1830 IN FRANCE

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The *Demoiselles* of the Ariège, 1829–1831

The department of the Ariège, in the Pyrénées, seemed far from the political issues that dominated Paris in the spring of 1830. In the department's forests, another kind of struggle was going on. Bands of peasants disguised as women and known as the demoiselles *were chasing forest guards and* charbonniers *(charcoal-burners) out of the forests. They were defending their traditional rights of pasture and gleaning against the government and local notables.*

John Merriman examines the intersection of social crisis and the Revolution of 1830 in the Ariège and suggests that the events there were indicative of the impact of the revolution and of rural capitalism on the traditional peasantry.

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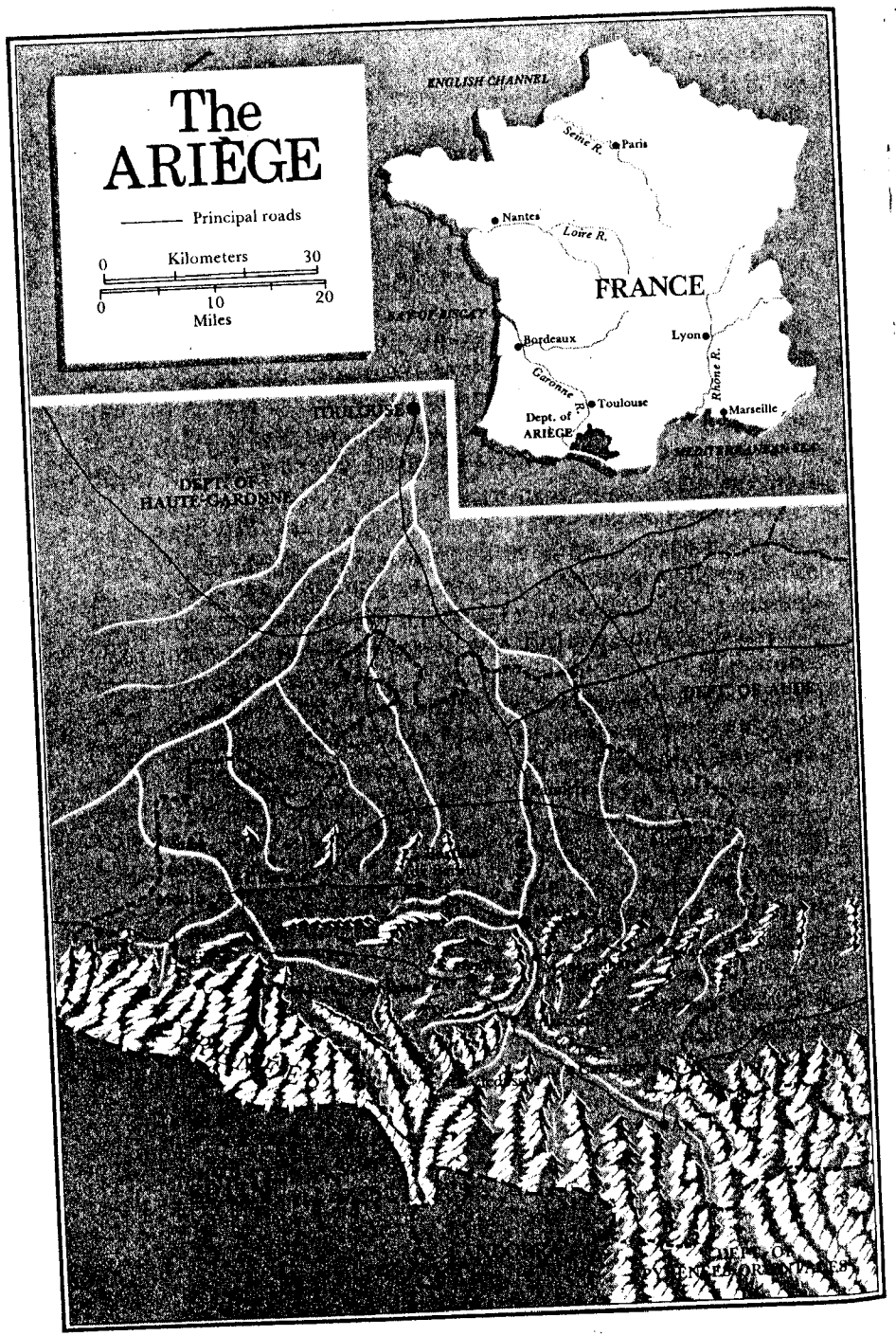
The Revolution of 1830 was part of a significant social, economic, and political crisis in France that lasted from 1827 to 1832. The popular protest of this economic depression included numerous grain riots, tax rebellions, forest disturbances, and possibly the mysterious series of fires in western France that still have not been adequately explained.[1] Such violence reflected more than just this particular economic crisis.[2] France was changing: the combination of a developing rural capitalism and a centralized, bureaucratic state, which protected and sponsored it, was winning its struggle with the French peasantry. The forcible integration of the peasantry into the national state and economy was not easy. The social and economic transformation of modern France in the nineteenth century came only at the expense of traditional peasant rights, local control over food supply and natural resources, and even the solidarity of the community itself.[3] In the spring of 1830, while the famous "221" deputies were opposing the intransigent Bourbon, Charles X, and his minister Polignac in the name of what they believed were their essential political liberties, peasant communities and the urban poor were resisting tax collectors, grain merchants, gendarmes, and forest guards.

The Revolution of July 1830 was precipitated by political issues that were of concern to only a small proportion of the population. Nevertheless, the revolution was not finished when Charles X had fled, the tricolor was flying, and a new administration began to carry out its duties to a new king. As the victors of the "Three Glorious Days" tried to consolidate their power won in the name of "liberty," the common people seized the opportunity afforded by the events in Paris and renewed their own struggle with vigor. They attacked customs barriers, ripped apart tax registers, rioted against the high price of grain, and devastated royal and privately owned forests.[4] This protest sometimes included an additional dimension, learned from the revolutionaries in Paris and seemingly legitimized by the tricolor and the official proclamations announcing the new regime—they often protested in the name of "liberty." The events of 1830 are an important indication of how France was changing economically and socially.

Far from Paris, in the mountainous department of the Ariège on the Spanish border, the struggle between the peasant communities and their antagonists, the revenue-hungry state and the local beneficiaries of a new economy, was waged in the forests. The most significant years of the peasants' organized resistance to these powerful "outsiders" were from 1829 to 1831, appropriately peaking in 1830. The "War of the *Demoiselles*," as it became known for reasons that will soon be apparent, lasted from 1828 until 1872. It has only recently been described in its entirety.[5] If we look closely at the two most important years of this "war," we will see a good example of how the traditional peasantry was affected by the impact of rural capitalism, which gradually transformed French society. We will also see that the Revolution of 1830 was part of this interrelated social, economic, and political transformation.

The Ariège is extremely heavily forested. In 1830 there were 175,000 hectares of forest in the department, often making up a considerable percentage of the area of communes. On the edges of the forests and in the valleys, a very poor subsistence agriculture was possible, particularly at the lower elevations. But many communities in the *arrondissements* of St. Girons and Foix were completely dependent upon access to the forests for survival. In these communes the peasants pastured cattle and sheep as a "cash crop" and sold them in the markets below the mountain elevations. But these peasants also depended on wood from the forests for use as fuel and for repairing their houses in order to survive the harsh Ariège winters. Until about the middle of the eighteenth century, the *seigneurs*, and the Crown, who owned most of the forests, had always freely granted rights of pasturage and of gleaning to the peasants. In some areas there was a traditional yearly allotment of wood for fuel and repairs of houses. But generally the peasants just took as much wood as they needed and pastured their flocks freely. There was certainly enough forest and wood plentiful enough so that there does not seem to have been any speculation. The forests were valuable only to the peasants. Ownership and use were two different things, and use was by far the most important. Collective peasant rights of usage had only been infrequently challenged, even if the actual deeds or the



grants themselves often no longer existed. The conflict of interest between the owners, the Crown and the seigneurs, and the users, the peasants, was only latent.[6]

Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, this situation began to change. As France's metallurgical industry slowly developed, the number of forges increased in the department. The wealthy landowners could profit by using the wood from their forests to supply the forges. The price of wood soared, particularly in the 1820s. The departmental notables, whose number included many bourgeois who had purchased "*biens nationaux*" during the revolution (by 1830 only twelve of the forty-three forges in the Ariège still belonged to the seigneurial families—the others were owned by bourgeois), began to challenge and oppose the peasants' use of their forests. Many contestations between the "owners" and the "users" ended up in the courts, where the local notables usually won.[7]

And for the first time, the Ariège began to be overpopulated.[8] There were now more peasants depending upon access to the forests for survival. Complaints of the devastation of the forests were frequent. As the price of wood rose, the local notables and the forest administration became more determined to keep the peasants and their meager flocks out of the forests. During the bad winter of 1816–1817, the peasants had difficulty finding enough wood for fuel and were put in the position, in the words of one mayor, of "dying from the cold and hunger or breaking the laws."[9]

In 1827 a new forest code of 225 articles was implemented in France. This code was both an attempt to prevent the diminution of France's forest resources and a major concession to commercial and industrial interests. The code put under the strict control of the forest administration all woods and forests belonging to the state, and Crown, *and* "the woods and forests of the communes and of sections of communes." It created a complex and complete series of regulations covering all types of usage of the forests by peasant communes, even in forests that were communally owned, to be enforced by the forest administration, civil authorities, and the courts. From the point of view of the Ariège peasants, the most important articles forbade the pasturing of any "*bêtes à laine*," goats, lambs, or sheep, which the forest administration

believed were eating their way through France's forest resources; established strict rules about the registration, marking, and pasturing of other animals; carefully regulated all other rights in the forests, such as, in the Ariège, the right to a yearly cut of wood for fuel and for repairing houses in each commune concerned; put one-fourth of the communal forest into reserve if the commune owned at least ten hectares as well as certain categories of fully grown and underwood areas; prevented any division of the communally owned forests among the inhabitants; and barred any clearing of forested land without specific authorization.[10]

The forest code also gave the sub-prefects the power to authorize the *propriétaires* of forested areas to hire private forest guards, who took an oath of service before the local court. They were to do the same thing as the royal forest guards did in the state, crown, and communal forests, that is, search the woods for peasants taking wood or grazing animals in violation of the forest code.

The tribunals were busy with an enormous number of prosecutions for violation of the forest code or of the private property of the notables. The latter were particularly vindictive. Even the local administration officials sometimes spoke of the "rapaciousness" of these fortunate few. Some peasants desperately searched for old deeds granting them rights of usage, checking the basements of deserted churches, and going as far to look as Montauban.[11] Many communes, already staggering under the onerous taxes that victimized the poor throughout France, were now faced with the loss of their most important, and in some cases only, resource. General Laffite, the department's leading citizen, later aptly described the situation of "an indignant people and several oppressive families of this department; here as elsewhere everything was organized for the domination of some and the suffering of others."[12]

The peasants had no alternative but to resist. In February 1829 the Prefect, the Baron de Mortarieu, reported to the Minister of Interior that "for some time now, forest offenses have multiplied in a very alarming progression; there exists . . . principally in the arrondissement of St. Girons a spirit of resistance against the execution of the new code."[13] In May there were reports of "groups of armed men, disguised as women, and masked" in the royal

forest of St. Lary, southwest of St. Girons.[14] Throughout the late spring and the summer violations of the forest code increased. Forest guards and *charbonniers* were attacked in what appeared to be an increasingly systematic fashion. A strange disguise was sometimes reported, even in the arrondissement of St. Gaudens in the neighboring department of Haute Garonne. Some of the incidents, which began to spread into new regions of the department after beginning in the canton of Castillon in 1829, are particularly revealing. They will serve as an introduction to a discussion of the nature of peasant resistance, in the months preceding the Revolution of 1830, to the loss of traditional rights in the forests.

In October 1829, Marrot, a wealthy property-owner and lawyer who lived in St. Girons, complained that the peasants were taking wood from his forest every day and even selling it publicly in St. Girons, while local authorities looked the other way. On October 14 he went into the woods with one of his guards. They came upon a number of peasants taking wood. When the peasants saw them, they sounded the alarm. The guard later reported that "suddenly all of the fields of the gorge were filled with peasants making the most menacing yells!" Marrot and his guard were assailed with rocks. "My master fired at an individual dressed as a woman!" Marrot filed a formal complaint for damages against the commune of Moulis.[15]

In Illartein, in the valley of Ballongue near St. Lary, a band of peasants threatened an innkeeper suspected of lodging forest guards, shot into his house, warned him that they would return in greater numbers, and continued their search for forest guards in other houses and inns.[16] All of the peasants were disguised as women. In Aleu the mayor received notice "that if he should present the slightest charge [against any forest offender], his house and barns would be burned."[17] In the royal forest of Buzan, the forest inspector and his guards found animals grazing illegally. When they attempted to seize the animals, they were fired upon by peasants and driven away.[18]

Beginning in 1830, the incidents spread into the cantons southeast of St. Girons. Several wealthy landowners, principally M. Laffont-Sentenac and M. Trinqué, dominated this area. On January 26, 1830, forty peasants disarmed and threatened one of Laffont-Sentenac's forest guards. The next day an imposing crowd of

between two hundred and four hundred peasants came to Massat, the *chef-lieu* of the canton of that name, and chanted, "Long live the King, Down with the Forest Administration!"[19] A month later, nearly eight hundred came to Massat, armed with hatchets, scythes, and guns, and warned that as many as three thousand would return. The next day sixty peasants in nearby Boussenac burned down the house of a forest guard.[20] On March 13 armed peasants devastated land belonging to Laffont-Sentenac and threatened to kill his sharecroppers if they did not leave within eight days. The inhabitants of Boussenac were suspected of this attack.[21]

The difficulties of M. Trinqué are even more illustrative of the situation in the arrondissement of St. Girons. Trinqué bought the rights to the wood cut of 1829 in the forest forming part of the commune of Ustou, high in the mountains, quite close to Andorra. He paid four thousand francs, and his total investment would be twelve thousand francs, a considerable sum but easily returned with profit. On July 8, 1829, his charbonniers spent the day working in the forest. M. Trinqué tells us:

> At the moment of the completion of this work, when the *charbonniers* were to return to my forge toward two in the morning [!], a band of armed and disguised madmen appeared before my *charbonniers* and made them promise to abandon their work under the threat of death. Nevertheless, I was able to persuade them to stay in the forest, with the promise to obtain the protection of the authorities. Last Sunday, the 12th, toward four in the afternoon, a crowd of masked and armed men, who were without doubt the same who had appeared before, entered the work area, and, firing rifle shots, chased away fourteen *charbonniers*. The people of Ustou, joyous spectators to this horrible scene, offered no help to the unfortunate *charbonniers*. The mayor of Ustou was sick in bed, and could not find anyone to represent and support him, not even the deputy mayor, who said that he could not go to the scene because he had to be away . . . everyone agrees, the justice of the peace, the mayor and the *charbonniers*, that the inhabitants of the commune themselves are the authors of similar attacks.[22]

The next spring, 1830, Trinqué again complained that the peasants were devastating his forests. On April 2 several armed

and disguised peasants came to the nearby commune Rivèrenert, led by a "Monsieur Laporte, captain of the Demoiselles." They gave the mayor a letter for Trinqué and announced that if Trinqué did not grant "to the inhabitants of the commune and to those of Massat the free exercise of pasturage, his forest would be ravaged on a daily basis and himself and his guards exposed to the most horrible treatment."[23] The mayor urged concession. Trinqué therefore went to the commune of Massat, where the peasants had gathered for an official function, and told the assembled villagers that he would give them pasturage for two years with the exception of certain areas of underwood, if they would guarantee no further destruction by the demoiselles. In nearby Rivèrenert, after unsuccessfully trying to persuade the mayor to call an assembly, Trinqué offered the peasants the same conditions offered in Massat. But when he said, "with the exception of the underbrush," the villagers cried out, "All or nothing." Trinqué's troubles were therefore not over; following this event, he "no longer dared to make any act of ownership in his own forest."[24]

By the end of 1829 there had been more than thirty separate incidents in the arrondissement of St. Girons, such as those described above. These incidents involved the participation of armed and disguised bands. These bands became known as the "demoiselles," because the peasants were disguised as women.

The disguise was first mentioned in St. Lary, in May 1829, when, as we have seen, "groups of armed men, disguised as women" were noted.[25] By July reports specifically mentioned the sighting of these "demoiselles."[26] One forest inspector described the disguise as leaving the "shirt out and darkening the face with red and black."[27] The disguise generally consisted of a white linen-cloth shirt, always left out and giving the impression of a woman's skirt or gown, some darkening of the face, and often some form of headwear. There were variations to the disguise, which seem to have corresponded to the extreme cultural, linguistic, and geographic compartmentalization of communes in the Ariège. Thus in one case, peasants from one commune were easily distinguished from others by local authorities because their disguise included a twig attached to their shirts, long a symbol of that particular commune.[28]

The similarity of the disguises contributed to the establishment of a collective identity of the demoiselles. A proclamation of the prefect of the Ariège on February 22, 1830, stated that:

> Any person who, beginning the 24th of February, is found masked, face darkened, any sort of weapon in hand, shirt left hanging out, or dressed in any sort of disguise, will be immediately arrested and handed over to the Prosecuting Attorney of the *arrondissement*.[29]

This collective identity was fostered by the peasants themselves in order to give the impression of a well-organized, para-military structure that could not be defeated. Warnings, which threatened or preceded appearances of the demoiselles, were frequently signed by a "captain" or "chief" of the demoiselles. The warnings themselves were quite similar to the "Swing" letters at the same time in England, which usually preceded attacks upon threshing machines ("Revenge for thee is on the wing, from thy determined Captain Swing").[30] One warning in Massat, scene of numerous appearances of the demoiselles, read:

> By order of the *superieur Demoiselles*, we advise the public of the town of Massat that the first person who furnishes lodging [to a forest guard will have] his house demolished [and], the penalty below [here was drawn a cross with the words 'A Mort'] . . . We warn the *clercs* of Massat that when the guards go into the forest, it will begin their own agony.[31]

The disguise served two important functions. First, it made each peasant anonymous while violating the forest code—taking wood from privately owned forests—or chasing away the "outsiders" from the forests, the forest guards and the charbonniers. Secondly, it expressed, and thereby reinforced, the solidarity of the communes involved in the struggle. The disguise, associated with the carnival in peasant communities, was an integral factor in communal behavior related to the community sense of justice and of traditional collective rights.[32]

The particular disguise of the demoiselles was neither unique nor novel to French peasants. As Natalie Zemon Davis has suggested, the link between the carnival and charivari forms of festivity and modes of collective communal protest is essential.

Peasant carnivals and festivities "help explain how the peasant community defended its identity against the outside world."[33] It was quite logical that communities used traditional modes of group behavior, and particularly those festival modes expressing popular definitions of justice, when struggling to assert and defend those beliefs and values against those of "outsiders."[34]

In his recent study of the "War of the demoiselles," François Baby has even gone as far as to characterize this "war" as a *"révolte carnavalesque."* Placing what he calls a *"jacquerie"* into the context of the region's traditional folklore, Baby sees the struggle as a "drama of social vengeance," a psychodrama mystic enough to be a "social exorcism," complete with the sexual overtones of the peasants, invariably male when disguised, attempting, as a cuckhold, to retake possession of the forest, to which is ascribed feminine characteristics, from the "outsiders," the forest guards and charbonniers who have violated it.[35] What is at least clear is that the peasant community found in the carnival-like disguises the solidarity against the powerful "outsider" who had disturbed and threatened the local sense of justice. Just as peasants often donned masks during festivals in early modern Europe to mock any inversion of the traditional, popular definition of justice or "misrule," so the Ariège peasants appropriately donned masks in seriousness to "do justice" to the outsiders impinging on their collective rights and customs.[36]

The outsiders were the representatives of the state and the forge owners and their guards and charbonniers. The guards and charbonniers were associated with the loss of traditional rights. They were strangers to the regions in which they worked, intruders who spoke and dressed differently. The forest guards were notoriously underpaid, uneducated, not above taking bribes, and, as a result, rather choosy about whom to turn in for violations of the forest code.[37] As outsiders, the guards and charbonniers were threatened by clumsily scrawled placards (*"Charbonniers*, if you work any more in this forest, your hours are numbered"), shot at, chased away, and often their worksheds were burned. It was virtually impossible for them to find lodging, because of the demoiselles' warnings to anyone who would give them a place to stay. For example, "fifty masked and armed" peasants completely

burned down a barn where charbonniers had been sleeping. Both the forest guards and the charbonniers were effectively prevented from doing their assigned tasks.[38]

Departmental authorities were faced with the extremely difficult task of repression. The communes stood solidly against the administration, which had few allies within any Ariège commune. Government usually came to the patois-speaking communities only when it wanted taxes or conscripts. When the gendarmes, forest officials, administrative officials, and troops came in search of information on the demoiselles, they found that, in the prefect's words, "Be it through fear, be it because of personal interest, be it through agreement, the inhabitants all maintain an obstinate silence."[39]

Most mayors were of little help to the administration. They were not just representatives of the government but members of the communities. At best they were deliberately or naturally inefficient. More often, they were silent observers or even themselves participants in the "illegal" pasturing and wood-gathering. But if the mayors were revoked from their positions, who would replace them?[40] Furthermore, there was not an elite of citizens to be trusted as allies of the government. Calling out the National Guard of the insurrectionary communes was hardly a solution—many of its members were also "members" of the demoiselles. If there were members of the involved communes who sympathized with the notables and the administration, they dared not speak out. We have seen that measures were taken by the demoiselles to intimidate those who might be interested in lodging forest guards or charbonniers. Finally, the possible death penalty for any convicted demoiselle was probably an important deterrent against turning anyone in to the administration.[41]

Various normative appeals, such as proclamations by the prefect and Sunday morning pulpit denunciations of the demoiselles, only intensified community hostility against the guards, forest administration, notables, and curés. When the Bishop of Pamiers ordered his curés to preach against the demoiselles, he received a letter, dated Masset, February 1, 1830, signed, "Jeanne Grané, *le chef des Demoiselles*":

> We insurgents, under the mask of the women called *Demoiselles;* Garchal, curé of Biert, and Séres, of Soulan, have had the impru-

> dence to preach against us. The said parishes have written you several times. You are unrelenting, but we will know how to teach them . . . the lesson which was given to the clergy and to the nobility in 1793. Their residences will be torn down and burned, their properties pillaged and burned, their bodies torn to pieces, their limbs will be sent by the parishes of the *arrondissement* to better set an example.[42]

Whether these dire predictions would have come to pass is purely speculative, but there were no more reports of priests preaching against the demoiselles.[43]

Temporary concessions to the peasants in August of 1829 failed to halt the resistance to the new forest code. Despite the prefect's own hard-line stand that perhaps the best solution would be to eliminate all peasant rights of usage in royal forests, a royal decree of August 12, 1829, temporarily restored the right to pasture sheep in certain areas for a period of one year and allowed for possible appeals by communes for future extensions of these rights. But the incidents did not stop. The insurrectionary communes still perceived their rights as traditional and full rights of usage.[44]

Force was the only alternative to complete capitulation by both the forest administration and the local notables. In July of 1829, the Minister of War began to send troops into the department to support the harassed and undermanned gendarmes and forest guards. By August 21, 1829, there were 750 additional troops in the Ariège; by April 1830 there were more than 1200.[45] But the troops were ineffective, especially during the long winter, which took its toll in reduced efficiency and even deaths. The peasants, who knew the woods so very well, could appear and disperse with astonishing ease. Many incidents occurred in communes with relatively large concentrations of troops. Furthermore, the quartering of troops in the communes, particularly in those only marginally involved in the struggle, only served to exacerbate local hostility against the administration.[46] And so, for all of the troops and forest guards, there were few warrants for arrest and even fewer actual arrests. For example, of eight warrants from an incident at Augirein, seven of the accused were listed as being "in flight."[47] There were two major trials, which were given the widest possible publicity throughout the department in order to

intimidate the peasants.[48] But, in general, the demoiselles were not inhibited by the show of force by the Bourbon administration.

Finally, on March 15, 1830, the prefect announced that each commune would be made collectively responsible for violations of the forest code committed on its property, by virtue of a law that dated from the Empire. The twenty leading taxpayers, hardly an impressive fortune in many communes in the poor arrondissements of St. Girons and Foix, were to advance the sum to the commune in order to pay damages to the state or to the notables. It was clear that the demoiselles were the peasants from the communes struggling to maintain their rights of usage in the forests. This participation and responsibility was now legally acknowledged. The law itself was utilized by the courts several times, beginning with the assessment of 5875 francs in damages against the commune of Rivèrenert, to be paid to M. Trinqué, the state, and a small sum to two forest guards. Shortly thereafter, Boussenac was assessed the incredible sum of 20,000 francs.[49]

Throughout the spring, the demoiselles appeared frequently and over an increasingly wider area. The frequent appearances of the demoiselles in the commune of Saurat, who were easily recognizable as local people, led the mayor to write that "the people of Saurat only long for the moment when they can bring themselves justice and be assured of their rights of pasturage in the mountains."[50] But when July came, the demoiselles were not to be seen. The peasants needed less wood in the summer climate and, probably more important, many left the department to work the harvests at the lower elevations.[51]

During this same spring of 1830, a major political crisis mounted in Paris. But the confrontation between Charles X and the determined Chamber of Deputies had little noticeable impact in the Ariège. There was no organized political opposition or resistance against taxes, nor were there electoral associations.[52] It was only on August 3 that the prefect, the Baron de Montarieu, issued a proclamation that "Grave disorders trouble the capital of the Kingdom; the authority of the King has been ignored there —it will not be such in the department of the Ariège." By the fifth, as in numerous departmental *chef-lieux* in France, a provisional committee of administration had been formed. The pre-

fect's announcement attributed this measure to "the request of several inhabitants of the Ariège for the creation of a commission with the powers to maintain order, public security, and law enforcement."[53] The next day the provisional committee of administration appointed the retired General Laffite, a popular and influential native of the department, to command the department, with the power to reorganize the National Guard.[54] A few local officials resigned. One regime passed to another. On August 9 it was reported that "the flag of liberty is flying in all of the communes of our department."[55]

At this point, so conventional histories would tell us, the revolution was over. But this sort of interpretation overlooks an essential point: the poor in France seized the opportunity provided by the events in Paris and asserted their economic grievances in renewing the struggle for power at the local level with determination.[56] This sustained the revolutionary situation in France, and the timing of the widespread social protest is indicative of the revolutionary process in general, as has been demonstrated earlier in this volume by James Rule and Charles Tilly.[57] The new administration was confronted with a widely based challenge to its authority.

In examining the role of the peasants in the Revolution of 1830 in the Ariège, we will note two important aspects of their participation: Many communes became involved, and their collective protest covered a wider geographical area and had several objects. While the peasants' collective action maintained the sense of "doing justice" to the outsiders impinging upon traditional rights, a new dimension could be found—the poor began to claim to act and even petition in the name of "liberty" and this "legitimization" of protest made disguise unnecessary. The demoiselles temporarily disappeared.

If there was ever a moment for peasants to recapture ground they had lost, it was during the period immediately following the revolution. The local administration was disorganized; gendarmes, forest guards, tax collectors, and even soldiers were uncertain as to whom they were serving. In this first wave of violence, peasants attacked the châteaux and property of their antagonists, seigneurs and the bourgeoisie alike. They rebelled against the onerous taxes that made them even poorer, burned down a

large forge, and, as we would suspect, renewed their struggle for the forests with collective enthusiasm. They saw themselves as "doing justice" to their antagonists, the outsiders. Generally, they were not disguised.

In early August, within days after the first sketchy news from Paris, the château of the unpopular Astrié de Gudanes was attacked by peasants who believed that he had usurped their forests. He had recently intensified the hate of the poor by taking to court numerous peasants for violations of the forest code, including some who were fined two francs for each animal they pastured even in "defensible" or permitted areas without attaching a small bell.[58] The population of the commune of Miglos, where the demoiselles had previously appeared in the bitterly contested forests, stormed to the home of a local notable and held him prisoner for four days.[59] Three communes assembled at the sound of the tocsin early in the morning and went together to pillage the château of Bélesta in the arrondissement of Foix.[60] The mayor of Rabat wrote the provisional administration in Foix that he believed that a leading property-owner would be harmed by the commune because "he represents for some of the people the former *seigneurs*."[61]

Forests in all three arrondissements were pillaged. Two hundred to three hundred people went into the previously tranquil forest of Camarade in the arrondissement of Pamiers. In the royal forest of Pradières, the mayor watched passively as two forest guards were threatened and driven away (possibly by demoiselles) while the local population cut down trees. Marrot, the lawyer from St. Girons, again wrote that his forests were being pillaged. In the commune of Prayols, all but five or six families participated as the guards were driven away and peasants took as much wood with them as they could carry.[62]

The most spectacular and perhaps most significant example of peasant revindication came on August 21. In the commune of Luzenac, near Ax, high in the arrondissement of St. Girons, four hundred to five hundred peasants announced that they were "doing justice" and burned the three buildings of the forge to the ground while fifty soldiers stood by helplessly. The peasants, who were not disguised, believed that the wood supplying the forge was in the domain of their traditional rights of usage. At the

same time, an anonymous letter written to the mayor of Saurat said:

> The chief of the regiment of *Demoiselles* has the honor to tell you that the forges which are near the forests will be completely destroyed, and yours is in that number. Long live Liberty![63]

Popular revindications were not just limited to the battle for the forests, nor even to the forest communes. In the town of Pamiers, which was the chef-lieu of the arrondissement, townspeople participated in the type of tax "disturbance" that swept France after the revolution. A crowd knocked on the door of the customs-barrier tax office and demanded that the official hand over to the crowd the registration of the *boissons* tax. Knowing the burdensome tax structure all too well, they had an agenda, making three or four stops in town that afternoon and taking five tax registers with them. In the mountains, resistance against the taxes began almost immediately following the first news from Paris. A proclamation of the provisional committee of administration urged the people of the department to pay. But in Vicdessos, a warning from the demoiselles was followed by the arrival of people from the neighboring communes to "do justice" to the tax collectors there.[64]

However, the impact of the revolution on the peasants of the Ariège was more complex than simply creating the opportunity for the poor to "do justice" to their antagonists. First, some communes collectively attempted to wrest concessions from the notables who owned forests and often forges. Second, the peasants sometimes claimed to act in the name of "liberty," which, after all, was what the revolution in Paris was supposed to have been about. Third, they paused at that crucial stage when the new regime might have proven to be conciliatory. Temporarily, the demoiselles virtually disappeared and the peasant communites appeared as petitioners to the new administration for concessions. The response of the new government would be crucial in influencing the outcome of the struggle in the Ariège between the new economy and the new seigneurs and the peasant community and its sense of traditional rights.

Some communes took advantage of the confusion that followed the news of the revolution to the Ariège and attempted to wrest concessions from the property-holders. The inhabitants of Mon-

gaillard, a commune adjacent to Foix, "assembled on the public place. . . . everyone manifested the firm resolution to claim the lands which were usurped from the commune." Only with "the greatest difficulty" was the mayor able to persuade the commune to refer the claim to the administration.[65] But further away from Foix, in the regions where the forests had recently been hotly contested, the peasants moved on their own. In at least ten cases, they were able to obtain concessions. One hundred peasants of the commune of Mirepoix went to the home of the Marquise de Portes, the mother of a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in order to force her "to give back to the inhabitants the rights of usage that they claim to have in the woods."[66] On August 26, "a great part" of the people of Freychenet went with the mayor and his deputy to neighboring St. Paul where they joined peasants from nearby Mercus. Together, they forced the "agents" of a property-owner to give them the right "to pasture in all of the woods of the said *Mademoiselle*, except those held in reserve by law." A number of communes were able to force concessions from Astrié de Gudanes after attacking his château. The peasants were reported as being satisfied with these concessions. "*Voilà la paix*," wrote General Laffite. News of the burning of the forge at Luzenac and of the concessions spread quickly and without doubt encouraged other communes to act.[67]

Before the revolution, cries of "Long live the King, down with the forest administration!" could be heard in the Ariège ("If the Czar only knew . . ."). After the events in Paris, popular protest became associated with the slogan "liberty." The peasants learned from the proclamation in each commune announcing the change in regime that "liberty" had been won in Paris. So the letter that warned the mayor of Saurat that the forge there would be burned was marked, "Long live liberty!" A cry of "Long live liberty" was heard in Luzenac as the forge went up in flames. The mayor of Ax noted that peasant demands for concessions had been part of "the outburst under the word, 'liberty.'" The mayor of Prayols, where the peasants from several communes were freely taking wood in the forests, wrote:

> The liberty which His Majesty Philippe I [sic] has just given the French nation has been misinterpreted by our mountain peasants, who now believe themselves authorized to violate the laws, in

> delivering themselves, without any limit, to all the disorders that they can commit against the forest administration.

The commander of the gendarmerie for the troubled arrondissement of St. Girons complained that "The public says resolutely that it has conquered liberty and that it wants to gain from its conquest; woe to him who would want to prevent it."[68] A good example of the convergence of social protest and the impact of the advent of political liberty occurred in the small town of Ax, almost literally as far as one could go from Paris and still be in continental France. In the words of the mayor, on August 22,

> . . . at three in the afternoon, I was with the deputy mayor and the secretary of the *mairie*, occupied with administrative affairs, when a numerous group invaded the town hall and demanded in the name of liberty that M. the Marquis d'Orgeix give them the use of his forests which they had fifty years ago; that the Monsieurs Astrié de Castellet give up their project of establishing the boundaries of the royal forests [which would be] prejudicial to their usage; that there be no more forest guards and that the taxes on beverages no longer be collected, all under the threat of death and fire. In this position, being unable to be supported by the National Guard, of which two-thirds participated in this uprising, having only twenty-five soldiers at my disposition, I did not think that I had any other choice than to be prudent.

After promising that "justice" would be done, the mayor sent a deputation to the Astrié family and the Marquis d'Orgeix. He then promised the peasants that the forest guards and the tax collectors would cease their functions, in return for a guarantee of their safety. The satisfied peasants left the Town Hall well after midnight.[69]

At the same time, the mayor of Engomer, where there was a forge that the peasants particularly resented, wrote the new administration in Foix that the best way of calming the peasants would be to end the hated salt tax and to revise the forest code.[70] Of course, he was right. Liberty in the Ariège did not mean the "essential political liberties," the *Charte*, or an extended electoral franchise. While it encompassed the general resistance to the burdensome indirect taxes that weighed so heavily on the poor in France, it primarily meant the return of traditional rights of usage in the forests.

The change in regime temporarily altered the response of both the peasants and the administration to the forest question. Once the initial wave of peasant violence subsided, the communes involved in the forest struggle became virtual petitioners to the new administration. And while the communes appealed to the new administration for "justice," the demoiselles were only rarely seen. The new administration seemed to offer some hope of conciliation.

The new government in Paris, faced with waves of disturbances across the country, increased militance among the Paris workers, the threat of a major counterrevolution in the west, and the difficulties inherent in reorganizing the judicial, administrative, and military hierarchies, sometimes showed surprising conciliatory efforts in the early months of its rule because the discontent of the poor was so widespread and intense.[71] The fourteen hundred troops in the department of the Ariège in September 1830 were probably not any more likely to be able to put an end to the disorders in the department than the troops before the revolution.[72]

The appointment of the local hero General Laffite as commander of the department made conciliation seem possible. Laffite, who remained extremely influential even after the new prefect assumed authority, understood the situation clearly and tended to sympathize with the communes against the greedy local notables. He publicly expressed hope in the new government, urging the peasants to remain calm. His numerous reports to the Minister of War in Paris explained the local situation and indicated that conciliation would be advisable, particularly in that the previous "administration, tribunals and Gendarmerie had only one feeling, that of a brutal partiality" against the peasants.[73] Even the Minister of War agreed that the rights in the forests were necessary for the existence of the "mountain people" and that perhaps the Forest Code of 1827 should be reconsidered because it did not take into consideration "immemorial usage and perhaps some misunderstood rights." The military commander in Toulouse hoped that the "great property-holders" would "relent a little in their egotism" and that even the government, for the sake of peace in the Pyrénées region, would renounce some profit from the forests.[74]

In September small commissions were established for each department in the Pyrénées to check the validity of titles of ownership and usage in the forests and to see where additional concessions were needed. In the Ariège, where the difficulties were most extreme, a larger special commission was created to consider the claims of the property-holders and of the communes. This commission included six notables representing the large property holders and the forges, five representatives of the communes (four were mayors, the other a member of the Municipal Council of Foix), and eleven property-owners "representing the general interest of the department."[75]

A number of communes did formally petition the administration and this commission. The communes of the canton of Cabannes wrote that "rights of usage should be represented as the rights of property are represented." This petition noted that the reason for the somewhat deteriorating state of the commune's forests was not, as the owners alleged, because of use by the commune. Rather it was because "several of them [the *maîtres de forges*] have doubled their revenues. . . . all have indeed become extremely rich, and the *communes usagères* are in misery, their conduct has even made the seigneurial despotism be missed." The tiny (326 inhabitants) and impoverished commune of Montoulieu, surrounded by royal forests "in which it is rigorously forbidden to the inhabitants to cut a single branch," begged concessions, particularly for wood necessary for fuel as the winter approached.[76] The commune of Montgailhard, as we have seen, was persuaded by its mayor to forsake pillaging the wood and to turn their claim over to the new administration. The mayor petitioned on behalf of the commune.[77]

At the same time, two other conciliatory gestures were intended to limit disorders in the Ariège. A general amnesty was granted for those accused or convicted of violations of the forest code before the revolution. And, upon the recommendation of Laffite and others, an attempt was made to upgrade the personnel of the forest administration, especially the forest guards.[78]

The revolution had an important impact on the nature of the peasant's battle for the forests. The opportunity that the events in Paris gave the peasants, particularly by seeming to legitimize protest in the name of "liberty," and the first moves toward con-

ciliation temporarily changed the form of peasant protest. Although the incidents of peasant mobilization increased in the two months following the change in administration, the disguise seemed virtually to disappear. The revolution legitimized protest and peasant action. Then, once the special commission had been organized in September as the most important of the conciliatory gestures, the Ariège was relatively calm.

Ultimately the new administration changed very little. The situation in the Ariège was not altered in any fundamental way. The commission, which reported in December 1830, offered only partial concessions. Although there was some modification of the forest code, such as the reestablishment of the right to pasture sheep, the forest administration still determined what were the "defensible" or permitted areas of pasturage.[79] The erosion of traditional communal rights continued. The forest administration itself was no more sympathetic to the peasants than before. A special report of the Forest Commissioner in Toulouse said that the peasants' claims were "without foundation." He recommended the confiscation of wood and the maintenance of garrisons of soldiers in communes where the peasants continued to resist in order to "stop the pretension that they should become the masters of the forests."[80] The "mountain bourgeoisie," which was being reorganized into an elite National Guard, had clearly won a decisive battle in the struggle for the forests.[81]

Some of the peasants saw this quite early. At the end of August 1830 a letter from a "captain" of the demoiselles warned the new officials and the clergy of an insurrection that would follow the example of Paris and conquer liberty: "This three colored flag is the only hope of our liberties, our beautiful hopes have been betrayed." A women in Illartein said that if the forest guards returned at all, "it will be necessary for the white robes to return."[82] The forest guards did, of course, soon return, even to Ax, despite the mayor's proclaimed hiatus in that commune. The commune of Montgailhard found that it had waited in vain, after presenting their claim to the administration as their mayor suggested, and went back into the forest to take wood and dodge the forest guards of the July monarchy. The mayor of one commune, elected after the revolution because he had led the peasants into the forest to take wood, was revoked by the prefect, and his successor was only installed with the help of troops. When gendarmes came to a hamlet to search houses for wood, a crowd of peasants drove them away.[83]

The next spring the demoiselles were back in the forests in full disguise.[84] They appeared in the forests as late as 1872, but never again as frequently or in such large numbers. The squeeze on the peasants of the Ariège continued; the great depopulation of the Ariège began. Many peasants simply left, moving out of the mountains to find a livelihood elsewhere.[85]

The battle for the forests was very much a part of the Revolution of 1830. The revolution not only came during an important stage of the confrontation between rural capitalism and the peasant community, it widened and intensified the struggle. The peasants challenged the new administration; their claims were often formulated in the name of "liberty." The revolutionary situation, as James Rule and Charles Tilly have suggested, was perpetuated. The Revolution of 1830 did not end with the resumption of political power in the department by the new administration. It continued, involving the local issue—the forests, and who had rights to them. When the new administration demonstrated that it would perpetuate the policies of the forest administration and stood solidly with the local notables, peasant resistance continued.

The Revolution of 1830 marked a stage in the Ariège peasant community's losing fight for its traditional rights. The demoiselles represented the solidarity of the community against the powerful outsiders who were usurping the use of the forests. They were a colorful but tragic vestige of an old world and a different set of economic relations—in which use was communal and far more important than ownership. But the experience of the Ariège peasants was certainly not unique. In many regions of France the impact of rural capitalism was already apparent.[86] A fundamental conflict of interest divided the peasant community from the state and local notables—noble and bourgeois. The grain riots and forest disturbances of the 1827–1832 period illustrated the way in which this conflict was being resolved—against the peasants.

The communal solidarity of resisting the impingement of outside control over local resources, against both the bourgeois and

the *fisc*, may go a long way toward explaining the evolution of rural radicalism during the Second Republic, as Maurice Agulhon has described for the Var.[87] The Revolution of 1830 was also an anticipation of the appearance of the common Frenchman as a contender for political power. The "liberty" of 1830, even if only the myth of a political elite, was a strong heritage, especially when it became rooted in the solidarity of the peasant community of equals. The era of "Long live the King, Down with the Forest Administration!" was just about over in France. The reaction of the poor, including those who remained in the Ariège and those who moved into the less mountainous regions of southern France, to the impact of state-protected capitalism would become more articulate, more organized. The communal solidarity of peasants fighting the fisc and the advance guard of rural capitalism soon gave way to a more modern age of protest.[88]

Notes

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[1] Paul Gonnet, "Esquisse de la crise économique en France de 1827 à 1832," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 33, 3 (1955), pp. 249–292.

[2] On the significance of popular protest, see Charles Tilly, "The Changing Place of Collective Violence," in Melvin Richter, ed., *Essays in Theory and History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 139–164; Charles Tilly, "How Protest Modernized in France, 1845–55," in W. O. Aydelotte, A. G. Bogue, and R. W. Fogel, eds., *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 210–224; and Louise Tilly, "La révolte frumentaire, forme du conflit politique en France," *Annales*, 27 (May–June, 1972), pp. 731–757.

[3] Particularly relevant approaches include, Charles Tilly, "Food Supply and Public Order in Modern Europe," a working paper of the Center for Research on Social Organization, the University of Michigan, forthcoming as a chapter in Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*; Albert Soboul, "The French Rural Community in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Past and Present*, 10 (November 1956), pp. 78–95; and E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the Crowd in the 18th Century," *Past and Present*, 50 (February 1971), pp. 76–136.

[4] Gonnet, *op. cit.*; Roger Price, "Popular Disturbances in the French Provinces After the July Revolution of 1830," *European Studies Review*, 1, 4, (1971), 323–55; James Rule and Charles Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France, 1830–32," in this volume, pp. 42–85.

[5] François Baby, *La Guerre des Demoiselles en Ariège (1829–1872)* (Montbel, Ariège, 1972). Maurice Agulhon's discussion of the forest problem in the Var and its impact on the creation of rural radicalism during the Second Republic is invaluable, in *La République au Village* (Paris: Plon, 1972), pp. 42–92. Baby figures the separate "appearances" of the *demoiselles* at 114 between 1829 and 1872, including 36 in 1829 and a peak 53 in 1820 (page 93). See also Louis Clarenc, "Le code de 1827 et les troubles forestiers dans les Pyrénées centrales au milieu de XIX^e siècle," *Annales du Midi*, 77, 73 (July 1965), pp. 293–317.

[6] Baby, *op. cit.* and Clarenc, *op. cit.* give a good picture of the importance

of the forests and the general economic and social situation. See also Archives Départementales de l'Ariège (henceforth, ADA), Pe 45, "Aperçu sur le service forestier de l'*arrondissement* de St. Girons" (September 29, 1830) and the reports of General Laffite to the Minister of War (henceforth, MG), in the D^3 series of the Archives of the Ministry of War at Vincennes (henceforth, AG). The prefect estimated that two-thirds of the population of the mountainous regions depended upon raising cattle or sheep for survival (Pe 45, Prefect of Ariège [henceforth, PA] to Minister of the Interior [henceforth, Int.], March 2, 1830). The state owned the vast majority of the forests in some cantons (Clarenc, p. 294).

[7] Note Agulhon's chart of forest litigation in the Var, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–73. The petitions of the communes of Unac, July 5, 1829, and "Observations presented by the mayor of Massat," n.d. (ADA, Pe 45) are particularly revealing. Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 31, noted the changing class of the forge-owners.

[8] André Armengaud, *Les populations de l'Est-Acquitain au début de l'époque contemporaine* (Paris, 1961), p. 165. Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 30, says that three of the most insurrectionary cantons were becoming rapidly overpopulated between 1804 and 1841 (Massat, 21 percent growth in population; Cabannes, 34.5 percent; and Castillon, 41.4 percent).

[9] "Observations presented by the mayor of Massat," n.d., ADA, Pe 45. The rising price of wood is noted by Agulhon, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Clarenc, *op. cit.*, p. 299; and Guy Thuillier, *Aspects de l'économie nivernaise au XIX^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris: Colin, 1967), p. 106.

[10] M. Baudrillart, *Recueil chronologique des règlements sur les forêts, chasses et pêches, III* (Paris, 1824); M. E. Meaume, *Des droits d'usage dans les forêts de l'administration des bois communaux et de l'affouage*, I (Paris, 1851); Suzanne Coquerelle, "Les droits collectifs et les troubles agraires dans les Pyrénées en 1848," *Actes du 78^e^ Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, 1953, pp. 345–363; Agulhon and Clarenc, *op. cit.* By notables, I am referring to important property-holders, both noble and bourgeois.

[11] The number of prosecutions increased in the *arrondissement* of St. Girons from 192 in 1825 to 341 in 1828 (830 in 1833), Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 39. ADA, Pe 45, "Tableau par ordre chronologique des divers attentats commis . . . par les malfaiteurs connus sous le nom de Demoiselles," relates the story of the peasants searching for their deeds. "Rapaciousness" of notables indicated by the *sous-intendant militaire* in Foix to MG, AG D^3 127, August 17, 1829.

[12] AG, E^5 2, General Laffite to MG, September 16, 1830. The general was given credit for putting down an uprising in the department in 1815, ADA, Pe 45, "Aperçu sur le service forestier de l'arrondissement de St. Girons"; AG, E^6 1, Laffite to FG, August 10.

[13] ADA, Pe 45, PA to Int., February 3, 1829. Early resistance also was noted in the *arrondissement* of St. Gaudens in Haute Garonne, Commissioner of Forests in Toulouse to PA, July 6, 1829.

[14] ADA, Pe 45, PA to Int., May 30, 1829.

[15] ADA, Pe 45, PA to Int., August 6, 1829; Int. to PA, August 31; and PA to Int., September 7. Marrot apparently was able to buy the forest at a very

low price because of the tradition of the rights of the commune of Moulis in the forest.

[16] ADA, Pe 45, Sub-prefect of St. Girons (henceforth, SPSG) to PA, June 30 and July 20, 1829.

[17] ADA, Pe 45, SPSG to PA, June 7, 1830.

[18] AG, D^3 127, Commander of 10th Military Division (Toulouse, hereafter, 10th) to MG, August 20, 1829; ADA, Pe 45, PA to Int., August 20, 1829, and SPSG to PA, August 18, 1829. All of the administrative correspondence relative to the *demoiselles* is gathered in Pe 45, in four dossiers or *liasses*. Hereafter, ADA will refer to Pe 45, unless noted. In addition, the departmental archives include the *procès-verbaux* for ten trials of *demoiselles*, 1829 to 1831, in 2 U 193.

[19] AG, D^3 129 10th to MG, February 14, 1830. Also letters of February 1 and 9.

[20] AG, 10th to MG, February 21, 1830; ADA, SPSG to PA, February 18.

[21] AG, 10th to MG, March 19, 1830, and ADA PA to Int., April 5, 1830.

[22] ADA, Trinqué to PA, July 17, 1829. His first recorded complaint was a letter written to the prefect, June 17, 1829.

[23] ADA, Int. to PA, June 9, 1830.

[24] ADA, Int. to PA, June 9, 1830; PA to Int., May 24, 1830.

[25] ADA, PA to Int., May 30, 1829.

[26] The very first mention seems to be AG, Commander of Gendarmerie to MG, July 16, 1829, D^3 126, which dates their appearance earlier than François Baby indicates. Baby did not consult the useful AG. There is good evidence that the *demoiselles* were active initially in the *arrondissement* of St. Gaudens in Haute Garonne, Commander of Gendarmerie to 10th, July 3, 1829, AG.

[27] ADA, Forest Inspector to Commissioner of Forests, July 6, 1829; ADA, PA to Int., June 12, 1829. One of the most accurate and complete descriptions is from the *arrondissement* of St. Gaudens in Haute Garonne, AG Commander of Gendarmerie of the *arrondissement* to MG, July 16, 1829. This disguise included a hood of cotton cloth.

[28] ADA, Mayor of Saurat to PA, June 5, 1830, and June 8, 1830. Peasants from a nearby commune wore their native straw hoods.

[29] Proclamation in ADA refers to the "criminal association of the *Demoiselles*"; ADA, PA to SPSG, February 23, 1830.

[30] E. J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing: A Social History of the Great English Agricultural Uprisings of 1830* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), example from p. 206.

[31] ADA, signed "Madamoiselle Lagrande."

[32] The evidence confirms that the *demoiselles* were local peasants; ADA, letter of a justice of the peace to PA, July 16, 1829, and mayor of Saurat to PA, April 30, 1830. Indications of outsiders (Spaniards or deserters from other departments) in or recruitment for the *demoiselles* are slight. The prefect, not normally a perceptive man, agreed that the peasants involved in the July 1829 disturbances were locals (ADA, PA to Int., July 20, 1829, and ADA, PA to Int., May 18, 1830).

[33] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present*, 50 (February 1971), p. 57.

[34] Professor Davis asserts that "real life was always deeply embedded in these carnivals" and that the "mocking laugh of misrule intended to keep a traditional order" (pages 45 and 65). In her "Women on Top: Sexual Inversion and Disorder in Early Modern Europe," preliminary draft of a paper presented to the American Anthropological Association, 1972, Davis indicates that female attire and titles in collective protest was to be found in Lyon in the 1770s (page 10).

[35] Baby, *op. cit.*, especially pages 126 to 139.

[36] Davis, *op. cit.* It was significant that one important incident of pillage in the forests of the unpopular Astrié de Gudannes came on the day of the local *fête*, ADA, PA to Int., June 12, 1830, which Baby notes (p. 105).

[37] AG, D^3 129, 10th to MG, February 14, 1830; ADA, commander of the first subdivision of the 10th to PA, July 27, 1829. Brawls between the communes and the forest guards were common; e.g., ADA, SPSG to PA, July 16, 1829.

[38] ADA, PA to Int., December 18, 1829; ADA, SPSG to PA, April 23, 1830 (example from royal forest of Bethmale); AG, D^3 128, 10th to MG, November 1, 1829. Other examples of attacks on forest guards and *charbonniers* include, ADA, under-inspector of forests in St. Girons to inspector in Foix, June 28, 1829, PA to Int., June 20, 1829, and July 3, 1829. Weapons usually included scythes, hatchets, sometimes rifles, and even bayonettes (ADA, mayor of Aulus to PA, June 14, 1830). The commander of the 10th complained that it was difficult to find *charbonniers* to go into the forests of the Ariège, AG D^3 126, July 25, 1829.

[39] AG, D^3 126, Int. to MG, July 9, 1829. Secret police were used beginning in June 1829, ADA, PA to SPSG, June 30, 1829.

[40] For example, ADA, lawyer of *propriétaire* to PA, June 14, 1830.

[41] AG, D^3 127, 10th to MG, August 17, 1829, and Int. to MG, August 30. It seems that some members of the National Guard were present among some of the repressive forces in the summer of 1829, but these were certainly the elite in communes which were completely outside of the struggle.

[42] ADA, PA to Int., March 8, 1830; ADA, PA to Bishop of Pamiers, June 30, 1829, and Bishop to PA, September 10, 1829. In addition, the SPSG convoked the mayors from the troubled areas, on orders from the prefect, ADA, PA to SP, September 5, 1829, and the prefect talked to a number of mayors on his tour of the *arrondissement*, ADA, May 18, 1830.

[43] Baby, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61, indicates that priests sometimes helped the insurgents, and that the communes mentioned, Biert and Soulan, were communes in which the curés were, at least in 1809, members of the "Petite Eglise," which had refused to accept the Concordat and the authority of those priests ordained since 1803.

[44] ADA, PA to Int., September 4, 1829. As the prefect wrote the Minister of Interior, ADA, May 24, 1830, "the commune of Massat wants all rights of pasturing without any exception." In December, the number of incidents sharply

increased, including those in St. Lary, Augirein, and Villeneuve. This followed a period of relative calm. The Minister of War, whose job was to repress the disturbances, frequently suggested some conciliation, e.g., AG, D^3 129, MG to Minister of Finance, February 7, 1830. Few municipal councils formalized claims in the time following the decree in August, ADA, PA to Commissioner of Forests, November 28, 1829.

[45] AG, D^3 127, 10th to MG, August 21, 1829; ADA, SPSG to PA, April 12, 1840. Troop movements can be followed in the General Correspondence in the AG, e.g., D^3 125, 10th to MG, May 31, 1829. Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 93, estimates the entire repressive force, including gendarmerie, at more than two thousand or one for every eighty-five people in the department. There were entire companies in communes like Massat, Boussenac, and Rivèrenert.

[46] This was first suggested by the prefect, who generally preferred the hard line, ADA, PA to Int., September 4, 1829. On complaints, see ADA, Int. to PA, August 31, 1829, and PA to SPSG, September 5, 1829, particularly petition from Castelnau (ADA, SPSG to PA, June 9, 1830), complaining that they were forced to lodge troops in their commune which were used to watch neighboring Esplas.

[47] ADA, PA to Int., March 8, 1830. Arrests included those in Ustou, where the worksheds of the *charbonniers* were burned (AG, D^3 126, 10th to MG, July 23, 1829); trials involved arrested peasants from St. Lary, Seix, Sentenac-de Sérou, Massat, Esplas, and Buzin, 2 U 19^3 ADA, ten *affaires*.

[48] The most important was the trial and conviction of Bertrand Cointre, *dit* Falot du Company, which was announced and posted throughout the department, ADA, PA to Int., March 8, 1830. For example, one trial of ten *demoiselles* resulted in the conviction and sentencing of three (two got ten years and the other six months); witnesses could not, or would not, establish the identity of the others, ADA, PA to Int., June 7, 1830. On the two major trials, see Baby *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[49] Proclamation of Prefect, ADA, March 15, 1830; ADA, *Procureur* of St. Girons to PA, April 7, 1830; Int. to PA, June 9, 1830; AG, D^3 130, Int. to MG, April 17, 1830. In the Trinque case, 2500 francs went to the Crown as a fine, and 300 and 75 francs to the two guards. The use of this law, the law of 10 Vendémaire, An 4, was first suggested by the prefect, ADA, PA to Int., September 4, 1829.

[50] ADA, mayor of Saurat to PA, June 8, 1830. The winter was apparently particularly harsh, including an avalanche in Bethmale, Archives Nationales (hereafter, AN), F^7 6767, PA to Int., February 5, 1830. Spring appearances were particularly marked in cantons of Massat, St. Girons, and Oust.

[51] ADA, St. Martin (inspector?) to PA, September 4, 1829, notes the return of four hundred peasants from the Spanish harvests.

[52] AN, F^7 6767, PA to Int., September 10, 1829. Only mention of dissent is the prefect's report that the young of the "*classes aisés* are generally imbued in the principles of independence which the liberal press sanctions and propagates," AN F^7 6767, PA to Int., March 11, 1830. Political interest undoubtedly centered in the *arrondissement* of Pamiers, which had 355 electors, as compared with 345 for the *arrondissements* of Foix and St. Girons combined.

[53] ADA, 5 M 44, August 3 proclamation of the prefect; 5 M 62, proclamation of August 5. The wording of this petition may indicate that there was already an outbreak of disturbances in the forests.

[54] ADA, 5 M 62, August 5; AG, D^3 131, Laffite to MG indicates Laffite had arrived in Foix from Rouen.

[55] ADA, 5 M 44, proclamation of provisional committee of administration, August 9, 1830. The departure of Charles X was not known until the eighth, as evidenced by the fact that the committee replaced one subprefect on the seventh because he would not swear loyalty to Charles X. Two more members were added to the provisional committee of administration on the 10th (proclamation, ADA, 5 M 62). Another proclamation on that day asked each commune to report on the local political situation, agricultural resources available to the commune, and whether the tricolor was flying.

[56] Even David Pinkney's excellent political history of the revolution, *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), underplays the impact of the revolution on the common man and largely limits discussion of the events in provincial France to political settling, such as revocations and replacements and the threat of a pro-Bourbon uprising in the West and South. He views the general economic crisis and its popular protest as contributing to the acceptance of the overthrow of the Bourbons (p. 225).

[57] James Rule and Charles Tilly, "Political Process in Revolutionary France," in this volume, pp. 42–85.

[58] ADA, mayor and justice of the peace of commune and canton of Cabannes to *Procureur*, August 11, 1830; petition of communes of Cabannes canton, to departmental commission on the forest question, n.d; AG, E^5 1, *Procureur* to MG, August 21, 1830.

[59] AG, E^5 1, provisional committee of administration to MG, August 21, 1830; ADA, *procés-verbaux* of events, August 18, 1830. Damages were estimated at 40,000 francs.

[60] ADA, complaint of owners, August 26, 1830. The commune of Fougax, where there was never an appearance of the *demoiselles*, seemed to have provided most of the participants, who were not disguised.

[61] ADA, n.d., mayor of Rabat to the provisional committee.

[62] ADA, mayor of Prayols to PA, September 12, 1830; mayor of Labastide-Sérou to PA, September 23; Marrot to PA, October 9. Other examples, pillage of property to the Mirepoix family, AG, E^5 2, 10th to MG, September 23; mayor of Saurat to provisional committee, September 5; and complaint of mayor of Ganac that commune of Brassac was furnishing *demoiselles* who were coming into the forests at night, ADA, to PA, September 22, 1830.

[63] ADA, mayor of Saurat to provisional authority, August 20, cites the threatening letter. Details of forge-burning, ADA, mayor of Luzenac to provisional committee, August 20, and mayor of Ax to PA, August 20; AG, E^5 1, 10th to MG, August 22 and August 21; and AG, E^5 1, provisional authority to MG, August 21. At the same time, an intriguing incident seems to have occurred in Lavelanet, with Luddite overtones—an anonymous letter to the provisional authority on August 28 mentioned that a machine of some

sort had been destroyed by individuals who claimed that the machine was taking work from them, ADA.

[64] Pamiers incident, ADA, 5 M 44, subprefect of Pamiers to provisional authority, September 1: ADA, mayor of Vicdessos to provisional authority, August 23. The mayor of Vicdessos also claimed, in a letter of August 27, that the *demoiselles* were seen in the town the night before the people came to "do justice" to the tax collectors.

[65] ADA, petition of mayor of Mongailhard to PA, September 2.

[66] ADA, mayor of Mirepoix to provisional authority, and SPSG to PA, September 7, 1830; AG, E^5 2, de Portes, deputy, to Int. (Guizot, his friend), September 9, 1830.

[67] ADA, mayor of Freychenet to provisional authority, August 28; AG, E^5 1, Laffite to MG, August 21. News of concessions spread quickly, AG, E^5 1, 10th to MG, August 26 and ADA, mayor of Cabannes to provisional authority, August 12. Concessions angered the new prefect, who wrote the mayors of two communes that "all acts of usage or of property which are bases on the disposition of this transaction [the concession] will constitute, until authorized by the King, an attack on the property of others and the communes will be held responsible," ADA, September 14, 1830.

[68] ADA, mayor of Ax to provisional authority, August 23; mayor of Prayols to PA, September 12, 1830; AG, E^5 2, Commander of Gendarmerie of the *arrondissement* of St. Gaudens (Haute Garonne) to MG, September 1.

[69] ADA, mayor of Ax to provisional authority, August 23, 1830.

[70] ADA, mayor of Engomer to SPSG, August 12, 1830.

[71] This attitude seemed to be reflected in Paris in the face of increased militancy of the workers; David H. Pinkney, "*Laissez-faire* or Intervention? Labor Policy in the First Months of the July Monarchy," *French Historical Studies*, 8 (1963), pp. 123–128.

[72] See note 45. There is no evidence that the number of troops and gendarmes in the department changed between April and the months of August and September.

[73] AG, E^5 2, Laffite to MG, September 16, 1830.

[74] AG, E^5 1, 10th to MG, August 26, 1830; MG to Int., August 31.

[75] AG, E^5 2, Minister of Finance to MG, September 23, 1830 and decree of September 27; Laffite to MG, September 26, 1830.

[76] ADA, petitions of Cabannes canton and commune of Montoulieu, n.d.

[77] ADA, petition of commune of Montgailhard, September 2, 1830.

[78] ADA, Inspector of Forests to PA, September 20, 1830, and report of the Commissioner of Forests at Toulouse, November 6, 1830. Amnesty noted by Baby *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91.

[79] ADA, report of the commission, December 18, 1830, in the form of twenty-two *arrêtes*, or decrees. Article 10 provided for a hearing of the mayors and municipal council before the forest administration indicated each year the "defensible" or permitted areas of the forests. The communes were still held responsible for all violations of the forest code as modified. One previously burdensome stipulation was removed—the communes no longer had to attach

a small bell to each animal pasturing (article 19). The tiny commune of Montoulieu finally received some rights in the royal forests (see note 76).

[80] ADA, report of the Commissioner of Forests at Toulouse, November 6, 1830. It also recommended the upgrading of the personnel of the forest guards in response to the public clamor about the guards' behavior.

[81] AG, E^5 2, Laffite to MG, September 16, 1830. In one interesting case, again that of Massat, the commune actually purchased the disputed forest from the owners after the revolution (ADA, n.d. "Observations presented by the mayor of Massat"), later losing it back to the former *propriétaires* when the payments could, apparently, no longer be made (Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 89).

[82] ADA, letter of a "captain" of the *demoiselles* to the provisional authority, August 30, 1830.

[83] ADA, PA to mayor of Montgailhard, November 30, 1830; Inspector of Forests to PA, September 26, 1830 (reported that the new forest guard in Ax was being threatened); ADA 5 M 53, Int. to PA, December 14, 1830.

[84] AG, E^5 9, 10th to MG, March 22, 1831, particularly in the Massat area. Rumors of their reappearance began in this area as early as August 1830 (ADA, mayor of Massat to SPSG, August 24).

[85] Baby estimates the number of actual appearances, with disguise, of the *demoiselles* at seventeen between 1831 and 1848, most of these in 1831 and 1832 (*op. cit.*, pp. 93, 214–215). The number of forges continued to grow, reaching 57 in 1844 (43 in 1818), Baby, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Armengaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–210 describes the depopulation of the Ariège. Between 1841 and 1856 emigration exceeded immigration by 23,362, particularly during the period 1851–1856.

[86] As suggested by Albert Soboul, "La question paysanne en 1848," *La Pensée*, 18 (55–66), 19 (25–37), 20 (48–56), 1948; and more recently in, "The French rural community in the 18th and 19th centuries," *op. cit.* Baby considers the "War of the Demoiselles" to be unique, the "last French revolt to have made folklore its ornament, its motivations and its principal arm" (*op. cit.*, p. 149). He portrays this "war" as "not a revolutionary uprising . . . it is folklore, essentially [p. 147] . . . not a moment of the Revolution of 1830 but a simple *jacquerie* [p. 54]." While the disguise in the Ariège may have been unique, there were similar forest disturbances in many areas of France, recorded most accurately in the General Correspondence in the AG and in the BB^{18} series of the AN. Many of these involved the loss of the same rights as in the Ariège (see note 5, Agulhon, for example). The end of this folklore element to protest was itself another indication of the disappearance of the traditional peasant community.

[87] Agulhon, *op. cit.* In the May 1849 elections, the "*démoc-soc*" list won between 40 and 50 percent of the popular vote in the Ariège (Maurice Agulhon, *1848 ou l'apprentissage de la république, 1848–52* [Paris: Seuil, 1973], p. 174).

[88] Charles Tilly, "The Changing Place of Collective Violence" and "How Protest Modernized in France, 1845–55," *op. cit.*; and Tilly, "Collective Violence in the European Perspective," in *Violence in America*, in Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1967).

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Robert J. Bezucha

The Revolution of 1830 and the City of Lyon

The new government was faced with a variety of challenges to its authority. In Lyon, France's second largest city and one of the most concentrated industrial centers in the world, this challenge came from a resurgence of a tradition of municipal autonomy and from the thousands of silk workers who rose up in insurrection in November 1831 and April 1834.

In his study of the impact of the Revolution of 1830 on the city of Lyon, Robert Bezucha challenges the view that the revolution was ended by December of that year. Citing the similarities between Lyon and Paris, he supports James Rule and Charles Tilly's contention that the revolution inaugurated a crucial period of political and social struggle. He argues that the revolution in Lyon was finished only in June of 1834, after municipal resistance to central authority in Paris had been deflated, the silk workers had been crushed by the bourgeois National Guard and the army, and a slate of conservative "men of order" had been returned by Lyon's enfranchised political elite in the elections of June 1834.

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