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## The July Government and the Parisian Catholic Press, 1830-1848

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The July Government and the Parisian Catholic Press, 1830-1848  
by M. Patricia Dougherty, O.P.  
(University of Cardiff, July 2, 2013)

In February 1843, Antoine Gardelaud, a former public servant, submitted to the General Department of Print Shops and Bookstores (in the Ministry of the Interior) an intent to publish a monthly periodical called *La Chaire catholique* (*Catholic pulpit*).<sup>i</sup> He named himself as sole owner and Caubet as printer. As its name indicated, this periodical centered on preaching and promised to publish good Catholic sermons from all over France and Rome. Its first article confidently reported: "Certes, on ne peut nier un grand mouvement catholique s'est opéré dans notre société moderne. . . . il faut l'aider, l'étendre, le féconder."<sup>ii</sup> *La Chaire catholique* did not just look for clergy as subscribers even though its subtitle on the intent to publish was *Journal des intérêts ecclésiastiques*. It, also, sought to attract business investors/speculators by offering shares at a cost of 250ff each with a guaranteed return of 8% per year or a refund of the investor's money.<sup>iii</sup> Two hundred and ninety-eight shares were sold, but no dividend ever materialized nor was any money refunded. Consequently, share-holders pursued the owner in court and the periodical went bankrupt and new owners took over the periodical. It turned out that Gardelaud was a front man whose job was to bundle the periodicals and address them to the subscribers. The real owner was a Jew, which caused a scandal.<sup>iv</sup> This example shows the

requirements that the July Monarchy imposed on periodicals but also shows how imperfect those rules were. Evidently, there was no examination of the veracity of the submitted documents.

The relationship between the government and the press was a rocky one. Control of the press dated back to the early days of the French newspaper in the seventeenth century, when the government forbade discussion of political issues in newspapers without government authorization. The sticky issue in late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was “freedom of the press.” This right dated back to Articles 10 and 11 of the 1789 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*.<sup>v</sup> However, it was not an absolute right but had limits; expressing or publishing opinions could not disturb the public order and was subject to law. From 1789 to 1792, the French Revolution provided unlimited freedom of the press and sparked newspapers of every political hue to publish their views.<sup>vi</sup> After 1792, the government began to reassert control and censorship over the newspapers. By the First Empire, Napoleon had established firm and total control of newspapers and even limited the number to four in Paris and one per department.

The government of the July Monarchy, like that of the ancien regime, the Empire, and the Restoration closely observed and regulated the press.<sup>vii</sup> Article 7 of the 1830 Charter stated: “Les Français ont le droit de publier et de faire imprimer leurs opinions en se conformant aux lois. La censure ne pourra jamais être rétablie.”<sup>viii</sup> The second sentence of Article 7 sought to ensure no repeat of the attempt by the king to impose censorship—an action which led to the overthrow of Charles X in July 1830. Even without censorship, there continued to be strong surveillance of the press during in the July Monarchy.

During the tumultuous beginning of the reign of Louis Philippe I, anticlerical violence erupted—because the Catholic Church had been allied with the Bourbons. In addition,

republicans resisted the new monarch and called for an end to monarchy; on the other end of the political spectrum, legitimists wanted to uninstall the Orleanis king and to install a Bourbon king, the Comte de Chambord who was the grandson of the exiled Bourbon Charles X. Each of these political positions were advanced by specific periodicals-- *Le National* for republicans and *La Gazette de France* for legitimists. The Orleanists relentlessly, even in ineffectively, brought to court the republican and the legitimist press because of irreverence toward the Orleanist King, Louis Philippe.

The number of press trials in the early July Monarchy shows the unrest during the first years of the July Monarchy--mostly from republicans. Historian Jean-Pierre Aguet researched and reported on 185 trials in Paris and 339 in the provinces for the years 1831 to 1835 and 77 in Paris and 151 outside of Paris for 1836 to 1847. The numbers of trials were halved by the second half of the 1830s. Most press crimes involved denying Louis Philippe's right to be sovereign of France, attacking the king (in print and in caricature), or attacking the king's government. Eight cases involved non-payment of the surety. According to Aguet, of the 218 cases against legitimist periodicals, 126 verdicts were guilty, 57 verdicts not guilty and 35 verdicts unknown. The two leading legitimist periodicals, *La Quotidienne* and *La Gazette de*

*France* had respectively 39 and 18 lawsuits.<sup>ix</sup> At the end of 1833, the foremost Catholic newspaper at the time, *L'Ami de la religion*<sup>x</sup> (legitimist politically, but not the subject of any lawsuit in these years) reported that there had been 411 trials against the Parisian press since the July Revolution, and 143 resulted in condemnations. Eighteen were against *La Gazette de France* and seventeen against *La Quotidienne*.<sup>xi</sup> Both were political and had Catholic undertones, but neither are counted as Catholic in my study because the Restoration of the Bourbon monarch was their chief aim; religion was not. Aguet's numbers and *L'Ami*'s only matched in regard to *La Quotidienne* probably because some documents of trials were lost in various upheavals in Paris during the nineteenth century and/or because *L'Ami* included law suits against legitimist and against republican newspapers, and Aguet singled out actions against legitimists.

In another article, Aguet analyzed sixty-nine legal actions against *Le National*, the republican newspaper founded in 1829 and which disappeared in May 1835. The Catholic press, mostly non-political, rarely ran afoul of government surveillance in the July Monarchy. Their encounters were mainly failures to follow proper procedures.

Both the Bourbon and Orleans governments experimented with ways of regulating the press—and, in particular, the political press. French law required authorization and supervision

for every periodical published in France. Further, each sheet of paper was subject to a stamp tax (5 centimes). A sheet of paper was the size of a grand format 4-page newspaper such as Catholic, daily, political *L'Univers*. Catholic, thrice weekly, politica *L'Ami de la religion* was published in octo (8°) which came to 16 pages per sheet, and another long lasting, Catholic, political, thrice weekly *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, was in quarto (4°) which came to 8 pages.

The Bureau of Print Shops and Bookstores<sup>xii</sup> in the Ministry of the Interior was responsible for implementing the press laws. According to Article 6 of the 18 July 1828 law, owners had to submit a declaration of intent<sup>xiii</sup> which included the following information: ownership, title, periodicity, and printer. At first glance, Antoine Gardelaud of *La Chaire catholique* complied with this requirement, but he was not the real owner of this Catholic sounding periodical. If the proposed periodical dealt with politics—which *La Chaire catholique* did not-- then the owner named the gérant (managing director) who was the responsible party for all the content in each issue of the periodical. One of the reasons for this rule was that the government did not require authors to sign their articles during the first half of the nineteenth century. Later in the century when signatures were required, authors of articles could be charged individually for what they wrote. Until then, it was the gérant who could be fined and/or jailed. In addition the gérant (manager) was required to sign and deposit a copy of each issue with the government. The declaration of intent did not have to indicate any religious leaning. For political periodicals, a surety, a sum set aside to cover infractions of press laws, was deposited with the government; the amount varied according to the frequency of appearance and according to the press laws in effect. For example, *L'Ami de la religion* in 1828 paid 1200 francs for appearing twice a week; in 1831, its surety was 2400 francs for three times a week, and in 1835, 100,000 francs for a daily and the same amount when it reverted to a triweekly. In

1845, Catholic, political *La Liberté comme en Belgique* deposited 75,000 francs for its twice weekly appearance.

Besides the government oversight of owners and gérants, the state also put printers under surveillance. An 1811 law (in force until 1881) limited the number of printers in Paris to eighty.<sup>xiv</sup> Each printer had to obtain a license (brevet) from the Department of Printing Shops and Bookstores. The license was worth between 20,000-30,000 francs.<sup>xv</sup> Licenses were often handed down in a family (e.g. the printers Adrien LeClere was succeeded by his son Henri Adrien Le Clere in 1825 who was succeeded by one of his sons in 1860 and A. Pillet, aîné by Pillet fils aîné). Each candidate for the printing license submitted birth certificate and attestations of morality by friends, state officials, and others in the printing business. The government also required a declaration by each printer of everything emerging from its presses (print run) and a copy of each issue for the government and signed by the gérant if it was political. Printers interpreted this requirement of declarations in a variety of ways; most printers made the required declaration only once--even if there was an increase or decrease in the print run.<sup>xvi</sup>

One important Catholic printer during the July Monarchy was Emmanuel Joseph Bailly who applied for the printing license of the widow Thuau in 1833; the printers, Béthune, Pillet, and Panckoucke attested to Bailly's reputation and his ability as a printer.<sup>xvii</sup> The license was granted, and he printed ten Catholic periodicals during the July Monarchy: *Les Annales du catholicisme en Europe*, *L'Auxiliaire catholique*, *Le Bulletin catholique de bibliographie*, *Le Conseiller des familles*, *La Dominicale*, *La France contemporaine*, *La Revue européenne*, *La Revue littéraire et critique*, *L'Univers*, *L'Université catholique*, and *La Voix de la vérité*. In addition Bailly belonged to the Société founded to to publish Catholic books or other good

books and to the Association pour la défense de la religion catholique. He helped establish the first *Le Correspondant* in 1829, and edited *La Tribune catholique*. One of Bailly's sons became an Assumptionist priest and founded the Catholic publishing house, La Bonne Presse, in 1873 and *La Croix* about ten years later.

Another mode of control in the 1830s and 1840s, was the law that newspapers could only be sold by subscription and not one issue at a time on the street. Thus to buy a periodical in 1830, one had to subscribe and pay in advance; no periodicals were sold from newsstands. Authorized "town criers" could announce the titles of periodicals and newspapers. Periodicals invented ways to bypass this regulation of selling by subscription only and to augment their revenue. In 1836, Catholic, non-political, monthly *Le Bon paroissien* offered to sell single issues at the bookstore of its printer, L.A. De Lossy; in 1845, the non-religious *L'Esprit public* offered to deliver its issues at 10 centimes each to homes in Paris.<sup>xviii</sup>

The government took its regulations seriously. Periodicals which neglected any part of the requirements received ultimatums to correct the errors promptly or their case would be sent to the king's prosecutor (procureur du roi) for further action. The Archives nationales provide examples of this government surveillance. For example, in the surveillance of the Catholic, political, liberal *L'Avenir* (1830-1831), the government refused the request of the printer, M. Poussielgue, to compose *L'Avenir* in the newspaper's office rather than in his main print shop because that newspaper "est l'un des journaux les plus anarchistes" and the government feared that moving a press to the office of the newspaper "pourraient servir à la production d'ouvrages hostiles aux institutions de la Revolution de 1830."<sup>xix</sup> Poussielgue appealed this decision because the permission had been granted to the previous printer of the newspaper



(Pihan de laforest-Morinval), and it was a common practice at the time. Further, he had already moved the equipment. In response, The Minister of Commerce and Public Works expressed surprise that the printer acted before receiving permission and charged the Prefect of Police to correct the situation and make Poussielgue return his presses immediately to the main printing establishment. The government was more involved with press crimes against the legitimists and the republicans than with Catholics.

In December 1835, one curious incident involved a court case between two Catholic periodicals. A. Pillet, owner and editor of *Le Journal des villes et campagnes*, charged that abbé Jacques Paul Migne, owner, editor, gérant of *L'Univers* had violated the law when he had added a subtitle, "Gazette quotidienne des villes et campagnes," which was too similar to the title of Pillet's periodical. The court agreed with Pillet and told Migne that he must suppress the "usurped" title and pay a 100 franc fine for each violation.<sup>xx</sup>

A stricter press law was enacted in September 1835 after a series of crises fueled by some of the political papers—especially the ultra-republican newspaper, *La Tribune*. There were popular unrest and republican uprisings from 1830 to 1835 and particularly in the two largest cities in France, Paris and Lyon. On the other end of the political spectrum, the legitimists in 1832 in the Vendée rallied around the Duchess of Berry and, unsuccessfully, attempted to replace Louis Philippe with her son, the Count of Chambord, as Henri V. (The son was the last surviving Bourbon heir.) The legitimist scheme never amounted to actual rebellion and

practically disappeared after the scandal emerged about the Duchess of Berry's secret second marriage and pregnancy.

Targeting republican clubs such as the Société des Droits de l'Homme, the Orleanists enacted a law outlawing unauthorized societies which affected republicans. The republican insurrections were quelled by the military but created an atmosphere of unrest. Trials of the 2000 republican insurgents went to the Cour des Pairs, because the charge was a crime against the security of the state; the trials opened in early May 1835 and caused more unrest after some of the prisoners escaped.<sup>xxi</sup> Because of his support of the rebels, Hector Bichat, the gérant of *La Tribune*, was arrested, found guilty, sentenced to one month in jail, and fined 10,000 francs.<sup>xxii</sup> *La Tribune* ceased existence. And the government considered more severe press laws to curtail the press attacks against the king and the well-being of the state..

The final impetus for the stricter September 1835 laws was the assassination attempt by Giuseppe Fieschi on July 28, 1835 during a procession commemorating the July Revolution. The weapon was a “machine infernale;”<sup>xxiii</sup> eighteen were killed, twenty-two seriously injured, and the king and his horse were wounded. According to British historian H.A.C. Collingham, the “complicity of a section of the republican party was obvious” and the action so appalling that the

Chamber of Deputies easily passed unpopular laws—including stricter press regulations with a vote of 226 to 153.<sup>xxiv</sup>

According to the new law, press crimes became crimes against the state and thus were no longer tried by juries but by the Cour des Pairs which had a better record of conviction. The call for a republic or another form of government was forbidden; and heavy fines (up to 50,000 francs) and imprisonments were imposed for criticism of King or Charter. Failure of a *gérant* to deposit and sign each issue of a political periodical resulted in a fine from 500 to 3000 francs;<sup>xxv</sup> the surety for the political press increased from 2400 francs in 1831 for papers which appeared more than twice a week to 100,000 francs and a monthly political periodical paid 25,000 francs. The hefty surety of which the *gérant* had to pay one-third assured that *gérants* were wealthy and had a financial stake in obeying the law.

After the 1835 press laws there were more encounters between the government and Catholic periodicals. In 1836, the government accused the Catholic, non-political, weekly *Le Moniteur de la religion, sentinelle des mœurs* of treating politics in its October 1836 issues while declaring itself non-political.<sup>xxvi</sup> Unfortunately, the outcome of this investigation is unknown, but it does show that the government was concerned about non-political as well as political periodicals. In the case of Catholic, political, weekly *Le Presbytère* (1840-1844), problems began immediately with its first issue. It neither made the declaration of intent nor paid the surety of a political press. Further, it was selling an image (of Pope Gregory XVI) which had not

been authorized. Because images had the potential to be inflammatory, the 1835 press law was quite specific about the preauthorization required for all images. The press police visited the office of the newspaper and interviewed both the *gérant*, the aristocrat Pierre Ladislas Duboscq, and one of the owners, abbé Joseph Bourgeois. The police reported that the newspapermen had acted in good faith and wanted to correct their missteps and that they now knew the proper procedures. Nevertheless, they still did not follow all the necessary steps. The *gérant*, Duboscq, paid one-third of the surety (16,666 francs) in November 1840, but his co-owners, Charles Isidore Brassier de Jocas and abbé Bourgeois, did not pay until February 1841. The criminal court found the *gérant* guilty of publishing a political journal without paying the surety; DuBoscq was sentenced to one month in prison and a 200 franc fine. DuBoscq asked for royal clemency since he had paid his part of the surety; the Minister of the Interior recommended the remittance of the jail time but not of the fine.<sup>xxvii</sup> In December 1841 when new owners of *Le Presbytère* committed a press crime (unspecified), the *gérant* and printer, Edouard Proux, spent time in jail as well as paid a fine.<sup>xxviii</sup> In November 1842, the periodical became a twice weekly and its surety was increased to 75,000 francs.

On 12 February 1845, an official note to the Catholic, non-political, monthly *Le Livre des familles* told the owners to come and make the proper declarations which they did twelve days later.<sup>xxix</sup> In another instance on February 21, 1845, the government informed Catholic, non-political, twice-monthly *Le Journal de la jeunesse* that it was publishing a periodical in contravention of Article 6 of the law of 18 Juillet 1828, which required the declaration of intent to publish. The printer, Arsène Sirou, quickly wrote back and explained that he thought he had filled out all the proper forms the previous October when he made his declaration as a printer and did not realize he had to make a declaration as an owner, too. And he pointed out that he, as printer, had deposited copies of the periodical as required by law. To remedy the infraction,

he turned in his declaration of intent to publish on March 19—a month after the government's notice and four months after the periodical's first issue.<sup>xxx</sup>

In another instance, abbé Jean-Louis Auguste Clavel, owner, editor and gérant, and P. Baudouin, printer, of the Catholic, non-political, monthly *Le Rappel* were fined because twenty-five copies (“exemplaires”) showed no stamp indicating that no tax had been paid; for unknown reasons the fine was commuted.<sup>xxxi</sup> The stamp tax was a costly requirement for periodicals and a good revenue source for the government.<sup>xxxii</sup> Though the state did not punish Clavel, the ecclesiastical authority, Archbishop Denys-Auguste Affre of Paris condemned this periodical as he had previously done with Clavel's previous Catholic, political, weekly because of its advocating a stronger role for priests and supporting the tenure of curés in parishes.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Nonetheless, Clavel accepted the archbishop's censure, and he retired from Paris and journalism and never again became involved in the press.

In May 1845, a police commissioner for the Department of Print Shops and Bookstores (commissaire de police de l'imprimerie et de la librairie) reported that Catholic, non-political, weekly *Le Moniteur religieux* had failed to turn in twelve issues of the weekly newspaper. There was also a question about whether it was political or nonpolitical.<sup>xxxiv</sup> In this case, the consequences are unknown.

These instances in the mid-1840s occurred at the height of the freedom of education controversy in which Catholic hierarchy, Catholic press, and Catholic lay leaders demanded an end to the Université's monopoly on secondary education. The state closely watched Catholic periodicals and Catholic bishops during these years because of the attacks on the Université. And the government criticized the bishops' recourse to the press by reminding them to direct communication was the proper way to interact with the government<sup>xxxv</sup>. In one

instance, the police commissioner wrote to the Minister of Interior: "*Le Moniteur religieux*, feuille hebdomadaire marche dans le sens de *l'Univers* et parait fort hostile à l'Université."<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Even though the numbers of Catholic periodicals declined during the second half of the 1830s, the September laws were cited by only a few of the press as the reason for their disappearance. Catholic periodicals more likely ended for financial reasons because as *Le Correspondant* complained they had a "precarious existence."<sup>xxxvii</sup>

The government regulations for periodicals were clear, and most Catholic periodicals under the July Monarch followed the laws governing the press. Catholics, even legitimists like *L'Ami de la religion* valued order over its preference of a Bourbon monarch. It never approved Louis Philippe as a legitimate king but accepted the reality that he was kin. The Catholic press had more trouble during the Second Empire than under the July Monarchy; the two leading Catholic political periodicals the gallican, moderately liberal *L'Ami de la religion* and ultramontane, conservative *L'Univers* were suspended for disagreeing with Napoleon III's policies. In fact *L'Ami* was suspended in 1862 and never reappeared; *L'Univers* was suspended from 1860 to 1867.

## NOTES

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- i. Archives nationales (hereafter AN) F 18 325 dr. 2 (18-23).
- ii. *La Chaire catholique*, v. 1, 1. This periodical is cataloged in the Bibliothèque nationale (hereafter BN) under "*Archives ecclésiastiques*," its subtitle.
- iii. Ad in *L'Univers*, 23 Dec. 1842. "Chaque action du capital de 250fr donne droit à une rente de 8 per 100 par an garantie." Strange timing: the ad preceded the intent to publish by two months. Another ad appeared in *L'Univers*, 7 Mar 1843. At that time, the subtitle for *La Chaire Catholique* was *Archives ecclésiastiques, Mémorial des Sermons*--which sounded like an authentic Catholic publication.
- iv. *La Bibliographie catholique*, Dec 1845, 241-243.
- v. Article 10: "Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi". La liberté d'opinion est ainsi proclamée, mais la manifestation d'une opinion ne doit pas troubler l'ordre public." Article 11 : "La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de l'homme : tout citoyen peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi."  
<http://www.phdn.org/negation/bernard2002/l3.html>
- vi. See for example, Jack Richard Censer, *Prelude to Power: the Parisian Radical Press, 1789-1791* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Jeremy D. Popkin, *The Right Wing Press in France, 1792-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980).
- vii. The Archives Nationales has microfilmed the dossiers of newspapers in the nineteenth century. The size, completeness, and importance of these dossiers vary, and not all the periodicals can be found there. F/18/312 à 425: *La Presse parisienne*, 1820-1894. The surveillance of the periodical press included that of the printers. F/18/43 à 119: *Déclarations et dépôts des imprimeurs de Paris*, 1817 to 1834 and F/18/157 à 167: *Déclarations et dépôts des imprimeurs de Paris*, 1835-1853. Dossiers about the printers' licenses vary in information provided but occasionally provide insight into governmental opinion of the printer. F/18/1726 à 1834 *Imprimeurs, libraires et lithographes*. Dossiers des breveté, Paris, 1815-1870. All of these documents are arranged alphabetically.
- viii. *Conseil Constitutionnel*, "La Charte Constitutionnelle de 14 août 1830,"  
<http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/textes/constitution/c1830.htm>
- ix. Jean-Pierre Aguet, *Les Procès intentés aux gazettes légitimistes en France au début de la Monarchie de Juillet* (Lausanne: Faculté des lettres de l'Université, 1961), 72-74. Both *La Quotidienne* and *La Gazette de France* are not classified in this study as Catholic newspapers because their political interests were more important than their religious interests. They have been used as examples by other historians as indicative of the Catholic view, however.

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- x. The original title of the journal was *L'Ami de la religion et du roi*, but it dropped the last phrase after the July revolution unseated the lawful king of France.
- xi. *L'Ami*, vol. 78, 7 November 1833, 45.
- xii. The Bureau: Imprimerie et librairie reported to the Beaux Arts Division in the Ministry of the Interior. In 1831, comte de Montalivet was the Minister of the Interior and Pierre Paul Royer-Collard the head of the division. In 1841, the Minister of Interior was Charles-Marie-Tanneguy Duchatel, and Cavé was the director of the Beaux Arts, and Lépinoy was head of the Bureau. In addition three commissaires de police (Bailleul, Diet, Truy) were attached to this bureau. By 1844, Bailleul was promoted to commissaire inspecteur-en-chef and had three commissaires (Diet, Truy, Dumolin) reporting to him.
- xiii. AN F/18/312 to 425 series covers "La Presse parisienne, 1820-1894." These dossiers on microfilm are organized alphabetically; they contain dossiers for forty-eight of the seventy-nine Catholic periodicals during the July Monarchy. Many files are quite short and consist only of a page or two. With such a close watch on the periodical industry, it is a wonder that thirty periodicals avoided an encounter with the government. Of course, the missing files may have disappeared or been destroyed in the disturbances in Paris later in the nineteenth century--especially the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune of 1871.
- xiv. James Smith Allen, *In the Public Eye: A History of Reading in Modern France, 1800-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 32. The brevet was introduced in 1810 and lasted until 1870 and pertained to bookstores as well as printers (des imprimeurs en lettres et des imprimeurs lithographes). Dominique Varry, "Les imprimeurs des journaux canuts" in *L'Echo de la fabrique: Naissance de la presse ouvrière à Lyon* ed., Ludovic Frobert (Lyon: ENS, 2010), 76.
- xv. Christine Haynes, *Lost Illusions : the Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 55.
- xvi. The registers of print runs for periodicals and non-periodicals for the first half of the nineteenth century are organized chronologically: AN, F/18\*/II/1-35 cover March 1815 to March 1849 with a lacuna for 1835-37. Unfortunately, the government records are also not always accurate or complete.
- xvii. A.N., F/18/1729.
- xviii. *Le Bon paroissien*, "Introduction" by l'abbé C., ancien supérieur de séminaire, 19. *L'Esprit public*, "Prospectus," 2.
- xix. AN, F/18/318, dr.1, 15 Prefect de Police à Ministre de Commerce et des Travaux Publics. "J'apprend [Min de Commerce et des Travaux Publics à Prefect de Police], avec étonnement, que sans attendre le résultat de la demande qu'il avait fait, cet imprimeur a transporté [instruments for printing],... C'est un abus. . . Je vous invite en conséquence à donner des ordres pour que les presses, caractères et utensiles d'imprimer transporté dans ce local, soient



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immédiatement réintégrés dans les ateliers du Sr Poussielgue, rue de Sevres, no2." (f 16)

xx. Pierre Pierreard, "L'Abbe Migne journaliste" in *Migne et le renouveau des études patristiques. Actes du colloque de Saint-Flour, 7-8 juillet, 1975.* Eds. André Mandouze and Joël Fouilheron (Paris : Beauchesne, 1985), 117.

xxi. Collingham, Ch. 13: "April Insurrection and September Laws." In the middle of the trial (12 July 1835), twenty-eight prisoners successfully escaped from the prison of Sainte-Pélagie through an underground tunnel. Of course, the escape was an embarrassment for the government. Of the 2000 arrested, 164 were convicted: sentences ranged from deportation (18 republicans) to prison (1 to 20 years). An amnesty in 1837 commuted all of these punishments.

xxii. The gérant of *Le Reformateur*, Jaffrennou, was also subject to same judgement. Others were also found guilty and had prison sentences and fines. "Bichat, Jaffrennou, Trélat, Michel, Raynaud, Gervais, Jules Bernard, David de Thiais, Aludry de Puyraveau, coupables du délit d'offenses" The "procès-verbal" of the case can be found at [http://www.senat.fr/fileadmin/Fichiers/Images/archives/Cour\\_des\\_pairs/1835tribune093B199.pdf](http://www.senat.fr/fileadmin/Fichiers/Images/archives/Cour_des_pairs/1835tribune093B199.pdf)

xxiii. "Fieschi and his accomplices Morey and Pépin had created a *machine infernale* in which twenty-five rifle barrels were simultaneously fired." Collingham, 165. Fieschi was seriously injured when he fired this homemade weapon.

xxiv. Collingham, 165-167.

xxv. Bellanger, vol II, 396-401 on some press laws.

xxvi. AN, F/18/386, dr 29, 127.

xxvii. AN, F/18/403, dr 31, 268-276; 285-288.

xxviii. AN F/18/403, dr. 31, f.276, 284. On 4 June 1842 abbé Joseph Bourgeois, co-owner with Edouard Proux and Isidore Jacques Levins, replaced Proux as gérant while Proux served his sentence for a press crime (unnamed). "pendant toute la durée de la détention de M. Proux . . . pour délit de presse." (f. 302)

xxix. AN, F/18/379, dr 24, 97-101.

xxx. AN, F/18/365, dr 52, 116-117.

xxxi. AN, F/18/407, dr 45, 327-332.

xxxii. The "Prospectus" of 1845 of *L'Esprit public* explained that among the costs of publishing a periodical was 5 centimes for each sheet of paper. This stamp tax had to be multiplied by the number of subscribers and by the number of issues in a year. For example, the stamp tax for one year of *L'Ami de la religion* (as a tri-weekly), was 52 x 3 x .05 which equals 7.8 francs per

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subscription. Reporting on the revenue of the state for the stamp tax on periodicals Hatin wrote: "Le nombre des feuilles timbrées à Paris pour le service des journaux n'était en 1828 que de 28 millions; il s'éleva successivement, en 1836 à 42 millions, en 1843 à 61, en 1845 à 65, en 1846 à près de 80 millions." [Louis] Eugène Hatin, *Le Journal* (Paris: Germer Baillière, n.d. [1880s]), 138-139.

xxxiii. *Le Rappel*, mai 1846, p. 1. The purpose is "to improve the position of the clergy in chapters and parishes in France by means of discussing theological issues." "d'améliorer le sort du clergé des chapitres et des paroisses en France par la voie de la discussion théologique, sans violence, sans intrigues, en s'adressant franchement aux pouvoirs compétents dans l'Eglise et dans l'Etat pour arriver à ce résultat. *Rappel*, mai 1846, 1.

xxxiv. AN, F/18/389, dr 17, 167-180.

xxxv. For further information on the government and the bishops, see M. Patricia Dougherty, 'L'AMI DE LA RELIGION et les évêques français sous le Concordat, 1815-1850.' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 89 (Jul.-Dec. 1994), 577-621.

xxxvi. AN, F/18/389 dr 17, 178 (9 May 1845).

xxxvii. *Le Correspondant*, summer 1848, 2.