

2005

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Recommended Citation

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The Parisian Catholic Press and the February 1848 Revolution

The spark that ignited the 1848 Revolution in France was the cancellation of a large protest demonstration which was to precede a 22 February political banquet in the XII arrondissement of Paris. The immediate issue was the right to hold meetings (the right of assembly), but the underlying issue was one of political power and reform. That this action led to a revolution which overthrew the Orleanist monarchy and instituted a republic surprised everyone. One might think that the Catholics in France who were by far and large royalist would bemoan the end of a monarchy – much as many had done when the 1830 Revolution replaced the Bourbon Charles X with the Orleanist Louis-Philippe. The Catholic periodicals which existed in 1848, however, tell another story about the reception of this mid-century revolution in France. They are valuable but neglected resources which elucidate what Catholics thought and what their concerns were in 1848. While many Catholics (and especially clergy) did retain legitimist sympathies, equating religion with a particular political orientation obscures the fact that there were other views. After surveying the Catholic press of 1848, this article examines how that periodical press was affected by and how it responded to the February revolution and the proclamation of a new republic.

Catholic periodicals in Paris in 1848

At the time of the February 1848 Revolution, twenty-two Catholic periodicals¹ were published in Paris. (See Figure 1.) Only three (*L'Ami de la religion*, *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, and *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*) had existed throughout the July Monarchy; two others had the same name as earlier periodicals (*Le Correspondant* and *Le Mémorial catholique*), but the former had disappeared in 1831 and reappeared over a decade later in 1843, and the latter denied any linkage with its earlier namesake. Four started in January 1848. Of the remaining thirteen periodicals, four first appeared in the 1830s and nine in the 1840s.

The Catholic press explicitly identified itself with Catholicism and envisioned itself promoting and defending Catholic ideals and principles. It differs from, but is often confused with, the legitimist press, like *La Gazette de France* on which Catholics (e.g., abbé de Genoude) worked. This legitimist press sought above all to support the Bourbons and their restoration during the decades of the July Monarchy. A contemporary comment explained: “La religion n'est qu'un appendice assez insignifiant de la politique.”² *La Gazette de France* wanted “Henri V et la démocratie; *la Quotidienne*, à son tour, demande avec Henri V la charte de 1814.” The Catholic press recognized the growing importance of the

press and strove to assert their truth and to point out and repulse error or wrong-headed thinking. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* promised to provide "armes contre les attaques de l'incrédulité"³ Other Catholic periodicals saw themselves as instruments to teach and as archival sources for future generations of Catholics. For example, upon the death of the archbishop in June 1848, *L'Ami de la religion* compiled the reports as "un pieux devoir . . . pour l'édification de nos lecteurs et pour l'histoire future de nos annales ecclésiastiques."⁴

Each periodical chose its own focus with the needs and interests of the owners and of the readers in mind. The title (and the subtitle) usually indicated its thrust. (See Figure 1.)

Seventeen were monthlies, three appeared three times a week, one twice a month, and one appeared in two formats (six times a week and three times a week). Nearly, three-fourths of the periodicals (sixteen) were the size of a book,⁵ printed in octavo and then bound into a single volume at the end of the year so that they would provide an archive of sorts to be consulted. They cost from six to sixty francs—depending on their frequency and size. The cheaper were monthlies, and the most expensive was the daily, political *L'Univers*.

Six (*L'Ami de la religion*, *Le Correspondant*, *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, *La Lecture*, *L'Univers*, *La Voix de la vérité*) paid the surety of a political periodical. Two others, *L'Écho du clergé et des catholiques* and *La Voix de l'Église*, used the word *politique* in their identical subtitles *Revue religieuse, politique, scientifique et littéraire*. A third, *La Critique bibliographique*, had "politique" in its subtitle and a section entitled "Critique politique" in each issue. There is no record that these last three paid the surety. Since they shared the same office space with *La Lecture* and advertized a bargain price for subscribing to all four or to combinations of two, it is possible that the surety paid by *Lecture* covered the other three as well.⁶ The political periodicals intended to inform, persuade, and report on current events in relation to Catholicism. The 1831 "Prospectus" of *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* claimed as its goals: "professer les principes seuls conservateurs de la société; défendre nos libertés, . . . soutenir sans passion les intérêts du pays, et demeurer ferme dans les doctrines protectrices de la monarchie [Bourbon]."⁷

The non-political Catholic periodicals covered a broad spectrum of goals and interests: *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, *L'Université catholique*, and *La Revue du monde catholique* attempted to improve the education of the clergy by showing how modern knowledge did not conflict with Catholic belief; *Le Journal des prédicateurs* and *La Tribune sacrée* published noteworthy conferences/sermons and offered reflections and ideas for

sermons; *La Bibliographie catholique*, *Bulletin de censure*, and the political *La Critique bibliographique* reviewed and recommended good reading both for clergy and laity; *Revue de la musique religieuse* tried to restore religious chant to church services; *Revue ecclésiastique* sought to solidify a Gallican church against the ultramontane "plague;"⁸ *Le Mémorial catholique* aimed to promote Catholicism by showing its works of charity; *L'Étude* and *Revue de l'enseignement* advocated freedom of education (i.e., the end of the Université monopoly). The variety of periodicals demonstrates the preoccupation with creating a moral France, the will to instill all parts of French culture with a Catholic imprint. It also provides evidence of a revival of Catholicism which, according to historian Claude Langlois, appeared between 1830 and 1850.⁹ Interestingly enough, *L'Ami de la religion* discounted a Catholic revival of which it was a part. *L'Union ecclésiastique* wrote: "Un seul journal, *L'Ami de la religion*, persiste à affirmer qu'il ne voit qu'un mouvement superficiel et douteux, qu'il n'y a point de retour réel et positif."¹⁰

Although none was directly under the influence of the Catholic hierarchy,¹¹ seven of the 1848 periodicals were owned in part or completely by clergy and also had clergy as editors and/or managers. (See Figure 1.) On two others clergy were editors and/or managers; nearly all claimed to have clergy as writers or collaborators in order to validate the periodicals' claim to Catholicity. The increase in the number of clergy as editors and managers from none in summer 1830 to seven managers and eight editors in February 1848 was the result of a new, younger generation of clerics¹² who made use of this modern means of communication as had the episcopacy with its "open" letters to the government over education in the mid-1840s. In the absence of a formal mechanism of approval by the hierarchy, many periodicals claimed that bishops had given their approval by letters or by subscription; they even printed extracts from these letters. One claimed: "L'*Étude* n'est que l'écho de l'épiscopat français tout entier. Avec un tel guide, elle ne peut craindre de s'égarer."¹³ *La Bibliographie catholique* reported that subscribers included 10 archbishops, 46 bishops, and someone (presumably an important cleric) in nearly every diocese thereby showing a broad geographic distribution as well as a solid Catholic support.¹⁴ *La Voix de l'Église* explained: "S'ils [les évêques] étaient arbitrairement attaqués la presse est là pour les défendre."¹⁵ And yet, the archbishops of Paris (Hyacinthe-Louis de Quelen and Denis-Auguste Affre) were wary of priests working in the periodical press.¹⁶ And in fact, a number of the priests involved in the Catholic press in the 1840s (e.g., abbés Prompsault, Clavel and André) opposed their bishop.¹⁷ In 1839 Archbishop de Quelen chastised abbé Jacques-Paul Migne for his role in a profession forbidden to priests (printer and bookstore

owner as well as being a speculative businessman), and Archbishop Affre cited and reiterated this criticism of abbé Migne in 1847.¹⁸ Ironically, Affre was one of the founders of a periodical, *La France chrétienne*,¹⁹ in 1821; he attempted unsuccessfully to buy *L'Ami de la religion* in 1844 and toyed with the idea of starting one in 1847. He wrote for several other periodicals, including *L'Ami de la religion*, before he became archbishop, and he openly supported the “catholique, républicain et social” newspaper, *L'Ère nouvelle*, in spring 1848.²⁰

This increase of periodicals and of clerical involvement is a sign of the increased importance of the print media at the end of the July Monarchy and the desire and perhaps the necessity of clergy and the bishops to make their ideas known in the conflicts of the day--as was seen in the mid-1840s over freedom of education. In a biographical sketch of abbé Migne concerning the founding of *L'Univers* in 1833, Barbier wrote: “Nulle arme [la presse] n'est plus dangereuse, nulle plus à la portée de tous; on se sert d'elle contre les prêtres; qu'ils s'en servent, lorsqu'il est possible, pour se défendre, c'est justice; c'est pour répéter avec M. Migne, un devoir sacré car un prêtre a une réputation qui n'est pas à lui seulement.”²¹ Recognizing the power of the press, *La Voix de l'Église* on its title page quoted Pierre-Louis Parisi, Bishop of Langres, “L'Église prêchera par la presse périodique comme par la chaire chrétienne.”²² Its first article in June 1846, “Du Sacerdoce dans la presse,” argued that priests must be involved in the periodical press as “une sorte de fonction sacerdotale, comme celle de prédicateur ou de catéchiste.”²³ Indicative of the desirability of a Catholic press with episcopal approval was an agenda item for Archbishop Affre's December 1847 meeting with the bishops in his jurisdiction. At issue (agenda item 9) was the creation of a newspaper which would express the clergy's opinion.²⁴ The implication was that no existing periodical adequately expressed the bishop's opinions. In fact, prelates turned to producing diocesan papers, *Les Semaines religieuses*, during the second half of the nineteenth century, and this press was under their total, direct control. Between 1850 and 1914, 130 titles were created and 80 endured.²⁵

The hierarchy had no direct authority over the periodicals; *L'Univers* strongly rejected the label “un journal semi-officiel d'organe des évêques” that *Le National* bestowed on it.²⁶ The bishops did exercise some control over clergy as subscribers or owners/collaborators in the periodical business—at least after the fact. As seen above, De Quelen had censured abbé Migne in 1839 for his newspaper and book selling work. In 1845, Affre censured *Le Bien Social* and its owner/editor, abbé Jean-Louis-Auguste Clavel, for his defense of lower clergy against episcopal authority. Below the title, *Le Bien social*, was stated Clavel's goal:

"Emancipation canonique du Clergé du second ordre, par le rétablissement de l'inamovibilité paroissiale et des officialités diocésaines avec un jury ecclésiastique, et par un juste retour à l'Élection apostolique des évêques."²⁷ Even with such a provocative subtitle, Affre had not stepped in for the first year and a half of its existence. Clavel accepted Affre's censure, submitted to the lawful authority and ceased publication of *Le Bien social*. Nearly a year later abbé Clavel ventured again into journalism by founding the monthly, non-political *Le Rappel* with a less strident but similar goal: "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'Église et dans l'État pour arriver à ce résultat."²⁸ It, too, lasted nearly a year and a half before Archbishop Affre condemned it and another periodical, *La Voix de la vérité*, operated by abbé Migne, in an August 1847 letter to his parish priests. Again, abbé Clavel accepted the archbishop's censure; he never again ventured into the periodical press business. Abbé Migne of *La Voix de la vérité* eventually submitted to the bishop;²⁹ he, however, continued to be involved in printing and the periodical press.

The identity of the personnel of the periodicals remains partially unknown because the law only required the signature of the manager (gérant) of a political paper who was responsible for all of the content of the periodical; and, thus, July Monarchy articles were often unsigned or signed with initials. Evidence (such as advertisements, prospectuses or memoirs) identify some of the contributors to the periodicals. Though a few nobles owned, managed, or worked on the periodicals (e.g., Alain de Kergolay, Charles de Montalembert), the majority of the pressmen were bourgeois and were identified as "homme de lettres" rather than as journalist³⁰—a term that was not yet widely used because of its derogatory connotation. Two of the newest periodicals were operated by Jacques Lecoffre who since 1845 owned a Catholic bookstore "Librairie centrale, catholique et classique de Jacques Lecoffre & Cie" which became a meeting place for liberal Catholics.³¹ Lecoffre became a leading publisher (but without his own presses) during the Second Empire. Several men (e.g., Augustin Bonnetty and Alfred Nettement) worked for more than one of the periodical press; and three³² of the press were owned and operated by the same group of clergy and shared office space and printer (Sirou) with a fourth periodical.

Like the owners and editors, the publishers were committed Catholics and not simply practical businessmen (after all, the periodicals were not self-supporting). Sirou had been in the seminary with abbé Migne and continued to be his friend and published four of the periodicals owned by priests. Two brothers-in law, Emmanuel-Joseph Bailly and H. Vrayet

de Surcy, published five of the 1848 periodicals and belonged to strong Catholic families. Bailly was the director of Société catholique des bons livres, belonged to the Association pour la défense de la religion catholique, and had helped establish the first *Le Correspondant* in 1829; his two sons became Assumptionist priests and one founded the Catholic publishing house, La Bonne Presse, in 1873 and *La Croix* about ten years later. Two other publishers (Adrien Le Clere, abbé Migne) managed their own periodicals and were among the leading publishers of religious books during the nineteenth century.³³ Le Clere proudly proclaimed that he was the printer of the Pope and the Archbishop of Paris; his brother was a priest in Paris.³⁴ Abbé Migne popularized and distributed, among other books, the 469 volumes of the Fathers of the Church (Patrologies) from c.1840 to 1870 and was responsible for *Bibliothèque universelle du clergé ou Cours complets sur chaque branche de la science ecclésiastique* so that all clergy could be better educated. He was the only priest-printer and established a quite large Ateliers catholiques of Montrouge which in 1842 had c.300 employees and had four mechanical presses powered by steam.³⁵ The owner/manager, François-Pierre Parent-Desbarres, was a leading religious publisher in the 1830s; and another, Charles Douniol, became a leading publisher of religious books in the 1850s.³⁶

Until late in the nineteenth century, periodicals were sold by subscriptions (usually for three, six, or twelve months) and not by single issues on the street or at newsstands. In the absence of subscription lists, the print-run³⁷ provides some idea of how many read the periodical, though it is not equivalent to the number of subscribers. For example, in February 1846, the printer Vrayet de Surcy reported a print-run of 900 copies for *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*; the periodical itself reported 814 subscribers in December 1844 and 815 subscribers in December 1846.³⁸ In 1848, the print-run of nineteen of the twenty-two Catholic periodicals³⁹ was 32,355—more than twice the 1830 print-run (six of the nine Catholic periodicals) of 14,698. (See Figure 1.) The number of subscribers to each periodical was modest—even for the more important political journals and especially in relation to the large circulation of the new press in France which emerged after 1836.⁴⁰ Parisian periodicals were not limited to a Parisian audience, of course, and many were sent through the mail to the provinces and some to other countries. During the first decade of the July Monarchy, according to government documents, two of the Catholic periodicals, *L'Ami de la religion* and *L'Univers*, were among the top forty papers in Paris (out of 347 in Paris in 1835). Although *L'Ami's* print-run rose moderately from 1147 in 1835 to 1409 in 1845, its ranking slipped to 109 out of 230 Parisian papers because other papers

grew. *L'Univers* meanwhile under the leadership of Louis Veillot quadrupled its 1835 print-run of 1102 and became the tenth largest Parisian paper in 1845 with a print-run of 4713.⁴¹

Undoubtedly, each periodical was read by more than the one person who subscribed. Reading rooms were prevalent in Paris⁴² and frequently periodicals or the subscription price were shared--these actions were recommended by some of the periodicals themselves. In a note to its readers in late 1845, Eugène Blanc of the *Le Bulletin de la censure* boasted: "Tirés à plus de trois mille, notre *Bulletin* est lu par plus de trente mille personnes."⁴³ On the reverse side of the title page of the January 1848 issue of *L'Écho du clergé* was advertized: "Salon Littéraire catholique"-- indicating that indeed there were Catholic reading rooms in Paris. Its goal was "à seconder le mouvement religieux de notre siècle, en mettant à la portée de tout le monde, les ouvrages les plus éminents de la littérature chrétienne, et spécialement de l'école catholique moderne."⁴⁴

According to internal evidence (e.g., prospectus, title page), these periodicals targeted specific Catholic audiences: from clergy to fathers-of-families to young adult Catholics to educators and men of faith; in two, women as mothers of families were included in the intended audience; in most women were not even mentioned. A few addressed clergy specifically and exclusively. The more expensive Catholic periodicals were out of reach of the majority of the French populace; thus, their audience were the wealthier, educated bourgeois.⁴⁵ The two new education periodicals took special care to include women in their discussion of Catholic education of youth. *L'Étude* wrote: "Les femmes en [de l'éducation] ont besoin comme les hommes."⁴⁶ In 1845, *L'Ami* identified its audience as: "Tout ce qu'il y a d'hommes dévoués en France et à l'étranger aux progrès de la foi catholique, des saines doctrines et des bonnes moeurs."⁴⁷ *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* was written "aux hommes; aux jeunes gens qui aiment et qui cultivent les sciences, les arts, la littérature; aux ecclésiastiques; à ceux qui veulent défendre solidement la religion contre les attaques des incrédules."⁴⁸ *La Bibliographie catholique* wanted to reach those who controlled the reading of other Catholics. Its title page articulated its audience as "spécialement destinée aux bibliothèques paroissiales, aux cabinets de lecture chrétiens, aux pères et aux mères de famille, aux supérieurs de séminaires, aux chefs d'institution et de pension des deux sexes, et à toutes les personnes qui veulent connaître les bons livres et s'occuper de leur propagation."⁴⁹ In its 1843 prospectus, *Le Bulletin de censure* cited its audience as "prêtres du Christ, pères et mères de famille, instituteurs catholiques."⁵⁰

The financial situation of the Catholic periodicals was well expressed by *Le Correspondant* in its self-description: "*l'existence toujours précaire.*"⁵¹ Few (with the possible exception of *L'Univers*) could be supported merely by subscribers;⁵² thus, subsidies from wealthy patrons were required. Unfortunately, there is no information on these patrons, and the finances are a bit of a mystery. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* was one of the few which reported that subscription money was sufficient.⁵³ *La Tribune sacrée* was owned by a joint stock company (société en commandite par actions) with 2000 shares at each 100 francs.⁵⁴

Just as the non-religious press increasingly relied on advertisements for funding of the papers, so too did the Catholic press albeit on a smaller scale. They sold space, but there were only a few advertisements/announcements in most Catholic periodicals—books being the most frequently featured. The rate of inserting ads or announcements varied as did the length of a line. *L'Univers* in 1833 charged 40 centimes a line and in January 1836 raised the price to 1f per line of 45 characters; its ads included Perron's chocolates, coffee, elixirs ("Médecin du roi"), and books. In 1835, *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* charged 75 centimes a line; its ads included in 1848 a medical tract on *La Virilité*, purgatives and laxatives, books, and church sculptures. In July 1843 *L'Univers* reverted to 40 centimes a line; ads included books, organs, medicines, and clocks. The price of advertisements in the Catholic periodicals was about one-fourth to one-half the price for ads in the larger and more well known periodicals. Ads in 1835 for *Le Journal des Débats*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *Le National*, *La Quotidienne*, and *La Gazette de France* were 1fr 50 a line.⁵⁵

1848 Revolution

During the 1840s there was widespread dissatisfaction with the Orleanist government. Catholic discontent centered on the lost battle for freedom of education in mid-1840s and the decades long battle for freedom of religion (one issue in contention was outdoor processions on Corpus Christi, "Fête Dieu"); others were disgruntled because the government catered to special interest groups; and still others advocated electoral or parliamentary reform. The government was unpopular for what it failed to do as well as for what it did. Reformers arranged large banquets to criticize François Guizot and the Orleanist government and to call for electoral reform. In 1847, about 180 such banquets took place.⁵⁶ In early 1848, the opposition to the Guizot ministry called for a banquet; the government prohibited it. As the date drew near, students and workers agitated in favor of the banquet and reform. On the 21 February, the government formally posted the declaration that forbade the banquet and the demonstration; the organizers (the Opposition)

supported the government's cancellation. People heeded neither the government nor the Opposition and assembled anyway. The troops and the National Guard were called. A shot was heard, and both soldiers and students fired on one another. Panic broke out; barricades were built and a riot turned into an insurrection and revolution. The republic was proclaimed on the 25 February. Such is a simplified version of the facts.

This revolution, like that of 1830, directly affected the Parisian press—both the religious and nonreligious. Unlike the 1830 revolution, the press was not immediately threatened as it had been by the Four Ordonnances being promulgated by Charles X and his government. Though fewer than in 1830, printing presses (e.g., at *Le Correspondant's* printer, A. René) were attacked and damaged by the revolutionary mobs; both *L'Univers* and *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* reported being invaded and machinery destroyed and asked for sympathy and patience from the subscribers for the abbreviated issues of 26 February. *La Critique bibliographique* reported that the workers had deserted the print shop and so the periodical was delayed in being distributed on its normal date of the 23 of the month. Some periodicals suspended themselves temporarily and/or transformed themselves.⁵⁷ Four (*La Critique bibliographique*, *L'Écho du clergé et des catholiques*, *La Lecture*, *La Voix de l'Église*) merged into one and reappeared in late March but lasted only until May. In June, abbé André explained why the merged periodical ceased operation: “Elle [the February Revolution] atteignait nos modiques revenus personnels, elle atteint notre modeste entreprise. Il nous devenait donc impossible d'ajouter de nouveaux sacrifices à ceux que nous avons déjà faits.”⁵⁸ *La Revue du monde catholique* and *La Revue ecclésiastique* continued for a couple of months after the revolution and then ceased publication in May.

Actions by the provisional government also directly affected the periodical press. On 4 March, the government eliminated the stamp tax, thus lowering the costs of producing the periodicals. As a result, some Catholic periodicals passed the savings on to the subscribers by lowering the price of a subscription (e.g., the daily *L'Univers* dropped from 60 to 40 francs and the monthly *Le Mémorial catholique* from 10 to 6 francs); others increased their size or periodicity with no increase of price (e.g., *L'Ami de la religion* and *Le Journal des villes et campagnes* doubled their weekly appearance to become a daily—except Monday for *L'Ami*—and *Le Correspondant* became a weekly). *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* regretted that it could not lower its price as some others had because it relied on subscriptions for its existence.⁵⁹

On 6 March, the provisional government abrogated the press laws of 1835 (e.g., the

surety for a political periodical). All periodicals, thus, could discuss politics; one Catholic non-political paper, *L'Université catholique*, acknowledged this change and promised to use this privilege wisely.⁶⁰ Another, *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, noted that this was the only benefit it had from the revolution.⁶¹ Still another, *La Bibliographie catholique*, reminded its readers that it was a literary and not a political periodical. Another consequence of the liberalization of the press laws was the appearance of hundreds of new periodicals during the remainder of 1848—even after the June Days when the government reinstated content restrictions and the surety.⁶²

Reaction/Response to February Revolution by the non-political Catholic press

All of the Catholic periodicals accepted the newly proclaimed republic with little trouble though their particular (and sometimes peculiar) perspectives differed. Comments varied from a few sentences or one article in a monthly to an on-going discussion and analysis in the political dailies as the events unfolded—from riot to republic to provisional government to elections. The response of the non-political press ranged from total disregard to attempts at understanding through an analysis of contemporary society. *Le Journal des prédicateurs* continued to appear with no comments and no visible changes.⁶³ *La Revue ecclésiastique* published extracts from eight bishops' letters/circulars and offered no independent opinion; similarly *La Tribune sacrée* published five episcopal letters showing the acceptance of the new government. Although there was no article on the February revolution itself, *Le Bulletin de censure* in the summer undertook to list and describe briefly all the periodicals—estimated at 500—which had appeared after February 1848. From June to December it published the lists and noted especially those which had a socialist sympathy by marking them with a “S.” Curiously, it only listed a few of the Catholic journals (e.g., *L'Ami de la religion*) and omitted most (e.g., *L'Univers* and *Le Mémorial catholique*).

La Revue catholique acknowledged the revolution by reprinting an eleven page article by Alfred Nettement, entitled “Laissez passer la justice de Dieu,”⁶⁴ and then printing extracts from episcopal letters which instructed the faithful and the clergy to obey the government. Legitimist Nettement interpreted recent (sixty years) French history as a time when God had chastised both Philippe Egalité in 1793 and his son, Louis-Philippe, in 1848 because of their conspiracies against their cousins, the Bourbon kings. Nettement rejoiced in God's providence and His appropriate punishments:

Le fils subit un traitement analogue sans être pareil à celui de son père. Ce qu'il [Louis-Philippe] avait fait, lui est fait. Chute pour chute, déchéance pour déchéance, exil pour exil. Il a chassé ses aînés [older branch of the family, i.e., the Bourbons], il

est chassé. Ingrat envers la race de Louis XIV comme envers la France, il ne rencontre qu'ingratitude.⁶⁵

Echoing the same role of God in events that Nettement developed, *La Revue de la musique religieuse* wrote: "Voici que la justice de Dieu est venue soudainement ébranler le monde jusque dans ses fondements."⁶⁶

Another non-political periodical, *La Bibliographie catholique*, reminded its readers that it was a literary and not a political periodical; nonetheless, it described the revolution as "la tempête" and "un coup terrible" in the opening paragraphs of its lead article in March 1848, "Influence de 89 sur la langue, le goût et la littérature de la France."⁶⁷ This article pointed out that the profusion of printed materials in the 1790s had negatively affected the French language because newspapers replaced truth with lies and "les cinquante mille pamphlets . . . ont enfanté les saturnales de la liberté." The newspaper of Jacques Hébert, *Père Duchesne*, was described as "ce vil amas d'ordures;" plays were described as "bruyantes orgies." Since its focus was literature, *La Bibliographie catholique* noted some good books that emerged from the Revolution about Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, and Charlotte Corday—all of whom, according to *La Bibliographie catholique*, had courageously protested against the Terror and were modern day martyrs.⁶⁸ *La Bibliographie catholique* concluded: "Voilà le bilan littéraire de cette époque si douloureusement agitée. La France ne sortit que péniblement de cette longue ivresse."⁶⁹ The message, of course, was that the 1789 revolution (and by extension the 1848 one) had dire consequences for France and not just on the French language.

Unlike *La Revue catholique* and *La Bibliographie catholique* which looked pessimistically at the 1789 Revolution and its inherited ills, *Le Mémorial catholique* had a completely different outlook. It argued that the July Revolution of 1830 had freed the church by severing the altar-throne alliance. Unfortunately, it wrote, the leaders of the church did not take advantage of the opportunity in 1830; now in 1848 church leaders had another chance to act to separate church and state completely and thus to achieve liberty. Other periodicals, like *Le Correspondant*, also acknowledged the difference in the Church and society in 1830 and in 1848. But only *Le Mémorial catholique* advocated an end to the 1801 Concordat and the 1802 Organic Articles which would also have ended state salaries for clergy. It wrote: "La liberté ou l'esclavage de l'Eglise en France est donc entre les mains du clergé; c'est à lui de se prononcer."⁷⁰ It also cited the example of the Irish clergy who had renounced the "servitude du salaire." This same position of state church separation had been advocated during the early July Monarchy by *L'Avenir* and by an earlier *Le*

Correspondant. The issue of proper church-state relations was a perennial one in nineteenth century France; it had not been settled in 1830 nor was it in 1848. In 1832, in *Mirari vos*, Gregory XVI condemned the liberal ideas (including the proposed church-state separation) of *Avenir*.⁷¹ In the 1864 "Syllabus of Errors" attached to *Quanta Cura*, Pius IX denounced church-state separation among 79 other errors.⁷² After decades of anticlerical⁷³ legislation, the Third Republic unilaterally and definitively separated the church and state by law in 1905--without any agreement on the part of Catholic authorities. A year later, Pope Pius X condemned the separation in two encyclicals, *Vehementer nos* and *Gravissimo*. Further, in condemning modernism in 1907, he condemned the idea of separation of church and state and asserted the legitimacy of church authority which should not be subordinated to civil authority.⁷⁴ Some historians now judge the separation as ultimately beneficial for the French Catholic Church.⁷⁵

A number of contemporary Catholic periodicals reacted strongly against the idea and against the audacity of *Le Mémorial catholique's* proposal for a separation of church and state. *L'Ami de la religion* asserted: "Au Saint-Siège seul il appartient de modifier ou de maintenir les rapports établis par le concordat entre l'État et l'Église de France Nous adjurons tous nos confrères de la presse catholique de se renfermer dans la plus grande réserve et d'attendre que Rome ait parlé."⁷⁶ *L'Univers* maintained that the Concordat was "un traité entre l'Église . . . et la Nation" and could not be changed unilaterally.⁷⁷ The gallican *La Revue ecclésiastique* in opposition to the ultramontanism of *Le Mémorial catholique*, advocated the continuation of state payment for clergy because the state had confiscated the Church's property in 1789.⁷⁸ *La Voix de l'Église*, owned and operated by priests, branded the idea of suppressing clerical salaries as "une injustice monstrueuse faite au Clergé" and "un outrage sanglant."⁷⁹

Two new monthly periodicals, *L'Étude* and *La Revue de l'enseignement*, had the same personnel and sometimes identical articles. They first appeared in January 1848 and focused on Catholic education--the former on primary education and the latter on instruction of youth. Collaborating on the periodicals were Charles and Henry de Riancey, members of the *Comité électoral pour la défense de la liberté religieuse*. *L'Étude* reported in Février 1848: "Dieu a frappé un coup de tonnerre. . . Pendant dix-huit années, l'ordre matériel a régné dans les rues, et le désordre moral dans les intelligences et dans la politique. . . l'enseignement est émancipé comme tout le reste."⁸⁰ Similarly optimistic was *La Revue de l'enseignement*: "L'ancien système de prévention, d'arbitraire et de restriction, est détruit. Tout est à reprendre à nouveau."⁸¹ Like *Le Mémorial*, they saw the revolution as an

opportunity to achieve freedom--of education--and as the start of a new era. They had no fear of a repeat of the terror of 1793.

In a single article on the February revolution, Augustin Bonnetty in *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* devoted ten pages to commentary and then ten pages to documents concerning important events from 2 February to 11 March that pertained to religion (e.g., from the Archbishop of Paris and from the provisional government).⁸² He wrote that the Church had nothing to fear from a republic and argued that to exist a republic needed order and that the foundation of order was Gospel morality. In fact, several periodicals in 1848 as in 1830 argued that the governmental form did not matter. Affre's Lenten letter focused on the February Revolution (dated 3 March 1848); he maintained: "Jésus Christ en déclarant que son royaume n'est pas de ce monde, a déclaré par là même qu'il ne commandait et ne proscrivait aucune forme de gouvernement."⁸³ *L'Univers* reminded its readers: "L'Eglise prêche le respect de l'autorité reconnue."⁸⁴ Pope Leo XIII used both ideas (indifference to governmental form and acceptance of political authority) in calling on French Catholics to rally to the Third Republic in *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes* in 1892.⁸⁵ Order was the highly prized value both in papal encyclicals and in the Catholic periodicals. Of course, the appeal for order is not only found among Catholics; the organizers of the banquet of 22 February had agreed with the Government's cancellation because of the fear of disorder.

In *L'Université catholique*, the other periodical for which Bonnetty was a director, the response to the February revolution was terse but hopeful: "La dynastie de juillet a été chassée, comme elle avait été élevée, en trois jours. . . .S'il fallait se fier aux promesses et aux apparences, une liberté complète serait enfin donnée aux catholiques."⁸⁶ Like *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, *L'Université catholique* supported the same cause (Catholicism) but treated different material; *L'Université* dealt with "la science théorique et didactique" and *Les Annales* with "la science pratique et de l'archéologie du Christianisme."⁸⁷ Considering that *L'Université catholique* aimed to provide articles on serious and profound topics, it is not surprising that it considered that education was one of the most important liberties for the new government to implement. It pointed out: "La politique actuelle est la suite de l'enseignement."⁸⁸ Since current politics were corrupt, the logical conclusion was that education needed to be corrected and christianized so that "la politique soit juste et vraie." Unlike other periodicals which reprinted letters from bishops about the revolution, *L'Université catholique* published Count de Montalembert's reflections on the advent of a republic in France. (This same article had appeared in *L'Univers* on 28

February.) He affirmed: "Sous la République comme sous la monarchie, il nous faut défendre, aimer et servir la liberté religieuse;"⁸⁹ he used the United States as an example of a successful republic which did not persecute Catholics. Further, Montalembert wrote: "La république française ne peut pas être moins juste, moins libérale, moins intelligente que la République américaine." *L'Université catholique* also included the circular from the Electoral Committee for religious liberty exhorting all men over 21 to sign up on the electoral list so that they could vote in the upcoming election for the National Assembly: "Cette assemblée aura . . . pour mission de terminer l'oeuvre commencée en 1789."⁹⁰ Religious liberty meant freedom for Catholics to practice their religion—including outdoor processions and for the Catholic religion to be supported by the government. It did not mean an acceptance of individuals to freely choose which religion they would practice because that would have allowed individuals to choose error or heresy (i.e., any religion other than Catholicism).

Finally, the last of the non-political periodicals, *La Revue du monde catholique*, described the revolution as "profondément révolutionnaire au fond, mais essentiellement pacifique et modéré dans sa marche."⁹¹ It saw the revolution as one of reason and thus different from earlier revolutions which were full of enthusiasm and passion. The description of a revolution of reason is a bit odd. For much of the nineteenth century, many Catholic writers opposed the eighteenth century Enlightenment which was founded on reason, and yet in this case "reason" was an affirmative attribute. *La Revue du monde catholique* appreciated the importance of the French economic problems, recognized that the government had a difficult job, and praised the government's intention to enact necessary reforms especially in finances and to confront the problems that workers faced. Other periodicals recognized these economic problems as well, but most did not speak of them in the first reports on the revolution.

Reaction/Response to February Revolution by political press

Like the non-political periodicals, the political press expressed no sorrow at the ending of the Orleanist dynasty. *L'Univers* explained: "Chacun sait que les Catholiques n'ont pas voulu le [Louis-Philippe] détruire, chacun sait aussi qu'ils n'ont pas lieu de le regretter."⁹² This line of thought was consistent with the Catholic teaching which forbade rebellion and which taught submission to authority. Because the political periodicals appeared more frequently than the non-political press which were all monthlies, they often wrote in the middle of events rather than from a vantage point of days or weeks afterwards. Embracing the 1789 principles which headed all the official documents of the provisional government,

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité (with the exception of *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* which referred to the motto infrequently), they called on the government to fulfill its promise of liberty for the Church. Of the nine political periodicals in 1848, four political periodicals (*L'Ami*, *Le Correspondant*, *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, and *L'Univers*) reported and interpreted the revolutionary events more thoroughly than the others. Extant issues of *La Voix de la vérité* for 1848 have not been located. The other four (*La Critique bibliographique*, *L'Écho du clergé*, *La Lecture*, *La Voix de l'Église*) temporarily ceased and then joined together to reappear as one periodical in March.

The legitimist *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* (printed in four page quarto format) dealt with the Revolution by giving an account of what happened hour by hour, day by day. It blamed the Orleanist government for the actual outbreak of the revolution: "La troupe a fait feu sur la foule inoffensive; . . . des barricades s'élevaient partout."⁹³ But it knew that the economic crisis was a significant cause of the revolution. The reporting in this periodical was straightforward--telling what happened according to the accounts in other newspapers and from eyewitnesses; its reporting was matter-of-fact. It always included articles from other newspapers (e.g., the *Le Moniteur*, *Le National*, London's *Times*). At the top of the first column on page 1, there was usually a snippet from the past called "Ephémérides." These items included the patron saint of the day and then an historical event often having to do with the Bourbon (the legitimate) dynasty. In January and February (until the revolution) 1848, these appeared every day. Before the Revolution, the events included the anniversaries of Louis XVI's death by guillotine on 21 January 1793 and of Duke de Berry's death on 16 February 1820. During the revolutionary days and until 4 March, the *éphémérides* disappeared. In March 1848 the past that was recalled included Henri IV's entrance into Paris (22 March 1594): "Le même jour il alla à Notre-Dame rendre grâces à Dieu, au milieu d'un peuple innombrable,"⁹⁴ and the installation of the statue of Louis XIV in Place des Victoires (28 March 1685). On 5 April, St Louis left for the sixth Crusade in 1270; he besieged Tunis, took the fortress, and died in his camp on 23 August. He instructed his son not to overcharge the people with taxes and subsidies among other recommendations. References to the past glories of the Capetian/Bourbon line indicate this periodical's legitimist sympathy and its apparent desire to offer lessons to the government (respect for religion as seen by Henry IV and restraint in levying taxes by St. Louis). In other places, the lessons from recent events were more explicit. For example, after describing Louis-Philippe's abdication and the absence of a loyal military presence, *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* admonished the new government to heed the lesson in this: "Quelle leçon! . . .

Puisse le nouveau pouvoir quel qu'il soit y puiser un utile et salutaire enseignement."⁹⁵ And in mid-March when the government proscribed all non-authorized congregations, *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* turned to the republic's motto and warned: "Souvenez-vous donc de votre devise: Liberté, égalité, fraternité, et faites qu'elle soit une réalité, si vous voulez que les catholiques vous prêtent leur concours."⁹⁶

By mid-March *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* had accepted the republic because it existed. By the end of March, it notified its readers that the republicans were trying to dominate everything and turning their opinions into dogma. Strangely, it compared these republicans to sixteenth century Muslims and their conquest of Constantinople.⁹⁷ In late March, *L'Univers* made a similar comparison likening the arbitrary proscription of non-authorized religious associations in Lyon to a "firman du pacha républicain. . . On n'agit pas autrement au Maroc."⁹⁸ In both cases, the Catholic periodicals criticized actions of the republic by choosing unflattering references to Muslim politics. Both examples also demonstrate the growing distrust of the fledgling republic which had been welcomed in February.

In a two part article in the newly merged periodical (*La Critique bibliographique, L'Écho du clergé, La Lecture, La Voix de l'Église*), abbé Mathieu listed 57 similarities between the revolution of 1830 and that of 1848.⁹⁹ The article, "De l'action de Dieu dans les révolutions," had two parallel columns with the headings: July Revolution and February Revolution. Some of the comparisons dealt with social and economic conditions (cold winter, high bread prices) and some with the royal families (the eldest son married a foreign princess and had a son). Other ideas seemed a bit superstitious (both revolutions occurred two years after the dissolution or the dispersion of the Jesuits) or coincidental (both revolutions began on a Tuesday and concluded on Thursday; both Charles X and Louis-Philippe were 74 years old when dethroned and went in exile to England). And some were a bit convoluted. For example, items eight through twelve and forty-seven concerned the death of the heir to the throne. The Duke of Berry was assassinated on 13 February 1820¹⁰⁰ and the Duke of Orleans died on 13 July 1842. Each had died on the 13th day and the first died in the month (though not the year) of the fall of Louis-Philippe and the second died in the month (though not the year) of the fall of Charles X.

For abbé Mathieu the similarities were so many that they could not be accidental but were evidence of God's divine plan for France and provided proof that God was in complete control ("l'Ordonnateur suprême"). The God who was invoked here was not the transcendent clockmaker of the eighteenth century Enlightenment but rather an immanent

God who acted directly in human affairs and in the world He had created. Mathieu concluded: "L'on restera nécessairement convaincu qu'un juge suprême, juste et sévère, a conduit tous les événements avec une hauteur d'intelligence qui domine les temps . . . pour accomplir ses desseins."¹⁰¹ This view of God intervening in human affairs was shared by other Catholic periodicals--political and non-political. *La Bibliographie catholique* wrote: "Dieu a frappé de nouveau un coup terrible qui emporte à la fois, le trône, la pairie, la Chambre élective, l'armée, les finances, et bien d'autres choses encore."¹⁰² *Le Correspondant* reported: "Après le grand coup que Dieu vient de frapper, et qui a bouleversé un puissant État contre toute prévision."¹⁰³ Several Catholic periodicals saw the revolution as God's handiwork punishing an irreligious France or an usurping king who had forgotten Him. Veillot in *L'Univers* commented: "Nous disons que la main de Dieu s'appesantit sur cette société qui a méprisé obstinément ses lois," and a few days later: "La monarchie succombe sous le poids de ses fautes."¹⁰⁴ *Le Correspondant* called the revolution "un moyen de punition entre les mains de Dieu."¹⁰⁵ It also informed its readership that legitimists accepted the 1848 Revolution because they saw "un trompeur trompé."¹⁰⁶ Bonnetty in *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* claimed that the king had fallen because he had forgotten that in the temporal order, kings were accountable to the people they are supposed to protect and in the spiritual order were accountable to religious authority. He wrote: "Tout ROI qui directement ou indirectement se fera DIEU, sera châtié de Dieu comme un USURPATEUR" (emphasis in the original).¹⁰⁷ *Le Mémorial catholique* described "les grands et providentiels événements" of 22-24 February in which God allowed (but not caused) the revolution "pour punir les coupables d'abord, puis pour apprendre aux hommes que lui seul est grand."¹⁰⁸ And it further maintained: "Dieu, qui a d'autres vues, a mieux aimé qu'un nouveau bouleversement dans l'ordre politique renversât ce qu'on semblait maintenir malgré lui." In their brief note in *La Critique bibliographique*, the priests/owners connected the downfall of Louis-Philippe with the ideas of the Enlightenment which based itself on reason and not on religion: "Il nous suffit de dire que la dynastie de juillet, qui s'est aveuglément appuyée sur la politique philosophique, a succombé comme nous le lui avions prédit."¹⁰⁹ *Le Mémorial catholique* declared: "La monarchie vient encore une fois de succomber. . . . les rois se sont crus des dieux."¹¹⁰ *L'Étude* asserted: "Dieu a frappé un coup de tonnerre. La Justice du tout Puissant a éclaté dans tous les traits de cette Révolution inopinée."¹¹¹ These comments by the press about the actions of God also reveal a criticism of the July Monarchy politics and society.

The two most important political periodicals were the tri-weekly *L'Ami de la religion*

and the daily *L'Univers*; the first owned and edited by l'abbé Jean-Jacques-Firmin de Veyssière and the second edited by Louis Veuillot. On 22 February 1848 *L'Ami de la religion* concluded its comments on the situation in Paris with a wish: "Donc, le banquet du 22 février . . . mérite d'être appelé le banquet de la peur autant que de l'agitation réformiste. Puisse le mouvement qui commence ce matin ne pas lui préparer un de ces noms que l'histoire n'écrit qu'avec du sang et ne lit qu'à travers des larmes!"¹¹² Obviously, the concern here was a repetition of the Great Revolution with its anticlericalism and its Reign of Terror. Within the span of less than a week, *L'Ami* passed from fear of the past to hope for the future. It obliquely recalled the bloody anticlerical days of the 1789 and 1830 revolutions and then welcomed the return of order (despite a change from monarchy to republic). On 26 February, *L'Ami* cautiously predicted:

L'ordre est observé strictement sur tous les points; les barricades, élevées au coin de chaque rue, sont gardées par des citoyens armés qui montrent la plus grande modération; tout fait espérer que les personnes et les propriétés n'auront aucunement à souffrir d'une révolution devenue inévitable.¹¹³

L'Ami welcomed the republic and did not call for a return to a monarchy: "Certes personne ne désire plus que nous de voir s'établir pacifiquement le règne d'une République forte par son unité autant que respectable par la loyauté de ses principes."¹¹⁴ As it had done in 1814 with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, *L'Ami* invoked the image of the republic as a safe harbor in a sea of trouble: "Nous allions confiants et heureux, vers la république comme vers notre unique port de salut,"¹¹⁵ and "Après le naufrage complet de tous les essais de gouvernements inventés ou restaurés depuis soixante ans, la nouvelle République française est le seul refuge qui reste, à l'ordre et à la paix nécessaire à tous."¹¹⁶

L'Ami developed the theme of the legitimacy of the republic and its motto by describing its religious roots. It announced: "Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité! ces nobles et saintes paroles étaient chrétiennes avant d'être politiques; avant la république, l'Évangile les avait proclamées dans le monde."¹¹⁷ The non-political *Le Mémorial catholique* similarly rejoiced that liberty, equality and fraternity had existed for nineteen centuries in the Gospels, but also warned that even the most excellent principles can produce the most terrible fruits.¹¹⁸

The religious characteristic of the Republic's motto was iterated by bishops in their publications and cited by *L'Ami*. For example, the Bishop of Viviers hoped that these words would be restored to their "signification chrétienne et tout évangélique."¹¹⁹ The Bishop of Le Mans echoed this sentiment when referring to the republic's motto: "trois vérités éminemment chrétiennes."¹²⁰ Further, he explained that liberty was freedom from sin, equality meant that

all had the same rights before God and fraternity was based on the fact that all were sons of the same Father. *L'Ami de la religion* also used the revolutionary triad to call on the government to change some of its actions: notably the mid-March proscription of non-authorized religious congregations and the government's discussion of reforming the church. In both cases, *L'Ami de la religion* complained: "Déjà de la violence et de l'arbitraire! . . . ce n'est plus la liberté, c'est la tyrannie qu'on nous apporte; ce n'est pas l'égalité, mais le privilège de l'oppression, c'est la haine à la place de la fraternité, c'est la guerre en un mot."¹²¹ The christianizing of the revolutionary triad parallels the findings of Frank Bowman in his study of the evolution of the image of Christ from 1789 to 1848: "Ils [intellectuals, poets, theologians and political thinkers in their writings] présentent un Christ prophète de la République, qui a prêché *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*"¹²²

The political daily, *L'Univers*, characterized the events of 22 February as a riot and then described the unexpected transition from riot to revolution: "Ce matin, le caractère de la situation était celui d'une émeute vaincue; ce soir, le Cabinet se retire, et la révolution est commencée."¹²³ Like *L'Ami de la religion*, *L'Univers* initially was fearful of the February days.

It pessimistically predicted: "Jamais, depuis nos plus sombres jours, l'avenir ne fut aussi menaçant." Nevertheless this pessimism did not last long; on 25 February, *L'Univers* announced the end of "the most surprising [revolution] in history."¹²⁴ It wrote: "Aujourd'hui, comme hier, rien n'est possible que la liberté; aujourd'hui, comme hier, la religion est la seule base possible des sociétés; la religion est l'arôme qui empêche la liberté de se corrompre." For *L'Univers*, how the new government and republic interpreted liberty for the Church was of utmost importance: "L'Eglise ne demande aux gouvernements humains qu'une seule chose: la liberté."¹²⁵ And on 28 February, it printed Montalembert's article which rejoiced that the Church stood tall and immortal in the face of revolutions as did truth, liberty and justice.¹²⁶ Similar to *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, *L'Univers* promised to serve the state if it refrained from interfering with Catholicism but to combat it if it became tyrannical or if it reneged on its promises.¹²⁷

Like other periodicals, *L'Univers* also christianized revolutionary principles. About the divine right of kings and popular sovereignty, the ultramontane Veillot wrote: "La théologie gallicane a consacré exclusivement le droit divin des rois. Avant elle et plus qu'elle, la théologie catholique a proclamé le droit divin des peuples."¹²⁸ He then explained that the historic origin of democracy was Jesus' washing the feet of the disciples at the Last Supper. He wrote:

De maître il devient serviteur, et la démocratie fut inaugurée sur la terre. . . . L'Europe

du moyen âge a été une confédération de démocraties chrétiennes . . . toute l'histoire du monde chrétien, depuis dix siècles, n'est que le récit des luttes de la liberté chrétienne, représentée par l'Eglise, contre les réactions et les entreprises du despotisme païen.

Thus did Veuillot rewrite history to illustrate the important role of Catholicism. His history was over simplified and pitted the good against evil; he omitted the classical origins of democracy and ignored the feudal monarchies of England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire. In this two column article, "liberté" was used at least thirteen times. He ended the article in mock humility, "Nous ne sommes, nous qui parlons, que de simples laïques, mais nous affirmons que l'Eglise ne demande rien de plus. . . la liberté." In fact, he was claiming to speak for the Church which brought him later into conflict with ecclesiastical authorities. During the Second Empire, Veuillot would regret and condemn the idea of liberty: "The word 'liberty' comes to us from the slave nations; it has no meaning in a Christian society."¹²⁹

The political monthly *Le Correspondant* offered an analysis of French society as its way of discussing the 1848 Revolution. Eugene Loudun in the first issue after the February Revolution wrote at length on the goodness and virtues of "the people."¹³⁰ He analyzed French society using three divisions: the urban poor/the workers, the voltairien bourgeoisie, and the religious upper class. (That some periodicals called the people the workers does not imply a distinct industrial class at this time in French history; nor was the middle class a single group with shared aspirations.) According to Loudun, the upper classes were religious, but their reasons were usually political or sentimental. In contrast, the people were religious by instinct. The people had other virtuous instincts (e.g., generosity, trust), but they were also ignorant and needed instruction. After the bloodshed and disturbance of the February days, the people's behavior had become "si héroïque et si calme à la fois;" they acted "comme gardien de la propriété nationale de la paix." In opposition to this honorable group of "people/workers," Loudun pitted the middle class ("la classe moyenne") who laughed at the law of charity and human fraternity. This bourgeoisie was corrupt; the roots of its corruption were greed and money. The July Government, the embodiment of the bourgeois, catered to this corruption by employing such expressions as "Enrichissez-vous." Corruption was attached "à la peau de la classe moyenne." Luckily most of the French, according to Loudun, did not suffer from this "gangrene." This image of gangrene--also used by Nettement¹³¹ in his history of the February revolution--clearly gave the sense of a rotting disease which afflicted France and which needed to be excised.

Loudun's upbeat article was prefaced by a disclaimer from the periodical's unnamed

personnel: "Quelques-uns de nous peuvent apprécier les faits autrement que M. Eug. Loudun; mais il n'y a pas un des sentiments qu'il exprime qui ne soit profondément gravé dans nos coeurs."¹³² And in the next issue, the problem of the middle classes of the July government was further developed by Alfred de Courcy.¹³³ The bourgeois¹³⁴ July government had no morality and exploited its position. Like Loudun, de Courcy used the words "plague," "gangrene" and "monstrous" to describe the egoisme and greed of the bourgeois. Once again the image of disease and corruption was attributed to the middle class, especially the newly rich. In addition, this newly rich group was the seed-bed of irreligion; it was egotistical, debauched, and lazy and was nourished by bad books and "honteux *divertissements publics*. . . . qui faisaient tant de victimes parmi les filles du peuple." Because of this corruption, *Le Correspondant* advocated turning to the "people" and then educating them so they would develop their natural virtues.

Reaction/response by clergy

The positive attitude of Catholic periodicals toward the revolution and the quick acceptance of a republic mirrored the acceptance of the revolution and republic by the Catholic hierarchy.¹³⁵ In 1830, many bishops had been reluctant to order prayers for the new monarch, Louis-Philippe, and only did so when instructed to by the Minister of Worship.¹³⁶ In 1848, the bishops instructed the clergy to pray for the new republic before being told to do so by the government. Unlike in 1830, the bishops in 1848 quickly rallied to the new government. Numerous episcopal letters to their clergy and to their flocks were included in both *L'Ami* (which cited twenty-four of them) and *L'Univers* and in a few other Catholic periodicals and attested to the clergy's favorable opinion of the latest revolution. On 7 March 1848, *L'Univers* noted: "L'Épiscopat remplit admirablement son devoir envers la religion et la patrie: tout le monde remarque et tout le monde loue l'attitude qu'il a prise dès le premier jour."¹³⁷ Contemporary author, Marie d'Agout (alias Daniel Stern) acknowledged this clerical approval in her *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*. She wrote: "Le concours du clergé régulier et séculier fut unanime."¹³⁸

Illustrative of this almost immediate acceptance were the actions taken by Archbishop Affre of Paris. On 24 February, he instructed his clergy to pray for the new government by substituting "Francorum gentem" (the French people) for Ludovicum Philippum (Louis-Philippe) in the traditional prayer "Domine salvum fac"; this was one day before the proclamation of the republic and five days before the provisional government issued its order to use "populorum." In March, the correct wording required by the government was "Rempublicam" rather than French people; Affre duly modified his instructions to coincide

with the provisional government's wording. In his 29 February circular, Affre directed his clergy to obey the government's orders and to allow the republican flag to adorn religious buildings. *L'Univers* printed the brief circular on 1 March; *L'Ami de la religion* printed it on 2 March. It is not just the fact of the directive but also the physical layout of the directive that is noteworthy. Whereas *L'Univers* simply printed the content, *L'Ami de la religion* included the heading ARCHEVÊCHÉ DE PARIS and just below a line reading RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE and below that the revolutionary trinity: Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité. Thus, a week after the Revolution had begun, it was clear to all readers of *L'Ami de la religion* that the Archbishop of Paris accepted the new government with seemingly no strings attached. Curiously, the addition of the republican attributes to Affre's circular had not been sanctioned by the archbishop and did not appear in any of his other circulars and letters. In his next circular, Affre added a postscript informing the clergy that the flying of the flag was authorized but that the format of the circular had undergone unapproved modifications—presumably by the new government who had co-signed the circular.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, readers of the document and of the newspaper (clergy and subscribers) had already read and seen the juxtaposition of the archbishop and the second republic—with, of course, the religious authority above the political one in the version printed in *L'Ami de la religion*.

Conclusion

The number of these periodicals (more than double the number in July 1830) suggests that there was a Catholic revival in France during the July Monarchy and indicates that there were divergent Catholic opinions about religious and political ideas, differing priorities on what needed to be done, and a desire to provide a means to express and form opinion. There were different themes in treating the upheaval and the arrival of the Republic: some were optimistic, some were pessimistic, some simply ignored the political revolution. There were few references after the first days to the Great Revolution of 1789. The Catholic periodicals were somewhat cognizant of the economic problems and the plight of the poor, but did not recognize the changed conditions of the workers in a industrializing society. Most thought that simple charity would correct the problems. One of few who did understand was the liberal Catholic professor of foreign literature at the Sorbonne and contributor to *Le Correspondant* and *L'Université catholique*, Frederic Ozanam, who wrote:

Derrière la révolution politique, nous voyons une révolution sociale, nous voyons l'avènement de cette classe ouvrière qu'on ne connaissait pas assez. . . . Nous leur devons au moins cette reconnaissance, de mettre à l'étude les doctrines et les mesures qui tendraient à leur assurer, s'il se peut, la juste proportion du labour et du

repos, les conditions d'une vie frugale, un retraite paisible pour leur vieillesse.¹⁴⁰

In 1848, the Parisian Catholic periodicals accepted the end of the July Monarchy and the advent of a republic primarily for two reasons. First, they were disappointed in the July Monarchy's failure to implement the freedom of religion and freedom of education that had been promised by the 1830 Charter. Second, they accepted the republic because they interpreted the absence of anti-clerical violence in 1848 as a positive sign that the "people" had become religious. Thus, most Catholic periodicals and clergy welcomed the new government--ushered in without anticlerical violence and with promises of freedoms. Further, the prelates and the periodicals christianized the revolutionary trinity, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity as a way to show the compatibility of the republic with Catholicism.

While many Catholics initially greeted the 1848 revolution with optimism, the positive attitude eroded during the spring and was replaced with distrust and disappointment. The people threatened public order in the riots of 15 March and 15 May, and the new government was not fulfilling its promises. *Le Mémorial catholique* summed up the problem: "Reste à savoir si tout le monde entend la république de la même manière. Là est la question."¹⁴¹ Both Catholics and republicans sought a moral reform of France, but their expectations and assumptions did not coincide. Hence, Catholic bishops and many of the Catholic periodicals which were initially enthusiastic turned against the republic. During the Second Empire, the Church became closely connected to Napoleon III and his government. It was not until 1892 that the Catholic hierarchy and periodicals would promote a rallying to a republic.

Notes

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1. The Parisian Catholic Press during the July Monarchy is the subject of my forthcoming manuscript.
 2. Charles LOUANDRE, "Du Mouvement catholique: Dernière Partie," in *Revue des deux mondes* (Mars 1844), p. 473, 475.
 3. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 1830 Prospectus, p. 8.
 4. *L'Ami de la religion*, t. 138, 8 Juillet 1848, p. 75. (Hereafter referred to as *L'Ami*.)
 5. The average book was about 400 pages in octavo and cost 7.50fr; the print-run was 1000 copies. Catherine BERTHO, "La Concurrence de la presse" in *Histoire de l'édition française*, Roger CHARTIER and Henri-Jean MARTIN, eds, t. 3: *Le Temps des éditeurs: du Romantisme à la Belle Époque*, Paris, 1985, p. 399-400.
 6. According to the 1835 press law, the surety for political periodicals was 100,000 francs for newspapers which appeared more than twice a week; 75,000 francs for twice a week, 50,000 francs for once a week and 25,000 for once a month. One third, at least, of the surety had to be paid by the director/manager of the periodical. J. BORIES, J. and F. BONASSIES, *Dictionnaire pratique de la presse, de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*. 2 vol. Paris, 1846-47.
 7. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, Décembre 1831, "Nouveau Prospectus."
 8. *La Revue ecclésiastique*, Février 1848, p. 265. Ultramontanism, according to this Gallican periodical, was "l'une des principales plaies de l'Eglise catholique au dix-neuvième siècle."
 9. Claude LANGLOIS, "Permanence, Renouveau et Affrontements (1830-1880)" in *Histoire des catholiques en France du XVe siècle à nos jours*, François LEBRUN, éd., Paris, 1980, p. 291-368. See also Chapter 3: "Le Réveil catholique" in Georges WEILL, *Histoire du Catholicisme libéral en France, 1828-1908*, Paris, 1909; reprint 1979, p. 51-70. André LATREILLE questioned such a revival reminding historians that Ernest Sevrin and Christianne Marcihacy found not a revival but a decline of religious practice in the respective

studies of the dioceses of Chartres and Orleans. "Pratique, piété et foi populaire dans la France moderne au XIXème et XXème siècles," in *Popular Belief and Practice*, eds. G. J. CUMING and Derek BAKER, Cambridge, 1972.

10. *L'Union ecclésiastique*, 30 Juin 1835, p. 357. *L'Union ecclésiastique*, a Catholic periodical, appeared from July 1833 to June 1835 when it merged with *La Revue du clergé* and then with *Le Moniteur de la religion*.

11. For the unofficial yet significant connection between *L'Ami de la religion* and the episcopacy, consult M. Patricia DOUGHERTY, "L'Ami de la religion et les évêques français sous le Concordat, 1815-1850," in *La Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 89 (July-Dec 1994), p. 577-621.

12. In 1830, there were 40,600 priests in France of which 29% were over sixty; in 1838, there were 47,000 priests of which only 5.6% were over sixty. R. Howard BLOCH, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne*, Chicago, 1994, p. 11.

13. *L'Étude*, Janvier 1848, "A nos abonnés," p. 1.

14. *La Bibliographie catholique*, t. 1, Juin 1842, "Compte rendu à nos abonnés [by [abbé] B. des Billiers]," p. 401-406.

15. *La Voix de l'Église*, 25 Mai 1848, p. 351.

16. This issue of priests working on newspapers was not settled in the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, abbé Felix Trochu founded a regional (Rennes) newspaper, *Ouest-Éclair*, and ran into trouble with his bishop several times because Trochu was an "abbé démocrate" and his bishop was conservative. For more on this problem consult Michel LAGRÉE, Patrick HARISMENDY and Michel DENIS, eds., *L'Ouest-Éclair: Naissance et essor d'un grand quotidien régional, 1899-1933*, Rennes, 2000.

17. Pierre PIERRARD, "L'abbé Migne Journaliste," in *Migne et le renouveau des études patristiques. Actes du colloque de Saint-Flour 7-8 juillet, 1975*, André MANDOUZE et Joel FOUILHERON, eds., Paris, 1985, p. 113.

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18. Archives historiques de l'archevêché de Paris, *Lettre Pastorale de Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Paris qui confirme la condamnation portée par son Mandement du 20 août 1847*, 29 Octobre 1847, p. 4. (Hereafter, these archives are referred to as AHAP.)
19. Roger LIMOUZIN-LAMOTHE, *Mgr Denys-Auguste Affre, Archevêque de Paris (1793-1848)*, Paris, 1971, p. 145. Limouzin-Lamothe dated *La France Chrétienne* as 1820-1839. My research shows this periodical's dates were 1821 to 1828.
20. Claude SAVART, "Deux siècles d'enseignement épiscopal: les lettres pastorales des archevêques de Paris, 1802-1966," in *La Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 86 (Jan-June 2000), p. 143.
21. Hippolyte BARBIER [Un solitaire], *Biographie du clergé contemporain*, 10 vol., Paris, 1841-1851, t. 3, p. 305.
22. *La Voix de l'Église*, title page.
23. *La Voix de l'Église*, 10 Juin 1846, "Du Sacerdoce dans la presse [by abbés Mathieu, Couchoud de Varennes and André]," p. 6.
24. AHAP, I D V (Archives d'Affre), carton 2, Dossier sur le concile provincial de Paris, 1 Décembre 1847. "Ne serait-il pas à désirer qu'on pût établir un journal qui fut l'organe de clergé?" The result was reported as: "On n'élève aucun doute sur cette question, et on priera M. l'Archevêque de Rheims qui s'en est occupé de faire connaître sa pensée sur ce point." No record was found of any follow-up.
25. Emile POULAT, *Les "Semaines religieuses": approche socio-historique et bibliographique des Bulletins diocésains français*, Lyon, 1973, p. 17. Langlois [see n. 9], p. 296.
26. *L'Univers*, 30 Mars 1848, p. 1.
27. On 18 May 1844 was added: "concours pour l'investiture et la dévolution temporelle des curés aux ecclésiastiques gradués en théologie, suivant épreuves publiques subies devant leurs pairs."

28. *La Rappel*, Mai 1846, p. 1.

29. In November 1847, *La Revue ecclésiastique* reported on page 192 that the censure against *La Voix de la vérité* had been lifted.

30. Men who earned their living by writing also practiced journalism in the nineteenth century, but the term had negative connotations during the first half of the century. Marc Martin dates the emergence of the profession of journalism to c.1880. Marc MARTIN, *Médias et journalistes de la république*, Paris, 1997, p. 119-120. "In France the journalist was slow to define a role distinct from that of the artist, politician, and financier, and to lose a reputation for venality and social inferiority." Leonore O'BOYLE, "The Image of the Journalist in France, Germany and England, 1815-1848," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10 (1967-1968), p. 291.

31. Alfred Nettement, *Notice sur Jacques Lecoffre*, Paris, 1866, p. 15.

32. *La Critique bibliographique*, *L'Écho du clergé*, *La Lecture*, and *La Voix de l'Église* shared office space and offered discount subscription prices to those ordering all or more than one of the four publications. On three of these papers, the same three priests (either alone or as part of a group) appeared as owners and/or directors: Paul-Félix-Claude Couchoud de Varennes, Michel André, Henri Mathieu; on *L'Écho* a different priest (not found at the other three) was listed as owner and editor/manager. The February 1848 issue of *La Critique bibliographique* which reported briefly on the 1848 Revolution, was signed with the names of the four priests (the three above and abbé Roy) as "les Directeurs de *la Voix de l'Église*, *l'Écho du clergé*, *la Lecture*, de *la Critique bibliographique*."

33. Claude SAVART, *Les Catholiques en France au XIX siècle: le Témoignage du livre religieux*, Théologie historique 73, Paris, 1985 p. 245. For more on Migne, consult Bloch [see n. 12].

34. See for example the letters, circulars, mandements of Archbishop Affre where the printer's name appeared as: Imprimerie d'Adrien le Clere et Cie: Imprimeurs de Notre Saint Père le Pape et de Monseigneur l' Archevêque.

35. BLOCH [see n. 12], p. 13,14. Claude SAVART, "Un éditeur révolutionnaire au service

de la tradition," in *Migne et le Renouveau* [see n. 17], p. 150.

36. SAVART, *Catholiques* [see n. 33], p. 152-153, 237-238. Until 1881, only eighty printers were licensed to operate in Paris. In his study of the Catholic printing houses during the Second Empire, Claude Savart found that from 1836 to 1886, the religious printing houses became concentrated in the area around Saint-Sulpice, an area noted both for aristocratic and royalist sympathy. From 1839 to 1848, Parent-Desbarres published the eighteen volume *Encyclopédie catholique* under the direction of abbé J. B. Glaire, professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne and Viscount Walsh. SAVART, "Éditeur révolutionnaire" [see n. 35], p. 152.

37. All the periodical press in France was subject to governmental regulation. The government required that printers declare the print-runs of everything emerging from their licensed presses. There is some variation in how printers interpreted this requirement. The registers of print-runs (for periodicals and non-periodicals for the first half of the nineteenth century) are organized chronologically: Archives Nationales, F18*II, reg. 1-35 cover March 1815 to March 1849 with a lacuna for 1835-37. (Hereafter these archives are referred to as Arch. nat.) In the dossiers of individual printers, there are some of the print-run declarations though there are many lacunae. Arch. nat., F18, cartons 43-119 covers 1817-1834 and F18, cartons 157-167 covers 1835-1853; both series are arranged alphabetically. Further information on print-runs/subscriptions are found in BB,17A and BB,18. The reliability of the print-run declarations is discussed (for the beginning of the Second Empire) in SAVART, *Catholiques* [see n. 32], 53-68. A few periodicals (e.g., *Les Annales de philosophie catholique*) reported their own subscription numbers.

38. Arch. nat., F18*II, 33 (reg. 1846); *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Décembre 1844, p. 475; *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Décembre 1846, p. 474. Further, *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* provided a chart of its geographic distribution—organized by department and by country. Thus in 1846, about 723 copies stayed in France (209 went to Paris) and a little less than a hundred went to foreign countries (e.g., 17 to the United States; 17 to Papal States).

39. No 1848 print-run information has been found for *La Bibliographie catholique*, *La Revue de la musique religieuse*, and *La Revue ecclésiastique*.

40. The dailies *Le Siècle*, *La Presse*, and *Le Journal des débats* had a print-run in 1841

respectively of 40,800, 12,400, and 11,166. Charles LEDRÉ, *La Presse à l'assaut de la monarchie, 1815-1848*, Paris, 1960, p. 245. For a longer list and comparative dates consult James Smith ALLEN, *In the Public Eye: A History of Reading in Modern France, 1800-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), "Table A.3: Circulation of Parisian Newspapers, 1832-1938/39." For 1846 information on Parisian dailies see Claude BELLANGER, Jacques GODECHOT, Pierre GUIRAL and Fernand TERROU, *Histoire générale de la presse française*, Paris, 1969-76, t. 2: *De 1815 à 1871*, p. 146.

41. Arch. nat., BB, 17A, 90, dr. 4; Arch. nat., BB 17A, 145, dr. 1; Arch. nat., BB 17A, 148, dr. 1. Eugène HATIN, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française*, Paris, 1866, p. xcii. The ranking was assigned by the government based on print-run.

42. Françoise PARENT-LARDEUR studied the reading rooms in Paris which reached their height during the Restoration when there were about 520 (p. 7). Reading rooms subscribed to specific periodicals and then allowed their clients access to them for a fee of about 18 francs a year (p. 90). *Lire à Paris au temps de Balzac: Les cabinets de lecture à Paris, 1815-1830*, Paris, 1981.

43. *Le Bulletin de censure*, t. 3, Décembre 1845, p. 191.

44. *L'Écho du clergé*, 8 Janvier 1848. At the salon, "on y trouve, outre les journaux religieux . . . un grand nombre d'ouvrage remarquables. . . ."

45. An administrative memo in Dupanloup's papers undated but probably summer or fall 1848 concluded that the subscription price should be 20 francs rather than the current 28-32 francs because the current price was too high especially for priests. The memo also noted that 3000-4000 subscribers would suffice to cover costs at 20 francs a subscription. Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 24712, f. 256. Elizabeth Conklin ALTMAN showed that 10 francs a year was "the price thought to be within the reach of a skilled worker." "The Emergence of a Workers' Newspaper Press in Paris, 1830-1848," PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 1974, p. 31.

46. *L'Étude*, Février 1848, p. 33.

47. *L'Ami*, t. 124, 2 Janvier 1845, p. 4.

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48. *La Bibliographie catholique*, Juillet 1841, p. 36-38. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* was the first item reviewed in *La Bibliographie catholique*.
49. Title page of *La Bibliographie catholique*.
50. *Le Bulletin de censure*, 1843 Prospectus.
51. *Le Correspondant*, summer 1848, p. 2.
52. According to H.A.C. COLLINGHAM, a paper needed 3000 subscribers to cover costs. *The July Monarchy: A Political History of France, 1830-1848*, London, 1988, p. 172. A letter from Archbishop Affre to other bishops and archbishops in autumn 1847 indicated that 1400-1500 subscribers were sufficient to cover the essential cost of a new newspaper; no subscription price was given. AHAP, registre Mandements et Lettres de Mgr Affre. Only six of the nineteen political dailies--and no Catholic daily--in 1832 Paris met Collingham's criterion and nine for Affre's criterion, and ten (Collingham) and eighteen (Affre) of the twenty-one dailies in 1840. ALLEN [see n. 40], "Table A.3: Circulation of Parisian Newspapers, 1832-1938/39."
53. Abbé Dedoue, *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Mai 1879, "Biographie: Augustin Bonnetty," p. 366.
54. For the history of joint stock companies in France, consult Charles E. FREEDEMAN, *Joint-Stock Enterprise in France, 1807-1867: From Privileged Company to Modern Corporation*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1979.
55. In an undated form letter, *La Voix de la vérité* set its advertising/announcement rate at 70 centimes a line or 6 ads (or 60 lines) at 50 centimes, or 10 ads (or 100 lines) at 50 centimes. *La Lecture* in 1843 announced its rate as 1.25 franc per line of 50 characters. By 1846, it had a two tiered system: 1) commercial at 50 centimes per line of 40 characters and 2) bookstores at 40 centimes per line of 40 characters. The rates come from the periodicals themselves or from the *Almanach du commerce de Paris* which appeared each year.
56. COLLINGHAM [see n. 52], p. 391.

57. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* reported that *Le Correspondant* had to cease publication and be replaced with a cheaper bulletin. It also reported that two other Catholic periodicals had disappeared: *L'Anthropologie catholique* and *L'Auxiliaire catholique*. No extant copies of these last two periodicals for 1848 have been located. My research found an *L'Auxiliaire catholique* which appeared for two years from May 1845 to March 1847; it is doubtful if this is the periodical to which *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne* referred. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Avril 1848, p. 245.

58. *La Revue catholique*, Juin 1848, "Aux Abonnés de la *La Voix de l'Église* [by abbé André]," p. 557-558.

59. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Février 1848, p. 129. Although dated February, it must have appeared later since it included official documents dated 11 March.

60. *L'Université catholique*, Février 1848, p. 193.

61. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Février 1848, p. 129.

62. Irene COLLINS estimated the number of new periodicals at 450. *The Government and Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881*, Oxford, 1959, p. 102.

63. No 1848 issues of *La Voix de la vérité* have been located.

64. *La Revue catholique*, 15 Mars 1848, p. 377-388. Nettement was connected to several Catholic periodicals during the July Monarchy. *L'Abeille catholique* published his comments on *Le Juif Errant* de M. Eugene Sue (Février 1846, p. 177-183). He was listed as a patron or editor of *Le Catholicisme* (1837) and a collaborator on *La Lecture* and *La Revue catholique*; in 1833 he was a founder of *L'Écho de la jeune France*.

65. *La Revue catholique*, 15 Mars 1848, p. 387.

66. *La Revue de la musique religieuse*, 28 Février 1848, "A nos abonnés," p. 33. This periodical has strange frequency. The next issue appeared six years later.

67. *La Bibliographie catholique*, Mars 1848, "Influence de 89 sur la langue, le goût et la littérature de la France [signed H.D.]," p. 385-395. Quotes are from pages 385, 390, 394.

68. Sympathy for the first two royals was understandable for Catholics who believed that the Revolution had murdered the God-appointed monarch in 1793, but this periodical also venerated the Breton woman who murdered Jean Paul Marat in his bath and made her a martyr for the cause of Catholicism. This murder was immortalized in oil by Jacques-Louis David and the funeral was carefully scripted by David to emphasize the martyrdom of a hero of the revolution.

69. *La Bibliographie catholique*, Mars 1848, p. 394.

70. *Le Mémorial catholique*, Avril 1848, p. 343.

71. Gregory XVI, *Mirari Vos: on Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism*, 15 August 1832, paragraph 20. <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Greg16/g16mirar.htm> "Nor can We predict happier times for religion and government from the plans of those who desire vehemently to separate the Church from the state, and to break the mutual concord between temporal authority and the priesthood. It is certain that that concord which always was favorable and beneficial for the sacred and the civil order is feared by the shameless lovers of liberty."

72. Pius IX, *Syllabus of Errors*, 1864, Sect. VI: "Errors about civil society, considered both in itself and in its relation to the church." <Http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9syll.htm> Error #55: "The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church."

73. The terms "anticlerical" and "anticlericalism" are anachronisms but are readily understood by readers. The adjective was first used in France c.1852 and spread after 1859. The noun was created later. For more explication on what is anticlericalism, consult the first chapter of René RÉMOND, *L'Anticlericalisme en France de 1815 à nos jours*, nouvelle édition, Brussels, 1985, p. 9.

74. Pius X, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, paragraphs 24 and 25.
<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius10/p10pasce.htm>

75. Raymond GREW, "Liberty and the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Richard HELMSTADTER, ed., *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, Stanford, 1997, p. 205. See also Norman RAVITCH, *The Catholic Church and the French Nation, 1589-1989*, New York, 1990, p. 104-112.

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76. *L'Ami*, t. 137, 5 Avril 1848, p. 40.
77. *L'Univers*, 11 Mars 1848, p. 1.
78. *La Revue ecclésiastique*, Mars 1848, "Sur la proposition de décharger l'état des dépenses des cultes," p. 300-311.
79. *La Voix de l'Église*, Avril 1848, "De la suppression du traitement ecclésiastique," p. 196.
80. *L'Étude*, Février 1848, p. 33.
81. *La Revue de l'enseignement*, Février 1848, p. 33.
82. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Février 1848, "Quelques Paroles adressées à nos amis à l'occasion de la révolution nouvelle [by A. Bonnetty]," p. 120-129; "Exposé sommaire des principaux actes de la révolution de février dans ses rapports avec la religion [A.B.]," p. 130-140.
83. Affre quoted in SAVART, "Deux siècles" [see n. 20], p. 144.
84. *L'Univers*, 27 Février 1848, p. 1.
85. *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes*, 16 Février 1892. See especially paragraphs 15 and 19.
<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/113cst.htm>
86. *L'Université catholique*, Février 1848, "Du devoir des Catholiques sous le gouvernement nouveau," p. 192-193.
87. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 31 Août 1837, "A nos abonnés [by A. Bonnetty]," p. 163.
88. *L'Université catholique*, Février 1848, "Du devoir des Catholiques sous le gouvernement nouveau," p. 193.
89. *L'Université catholique*, Février 1848, p. 193.

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90. *L'Université catholique*, Février 1848, p. 194. Charles de Montalembert (president), H. de Vatimesnil (vice-president), and Henri de Riancey (secretary) signed the letter. Part of a circular from this same committee which advocated using the press as well as other means to protest against the proposed Salvandy bill on education was printed in *La Critique bibliographique*, Février 1848, "Servez -vous de la presse," p. 55. Using the press as a means to express opinion and to put pressure on the government was clearly in place by 1848.
91. *La Revue du monde catholique*, 15 Mars 1848, "Chronique," p. 190.
92. *L'Univers*, 15 Mars 1848, "A nos Amis [by Louis Veuillot]," p. 1.
93. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, 26 Février 1848, p.1.
94. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, 22 Mars 1848, p.1.
95. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, 26 Février 1848, p. 1.
96. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, 16 Mars 1848, p. 6. This newspaper reminded the provisional government of the motto after Arago had expelled the Capuchins and Jesuits from Lyon. The 16 March edition had eight pages rather than the usual four.
97. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes*, 28 Mars 1848, p. 1.
98. *L'Univers*, 25 Mars 1848, p. 1, 2.
99. *La Voix de l'Église, La Lecture, L'Écho du clergé et des catholiques et La Critique bibliographique réunis*, 29 Mars 1848 and 1 Avril 1848, "De l'action de Dieu dans les révolutions [by l'abbé M (presumably Mathieu)]," p. 97-99 and p. 111-114. In May it became a triweekly and then ceased altogether. In June abbé André explained what had happened and recommended *La Revue catholique* to the subscribers of his defunct journal. He also expressed his intention to start a new daily periodical in September with the title *Le Défenseur de l'Église*. Abbé André, "Aux Abonnés de *la Voix de l'Église*." *La Revue*

catholique, Juin 1848, p. 557-558. During the July Monarchy, newspapers often copied articles from other periodicals– sometimes attributing them and sometimes not. For this article, abbé Mathieu may have borrowed from Nettement’s article in *La Revue catholique*, which had appeared two weeks earlier.

100. *Le Journal des villes et des campagnes* reported the Duc de Berry’s assassination as 16 February. Perhaps, the duke was assassinated on 13 February but died three days later on the 16.

101. *La Voix de l’Église réunis*, 29 Mars 1848, “De l’action de Dieu dans les révolutions. Redoublement de la peine du talion sur Louis-Philippe 1^{er} [by abbé M.],” p. 97.

102. *La Bibliographie catholique*, Mars 1848, p. 385.

103. *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, p. 641.

104. *L’Univers*, 24 Février 1848, p. 1. *L’Univers*, 27 Février 1848, “Dieu parle par la voix des événements,” p. 1.

105. *Le Correspondant*, 25 Mars 1848, “La République [by A.Courcy],” p. 802.

106. *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, p. 644.

107. *Les Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, Février 1848, “Quelques Paroles adressées à nos amis à l’occasion de la révolution nouvelle [by A. Bonnetty],” p. 120-129; “Exposé sommaire des principaux actes de la révolution de février dans ses rapports avec la religion [A.B.],” p. 130-140. Quote is on p. 122.

108. *Le Mémorial catholique*, Supplement, Février 1848, p. 285-287.

109. *La Critique bibliographique*. “Avis essentiel et de circonstance,” Février 1848. Note precedes the February issue.

110. *Le Mémorial catholique*, Supplement, Février 1848, p. 285.

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111. *L'Étude*, Février 1848, p. 33.
112. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 22 Février 1848, p. 453.
113. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 26 Février 1848, p. 486.
114. *L'Ami*, t. 137, 16 Avril 1848, p. 161.
115. *L'Ami*, t. 137, 4 Avril 1848, p. 31.
116. *L'Ami*, t. 137, 5 Avril 1848, p. 42. For the similar image in 1814, see *L'Ami*, t. 1, 20 Avril 1814, p. 1-4. The editors and owners in 1814 and 1848 were not the same.
117. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 14 Mars 1848, p. 618.
118. *Le Mémorial catholique*, Supplement, Février 1848, p. 286, 318.
119. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 25 Mars 1848, p. 718.
120. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 14 Mars 1848, p. 619.
121. *L'Ami*, t. 136, 16 Mars 1848, p. 636-637.
122. *Le Christ des barricades: 1789-1848*, Paris, 1987, p. 21.
123. *L'Univers*, 24 Février 1848, p. 1.
124. *L'Univers*, 25 Février 1848, p. 1.
125. *L'Univers*, 27 Février 1848, p. 1.
126. *L'Univers*, 28 Février 1848, p. 1.
127. *L'Univers*, 12 Mars 1848, p. 1. Louis Veillot became sole editor of *L'Univers* on 3 March when the 14 February resignation of M. de Coux became effective.
128. *L'Univers*, 27 Février 1848, p. 1.
129. *L'Univers*, 17 Décembre 1855, quoted in Austin GOUGH, *Paris and Rome: The*

Gallican Church and the Ultramontane Campaign, 1848-1856, Oxford, 1986, p. 93.

130. *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, "Du Présent et de l'avenir de la révolution [by Eugène Loudun]," p. 641-657. Quotes in this paragraph can be found on pages 644, 648, 652.

131. Alfred NETTEMENT, *La Révolution de Février*, Paris, 1848, p. 5. "C'est que le monopole et la corruption lui [la chambre de 1848] avaient gangrené le coeur."

132. *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, "Du Présent et de l'avenir de la révolution [by Eugène Loudun]," p. 641.

133. *Le Correspondant*, 25 Mars 1848, "La République [by A.Courcy]," p. 801-809. Quotes in this paragraph are from page 805. Loudun had also alluded to the influence of bad books: "La plupart des hommes qui ont acquis une réputation littéraire [in the last fifteen years] l'ont gagnée parce qu'ils caressaient les inclinations sordides et les passions avilissantes." *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, "Du Présent et de l'avenir de la révolution [by Eugène Loudun]," p. 652.

134. The term "bourgeois" used by *Le Correspondant* was a negative attribute. Whereas most readers and journalists were bourgeois, they did not consider themselves corrupt bourgeois. They were not the same bourgeois who ran the July government.

135. Pamela PILBEAM provides a good overview of the attitudes and interactions of religion and the state in "Religion and revolutionary politics," chapter 6 of *The 1830 Revolution in France*, London, 1991. Paul CHRISTOPHE compares and contrasts the attitudes and actions of clergy toward the three revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848. While he uses some Catholic periodicals in his book, he only uses a few and then the well known ones in *Les Choix du clergé dans les révolutions de 1789, 1830, & 1848*, 2 vol., Lille, 1976 and the sesquicentennial reprint of the 1848 section with forty-one primary documents added in *L'Église de France dans la révolution de 1848*, Paris, 1998. See also Jacques-Olivier BOUDON, *L'Épiscopat français à l'époque concordataire, 1802-1905* (Paris: Cerf, 1996). See also M. Patricia Dougherty, "The French Catholic Press and the July Revolution," *French History* 12 (Dec 1998), p. 403-428.

136. Reports from Prefects to the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship show that by

November 1830, sixty-four of the eighty dioceses had incorporated Louis-Philippe's name into the prayer as prescribed by Article 8 of the 1801 Concordat. Sixteen dioceses awaited explicit instruction from the state. See Archiv. nat., F19, 5601, 12 Novembre 1830.

137. *L'Univers*, 7 Mars 1848, p. 1.

138. Quoted in CHRISTOPHE, *L'Église* [see n. 135], p. 123.

139. AHAP, *Le Mandement de Monseigneur L'Archevêque de Paris qui ordonne des Prières pour la France*, 3 Mars 1848, "Note," p. 14. «MM les Curés auront remarqué que l'avis concernant le drapeau à placer sur les édifices publics, qui est d'ailleurs authentique, a subi dans sa forme quelque modification: cela tient à ce qu'il n'est pas sorti des presses de notre imprimeur, et que nous n'avons pu le revoir avant sa publication.»

140. *Le Correspondant*, 10 Mars 1848, "L'attente et l'action [by A.F. Ozanam]," p. 799. In the 1830s, Ozanam wrote for *La France catholique* and *La Revue européenne*.

141. *Le Mémorial catholique*, Avril 1848, p. 359.