en l'an II', *AHRF*, 241 (1980), pp. 328–334; C.-M. Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', in M.-F. Lévy, ed., *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, (Paris, 1990), pp. 207–217.

[5] E.g. M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, A. Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 8, 40–41, 114, 161; M. Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête en Provence de 1750 à 1820* (Paris, 1976), pp. 197–200.

[6] Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête*, 198–200.

who featured in funerary ceremonies, and points out children's ultimate significance as symbols of social regeneration.[7]

Whilst children's presence in these ceremonies, and their symbolic significance, demonstrate their incorporation into the body politic, these studies consider them only as a collective body and do not question their agency or experience. Ozouf's explicit observation that in the Festival of the Federation women and children processed in uncategorised, symbolic ranks—that, unlike men, they 'could [seemingly] march only "indiscriminately"'—acknowledges the revolutionaries' representation of children as socially equal, but it obscures their individual contributions to festivals and denies them a voice.[8] Monnier's article is perhaps an exception, but even she does not consider individual children's contributions. Indeed, revolutionary festivals have traditionally been studied as conceptual episodes. More recent scholarship has begun to address people's emotional experience and impressions of festivals, moving towards a reconceptualization of ceremonies as lived events.[9] This remains to be squared with the history of children's participation.

Similarly, studies of popular politics tend to note children's presence without exploring their active engagement. Albert Soboul tells us that some popular societies took responsibility for local children's education, but asserts that children's role in the clubs was passive, whereas Michael Kennedy notes that some children were members of their local club.[10] Despite these mentions, children have largely been excluded from studies of revolutionary citizenship. In fact, Bosséno unambiguously asserts that they were not citizens, in stating that festivals made children 'citizen[s] for a day', whereas they were usually 'excluded … from real citizenship'.[11]

On the other hand, Caroline Fayolle has recently emphasised the clubs' role in the education of schoolgirls: the Bouquier law required all teachers to bring their pupils to meetings, and girls like Joséphine Fontanier were frequently encouraged to recite texts such as the Rights of

[7] Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 210–211, 213.
[8] Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 40–41; quotation p. 41.
[9] P. Valade, 'Public Celebrations and Public Joy at the Beginning of the French Revolution (1788–91)', *French History*, 29:2 (2015), pp. 182–203; J. Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being: The Search for a Republican Morality* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 127–145.
[10] A. Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-4*, G. Lewis, trans. (Oxford, 1964), pp. 217–218; M. L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The Middle Years* (Princeton, 1988), p. 102.
[11] Bosséno, 'L'enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 215. 'Exclu – de même que la femme – de la citoyenneté effective, l'enfant est citoyen pour un jour, sur le territoire éphémère de l'utopie festive.'

Man or Rousseau's *Social Contract*.[12] This research demonstrates that their role was not in fact merely passive and raises the questions of how these girls—and boys, too—expressed themselves on these occasions, and how far we might consider them citizens.

What, then, are we to make of a case such as Joséphine Fontanier's? What we have here are—ostensibly—the words of a twelve-year-old girl interacting with adults and playing an active role in local political life. Fontanier's speech cannot be separated from children's symbolic role in revolutionary politics and public spectacle, nor from their political education, but this does not mean she was enacting a performance scripted by adults or that her engagement was not meaningful in effecting political change. Rather, children's interactions with the state and local political bodies need to be understood as demonstrative of juvenile acts of citizenship and evidence of their agency.

Scholars of history, sociology and anthropology are rethinking ways of understanding children's agency. In the 1990s, a new paradigm developed in the sociology of childhood, a major feature of which was the focus on children's experience and perspectives, and the study of them as social actors.[13] Historiography has followed a similar trajectory: what William Corsaro has called the 'new history of childhood' applies these aims to studies of children in the past.[14] More recently, these developments have led to a call to reconceptualise agency in historical studies of childhood.[15] Drawing on approaches to the histories of other groups marginalised in traditional historiography—such as women, the poor and colonial subjects—historians have begun to question the appropriateness of conventional definitions of agency as found primarily in public acts and in acts of resistance.[16] Kristine Alexander has gone so far as to suggest rejecting agency altogether as a means of analysing children in the past.[17]

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[12] Fayolle, 'Des petites républiques de filles', 6–9.
[13] For an overview, see W. Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood*, 3rd edn (Los Angeles, 2011); A. James and A. Prout, eds, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, 2nd edn (London and Philadelphia, 1997).
[14] Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood*, 73–89. Corsaro emphasises that the two disciplines have been mutually influential. See also James and Prout, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*, 16–17.
[15] M. J. Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1 (2008), pp. 114–124; K. Alexander, 'Agency and Emotion Work', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 7 (2015), pp. 120–128.
[16] M. Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth, and Education', *History of Education*, 45:4 (2016), pp. 446–459; S. A. Miller, 'Assent as Agency in the Early Years of the Children of the American Revolution', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 9:1 (2016), pp. 48–65; L. Dodd, 'Children's Citizenly Participation in the National Revolution: The Instrumentalization of Children in Vichy France', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, 24:5 (2017), pp. 759–780.
[17] Alexander, 'Agency and Emotion Work', 122–123.

In a recent essay seeking to diagnose the persistent marginality of the history of childhood, Sarah Maza has gone further: she dismisses outright the notion that children can demonstrate any degree of historical agency.[18] Yet historians have repeatedly demonstrated the ways in which children in diverse times and places have demonstrated autonomy, influenced 'collective projects' and acted on behalf of the society of which they considered themselves to be part.[19] They did not need to act solely on the basis of their identity as children in order to do so, nor to act completely independently of adults, who might inspire and encourage them, or be inspired—and sometimes surprised—by them.[20] This was the case, for instance, in British children's participation in the sugar boycotts in the 1790s. Gleadle and Hanley's study of this subject suggests that, even through their interactions with adults, children might therefore demonstrate 'the ability to envision and act … on an implicitly collective vision of the future'.[21]

The problem, perhaps, is the risk of uncritically assuming that all children have equal agency, or of automatically prioritising it as the end goal of children's history.[22] This is where historians can benefit from continuing engagement with children's studies in sociology. Maza's understanding of agency overlooks key new interpretations of the subject in that discipline, namely notions of agency as 'interdependent' and 'relational', yet these could be pivotal to our analysis of children's actions in the past.[23] We must move beyond a binary construction of agency/structure, or, as Tatek Abebe argues, dependence/independence: such a binary reduces most children to passive objects, such as Ariès presented them sixty years ago.[24] Indeed, historians are already adopting similar approaches. Gleadle and Hanley's

[18] S. Maza, 'The Kids Aren't All Right: Historians and the Problem of Childhood', *The American Historical Review*, 125:4 (2020), pp. 1261–1285, esp. pp. 1268–1269; S. Maza, 'Getting Personal with Our Sources: A Response', *The American Historical Review*, 125:4 (2020), pp. 1318–1319.
[19] Quotation from W. H. Sewell Jr's definition of agency, cited in Maza, 'The Kids Aren't All Right', 1269.
[20] Notable recent examples include K. Gleadle and R. Hanley, 'Children Against Slavery: Juvenile Agency and the Sugar Boycotts in Britain', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (2020), pp. 97–117; J. Sköld and I. Söderlind, 'Agentic Subjects and Objects of Political Propaganda: Swedish Media Representations of Children in the Mobilization For Supporting Finland During World War II', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 11 (2018), pp. 27–46.
[21] This is Maza's definition of historical agency. Maza, 'Getting Personal with Our Sources', 1319. See Gleadle and Hanley, 'Children Against Slavery'.
[22] The latter pitfall has been criticised by historians in other fields, notably African history and the history of Black slavery, to which Maza rightly draws our attention. Maza, 'The Kids Aren't All Right', 1268; W. Johnson, 'On Agency', *Journal of Social History*, 37:1 (2003), pp. 113–124; L. M. Thomas, 'Historicising Agency', *Gender & History*, 28:2 (2016), pp. 324–339, esp. 327–329, 331.
[23] S. Spyrou, 'What Kind of Agency for Children?', in S. Spyrou, *Disclosing Childhoods: Research and Knowledge Production for a Critical Childhood Studies* (London, 2018), pp. 117–156; T. Abebe, 'Reconceptualising Children's Agency as Continuum and Interdependence', *Social Sciences*, 8:3 (2019), article number: 81, https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8030081.
[24] Abebe, 'Reconceptualising Children's Agency', 11–12.

aforementioned article emphasises the spectrum between blind obedience and 'intentionality', proposing a model of juvenile agency that worked in a 'recursive' fashion, such that the actions of parents and children were continuous responses to each other.[25]

Rather than accepting traditional binaries, such studies show that it is more helpful to evaluate children's agency in specific contexts, and to allow for the possibility of independent and interdependent action where appropriate, since this allows historians to study children as active components of the larger society in which they lived. It enables us to perceive them as interactive with other members of that society, and thus to move beyond histories of a passive or abstract 'childhood' and to enrich our understanding of the historical communities we study. In this respect, agency as part of a 'history of children' is key to achieving Maza's proposed goal of 'history *through* children'.[26] In the current study, I adopt the approach of those historians of childhood who emphasise that agency is found in compliance as well as in resistance, and consider children's actions within the intergenerational context of their local political societies and popular politics nationally. This allows analysis of their contributions and perceived place in society.

Definitions of citizenship, too, are broadening. On the French Revolution, Katie Jarvis has emphasised the economic citizenship understood by the market women of Les Halles in the Revolution's early years, demonstrating that these women did not see their social identity merely in terms of gender.[27] Regarding children, Lindsey Dodd has convincingly made the case for interpreting citizenship as based on identity and participation in society.[28] Dodd's research on children's contribution to *maréchalisme* in Vichy France presents children as social actors, who were treated by the state as such: influenced by the new sociology of childhood, she argues that, rather than mere representations of future promise, 'they were beings as well as becomings'.[29]

Dodd's forceful reminder is as apt for the French Revolution as it is to Vichy France: our own construction of childhood as apart from the adult world, of children as somehow incompletely formed, has rendered us unprepared to view children as social actors.[30]

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[25] Gleadle and Hanley, 'Children Against Slavery', 114–115. See also Miller, 'Assent as Agency'.
[26] Maza, 'The Kids Aren't All Right', 1281–1285.
[27] K. Jarvis, *Politics in the Marketplace: Work, Gender, and Citizenship in Revolutionary France* (Oxford and New York, 2019).
[28] Dodd, 'Children's Citizenly Participation'.
[29] Ibid., 773.
[30] Ibid., 773–4. Hence Maza's perplexing argument that older children who have demonstrated agency tend to be those who are 'adultified', or whose 'age or situation renders the *child* label questionable'. Maza, 'The Kids

Ironically, this construction developed in the century of the Revolution, with Rousseau's assertion that 'Nature wants children to be children before being men'.[31] For Rousseau, children could not reason before the age of twelve, and it was dangerous to introduce younger children to questions of morality or social relations.[32] Yet the revolutionaries did not heed this, since small children were involved in local political life, with some popular societies counting boys as young as eight among their members.[33] Citizenship, too, was not exclusive to adults—or to men, for that matter: although only men over the age of twenty-one were legally citizens, the epithet 'citoyen' was used to denote children—who were simultaneously described publicly, or who publicly identified, as 'enfants'—as well as adults.[34] Even if these were not voting citizens and if young club members were denied full participation, there was a clear commitment to their inclusion.[35]

Moreover, those aged around twelve—Rousseau's age of reason—were clear social actors in the local political sphere, able to reason but still to represent the purity of childhood. As my study will emphasise, children's association with natural feeling rather than reason empowered them to participate and have their voices heard. They were uniquely able to speak to the focus of early revolutionary politics on emotion and spectacle, particularly in the Year II. Early French Revolutionary politics, however much it owed to Rousseau, thus made use of children's very nature and distinction, bringing the sentimental child into mainstream politics.

Another approach is to consider children's understanding of the national situation in times of war. Recent historiography on children and war has demonstrated that they understood it in ways available to them. Through his study of Australian children's experience of the First World War, Bart Ziino refutes the 'binary between indoctrination and resistance', showing instead that children sought to understand the war through their lessons and play, and as they grappled with their conflicting pride and grief as relatives fought and died.[36] Though they

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Aren't All Right', 1268–1269. For an insightful criticism of the implications of this point, see B. Sandin, 'History of Children and Childhood—Being and Becoming, Dependent and Independent', *The American Historical Review*, 125:4 (2020), pp. 1311–1312. In my case studies, the children self-identified and were identified as children, so it would be illogical to apply Maza's suggestion. Certainly we must be mindful that smaller children may be less able to exhibit traditional forms of agency, but we should not dismiss all agency as adult behaviour.

[31] J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile, or On Education*, A. Bloom, trans. (London, 1979), p. 90.

[32] Ibid., 89–90.

[33] Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 102.

[34] Joséphine Fontanier, for example, is referred to as 'la jeune Citoyenne Joséphine Fontanier' in the pamphlets containing her speeches.

[35] On the limits of juvenile club participation, see Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 102.

[36] B. Ziino, '"They Seem to Understand All About the War": Australian Children and the First World War', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 11 (2018), pp. 227–47. Quotation p. 228.

wrote about the war at school, their understanding of it came from multiple sources and they often took genuine interest in events and their own roles: specifically, Ziino's research shows that they engaged in the debate over conscription, with young children insulting each other and even starting fistfights over this contentious issue. Reactions to war through play are evident in other conflicts, too. Nicholas Stargardt has explored the war games of European children during the Second World War, including the ways in which children's anxieties manifested themselves in their re-enactments in ghettoes and concentration camps; Kathryn Gleadle has revealed how loyalism was reflected in British children's play during the Napoleonic Wars.[37] Historically, then, children have internalised and understood international conflict in ways available to them from the 'home front' and through their own experience as victims; war has 'invaded their imaginations and … raged inside them'.[38] When faced with an action such as Joséphine Fontanier's donation to the French military cause, we must not dismiss the view that she genuinely supported this cause.

My sources do not include children's play, or—with the exception of Charles Nodier—writing in their own hand. In my case studies, the children's words and actions are mediated through their reception and publication by adults. Nevertheless, this allows us to consider their participation in society and their interactions with adults in the civic sphere. As Dodd stresses, children's public writing (and, in this case, speech), should not be considered mere 'empty parroting' if it echoes adult ideas and rhetoric.[39] Children consciously constructed these compositions, writing or saying what they thought adults wanted to hear, since they were writing or speaking for an audience. In this situation, concepts of relational and intergenerational, as well as 'recursive', agency may be appropriate.[40] When children participated in French Revolutionary politics, when they expressed their identity as citizens rather than merely as children, they were engaging with adults as social actors. When adults

[37] N. Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the Nazis* (London, 2005); K. Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:3 (2015), pp. 335–348. On the history of children's experience and understanding in wartime France, notable recent studies include L. Dodd, 'The Evacuation of Children inside Wartime France', *Nottingham French Studies*, 59:2 (2020), pp. 159–173; M. Pignot, 'Drawing the Great War: Children's Representations of War and Violence in France, Russia, and Germany', D. H. Pickering, trans., in M. Honeck and J. Marten, eds., *War and Childhood in the Era of the Two World Wars* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 170–188; M. Sachs, 'War through the Eyes of the Child: Children Remember the German Occupation of Northern France, 1914–18', in L. Broch and A. Carrol, eds., *France in an Era of Global War, 1914–1945: Occupation, Politics, Empire and Entanglements* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 13–30.
[38] Stargardt, *Witnesses of War*, 17, on the Second World War.
[39] Dodd, 'Children's Citizenly Participation', 773.
[40] C. Larkins, 'Excursions as Corporate Agents: A Critical Realist Account of Children's Agency', *Childhood*, 26 (2019), pp. 414–429, esp. p. 424; Gleadle and Hanley, 'Children Against Slavery'.

printed and published their speeches, they interacted further with the children's words, selecting what to print and then disseminating this for public instruction beyond the original intended audience. In this way, children were working alongside adults to construct and preserve a new political order, even if they had known no other.

In order to dissect their contributions further, Mona Gleason's 'empathic inference' may prove a useful analytical tool.[41] Acknowledging the difficulty of accessing the authentic voice of a historical child, Gleason advocates seeking to empathise with the subjects of our study, based on the evidence we do have, and thus employing imagination within an intellectual framework. Her approach is similar to that utilised by the late Caroline Cox in her study of men who sought army pensions after having served in the American War of Independence as boys. Cox's innovative use of narrative 'Perhaps it was like this' passages allowed her to reconstruct the boys' lives based on the limited evidence available.[42] This imaginative, or 'empathic' method had already been adopted beyond the history of childhood, by historians of the marginalised. In the field of eighteenth-century France, Arlette Farge is a prime example: for her, the historian must interrogate the archive with emotion in order to glean meaning from scraps of material—scraps which can be drawn together to understand forgotten lives.[43] Similar efforts to empathise with and therefore understand obscure figures are also what makes Richard Cobb's work so engaging and yet revealing.[44] There is arguably a fine line between empathic reconstruction and speculation, however, and we must be cautious not to impose anachronistic motives or feelings onto historical figures. This chapter therefore seeks to analyse French children's political participation within the context of local and national politics and in relation to existing scholarship on eighteenth-century childhood and adolescence.

Joséphine Fontanier's speeches: background

Little is known about the immediate context in which Joséphine Fontanier made her two speeches, or indeed about the girl herself. The pamphlets documenting her speeches indicate that her father was a primary-school teacher (*instituteur*), but it has not been possible to trace Joséphine or her family beyond this, as the majority of the capital's civil and parish records were destroyed by the Paris Commune in 1871. Regarding Joséphine's speeches, on the first

[41] Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap'.
[42] C. Cox, *Boy Soldiers of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2016).
[43] A. Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, C. Shelton, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 1–6.
[44] E.g. R. Cobb, 'La Vie En Marge: Living on the Fringe of the Revolution', in his *Reactions to the French Revolution* (London, 1972), pp. 128–79.

occasion, in December 1793 (24 Frimaire), she recited the Declaration of Rights of Man, before discoursing on the gendered roles of republican citizens. She gave this speech before the popular society for the Section de l'Unité, and was invited to repeat it the same day before the section's general assembly. Then, in June 1794 (30 Prairial), she addressed the general assembly a second time, upon making a patriotic donation to support the war effort. As we saw in Chapter Two, children often recited the Rights of Man before their popular societies. In particular, it was not unusual for schoolgirls to recite this or sections of other core political texts, as a means of demonstrating their progress in their lessons and involving them in local political life.[45] Joséphine may have therefore received this initial opportunity through her school, or she may have been invited directly: the juvenile correspondence of Charles Nodier, discussed below, demonstrates that he received a direct commission for a public speech he gave in August 1794. If this was true in Fontanier's case, it may have been related to her father's position as *instituteur*: Kennedy's analysis has shown that teachers often played leading roles in clubs.[46]

Indeed, Joséphine's father was invited to take the podium following her speech in December 1793—though, given the length of his address, it seems he had reason to anticipate this and had prepared in advance.[47] On the other hand, even if he was known to his audience, the father's name is not recorded in the printed version of his speech. Rather, he is defined in relation to his daughter: he is 'the father of the young Citizeness', who is named at the start of her own speech.[48] There is no indication of his involvement in her June address. This implies that Joséphine's participation was not completely tied to her family: children could act independently. Rather than a model of the patriarch performing his civic duties with wife and children at home—or even of family as an accessory demonstrating the public man's domestic virtue, we have here the child as primary focus in the civic sphere, her father's patriotism defined by her own.

Responding to Joséphine's address, her father claimed to be moved, by her audience's enthusiastic response, to work even harder to instil virtue and enlightenment in the younger generation. In accordance with the affective political rhetoric of Year II, he claimed that

[45] Fayolle, 'Des petites républiques de filles', 7.
[46] Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 39–40.
[47] It is unclear whether he gave this speech on both occasions on which Joséphine gave her 24 Frimaire speech—which she repeated before the section's general assembly—or whether he prepared it only for her second appearance.
[48] Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 7. 'le père de la jeune Citoyenne'.

teaching ‘useful knowledge’ and imparting ‘republican sentiments’ were his ‘sweetest and most constant occupations’.[49] For him, Joséphine’s patriotism thus highlighted the significance of his own role in educating the Republic’s children. Whereas he claimed to have supported liberty before 1789, he could now nurture the younger generation and express optimism about the future of the Republic, which Joséphine’s patriotism represented. He emphasised children’s potential as future citizens, even as he recognised the impact his daughter had had on her present audience.[50]

Yet Joséphine Fontanier’s participation was significant in the here and now, and, as mentioned above, her contribution led to her father’s privileged place, not vice versa. She emphasised the significance of her current role in her second address to the section de l’Unité (June 1794), the occasion for which was her donation to the war effort. The following two sections analyse the wider context of Joséphine’s patriotic contributions and how she expressed her understanding of them. I deal first with her donation and second speech—the occasion on which she contributed as a child—and contextualise this contribution within the broader phenomenon of children’s patriotic giving. Subsequently, I turn to Joséphine’s first speech, discussing her interpretation of her future role as a republican woman in light of contemporary political developments.

Joséphine as donor to the Republic

During the period of total war in which the French Republic found itself in Year II, all members of society were expected to contribute, and children were no exception. Thus the *levée en masse* of August 1793 had requisitioned young men to fight, married men to forge weapons and transport supplies, women to make tents and uniforms, and children to make lint (*charpie*) for dressing wounds. Accordingly, the *Bulletin de la Convention nationale* contains frequent references to children contributing in this way, in despatches from *représentants-en-mission* in the provinces. Two points arise here. First, children had an official role in the war effort, regardless of whether they were active citizens. Secondly, it was important for them to perform this role, and their contributions were often emphasised as illustrative of a commune’s patriotism. Indeed, Lakanal stressed that children had worked through the night, in making his case for the citizens of Bergerac’s honourable mention for patriotism.[51] Similarly, a delegate from the popular society of Cany, Seine-Maritime, mentioned that

[49] Ibid. ‘Mes plus douces et mes plus constantes occupations seront d’orner leur esprit de connoissances utiles, et de graver dans leur ame [sic] ces sentimens républicains que j’ai toujours portés dans la mienne’.
[50] Ibid., 9.
[51] *Bull.*, 7 Nivôse, Year II.

children were getting up as early as five o'clock in the morning to make lint, thus emphasising the importance of the role and children's commitment to it.[52] This emphasis applied equally to their patriotic donations: the *Bulletin* shows that Joséphine was far from unique. Her donation, then, was what was expected of her, and the decision to print it suggests the *section*'s pride in its members' patriotism, as well as a desire to inspire them.

Despite being children's legally prescribed military contribution, making lint had feminine associations. As a non-martial contribution, it was a task women and children, considered weak and vulnerable, could achieve. Some provincial reports mentioned only girls making lint, for instance in Granville, where the *representant-en-misson*, Lecarpentier, contrasted the activities of 'virile hands' with women making uniforms and 'young girls' making lint.[53] That said, others were ambiguous, or explicitly emphasised the participation of both boys and girls: a despatch from Fernaize in Vitry-sur-Marne reported that 'the young citizens and citizennesses are busy making lint'.[54] Regardless, children's work making lint was almost always mentioned in tandem with women's textile work.[55] Joséphine's contribution thus accorded with her perception of her distinct role as a woman, which she had outlined in her December speech.

As well as lint, Joséphine and her sister donated their lead inkwells. In this way they joined the numerous citizens who had made patriotic donations since 1789. The state treasury records indicate that, already in 1792, children donated for the war effort alongside adults in their popular societies.[56] It is difficult to assess how frequently such contributions were made, since donors were not usually listed individually. In the sixteen dossiers of Box D/XXXIV/8 at the Archives nationales, I was able to identify only four separate instances of children's donations, but this does not mean they did not contribute to those recorded as group donations. Where donors were listed individually, children's donations are documented too, showing that they donated as individuals. Thus, for instance, a table of names and

[52] *Bull.*, 6 Nivôse, Year II, 1st supplement.
[53] *Bull.*, 28 Frimaire, Year II, 2nd supplement.
[54] Most reports made no reference to the sex of the children mentioned, but a report from Montrichard, Loire-et-Cher, implies only girls were making lint: 'les citoyennes s'occupent à faire gratuitement 300 chemises pour les défenseurs de la patrie, et … les plus jeunes font de la charpie' (the women citizens are busy making 300 shirts, unpaid, for the nation's defenders, and … the youngest are making lint). On Fernaize, see *Bull.*, 23 Nivôse, supplement. *Bull.*, 30 Frimaire, supplement. '[L]es jeunes citoyens et citoyennes sont occupés à faire de la charpie'.
[55] This summary is based on a survey of the daily issues of the *Bulletin de la Convention nationale*, from September 1793 to May 1794.
[56] Records of the Comité des trésoriers des dons patriotiques, AN D/XXXIV. D/XXXIV/5–8 were consulted for this project, primarily covering the years 1792–93, in order to contextualise Joséphine Fontanier's later donation in Year II.

occupations of donors in Mirebeau (Vienne) includes three young boys: four-year-old Thomas Rousseau de la Poix[?], seven-year-old 'George Cherbonnier fils' and twelve-year-old 'Louis Hipolite Prieur'.[57] The donations listed here were invited by the municipality and probably therefore represent the compulsory patriotic contribution payable by all active citizens since 27 March 1790. Consequently, these young donors' presence is surprising.

Nevertheless, although they donated as individuals, all three boys seem to have been accompanied by their families. Several Prieurs donated, as did one Paul Rousseau de la Poix; the elder George Cherbonnier is listed among those who did not donate, despite having been called upon to do so. In monetary value, the children's donations were well below the average, and Louis-Hippolyte's was negligible also compared to those of his family. Louis-Hippolyte donated just ten sous, whereas, of his possible relatives, two donated three livres each, two donated five, and one donated his bayonet. These adults' donations were only slightly below average: the mean financial contribution was 7 livres and 10 sous, and the median only 5.[58] Whilst Louis-Hippolyte's much smaller offering might be explained as his pocket money, it was clearly not significant for its financial value—but he was able to make it alongside his family.

Table 1: Patriotic Donations in Mirebeau, 1792.[59]

Sample Size	74
Total (livres)*	557.75
Mode	5.0
Median	5.0
Mean**	7.5
St. Dev.	10.8

* 557.75 livres = 557 l., 15 s.
** 7.5 livres = 7 l., 10 s.

However, little Thomas Rousseau donated a pair of gold earrings—whatever their worth, they were not his own. Unlike Louis-Hippolyte's, Thomas's donation was comparable to that of

[57] AN D/XXXIV/8, doc. 79.
[58] This difference can be explained by the four unusually high donations of 50 livres, which disproportionately raised the mean.
[59] Seventy-four monetary contributions were made, ranging from George Cherbonnier fils's 5 s. to multiple donations of 50 livres. The figures do not reflect the actual value of all donations, however, as a total of eighty-two donations were made, including objects such as Prieur's bayonet, or earrings and epaulettes. Nevertheless, the Prieurs' donations were all in money, besides the bayonet.

the man we might assume to be his father. Paul Rousseau de la Poix, a doctor and National Guard commander, offered his gold-fringed epaulettes and another pair of gold earrings. In this case, the father had divided the family donation between himself and his young son. The Cherbonnier family's case may offer insight as to why. As mentioned, the adult George Cherbonnier did not donate; he gave his excuses, based on having to raise young children. We might infer from this that his son's donation—a mere 5 sous and a pair of silver epaulettes—was made on behalf of the family, enabling a smaller donation to be made, since children typically gave only small amounts. As Charles Walton has demonstrated, by 1792, willingness to donate was effectively a litmus test for gauging patriotism, and failure to make one's required contribution could arouse suspicion.[60] Since children had no obligation to donate (beyond lint), their contributions could be seen as evidence of genuine patriotism, and it is possible therefore that families like the Cherbonniers relied on this when they were unable to meet their financial obligations. In the Rousseau case, splitting the donation between father and son might similarly have increased the perceived value of the donation, especially since it meant that two contributions were made, rather than one.

Indeed, children's donations were seemingly more important as performance than for the value of their actual contribution. Numerous reports sent to the Convention in Year II thus emphasised the patriotic declarations made by these young donors and paid particular attention to the youngest. A letter from the popular society of Coudray-sur-Seine (now Le Coudray-Montceaux, Essonne), having listed the total donations collected, mentioned a particular episode in which a very small child had contributed.

> A young child, who is only just beginning to recognise his mother, seeing that she held an *assignat* in her hand to donate, screamed and seemed to want to take it from her; she gave it to him: his cries ceased and joy spread across his face. He dropped the *assignat* onto the society's counting-table, looked gaily at his mother, and with a smile invited her to approve his offering.
>
> Un jeune enfant, qui commence seulement à connoître sa mère, voyant que celle-ci tenoit dans sa main un assignat pour offrande, crie et semble vouloir le lui arracher ; celle-ci le lui donne : les cris cessent et la joie se répand sur son visage. Il laisse tomber l'assignat sur le bureau de la société, regarde gaiement sa mère, et l'invite par un sourire à approuver son offrande.[61]

It goes without saying that this infant probably was not making a reasoned or deliberate contribution to the war effort. Yet the story is recounted in the most sentimental terms, as

[60] C. Walton, 'Between Trust and Terror: Patriotic Giving in Revolutionary France', in D. Andress, ed., *Experiencing the French Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 64–65.
[61] *Bull.*, 27 Nivôse, Year II, 1st supplement.

though it had been a delight to witness; the society considered it worthy of sharing with the Convention, who in turn rewarded them with an honourable mention. The child's action, thus presented, indicated that the desire to serve the Republic was a natural instinct; the naïve expressions of emotion which the author emphasised appealed to the Convention's sensibility and were used by the writer to invite them too to approve the society's donations and recognise its patriotism, upon visualising the child's joyful smile. The very absence of reasoned intent gave the story its power. Although probably not staged, this episode, in its retelling, has much in common with the presentation of infants themselves to popular societies. For instance, a Parisian father placed his new-born son on the desk as a symbolic offering—and presumably took him back afterwards.[62] As symbolic offerings or patriotic donors, small children might represent a family's sacrifice to the Republic, emphasising the bonds connecting family and nation.

It is more difficult to assess the agency of children older than this, but who were nevertheless below the 'age of reason'. These young children's contributions were reported in similar terms to that of the Coudray infant. The declarations they made sometimes echoed the aggressive revolutionary rhetoric against tyranny, but were expressed in awkward, childish language as they framed their donations in terms they understood.

They thus spoke of giving up their pocket money to help soldiers fight tyranny. An eight-year-old in Cany, Seine-Maritime, having offered six *livres* 'for the soldier who cuts off the head of the Prussian tyrant', declared, '[T]his money was given to me for my small pleasures; it won't change its destination: is there any sweeter than to serve one's country and humanity? I shall be so happy if I have contributed towards delivering the land from a tyrant.'[63] Similarly, the seven-year-old son of an artillery park director, named Ducos, donated a selection of coins in Bayonne, purportedly claiming that he would prefer to go without sweets than to leave soldiers unaided.[64] Although they might echo warlike rhetoric, these young children's speeches suggest that they were primarily motivated by empathy for republican soldiers. The notion of giving up one's sweets—as one might share them with

[62] *Bull.*, 15 Frimaire, Year II.
[63] *Bull.*, 6 Nivôse, Year II, 1st supplement. 'un enfant de 8 ans dépose 6 liv. pour celui qui coupera la tête du tyran prussien, & ajoute : cet argent m'a été donné pour mes menus plaisirs ; il ne changera pas de destination : en est-il un plus doux que celui de servir son pays & l'humanité ? Je serai trop heureux si j'ai contribué à délivrer la terre d'un tyran.'
[64] *Bull.*, 9 Nivôse, Year II.

schoolfriends—to help another is essentially the language of fraternity, though couched in childish terms.

Children may therefore have donated out of a genuine sense of empathy and fraternity, as opposed to the 'fear and necessity' which Walton proposes were the driving force behind many patriotic donations in the early 1790s.[65] Even if they did not contribute autonomously, their use of this emotional rhetoric indicates that they understood total war and their contributions in terms of fraternity with their brothers in arms, and therefore that they considered themselves responsible for these soldiers' welfare. Given the revolutionaries' insistence on politicising childhood, it is unlikely that the accounts are inauthentic. Even if they were exaggerated or embellished—as, of course, the tale of the Coudray infant certainly was—that the popular societies interpreted and presented their contributions in this way emphasises the emotional power of children's patriotism as performance, and the way in which it was understood as simple and pure. Through donating in this way, these young children participated in the public life of their communes and in national civic life. Their donations were negligible, but they had a symbolic value, and could increase the abstract value of a family or popular society's donation. Using emotional rhetoric, the children engaged in the political language of the Revolution and had an impact as sentimental children.

Significantly, Joséphine Fontanier engaged directly with the discourse of sentimental childhood in her June speech. She presented children as innocent and vulnerable, but challenged this perception in order to assert their worth. Thus, she opened her speech by declaring that, 'When the French are standing to defend their liberty, even their children must not remain useless spectators'.[66] Here she presented children's contribution as unusual but valuable. She justified this with an example of children helping soldiers in the Pyrenees, spelling out from the start her belief in children's importance to the Republic. Indeed, she referred indirectly to the importance of her own actions: she had taken the podium, rather than remaining a mere spectator in the assembly. She nevertheless acknowledged children's perceived weakness and vulnerability. For instance, she contrasted 'our young and weak hands' with soldiers' 'invincible and inexhaustible arms', even as she emphasised the

[65] Walton, 'Between Trust and Terror', 58.
[66] Fontanier, 30 Prairial, 1. 'Quand les Français sont debout pour défendre leur liberté, leurs enfans même ne doivent point rester inutiles spectateurs'.

importance of those 'weak hands' providing weapons for the latter.[67] Here again, therefore, Joséphine presented children's weakness not as a disadvantage, but as a complement to soldiers' strength. Although theirs was a separate role, children, she asserted, were no less aware than adults of their duty to the republic and were prepared to contribute all they could.

Joséphine also used the emotional language associated with children's—and women's—perceived sensibility. She claimed she and her sister were 'upset' (*fâchées*) not to be able to donate more (than lint and their lead inkwell), and described their sadness and joy upon imagining soldiers' plight and subsequently the help they could give. She described their reactions to the soldiers' situation in physical terms, based upon the external symptoms of feeling.

> Our eyes, Citizens, filled with tears, when we imagined the wounds whose blood this lint must staunch; but then a sweet joy painted itself upon our faces, when our parents assured us that this work of our hands would contribute to saving the lives of *Heroes of LIBERTY!*
>
> Nos yeux, Citoyens, se remplissoient de larmes, quand nous nous représentions les blessures dont cette charpie doit étancher le sang ; mais ensuite une douce joie se peignoit sur nos visages, lorsque nos parens nous assuroient que cet ouvrage de nos doigts contribueroit à sauver la vie à des *Héros de la LIBERTÉ !*[68]

Such means of describing emotion were typical of sentimental discourse: sensibility created a physical, visible response in the feeler, which could then be shared with others. Joséphine had shared this emotion with her sister, and now she described it so that others might feel it too.

Moreover, her proclaimed sadness at soldiers' need for bandages implies empathy and thus an emotional connection to them. Indeed, like the younger children discussed above, Joséphine used the language of fraternity, and in fact explicitly referred to soldiers as her brothers. Combining republican rhetoric of patriotism as both a duty and an emotional obligation, she thus declared, 'It is with the intimate persuasion of this sacred duty that we come, my sister and I, to pay our tribute to *our brothers* at the border'; using a wooden inkwell to replace the lead one she was donating, she and her sister would write, 'with more pleasure … [of] the heroic actions of *our brothers*', as well as the Rights of Man and patriotic hymns and maxims.[69]

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[67] Ibid., 3. 'Que nos jeunes et foibles mains s'empressent donc aussi à fournir des armes à leurs bras invincibles et infatigables'.
[68] Ibid., 2.
[69] Ibid., 2–3, my emphasis. 'C'est avec la persuasion intime de ce devoir sacré que nous venons, ma sœur et moi, payer notre tribut à nos frères de la frontière' ; 'avec plus de plaisir, pour écrire les actions héroïques de nos frères'.

Yet Joséphine used such emotional rhetoric self-consciously. Rather than implying her feelings of empathy, as the younger children above did, she explicitly named her emotions and described their physical symptoms. She thus engaged in a conscious performance of sensibility. Indeed, she made explicit her intention to touch her audience emotionally, when she ended by exclaiming, 'we shall dip [our pens in our inkwells] to trace thousands and thousands of times these words, which the French cannot hear without being moved: *Long, long live the Republic!*'[70] This refrain was the standard formula for ending a public speech in Year II, but Joséphine directly encouraged her audience to let its meaning resonate with them.

In a general sense, Joséphine's expressions of sensibility demonstrate that she was a member of the French Revolutionary 'emotional community'—to borrow Barbara Rosenwein's influential term.[71] Her expressions of feeling clearly accorded with the sentimental culture outlined in Chapter One. Yet revolutionary politics in the early 1790s was explicitly sentimental: Joséphine was participating in this sentimental politics and appropriating its discourse as she sought to assert children's worth. As William Reddy has demonstrated, the Jacobins perceived intense emotional outpourings as evidence of authenticity and therefore proof of genuine patriotism.[72] In Year II this evolved into paranoia over false emotion; I have argued elsewhere that this made Bara's patriotism all the more significant, since children were seen as inherently virtuous and unaffected.[73] Whether or not her feelings were genuine, using this emotional rhetoric and identifying as a child thus empowered Joséphine to affect her audience more deeply than her father might have been able to.

Presenting herself—and identifying—as a member of a sentimental community and explicitly situating herself within the republican 'family'—with her 'brothers' at the front—Joséphine was seemingly making a claim to French citizenship. Indeed, rather than merely asserting the value of her patriotism, she emphasised that children had a stake in society: '[soldiers' blood] is spilt for us just as it is for you'.[74] In this way, she demonstrated a notable degree of social consciousness. The younger children's empathy for soldiers hinted at this—since they too expressed a bond with French citizens they did not know—but Joséphine articulated it in unmistakable terms.

[70] Ibid., 3. 'nous y puiserons pour tracer mille et mille fois ces mots, que les Français n'entendent qu'avec transport : *Vive, vive à jamais la RÉPUBLIQUE !*'
[71] B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006).
[72] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 195–199.
[73] Ibid.; Perna, 'Bara and Viala'.
[74] Fontanier, 30 Prairial, 3. 'c'est pour nous comme pour vous qu'il est versé'.

To an extent, her words did echo adult assertions of children's worth, as expressed for instance in the context of Bara's memorialisation. In Bara's case, the unexpected bravery of a child made it so commendable—even though such virtue was portrayed as a natural and inevitable characteristic of childhood. Thus, several months later, in his report on the pantheonisation ceremony, David portrayed the Republic as unassailable in part because it was 'defended by a people which counts among its heroes children of eleven and thirteen years'.[75] As Margaret Higonnet suggests, Joséphine may have been influenced by Bara's story, through children's books or otherwise: her speech came a month after Robespierre's 18 Floréal speech, in which he proposed pantheonising Viala too.[76] Crucially, she was not merely parroting such discourse but adopting and actively engaging with it, seeking to demonstrate that her donation of lint and lead was every bit as significant as military service. If Bara had inspired her, this was no mere passive inculcation.

Joséphine as aspiring republican mother?

In fact, Joséphine had made similar assertions regarding the equal responsibility of men and women to the Republic in her earlier speech (December 1793). On that occasion, she contrasted the gendered responsibilities of republican citizens and citizenesses (*citoyennes*): men fought for liberty on the battlefield, whereas women's glory was found in raising patriots at home. Acknowledging men's and women's distinct roles, she implored of her audience, 'but, citizens, are we less necessary to the republic?'[77]

For Joséphine, the answer was no. Throughout her speech, she emphasised the distinction between men and women as one of complementarity. Men were 'français et républicains'; women were 'françaises et républicaines' (French and republican)—the same, but distinct.[78] Thus, she claimed that the Declaration of Rights—which she had just recited—applied to women as well as men, but qualified this with the assertion that each sex had discrete roles prescribed by nature: 'let us not cross the bounds [Nature] has given us'.[79] Nature, she claimed, had given women a path that was 'different' to men's, but 'parallel …, just as long and … just as difficult'.[80] In this way, Joséphine supported the widespread notion of 'gender complementarity', the typical revolutionary view that men and women shared civil equality

[75] David, *Rapport sur la fête héroïque pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala […]* (Paris, 1794), p. 6: 'défendu … par un peuple qui compte au nombre de ses héros des enfans de onze et treize ans'.
[76] Higonnet, 'Civility Books', 127.
[77] Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 5. 'mais, citoyens, en sommes-nous moins nécessaires à la république?'
[78] Ibid., 3.
[79] Ibid., 2. 'ne franchissons point les bornes qu'elle nous a prescrites.'
[80] Ibid., 3. 'une carrière différente …, parallèle …, aussi longue et … aussi difficile'.

but had distinct social and political roles based on their natural dispositions.[81] The path she advocated was that of patriotic motherhood. This was indeed seen as women's major natural form of contribution to society and crucial for social regeneration, particularly through maternal breastfeeding, which was celebrated and idealised—a point not lost on Joséphine, who explicitly stated that she and her sex would impart patriotism, love of liberty and republican sentiments to the next generation through their breastmilk.[82]

Yet, in so fervently asserting women's role, in denying that it was subordinate or inferior, Joséphine implicitly raised the notion that it might indeed be so. Indeed, her speech came in the wake of heated debate, that autumn, over women's place in the Republic and the Convention's decision to consign their patriotism to the private sphere. Only six weeks before Joséphine addressed her popular society, women's political clubs had been abolished (9 Brumaire/30 October) and Olympe de Gouges had been executed, for her political views, four days later (3 November). On the occasion of the former, the Committee of General Security's representative, Jean-Pierre-André Amar, had asserted before the Convention that 'It is not possible for women to exercise political rights'.[83]

The popular society of l'Unité—Joséphine's section—was keenly involved in this debate. In September, its women had petitioned the Convention to compel all women to don the tricolour cockade and to punish those who abused others wearing it. This was the start of the confrontations known as the 'war of the cockades', which led to the Decree of 9 Brumaire the following month.[84] The Convention having obliged all citizens to wear the cockade in a decree of 3 April 1793 (reinforcing earlier legislation of 5 July 1792), it had been ambiguous whether women were included. Following the September petition, women began to fight in the streets; the Convention yielded to pressure and decreed on 21 September that they must wear the cockade, but this did little to alleviate the problem. On 28 October, the members of

[81] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 68.
[82] E. Harten and H.-C. Harten, *Femmes, culture et révolution*, B. Chabot, J. Etoré, and O. Mannoni, trans. (Paris, 1989), pp. 37–43; M. Jacobus, 'Incorruptible Milk: Breast-Feeding and the French Revolution', in S. E. Melzer and L. W. Rabine, eds., *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 54–75; Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 5.
[83] Quoted in D. Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, K. Streip, trans. (Berkeley, 1998), p. 169.
[84] A. Soboul, 'Un épisode des luttes populaires en septembre 1793: la guerre des cocardes', *AHRF*, 33:163 (1961), pp. 52–55.

the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women were humiliated and beaten by a crowd of women, for wearing the liberty cap. Two days later the decree was passed.[85]

Given the militancy of the women of her section and their central role in this conflict, Joséphine Fontanier's speech must be viewed in the context of these events. The speech echoed Amar's in its representation of women's role. Where Amar had invoked the example of classical republics to assert that women had no place in government or public life, but could assist their husbands from home, Joséphine took the Roman matron Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, as her role model.[86] Cornelia was often invoked by the revolutionaries as the epitome of female virtue: the chaste matriarch devoted her life to raising and guiding her sons—both principled politicians and champions of the poor—and was ultimately more concerned with the good of the Republic than with avenging their deaths at the hands of their enemies. Joséphine was thus drawing on typical representations and ideas of women's role.

Yet, the very fact of her addressing her popular society—and then sectional assembly—would certainly have riled Amar. From his perspective, women might attend meetings, but the 'heat [of debates was] incompatible with the gentleness and moderation that are the charm of their sex'.[87] In fact, their susceptibility to the passions made their active participation dangerous and might lead to their teaching children immoral values.[88] Although Joséphine was not participating in a discussion or debate, here she was, addressing her society, as a girl. Rather than limiting herself to the domestic role she advocated, she was in fact exercising her right 'to mount the rostra', as posited by de Gouges in her Rights of Women.[89]

A close reading of her speech suggests that she did, in fact, seek to engage with recent events and that she was not prepared to accept an inferior role for her sex. In describing women's role in educating their children, she borrowed Amar's phrase to emphasise the importance of a moral education. Yet, even as she agreed with Amar, Joséphine portrayed women in a much more positive light, focusing on the value of what they could do for the Republic, rather than on the threats they might pose. Thus, Amar had declared that the issue of women's political

[85] See Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 158–174. On the petition, see Convention, 18 September in *Moniteur*, 21 September 1793.
[86] J.-P.-A. Amar, 9 Brumaire, Year II, *Archives Parlementaires* (Paris, 1911) vol. 78, p. 50; Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 5–6.
[87] Amar, 9 Brumaire, p. 50. 'des discussions dont la chaleur est incompatible avec la douceur et la modération qui sont le charme de leur sexe'.
[88] Ibid., 50–51.
[89] O. de Gouges, 'Les Droits de la femme' [*Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* (1791)], art. 10, https://www.olympedegouges.eu/rights_of_women.php, accessed 12 February 2020.

participation was a moral issue, important because 'without morals [*mœurs*], [there can be] no Republic'—and he had subsequently presented their participation as an affront to public morality.[90] Joséphine, on the other hand, used the same phrase to argue that women were essential to the Republic: 'The preservation of your work depends on *us*; [there can be] no republic without morals, and morals depend on us.'[91] Joséphine thus quite literally turned Amar's argument around, but without disputing it.

Moreover, her assertion that the Rights of Man were not only 'yours, they are also those of my sex' suggested that men and women should have equal political, as well as civil, rights.[92] This echoed Olympe de Gouges, but also more specifically the 'feminist' discourse of 1793: by this point, there were women and men asserting that the Declaration of Rights of Man applied to both sexes.[93] Crucially, advocates of women's political rights did not reject their maternal responsibility. Rather, voices on all sides of the debate subscribed to the aforementioned concept of inherent 'gender complementarity', and even radical figures such as de Gouges or Madame Roland recognised maternity as women's distinct contribution to society.[94] It was possible, therefore, for Joséphine to make these claims whilst simultaneously underlining the importance of republican motherhood.

Regarding the Rights of Man, similar ideas had been expressed in the Convention on 9 Brumaire. The deputy Louis-Joseph Charlier had challenged Amar's apparent misogyny: invoking Article 7 of the Declaration of Rights, he claimed that, as members of the human race, women should not be denied 'the right to gather peaceably'.[95] The decree was passed, even so, on the grounds that a revolutionary government could not risk the threat to order that women's clubs posed. As a literate Parisian, Joséphine would have had access to this debate, transcribed in daily newspapers such as the *Moniteur*, and she may even have attended the public session in which it occurred. Whether Joséphine was engaging directly with political texts, or whether, for instance, her parents or teacher had discussed these issues with her, she was a player in this debate and she was identifying with women's political cause. From the

[90] Amar, 9 Brumaire, 50. 'sans les mœurs, point de République'.
[91] Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 3. 'C'est de nous que dépend la conservation de votre ouvrage ; point de république sans mœurs, et les mœurs dépendent de nous.'
[92] Ibid., 2. 'ce sont les vôtres, ce sont aussi ceux de mon sexe.'
[93] Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, pp. 277–284.
[94] Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 67–74; J. W. Scott, 'French Feminists and the Rights of "Man": Olympe de Gouges's Declarations', *History Workshop*, 28 (1989), p. 10; Hunt, *Family Romance*, 121–123; Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 280.
[95] L.-J. Charlier, *Archives Parlementaires*, 51. 'le droit de s'assembler paisiblement'.

mouth of this young girl, whose words were received with admiration, the section de l'Unité continued to cling to the hope of equal democratic rights.

However, in advocating this role, Joséphine did not mention either men's or women's political responsibilities, nor did she elaborate on the question of rights. Rather, she juxtaposed men's *military* role with women's domestic duties. This accorded with the Republic's attitude towards women serving in and accompanying the republican armies, which was becoming increasingly negative. A law of 30 April 1793 had prohibited their military service, permitting only *vivandières* and laundrywomen to remain with the armies—though this did not prevent some women from continuing to serve.[96] Though it is not surprising that Joséphine did not challenge this, it is more so that she did not engage directly with the question of *political* duty or specific rights, despite her section's involvement in the debate.

Further ambivalence can be inferred from Joséphine's description of what a woman should *not* be. Rather than disputing women's political involvement, she argued that preoccupation with their appearance, charm and musical talent was best left to corrupt and tyrannical societies.[97] On the contrary, young republican girls would grow to be like Cornelia: 'our virtues will be all our finery, and our children our jewels'.[98] Whilst this attitude aligned with the image of the modest housewife Joséphine espoused, the rejection of finery was also associated with radical revolutionary women and had been taken up in particular by those who advocated the wearing of the cockade.[99] She therefore echoed the rhetoric of more radical 'feminists' even as she ostensibly deferred to the accepted role for women as of 9 Brumaire.

Joséphine's rhetoric and self-representation provide further insight into her views on women's role. On 24 Frimaire, she identified as a woman, whereas in her second speech she identified primarily as a child. She explicitly associated herself with French women, distinct from men, through the use of the *vous* and *nous* pronouns, but also specifically with young

[96] D. Godineau, 'De la guerrière à la citoyenne: Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française', *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, 20 (2004), pp. 9–11, http://journals.openedition.org/clio/1418, accessed 28 August 2020.
[97] Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 4.
[98] Ibid., 6. 'nos vertus seront toute notre parure, et nos enfans nos bijoux.'
[99] Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 284–286; O. de Gouges, *Lettre au peuple, ou Projet d'une caisse patriotique* [1788], accessed 12 February 2020, at https://www.olympedegouges.eu/patriotic_purse.php. For official Jacobin arguments against women's vanity, see, for example, David, *Rapport sur la fête héroique pour les honneurs du Panthéon à décerner aux jeunes Barra & Viala*, 9.

girls: she claimed to be speaking on behalf of 'the young female republicans of my age and those who will follow us', and that through carrying out their duties, these girls would be worthy 'to be called your daughters'.[100] Furthermore, just as she would do in her Prairial speech, Joséphine adopted sentimental language. Here she did so explicitly to evoke the image of sentimental motherhood.

> [L]et us hold our gazes deferentially on the chaste mother, who, in the heart of her household, raises her children for the *patrie*: and ill fortune to us if we were not moved by this touching spectacle; if our hearts did not feel the sweet emotions that virtue alone can stimulate, that it alone can feel.
>
> [A]rrêtons avec complaisance nos regards sur la chaste mère de famille, qui, au milieu de son ménage, élève ses enfans pour la patrie : et malheur à nous si nous étions insensibles à ce spectacle intéressant ; si nos cœurs n'éprouvoient point ces douces émotions que la vertu seule peut exciter, qu'elle seule peut sentir.[101]

She thus appropriated the sensibility associated, as mentioned above, with women and children, and—as she would do again in her second speech—explicitly indicated how her audience ought to feel.

However, when speaking of men's role in the Republic, Joséphine deployed a violent rhetoric that contrasted starkly with the sensitive persona she projected in this vision of motherhood. She spoke, for instance, of the 'insatiable rapacity' and 'bloodthirsty ferocity' of the Republic's enemies.[102] Yet even as she did so, she remained conscious of her persona, emphasising the horror with which such descriptions filled her. Thus she asked, 'can one say it without trembling?'; she halted her allusion to enemies watering the ground with French blood and tearing out mothers' wombs, deciding to 'turn [her audience's] eyes from such an awful spectacle'.[103] As in her Prairial speech, Joséphine was appropriating emotional norms to create her desired persona and to direct her audience's emotional response. In accordance with ideas about sensibility and natural virtue, she encouraged her audience to feel horrified by the actions of their enemies and touched by the virtue of a chaste mother, and herself projected a sensitive—and therefore virtuous—persona. Whilst emphasising her commitment to the war effort, she thus demonstrated keen awareness of her own role and the sensibility

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[100] Fontanier, 24 Frimaire, 3. 'les jeunes républicaines de mon âge et celles qui nous suivront' ; 'd'être appellées [sic] vos filles'.
[101] Ibid., 4.
[102] Ibid., 2. 'leur insatiable rapacité … 'leur férocité sanguinaire'.
[103] Ibid. 'peut-on le dire sans frémir' ; 'laissez-moi détourner les yeux de ce spectacle affreux'. I have translated 'entrailles' as 'wombs' to reflect both its literal and figurative meaning. The term signified entrails, but could also refer to affection, or even to one's children. Joséphine's use of the word thus encapsulates the physical and emotional consequences of the brutality she envisaged. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 5th edn (1798), vol. i, https://artflsrv03.uchicago.edu/philologic4/publicdicos/query?report=bibliography&head=entrailles, accessed 28 August 2020.

expected of her. She could use the bellicose rhetoric associated with men's role in the destruction of their enemies, but she positioned herself as an outsider to this masculine sphere, as one who could only look on in horror.

In her speech on women's role, Joséphine thus engaged with a complex contemporary debate. She presented a resolution, by acknowledging women's rights but emphasising their maternal responsibilities as a complement to men's military duty. Whether or not she was deliberately and directly engaging with politicians and with women like Olympe de Gouges, her speech shows awareness of the question and ability to negotiate rhetorical and emotional norms.

Taken together, Joséphine's speeches suggest an attempt to identify and assert her own role in republican society. At age twelve, she was on the cusp of adolescence and the transition to adulthood. Borrowing Gleason's method of 'empathic inference', I would suggest that her representation of women's and children's roles was symptomatic of the adolescent development of self, as well as a response to recent events. Although she spoke in collective terms, Joséphine's attempts to define her future place in society and apparent commitment to the goal of republican motherhood are indicative of what psychologist Gordon Allport termed 'propriate striving'. This function of the self, Allport argued, typically develops during adolescence and refers to the (mature) identification and persistence of long-term, self-defining goals.[104] It differs from the 'impulsive, transitory, [and] unreflective' striving of small children, which is 'not referred to self'.[105] Relative to the twentieth-century American individuals informing Allport's work, Joséphine's choices were very limited, so the decision to embrace a future as a republican mother, but on her own terms, was significant. The need to envisage her adult life, moreover, was all the more pressing for a twelve-year-old in the 1790s. As we have seen previously, the transition to adulthood was fluid, but childhood was seen to end around age twelve. Joséphine may have been due to commence an apprenticeship in the coming years, for instance.[106] Furthermore, although most women in eighteenth-

[104] G. W. Allport, *Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality* (New Haven, 1955), pp. 47–51; A. Ellis, M. Abrams and L. Abrams, *Personality Theories: Critical Perspectives* (Los Angeles, 2009), p. 228.
[105] Allport, *Becoming*, 29.
[106] See C. Haru Crowston and C. Lemercier, 'Surviving the End of the Guilds: Apprenticeship in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France', in M. Prak and P. Wallis, eds, *Apprenticeship in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 282–308.

century France did not marry under the age of twenty, it was not unusual to marry in one's teens: Joséphine's visions of motherhood could soon become her reality.[107]

At the same time, Joséphine was arguably exhibiting what Allport called 'personate' behaviour, or role-playing.[108] Her speeches were performance, and she consciously shared her goals with her audience with the intent to please. Without further evidence of her life, we cannot know how far Joséphine pursued the goals she expressed here, or how far they defined her developing personality. Nevertheless, the speeches indicate a girl seeking to define her social role and personal goals as she neared adulthood, and to do so through her interaction with adults in the civic sphere. Her own developing identity was intimately bound up with republican citizenship, in accordance with the revolutionaries' blurring of the boundary between public and private—even as women became ostensibly confined to the latter.

Evidence of eighteenth-century adolescents' attempts at self-definition and self-representation has been documented elsewhere in Europe. For instance, Barbara Crosbie's study of a Newcastle apprentice's adolescent diary shows the boy's independent spiritual choices and developing sense of agency.[109] Valentina Tikoff has shown how Spanish orphans claimed the status of children and of men, appropriating notions of childhood and masculinity according to their goal to influence adults—in a manner similar to Joséphine's.[110] It is not anachronistic, therefore, to interpret Joséphine's definitions of women's and children's roles as evidence of efforts at self-definition. Like these other children her age, she was ready to develop her adult identity; like the Spanish orphans, she was cognisant of the conceptions of childhood and of gendered rhetoric, which she used to assert her place in society.

Moreover, she was not the only child to associate adulthood with citizenship and its concomitant rights and responsibilities. When the military orphans of the Société des jeunes Français donated shoes they had made for soldiers to the Comité de salut public, their speaker proudly claimed that the committee 'did not treat us as children; it gave us encouragements worthy of free men'.[111] Like Joséphine, the young delegate associated civic participation with

[107] See J.-P. Bardet, 'Early Marriage in Pre-Modern France', *The History of the Family*, 6:3 (2001), pp. 345–363.
[108] Allport, *Becoming*, 77–78.
[109] B. Crosbie, 'The Hubris of Youth', in B. Crosbie, *Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2020). I am grateful to Barbara Crosbie for sharing her manuscript with me.
[110] V. Tikoff, 'Forlorn Orphans and Honorable Seamen: Negotiating Age and Status in the Maritime Worlds of Eighteenth-Century Spain', presented at the *International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ISECS) Congress 2019: 15th International Congress on the Enlightenment*, University of Edinburgh, 19 July 2019.
[111] *Bull.*, 12 Germinal, Year II, supplement. 'Votre comité de salut public […] ne nous a pas traités en enfans; il nous a donné des encouragemens dignes d'hommes libres.'

adult citizenship, and yet challenged any notion of childhood and revolutionary rights and responsibilities as antithetical. Similarly, Gleadle's study of Louisa Gurney's adolescent diary has shown that British youths might couch their desires for greater domestic autonomy and respect in the language of democracy.[112] For these children, maturity signified the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Indeed, their transition to maturity and adult agency mirrored the transition of Louis XVI's former subjects to a sovereign people. They saw new prospects open up, and might seek to claim them prematurely—in the French Republic and, it would appear, through British radicalism. For French Revolutionary children, negotiating maturity could be achieved through political discourse and patriotic donation.

For Joséphine, all of this was exacerbated by the fact that women's prescribed role in the Republic was in flux. Her transition to adolescence and developing self-awareness thus coincided not only with the broader changes of Revolution, but with the specific uncertainty over women's rights and responsibilities in society, of which she was aware. Her case demonstrates how a girl of her age might respond to revolutionary events and engage with contemporary debates in imagining her future and present role in society. It shows that she was able to adopt and manipulate both emotional and rhetorical norms as she sought to carve out her place and assert her worth. Joséphine was indeed valued in her section and had an impact on local politics, insofar as she was invited to repeat her first speech to the general assembly, and was then able to give a new address in June—and both speeches were published. Her section's encouragement of her participation further demonstrates that l'Unité was not ready to resign women to the domestic sphere, and was keen to take advantage of society meetings being open to all. This gave Joséphine a platform on which to develop her social identity through public performance. Despite the Convention's attempts to confine women's patriotism to the domestic sphere in Year II, as well as the traditional view that children participated only passively, Joséphine Fontanier's speeches demonstrate that an individual might in fact play an active role in the political life of her section, as both a woman and a child. Other children's patriotic donations likewise made them more than 'useless spectators'.[113]

[112] K. Gleadle, 'The Juvenile Enlightenment: British Children and Youth During the French Revolution', *Past & Present*, 233:1 (2016), pp. 143–184.
[113] Fontanier, 30 Prairial, 1.

3.2 | Charles Nodier and Children's Political Engagement in Besançon, 1790–94

> We thought it would be fitting for a young republican to praise Bara and Viala and that it would be pleasurable to hear from the mouth of youth the expression of those sentiments which led two adolescents to heroism[.]
>
> Nous avons pensé qu'il convenait a [sic] un jeune Républicain de louer Barra et Viala et que l'on entendrait avec plaisir de la bouche de la jeunesse l'expression des sentiments qui ont conduit a [sic] l'heroisme [sic] deux adolescens[.][114]

So wrote the Besançon popular society's committee for instruction, to fourteen-year-old Charles Nodier in summer 1794. As one of the society's youngest members, and roughly the same age as the Republic's child martyrs, Nodier was commissioned to prepare a eulogy which he would deliver publicly at the commemorative festival on 10 Thermidor. This would be (at least) his fourth public speech.

Thus, whilst Joséphine Fontanier was negotiating her civic role in Paris, children her age were similarly engaged in local political life in Besançon. This provincial city in eastern France had an active Jacobin club, formed in 1790, which, along with others in the former Franche-Comté, maintained regular correspondence with the mother society in Paris. The clubs in the region remained loyal during the Federalist revolt in 1793, unlike in many other cities.[115] Besançon's club welcomed young boys as members and speakers, engaging them in this regional extension of Jacobin politics throughout its existence. Like other French communes, Besançon also paralleled the major revolutionary festivals held in Paris, and on these occasions offered boys and girls further opportunities to make public political contributions. The contributions of Charles Nodier and his peers therefore offer a useful parallel to that of Joséphine, expanding our study beyond Paris and enabling consideration of both boys' and girls' experiences. In particular, they highlight children's participation in local revolutionary festivals as well as popular societies.

Charles Nodier's experience of revolution: the evidence

Our protagonist, Charles Nodier, is better known as the author of numerous nineteenth-century works, particularly his gothic fiction and an 1823 *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française*. The son of Besançon's mayor, however, he seems to have been involved in local political life from a young age and was a prolific writer in the 1790s. His later fame has

[114] Letter to Charles Nodier, in C. Nodier, 'Apothéose de Joseph Barra et d'Agricola Viala', 1794, BmB Ms 1417, fols 76–89, fol. 80.
[115] D. Pingué, 'Les Jacobins de province et Paris : le cas franc-comtois', *AHRF*, 330 (2002), pp. 101–113.

ensured that his childhood is much more richly documented than Joséphine Fontanier's life: as well as multiple published memoirs, much of his correspondence and juvenilia are extant.

Although Nodier's memoirs emphasise the centrality of the revolutionary experience to his childhood, they present him as a witness to events rather than an active participant. In attendance at the Jacobin club in Besançon, he witnessed Augustin Robespierre give a speech in spring 1794; he was introduced to Saint-Just, who declined to investigate him as a suspect because he was a mere child; he was allegedly tutored in Greek by Eulogius Schneider, the notorious public prosecutor for the Bas-Rhin.[116] His observations on the Festival of the Supreme Being are impersonal and feature the reflections on the perfect weather that day and the optimism the festival inspired that are typical of witness accounts. He did not even specify whether it was the Besançon ceremony that he attended.[117] Thus, the narrator is not the protagonist of his own story. In fact, Nodier published his memoirs of the Revolution separately from those he termed *Souvenirs de jeunesse* (Memoirs of Youth), thus divorcing himself from his revolutionary experience. As Francesco Orlando has observed, the revolutionary memoirs are divided into episodes with little sense of chronology, and references to the author's young age serve primarily as a pre-emptive defence of the quality of his memory, or for dramatic effect.[118] Moreover, critics have rightfully cast doubt on the reliability of the account ever since its publication.[119] These memoirs do not recount Nodier's childhood during the Revolution; they are retrospective, literary reflections on those years, with key players and events brought together through their alleged connection to the narrator.

Whether or not Nodier really met Saint-Just or memorised Augustin Robespierre's speech, his childhood was undoubtedly coloured by Jacobin politics and he was well-acquainted with some of the key political figures in the region. His father became mayor of Besançon in 1790, before presiding over the Doubs revolutionary tribunal from 1791; whatever his true

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[116] C. Nodier, *Souvenirs, épisodes et portraits pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1831), pp. 1–83; C. Nodier, *Souvenirs et portraits de la Révolution, suivis du Dernier Banquet des Girondins* (Paris, 1841), pp. 45–51, https://ia800301.us.archive.org/22/items/souvenirsetportr00nodi/souvenirsetportr00nodi.pdf, accessed 7 May 2020.

[117] Nodier, *Souvenirs, épisodes et portraits*, 171–172; Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being*, 127–145.

[118] F. Orlando, 'Charles Nodier memorialista: una infanzia sotto la Rivoluzione', *Critica storica*, 4:3 (1965), pp. 279–298.

[119] L. Pingaud, *La Jeunesse de Charles Nodier*, cited in J. C. Kessler, 'Charles Nodier's Demons: Vampirism as Metaphor in Smarra', *French Forum*, 16:1 (1991), p. 65; A. R. Oliver, *Charles Nodier: Pilot of Romanticism* (Syracuse, 1964), p. 118; Cf. J.-R. Dahan, 'Introduction' in C. Nodier, *Correspondance de jeunesse*, J.-R. Dahan, ed., vol. i (Geneva, 1995), pp. 16–18. Dahan demonstrates that Nodier's memoirs are not as fanciful as has been supposed.

relationship with Schneider, Charles wrote affectionately to the public prosecutor in Strasbourg at least once.[120] In 1792, he joined the Besançon popular society at only twelve years of age.

If Nodier's memoirs invite doubt, how reliable are his juvenilia? His biographer, A. Richard Oliver, suggests that his father assisted in composing his speeches, and dismisses a eulogy for Bara and Viala, composed for their commemoration in 1794, as largely written by his father, to prove the older man's support for Robespierre.[121] Whilst Charles's father may of course have assisted him, it would seem odd to assume that Antoine Nodier was the main author on the basis of Jacobin and Robespierrist elements in the speech, since Charles himself was clearly exposed to such ideas. This reluctance to acknowledge Nodier as author extends to the entomological work he wrote in his later youth, though his correspondence disproves such claims.[122] Critics' excessive caution may be a reaction to the inconsistencies in his memoirs, but it also seems symptomatic of scholars' conventional failure to recognise children's agency. Indeed, Oliver refers condescendingly to Nodier as a 'precocious interloper' in the Jacobin club, despite Charles's official membership, and that of others his age.[123]

Nodier's juvenilia demonstrate an engaged response to the politics of the early 1790s. They include multiple public speeches, an ode to Bara and Viala and an essay on the Mountain.[124] In this chapter, it is the public speeches which are of interest as evidence of public political engagement. Three of these are in printed pamphlet form; the eulogy for Bara and Viala survives in manuscript form. There are in fact two manuscripts: one in Besançon's municipal library and one in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The former is messy and shows evidence of Charles Nodier's editing and drafting, whereas the latter was written out later in his life and excludes some of the more excessively violent rhetoric and unverifiable additions to the heroes' stories. Although it is possible that Nodier was copying from a third, unknown manuscript, it seems more likely that this was yet another retrospective act of self-representation. All references below are therefore to the Besançon manuscript.

Nodier's contributions to revolutionary society are better documented than those of other children, but in Besançon his participation was not unusual. Even if Oliver is correct to posit that contemporaries viewed him as a 'prodigy', other children were involved in the same

[120] C. Nodier, letter to 'Euloge' Schneider, c. March 1793, in his *Correspondance de jeunesse*, i, 49.
[121] Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, 14–15.
[122] See Dahan, 'Introduction' in Nodier, *Correspondance de jeunesse*, i, 16.
[123] Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, 14.
[124] The latter two documents can be found at BnF (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal) Ms-13014, fols 87 and 34–50.

festivals and addressed the popular society.[125] My analysis therefore considers Nodier's civic engagement with reference to that of his peers. I focus on Nodier primarily because more information is known about him and because a higher number of his speeches are extant and accessible. Whether this is due to his later success or because he participated more frequently than his peers can only be speculated upon, though his father's position likely increased his opportunities and the society's respect for him.[126] Studying his public speeches alongside those of other children in Besançon nevertheless paints a fuller picture of children's civic participation there. The remainder of this chapter discusses the context in which Nodier and his peers gave public speeches, during revolutionary festivals and within the popular society, and then analyses how they expressed their civic identity on those occasions.

Forms of civic participation

Nodier made his first documented public speech on 1 August 1790, on the occasion of Besançon's festival to celebrate the return of delegates to the Festival of the Federation, in Paris. This three-day celebration took place from 30 July to 1 August, two weeks after the Paris ceremony (14 July), and, in it, children served a symbolic purpose. The report emphasises their charm by referring even to these older children as 'young nymphs' (the girls) and 'dear children'—attributes which lent a sentimental note to the festival.[127] They also bore physical symbols or were dressed symbolically: boys were armed and in uniform; girls wore white, their hair adorned with tricolour floral garlands; banners, medallions and fasces were carried. They thus united childish purity with revolutionary iconography. This was typical of revolutionary festivals. By 1794, children would perform an effectively standardised role in the official Festival of the Supreme Being. Reports on local proceedings all over France detail their symbolic involvement, defined by gender as much as age: young boys were armed; girls were dressed in white with tricolour sash; infants processed with their mothers; and individual children represented allegorical figures in pageants.[128] The festival

[125] Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, 3.

[126] Systematic analysis of the popular society's records, held in the Archives départementales du Doubs, Besançon (L2354), may resolve some of this uncertainty. In particular, analysis of the table of members in Year II would clarify how common admission was for individuals of Nodier's age, since he was evidently not the only one. Unfortunately, these archives are inaccessible at the present time, however, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The current discussion is therefore a preliminary exploration of available sources.

[127] *Le Retour des députés du département du Doubs à la Fédération générale du royaume, qui a eu lieu à Paris, le 14 juillet 1790, et qui ont rapporté à Besançon l'étendard de la Liberté* ([Besançon], 1790), pp. 12, 16, http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a0113796684118P4jJf, accessed 11 March 2020. 'ces jeunes nymphes'; 'ces chers enfans'.

[128] I make these observations based on numerous pamphlets detailing speeches and proceedings, held in the Newberry Library's French Revolution Collection. Further discussion of the festival proceedings in Paris and in the provinces can be found in Smyth, *Robespierre and the Festival of the Supreme Being*, 49–102; and Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 110–118.

was designed to involve and appeal to all members of society. Similar tropes are seen in other large-scale revolutionary festivals, such as the Festival of Reason in Paris, in November 1793, in which young girls processed and then encircled Liberty (represented by a woman), all clad in white dresses and laurel wreaths.[129]

As Bosséno has shown, processions of children already featured in the earliest revolutionary festivals, and particularly in the Paris Festival of the Federation. There, mothers processed carrying their babies in cribs, followed by the uniformed young soldiers of the so-called 'Bataillon de l'Espérance' (Battalion of Hope).[130] The Besançon festival for the return of delegates paralleled this arming of young boys, which was particularly appropriate, given that the Festival of the Federation was largely a military ceremony: only soldiers could serve as delegates to the event in Paris—and on the condition that they were active citizens.[131] These children represented the future defence of liberty and the optimism of the early Revolution: boys and girls were all the 'hope of the Patrie'.[132]

The Besançon festival also pre-empted the categorisation of children by gender, which featured so prominently in later festivals. Not only were they dressed differently, but these boys and girls aged twelve to fourteen were also grouped separately from each other.[133] Where the boys' speeches were more spaced out on the first day of the festival, those of the girls, though delivered individually, were grouped together, implying that this particular point in the festival had been reserved for their contributions.[134] Although girls would not grow up to fight, they were no less significant as symbols of purity and optimism. At 'the age of innocence and naivety', they were likewise called on to present representative tokens and to enounce 'the feelings of their hearts'.[135] In fact, these children were fundamental to this festival, more so than in Paris, or in the later festivals, which were designed to involve all members of society. Processing along with the National Guard, other military troops and local government members, they delivered almost all of the speeches. The commune also

[129] L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 20th anniversary ed. (London, 2004), pp. 62–64.
[130] Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 208–209.
[131] See Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 43–44.
[132] *Retour des députés*, 14. 'espoir de la Patrie'. See also Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 211–214.
[133] *Retour des députés*, 4.
[134] Ibid., 5–7.
[135] Ibid., 4. 'dans l'âge de l'innocence & de la candeur'; 'les sentimens de leurs cœurs'.

showed interest in their enjoyment of the festival, organising food for them and a dance in a separate room from the 'public dance'.[136]

Despite their collective symbolic role in this festival, the children of Besançon might also be recognised as individual participants. Those who gave speeches were given a public voice; they and others, such as thirteen-year-old 'M. Muguet', who carried the fasces on the first day, were acknowledged for their participation.[137] The speeches these children delivered were printed either in the report of proceedings or as separate pamphlets.[138] Yet it is in reference to the Festival of the Federation that Ozouf argues 'women and children could march only "indiscriminately"'.[139] The fact that, in this follow-up festival, Nodier and other children gave individual speeches, and that their names are recorded in the printed report, suggests that the situation was more complex. Although not all communes may have placed such emphasis on individual children—and, indeed, Ozouf demonstrates that local festivals of the Federation varied significantly—their active participation as individuals evidently might be encouraged in some early revolutionary festivals.[140]

Thus, on the second day of the festival, the eleven-year-old Nodier was given the chance to address the members of the departmental government, upon presenting them with the fasces. His speech was followed by the presentation of a banner, by fourteen-year-old 'Mdlle. Hérard', who also gave a short speech. Unlike on the first day, Nodier and Mlle Hérard were the only children recognised by name or chosen to present a speech. It is significant, therefore, that they were both connected to local notables. At this time, Antoine Nodier was a lawyer and member of Besançon's parlement; he was elected mayor four months later (16 November) and would take up office as presiding judge of the Doubs revolutionary tribunal in 1791.[141] Meanwhile, the parish records suggest that Mlle Hérard was Barbe-Henriette Hérard, born on 6 December 1775, to a bonnet maker and his wife.[142] During the Revolution,

[136] Ibid., 16. 'une danse publique'.
[137] Ibid., 7.
[138] Ibid., 5–7, 12–15; Bernard, *Discours prononcé aux Gardes nationaux du département du Doubs, députés à la confédération générale du 14 Juillet, à leur retour à Besançon, par le fils du sieur Bernard aîné, négociant en cette ville* ([Besançon], 1790), http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011379668401OqLOV4, accessed 9 March 2020.
[139] Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 41.
[140] Ibid., 50–54. It is unclear, at present, whether a festival of the federation was held in Besançon on 14 July 1790.
[141] Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, 5–6.
[142] AmB GG 28 fol. 56 v. It is also possible that the speaker was Julienne Hérard, born in May 1775 (GG 113 fol. 36), and whose father was a day labourer. However, this child would have been fifteen in July 1790, rather than fourteen, and her father's occupation would have been exceptional, given those of the other children's fathers, discussed below. Barbe-Henriette therefore seems the more likely candidate.

one Hérard—possibly the same Jean-Étienne, or a relative—served on the *conseil général* (general council) for the Doubs department.[143] That Nodier and Mlle Hérard seem to have received special privilege suggests that, in this case, their opportunity and the recognition they received may have come from association with their fathers. Unlike Joséphine Fontanier, all of the Besançon children were known only by their family names and sometimes explicitly in relation to their fathers, through reference to their fathers' occupation. For instance, a nine-year-old child who spoke on the first day of the festival was recorded as 'the son of Monsieur Bernard the elder, merchant in this town'.[144] It seems that this was in order to identify the children, however, rather than because they were contributing in tandem with family members. Indeed, the same Bernard was also referred to as 'pupil of M. David'.[145] The use of a title rather than a first name may in fact suggest respect. Where Nodier was dubbed 'M. Nodier fils' (Mr Nodier, the younger) in records of his popular society addresses, the generational suffix distinguished him from his better-known father, but did not preclude autonomy. In the 1790 festival, Nodier and Hérard may have been granted special opportunities for individual participation due to their fathers' positions, but, in fact, no mention of their parents was made in the report of proceedings. Inevitably their contributions would have reflected on their fathers and perhaps aided them in their political ambitions, but, for the purposes of the festival, they represented childhood rather than their parents.

Nodier and Hérard's special privilege also raises the question of how common such opportunities to participate really were. All of the remaining children who gave documented speeches at this festival seem to have come from artisan or trade backgrounds. Nine-year-old Bernard's father was reportedly a merchant; the girls' fathers were a clockmaker, a confectioner and another merchant, and their godparents were also literate tradesmen.[146] Their families' political and civic involvement is unclear without access to the revolutionary

[143] Information on Hérard's career and activities can be found in the detailed catalogue of the Archives départementales du Doubs. See 'Série L – Période révolutionnaire (1789–1800) – Tome premier (L1–81)', *Archives départementales du Doubs*, accessed 4 March 2020, at http://recherche-archives.doubs.fr/accounts/mnesys_ad25/datas/medias/Fichiers_pdf/09_L/L_L1-81.pdf.
Access to these documents, post-COVID-19, may help to verify a connection to Barbe-Henriette Hérard.
[144] Bernard, *Discours prononcé aux Gardes nationaux*, [p. 1].
[145] *Retour des députés*, 3. 'élève de M. David'.
[146] Archives municipales de Besançon, GG 117 fol. 55, GG 231 fols 2v., 18. Bernard may in fact have been only eight years old, if he was Pierre-Louis-Marie Bernard, son of the merchant Claude-Antoine Bernard, and born in December 1782. The parish records document another Bernard's birth the previous year, but this Jean Bernard's father was a winegrower in 1781. The fact that one boy's mother was godmother to the other suggests they were related, and this may have led to their being conflated in 1790, or perhaps the winegrower joined his relative's business. See AMB GG 119, fol. 19 v. and GG 236, fol. 25 v. Although the parish records may raise more questions than they resolve, the girls' ages and surnames are consistent with the festival records.

collections in the departmental archives, but it seems they were not selected on this basis. Several young girls had in fact prepared speeches for the first day of the festival, but not all were able to recite them during the proceedings: the author of the report notes his regret not to be able to share all of them.[147] Given their middling backgrounds, and the author's comment that they fought amongst themselves for the chance to recite their speeches, it is plausible that these girls were a school group. Less privileged children, though they might have attended the festival, would have lacked the resources and pedagogical support to compose a speech and were seemingly not offered such an honour. Their backgrounds may reflect on political participation by socioeconomic background more generally, since artisans, merchants and shopkeepers made up the largest proportion of club members before 1791, whilst manual labourers' and farmers' membership was negligible.[148] Nevertheless, the author's emphasis on the girls' desire to participate suggests he hoped to inspire other children to follow their example. No direct mention was made of their backgrounds in the main report, since they ostensibly represented childhood and its innocence, rather than the interests of any particular socioeconomic group.[149]

Beyond festivals, Nodier and other children participated in the political life of the Besançon popular society. In December 1791, Nodier addressed the 'Société des amis de la Constitution' on the subject of patriotic love. This effusive but rather clumsy speech was printed locally, as Joséphine Fontanier's later speeches in Paris would be—though in this case the pamphlets were produced by the society's official printer.[150] Nodier's 1792 speech, likewise reproduced by the society's printer, was given on the occasion of the boy's admission to the society as a member.[151] He concluded it with an oath of loyalty 'to the nation, the law and the king', swearing to sacrifice himself to defend the Constitution if necessary, and—like so many others—'to live free or to die'.[152]

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[147] *Retour des députés*, 7.
[148] Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 34–42; 414. These numbers are based on Kennedy's analysis of thirty-two clubs' membership lists and minutes. Unfortunately we do not have comparable data for Besançon specifically.
[149] Bernard is the exception, but his speech was published separately.
[150] C. Nodier, *Discours prononcé à la Société des Amis de la Constitution de Besançon, le 22 décembre 1791 par M. Nodier, fils, âgé de II ans* (Besançon, 1791), http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011382154882OLfXQb, accessed 5 March 2020.
[151] C. Nodier, *Discours de M. Nodier fils, âgé de douze ans, prononcé à la Société des Amis de la Constitution, séante à Besançon lors de sa réception* (Besançon, 1792), http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a0113821548826vpwCv, accessed 5 March 2020.
[152] Ibid., 7. 'à la nation, à la loi et au roi'; 'de vivre libre ou de mourir'. These two printed speeches are just examples of Nodier's active involvement in the society. A departmental journal mentions a report he gave on 13

The very act of swearing a patriotic oath, upon joining the society, had bound Nodier to the national community. Such oaths were endemic in the early years of the Revolution, following the example of the Tennis Court Oath in 1789. That October, the National Assembly had decreed that all active citizens must take an oath before being able to exercise their political rights.[153] At twelve years old, Nodier was not eligible for active citizenship and the political rights it entailed; however, his accession to membership of his popular society indicated a more involved local role to which swearing this oath seemingly granted access. Moreover, as Francesco Buscemi has recently shown, oaths could have great spiritual significance for those who took them during the early years of the Revolution, and the risk of perjury justified the individual's participation in revolutionary violence and gave such violence sacred meaning.[154] It is significant, therefore, that Nodier swore his oath in his own words, as did another young member, upon joining the society in the same year.[155] The boys were not reciting a standardised formula, but voicing their individual commitment to the nation. The emotive language with which they composed their oaths implies a genuine spiritual and bodily experience, though at the same time, they were designed for an audience familiar with such professions of zeal, and thus likely modelled on the rhetoric of adult oaths and the performance of emotion we saw in Joséphine Fontanier's speeches. Nodier introduced his oath as follows:

> The oath that my lips will articulate is deeply engraved in my heart; and my mouth, on pronouncing it, will obey its sweetest impulse.
>
> Le serment que vont articuler mes lèvres, est profondément gravé dans mon cœur; & ma bouche, en le prononçant, obéira à son impulsion la plus douce.[156]

Similarly, the other young oath-taker, known only as 'M. Bertin fils', expressed almost rapturous delight upon making his oath before the society.

> How joyfully I come to renew solemnly among you the oath dear to my heart … and I will henceforth consider this the most beautiful day of my life, the day when I swear to live free or to die.

January 1793, concerning other members' views on Louis XVI (a week before the king's execution). This mention is only a sentence long, but it indicates an active role in the society that we cannot completely uncover. *La Vedette, ou journal du département du Doubs*, no. 21, 15 January 1793.

[153] F. Buscemi, 'The Importance of Being Revolutionary: Oath-Taking and the "Feeling Rules" of Violence (1789–1794)', *French History*, 33:2 (2019), p. 223.

[154] Ibid., 218–235.

[155] Bertin, *Discours prononcé à la Société des Amis de la Constitution séante à Besançon par M. Bertin fils* (Besançon, 1792), pp. 3–4, http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011382154881Vz9hjR, accessed 10 March 2020.

[156] Nodier, *Discours, 1792*, 7.

> Avec quelle allégresse je viens renouveller solomnellement [sic] au milieu de vous le serment cher à mon cœur … et je regarderai désormais comme le plus beau jour de ma vie, le jour ou [sic] je jure de vivre libre ou mourir.[157]

Unlike the more perfunctory wording with which Joséphine Fontanier expressed her oath, the boys' personalised representation of the patriotic vow as a corporeal experience indicates engagement with its terms and understanding of its implications. In joining their local popular society, Nodier and Bertin pledged allegiance to the Constitution and to revolutionary values, thus seeing and presenting themselves as citizens of a larger, national community. Both recognised that they might one day be called upon to defend the nation in battle and potentially give their lives, a prospect they embraced.

Nodier's final Jacobin performance occurred on 28 July 1794, or 10 Thermidor. Unbeknownst to anyone in Besançon at the time, this was the day of Robespierre's execution in Paris and the end of the Terror. The heroes Nodier eulogised at their commemorative festival would soon fall by the wayside, rejected for their association with Robespierre and the violence of Year II. At the time, however, Besançon's festival was intended to parallel Bara and Viala's pantheonization in Paris the same day—a ceremony which ultimately never took place. Like the Festival of the Federation, this was an example of provincial ceremonies to be synchronised with the major event in the capital; again, the organisers in Besançon invited a local youth to present a personal contribution. In his eulogy, Nodier gave an impassioned account of the boy martyrs' heroics and deaths. Clearly written to impress, and well received on the day, it did not have the desired effect in the long term, given the political upheaval about to ensue. No printed copy is extant, besides a summary reported in the departmental journal, *La Vedette*, immediately after the fact.[158] That no separate, full printed copy of the speech or festival proceedings survives suggests that none were produced in the chaos of yet another regime change and the national renunciation of Jacobinism.

The rhetoric of children's speeches

Having discussed the ways in which the children of Besançon were able to contribute to civic and political life and the context in which their voices might be heard, I turn now to the contents of their speeches. Specifically, these reveal how the young speakers conceived of their place in society: as children, but also as citizens. To begin with Nodier himself, all four of his extant speeches demonstrate self-identification as a child. This manifests in particular

[157] Bertin, *Discours*, 3–4. Bertin's first name unknown. Although his precise age is not mentioned, the society's president praised him for expressing such ideas 'from his most tender youth' ('dès sa plus tendre jeunesse'). Ibid., p. 4. I have not been able to trace him in the parish records.
[158] *La Vedette*, no. 61, 13 Thermidor, Year II.

as self-consciousness of performing in a primarily adult sphere. Thus, in his early speeches, Nodier apologised for his childish inarticulacy. Beginning his 1791 discourse on patriotic love, he announced that the topic required a 'great orator', whereas he could employ only the 'sweet and naïve language of childhood'.[159] The modest child invoked his audience's sympathy:

> I hope, *messieurs*, that you will deign to show some indulgence for the fruit of the labours of a young citizen who burns with the most patriotic sentiments.
>
> J'espère, messieurs, que vous daignerez avoir quelqu'indulgence pour le fruit des travaux d'un jeune citoyen qui brûle des sentimens les plus patriotiques.[160]

Nevertheless, even as he humbled himself, Nodier asserted his worth and his identity as a citizen: the patriotism of the 'young citizen' offset the assumed rhetorical weakness of his speech. Similarly, in 1792, he claimed that, unable adequately to express his gratitude to the popular society for admitting him, he would 'browse the dictionary of the heart, [which is] that of a free man.'[161] Here, he did not directly identify as a child, but transformed his childish lack of experience and education into an asset, allowing him to identify as a citizen of the new order—a free man. Nodier's ostensible lack of confidence therefore seems to have been affected: these inauthentic displays of diffidence contributed to a self-conscious performance of childhood—comparable to Joséphine Fontanier's appropriation of sentimental discourse.

In his eulogy to Bara and Viala in 1794, Nodier took this further. By this point, his literary and oratory talent was more developed, and it seems he consciously rose to the task of providing a child's voice. In accordance with the popular society's instructions—they claimed it would be touching to hear Bara and Viala's praise from a child—he asserted that childish expression was superior to more sophisticated rhetoric. Feigning humility, he nevertheless introduced this point by pleading indulgence for his inability to praise the heroes as he ought. He had invoked historians, orators, poets and artists to memorialise the martyrs of liberty, but concluded this introduction by declaring that he could offer instead 'the naïve simplicity of feeling [which] is the perquisite of youth', that which 'I prefer to the pompous language of rhetoricians'.[162]

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[159] Nodier, *Discours, 1791*, 1. 'un grand orateur'; 'me servir du langage doux et naïf de l'enfance'.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Nodier, *Discours, 1792*, 1. 'je feuilleterai [sic] le vocabulaire du cœur, c'est celui d'un homme libre.'
[162] Nodier, 'Apothéose de Joseph Barra et d'Agricola Viala', fols 76–77. 'la simplicité naïve du sentiment [qui] est l'appanage de la jeunesse; je la prefere [sic] au langage pompeux des rhéteurs.'

This explicit renunciation of learned eulogistic form granted him poetic licence. The budding author used the assignment as a creative opportunity, with a dramatic retelling of the boys' deaths, and through the addition of seemingly inauthentic details and sources. For instance, though drawing on official versions of events, he dramatized Bara's death with reference to 'the hero … swimming in his blood', followed by a poetic description of 'the lilies of death replac[ing] the roses of youth on his face'.[163] To Viala's story he added unverifiable information on the boy seizing the axe from men who tried to prevent him passing through the city gates, as well as citing a letter allegedly from Viala's father.[164] He was playing into a larger pattern of creative interpretation of Bara's and Viala's stories and adding his own stamp, but framed this specifically as a child's impression.[165]

In dramatizing his account, Nodier seemingly sought to elicit an emotional response in his audience. He combined sympathetic descriptions of Bara's filial piety—'the image of [his mother's] poverty rose often before his eyes and brought tears to them'—with indignation at both boys' killers.[166] Thus performing children's pure feeling, he may have fulfilled his mission to give a touching presentation. This commitment to performance, perhaps fuelled by genuine empathy for the boys, led him to indulge in fiery threats to their killers:

> Criminals! He will be washed in all your blood! We will spill it over his tomb… we will water his ashes with it… we will tear your disgusting entrails from your breast… we will deliver them in bloody tatters to the birds of prey… and the fierce beasts will fight over your twitching limbs…
>
> [S]célerats [sic]! il sera lavé dans tout votre sang ! nous le ferons couler sur son tombeau… nous en arroserons ses cendres… nous arracherons de votre sein vos entrailles degoutantes [sic]… nous en livrerons aux oiseaux de proye les lambeaux ensanglantés… et les bêtes féroces se disputeront vos membres palpitans…[167]

Kessler may be correct in identifying in this passage Nodier's first 'images of cannibalistic and vampiric demons', which featured heavily in his later fiction.[168] In July 1794, it showed his literary precocity and his ability to construct extended metaphors based on Jacobin

[163] Ibid., fol. 84 r. 'en nageant dans son sang'; 'les lys de la mort remplacent sur son front les roses de la jeunesse.'
[164] Ibid., fols 86–7. These details are absent from the Paris manuscript (BnF Ms-13014, fols 2–16), which may support the case for their inauthenticity, as it may have motivated the mature Nodier to omit them.
[165] On creative interpretations in 1794, see Perna, 'Bara and Viala'.
[166] Nodier, 'Apothéose de Joseph Barra et d'Agricola Viala', fol. 79 r. 'l'image de sa misère se présentait souvent a [sic] ses yeux et en arrachait souvent des larmes.'
[167] Ibid., fol. 86 r. See also threats to Viala's killers, fol. 86 v., which are absent from the Paris manuscript. Those directed at Bara's killers are slightly modified in that manuscript, but retain their brutality. See BnF Ms-13014 fol. 11 r.
[168] Kessler, 'Charles Nodier's Demons', 57.

rhetoric and, presumably, on his own experience of witnessing the guillotine at work. However, his gory threats in fact seem excessively violent even for Jacobin rhetoric of the time. Although such rhetoric tended to dehumanise the Republic's enemies and might advocate merciless treatment of them, it usually portrayed *them* as ruthless butchers, often using animalistic imagery comparing them to tigers or vultures, whereas Nodier was threatening such ferocity *against* them.[169] In *his* metaphor, they were not the vultures but the carrion. Nodier must have hoped to impress his audience with this imagery, though, unfortunately, a comparison with the kind of language typical in the Besançon club is not possible at the present time.[170]

By claiming his superiority as a child, Nodier asserted his agency and independent authorship—for if a child's voice was superior, there was no need for adult assistance. Together with his invocation of Liberty to guide him, this also added legitimacy to his words.[171] His particular emphasis on the superiority of children's 'naïve simplicity of feeling' specifically legitimised his indulgence in stirring appeals to his audience's horror, indignation and pity.[172] As a child, his emotions were genuine and valid, and it was his duty to move his audience through their expression.

Nevertheless, the more violent rhetoric, though ostensibly linked to genuine emotion, was seemingly at odds with the image of children's virtuous innocence. It suggests Nodier's performance of childhood was complicated by the influence of Jacobin rhetoric and perhaps of the violent scenes he had witnessed. He invoked Bara's name several times, much as Robespierre had in his speech of 18 Floréal, and similarly echoed Barère's emphasis on Bara's complete virtue, declaring that 'all virtues' resided in the boy's heart.[173] Whether his inspiration came from printed reports of these speeches or from their echoes in the Besançon club, Nodier was clearly modelling himself on Jacobin rhetoric even as he sought to personalise his speech. This supports the case that his emphasis on his age was a rhetorical device, as he seemingly saw adult, Jacobin rhetoric to be worth emulating.

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[169] P. Higonnet, *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins During the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), pp. 240–258.
[170] This is due to COVID-19.
[171] Nodier, 'Apothéose de Joseph Barra et d'Agricola Viala', fol. 77 v.
[172] Ibid., fol. 77 v. 'la simplicité naïve du sentiment'.
[173] Ibid., fols 78 v., 82 r. 'toutes les vertus'. See above, Chapter One; M. Robespierre, *Rapport fait au nom du Comité de Salut Public, par M. Robespierre, sur les rapports des idées religieuses et morales avec les principes républicains, et sur les fêtes nationales. Séance du 18 floréal, l'an second, etc.* (Paris, 1794); Barère, in *Moniteur*, 10 Nivôse, Year II.

In Besançon, Nodier was not the only young citizen to perform childhood in this way. During the 1790 festival, several children articulated similar ideas about the value of children's expression, and their speeches were peppered with sentimental expressions. Through performing innocence and purity, they openly adopted the symbolic role ascribed to them and contributed to the revolutionary construction of sentimental-political childhood. Like Nodier, Mlle Hérard and thirteen-year-old Mlle Lœillet both asserted the value of their words due to their innocence, in spite of their inadequacies.

According to Mlle Lœillet, young girls might find it difficult to express their feelings of 'joy and … admiration', but their youth was itself a power of expression, able to demonstrate their genuine emotions, even if their own role remained passive. Their tender age in fact guaranteed sincerity, to the extent that it extended to the adult citizens they represented.

> Who can paint our joy and admiration! Thinking too much, we lack the expression; *but our youth will speak for us*; our naivety will better paint the sentiments which animate us; you will find sincerity there, at least […]; please accept the sign [of the dove], on receiving our homage: *it is children who offer it to you*, it should be so much dearer to you, that we bring you the good wishes of our fellow citizens, f*or whom we are the mouthpiece, & our innocence is their guarantee.*
>
> Qui pourra peindre notre joie & notre admiration ! pour trop penser, l'expression nous manque ; *mais notre jeunesse parlera pour nous*; notre ingénuité vous peindra mieux les sentimens qui nous animent ; vous y trouverez au moins de la sincérité […] ; daignez en accepter l'augure [de la colombe], en agréant nos hommages : *ce sont des enfans qui vous les offrent, ils doivent vous être d'autant plus chers*, que nous vous apportons les vœux de nos Concitoyens *dont nous sommes l'organe*, & *notre innocence en est le garant*.[174]

Although Lœillet did not explicitly mention gender, the girls may have been given this opportunity specifically because of women's perceived sensibility, which would reinforce that which their youth afforded them. Her emphasis remained firmly on their youth, however.

Similarly, in her first speech, on the second day of the festival, Mlle Hérard called directly upon her patriotism to 'support my feeble voice', invoking it to give her the strength to complete her 'precious task'.[175] Spoken aloud to her audience, this rhetorical device drew attention to her patriotism and lent gravity to her speech. Indeed, though her voice might be weak, it came from a body that was well able to contribute to society: she urged the mayor to 'receive from the very mouth of innocence, the good wishes of all your fellow citizens'.[176] Like Mlle Lœillet, therefore, Mlle Hérard was conscious of the symbolic role she served in

[174] *Retour des députés*, 6. My emphasis.
[175] Ibid., 12–13. 'soutiens ma foible voix'; 'la tâche précieuse'.
[176] Ibid., 13. 'recevez de la bouche même de l'innocence, les vœux de tous vos Concitoyens'.

the festival for her childish innocence. Both girls explicitly claimed this role and thus accepted the sentimental attributes of childhood as unique assets to society.

On the other hand, some children were less adept in handling this rhetoric. In 1792, the twelve-year-old son of a 'M. Proudhon'—possibly a relative of the more well-known Pierre-Joseph Proudhon—gave a speech in the popular society.[177] Unlike Nodier and Bertin, it is unclear whether this child was a subscribed member, but he was nevertheless welcomed before the society and invited to speak on at least one occasion. His speech is exceptional insofar as it lacks sophistication and fails to engage with the sentimental rhetoric that the other children appropriated so competently. Nevertheless, it suggests self-consciousness and a sense of identity as both child and citizen.

Like the other children, Proudhon was frank about lacking eloquence; however, he did not present his inexperience or lack of education as positive attributes. Instead, he admitted to listening to others' conversations with the hope of being able 'at least [to] repeat after you like a parrot'.[178] As it transpired, he explained, he was not convinced of his ability to present any of the topics he had overheard to the society. He had heard adults criticise the King, but decided the society might not approve; he would not 'have a go at the fanatics', lest it exacerbated their behaviour, 'and because, besides, I don't know what a fanatic is'.[179] Without a knowledge of Latin, moreover, he did not feel equipped to mock the aristocracy, but merely able to curse them. He thus presented himself as both inferior and anxious to please. Somewhat out of his depth, he had a vague idea of the kinds of political topics in vogue in 1792 and he felt it necessary to conform to the society's opinions on these, but he doubted his ability to contribute.

[177] It is possible that the child who addressed the popular society was in fact the future father of the anarchist politician Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, born in Besançon in 1809. Pierre-Joseph's father was Claude-François Proudhon, who was born in nearby Chasnans and married in 1808 at the age of twenty-eight, making him twelve or thirteen in 1792. See P. Haubtmann, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon : sa vie et sa pensée, 1809-1849* (Paris, 1982), pp. 25–26. Unfortunately there are no extant ancien régime parish records for Chasnans. M.-C. Pontier and F. Bouqin, 'Archives départementales du Doubs: Répertoire de l'État civil microfilmé et non microfilmé: Sous-séries 5Mi, 2Mi EC et 6EP', http://recherche-archives.doubs.fr/accounts/mnesys_ad25/datas/medias/Fichiers_pdf/MI/MI_2MIEC-5MI-6EP.pdf, accessed 23 April 2020.

[178] Proudhon, *Discours de M. Proudhon, fils, âgé de douze ans, prononcé à la Société des Amis de la Constitution, séante à Besançon, lors de sa réception* (Besançon, 1792), p. 1, http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a01138312362118itD2, accessed 10 March 2020. 'au moins vous répéter comme un perroquet'.

[179] Ibid., 2. 'laver la tête aux fanatiques'; 'et que d'ailleurs je ne sais ce que c'est qu'un fanatique'.

Ultimately, Proudhon informed his audience that he had resolved to listen and learn from the society. He presented himself effectively as a blank slate to be moulded into the correct model, but he would not be passive in this, since he would himself undertake to 'be what you want'.[180] He cited the instruction of his teacher at the *collège*, a M. Léglise: 'he told me to tell you that when I am more reasonable, I shall promise to be like you'.[181] Even as he accepted the older man's wisdom, however, he added a promise of his own: 'and *I* add, that when I have a bit more blood in my veins, I promise you I shall spill it down to the last drop for the Constitution.'[182]

In this way, Proudhon accepted the adult members of the society as role models and himself as a willing tabula rasa, yet made a simultaneous claim of individual agency. By outlining the process by which he had composed his speech, he was able to present his passive role as his own decision, rather than one imposed upon him. He humbly admitted his ineptitude but took responsibility for self-improvement. As he put it, 'I decided in the end to let you know of my embarrassment, and to tell you that I come among you to learn and to keep quiet'. The active voice here suggests a desire to present this as an independent decision; the reflexive verb 'm'instruire' (to learn, to educate oneself), rather than 'apprendre' (to learn) or 'étudier' (to study) adds a further element of responsibility for his actions, as it suggests that he will monitor his own education. Indeed, 'me taire' (keep *myself* quiet) has a similar effect.[183]

As we have seen, attendance at popular society meetings formed part of many schoolchildren's educations. Yet the reference to M. Léglise is a rare example of a child explicitly acknowledging adult input in a speech. It shows that adults, and teachers specifically, might assist children in composing their contributions, but also that they did not dictate the contents of children's speeches. Proudhon presented his contribution as his own throughout his speech. Then, by contrasting his promise to die to defend the Constitution with M. Léglise's more mild and ambiguous instruction to imitate members of the society, the boy professed agency in making his own promise and presented it as a personal vow. He evidently sought thereby to impress his audience. Like Nodier and Bertin, he was boldly pledging allegiance to the Constitution in his own words; like the other children, he was eager

[180] Ibid., 3. 'd'être ce que vous voudrez'.
[181] Ibid. 'il m'a dit de vous dire que quand je serai plus raisonnable, je vous promettrai d'être comme vous'.
[182] Ibid., 4. 'et moi j'ajoute, que quand j'aurai un peu plus de sang dans les veines, je vous promettrai de le verser jusqu'à la dernière goutte pour la Constitution.'
[183] Ibid., 3. 'Je me suis enfin décidé à vous avertir de mon embarras, et à vous dire que je viens au milieu de vous pour m'instruire et pour me taire'.

to demonstrate his commitment and worth, and owned his position as a child to do so. The publication of this unpolished speech demonstrates that it had the desired effect. Evidently the society welcomed and promoted children's participation and rewarded patriotism and emulation before oratory. Proudhon's professed self-consciousness may therefore have contributed to the positive reception of his speech.

Proudhon's speech also raises the question of whether children should (and could) make civic contributions in their youth or whether these should be made in the future. Although other children's promises may have been less graphic than Proudhon's image of a body with more blood to spill, the link between present and future patriotism is a theme in several children's speeches. Like Joséphine Fontanier, the children of Besançon were thinking ahead to their roles as adult citizens. Indeed, like Joséphine, the speakers were on the threshold of adolescence, those liminal years between the irrational innocence of childhood and the rights and responsibilities of adulthood. Unlike Joséphine, however, they did not define their anticipated roles, but made promises that would conform to expectations.

For the boys, this meant a commitment to fighting for the nation when they reached manhood—though not before. Proudhon thus explicitly promised this. Likewise, at the festival in 1790, Bernard and Nodier both implied future violence when they spoke of learning from adult examples, 'so as one day to become your worthy successors in the defence of liberty' and to 'maintain the Constitution when it is our turn'.[184] Nodier maintained the view that fighting was a future, adult endeavour into Year II. In the eulogy he wrote in summer 1794, he interpreted Bara and Viala's martyrdom as an act to be emulated *in the future*, rather than by other children during their own tender years. He claimed that the discrete virtues of childhood and masculinity had been combined in Joseph Bara's actions, enabling the boy to be both loved by his comrades and feared by his enemies.

> Joseph Bara … knew how to unite the lovable naivety of childhood to the manly virtues of a warrior …. [C]herished everywhere, feared on the battlefield, innocence shone upon his brow and terror followed his footsteps..[.]
>
> Joseph Barra … savait réunir à l'aimable candeur de l'enfance, les vertus males [sic] d'un guerrier … chéri partout, redouté sur le champ de bataille, l'innocence brillait sur son front et la terreur accompagnait ses pas..[.][185]

[184] Bernard, *Discours prononcé aux Gardes nationaux*, [p. ii]. 'pour devenir un jour vos dignes successeurs dans la défense de la liberté'; *Retour des députés*, 15. 'nous maintiendrons à notre tour la Constitution'.
[185] C. Nodier, 'Apothéose de Joseph Barra et d'Agricola Viala', 1794, BmB, Ms 1417, fol. 78 v.

Yet Bara was an anomaly, an unattainable example. Insofar as Charles might emulate his virtues, those of childhood and masculinity remained distinct. Thus he urged the children in his audience to join him in laying flowers on the martyrs' tombs and in swearing 'one day' to avenge them.[186] It is unclear whether Nodier envisaged the children visiting the Pantheon in Paris, or whether this notion of grieving at the tombs was purely rhetorical. Regardless, revenge, and thus emulation of the boys' military heroism, was not a task for today. Indeed, although Bara and Viala were held up as examples for children, featuring in numerous children's books and with Bara's image to be displayed in primary schools by Convention decree, their heroism served a primarily symbolic function. It represented a new ideal of republican virtue, rather than a model for children to imitate literally.[187] Thus Nodier was not departing from the official message of their martyrdom in seeing armed combat as something for the future—though it perhaps reflects more on his own character than on their memory that his eulogy did not mention making the ultimate sacrifice himself, at any point in his life.

For the girls, the route to serving the nation was slightly more ambiguous, as Joséphine Fontanier's case in Paris demonstrates. Nevertheless, in 1790, Mlle Louvrier also alluded to her future contribution. Unlike in the boys' case, the future patriotism she mentioned was simply an extension of her current actions, since she would not be called on to fight. Rather, she would internalise revolutionary principles and pass them on to her own children, thus taking on the role of patriotic motherhood which was already advocated in the early years of the Revolution.[188] Louvrier identified as a child but also with her future position as a woman, speaking explicitly of the happiness that 'we women' would enjoy under the new constitutional regime, yet at the same time referring childishly to the king as 'our shared papa'.[189] She declared that she and the others would repeat the message of liberty, shown by the delegates' example, not only to themselves, but also 'to your grandchildren', that is, her own children.[190] This transmission of revolutionary values to the next generation remained women's principal role throughout the 1790s, and Louvrier evidently accepted it; however, her mention of grandchildren is particularly telling of her thoughts about the future. The notion of French society as a family, and specifically the King as father, was typical of French Revolutionary discourse, and has been analysed in Hunt's well-known Freudian

[186] Ibid., fol. 88 r. 'un jour'.
[187] Perna, 'Bara and Viala'.
[188] Hunt, *Family Romance*, 122–123.
[189] *Retour des députés*, 6. 'nous femmes'; 'notre papa commun'.
[190] Ibid. 'à vos petits enfans'.

study.[191] In Mlle Louvrier's speech, it demonstrates her conception of a society connected across the generations: her own children would be the grandchildren of those who had brought about liberty.

This is key to understanding the children's attitude to their future patriotism. Charles Nodier expressed a similar idea in his speech to the popular society the following year. He urged schoolteachers to impart the message 'that each age group is destined to serve [the nation]' and enumerated the stages of service to the nation that pupils would attain corresponding to their progression through the life cycle.[192] Older and stronger, they would fight for the nation; more mature, they would offer up their talents; old and wise, they would impart their patriotism and respect for the Constitution to younger men. This conception of society adds new meaning to Nodier's previous claim, that he and the other children, 'excited by [the delegates'] examples', would 'maintain the Constitution and uphold the Nation, the Law and the King, *when it is our turn*'.[193]

Although eager to demonstrate their patriotism as soldiers, Nodier and the other boys seem to have accepted a vision of society in which each age group had its own duties, but where each individual therefore served the nation throughout their life. Certainly, a slight sense of ambivalence is evident, regarding the value of their contribution as children, shown for instance in Proudhon's professed ineptitude or Nodier's acknowledgement that children were 'still too young to serve our country and devote ourselves to the defence of the Patrie'.[194] Nevertheless, this chapter has shown the ways in which various children emphasised the symbolic value of their participation, and this was equally important in their conception of society across the generations.

Like the civic and spiritual value of patriotic oaths, the children's allusions to their future patriotism signified a public and enduring commitment to the regime in the present. Specifically, the children displayed commitment to the revolutionary project of creating a new future. The notion that the future could be deliberately moulded by present actions—what William Max Nelson has called an 'active orientation to the future'—developed gradually over the course of the eighteenth century, but irrupted into society during the

[191] Hunt, *Family Romance*.
[192] Nodier, *Discours, 1791*, 2. 'que chaque âge est destiné à la servir'.
[193] *Retour des députés*, 15. 'excités par vos exemples ... nous maintiendrons à notre tour la Constitution, nous ferons respecter la Nation, la Loi & le Roi.' My emphasis.
[194] Ibid. 'Trop jeunes encore pour servir notre pays & nous dévouer au soutien de la Patrie'.

French Revolution.[195] The revolutionary clock and calendar demonstrated not only a radical, conscious break with the past, but also 'the constructability of the future'.[196] As Condorcet put it in his 1791 essay on public instruction, 'man must no longer see himself as a being confined to a brief and isolated existence …; he becomes an active part of the great whole and the collaborator in an eternal work'.[197] This was in many ways exemplified by the radical overhaul of children's education, as part of the general preoccupation with public instruction for permanent social regeneration.

Although Nodier and Louvrier were speaking specifically of their own future actions, they evidently saw themselves as part of a 'great whole' that transcended themselves. Their patriotism in the present would lead to future patriotic service, in a transfer of roles through the generations. Young Bernard expressed this directly:

> Thus, heirs to your courage and patriotism, and marching in your footsteps, we will pass on to the next generations, this admirable constitution that makes your happiness, that will make ours even more, and that of the most distant posterity.
>
> Alors, héritiers de votre courage & de votre patriotisme, & en marchant sur vos traces, nous ferons passer aux générations suivantes, cette constitution admirable qui fait votre bonheur, qui fera encore plus le nôtre, & celui de la postérité la plus reculée.[198]

Evidently, as early as 1790, the children had begun to grasp the model of the long-term 'perfecting' of society and their active role in this.[199] They sought to show patriotism in their current roles, both through emphasising their innocence and its patriotic implications, and through publicly committing themselves to future acts of patriotism. Simultaneously, their adolescent self-determination was framed by an idea of themselves as part of revolutionary society both present and future. Elements of this are evident in Joséphine Fontanier's case, too. Though her emphasis was on the strength of her current patriotism and on defining women's role, she identified not only with other 'young female republicans' but also with

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[195] W. M. Nelson, *The Weapon of Time: Constructing the Future in France, 1750 to Year I* (PhD thesis, UCLA, 2006), pp. 4, 8.
[196] Ibid., 9. See also pp. 218–269.
[197] M.-J.-A.-N. Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Cinq mémoires sur l'instruction publique* [1791], C. Coutel and C. Kintzler, eds., 2005, p. 24, http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/condorcet/cinq_memoires_instruction/cinq_memoires.html, accessed 14 April 2020.
'l'homme ne doit plus se regarder comme un être borné à une existence passagère et isolée ... ; il devient une partie active du grand tout et le coopérateur d'un ouvrage éternel'. See also Nelson, *The Weapon of Time*, 224–225.
[198] Bernard, *Discours prononcé aux Gardes nationaux*, [p. ii].
[199] Condorcet, *Sur l'instruction publique*, 22–25. 'perfectionnement'.

'those who will follow us'. Thus, children entering adolescence identified and carved out their roles as citizens in a timeless revolutionary society.

Missing from Charles Nodier's memoirs, then, is the active role he and other children played in early revolutionary politics. Nodier himself maintained a political interest throughout his youth, despite renouncing Jacobinism in the later 1790s. Indeed, in 1799, he defended his friends who were arrested for an anti-Jacobin demonstration. At the start of the decade, however, he was not the mere witness he later presented himself to have been, but an active player in local political life, who formed his social identity from revolutionary ideals of childhood and citizenship. Critics of his work have suggested that trauma may have motivated him to downplay his childhood participation in this way, whereas these repressed memories found a release in his gothic fiction.[200] However, whilst trauma almost certainly influenced the work of many French writers in the early nineteenth century, it is clear that Nodier's language of violence and bloody imagery in works such as *Smarra* were not only based on his recollections of the bloody executions he witnessed; this language was gleaned from the Jacobin repertoire with which he first flexed his literary muscles.[201] In order to understand his revolutionary experience and its impact on his adult writing, Nodier's juvenile speeches, in the context of children's political participation in Besançon, therefore offer more useful insight than his memoirs alone.

Conclusion

Together, the speeches made by Joséphine Fontanier in 1793–94, and by the children of Besançon in 1790–94, demonstrate children's active involvement in revolutionary politics. Their participation was a feature of everyday civic life, whether through their patriotic donations, club membership or roles in festivals. Their words on these occasions demonstrate that they identified as members of society able to contribute in unique ways and committed to serving the nation further—as citizens, not just 'for a day' or for the duration of a festival.[202]

Their actions were indeed fully integrated into civic life and served a specific purpose simply by virtue of being enacted by children. Thus, children's public speeches and donations might

[200] Orlando, 'Charles Nodier memorialista', 290.
[201] On the trauma of the Revolution in French literature, see L. Philip, 'The Trauma of the Emigration in the Novels of Three Women Émigrées in London', in L. Philip and J. Reboul, eds, *French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe: Connected Histories and Memories* (Cham, Switzerland, 2019); K. Astbury, *Narrative Responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution* (Leeds, 2012).
[202] Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 215. 'pour un jour'.

reflect on their families; they might be used and documented to encourage patriotic emotion in those present or in others reading about the events. This is particularly evident, for instance, in the popular society's instructions to Charles Nodier in 1794—where it was asserted that Bara and Viala's eulogy would have more of an emotional impact coming from a child—or in the case of provincial despatches to the Convention in Paris, where a child's donation might be used to represent a commune's patriotism. Yet older children understood this and contributed to this construction of sentimental-political childhood. They appropriated the language associated with this vision of childhood to emphasise or negotiate their place in society or to assert their value.

Returning to the question of children's agency, adults were evidently keen to represent children's patriotism as innate and independent of obligation. In the case of very young children, and certainly toddlers, it is unlikely that they had any real sense of the meaning of their actions or of loyalty to the regime—though of course this signified the natural, naïve patriotism for which they were celebrated. Yet there is no evidence to suggest that the children were compelled to make speeches or patriotic donations, other than the lint they were legally required to produce. Rather, it seems they were granted opportunities, by adults, which a child such as Joséphine Fontanier or Charles Nodier might take advantage of to express his or her voice. They might be assisted by adults, as Proudhon admitted he had been, or they might be influenced by the political ideas and rhetoric they heard and read from adults. Rather than suggesting a lack of agency, however, this indicates a connected society, in which children might draw on what they learned from adults to form their own contributions.

Nevertheless, the children studied in this chapter are not representative of all French children in this period. The popular societies of Besançon and the Section de l'Unité were particularly active, militant clubs. Others may have been less committed to children's inculcation and engagement. Furthermore, the children who gave public speeches in Paris and Besançon seem to have come predominantly from bourgeois and artisan backgrounds. They were also at the upper end of childhood, aged between around ten and fourteen. On the other hand, it seems that even poorer, and much younger, children—in numerous locations—might make patriotic donations, possibly on behalf of their families. Thus, the opportunities open to children might vary according to socioeconomic background and family connections, as well as age, but participation in some form seems to have been largely encouraged and accessible.

Moreover, not all children may have welcomed such opportunities or committed themselves so wholeheartedly. Festival records give no indication of children trailing awkwardly behind in processions, or whispering to one another during ceremonies; there is no mention in the Convention's Bulletin of children fidgeting or bored. Whether forms of 'everyday resistance' or mere childish irreverence, such behaviour would have been difficult to prevent, particularly from younger children.[203] In fact, in the case of the infant in his mother's arms as she tried to donate at Coudray-sur-Seine, it is that very interruption of a toddler screaming which is dressed up as an act of patriotism.

My claim, therefore, is not that all children contributed or expressed their identity and patriotism in these ways. Rather, this is a call to re-evaluate children's role in local political life; to consider their attendance at political clubs as opportunities for active engagement, rather than passive inculcation; to see in revolutionary festivals not only symbolic meaning but also the meaningful engagement of individuals with revolutionary politics.

[203] J. C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985).

CHAPTER FOUR

Hope of the Nation: Celebrating and Reimagining Youth after the Terror, 1795–1802[1]

> Entirely focused on our educational needs, we are only trying, through acquiring useful knowledge, to get ourselves ready someday to serve our Patrie. … [One of us, who was arrested,] did not expect to be oppressed in the place where he only came to get the education that every republican magistrate ought to protect.
>
> Entièrement occupés des soins de notre éducation, nous ne cherchons, qu'en acquérant d'utiles connoissances, à nous rendre un jour propres à servir notre Patrie. … [I]l ne s'attendoit pas à être opprimé dans les lieux où il ne vint chercher que l'instruction que doit protéger tout magistrat républicain.
>
> —Charles Nodier, aged 19, et al., August 1799.[2]

When Charles Nodier and his friends were accused of conspiring against the Republic, in August 1799, part of their defence was to draw on their youth.[3] At this point, Nodier was nineteen; when his friends were arrested, he did not make an explicit case for childish innocence or purity. Nevertheless, he and his friends emphasised the light-hearted nature of their protest: they had performed a sketch in Besançon's Place Granvelle, publicly mocking local Jacobins, and subsequently thought little of it; on the evening of their arrest, they claimed, they were simply going about their usual business and 'amusements'.[4] Significantly, they bolstered their case that they were harmless teenagers by arguing that they were too preoccupied with their education to be thinking of counterrevolution. They thus sought to undermine the accusations against them, and expose their injustice, by representing themselves as dedicated students, and they emphasised their intention to use their studies to serve the Republic when they were older.[5] The threat of conspiracy was very real in summer 1799, and the boys' criticism of the Besançon club was emblematic of the nationwide

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[1] I am grateful for the opportunity to have trialled some of these ideas at the Society for the Study of French History (SSFH) Annual Conference, University of Leeds, on 8 July 2019, and for the insightful feedback I received. The paper was entitled '"Cette tendre espérance de la patrie": Envisaging Youths as the Legacy of the French Revolution, 1795–1799'.

[2] S.-T. Monnot et al., *Exposé des citoyens Simon-Thérèse Monnot, ci-devant défenseur de la patrie, actuellement élève en législation ; Charles Nodier, étudiant en belles-lettres, et bibliothécaire-adjoint ; François-Raymond Baud, étudiant en législation ; Charles Weiss, ex-élève de l'Ecole centrale, et Toisnier Desplaces, officier démissionnaire, à leurs juges et à leurs concitoyens* (Besançon, [1799]), p. 11, memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565/a011379668410xUmF5M, accessed 7 April 2020.

[3] Monnot et al., *Exposé*; The catalogue of the Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon dates this document to 1800, but Oliver and Dahan are in agreement that these events occurred in 1799. A. R. Oliver, *Charles Nodier: Pilot of Romanticism* (Syracuse, 1964), pp. 23–24; C. Nodier, *Correspondance de jeunesse*, J.-R. Dahan, ed., vol. i (Geneva, 1995), pp. 26–27, 31.

[4] Monnot et al., *Exposé*, especially 4, 8. 'amusemens [sic]'; Cf. Oliver, *Charles Nodier*, pp. 23–24; Nodier, *Correspondance de jeunesse*. According to Oliver and Dahan, the youths performed their satirical sketch the night of the events leading to their arrest and Nodier's flight.

[5] Monnot et al., *Exposé*, 11.

response to the Directory's closure of the newly-revived Paris Jacobin club at the Salle du Manège—though these youths had created a perceived threat to public order.[6] In this particular case, the alleged conspirators knew how to protest their innocence, appealing to contemporary tropes of youth.

The expectations of youth which the defendants appropriated were indeed typical of attitudes under the Directory and the early Consulate. This chapter explores the public reconceptualisation of youth as schoolboy destined to serve the nation, through the manifestation of these ideas in the youth festivals (*fêtes de la jeunesse*) and school prizegiving ceremonies of the later 1790s. These sources are drawn primarily from the Newberry Library's French Revolution Collection. The pamphlets documenting these ceremonies cover a large geographical area and provide a cross section of schooling and youth under the Directory and Consulate, with the *écoles centrales* (public, fee-paying secondary schools) particularly well represented. They include the event proceedings and transcriptions of speeches. This material is complemented here by pamphlets at the British Library, the John Rylands Library and the Bibliothèque nationale, which also feature state-subsidised and specialist schools. Using these four collections, this chapter brings together the records of ceremonies in several departments across France, some of which were to celebrate the festival of youth and some of which were discrete awards ceremonies or other school occasions. Before analysing this material, it will be helpful to outline the context in which these events took place.

Education under the Directory

This chapter mostly concerns youth under the Directory, although youth festivals were proposed in the final days of the Convention and continued into the early years of the Consulate, until 1802. In recent years, historians have revitalised the study of the Directory, building on the revisionist work of the 1970s. As Denis Woronoff stressed in 1972, the regime had for almost two centuries been denounced, and its calculable political and economic successes ignored.[7] In twenty-first century scholarship, whilst Howard Brown

[6] See I. Woloch, *Jacobin Legacy: The Democratic Movement under the Directory* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 369–399, and especially p. 386.

[7] D. Woronoff, *La République bourgeoise: De Thermidor à Brumaire 1794–1799* (Paris, 1972), https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=P-s9AgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT6&dq=denis+woronoff+the+thermidorian+regime&ots=KSj0hBxfc0&sig=aTpu5FJCt4iJHD3TBEQUYjoWADA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=denis%20woronoff%20the%20thermidorian%20regime&f=false, accessed 10 July 2020. See also Woloch, *Jacobin Legacy*; M. Lyons, *France Under the Directory* (Cambridge, 1975); L. Hunt, D. Lansky, and P. Hanson, 'The Failure of the Liberal Republic in France, 1795-1799: The Road to Brumaire', *The Journal of Modern History*, 51:4 (1979), pp. 734–759. Hunt et al. take a more pessimistic stance, as their title suggests.

effectively labels the Directory an authoritarian prelude to Brumaire, James Livesey and Andrew Jainchill have accentuated the continued emphasis on democracy, with Jainchill arguing that these years witnessed the birth of French liberal democracy.[8] The regime that was in place from 1795 to 1799 is therefore recognised in its own right, no longer seen simply as a postscript to the Convention or an uncontested failure, but arguably a central moment in implanting egalitarian structures and consolidating democratic values. Festivals were an expression of the ongoing attempt to republicanise French society, and by the late 1790s, youth was central to the state's ideological ambitions. These ceremonies continued under the Consulate, but only until its reform of the education system, with the Fourcroy law of 30 April 1802.

Education under the Directory followed the Daunou law, or Law of 3 Brumaire, passed on 25–6 October 1795 (3–4 Brumaire, Year III).[9] This was the first revolutionary legislation to account for education at all levels, yet, as Livesey points out, its concrete aims were 'modest'.[10] Daunou consolidated the reforms and institutions created by Lakanal's legislation the previous year: there was to be a primary school in each canton, and secondary education—though Lakanal denied it could be referred to as such—would take place at *écoles centrales*, of which there would be one in each department and which only boys could attend. Pupils of the *écoles centrales* could pursue a number of courses, the only entry requirement for which was their age. Thus pupils aged twelve and over might pursue drawing, natural history and languages (ancient and modern); at age fourteen they might study mathematics, physics and chemistry; at sixteen they could choose *grammaire générale*, literature (*belles lettres*), history or legislation. Primary and secondary schools were fee-paying, though a number of bursaries were available: fees could be waived for up to a quarter of pupils at the *école centrale*, to enable poorer children to attend.[11] Beyond this were the special schools—which would provide expert instruction in such subjects as music, natural history, astronomy, veterinary 'art', political science, painting, sculpture and architecture and which also included schools for the deaf, blind and dumb (Title III)—as well as the technical

[8] H. G. Brown, *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon* (Charlottesville, 2006); J. Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA ; London, 2001); E. A. Arnold Jr, Review of J. Livesey, 'Making Democracy in the French Revolution', *History: Reviews of New Books*, 30:2 (2002), pp. 66–67; A. Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror: The Republican Origins of French Liberalism* (Ithaca, NY, 2008), especially pp. 108–140.
[9] Daunou, 'Projet de loi sur l'organisation de l'instruction publique', 1795, pp. 115–122, https://archipel.uqam.ca/325/1/Lakn-Daunou.pdf, accessed 22 May 2020.
[10] R. R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton ; Guildford, 1985), p. 230; Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution*, 171.
[11] Daunou, 'Projet de loi', title II, articles 2, 3, 6.

and military schools established in the law of 30 Vendémiaire (22 October).[12] This may seem ambitious, but several of these schools—medical schools and the École Polytechnique or the École nationale vétérinaire de Lyon, for instance—already existed, and the new special schools were never successfully established.[13] Essentially, Titles I–III of the Daunou law consolidated existing institutions.

Completing the levels of education, Title IV proposed the creation of the National Institute of the Sciences and Arts (Institut national des sciences et des arts). This learned society would replace the academies of the ancien régime, suppressed in 1793; members in Paris and the provinces would undertake and publish research, correspond with fellow learned societies abroad, and offer advice to the government. The Institute's Second Class, that of Moral and Political Sciences, whose members included the influential philosophers known as the Idéologues, were particularly active with regard to the latter.[14]

This hierarchical structure of public education had been masterminded by Condorcet in 1792. Condorcet had proposed a National Society, which 'provided the essential blueprint for the Institute'—though the name National Institute had been Talleyrand's creation.[15] The *écoles centrales*, though drawing on Condorcet's report, were Lakanal's brainchild: they were conceived in a proposal the Convention accepted in February 1795 (7 Ventôse, Year III) and only slightly altered by Daunou's law.[16]

Historians and contemporaries have emphasised the flaws in this legislation, which, among other weaknesses, made no provision for teacher training, left primary schools to compete with (often free) private establishments, and installed an illogical curriculum with no bridge between primary-school study and that undertaken at the *écoles centrales*.[17] Nevertheless, if the new law did not deal with the practical implementation of Lakanal's proposals, nor provide for free and compulsory education, it was significant insofar as it sought both to teach republican morals and to create an educated elite.[18] The education programme enacted under the Directory epitomised the tension between the pursuit of liberal democracy and the

[12] Ibid., title III.
[13] See Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 232.
[14] M. S. Staum, *Minerva's Message: Stabilizing the French Revolution* (Montreal and Kingston, 1996), pp. 57–77.
[15] Ibid., 34–35; quotation p. 35.
[16] On Condorcet, see Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 81–95.
[17] Ibid., 186–201; Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 231–232, 237, 260–268, 274; Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution*, 170–171.
[18] Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror*, 76–77.

need for stability which characterised politics in the late 1790s. Indeed, that need for stability was instrumental in Daunou's thinking. He emphasised, in his report introducing the bill, that supporting the arts was a means of ending the Revolution and healing strife.[19] The youth festivals and school prizegiving ceremonies of this period illustrate how education of the younger generation was seen as the key to consolidating the gains of the early 1790s and perpetuating the republican regime, in the wake of the Terror and despite persistent threats from both left and right.

Youth festivals and prizegiving: context and scope

The youth festivals were also a product of the Daunou law. Its final title introduced a calendar of festivals for public instruction, according to which the celebration of youth occurred along with that of husbands and wives (*fête des époux*) and the elderly (*fête de la vieillesse*), as well as festivals for the foundation of the Republic, and for liberty, agriculture and gratitude.[20] The Festival of Youth would take place annually on 10 Germinal.[21] The extant records suggest that youth festivals in department capitals were often combined with an *école centrale* prizegiving ceremony, though primary-school pupils might also be present and receive crowns. Indeed, Daunou's law stipulated that the new republican festivals should feature 'the distribution of awards'; school prizes surely seemed the most fitting for the youth festival.[22] Besides this aspect, ceremonies typically involved a procession, including school pupils and teachers, local authorities and military figures. A number of speeches would be pronounced, usually by teachers and municipal officials, but sometimes also by pupils. During the event, sixteen-year-old boys would be armed, and twenty-one-year-old men would sign the civic register. The festivals thus celebrated rites of passage and the order of generations, as much as adolescents themselves.[23]

Prizegiving ceremonies were also held publicly without the occasion of a youth festival. They eventually formed part of the proceedings of other distinct celebrations, such as that commemorating the death of the king, which had started out as a solemn occasion.[24] However, they also occurred as distinct ceremonies in their own right. The majority of such ceremonies seem to have involved the *écoles centrales*, but there are also extant records of proceedings at the two nationally funded schools—the École nationale de Liancourt and the

[19] Daunou, 'Rapport sur l'instruction publique, 23 vendémiaire, an IV', 112.
[20] Daunou, 'Projet de loi', title VI.
[21] I use the term 'youth festivals', uncapitalised, in order to emphasise the plurality of ceremonies across France.
[22] Daunou, 'Projet de loi', title VI, art. 2. 'la distribution des récompenses'.
[23] M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, A. Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1988), 186–196.
[24] Ibid., 187.

Institut des Boursiers de l'Égalité (later Prytanée)—as well as at the Institution nationale des colonies, a private school in Paris whose pupils included state-funded Black students from the French colonies. The youth festival at Lyon also included the prizegiving for the École vétérinaire. In general, prizes were awarded for each course, and the winners usually received a book.

School prizegiving ceremonies had occurred prior to 1795, during the Revolution and the ancien régime.[25] Much like the Directory's ceremonies, which were community events, those at Jesuit schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were 'a major social event for families and local authorities'.[26] They were likewise a feature of aristocratic émigré education at the turn of the century, as Kirsty Carpenter has shown in her study of the Penn School in Buckinghamshire.[27] In post-Thermidor France, they contributed to a culture of intellectual awards, following the example of the National Institute. Reviving the ancien régime academy tradition, the Institute hosted regular prize contests, which facilitated the sharing and recognition of ideas.[28] More generally, the prizegiving ceremonies and the Institute's prize contests contributed to a culture of meritocracy and commitment to the pursuit of knowledge, enshrined in Title V of the Daunou law, which instituted both of these types of competition, as well as awards for new discoveries. School ceremonies under the Directory and early Consulate were therefore part of a specific, politicised intellectual culture. They demonstrate how new ideas about youth and republican posterity developed within this context.

To date, they have not been the subject of detailed historical analysis. Ozouf and Vovelle of course discuss them in their classic works on revolutionary festivals, but their studies do not offer close analysis of the proceedings. Ozouf is interested in how the distinction between generations in the Directory's festivals related to understandings of time; Vovelle rightly stresses the new incarnation of republican youth as schoolboy—discussed below—but his overall focus is on the evolution of festivals in eighteenth-century Provence.[29] In their study of the Prytanée and its pupils, Palmer and Julia have considered the socioeconomic

[25] Caroline Fayolle has identified public ceremonies showcasing schoolgirls' progress in Besançon, in Year II. Fayolle, 'Des petites républiques de filles', 7.
[26] A.-S. Gallo, 'Jesuit Theater', in I. G. Zupanov, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits* (Oxford, 2019), p. 585.
[27] K. Carpenter, 'Émigré Children and the French School at Penn (Buckinghamshire): 1796–1814', in L. Philip and J. Reboul, eds, *French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe: Connected Histories and Memories* (Cham, Switzerland, 2020), pp. 98–99.
[28] See Staum, *Minerva's Message*, 64–77.
[29] Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 186–196; M. Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête en Provence de 1750 à 1820* (Paris, 1976), pp. 199–200.

backgrounds of prize-winners at the École centrale du Panthéon in Thermidor, Year VII. Their brief analysis reveals that better-off pupils tended, in this instance, to be more successful, but they argue that prizes were, nevertheless, more likely awarded for merit than to flatter important parents.[30] Indeed, as this chapter shows, speeches at these events consistently emphasised the importance of merit and might showcase pupils' compositions. More recently, Julia Gossard has conducted research on some of the prizes that might be awarded both at youth festivals and school prizegiving ceremonies, also using the Newberry collection.[31] My chapter expands on this, complementing the Newberry documents with those from other libraries and focusing more specifically on the language used in speeches on these occasions, in order to assess how youth was conceived under the Directory and early Consulate. Whereas Gossard only explores the implications of 'morality prizes', my work considers the broader spectrum of awards, for both academic and behavioural progress. Finally, my work differs from more traditional approaches insofar as it inserts pupils' voices into the conversation.

Who were those pupils? Though assessing the Directory's vision of youth, the focus in this chapter is on adolescent boys, rather than girls or younger children. Although primary-school children might also be crowned for their achievements, the extant sources focus much more on pupils of the *écoles centrales*, who were in their teens. Children could enrol on the first course at their department's *école centrale* at age twelve; they had to be at least sixteen to join the third (and final) course.[32] For this reason, I use the word 'youths' rather than 'children' in this chapter. Only occasionally do the primary sources refer to this age group as children, though those at the younger end of the spectrum may well have been described as such, like those in Chapter Three.[33] The celebration of youth was also a celebration of *male* youth: only boys could attend the *écoles centrales*, and, under Daunou's law, girls were not even permitted to attend state primary schools until an amendment was passed—which contrasted with earlier initiatives.[34] The purpose of education, as teachers and administrators emphasised so heavily in the proceedings discussed below, was to create useful members of society, or citizens. Women were largely excluded from politics in the later 1790s: after the

[30] R. R. Palmer and D. Julia, 'Le Prytanée français et les écoles de Paris (1798–1802)', *AHRF*, 53:243 (1981), pp. 142–143.
[31] Gossard, 'Prix de Moralité'.
[32] Daunou, 'Projet de loi', title II, art. 3.
[33] E.g. *Fête de la Jeunesse. Procès-verbal de la Fête de la jeunesse, célébrée dans la commune de Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7 de la République française, une & indivisible.* (Toulouse, 1799), p. 9, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62680974, accessed 22 May 2020.
[34] Ibid., title I, art. 10. On this amendment, see Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 231.

riots of Prairial, Year III, in which a crowd consisting mostly of women occupied the Convention, they were banned from entering the Convention galleries, participating in political assemblies, or even gathering in groups of more than five in the street.[35] Girls were accordingly neglected from state education and celebrations of youth.

Moreover, the focus on the *écoles centrales* meant that this was primarily a celebration of bourgeois youth. The civic privilege afforded to better-off children which we saw in the earlier 1790s thus became more sharply defined under the Directory, and the divide between girls' and boys' opportunities for public recognition much more concrete. Despite its commitment to democracy, Post-Terror politics was informed by classical republican discourse, which was characterised by deep-seated scepticism of popular participation, as well as women's exclusion from the public sphere.[36] This exclusive vision of politics was almost certainly a response to the popular Jacobinism of Year II, fears of which were further stoked by residual popular episodes in Germinal and Prairial, Year III: the Directory sought a more rational, moderate democracy, as opposed to earlier militancy. As Olwen Hufton put it, women therefore had to be silenced, and '[t]he popular revolution was ... over'.[37]

Nevertheless, we are not dealing exclusively with bourgeois children. The Daunou law also stipulated that bursaries should be available for up to a quarter of *école centrale* pupils at each level, allowing those from more modest backgrounds to attend. Accordingly, Palmer's studies of pupil demographics at the *écoles centrales* reveal that pupils came from 'a broad spectrum' of backgrounds across the bourgeoisie but also the 'working classes', and that demographics might vary by school.[38] Thus, in Paris a lawyer's son might count among his classmates the sons of government officials, but also artisans and 'ordinary workers'—though neither the 'very rich' nor the 'very poor'.[39] Pupils in the latter category were perhaps to be found at the École nationale du Liancourt, which provided for the sons of the Republic's faithful servants. Under a decree of 20 Prairial, Year III, the school that had been founded by the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt in 1780, welcomed impoverished soldiers' sons,

[35] See Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 44–50; Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 331–364.
[36] Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror*, 71.
[37] Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 49–50.
[38] Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 248; Palmer and Julia, 'Le Prytanée français et les écoles de Paris (1798–1802)', 138–140.
[39] Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 248.

military orphans, orphans of the explosion of the gunpowder factory at Grenelle (1794), and children of colonial families impoverished by the Revolution.[40]

There is also the case of the Institut des Boursiers de l'égalité, or Prytanée, as it was renamed in 1798. This institution functioned primarily as a boarding house, or *pensionnat,* for pupils who had formerly held state scholarships at the Collège Louis-le-Grand and other, abolished Paris *collèges*. Those of its pupils who were old enough pursued courses at one of the Paris *écoles centrales,* for the most part that of the Panthéon, and older pupils took classes at the higher institutions, including the École Polytechnique. However, though funded by the state, the Prytanée's pupils tended to come from fairly affluent backgrounds.[41] The sons of government functionaries were particularly well represented, to the extent that Palmer and Julia have argued that 'the Prytanée bursaries had become the reward … of a new civil service'.[42] The government's support for the education of such pupils suggests a commitment to forming a political elite, but also its recognition of citizens who supported it, just as at the École de Liancourt. Thus, in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds, most of the pupils at these ceremonies likely came from bourgeois families, but their circumstances were not uniform. They covered the spectrum of occupations within this grouping, and boys from working backgrounds were also represented.

Additionally, the vision of youth that was cultivated through festivals and prizegiving was not exclusively white or from metropolitan France. The Institution nationale des colonies, established in 1797 at the former Collège de la Marche, celebrated its public prizegiving on 21 September 1798, or the so-called 'day of rewards', between the end of Fructidor, Year VI and the start of Year VII.[43] The sons of Black colonial officers—including Isaac and Placide Louverture—who attended at the government's expense were exceptional in travelling to the mainland to be educated, and the opportunity was short-lived. In September 1802, during the Haitian Revolution, Bonaparte's government revoked the school's title and expelled its Black

[40] M. Roussier, 'L'Éducation des enfants de Toussaint Louverture et l'Institution nationale des colonies', *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire*, 64:236 (1977), p. 311. This was not limited to white children; the first Black pupils of the Institution nationale des colonies (discussed below) were initially sent to the Liancourt.
[41] Palmer and Julia, 'Le Prytanée français et les écoles de Paris (1798–1802)', 141–143.
[42] Ibid., 141. 'les bourses du Prytanée étaient devenues la récompense … d'un nouvel personnel d'Etat'.
[43] *Exercice qui a eu lieu le 5.e jour complémentaire de l'an 6 de la République française, une et indivisible, à l'Institution nationale des colonies, ci-devant collége [sic] de la Marche, sur les Mathématiques, la Langue latine et la Mythologie, en présence du Ministre de la marine et des colonies, de plusieurs Représentans du peuple, et d'un grand concours de citoyens* (Paris, 1798), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9809003s/f203.image.r=prix%20institution%20nationale%20des%20colonies, accessed 23 May 2020; On the history of the Institution nationale des colonies, see Roussier, 'L'Éducation des enfants de Toussaint Louverture'.

pupils. Even so, the prizegiving report reveals how the school and authorities sought to include these boys in their vision of French Republican society in the late 1790s—and the school outlived the *école centrales*, which were abolished in May. The Directory was in fact the first French government to aim to provide education for Black colonial youths.[44] It was unable to establish effective schooling in the colonies, but aimed to nonetheless: Philippe Roume, the Directory's agent in Saint-Domingue, sent seven high-achieving pupils to the school in enthusiastic support of Article 86 of a law of 12 Nivôse, Year VI. This stipulated that six pupils from the *écoles centrales* would be selected annually to continue their education in France—though as yet no *écoles centrales* had been established in Saint-Domingue.[45] Official and philanthropic efforts to establish schools in Saint-Domingue and to educate former slaves in this period had varying levels of success.[46] The Directory's commitment to educating these boys as French citizens is therefore apparent and the school offers another perspective from which to consider prizegiving ceremonies and the reconceptualisation of youth. In particular, comparison with ceremonies involving the *écoles centrales* illustrates how Black youths were perceived simultaneously as the same and other, complicating our understanding of the Directory's views on youth and highlighting the limits of colonial egalitarianism.

Whilst France retained its Atlantic colonies in this period, the republican armies also advanced into Europe, annexing territories to meet France's alleged natural borders, and creating 'sister republics'. I have found no evidence of republican youth festivals or prizegiving ceremonies occurring in these newly conquered (or 'liberated') territories, but schools modelled on the French *écoles centrales* were more successfully established in annexed Belgian territories than in Saint-Domingue, so similar awards ceremonies may have taken place there.[47] Meanwhile, on the Italian peninsula, the government of the Cisalpine Republic never realised its plans to establish *scuole centrali*, modelled on the French *écoles centrales*.[48] Unfortunately, therefore, there is no possibility of a direct comparison with republican youth festivals in these territories.

[44] Roussier, 'L'Éducation des enfants de Toussaint Louverture', 331.
[45] Ibid., 318–319.
[46] E. R. Johnson, *Philanthropy and Race in the Haitian Revolution* (Cham, Switzerland, 2018), pp. 95–112.
[47] See M.-T. Isaac and C. Sorgeloos, 'Les Écoles centrales : départements réunis - départements de l'Intérieur. Points de convergences et de divergences', in J.-O. Boudon, ed., *Napoléon et les lycées : enseignement et société en Europe au début du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2004), pp. 17–37.
[48] That said, the Napoleonic regime would later award prizes to high-achieving students in the Kingdom of Italy (1802–14). A. Grab, 'Secondary Schools in Napoleonic Italy (1802–14)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 20:4 (2015), pp. 529, 537.

On the other hand, it is unclear how widespread the ceremonies were within metropolitan France. The Daunou law stipulated that each canton was to celebrate the youth festival annually on 10 Germinal, though if this took place, most ceremonies would not in fact have involved an *école centrale*, given that there was only one of these per department, and only ninety-seven had been established by 1798.[49] Furthermore, the *écoles centrales* were often underattended: even of those eligible, many adolescents attended private schools, despite the Directory's efforts to encourage state-school enrolment.[50]

What follows is by no means an exhaustive account, but the collections allow a broad sweep of ceremonies across France. Geographically, these ceremonies were spread from Douai in the north to Toulouse in the south. Therefore, although they may not be representative of all French cantons, they demonstrate that these practices were spread across the country.

In the sections that follow, I analyse the ways in which these sources express a vision of youth as the nation's hope, and how youths were expected to fulfil these hopes through their education. In particular, educators and local officials followed Daunou in emphasising the value of intellectual achievement and morality, which they trusted would stabilise society. Subsequently, I demonstrate that, despite the focus on education, military service continued to be presented as a goal for youths. Finally, I turn to the speeches and compositions that were ascribed to adolescents themselves. I demonstrate that they engaged with representations and expectations of them in the context of the festivals celebrating their achievements.

'Our sweetest hopes'

Across all of the documents is a sense that youths embodied national hope. Often this was expressed explicitly, with teachers and local officials referring to the younger generation as 'l'espoir' or 'l'espérance' (hope) of the Republic. Thus, for instance, Jean-François Champagne, the director of the Prytanée school (and a member of the National Institute's Second Class), described the (hypothetical) virtuous child as 'the hope of his parents and of the republic'. At this prizegiving ceremony, such a child was worthy of an award.[51]

Similarly, Citizen ('Citoyen') Carret, speaking on behalf of the local government at Lyon's youth festival in Year VI, extolled the celebration of 'this class of citizens upon whom the

[49] Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 186.
[50] Ibid., 181–182, 191; Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity*, 249.
[51] *Distribution des prix de moralité, faite aux Élèves de l'Institut des Boursiers de l'Egalité, par suite de la Fête de la Jeunesse ; En présence et par les ordres du Ministre de l'Intérieur. Le 30 Floréal an VI de la République française* ([Paris], 1798), p. 10. 'l'espoir de ses parens et de la république.'

patrie founds its dearest hope'.[52] These citizens, he claimed, would become the next generation of soldiers, legislators, magistrates and shopkeepers; they would support the arts and humanity itself.[53] The continuation of a functioning republican society therefore depended on their ability to perform these roles.

As such, this generation would realise the nation's hopes through their education. This, of course, was the reason for the inclusion of school prizegiving ceremonies at many youth festivals: the schoolboy would learn the knowledge and skills needed to perpetuate the Republic. Thus hope was also explicitly placed in the new school system. For example, at the inauguration ceremony of the École centrale des Hautes-Alpes in Year V, the literature teacher, a Citizen Rolland, exclaimed, 'who among us … can resist the pleasures of hope, when we see the sources of instruction open throughout the Republic …!'[54]

This vision of youth as embodied hope and investment in the future was often combined with associations of childhood with nature. Daunou had proposed (and the Convention decreed) that the youth festivals should be celebrated annually on 10 Germinal (30 March 1796–99, then 31 March), the timing of which was not coincidental. The association between spring and rebirth fed into the discourse on youth, symbolising hope and optimism, but also the need for conscientious cultivation. At the youth festival in Year VII, the headmaster (*président*) of the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire thus combined the image of youths' future service to the nation with that of the budding flowers and crops of the season:

> The Festival of YOUTH, celebrated at the rebirth of Spring, is a very touching one. It is the image of the Patrie's hope, embellished by all the hopes of nature.
>
> Happy and truly interesting age, what do you not promise to human society? Pleasant and comforting season, of how many grains and fruits, do your shoots, your buds and your flowers not come to offer us the sweet expectation? … Thus already everything cheers at the sight of the first colours decorating the countryside; thus already the Patrie rejoices to see, raised beside the generation which set it free, a generation which must distinguish it through talents, morals and peace.
>
> C'est une Fête bien touchante que celle de LA JEUNESSE célébrée à la renaissance du Printems. C'est le tableau de l'espérance de la Patrie, embelli de toutes les espérances de la nature.
>
> Age heureux et véritablement intéressant, que ne promets-tu pas à la société

[52] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse, et de la séance d'émulation et de distribution des prix dans l'école d'économie rurale et vétérinaire de Lyon* (Lyon, 1798), p. 2. 'cette classe de citoyens sur lesquels la patrie fonde son espérance la plus chère'.
[53] Ibid.
[54] *Procès-verbal de l'inauguration de l'École centrale du département des Hautes-Alpes : avec les discours prononcés par les citoyens Richard, président de l'administration centrale du département, et Rolland, professeur des belles lettres ; ainsi que les réglemens des Ecoles centrale et primaires* (Gap, 1796), pp. 19–20. 'qui de nous … peut se refuser aux douceurs de l'espérance, quand nous voyons les sources de l'instruction ouvertes dans toute l'étendue de la République … !'

> humaine ! Riante et consolante saison, de combien de grains et de fruits, tes germes, tes boutons et tes fleurs ne viénent-ils [sic] pas nous offrir la douce attente ! … Ainsi déjâ [sic] tout s'égaye à l'aspect des premieres [sic] couleurs dont se décorent les campagnes ; ainsi déjâ [sic] la Patrie se réjouit de voir s'élever auprès de la génération qui l'a rendue libre, une génération qui doit l'illustrer par les talens, par les mœurs et par la paix.[55]

The history teacher at the École centrale de Toulouse, a Citizen Picot, extended the metaphor further:

> In the order of nature, Spring is the season of sweet hope …. O youth! Spring is your image, and also in the order of nature, it is up to you to sow in [people's] hearts, to develop in [their] minds, the oaths of all virtues, the principles of all useful knowledge.
>
> Dans l'ordre de la nature, le Printemps est la saison de la douce espérance. … ô jeunesse ! le Printemps est ton image, & dans l'ordre de la nature aussi, c'est à toi qu'il appartient de faire germer dans les cœurs, de développer dans les esprits les sermens de toutes les vertus, les principes de toutes les connoissances utiles.[56]

This came after Picot had directly told the youths at the festival that the 'sweetest hopes' rested on them, and that adults expected them to achieve the nation's 'glorious destinies'.[57] Both of these speeches employed the sentimental, pastoral imagery associated with youth, linking the speakers' optimism to the current season, to imply—or assert, in Picot's case—that the younger generation's future achievements were part of the natural order. Invoking both the rhythm of the seasons and that of the generations, they merged a traditional, cyclic view of time with an image of revolutionary progress. This suggested the interminability of that progress; as Ozouf puts it with regard to the cycle of ages celebrated in the Directory's festivals more broadly, 'the Revolution was not an ever-open history but an order that could no longer be disturbed by anything'.[58] Thus, in the natural order of things, youths would perpetuate the success of their parents' generation through their own achievements and through themselves planting future seeds to continue the Revolution's legacy.

Nevertheless, the metaphor allowed acknowledgment of an uncertain future, as well as emphasis on the responsibility of youths and their educators for ensuring these hopes came to fruition. Citizen Crouzeau, the headmaster (*directeur*) of the École de Liancourt, addressed his young pupils directly to explain that they 'offer[ed] sweet hopes for the future'. Yet, he pointed out, whilst the tree that bears fruit gains its grower's affection, the farmer resents the fruitless tree for wasting the good orchard soil, and may chop it down.[59] Likewise, the

[55] *École-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII* (Tours, 1799), p. 3.
[56] *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 7.
[57] Ibid., pp. 4–5. 'nos plus douces espérances'; 'ses glorieuses destinées'.
[58] Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, 195.
[59] *École du canton de Liancourt. Fête de la jeunesse* (Paris, 1796), p. 2. 'nous offre pour l'avenir de douces espérances'.

virtuous pupils' success was moving and inspiring, whereas the badly behaved young man was not worthy of liberty.[60] Crouzeau's was a charity school, so a parallel can be drawn between the investment of earth in the metaphorical orchard and the Republic's resources used to fund Liancourt's pupils. Indeed, Crouzeau stated his expectation that his pupils would show their gratitude to the Republic.[61] I discuss this in further detail below; the point here is that the headmaster paired youth with the idea of spring and botanical growth to assert that pupils must be consistent in their efforts and that they were dependent on their educators.

Similarly, the librarian of the École vétérinaire at Lyon, a man named Grognier, expressed hope that passions would not lead pupils astray, as a strong wind might destroy hopes of a fruitful harvest. Like Crouzet, Grognier expressed faith that the pupils of the veterinary school would not disappoint, given their success so far. [62] Thus, although youth was pure and full of promise, it was not guaranteed that this generation would fulfil the hopes placed in them.

This was tangibly expressed through the speeches relating to the planting of liberty trees at some ceremonies. These were a symbol of the need to cultivate (or educate) youths to become citizens. According to Champagne at the Prytanée school, the pupils' care for their trees mirrored that of the Republic for them, and the trees' healthy growth depended on their virtuous behaviour.[63] Similarly, the youth festival in the Eure was bookended by the planting of liberty tree and a 'glory tree' (l'arbre de la gloire'). The latter, according to the departmental president, would grow in accordance with youths' success and should inspire them to emulate the glory of Rousseau and Voltaire, besides whose busts this laurel tree was planted. On the other hand, the liberty tree, whose planting preceded the prizegiving, does not seem to have fulfilled the same metaphorical function. This tree should inspire youths to be courageous in defending freedom. Nevertheless, the president asserted that they would be reminded of their commitment whenever they walked by the tree—which was planted at the entrance to the *école centrale*—thus more subtly evoking the notion of persistent cultivation.[64] As Gossard describes it, '[t]his ceremony [in the Eure] reminded students, their

[60] Ibid., 2–3.
[61] Ibid., 3.
[62] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse*, 18.
[63] *Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, par les élèves du Prytanée français, à la maison de Vanvres, le 16 ventôse, an sept de la République Française, une et indivisible* (Paris, 1799), p. 5.
[64] *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse (10 germinal, an 7.) ; inauguration de l'École centrale ; distribution de prix* (Évreux, 1799), pp. 2–3, 13, 19–21, 68–70.

families, and the community-at-large that citizenship and patriotism had to be continually cultivated, like a tree, from infancy to old age.'[65]

The analogy drawn between education and agriculture is reminiscent of Rousseau's comparison of infants to a 'young plant' that their mothers must '[c]ultivate and water'.[66] Of course, the nature of formal education was very different from that which Rousseau envisaged for Émile, but we now see the appropriation of this metaphor to support the new schooling system and the extension of sentimental childhood into adolescence. In this case, the speeches depict education as a reciprocal process: the adolescent pupils were responsible for applying themselves consistently in order to achieve success. Furthermore, although invoking a cyclic vision of time, these educators were committed to effecting future change through their investments in youth, combined with youths' own conscientiousness, in the present.

For this reason, state-funded pupils were seen as an investment in the Republic's future, and teachers and officials were transparent about this with their pupils. These pupils were told they should be grateful, as their personal aspirations were expected to align with national goals. At the Prytanée's liberty-tree-planting ceremony, for the occasion of the school's transfer to the Maison de Vanvres, Champagne reminded the pupils of their debt to the nation. This solemn occasion should forever remind them of the school 'which will have seen the development of your pleasant youth, your morality, your talents'.[67] He explained that, just as the trees were dependent on their goodwill, they were being raised by that of the nation. If the pupils were not virtuous in caring for their trees, the trees '[would] reproach you for your ingratitude'.[68] In Champagne's metaphor, the trees represented both pupils benefiting from the generosity of their benefactors, and the school itself, to whom they owed gratitude. At the same ceremony, Cambry, a departmental bureaucrat connected to the school, spoke of how the pupils should declare their 'eternal gratitude to the Government', and explained that their schooling was to repay their parents' service to the Republic.[69] Meanwhile, at the École de

[65] Gossard, 'Prix de Moralité'; Cf. *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 14–17. At this ceremony, the liberty tree represented the enduring strength of liberty, and no comparison to the education of youths was made. On the association between children and liberty trees, see C.-M. Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', in M.-F. Lévy, ed., *L'Enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, (Paris, 1990), p. 214.
[66] Rousseau, *Emile*, 38.
[67] *Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, par les élèves du Prytanée français*, 5. 'qui aura vu se développer votre aimable jeunesse, votre moralité, vos talens'.
[68] Ibid. 'ils vous reprocheraient votre ingratitude'.
[69] Ibid., 9. 'une reconnaissance éternelle au Gouvernement'.

Liancourt, the headmaster, Crouzet, expressed his faith that pupils would remember 'that the patrie took you in' and take advantage of the education provided to them.[70]

The state-funded pupils at the Institution nationale des colonies were likewise an investment, but the repayment of their debt to the state would take a distinct form. The Minister of the Navy and Colonies, Étienne Eustache Bruix, told them they were 'destined' to take patriotism, love of liberty and equality, and knowledge of French laws back to the colonies, thus spreading French republicanism.[71] Although the specific motivation differed, the education these pupils received was thus intended to benefit society, like that of their white French peers. Nevertheless, despite the minister's emphasis on the gratitude the boys should feel, his speech suggests that they were not expected to remain in metropolitan France and pursue careers there.[72]

Though state-funded pupils were a direct investment, adults often addressed other youths directly in pinning hopes upon them. Their education was not seen as passive, nor did this hopeful image represent a passive object. Rather, teachers and local officials directly informed local youths of the vision they inspired so that they might live up to expectations. We have seen, for instance, how Picot appealed to his young audience at Toulouse, to liken them to springtime. His use of the second-person singular (*tu*, *toi*), however, created distance between the image and the actual youths he was addressing: he was invoking the abstract youth rather than youths themselves. Elsewhere in his speech, he addressed them more directly, with the second-person plural (*vous*), in order to instruct them explicitly on their responsibilities to the Republic—thus inviting and preparing them to match the Republic's abstract expectations of them .[73]

Besides Picot, other speakers directly told youths of the hope they represented. For instance, on 10 Germinal, Year VIII (31 March 1800), the newly appointed prefect of the Yonne, Jean-Baptiste Rougier de la Bergerie, instructed the pupils of the *école centrale* to 'remember that well-raised youth is the dearest hope of the patrie'.[74] By addressing them directly in this way,

[70] *École du canton de Liancourt. Fête de la jeunesse*, 3. 'que la patrie vous a recueillis dans son sein'.
[71] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 6. 'destinés'.
[72] Ibid., 6–7.
[73] *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 3–10.
[74] J.-B. Rougier de la Bergerie, *Discours prononcé par le citoyen Rougier-Labergerie, préfet de l'Yonne, dans la séance publique tenue, le 10 germinal, à l'occasion des récompenses décernées aux elèves de l'Ecole centrale : en présence de toutes les autorités constituées du chef-lieu du département de l'Yonne : imprimé par l'ordre de l'administration municipale d'Auxerre* (Auxerre, 1800), p. 18. 'souvenez-vous que la jeunesse bien élevée est la plus chère espérance de la patrie.'; Rougier de la Bergerie had served as a deputy in the National Assembly and was appointed prefect on 3 March 1800. On his life and career, see A. Robert, E. Bourloton and G. Cougny,

Rougier de la Bergerie emphasised the pupils' own responsibility for ensuring they were indeed raised well, and placed the burden of hope squarely on their shoulders. Two years earlier, the history teacher at the École centrale de la Côte-d'Or had likewise assigned the role of fulfilling hope directly to the school's pupils: he first addressed them at their prizegiving ceremony by calling them 'Young Pupils, objects of the sweetest and most beautiful hopes'.[75] The Tarn's literature teacher, Duprat, made the point most emphatically:

> [I]t is to you that we turn our gaze and our hopes, young Citizens, [you] whose hearts are not wilted by the poisoned breath of crime. Ah! Keep pure and unstained this celestial virtue which is your most touching quality! … [T]he Patrie has the right to demand from you, from today, a guarantee of your future morality, and this guarantee, the only one on which the Patrie can found legitimate hopes, is your current morality.
>
> [C]'est sur vous que se tournent nos regards et nos espérances, jeunes Citoyens, dont le cœur n'est point flétri par le soufle [sic] empoisonné du crime : ah ! conservez pure et sans tache, cette vertu céleste qui est votre plus touchant appanage [sic] ! … la Patrie a le droit d'exiger dès aujourd'hui de vous un garant de votre moralité future, et ce garant, le seul sur lequel elle puisse fondre de légitimes espérances, c'est votre moralité actuelle.[76]

Although the ceremonies' emphasis was on achievement and cultivation of merit, rather than inherent virtue, Duprat nevertheless evoked the Rousseauvian image of unsullied youth. This generation had not been tarnished by the crimes of Year II or the Ancien Régime; they were a blank slate on which to project hope for a fair, democratic society. At the same time, however, he required commitment from them now. Whilst Duprat clearly focused on morality, the speeches overall suggest three main ways in which youths could realise the hopes vested in them and produce a return on the state's investment. As the headmaster of the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire stated explicitly, these were through talent (or 'useful knowledge', as Picot put it), morals and peace.

Stabilising the nation: moral and intellectual progress

Accordingly, teachers and local officials emphasised the importance of morals and academic progress for the nation. They reminded their audiences of the conjoined importance or morality and intellectual distinction as means of both protecting and improving the Republic, bringing the ideas of the Directory and the Idéologues to schools and to the members of the public in attendance. In these speeches, the success of children was correlated with the success of the Republic, although confidence was tinged with caution. The various speeches,

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eds., *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français … : depuis le 1er mai 1789 jusqu'au 1er mai 1889 …*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1891), p. 202, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k83709c, accessed 6 June 2020.

[75] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 6 de la République française* (Dijon, 1798), p. 17. 'Jeunes Elèves, objets des plus belles et des plus douces espérances'.

[76] *Procès-verbal de la distribution des prix aux élèves de l'École centrale du dept. du Tarn ; le 10 fructidor, an 7 de la République française* (Albi, 1799), pp. 6–7.

taken together, suggest a combination of unease regarding a return to despotism, and optimism regarding a successful national future.

Focusing on the importance of knowledge, the history teacher of the École centrale de la Côte d'Or highlighted local authorities' presence at the prizegiving ceremony as evidence of the government's commitment to pedagogical institutions. He claimed that 'if it is weapons which found or consolidate empires, it is enlightenment which makes them flourish and prosper'.[77] This statement echoed Daunou's sentiments in 1795. At the same time, the teacher was making an implicit observation in support of French expansion under the Directory. Bonaparte's campaigns in Egypt and Italy aimed to combine military expansion with propagation of enlightenment values and extension of knowledge, for instance through the establishment of the Institut d'Égypte and the celebration of the Festival of the Republic, in Cairo in 1798, and the collection of cultural artefacts to enrich French knowledge.[78] Back in France, the schoolteacher followed Daunou and the Thermidorians in suggesting that knowledge was a means of enriching the Republic in peacetime, and alluded to this vision of empire. His pupils' intellectual achievements were essential for the prosperity of the Republic as it consolidated its place in the world.

Meanwhile, in Toulouse, Picot, the aforementioned history teacher, likewise emphasised the Republic's commitment to developing talent and inspiring genius in order 'to form useful citizens'.[79] However, he also explicitly asserted that talent without virtue was 'a dangerous and poisoned weapon'. Talents and genius might indeed enrich a republic, but only the consistent practice of virtue would ensure it could last.[80]

Indeed, other ceremonies saw the expression of this commitment to virtue as necessary to uphold the Republic. According to a member of the Rhône department's central administration the same year (1798), it was essential for national education to support the government—as it had in Ancient Greece and Rome, but not during the Ancien Régime.[81] Carret advised the teachers of Lyon's École vétérinaire to instruct their pupils that morality is

[77] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 7 de la République française* (Dijon, 1799), p. 8. 'si ce sont les armes qui fondent ou affermissent les empires, ce sont les lumières qui les font prospérer et fleurir'.
[78] J. Cole, *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (New York; Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 145–146, 167–175; D. M. Quynn, 'The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars', *The American Historical Review*, 50:3 (1945), pp. 437–460.
[79] *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 9. 'former des citoyens utiles'.
[80] Ibid., 10. 'une arme dangéreuse [sic] & empoisonnée'.
[81] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse*, p. 14.

'the law [which is] common and natural to all peoples, and that it is still the mainstay of *mœurs* and legislation'. [82] Specifically, he underlined the importance of teaching love of 'the national language' and of liberty.[83] The universal ability to communicate in French remained a goal of the state: the Lakanal law had decreed that primary education should include French teaching and be conducted in both French and the local vernacular, in order to spread knowledge of French quickly.[84] Now, it seems, this objective was tied to the preservation of the Republic, rather than its creation.

Regarding love of liberty, Carret maintained that this was innate and instructed teachers to guide their pupils to discover it inside themselves, in order to demonstrate to them the advantages of a republican government.[85] The same year, Étienne-Nicolas Fabre, an administrator for the 11th arrondissement in Paris, asserted that patriotism was innate, whilst speculating optimistically on the fruits it would bear once it was explained to adolescents and 'prepared' ('préparé) within younger children.[86] These speakers thus presented an image of youth as naturally inclined to support the Republic, but emphasised the importance of acquired knowledge and guidance to enable them to fulfil this essential role.

In Tours, the principal of the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire similarly asserted that reason was imperative for the development of virtue, and this time the speaker connected this to developments in revolutionary and ancien régime history. Rather than condemning the Terror, he listed crimes caused by so-called fanaticism in support of his argument. Thus, 'the misfortunes of the Vendée' represented the most recent fanatical episode, after events such as the Crusades, the Inquisition and the Wars of Religion.[87] In this way he consigned the civil war and atrocities of recent years to an obsolete and reactionary history, which the Revolution had overcome. Regardless of the initial violence which tarnished it, the Revolution had witnessed the development of virtue, as well as acts of heroism and sacrifice. The heroes and citizens who had upheld the Republic were its 'real [founding] fathers'.[88] For this headmaster, more enlightenment was the remedy for the recurrent division and brutality

[82] Ibid., 17. 'la loi commune et naturelle à toutes les peuples, et qu'elle est encore le soutien des mœurs et de la législation'.
[83] Ibid., 16-17. 'la langue nationale'.
[84] J. Lakanal, 'Projet de décret sur l'organisation des écoles primaires', 1795, pp. 33–42, https://archipel.uqam.ca/325/1/Lakn-Daunou.pdf, accessed 22 May 2020, chap. IV, arts. 2–3.
[85] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse*, 17.
[86] É.-N. Fabre, *Fête de la jeunesse* (Paris, 1798), pp. 12–13.
[87] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 4. 'les malheurs de la Vendée'.
[88] Ibid., 5. 'les vrais peres [sic]'.

of French history. He therefore trusted to youths the responsibility to enrich the Republic, its culture and its legacy, through their talents in the arts and sciences; to 'love the arts [and] refine *mœurs*', upon which 'rest the destinies of Empires'.[89]

Despite the headmaster's somewhat rose-tinted image of the Revolution, the duties with which he charged his pupils were nevertheless underpinned by implicit fear of political division and, perhaps, of a return to more turbulent times. 'Remember', he urged them, 'that the strength of cities consists in the union of citizens; that he who would divide, would oppress and betray.'[90] Coinciding with the national elections of spring 1799, the headmaster's speech thus implied fear of factionalism, perhaps prompted by unease regarding the growing neo-Jacobin influence. Since its establishment in 1795, the Directory had suppressed at least two major conspiracies: Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equals in 1796 and the recurrent threat of royalism, brutally stamped out in the Coup of 18 Fructidor, when sixty-five deputies were deported to French Guyana.

Moreover, since 1797, tensions had mounted again between church and state, in spite of the partial religious amnesty of 1795. This may explain the headmaster's interpretation of the Vendée insurrection as the result of religious fanaticism—an interpretation much more in keeping with the Jacobinism of Year II than with post-Thermidorian condemnation of the atrocities committed in suppressing it. The Indre-et-Loire had in fact been minimally affected by the Terror, relative to other departments. According to Donald Greer's study, twenty-two inhabitants of the department were sentenced to death by its revolutionary tribunals in Year II—a minimal figure compared to the Vendée's 1,616, or the 3,548 victims from the Loire-Inférieure, the department with the highest number of such victims—and none were condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris.[91] This could explain the headmaster's downplaying of Jacobin violence. In any case, all of these divisions seemingly influenced the role the headmaster envisaged for his pupils. In them he saw a generation untarnished by the nation's troubled past, but who could resolve its contradictions and honour and reinforce the Republic, through their intellectual progress and concomitant moral development.[92]

[89] Ibid., 3–5, quotations p. 5. 'Aimez les Arts, épurez les mœurs' ; 'reposent les destinées des Empires'.
[90] Ibid., 6. 'Souvenez-vous que c'est dans l'union des Citoyens que consiste la force des Cités ; que qui veut diviser, veut opprimer et trahir.'
[91] D. Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA, 1935), pp. 135–147.
[92] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, esp. p. 5.

The Directory's obsession with education to support and preserve the Republic, combined with such references to division and conflict, support Gossard's interpretation of the ceremony speeches as revealing a sense of the regime's precariousness. Yet such concerns were sometimes veiled in the optimistic atmosphere the events sought to promote, such that it is difficult to judge the feelings of individual speakers. According to the history teacher at the École centrale de la Côte d'Or, speaking in Year VI, the acquisition of knowledge would bring about a new dawn for France, a golden age to rival historic renaissances.[93] The development of a meritocratic society would encourage grand ideas and the construction of permanent monuments, thus enriching French society and enabling it to endure.[94] The following year, an unnamed civil servant for the same department spoke confidently of how a republican education would prepare youths for a range of careers in post-revolutionary society. He told youths directly that they would reap the benefits of older generations' sacrifices and claimed that 'when they appear in the world, the revolution will be complete'. From that moment, prejudice and 'the old political errors' would be nothing but 'a dead language': this generation would know of them but have no contact with these mistakes now consigned to history—much like the Indre-et-Loire headmaster's Vendée.[95]

Similarly, in Paris, the aforementioned Fabre declared that the generation which undertook the Revolution wished to guide the next generation to fulfil the 'happy destinies' whose foundations had been laid.[96] Though acknowledging that the current generation had suffered, he presented an optimistic vision of the future, based on patriotism, the value of which he emphasised throughout his speech. He represented the nation itself as a child reaching maturity. 'Instructed by [patriotism], it will pass from the age of emancipation into which it is entering to that of maturity, where it will unite virtues with Enlightenment.'[97] Through this faintly Kantian image of the Revolution's completion, Fabre implied its inevitability, through the parallel to a child growing up, guided by the older generation and by innate patriotism. This sense is further conveyed through his repetitive use of the future tense combined with the third person: he was announcing what *will be*. Patriotism would ensure success and motivate contributions to the Republic:

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[93] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 6*, 15–16.
[94] Ibid., 16–17.
[95] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 7*, 6–7, quotations p. 7. 'lorsqu'ils devront figurer dans le monde, la révolution sera consommée' ; 'les vieilles erreurs politiques seront une langue morte'.
[96] Fabre, *Fête de la jeunesse*, 14–15, quotation p. 14. 'ces heureuses destinées'.
[97] Ibid., 14. 'Eclairée par lui, elle passera de l'âge d'émancipation où elle entre à celui de maturité où elle réunira les vertus aux lumières.'

> Love for the patrie will guide [the new generation]. Through it, the adolescents who [today] will seize their fasces will become heroes and will bring about new wonders. Through it, those who [today] will inscribe their names upon the civic book, will make themselves worthy of public suffrage in the honourable labours of civil and military protection of the political administration. Through it, those who have been worthy of prizes in their studies, instead of feeling the vain glory of egoism, will congratulate themselves for announcing talents useful to everyone …
>
> L'amour de la patrie l'y guidera. Par lui, les adolescens qui s'empareront de leurs faisceaux d'armes deviendront des héros et opéreront de nouveaux prodiges. Par lui, ceux qui s'inscriront sur le livre civique, se rendront dignes du suffrage public dans les honorables travaux de la protection civile et militaire de l'administration politique. Par lui, ceux qui dans leurs cours d'études auront mérité des prix, au lieu d'éprouver la vaine gloire de l'égoïsme, s'applaudiront d'annoncer des talens utiles à tous …[98]

Fabre's sustained emphasis on the role of patriotism supports the notion of the necessity of public support for laws, but the inevitability he implied demonstrates confidence that egoism could be retrained, or redirected to nobler ends. He connected the events of the day's ceremony to apparently certain outcomes, as though ordaining the future.

The image of youth as hope was therefore intrinsically connected to the trauma of Year II and to the ongoing threats the regime faced. The Terror may have haunted these men, but the celebration of youths and their achievements, both academic and moral, provided a means of looking forward—a sense of proof that stability was being achieved and that harmony might endure. Teachers and government officials reconciled the current regime with the revolutionary past by emphasising the hopes and sacrifices of the revolutionary generation, or by conflating civil war with historical massacres attributed to religious fanaticism. The resulting narrative presented to pupils and the public was one of progress and optimism, rather than regret or fear of return to corruption. Of course, this was nuanced by the aforementioned acknowledgement that youths' inculcation was not inevitable, but the speakers always expressed their confidence in pupils and teachers to bring it about effectively. The ceremonies thus celebrated youth as the Republic's future, through moral and academic progress.

Indeed, the purpose of state education was to prepare students to be useful members of society in this way. As the Thermidorians grappled with the scars of Year II, they perceived a continuation of enlightenment as a means of preventing renewed anarchy and resolving conflict.[99] Thus, in his report on education in 1795, Daunou asserted that 'the arts are to end the Revolution that they began, to end all disagreements, to restore harmony among all those

[98] Ibid., 15.
[99] Baczko, *Ending the Terror*, 256–257.

who cultivate them'.[100] This perception informed education and electoral policy under the Directory: as Baczko has pointed out, the financial and educational qualification for voting, though indicative of unease regarding popular politics, occurred alongside educational reform—which Daunou proposed—that focused on spreading knowledge of the arts and sciences and thus enlightening the population.[101] Of course the results of this were limited by the fact that the *écoles centrales* were fee-paying schools.

On the one hand, the Thermidorians really sought to create what Baczko astutely terms 'new élites'.[102] Accordingly, in a report to the Committee of Public Instruction on 16 December 1794, Lakanal had stressed that primary education should suffice for the majority of French citizens; however, 'for the glory of the motherland, for the advancement of human knowledge, it is necessary that young citizens who have been excepted by nature from the ordinary class should find a sphere in which their talents can be given scope'.[103] In this way, Lakanal justified meritocratic secondary education for the benefit of society—even humanity—overall. Intellectual progress was both a patriotic and a humanitarian duty to those gifted with aptitude.

On the other hand, the Idéologues advocated the social sciences as a means of ensuring social stability through public morality. The Directory shared this vision of morality produced by reason and sought advice on policy from this intellectual cohort.[104] Reforming public morality and instilling new habits, or *mœurs*, were priorities for the government and intellectuals after the Terror—to the extent that Jainchill has labelled this 'a virtual obsession'.[105] They believed that the right morals were necessary to maintain the Republic, so that individuals would follow the law by inclination rather than obligation, but that they were 'not innate among the population and could only be acquired'.[106]

The social and moral regeneration of earlier years was thus replaced by an emphasis on sustaining revolutionary achievements to date, through virtue instilled by reason and intellectual progress. Unlike previous attempts to inculcate children as revolutionary citizens,

[100] Daunou, 'Rapport sur l'instruction publique, 23 vendémiaire, an IV', 112. 'c'est aux lettres qu'il est réservé de finir la Révolution qu'elles ont commencée, d'éteindre tous les dissentiments, de rétablir la concorde entre tous ceux qui les cultivent'.
[101] Baczko, *Ending the Terror,* 254–257.
[102] Ibid., 257.
[103] Lakanal, quoted in Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 170.
[104] Staum, *Minerva's Message*, 4, 68–70, in particular.
[105] Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror*, 67.
[106] Ibid.

the emphasis on intellect and morality was charged with anxiety about the threat of corruption and anarchy. The revolutionaries were no longer starting anew in what Lynn Hunt has called a 'mythic present'; they now had to confront the revolutionary past in making plans for the nation's future, and to avoid residual corruption from both the Ancien Régime and Year II.[107] As revolutionaries such as Lakanal looked forward to a France elevated through intellectual development, they therefore also looked back with apprehension, and this amplified the perceived need to train virtue through knowledge.

The *écoles centrales* were intended to achieve both goals, for the good of society. Speeches at their inauguration emphasised how the subjects taught would prepare pupils for a career in republican society; they highlighted the need for knowledge, arts and virtue to support the Republic.[108] Publicity to recruit pupils targeted youths directly, as well as their parents, with similar messages. For instance, a poster advertising the École centrale de la Vienne reminded prospective pupils that instruction was necessary to produce enlightenment, which alone could ensure 'free Government'.[109] Likewise, the prospectus for the École centrale de l'Yonne concluded by urging 'young Republicans' to 'come and learn to be free, to love and respect your fellow men'.[110] This prospectus also reminded parents that not allowing their children to attend would prevent them reaching public office and the 'glory' they would thereby attain for their family and the nation.[111] Indeed, the Directory had introduced state-school attendance as a qualification for public office in 1797 in order to entice pupils away from independent schools.[112] Through such exhortations, adolescents and their parents were likely familiar with the aims of state education even before the former attended the *écoles centrales*, and those who did so presumably supported these aims, whether for the sake of the Republic or to improve their employment prospects.

Paths of glory: rewarding talent and morality

The school ceremonies therefore celebrated both pupils' academic achievements and their moral behaviour. Prizes and runner-up awards were typically presented to the highest achieving pupils on each course, and then, at certain institutions, one or a few pupils might be

[107] Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 1984, 27; Jainchill, *Reimagining Politics after the Terror*, 67; Baczko, *Ending the Terror*, 250.
[108] *Procès-verbal de l'inauguration de l'École centrale du département des Hautes-Alpes*, 13–14, 29; *Inauguration de l'École centrale du département de l'Aveiron* (Rodez, 1796), pp. 33–34.
[109] *Les professeurs de l'École centrale du département de la Vienne, à la jeunesse.* (Poitiers, 1795). '[un] Gouvernement libre'.
[110] *Prospectus des cours de l'École centrale du département de l'Yonne.* (Auxerre, 1797), p. 24. 'jeunes Républicains … venez apprendre à être libres, à aimer et à respecter tous vos semblables'.
[111] Ibid., 3. 'gloire'.
[112] Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution*, 185–186.

awarded a *prix de vertu* or *prix de moralité*—a prize for virtue or morality. This is where Julia Gossard's emphasis on moral inculcation becomes problematic. By subsuming all school prizes into the category of 'Morality Prizes', Gossard downplays the state's hopes for youths' intellectual progress and the honour bestowed on pupils for their academic achievements. She is right to highlight that these academic achievements represented pupils' potential to serve the Republic, since this was the purpose of their schooling, and since reason was seen to produce virtue.[113] However, the relationship between knowledge and virtue was itself a cause to celebrate academic progress. Moreover, the ceremonies also reinforced intellectual meritocracy, in the hope to inspire the younger generation to expand their talents in the service of the regime.

For instance, at the École centrale de la Côte-d'Or's ceremony in Year VI, where no morality prize was awarded, the history teacher emphasised to pupils the significant honour the prize-winners were about to receive, specifically associating their academic success with glory. He likened the awards, made before such a large audience on 'this glorious day' to classical tradition and urged winners to embrace this 'pleasure' and let it inspire them to further achievements: 'may this gracious memory make them love throughout their lives this glory which accompanies merit and virtue'.[114] Those who did not win this year should be inspired by their peers' success, and not envious of it.[115] In this way, the teacher imparted the merits of intellectual distinction to the young students. Though he clearly linked academic success with moral virtue, this particular ceremony rewarded the former.

Emulation acted as a means of supporting this meritocracy, as the Côte-d'Or's history teacher suggested. At the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire, likewise, prizes were awarded for academic success, but emulation was encouraged. The reports specify awards for various aspects of a particular course, with, for instance, individual prizes for Latin, Greek and 'excellence' in classical languages (Cours de langues anciennes). Yet on the drawing course, several pupils also received 'emulation prizes', or 'Prix d'Emulation'.[116] Thus pupils on this course were explicitly encouraged to compete with one another and aspire to surpass higher

[113] Gossard, 'Prix de Moralité'.
[114] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 6*, 17-18. 'ce jour glorieux'; 'plaisir'; 'que ce souvenir gracieux leur fasse aimer toute leur vie cette gloire qui est la compagne du mérite et de la vertu'.
[115] Ibid., 18.
[116] *Discours du président de l'École centrale du département d'Indre et Loire, à la séance publique de la distribution des prix, le 19 fructidor an 6* ([Tours], 1798), pp. 6–8; *Distribution solemnelle des prix mérités dans les cours publics de l'Ecole-centrale [de l'Indre-et-Loire], pendant la sixième année de la République française, une et indivisible* ... ([Tours], 1798).

achievers. At the Institution nationale des colonies, too, where both academic and morality prizes were awarded, the Naval Minister told pupils of the important place this day should occupy in their memories—much as the history teacher at the Côte-d'Or had said. Winners should remember it as a proud day, and the other pupils should be inspired by their classmates' success.[117] Pupils at the Institution nationale des colonies ceremony were publicly tested on their subject knowledge, and their essays and artwork were on display.[118] Although their virtue was important, this was primarily a celebration of their academic progress and it aimed to encourage pride in their work and competition with one another—in other words, academic meritocracy. Indeed, Daunou and the National Institute's Class of Moral and Political Sciences promoted emulation as a means of transforming self-interest into a social virtue, through dependence on respect from others, and of supporting a meritocratic society.[119] These school ceremonies supported such views by encouraging academic competition.

Moreover, the prizes awarded overwhelmingly indicate commitment to pupils' intellectual growth. Winners usually received a book, whose subject in some schools accorded with the course for which the boy had won the prize, but even where it did not, it gave the pupil independent access to great works of literature, science or history. These were not the highly politicised textbooks of Year II, but tended to be ancien régime texts, offering pupils knowledge, or enlightenment. They included the works of great French writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Rousseau, Racine and La Fontaine, and famous pedagogical texts such as Mme d'Épinay's *Conversations d'Émilie* and Barthélémy's *Voyages du jeune Anacharsis*. At the same time, they celebrated the classical canon, including works by Ovid, Virgil, Homer and Horace among others. Along with books on grammar and mathematics, the selection of prizes demonstrates the desire to contribute to pupils' further progress, by versing them in high culture, in order that they might themselves advance French culture to rival that of the ancients.[120] The awarding of civility books in the

[117] *Exercice … à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 5–6.
[118] Ibid., 4–5; *Moniteur*, 7 Brumaire, Year VII.
[119] Staum, *Minerva's Message*, 132. Staum's analysis of submissions to the Institute's public morality competition in 1800–01 shows that some entrants opposed emulation, but the winning entry and prize commission's report supported it, pp. 131–133.
[120] *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 7*, 11–23; *Distribution des prix de l'école centrale du département de la Côte-d'Or, en l'an 6*, 19–28; J.-F. Champagne, *Discours prononcé par le C.en Champagne, Directeur de l'Institut national des Boursiers du ci-devant Collége [sic] de l'Égalité, dans l'Assemblée générale des Élèves, pour la distribution des prix de Moralité, qui a eu lieu le 25 Floréal an V, par suite de la fête de la Jeunesse, en conséquence des dispositions arrêtées par le Ministre de l'intérieur*

Eure seems to have been exceptional, but even there they were awarded alongside textbooks.[121]

Gossard's conflation of academic and morality prizes seems to stem from an overemphasis on the Prytanée's ceremony in Floréal of Year VI, the document with which she opened her 2017 blog post on the subject. As we have seen, the Prytanée, or Institut des Boursiers de l'égalité, as it was still known in spring 1798, functioned primarily as a boarding house, and most of the pupils took their lessons at the nearby École centrale du Panthéon. As its headmaster, Champagne, had explained in his speech for the previous year's prizegiving, the pupils would receive their academic prizes at the *écoles centrales* on another date. Champagne therefore decided to award 'morality prizes' (prix de moralité) to pupils on each course. He asserted that virtue was imperative for 'true talent' and 'solid knowledge', echoing the state's ideas about the interdependence of reason and virtue, but with a particular emphasis on virtue cultivating reason, rather than vice versa.[122] Pupils on each course were awarded prizes for attributes such as diligence, honesty, obedience, kindness and general 'good conduct'.[123] This was an exception to the usual prizegiving ceremonies, where only a small number of morality prizes might be—but were not always—awarded.

Nevertheless, virtue, like academic progress, was a means of attaining glory. Gossard's emphasis on morality prizes is therefore helpful insofar as they were a significant part of events. Champagne in fact asserted that moral virtue was a more difficult goal to attain than academic success, since it had to be constantly sustained.[124] At the École centrale du Tarn, although academic prizes were awarded, the report of proceedings pays much more significant attention to the award of the *prix de la vertu*, or virtue prize. The winner was elected by his fellow pupils, the significance of which I explore below. The casting of votes for this award seems to have been an important part of the ceremony, with the audience allegedly waiting with bated breath, and then, when the winner, a boy named Jacques-Philippe-Henri Gisclard, was announced, 'everyone was too profoundly moved to think of

avec l'Administration de surveillance (Paris, 1797), p. 18; *Distribution des prix de moralité, faite aux Élèves de l'Institut des Boursiers de l'Egalité ... Le 30 Floréal an VI*, 2.

[121] *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse*, 9.

[122] Champagne, *Discours prononcé ... pour la distribution des prix de Moralité ... le 25 Floréal an V*, 3–4, quotation p. 3. 'il n'y a point de vrai talent ni de connaissance solide sans vertu'.

[123] *Distribution des prix de moralité, faite aux Élèves de l'Institut des Boursiers de l'Egalité ... Le 30 Floréal an VI*, 15–28. 'bonne conduite'.

[124] Champagne, *Discours prononcé ... pour la distribution des prix de Moralité ... le 25 Floréal an V*, 5–6.

applauding'.[125] The medal the boy received is described in some detail, unlike the other prizes awarded at this ceremony, and the literature teacher, Duprat, repeatedly emphasised the 'glory' ('gloire') of this prize, promising the young Gisclard that 'your name and your triumph will be gloriously inscribed in our school's annals'.[126] This incident demonstrates how highly schools under the Directory valued moral virtue as well as academic merit: on an occasion that was primarily intended to celebrate the latter, the greatest glory was bestowed upon the child who best demonstrated the former.

As in Gisclard's case at the École centrale du Tarn, several schools selected the winners of morality or virtue prizes by pupil ballot. This was the case, for instance, at the École vétérinaire in Lyon in Years VI and IX (1798 and 1801), at the Institution nationale des colonies in Year VI (1798) and at the École centrale de l'Eure in Year VII (1799).[127] As Gossard argues, the use of pupil votes can be seen as a means of exposing pupils to the democratic process in order to inculcate the responsibilities of citizenship. The exact electoral procedure is unclear for all schools but the École centrale du Tarn, where it was modelled on the Directory's two-tier system. In national legislative elections to the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients, local electors voted for representatives to a departmental electoral assembly, which would elect the members of the two houses. During the Tarn prizegiving ceremony, the aforementioned Duprat revealed the names of eighteen pupils nominated by their peers, telling them explicitly that they '[were] going to fulfil the functions of an electoral assembly'.[128] He then declared that the winner's glory would be shared with the members of this 'electoral assembly', because of their contribution to the selection; the election of these eighteen pupils also cast honour upon all the school's pupils, who had demonstrated virtue in making their choice: 'one must be virtuous to cast one's vote

[125] *Procès-verbal de la distribution des prix aux élèves de l'École centrale du dept. du Tarn*, 9. 'on était trop profondément ému pour penser à applaudir'.
[126] Ibid., 8–11, quotation p. 10. 'ton nom et ton triomphe seront glorieusement inscrits dans les annales de notre École'.
[127] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse*, 7–8; *Procès-verbal de la séance d'émulation et distribution des prix dans l'Ecole d'économie rurale-vétérinaire de Lyon: 20 germinal an IX* ([Lyon], 1801), p. 12, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=eBwQDJn9FmkC&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=dans+l%E2%80%99C3%A9cole+d%E2%80%99C3%A9conomie+rurale+et+v%C3%A9t%C3%A9rinaire+de+Lyon&source=bl&ots=AuBRY3Xw5v&sig=ACfU3U2hErfj7q_UKEMlvsbQp9iG2o497A&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjnnI69x9vpAhUPTxUIHWTxCkcQ6AEwA3oECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=dans%20l%E2%80%99C3%A9cole%20d%E2%80%99C3%A9conomie%20rurale%20et%20v%C3%A9t%C3%A9rinaire%20de%20Lyon&f=false, accessed 30 May 2020; *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 10; *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse*, 16. In the Eure, this prize was called the 'prix de civisme' or civics prize.
[128] *Procès-verbal de la distribution des prix aux élèves de l'École centrale du dept. du Tarn*, 8. 'allez remplir les fonctions d'une assemblée électorale'.

for virtue'.[129] Having asserted that all of the pupils were virtuous, and that their selection therefore could not be doubted, Duprat presented the final casting of votes as a sacred ritual, to be watched in silence.[130] As well as introducing the school's pupils to the democratic process, the pupil ballots thus encouraged students to recognise and judge moral behaviour themselves. Duprat presented their ability to discern virtue as a sign of their own merit, combining respect for the democratic process with admiration of moral virtue in practice.

Meanwhile, at the Prytanée, teachers decided on the morality prize winners based on reports on their behaviour, but pupils also elected their worst-behaved classmates, to be publicly shamed and ranked according to the level of disruption they had caused.[131] This school's pupils were therefore charged with recognising immoral conduct and, effectively, policing their peers. Furthermore, whilst morality merited glory, poor conduct was presented as a social ill to be publicly condemned. There is no evidence of this occurring at other schools' ceremonies.

Whilst specific morality prizes were often awarded, ostensibly academic prizes were also sometimes connected to pupils' morality, and might be awarded for effort, like the emulation prizes for drawing at the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire. For instance, the École centrale de l'Aube awarded prizes for 'diligence' for several of its courses, as well as first prizes and runner-up awards and mentions.[132] One pupil of natural history, though he attained neither the first nor the second prize, was awarded 'the encouragement prize[,] for preparing the birds'.[133] This ceremony thus encouraged hard work and commitment, recognising students for their efforts as well as their success. In this way the school, like the others we have seen, encouraged emulation, but it was also directly rewarding effort and therefore encouraging a good work ethic—a quality the Idéologues promoted as encouraging social virtue and, according to less conservative members, social mobility.[134] The École nationale de Liancourt went further: the author of the report stated that it awarded prizes to honour pupils 'as much for their progress in the study of the sciences, arts and occupations they are taught [at this

[129] Ibid. 'il faut être vertueux pour donner son suffrage à la vertu'.
[130] Ibid., 9.
[131] Champagne, *Discours prononcé ... pour la distribution des prix de Moralité ... le 25 Floréal an V*, 22.
[132] *Journal de l'École centrale, et de la Société d'agriculture du Département de l'Aube*, 1798, nos. 31, 29 Fructidor, Year VII, pp. 20–21; ibid., nos. 32, 9 Vendémiaire, Year VIII, pp. 4, 6–8.
[133] *Journal de l'École centrale*, no. 32, p. 7. 'le prix d'encouragement pour la préparation des oiseaux'.
[134] Staum, *Minerva's Message*, 131.

school], as for their obedience, their good conduct and their love for the patrie'.[135] At the École centrale de l'Eure, too, prizes were awarded for good conduct in each class.[136]

All of these cases demonstrate that the Directory and the early Consulate's commitment to meritocracy was nuanced by a celebration of virtue. Both morality and academic success were means of attaining glory, and morality was sometimes presented as more important—or sacred—than academic achievement. Nevertheless, the two complemented each other, and were both integral parts of many school celebrations. Pupils' achievements in both areas merited glory because they served the Republic.

Martial values and role models

In spite of the insistence on adolescents' academic and moral progress, the concept of the military child persisted. This image had been a dominant feature of earlier festivals, particularly in Year II.[137] At the Festival of the Supreme Being, for instance, adolescent boys all over France had marched in uniform and wielded swords or muskets as a symbol of commitment to defending the nation, sometimes marching with their fathers or older men and sometimes in youth battalions.[138] Even earlier, at the Festival of the Federation in Besançon, a youth battalion had processed.[139] Similarly, Bara and Viala had embodied a celebration of the heroic child, with added emphasis on children's natural purity. The mirror image of the military vision of childhood, but sharing the quality of innocence, had been the pure young girl, dressed in white.[140] Whilst this image was absent from the more masculine youth festivals of the Directory and early Consulate, that of the military child remained, co-existing with that of the schoolboy. However, as Vovelle argues, it was secondary to the schoolboy image.[141] It also took on a new form.

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[135] *École du canton de Liancourt. Fête de la jeunesse*, 6. 'tant [pour] leurs progrès dans l'étude des sciences, arts et métiers qu'on y enseigne, que pour leur docilité, leur bonne conduite et leur amour pour la patrie'.
[136] *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse (10 germinal, an 7.) ; inauguration de l'École centrale ; distribution de prix* (Évreux, 1799), pp. 16–19.
[137] Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête*, 198–199; Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 212.
[138] E.g. *Fête à l'être suprême* (Alençon, 1794), p. 6; *Ordre de marche de la fête à l'Être suprême, qui sera célébrée dans la Commune de Nancy, le 10 Prairial, an 2ème de la République Française, une, indivisible, et démocratique, Conformément à la Loi du 18 Floréal dernier* (Nancy, 1794), pp. 3, 5; *Détail de la véritable marche des cérémonies, et de l'ordre à observer dans la fête à l'Être suprême, qui doit être célébrée le 20 Prairial, d'après le décret de la Convention nationale du 18 floréal, l'an deuxième de la République une et indivisible* (Paris, 1794), p. 5.
[139] *Retour des députés*, 3.
[140] Bosséno, 'L'Enfant et la jeunesse dans les fêtes révolutionnaires', 212–213.
[141] Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête*, 199–200.

The youth festivals—if not the independent prizegiving ceremonies—often had a marked military element. The processions at Toulouse and in the Eure included soldiers: in the Eure, soldiers planted the liberty tree, and in Toulouse the procession to the Temple Décadaire was led and followed up by infantry- and cavalrymen; it also included veterans and a military band, along with schoolchildren, teachers and local authorities.[142] Yet, despite this military presence, there is no mention of children's battalions. Instead, only sixteen-year-olds were armed—a symbolic rite of passage, with twenty-one-year-olds signing the civic register.[143] These were older boys, and their arming was therefore associated with their transition to adulthood.

At Tours, the headmaster of the École centrale de l'Indre-et-Loire explained the reasons for arming them. Having already alluded to France's troubled past, including civil war in the Vendée, and having stressed the importance of *mœurs* and unity, he declared, 'It is not in order to destroy itself that the Patrie arms its young children today'.[144] This explanation suggests he was conscious of the association of armed children with Terror and civil war, the circumstances in which Bara and Viala had been killed in 1793. He argued that, rather, arming sixteen-year-olds was to teach them the qualities necessary for them to defend the nation, and that this defence was 'in effect one of the most sacred of [a citizen's] duties'.[145] It was also a way to intimidate the Republic's enemies in Europe, showing them that France was committed to fighting for liberty. However, this was the argument with which the headmaster ended his speech, so it was likely a rhetorical device, rather than a call for school-aged youths to enlist immediately.[146]

Like the Indre-et-Loire headmaster, other speakers at the youth festivals emphasised that violence should be to defend the Republic or to liberate others: peace had to be the ultimate goal. The emphasis on liberty and defence of course was not new. As we saw in Chapter Three, Charles Nodier and other children swore oaths to defend the nation in the early 1790s. However, the later festival speeches specifically highlighted these conditions for legitimate violence, or presented more meaningful long-term objectives than conflict. Thus, at the youth festival in Lyon in Year VI (1798), Carret declared that French youths would be ready to

[142] *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse*, 3; *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 1–2.
[143] E.g. *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 1–2; Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête*, 199.
[144] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 6. 'Ce n'est point pour déchirer son sein que la Patrie arme aujourd'hui ses jeunes enfants'.
[145] Ibid. 'en effet l'un des plus sacrés de ses droits'.
[146] Ibid.

defend the nation if it were threatened, and praised veterans, along with the elderly, as examples for them to look up to.[147] Yet this came after he had expressed his faith that youths would contribute to the nation's domestic affairs, through helping the weak, the poor and the oppressed, and through ensuring obedience to laws.[148] The real goal, therefore, was social stability, and today's youths would only be called away from this duty if it became necessary to defend the Republic.

In Paris, Bénard, president of the municipal government of the 8th arrondissement, likewise emphasised fighting for defence, portraying it as an honourable goal, but adding, again, that it represented a necessary rather than desired occupation. He instructed the 'Young Citizens' in his audience that 'in a Republic, every citizen is a soldier, and the honour of defending it must supersede every other feeling'.[149] Due to this honour, young people should be moved to see their relatives' names among those of soldiers.[150] Nevertheless, Bénard also emphasised that peace was imminent, and looked forward to progress in the arts and sciences in peacetime.[151] In this way, he echoed Daunou's assertion that conflict, along with tyranny and anarchy, had held back the development of republican public instruction, but that progress could be made once victory no longer had to take precedent. According to Daunou,

> Republican France had to show the virtues and the valour of Rome at war, before shining, like Rome victorious, with the immortal radiance of all the talents of peace. In those years of peril and combat, the French could barely study a single art, that of defeating their enemies, and one must admit that they made quite quick and quite vast progress in this.
>
> La France républicaine devait montrer les vertus et la valeur de Rome guerrière, avant de briller, comme Rome victorieuse, de l'immortel éclat de tous les talents de la paix. Dans ces années de périls et de combats, les Français ne pouvaient guère étudier qu'un seul art, celui de vaincre, et l'on doit convenir qu'ils y ont fait d'assez rapides et d'assez vastes progrès.[152]

There was a time for war, and, imminently, a time for unchecked intellectual progress. Defence was a necessary priority, but conflict was not the ultimate revolutionary legacy for youths to fulfil, and, where possible, was deemed secondary to the progress of enlightenment.

In the Tarn, Duprat explicitly named the legitimate goals of conflict, this time in support of liberating missions abroad, as well as defence at home:

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[147] *Procès-verbal de la célébration à Lyon de la fête nationale de la Jeunesse*, 3–5.
[148] Ibid., 3.
[149] Bénard, *Discours prononcé par le citoyen Bénard, Président de l'Administration Municipale du huitième Arrondissement, le 10 Germinal an VII, jour de la Fête de la jeunesse* ([Paris], 1799), p. 13. 'Jeunes Citoyens, dans une République, tout citoyen est soldat, et l'honneur de la défendre doit primer tout autre sentiment'.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., 13–14.
[152] Daunou, 'Rapport sur l'instruction publique, 23 vendémiaire, an IV', 106.

> There is not one of our pupils who is not a hero, at least who is not training himself to become one; there is not one who does not know that true heroism consists, not in conquering, but in repelling all conquests; not in ravaging the world, but in maintaining peace; not in making [people] slaves, but in never becoming one; not in being a brigand like Alexander [the Great], but [in being] liberators like Bonaparte, Championet, Moreau and Joubert. There is not one who does not know that before all else, he has a duty to the Republic, and who does not carry engraved in his mind and on his heart, this maxim by [Horace,] one of the poets who is the subject of our studies: *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*. It is sweet, it is glorious to die for the Patrie.
>
> [I]l n'est pas un de nos élèves qui ne soit un héros, du moins qui ne se forme à le devenir ; il n'en est pas un qui ne sache que l'héroïsme véritable consiste, non à conquérir, mais à repousser toute conquête ; non à ravager le monde, mais à y maintenir la paix ; non à faire des esclaves, mais à ne jamais le devenir ; non à être un brigand comme Alexandre, mais des libérateurs comme Bonaparte, Championet, Moreau et Joubert. Il n'en est pas un qui ne sache qu'avant out, il se doit à la République, et qui ne porte gravée dans son esprit et dans son cœur, cette maxime de l'un des Poëtes [sic] qui est l'objet de leurs études : *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*. Il est doux, il est glorieux de mourir pour la Patrie.[153]

Again, the speaker advocated violence for very specific reasons. Encouraging patriotic self-sacrifice, he also presented role models based on their compatibility with the Directory's current foreign policy—'liberating', and spreading French republicanism abroad—rather than on their military prowess alone. Since Alexander was not one of these liberators, he was perhaps not so 'great' after all. In this respect, Duprat's view aligned with that of the Côte-d'Or's history teacher, who emphasised the importance of enlightenment to accompany arms, as discussed above. Duprat also more explicitly echoed Enlightenment discourse on conquest, which condemned it 'as an end in itself'.[154] In fact, Montesquieu and Diderot had directly praised Alexander for his style of conquest: they portrayed him as an emblem of universal humanity, emphasising his reconciliation of divided peoples and overcoming of prejudice.[155] On the contrary, though Napoleon in fact modelled himself on this precedent, Duprat maligned Alexander and thus implied that the Directory's 'liberators' far surpassed those of the Ancients—and perhaps, therefore, that this magnanimity was unique to the French Republic.

Generally, speakers at the festivals presented role models to youths based on their morality. At the Prytanée, Champagne likewise presented Bonaparte the general as an example, emphasising morality as a component of his glory: 'But this same Buonaparte, amidst his successes, hasn't he topped off his glory with morality!'[156] Meanwhile, in Toulouse, Picot

[153] *Procès-verbal de la distribution des prix aux élèves de l'École centrale du dept. du Tarn*, 3.
[154] R. Morrissey, *Napoléon et l'héritage de la gloire* (Paris, 2010), p. 87. 'comme fin en soi'.
[155] Ibid., 87–90.
[156] Champagne, *Discours prononcé ... pour la distribution des prix de Moralité ... le 25 Floréal an V*, 7. 'Mais ce même Buonaparte, au milieu de ses succès, ne met-il pas le comble à sa gloire par sa moralité !'

encouraged youths to look to the lawmakers and magistrates, who had established and upheld liberty, as exemplary figures; he did not propose any military heroes as role models.[157] Indeed, at this ceremony, though juvenile acts of heroism were in face recognised—and rewarded with tricolour ribbons attached to the winners' crowns and a fraternal kiss from the municipal government president—glory went to the *école centrale*'s prize-winners. In comparison, *their* names were inscribed on a column in the Temple Décadaire, and they each received a laurel branch, a classical symbol of victory. Thus, the real victory was academic progress, perhaps because it would lead to the just and rational law-making Picot apparently advocated.

More significantly, the role models presented to youths were adults. Gone were the young child heroes, Bara and Viala; in their place were disciplined generals and wise legislators. Although victory was only worthy when coupled with morality, competence was also clearly necessary. Bonaparte, Joubert and the others mentioned were successful generals, not vulnerable children who gave their lives but ultimately failed to thwart their attackers' goals. Similarly, in the Eure, the departmental president urged youths to emulate Brutus and William Tell as well as the Republic's veterans; non-military examples to follow were the great *philosophes*, Voltaire and Rousseau.[158] The child martyrs' pure, innate virtue was thus replaced by reasoned, disciplined morality to cultivate and emulate.[159]

Indeed, despite all of the military allusions, there was no mention of children or adolescents serving at their current age. As we have seen, arming sixteen-year-olds in the Indre-et-Loire was to prepare them for the future, and already they were approaching adulthood, even if the headmaster referred to them as 'young children' ('jeunes enfants'). In Paris, when Bénard advocated fighting in defence of the Republic, he made clear that this should be in adulthood. Ending his speech with an incitement of Anglophobia, he urged youths to join the army without hesitation, should the Republic need them, once they were aged twenty.[160] The Loi Jourdan (1798) had introduced conscription, for which all men aged twenty in a given year

[157] *Fête de la jeunesse ... Toulouse le 10 germinal, an 7*, 6.
[158] *Instruction publique : Fête de la jeunesse*, 20–21, 69–70.
[159] This paralleled the role models presented in children's literature of the late 1790s. E.g. N. Acher, *Abrégé des hommes illustres de Plutarque, à l'usage de la jeunesse*, 2 vols (Beauvais, Year V–IX [1796/7–1800/01]); A.-F.-J. Fréville, *Vie des enfans célèbres, ou Les modèles du jeune âge […]* (Paris, 1797-8), https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49059m, accessed 31 August 2020. Where juvenile role models were presented, as in Fréville's text, the emphasis was on diligence and future promise, in accordance with the regime's shifting values.
[160] Bénard, *Discours prononcé ... le 10 Germinal an VII*, 14.

would be eligible. Bénard was therefore encouraging commitment to the legal requirement; he was not suggesting exceeding this.

Youths thereby embodied hope for a new, better society as France emerged from the Terror and experienced victory in its liberating missions abroad. A disciplined approach to conflict combined with morals and intellectual achievement would enable them to reap the benefits of the Revolution and ensure it had a positive legacy, rather than returning to the horrors of Year II. Teachers and administrators expressed this hope explicitly and often did so when directly addressing youths.

Pupils' speeches

Young Citizen Jacquet-Delahaye followed their example. In a speech at his school's prizegiving ceremony, in Tours, he referred to his generation as 'this tender hope of the Patrie'.[161] The reports of proceedings occasionally include schoolboys' speeches such as that of Jacquet-Delahaye. Although infrequent—which is perhaps surprising, given that these young men were the focus of the ceremonies—these compositions reveal the speakers' public acceptance of this vision of youth, and their articulation of it. Since the events celebrated pupils' progress and potential, these were most likely authentic reflections of their writing. They demonstrate the ways in which they engaged creatively with expectations of them within the framework of the youth festival or prizegiving ceremony, showing agency in compliance.

The extant speeches seem largely to have been composed specifically for the event at which they were recited, though sometimes pupils presented essays or verses likely assigned as part of their studies. For instance, in the Aube in Year VIII, the prize-winner for the legislation course pronounced a speech on the subject of natural law.[162] This is the most likely example of a speech not necessarily composed especially for the festival; the other speeches seem to relate more directly to the ceremonies. I focus here on those which did relate directly to the ceremony at which they were read, as pupils expressed their understanding of youth and their generation's role in society in such speeches. I analyse the words of two pupils at the *écoles centrales*: Jacquet-Delahaye at the Indre-et-Loire youth festival in Year VII and Jean-Jacques-Anathase Monginet at the prizegiving ceremony for the École centrale de l'Aube, in

[161] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 7. 'cette tendre espérance de la Patrie'.
[162] *Journal de l'École centrale*, nos 31, 29 Fructidor, Year VII, pp. 12–14 and 32, 9 Vendémiaire, Year VIII, 1–5.

Year VIII. I then discuss compositions by state-funded pupils at the Prytanée and the Institution nationale des colonies, exploring how these pupils' emphasis differed from their counterparts at the *écoles centrales*. All of the pupils who spoke seem to have been considered exemplary achievers: all seem to have received a prize or a special mention themselves. Inevitably, then, there are no dissenting voices among them, but they are also especially articulate.

We know very little about Jacquet-Delahaye. Since his first name is not mentioned, it seems likely he was the 'Louis Jacquet Delahaye' who was awarded a prize 'for progress and … good conduct' on his (unspecified) course of study at the same ceremony.[163] As well as demonstrating that he was an exemplary pupil, this name suggests he was related to Jean-Louis Jacquet Delahaye, who had served as secretary for the municipal authorities of Tours during the ancien régime and until 1793, and who would become mayor of nearby Vernou in 1802.[164] Possibly, then, the honour accorded to Jacquet-Delahaye through this public-speaking opportunity was related to his father's position in local politics, as had likely been the case for Charles Nodier. Jacquet-Delahaye's speech is of interest because his arguments resembled those of the headmaster of the *école centrale*, who spoke at the same youth festival. He articulated a vision of youth as hope through military service, talent and morality, thus embracing that which the ceremonies promulgated, but particularly similar to the headmaster's presentation of the theme.[165]

Jacquet-Delahaye opened his speech by praising the Directory's celebration of all the generations—through festivals of old age, marriage and youth—before turning to the subject of that day's celebration. Youth, he declared, was the nation's hope, echoing the agricultural metaphors used by the school's headmaster. In particular, both speeches referred to youth as a most 'interesting' phase of life and evoked natural imagery to illustrate the point that this generation signalled renewal. Jacquet-Delahaye seemed to be responding directly to the headmaster's hopes as he declared confidently that his generation would follow in the footsteps of their liberators and serve the nation. He directly took up the headmaster's

[163] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 2. 'leur progrès et leur bonne conduite'.
[164] B. Baumier, 'Le Corps de Ville, Relais de l'État', in B. Baumier, *Tours Entre Lumières et Révolution : Pouvoir Municipal et Métamorphoses d'une Ville (1764-1792)*, eBook, Histoire, (Rennes, 2015), http://books.openedition.org/pur/5855, accessed 29 August 2020.
[165] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 6-10. For the headmaster's speech, see pp. 3–6.

instruction to 'think of reaping the fruits of the labours [*travaux*]' of the adult generation. In the pupil's words,

> Youth, that interesting part of the State, that tender hope of the Patrie, for which you conquered liberty, and which will reap the fruits of so many years of work; youth will follow in your footsteps; [youths] will learn from you to serve their country, to die on the field of honour, and to vanquish tyrants.
>
> La Jeunesse, cette intéressante partie de l'État, cette tendre espérance de la Patrie, pour laquelle vous avez conquis la liberté, et qui recueillera le fruit de tant d'années de travaux ; la Jeunesse va suivre vos traces ; elle apprendra de vous à servir son pays, à mourir au champ de l'honneur, et à vaincre les tyrans.[166]

Although the headmaster had asserted that youths must serve through talents, *mœurs* and peace, Jacquet-Delahaye's reference to military service should be viewed in the context of fighting for peace. He spoke not of conquest, but of self-sacrifice and defeating tyranny. This accorded with the headmaster's explanation that arming sixteen-year-olds would teach them the importance of defending the nation and with his emphasis on conquering peace, free from tyranny.[167]

Moreover, Jacquet-Delahaye went on to emphasise youths' duties to the nation through talent and morals. Evoking the headmaster's statement about youths' responsibility to write of the French Republic, he claimed that Bonaparte's victories would be all the more important if transmitted through the generations into the memory of distant descendants. Like the headmaster, he alluded to works of classical literature, which had ensured the lasting glory of ancient triumphs, and suggested the French Republic could rival these if talents were employed in this way. In the headmaster's words, 'It is up to you to elevate the French Republic through your writing, to the degree of glory which still distinguishes the republics of antiquity in the memory of men.'[168] Jacquet-Delahaye demonstrated his knowledge of the classics—perhaps his course of study at the *école centrale*—by emphasising Homer's importance in immortalising the memory of Achilles, and that of the writer and poet Quintus Ennius as equal to Scipio Africanus' victories.

> Undoubtedly, the exploits of the Conqueror of Italy and Egypt have brought fame to France; undoubtedly, all hearts will hold onto the memory of his victories; but what will this be, when a new Homer, when another Virgil have transmitted them to the most distant posterity?
>
> Sans doute, les exploits du Vainqueur de l'Italie et de l'Egypte ont illustré la France ; sans doute tous les cœurs garderont le souvenir de ses victoires ; mais que sera-ce, quand un

[166] Ibid., 7.
[167] Ibid., 6.
[168] Ibid., 4. 'C'est à vous à élever par vos écrits la République Française, au degré de gloire qui distingue encore, dans la mémoire des hommes, les Républiques de l'antiquité.'

> nouvel Homere [sic], quand un autre Virgile les auront transmis à la postérité la plus reculée ?[169]

Like his headmaster, who had claimed that knowledge was a prerequisite for virtue, Jacquet-Delahaye stressed that talent and *mœurs* must go hand in hand, and proclaimed faith that they would thus support the nation.[170] He also asserted that good *mœurs* were necessary for good government and for unity among the people.[171] Nevertheless, he was not simply parroting the headmaster's speech; Jacquet-Delahaye's argument was that talent alone could not support the government. This argument was a widespread one, as we have seen; Jacquet-Delahaye was able to employ it in his own speech. He thus reiterated the headmaster's points and drew on typical conceptions of the ways in which youths could serve the Republic. He expanded and reworked these points adeptly, simultaneously displaying his learning of the classics and his grasp of the Directory's social aspirations.

It is unclear whether Jacquet-Delahaye's speech was composed as a direct response to the headmaster's, though the similarities are striking. Given the length of the speech and that other pupils' speeches were most probably prior compositions—especially the poems—it seems unlikely that this was a spontaneous response to the speech Jacquet-Delahaye had just heard. More likely, the messages the headmaster articulated were regularly iterated by teachers at the school. Jacquet-Delahaye had imbibed them and was committed to serving the Republic in the ways expected of his generation.

Five months later, Jean-Jacques-Anathase Monginet won the first prize for oratory composition on the literature course at the École centrale de l'Aube. He recited a speech on the subject of the prizegiving, which we can assume he wrote, given the recognition he had received for his speeches.[172] This successful seventeen-year-old came from an unspecified bourgeois background, and would later become a magistrate.[173] Once again, a pupil who was

[169] Ibid., 9.
[170] Ibid., 10.
[171] Ibid., 9.
[172] *Journal de l'École centrale*, no. 32, pp. 5–6.
[173] 'État civil des communes de l'Aube 1552–1915, Balnot-sur-Laignes 1777–1783', 4E02905, Archives départementales de l'Aube, http://www.archives-aube.fr/arkotheque/visionneuse/visionneuse.php?arko=YTo3OntzOjQ6ImRhdGUiO3M6MTA6IjIwMjAtMDYtMjciO3M6MTA6InR5cGVfZm9uZHMiO3M6MTE6ImFya29fc2VyaWVsIjtzOjQ6InJlZjEiO3M6MjoiMTAiO3M6NDoicmVmMiI7czozOiIzMjYiO3M6MjI6ImZvcmNlX251bV9pbWFnZV9kZXBhcnQiO2k6MTM4O3M6MTY6InZpc2lvbm5ldXNlX2h0bWwiO2I6MTtzOjIxOiJ2aXNpb25uZXVzZV9odG1sX21vZGUiO3M6NDoicHJvZCI7fQ==#uielem_move=-422%2C-214&uielem_islocked=0&uielem_zoom=113&uielem_brightness=0&uielem_contrast=0&uielem_isinverted=0&uielem_rotate=F, accessed 27 June 2020; 'Annuaire rétrospectif de la magistrature XIXe-XXe siècles', https://annuaire-magistrature.fr/index.php?dossier=fiche&personne=82194, 2010, accessed 27 June 2020. The

academically successful and likely fairly affluent was granted the opportunity for active participation; Monginet's subsequent career suggests that in his case the Directory succeeded in its goal to mould elite bureaucrats. In the context of the prizegiving ceremony, Monginet was the only pupil on his course to present a speech, which can likely be attributed to his oratorical gifts. One other pupil at the school gave a speech: Denis-Marguerite Sallot-Montachet, who was the aforementioned winner of the legislation prize, gave an extended address, probably based on one of his essays.[174]

In his own speech, Monginet praised the current ceremony as inspirational to youths. Like Jacquet-Delahaye, he drew on classical examples to illustrate his point: he associated that day's prizegiving with similar rituals in Athens and with the glory attributed to Virgil. Indeed, Daunou's awards ceremonies were modelled on classical tradition, from which such contests derived.[175] In reiterating this association, Monginet presented France as a new Athens or Rome, to rival those ancient republics, and the prizegiving ceremony as a means of achieving this.

> What noble enthusiasm, what transports [of enthusiasm] must have been aroused in young Athenians' hearts, by the crowns and praises they received among all of Greece assembled …! What spectacle could better inspire passion for the arts and instruction among Roman youths, than that resounding applause, than those honourable acclamations, those glorious distinctions, which everywhere announced and accompanied [Virgil,] Maecenas' immortal favourite, the modest and sublime bard of Mantua, and if France has equalled and sometimes even surpassed the fathers of ancient literature, who can doubt that she does not owe this to the touching solemnity of the occasion I am celebrating!
>
> Quel noble enthousiasme, quels transports ne devoient pas exciter dans le cœur des jeunes Athéniens les couronnes & les éloges qu'ils recevoient au milieu de toute la Grèce assemblée … ! Quel spectacle plus capable d'inspirer à la jeunesse romaine la passion des lettres & de l'instruction que ces applaudissemens bruyans, que ces acclamations honorables, ces glorieuses distinctions, qui annonçoient & accompagnoient par-tout l'immortel favori de Mécène, le modeste & sublime chantre de Mantoue, & si la France a égalé & quelquefois même surpassé les peres [sic] de la littérature ancienne, qui peut douter qu'elle n'en ait été redevable à la pompe touchante des solennités que je célebre [sic] ![176]

Like Jacquet-Delahaye, Monginet thus represented the arts as key to outdoing the classical republics; like many teachers and government officials, he was optimistic about the potential of his generation to achieve this for the nation. In praising the ceremony as a catalyst to achievement, he portrayed his generation as eager to attain glory, indeed referring to it as

parish records indicate that Monginet was born on 2 January 1782. His father is described as 'bourgeois' but his occupation is not named.

[174] *Journal de l'École centrale*, no. 31, pp. 12–14, no. 32, pp. 1–5.

[175] Daunou, 'Rapport sur l'instruction publique, 23 vendémiaire, an IV', 111.

[176] *Journal de l'École centrale*, no. 32, p. 5.

'sensitive and passionate for glory'.[177] Though he did not address the issue directly, he clearly recognised the significance of juvenile talent for the future of the nation, and aimed to convince his audience of his—and his peers'—commitment to excellence.

He evidently believed, moreover, in the necessity of both talent and virtue, to honour the nation and uphold liberty. In his description of Athenian ceremonies, he described the attendance of 'heroes whose virtues and valour were the patrie's finest ornament and the bastion of its liberty'.[178] He then praised the magistrates participating in the present ceremony for proving themselves worthy of the 'functions which they carry out with as much zeal as talent for the health and for the glory of the patrie'.[179] He thus endorsed the idea of talent and virtue both serving the nation, which was thus expressed at every level of society, from the Directory and the National Institute, to local authorities and teachers, to pupils like Monginet.

Despite his optimism, however, Monginet did not suppose that youths were guaranteed success in serving society in this way. Rather, he implied that inspiration such as that provided by the prizegiving ceremonies was necessary to encourage them to work hard, against their propensity to complacency. The ceremonies offered a 'powerful motive to show themselves deaf to the voice of vice, to overcome, by resisting the frivolity of their age, their inherent dislike of meditation and study'.[180] Thus, youths had to acquire both the knowledge they needed to serve the Republic, and the motivation, or work ethic, to make them good students; by inclination, they were lazy. This contrasted with children's self-representation as inherently pure and virtuous, in Besançon several years earlier. At seventeen, Monginet was of course older than those children had been, and he was not claiming to be a child. However, this difference in self-representation is not only a question of age; it also highlights the slight shift in understandings of childhood and morality under the Directory. As we have seen, teachers and local officials represented pedagogy as cultivation, with an emphasis on sustaining virtue. Monginet's fellow pupil, Sallot-Montachet, had made the point more directly in his speech on natural law. Arguing that reason was essential for regulating social behaviour, Sallot-Montachet acknowledged the relevance of what he called 'moral instinct'. This moral instinct might help more quickly to distinguish right from wrong, but it was the

[177] Ibid. 'une jeunesse sensible & passionnée pour la gloire'.
[178] Ibid., 5. '… héros dont les vertus & la valeur faisoient le plus bel ornement de la patrie & le rempart de sa liberté !'
[179] Ibid., 6. 'des fonctions qu'ils remplissent avec autant de zele [sic] que de talent pour le salut comme pour la gloire de la patrie.'
[180] Ibid., 5. 'Quel puissant motif pour se montrer sourds à la voix du vice, pour surmonter en résistant à la légereté [sic] de l'âge, les dégoûts inséparables de la méditation & de l'étude.'

result of practice and past experience: the legislation-prize-winner apparently did not consider virtue to be innate in youth.[181] These boys thus absorbed and promulgated an understanding that young people needed to acquire and sharpen moral habits, rather than being naturally able to serve the nation—a far cry from Joseph Bara's pure, natural virtue, or from Mlle Lœillet's assertion that children were a guarantee of honest patriotism.

Understanding that his generation could not attain glory without adult assistance and nurture, Monginet expressed gratitude to those who helped them and who supported the arts. He did so by conferring glory upon them, and especially on the magistrates supporting the ceremony.[182] Jacquet-Delahaye did likewise: he in fact offered to his teachers the laurels he and his peers received, saying that they owed their success to them. This was in fact the first time in his speech that Jacquet-Delahaye used the first person when referring to youths, suggesting genuine feeling rather than pure rhetoric.[183] It reinforced the pairing of schoolboy and teacher in the symbolism of youth festivals.[184] In Monginet's case, it suggests that he had learned to admire those who served the Republic as magistrates, who might be presented as role models for boys his age. It may also indicate his personal attraction to this career, perhaps as a result of this education.

Gratitude was pronounced more strongly in the speeches of pupils funded by the state. At the Prytanée's liberty-tree-planting ceremony to celebrate the school's installation at the Maison de Vanvres, the pupils responded to the state's conception of them as an investment. Their compositions took up Champagne's argument that caring for the trees represented the state's care for the pupils, and extolled nature, in keeping with the occasion. Seven pupils presented their compositions, which included speeches, hymns and a poem on the subject of the occasion.[185] They ranged in age from twelve to sixteen; most were studying courses at the *école centrale*, but one ('Citoyen Julhe') apparently studied mathematics at the École Polytechnique, and another, aged twelve (Lebrun), was studying 'elementary courses' ('Cours Elémentaires').[186] They were also, like Monginet and Jacquet-Delahaye, successful

[181] Ibid., 1–2.
[182] Ibid., 6.
[183] *Ecole-centrale du département d'Indre et Loire : fête de la jeunesse, 10 germinal an VII*, 8.
[184] Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête*, 199.
[185] *Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, par les élèves du Prytanée français*, 13–24. The report states explicitly that these were their own compositions, p. 14.
[186] *Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, par les élèves du Prytanée français*, 35–38. 'Julhes' is listed as a pupil of the mathematics course at the école centrale, in the planting ceremony report, p. 35, but, since there is no 'Julhe' included in this list, it seems that the pupil of that name, who was pursuing studies at the École polytechnique shortly after, was the same boy, and that he had progressed to a more advanced programme of study. This seems all the more likely, since both recited lyrics, and since the École polytechnique specialised in teaching

pupils: almost all are listed as having received a morality prize or special mention in Years V–VI, and some, such as fifteen-year-olds André-Pierre-Étienne Abrial and Frédéric Nicod, were successful on more than one occasion. Since they were rewarded for their moral behaviour rather than their academic progress, we might interpret their opportunity to participate as a further honour, or they may have been eager to volunteer their contributions. On the other hand, the selection of these pupils sheds further light onto what constituted moral behaviour. In reciting their compositions and expressing gratitude, they showed themselves to be capable of one day contributing to society as virtuous leaders or magistrates. Their speeches and hymns, finally, were included in the programme along with those composed by teachers, suggesting that the ceremony was a communal effort. This again suggests that the good relationship between teachers and pupils was not merely a representation, but part of an ethos which teachers strove to make a reality.

Four of these seven pupils used natural metaphors in acknowledging the state's role in educating them. In a hymn to the patriotic tune of *Veillons au salut de l'empire*, young Citizen Julhes likened the pupils' care for their trees to that of the state for them: as their 'wise guardian', to whom they owed their happiness, watched over them, so they would watch over the trees in their charge.

> For us a wise guardian
> Lavishes her life-giving care,
> Elm trees, our protective hand
> Will care for your nascent roots.
> She watches over us, our happiness is her work;
> We will watch over you; like us you are children;
> So that soon your young shade
> May bless our young years. *(repeat)*
>
> Pour nous une sage tutrice
> Prodigue ses soins bienfaisans,
> Ormeaux, notre main protectrice
> Soignera vos rameaux naissans.
> Elle veille sur nous, notre bonheur est son ouvrage ;
> Nous veillerons sur vous ; comme nous vous êtes enfans ;
> Que bientôt votre jeune ombrage
> Fasse bénir nos jeunes ans. *(bis.)*[187]

Repetition of 'veiller' (to watch over) and 'jeune' (young) emphasised the similarities between the nurture of the trees and that of the pupils. In making these associations, Julhes adopted similar arguments to Champagne on the planting of liberty trees; clearly he

mathematics and the sciences. *Distribution des prix, faites aux élèves du Pritanée français ; par le Cn. François Neufchâteau ; Ministre de l'Intérieur, le six fructidor, an VI de la République française* (Paris, 1798), p. 21.
[187] *Plantation de l'arbre de la liberté, par les élèves du Prytanée français*, 14.

understood the ritual's significance. The idea of owing their happiness to the nation was repeated in another hymn, this time by a twelve-year-old pupil called Lebrun, which the choir sang during the ceremonial planting of almond and mulberry trees. This song was primarily an ode to the trees, but its final verse called for gratitude to the nation, 'a dear mother', for providing them with these new grounds for their games: the Maison de Vanvres had formerly belonged to the Duc de Condé, its gardens 'cultivated for crime and opulence'.[188]

Another pupil, sixteen-year-old Julien, extended the association of youths with trees to declare that the pupils would one day bear fruit, in return for the care and protection they had received. He then proclaimed his personal intention to repay his debt—and then to relax in the shade of his tree—and his gratitude to the revolutionary generation for its achievements: 'I shall pronounce to you a sincere testament of [my] gratitude'.[189] Here he employed the discourse of pedagogy as cultivation, which was used in some prizegiving ceremonies, such as at the École de Liancourt and in Lyon, to illustrate his dependence on the state and his hopes to repay it. Meanwhile, other pupils viewed the trees more literally, though nevertheless connecting them to their gratitude. According to both Nicod and Abrial, seeing their trees again in later life would remind the pupils of their teachers and their debt to the nation. For Nicod, the memories and gratitude to the Republic that this aroused in them would inspire patriotism and the commitment to devote to the Republic all that they had received from it.[190] Champagne had encouraged pupils to be forever reminded, by the memory of this occasion, of their time at the Prytanée.[191] Nicod and Abrial had taken this idea on board when they penned their speeches: they represented the trees as tangible reminders of these memories, quite literally rooting the students in their beloved patrie.

Whilst the speeches at the liberty tree ceremony focused on nature and gratitude, the only pupil's composition at one of the Prytanée's prizegiving ceremonies did not. In Fructidor of Year VI, shortly before the planting at the Maison de Vanvres, young Julhe recited an ode.[192] The report merely states that he read these verses, but it seems likely that this talented lyricist had composed them himself, as he was soon to compose another for the liberty tree ceremony.[193] In keeping with this particular ceremony, rather than that of planting the trees,

[188] Ibid., 23–24. 'cultivés/Pour le crime et pour l'opulence'; 'une mere [sic] chérie'.
[189] Ibid., 21–22, quotation p. 22. 'je vous en rendrai un sincere [sic] témoignage de reconnaissance'.
[190] Ibid., 16, 18–19.
[191] Ibid., 5.
[192] *Distribution des prix, faites aux élèves du Pritanée français ... le six fructidor, an VI*, 21–25.
[193] See footnote 186, above.

Julhe sang of the return of the Muses in peacetime—a time for the arts to flourish—and alluded to Bonaparte's wisdom and valour alongside his military success. Like Monginet in the Aube, he described pupils' hunger for glory and likened the prizegiving to classical ceremonies.[194] His concluding praise for the Minister of the Interior, Neufchâteau, who distributed the prizes, suggests gratitude, but also that he had absorbed the idea of statesmen as role models.[195]

It is difficult to make comparisons with only a single juvenile composition at the Prytanée's prizegiving ceremonies. Nevertheless, the pupils' compositions seem to have been well tailored to their specific occasions. Despite adults' emphasis on gratitude and these pupils' debt to the Republic, the pupils themselves engaged with these ideas much more at the liberty-tree-planting ceremony than at the prizegiving ceremony in Fructidor of Year VI, when the emphasis was on arts and morality. At the tree-planting ceremony, the pupils' speeches, though personalised, are similar in their arguments, to each other and to Champagne's speech. The report indicates that they had written these compositions themselves, but these similarities indicate that they were fulfilling an assigned task, likely with guidance from their teachers at the Prytanée. They demonstrate how pupils absorbed and articulated the ideas and emotions (gratitude) expected of them on specific occasions, following discursive examples.

At the Institution nationale des colonies, the language of gratitude and debt was essential. When Sonthonax and Polverel had offered emancipation to the insurgent slaves of Saint-Domingue in the summer of 1793, it was on the condition of military support for the Republicans against the British and Spanish forces and internal insurrection. This initial sense of reciprocity persisted after the immediate threat, but the burden to repay a debt was placed on the shoulders of former slaves. Thus, despite the abolition of slavery in Saint-Domingue in 1793, formally ratified and extended to all French colonies by the Convention in 1794, government administrators did not necessarily consider Black citizenship to be equal to that of white Frenchmen, and from the beginning they emphasised that the former slaves were indebted to the Republic. In his study of slave emancipation in Guadeloupe, Laurent Dubois stresses how Victor Hugues, the governor of the island colony from 1794 to 1798, emphasised the 'price of liberty'. Influenced by the writings of Condorcet and the mixed-raced lawyer Julien Raimond, Hugues espoused the idea that former slaves were not ready to be citizens, due to their only

[194] *Distribution des prix, faites aux élèves du Pritanée français ... le six fructidor, an VI*, 22–24.
[195] Ibid., 24–25.

experience being one of degradation and enforced ignorance, and that they must continue to labour on the plantations. In a speech to the slaves of Saint-Domingue in 1793, Raimond had urged a good work ethic to maintain production in the colony, asserting to the slaves that they must remember their debt to the Republic for their emancipation; ideas such as this, Dubois argues, informed a more insidious version of 'republican racism'.[196] Ironically, as Dubois points out, the slaves had already claimed their own freedom, but Raimond deliberately used nationalistic language to encourage their loyalty.[197] Though his motives were pragmatic rather than ideological, Toussaint Louverture used the same language of debt to pacify insurgent former slaves on Saint-Domingue: he argued that they needed to prove the Convention had been justified in freeing them, emphasising the economic sacrifice this had meant for the Republic and the need for their gratitude.[198] Black citizens of Guadeloupe and Saint-Domingue must serve the nation, either through plantation labour or military service.[199]

Ostensibly, this was a question of how to enable former slaves to become citizens, but it was of course also a racial issue—as well as an economic one. As Dubois demonstrates, Hugues' writing on the former slaves expressed 'racialized characterizations', even though he emphasised their potential to become citizens through education and social reform.[200] Indeed, the Enlightenment had seen the development of hierarchical racial thinking, and proponents of slavery used natural history to justify the practice.[201] The idea that external factors had made slaves inferior citizens smacked of environmentalism, an influential theory in

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[196] L. Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, 2004), pp. 172–188; See also L. Dubois, '"The Price of Liberty": Victor Hugues and the Administration of Freedom in Guadeloupe, 1794-1798', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 56:2 (1999), pp. 363–392; M.-J.-A.-N. C., Marquis de Condorcet, *Réflexions sur l'esclavage des nègres [1781]*, (2010), pp. 24, 26–32, http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/condorcet/reflexions_esclavage_negres/condorcet_reflexions_esclavage.pdf, accessed 2 July 2020. That former slaves were not ready to become citizens was one of Condorcet's arguments behind his proposed transitional phasing-out of slavery.

[197] Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*, 185; Cf. J. D. Popkin, *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (Cambridge, 2010). Popkin emphasises the contingent factors leading to abolition and which allowed the enactment of the Convention's abolition decree, namely, Galbaud's unsuccessful assault on Cap Français and Sonthonax and Polverel's ability to fight back the British and Spanish. He thus downplays both the idea that slaves emancipated themselves and that the Convention was responsible or its ideological motivation inevitable—but, of course, contemporaries in the colonies framed the issue in terms of the Convention's magnanimity.

[198] L. Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA; London, 2005), pp. 190–193.

[199] Ibid., 184–193; Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*, p. 187; Dubois, 'The Price of Liberty', p. 382.

[200] Dubois, '"The Price of Liberty"', 382.

[201] A. S. Curran, *Anatomy of Blackness: Science & Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, 2011), chaps 4–5. I am unable to access Curran's text due to COVID-19, so my understanding is informed by Griffith's review: T. Griffith, review of *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment*, by A. S. Curran, *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 1:1 (2013), pp. 131–135.

eighteenth-century Europe which held that the physical and moral characteristics of different races were shaped by their natural or social environments, and by child-rearing practices.[202] Such ideas were often expressed by liberal opponents of slavery, but, as Londa Schiebinger points out, these men nevertheless believed in white superiority: distinctive racial features were seen as deformed Caucasian features.[203] In the same way, their experience of bondage in the colonies had allegedly rendered the former slaves incapable of citizenship equal to that enjoyed by whites. Although the Institution nationale's Black pupils were educated alongside white youths, the hopes they offered for the future were delineated by their race and by their position as former slaves.

These issues are illustrated in the speech of one of the pupils of the Institution nationale, and in its reception. Pierre-Blaise and Charles Lechat were the sons of a Black officer from Saint-Domingue and both seem to have made good progress at the school. Pierre-Blaise was awarded first prize in his class for drawing and an honourable mention for Latin and Greek ('langues anciennes'); Charles received second prize for drawing and writing, as well as two honourable mentions.[204] It is unclear which of these brothers gave the speech recorded in the report of proceedings, though Pierre-Blaise seems the more likely candidate, given his more positive school reports—though Charles was older.[205]

Lechat's speech was characterised by his expressions of gratitude and modesty. He was grateful to the Republic for bringing him out of slavery and to enlightenment.[206] Although slavery had undoubtedly had a concrete impact on the lives of Black youths like Lechat, this was also a learned language of debt and gratitude. Alluding, perhaps, to contemporary notions of former slaves' ignorance, Lechat asserted that education could perfect the individual, who was otherwise no different from a beast.

> [The Republic] knows that without an enlightened mind, man is barely distinguishable from a brute; but [she knows] that he develops and refines himself under the hand of education, like fine stone under the artist's fingers.

[202] A. F. Saint-Aubin, 'A Grammar of Black Masculinity: A Body of Science', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 10:3 (2002), pp. 247–270—on environmentalism, see pp. 248–249; L. Schiebinger, 'The Anatomy of Difference: Race and Sex in Eighteenth-Century Science', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23:4 (1990), pp. 387–405—on environmentalism, see pp. 392–395.
[203] Schiebinger, 'The Anatomy of Difference', 394–395.
[204] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, pp. 8–10; *Moniteur*, no. 32, 7 Brumaire, Year VII.
[205] Roussier, 'L'Éducation des enfants de Toussaint Louverture', 343. Pierre-Blaise seems also to have been known as Louis-Blaise.
[206] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 2–3.

> Elle [la République] sait que sans les lumières de l'esprit, l'homme ne diffère guère de la brute ; mais qu'il se développe et se polit sous la main de l'éducation, comme la pierre fine sous les doigts de l'artiste.[207]

Here, the language of cultivating the child had deeper undertones than at other French schools: Lechat's rhetoric was akin to Condorcet's and Raimond's discourse on the need to perfect former slaves through education. Raimond had told the slaves of Saint-Domingue that the degradation they had suffered had left them lacking the virtues and morals needed for sociability; Lechat's comparison of an uneducated man to a 'brute' echoed this idea of such a man being unsocialised.[208] Indeed, Lechat claimed that the Republic had taken in these children, to care for them like a mother, in order to 'make amends for the unjust lot we suffered too long'.[209] He thus implied that the state's raising these boys would rectify the impact slavery had had on them.

Yet this compensation did not come for free. Rather, Lechat was conscious of the debt he and his classmates from Saint-Domingue allegedly owed to the Republic. Addressing his classmates, he expressed confidence that all were grateful, but urged them to act on their thankfulness: 'this gratitude … must be neither fleeting nor sterile; this very gratitude dictates to us our obligations'.[210] In Lechat's speech, although the pupils were about to demonstrate what they had learned in a public exercise, there was no mention of repaying this debt through talent and progress in knowledge for the nation. Lechat declared instead that pupils could 'show ourselves worthy of our adoption' through 'diligence, obedience and efforts of courage'.[211] These were some of the qualities for which pupils at the Prytanée were awarded morality prizes, but, listed on their own, they are reminiscent of the characteristics expected of a slave. Indeed, in urging the slaves of Saint-Domingue to return to their plantations, in 1793, Raimond had instructed them to '[w]ork … with courage, in order to deserve the blessings of the nation'.[212]

Regarding talent, Lechat praised those of the Naval Minister, present at the ceremony, and claimed him as a father figure.[213] Nevertheless, he was modest about his own achievements and those of his classmates. Using agricultural language like so many other speakers at these

[207] Ibid., 3.
[208] Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*, 184.
[209] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 3. 'réparer les trop longues injustices du sort à notre égard'.
[210] Ibid., 3–4. 'cette reconnaissance ... ne doit être ni passagère, ni stérile ; elle-même nous préscrit nos obligations'.
[211] Ibid., 4. 'nous montrer dignes de notre adoption. Et comment? application, docilité, efforts de courage'.
[212] Quoted in Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens*, 188.
[213] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 4.

ceremonies, he expressed hope, but it was loaded with humility rather than ambition. He described himself and his peers as 'young shrubs, transplanted from a hostile ground to a new climate, but one more favourable to them', thus applying the rhetoric of children as plants to his own specific situation.[214] Yet, he advised,

> Do not expect those premature fruits, which often belie the taste they promise from the outside. A bit of greenery, a few buds, some rays of hope, we dare not yet say flowers, that is what we submit to your votes, or rather to your indulgence.
>
> N'attendez pas de ces fruits prématurés, qui souvent démentent au goût ce qu'ils semblaient promettre par les dehors. Un peu de verdure, quelques bourgeons, des lueurs d'espérance, nous n'osons pas encore dire des fleurs, voilà ce que nous soumettons à vos suffrages, ou plutôt à votre indulgence.[215]

In this way, Lechat expressed cautious modesty. This may have been because his speech preceded the exercise to be judged, unlike at other ceremonies, where pupils' progress had already been assessed. He may simply have been wary of overconfidence. However, this caution also seems symptomatic of the environment in which he was educated and the Directory's aims through instructing Lechat and his peers from Saint-Domingue. There is no mention, in either his speech or in that of the Naval Minister, of glory, which was so prevalent in the other schools' ceremonies; there is only one mention of winners' pride and their peers' desire for emulation.[216] As we have seen, the Institution nationale des colonies aimed to educate Black pupils in Republican values, so that they could share these upon return to the colonies; it did not seek for them to contribute to intellectual progress. The Naval Minister told these pupils explicitly that '[y]ou are all destined' to set an example of Republican values and understanding of the law, that they would 'be the conductors of this electricity that must make felt in all parts of the world the beneficial shock of republicanism'—and it was this that would be their 'honourable career'.[217] Lechat's speech accordingly expressed the humility and gratitude of a loyal servant, rather than of a young citizen aspiring to glory.

Its reception supports this. The speech served, according to the author of the report, as convincing evidence 'of the perfectibility of representatives of Caribbean men'.[218] The author likewise remarked that no one had anticipated the extent of the progress made by 'children [who had] escaped, so to speak, from the hands of nature, with none of their faculties

[214] Ibid. 'jeunes arbustes, transplantés d'un sol ingrate sur un climat nouveau, mais pour eux plus propice'.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ministre de la marine et des colonies, in ibid., 5–6.
[217] Ibid., 6. 'les conducteurs de cette électricité qui doit faire ressentir à toutes les parties du monde la bienfaisante commotion du républicanisme'; 'honorable carrière'.
[218] Ibid., 2. 'de la perfectibilité des organes des hommes des Antilles'.

exercised, ignorant even down to the name of the first elements of the sciences'.[219] Here, the notion of refining former slaves through education is explicit: these pupils were not Rousseauvian children born into nature, but individuals kept there in ignorance.

The *Moniteur*, meanwhile, commented on Lechat's 'interesting face'. [220] Given that other children's features were not commented upon, it seems probable that this was a racialised observation. Eighteenth-century science of race focused on the head and face as anatomical markers of difference, whether measuring skulls and 'facial angle' to create a biological racial hierarchy—as did Dutch anatomist Petrus Camper—or hypothesising on the impact of child-rearing practices on nose shape, as did Buffon and Johann Blumenbach.[221] Nevertheless, the *Moniteur*'s reporter did not comment further on Lechat's appearance, besides referring to him simply as 'a negro child'. The journalist was seemingly more interested in the emotion with which Lechat pronounced his speech, and in the tears and applause this inspired.[222] Indeed, it was this emotion which the ceremony report pamphlet's author cited as evidence of his 'perfectibility'.[223] Though described in ways that othered him, Lechat was a member of the republican sentimental community. His speech and its reception were a performance of Black youths' 'perfectibility', or their potential as citizens—and shared emotion connected them to white French citizens.[224] Whether or not Lechat really subscribed to these views at the time is difficult to know, but he had certainly absorbed the language of debt and understood that gratitude was desired of him, as well as hard work and obedience. This accorded with the aims of the ceremony, which were clearly to support the notion that these pupils—and former slaves generally—could be socialised as republicans. Accordingly, eight out of eleven first prizes went to pupils from Saint-Domingue, and Lechat's and Louverture's sons feature multiple times in the list of winners and special mentions.[225]

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[219] Ibid. 'des enfans échappés, pour ainsi dire, des mains de la nature, n'ayant aucune de leurs facultés exercées, ignorant même jusqu'au nom des premiers élémens des sciences'.
[220] *Moniteur*, no. 37, 7 Brumaire, Year VII. 'Un enfant nègre, Lechat, d'une figure intéressante'.
[221] Saint-Aubin, 'A Grammar of Black Masculinity', 248–253; Schiebinger, 'The Anatomy of Difference', 392–399; Saint-Aubin contrasts these ideas with those of the late nineteenth century, when anthropologists moved to studying anatomical differences of the whole body, and focused in particular on Black men's sexual anatomy and perceived sexual perversion. Saint-Aubin, 'A Grammar of Black Masculinity', 259–266.
[222] *Moniteur*, no. 37, 7 Brumaire, Year VII.
[223] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 2.
[224] Indeed, children and adolescents continued to inspire emotion after Year II, contrary to Reddy's argument that the revolutionaries were more wary of sensibility after Thermidor. At numerous ceremonies, speakers highlighted how parents and the public should be moved by pupils' success. See, for instance, Champagne's comments at the Prytanée, above. Cf. Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and Its Erasure'.
[225] *Exercice ... à l'Institution nationale des colonies*, 7–10; *Moniteur*, no. 37, 7 Brumaire, Year VII.

Conclusion

Overall, pupils' speeches echo the vision of youth as revolutionary legacy, through intellectual pursuit and military service. In the charity schools, the boys articulated the notion of the state's investment in their education, and at the Institution nationale des colonies Lechat adopted the language of debt and gratitude for their release from slavery. These pupils clearly wrote their own speeches, especially since Monginet was awarded a prize for his oratory composition; the others were also participating in ceremonies to demonstrate their progress and abilities, so there was no reason for their speeches to be inauthentic. Their speeches might thus be considered examples of the corpus of eighteenth-century schoolboy writing, which Jill Gage has studied with regard to English juvenile authors.[226] Yet their words were also public performances, and in their speeches and compositions, they apparently performed the vision of youth most appropriate to the immediate circumstances in which they spoke, sometimes drawing directly on adults' speeches at the same ceremony. In this way, they participated in the collective performance that the festival entailed, along with teachers and officials. They complied with the vision of youth as hope for a republican legacy, in the setting of the youth festival, but this was also appropriated by Nodier and his friends to defend themselves, showing that they understood what the Republic expected of them generally. In this respect, the image of youth as schoolboy—offering hope to the nation—was not just a top-down vision of youth, but one in which adolescents engaged and which they might shape for their own purposes.

Indeed, juvenile active participation in these ceremonies suggests a degree of agency. Secondary-school pupils—whether at the *écoles centrales* or funded by the state—could participate actively in these ceremonies, by composing and reciting speeches, or by electing morality prize-winners. Through these activities, they were able to influence decisions and develop their skills in public oratory. The meritocratic nature of the celebrations means that only successful and conforming pupils appear in the reports, and only they were able to present their compositions. (Although the Prytanée publicly shamed badly-behaved pupils, they were not named in the report of proceedings.) Yet, as Charles Nodier's case in 1799 shows, even those with controversial political views might identify publicly as schoolboys seeking to serve the Republic. On the other hand, the collective nature of the festival performance indicates agency beyond the level of the individual. Through their individual

[226] J. E. Gage, *My Schoolfellows, My Patrons, My Public: English Schoolboy Authorship 1786-1798* (PhD Thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2014).

votes, the pupils collectively influenced the awarding of morality prizes at some institutions. By giving speeches and by accepting awards, they contributed—whether actively or tacitly—to the representation of their generation as the nation's hope.

The ceremonies' emphasis on this hope illustrates the fears underpinning government policy in this period, but also the optimism that many felt or aimed to encourage. The Directory was not simply the reactionary, authoritarian government Howard Brown portrays it as; rather, it displayed an ongoing commitment to perpetuating the values of the Constitution and the gains of the early Revolution. If the government was tough on desertion, or crushed its opponents on both left and right, it nevertheless remained optimistically committed to achieving honour and glory that would benefit all citizens of the Republic, and aimed to instil virtues and knowledge that would lead people to choose to follow the law, making coups and punishments obsolete. Under Napoleon, glory would shift towards the individual, in line perhaps with the individual nature of dictatorship; for now, although prize-winners might feel proud, their success brought glory to all—and, with it, the signs that the Revolution's end was in sight, followed by a triumphant legacy.[227]

Of course, they were only half right. The natural question with which to conclude, then, is whether these adolescents fulfilled any of the hopes placed in them. The First Republic was not maintained, and both Directory and Consulate were gone before many of these pupils reached adulthood: Napoleon crowned himself Emperor only two years after the abolition of the *écoles centrales*. This generation therefore never had the chance to test their education in republican citizenship as adults; instead, many of the teenage boys of the 1790s would serve in the Napoleonic armies the following decade.[228] As far as Monginet was concerned, after leaving the École centrale de l'Aube, he followed a judicial career under the Restoration, through to his death in 1846, during the final years of the July Monarchy, and was awarded the *légion d'honneur* in 1839.[229] I have not yet found a record of his career under Napoleon; however, this was clearly a man who embodied the Directory's emphasis on serving the nation through upholding the law.

Meanwhile, the generals' sons from Saint-Domingue certainly did not return home to spread patriotic French values. In 1804, French Saint-Domingue became independent Haiti, after

[227] Morrissey, *Napoléon et l'héritage de la gloire*, 110–111.
[228] That said, young men from more affluent backgrounds, likely many of those who attended the *écoles centrales*, may have been able to buy their way out of conscription, since this was legal after 1800. A. I. Forrest, *Napoleon's Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire* (London ; New York, 2006), p. 10.
[229] 'Annuaire rétrospectif de la magistrature XIXe-XXe siècles'.

years of struggle since the slaves' rebellion began in 1791. No longer French, the world's first postcolonial Black nation was not immediately a republic. Jean-Jacques Dessalines ruled as Emperor Jacques I of Haiti, until his assassination in 1806, after which the nation was divided, and a southern, republican state influenced by enlightenment ideas co-existed with a northern kingdom until reunification in 1820.[230] Although revolutionary values remained important there, a French Republican education may not have been entirely appropriate for Haitian citizens. In any case, neither the Louverture nor the Lechat brothers returned permanently to the Caribbean. Isaac and Placide Louverture were initially transported to Saint-Domingue in 1802, but lived out their lives in France after their subsequent imprisonment there. As for the Lechats, Charles served as secretary to Joseph Domingue (popularly known as Hercule), commander of the Bataillon des Pionniers noirs—a battalion formed in Mantua in 1803 and consisting primarily of Black troops. His brother, Louis-Blaise according to Roussier, but seemingly the same Pierre-Blaise, had a more chequered military career. He deserted on his first day as a line-infantryman, but eventually succeeded in enlisting in the Pionniers noirs himself, ultimately becoming an officer, first in the Neapolitan army in 1812, and then in service to France.[231] Those pupils whose later careers we can trace thus served the nation in the ways the Directory had expected of their generation, through military service and the judiciary. Yet there was neither a French Republic, nor a colony of Saint-Domingue, for them to uphold.

[230] See D. Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti*, Rev. ed (New Brunswick, NJ, 1996), pp. 33–66. Nicholls suggests the distinction between the two states was not clear-cut, pp. 58–60.
[231] Roussier, 'L'Éducation des enfants de Toussaint Louverture', 343.

CONCLUSION

It is somewhat fitting that Michelet's historiographical tour de force should have concluded with a story about a child. Shortly after Thermidor, he claimed, an acquaintance who was then ten years old had heard for the first time the title 'mon maître' (master). Seeking an explanation, the boy had been told that 'there had been a great change as a result of Robespierre's death'.[1] Although we know that the more egalitarian title 'citoyen' did in fact remain in use, this anecdote highlights the extent to which children's impressions of the world might be formed by the Revolution, their formative years marked by rapid social and political upheaval.

In studying numerous and varied texts and images about, for and by children, this thesis has demonstrated the ways in which children were integrated into French Revolutionary political culture at various levels and has highlighted the interconnection between ideas, practice and experience. The creation of revolutionary culture was a reciprocal process, involving the state, civil servants, printers, teachers, parents and children.

During the 1790s, the Rousseauvian paradigm of childhood was repurposed in political culture, creating a society in which children were bound to both family and state. Deemed naturally pure and innocent, the child martyrs Bara and Viala were presented as representations of republican purity and as inspirations for other children. In the later years of the Revolution, the state and civil servants placed their hopes for an enduring Republic and an end to revolution in the education of adolescent boys. Through academic emulation and moral cultivation, they sought to create a new generation of magistrates, lawmakers and loyal soldiers.

A reformed, politicised education involved civic participation in the present, however. Direct consumers of republican print culture in the form of schoolbooks, children were exposed to printers' and pedagogues' interpretations of revolutionary values and assimilated into the politics of language. Though rote-learning was essentially a passive activity, these lessons contributed to children's initiation into republican society.

Indeed, they were actively involved in everyday civic life and popular politics, particularly in Year II, when some popular societies even admitted them as members. They did not perform

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, vii:521–522, quotation p. 522. 'qu'il y avait eu un grand changement par la mort de Robespierre'.

merely symbolic, prescribed roles in revolutionary festivals, nor passively absorb club proceedings. Rather, they might be invited to write and deliver public speeches. Similarly, if they were invited to recite foundational texts, they might engage with these publicly, as Joséphine Fontanier did, demonstrating active engagement in her learning and with contemporary political debates affecting her section.

In their public speeches throughout the revolutionary period, children and adolescents demonstrated compliance with adult expectations and a performance of childhood in accordance with them. Yet they were also able to appropriate sentimental notions of childhood in order to assert their own worth or negotiate their position. They were therefore actively engaged in the construction of the sentimental-political paradigm of childhood and its successor, the dedicated republican schoolboy.

As I have stressed elsewhere, the children studied here cannot be said to represent all French children's experience of revolution. Just as there were multiple representations of childhood and child heroes, lived experience and civic engagement were not uniform. Indeed, this thesis has demonstrated how gender, socioeconomic background and race might affect children's participation and place in society. Furthermore, although the relatively few children's public speeches studied here may be exceptional, they nevertheless demonstrate the ways in which children might grapple with their place in revolutionary society as they grew up. Their participation demonstrates the kind of patriotic behaviour that adults deemed acceptable or noteworthy, such that it is clear they were not seen merely as passive objects or abstract symbols. To borrow from the oft-cited microhistorian Edoardo Grendi, they are the 'exceptional normal': they offer insight unavailable in the majority of adult-produced sources.[2] In fact, they may also represent an alternative interpretation of Grendi's oxymoron. These exceptional sources may in fact be normal, since it is likely that more such contributions remain to be discovered in the archives, once researchers are looking for them.[3]

Indeed, there was little question of children's agency or experience when Soboul published his study of the Paris Jacobin clubs in 1964—the history of childhood only barely existed—or when Kennedy studied the departmental clubs in the 1980s; nor did it concern Vovelle or

[2] E. Grendi, quoted in C. Ginzburg and C. Poni, 'Il Nome e il come: scambio ineguale e mercato storiografico', *Quaderni storici*, 14:40 (1) (1979), pp. 187–188. Grendi's phrase, 'eccezionale normale', most accurately translates as 'normal exceptional', but is usually rendered in English as 'exceptional normal' or 'normal exception'.
[3] Ibid.

Ozouf in their classic studies of revolutionary festivals.[4] Yet, this thesis has shown that children could be active participants in all of these spheres. Future research might therefore re-examine earlier festival reports, where I have studied only those of Besançon, prior to Year III, or review popular society records to identify children's participation beyond what was printed. Additionally, a systematic analysis of children's literature and schoolbooks, using Manson's and Harten's bibliographies, would allow a more complete reconstruction of the ideas to which children were exposed, and the ways in which they were presented, than I have been able to undertake here.[5]

If French Revolutionary political culture signified a turning point in the history of childhood, it was short-lived. However, the revolutionary state's emphasis on raising children to serve the nation, combined with their active participation, anticipated the mass mobilisation of society—and its children—a century later. Living through the period of twentieth-century mass dictatorships (albeit in the democratic USA herself), Esther Averill saw in French Revolutionary schoolbooks an antecedent to the contemporary use of propaganda aimed at children in Italy, Germany and the USSR.[6]

Successive revolutionary regimes clearly did endeavour to capture children's hearts and minds. This was not the prerogative of modern dictatorships, though, nor did it mean children passively absorbed 'propaganda'. Individuals such as Joséphine Fontanier, Charles Nodier and Jean-Jacques-Anathase Monginet saw themselves as citizens who might contribute to society, whether now or in the future, and adults encouraged this. When the democratic French Third Republic sought to inculcate its future citizens a century later, pedagogues invoked Bara and Viala as models of heroism and patriotism.[7] In this way, the revolutionary child was explicitly connected to future citizens growing up in the 1880s–1930s.

In fact, this connection is still visible today. The commune of Tourreilles, in the Aude, has a thriving commemorative society for a child much less well known than Bara and Viala. Eleven-year-old Pierre Bayle, a drummer for the republican army, was killed in November

[4] A. Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-4*, G. Lewis, trans. (Oxford, 1964); M. L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The Middle Years* (Princeton, 1988); M. Vovelle, *Les métamorphoses de la fête en Provence de 1750 à 1820* (Paris, 1976); M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, A. Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, MA, 1988).
[5] M. Manson, *Les Livres pour l'enfance et la jeunesse sous la Révolution* (Paris, 1989); H.-C. Harten, *Les écrits pédagogiques sous la Révolution*, A. Choppin, ed. (Paris, 1989).
[6] E. Averill, 'Political Propaganda in Children's Books of the French Revolution', *The Colophon*, part 20 (1935).
[7] F. Wartelle, 'Bara, Viala: Le Thème de l'enfance héroïque dans les manuels scolaires (IIIe République)', *AHRF*, 241 (1980), pp. 365–389.

1794 but not recognised nationally, despite General Dugommier writing to the Convention of his heroism. Rediscovered in the 1970s, Bayle has become a source of local pride and communal activity, uniting residents of Tourreilles and the Spanish town of Biure, where he was killed, in commemorative activities.[8] Local children participate in regular ceremonies to celebrate his memory, bearing flags and beating drums, and at school they have produced artwork recounting his story.[9] Thus, the revolutionary 'exceptional normal' child remains an example with which children might engage today.

[8] 'L'Enfant-Héros oublié: Pierre Bayle de Tourreilles (Aude), 1783-1794 [...]', *La Beluga de Limós* [special issue], 24 ([c. 1979]).
[9] 'Pierre_Bayle Par Les 4e2_4e3_JDelteil', *Vimeo*, https://vimeo.com/335570283, 2019, accessed 31 August 2020; 'Infos animations', *Association Le Chemin du petit tambour*, https://www.pierre-bayle.fr/433275971, accessed 31 August 2020.

APPENDIX 1

Figure 1: J.-L. David, ***La*** *Mort de Joseph Bara*, oil on canvas, 1794, Musée Calvet, Avignon. Photograph: Web Gallery of Art. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Figure 2: J. Reynolds, *The Age of Innocence*, oil on canvas, c. 1788, Tate, London. Photograph © Tate, CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0 (Unported). Source: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/reynolds-the-age-of-innocence-n00307.

Figure 3: J.-B. Greuze, *Une jeune enfant qui joue avec un chien*, oil on canvas, 1769, private collection. Photograph: Larousse, Archives Larbor, Ph. Luc Joubert. Source: Stéphane Lojkine, Utpictura. All rights reserved.

Figure 4: E.-L. Vigée-Lebrun, *Marie-Antoinette, reine de France, et ses enfants*, oil on canvas, 1787, Château de Versailles. Public domain. Photograph: RQE3s9ANo6GnTg at Google Cultural Institute, Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 5: A. U. Wertmüller, Q*ueen Marie Antoinette of France and Two of Her Children Walking in The Park of Trianon*, oil on canvas, 1785, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Photograph: Erik Cornelius / Nationalmuseum, public domain.

Figure 6: F. Dumont, *Marie Antoinette et ses enfants (Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte et le Dauphin Louis-Charles) au pied d'un arbre*, miniature on ivory, 1790, Musée du Louvre. Photograph: Tylwyth Eldar, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0. Licence: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fran%C3%A7ois_Dumont_-_Marie_Antoinette_et_ses_enfants.jpg

Figure 7: É.-L. Vigée Le Brun, *Marie-Thérèse Charlotte de France, dite Madame Royale, et son frère le dauphin, Louis Joseph Xavier François*, oil on canvas, 1784, Château de Versailles. Photograph: Palace of Versailles, Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

Figure 8: The placement of Wertmüller's and Vigée Le Brun's portraits, beneath David's Oath of the Horatii, at the Salon, P. A. Martini, *View of the Salon of 1785*, etching, 1785, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Public domain. Source: metmuseum.org

Figure 9: Studio of Vigéé Le Brun, *Louis-Charles de France, futur Louis XVII, et son chien Moufflet*, oil on canvas, c. 1789, Château de Versailles. Copy of the original displayed at the 1789 Salon, which was destroyed in 1794. © Château de Versailles, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Christophe Fouin.

Figure 10: L. Guttenbrunn, *Marie-Thérèse and Louis-Charles*, oil on canvas, c. 1788, Palazzo Coronini Cronberg. Photograph: http://vivelareine.tumblr.com/post/345453521, Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

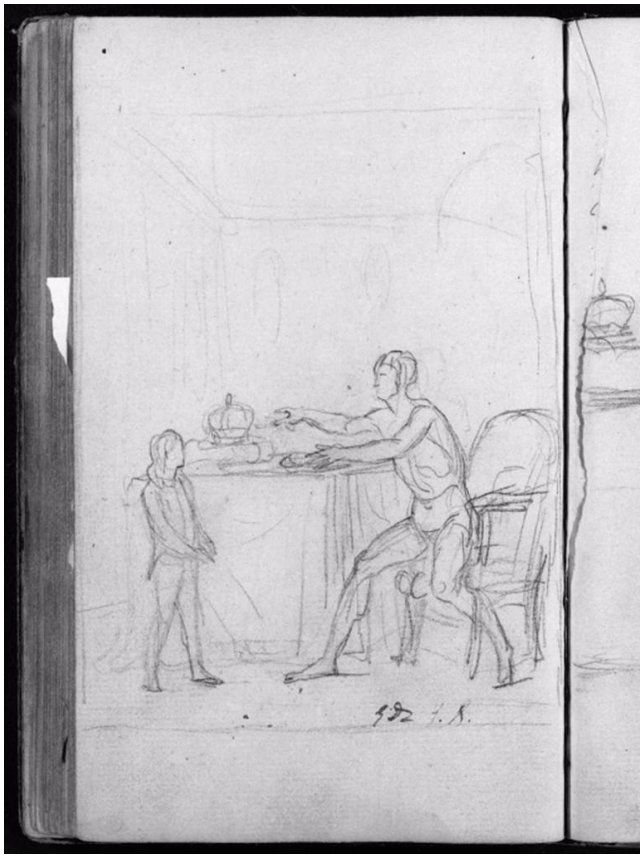

Figure 11: J.-L. David, *Louis XVI Showing the Constitution to His Son, the Dauphin*, also known as *Young boy at a table, at which a man is seated*, graphite, 1792, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Madeleine Coursaget. Source: Artstor.

Figure 12: unattributed, *Louis XVII enlevé a sa famille*, woodcut, 1793, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 13: J-B. Vérité, after P. Bouillon, *La séparation de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche, d'avec sa famille : dans la tour du Temple*, engraving, 1795, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 14: J.-B. Vérité after P. Bouillon, *La Séparation de Louis seize, d'avec sa famille, dans la tour du Temple*, print (pointillé), 1794, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 15: unattributed (De Vinck?), *Louis XVII*, stipple engraving, 1795, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 16: D. Doncre, *Le juge Pierre-Louis-Joseph Lecocq et sa famille*, oil on canvas, 1791, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. Photograph: Rama, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 2.0 FR. Licence: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0/fr/legalcode

Figure 17: Studio of J.-L. David, *Camille Desmoulins, sa femme Lucile et leur fils*, oil on canvas, c. 1792, Château de Versailles. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY. Source: Artstor.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 18: unattributed, *Institutrice républicaine*, print (pointillé), 1792–95, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

L'INSTITUTEUR DES ARISTOCRATES

Belphégor étant venu sur terre pour instruire les Hommes fut nommé Recteur de l'université de paris ou il resta ensuite quelque temps au bout de plusieurs années ayant été chassé il se retira à Aristocratopolis ou il fut obligé d'enseigner les enfants on lui confia l'éducation de deux gentilhommes dont l'un etoit pour le Service militaire et l'autre pour l'état ecclésiastique il donna à l'un les principes de la cruauté et de la férocité et à l'autre ceux de la fourberie et de la perfidie ils profiterent de ses sages leçon et firent honneur à leur maitre qui retourna à lors prendre possession de Son trône vacant par la mort de belzebuts son predecesseur .

.

Figure 19: unattributed, *L'Instituteur des aristocrates*, etching, 1790, BnF. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

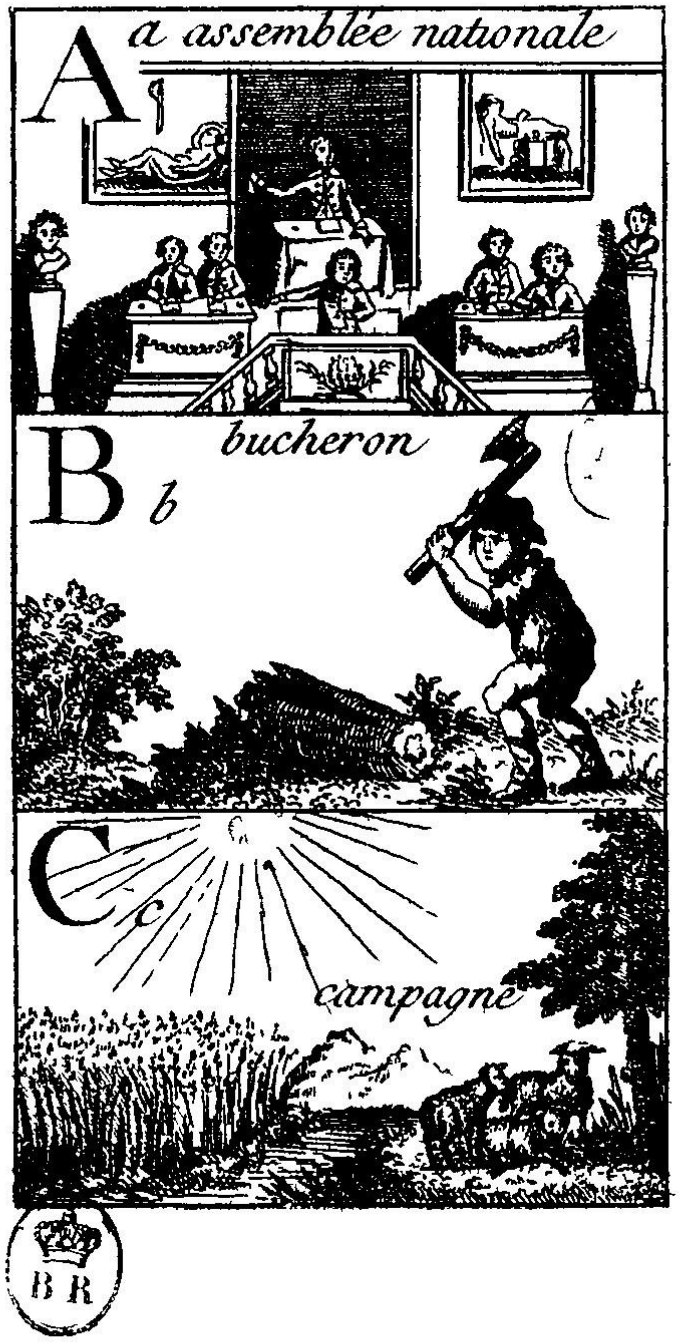

Figure 20: J.-B. Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain [...]* (Paris, 1793-4), [p. iv]. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

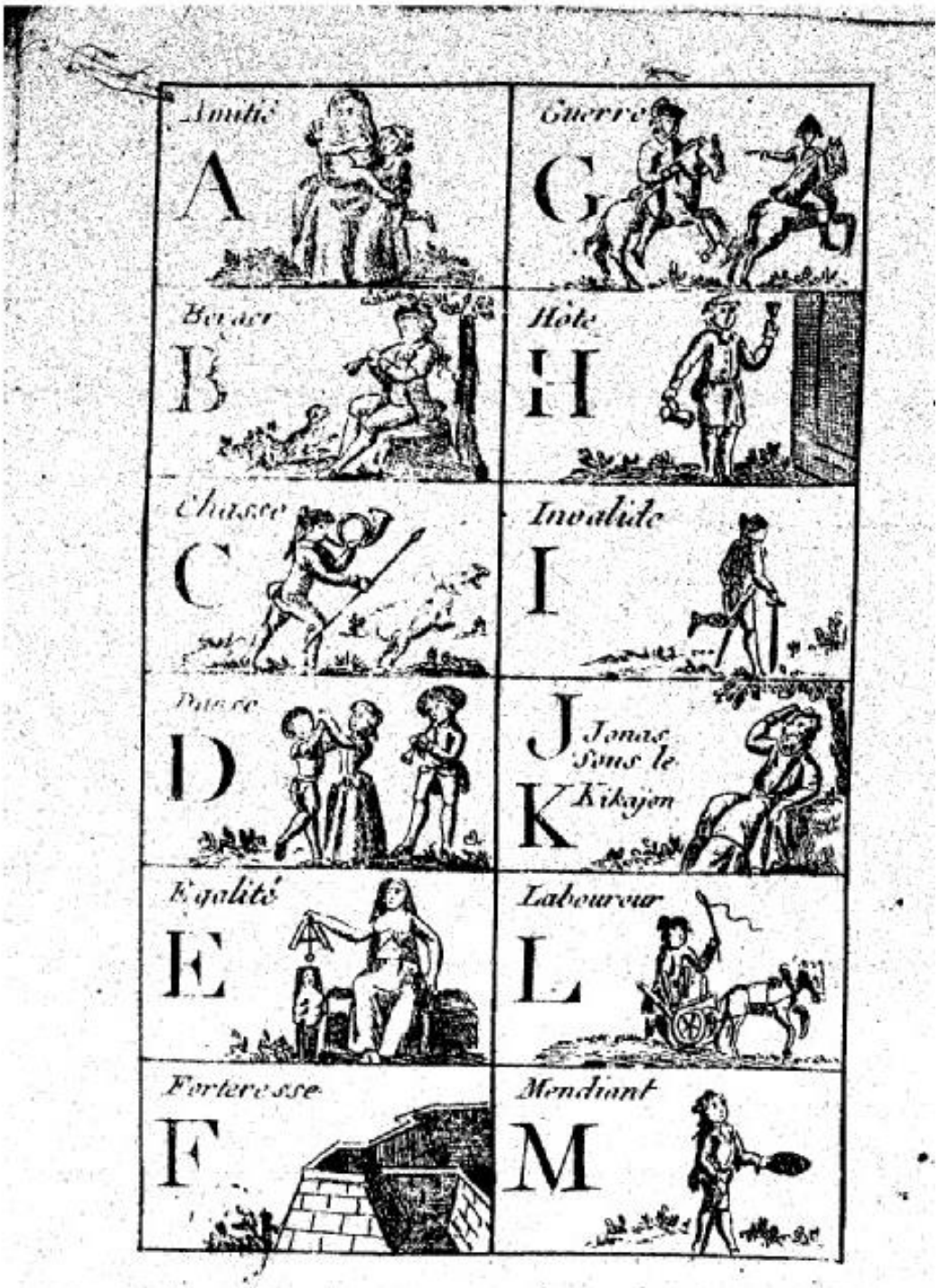

Figure 21: *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'ABC [...]* (Paris, 1793-4), p. iii. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 22: J.-B. Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain [...]* (Paris, 1793-4), p. xi. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Figure 23: J.-B. Chemin-Dupontès, *Alphabet républicain [...]* (Paris, 1793-4), p. viii. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

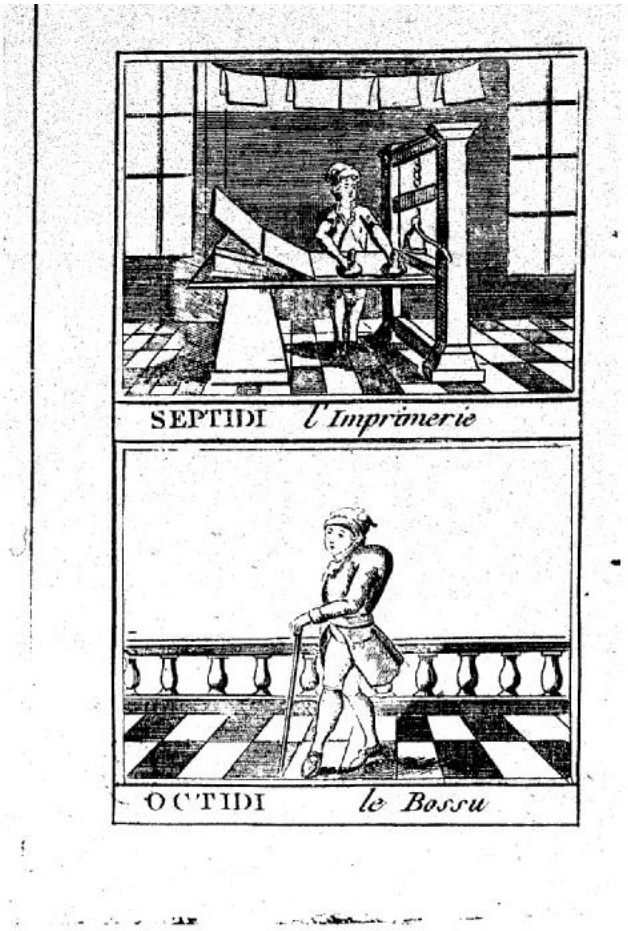

Figure 24: *Nouvelle méthode d'enseigner l'ABC [...]* (Paris, 1793-4), p. xxiv. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

A B C D E F
G H I K L M
N O P Q R S
T U V X Y Z.

A B C D E F G H
I K L M N O P Q
R S T U V X Y Z.

a b c d e f g h
i j k l m n o p
q r ſ s t u v x y
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ffi ﬀ ﬂ ffl ſt & , ; : .
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Figure 25: *Syllabaire républicain, pour les enfans du premier âge* (Paris, 1793-4), p. 3. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

Chanſon du Papa ou de la Maman à l'Enfant qui lira bien.

AIR : *De la Carmagnole.*

SI mon petit Fanfan lit bien, *bis.*
Je ne lui refuſerai rien; *bis.*
Je le careſſerai,
Et puis je lui ferai
Danſer la Carmagnole,
Au joli ſon, *bis.*
Danſer la Carmagnole,
Au joli ſon du violon.

Chanſon des mêmes à l'Enfant qui lira mal.

Même AIR.

MAIS ſi mon Fanfanet lit mal, *bis.*
Au lieu de le mener au bal, *bis.*
Je l'enverrai bien loin,
Seul dans un petit coin,
Danſer la Carmagnole;
(Ici un geſte repréſentant l'action du fouet que l'on donne aux enfans.)
Au vilain ſon, *bis.*
Danſer la Carmagnole,
Au vilain ſon du violon.

Figure 26: *Syllabaire républicain, pour les enfans du premier âge* (Paris, 1793-4), p. vi. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF

APPENDIX 2

C. J. Panckoucke, Grammaire élémentaire et mécanique, à l'usage des enfans de 10 à 14 ans, et des écoles primaires […] (Paris, 1795), chap. 4, pp. 7-10.

[p. 7]

IVe LEÇON.

CONJUGAISON DU VERBE

AUXILIAIRE, *Etre.*

INFINITIF.

Être [sic].

PARTICIPES.

Été, Étant.

LE TEMPS PRÉSENT.

Singulier.

I^ere^ personne.	Je suis	*parti pour la campagne.*
2^e^.	Tu es	*revenu bien tard.*
3^e^.	Il *ou* elle est	*entièrement dévoué, dévouée à la patrie.*

Pluriel.

I^ere^ personne.	Nous sommes	*tous determinés à périr plutôt que de souffrir cette tyrannie.*
2^e^.	Vous êtes	*dans l'impuissance de faire le mal.*
3^e^.	Ils *ou* elles sont	*tous, toutes de zélés patriotes, ces prétendus prétendues aristocrates.*

[p. 8]

TEMPS IMPARFAIT.

Singulier.

I^ere^ personne.	J'étois	*allé au spectacle, lorsque vous arrivâtes.*
2^e^.	Tu étois	*à la comédie, lorsque je me suis rendu chez toi.*
3^e^.	Il *ou* elle étoit	*de retour, lorsque je le (la) croyois absent, absente.*

Pluriel.

I^ere personne.	Nous étions	*tous dans l'étonnement de cette valeur héroïique.*
2^e.	Vous êtiez	*tous résolus à périr plutôt que cédér à ces lâches.*
3^e.	Ils *ou* elles étoient	*étonnés, étonnées de tant de courage et de vertu.*

TEMPS PASSÉ.

Singulier.

I^ere personne.	Je fus	*hier me promener aux Tuileries.*
2^e.	Tu fus	*un homme étonnant dans cette révolution.*
3^e.	Il *ou* elle fut	*lâchement guillotiné, guillotinée.*

[p. 9]

Pluriel.

I^ere personne.	Nous fûmes	*présens à son supplice.*
2^e.	Vous fûtes	*les témoins de sa patience.*
3^e.	Ils *ou* elles furent	*altérés, altérées de ce sang innocent.*

TEMPS FUTUR.

Singulier.

I^ere personne.	Je serai	*toute ma vie le défenseur de l'innocence.*
2^e.	Tu seras	*témoin de mes travaux.*
3^e.	Il *ou* elle sera	*présent, présente à tous mes discours.*

Pluriel.

I^ere personne.	Nous serons	*tous attachés à la bonne cause.*
2^e.	Vous serez	*son appui.*
3^e.	Ils *ou* elles seront	*ses vengeurs.*

CONDITIONNEL PRÉSENT.

Singulier.

I^ere personne.	Je serois	*venu plutôt à ton secours, si, etc.*
2^e.	Tu serois	*leur victime, s'ils n'eussent montre [sic] leur courage.*

3e personne.	Il seroit	*l'homme le plus vil et le plus scélérat de la terre, si Robespierre et Marat n'eussent pas existé.*

Tems de commandement qu'on appelle

IMPÉRATIF (I)

Singulier.

2e personne.	Sois	*sois soumis à la loi.*
3e.	Qu'il *ou* elle soit	*plus sage à l'avenir.*

Pluriel.

Iere personne.	Soyons	*des amis fidèles à la patrie.*
2e.	Soyez	*en tout temps ses plus ardens défenseurs.*
3e.	Qu'ils ou [sic] qu'elles soient	*en tout temps prêts, prêtes à combattre pour elle.*

(I) Ce temps maque de première personne, parce qu'on ne se commande pas à soi-même.

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