

GOOD WORKERS AND GOOD SOLDIERS: ATTITUDE FORMATION IN THE  
PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE FRENCH THIRD REPUBLIC, 1880-1914  
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The institution of a tuition-free national primary school system in France coincided with an acceleration in the tempo of industrialization with all its attendant problems of urbanization, unemployment, and working class organization. The public school system, which celebrated its centenary a few years ago and which often has been hailed as the greatest and most durable achievement of the Third Republic, was not a wholly new creation. It maintained most of the structural features that had characterized French education since Napoleon. But, because the men who formed the new republic believed that the public schools must maintain religious neutrality at the same time as they provided moral instruction for the children who attended them, a non-theist course was mandated to replace the traditional catechism lessons in the curriculum. The purpose of the course was to instruct the pupils in their duties to themselves, to their families, teachers and employers, and to the nation.<sup>1</sup> Textbooks for the course, often written by leading academicians and civil servants, followed a Ministry of Education syllabus.<sup>2</sup> The morale textbooks unabashably preached the gospel of work and attempted to instill in their readers a positive attitude towards hard work and honesty and a repugnance for certain moral vices, especially those of laziness, theft, drunkenness and improvidence. Although no school system has ever attempted to train its charges to become bad citizens, lazy workers, and cowardly soldiers, the emphasis placed on work and patriotism in the schools leads one to an understanding of the effects of a lost war on the post-war leaders. At the same time they attempted to reconcile those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder to their position in what Jules Ferry, the political leader most responsible for the new obligatory school system, preferred to call the "social hierarchies" of the nation.<sup>3</sup>

It was indeed to the lower ranks of those "social hierarchies" that the new course and texts were directed: The new free and obligatory system was intended to serve that vast majority of the population who were to receive no schooling beyond the primary level. Parents who planned that their children would attend the state secondary system (the lycees) sent them to private schools or to the special fee-paying elementary schools attached to the lycees.<sup>4</sup> That parallel systems rather than a democratization of the government school system were intended is evident. Students entered the secondary system one or two years before they were eligible to take the examinations for the much prized primary certificate. At the same time that the Ferry laws were passed establishing the free system, a special certificate was required for those teaching in the fee-paying primary schools.<sup>5</sup> Thus the new public schools of France and the new course in morals were intended to provide terminal education for the children of the peasants and workers of France who would leave school and enter the working world at the age of fourteen.

The scheduling of the morals course at the beginning of each school day is one indication that the governing elites were cognizant of the singular opportunity the course provided to mold the attitudes of most future citizens of the republic. It was thought that although other academic subjects neglected

in childhood could be learned as an adult, the fundamental principles of morals, defined as the science of duty, had to be learned in early childhood or not at all.<sup>6</sup> The morale texts took on an added importance because they were conceived to replace religious instruction: if heaven could no longer be promised as the reward for a good life, the satisfaction of social (community) cooperation, of hard work and tangible rewards could provide a convenient substitute. In a like manner, if the torments of hell could no longer be used as a deterrent, those of social ostracism, extreme poverty, and prison were pressed into service.<sup>7</sup> The morale texts defined a secular code of ethics to guide the lives of republican citizens. The goal of the course as defined in the syllabus circulated by the Minister of Education was "to create and maintain among the pupils a group of moral attitudes, appropriate to prepare them for the lives which awaited them in society."<sup>8</sup> The instituteurs and institutrices, trained in the expanded state normal school system, were reluctant to begin their day's work with the off-the-cuff civic sermon the education ministry suggested.<sup>9</sup> They preferred instead to rely on the textbooks chosen within the administrative structure of each department. The texts replaced the commandments by the relevant articles of the Code and the parables by anecdotes and cautionary tales illustrating the major point of each lesson. In many respects these texts were a secular version of a catechism and displayed none of the ambiguity that often characterized ethical discussion. Ernest Lavisse, probably the best known historian of the pre-war republic, head of the modern history section of the Sorbonne and a member of the French Academy, whose textbooks were published under the suggestive pseudonym Pierre Laloi, carefully explained in a preface how his volume was to be used. The teacher should first read the text aloud, section by section, several times. At each step he was to ask questions to be sure that the pupils understood and retained the material. When the story at the end of the chapter was read the children were required to reproduce the anecdote in their own words. The synopsis of the story had to be learned by heart.<sup>10</sup> The Lavisse texts were very widely used. Nearly every memoir of the period mentions them and other authors of morale textbooks borrowed his petites histoires to illustrate their points.<sup>11</sup>

A major feature of the moral lessons was the emphasis placed on the importance of the schools for the nation's future. Albert Bayet, in a textbook written in collaboration with Alphonse Aulard, who held the chair of the French Revolution at the Sorbonne, was precise on the major goal of education: "To be useful to other men and to become a good farmer or a good worker one must be able to read and write." Without this basic knowledge one was forever dependent on others and could neither be a useful worker or a good citizen.<sup>12</sup> The author revealed how little he was aware of how other groups in society acquire their skills when he insisted that farmers must read agricultural books to learn the best ways to raise grain and to fertilize the land. This useful information would increase their skill and enrich them.<sup>13</sup> Indeed there was nothing done at school which was not seen as a preparation for the workplace. Even physical education was not an exception: "In all the lay schools of France the teachers instruct their pupils in gymnastics. In this way all will be able to become adroit and vigorous workers."<sup>14</sup> All this

physical adroitness and all this knowledge, confined to the rich in times past, were readily available under the Republic where devoted teachers had nearly everywhere increased their contribution by adult evening classes. Because this knowledge added to human happiness and to good workmanship citizens should insist that their deputies vote to increase the construction of lay schools.<sup>15</sup> The rhetoric has the smell of the counting house. If leaders in the educational field were concerned that the children of the republic be grateful for their school they were no less concerned that the bourgeois taxpayers recognize "the necessary link between a healthy marketplace and a proper civic and moral education."<sup>16</sup>

Along with this positive attitude towards education, the pupils should have an affirmative attitude towards society. They were instructed that it was dangerous to believe that one would be happy if one were rich; the truth was that wealth created boredom and anxieties.<sup>17</sup> Yet, it was legitimate to strive for comfort provided that it was seen as the reward for work.<sup>18</sup> Work was the first duty to the country and to oneself.<sup>19</sup> Failure to work was a violation of justice, for if the farmer did not raise grain, men would starve; if miners did not extract coal, people would freeze; if shoemakers refused to work, the citizens would not be shod.<sup>20</sup>

Along with consistent work, another condition for material success was frugality: "work is the right hand, saving is the left, in the acquisition of wealth." One should not spend this money uselessly. Prodigality was foolish and one always lived to regret it.<sup>21</sup> One could only arrive at a comfortable life by sobriety, rigorous economy, and depriving oneself of commodities and pleasures.<sup>22</sup> In Lavissee's sketch of the perfect working class couple where the fullness of mutual duties and respect were found, the wife (Jeanne) weekly divided her husband's pay packet into a series of little envelopes including ones for the mutual aid society and for the savings bank. Each night before retiring she totaled the expenses and receipts for the day in her notebook. Lavissee pointed out that although she had three children, she was still able to add her part to the family finances by taking in ironing at home.<sup>23</sup> Compayre instructed his young readers that the sober worker who used foresight rarely fell into extreme poverty, because he was able to rely on the savings he had placed in the bank.<sup>24</sup>

The family provided the future farmer or laborer his earliest lessons. It was the duty of the child to love and obey his parents and to aid them financially in their old age. This system was only fair, because the child was supported when he contributed nothing--again the cash nexus. The obligation to obey extended to all that the parents commanded. Those children who made a practice of not accepting orders without prolonged discussion were unreasonable because children often could not understand parental motives. The proper course was to obey promptly. It was pointed out that failure to follow the directions of parents justified French law in imposing serious punishment, including detention in a house of correction. When the authors insisted that teachers must receive the same obedience and respect as parents, a logical rationalization was that the same deference should be extended to future employers.<sup>25</sup> If the child should be submissive to his parents, so must the worker follow the directions of his employer who owned the machinery and who assumed the financial risks.<sup>26</sup>

Likewise, personal habits must be formed in the home: order, cleanliness, moderation in eating, avoidance of quarreling and sensuality. One practical rule that prepared well for a life of work:

Lever à cinq, coucher à neuf

Font vivre d'ans nonante-neuf.<sup>27</sup>

If one could not say that cleanliness was next to godliness, one could use the concept to defuse class consciousness; after all, "The deepest social separation is that which divides dirty and brutish people from clean and polite ones; it's up to us to be in one class or the other; what divides us most is dirt."<sup>28</sup>

All these firm moral habits would aid the student when he arrived at his destination--the workplace. Here punctuality would be most important; there should be no reluctance to begin work on time. It was especially important to work when the boss was not watching; if one did not one was a thief.<sup>29</sup> Laziness could only cause difficulty for the worker. It was also the root of boredom and the lazy person would end by becoming a "do-nothing"--a situation which inevitably led to crime. At this stage of French industrial development workers were frequently fined for absenteeism and tardiness.<sup>30</sup> As was his practice Lavissee reinforced his lesson with a cautionary tale. Constant was a pupil who decided not to go to school on Monday because he had played hard on Sunday and felt totally weary. He later transferred his bad habits of tardiness and absenteeism from school to the workplace. The reader was hardly surprised to discover that Constant's ultimate fate was prison.<sup>31</sup> The somber tale had a precise point. The key to Constant's downfall was his initial absence on Monday; the tendency of French workers to celebrate "Holy Monday" came in for condemnation immediately following the story of Constant. Celebration of this feast, which occurred fifty-two times a year, consisted in late sleeping and dissipation--the precise type was pictured in the text by a working class group gathered around a table in a café, raising their glasses in a toast, as one of their number sinks beneath the table.<sup>32</sup>

In all of these exhortations to work hard there was the theme that to shirk work was to steal from the employer. From such a premise it could easily be deduced that the manuals were unfavorable to working class agitation and to strikes. They conceded that strikes were legal but they emphasized that the law protected those who wished to continue to work. None of the texts has a favorable portrayal of a strike or of a union leader. Strikes invariably failed and their fomenters, often drunken demagogues, were responsible for getting young workers into difficulty with the law. Statutes were quoted to indicate the punishment reserved by the law for strikers who used threats or violence against those who were willing to work--six days to three years imprisonment and from sixteen to three thousand francs fine. Because the government had an obligation to protect people and property and to guarantee the right to work, it frequently sent troops into disturbed areas. The pupils were instructed that workers should be animated by goodwill rather than feelings of envy. Strikes were inherently dangerous; hard work and savings were the preferred paths to progress.<sup>33</sup> Compayre couched his argument in favor of industrial peace in a twelve page series of letters between a worker attending a union conference in Marseilles and his former schoolmaster. The schoolmaster reinforced his argument by pointing out to his former student, Georges, that if



employers did not invest their capital in factories and machines where would be no work for the working class. He concluded his final letter with the statement: "There will always be rich people and poor people, bosses and workers; it is the law of nature."<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps a shrewder psychologist, Lavissee preferred to tell a tale of industrial peace. Monsieur Leclaire, a former worker who had become a foreman and later a great manufacturer, was the very model of a good employer. Once his fortune had been consolidated, he turned his attention to the condition of his workers. He set aside a portion of his profits for a social security fund--sickness, accident, and old age. The grateful workers entrusted him with their mutual aid fund. Monsieur Leclaire became president of their mutual aid society and was assisted by elected worker delegates. Their first case was an operative who had lost his arm in the factory machinery and was awarded a pension of three hundred francs a year. The employer quickly realized the advantages of his policy: the workers became more zealous and attentive in their work and since Monsieur Leclaire had invested the fund in his enterprise, they saw that their work contributed to their welfare fund as well as to their employer's profit. Monsieur Leclaire further stimulated their zeal by a bonus for extra work--the more a worker produced, the greater his wage. The workers recognized--indeed he told them--that he owed them no more than their regular wages and they appreciated his benevolence. They were not tempted to seek equality. They knew that Monsieur Leclaire had founded the business, built the factories, installed the machinery, and supervised the workmen. Justice demanded that he receive interest on his capital and a return for his expertise; besides he took a greater risk than all the workers combined.<sup>35</sup> This naive tale found favor with other writers of manuals who used it in their textbooks. The rags-to-riches theme was present in many of the manuals. Jules Simon told the tale of an abandoned child who rose to become the schoolmaster and mayor of his community.<sup>36</sup> Louis Liard told of an orphan who started out sweeping a shoemaker's shop and by hard work and saving rose to own a business with more than two hundred employees. On the road to success he also convinced an equally poor childhood friend to give up socialism and join him in his endeavors. The tale ended with the comment that each of the two hundred employees could also become bosses and property owners if they worked hard and saved.<sup>37</sup>

The above tales illustrate the social ethic of the leaders of the Third Republic. At its base was the principle of solidarity. The mutual interests of all in society, including workers and their employers, should result in cooperation, not in conflict. The workers should recognize the validity of the existing property system; in recompense they should be provided with their vital needs. The solution for all the problems of a rapidly industrializing society could be found in class cooperation. The concrete social issues--unemployment, wages, hours, working conditions--were not directly discussed in the manuals; but in the corpus of their writing the authors made clear their abhorrence of socialism.<sup>38</sup> In support of the existing system the textbooks insisted that the workers lived in a democratic society, whose just laws insured equal rights to every citizen. Inevitably this just society had economic inequalities. All citizens did not have the same vitality or intelligence. France's economic system contained its own

correctives. If the rich misused their fortune and failed to work they would end in ruin. One did not help the poor by giving them charity but rather by providing them with an incentive to work and helping them to find employment.<sup>39</sup> Such was the gospel of work.

No effort was spared to impress upon the pupils of the national primary schools that non-manual workers put in long hours on the job and deserved respect. Doctors were shown at the bedside of the contagious poor, notaries were shown surrounded by paperwork, and town mayors at the opening of new bridges which would bring economic prosperity to their communities.<sup>40</sup> But it is the dual image of the capitalist that is most interesting. Both protagonists appear in the Lavisserie manuals and each is presented as a poor man who became wealthy through his own efforts. The first is Monsieur Leclair, the paternalistic benevolent owner of a huge textile plant, who was described as a former worker and foreman. The accompanying picture of him in frock coat, high collar and tie, handing out prize books to those workers' children who were most successful in school has the factory complex in the background.<sup>41</sup> Monsieur Leclair served as a good example of the kindly factory owner. However, when Lavisserie wanted to demonstrate the virtues of unearned income he chose as his hero neither a member of the visible bourgeoisie nor a modern industrial entrepreneur, but rather a member of the pre-industrial artisanate, a humble shoemaker. The children were shown pictures of Gregoire, the shoemaker, in rolled up sleeves and a work apron, explaining his capitalist philosophy with a kerchiefed wife in the background. The accompanying story began when a former apprentice returned to visit from Paris where he had been infected with the socialist virus. Gregoire set out to undo the evil influence of the big city. When the apprentice stated that capital was the enemy, and that because of it the rich lived without doing anything except making others work, the shoemaker responded that he was a capitalist and had invested thirty thousand good French francs which he acquired by hard work. Gregoire pointed out that through his investments he had been able to help the nation and his own community. When France was occupied after the defeat of 1871, he was able to lend his saving to the government to meet the extortion of the Prussians. Later he bought stock in a factory which gave employment to many poor people in his community. When the former apprentice objected that Gregoire drew seven per cent interest from the sweat of these workers, the older man was indignant: if goods were equally shared out at eight in the morning they would be back in the original hands at noon, after the wasters had spent their share in the cafés. Nor would things be better if the state owned and operated all enterprises, for the state had no criteria for the many choices which would be forced upon it. Therefore the best way to regulate economic matters was to trust free competition.<sup>42</sup>

For the worker to progress as Gregoire purportedly had done, he must be economical and not spend his wages on unnecessary pleasures. Over and over, it was emphasized that work and saving were the key to riches. Jules Simon, former premier, pointed out how much money a family could earn if both parents and all the children worked.<sup>43</sup> It was thought that if one taught children the economic system according to Adam Smith, as adults they would understand why the government could not interfere with the system, why unemployment was not the

employer's fault and why wages sometimes had to be reduced.<sup>44</sup> Each person must be responsible enough to save part of his wages so that he would be able to care for himself in bad times. The implication was obvious. The needy had only themselves to blame.<sup>45</sup>

If the elementary schools of the pre-World War I Third Republic were expected to turn peasants into patriots and future voters into literate citizens, a study of the morale texts makes clear that the schools were also attempting to turn their clientele--the children of the workers and peasants of France--into a disciplined workforce. All educational systems are a vehicle for the transmission of the values of a dominant political and economic group to the succeeding generation. The authors of the morale texts--all high ranking academicians and civil servants--exemplify nineteenth century bourgeois morality and in their textbooks reveal their attitudes both toward the pupils of the communal schools and toward the society which had so richly rewarded them. In their vigorous defense of the existing property relationship, and in their attempt to smooth over social differences, one senses a fear that the lower classes might attempt to transform the political democracy France had become into a more egalitarian social system.<sup>46</sup>

#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Jacques Ozouf, Nous les maitres d'école, Autobiographies d'instituteurs de la belle époque (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), p. 221; Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen, The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), pp. 303-338. For the phrase "good workers and good soldiers" see the preface to Ernest Lavisse [Pierre Laloil], La Première Année d'instruction morale et civique (Paris: Colin, 1896), 39th ed. For the period before 1880 see Laura S. Struminger, What Were Good Little Girls and boys Made Of? Primary Education in Rural France, 1830-1880 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983) and Robert Gildea, Education in Provincial France, 1880-1914: A study of Three Departments (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983). For the experiences of primary school teachers and pupils see Georges Duveau, Les Instituteurs (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966), pp. 11-153; Gildea, Education in Provincial France; Ozouf, Nous les maitres; Barnett Singer, Village Notables in Nineteenth-Century France: Priests, Mayors, Schoolmasters (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 108-146; Roger Thabault, Education and Change in a Village Community, Mazieres-en-Gatine, 1848-1914 (New York: Schocken Books, 1971); Marc Villin, Les Chemins de la Communale, Regards sur l'école et les maitres d'autrefois (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1981). For the training of girls see Linda L. Clark, Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

<sup>2</sup>This paper is based on a study of all the morale manuals



published between 1880 and 1914 that are in the collections of either the Bibliothèque de l'Institut Pédagogique or the Bibliothèque Nationale. The syllabi are available in the Bulletin administratif du Ministère de l'instruction publique. In the same place one also finds committee reports, administrative decisions and all the information that the Ministry of Education chose to pass along to the public school personnel. The Archives Nationales F1711656 contains lists of morale texts approved in some departments in 1909. The Bulletin de l'instruction primaire, Académie de Clermont, 1914, No. 7 contains a complete catalogue of the textbooks in use in the public primary schools of the department of Corrèze in 1914. In 1889 the Ministry of Education published a list of textbooks in current use.

<sup>3</sup>Sanford Elwitt, The Making of the Third Republic: Class and Politics in France, 1868-1884 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), p. 183; Robert Gildea, Education in Provincial France, 1800-1914: A Study of Three Departments, pp. 254-281.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph N. Moody, French Education Since Napoleon (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p. 98.

<sup>5</sup>Antoine Prost, "Quand l'école de Jules Ferry est-elle morte?", Histoire de l'éducation 14 (April 1982), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup>Jules Steeg, Instruction morale et civique (Paris: Librairie Classique Fernand Nathan, 1892), p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>One of the most frequently used cautionary tales was a vivid if secularized version of the torments of hell. In it a young working-class male celebrated the end of a long period of unemployment by a trip to the café. Later, somewhat inebriated, he lay down to rest beside an open lime kiln and while asleep rolled into the furnace. When he was found the next morning his body was nearly burned to a cinder but on his untouched face could be seen a ghastly expression of pain. A. Poignet et H. Bernet, Le Livre unique de morale et d'instruction civique (Paris: Vve Auguste-Godchaux, 1910), 30<sup>e</sup> Leçon: Jules Steeg, Les Dangers de l'alcoolisme (Paris: Librairie classique Fernand Nathan, 1896), pp. 80-81.

<sup>8</sup>Bulletin administratif du Ministère de l'instruction publique, Volume 53, Number 1043 (28 January 1893), 45. An even clearer sense of the class nature of instruction can be found in an 1893 directive of Minister of Education Dupuy concerning the non-obligatory advanced level of primary schooling:

What school population will be received by our advanced elementary schools? They are not those people destined for liberal professions who have time and come asking us for high intellectual culture. They are the children of the laboring classes who will soon need to support themselves by work, and most often by manual work....The advanced primary school can only orient its pupils from the first day to the last, towards the necessities of the practical life that awaits them; it will not turn their minds for one instant towards the pursuit of a profession; it will avoid giving them those tastes, habits, or ideas which will separate them from the type of life and the type of work for which most of them are destined. At the same time that it reminds them that democracy has broken down the



barriers which in former times tightly imprisoned the individual, it will try to make them love and honor their future role in life rather than make them dream of ways of moving out of it....We will continue therefore the work of formation begun in the primary school.

(Circulaires et Instruction Officielles relative à l'instruction publique), XI, 3823 (15 février 1893), pp. 639-640. A few months later the new Minister of Education, Raymond Poincaré, reaffirmed his predecessor's comments in Circulaire 3840 dated 24 April 1893. Both items concerned the tiny minority of able pupils who had already passed the examination for the certificate of primary studies and whose parents were willing to postpone their child's entry into the labor force for the rather dubious advantages of a year or two of extra schooling.

<sup>9</sup>Jules Ferry's letter (17 November 1883) to elementary school teachers on their role as morale teachers and on the use of textbooks is reproduced in F. Buisson (ed.), Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire (Paris: Hachette, 1887), Part 1, 2: 1836-1837, 1970-1971. See also Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 2: 178-182.

<sup>10</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloï], La Première Année d'instruction morale et civique, (Paris: A. Colin, 1896), Avant-propos. The choice of pseudonym was probably dictated by a childhood memory of the glittering copper plate worn across the chest of the grade champêtre on which was engraved "words which I admired, La Loi the law." Ernest Lavissee, Souvenirs (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1912), 65.

<sup>11</sup>Francis Clerc, Résumés de Morale avec lectures et maximes (Paris: A.F. Patissier, s.d.) 25, 166-178; Gaston Bonheur, Qui a cassé le vase de Soissons?: L'album de famille de tous les Français, (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1963) 2: 128-135; Marc Villin, Les Chemins de la Communale: Regards sur l'école et les maîtres d'autrefois, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1981).

<sup>12</sup>Albert Bayet, Morale (Paris: Edouard Cornely, Collection A. Aulard, 1902), 43.

<sup>13</sup>Bayet, Morale, 43-44.

<sup>14</sup>Bayet, Morale, 24.

<sup>15</sup>Bayet, Morale, 45.

<sup>16</sup>Sanford Elwitt, The Making of the Third Republic, 196.

<sup>17</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloï], L'Année préparatoire d'instruction morale, civique (Paris: A. Colin, 1895), 120.

<sup>18</sup>Angot, L'Enseignement morale à l'école primaire (Paris: Paul-Auguste Godchaux et Cie., 1897), 86; E. Primaire, Manuel de l'éducation morale, civique et sociale (Paris: Bibliothèque d'éducation, 1901), 196.

<sup>19</sup>Angot, L'Enseignement, 87.

<sup>20</sup>Jules Payot, La Morale à l'école (Paris: Armand Colin, 1907), 219.

<sup>21</sup>Jules Simon, Le Livre du petit citoyen (Paris: Hachette, 1880) 104-105; Louis Liard, Morale et l'enseignement civique (Paris: Librairie Leopold Cerf, 1911), 61-62; Jules Steeg, Instruction, 176; Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloï], L'Année préparatoire, 124.

<sup>22</sup>E. Primaire, Manuel, 196.

<sup>23</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloï], La Première année, 101-106

<sup>24</sup>Gabriel Compayre, Elements d'éducation civique et morale

- (Paris: P. Garcet, Nisius et Cie., 1881) 180.
- <sup>25</sup>Albert Bayet, Morale, 57-58, 63-65, 77-78.
- <sup>26</sup>Jules Payot, La Morale, 43-49, 88-90; Jules Steeg, Instruction, 45-59.
- <sup>27</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 81.
- <sup>28</sup>Jules Payot, La Morale, 218.
- <sup>29</sup>E. Primaire, Manuel, 86.
- <sup>30</sup>Peter N. Stearns, Paths to Authority: The Middle Class and the Industrial Labor Force in France (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 82-87.
- <sup>31</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 32-34.
- <sup>32</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 33.
- <sup>33</sup>A. Bancal, Nouveau carnet de morale (Paris: Hachette, 1908), 158; Gabriel Compayre, Elements d'éducation, 189-191.
- <sup>34</sup>Gabriel Compayre, Elements d'éducation, 185-186.
- <sup>35</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 67-69.
- <sup>36</sup>Jules Simon, Le Livre du petit citoyen, 42-43.
- <sup>37</sup>Louis Liard, Morale et l'enseignement civique, 72-75. Roger Thabault discusses the effectiveness of the gospel of "work and save" when combined with an expanding economy and when preached by an instituteur who was himself an example of a local boy who had achieved moderate wealth and respect. Roger Thabault, Education and change in a Village Community: Mazières-en-Gatine, 1848-1914 (New York: Schocken books, 1971). This work is an English translation of Mon village, 1848-1914: L'Ascension d'un peuple (1944).
- <sup>38</sup>Ernest Lavissee, Essais su l'Allemagne impériale (Paris: Hachette, 1880), 213; E. Lavissee, "Les Partis socialistes et l'agitation ouvrière en Allemagne," Revue des Deux Mondes (15 September 1873), 448-452; Jules Simon, Le Livre du petit citoyen, 90-91; Jules Simon, La Liberté civile, 74-183; Louis Liard, Morale, 63-64, 70-76; Paul Bert, L'Instruction civique et morale a l'école (Paris: n.q., 1881), 120-123; A. Aulard, Science, patrie, religion (Paris: A. Colin, 1893), 52-54; A. Aulard, preface to Leopold Lacour, La Révolution française et ses détracteurs d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Bibliothèques des réformes sociales, 1909), vii-viii.
- <sup>39</sup>Albert Bayet, Morale, 133-134; Jules Steeg, Morale, 94.
- <sup>40</sup>Albert Bayet, Morale, 123, 145-148; Louis Liard, Morale, 79-80; Jules Steeg, Morale, 109-111; Jules Simon, Le Livre du petit citoyen 77-95, 121-138; Mme. Fouillee [G. Bruno], La Tour de France par deux enfants: Devois et Patrie (Paris: Librairie Classique Eugene Belin, 1884), 167-170; Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], La Première Année, 118-120.
- <sup>41</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 69. It is possible that Nicolas Claude, who had risen from foreman to manager to owner of a large cotton mill in the Vosges, was the model for Lavissee's M. Leclair. Claude became a deputy and later the senator for his region and showed an interest in popular education and temperance legislation. See T. Zeldin, France, 1848-1945, 1: 650 and S. Elwitt, The Making of the Third Republic, 152-3, 189, 194.
- <sup>42</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], La Première Année, 46-52.
- <sup>43</sup>Jules Simon, Le Livre du petit citoyen, 117.
- <sup>44</sup>Louis Liard even explained the division of labor by repeating Adam Smith's tale about pin manufacturing, although he doesn't mention Smith. (Morale, 59).
- <sup>45</sup>Ernest Lavissee [Pierre Laloil], L'Année préparatoire, 162.
- "In the same way that prosperity is born of work, poverty is

born of laziness."

<sup>46</sup>Frederic Passy, "Economie politique," in Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire, ed. F. Busson, Part 1, 1: 791-796. Passy states that ignorance of the economic system (an integral part of the morale texts) and ignorance of the inability of law, force, or will to rapidly modify the wealth and distribution system of a society leads to all kinds of mirages of social "alchemy" and to unhappiness.

The author strongly suggests that all discussion of utopias, past or future, be avoided and that instruction be limited to simple concrete notions of the laws of supply and demand, the meaning of capital, interest and labor, and the importance of saving. These must be taught early before children's minds become closed to truth in order to avoid two causes of revolution, error and envy. Jules Simon, La Liberté civile, 89, 110, 121, 175-181. Henri Guillemin, Nationalistes et "nationaux" (1870-1940) (Paris: Gallimard, 1974) in which a speech of Jules Ferry (14 October 1883) is quoted: "Le péril monarchique est aujourd'hui définitivement écarté, mais un autre lui succède; il faut le régarder en face."