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PATRIOTISM IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

The question that this thesis will address is, how did the revolutionaries and leadership of France shift the understanding of patriotism so dramatically over the period of 1788-1792 from one where there were many definitions of the concept to one of violence? This thesis will look at three different types of media: (1) mass media and newspapers, (2) festivals and mass celebrations, and (3) cartoons and artwork. The revolutionary government was able to control the conversation and thus create a supposedly popular concept of militant patriotic duty.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The concept of "Patriotism" seems to be in constant flux. During the early years of the George W. Bush administration, patriotism was seen as flag waving fervor, support for our armed forces, and a Manichean view of the war in Iraq. Over the years since those first few years of the war, patriotism shifted. When I entered college, one essay question I responded to asked, "Is Edward Snowden a patriot or a traitor?" At the time, patriotic duty was a more fluid concept, meaning duty to one's country rather than a support for the military. Today one can draw comparisons between a contemporaneous view of patriotic duty and that of the Red Scare of the 1950s when connections with Russia were synonymous with treachery. Patriotism is not a static concept, heavily influenced by propaganda, mass media, art, community events, and contemporary events.

The use of mass media, art, and community events to generate national ties of unity and of enthusiasm for national causes is neither unique to the United States, nor is it a new concept. Norman Rockwell was not the first artist to use his art to evoke feelings of duty and love for country. We were not the first country to develop the Fourth of July parade, nor was William Randolph Hearst the first journalist to use sensationalist media to push his own view of what it meant to be a wartime patriot.

Popular depictions of the French Revolution show a country seemingly united in a fervor to destroy all vestiges of the monarchy. One of the most common symbols of the Revolution, the guillotine, came to be connected with a militant patriotism more extreme than that of the Red Scare. In 1788, residents of France would likely have identified their nation more consistently as the King, a person rather than a state. Their patriotic duty was toward the king rather than the state as a whole, but within three years, the concept of patriotic duty was to the concepts of *liberte, fraternite and egalite*. The question that this thesis will address is, how did the revolutionaries and leadership of France shift the understanding of patriotism so dramatically over these three years?

This thesis will look at three prominent forms of media: (1) mass written pamphlets and editorials; (2) festivals and semi-spontaneous festivals called *journées*; and (3) cartoons, prints, and illustrations. While discussion about the concept of patriotism existed, especially within pamphlets and newspaper articles of the early Revolution, the revolutionary government promoted a militant form of patriotism through their patronage of printers and cartoonists and their tight control over the medium of the mass festival to unify and educate the masses.

Chapter 2

Patriotism in a Pamphlet

The French Revolution, a time that in popular history seemed to be defined by a fervently militant patriotism, redefined what it meant to be a patriot through a vibrant journalistic conversation. The term "patriotism" first appeared in France in 1750, referring to love of country and the common good.¹ However, the French Revolution developed a concept of patriotism over time. In the year 1791 and beyond, the term "patriot" was synonymous with "revolutionary" and "radical." However, in 1789 and 1790, the term was just beginning to be connected with the concept of radical revolution.² What about this time period redefined the term patriot, and what kind of dialogue existed during this time period to lead to this new definition?

An increased readership base and thriving press developed during the mid part of the 18th century, which allowed for dialogue through pamphlets and newspapers. In the mid eighteenth century literacy rates in France skyrocketed. A study by French historian

¹ Adolphe Hatzfeld et Arsene Darmesteter, *Dictionnaire Général de la langue Française du Commencement du XVIIe Siècle Jusqu'à Nos Jours*. (1964.)

² Aira Kemiläinen, *Patriotism During the French Revolution. History of European Ideas, Vol. 11*. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989).

Daniel Roche shows that literacy increased from 29% in 1710 to around 37% in 1790, a year after the start of the revolution.³ Thanks to an increase in availability of education with Jacobian schools, a larger number of people were writing their own wills and book ownership increased.⁴ This increase in literacy mirrored an increase in the ease of publishing. According to the *Catalogue de l'histoire de France* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the years directly preceding the French Revolution, 1787 and 1788, a total of 1036 pamphlets were published. To contrast this, 3,305 pamphlets were published in the first year of the revolution alone.⁵ The increase in mass media showcases the vast number of opinions on patriotism and citizenship. Thanks to more outlets to express one's personal opinions and more readership, ideas could be spread rapidly and broadly across society. These pamphlets were often at odds with each other in their views and provided a dialogue on the meaning of patriotism and what it meant to be a French citizen during the Revolution. 1788 marked the year that pamphlets were no longer subject to censorship, so anti-governmental and radical ideas were able to flourish in this time period, and the

³ Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*. (Harvard University Press, 1998). 429

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Robert Darnton, Daniel Roche, *Revolution in Print*. (University of California Press, 1989). 165

traditional idea of patriotism faced scrutiny by both conservatives and liberals.⁶ Personal politics, social status, and gender informed how people understood patriotic duty, and so, a wide array of definitions of patriotism existed during the early part of the French Revolution.

The concept of patriotism was as vague during the French Revolution as it is today. In Aira Kemiläinen's piece, *Patriotism During the French Revolution*, she explores how the concept of patriotism evolves during the early part of the French Revolution, from the traditional definition of "love of country" to a term owned that meant radical revolutionary.⁷ This evolution of the concept is visible in the conversation of authors, where some conservative writers like Madame de Keralio-Robert, one of the foremost feminist thinkers of her time; use arguments for pacifist forms of patriotism. Using historical references to the French Wars of Religion of the late 1500s and early 1600s, Mme Robert calls for a more pacific patriotism in her "Adresse aux femmes de Montauban." This piece, written for Mme Robert's journal, the *Mercure National*, is a reaction to the more radical, active patriotism of the October Days.

⁶ Aira Kemiläinen, *Patriotism During the French Revolution. History of European Ideas, Vol. 11.* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989).

⁷ Aira Kemiläinen, *Patriotism During the French Revolution. History of European Ideas, Vol. 11.* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989).

Madame de Keralio-Robert, one of the principal proponents of feminist thought during the French Revolution, was the daughter of a minor noble family. In the Prospectus of the *Mercure National ou Journal d'état et du citoyen*, Robert claimed that, as illustrated by the rule of Elizabeth the First of England, a constitutional monarchy places constraints upon a monarch but also requires the individual monarch to remain within the law, which cannot always be relied upon.⁸ Robert's form of nationalism is tinted by her views on constitutional monarchy, calling for more restrained forms of patriotism and revolution. In her critique on an argument for the English model of constitutional monarchy, she presents the idea that, while there should exist a king, all legislative powers should exist within the National Assembly, a moderate view that keeps the king as a figurehead with no true powers. Despite her support for the King as a symbolic, sacred figure, Robert believes that the Queen and heir apparent should be treated as ordinary citizens.⁹ This melding of republican and monarchist values becomes apparent in her views on the patriotic duty of citizens.

The town of Montauban, the subject of Mme Robert's address in her journal, *Mercure National*, was a center of conflict during the French Wars of Religion, but its role as the seat of conflict did not end with its fall in 1629. Montauban's revolutionary

⁸ Karen Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1700-1800*.

(University of Melbourne, 2014). 207

⁹ Ibid.

heritage continued during the French Revolution when, following the fall of the Bastille, the Catholic inhabitants reacted by forming militia units to protect themselves from the Protestants. This move prompted the predominantly protestant National Guard to solidify military control and attempt to gain political control. In a direct response to the National Assembly's decree to inventory the property of the church, women blockaded the convents of Montauban, restricting access. Following their success at the convents, a number of the women moved to City Hall where around eighty militiamen had assembled. The crowd stormed the building, killing several guardsmen. After this incident, conflict erupted in the city, resulting in the imprisonment of the Protestants, who were only released when revolutionary armies from Bordeaux and Toulouse arrived to demand their release.¹⁰ Mme Robert's address to the women of Montauban is a reaction to the events of the French Revolution, but she makes allusions to the Huguenot Wars of Religion during the late 1500s and early 1600s to appeal to a shared cultural memory.

Montauban of the Huguenot Wars had a completely different dynamic as a Huguenot stronghold, fighting against the Catholic king. The reversal of roles played by the Catholics and Protestants draws Mme Robert's reaction, reminding the Catholic women who blockaded the convents of the Saint Bartholemew's day massacre. During the massacre around 3,000 Huguenots across France were murdered, commencing the

¹⁰ Arno J. Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian*

Revolutions. (Princeton University Press, 2000). 494-496

Huguenot Wars, leading eventually to the Edict of Nantes, which allowed for substantial rights for Protestants in France. She reminds these women that, during the massacre of St. Bartholemew's day, the massacre of Cevennes, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, women did not carry the banner; they were not the ones who spilled the blood of their neighbors, and they did not invade the temples of their neighbors.¹¹ This remonstrance shows a kind of disapproval of violence and the methods taken by the Catholic women of Montauban. In some ways, this piece is anti-feminist, calling for women to be the sensible members of the household, restraining the more radical members and not participating in the violence that had enveloped Montauban. Mme Robert's kind of patriotism is a more restrained version than other Revolutionary thinkers, calling for restraint and unity; invoking the imagery of the slaughter of the Wars of Religion to promote a more tolerant form of activism. "Misguided women... listen to the voice of humanity. Tremble in the power to begin a civil war that, (great God!) your husbands, your sons, your unfortunate fathers, your tearful mothers, your co-citizens, your benefactors, your town, and the whole of France will be consumed within."¹² This call for

¹¹ Louise-Félicité de Keralio, *Adresse aux femmes de Montauban*. (Lille: L. Potier de Lille, 1790).

¹² Louise-Félicité de Keralio, *Adresse aux femmes de Montauban*. (Lille: L. Potier de Lille, 1790).

a restrained patriotism is deeply at odds with many other forms of patriotism called for during the Revolution.

Slightly further along the spectrum of militant patriotism lay *L'Observateur*, the brainchild of Gabriel Feydel, a vehement revolutionary and anti-Semite. Feydel's pieces were often fabricated, in some cases including letters that he himself had written and tried to pass off as written from another source.¹³ Feydel's articles all start with the same motto by Bailly, the mayor of Paris at the time of the articles, "The press is the safe-guard of the people."¹⁴ Feydel, a man of an artisanal family, had some basic education in classics, literature, and some military training.¹⁵ While a more militant patriot than Mme Robert, calling for citizens to engage themselves wholeheartedly in civic actions, Feydel was still a more moderate patriot than many of his contemporaries, as his patriotism was throwing one's self into civic duties that would improve the country. The style of Feydel's articles in *L'Observateur* is to start with the quote by Bailly, have an allegorical story, which highlights a citizen's actions, either in a positive or negative manner, and then follow that

¹³ Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848*. (KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970). 6

¹⁴ Gabriel Feydel, *L'Observateur No. 49*. (Paris: Garneri, 1789).

¹⁵ "Gabriel FEYDEL." *Dictionnaire des journalistes*. Accessed November 17, 2016.

<http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/303-gabriel-feydel>

with "letters to the editor." Many of these letters were fabricated by Feydel himself.¹⁶ In the November 24, 1789 edition, Feydel begins with the story of an advisor of a court in Rennes who was offered to take part in a patriotic dinner, which he accepted. "He was offered the red (wine) and the white (wine); he accepted. He was offered the title of a good citizen; he accepted. He was offered the uniform of the National Guard; he accepted. He was asked to serve for eight years; he accepted."¹⁷ In this passage, the advisor is given the fruits of patriotism; the red and white wines and the titles that come with being a good patriot. He is shown to the world as someone who is a model citizen. The next morning the advisor wanted to renege on his promise, trying to undo all of his vows, but the committee of the town responded that one did not have the power to go back on one's patriotic duties; once a patriot, always a patriot.¹⁸ The letters that follow this story provide a response to the story. The first response, supposedly from "S.M., Soldier of the National Guard," provides Feydel's views of a good citizen. Monsieur S.M. is a member of a political club that meets every day and is composed of close to five hundred members, the leader of his political club one day brought in a collection plate for promoting one's patriotic duty, and put in piles of gold, but then substituted the gold with

¹⁶ Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848*. (KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970). 366

¹⁷ Gabriel Feydel, *L'Observateur No. 49*. (Paris: Garneri, 1789).

¹⁸ Gabriel Feydel, *L'Observateur No. 49*. (Paris: Garneri, 1789).

copper coins, illustrating, in Feydel's view, the problem with patriotism.¹⁹ To the audience, it is clear that there are two forms of "patriotism" being presented here; first the advisor from Rennes, and then Monsieur S.M. Feydel shows disdain for men of words who do nothing to support their patriotic duty. Love of country is one thing, but action must accompany words. Monsieur S.M. not only is a member of a political club, but he is a member of the National Guard, ready to fight for his country should the need every arise, which contrasts the advisor from Rennes who pronounces loudly his love for France, but when the time comes to take action and go join the National Guard, he takes a step back. To Feydel, the true patriot is someone who not only shows off his patriotism but follows through with it. Feydel's arguments are a step in the direction of the definition of patriotism that is synonymous with "revolutionary," presenting the need for action, not just loving one's country. Using a kind of discourse where he provides both sides of the argument, Feydel is able to present his views in his own, carefully controlled forum.

Feydel's letters, written from a variety of angles, from members of the National Guard to royalists, present a strongly revolutionary and militant angle of patriotism. As mentioned above, the first letter, from a member of the National Guard, presents a complaint about false patriotism. The second from the Nov. 24th journal is not signed, but it makes reference to a conflict between citizens and imperial troops during the Great Fear, describing a massacre and routing of the imperial troops of the count of Arberg.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The conflict left the town in embers with the imperial general, the Prince of Ligne, the count of Dolomieu, and a number of other officers escaping. The number of dead was unknown, and all of the hospitals were filled with the injured.²⁰ The Great Fear, which occurred in July and August of 1789, consisted of peasants and workers in the countryside taking up arms and attacking manor houses for a variety of reasons, including a fear of an aristocratic conspiracy of brigands and imperial forces coming to control the countryside.²¹ Letters to the editor like this one, probably fabricated by Feydel, were effective in encouraging militant anti imperial sentiments and presenting a victorious citizenry throwing off the yokes of oppressive imperial forces. While Feydel does not necessarily promote such actions in his allegories, he can promote a more militant form of patriotism in his letters.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, farther past Mme Robert's more conservative, less violent ideals, lies the opinion of the Master Baker of the town of Arles. The Master Baker, a member of the privileged artisanal class is more of a reactionary conservative. His views on patriotism stem from his position, and he views the actions of revolutionaries as self-destructive, leading only to their own detriment. Arles suffered a similar fate to Montauban and other southern French cities in that the

²⁰ Gabriel Feydel, *L'Observateur No. 49*. (Paris: Garneri, 1789).

²¹ Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*. (Pantheon Books, 1973). X

Catholic, conservative elements of the city took power and a civil war developed, ending with external forces coming in to stop the violence.²² The situations and reactions of Mme Robert and the Master Baker have some similarities in their calls for restraint, but the Master Baker takes a more conservative point of view, calling members of the Third Estate lazy and counterproductive in the actions they take against the members of the First Estate who provide for them and protect them.

The Master Baker's appeal follows a conservative argument that the future will be one where people of his profession will no longer be relevant and that the revolutionaries do not realize that the changes they fight for will only serve to undo the supports society has established for the members of the Third Estate. For the Master Baker, the ideal citizen, the patriot, is a citizen who follows the laws; "those men who deserve to be free, under the empire of laws."²³ While the Master Baker does not specifically address the king in so many words, he does address the concept of privilege, calling on a familiar trope to members of the wealthy classes; the concept that those who have more, have more because they deserve it. As stated in his argument:

My dear co-citizens, listen to me say that you have never truly known that, that which you were is not what you owe, duly suffered and convinced of being weak, in the corporations separated from your municipality, we see now that if you

²² Thomas Carlyle, Charles Robert, Leslie Fletcher, *The French Revolution: A History in Three Parts. The Bastille. The Constitution. The Guillotine*. (G. P. Putnam, 1902).

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²³ François-Trophime Masse, *Léthargie du tiers états*. (Arles, France, 1789).

would have had more courage in arms in the municipal assemblies or in the provincial estates that had been promised to them, which had been conquered by them, on all the corporate bodies, which play from those profane privileges.²⁴

In some ways, this section of the Master Baker's piece is not saying the poor and the members of the third estate are naturally unpatriotic. Instead, it says that the laziness of the third estate explains why they have never risen above their station in life. The current revolution shows that the potential for them to do better always existed, but because they were lazy, and thus poor patriots, they could not truly rise above their stations. Now, the revolutionaries were poorer citizens because they were acting outside the law, being counter productive for society.

This mentality, while similar to Mme Robert's pacific patriotism in its distaste for violence, is counter-revolutionary in language, promoting working within the established avenues of bettering one's self. Mme Robert's address is still revolutionary, encouraging the breaking of societal rules and the reformation of the corporations while still being a peaceful member of society and not turning on one's neighbors. Along the line of militant patriotism, both are far to the right, conservative and more traditional views of patriotic duty, especially when compared to the leftist, radical views of Feydel in *L'Observateur*.

²⁴ Ibid. -

"Mes chers Concitoyens souffrez que je vous dise, vous n'avez jamais bien su, jusques à présent ce que vous étiez ni même ce que vous devez être, duéments atteints et convaincûs d'être pusillanimes, dans le Corps séparés de vos Municipalités, voyons maintenant si vous aurez plus de courage en corps d'armées; car enfin tous les corps privilégiés étoient en corps d'armées dans leurs Assemblées Municipales, ou dans leur Etats provinciaux, quelles ont été leur promesses, quelles ont été leur conquettes, sur tous ces Corps, qui jouissoient de ces privilèges profanes."

However, none of these views exist in a vacuum. Each address, each newspaper, each journal is a reaction and part of a greater conversation on the concept of patriotism.

While also a newspaper like *L'Observateur*, *Le Courier de Paris* has a vastly different format, following a much more modern journalistic path. Each article of *Le Courier* describes what is occurring in the National Assembly, followed by the author's critique on the motions and actions taken by the assembly. Starting each article with the Latin phrase, "Nec lœdere, nec adulari," or "Neither criticizing, nor flattering," *Le Courier* seeks to be a moderate voice in the conversation. *Le Courier*, also known as *L'Ami du Peuple*, was published by la veuve Herissant, and written by Jean-Paul Marat, one of the major thinkers of the French Revolution. Marat's more journalistic approach to his newspaper is visible, especially, in a direct comparison with how he treats the conflict in the town of Gand. Feydal's description of the conflict of Gand was exaggerated conflict: a massacre and rout, throwing out the Prince and all other members of nobility in one bloody struggle. In comparison, Marat calls the conflict an "affair that occurred in Gand." Describing how "a number of soldiers arrived at the house of the sister of the valiant Van-der-Meesen, who commanded the army of the patriots, (the soldiers) demanded if she was the parent of that rebel who desired that the fire still live? 'I am that sister,' she responded coldly. They drew back, impressed by her courage and demanded her pardon."²⁵ This kind of patriotism is respectful of both sides, showing both the

²⁵ Jean-Paul Marat, *Le Courier de Paris*. (Paris: la Veuve Herissant, 1789).

soldiers as referential and chivalrous and the sister as courageous and sticking to her beliefs. While both sides are presented in a positive light, Marat still refers to the rebels as the "patriots," and the soldiers as the invading force. Thus, while still more moderate than Feydal's inflammatory words, Marat strays more to the later definition of patriotism than Mme Robert. By connecting the members of the National Guard to the word "patriots" and using the term "society of patriots" in the name of the publication, Marat connects "patriot" with "revolutionary." While he still presents the sister as someone who loves her country, he does not refer to her as a patriot, indicating that there is something more to the term than simply love of country.

One of the strongest revolutionary groups outside of the third estate and the members of the artisanal classes were the small clergy who took the side of the under-represented, under-privileged classes.²⁶ R. P. (Reverend Pere) Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe, a clergyman of Brabant, a small town in North East France, penned a sermon against the second estate, the aristocrats where he attacked the aristocrats for not taking care of the members of the third estate. Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe uses a large number of allusions to events, people, and other sermons which presumably his flock would be familiar with. One of the references he makes is to an event where about eighty Dutch families were deported by the local aristocracy. To Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe, the families, "peaceful,

²⁶ Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*. (Ohio State University Press, 1996). 180.

honest, and dependent on the patrimony of the aristocracy's houses that their oppressors could not abuse them," were sold out when they were sent back to the Netherlands.²⁷

Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe continues in his attack on the negligence of the aristocracy - "when an honest citizen remonstrated to the state against the deportations, what was the response of the aristocrats?"²⁸ - expulsion as well.

Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe's views on patriotic duty to one's country, while directed at the aristocracy and pro-revolution, is a mirror of the Master Baker's views. There is a structure that exists in French society, and for Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe, this road is not one way, when an honest citizen remonstrates to the state, the state should take the role of a benevolent father and listen to the citizen's concerns. In the circumstances he describes, however, the aristocrats do not watch out for their citizens. They shirk their duties, and this, in his view, is unpatriotic and the aristocrats are likened to wolves under the guise of benefactors.²⁹

The early part of the French Revolution had a vibrant dialogue on what it meant to be a patriotic, contributing member of society. Patriotism is a term that has evolved over the years from its roots based in love for one's country, to the late revolutionary definition as "revolutionary" or "radical." Thanks to the developments in printing during the

²⁷ R. P. Pancrace-Roller-Policarpe, *Sermon anti-aristocratique*. (Brabançons, 1790).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

eighteenth century, personal views on many topics and reactions to events were quite common, and literacy rates were climbing, allowing for a wide readership. During the early part of the French Revolution, two main definitions of "patriotism" existed, either revolutionary or conservative and a scale of militarism, stretching from militant patriotism at one end of the spectrum to pacific patriotism at the other end. Revolutionary does not necessarily mean militant, as evidenced by the writings of Mme Robert and Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe, and conservative is not always pacific. Some forms of patriotism that are most similar are completely opposite with their revolutionary sentiments, as in the case of the Master Baker's critique of the laziness members of the Third Estate and Pancrace-Roller-Pollcarpe's critique of the abandonment of the Third Estate by the Second. Even the style of writing has an impact on the views of patriotic duty. In the case of Marat, his more journalistic style is representative of a moderately militaristic, revolutionary style of patriotism; while Feydel's inflammatory style and often embellished articles present a far more radicalized militant patriotism.

Chapter 3

Popular Patriotism

The concept of patriotism, leading up to its becoming synonymous with "revolutionary" and "radical" in 1791 gradually became more and more connected with a form of militant revolution through festivals and *journées*, semi spontaneous demonstrations and actions by the general populace. While festivals were a traditional religious part of society in pre-revolutionary France, the revolutionary festival took ownership of the concept of patriotism and *patrie* through its connection with the military. Through its ownership of the "will of the people," the Revolution was able to take control of popular movements like *journées*. By claiming such an intimate connection to the "national will," the revolution was able to orchestrate one-sided arguments that form a connection between militant revolution and patriotism.

One complication that exists when writing this chapter is that primary sources for festivals are lacking. Typically, primary sources about festivals, especially the Festival of Federation, are written as responses, to the events, accounts written by observers who interpret the festivals in their own ways, rather than observations on what happens during the festival. Since these festivals were meant to be manifestations of the popular will, records of what happened at the festivals are difficult to find, and, while festivals were planned by the National Assembly with contracts assigned to architects, the plans for the

festivals were not kept, possibly to preserve the concept of the festival as an organically produced event.

Whereas pamphlets during the French Revolution led to a vibrant conversation about what the meaning of patriotism was, festivals and *journées* of the revolution were one sided, seeking to impart on their audiences a militaristic version of patriotic virtues. *Journées* were taken by the revolutionary government and used as models for the rest of France. Festivals, events planned by the administration, would often start in one part of the country and be copied throughout as a means of cultural education. Festivals and *journées* acted as reflections on socio-cultural feelings rather than depictions of events or reactions to other festivals. This is in complete contrast to pamphlets, which generally were expressions of reactions, whether to events or to other pamphlets.

Festivals and *journées* revolved around one of the central themes of the French Revolution, the "will of the people." This concept was meant to be a direct contrast to the monarchy and the church that came before, instead looking at the people as the basis for the country and the government, especially the members of the Third Estate. Thus, if there was a popular movement it was seen to be positive and correct. For leaders of the Revolution like Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, the Revolution is the awakening of the "Third Estate," the population coming into the realization that they have the true power in the country.³⁰ The members of the National Assembly saw themselves as representatives of

³⁰ Emmanuel-Joseph Siyès, *What is the Third Estate?*. (Paris, 1789).

the general population. Decisions of the National Assembly were based on this "popular will," the idea that their actions gained legitimacy through their representation of the people. The theory of the "popular will" is the base for the modern idea of Populism, that the government should represent the "common man" and that there is one legitimate view, the view of "the people."³¹ By purporting to understand and be able to translate this popular will, a leader can both influence public opinion by defining one view as being legitimate.³² In the French Revolution, by taking ownership of this national will, the administration could manipulate public opinion, making one form of patriotism, in this case a militant revolutionary one, legitimate.

Pre-Revolution festivals were celebrations, reenactments, and ways to unite over a common history. The mystery and miracle plays of the Ancien Régime were ways for the church to educate the masses on the bible and the lives of saints as well as to impart morals to them. These were popular events in the pre revolution era: 32 per year in Paris, 60 in Marseilles.³³ These theatrical performances would be major parts of the calendar year, being led by members of the nobility and the clergy.³⁴ They were typically religious

³¹ Uri Friedman, "What is a Populist?" *The Atlantic*. (Atlantic Media, Feb. 27, 2017).

³² Ibid.

³³ Noel Parker, *Portrayals of Revolution; Images, Debates and Patterns of Thought on the French Revolution*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990). 52.

³⁴ Ibid.

but accompanied by more secular engagements.³⁵ Moralities would often portray Christian principles in an effort to instruct the general population. These plays would take general Christian principles and personify them. For example, during plays about the Seven Deadly Sins, allegorical characters would portray these sins for the audience to better understand the principles.³⁶ The commonality of these *fêtes* lay in their religious backgrounds, connecting the audiences with each other through a shared religious and historical understanding. After the Revolution, festivals changed dramatically, portraying military marches and revolutionary ideals; however, one aspect of the *fêtes* remained for the early festivals, the mass. The Festival of Federation began with a Catholic mass, sanctifying the celebration of violence.³⁷

For the revolutionaries, the past meant monarchy and a return to the Ancien Régime. Instead, the revolutionary festivals would look to the future, act as way to gather the country together and create a shared future.³⁸ In the early part of the French Revolution, there was a need to unify the populace and create a sense of *patrie* and

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Robert Huntington, "Medieval Drama: An Introduction to Middle English Plays," A *History of English Literature*. (Richard G. Badger, 1916). 85-91

³⁷ Antoine Sommer, *Histoire de la Révolution dans le Jura*. (Dumoulin, 1846).

³⁸ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

fraternité. There was confusion in the early parts of the Revolution as to what the future may hold, so *journées* and festivals were means to reassure the people through the strength of the military and the national guard. The first festivals, the "festivals of Federation," represent the unity of the country. As Mona Ozouf points out in her research on the festivals of the French Revolution, while there is one main "Festival of Federation," there were hundreds of smaller "festivals of Federation" in the countryside. While the main festival was a commemoration of the fall of the Bastille and a symbolic termination of the Revolution, the smaller festivals were *journées*, where towns and national guards would come together to celebrate the Revolution and to unite against a common enemy, ranging from brigands and highwaymen to foreign invaders.³⁹ These festivals were intimately connected to the national guard, both being born from the need for unity against a shadowed foe during the Great Fear.⁴⁰ These festivals identified patriotic duty with violence in a way that only a few of the pamphlets of the early Revolution did.

The Great Fear, as described in chapter one, was a period during 1789 when peasants took up arms and attacked manor houses and aristocrats. During this time

³⁹ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁴⁰ Maurice Lambert, *Les Fédérations En Franche-Comté Et La Fête de La Fédération Du 14 Juillet 1790*. (Paris, Hachette Livres, 1890).

period, the national guards came into being. Towns would house around 30 - 50 soldiers, and when there were large amounts of problems in a region, like during the Great Fear, these soldiers would be scattered across the region.⁴¹ These troops were often seen as interlopers in the region, and their role was not as readily accepted.⁴² While militias were not readily accepted by the *Ancien* Regime due their heavy involvement in the Huguenot wars, the Great Fear prompted the return of the militias. During this period, the three levels of local law enforcement: militias, mounted police, and soldiers worked together in a display of unity against the unknown foes.⁴³ The soldiers defended the town proper, the militias would defend the countryside, and the mounted police went on the offensive to try to find the bands of deserters and brigands that were said to be roaming the countryside.⁴⁴ These signs of unity led to some of the first festivals of federation and *journées* of the Revolution. While not planned and not as elaborate as the great Paris Festival of Federation, town and municipalities would participate in "festivals" that were

⁴¹ Clay Ramsay, *The Ideology of the Great Fear; The Soissonnais in 1789*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). 166

⁴² Ibid. 167

⁴³ Ibid. 169

⁴⁴ Ibid. 169

ways to show off the unity of these different branches of the police forces.⁴⁵ These festivals were celebrations of the unity, and they would be accompanied by the exchange of flags and handshakes by leaders of the various groups and towns that would take part in the festivals.⁴⁶ While these early festivals were not entirely revolutionary in appearance, they did contain the roots for the more revolutionary, more radical festivals on the 1790s. The larger Festival of Federation in Paris took its roots from the festivals of federation in the countryside, pulling together the army and the national guard in a sign of national patriotism and revolutionary unity.

When the various militias that would eventually form the national guard were founded in the weeks prior to the Great Fear, they were not revolutionary in nature, taking no defined political side.⁴⁷ Early on, the militias were devised of bourgeoisie patriots, who would fight to protect their homes.⁴⁸ The royal government was not responsive to the calls for more troops to be sent to the countryside, which prompted the

⁴⁵ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁴⁶ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁴⁷ Clay Ramsay, *The Ideology of the Great Fear; The Soissonnais in 1789*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). 222

⁴⁸ Ibid. 223

development of militias to protect the provinces. After the fall of the Bastille, the view of militias changed due to the large involvement of militia members in the conflict, and the militias became much more revolutionary in nature.⁴⁹ Lafayette decided to attempt to control the militias by forming the National Guard out of the militia groups, scaling them down to 400 propertied men from each district, which would restrict the Guard to being formed of bourgeoisie.⁵⁰ However, the connection between the militias and the Revolution continued with the October Days, the period when the militias and groups of women marched to Versailles to force the royal family to return to Paris. With the development of the militias as a more revolutionary concept, there came to be a stronger connection between militaristic actions and the revolutionary thought, which would become a more prevalent theme through the festivals of federation.

Camille Desmoulins, one of the primary leaders of the early Revolution, reacted strongly to the Festival of Federation in Paris, stressing in his periodical, *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, the challenges the population was facing and noting that, while the festival did little to actually advance the Revolution, it was reassuring how much patriotic spirit existed in Paris, captured the essence of the event. Desmoulins attempts to, while

⁴⁹ Ibid. 224

⁵⁰ Clay Ramsay, *The Ideology of the Great Fear; The Soissonnais in 1789*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

undercutting the importance of the festival, saying that it did not go far enough, emphasize the importance of the revolutionary fervor shown during the festival.

For Desmoulins, the Festival of Federation was an event that the minister of the army did not want to happen but could not prevent, as the will of the people was so strong that he could not overcome it.⁵¹ The minister of state and war, M. La Tour-Du-Pin, released a statement saying that the king had given permission for the regiments of the line to take part in the festival, recognizing that this was a manifestation of the popular will.⁵² With the support of the army, the revolutionaries saw the time to be ripe for a Great Federation where all of the national guards and the army itself to be united as one great federal force.⁵³ This would become the Festival of Federation.

The Festival of Federation, as the first major festival planned by the administration, was a test run. Desmoulins saw it as being flawed by the clerks who ran it, unable to quite fulfill its potential. For Sieur Blondel, the architect and royal illustrator, the Festival of Federation suffered from its planning. He saw its organization as lacking,

⁵¹ Camille Desmoulins, *Revolutions de France et Brabant*, No. 34. (Paris, 1790).

⁵² Jean Frédéric de La Tour-Du-Pin Gouvernet, *Sur l'organisation de l'Armée, et le pacte fédératif des Troupes, avec les Gardes Nationales*. (Paris, The National Press, 1790).

⁵³ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

not as grand or effective as it could have been, drawing up his own plan for how he would have changed the event. For him, the festival would have benefited from bleacher seating so that more people could participate, raising the number of attendees from 280,000 to around 308,000 participants.⁵⁴ While critical of the festival not being as effective as possible, Blondel tells us that there were around 280,000 participants, showing just how popular the Festival of Federation was.

Blondel's frustration stems from a competitive relationship with Celerier and a need to prove himself. Blondel comes from a line of architects. His father, Jacques-François Blondel, founded the royal academy of architecture and wrote the entry for "Architecture" in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.⁵⁵ His father's work in the Enlightenment clearly influenced his work, as Blondel, in his critique, states that the veracity of his argument will shine through.⁵⁶ Later in the critique to the Assembly, Blondel receives a

⁵⁴ Blondel. *Observations du sieur Blondel, architecte et dessinateur du Roi, sur le projet de fête de la Confédération patriotique du 14 juillet 1790, dont M. de Varenne, huissier de l'Assemblée nationale a donné l'idée et dont les plans et dessins ont été présentés par les dits sieurs à MM. Bailly et Lafayette*. (Paris, 1790).

⁵⁵ Jacques-François Blondel, "Architecture," *Encyclopédie*, Vol. 1. (1751). 617-618.

⁵⁶ Blondel. *Observations du sieur Blondel, architecte et dessinateur du Roi, sur le projet de fête de la Confédération patriotique du 14 juillet 1790, dont M. de Varenne,*

response from Celerier, which he brushes aside as being clearly ridiculous.⁵⁷ In this manner, Blondel asserts that he is the architect who understands the process and that Celerier is an upstart architect who should never have been given the contract for the Festival of Federation. Instead, this critique is meant to show the Assembly that this contract should have been awarded to him and future contracts should also be his. This shows the major difference between Festivals and *journées* of the time as the Festival of Federation was a show, put on for the edification of the masses.

A second festival put on in 1790 at the Champs-de-Mars, the same location as the Festival of Federation, was a ceremony in honor of those soldiers and national guardsmen who died during the siege of Nancy. Similar to the Festival of Federation, the ceremony for those who died during the siege honors the military, conflating violence and patriotism. A pamphlet, written detailing the event, describes battalions of infantry performing maneuvers followed by a train of artillery. At the center of all of the military maneuvers was a marble slab with the names of all of the men who died during the siege, topped with a statue representing "Patriotism" as a vanquishing force.⁵⁸ This festival

huissier de l'Assemblée nationale a donné l'idée et dont les plans et dessins ont été présentés par les dits sieurs à MM. Bailly et Lafayette. (Paris, 1790).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Détail des cérémonies qui auront lieu au Champs-de-Mars en l'honneur des citoyens morts au siège de Nancy. (1790).*

acted as a glorification of the military and violence in general, idolizing the dead of the siege as heroes, forever immortalized in marble with the depiction of a vengeful Patriotism above.

Over the next few years of the Revolution, festivals built upon the tropes of the original festivals of federation. Some festivals continued down the path of becoming more and more militarized, replacing alters to the nation with canons and attendees, celebrating the new nation, were replaced with volunteers, ready to protect the nation against its enemies. However, other times, festivals were used by individuals to promote their personal viewpoints on patriotic duty. Two such festivals that occurred back to back with one another in 1792 were completely at odds, showing that these festivals, while government sanctioned, were not necessarily the will of the people, as the Festival of Federation had been touted to be. The first, the festival of Châteauneuf, was intended to honor the Swiss of Châteauneuf, who mutinied in August 1790, in a way, glorifying the act of rioting and mutineers in general. This was followed by a contrasting festival, that of Simonneau, the mayor of Etampes, who was killed in a riot while trying to uphold a law on foodstuffs. Both festivals had notable individuals pushing them, the first being backed by Condorcet, the second by Chénier. The two festivals, completely at odds with one another, were the individuals' interpretations of patriotic duty, each focusing on a specific individual or group of individuals and their relation to violent uprising. Both festivals encouraged militant patriotism, with the festival of Châteauneuf focused on

patriotic disobedience and the festival of Simonneau focused on support for the national guard and military.

The festival of Châteaueux, as described by Desmoulins in *Révolutions de Paris et Brabant*, was a popular festival where the general populace was able to join in the ceremony and parade at will, and he praises the festival as lacking pomp and circumstance, "gold did not dazzle the eye or insult the citizens' gentle ordinariness or honorable indigence."⁵⁹ Nor were any soldiers wearing honors of war or braid to differentiate them from the rest of the citizenry. For Desmoulins, this festival was one for the populace, where "luxury was banished," and liberty and equality replaced the frivolities of religion and corporation⁶⁰. At the head of the procession, the Declaration of Rights of Man, written on two stone tablets, much the same as the two tablets that were delivered to Abraham in the bible, are carried by four citizens.⁶¹ Following these tablets are busts of Voltaire, Rousseau, Sydney, and Ben Franklin, promoting the victory of reason that is championed by the Revolution. Following these are two sarcophagi and then the forty Swiss soldiers and more soldiers of the line.⁶² Desmoulins notes that, in this procession "that it was philosophy that brought us liberty."⁶³ Clearly, philosophy

⁵⁹ Camille Desmoulins, *Revolutions de France et Brabant*, No. 87. (Paris, 1792).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Camille Desmoulins, *Revolutions de France et Brabant*, No. 87. (Paris, 1792).

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

marches hand in hand with the military. Desmoulins' praise for this festival stems from a combination of the populist atmosphere and the national revolutionary pride that accompanies the military displays.

Six weeks later, Desmoulins writes a scathing review of the festival of Simonneau. In the first line of the review in *Révolutions de Paris*, Desmoulins starts out by saying, "there was a free spectacle in Paris; or rather Quatremer and Roucher, Dubu, Dupont, and their ilk wanted to give a lesson to the people."⁶⁴ Desmoulins clearly views this festival as personal rather than popular, calling it "pedantic," and stating that Simonneau was simply a pretext for the festival, a way to subdue and humiliate the general populace. The march was opened with the gendarmie followed by the colors of the 48 sections and then the troops of the line in their dress whites.⁶⁵ For Desmoulins, the differences between the two festivals was starkly clear, with the festival of Simonneau heavily mixing religious imagery and aristocratic convention, while the festival of Châteaueux replaced religion with philosophy and aristocracy with popular involvement. In this commentary, we see shades of the Festival of Federation, noting that the strength of the festival in general is in its correlation with the national will. Without the national will, a festival does not have the same strength or legitimacy.

⁶⁴ Camille Desmoulins, *Revolutions de France et Brabant*, No. 35. (Paris, 1792).

⁶⁵ Camille Desmoulins, *Revolutions de France et Brabant*, No. 35. (Paris, 1792).

Though seen by Desmoulins as inferior to the Festival of Federation and the festival of Châteaueux, the festival of Simonneau reinforces the correlation of the military and the festival. At the end of march and during the ceremonial aspects of the festival, the troops formed a cordon around the leaders of the ceremony, keeping the nation from viewing the goings on.⁶⁶ While this does separate the people from the military, and while the festival in general seeks to control violence by lifting up a figure who sought to rein in the violent riots of his city, the festival reinforced the concept of militant force and patriotism. While this was a more conservative view of militant force, force meant to repress rather than to liberate, we see the themes of violence, patriotism, and populism carried across these three festivals, born from the journées of the nascent revolution.

One important note from these festivals in comparison to the Festival of Federation is how they are described by Desmoulins. The Festival of Federation is almost taken for granted by Desmoulins; rather than describe what occurred in the festival, he assumes his audience is familiar with the happenings, giving his personal reactions rather than informing the populace. This changes with the later festivals, as Desmoulins gives almost a step by step coverage of the festivals. This could be for a number of reasons, but it would appear that the populace was not as familiar with these later festivals as they were with the Festival of Federation. This lack of familiarity shows that, over time, the

⁶⁶ Ibid.

festivals moved away from being manifestations of the popular will, becoming manifestations of personal beliefs instead. While benefiting from the Festival of Federation, the central strength of festivals is their universality and ability to represent the popular will, and none of the later festivals were as effective as the Festival of Federation in harnessing this power.

The nature of the festival, as both a military union and a popular movement, conflated the two, giving more credence to the concept of patriotic duty and militant revolution being synonymous. By promoting the unification of national guards and the army, the Festival of Federation emphasized a kind of militaristic patriotism, a defensive patriotism that emphasized the sharp divide between the revolutionaries and the "others."⁶⁷ The parade of the Festival of Federation was exclusively military in nature, and the organizers of the parade decided against having a women's march or floats that would depict the destruction of the nobility or clergy.⁶⁸ This action, while limiting the depictions of destruction, continued the theme of military as patriotic duty. The ceremony for those who died during the siege of Nancy was wholly militaristic in nature, glorifying both current soldiers and those who died at war for the Revolution. While *journées* were

⁶⁷ *Détail des cérémonies qui auront lieu au Champs-de-Mars en l'honneur des citoyens morts au siège de Nancy.* (1790).

⁶⁸ Noel Parker, *Portrayals of Revolution; Images, Debates and Patterns of Thought on the French Revolution.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990). 52.

militaristic in nature by promoting the allying of towns and the creation of the national guard, festivals, organized by the revolutionary government, actively promoted the patriotic duty of citizens to fight and die for the Revolution. These festivals played a large role in the development of the concept of patriotism as one of violent revolution through their mass appeal and ability to capture the concept of the "popular will."

Chapter 4

A War of Imagery

The definition of patriotism, while fluid in most pamphlets and written documents during the French Revolution, was much more one sided in cartoons and drawings of the time. The symbolism of revolutionary cartoons often represents the unbalancing of society and the traditional order, being naturally revolutionary in nature. Political and editorial cartoons like these revolutionary ones tend to be critical depictions of society, taking a concept and attempting to elicit strong reactions.⁶⁹ In general, cartoons also tend to be critical, counter-traditional, looking to upset the natural order, and cartoons of the French Revolution are no different, often depicting a struggle between two sides: the revolutionary patriot and the traditionalist or monarchist represented by a noble or religious figure.⁷⁰

Because cartoons are generally critical in nature and due to subsidies provided by the government to printers who made revolutionary cartoons, conservative cartoons are difficult to find during the early revolutionary period.⁷¹ The revolutionary government

⁶⁹ Joost Schilperoord and Alfons Maes, "Visual Metaphoric Conceptualization in Editorial Cartoons." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. (January 2009).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ David L. Dowd, "Art as National Propaganda in the French Revolution," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 15, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 1951).

would subsidize production of cartoon prints during the Revolution as a way of creating propaganda. At the time, the government commissioned artists like Jacques-Louis David to create works of art that could be used to show off the glory of the Revolution, but such works were expensive and were unable to reach the masses. To solve this issue, revolutionary prints were subsidized to allow the general population access. These cartoons were another way for the revolutionary government to control public opinion of patriotism, informing the citizenry that their patriotic duty was to militantly fight against the old regime.

While subsidizing cartoons allowed for some control over the kinds of cartoons being produced, cartoons are often ambiguous, requiring audiences to seize upon certain meanings that they readily see or are easily understood.⁷² The interpretation of the audience involves both the cartoonist's symbols and the audience's situation.⁷³ This means that the audience of these cartoons would interpret the cartoons in the context of the revolutionary events happening around them. Since most of the cartoons in this chapter were published in 1789, this is contemporaneous to the events of the Great Fear and the Festival of Federation. Similar to the Festival of Federation, a number of the

⁷² Elisabeth El Refaie, "Multiliteracies: How Readers Interpret Political Cartoons," *SAGE Journals*. Vol 8, Issue 2. (2009).

⁷³ Joost Schilperoord and Alfons Maes, "Visual Metaphoric Conceptualization in Editorial Cartoons." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*. (January 2009).

cartoons of the time focus on the concept of the crowd. The crowd can be shown in either a positive or negative view, but typically it is shown as a violent, revolutionary symbol.⁷⁴ The crowd of the cartoons, while often violent, has a number of subtleties, including the type of members of the crowd itself (men vs. women, age, class), the dress, and the actions taken by the members.⁷⁵ The symbol of crowd violence, while prevalent, is not a monolith, and it continues a conversation about what patriotism looks like in the Revolution.⁷⁶

In this early part of the Revolution (1789-1791), it was easier to fight against the symbols of the Ancien Régime rather than to replace those images with Revolutionary imagery.⁷⁷ This is an important aspect of cartoons of the time, depicting the destruction of symbols and the unbalancing of traditional society. These cartoons, in themselves, depict the patriotic duty of the citizenry to actively fight against symbols of the Old Regime; in some cases even defecating in or on these alters to nobility, monarchy, or the religious elite. The revolutionary government financed artists, like Jacques-Louis David, to create

⁷⁴ Lynn Hunt and Jack Censer. "Introduction," *Imaging the French Revolution:*

Depictions of the Revolutionary Crowd. (Penn State University Press, 2003).

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Class, and Culture of the French Revolution.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). 89.

works of art that would fulfill these duties, but his sculptures and paintings reached only a limited segment of society.⁷⁸ Since this was limited, they also financed the creation of propaganda prints that would be more accessible to the general population, becoming the most prominent form of patriotic artwork to hang in an establishment.⁷⁹ All of the influence of the revolutionary government encouraged the cartoons to take the official view of patriotic duty, further connecting the concept of patriotism with a militant form of revolution.

The revolutionary government, beyond simply financing these prints, collected and organized their prints in 1790 into 26 categories.⁸⁰ Only one of these 26 categories is devoted to scenes of events or crowds, showing that, while these revolutionary prints were extremely common, there was still variation in how patriotism was portrayed.⁸¹ Similar to the pamphlets of chapter one, patriotism was not necessarily associated with violent revolution yet.

⁷⁸ David L. Dowd, "Art as National Propaganda in the French Revolution," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 15, No. 3 (Oxford University Press, 1951).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Vivian P Cameron, "Reflections on Violence and the Crowd in the French Revolution," *Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the Revolutionary Crowd*. (Penn State University Press, 2003).

⁸¹ Ibid.

One limit when looking at cartoons from the early stages of the Revolution is that we know very little about the specific print, the publisher, and how the print would have been displayed. While we know that prints in general would have been sold to the general population to be hung in bars, cafés, or political clubs, we do not know how specific prints would have been displayed. In some cases, we can make some educated guesses on these prints based on their size and their quality, but our knowledge of these prints is limited, and thus we look at these messages both as the intended message, what the cartoonist intended, and the received message, what the audience may have taken from the print.

To look at the rhetorical devices used in these prints, we will use Roland Barthes' theory of the rhetorical devices of images. Barthes, one of the primary French literary theorists of the 20th century, wrote a piece on rhetoric in imagery in his book, *Image Music Text*, looking at how images are made up of written pieces (captions), the image itself, and then the cultural interpretation.⁸² Most cartoons of the French Revolution follow the same pattern, incorporating a caption or some sort of dialogue that would either underline the message or accompany it, the image itself, and the cartoons would have cultural references that would have been clear to those viewing the cartoons and would have been chosen to elicit an emotional response.⁸³ Many of the following

⁸² Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, (London, Fontana Press, 1977). 32-57.

⁸³ Ibid.

cartoons and images depict the power struggle that existed during the Revolution, and a majority of them show the unbalancing of the old order, but there still exists a discrepancy over the kind of patriotic duty that existed at the time.



Figure 1. *Cette fois ci, la justice est du côté du plus fort* ⁸⁴

Looking at the image and using Barthe's method of interpreting the rhetoric of images, we notice this image starts with the caption "Cette fois ci, la justice est du côté du plus fort" or, in English, "This time, justice is on the side of the stronger." Then, in the image itself there are a revolutionary and a woman, representing Justice, on one side of a

⁸⁴ Unattributed. *Cette fois ci, la justice est du côté du plus fort* [estampe], (1789).

seesaw and an aristocrat and a priest on the other end. To understand more about the cultural significance, the print is 20 cm x 24.5 cm, about the size of printer paper and is colorized. Since the image is colorized, it is probably more expensive than a non-colorized print, meaning it would most likely not be made for consumption by the masses. The symbolism is fairly simplistic, and the use of a seesaw would be relatively simple for an illiterate audience to understand. This would be purchased by someone that has money to acquire a colorized revolutionary cartoon and would have a client base that would be to some extent illiterate, possibly a bar, café, or a political club.

The message of the print encourages militant revolution through both the symbols chosen and the caption. The cartoonist depicts a non-traditional form of Justice, Justice the revolutionary, later named "Marianne." This early depiction of Marianne would continue throughout the Revolution, one of the few symbols with staying power.⁸⁵ Later depictions of Marianne would be even more revolutionary, including the Phrygian bonnet, which is not depicted here.⁸⁶ Often, images of Lady Justice include a set of scales, representing the strength of one's argument. One of the major philosophical influencers of the French Revolution, Jean Jacques Rousseau, included Lady Justice with her scales and a spear on the cover of the original version of his work, *The Social*

⁸⁵ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Class, and Culture of the French Revolution*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Contract.⁸⁷ Rousseau's work both influenced the philosophy of the revolution as well as its symbolism, introducing this image of Lady Justice.⁸⁸ In the figure, Justice is not holding the scales. Instead, the seesaw represents her scales, balancing the relative arguments of the first two estates and the third estate. Justice, putting her foot on the side of revolutionary, is showing that the Revolution has the stronger argument. This is not a depiction of Justice that is typically seen in American law, being blind to the arguments and parties. This depiction has Justice actively pushing for the Third Estate's argument, putting her weight on that side of the seesaw.

By having Justice depicted as holding a sword and the revolutionary carrying a musket, the cartoonist depicts a revolution carried out through use of power, and his choice of language in "...justice is on the side of the stronger," implies that it is only through strength that justice can be returned to the people. There is the threat of violence in this image, but it does not have open depictions of conflict, nor does it glorify violence. This cartoon supports the Revolution, but it does so by supporting a strong Third Estate which will stand up for itself and with justice on its side. While a revolutionary image, this print does not have clear depictions of violence, instead depicting patriotism in terms of power and supporting the Revolution.

⁸⁷ Ernest Flagg Henderson, *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912). 3

⁸⁸ Ibid.



Figure 2. *Le Despotisme terrassé*⁸⁹

By contrast with Figure 1, Figure 2 depicts one of the most popular and violent events of the early Revolution, the storming of the Bastille. Here, a crowd of revolutionaries fights against a hydra type creature, a beast with multiple heads snaking out of its body. This is a clear depiction of crowd violence, though the violence is

⁸⁹ Unattributed. *Le Despotisme terrassé le 12 juillet 1789 vers les quatres heures du soir on apperçut sur la route de Versailles une bête féroce, et d'une forme horriblement monstrueuse les connaisseurs assurèrent qu'elle était d'espèce aristocratique... : [Print], (1789).*

metaphorical in nature, focused on a monster rather than a human foe. This print is the size of a small poster; 24 cm x 30.5 cm, and it is made monochromatic. While larger than Figure 1, Figure 2 employs a much longer caption, and the symbolism is far more complex, being rooted in Greek mythology. The caption reads:

"Le despotisme terrassé: le 12 juillet 1789 vers les quatres heures du soir on apperçut sur la route de Versailles une bête féroce, et d'une forme horriblement monstrueuse les connaissances assurèrent qu'elle était d'espèce aristocratique et qu'elle se disposoit a venir ravager la Capitale ausitot on crie << aux Armes, aux Armes >> tous les citoyens accourent des Fusiles, des Hallebardes, et cherche inutilement le monstre devastateur enfin le 14 on apprit qu'il s'étoit retiré dans une Taniere appelée la Bastille pres la Porte St. Antoine: on court l'y assieger et après l'avoir forcé dans ce dernier retranchement, ce fut a qui lui couperoit le plus de têtes car le monstre en avoir plusieurs et semblables a celle de l'Hydre il falloit pour les empecher de renaitre que toutes fussent abbatues."

In English, this section reads:

"The Despotism Laid Low: On the 12 of July, 1789 toward four o'clock in the evening, people saw on the route from Versailles a ferocious beast, taking a horribly monstrous form. The specialists assured everyone that it was a type of aristocracy and that it had come to ravage itself on the capital. With the cries of "To arms, to arms," all the citizens grabbed their guns and halberds and searched uselessly for the monster until on the 14th, they learned that it was in a lair called the Bastille close to the gate of St. Antoine. The people ran there to lay siege to it and after having broken in during the last entrenchment, they reddened most of the heads of the monster, it having many and resembling that of the Hydra. They needed to stop the heads from re-growing to stop the slaughter."

This paragraph describes the fall of the Bastille as a great patriotic act where the people rose up to stop despotism, cutting off its many heads to prevent future suffering.

The rhetoric used in this cartoon: "guns," "halberds," the cries of "to arms," and the

people locked in battle with the hydra accompanied with the imagery of the people following a Herculean journey to defeat the monster of despotism, is used to connect the concept of patriotism with a militant aggression toward rooting out corruption and the aristocracy. While depicting the siege of the Bastille, Figure 2 does not show the storming of the prison itself or any fighting with human enemies. Taking center stage in this print, rather than the Bastille, which is relegated to the far background, is the battle with the Hydra. For the cartoonist, the storming of the Bastille, while a major moment, was not the most important aspect to depict; instead, the cartoonist decided that the war against despotism should take center stage. Even in the caption, the Bastille is relegated to the setting of the violence, and the enemy, rather than a human or even a group of humans, is a horrific beast. This cartoon, while calling for violent revolution, is careful to address the Revolution as being against despotism. The many-headed Hydra, instead of being the first and second estates, is a form of aristocratism.

Figure 2 is also notable for the depictions of the crowd and of a woman hunched over, wearing a crown, averting her eyes from the violence, and propping up the symbol of the Bourbon family. The crowd locked in battle with the Hydra consists of men in military costume, including the bearskin denoting a grenadier. This crowd is not just a depiction of a violent crowd; it is a depiction of an army at war, even using a cannon to fight against the Hydra. This depiction harkens back to the second chapter with the Festival of Federation and the depiction of the military as a patriotic, revolutionary force that was committed to continuing the Revolution. In the background, there is a second

crowd, this time formed of men, women, and children. They are in the process of placing a pike with a head topping it in the ground. While not engaged directly in the fighting, they are using the spoils of the conflict to warn off other despots. Decapitation, a common theme in later cartoons of the terror, was occasionally used to depict the horrific sides to crowd violence, and this symbol of the head mounted on a pike may act as a warning of the possibility of the violence getting out of hand.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, in the foreground, on the right side, a woman wearing a crown averts her eyes from the violence. While appearing to represent France, this is strange representation. The crown and fleurs-de-lis indicate royalty, but typically the use of women in revolutionary imagery is positive, and it is difficult to reconcile a disappointed "Lady France" with the killing of the hydra of despotism. Possibly this is a work that, while revolutionary, supports a constitutional monarchy, thus supporting the destruction of corruption but also wishing for an end to the violence so order can return. While a complex print that does not seem to support class warfare, there is an element of revolutionary violence to this cartoon, continuing the association between patriotic duty and violent revolution.

⁹⁰ Joan B. Landes, "Representing Women in the Revolutionary Crowd," *Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the Revolutionary Crowd*. (Penn State University Press, 2003).



Figure 3. *Adieu Bastille* ⁹¹

This figure, captioned "Adieu Bastille," depicts a Revolutionary (identified by the typical revolutionary clothing with the tricolor cockade) as a street performer, playing pipes and maneuvering a priest and an aristocrat on a board with a tamed lion chained to his waist. As he performs, in the background workers tear apart the Bastille and a factory coughs out smoke. Here, the revolutionary performer is playing the aristocrat against the priest, making them fight as the Bastille is torn down. The image is colorized, similar to Figure 1, and it is 19 x 27.5 cm, making it of similar size. The symbolism is not as direct

⁹¹ Unattributed. *Adieu Bastille* [estampe], (1789).

as that of Figure 1, but the caption is far simpler to understand than Figure 2. Stylistically, this cartoon has a number of similarities with Figure 1, with similar dress for the prominent characters and similar color schemes. However, this image has a detailed background and depicts an event rather than a concept. This would probably have been an expensive print, being highly detailed with color, and it would probably have been displayed for the masses since the caption is easy to understand, requires only basic literacy.

While also a depiction of the fall of the Bastille, Figure 3 differs greatly from Figure 2 in its depiction of the action. While the Bastille still takes a backseat in the cartoon, taking up about a quarter of the image, the central imagery of Figure 3 does not have a depiction of crowd violence, nor does it have a clearly militaristic message. Rather, it depicts the revolutionary as a manipulator, making the clergy and the noble fight as he plays the pipes.

This is still a highly revolutionary piece, depicting the literal tearing down of the old society and the entrapment and manipulation of the old orders, but it lacks some of the more militaristic imagery of other cartoons of the time. There are no weapons depicted in this image except for the sword used in the marionette, being brandished by the aristocrat. The lion is chained to the Revolutionary's waist, but it is a tame lion, curled up, not ready to attack. The lion is a complicated symbol, being common across many cultures and recognized as one of the symbols of Britain. It also can represent Belgium or

simply French courage.⁹² In this case, it is likely a representation of French courage and a kind of patriotic violence. With the lion being tamed, resting in this cartoon, the threat of violence is reduced, but it is still there. There are no overt depictions of violence, and the revolutionary actions of the image, the tearing down of the Bastille and the manipulation of the clergy and the nobility through the marionettes, are not being accomplished through violent means. Figure 3, while not denouncing the use of violence or the revolution, is pursuing a far less militant form of patriotic duty than the first depiction of the fall of the Bastille.

⁹² Ernest Flagg Henderson, *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912). 231, 402



Figure 4. *L' Egalité de la nature dans les trois ordres*⁹³

The aftermath of the fall of the Bastille was a popular subject for cartoonists during the Revolution. Figure 4 also depicts the aftermath of the siege, but this depiction is far more violent. Similarly to Figures 2 and 3, the actual depiction of the Bastille is not as important to the overall message. While we know that the events of the cartoon are related to the fall of the Bastille thanks to the caption, the actual prison does not appear in the print. In the image, three women, two children, and a baby are arranged beside the

⁹³ Unattributed. *L' Egalité de la nature dans les trois ordres, ou les effets du tocsin qui seul a produit la vraie génération du royaume dans les nuits du 12. 13. et 14 juillet 1789* [Print], (1789).

heads of the dead from the fall of the Bastille with a banner depicting the Grim Reaper with the words, "Tremblez aristocrate." The phrase is a command to any aristocrat who walks past to tremble in fear at the work of the revolutionaries. This work, while gristly, is less of a patriotic message as it is a warning to recognize that everyone is equal in death and that the nobles and clergy have abused their privileges for too long. The caption serves to illustrate this point:

"L'Egalité de la nature dans les trois ordres, ou les effets du Tocsin qui seul a produit la vraie Génération du Royaume dans les Nuits du 12, 13, et 14 Juillet 1789 a déchiré le Voile épais qui nous déroboit l'hipocrisie du Clergé qui seul a abaissé la Vanité chez les nobles et qui seul enfin a fait connoître les dispositions naturelle du Tiers état de tout temps devoués a servir son Roi et sa patrie."

"The equality of nature in the three orders, or the effects of the alarm that alone produced the true generation of the royals on the nights of the 12, 13, and 14 of July, 1789, had ripped away the coarse veil that disrobed for us the hypocrisy of the clergy which only humiliated the pointlessness of the nobles and which only then revealed the natural dispositions of the Third Estate at all time devalued in the service of the king and of country."

This caption reinforces the concept that the Third Estate has been devalued while the clergy and nobility have received more than their fair share of privileges. It also gives the image more value in showing that, through the violence of the 12th, 13th, and 14th of July 1789, the Third Estate gained value in the eyes of the other estates. Through terror and violence, the people can make themselves heard. This cartoon, while having a violent message, does not necessarily indicate that the use of violence is positive. It does not indicate that one must stamp out the clergy and the nobility. Instead, this cartoon promotes the idea that the fall of the Bastille has acted as a catalyst for the other classes

to take the Third Estate seriously, to tremble in fear at the power that the Third Estate is capable of achieving when ignored. Further, we again see the symbolism of the decapitated head. These decapitated heads act as a warning, both to the nobility about the threat of violence and to the general population of the unpredictability of crowd violence.⁹⁴

Of note with this image too is that the pile of decapitated heads is not the main focus of the cartoon. In Figure 4, the central focus is on the onlookers. Instead of glorifying violence as was typical in other scenes of crowd violence where revolutionaries would march carrying heads mounted on pikes, this cartoon focuses on the after-effects on the families.⁹⁵ The two characters on the right of the photo, one dressed all in black, the other appearing to be wearing a veil of sorts, seem to be in mourning, looking on at the decapitated heads.

While all three depictions of the fall of the Bastille are clearly revolutionary in nature, this cartoon appears to be completely against the use of violence. While it connects the Revolution to violence, and while it argues that the violence of the fall of the Bastille made the members of the first and second estates aware that all men are equal in

⁹⁴ Joan B. Landes, "Representing Women in the Revolutionary Crowd," *Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the Revolutionary Crowd*. (Penn State University Press, 2003).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

death, the depiction of violence is not a glorious one. Even among cartoons based on the exact same event, there were varying degrees to which they supported the use of violence.

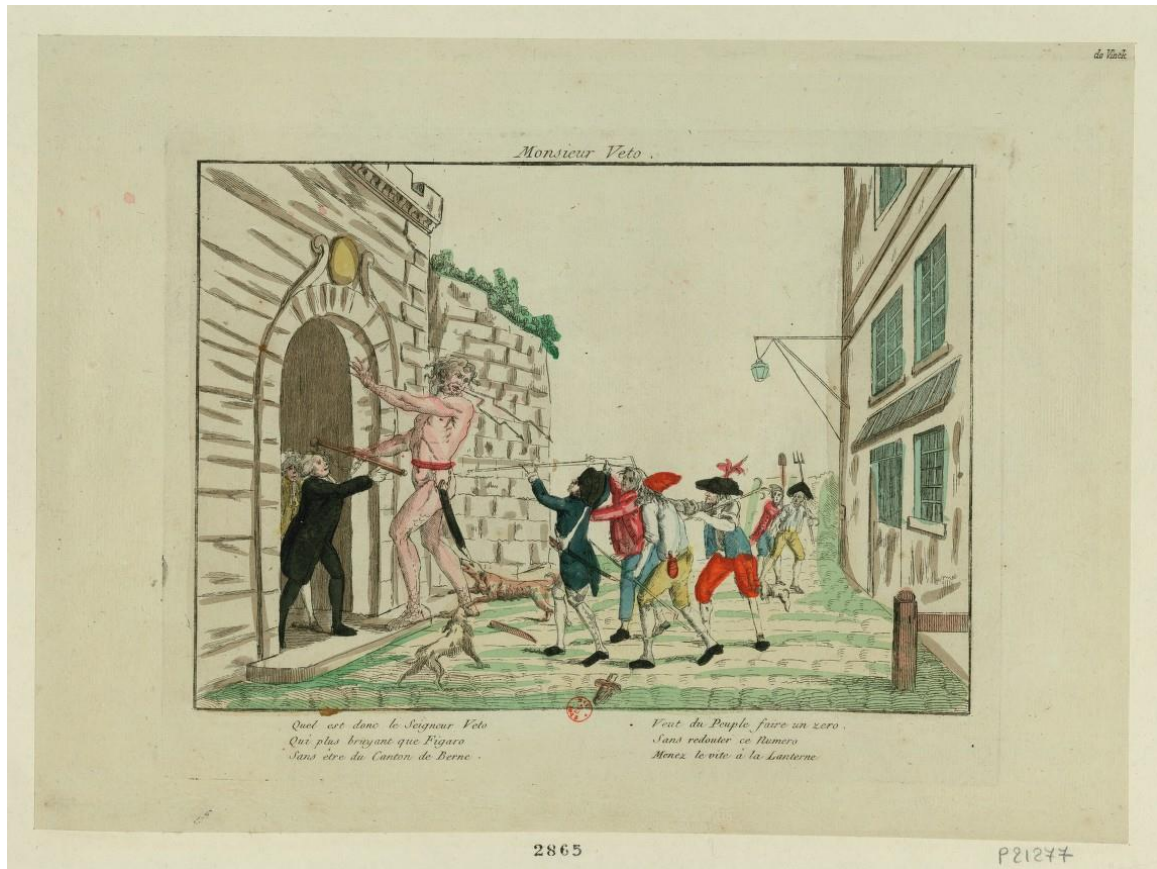


Figure 5. Monsieur Veto quel est donc le seigneur Veto⁹⁶

Other historical events covered by cartoons are not as violent as the storming of the Bastille. This cartoon, tackling the issue of the monarchical veto, depicts "Monsieur

⁹⁶ Unattributed. *Monsieur Veto quel est donc le seigneur Veto, qui plus bruyant que*

Figaro, sans être du canton de Berne veut du peuple faire un zéro, sans redouter ce numéro, Menez le vite à la lanterne : [Print], (1789).

Veto," a giant, getting attacked by revolutionaries and two dogs. The issue of the veto was the splitting point between the radical revolutionaries and the constitutional monarchists. While the constitutional monarchists believed in a government of the people and the abolishment of the class system, they followed the British model of governance and were typically not fans of violence, as we saw in the first chapter with Mme. Roland. This cartoon takes a radical approach to the issue, presenting "Monsieur Veto" as a giant with scaled legs and arms. The caption to the cartoon, a short poem, goes, "Quel est donc le seigneur Veto, qui plus bruyante que Figaro, sans être du canton de Berne, veut du peuple faire un zéro, sans redouter ce numéro, menez le vite à la lanterne." The translation of that caption would be something like, "Monsieur Veto which is therefore sir Veto, which is louder than Figaro, without being from the canton of Bern, wants for the people to make a zero, without fearing that number, put it quickly in the fire." The giant seems to be running from conflict with the crowd after his sword broke, and he is being pulled inside of a palace by a noble. The crowd is comprised of a number of peasants and a member of the military and wields a variety of weapons, ranging from a musket with a bayonet and a sword to a pitchfork and shovel. While colorized, this print does not have the same care taken with it as was taken with any of the previous prints, with an unfinished human leg hanging in air and green swathes covering not just the ground but crossing onto the dogs, the broken sword, and even members of the crowd. This print would probably not have been as expensive as the other figures, and as such

would have been distributed to bars probably, especially likely because the caption is in verse, probably meant to be sung.

Similarly to Figure 2, the object of the violence in this print is a monster, a giant. This depiction of crowd violence, as heroic destroyers of monstrous vestiges of the despotism of the Old Regime, is a positive depiction, glorifying violence and encouraging it as patriotic duty.⁹⁷ Where in Figure 2 the crowd was primarily composed of members of the military, this print has a crowd composed mainly of *Sans-Culottes*, the radical, low class members of the Third Estate. This reinforces the idea that this print would probably be placed in a location like a bar, where the majority of patrons would be of the lowest class. Here, they would see themselves depicted heroically, powerfully, and it would reinforce the concept of militant revolution amongst the *Sans-Culottes*.

A second major difference between Figure 2 and Figure 5 is how the violence is depicted. While the woman representing France has her eyes averted from the violence in Figure 2 and while the crowd in the background mounts a decapitated head on a pike, both indicating the unpredictability of violence and the potential for terror, Figure 5 has every member of the Third Estate and even the dogs attacking "Monsieur Veto." The French Revolution was a period of counter-religion, and reason and nature were placed in

⁹⁷ Barbara Day-Hickman, "An Interpretive Study of Prints on the French Revolution,"

Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the Revolutionary Crowd. (Penn State University Press, 2003).

the stead of God and the Church. Dogs, as part of nature, were seen as the protectors of France, looking out for her safety.⁹⁸ With even the dogs participating in the crowd violence, this cartoon is highly supportive of the link between violence and patriotic duty.

⁹⁸ Ernest Flagg Henderson, *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912). 370



J'SAVOIS BEN QU'JAURIONS NOT TOUR.

Figure 6. *J'savois ben qu'jaurions not tour*⁹⁹

In contrast to Figures 2 through 5, Figure 6 does not depict an event, rather a trope common in cartoons from the early Revolution. This cartoon depicts three men on each other's backs with the orders reversed. Here, the priest supports the noble, who carries the member of the Third Estate. The image is captioned above with "Vive le Roi. Vive la Nation," meaning "Long live the king. Long live the nation." Below the image is the caption, "J'savois ben Qu'jaurions not tour," meaning "I know well that we will have our turn." Similarly to Mme Robert's pamphlet in chapter one, this cartoon supports the idea of a constitutional monarchy, supporting the king. While still a revolutionary cartoon in the imagery of a reversal of the orders, the language of the cartoon implies that to have a strong nation, there needs to be a king and that the two are tied together.

The concept of "I know well that we will have our turn," implies that there is going to be a change in the future, an explicitly revolutionary concept. Reinforcing this caption and the imagery of the reversal of the orders, the priest is carrying a set of scales with two slips of paper. The heavier of the two papers, "Relief of the People," outweighs "Equality and Liberty," implying that it is far more necessary to make sure that there is relief for the populace than to make sure that everyone is equal. If the first and second

⁹⁹ Unattributed. *J'savois ben qu'jaurions not tour vive le roi, vive la nation* [Print], [1789].

estate must carry the burdens for now so the Third Estate has relief, then that is what needs to be done.

Each of the three estates carries slips of paper or symbols of their duties. The priest, along with his scales, has a slip of paper in his pocket with the words, "Territorial taxes," while the noble has a sword that says, "To protect the nation." The member of the Third Estate carries both a slip of paper with the words, "Peace and Harmony" and a sword that says, "Full of Courage." The cartoonist seems to view this as his ideal revolutionary harmony with each member of society contributing to the nation in his own way. While this is a revolutionary concept in that it flips the old order upside down, it still includes orders, and the King is equated with the concept of "nation." Even within the cartoon form of media, the monarchy is respected, and the orders are still seen as important aspects of society.

Vive le Roi, Vive la Nation.



J'savois ben Qu'jaurions not tour.

p21190

Figure 7. *Vive le Roi, Vive la Nation*¹⁰⁰

The trope of Figure 6 is again present in Figure 7. First of all, the only people depicted are three women and a baby. Interestingly there is a similar form of mirroring with the previous image, with the trope still being fulfilled, with the revolutionary (identified by both her cockade and the Phrygian cap on her baby) being carried by the aristocrat and the clergy and the caption remains the same. The mirroring of this image puts the role of women in the Revolution front and center. First of all, we are presented with the question of, how are women compared with each other, and while it is a bit more difficult to tell the differences in class simply from the dress, the class structure appears to be the same. Then we are presented with the question of, how are women compared with men. This cartoon seems to have been made directly to promote women as equals in the Revolution since it is a direct mirroring of Figure 6. One interesting aspect that was not mirrored is the caption. It still reads, "Vive le Roi," long live the King, instead of, "Vive la Reine," long live the Queen. Possibly this is a reflection on the idea of a constitutional monarchy, and the implication is that, while women are presented as on an equal tier to men, the King is still higher than the Queen.

We then have a question about the patriotic duties of revolutionary women. While we have seen women take part in the fall of Bastille in Figure 2, most depictions of

¹⁰⁰ Paul-André Basset. *J'savois ben qu'jaurions not tour vive le roi, vive la nation* :

[estampe], (1789).

women seem to have separate patriotic duties, and the depictions of patriotism for women are not violent in nature. Here, we have a patriotic duty that we first saw in Figure 4, breastfeeding. Breastfeeding plays an important role in the Revolution. In 1791, the women of Clermont-Ferrand brought the topic to the view of the National Assembly.¹⁰¹ For the Revolution, breastfeeding represented the nursing of the Revolution itself, and this is visible in cartoons of the time. In Figure 7, the child being breastfed is wearing the Phrygian cap, implying that the patriotic duty of women is towards the continuation of the Revolution through the nurturing of children. This depiction of patriotic duty is a far cry from the violent revolutionary duty of men of the time, and while the symbol of Justice as depicted in Figure 1 is of a strong woman wielding a sword, the depiction of the Revolutionary Woman is either the bloodthirsty one crowd member of Figure 2 or the breastfeeding mother of Figures 4 and 7.

One of the few printers that we have information about, the printer of Figure 7, Paul-André Basset was a well known printer during the Revolution and beyond, with prints displayed at The National Print Gallery in London, Cooper Hewitt of the Smithsonian, as well as his work housed at the French National Library. Basset's firm

¹⁰¹ Mary L. Jacobus, "Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution,"

Rebel Daughters. (Oxford University Press, New York, 1992). 54.

survived the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, until 1885.¹⁰² Basset's piece here stands out both for the attention to detail that went into his print and the subject matter, but at least one of his other pieces from the Revolution focused on the familial aspects of the Revolution, depicting Jean Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire as the parents of the Revolution.¹⁰³ This interest in family and the Revolution informs our view of Figure 7 a bit more, telling us that the cartoonist had an interest in the connections between family and Revolution, and this may have been a common kind of print for him.

As with the pamphlets in the first chapter, the cartoons of the early French Revolution present a variety of views on patriotism, ranging from radically revolutionary, to constitutional monarchist, to revolutionary but eschewing violence. While the views presented are slowly turning to more violent symbols and rhetoric, especially after the fall of the Bastille, the terms "patriot" and "revolutionary" are not quite synonymous yet. For women, the concept of patriotism had a completely separate meaning completely, and while symbols of male patriotism were feminine, feminine patriotism took a completely different form. Since these cartoons would have been subsidized by the revolutionary

¹⁰² "La Boulangerie de la Trappe." *Adina Sommer's Antique and Contemporary Art*.

Accessed April 7, 2017. <http://www.asommer.de/en/karte/la-boulangerie-de-la-trappe/>

¹⁰³ Ronit Milano, *The Portrait Bust and French Cultural Politics in the Eighteenth Century*. (BRILL, 2015). 24

government as propaganda pieces, most of these cartoons reflect a revolutionary point of view, and conservative cartoons were rare. By controlling the number of prints available, the revolutionary government molded public perception of the Revolution to make it be perceived as a popular revolution.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Patriotism is a fluid concept, informed by mass media, demonstrations, and artwork. This thesis investigated how the concept of patriotism can be shaped and developed to mold public opinions and create society. In chapter one, we saw how there existed a conversation amongst scholars about the definition of patriotism and what one's patriotic duty was. The ideas reflected in this chapter ranged from monarchist to radical revolutionary, and it was clear that a variety of opinions existed. In chapter two, we investigated how the revolutionary government was able to shape public opinion through the use of festivals like the Festival of Federation. The glorification of the military and the national guard through these festivals helped to encourage a militaristic definition of patriotism. In the third chapter, we saw how the revolutionary administration shaped the dialogue by encouraging the production of revolutionary imagery. While there did exist a variance in symbolism with some of the cartoons rejecting violence as a revolutionary

concept, the majority of prints were made with revolutionary imagery, reinforcing the connection between revolution and patriotism.

It is important to reflect on the past to understand the present. In this case, by looking at the example of the French Revolution, we see a period where a key concept, that of patriotism, was rapidly owned by the Revolution. Just as the term "patriot" was owned by the Republican administration after the 9/11 attacks with bills like, "The Patriot Act," the French Revolution owned the term starting in 1792. By examining how the French Revolution created the connection between patriot and revolutionary, we have a more informed understanding of how such nebulous concepts can be taken by groups and co-opted to suit their needs. In this case, the revolutionary government manifested a semblance of popular will, making the people think that there was a uniform concept of patriotic duty, when in reality there were many different interpretations of the concept.

Popular depictions of the French Revolution show a period of violent patriotic radicalism. One of the most common symbols of the Revolution, the guillotine, came to be connected with a patriotism of radicalism stronger than any images from the American Revolution, but at the beginning of the Revolution, there was vibrant conversation about what it meant to be a patriot in France. Within three years of revolution, the concept of patriotic duty was transformed to the concepts of *liberte, fraternite and egalite*. The question that this thesis addressed was, how did the revolutionaries and leadership of France shift the understanding of patriotism so dramatically over these three years? While a free press was allowed during this time, the revolutionary government used alternative

methods to reach the masses. By creating mass festivals that encouraged support of the military and national guard, the government encouraged support of a militant form of patriotism, and by subsidizing artwork and prints, it was able to provide constant reminders and imagery of the Revolution.

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