

cutes, to the peril of American society and culture. He does not seek, in other words, to declare his independence at the cost of rootlessness. The critic's loyalty to an American father of criticism transforms into a transcendent sense of responsibility, forged as it is in the ongoing crisis of modernity. In this respect Hindus's critical metaphysic has the kind of ontological validity and relevance that resides in the need for "roots of order"—and also in "visions of order."

Following Babbitt, Hindus speaks for what Stephen Tonsor calls a "conservative creative minority," in short, for a point of view that, however unpopular, refuses to bow down before "men deep in Utopian Speculations," a phrase that Hindus quotes from the *Federalist Papers*, which he associates with the qualities of wisdom, moderation, humility. In remarking on "the future of democracy in the United States," Hindus stresses: "We are in no particular need of reform again, or reconstruction, or dreams of perfection designed to make the mechanism of government more responsive to a restless desire for change." And in examining "literature and the democratic culture," he affirms the need of standards in order both to judge and to save literature from sophistic and gnostic deformations.

In looking at the autobiographies of three American presidents—Martin Van Buren's (as published in volume 2 of *The Proceedings of the American Historical Association* for the year 1918); Ronald Reagan's *Where's the Rest of Me?* (1965); and George Bush's *Looking Forward* (1987)—Hindus singles out the qualities of responsibility, restraint, and humility which he finds missing from the "more imperious, charismatic personages who have occupied the presidency since." It is refreshing, in this respect, to find here a critic who ultimately views criticism as the pursuit of virtue—a view that contemporary critics disdain. Hindus

focuses on transcendent standards of character in his critiques of these autobiographies in particular, and of art in general; he refuses to be fooled by sham values, and claims, as well as by pseudo-art and pseudo-criticism. To emphasize standards of character, as does Hindus, requires fortitude, especially in a time of history when character and the moral virtues are deemed meaningless and valueless. For Hindus the office of the critic has a higher purpose: it fulfills a major and crucial need that Babbitt speaks of in these words: "It is the critic's business to grapple with the age in which he lives and give it what he sees it needs."

Hindus is a brave exception to an inordinate number of American critics who remain imprisoned in a sheer relativism that falls into anarchy. "America ... seems to be subject to the strong pull of its fantastic and overheated imagination," Hindus warns, "which suggests that nothing is impossible, that history is bunk and can be safely ignored, and that there are no limits to human potential. When such fantasy threatens to part us from the ground of reality, strong cables are necessary to hold it down." The failure to heed this warning has grave consequences, which are everywhere apparent in American civilization. Of course, our leaders at all levels believe they are cognizant of these consequences, especially in the world of education. But their solutions are those of "social perfectionists" whose faith in the religion of illusion is unbending. "Deformed ideologies," to quote Eric Voegelin's phrase, increasingly fuel this religion, and put huge obstacles in the way of those who will not embrace it. Still, the future does not, cannot, belong to new "sophisters, economists, and calculators." For as long as there are critics who possess "force of character," the legacy of Irving Babbitt, to which Milton Hindus gives witness, preserves "the living principle."

# *Ultra-Royalism Revisited: An Annotated Bibliography*

*Robert Beum*

*It is not with one century but with all the centuries that a man should march.*

—Louis Bonald

*We would not put up with a debauched king, but in a democracy all of us are kings, and we praise debauchery as pluralism.*

—John Gardner

THE REVITALIZATION OF political and social conservatism in America over the past three decades has failed to benefit from the experience of what is perhaps the most coherent broad-based<sup>1</sup> articulate conservative movement ever seen since 1789. Though the essentials of their cause were lost long ago, the ultra-royalists, a particularly expressive and fiery band within the larger group of French legitimists, constantly said things relevant to any really genuine conservatism. Ironically, what has militated against their being heard in America is the very purity of their conservatism. America is imbued, right, left, and center, with what amounts to a certain progressive outlook: "Americanism" itself implies a forward-looking attitude, receptivity to

change, innovation, experiment, improvement, and reform, together with an admiration for what appear to be their chief theoretical and practical supports—science, industrial technology, and affluence. The ultra-royalists were conservatives who make even quite reactionary American conservatives look very liberal indeed. Both the romance and the realism in ultra-royalism looked backward, not forward: the ultras wanted to repair, restore, and rejuvenate the right order that had been damaged or denied by the revolution of 1789; they mistrusted the new order, just then rising into full view in France, of urbanization, industrialization, mechanization, secularism, and scientism. After 1789 political factions proliferated in France; among those that achieved size and practical significance, only ultra-royalism formulated a complete and logically consistent antagonism to "modernity" in all its aspects.

One of those aspects was that vast middle-class mercantile emprise then called "economic liberalism," one of the great motive forces behind 1789. The various *partis* of "constitutional" or "liberal" monarchists, represented by figures like Guizot, Martignac, and Royer-Collard, could not bring themselves to believe that economic liberalism—modernity in polity—could prove to be an

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essentially destructive force.<sup>2</sup> The republicans, still quite numerous and very active in France after the two restorations, remained the advocates of *le Progrès*. The socialist sects deplored the excesses and abuses of the newly rampant industrialization, but with the exception of a few tiny and ineffectual groups like Fournier's they too were committed to some sort of eminently industrial, technological, and scientific world. The belief that was common ground among the ultras and scarce everywhere else was that modernity and tradition—the European, the Western, not just the French tradition—were incompatible, mutually exclusive; those who claimed to see some principle of accommodation or who had faith in the eventual effecting of a beneficent compromise were naive or inconsistent.

What the more insightful ultras saw—and what their descendants, the Legitimists, continued to see later in the century—was that the new money powers constituted an enthusiastically change-minded class and that even the more conservative individuals within it would be powerless against the tide: the middle classes wanted upward social mobility and the economic freedom to expand and multiply industries, direct product quality, prices, working conditions, and tax legislation unhampered by the traditional royal authority and the anti-industrial connivances of old-family *no-blesse*. The new-found political “freedom, i.e., ascendancy, of the middle classes would mean economic domination: the end of the agrarian world dear to the older aristocracy; the end of a long era of small, traditional, uncentralized, and royally directed industry; the end, ultimately, of the power and prestige of the aristocracy itself. Enormous accumulations of profit wealth would enable the ambitious entrepreneurs to buy—in many cases, to order, by a fiat any king would envy—whatever change

was deemed necessary or helpful to the business. Bonald and other ultras saw—and at least in the New World have never been credited with seeing—that industrial technology in an age of rapidly advancing science (both pure and applied) inevitably acted as an agent of endemic change. *Machinisme*, the new way of life came to be called. What could it serve except the new entrepreneurist aegis? And in that service what could it do but soon become the universal habit, understanding, value? *Machinisme* would mean a new breed, a mankind that looked to change, innovation, experiment, and mass manipulation as the modes of satisfaction and salvation.

Few will claim that all is or has ever been well with American political conservatism. And it is at least conceivable that that conservatism would be the better for giving the ultra-royalists a hearing. There may after all be some value in pondering their surmise that a massive, enthusiastic or at least little-restrained commitment to mechanization and advanced technologies is hardly a recipe for the preservation of heritages, whether they be of architecture or of contemplative habit. Advances in physical speed and mobility, the proliferation of invasive technological distractions, and the ability to replace a neighborhood with an instant freeway more often than not have private and, if you will, “conservative” capital behind them. What does cluttering the universe with buildscape conserve; what heritage does it hand down? On the whole, American conservatism is as technocratic as American liberalism, perhaps more so. There is no question but what our super-technology may, in a given instance, be enlisted in the service of restoring a house or a painting, or of bringing, by movie or television screen, an awareness of some cultural value where no awareness existed before. The question, though, is what has been, and is, the tendency of

the whole. The correlative question is whether American conservatism would not have been more consistent and genuine if it had listened to the arguments the ultras and Legitimists brought against both bigness and centralization.

There was never a Golden Age or even a Golden Place. But for something important in all of us—the poetic soul, the sense of right order—certain times and places have been better than others. The ultra-royalists were in power throughout most of the Restoration and were a puissant force in the Chamber of Deputies even during the few years when the ministry was held by the liberal or “constitutional” monarchists. What generalizations may be made about French society under the Restoration?

After a decade and a half of costly and bloody, if “glorious” Bonapartism, there was reconstructive peace. Except for the quick, successful, and popular interventionary skirmish in Spain, and the quicker, if less popular expedition to Algeria, war and violence were confined to the Chamber and the press. Government administration, both national and local, was honest and conscientious, a fact ably documented in the work of Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny.

Chateaubriand, in memoirs written long after he had ceased to be an ultra, remained faithful to his first impressions of the Restoration: “I was seeing military despotism [*i.e.*, Bonapartism] turning back into a free monarchy”; it was “Liberty which lay at the root of this period.” Guizot, in his still indispensable and fair-minded history of France, says of the period beginning in 1815, “We now...enter upon a new era, till then unexampled in our history, during which France, at peace in spite of its internal agitation, constantly tended toward that government of the country by the country which remains and shall remain the object of the most noble hopes.” Ernest Renan, no royalist, and in fact a trenchant critic of

tradition, claimed (in *Questions contemporaines*) that the years from 1815 to 1848 were the best that France “and perhaps humanity” had ever experienced.

It is possible that our North American innocence about royalism in general and ultra-royalism in particular has distorted our perspective on modern history, especially on the historical emergence of modernity and the “technological society” it implies. In any event, our neglect and ignorance constitute one of the unheralded scandals of our historical, political, and literary scholarship. Most of what the ultras and their Legitimist descendants wrote has never been translated into English, let alone interpreted (a fact that never seems to inhibit the proffering of opinions and hasty judgments). And even if it is too late to be of any practical benefit, a reading of the ultras and Legitimists is in order. They had style, color, uniqueness; the best of their writers—they can claim giants like Balzac—are witty, provocative, penetrating, often original, not infrequently profound; their experience ended in pathos and tragedy that are nothing if not sobering.

The annotated bibliography offered below attempts to be sufficiently comprehensive and diversified to provide a sense of the wide range of ultracist and Legitimist interests, abilities, insights, and values. And these of course have influenced innumerable European thinkers and artists—Debussy, Degas, and Hofmannsthal, for example—whose work is not in itself political or even verbal and cannot be cited here though it remains immensely, if subtly indebted.

I have given more space to the ultra-royalists than to the Legitimists<sup>3</sup> of the later nineteenth century: it is the former who are the most neglected. Only French and English publications are cited. Where a work has been reliably translated I have cited the English rather than the

original French publication. In an attempt to redress the balance, to counter a century and a half of omission, incomprehension, and abuse, I have presented, with a few exceptions, bibliographical items that discuss ultra-royalism objectively or even favorably. I have also confined the list almost exclusively to books

and pamphlets. My groupings are designed for readers' convenience; overlap and arbitrariness are inevitable. Lengthy titles have in some cases been shortened. Publication dates given are for the most reliable or most complete editions; where two dates are given, the first indicates the original publication.

1. From 1789 onward the royalist party, including that enthusiastic section of it which eventually became known as ultra-royalism, found strong support in the third estate as well as among the clergy and *noblesse*. 2. In a compact, pungent essay, Tilo Schabert sees the essence of modernity as a commitment to "the new," to change; in short, to the ephemeral, the discontinuous, the unstable, the restless, the revolutionary. Modernity implies a "civilization tending toward chaos as its most perfect form." It means the "complete negation" of traditional or long-lasting values, and in fact of "any form of economic, social, and political order"; it "stands in absolute contradiction to 'Civilization'" ("A Note on Modernity," *Political Theory*, 7, Feb. 1979, 134). 3. The word "Legitimist" is sometimes a source of confusion. The designation "ultra-royalist" was fairly short-lived. After 1830 it tended to be replaced by *Légitimiste*. Royalists other than those

of very liberal "constitutional" persuasion gathered around the Bourbon pretender, Henri, Comte de Chambord (1820-83), and were commonly known as the Legitimist *parti*. But both before and after 1830, "legitimist" (*Légitimiste*) was generally used to denote any supporter of the direct (legitimate) line of monarchic descent and of the principle of hereditary rather than elective monarchy. Thus, even in his later years, when he had adopted rather liberal views, Chateaubriand remained a "legitimist." Used without qualification, "Legitimist" implies—now, as then—not only an emphasis on the importance of the hereditary and Bourbonist claim but, in general, a certain measure of counter-revolutionary commitment, an aristocratism actively anti-demotic, anti-progressive, anti-collectivist, paternalistic, defensive of the integrity and primacy of the family, favorable to traditional religion, and generally clericalist.

## I. DOCUMENTS

*Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 (22ème série)*, XV, XVI, Paris, 1869. Transcriptions of the debates in the Restoration Chambers of Peers and Deputies, together with the complete texts of the bills themselves; indexed.

*Catalogue de l'Histoire de France*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Includes a virtually complete listing of Restoration political and social pamphlets.

## II. HISTORIANS, SOCIAL ANALYSTS, BIOGRAPHERS

Artz, F. B., *France under the Bourbon Restoration, 1814-1830*, 1931. Excellent on the cultural background and political developments of the Restoration, but inadequate in certain areas; scanty

treatment of the ultra-royalists and somewhat misleading because it leaves the impression that they were all Bourbon absolutists.

Bagge, Dominique, *Les idées politiques sous la Restauration*, 1952. Lively, succinct chapters on all the major political philosophies competing for attention or dominance under the Restoration; notes the permanence of the royalist sentiment in the French heart.

Bainville, Jacques, *History of France*, trans. Alice and Christian Gauss. Long a best-seller; consistently interpretive yet so fair that it frustrated leftist attempts to discredit it as a work invalidated by bias. Chapter XVIII, appropriately, treats the Restoration. *Comment s'est faite la Restauration de 1814* ("How the Restoration Came About"), 1944. A brochure; of



great merit in its close-knit argument attacking the thesis that the Restoration came about because the Allies foisted the Bourbons on an unwilling nation.

Baldensperger, Fernand, *Le Mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française (1789-1815)*, 2 vols., 1924. A superb account of the émigrés' intellectual and emotional responses to their times and situation; particularly rewarding on the gradual widening and deepening of thought and feeling. The general (by no means unexceptionable) movement was from self concern to a compassionate collective sense; from a narrow to a philosophical interpretation of events; from rancor, through the spiritual purgation of humiliation and despair, to a genuinely devotional faith that reanimated French Catholicism. Among the émigrés were the vast majority of those who would later be designated as "ultra-royalists."

Barber, Elinor G., *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France*, 1977. Neatly documents the antipathy of the entrepreneurist class to the old order itself (not just its abuses): monarchs and aristocrats alike acted to restrict commercial-industrial ventures and upward social mobility.

Barthélemy, Edouard Marie, comte de, *La noblesse en France avant et depuis 1789*, 1858, 1860. An excellent historical survey of the nobility and of theories of its power and proper role.

Barthélemy, Joseph, *L'Introduction du régime parlementaire en France sous Louis XVIII et Charles X*, 1904. An account of the parliamentary developments. A brilliant legal historian, Barthélemy deftly exposes the differences between the French and British systems. The *parti ultra-royaliste* (168-181) is treated somewhat superficially, but the commentary on Chateaubriand and his infamous *De la Monarchie selon la Charte* is engaging.

Bastid, Paul, *Les institutions politiques de la monarchie parlementaire française (1814-1848)*, 1954. Accurate delineation but thin on the fortunes of the ultra-royalists after 1830.

Beach, Vincent W., *Charles X of France: His Life and Times*, 1971. "His role...is far more complex than has generally been recognized.... He recognized some of the major problems, but he chose the wrong solutions. His successors have done little better." The point in the last quoted sentence is often forgotten. A solid study, the only extensive work in English on Charles X.

Beck, Thomas D., *French Legislators, 1800-1834*, 1974. A precisionist statistical study. The methodology yields few new or surprising conclusions but clarifies earlier impressions. Progressivist bias, not scientific method, supports Beck's image of "the mistake that was the Restoration."

Beik, Paul Harold, *The French Revolution Seen from the Right*, 1956, 1970. An extremely useful and important book; excellent summaries of counter-revolutionary social theories; abundant biographical data on Barruel, Ferrand, Montyon, Montlosier, d'Antraigues, and other figures usually slighted in the literature. The Preface makes the customary gestures required to propitiate the gods of liberal academe (the author feels compelled to be semi-apologetic for even taking seriously the literature of the monarchic Right, "a body of material forbidding in style and thought").

Bertau, Jules, *Le faubourg Saint-Germain sous la Restauration*, 1935. A memorable portrait of Restoration high society on its highest street. The clerisy in America, c. 1870-1930, viewed this street in Balzac's novels.

Bertier de Sauvigny, Guillaume de, *The Bourbon Restoration*, trans. Lynn M. Case, 1966. One of the very few really sagacious, erudite, and immensely readable accounts of the era, written in a charming spirit of restrained advocacy.

Beum, Robert, "The Old Regimes and the Technological Society," *Journal of Politics*, 37.4 (1975): 938-954. Surveys the anti-technological and anti-materialist stance of nineteenth-century

French royalism and concludes that the massive technicization of experience "was not postulated within, and was on the whole resolutely opposed by, the aegis of the traditional aristocracy with its religious, agricultural, and proprietary interests and its concomitant mistrust of major social innovations." "Modernity and the Left: an Equivalence," *Georgia Review*, 27.3 (1973): 309-320. Identifies traditional European royalism as the West's first and only genuine political Right; sees the development of gnosticism as a principal matrix of both capitalism and the modern Left. "Balzac's Historical Reliability," *Royal University of Malta Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, 6.3 (1976): 308-311. Surveys opinions of modern historians on the fairness and accuracy of Balzac's historical and social portrayals.

Biré, Edmond, *L'Année 1817*, 1895. No one was ever more aware than the prolific Legitimist historian and literary critic Biré that from small violations of fact great errors of interpretation sometimes grow. Much of his own work limits itself to correcting others' sins of commission or omission, and common sense, erudition, and tact enable him to offer his corrections without pedantry or pettiness. The *Année 1817* is a *tour de force* in which, while ostensibly setting the liberal Victor Hugo straight ("In the Year 1817," ch. 3 of *Les Misérables*), Biré manages to convey a vivid sense of the multifarious interconnected details of routine and special events in early Restoration society. *Etudes et portraits*, 1913. This contains a fine essay on the neglected Pontmartin. *Mémoires et souvenirs*, 3 vols., 1895-98. An informal and entertaining review of the memoirs of numerous Restoration figures, including Laure Junot, Chateaubriand, Barante, Pasquier, and Hyde de Neuville. Biré reminds us that the immense demand for memoirs throughout the Revolution, Empire, and Restoration resulted in a spate of recollections written more for fame and fee than for honesty and exactitude. The memoirs reviewed here are those of the emotionally and intellectually responsible, though, as usual, Biré corrects errors of fact and emphasis. The treatment of Hyde de Neuville

offers a quiet eulogy all the more effective for its restraint. Biré's own memoirs (*Mes souvenirs*, 1908) are less interesting than his analysis of others'.

Boulainvilliers, Henri, comte de, *Histoire de l'ancien gouvernement de la France* ..., 1727; *Essais sur la noblesse de France*, 1732; *Etat de la France*, 1737. In much of Boulainvilliers's work, history and political pleading and theory are bound closely together. Hating both popular government and the absolutism under which he lived, he articulated the political medievalism that later captured the imagination of many of the ultra-royalists. He wrought into perfect form the constitutional argument known as the *thèse nobiliaire*: the achievement which is France is largely the work of its nobles, who are therefore best fitted for the supreme power and most deserving of it. Erudite but spirited, insistent but gracious, Boulainvilliers is perhaps the most attractive, most suasive of all the French (or other) advocates of feudalism, a creation which should be acknowledged as nothing less than a "masterpiece of the human mind." Such forthrightness could be published only posthumously.

Bourgeois, Emile, "Reaction and Revolution in France," *The Cambridge Modern History*, ed. A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, Stanley Leathes, Vol. X: *The Restoration*, 1907. Written at a time when historians felt no necessity to look for what might have been worthy motives and significant positive achievements in ultra-royalism, this account repeats the usual anti-aristocratic clichés which the pre-World War I intellectual world, mesmerized by vistas of ever-expanding progress and democracy, accepted as gospel. The influence of this work undoubtedly set many a young British and American scholar on the wrong track. The wholly negative picture of the "vengeful" ultras is little more than a caricature; and though Bourgeois sees the artistic efflorescence of the 1820s and 1830s, its connection with enthusiastic royalism eludes him.

Butler, Ronnie, *Balzac and the French Revolution*,

1983. A careful and well-written study of Balzac's interpretation of social and political developments from 1789 through the Restoration. "What finally matters is...the remarkable accuracy of the *Comédie humaine* in interpreting historical findings. The first historian of the Restoration, Balzac is unsurpassed as the historian of the Restoration aristocracy." The book ably disposes of Marxist critics' attempts to portray Balzac as one who hated the Restoration aristocracy.

Capefigue, Jean Baptiste, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 10 vols., 1831-33. Capefigue witnessed from the inside much of the history he recounts. Favorable to royalism, immensely detailed, sometimes plodding.

Charl  ty, S  bastien Camille Gustave, *La restauration* (vol. 4 of *Histoire de la France contemporaine*, ed. Ernest Lavisse, 1921). A concise intelligent history, plausible interpretations on the major issues. Collins, Irene, ed., *Government and Society in France, 1814-1848*, 1970. A small but balanced volume of primary documents; perspicacious commentary. *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France 1814-1881*, 1959. A study of the press laws and their actual workings; includes a concise but detailed account of the ultra-royalist newspapers; objective, well documented, well-written.

Crauffon, Jehan, *La Chambre des D  put  s sous la Restauration...*, 1908. A convenient source for detailed information on the functioning and changing constitution of the Chamber of Deputies throughout the Restoration. Well worth consulting on a special aspect of the same topic is Jean B  carud, "La noblesse dans les Chambres (1815-1830)," *Revue Internationale d'histoire politique et constitutionnelle*, Nouvelle s  rie, 11 (Paris, July-Sept. 1935): 189-205.

Daudet, Ernest, *La terreur blanche*, 1878; *Histoire de la Restauration, 1814-1830*, 1882; *Histoire de l'  migration*, 1889. The book on the White Terror is better than any treatment of the subject available in English. The history of the

emigration deals mostly with   migr  s other than those who went to England; the book provides many details not found in the liberal historians. The Restoration history is based on a careful scrutiny of primary documents. Daudet was immensely prolific without losing anything of meticulousness or analytical solidity. It is one of the disgraces of English scholarship that none of his historical works has found translators. Ernest's younger brother Alphonse, a major novelist, was a traditionalist whose views might be best described as those of an apolitical royalist.

Dimier, Louis, *Les ma  tres de la contre-r  volution en France*, 1906. Not inferior to Godechot's book; interesting material on Ferrand and Barruel.

Donnard, Jean Herv  , *Balzac: Les r  alit  s   conomiques et sociales dans La Com  die Humaine*, 1961. Sees Balzac as the first literary figure to examine intently the new social and economic realities resulting from the 1789 revolution. Balzac digs and finds the roots; his views on the social ills resemble those of Maurras.

Fi  v  e, Joseph, *Histoire de la session de 1815* (also, *de 1816, 1817, 1820*), 1816-21. What went on in the Chambers, as witnessed and interpreted by a brilliant, articulate ultra who also displayed good judgment on practical matters. Fi  v  e saw royalty as the best guarantor of harmony between authority and liberty ("l'alliance de la royaut   et des libert  s"). Original, independent, and of scandalous life, his example reminds us that it was possible to embrace monarchic absolutism without being sanguinely theocratic or obsessed with order and conventional morality.

Forest, Jean, *L'Aristocratie balzacienne*, 1972. A solid study of Balzac's treatment of the French aristocracy, 1789-1848, in the *Com  die humaine*.

Funck-Brentano, Frantz, *The Old Regime in France*, trans. Herbert Wilson, 1929. Sympathetic toward the old order.



Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis, *La cité antique*, 1880. A brilliant and reverential case for traditionalism; this book strongly influenced French royalism in the latter nineteenth century. *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, 1889-92. A controversial but immensely erudite and stylistically rewarding interpretation of the origins and development of ancient French political institutions. The invigoration of historical studies in late nineteenth-century France was chiefly inspired not by liberal or Marxist historians but by the traditionalist work of Fustel de Coulanges and Achille Luchaire.

Gaxotte, Pierre, *The French Revolution*, trans. Walter Alison Phillips, 1932. Attacks the thesis that the 1789 revolution was desirable or inevitable. Forcefully written (confident, sometimes arrogant), and not hasty, but underemphasizes the decadence of the eighteenth-century aristocracy and the part played by the first and second estates in increasing the likelihood of revolution. *Histoire des français*, 1951. Treats the Restoration sympathetically but without enthusiasm.

Godechot, Jacques Léon, *The Counter-Revolution: Doctrine and Action, 1789-1804*, trans. Salvator Attanasio, 1971. Presents the variety of counter-revolutionary theory and activity; clear, interesting, reliable.

Gorce, Pierre de la, *La Restauration: Louis XVIII, Charles X*, 2 vols., 1926-28. Succinct yet includes interesting out-of-the-way details. De la Gorce presents Louis XVIII as a sensible statesman. These are not intimate or psychological biographies of the two kings but detailed analytical accounts of events and positions under the reigns. Very thorough treatment of the Charter of 1814.

Grant, Elliott Mansfield, *French Poetry and Modern Industry, 1830-1870*, 1927. A masterful study of the response of French poets, including the royalist Romantics, to the advent of *machinisme*. Enthusiasm for *le Progrès* characterized both the socialist poets and the repub-

lican poets favorable to capitalism. Grant leaves unexamined the deeper reasons for the royalist poets' tendency to reject the emergent machine civilization.

Green, F. C., *The Ancien Regime: A Manual of French Institutions and Social Classes*, 1958. A compact (80pp.) and reliable exposition of the structure of French society under *absolutisme*.

Guizot, Francois, and Madame Guizot de Witt, *The History of France*, trans. Robert Black, vol. XVIII, 1898. Valuable for innumerable eye-witness details and for fair-minded treatment of the ultra-royalists by one who was not of their party: "the royalists had on all political and social questions systematic views to realize, historical traditions to perpetuate, and spiritual wants to satisfy. They were not working to destroy the charter and to restore the old regime, as has often been said...they hastened to put their hand to the work, eager to enjoy their victory, believing that the day was come at last to recover in their country both morally and materially, in thought as in deed, the ascendancy which they had lost for so long a time."

Guyon, Bernard, *La pensée politique et sociale de Balzac*, 1947. Comprehensive exposition of Balzac's social and political thought.

Hudson, Nora, *Ultra-Royalism and the French Restoration*, 1936. Concise, luminous, elegant; a rich-textured early study never surpassed—or sufficiently credited. After half a century, the Introduction remains the most lucid and economical account of the connection between ultra-royalism and the rebirth of literature as Romanticism; in fact, most English commentary on ultra-royalism still misses this important connection altogether. Translated into literature, ultra-royalism implied Romanticism, and the latter implied enthusiastic royalism as its natural, its inevitable political expression. In English scholarship of the 1930s, Nora Hudson was almost alone, too, in noting that there was a hard-working, agreeable, even kindly side to Charles X, who remains the arch-

villain for liberals. Most subsequent scholarship in English has also failed to respond to her contention that "[t]he ultras, in demanding the right of initiative and of amendment, the right to regulate public expenses, in declaring that elections should be the free expression of national opinion, laid the foundations of parliamentary government in France" (71).

Hyslop, Beatrice Fry, *French Nationalism in 1789, According to the General Cahiers*, 1934. Provides valuable documentation on the extent of the aristocrats' disaffection, c. 1780-89, with monarchic absolutism.

Jardin, André and Tudesq, André Jean, *Restoration and Reaction, 1815-1848*, trans. Elborg Forster, 1983. The first hundred pages provide a detailed and remarkably unbiased account of the first and second restorations.

Leber, Jean Michael Constant, *Des cérémonies du sacre....*, 1825. Sympathetic with ultra-royalism, the medievalist and antiquarian Leber here examines in great detail the theory and traditions of the coronation ceremony in France; interesting miscellaneous commentary on medieval customs and public law.

Lough, John, *An Introduction to Eighteenth Century France*, 1960. A fine overview of the crushing effects of absolutism on the *noblesse* (126-27); a brief, helpful account of the thought of Boulainvilliers; equally informative on ideology, cultural activity, and economic conditions.

Lucas Dubreton, J., *The Restoration and the July Monarchy*, trans. E. F. Buckley, 1929. Adequate on Louis XVIII but not on Charles X. It was "above all in the domain of thought that the Restoration gave evidence of greatness."

Mansel, Philip, *Louis XVIII*, 1981. Careful, thorough scholarship; that Louis was "stupid," as some have suggested, is untenable; the king "had become an authentic representative of the last layer of his life, the world of nineteenth-century constitutional monarchy."

Maury, Lucien, ed., *Balzac: Opinions sociales et politiques, suivi de pensées diverses*, 1941. Comprehensive excerpting from the *Human Comedy*.

Mellon, Stanley, *The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Restoration*, 1958. Pursuing the thesis that "the writing of history in the French Restoration was a function of politics," Mellon brings into relief many interesting aspects of political thought and activity. The Liberal historians are shown to be immensely biased, but the bias led to triumphs of style and even to discoveries.

Montbel, Guillaume Isidore Baron, comte de, *Dernière époque de l'histoire de Charles X...*, 1836. A loyal ultra's account of the king's last years, after his dethronement and journey into exile; eulogistic but sincere and reliable.

Nef, John U., *Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640*, 1940. Documents the aristocratic and monarchic antipathy to large-scale commercial-industrial expansion and innovation. The financial policies of the French kings "both by their influence on investment and...demand...served to discourage the rapid progress of mining and heavy manufacturing, and to foster skilled craftsmanship and fine art. They promoted quality at the expense of quantity." Part of the monarchic aim was "to promote social justice, and to improve the quality of industrial wares." A brilliant, compact, neglected book.

Nettement, Alfred François, *Histoire de la Restauration*, 8 vols, 1860. Detailed history, thoroughly sympathetic with royalism but not opposed to all of the 1789 revolution's reforms. A brilliant Legitimist and clericalist historian, Nettement was also a prolific publicist and founded the Legitimist journal *L'Opinion publique*.

Oechslin, J.-J., *Le mouvement ultra-royaliste sous la Restauration....*, 1960. Patient research bears good fruit here; valuable treatment of the variety of thought within ultra-royalism.

Ponteil, Félix, *Les classes bourgeoises et l'avènement de la démocratie*. Documents the middle classes' antipathy to the old regime and delineates the process by which capitalism transformed nineteenth-century French society. *La monarchie parlementaire, 1815-1848*, 1949. Details the ultra-royalists' contribution to the development of parliamentary government in France.

Pouthas, Charles, *Histoire Politique de la Restauration* (a Sorbonne course, publ. as offset copy), Centre de Documentation Universitaire, n.d. Bertier de Sauvigny and others have considered these Sorbonne lectures of Professor Pouthas the soundest and most objective of all accounts of the Restoration.

Rémond, René, *The Right Wing in France*, trans. James M. Laux, 1966. A clear, rapid survey that presents one of the relatively few adequate and accurate accounts of ultra-royalism as a political outlook; slight but not harmful oversimplification of French political divisions and parties. Rémond reminds us that the royalists deplored the new industrialism's pollutions, spoliations, and exploitation of workers before socialism converted such concerns into ideology. Social direction by merchants preaching competitive individualism and *machinisme* was hardly the ideal of the ultras, who showed a "lively and explicit concern over social conditions." This most reactionary of all groups on the Right was "the first...to worry about what was called 'the social question.'"

Resnick, Daniel P., *The White Terror and the Political Reaction After Waterloo*, 1966. Chapter IV and the Conclusion provide interesting details on the ultras as legislators in the Chambers.

Roche, Achille, *Les idées traditionalistes en France*, 1937. A succinct interpretive survey, undeservedly neglected.

Romier, Lucien, *A History of France*, trans. and

completed by A. L. Rowse, 1953. Romier is vivacious but gives only the general outlines of developments under Louis XVIII and Charles X.

Scott, Sir Walter, *Paul's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, 2nd ed., 1816. Scott followed the fortunes of Revolution, Empire, and Restoration closely. This account of a fictional journey through France in the early days of the Restoration is full of shrewd comments and piquant particulars. On pp. 40-41 and 440 he penetrates to the essence of the constitutional monarchist position and makes clear why the ultras regarded it as unreal. Interesting, too, by way of challenging the cliché of the "sanguinary" ultras, is Scott's observation that "with all their vehemence in words, [they] have already shewn how infinitely inferior they are to the opposite party [i.e., the heterogeneous opposition of Bonapartists, republicans, revolutionists, and constitutional monarchists] in intrigue, as well as in audacity." *Life of Napoleon*, in *The Miscellaneous Works*, 1881. On pp. 73-77 Scott offers a cogent, sympathetic discussion of the principle of legitimacy in the Restoration context.

Souriau, Maurice Anatole, *Histoire du romantisme en France*, 1927. Surveys and analyzes French Romanticism from its inception in the last years of the ancien régime to its decadence in the mid-nineteenth century. Part II treats Restoration Romanticism. Subtle and solid.

Stewart, John Hall, *The Restoration Era in France, 1814-1830*, 1968. Scholarship without empathy, let alone enthusiasm for the subject. To Stewart, the ultra-royalists were mere "fanatics" and avengers; in this book one finds no hint of their intellectual brilliance and creative imagination. The neo-medievalism characteristic of the artistic among the ultras receives no mention. In these respects the book is seriously misleading as well as lacking in subtlety and reserve. It also fails to see that what many of the ultras desired was a return not to Bourbon absolutism but to the kind of feudal monarchy whose disappearance Boulainvilliers had so keenly lamented.

Viel-Castel, Louis, *baron de, Histoire de la Restauration*, 20 vols., 1860-78. Authoritative, massively detailed history written from a royalist perspective by a man who served capably in Restoration embassies. Viel-Castel is sometimes inaccurate on small details, and the writing breathes no life but offers a wealth of extracts and paraphrase from primary documents. *The Histoire de la Restauration* (2 vols., 1880) by Daresté de la Chavanne is in effect a condensation of Viel-Castel's twenty volumes.

Vingtrinier, Emmanuel, *La contre-révolution*, 1924. Very readably documents royalist support in the French countryside, c. 1789-93.

Weiner, Margery, *The French Exiles, 1789-1815*, 1961. Sympathetic portrayal of the émigrés who lived in the parish of St. Marylebone in the circle of the Duc de Berry and the Comte d'Artois. The opening chapter is particularly vigorous and succinct, as is the account of the Comte d'Artois' romantic and tragic liaison with Louise de Polastron.

Wright, Gordon, *France in Modern Times, 1760 to the Present*, 1966. Cultural as well as chronological history; possibly the most objective interpretation in English; immensely useful bibliographical surveys. Charles X is presented as having "possessed almost all of the qualities of kingship except good judgment." Cogently stresses the fatal consequences of the rivalry between Villèle and Chateaubriand.

### III. THEORISTS

Antraigues, Emmanuel Henri Louis de Launay, comte d', *Coup d'Oeil sur la Révolution française; parle le Général Montesquiou, suivi de la Réponse du Comte d'Antraigues*, 1795. This pamphlet, though topical, apparently represents the author's final political testament. Part of its interest lies in something surprisingly rare in other ultracist (or pre-ultracist) literature: a carefully reasoned, spirited but unfanatical attack on what André Chenier had called *le peuple roi*. "The people" are the masses who have no investment in stability, to say nothing

of refinement or intellectual cogency: to give them power is to establish ineptitude and restiveness. There are many subtleties to the succinct argument of this thinker whom the actualities of the 1789 revolution had converted from liberalism and revolutionary flirtation to keen-edged counter-revolution. He was not a monarchic absolutist, however, though he is sometimes mistaken for one (see, for example, Jacques Godechot, *The Counter-Revolution*, 1971). Like Boulainvilliers earlier and many ultra-royalists later, he wanted a monarchy tempered by aristocratic constitutionalism.

Barruel, abbé Augustin, *Le patriote véridique, ou discours sur les vraies causes de la révolution actuelle*, 1789. A clear, consistent, and by no means simplistic argument supporting monarchic absolutism in France; thoroughly representative of the absolutist theory retained or adopted by some of the Restoration royalists (the ultra-royalists themselves, however, were generally not absolutists but supporters of a decentralized, aristocratic regime). Barruel analyzes the roles of the *philosophes*, the *bourgeoisie*, and the disaffected nobles in setting the stage for the 1789 revolution. He shows no contempt for "the people" and is a friend of basic freedoms but insists that "rights" and "liberties" are of little positive value in themselves: they need to be accompanied by moral goodness, moral improvement; otherwise their acquisition is more likely to injure than to benefit the social order. Barruel trusts the kings, not the aristocrats, and asserts that only absolutism has enabled the kings to protect the common folk from the depredations the nobles were able to wreak under feudalism.

Bergasse, Nicolas, *Discours . . . sur la manière dont il convient de limiter le pouvoir législatif & le pouvoir exécutif dans une monarchie*, 1789. In this pamphlet, constitutional theory is rooted in a prudential sense of the importance of royal prerogative, aristocratic responsibility and privilege, and popular consent. *Essai sur la propriété*, 1821. Argument supporting the restitution of the émigrés. A man of many inter-

ests, including Mesmerism, an advocate who won a celebrated case against Beaumarchais, Bergasse was a theorist of constitutions and an incisive royalist publicist; in 1815 he promoted the Act of Holy Alliance. Among New World students of French history and constitutionalism he seems almost unknown. His "monarchien" views are identical with those of many ultras.

Berryer, Antoine, *Discours parlementaires*, 1872-74. Eloquent and learned speeches on divers subjects by a notably erudite and fair-minded Legitimist. Berryer was an acute if unsystematic critic of *laissez-faire* capitalism and, like the Comte de Chambord, a champion of workers' rights.

Blanc de St.-Bonnet, Antoine, *De la Restauration française*, 1851; *La Légimité*, 1873; *Le Socialisme et la société*, 1880. Combative, sometimes penetrating polemics by a thinker even more strictly theocratic and counter-revolutionary than Bonald and De Maistre. The *Socialisme* is the slightest and most agitated of these tracts but makes some challenging claims, contending, for example (p. 17) that the 1789 revolution was made possible by the ascendancy of intellectual mediocrities ("l'irruption des hommes du médiocre"). All of Blanc de St.-Bonnet's work shows the characteristic ultra-royalist/Legitimist devotion to local autonomies and customs and dismay at the uniformities and centralizations indigenous to liberalism and socialism.

Bonald, Louis Gabriel, *vicomte de, Pensées diverses* (*Oeuvres*, V, 1858). Observations, mostly sociological, often epigrammatic and graceful, written in 1816 and earlier; sometimes profound, often memorable, these provide the best possible introduction to Bonald but remain untranslated and are seldom mentioned by scholars writing in English. His understanding of the psychically disruptive nature of modernity and his fears of overpopulation and overstimulation have been borne out by events. On the mania of modern nations for "development" of every sort, he says that "philoso-

phy"—here meaning the progressivist ideals of the *philosophes* and of scientific thinkers in general—would like to "have all the secrets of nature unveiled, all lands cultivated, all money in circulation . . . all children regulated and sent to school; it presses too fast the march of the world and pushes it toward its end" (349). Long before E. F. Schumacher, and even before the agrarian socialists, Bonald saw that "small is beautiful." *Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile*..., 1796. Slightly more polemical than the *Essai analytique* but like the latter a work of great scope and intellectual vigor. Ch. 10 of Book I is an incisive critique of the origins, modes, and general motivations of modern "legislators" and "legislation," all of which he contrasts unfavorably with the monarchic representation and symbolization of custom and common law. *Essai analytique*, 1800. Bonald's chief theoretical work; despite its ponderous aspects, a major contribution to modern social philosophy. In this, as in the *Théorie du pouvoir*, he argues that the family is the basis of individual and corporate stability but is undermined by the concomitants of industrial advance and agrarian decay. In publicizing this concept, which is a variation on a theme in the work of Jean Bodin, Bonald helped stimulate explorations in sociology and social psychology. His sincere concern for the welfare of industrial workers and of the mothers and children in broken families is not always read against the sometimes violent rhetoric and rigid counter-revolutionism of many of his speeches and pamphlets. *De la famille agricole, de la famille industrielle, et du droit d'aïnesse*, 1826 (text readily available in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. l'Abbé Migne, 2, 1864, 235-58). This speech deserves to be known as the *locus classicus* of early defenses of agrarian life at the advent of continental industrialization; it describes unerringly (if sometimes overemphatically) the inherent weaknesses of industrial society and attacks the modern state's devotion to industrial expansion.

Bonald, Victor de, *Des vrais principes opposés aux erreurs du XIX siècle*, 1833. Victor's pen was



milder than his father's but the work cited here continues the latter's thought and sometimes develops interesting variations upon it, anticipating some of the points the forthright Léon Daudet would make a century later.

Chambord, Henri Dieudonné, *comte de, Mes idées*, 1872. Mature but only mildly interesting statement of Legitimist principles by the heir to the throne. In 1873 he might have become Henry V but for his lack of drive and his inflexibility, particularly on the subject of the tricolor flag.

*Correspondance*, 1841-79, 1880. Here as in *Mes idées* is calm rejection of the Republic, coupled with a resolve to observe its legalities; industrial workers find an attentive listener to their grievances and an advocate of their pleas for humane working conditions. Of the very few works in English on "Henry V" the most substantial is Marvin L. Brown's *The Comte de Chambord: The Third Republic's Uncompromising King*, 1967.

Chateaubriand, François René, *vicomte de, Selections*, intro. Georges Roger, 1926. This book, unfortunately out of print, is an excellent introduction to Chateaubriand. *Oeuvres complètes*, intro. by Sainte-Beuve, 20 vols., 1858-61. Vol. V of this edition contains the bulk of Chateaubriand's best work on political topics, including the short essays of *Mélanges politiques* (1816), the longer *Réflexions politiques* (1814), and the very substantial *De la monarchie selon la Charte* (1816). The latter two are available in translation: *Political Reflections* (London: Henry Colburn, 1814); *The Monarchy According to the Charter* (London: John Murray, 1816). All of this work was topical but is sufficiently philosophical and engaging in style to command attention today. It is surprisingly free of difficult reference. The *Réflexions* is mostly an enthusiastic appraisal of the 1814 Charter. It argues that for France the representative (constitutional) monarchy established by the Charter promises to be a permanently workable system because it reconciles individual liberty with monarchic puissance. The *Monarchie selon la Charte* also

exalts the Charter but provides a more detailed analysis of the political system it sought (in Chateaubriand's view) to establish. Liberals of all hues rejoiced in the government's confiscation of this lively essay in which the ultra-royalist writer attacked the liberalism of the moderate ministry of Decazes and advanced the idea that the ministry should reflect the views of the majority in the Chambers (then the ultras). The political sensation created by this pamphlet paralleled the literary sensation of the *Génie du Christianisme* a decade and a half earlier. The work infuriated Louis XVIII; Chateaubriand was surprised and chagrined at how defensive the king was of the ministers he had appointed. But the essay implies no criticism of him and in fact, like all of Chateaubriand's work, glorifies the monarchic image. At the same time, it states a strong case for aristocracy as a buttress of national stability and even as a support to liberty in general. "Liberty is hardly a stranger to the French nobility; it would not have been recognizable in the reigns of our absolute kings had the nobility not promulgated and defended it with heart and sword" (II. LI). The ideal of a vigorous *noblesse* serving as ethical models and of a monarch viewed in poetic and somewhat mystical terms again reveals the neo-feudalism that was so strong an element in ultra-royalism. *De Bonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes*, 1814. An early, eminently readable, intellectually solid pamphlet designed to rally support for the principle of legitimacy in general and the return of the Bourbons in particular. *Mélanges historiques*, 1836. Interesting essays on the political significance of the Vendée and on the Duc de Berry. The liberalism of Chateaubriand's later years is adumbrated in the earlier writings. In them he consistently recognized the prime facts that had emerged from the 1789 revolution: monarchy must take national feeling into account, and individual liberty and popular rights must be respected. His admiration for the Charter is not typical of ultra-royalism, and his views differ from those of Bonald and De Maistre in that he grants a high, if only vaguely defined place to indi-

vidual liberty as an inalienable right.

Clausel de Coussergues, J. C., *De la liberté et de la license de la presse*, 1826. A strong case for the government's right to censor and suppress newspapers. Strident ultra-royalism marks all the work of this aggressive deputy and publicist.

Corbière, Jacques Joseph Guillaume Pierre, *comte de*, *Opinion sur le projet de loi relatif au recrutement*, 1818. Pamphlet; a typical ultra-royalist argument against military conscription and the tax measures proposed to finance it; conscription à la Bonaparte was supported by the Left.

Daudet, Léon, *The Stupid Nineteenth Century*, trans. Lewis Galantiere, 1928. Lean, acidulous royalist journalism by one of the leading figures in the *Action Française*; a critique of materialist and republican theory and prejudice in nineteenth-century France. Daudet takes both *les clercs* and *le peuple* to task for their demotic pusillanimity and "scientific" progressivist gullibility and sentimentality; he sees militarism ("the dogma of the nation in arms") as one of the chief heritages of the French Revolution. He offers a corrective to the praise of Flaubert, and like Jean Planche, an earlier critic, tries to correct the inflated estimation of Victor Hugo. Not always completely fair, seldom without a point, almost never uninteresting.

Faguet, Emile, *The Cult of Incompetence*, trans. Beatrice Barstow, 1911. Equally brilliant in mind and style, Faguet concludes that in modern democracy "The representation of the country is reserved for the incompetent and also for those biased by passion.... The representatives of the people...do everything badly and infect the government with their passion and incompetence." Well before the appearance of any collectivist national regimes, Faguet foresaw their necessarily totalitarian or oligarchical character. Faguet was not, in the last analysis, a royalist, but his insistence that aristocracy is necessary to social health reflects the ultra-royalist influence on his think-

ing. On many other points his critique of the Republic is the same as that of the Legitimists. *Le libéralisme*, 1910. A penetrating, dogged search for *liberté* in modern French society; Faguet finds it scarce and concludes that the various political parties are all statist—"Tous les Français sont étatistes." The book contains a masterful analysis of the two versions (1789, 1793) of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." In *Politicians and Moralists of the Nineteenth Century* (n.d.), Faguet makes a claim characteristic of Legitimism from Rivarol to the present: "popular government will put an end to, and prevent the revival of, all that is elegant, voluptuous and artistic in life, these things being essentially aristocratic."

Ferrand, Antoine François Claude, *comte de*, *Le Rétablissement de la monarchie*, 1793; *Des Causes qui ont empêché la contre-révolution en France* 1795. Absolutist social theory. Like Barruel and Du Voisin (*Défense de l'ordre social contre les principes de la Révolution française*, 1798), Ferrand favored absolutism partly because of exigencies: in times of trouble, the monarch needed more strength than ever; furthermore, the aristocrats themselves had contributed to the revolutionary ferment of 1789. By 1793 Ferrand was a *dévot*, a disciple of Burke, a hater of the *philosophes*, an anti-Rationalist. He totally rejected the revolution whose approach he had once welcomed; like Montlosier he called for international intervention to end its workings. He attacked on both theoretical and practical grounds the principle of popular sovereignty; he was constantly abusive of *le peuple* but not merely on emotional grounds. In *Des Causes* he created his political masterpiece, a trenchantly written exposition of an absolutist social theory logically deriving from philosophical first principles. The individual—weak, limited, fallen, but also imbued by nature with a hunger for relationships with others—fares best in a society that recognizes these characteristics and provides a genuine religious, moral, political, and civil order. Society is more important than the individual; aberrant individuals and societies alike have in effect declared war on the

highest earthly good and require to be punished; to this punitive end a "holy alliance" of nations needs to be established.

Fitzjames, Edouard, *duc de, Opinion of the Duke of Fitz-James, peer of France, on the proposed law relative to periodical journals*, n.t., *The Pamphleteer*, ed. A. J. Valpy, vol. 11, 537-550, 1818. Fitzjames, a soldier interested in financial questions, was one of the several unlikely founders of the ultra-royalist *Conservateur*, one of the most brilliant political newspapers of the nineteenth century. He published little; his *Opinion*, a critique of licensing legislation drawn up by the Decazes ministry, is a fine example of how a topical subject can achieve permanent readability through the intellectual ambience and finesse taken for granted in eras like the Restoration, a period during which, as Warren Beach puts it (*Charles X of France*, 430), debates in the chambers "were conducted by educated men capable of bringing to bear every argument that a classical education provided."

La Rochejaquelein, Henri Auguste, *marquis de, La politique nationale et le droit des gens*, 1860. An interesting pamphlet, from a Legitimist and clericalist point of view, on the spirit and form of French civil law.

La Tour du Pin Chambly de la Charce, René, *marquis de, Vers un ordre social chrétien*, 1907. One of the seminal works of modern French social thought; subtly theocratic, inoffensively paternalistic.

Le Play, Frédéric, *L'Organisation de la famille...*, 1874. One of the important works of European sociology, an intellectually ambient analysis of the decline of the family as a potent, integrative social institution. The 1789 revolution validated equalitarianism (hence children become equal to their parents) and the right to rebel indiscriminately; but the solidarity and social importance of the family depend upon exactly the opposite attitudes. This monumental work has been neglected in the New World.

Maistre, Joseph Marie, *comte de, Works*, trans. Jack Lively, 1965. Representative selections from the *Oeuvres* of this thinker who, like Burke, was contemptuous of revolutions, new paper constitutions, and secularist enthusiasms; the only substantial sampling in English; well translated. *Considérations sur la France*, 1924; *Essai sur le Principe générateur des constitutions politiques*, 1824. Like Bonald and Saint-Martin, De Maistre constantly emphasizes the point that the vast ills of the times are more the result of moral and religious decay than of faulty political systems. De Maistre did more than any other thinker of his day to arouse opinion against the *philosophes*, whose work he rightly saw as simplistic, dilettantish, and irresponsible. Still untranslated is *Examen de la philosophie de Bacon (Oeuvres, 1, 1860)*, a book more spiritedly written than most of the other works (and apparently almost unknown to English and American students of Bacon) attacking the mania for science as white magic (scientism) and offering an original and psychologically modern portrait of Bacon as a thinker whose intellectual and spiritual growth was stymied by the kind of spiritual and psychological deformation called, until recently, neurosis. Liberalism, with its self-vaunted open mind and intellectual curiosity, took 150 years to discover that De Maistre, far from being a rabid intellectual butcher, was a warm and humorous human being.

Malcor, Marcel, *Au delà du machinisme*, 1937. Tough-minded but humanistic, Malcor brings the ultra-royalist critique of machine civilization up to date. "Individualism, capitalism, industrialism, such is the genealogical series—and it ends in *machinisme*, the last born.... Today we see well enough that man is subordinated: his personal and professional needs count for nothing before the needs of *machinisme*; his aesthetic and moral needs count for even less."

Maurras, Charles, *Enquête sur la monarchie*, 1909, 1916. A book that helped revive royalism in twentieth-century France. A nationalist-royalist of the head rather than of the heart, Maurras

appealed to a sensibility more hardened than that which was typical of even the more truculent ultras. *L'idée de la centralisation*, 1898. This pamphlet succinctly states a strong case for decentralization but the spectre of Maurras's authoritarianism haunts the exposition.

Montjoie, Christophe, *Des principes de la monarchie française*, 1789. This attacks all the supporting assumptions of revolutionism. A hasty but spirited publicist, Montjoie also wrote a novel, anonymously translated, *D'Aveyro, or The Head in the Glass Cage* (1803).

Montlosier, François Dominique de Reynaud, comte de, *De la nécessité d'une contre-révolution...*, 1791. A prolific royalist publicist, Montlosier favored counter-revolution as early as 1790-91 but remained independent, distinct from both the ultras and the "liberal" monarchists. His manner here, as elsewhere, is calm. His follow-up work, *Des moyens d'opérer la contre-révolution* (1791) is a clear call for armed intervention by the émigrés; nevertheless his attitude is not that of Bonald or Ferrand: he wants to preserve many of the changes wrought by the revolution. *De la monarchie française....* 1822. This treatise harks back to the *thèse nobiliare* of Boulainvilliers, a conception adopted by many ultra-royalists: the great constitutional tradition of France was that of a crown whose power was limited (benevolently) by the noblesse. Equally hostile to absolutism and to the opportunism of the middle classes, he defines the counter-revolution as a rejuvenation of the aristocracy that had established and long protected the nation's freedoms and customs. Both the absolutism of Louis XIV and the imperialism of Napoleon had ravaged the feudal heritage of balances and ensuing freedoms. Many ultras found no fault with such historical interpretation but could not stomach Montlosier's liberal views on other matters, particularly his anti-clericalism.

Montyon, Antoine, baron de, *Examen de la constitution de France de 1799 et comparaison avec la*

*constitution monarchique de cet état*, 1800; *Mémoire adressé au roi Louis XVIII*, 1796. Solid, graceful, and succinct analyses by the Maecenas of Restoration royalism, the savior of many an impoverished émigré and many a poor workman. Like Montlosier, Montyon supported the Bourbons loyally and willingly but was no friend to absolutism. His firm attachment to the principle of legitimacy, his love of representative institutions and his recognition of the value of a vigorous, responsible aristocracy constitute a royalism like that of Chateaubriand; on the other hand he retains an Enlightenment optimism about progress and shows no interest in pursuing the theocratic counter-revolutionism promoted by Bonald, De Maistre, and Blanc de St.-Bonnet.

Muret, Charlotte Touzalin, *French Royalist Doctrines Since the Revolution*, 1933, 1972. Lucid, concise; excellent Introduction and Conclusion illuminating the traditional royalist worldview; one of the few treatments in English of Fustel de Coulanges and Blanc de St.-Bonnet; extensive bibliography (no annotation); underestimates Bonald's insights into modernity; disconcerting errors in form (titles, diacritical marks, etc.).

Peyronnet, Pierre Denis, comte de, *Discours...pour la défense de loi sur le sacrilège*, 1825. Pamphlet; the text of this reactionary ultra's speech (Chamber of Peers, 11 Feb. 1825) defending Charles X's law on sacrilege.

Reardon, Bernard, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France*, 1975. Detailed analysis of the traditionalist Catholic response to the religious, social, and political thought of nineteenth-century liberalism and modernism; invaluable on the response to Comte's positivism.

Vitrolles, Eugene François d'Arnauld, baron de, *Du ministère dans le gouvernement*, 1815. Like Vaublanc an admirer of the British system, Vitrolles here reveals himself as a believer in the distribution of power rather than in monarchic absolutism.

#### IV. STATESMEN AND MEMOIRISTS

Abrantès, Laure Saint-Martin (Permon) Junot, *duchesse d' (Laure Junot), Memoirs of the Emperor Napoleon*, 3 vols., 1901. The last few chapters of vol. 3 provide many interesting details of the first year of the Restoration (1814). The whole memoir is delightful reading. Spirited, sophisticated, ambiently perceptive, seldom unfair, Laure Junot constantly makes judgments which time has supported. Often critical of Bonaparte and instrumental in restoring the Bourbons, she nevertheless distributes credit and criticism where they seem deserved. Her judgment of Louis XVIII and of the Comte d'Artois anticipates that of today's most objective scholarship. She sees Louis as "a superior man...of capacity, of profound wisdom" but "devoid of feeling...a stranger to any deep, settled friendship." *Mémoires sur la Restauration*, 6 vols., 1838. Fully as vivacious; vividly drawn details of the Restoration *haute monde*.

Barthélemy, François, *marquis de, Papiers...1792-1797*, ed. J. Kaulek, 4 vols., 1886-88. Barthélemy was the French ambassador to Switzerland; the *Papiers* are a primary source for details of diplomatic negotiations and intrigue in the years covered. *Mémoires...1768-1819*, publ. J. de Dampierre, 1914. Like Bonald, Barthélemy steadfastly championed a stringently aristocratic electoral law.

Blacas d'Aulps, Pierre Jean Louis Casimir, *duc de, Joseph de Maistre et Blacas: leur correspondance inédite et l'histoire de leur amitié 1804-1820*, ed. Ernest Daudet, 1908. Of all the influential figures of his era, the reactionary gallican Blacas remains the least known. Contemporary estimates of his character and abilities are sketchy and highly contradictory. Mythologized by the populace as an arch-villain, and disliked by many royalists themselves, he nevertheless won and preserved the trust of both Louis XVIII and Charles X. A more faithful servant of monarchy in all its vicissitudes has not been discovered. "Nothing will prevent me from endeavoring to make known to sovereigns those

who deceive them, and to the people those who abuse their credulity." (B. to De M., 10 Oct. 1817, 325). His perceptive and warm-hearted correspondence with Joseph de Maistre, with whom he disagreed on various points (e.g., ultramontanism), certainly belies his reputation as an ogre and would be a key document in the construction of the biography the man deserves. There are helpful details on Blacas in Marvin L. Brown's *The Comte de Chambord: The Third Republic's Uncompromising King* (1967). Ernest Daudet's running commentary on the *correspondence* is consistently cogent.

Bouillé, François Claude Amour, *marquis de (1739-1800), Memoirs Relating to the French Revolution*, n.t., 1797. Like many other enthusiastic royalists, Bouillé was critical of monarchic absolutism; he deplored the kind of king who "under pretext of releasing his people from servitude...sought to deprive the noblemen and great lords of those prerogatives which made them sovereigns, and rather his vassals than his subjects" (I, 37).

Bouillé, Louis Joseph Amour, *marquis de (1769-1850), Souvenirs et fragments...de ma vie et de mon temps, 1769-1812*, ed. P. L. de Kermaingant, 3 vols., 1906-11. Extremely well-written recollections by the son of François Claude, esp. valuable for details of the flight of Louis XVI, including the coded correspondence employed in negotiations on the king's behalf.

Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de, *Mémoires...*, 10 vols., 1930; *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, trans. R. W. Phipps, 4 vols., 1891. The early volumes detail the author's long and close association with Bonaparte; it was the conservative, not the revolutionary element in Bonapartism that appealed to Bourrienne, himself a composite of the man of qualities and the opportunistic official—and unreliable reporter (the memoirs are stronger on verve than on strict observance of the facts). The later volumes treat the Restoration. Bourrienne became one of the most combative deputies in the Chambers; his record there is a *locus classicus* of anti-liberal-



ism.

Cars, Jean-François, *duc des, Mémoires*, 2 vols., 1890. Interesting details on this reactionary ultra-royalist's intimate, the Comte d'Artois.

Chateaubriand, François René, *vicomte de, The Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, ed. & trans. Robert Baldick, 1961, 1965; *The Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, ed. Texeira de Mattos, 6 vols., 1902; *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Edmond Bire, 4 vols., 1899 1901. Chateaubriand was more likeable as a writer than as a person. In the memoirs his immense vanity and penchant for self-glorification are more restrained than one would expect. Memorable style, intellectual penetration, and a wealth of interesting if sometimes unreliable observations account for the perennial popularity of these recollections. Beginning his career as an ultra and ending it in the anomaly of legitimist liberalism, Chateaubriand remained loyal to nature and decidedly suspicious of industrial revolution technology: "I have seen England with its old customs and its old prosperity, the small and lonely church with its tower, the cemetery, its small streets and the heather dotted with sheep. Where is it now? No more woods, fewer birds, less fresh air. Today its valleys are obscured by the fumes of smelters and factories."

Damas, Anne Hyacinthe Maxence, *baron de, Mémoires...*, ed. le comte Damas (his grandson), 2 vols., 1922. Substantive recollections by a commonsensical reactionary strongly committed, like many other ultras, to decentralization. Many interestingly drawn details of tensions and dissensions within the Villèle ministry, 1824-28, of Damas's military exploits as an émigré officer in forces the Russians sent against Bonaparte, of the French provinces' discontent with centralization, and of the education of the young pretender, the Comte de Chambord, to whom Damas was governor.

Daudet, Léon, *Mémoires*, trans. and ed. Arthur Kingsland Griggs, 1925. A redaction of Daudet's vivid, intellectually honest recollections; details of the founding of the royalist-nationalist

*Action Française* and on the anti-Semite Edouard Drumont (whose intellectual mediocrity Daudet seems not to perceive). Daudet probably underestimates the extent of the royalist attachment to the cause of General Boulanger.

Esterhazy, Count Balint Miklos, *Mémoires*, ed. Ernest Daudet, 1905. The highly readable memoirs of this reactionary Hungarian colonel in the army of Louis XVI recount his many services to the Bourbons, including his part in helping the émigrés escape through Namur.

Ferrand, Antoine François Claude, *comte de, Mémoires*, 1897. A concise, elegantly written, albeit unfinished account of this reactionary minister's role in political and economic affairs during the Restoration.

Frénilly, Jean, baron de, *Recollections of Baron de Frénilly 1768-1828*, ed. Arthur Chuquet, trans. Frederic Leese, 1909. An engaging narrator and polished stylist, fairminded Frénilly had an excellent eye for detail and is always richly suggestive though very quiet; his observations lend support to the view of later commentators (e.g., Gaxotte) that the 1789 revolution was neither inevitable nor irreversible. He never spares Louis XVI for his fatal irresoluteness in the face of revolutionary audacities. Excellent on the aristocracy's adoption of many republican and revolutionary ideas. Extremely perspicacious on Villèle and Chateaubriand.

Genlis, Stéphanie-Félicité du Crest de Saint-Aubin, *comtesse de, Dîners du baron d'Holbach*, 1822. A Bonapartist rather than a royalist, this lady of many talents published one book that delighted the ultras. In attacking d'Holbach and other *philosophes* whose rationalism and self-indulgent skepticism undermined tradition in general and monarchy in particular, she helped convince many people that the mini-philosophers were, as the ultras had always maintained, intolerant and dilettantish fanatics no healthy sensibility could endure.

Gontaut-Biron, Marie Josephine Louise, *duchesse de, Memoirs of the Duchesse de Gontaut*,

*Gouvernante to the Children of France during the Restoration, 1773-1836*, trans. Mrs. J. W. Davis, 2 vols., 1924. Completely unphilosophical, sometimes superficial and naive, but highly readable and historically reliable recollections; rapid narrative, economical description; vividly presented details of Louis XVIII's return to Paris in May 1814, of Charles X's disbanding of the National Guard, and of the king's journey into exile; verbatim quotations from her conversations with Charles on the July ordinances.

Guernon-Ranville, Martial Côme, comte de, *Journal d'un ministre...*, ed. Julien Travers, 1873. A primary source for details of deliberations in the sessions of the Polignac ministry from 16 Dec. 1829 to 28 July 1830; an account of the brutal treatment the ultra-royalist ministers endured during their imprisonment.

Guizot, François, *Memoirs to Illustrate the History of My Time*, trans. J. W. Cole, 1858; *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, 8 vols., 1858-67. With disarming modesty and self-honesty, the memoirs of this constitutional monarchist reveal that which has all but disappeared in democracy's long march downward, a completely honorable, unpretentious, realistic, erudite statesman of good will. This record of what was entailed in serving selflessly for half a century to help create a just and prudent France is full of insights into many figures of the Restoration and is excellent on the revolutionary conspiracies of the second generation of revolutionaries in the early 1820s.

Hyde de Neuville, Jean Guillaume, baron de, *Mémoires et souvenirs...*, 3 vols., 1892 (created from his notes). Always a believer in the legitimist principle but an ultra-royalist only until about 1825, Hyde de Neuville gives many piquant details of the period 1789-1830, including an account of the last exploits, trial, and execution of Georges Cadoudal, the redoubtable Chouan leader. Chateaubriand's friendship with Hyde de Neuville is one of the few that lasted for him. Many of the letters they exchanged between 1818 and 1848 are available in the small volume *Chateaubriand et Hyde*

*de Neuville, ou Trente Ans d'Amitié*, prep. Marie-Jeanne Durry, 1929.

La Rochejaquelein, Marie Louise Victoire, marquise de, *Memoirs of the Marquise de La Rochejaquelein*, trans. Cecil Biggane, 1933; earlier and less authentic trans. by Sir Walter Scott, 1827; *Mémoires* orig. publ. in France, 1816. Excitingly written perennially popular memoirs of royalist uprisings and sufferings in the Vendée and Brittany. Her accounts of the Revolutionists repeated massacres and arbitrary destruction (esp. the atrocities of Westermann) should be read against the liberal historians' customary expressions of shock over the White Terror. The Whites, "these troops so ignorant, so ill-equipped, and, at the outset, destitute of artillery and almost of firearms...these peasants armed with sticks, were on the point of vanquishing France, and did compel her to make peace...were able to make the Republic tremble...the name of La Vendée will endure as long as the world itself; an astounding proof of what valor and enthusiasm can achieve."

Molé, Louis Mathieu, comte de, *The Life and Memoirs of Count Molé*, ed. Marquis de Noailles, trans. Arthur Chambers, 1923. A protégé of Bonaparte, Molé served in the early Restoration ministries of moderate royalists and later was strongly attached to the Orléanist cause. He is hostile to ultra-royalism without understanding anything of the neo-medievalism in its sentiments, and is so biased that many of his surmises—more often, dogmatic assertions—about motivations are unreliable, but his treatment of court intrigues and of personalities in confrontation is engaging. His commentary on Chateaubriand and Mme. de Staël is particularly candid and illuminating.

Montbel, Guillaume Isidore Baron, comte de, *Souvenirs du comte de Montbel...*, ed. Guy Baron de Montbel, 1913. These recollections by one of Villèle's closest companions reveal a self-controlled and articulate temper; valuable for details of the brief Polignac ministry (Aug. 1829-July 1830).

Pontmartin, Armand, *comte de, Mes mémoires*. 2 vols., 1885-86. Among the most amusing and reasonable Legitimist—or other—memoirs of the century.

Rivière de Riffardeau, Charles François, *duc de, Mémoires posthumes...*, Despite evidence of collaboration, these memoirs present reliable as well as interesting details of this ultra's relentless anti-revolutionary and anti-Bonapartist exploits.

Saint-Chamans, Auguste, *vicomte de, Mémoires*, 1896. Valuable for details on Louis XVIII (Saint-Chamans was councillor of state) and for commentary on Montlosier whom Saint-Chamans, as a clericalist, opposed resolutely. Saint-Chamans was a versatile and substantive belletrist; his work is virtually unknown in the New World.

Salaberry d'Irumberry, Charles Marie, *comte de, Souvenirs politiques sur la Restauration*, ed. le comte de Salaberry, 2 vols., 1900. One of the most consistently and combatively reactionary of all the ultra-royalists, Salaberry was also a witty and forceful writer. He is little noted but was in the thick of much ministerial intrigue. His *Souvenirs* give many details of the press wars, c. 1815-1830. He saw the new vogue of newspapers as an essentially liberal, anti-traditional manifestation, an extension of the claims of *le peuple roi*. His fiction, never translated, includes two novels of merit, *Lord Wiseby* (1808) and *Corisandre de Beauvilliers* (1806).

Vaublanc, Vincent Marie Viénot, *comte de, Mémoires...*, 1857; *Mémoires sur la révolution de France...*, 1833. A practical-minded, capable, energetic ultra, Vaublanc authored many well-informed speeches and pamphlets on various aspects of commerce and regional administration. The memoirs cited here reveal his careful study of the parliamentary system of England; like Vitrolles, he saw quite early that the French penchant for factionism and bickering over tiny details was unpropitious for the development of stable and effective parliamentary government.

Vigée-Lebrun, Elisabeth, *Memoirs of Madame Vigée Lebrun*, trans. Lionel Strachey, 1903. Honest, astute, swift-moving memoirs by a royalist painter whose spirit was as great as her portraits. Valuable for commentary on Louis XVIII, Charles X, and the Duc de Berry as generous men and patrons of the arts. "It is for politicians to explain how so many virtues and excellencies were insufficient to preserve the throne to them—my grateful heart cannot but regret them" (210).

Villèle, Jean Baptiste, *comte de, Mémoires et correspondance*, 1888, 1904. Recollections and reflections not of a theorist but of a balanced, flexible ultra whose royalism was always tempered by the belief that politics is the art of the possible. An admirable human being, Villèle shows no bitterness over the fall of his ministry. His *Maximes et pensées politiques* (1826), little noted, is also worthwhile.

Vitrolles, Eugène François d'Arnauld, *baron de, Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Farel, 1950-51. These reveal Vitrolles as a clear-sighted but moderate and conciliatory ultra-royalist; indispensable for material on the earliest days of the Restoration and on the founding of the ultras' Conservateur (1818).

Wellington, F. M. Arthur, Duke of, *The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington... from 1799 to 1815*, comp. Lt. Col. Gurwood, 12, 1838. Primary documents. For Wellington's theory of the war against Bonaparte, the peace that should be established, and the necessity of restoring legitimate rule in France, see esp. the letters to Metternich, from Brussels, 20 May 1815 (12, 410-411); to Earl Bathurst, from Gonesse, 2 July 1815 (12, 532-538); and to Viscount Castlereagh, from Paris, 11 Aug. 1815 (12, 596-600). "It would be ridiculous to suppose that the Allies would have been in possession of Paris in a fortnight after one battle fought if the French people in general had not been favorably disposed to the cause which the Allies were supposed to favor." *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of F. M. Arthur, Duke of Wellington*, ed. by

his son the Duke of Wellington, 1864; repr. 1973. Vol. 11 provides valuable commentary on the Restoration Chambers of 1815-16 (see esp. 220-226, 283-285, 313-316).

#### V. LITERARY FIGURES

Balzac, Honoré de, *The Human Comedy*. Balzac's reactionary, logically consistent, and extremely well-informed social and political views represent neither unexamined prejudice nor personal idiosyncrasy but rather, as Charlotte Touzalin Muret remarks, careful observation and original reflection. Balzac cut his intellectual teeth on Bonald and De Maistre, honoring them as "those two eagles of thought." The entire *Human Comedy* is permeated by his theocratic royalism and by a Catholic pessimism based upon his observation of groups and individuals struggling on the whole unsuccessfully with the unsettling and problematical life resulting from social and other changes brought about or exacerbated by the 1789 revolution. In his own voice in *Memoirs of Two Young Brides* (Letter XII) he says, "We must constitute the State either by means of the family or by means of personal interest. Democracy or aristocracy, discussion or obedience, Catholicism or religious indifference—there, in short, is the question. I belong to that small party which desires to resist what is called 'the people'—in its own interests, of course." The essence of the Balzacian doctrine is concentrated and explicit in certain stories (e.g., *Memoirs of Two Young Brides*, *The Country Doctor*, *An Old Maid*, *About Catherine de Medici*). Lucid explicit royalism also informs the famous Preface (*Avant-propos*) to the *Human Comedy* and the two essays (not available in English) *Du droit d'aïnesse* (1824) and *Enquête sur la politique des deux ministres* (1831). Long before the global triumphs of Marxist puritanism, Balzac noticed the ominous "puritanism of the Extreme Left" (*The Deputy for Arcis*, I) and the liberal demi-savants (still numerous) who are "aristocrats by taste" but "republicans out of spite, simply to discover many inferiors among their equals" (*Madame Firmiani*). He thoroughly understood the

connection between enthusiastic royalism and nascent Romanticism in France: "The royalists are 'Romantics,' the liberals 'Classics'...the royalist-romantics are all for liberty in literature and for repealing laws and conventions, while the liberal-classics are for maintaining the unities, the Alexandrine, and the classical theme" (*A Distinguished Provincial in Paris*).

Banville, Théodore de, *Petite traité de versification française*, 1872. No English version of this superb treatise on prosody has appeared. Its exaltation of freedom and originality within a framework of order is the aesthetic analogue of the romantic ultra-royalists' political paradigm. In his own poetry Banville was a subtle metrist who studied to seem spontaneous and succeeded. Baudelaire and Mallarmé admired him, and the best lyrics deserve high praise. Banville was an apolitical idealist and an enemy of modern materialism, but his sympathies with Legitimism appear in *Mes souvenirs* (1882) and elsewhere. Characteristically Legitimist hostility toward *machinisme* and the materialist concept of *Progrès* informs two of his prose stories, "Mademoiselle Agathe" and "Voleur du feu," in *Contes féeriques* (1882).

Barbey d'Aurevilly, Jules. Huysmans once remarked that "among all the geldings of religious art, there was but one stallion, Barbey d'Aurevilly." Léon Daudet admired the Norman dandy as "the great, spontaneous writer who was slighted by his ignorant century." Nearly all his work harmonizes a tension of opposites: an erotic, even riotous imagination with a soldierly, almost ascetic restraint; common sense and realism with a penchant for the exotic; proud masculinity with aesthetic sensitivity. All of it reminds us, too, that despite the impression conveyed by many historians and political commentators (especially American) ultra-royalism was more than a political phenomenon in the strict sense. Its connections with religion and agricultural economy are obvious; aside from these it offered views on aesthetic and cultural matters. Many of its more reflective adherents (and Barbey d'Aurevilly was an ultra who had survived into

a later era) surmised that a strong and spiritual commitment to monarchy and aristocracy constituted among other things a bulwark against the pressures of the masses. Taste and beauty felt the threat of something that characterized both the middle classes and the legions of have-nots: materialism as the worship of the practical and relative insensitivity or indifference to aesthetic values. Cultural trivialization and vulgarization as a result of the ascendancy of "the people" is a recurring theme in Barbey d'Aureville as it is in Rivarol, Janin, Balzac, De Vigny, and Gautier. *Bewitched (L'Ensorcelée)*, trans. Louise Collier Wilcox, 1928, is a novel set in the Normandy moors, charming wastelands and havens for wildlife destined to "disappear shortly with a breath of modern industrialism...for our era, grossly material and utilitarian, undertakes to destroy every bit of untitled land and heath from the globe, as from the human soul." The theme is the pathetic fate and spiritual desolation of aristocratic natures after the triumph of egalitarian and bourgeois values. The same theme crops up in some of the stories of *The Diaboliques (Les Diaboliques)*, trans. Ernest Boyd, 1925, where the author turns the bizarre into truly great literature. All the stories have royalist overtones though none is political in theme: royalism has turned into vision. In "Beneath the Cards of a Game of Whist" Barbey sympathizes —unsentimentally— with the kind of people nearly always excluded from the highly selective compassion of the Left. Here are the dowerless daughters of the noblesse impoverished by the 1789 revolution—polished, responsive, and often charming and gracious girls for whom marriage is virtually out of the question: "poor girls whose only destiny was to take their niche, one after another, in the catacombs of old-maidenhood, but whose faces, sparkling with ineffectual vitality, breathed a freshness no man would ever enjoy." *Les prophètes du passé*, 1880, is a collection of essays that dismember various spokesmen for the materialist democracies and includes a fine study of Blanc de St-Bonnet. *Portraits Politiques et littéraires*, 1897, contains important essays on Shakespeare, Balzac,

Guizot, Chateaubriand, Beaumarchais, and the droll epigrammatist Piron.

Baudelaire, Charles, *Intimate Journals*, trans. Christopher Isherwood, 1947. These reveal Baudelaire's reactionary royalism and his antipathy toward democracy, Progress, and machinisme. Baudelaire had at first committed himself to "the modern" and to revolution. His conversion was sincere and complete. "There is no rational and assured government save an aristocracy." The emphasis on aristocracy reflects the ultra-royalist heritage. The now prevalent notion that Baudelaire's aristocratism was based on vanity, whimsy, or sheer aestheticism is an error promulgated by political prejudice and superficial reading. He identifies De Maistre as one of the writers who "taught me how to think." *Baudelaire on Poe*, trans. Lois and Francis E. Hyslop, Jr., 1952. This collects and translates the works Baudelaire devoted to Poe between 1852 and 1857. Poe's aristocratism and aversion to the crude scientism and progressivism of the melting pot helped confirm Baudelaire's own. Baudelaire excoriates the nineteenth century's scientific optimism and finds the United States the exemplar of that outlook: "A century infatuated with itself...a nation more infatuated with itself than all others.... Civilized man invents the philosophy of progress to console himself for his abdication and for his downfall." There is more than a little of the prophetic in his remark that "Dictators are the servants of the people" (I.J., LXVI, 84).

Beffroy de Reigny, Louis Abel, *Nicodème dans la lune, ou la révolution pacifique*, 1790. The eighteenth-century equivalent of a contemporary Soviet dissident artist, Beffroy de Reigny put his life in peril time after time with farces and impromptu satirizing the absurdities and brutalities of the Revolution and the Terror. *Nicodème*, a protest farce, saw hundreds of performances. The fact that Beffroy's brother was a member of the Convention afforded the versatile playwright a tenuous protection. The *Dictionnaire néologique*, 3 vols., 1795-1800 (incomplete), is a valuable primary source for



figures and events of the times. Boffroy's opera *La petite Nanette*, 1795, has occasionally been revived.

Bernanos, Georges, *La grande peur des bien-pensants*, 1931. Fierce indictment of materialist and bourgeois values by a member of the *camelot du roi*. *Last Essays*, trans. Joan and Barry Ulanov, 1955. Here the essay "The European Spirit and the World of Machines" is a controlled attack on machine civilization. Our "mechanical and centralized civilization" stays alive "at the expense of...millions and millions of the massacred, the tortured, the imprisoned, the starving...and even more at the expense of...rivers, forests and great cities that crumble...under the bombs.... machine civilization is extremely partial to the slow and sure crushing of free men by the masses." Bernanos's analysis of "economic man" in these addresses is a salutary corrective to the simplistic notions of the "freedom" enjoyed by people in the "free world." Legitimist understanding pervades nearly all of Bernanos's imaginative work, of which *The Diary of a Country Priest*, *Joy*, and the *Dialogues des Carmélites* are outstanding.

Bourget, Paul, *L'Etape*, 1902; *Divorce*, 1904; *Le sens de la mort*, 1915. These are among the most successful of Bourget's novels, all of which, from about 1899 onward, reflect royalist Catholicism. Both as novelist and essayist Bourget was an intelligent pathologist of modernity.

Chateaubriand, François René, *vicomte de, Atala*, 1801; *René*, 1802. The short tale *Atala* had appeared before the author's *Génie du Christianisme*, 1802 (*The Genius of Christianity*, trans. Charles I. White, 1856) but was then included in that book which created not a sensation but a renaissance. *René* had already been included. These brief and still popular narratives enormously influenced the development of Romanticism in France; the *Genius* as a whole helped restore wonder and poetry to a Catholicism that had grown prosaic and perfunctory in Enlightenment France. *The Last*

*Abencerage*, trans. Edith M. Nutall, 1922. A romantic tale set in late fifteenth-century Spain; in some ways the most impressive of Chateaubriand's fiction.

Claudé, Paul, *Three Plays: The Hostage, Crusts, The Humiliation of the Father*, trans. John Heard, 1945. The unhappy consequences of 1789, traced within a single family over three generations; a masterful dramatic trilogy with a Balzacian theme.

Coppée, François, *La bonne souffrance*, 1898. An account of Coppée's reconversion to the Church; this and the miscellaneous articles, 1893-96, collected as *Mon franc parler*, expose the spiritual roots of his rightist views; a poet of the Right is evident in his late volumes of verse, *Des vers français* (1896) and *Dans la prière et dans la lutte* (1901). There is no inconsistency between Coppée's sympathies with Nationalism and Legitimism and his earlier compassionate portraiture of the poor and humble: royalism and social compassion had already blended harmoniously in Bonald, Balzac, Chambord, and many others. Though the habit of the radical Left was to marshal the energies of the poor, especially the urban proletariat, against the second estate and the well-off in general, the reverse is not the case: neither Legitimism nor Nationalism sought to crush the have-nots so that the haves could have more.

Gautier, Théophile, Preface to *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, 1836. Still delightful is Gautier's mockery of the utilitarianism and the cult of respectability that were bound to gain ascendancy when the middle classes and radical intellectuals joined forces to destroy the old order. Gautier shared Balzac's distaste for newspapers: reading them "prevents the existence of true scholars and artists.... Charles X alone really understood this question." Essentially apolitical but inclined toward the aristocratism of Balzac, whom he served as secretary for a time, Gautier disliked *machinisme*; he saw the locomotive as a mere "joujou industriel." The aesthetic eroticism of *Maupin* is hardly foreign

to French royalism. Gautier's poems (esp. *Enamels and Cameos*) retain their charm; their disciplined aestheticism is fully compatible with the royalist tradition, not at all with the social and economic preoccupations of liberalism and socialism.

Gobineau, Joseph Arthur, *comte de, Sons of Kings* (*Les Pléiades*, 1874), trans. Douglas Parmée, 1966. A masterpiece of fiction and the author's best work in any genre; basically a study of love and authentic individualism set in the context of a society where most people have abandoned idealism, poetic imagination, religious belief, and individuation, and sold themselves "more and more to everyday life": "all nations, all...well fed and replete, well dressed and well housed will form one vast...flock of sheep." *The Crimson Handkerchief and Other Stories*, trans. Henry Longan Stuart, 1927. The three longish stories here are superb (and apolitical); "The Caribou Hunt" is a comic masterpiece which cries out for film. De Gobineau is "one of the most original figures in modern French literature" (Ernest Boyd), but the Nazi venture in genocide has kept many readers away from the author of the *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (a work not specifically anti-Semitic). No precursor of Nazism, De Gobineau was a Legitimist, albeit one of an unusually independent, disillusioned, and pessimistic stripe. He constantly celebrates aristocracy as rejuvenated and promulgated by the ultra-royalists he remembered from his youth.

Huysmans, Joris Karl, *Against the Grain* (*À rebours*, 1884). A fictional tour of late nineteenth-century society and "culture," a classic of Decadence. Huysmans developed a loathing for the characteristic preferences of the Left: naturalism, egalitarianism, materialism. Virtually apolitical, he nevertheless favors traditional religion and the traditional emphasis on the contemplative and the truth of personal experience.

Janin, Jules Gabriel, *Oeuvres choisies*, 12 vols., ed. A. de la Fitzelière, 1875-78. A lively and very

popular if too hasty drama critic for various Legitimist newspapers, Janin also wrote some admirable spirited fiction. His royalism is visceral, sensuous, not cerebral. In the swift-paced short story "The Vendéean Marriage" he writes in such a way that the reader is able to intuit royalist values and habits of mind as a concretion: royalism and implicit rejection of all modernism and liberalism exist here as vibrant image, tone, rhythm, tempo, not as exposition or ideology. Still well known in France but almost unknown in the New World is his vigorous narrative *Fin d'un monde et du neveu de Rameau* (1861), a "sequel" to Diderot's masterpiece. An earlier novel, *The Guillotined Woman* (1829, trans. 1851), is also engaging.

Lemaître, Jules. The most gifted royalist *homme de lettres* in modern France, Lemaître produced a small group of short stories of which "Nausicaa" and "The Bell" are perhaps the best and best known. *Prince Hermann, Regent*, trans. Belle M. Sherman, 1893, a short novel of ideas, reflects Lemaître's conversion to royalism; more valuable as comment on doctrines and tendencies than as imaginative creation, it remains a readable narration of events in an absolute monarchy where the "rapidity of its industrial progress" precipitated "the socialist question" before anyone was ready for it.

Maistre, Xavier, *comte de*. Like several other ultra-royalists, Xavier de Maistre (younger brother of Joseph) wrote superbly without regarding himself or caring to be regarded as an "author" with a role to live up to; his small body of work is correspondingly free of self-consciousness and pretension. He served capably in the armies of Savoy and Russia, painted professionally, studied chemistry, and first took up writing to help wile away some prison time. Few "minor" writers are more rewarding. Straight from experience, solidly based on contemplation and accurate unbookish observation, and cast in simple, elegant French, his pieces deserve the high praise Sainte-Beuve gave them. There are three short stories and a reverie; all have been translated but have not been collected in a single volume and are difficult to obtain. The

reverie, a great and perfect work of art, is available as *A Journey round My Room*, trans. Henry Attwell (London, 1871). *Russian Tales From the French of Count Xavier de Maistre*, n.t. (Philadelphia, 1826) contains "The Prisoners of Caucasus" and "Prascovia Lopouloff" (trans. of "La Jeune sibérienne"). "The Leper of the City of Aoste," trans. Henry Attwell (London, 1873), offers both the translation and the French text.

Martainville, Alphonse Louis Dieudonné, *Arlequin en gage, ou Gille usurier*, 1802; *Le duel impossible*, 1803; *Monsieur Crédule*, 1812; *Taconet*, 1816. Martainville's ultra-royalism took the form of farces like these and of relentless, vociferous, sometimes irresponsible pamphleteering. He founded one of the ultras' principal organs, the fiery *Drapeau blanc*. Like Beffroy de Reigny he had been daring enough to produce anti-liberal and anti-revolutionary stage pieces in the 1790s; though topicality and conventionality mar most of them, they have sufficient merit and historical interest to deserve at least a line in reference works, where Martainville's name is seldom found.

Mistral, Frédéric. *Mirèio*, 1859; *Calendau*, 1867; *La poème du Rhône*, 1897. Epic narratives not yet successfully translated into English, ranking Mistral as a great, vibrantly traditional poet. A man of the soil, a provincialist, a federalist, an individual above all else, Mistral, like W. B. Yeats, is the antithesis of everything modernity and mainstream liberalism have desired. *Memoirs of Mistral*, trans. Constance Elisabeth Maud, 1907. Here as in his poems Mistral shows us a man for whom reality lay in particulars, the local, the folk, tradition. He stood, finally, for the freedom to be unpolitical, but insofar as he retained a political self he rejected democracy, the Third Republic, revolutionism, utopian ideology, abstraction, technocracy, and mechanization; his sympathies were with monarchism in general and Legitimism in particular; he supported the Carlists in Spain and later the Ligue de la Patrie Française at home.

Montherlant, Henry de, *Selected Essays*, trans. John Weightman, 1960-61. Montherlant's work shows the influence of the French aristocratic tradition; the *Essays* include a penetrating, original essay on Saint-Simon. Several of Montherlant's novels, capably translated, have appealed to English readers.

Nodier, Charles, *Souvenirs de la Révolution et de l'Empire*, 2 vols., 1860. The urbane essays "Des exilés" (1818) and "De la république" (1831) show us a writer less loyal to ultra-royalism in particular than to the Restoration in general—"une époque unique et providentielle" and "the only social system where the organizational concepts of liberty were converted into law and frankly respected." Though carrying, probably, an opportunistic element, Nodier's antidemocratic royalism represented his mature convictions; it survived his ultimate disillusionment with the Restoration. Between Jan. 1 and Aug. 6, 1816, Nodier published four brilliant anti-republican anti-Bonapartist articles in the *Journal des débats*. With Chateaubriand, he is the principal instigator of literary Romanticism in France; Balzac liked the man and praised his work. Much of his best fiction (e.g., *Jean Sogor*, 1818; *Thérèse Aubert*, 1819) has never been translated.

Peyronnet, Pierre Denis, *comte de, Pensées d'un prisonnier*, 3rd ed., 1834. Hated for his role in the ministry of Charles X, Peyronnet composed these reflections during his six years of imprisonment; though his writings are generally mediocre, the *Pensées* deserves better than oblivion. Its two excursions *Les femmes dans l'adversité* and *De la solitude forcée* are literary gems owing much to Montaigne but achieving the originality of sincerity and of complete empathy with the topic.

Pontmartin, Armand, *comte de, Causeries littéraires*, 1854. Refreshing essays on Balzac, Gautier, Victor Cousin, Mérimée, the Guizots, and others. *Dernières causeries littéraires*, 1856. Fairminded, sagacious but fun-loving commentary on contemporary politically oriented his-

torians, literary historians, and literary critics, always from a Legitimist point of view. *Les jeudis de Mme. Charbonneau*, 1862. Witty, insightful fun at the expense of Liberal (and sometimes other) writers of Pontmartin's day; worthy of translation! Neglected even in France and all but unknown among English readers, Pontmartin ranks with criticism's greatest stylists and soundest interpreters. His wit has depth and his judgments are fearless in a uniquely amiable way.

Rivarol, Antoine, *comte de, Mémoires*, 1824. Brilliant narrative by a great master of epithet and epigram; fiercely anti-egalitarian. *Ecrits politiques et littéraires*, ed. V.-H. Debidour, 1956. Representative selections. Rivarol was more than a court wit; seriously interested in invention and science, and socially sagacious, he was one of the first to discern the role of "les capitalistes, par qui la Révolution a commencé."

Saint Chamans, Auguste, *vicomte de, De la popularité*, 1821. A splendid essay that needs to be retrieved from oblivion; even the liberals of 1821 would have agreed with most of the points made here by an insightful reactionary ultra-royalist.

St.-Exupéry, Antoine de, *Citadelle*, 1948. A posthumously published and unfinished critique of the spiritual ugliness of modern life. Anti-egalitarian, anti-totalitarian, and eventually anti-technological, St.-Exupéry returned to the royalist traditions of his upbringing.

Vigny, Alfred de, *Cinq-Mars*, 1826. An uneven but in many ways superb novel romancing the young Cinq-Mars, who defied Cardinal Richelieu. The era comes to life, as does the spirit of the "ancient" (pre-absolutist) kingdom, which expires with the execution of Cinq-Mars. "Nothing more than a court can reign henceforth; the nobles and the senates are destroyed." Here is ultra-royalism as Romanticism and Romanticism as ultra-royalism. While his liberal and socialist contemporaries were composing paeans to *le Progrès*, Vigny was working on "La

Maison du Berger," a poem critical of the materialist aspects of emergent modernity. Stronger than even his best poetry is the long story "The Malacca Cane" in Vigny's highly original production *The Military Condition (Servitude et grandeur militaires*, 1835), trans. Marguerite Barnett, 1964. "Laurette, or the Red Seal" in the same volume is also first-rate. The whole book is compellingly sincere and insightful. Like *Cinq-Mars* it reveals Vigny's indebtedness to the ultra-royalist aristocratism that celebrated monarchy but opposed absolutism. There is no clearer exposition of the ways in which the feudal armies enjoyed freedoms and a life of truth and dignity that would not survive the Sun King.

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Philippe Auguste, *comte de, Axel*, trans. Marilyn Gaddis Rose, 1970. One of the impressive and influential works of Symbolist drama if more readable than playable. The *Sardonic Tales (Contes cruels*, 1883) and *L'Eve future* (1887, never translated) are worthwhile; their cast is implicitly royalist, anti-modern, anti-technocratic, anti-scientistic. The work of this impoverished and rather heroic aristocrat bears the mark of improvisation: there is spontaneity but sometimes there is too little else. Yet some of the tales have weathered the changes of literary fashion.

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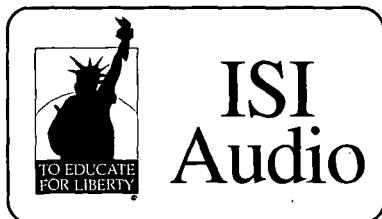
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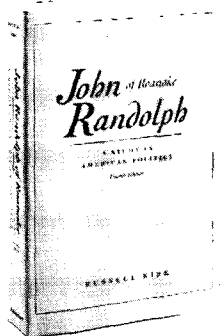
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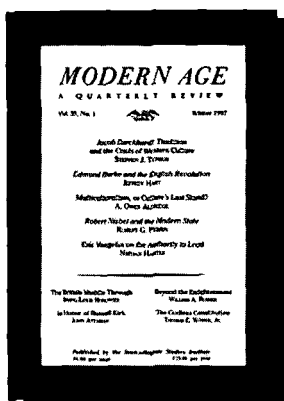
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