Notes

Introduction

1. *Affiches du Beauvaisis*, February 12, 1786, 3–4. The affiches under investigation in this book are referenced in the notes by their shortened titles. The full titles are listed in the bibliography with the corresponding dates for each full title. All translations from the affiches are my own unless otherwise indicated.


NOTES TO PAGE 8


1. The Production and Distribution of the Information Press

1. *Journal de Paris*, March 10, 1782, 274.


3. Theophraste Renaudot first devised the *bureau d’adresse*. In addition to publishing foreign and domestic political news each Saturday in the *Gazette*, he published *Nouvelles ordinaires*, which covered political news west of Paris, and *Feuille du Bureau d’Adresse*, which published advertisements for unemployed persons looking for work and want ads for those seeking workers. Stephen Auerbach, “‘Encourager le commerce et répandre les lumières’: The Press, the Provinces and the Origins of the Revolution in France: 1750–1789” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University Agricultural and Mechanical College, 2004), 35–38.


7. There were exceptions to this pattern of early newspaper launches, for example in Orléans, where a local paper began in 1764. The average number of affiches per généralité was between one and two. The northwest and the north published the highest concentration of papers. Gilles Feyel, “La presse provinciale au XVIIIe siècle: Géographie d’un réseau,” *Revue Historique* 272, no. 2 (1984): 359.


12. Smaller towns were less likely to have an affiche of their own. Among the next fifty smaller cities, just 14 percent had their own newspaper. The number of newspapers in towns with five to eight thousand residents was even more striking—just 5 percent of such towns had weekly affiches. Gilles Feyel, “La presse provinciale au XVIIIe siècle,” 363–66.


23. There were limits to widows’ rights as printers; they were prohibited from training apprentices. Jane McLeod, “Printer Widows and the State in Eighteenth-Century France,” in Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France, ed. Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 115.


27. For the affiches in Arras, see “Prospectus,” Affiches d’Artois, 4.


29. The writers of Grub Street were made famous by Robert Darnton in The Literary Underground of the Old Regime (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).


33. The complete titles of the affiches are listed in the bibliography with the corresponding dates when they appeared.

34. For example, the affiches published in Metz appeared first as the Affiches de Lorraine et des Affiches des Trois-Évêchés (1769–73), then as both Affiches, annonces et avis divers pour les Trois-Évêchés et la Lorraine and as Affiches, annonces et avis divers pour la Lorraine et les Trois-Évêchés until 1790, when the paper took on the name of journal and revised the title to reflect the new revolutionary department to which it belonged. Denise Koszul, “Affiches des Évêchés 1,” in Sgard, Dictionnaire des journaux, http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0069-affiches-des-eveches-1.


37. Feyel, La presse en France, 35.

38. Censer, French Press, 54–86; Feyel, L’annonce et la nouvelle, 1103–89.


40. For example, in the Affiches du Poitou, readers addressed their letters directly to Jouyneau-Desloges, the editor of the paper.

41. Some signed off with more formal flourishes such as “Your very humble servant” or “Your very humble and obedient servant.” Abbreviated formulations such as “V.T.H.S.” appeared frequently.


44. Journal général de France, June 8, 1784, 330; Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine, July 3, 1783, 213; Affiches de Toulouse, January 22, 1783, 18.

45. Affiches du Poitou, November 30, 1786, 190.


47. Affiches de la Basse-Normandie, April 9, 1786, 2.


52. Feyel, La presse en France, 45.

54. The first case was against the Basoche, the guild of legal clerks in Toulouse, who claimed Baour promoted disunity. The second was brought by the procureurs. Robert Alan Schneider, Public Life in Toulouse, 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 332–36; Marie-Thérèse Blanc-Rouquet, La presse et l’information à Toulouse (Toulouse: Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse, 1967), 131–165.

55. Georges Minois, Censure et culture sous l’ancien régime (Paris: Fayard, 1995), 266.


57. Minois, Censure et culture, 263–70.


59. The Mercure, the Journal des scâvans, and other papers such as the Observateur hollandaise were censored by the chancellerie. The Journal des scâvans editorial committee met twice a week in the chancellor’s office. Some seventeen censors worked for the Journal during their careers. Forty-one censors worked on the Mercure. Raymond Birn, Royal Censorship of Books in Eighteenth-Century France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 36–41.

60. Feyel has devoted the most attention to such cases of disputes in L’annonce et la nouvelle, 1022–32.


62. In most towns the lieutenant general of the police served as the weekly censor. See, for example, the last page of each numéro of the Affiches d’Angers, Affiches de la Basse-Normandie, Affiches de Normandie, and Affiches de l’Orléanois.

63. Feyel, La presse en France, 43–44.

64. Feyel, L’annonce et la nouvelle, 1070.

65. Darnton, Censors at Work, 30. An array of tacit permissions, tolerances, simple permissions, and permissions of the police were created for works that did not meet either the quality standards or the content standards required for an official approbation.


69. Darnton, Censors at Work, 36.


71. Lindsay A.H. Parker, Writing the Revolution, 67.

72. Caplan, Postal Culture, 84, 180; Guy Arbellot, Bernard Lepetit, Jacques Bertrand, Routes et communications, ed. Serge Bonin and Claude Langlois, vol. 1,

73. Arbellot et al., Routes et communications, 42.

74. By 1792, in addition to the twelve routes with daily departures, the remaining three routes from Paris included departures to Bordeaux and Nantes, which occurred six days a week, and to Toulouse three times a week. Arbellot et al., Routes et communications, 38.

75. Caplan, Postal Culture, 177.

76. Feyel, La presse en France, 21.

77. Recipients assumed a significant cost, and many people kept an account of expenses related to their correspondence. The cost of receiving a letter was so high that Jean-Jacques Rousseau took out a notice in the Mercure de France in 1762 asking the public to stop sending him fan mail and excerpts of their own literary work. The request seemed to have had little effect, as the correspondence he received only grew in the years that followed. Claude Labrosse, Lire au XVIIIe siècle: La Nouvelle Héloïse et ses lecteurs (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1985), 23–32.


79. The cost for the remaining newspapers under study were as follows: 7 livres, 10 sous for the affiches in Metz, Amiens, Aix, and Poitiers, and 7 livres, 4 sous for Compiègne.


81. Archives départementales de l’Aube, 48 H 465. More than twenty subscription envelopes printed and preaddressed to the notary Jean-François Delion in 1778 are held in a carton of his notarial records.

82. Bibliothèque universitaire, Aix-en-Provence, 34784. A receipt for subscription in 1777 was bound with the pages of the Affiches d’Aix. The printed form included a space to fill in the subscriber’s name, the amount paid, and the date.

83. Feyel, “La presse provinciale sous l’ancien régime,” 16–18; Marc Martin, La presse régionale, 37.


85. Feyel, La presse en France, 32. For example, in Metz the cost for an annual subscription to a reading room in the 1770s was 18 livres.


88. See, for example, Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, December 15, 1786, 101–2.

89. Feyel, La presse en France, 32.


93. Walshaw, Show of Hands, 32–33.


### 2. The Writers, Self-Presentation, and Subjectivity


2. Chartier et al., *Correspondence*, 142.

3. Among the performances at the Opéra-Comique that used letters to advance the plot were *Le Déserteur* (1769), *Richard Cœur de Lion* (1784), and *Sargines, ou l’Elève de l’amour* (1788).


7. Altman’s formulation of the masked and transparent self in epistolary culture is based on published volumes of missive letters between two fictional writers. Nevertheless, her observations about the self for fictional letters held true for letters to the editor. Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 186.

8. Out of a total of 6,909 letters, 3,467 were signed. Of the 6,909 total letters, 2,593 letters indicated a social position or profession.

9. Of the 4,424 letters to the *Journal de Paris* and the *Journal général de France*, 2,278 were signed. Of the 2,485 letters to the provincial affiches, 1,189 were signed.

10. My schema is an adapted version of Harvey Chisick and Yossi Trilnik’s list of professions and social positions for the subscribers of the monarchist revolutionary newspaper, the *Ami du Roi*. Chisick, *Production, Distribution and Readership*, 231–46.

11. See, for example, *Journal général de France*, September 23, 1784, 538, December 18, 1784, 711.


14. Maza has argued that by the late eighteenth century, “bourgeois” was a label one gave to others who were an object of ridicule. This may explain why so few letter writers adopted this self-description. Maza, *Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, 21–23.


18. *Affiches de Troyes*, January 1, 1784, 5–7. A true manœuvre would be unlikely to have functional literacy at this time. It is possible that the writer minimized his own professional position by signing his letter as a day laborer.


22. For letters by locksmiths, see *Journal de Paris*, August 27, 1777, 2–3, October 13, 1783, 1181, for the master bookbinder, see *Journal de Paris*, March 30, 1787, 389, and a master joiner, *Journal de Paris*, November 28, 1780, 1359.

23. For clockmakers, see *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine*, December 18, 1783, 403–4; *Affiches de Dijon*, August 19, 1777, 130. A letter circulated by the Parisian tanner Jean-Antoine de Rubigny de Berteval appeared in the *Affiches de Montpellier*, March 3, 1787, 174–75; *Affiches du Poitou*, April 5, 1787, 54; *Affiches de Dijon*, April 17, 1787, 94–95. Master tanners were quite wealthy, while their workers were very poor. Rubigny in particular was a successful tanner, prolific writer, and future revolutionary.


31. See, for example, Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine, January 4, 1786, 1–2; Journal général de France, December 1, 1785, 579; Journal de Paris, May 8, 1786, 518–19.

32. For letters by a countess, see, for example, Affiches de Normandie, February 4, 1786, 38–39; Journal de Paris, September 18, 1782, 1064; by a marquise, Affiches d’Angers, October 9, 1788, 171–72; by a baroness, Journal général de France, May 14, 1785, 231.

33. See, for example, Affiches de l’Orléanois, November 14, 1777, 189–90; Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine, August 1, 1782, 139; Journal de Paris, December 3, 1779, 1373.


37. Journal de Paris, September 17, 1780, 1059, November 15, 1780, 1302–3; De Rousset was a maîtresse de pension, Affiches d’Aix, April 26, 1778, 126–28.

38. Guillaume-François Rouelle was an apothecary known for his early work in chemistry on the base. Journal de Paris, November 15, 1779, 1300–1301.

39. Journal de Paris, May 8, 1779, 514–15. The postpartum complications were described as “spilt milk,” a commonly used designation for postpartum death from unknown cause. For further discussion of Weisse’s petition to the Royal Society of Medicine, see G. Steinheil, ed., Commentaires de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, 1777 à 1786, vol. 2 (Paris: Faculty of Medicine of Paris, 1903), 34–35.


42. Affiches de Dijon, May 25, 1779, 88, June 15, 1779, 103.


45. Beaumesnil was the stage name of Henriette Adélaïde Villard. Journal de Paris, December 27, 1778, 1457.

46. Journal de Paris, August 31, 1780, 991.

47. Affiches de Normandie, April 25, 1787, 141–42; Clay, Stagestruck, 110–12.


51. Hesse, *Other Enlightenment*, xii.


53. Of the 6,909 letters published, 573 letters (8.3 percent) were signed with a pen name.

54. Shalev has argued that anonymous and pseudonymous writing began as a response to censorship, as “political debate unfolded more easily under mediation that would not expose writers to the severity of the censor.” Eran Shalev, “Ancient Masks, American Fathers: Classical Pseudonyms during the American Revolution and Early Republic,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 2 (2003): 154.


56. The “Lexovien” asked the editor to publish some word puzzles he sent to the paper. *Affiches de Normandie*, November 4, 1786, 355.


59. As Shalev has argued for the American context, pseudonymity possesses an inherent element of deception. Shalev, “Ancient Masks,” 154.


61. Of the 6,909 letters under study, 327 were signed by “un/e abonné/e.” Approximately 25.7 percent (1,773 letters) of the 6,909 letters in the entire corpus were unsigned.

62. Regarding the anonymous letters published in *Journal de Paris* discussed above, see Dorothy Medlin, “André Morellet, the *Journal de Paris*, and Le Publiciste, 1795–1807,” in *Correspondence; Dialogue; History of Ideas*, SVEC (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005), 183–97; *Affiches de Dijon*, June 15, 1779, 102–3, September 13, 1785, 183.


64. *Affiches du Dauphiné*, February 27, 1778, 175, January 30, 1784, 164, December 7, 1787, 138, April 25, 1788, 236.

65. Of the 6,909 letters under study, 769 were signed with initials.


68. All letters published in the *Journal de Paris, Affiches du Poitou, Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine*, and *Affiches de Dijon* during the three years sampled were evaluated, with two exceptions: the *Affiches de Dijon* was not published during 1774, and the *Journal de Paris* was not founded until 1777.

70. See especially Coudart, La Gazette de Paris; Jean Paul Bertaud, Les amis du Roi: Journaux et journalistes royalistes en France de 1789 à 1792 (Paris: Perrin, 1984); Chisick, Production, Distribution and Readership.

71. Gelbart, Feminine and Opposition Journalism.

72. Some of Moysant’s papers are held in the manuscripts collection of the Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, 214 In-folio 122. Correspondence concerning Baour’s printing business are held in the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, MS 1873.

73. There are two letters mentioned in the published private correspondence of Félix Faulcon, the Poitevin who would become a deputy during the French Revolution. See G. Debien, Correspondence de Félix Faulcon (Poitiers: Société des Archives Historiques du Poitou, 1953), 133. In 1789 the paper published his signature. In 1784 his letter was printed unsigned.

The Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes has three manuscript letters, one of which was an ad written on October 22, 1784, by a M. Michelin publicizing his Annales, which was couriered to the editor by Courtalon. This letter was not published in the Affiches de Troyes, but letters by the same Michelin did appear in the affiches in Reims and Marseille in 1782. Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes, MS 4°2795.

One manuscript letter was a transcribed copy of a letter from the Affiches de l’Orléanais by a doctor Paul to the Affiches de Reims from Monday, September 25, 1780, which had first appeared in the Affiches de Champagne on August 9, 1780. A marginal note on the manuscript indicates that the letter was for the Almanach de Troyes. Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes, MS 4°2795.

P.-J. Grosley also wrote several letters to the Mercure de France and to the Affiches de Troyes. Manuscript copies of his letters remain in the Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes. Most of his letters include a note indicating the date when they appeared in the paper. Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes, MS 4°2795.

74. In his research into extant manuscript letters to Addison and Steele, Richmond Pugh Bond was able to verify the identity of only one writer among the letters. Bond, New Letters to the Tatler and Spectator, 22.

75. For further discussion of similarities to American letter-printing practices, see Chad Reid, “‘Widely Read by American Patriots’: The New-York Weekly Journal and the Influence of Cato’s Letters on Colonial America,” in Periodical Literature in Early America, ed. Mark Kamrath and Sharon M. Harris (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 113.

76. Journal de Paris, February 12, 1788, 194.

3. Reading Together, Book References, and Interacting with Print

1. Journal de Paris, August 18, 1779, 937.

2. Of the letters in this sample, 377 referenced book titles, and 387 cited a periodical. A simple difference of proportions test shows the difference between the percentage of letters with book references and those with newspaper citations was statistically indistinguishable (Z = .4159, p = .67448). That is, based on this sample of three years, it is likely that writers cited periodicals and book titles in the information press at equivalent rates. This test does not account for other factors that may have influenced citation styles, such as editorial practices, repeated authorship, and regional variation.

3. Affiches de Dijon, May 25, 1779, 88. This letter was a reprinted copy from the Journal de Paris, May 16, 1779, 545–46.


7. As noted earlier in the chapter, 24.1 percent of the 1,567 letters published in the three-year sample (1777, 1782, and 1788) referenced one or more book titles.


10. The catalogs also reflected the mentalities of the day, for example, history subcategories included categories for “histoire de l’Orient” and “histoire profane.” The catalog subheadings thus are not neutral labels but rather an illustration of how eighteenth-century booksellers and their readers conceptualized a wide array of subject matter. On the implications of taxonomies of print on taxonomies of thought, see especially Burrows, *French Book Trade*, 79–82.


16. Between 1750 and 1810, sixty-four collectors of coins and antiquities operated in the Rhone valley alone. Some of the coins were unearthed locally. The


20. Beffroy de Reigny wrote letters to affiches throughout the kingdom to advertise his own publications. Four of the references to his titles in the press were ones that he himself wrote and signed. Affiches de Normandie, April 16, 1788, 127; Affiches de Toulouse, May 7, 1788, 79; Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, May 17, 1788, 88; Journal de Lyon, May 28, 1788, 135–36.


22. Dan Edelstein, Robert Morissey, and Glenn Roe, “To Quote or Not to Quote: Citation Strategies in the *Encyclopédie*,” *74*, no. 2 (April 2013): 224–27.


27. Affiches de Troyes, February 19, 1783, 30.
29. *Journal de Paris*, September 20, 1778, 1050–51. He explained that the issue published on the 14th had been read to him, and it concerned him enough that he had sent a response to the paper.
30. *Affiches d’Angers*, February 24, 1775, 32.
40. *Journal de Paris*, June 5, 1788, 689.
42. *Journal de Paris*, August 9, 1778, 882–83.
43. *Journal de Paris*, December 8, 1778, 1380.
47. *Journal général de France*, January 29, 1788, 50.
49. *Journal de Paris*, October 30, 1782, 1232.
50. *Journal général de France*, March 13, 1782, 43.
51. *Affiches de Rennes*, November 21, 1787, 70.
52. See, for example, *Affiches de Reims*, October 4, 1773, 319–20; *Journal de Paris*, January 11, 1778, 42; *Journal général de France*, April 7, 1785, 167.
53. *Journal général de France*, March 27, 1788, 150.

60. Literacy estimates rely largely on the ability of people at the time to sign a legal document, such as a marriage certificate. The estimates are complicated by the fact that reading was taught before writing, and in some cases completely separate from writing. Simon Burrows, “Books, Philosophy, Enlightenment,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the French Revolution*, ed. David Andress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 79.


64. Of the 441 unique titles cited in 1778, 1782, and 1788, eighty-six were works of poetry.

65. *Journal de Paris*, October 14, 1778, 1149.

66. *Journal de Paris*, August 22, 1778, 933–34. The writer noted that the poem captured “maternal pain in its every expression.”


68. *Affiches de l’Orléanais*, June 12, 1778, 100; *Journal de Paris*, August 11, 1778, 889–90.

69. *Journal de Paris*, September 6, 1778, 993–94.

70. *Journal de Paris*, December 6, 1782, 1381.

71. *Journal général de France*, October 30, 1782, 175.

72. *Affiches du Beauvaisais*, October 14, 1787, 162.

73. *Journal de Provence*, January 4, 1782, 221–22.


76. *Journal de Paris*, July 11, 1788, 842.

77. *Affiches de Dijon*, July 3, 1787, 138–39; *Journal général de France*, July 10, 1787, 327. The letter was probably by Pierre Laureau de Saint-André, writer and future revolutionary elected to the Legislative Assembly.

78. The gender of this writer is unknown. *Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine*, June 26, 1788, 204–5.

79. *Journal de Paris*, August 17, 1778, 915.


83. *Journal de Paris*, March 19, 1780, 328.


85. *Journal de Paris*, September 18, 1782, 1063.

86. *Journal de Paris*, March 13, 1783, 301.

87. *Journal de Paris*, December 31, 1782, 1488.


4. Popular Science and Public Participation

2. The letters analyzed in this chapter include all of the 1,287 letters to the editor published in fourteen provincial newspapers in Angers, Amiens, Dijon, Grenoble, Lyon, Marseille, Montpellier, Metz, Orléans, Poitiers, Reims, Rennes, Toulouse, and Troyes, and in two Parisian newspapers, the *Journal général de France* and the *Journal de Paris*. Of these letters, 462 (approximately 35.9 percent) concerned science and medicine.
8. I have not translated *physicien* because it was not synonymous with “physicist” in the eighteenth century. *Physiciens*’ work encompassed natural philosophy that would later become known as “physics,” but it was also a more expansive descriptor of a professional thinker working in the sciences. In this approach, I follow Riskin’s distinction in *Science in the Age of Sensibility*, 140.
10. Pilatre de Rozier was a celebrated aeronaut who later died in a ballooning accident as he attempted to cross the English Channel.
15. *Affiches d’Angers*, February 20, 1784, 35.
20. Roche, *Le siècle des lumières en province*, 136–255. The history of the academies is extensive. See, for example, Roger Chartier, “L’Académie de Lyon au XVIIIe siècle,

21. Jacques de Flesselles was from a recently ennobled family and worked as a reform-minded intendant from 1762 to 1784. In 1789 he was the prévôt des marchands of Paris. He was killed on July 14, 1789. Charles Coulston Gillispie, Science and Polity in France at the End of the Old Regime (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 23–24, 35.

22. Journal de Lyon, February 5, 1784, 41.
23. Roche, France in the Enlightenment, 242–44.
25. Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, June 26, 1784, 103.
26. The editor published three letters on the same day that concerned such themes in the Affiches du Dauphiné, October 3, 1783, 94–95.
27. Journal de Paris, October 26, 1783, 1231; Affiches du Dauphiné, November 7, 1783, 116.
29. Affiches d’Angers, April 2, 1784, 60.
30. Affiches du Dauphiné, October 3, 1783, 95.
33. Affiches du Dauphiné, February 6, 1784, 167.
34. Affiches du Poitou, February 19, 1784, 29–30. This letter was one of several that Denis Louis Joseph Robin de Scévole wrote to the Affiches du Poitou.
35. Affiches de Montpellier, December 20, 1783, 139.
36. Journal de Paris, December 8, 1783, 1404–5; Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine, December 18, 1783, 403–4; Darnton, Mesmerism, 23.
38. Journal de Paris, October 3, 1783, 1141; Affiches d’Angers, October 10, 1783, 170–71; Affiches de Toulouse, October 15, 1783, 171; Affiches du Poitou, October 16, 1783, 165–66; Affiches du Dauphiné, October 17, 1783, 102–3; Affiches des Trois-Évêchés et Lorraine, October 23, 1783, 342–43.
39. Darnton, Mesmerism, 36.
41. Mary Fairclough has argued that imagery and ideas related to electricity were used to signal that which was mysterious or opaque in Literature, Electricity and Politics, 1740–1840: ‘Electrick communication every where’ (London: Palgrave, 2017), 2–3.
42. The conseils souverains were the courts of last appeal in four provinces in France where a parlement did not have jurisdiction. Jessica Riskin discussed the organization of the Conseil d’Artois and the significance of Vissery’s trial in depth in Science in the Age of Sensibility, 139–84.
46. Robespierre’s success was touted in the *Mercure de France* in an account that was possibly written by Buissart. McPhee, *Robespierre*, 34.
47. *Affiches de Toulouse*, September 24, 1783, 158.
63. The references made by Jal de Muntel to the experiments in Bertholon’s book are so brief that the mechanisms for the experiments in the volume are unclear.
64. Affiches du Dauphiné, September 10, 1784, 82–83.
65. Among the 462 letters published in 1783–84 that covered scientific subject matter, 293 letters were signed by the author.
66. Affiches du Dauphiné, December 19, 1783, 139; Journal de Paris, January 20, 1784, 89.

5. Agricultural Reform and Local Innovation

1. Affiches du Poitou, May 25, 1786, 82.
11. Affiches du Poitou, November 30, 1780, 189.
12. Affiches du Poitou, April 5, 1781, 53. Jacques Dumoustier de la Fond was mayor of Loudun when he wrote this letter. In 1789 he became a revolutionary and deputy in the Constituent Assembly.
16. His own letter was a test of the treatise by Abbé Adam, professor at the Université de Caen. Affiches de Toulouse, April 27, 1785, 67–68.
17. Affiches du Poitou, October 25, 1787, 169–70.
19. Affiches de Troyes, June 30, 1784, 103.
20. Affiches de l’Orléanois, March 6, 1778, 43–44.
25. See, for example, *Journal de Paris*, August 6, 1788, 950, February 2, 1789, 148–49.
38. On methods of clearing land, see, for example, *Journal général de France*, August 16, 1785, 395. For a discussion of letting fields lie fallow, see *Affiches du Poitou*, June 7, 1787, 89–90, June 14, 1787, 93–94.
42. *Journal général de France*, August 9, 1785, 381–82.
49. Spary, *Feeding France*, 64.
50. *Affiches d’Aix*, February 24, 1777, 32.
53. *Affiches de l’Orléanois*, February 23, 1770, 31–32. François-Georges Mustel was a Norman nobleman who cultivated potatoes on his estate after the Seven Years’ War. He published his experiments with potato flour in bread and presented his findings to the agricultural society in Rouen. André Dubuc, “La culture de la pomme de terre en Normandie avant et depuis Parmentier,” *Annales de Normandie* 3 (1953): 50–68.
55. *Affiches de Toulouse*, March 16, 1785, 43–44.
57. See, for example, *Journal général de France*, June 16, 1773, 95–96; *Affiches de Dijon*, January 12, 1790, 43.
62. See, for example, *Affiches de l’Orléanois*, January 10, 1783, 10–11. For a further discussion of maladie rouge, see “Maladie Rouge,” in *Nouveau dictionnaire d’histoire naturelle: Appliquée aux arts, à l’agriculture, à l’économie rurale et domestique, à la médecine, etc.*, vol. 19 (Paris: Deterville, 1818), 608–9.
65. *Affiches de l’Orléanois*, October 12, 1787, 166.
72. *Journal général de France*, June 24, 1786, 298.
73. *Journal général de France*, December 6, 1785, 587.
75. Two affiches published this particular letter, which is cited at the beginning of the chapter. *Affiches du Poitou*, May 25, 1786, 82; *Affiches de Toulouse*, August 9, 1786,


77. *Journal général de France*, July 30, 1785, 366. The major distinctions between the three fields were the amount of lime used to treat the seeds, and whether he mixed the soil with water or manure.


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6. Bienfaisance, Fellow Feeling, and the Public Good


16. See, for example, Affiches du Dauphiné, May 25, 1781, 15.

17. Journal de Paris, March 13, 1777, 2–3. The doctor’s recipe she praises is likely the work of Adrian Helvetius, court doctor to Louis XIV who introduced ipecac; Adrian was the grandfather of the philosophe Claude Adrien Helvétius.


19. See, for example, Journal de Paris, October 17, 1779, 1184–85.


32. *Journal de Paris*, February 6, 1781, 149.
37. *Journal de Provence*, April 2, 1782, 284–85.
41. *Journal de Paris*, December 31, 1787, 1579.
42. Censer has argued that the desire to preserve the social status quo was a guiding principle for the affiches. Censer, *French Press in the Age of Enlightenment*, 54–63.
44. See, for example, *Affiches de Bordeaux*, December 26, 1771, 211–12; *Affiches du Dauphiné*, April 19, 1776, 203.
46. See, for example, *Journal de Lyon*, November 26, 1788, 387–89.
47. *Journal de Paris*, January 1, 1787, 3.
49. *Affiches d’Angers*, March 4, 1787, 75–76.


55. *Affiches de Dijon*, February 6, 1787, 54–55.


59. *Affiches du Dauphiné*, October 6, 1780, 90. This letter was reprinted from the *Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais*, September 16, 1780, 151.

60. *Affiches d’Angers*, December 20, 1787, 228.

61. This episode is discussed at greater length in Bond, “Circuits of Practical Knowledge,” 549–51.


7. Communicating the Revolution


8. *Journal de Paris*, April 1, 1789, 411.


11. To measure quantitatively the prevalence in political content over time, I sampled 260 letters published between June and August in 1788–91 in four newspapers: the *Journal de Paris*, *Affiches de Dijon*, *Affiches de Normandie*, and *Journal de Provence*. The rest of the chapter treats all of the affiches that published during 1789–91.


16. *Journal de Paris*, June 1, 1789, 688–89.

17. *Affiches de Dijon*, March 17, 1789, 78–79, April 27, 1790, 103, June 1, 1790, 123, June 8, 1790, 126.


21. In one such letter, de Boissy described the queen as “the most august mother, the model of tender mothers.” *Journal de Paris*, December 22, 1789, 1671–72.
22. Journal de Paris, August 16, 1789, 1032–33.


25. Villot’s political position changed over time. He declared his support of the Revolution in 1788 and 1789 and became a member of the Jacobin club in 1792; by 1795 his new publication, L’original, was Thermidorian in tone. Whether such positions reflected his convictions or were merely an effort to keep up with a changing market remains unknown. Jean Sgard, “André Villot,” in Sgard, Dictionnaire des journalistes, http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/805-andre-villot.


33. Journal de Paris, August 30, 1789, 1088–89.


35. On rumors of brigandage, see, for example, Journal de Paris, July 30, 1789, 949, August 28, 1789, 1081.


41. *Affiches de Rouen*, July 26, 1789, 303–4, September 2, 1789, 315–16.
43. *Journal de Paris*, September 11, 1789, 1153.
44. *Journal de Provence*, November 3, 1789, 221–22.
46. *Journal de Paris*, February 22, 1790, 212.
49. *Journal de Paris*, January 18, 1790, 72.
55. Affiches du Dauphiné, October 14, 1790, 550. Duval d’Eprémesnil was a staunchly conservative deputy elected by the nobility.
56. Affiches d’Artois, September 16, 1791, 236, September 26, 1791, 264.
58. Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, July 2, 1791, 117. See also Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, May 29, 1790, 202, February 12, 1791, 30–31.
60. Affiches de Dijon, January 19, 1790, 46–47.
61. Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, September 24, 1791, 165. Leroux’s letter claiming rights to his post based on his status as the arpenteur royal was published two weeks prior. Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais, September 10, 1791, 157–58. Breton responded to the Constituent Assembly’s decree of March 17, 1791, and its effect on land surveying in the department. As the decree did not indicate a reimbursement price for the prerevolutionary office of land surveyor, he explained that some officials tried to hold their posts based on the previous legal precedents (set in 1690 and 1702).
62. Affiches de Normandie, January 5, 1790, 11–12.
65. Affiches de Dijon, January 19, 1790, 47. Rebecca Spang has argued that protests arguing for a single price for goods reflected the popular desire that as one nation, the money of all citizens should be treated equally. Rebecca Spang, Stuff and Money in the French Revolution (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 158.
67. Affiches de Montpellier, January 13, 1790, 147. Deputies confirmed the right to vote and hold public office to “Portuguese, Spanish, and Avignonese Jews” on January 28, 1790.
68. Supplément au Journal de Paris, September 15, 1791, i. The Constituent Assembly voted on September 27, 1791, to grant civil rights to all Jews in France. This decree expanded active citizenship to those within the Ashkenazi majority who met the monetary eligibility requirements and took a civic oath to the Constitution. On the struggle for Jewish rights and equality during the Revolution, and the limits of the deputies’


71. _Affiches du Dauphiné_, May 20, 1790, 255–56.
72. _Journal de Paris_, January 13, 1790, i–ii, May 19, 1790, 560.
73. _Affiches de Dijon_, January 4, 1791, 4, April 13, 1790, 95, April 20, 1790, 99, May 25, 1790, 119.
74. Lüsebrink and Rechardt, _Bastille_, 140–43.
75. See, for example, _Affiches de l’Orléanois_, November 18, 1791, 1060; _Journal de Paris_, April 21, 1790, 448, July 5, 1790, 754.
76. _Affiches de Normandie_, July 9, 1791, 925–26.
77. _Journal de Paris_, April 23, 1790, 455.
78. _Journal de Paris_, February 4, 1789, 156.
79. _Journal de Paris_, May 6, 1789, 572. Cerutti would become a deputy in the Legislative Assembly in 1791.
80. Charles Walton has shown that such a preoccupation with personal honor was prevalent among social elites even before the Revolution, and the concerns with one’s reputation reconfigured in violent forms during the Revolution. Walton, _Policing Public Opinion_, 147–58.
81. _Affiches du Dauphiné_, April 10, 1790, 181.
82. _Supplément du Journal de Paris_, May 27, 1790, i–iii.
83. _Journal de Paris_, February 24, 1791, i.
84. _Supplément du Journal de Paris_, December 18, 1790, i.
85. _Affiches de Picardie et Soissonnais_, July 2, 1791, 116.
86. _Affiches de l’Orléanois_, November 29, 1791, 1096.
87. _Affiches de Dijon_, July 12, 1791, 146.
88. _Affiches de Dijon_, July 26, 1791, 154–55.
89. Of the letters in the sample published in 1789, 4 of the 280 concerned calumny. In 1790 that proportion increased to 26 of the 179 letters published. Between January and September 1791, 22 of the 83 letters to the editor covered calumny.
90. _Affiches du Dauphiné_, February 16, 1790, 80.
92. See, for example, _Affiches du Dauphiné_, May 6, 1790, 231.
94. Alma Söderhjelm, _Le Régime de la presse pendant la Révolution française_, vol. 1 (Helsingfors: Imprimerie Hufvudstadsbladet, 1900), 145–48. Popkin suggests that the politics of the Revolution in the following months prevented the new regulations from taking full effect. Jeremy Popkin, _Revolutionary News_, 170. For Walton, such provisions were significant precedent, even though they were not immediately enforced. Factionalism, the challenges of establishing new courts, the absence of provisions for how to enforce such limits on the press, and the lack of clarity in the penal code


98. The clubs were largely urban organizations. All towns with more than 4,000 residents, 97 percent of those with 3,000 to 4,000 residents, and 87 percent of those with 2,000 to 3,000 residents had at least one club in town between 1789 and 1794. The larger the town, the greater role the clubs took in the administrative hierarchy. Boutier et al., *Les sociétés politiques*, 16, 38.

**Conclusion**