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ANTOINE FRANÇOIS MOMORO
“First Printer of National Liberty”
1756-1794

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

HISTORY

by

Grace M. Phelan

September 2015

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	iv
Acknowledgments	viii
Introduction	1
1. From Besançon to Paris: Momoro's transition from Old Regime <i>libraire</i> to "First Printer of National Liberty"	14
2. Momoro's Political Ascendancy in Sectional Politics	84
3. <i>Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie</i> : Conservative Instruction from the "First Printer of National Liberty"	177
4. Letters from the Vendée: Momoro's Narrative of Revolution and Counter-Revolution	252
Epilogue	321
Appendix A: Books Sold by Momoro, 1788-1790	325
Appendix B: Momoro's Publications, 1789-1793	338
Archival Sources	356
Works Cited	357

List of Illustrations

1. *Premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale* 53
2. Second portrait of Momoro by Peronard 54

ABSTRACT

Grace M. Phelan

ANTOINE FRANCOIS MOMORO:
"First Printer of National Liberty"
1756-1794

Antoine François Momoro (1756-1794) appears in historiographies of the French Revolution, in the history of printing and typography and in the history of work during the eighteenth century. Historians of the 1789 Revolution have often defined Momoro as either a *sans-culottes* or spokesman for the *sans-culottes*. Marxist historians and thinkers defined Momoro as an early socialist thinker for his controversial views on price fixing and private property. In the history of printing, Momoro's two treatises on printing and imposition are considered with varying degrees of significance, while Momoro's legacy as a printer and typographer remains nearly undisputed over the past two centuries. Momoro was in fact all of these things -- *sans culottes*, socialist, author, printer and typographer -- to a degree. This dissertation asserts that as a historical figure Momoro should be remembered precisely for the tension between his desires to maintain traditional standards in printing and his intense advocacy of the eradication of aristocratic privilege. My dissertation examines Momoro's evolution into the "First Printer of National Liberty" during the first months of relative press freedom in August 1789 and charts his increased political participation in radical political circles in Paris. It includes detailed analysis of Momoro's two printing manuals and reveals the conservative nature of his

stance regarding traditional standards and practices in the trade despite his radical political views. The dissertation concludes with detailed analysis of Momoro's correspondence as *Commissaire Nationale* in the Vendée in 1793 as evidence of his increased radicalization and advocacy of the Terror.

For Frances and Raymond Phelan
who taught me the value of hard work

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INTRODUCTION

"If there are names destined to never perish, it is those of the Booksellers and Printers."¹

In the opening pages of *Catalogue Chronologique des Libraires et des Libraires-Imprimeurs de Paris*, eighteenth century master printer Augustin-Martin Lottin counseled his fellow booksellers and printers to ensure their place in history through the correct usage of their baptismal names. He praised the legacy left by the great printers, what the names of past printers like the Etiennes or the Morels came to represent, and impressed on his colleagues the need to record themselves for posterity and take their place in the historical record alongside their great predecessors. Lottin's confident assertion of the printer/bookseller's significance is reflective of the pride felt by centuries of artisans. The name of Antoine François Momoro, who lived from 1756 to 1794, has not perished, and, in this sense, Lottin's sentiment proves itself to be true. Momoro's name appears for posterity at the bottom of countless medical texts, pamphlets, and journals. But he is not remembered for his contribution to printing in the traditional sense Lottin referred to; Momoro did not print or sell refined texts or scholarly collections of Greek or Latin classics, as did his predecessors in the trade. In fact, he tends to be remembered first for his radical

¹ Augustin-Martin Lottin, *Catalogue Chronologique des Libraires et des Libraires-Imprimeurs de Paris*. (Paris: Chez Jean-Roch Lottin, 1789), xix.

political affiliations and for his role in the Terror, while his role as a printer is subsumed within these radical tendencies. Historians familiar with his status as a revolutionary have tended to assume he was a revolutionary printer. However, his well-known printing manual, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie*, is hardly revolutionary. On the contrary, it upholds the strict standards of his trade. This dissertation asserts that as a historical figure Momoro should be remembered precisely for the tension between his desires to maintain traditional standards in printing and his advocacy of the eradication of aristocratic privilege.

Antoine François Momoro appears in historiographies of the French Revolution, in the history of printing and typography and in the history of work during the eighteenth century. Historians of the 1789 Revolution have often defined Momoro as either a *sans-culottes* or spokesman for the *sans-culottes*. Marxist historians and thinkers defined Momoro as an early socialist thinker for his controversial views on price fixing and private property. In the history of printing, Momoro's two treatises on printing and imposition are considered with varying degrees of significance, while Momoro's legacy as a printer and typographer remains nearly undisputed over the past two centuries. Momoro was in fact all of these things -- *sans culottes*, socialist, author, printer and typographer -- to a degree.

Momoro wrote two important printing manuals that defined his career and shed considerable light on Old Regime and revolutionary artisanal culture. His *Manuel des Impositions* and *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie* belong to a genre

dating back to the seventeenth century with Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*.² In France, Martin Dominique Fertel published the first printer's manual in 1723, *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie*. Manual authors sought to impart their specific knowledge to a wider audience and in the process defended their own competence and prominence in the trade. These goals are clearly evident in Momoro's work to some extent. However, his intention in publishing the manual is disputable and an issue at the heart of this study. In her excellent book on publishing during the Revolutionary era, Carla Hesse claims that Momoro published his manual to spread the refined knowledge of printing to a wider audience; I find this to be largely improbable.³ Judging by his manual, Momoro was not in fact a revolutionary printer; rather, his manual shares more in common with the views of his conservative predecessor, Martin Dominique Fertel. It is Momoro's colleague, Martin Sylvestre Boulard, who published a manual in 1791, who fits the revolutionary bill Hesse assigned to Momoro. Published two years before Momoro's *Traité*, Boulard's *Manuel de l'Imprimeur* specifically targeted those hoping to establish a print shop during the Revolution; his text had less to do with maintaining artisanal standards in the trade than Momoro's work and focused instead on spreading specific knowledge to a wider audience in a post-guild Paris. This is one way that an examination of Momoro's technical writing informs the broader analysis of his persona and his role in relation to the French Revolution. Momoro's rationale for publishing the treatise on printing was

² Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-works*, 1683.

³ Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991).

far more in keeping with the Old Regime culture of prescriptive manuals. Although any member of the literate public could have purchased Momoro's manual, I believe that his intended audience was far more refined, one that Momoro hoped would understand the necessity of maintaining the centuries-long traditions of the trade. Momoro's pride in the science and art of printing and typography permeates his *Traité* as well as his dismay over what he viewed as the qualitative decline brought about by its new practitioners. Although Momoro was very much a revolutionary, this was hardly a revolutionary attitude.

Yet at the same time that he upheld the old artisanal technical (and moral) standards, he successfully remade himself from an Old Regime *libraire* into the "First Printer of National Liberty" as laws on censorship and publishing prohibitions relaxed in August 1789. Although his critics castigated him for this bold move, Momoro embraced his new identity. His claim to the title indicates his awareness about the historical significance he witnessed, recorded and became a part of, an awareness that continued to evolve until he essentially became a historian of the revolution. In one sense, we may consider his manuals as the first steps in this process, in which he creates himself as an historian of printing.

* * *

I stumbled upon Momoro in the process of doing some preliminary research for a seminar paper on work in eighteenth century France. I was interested in what happened to artisans when the guilds were abolished in the early years of the

revolution. Specifically, I wanted to know if the emergence of press freedoms in 1789 created unintended consequences for the former guild members. William Sewell's work exposed me to the attempts made by journeymen artisans after the fall of the guilds to maintain their associations, which made me think further on the disjuncture between the gains of free expression, for example, and the loss of former associations deemed as "privileged".⁴ Carla Hesse's work on publishing in revolutionary Paris focused my attention on the turmoil experienced by master printers in particular during the first years of the revolution and the tremendous changes in print culture that ensued.⁵ Momoro's printing manual is referenced in Hesse's work and once I had read the manual myself, I was convinced of its value as a way into Parisian print culture during the revolution.

When I began the dissertation, I wanted to write a narrative of Momoro's life because there is so little written about him and to examine more fully the two seemingly disparate aspects of his identity -- Old Regime printer and revolutionary. I was initially interested in the relationship between artisans and political activism during the revolution because of Momoro's increased political activity. This logically led me to think about the relationship between Momoro and the *sans-culottes*.⁶

⁴ William Sewell, Jr. *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

⁵ Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*.

⁶ The *sans-culottes* are generally defined as artisans who promoted a traditional view of work and economy, (regulated), alongside a more radical belief in direct

Historians have generally agreed that Momoro was closely aligned with the *sans-culottes*; while most claim he acted as a spokesman for the group, some have gone as far as to claim that Momoro was in fact a *sans-culotte* himself.⁷ While historians Mellié, Soboul and Mowery Andrews each identified Momoro as a political figure who represented the interests of the *sans-culottes*, Mowery Andrews made the strongest connection by redefining the *sans-culottes* as bourgeois artisans.⁸ His work illuminated the ways that relatively minor artisans within the guild, like Momoro, formed a "*sans-culottes* oligarchy."⁹ His redefinition of the *sans-culottes* has proven to be a useful lens for understanding Momoro and his role as both printer and revolutionary.

As my research progressed, I grew more interested in the relationship between Momoro and his written work. His privileged position as a printer and owner of his own facility provided him with the tremendous advantage of being able to publish his own work freely as well as other texts he deemed important. Reading his printing manuals provided me with a complicated view of Momoro, a proud and articulate artisan with very strong opinions about right and wrong, intelligence and ignorance.

democracy. They were very politically active during the major *journeés* of the revolution.

⁷ Momoro's name appeared in an anonymous pamphlet, *Liste des Sans-Culottes de Paris* in 1791, along with many well-known leaders such as Danton, Desmoulins, Marat and Prudhomme. Published in the satirical "third year of liberty", the list placed Momoro's residence on the "*rue des Mauvais-Garçons*" (avenue of bad boys). BN LB39 10279.

⁸ Richard Mowery Andrews "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-1794: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's *Les Sans-Culottes Parisiens en L'An II*," in *Journal of Social History*, 19:1 (1985: Fall)

⁹ *Ibid.*, 74. Soboul claimed they were members of the *petite bourgeoisie*.

As a printer myself, I immediately recognized the cast of characters he describes in an eighteenth century print shop - the drunken and unruly pressmen, the accident prone apprentices attempting to hide their mistakes, the hard-nosed foreman driving the production schedule.¹⁰ My printing experience was a way into Momoro's manual; it helped me see into and beyond his technical descriptions and get to the editorial content that revealed his attitudes and assumptions on any number of subjects. Along with his printing manuals, Momoro wrote numerous speeches, essays and letters; they immediately captured my attention, not only because of their historical significance, but also because of what they revealed about Momoro's intelligence and rhetorical skill. His well-crafted arguments made some of his more contentious proposals convincing and even palatable. As I began the final chapter of the dissertation, I discovered Momoro's correspondence from the Vendée where he served as *commissaire* for the department of Paris. His letters have proven invaluable in what they reveal about Momoro as a reporter and historian of the revolution. By examining his regular correspondance with his colleagues in Paris, we see him carefully craft the history of the counter-revolution.

The most important thing I have come to understand about Momoro was the level of his dedication to his section and, more broadly, to the furtherance of Republican principles. He carried over his strident convictions about right and wrong printing techniques expressed in his *Traité* into the political arena,

¹⁰ While the techniques have changed drastically since the eighteenth century, the culture Momoro describes still exists today, in my experience.

where he was clearly a passionate and zealous supporter of the revolution. He saw no contradiction between promoting himself as "First Printer of National Liberty" and principles of equality and denied any superior intention in taking the title. For him it was a statement of fact -- he was first to print and it was a bold move, worthy of recognition. As he wrote himself into history, he moved well beyond the parameters of the print shop.

* * *

Chapter One examines Momoro's evolution into the "First Printer of National Liberty" beginning in August 1789 and his conscious promotion of his place in the historic events of this early period of the revolution. It begins by tracing Momoro's early life in Besançon and move to Paris in 1780 where he began his career as a *libraire* in the Paris Book Guild in 1788. The purchase of his "first presses of liberty" enabled Momoro to take advantage of the relaxed press laws set in motion by the Declaration of Rights of Man. His proud proclamation of "first printer" status cast him to the public as a brave and daring artisan dedicated to freedom of the press; he declared to history that his boldness led other aspirants to follow. Yet Momoro demonstrated considerable caution in the early months of press freedom. His initial prudence in publishing Camille Desmoulins' radical pamphlet, *La France Libre*, highlights Momoro's tenuous position in the guild before the laws changed; Momoro feared retribution from the guild and police for publishing the controversial pamphlet. Although initially cautious in his early forays as a printer, Momoro steadily grew

bolder and began to publish journals, pamphlets and other ephemera for the sections and clubs. With the creation of his portrait in 1791, Momoro fully embraced and celebrated his new identities as artisan, revolutionary and elite *sectionnaire*. As a printer, Momoro performed a physical role in documenting the profound political and social changes of the revolutionary period; his choices in determining the appropriate format for a pamphlet or journal dictated its content to a degree. Desmoulins' complaint against Momoro discussed in the chapter addresses this very issue. As an editor, Momoro shaped content by correcting and nuancing the material; although the client read and approved final proofs, Momoro's editing became a part of the published piece. This first chapter illustrates the ways that Momoro's career developed and expanded beyond the constraints of the book trade.

Chapter Two examines the emergence of Momoro's political career within the framework of the Parisian municipal government. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the first municipal government and the relationship between electoral districts, parishes and sections. Momoro's political education took place here. I specifically examine his dominant role in his section, Théâtre-Français, and the fluidity of the various roles he occupied in assemblies and deputations. Momoro's regular role as president of the section became a divisive issue; his critics took it as a sign of his dictatorial nature while his supporters viewed it as a sign of his dedication and the respect showed him by his colleagues. Momoro personified an "active" citizen; he continually stressed the significance of active political participation and demonstrated it through his continued presence in meetings and deputations to other

sections, political clubs and to the National Convention. Momoro's editorial skills as a printer helped him secure a role as secretary in section and club meetings; his intricate knowledge of printing helped to produce the wealth of printed ephemera flowing from the section. To demonstrate the connections between his role as printer and as a writer, the last part of the chapter examines three pieces written by Momoro. The first is a petition he wrote asking for reparations after his arrest and imprisonment in July 1791; the second piece is his essay arguing against the Tolerance Decree for refractory priests, addressed to Abbé Sieyès; the third is his essay in support of a maximum on the price of grain. Momoro crafted persuasive and well reasoned arguments in each of these; we get a very clear sense of his acute sense of justice and his sense of himself as a spokesman for "the people". In his two political pamphlets, Momoro grapples with the tension between individual liberties and the need to protect the gains made by the revolutionaries in the fledging democracy. His stand against the refractory priests marks his acknowledgment of freedom of religion and his disdain for those unwilling to join in the new regime; he desperately wants to protect the fragile state from counter-revolution. His support for a maximum on the price of grain further butts up against the limits of individual liberty; his controversial stance on property points to the need for regulation in feeding the public and prosecuting hoarders and speculators. Momoro is constant in his conveyance of respect for "the people" in his writing. He imbues them with an authenticity that stands in marked contrast to the malicious and manipulative aristocrat, priest or hoarder. Momoro clearly saw himself as representative of the interests of these "true patriots".

Chapter Three focuses exclusively on Momoro's printing manual, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie* and situates it within the context of earlier print manuals, most notably Fertel's *Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie*. Momoro's manual is often misunderstood as a revolutionary text, but a careful reading reveals it to be quite conservative in its support of traditional methods and stricter regulation of the trade. I begin the chapter with an overview of the manual genre and look specifically at Fertel's *Science Pratique* and Boulard's *Manuel de l'Imprimeur*. I then discuss Momoro's smaller first manual, *Manuel de Impositions*, published sometime in 1789; he later expanded it into the more extensive *Traité Élémentaire*. Momoro stressed the utility of his text in the *Manuel's* very brief preface and purposefully distinguished it from other popular historical texts on typography and printing. His obsequious tone in the manual differs considerably from his bolder *Traité* and is undoubtedly reflective of the restrictions on printing at the time of its publication and his obligations as a member of the Paris Book Guild.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a close reading of the *Traité Élémentaire*. Momoro organized the technical half of his 383 page manual into encyclopedic entries ordered alphabetically; its opening summary sections are devoted to his fascinating narrative on the history of printing and detailed explanations of the operations of a print shop and its components. Momoro formally presented his manual to the public on several occasions in October 1793 after eight years of labor; he described it as a useful text intended to propagate and perfect the art

of printing, and with the abolition of the guilds, he undoubtedly viewed his manual as a means of guiding the direction of the trade in the guild's absence.

Chapter Four begins with a discussion of Momoro's political affiliations outside of section Théâtre-Français, in the political clubs of Paris. The majority of the chapter focuses on Momoro's administrative position in the department of Paris beginning in August 1792. Momoro's two "missions" as *commissaire* in the neighboring regions to the south of Paris in 1792 and to the Vendée in 1793 were quite controversial. I examine the disputes that arose from his first mission to Bernay and Lisieux through journal accounts and Momoro's own explanations; his unauthorized distribution of his version of the Declaration of Rights of Man created considerable turmoil and led to his detention in Bernay and denunciations from some of his supporters in Paris. I then look closely at the numerous letters Momoro wrote during his tenure in the Vendée during the revolt. Momoro's letters to his colleagues in the department of Paris are full of Momoro's dramatic, sometimes embellished, descriptions of events and repeated suggestions for destroying the "brigands". He took his self-proclaimed role as "eyewitness" seriously, and as a result, his letters contain rich detail of many aspects of his experiences in the field and office. Momoro's letters convey his ultimate faith in the success of the republic and his paternalistic belief in his mission to re-educate the "misled" inhabitants of the region. The letters also provide first hand evidence of his support for terror tactics as the fighting in the region stretched on and inadvertently document the desperation that led to their implementation. The chapter includes a discussion of the two reports

Momoro presented to his colleagues in Paris upon his return from the region; they further explain and justify the use of terror in the region as a means of procuring the security of the Republic. His often-daily letters detailing meetings of the War Council and other revolutionary committees reveal his self-awareness as a reporter and recorder of historic events; Momoro understood the value of the printed word and actively wrote himself into the public record for posterity.

From Besançon to Paris:
Momoro's Transition from Old Regime *Libraire*
to "First Printer of National Liberty"

This chapter begins by exploring Momoro's early life in Besançon, his emigration to Paris and his entrance into the Paris Book Guild as a *libraire*. Unfortunately, little documentation about Momoro's early years exists but I have pieced together a plausible outline of his young life by drawing on patterns of apprenticeship and provincial emigration. The second half of the chapter examines Momoro's transformation from Old Regime bookseller into the "First Printer of National Liberty" in 1789 and his subsequent life as a politically active printer and writer. Fortunately, more documentation exists for this aspect of his life simply because he became more public, with his name displayed on numerous journals and pamphlets as printer, editor or author. Momoro followed a traditional path from apprentice to Parisian bookseller and, to a degree, even his radicalization after 1789 and involvement in revolutionary politics followed a course not unlike that of many artisans of his generation, who witnessed and helped shape the massive transition from Old Regime stasis to the dynamic Revolutionary era. During his political ascendancy, Momoro walked an often-contradictory line between Revolutionary ideologies that embraced liberty and equality and an elitist egotism stemming from a valorization of his traditional artisanal skills and daring contributions to newfound press freedoms.

From Besançon to Paris: 1756-1780

Information about Momoro's early life is quite sparse although a preliminary picture emerges of Momoro as a son who "from childhood had to earn his bread."¹¹ Antoine-François Momoro was born in November 1756 in the parish of Saint-Pierre in Besançon. His parents were Jacques Momoro, a cobbler, and Nicole Pernot. Momoro's baptism date, November 13, is the only date recorded on the certificate.¹² The year of his birth, 1756, is corroborated by Momoro's recorded age on his *carte de surêté*.¹³ Momoro's godparents were a shopkeeper, Antoine François Marin, and a maid, Marie-Françoise Biérix. Numerous references claim that Momoro's lineage was "old Spanish", meaning that the family line dated back to the occupation of Franche-Comté by the Spanish until 1679, when the region was ceded to France. One source claimed that Momoro "descended from a commissionnaire of Bezançon (sp),

¹¹ Georges Lenôte, "Madame Momoro, Déesse," *Le Temps*, 25 October 1930.

¹² "l'Acte de Naissance de Momoro" in *Annales Revolutionnaires, Vol. V, 1912*. Albert Mathiez published Momoro's baptismal certificate but lists the year at 1755; all other documents assert Momoro was born in 1756. Given the preponderance of documentation of Momoro's age when guillotined in 1794, I am assuming that Mathiez made a typographical error when transcribing the baptismal certificate. In a 1933 article, Marius Audin published a different baptismal certificate that he attributed to Momoro, even though the name was "Claude Nicolas" Momoro. I believe this may be the birth certificate for a younger sibling, though I have no other documentation substantiating the existence of any siblings. Additionally, the godparents were different from those named on Mathiez' birth certificate, as is the date, 16 March 1757. See Marius Audin, "La Fonderie de lettres et les lettres fondeurs français" in *Arts et Métiers Graphiques, No. 37, 15 Septembre 1933*.

¹³ AN Carton F7/4807 No. 103.

originating from the village of Momoro in Franche-comté..."¹⁴ There is in fact a village of Montmorot east of Besançon where Momoro's father may have originated; one historian claimed Momoro senior disregarded his family name, taking the name of his village in order to "erase the memory of some annoying episodes."¹⁵

We know that Momoro left Besançon for Paris sometime in 1780¹⁶ but the reason(s) for his departure and his status upon leaving remain quite speculative. I had originally believed that Momoro served his apprenticeship in Paris under Louis Cellot, entering the Paris Book Guild in 1787; indeed, this is the predominant opinion expressed in the literature concerning Momoro. However, new evidence points to the possibility that Momoro may have gone to Paris having already completed his apprenticeship in Besançon. Both of these scenarios are equally feasible, which makes it difficult to ascertain which one is more likely. Conditions in the printing trade of the 1780s could be used to argue either apprenticeship scenario. Therefore, I

¹⁴ Rétif de la Bretonne, *l'Année des Dames Nationales* excerpt from Charles Monselet *Rétif de la Bretonne, sa vie et ses amours* (Paris: Chez Aubry, 1858), 198.

¹⁵ Georges Lenôtre, "Madame Momoro, Déesse," *Le Temps*, 25 October 1930. There are a few instances where I've come across this alternate spelling (Montmorot) of Momoro's name. One instance is in the birth certificate discussed by Marius Audin above; the certificate states that the baby's father was "Jacques Montmorot." While this is a well-researched and in-depth article, it contains one glaring error; Lenôtre refers to Momoro as "*Jean-Antoine*." Lenôtre's sources include both archival and secondary materials, including Rétif's *l'Année des Dames Nationales*, which may be where Lenôtre comes up with the claim about Momoro's Besançon apprenticeship. However, Lenôtre provides more detail in his discussion of Momoro's early life, quite possibly using archival material for his evidence. It is difficult to say without revisiting the archives and examining Lenôtre's listed sources. I have done this with the secondary sources he lists, and turned up nothing on Momoro's youth.

¹⁶ This date is confirmed by the date on Momoro's 1793 *carte de surété*; his departure from Besançon is written as thirteen years prior to the issuance of the card. See Carton F7/4807 No. 103 *Archives Nationale*.

will discuss both possibilities, beginning with the lesser known but intriguing claim that Momoro completed his apprenticeship in Besançon.

The chief evidence for this claim comes from Momoro's older contemporary, Nicolas Edme Réstif de la Bretonne,¹⁷ who wrote that the young Momoro "took his apprenticeship from a printer in Bezançon [sic]...When Momoro finished his time, he came to Paris, where he became a foreman (*prote*). The lower one's origins, the more will one has. He was fired from his position as *prote* but instead of letting this pull him down, he became a *libraire*, with the dowry from his wife..."¹⁹ Although this is the sole account claiming Momoro was in Besançon through his apprenticeship, there are two compelling reasons to consider its validity. First, quite simply, is Momoro's age; completing his apprenticeship in Besançon would have fit into the traditional pattern of artisanal training during the eighteenth century. The average age for a printing apprentice was between 15 and 20 years old;²⁰ depending on the length of his apprenticeship, Momoro would have been between the ages of 17 and 19 years old at

¹⁷ Réstif de la Bretonne, *l'Année des Dames Nationales*, 198-201. Momoro's connection to Réstif is illustrative of the close network of families within the print trade. Réstif served his apprenticeship in Auxerre under Momoro's great uncle by marriage, Michel François Fournier, before establishing himself in Paris. In Réstif's *Monsieur Nicolas*, he refers to Fournier as "*Monsieur Parangon*"; his biographer speculates that he didn't want to upset any guild members by speaking out against a reputable member. In printing, *parangon* referred to a particular typeface. See Daniel Baruch, *Nicolas Edme Réstif de la Bretonne*, (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1996), footnote 335.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 199. He refers to Momoro's wife as a "*filles-de-modes en chambre*."

²⁰ Lucien Fevre, Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (New Delhi: Seagull Books, 2006), 145.

the start of his training.²¹ This would situate Momoro within the average age group for a young man finishing his apprenticeship and embarking as a journeyman when he was twenty-four years old. In contrast, to begin an apprenticeship at the "advanced" age of twenty-four (when he was already in Paris) was less common, though not entirely unheard of during this period.

A second reason to consider R stif's assertion about the apprenticeship is the relative leniency of the provincial printing trade in contrast to the vigilance of the Parisian trade. Rigogne's recent study on printing and bookselling in France²² details a loosely organized provincial trade that likely would have made entry easier for young men like Momoro. Besan on did not have a formal guild or *communaut *, though it did have designated officers organized into a *corps* that served the interests of the town's printers and booksellers.²³ It seems plausible that the relaxed structure of the provincial publishing trade could have offered more opportunity for Momoro to enter the trade as an apprentice. Additionally, Momoro's father Jacques was an artisan himself and most likely had ties with artisans in other trades that may have proved useful in securing Momoro an apprenticeship, whether he needed it or not, given the more relaxed provincial setting. It was customary for a father to work out

²¹ Momoro was twenty-four in 1780. His age at the start of a typical 5-7 year apprenticeship would have been 17-19 years.

²² Thierry Rigogne, *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in eighteenth century France*. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007) p. 41.

²³ Rigogne, 68-69. Besan on was granted a *chambre syndicale* in 1777, which was essentially a physical space designated for the organization of the book trade. Rigogne provides an excellent description of the vagaries of French printers' guilds and the fluidity between distinctions used to describe their dealings. See Chapter 3 in Rigogne's study for the complete discussion.

the apprenticeship arrangement with the apprentice's *maître*, including his obligations for housing and feeding the young apprentice; once it was agreed upon, they formally recorded it in a contract known as the *brevet*.²⁴ Jacques Momoro's knowledge of these arrangements would surely have proven advantageous to his son in Besançon.

In a series of articles published in 1930, historian Georges Lenôte clearly used Réstif's text in drawing his conclusions about Momoro, though he included some important additional detail. Lenôte claimed that Momoro, having to earn his keep from an early age, worked as a printer's helper in Besançon before being promoted to an apprentice. He claimed that it was there that Momoro learned to read and write and quickly learned the trade before leaving for Paris, where he found a job working as the *prote* (foreman) in a print shop on the left bank.²⁵ This claim is certainly reasonable given the lenient provincial book trade, though admittedly unusual. While there were helpers (*alloués*) in the print shops of Paris and the provinces, they were forbidden from entering apprenticeships in any way; their static position was clearly demarcated in the guild regulations. Yet it may be that Momoro's promotion from helper to apprentice in Besançon reflects the difference between the provincial and Parisian regulations. Documents where Momoro wrote about himself are extremely rare, especially those that address his early life; fortunately, a small handwritten fragment, dated 1789, has been preserved that provides important biographical data.

²⁴ Paul Chavet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre en France des Origines à la Revolution de 1789* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), 257-259.

²⁵ Lenôte, "Madame Momoro, Déesse," *Le Temps*, 25 October 1930. The sources for his article are well documented, though his claim about Momoro working as a printer's helper warrants further archival research.

While the document is just a few sentences, it is the only mention of his early life in his own words. Momoro noted that he had "been in printing for fifteen years."²⁶ This establishes him in the print trade in Besançon in 1774 and supports the claims of Réstif and Lenôtre, thereby complicating the popular view that he worked in Paris as an apprentice from 1780.

Why, then, did Momoro leave Besançon? While there is no direct evidence that speaks to this issue, it is possible to speculate based upon various economic and political factors affecting the print trade during this period. For example, his emigration to Paris in 1780 may have been a result of the concerted effort by the *direction de la Librairie* to concentrate the numbers of printers into urban areas to facilitate better organization and policing. By 1744, new regulations imposed limits on the number of apprenticeships, specifying just one apprentice per *atelier*.²⁷ There were also limits set on a journeyman's access to mastership. Tightened control from the Administration of the Book Trade ultimately led to the limitation on the number of printers per town or city.²⁸ Thus by 1781, a year after Momoro left for Paris, Besançon had lost 20% of its printers. Although this was a relatively moderate

²⁶ BHVP folio 807, #213. I was unable to decipher some of this note due to ink blots. Therefore, the statement above may be alternately translated as "I have been in printing since I was fifteen." If taken this way, it places him in Besançon three years earlier, 1771. Either way, he was printing in Besançon in the early 1770s. I will return to this document in a later discussion of Momoro's earliest written work, *Manuel des Impositions Typographiques*.

²⁷ Rigogne, 98-99. This also allowed for a "lesser" category of workers, the *alloués*, to supplement the dwindling pool of apprentices. *Alloués* were in a static work position, doing the same tasks as the apprentice but with no opportunity for advancement within the workshop.

²⁸ Rigogne, 100.

decrease, a smaller city such as Besançon with a population of approximately 35,000 had fewer *imprimeries* to begin with and consequently the effects on aspiring printers were significant.²⁹ For Momoro and other young provincial men, there were simply more *imprimeries* in Paris and emigration was an economic necessity. However, I must acknowledge that the restrictions imposed in 1744 across France that limited the number of apprentices per workshop may be a reason to believe the alternate but widely held view that Momoro left Besançon in search of apprenticeship opportunities. Finally, as much of the discussion of Momoro's early years is speculative, I want to acknowledge that he may have gone to other cities before settling in Paris in 1780. This would have been most likely if he served his apprenticeship in Besançon and went in search of work experience as a journeyman on his way to Paris.

Momoro's emigration to Paris was not in itself unusual for a young journeyman. Paris had emerged as the hub for the printing profession, an obligatory step in the career of a provincial printer. Several years in a Parisian print shop qualified a journeyman's skills, adding significant value to his future prospects back in the provinces or in his search for a more permanent role in a respected Parisian shop with the possibility of entering the guild as a master.³⁰

In attempting to restructure Momoro's early work experience, I have relied to an extent on traditional guild structures to provide a normative frame of reference, yet

²⁹ Rigogne, 115.

³⁰ Philippe Minard, *Typographes des Lumières* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1989), 122-127. The significance of Paris for pre-industrial artisans was not unique to printers.

this method is clearly problematic because it excludes any variation from the normative artisanal experiences. According to historians Michael Sonnenscher and Philippe Minard, there were indeed exceptions to the traditional pattern of apprenticeship in this period, specifically the *de facto* length of time of an apprenticeship. Sonnenscher shows that the length of apprenticeships in all trades varied considerably in the eighteenth century and, importantly, asserts that older apprentices often served shorter terms than their younger counterparts.³¹ Minard examined the increased variety in the lengths of apprenticeships specifically in the print trade, citing numerous cases of truncated apprenticeships in printing and basic exemptions from guild regulations throughout the eighteenth century. For example, the length of time between apprenticeship and entrance to the guild as a *maître* dropped to less than the prescribed seven years for approximately 40% of aspiring printers and booksellers by the 1780s; some 27% entered the guild in just four years.³² Minard's work in particular makes speculating on Momoro's career based on his age more difficult; the variation Minard highlighted leaves open more combinations of possibilities concerning Momoro's training. For example, following Minard, it becomes more feasible that a relatively older Momoro could have worked

³¹ Michael Sonnenscher posits that in the hatter's trade, an "inverse relationship between the length of an apprenticeship and the age at which it was begun. A boy of twelve or thirteen would serve an apprenticeship of five or six years; someone of sixteen or seventeen would serve a much shorter time." Of course, this is not to say that the trades were similar enough to make this a strong claim. See *The Hatters of Eighteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1987), 35.

³² Minard, Chapter V. The increased age of apprentices was due to the increased practice of hiring the younger, unskilled workers known as *alloués*. The *alloués* in effect followed the traditional age pattern for apprentices in previous centuries.

under Cellot for a shortened apprenticeship beginning in 1780, making his entry into the guild in a mere seven years total.

Paris: 1780-1789

Once in Paris, Momoro began working in *some* capacity under Louis Cellot, one of the privileged thirty-six *imprimeurs* in the prestigious Paris Book Guild.³³ Momoro most likely connected with a network of fellow provincials in Paris that enabled him to navigate the city and make connections in the trade.³⁴ Cellot's workshop was located on the rue des Grands Augustins on the Left Bank, the heart of the Paris publishing quarter. Louis Cellot printed and sold books on the military, engineering, artillery and architecture. Between 1769 and 1788, Cellot employed an average of 27 pressmen and compositors and 3 helpers (*alloués*),³⁶ his relative wealth was about average³⁷ and, like many of his fellow artisans, Cellot served as an elector in the second *Assemblée Electorale* of Paris in 1791. Whether as an unskilled apprentice or new journeyman, Momoro would have gained and perfected important new skills simply by the close proximity to his fellow artisans in Cellot's shop. While

³³ FRBNF12528853. The BN bio on Momoro states that he was "apprentice, journeyman printer then foreman for the Parisian printer-bookseller Louis Cellot." The sources cited by the BN for this brief bio of Momoro do not support their claim that he served under Cellot as apprentice and journeyman. I have yet to uncover a definitive source to corroborate his relationship with Cellot.

³⁴ Minard, 134. Minard uses an example from Réstif's memoir describing Réstif's welcome to Paris by a fellow printer from their provincial city, Auxerre.

³⁶ *Variation des effectifs dans les ateliers parisiens*, printed in Minard's *Typographes des Lumières*; source cited as AN F12 2192(2).

³⁷ This is based on his 1788 ranking in the Paris Book Guild to determine his tax rate for the capitation tax. Published in Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris*, Table 2.

no great technical innovations in printing took place during the pre and post Revolutionary period, it was common for artisans to continually improve upon their skill set. In Cellot's print shop, for example, Momoro would have worked with the compositor Boileau, who introduced to the *Imprimerie Royale* a system for speeding up the compositor's output and minimizing the *pâtés* (dropped type forms).³⁸ Knowledge such as this would help Momoro in his future business ventures in operating a more efficient *imprimerie*.

Momoro's relationship to Louis Cellot is further substantiated in Lottin's respected index of French printers, booksellers and typographers, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris*.³⁹ Momoro's name appears several times in Lottin's text, most notably in 1787 when he entered the prestigious Paris Book Guild. It is this entry that connects Momoro with Cellot: "*M. Antoine-François Momoro, Apprenti de M. Louis Cellot, Libraire.*"⁴⁰ While this appears to be conclusive evidence that Momoro served an apprenticeship in Paris, I have begun to rethink the issue because of Réstif's claim discussed above. It is quite possible that both assertions about Momoro's training are true; leaving his natal village for work as an apprentice certainly followed an established pattern of work during this period. Alternately, Momoro could have finished his training in Besançon

³⁸ Phillipe Minard, "*Travail et Travailleur sous la Révolution*", *Livre et Révolution*, May (1987): 53.

³⁹ Augustin-Martin Lottin, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris, 1470–1789* (Paris: Lottin, 1789).

⁴⁰ Lottin, 278. Lottin's index listed the methods taken by Old Regime printers and booksellers to membership in the Paris Book guild - via traditional apprenticeship, inheritance, or an *Arret du Conseil*.

and then worked under Cellot as a journeyman and *prote*. The problem here is Lottin's use of the term *apprenti*, which has been taken to literally mean that he worked as Cellot's apprentice.⁴¹ Yet could Lottin's use of the term "*apprenti*" signify a broader definition of apprentice, perhaps signifying an artisan who worked under a master as *either* apprentice or as a journeyman who stayed on for an extended period?

In order to address this issue, we must examine Lottin's *Catalogue* more closely. Of the printers and booksellers Lottin indexed, not a single artisan was classified as *compagnon* (journeyman). Why would Lottin restrict his index to name only apprentices and masters? Becoming a guild member required an artisan to work as a journeyman after his apprenticeship and, at minimum, pass an exam administered by guild officials.⁴² The absence of any classification of the *compagnon* may simply reflect the limitation of Lottin's index; Lottin drew upon the records of the *Chambre Syndicale* for his index, and it may be that these registers contained *only* information on apprenticeships.⁴³ Lottin's *Catalogue* lists the three paths to guild membership - via apprenticeship, inheritance or decree; in this sense it serves as both a genealogy and directory of the trade, providing the precise date when each artisan became "known to the public" as either printer or bookseller.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Numerous historians cited Lottin as a source when mentioning Momoro's work life. Therefore, I have concluded that they translated *apprenti* literally.

⁴² The journeyman could be hired by the month or by the task in numerous printing shops; either way afforded him valuable and varied experience from numerous masters. However, he was not yet a guild member. This final step required money, skill and connections, particularly in Paris.

⁴³ Further archival research is needed in both Paris and Besançon.

⁴⁴ Lottin, ii.

"Prote" Momoro

Sometime before Momoro entered the Paris Book Guild in 1787, Momoro worked as a foreman (*prote*), probably for Louis Cellot. In Momoro's *Manuel des Impositions Typographiques*, published in 1789, he referred to himself as "*Momoro, ci-devant prote.*" This is the only instance I know of prior to the Revolution where Momoro named his actual position and status in the print trade. It was an important distinction for Momoro to make because *prote* denoted skills well beyond the average journeyman, which would have given his first published work added legitimacy. Momoro defined a *prote* in his later publication, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie*:

The *prote* is the director of the print shop. The person who fills this role has talents above the other artisans.... A good foreman must have an excellent knowledge of the French language, and passable knowledge of Latin and Greek. He must know something of the sciences, such as philosophy, mathematics, geometry, jurisprudence, etc. The *prote's* talents must combine the qualities of garnering respect and esteem from the *maître* and from his subordinates; but don't be alarmed by the term "subordinate". I will say that the *prote* is *primus inter pares*, the first among equals.⁴⁵

Momoro's somewhat romantic description of the *prote's* role falls in line with earlier depictions in terms of the *prote's* significance in the print shop. For example, the article from the *Encyclopédie* detailed the numerous tasks carried out by the foreman

⁴⁵ *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 283-284. See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of this text.

and his close relationship with the master printer. Similarly, Nicolas Contat's *Anecdotes Typographiques* placed the *prote* at the center of the production process.⁴⁶

Momoro clearly had learned the printing trade well if he held this position. Increasingly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, skilled *protes* became more important to *maîtres* who possessed the necessary capital but marginal technical skills to operate the business. In these situations, the profitability and reputation of an *imprimerie* rested on the *protes'* organizational and technical skills as well as his rapport with the other workers.⁴⁷ The *prote* kept the flow of work moving through the shop, ensuring that the balance of work between compositors and pressmen remained as even as possible; bottlenecks in production at either end of the printing process were costly. Here, his rapport with the workers was key; beyond the physical organisation of the work, the *prote* had to manage personalities to ensure against work stoppages or walkouts, common occurrences in this era. The *prote* also corrected the proofs for the compositors, sent proofs to authors and made final revisions accordingly. As Momoro described above, an excellent knowledge of French was essential, as well as a good understanding of Greek and Latin. The *proterie* itself was a space apart from the workers, an office of sorts, furnished with "strong oak shelves labelled with names of fonts, which are packaged and arranged in

⁴⁶ Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Projet (Spring 2010 Edition), Robert Morrissey (ed), Vol. 13:503. Nicolas Contat, *Anecdotes Typographiques où l'on voit la description des coutumes, moeurs et usages singuliers des compagnons imprimeurs*, Giles Barber (ed), (Oxford, 1980), 259-263.

⁴⁷ Chavet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre en France*, Chapter VII.

order." Additionally, the space held "a small library composed of all the dictionaries concerning *Belles Lettres*. A (type) case and a desk complete the furnishings."⁴⁸

Momoro's position as *prote*, along with the two technical manuals that he wrote, is evidence of the considerable skills he had acquired in the trade before the Revolution. However, Réstif's account of Momoro's dismissal from his position as *prote* mentioned earlier complicates this characterization somewhat.⁴⁹ Although there is no corroboration for Réstif's claim, and there is reason to doubt its validity, it raises the important question of Momoro's competence.⁵⁰ There could have been any number of reasons for his alleged dismissal - he may have had conflict with the master printer over a particular job, or wasn't technically suited to the position, or got on poorly with the pressmen and compositors. Réstif's claim serves an important purpose in my attempt to retrace Momoro's printing career in that he forces me to question my assumption that Momoro was a proficient artisan. If Momoro was indeed fired, then his position in the guild as bookseller may have been a default position. It was only through the abolition of the guilds that he was able to legally become a printer.

⁴⁸ Nicolas Contat, *Anecdotes typographiques*.

⁴⁹ Réstif de la Bretonne, *l'Année des Dames Nationales*, 199.

⁵⁰ Réstif wrote this recollection sometime in 1794 after Momoro's execution; he blatantly characterized Momoro as a despicable schemer and was clearly aware of his radical political career. However, this does not necessarily mean that his assertion about Momoro's dismissal is false.

Entering the Paris Book Guild

On December 29, 1787, Momoro gained admittance to the Paris guild as a *libraire* (bookseller).⁵³ A quota established during the reign of Louis XIV differentiated the *libraires* from the elite group of thirty-six *libraires-imprimeurs* within the Paris guild. This much larger group of *libraires* consisted of publishers and booksellers who were permitted to sell finished texts only; *libraires* were prohibited from owning printing establishments.⁵⁴ Although all master printers belonged to the guild and served under the jurisdiction and surveillance of the Royal administration, master booksellers in the Old Regime were less clearly demarcated. Historian Thierry Rigogne argues that *libraire* and *imprimeur* were somewhat ambiguous categories prior to the Revolution, despite centuries old traditions regulated by the guild. The *libraire-imprimeurs* were different from the *imprimeurs*; some kept bookstores, while others sold only the books they printed themselves. Broadly speaking, booksellers fell into three groups. First, there were booksellers with a master's title (*libraires*), generally only in cities with guilds, like Paris. All master printers were also master booksellers (*libraires-imprimeurs*) but booksellers could not print unless they became master printers. Legally then, printers were also booksellers but booksellers were not printers; Momoro fell into this category although he was trained as a printer. Second, there were booksellers without formal mastership

⁵³ Jean-Roch Lottin, *Catalogue Chronologique des Libraires et des Libraires-Imprimeurs de Paris* (Amsterdam: B. R. Gruner, 1969), 276. At the end of Lottin's *Catalogue*, a correction lists Momoro as both "*libraire et fondateur des caractères*" upon his entrance to the guild.

⁵⁴ Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 65.

who had permission from local authorities, such as the mayor or lieutenant general of the police. In the third group were the '*gens sans qualités*', men who sold books without permission.⁵⁵ As printing became more concentrated and the number of *imprimeurs* limited more severely, the number of printer-booksellers rose steeply. In 1781, 9 of 10 printers were printer-booksellers.⁵⁶ While Momoro gained admittance to the Paris guild as a *libraire*, he continually shifted between *imprimeur* and *libraire-imprimeur* when referring to himself throughout the Revolution. Being a member of a Paris corporation such as the printer's guild conferred an elite status on men like Momoro; they enjoyed individual as well as communal privileges, such as the right to petition ministers, commence legal proceedings and be represented at the meetings of the Estates General (though not in 1789).⁵⁷ These corporate rights undoubtedly provided men like Momoro with invaluable political experience and conceivably served as a foundation for future political activity. Guilds had a system in place that was essentially independent, except for oversight by the police; they were administered by officials elected by masters and their rules were agreed upon at meetings of all masters or their elected representatives (in larger guilds), though subject to approval by the Parlement.⁵⁸

Within the corporate system, marriage was the essential factor that explains how Momoro landed in his relatively privileged situation given his humble

⁵⁵ Rigogne, 146-148.

⁵⁶ Rigogne, 175.

⁵⁷ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, (2002), 69.

⁵⁸ Garrioch, 69-70.

beginnings. For young artisans like Momoro, marriage within the guild system was a vital means for furthering their careers. One glance through Lottin's index of Old Regime printers and booksellers clearly illustrates this reality. For example, Momoro's *maître*, Louis Cellot, gained his foothold in the Parisian printing trade by inheriting the workshop of his father-in-law, Charles-Antoine Jombert.⁵⁹ Similarly, Momoro's marriage connected him to a certain degree of wealth, prestige and opportunity. In January 1786,⁶⁰ little less than a year before the end of his tenure with Cellot and formal entrance into the guild, Momoro married into the Fournier family, a powerful typographical dynasty from Auxerre dating back to the seventeenth century.⁶¹ Like Momoro, his father-in-law Jean-François Fournier (*Fournier fils*) had married into a prominent French-Swiss typographical family, the Gandos.⁶² Momoro's new wife Sophie was the *petite fille* (great niece) of Pierre-Simon Fournier, the most famous among the Fourniers for, among other things, his revolutionary approach to type design and his standardization of typographical forms. The Fourniers were well connected and respected; Benjamin Franklin bought type from both Fournier brothers between 1777 and 1785 while residing at the Hôtel de

⁵⁹ BN FRBNF 12251194.

⁶⁰ Momoro's Marriage Certificate: BHVP folio 807, #211.

⁶¹ Jean Claude Fournier, the patriarch of the Fournier dynasty, managed the prestigious 16th century Le Bé foundry from 1698-1729. The Le Bé lineage was impressive, with ties to the Claude Garamond and Robert Granjean, masters of French type design. See Allen Hutt, *Fournier, the Compleat Typographer*. (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1972), 4-5.

⁶² Hutt, 40-41. The Gandos (*père* and *fils*) were known to be unscrupulous rivals and plagiarists of the Fourniers; thus the marriage of a Marie Elizabeth Gando to Fournier *fils* (Momoro's father-in-law) must have been somewhat problematic.

Valentinois in Passy.⁶³ The relationship between the Fournier family and Franklin involved a number of transactions for type and at least one historian claims that Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, lived with one of the Fourniers for a time while he learned typography.⁶⁴ Depending on when Momoro began his relationship with the Fournier family prior to his marriage in 1786, it is possible, indeed likely, that he was privy to the shared relationship between Franklin, his father-in-law, Jean-François Fournier and his uncle, Simon-Pierre Fournier.

In theory, opportunities to become *maîtres* were equally obtainable by relatives of guild members and non-relatives. However, in practice, the consolidation of the guild throughout the eighteenth century meant fewer masterships were available and access increasingly became a family affair.⁶⁵ Although Momoro did not marry into the printer's guild, his marriage to Jean-François Fournier's daughter undoubtedly secured him a reputable place within the larger print community in

⁶³ Franklin's earliest purchase from either of the Fourniers was in September 1777. He ordered 50 pounds of type from Jean-François Fournier, Momoro's future father-in-law. This was followed up with a second order that was delivered on or near October 1778. (Jean-François Fournier to Franklin, September 4, 1777 *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* 24:500, and a second letter, October 24, 1778. *PBF* 27:618)

⁶⁴ Luther S. Livingston, *Franklin and His Press at Passy* (New York: Grolier Club, 1914), 118. Livingston speculates that it was either the famous Pierre-Simon Fournier or his son, Simon-Pierre. Yet an excerpt from Bache's diary proves Livingston to be incorrect; Bache discussed his brief apprenticeship with François Ambroise Didot and his younger son, Firmin in 1785. Diary cited in: Daniel Berkeley Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms and Use* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) Volume I, 217. A letter from Bache's friend at this time corroborates the apprenticeship with the Didots. (Robert Alexander to Benjamin Franklin Bache, June 24, 1785. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, unpublished letters: April 1, 1785-February 28, 1786.

⁶⁵ Paul Chavet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre*, 292.

Paris.⁶⁶ Typographers such as the Fourniers were not members of the Paris Book Guild, or any other, but were regulated nonetheless. During the Old Regime, *fondeurs* were forbidden from owning and operating print shops as a means for the government to prescribe and control printed materials.⁶⁷ While typographers were essentially equal to the *imprimeur* or *libraire*, they were not organized into the same guild structure. However, they were under the surveillance of the guild syndic and his deputies. The sale of type, for example, was as restricted as the sale and operation of printing equipment.⁶⁸ Historically, the relationship between the *fondeur* and the *imprimeur* was essential to the craft; the first generations of printers were their own type founders out of necessity. By inheriting Fournier's foundry, Momoro could integrate a comprehensive understanding of typography with his knowledge of the printing process.⁶⁹

One tangible benefit of Momoro's marriage was his inheritance of part of Jean-François' foundry. Soon after his father-in-law's death at the end of November 1786, Momoro inherited an undisclosed share of Fournier's foundry that dated back to

⁶⁶ The 19th century typographer and printer Alkan *ainé* considered Momoro to be "principally a typographer... skilled and conscientious." See his *Discours prononcé le 6 Avril 1856 par M. Alkan ainé, membre correspondant de la Chambre des Imprimeurs de Paris*. BN VP-10735.

⁶⁷ Chavet, 320. In Lottin's *Catalogue*, it is interesting to note that type founders were characterized as *artistes* rather than *fondeurs*. William Sewell points to an interesting distinction between the *artiste* and the *artisan* in the *Encyclopédie*; *artiste* is defined as "Name given to workers who excel in those mechanical arts which suppose intelligence." See *Work and Revolution in France*, 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁶⁹ Momoro's *Traité* illustrates his knowledge and reverence for the complete art of printing. See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of his manual.

mid-century.⁷⁰ Notably, this was *before* finishing his tenure with Cellot and his entrance into the Paris Book guild. By the 18th century in France, type founders did not design and manufacture their own "punches" as they had two hundred years earlier; the Fourniers were thus an exception.⁷¹ Jean-François continued to design and manufacture his own type, yet the specifics of his bequest to Momoro remain unknown. However, we know that in 1787 Momoro published a pamphlet of the types produced by his newly inherited foundry, *Epreuve d'une partie des caractères de la Fonderie d'Antoine-François Momoro*.⁷² It was common practice for foundries to publish illustrated catalogues of their type and ornamental characters; these small pamphlets were called *livrets typographiques*. Before the 19th century, the simple *livrets* consisted of a brief introduction where the founder valorized his profession while espousing the proper techniques for exercising his art; pages of the specific fonts, vignettes and ornaments followed. Numerous editions of *livrets* appeared from each type founder as new type was added or new characters were created. Printers did not typically save these small catalogs; as new *livrets* were issued, they simply

⁷⁰ Lottin, 241. I have been unable to find a definitive date when Momoro assumed ownership; a printer from Nancy, Henri Haener, bought the other *partie* of Fournier's foundry. For an excellent overview of French typography and the Fournier legacy, see Marius Audin, "La Fonderie de lettres et les fondeurs français," *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*, No. 37 (1933) & No. 40 (1934).

⁷¹ All of the early printers were typographers and *fondeurs*, including those in France - beginning with Garamond in the 16th century, then Granjon, Le Bé, and the Sanleques family. The separation of printers from typographers was inevitable as the trade progressed and tasks became differentiated; by 1789-1790 with abolition of guilds in France, printers did not make/design their own type but bought exclusively from foundries. See Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 11-12.

⁷² Lottin, 244. Unfortunately, I have yet to find a copy of Momoro's *livret* from his newly acquired foundry.

discarded the preceding edition.⁷³ Unfortunately for us, this may be why Momoro's *livret* has yet to be discovered.

Momoro's marriage and inheritance is an example of what one historian characterized as a "considerable mobility" among foundries during the final years of the Old Regime, particularly "independent" workshops such as Fournier's that were separate from printing workshops. Foundry ownership generally changed hands due to death; the sale of a business either passed to a family member, as in the case of Momoro, or less commonly to newcomers.⁷⁴ Momoro's inheritance through marriage was undoubtedly quite a start for a provincial apprentice, particularly if still under contract to his *maître*. With his acquisition of the Fournier foundry, Momoro was tied through marriage to four of the nine "independent" foundries in Paris, representing three branches of the Fournier family and the Gando business.⁷⁵

Momoro, the Author

During the period when he worked as a journeyman,⁸² Momoro began writing his printing manuals and political essays. It is also alleged that Momoro wrote and published a book of fiction during this period as well, entitled *Histoire Intéressante*

⁷³ Marius Audin, *Les Livrets Typographiques des Fonderies Française créés avant 1800* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933)

⁷⁴ Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Typographie et Imprimerie au Début de la Révolution," *Livre et Revolution*, (1987): 76-77. The term "independent" refers to type founders not affiliated with *imprimeries*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 76. Veyrin-Forrer lists nine independent foundries in Paris: Fournier le jeune, Gando, Gillé, Desmoiselles Fournier, Guyon, Joannis, J.F. Fournier, Veuve Sanlecque, and Veuve Cappon. (see footnote 3)

⁸² This is based upon his serving an apprenticeship in Besançon. The other scenario is that Momoro was still an apprentice in 1784.

*d'un Nouveau Voyage à la lune et de la descente à Paris d'une jolie Dame de cette Terre étrangere.*⁸³ The 92-page book appeared for sale by the Parisian bookseller F. G. Deschamps (and simultaneously in Whiteland) sometime between 1784 and 1785. An announcement for the sale of the book appeared in the foreign books section of the *Journal de le Librairie* on January 1, 1785; unfortunately, there is no mention of the author.⁸⁴ *Histoire Intéressante* belonged to the "imaginary voyage" genre and is an unusual connection to Momoro on many levels. Although intriguing, I have found no evidence to support the claim that Momoro was its author.⁸⁵

In 1785, before entering the Paris Book Guild, Momoro began writing his celebrated treatise on printing, *Traité Elémentaire de l'Imprimerie*.⁸⁶ Although it would not be published until 1793, Momoro clearly wrote a substantial amount of it in the years leading up to the Revolution. While there is some dispute among

⁸³ Pierre M. Conlon, *Le Siècles des Lumières, Bibliographie chronologique. Tome XXI*. (Geneve: Librairie Droz S.A., 2001), 180. Conlon cites an alternate title for this text given by Quérard and Barbier, as *Histoire curieuse et amusante d'un nouveau voyage a la lune, fait par un aéromane*. In *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction*, Philip Babcock Gove claimed that Danish literary scholar Julius Paludan made the original claim about Momoro's authorship of the imaginary novel. Philip Babcock Gove, *Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 378. Unfortunately, Paludan's 1878 thesis, *On Holberg's Niels Klim* is rather ambiguous on the subject. He admits to having been unable to "get his hands" on the book, yet claims the author was "probably the 1794 executed Jacobin and bookseller Momoro in Paris." (p.114) Many thanks to Camilla Mortensen for her translation of Paludan's piece.

⁸⁴ *Journal de la Librairie ou Catalogue des Livres Nouveaux*. (Paris: Imprimerie de Ph. Pierres, 1785)

⁸⁵ If Momoro were its author, it would be an interesting connection between Momoro and his only son, Jean-Antoine Fournier Momoro, who wrote plays for the stage in the early nineteenth century.

⁸⁶ *Traité Elémentaire de l'Imprimerie, ou le Manuel de l'Imprimeur*. (Paris: A.F. Momoro, 1793)

historians over its actual publication date, I believe Momoro actually began writing it in 1785.⁸⁷ In this brief overview of Momoro's writing, I believe it is important to situate Momoro's *Traité Élémentaire* in the context of his pre-guild years as a means of appreciating what a substantial undertaking the project was.

In 1789, Momoro wrote and published *Le Manuel des Impositions Typographiques, Petit Ouvrage qui peut être utile à Messieurs les Imprimeurs*, a text that Momoro viewed as a precursor to his larger, more extensive *Traité Élémentaire*. Three editions were published between 1789 and 1819, the last being a pirated edition published in Brussels twenty-five years after Momoro's execution.⁸⁸ The preface to the first edition emphasizes Momoro's fraternal sentiments towards his tradesmen: "...I ask that you accept this little text as a token of the fraternal sentiments with which I will be all my life, your devoted Momoro, printer and bookseller..."⁸⁹

On the Eve of Revolution

Momoro lived in the densest publishing sector of Paris, between the rue Saint-André-des-Arts and the rue de la Harpe. His tenure with Cellot on the quai des Grands Augustins also lay within this focal point of publishing. Although this was a publishing hub, the section did not house or employ large numbers of ordinary

⁸⁷ I discuss his manuals in greater detail in Chapter Three.

⁸⁸ *Le Manuel des Impositions Typographiques, ou l'on trouve aussi la représentation de la casse romaine, grecque simple, anglaise et ronde, ainsi que la manière de composer l'anglaise, et celle de corriger les épreuves d'imprimerie. Extrait du grand ouvrage de M. Momoro.* (Bruxelles: F. Visscher, 1819.)

⁸⁹ *Le Manuel des Impositions, Petit Ouvrage qui peut être utile à Messieurs les Imprimeurs*, (Paris: Chez Momoro, 1789), iii-iv.

workers; rather, Section Théâtre-Française was comprised of journeymen from the very skilled and specialized trades.⁹¹ Momoro's *librairie* and *imprimerie* was located at four different sites between 1788 and 1794. Between 1788 and 1791, his first workshop was located at No.160 rue de la Harpe, a location on the Left Bank of the Seine River in the heart of the publishing district. As a bookseller, he began selling primarily medical texts from this address in April 1788 and did business there until sometime in 1791.⁹² During a brief period that same year, Momoro published material from No. 5 rue de Touraine in the upscale Faubourg Saint-Germain. From September 1791 until 1792, he published from rue Serpente No. 7, and finally, in 1792 until his death in 1794, he worked from rue de la Harpe No. 171. It is somewhat difficult to make sense of Momoro's numerous places of residence during the years of the Revolution. Traditionally, a printer took up residence and worked at the same location for the entirety of his career. One glance through a list of Parisian libraires or imprimeurs confirms the relative stability of printers within the guild. Clearly, events of the Revolution brought economic instabilities to the print trade, which may account for his relocations. While the rues de la Harpe and Serpente were (are) adjacent to one another, the location of the rue de Touraine is somewhat puzzling; it represents both a departure from the traditional publishing quarter of the Left Bank and a considerable shift in economic status. Perhaps its proximity to the

⁹¹ Raymonde Monnier, "l'Evolution du Personnel Politique de la Section de Marat et la Rupture de Germinal An II", *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, No. 263 (Jan-Mar 1986): 54.

⁹² This information is taken from my compiled list of texts that Momoro sold as bookseller and later as printer. See Appendix A for the complete list of Momoro's book list and subsequent Revolutionary publications.

Cordeliers convent is significant here, since Momoro became a regular member of the Cordeliers Club around this period.

Based on what we know about eighteenth-century print shops and Momoro's possessions in particular, we can reconstruct to some extent the layout of his business. On 29 August 1789, the journal *Nouvelle Révolutions de Paris* reported that "the *libraire* Momoro has just placed some presses in his shop; he calls them the "first presses of liberty."⁹³ Almost a year later, an inventory of Momoro's assets stated that he owned four presses, ten cases of type and a small foundry in June 1790.⁹⁴ Such equipment would have required considerable space. An eighteenth century printer's physical environment rarely corresponded to the ideal *atelier* illustrated in Diderot's *Encyclopedie*. Typically, a printer's cramped *atelier* was situated in an ordinary residence, designed for living rather than for production. The master printer made do and adapted his home to fit the production needs of the craft. The boutique, where unbound books were sold, was located on the *rez-de-chaussée* or ground floor for its accessibility to clients, and the *imprimerie* would be *à l'étage* (first floor). Despite the cramped quarters, the printing presses and type cases were kept in separate work

⁹³ *Nouvelles Révolutions de Paris, Vol. VIII*. This is the first indication that Momoro as a *libraire* may not have owned presses prior to the press freedoms of 1789. It also illustrates his early attitude toward the new political spirit following the fall of the Bastille.

⁹⁴ Archive material cited in Hesse's Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 163, from *Archives de Paris, Fond Faillite*, series D4B6, carton 110, doss. 7811, *Faillite de Antoine-Francois Momoro*, [June 8, 1790].

areas, often referred to as the *chambre des compositeurs*.⁹⁵ The workshop also had to include enough space for paper storage, a *tremperie* or stone trough for soaking paper in preparation for printing, a *proterie* or foreman's office, and an area or room for collating and preparing signatures for the bookbinder.⁹⁶ In his manual article, *Manière de Monter une Imprimerie*, Momoro laid out in considerable detail the basic materials necessary for successfully starting a print shop, specifying the essential type fonts, presses and materials an aspiring printer must acquire. Momoro highlighted six "indispensable" objects: a *pierre*, or slab of marble (preferably) to lay out and wash the inked type forms after use; a *bassine*, or bowl to hold the detergent used to scrub type clean; a *cuve*, or tank to hold water used for soaking paper in preparation for printing; several pairs of *casses*, or type-cases to hold the upper and lower case characters; and *casseaux*, or drawers to hold the miscellaneous numbers, symbols and decorative type elements.⁹⁷

One of Momoro's four presses may have been a rather unique model. James Moran, an historian of printing presses, introduced the possibility that Momoro may have owned a rare press invented by Philippe-Denis Pierres, *Imprimeur Ordinaire* of the King in 1784. Pierres' "improved press" is quite unique in appearance and looks to be the same press illustrated in the well-known engraved portrait of Momoro entitled "First Printer of National Liberty". Prior to the invention of the all-metal press at the

⁹⁵ Phillippe Minard, "Travail et Travailleur sous la Révolution: permanences et mutations" from *Livre et Révolution*, Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne 9, (Paris, 1988): 50.

⁹⁶ Minard, 50; Momoro *Traité Elementaire de l'Imprimerie*, 283, 322-323.

⁹⁷ *Traité*, 16-17.

end of the eighteenth century, the wooden hand press underwent numerous improvements in order to increase efficiency of movement.⁹⁸ Momoro wrote that only two tangible variations were possible in press design - one being an aesthetic improvement in the actual press materials and the second a mechanical variation in the means of bringing pressure to bear on the type and paper, or impression.⁹⁹ The common wooden press utilized a screw mechanism that transferred pressure between paper and type but took considerable strength to make the two pulls necessary to complete the impression. Pierres' "improved common press" was essentially the first large wooden press since the invention of the printing press to dispense with the screw component.¹⁰⁰ His press utilized a cam rather than a screw mechanism to transfer the needed pressure to print, enabling the pressman a greater amount of leverage and efficiency with one pull on the bar rather than the standard two pulls.¹⁰¹

Momoro discussed a new press built by Pierres that appears to be this same "improved common press" depicted in his engraved portrait, though he did not specifically say that he owned one. With no direct evidence to prove Momoro's ownership of the Pierres press, I tend to think that Momoro wrote the entry *before* purchasing the press and never amended the commentary in his manual, since there

⁹⁸ James Moran *Printing Presses, History and Development from the 15th Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 43. The wooden printing press that Gutenberg developed is believed to be at least partially adapted from existing fifteenth century technology used on wine and paper presses.

⁹⁹ *Traité*, 280-281.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Moran asserts that little is known of Pierres' press after 1786 but indicates that an employee of Pierres may have modified and improved the press even further.

¹⁰¹ David Chambers "An Improved Printing Press by Philippe-Denis Pierres," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, No. 3 (1967): 82-83.

are numerous entries in the *Traité* that Momoro left unedited despite changes in practice or regulation. It seems feasible that Momoro would have mentioned his ownership of such a unique press had he owned one at the time. He wrote that Pierres' presses were at the *imprimerie* of the "*Lotterie nationale*"; notably, Momoro did not critique the design as he had in the preceding paragraph when discussing a press built by Anisson. Instead, Momoro gave accolades to M. Pierres, "who may be considered one of the top printers in Paris because of his profound knowledge of the art of printing."¹⁰² It is difficult to ascertain exactly when Momoro wrote this segment of his *Traité*, since he began the text in 1785 but did not publish it until 1793. It is generally accepted that Pierres designed and built the press in 1786, in which case, Momoro could have written about it before ever owning one himself; remember that Momoro's portrait with the image of Pierres' press didn't appear until 1791. It is clear that he admired Pierres' design yet perhaps the image in the engraving was merely a standard image of a printing press but not specifically Momoro's property. The problem with this explanation is the unique style of Pierre's press; why use such an unusual model to represent a generic printing press?¹⁰³

¹⁰² *Traité*, 281. Like Momoro's in-laws, the Fourniers, Pierres had dealings with Benjamin Franklin in Passy; he hired Pierres in 1783 to print a French translation of the thirteen state constitutions. Might there have been a connection between the Fourniers and Pierres which included Momoro? For an interesting discussion of Franklin's dealings in France, see Ellen R. Cohn, "The Printer at Passy," in Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World, eds. Page Talbott, Richard S. Dunn, John C. Van Horne (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2005), 268.

¹⁰³ Further research on the *imprimerie de la Lotterie Nationale* would help me pinpoint when Momoro wrote the entry. There may also be archival material on the confiscation of Momoro's presses after his death that would identify their model.

First Printer of National Liberty

Momoro's evolution from an Old Regime *libraire* and *fondeur* into the "*Premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale*" marked an important turning point in his life and career. Even if he had always been a vocal member of the Paris guild, the political and social changes happening around him redefined the terms of his self-definition. The Revolution marked the beginning of a more public life and a political career. Thankfully for us, it also marked the beginning of a truly public record of Momoro. An early series of journal editorials and responses, written within an eleven-day period in December 1789, gives us rare glimpses of Momoro's ambition and ego. Momoro angered his critics by initially calling himself "*premier imprimeur*" and, later, by publishing his engraved portrait crowned with the same glorious title. I will begin the discussion by exploring the first instance of Momoro being criticized by his contemporaries and then continue with a fuller discussion of his engraved portrait.

The royal decree of 5 July 1788 conferred unlimited press freedom for "educated persons" seeking to contribute their views on procedural issues concerning the convening of the Estates General in 1789. Historians agree that this marked the start of defacto press freedom on the streets, setting off enormous public debate through prodigious numbers of pamphlets and journals. In August 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen formalized the freedom of the press as an inalienable, natural right; Article 11 virtually ended prepublication censorship. Three days later, the journal *Nouvelles Révolutions de Paris* reported that Momoro

purchased an unknown quantity of presses and referred to them as "the first presses of liberty."¹⁰⁴ The author of the notice asks "whether the enlightened public will blame or praise Momoro for this title"; his comment foreshadowed some of the controversy that would plague Momoro throughout the revolution.

On December 20, 1789 an article appeared in the journal *Le Rôdeur Français* under the heading *Mélanges*.¹⁰⁵ Signed with the fictitious name *l'Argus Patriotique*, the piece questioned the sudden appearance of *imprimeries* with names like "*de l'assemblée nationale*" and "*de la nation*".¹⁰⁶ The writer was commenting on the increasingly common practice whereby former *libraires* made themselves into "new" printers, or unknown printers took titles that reflected what the Revolution offered them as freedom of the press emerged.¹⁰⁷ The *Argus Patriotique* (patriotic watchdog)

¹⁰⁴ *Nouvelles Révolutions de Paris, Vol. VIII, 29 August 1789*. This weekly journal reported on events in Paris and the provinces between August and December 1789. It was ideologically aligned with liberty, moderation and civic duty, especially in the form of the Paris municipal government.

¹⁰⁵ BHVP #17735 *Le Rôdeur Français, No. 9, December 1789*. The author continues the piece with commentary on the proliferation of new printers with journals, specifically Prudhomme and his *Révolutions de Paris* and Mirabeau's *Courier de Provence*.

¹⁰⁶ This pseudonym is not to be confused/associated with a journal of the same name, *l'Argus Patriote*, which appeared in 1791.

¹⁰⁷ Claude Labrosse, Pierre Rétat *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire 1789* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1989), 46. Labrosse and Rétat include several examples of the new printer's identities, such as *imprimeur-libraire de la liberté nationale, de l'imprimerie de la Nation, imprimeur national*, as well as Momoro's *premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale*. These should not to be confused with what Brunet referred to as '*imprimeurs imaginaires*' during the Revolution. Brunet's use of this term corresponds to satirical works published in anonymity by imaginary printers from imaginary locales, a practice that originated with texts published against the Catholic Church in the 17th century. Brunet's imaginary printers were *imprimeurs 'du Diable', 'du Cupidon', 'de la Verité'* who published new books by "charlatans." It's not clear why some chose anonymity while others like Momoro chose to publish

criticizes the sudden appearance of so many *imprimeries*; he is on the lookout for these questionable activities and sarcastically questions the sudden appearance of so many "firsts." He comments, "M. Baudouin was the 'first' to give himself the title '*imprimeur de l'assemblée nationale*', then goes on to ask 'what do we say about Momoro who gives himself the title first printer of national liberty, and M. Laurens junior, whose gazette bears the imprint '*de l'imprimerie de la nation?*'" The *Argus* seems to find this practice rather audacious,¹⁰⁸ and Momoro clearly felt the criticism enough to respond and defend his title almost immediately.

Four days later, on December 24th, Momoro published his response to "*M. le Rôdeur*" in *Le Moniteur Patriote*;¹⁰⁹ coincidentally, this was a journal that Momoro edited and printed.¹¹⁰

their actual location. See Gustave Brunet, *Imprimeurs Imaginaires et Libraires supposes* (Paris: Imprimerie Jouaust, 1803)

¹⁰⁸ *Le Rôdeur Français* published critical, often ironic articles and letters about Revolutionary politics and society, such as the one above. The fictitious contributor *l'Argus Patriote* prefaced all of his letters with "*j'ai vu....*" See *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire*, 190-191.

¹⁰⁹ According to Labrousse and Rétat, a 'confidential' relationship emerged between readers and editors during this early proliferation of Revolutionary journals. Momoro's letter is an example of this; he addresses "*M. le Rôdeur*" rather than the author, *l'Argus Patriote*. See Claude Labrousse and Pierre Rétat, *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire 1789*, (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1989), 186-187.

¹¹⁰ See Sigismoid Lacroix, *Actes de la Commune de Paris pendant la Révolution*, p. 598. Lacroix lists Momoro as "*éditeur du Moniteur Patriote*" but the accompanying piece in Vol. III p. 381 describes Momoro simply as "*imprimeur.*" To date his was the only source crediting Momoro as its editor. However, Labrousse and Rétat (*Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire, 1789*) refer to *Le Moniteur Patriote* as "*son Moniteur patriote*" meaning Momoro's. (footnote 37, p. 54) This does appear to assign ownership to Momoro.

To M. le Rôdeur, who in one of his last editions didn't appreciate that M. Momoro took the title of First Printer of National Liberty and asks why? M. Momoro responds to M. Rôdeur, that he took this qualification, *not as a title of superiority*, which would be absurd, but *because he was in fact the first* who had enough energy and will to dare establish a print shop on the debris of despotism after the decree by the National Assembly. Under the circumstances, he did the impossible when he still had everything to fear from the King and the National Assembly in forbidding him the use of his presses; and finally we are strongly obligated to him for freely exercising the typographic art, because we saw print shops multiply two months after his.¹¹¹ (italics mine)

The letter is a rare window into Momoro's mindset, only one of a few instances where Momoro discusses himself, albeit in the third person. Momoro defends his use of "*premier imprimeur*" in an interesting way; it is simply a matter of fact that he was the first non-sanctioned person to print after the declaration of press freedom. He rejects the implication that his title implies his own superiority yet claims that the public essentially learned from and followed his example, as print shops multiplied after his own actions. It is interesting that he discounts the notion of what might be construed as superior yet continues to emphasize his own individual will and daring. Momoro implies that his actions as a leader influenced others to come forward and open printing workshops of their own.¹¹² Even at this early point in the Revolution,

¹¹¹ BN LC2-293 *Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et du Brabant*, No. XXIV.

¹¹² It is ironic that Momoro is proud here of the proliferation of printers, given that he decried the state of the print trade in his printing manual, especially the vast numbers

Momoro's language reflects changes in the concepts of hierarchy and equality; his own awareness of the tension is evident as he rejects the superior connotation of his title as "first printer" yet at the same time portrays himself as quite unique. This tension is also apparent in Momoro's *Traité de l'Imprimerie* as he distinguishes the role of the print shop foreman (*prote*) as the "first among equals". Momoro takes care to qualify the *prote's* rank by pointing to its Greek origins, translated as "first", thereby legitimating his use of the term.¹¹³ The fact that he translates (and legitimates) the term for his reader perhaps indicates Momoro's awareness of the conflict between the traditional hierarchical ordering of the workshop (and society) and revolutionary concepts of liberty and equality.

A week after the appearance of Momoro's response, the editor of *Le Rôdeur Français* published a slightly different response sent to him by Momoro: "One of our correspondants found it amusing that Momoro named himself the 'first printer of national liberty'. M. Momoro felt obliged to deliver to our publisher the following note, which we include here with gratitude."¹¹⁴

I would like to say that M. Momoro is the first who had enough energy to dare establish a print shop on the debris of despotism, and to exercise the right of liberty of the press, and that M. Momoro served as an example that we hastened to follow, and that we owe to Momoro alone the faculty to utilize the liberty of the press, and that Momoro only took the title of first imprimeur etc.

of poorly skilled and "ignorant" workers. See Chapter 3 for a complete discussion of the manual.

¹¹³ *Traité de l'Imprimerie*, 284.

¹¹⁴ BHVP #17735 *Le Rôdeur Français*, No. 12, 31 December 1789.

to point out his extreme energy, a title besides which he used so little, he doesn't use it in all of his publications.¹¹⁵

It isn't clear whether Momoro wrote this piece himself or if someone truly sympathetic to him wrote it; I tend to believe that Momoro wrote it. The letter strongly defends Momoro in a similar manner to the initial response published in the *Moniteur* letter yet differs in one crucial way. Here, the author writes almost apologetically that Momoro used his new title so moderately that it didn't appear on everything he published. It is interesting that the person who penned this letter seems to defend Momoro in part because he *doesn't* use the title all the time, as if using the title frequently would be problematic because of what it may reveal about Momoro's ego or lack of humility. The writer's vocabulary parallels the piece Momoro published in his initial response to the critique and may in fact be Momoro. In both letters, Momoro is referred to in the third person. This may be a reflection of the eighteenth century writing style and certainly conveys humility to the reader. This style, combined with Momoro's denial of superiority, serves to give both pieces additional substance and reflects the inherent tensions emerging within Revolutionary ideology concerning the Individual and the *citoyen*.¹¹⁶

At this juncture, it seems important to consider what Momoro's title might have meant to him. In changing his identity from "*libraire Momoro*" into "*premier*

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ For an interesting discussion of the relationship between Revolutionary journals and their readership through letters, see Labrousse and Rétat, *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire 1789*, 184-192.

imprimeur de la liberté nationale", was he, consciously or not, drawing on the traditional and esteemed position of *Premier Imprimeur du Roi* created by François I in the sixteenth century? The title "premier imprimeur" originally defined its holder as the King's client, a public servant in service to the encouragement of learning through the production of new typographical fonts and beautiful texts. As printing developed, derivations of the title emerged, such as *imprimeur ordinaire*, to stipulate the printer's relational status to an authority. Considering Momoro's title in this light illustrates his tenuous position amidst the monumental political and social changes occurring. As a relic of the Old Regime, his title conferred status but the title also served as a marker for the new system that sought to break from the restrictive press laws. Momoro knew both of these worlds and, in choosing the title, he grafted the new regime onto the old. In the sixteenth century, serving as *Premier Imprimeur du Roi* bestowed great honor and prestige on an artisan; *premier* connoted the highest office held by a printer under the King. Two and a half centuries later, Momoro honored *himself* with a title that conferred "first printer" status, replacing the kingdom with the abstract ideal of liberty.

The Portrait

Momoro's portrait may be interpreted as an expression of a similar tension between Revolutionary ideology and individualism, as with the controversy over his title First Printer of National Liberty. Revolutionaries emphasized the inherent dangers in privilege and individuality and sought to create a new culture of equality

and brotherhood, yet Momoro continued to point out his *individual* strengths, even having a portrait of himself engraved and offered for sale.¹¹⁸

Two engraved portraits of Momoro exist; the first one, dated 1789, is often reprinted in texts on the history of publishing while the less popular second portrait appears to be a copy of the original, engraved sometime in the mid-nineteenth century. The original, unsigned engraving shows Momoro in profile, dressed in a Revolutionary uniform before a backdrop of shelved books.¹¹⁹ Below him is a type case and a printing press, quite possibly Pierres' "improved common press" discussed above. The oval encasing his profile contains his self-appointed moniker, "*A. F. M. Momoro, Premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.*"¹²⁰ It appears that Momoro had this portrait and engraving made sometime in 1791.¹²¹ An advertisement in a typographical journal dated April 5, 1791, described an engraved portrait of the "*premier imprimeur de la Revolution*" available for sale "*chez l'auteur*"

¹¹⁸ Clearly, individualism and republicanism are not antithetical to one another, yet individualism may undermine the pursuit of equality.

¹¹⁹ Veyrin-Forrer claimed that proofs of Momoro's copper engraving were not signed. Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Typographie et Imprimerie au Début de la Révolution," in *Livre et Révolution*, (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, 1988), 80-81.

¹²⁰ Georges-Adrien Crapelet, *De La Profession d'Imprimeur, des Maîtres Imprimeurs, et de la nécessité actuelle de donner à l'Imprimerie les réglemens promis par les lois.* (Paris: Crapelet, 1840), 106-110. The 'M' is redundant and to my knowledge, only one historian has pointed out the error in this line. Crapelet wrote that Momoro did not have a third prénom and emphasized that there was only one Antoine-François: "*Il n'y a pas eu, et il n'existera probablement jamais, deux imprimeurs de la trempe et du caractère de Momoro...*"

¹²¹ The date of this original 1791 engraving is further substantiated by Léonard Gallois in *Histoire des Journaux de la Révolution Française.* (Paris: Société de l'Industrie Fraternelle, 1846), 463.

near the rue des Cordeliers.¹²² This isn't the exact title most often associated with Momoro; he used "*premier imprimeur de la liberté Nationale*" but this was obviously Momoro. An earlier entry from November 1790 in the same journal for the *Club Typographique et Philanthropique* named Momoro specifically as the same "*premier imprimeur de la Révolution*."¹²³ In February 1791, two months before the advertisement for his portrait appeared, the journal published an ad for a font of type from "*le sieur Momoro, premier imprimeur de la Révolution*."¹²⁴ These three references are the only instances I have uncovered of Momoro using the more generalized title; it is somewhat puzzling that they appear at least a year after Momoro began calling himself "*premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale*." Perhaps the journal chose the more general title for Momoro, although this doesn't seem consistent with the ubiquity of Momoro's self-appointed designation. It is not possible to determine why the editor would have made such a change but perhaps another way to approach the discrepancy is to explore whether either variation bestowed Momoro with more or less distinction. Momoro claimed that he took the title to describe what for him was a reality - being the first bookseller to begin printing after the decree by the National Assembly in August 1789. I believe that using either "national liberty" or "revolution" amounted to the same thing; the most

¹²² *Club Typographique et Philanthropique, Feuille Hebdomadaire*, No. XXIII. BN 8-LC2-2438

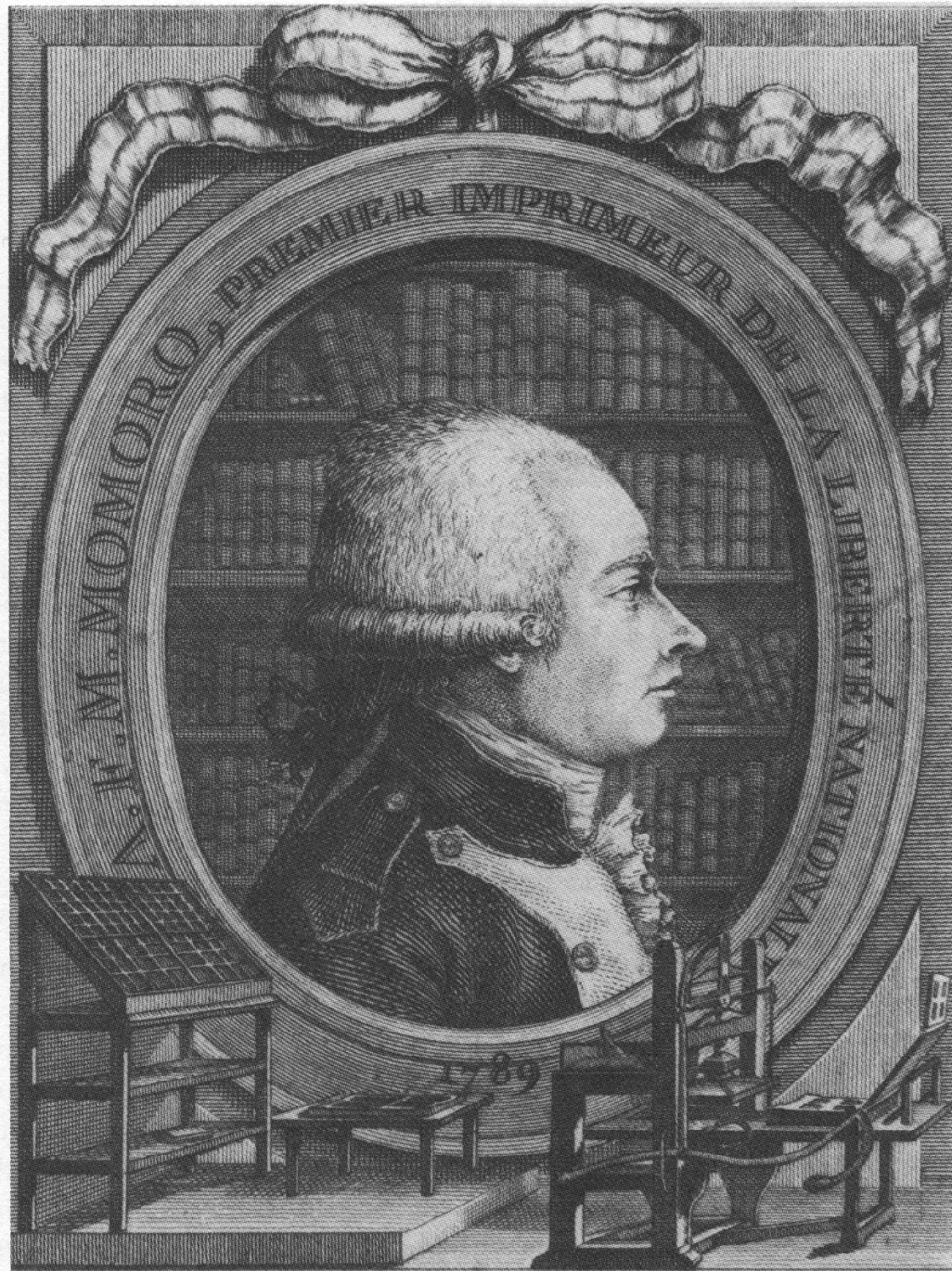
¹²³ *Ibid.* No. II, 8 November 1790. Momoro no doubt belonged to the *Club Typographique*. The Club was very much concerned with the struggle against the degradation of the typographical arts, a sentiment that rings throughout Momoro's *Traité*. The *Club Typographique* lasted until June 1791 when the Le Chapelier law outlawed all workers' associations.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* No. XIV, 1 February 1791.

important element of the title was its emphasis on his place as the first non-privileged, non-sanctioned artisan to take advantage of the relaxed laws regulating printers and printing. As we saw earlier, it was significant to him that he was the first.

The practice of portraiture among Revolutionary figures such as Momoro was not unusual in itself and provides us with another avenue to explore and understand Momoro's world. In 1789, a series of print portraits of the Deputies to the Estates General were marketed for sale to a general public curious about the new legislative body. The earliest of these endeavors was directed by the engraver and publisher Nicolas-François Levachez and appeared on the market in July 1789.¹²⁵ Typically, the publisher employed numerous artists to make sketches of the deputies and

¹²⁵ Amy Freund "The Legislative Body: Print Portraits of the National Assembly, 1789-1791" *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3 (2008): 337.



*Liberté d'imprimer, liberté de penser,
Il osa le premier d'un si beau droit user.
Il étoit citoyen, il eut de l'énergie.
L'amour du bien public fait son apologie.*



MOMORO .

Momoro

This second portrait of Momoro, signed by *Peronard sc.*, appears to be a copy of his profile taken from the original engraving. The *graveur* Peronard is listed and registered in the archives as having worked in the 1860s, which fits the publication date of this second engraving.¹³² The engraver Peronard engraved portraits of other Jacobins and revolutionaries, such as Hébert.

¹³² My sincere thanks to H-France list serve members and the numerous responses I received to my query regarding eighteenth century *graveurs*.

subsequently, a *graveur* etched the plates to be used in the printing process. For example, the influential *Cercle Social* recruited François Bonneville to engrave portraits of various revolutionaries for their publication, *Chronique du Mois*. Bonneville engraved portraits of the leading Girondins, such as Condorcet, Mercier, Paine, and Danton and portrayed them in a neoclassical style that symbolically aligned them with ancient Greek democracy.¹³³ A typical price for a small print would have been approximately one *livre* during this period, a relatively low price in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, the ad promoting Momoro's portrait did not include a price to use as a point of comparison.

During the Revolution, Old Regime artists who had formerly made their living through portraiture found their clientele rapidly diminishing due to the increased emigration of nobility from France. As a result, a humbler clientele emerged for artists like Antoine Vestier, a former portrait specialist in the Academy, as members of the bourgeoisie, revolutionaries and artists largely replaced his prominent noble clients.¹³⁶ In choosing to produce an engraving of himself, Momoro would have had to first hire an artist like Vestier to draw his portrait, or perhaps he bypassed the artist

¹³³ Gary Kates, *The Cercle Social, the Girondins and the French Revolution*, 207. See footnote #22 for a complete list of featured revolutionaries.

¹³⁵ Amy Freund citing Pierre Casselle, *"Le Commerce des estampes à Paris dans la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle"* (Ph.D. diss., Ecole Nationale de Chartres, 1976), p.117.

¹³⁶ Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public, Portraiture in the aftermath of the French Revolution* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 26-38. Halliday explains that the "new" practice of portraiture became associated with a degradation of both art and artist. This "lower genre" slid even further as the invention of Chrétien's physionotrance enabled the commercial manufacture of

and sat the five minutes it would take for a "physionotrance." The machine, invented by Gilles Louis Chrétien in 1784, was a new way of manufacturing portraits commercially; Chrétien initially pitched the physionotrance as a means of identifying new army recruits (an early type of ID card) and rounding up deserters.¹³⁷ For men like Momoro, who appeared to embrace the new culture of self-publicity, the machine created a cheap initial image that bypassed the artist altogether. Numerous figures of the early Revolutionary era enlisted the new form of portraiture, men such as Bailly, Lafayette, Saint Just, Santerre, Cloots. Other printers did so as well, such as Knapen and Knapen *frs*.¹³⁸ It is interesting to note that the portraitist Vestier began to work as an engraver at this point due to the increased market for the new images.¹³⁹ However, in the eyes of the Parisian artistic community, the use of the physionotrance machine in 1788 brought portraiture to a whole new low. As with the upcoming deregulation of the print trade, the democratization of the Parisian artistic community marked a gulf between the old and new guard.

In looking at the portraits of the first Deputies to the Estates General, historian Amy Freund points to the ways they manipulated their clothing as a means of

portraits. Thus a new type of portrait appeared in Paris at the Salon in 1791, one that emphasized likeness rather than artistic expression.

¹³⁷ Ibid, 43.

¹³⁸ René Hennequin, *Avant les Photographies: Les Portraits au Physionotrance gravés de 1788 à 1830*. (Troyes: J.L. Paton, 1932), 17, 65, 101, 104, 161, 61, 204. See Hennequin's introduction for a brief but detailed discussion of the portraiture process featuring the physionotrance.

¹³⁹ Halliday, footnote 33.

demonstrating their particular cultural and political affiliations.¹⁴⁰ What did Momoro hope to convey with his choice of dress? Why didn't he wear the artisanal dress of an *imprimeur* or *libraire* as some of his fellow artisans might have chosen? Perhaps his choice of the Revolutionary guard uniform was a show of solidarity and commitment to the revolutionary cause. By 1790, the uniform of the National Guardsmen had become synonymous with citizenship; legislation passed requiring proof of National Guard registration in order to vote, which depended upon a man being an active citizen.¹⁴¹ There was also the caveat that if a man purchased the rather costly uniform, he would automatically be considered an active citizen.¹⁴² The uniform symbolized the important connection between political rights and obligations, essentially as a practical display of adherence to revolutionary ideology.¹⁴³ This would have been of central importance to Momoro. Political activity (wearing the uniform) defined citizenship. Thus "there was no distinction between going on patrol duty and political action in a district meeting. Citizenship implied civil rights, political rights, and the obligation to act to secure and maintain those rights for oneself and one's neighbors."¹⁴⁴ Thus the uniform imposed a kind of equality, of

¹⁴⁰ Freund, 346-350. Some deputies dressed in regional costume, for example, while others donned what she refers to as a "radical noncostume" or casual undress.

¹⁴¹ Dale L. Clifford, "Can the Uniform Make The Citizen? Paris, 1789-1791," *Eighteenth Century Studies* Volume 34, No. 3 (2001)

¹⁴² Regulations implemented in July 1789 called for a force of 6000 professional soldiers and 24,000 volunteers. Only the latter were expected to pay for their uniform. Cited in Clifford from *Procès-verbal de la Formation et des Opérations du Comité militaire de la Ville de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1790), 1:17-8.

¹⁴³ Clifford, 364.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 366.

"uniformity and discipline" that reduced social distinctions, despite the obvious differences in rank between the uniform of an officer and an infantryman.¹⁴⁵

Could Momoro have been wearing a uniform without being a member of the Guard, perhaps as a sign of solidarity? According to Historian Dale Clifford, this would have been unlikely; he asserts that the Guard exhibited an almost "paranoid concern" to protect the uniform from non-members.¹⁴⁶ Fear of corrupting the uniform and the Guard itself brought about additional legislation in April 1790 forbidding anyone who was not registered with the Guard from wearing the uniform.¹⁴⁷ If I am correct in dating Momoro's portrait at 1791, then it would have been illegal for him to portray himself with the Guard uniform, which makes me believe that he did not wear it symbolically but rather to show he was a member of the National Guard.

Momoro also wore a formal *perruque* (wig) for the portrait. Whereas many of the Deputies Freund discussed in her work did away with "sartorial tropes" such as ties and wigs, Momoro chose to portray himself wearing the traditional wig. According to one historian, the new consumer values of convenience, natural authenticity and self-expression emerged during the eighteenth century and influenced the direction of the wig trade in France.¹⁴⁸ Consumer goods such as the wig communicated messages about "sexuality, nationalism, ethnicity, and individual

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 368-369.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 376.

¹⁴⁷ Cited in Clifford, p. 376, from *Procès-verbal de la Formation et des Opérations du Comité militaire de la Ville de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1790), 2:62 (12 April 1790)

¹⁴⁸ Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *American Historical Review*, June (2006): 634.

identity."¹⁴⁹ Historian Michael Kwass examines the burgeoning trade and concludes that the spread of wigs was not strictly an urban phenomenon; by mid-century and certainly the Revolutionary era, the wig was a common commodity among provincial nobility, professionals, merchants, shopkeepers, clerks and wealthier master artisans.¹⁵⁰ Wigmakers and "taste leaders" in Paris spoke of wigs in terms of convenience, nature, and physiognomy rather than in terms of status and emulation. Therefore, the *practical* convenience of wearing the wig (rather than styling and powdering one's own hair daily) distanced it from the moral threat posed by indulging in aristocratic luxuries; this seems even more plausible and important during the Revolutionary era when privilege and luxury were so fiercely attacked. Shorter wigs such as the roundwig (*perruque en bonnet*) and the bagwig (*perruque à bourse*) replaced the long regal wigs of the seventeenth century. Wigs also took on a more natural look, setting aside the more obvious displays of frivolity; wigmakers thus imitated *la belle nature* and in doing so, false hair ironically became associated with the authentic.¹⁵¹ The new wigs emphasized the individual's character through highlighting one's physiognomy. In acknowledging the wig's historical and continued association with social status, Kwass points to the continued sale and purchase of ceremonial and professional wigs. While wigs were marketed under new models of convenience, individuality and *la belle nature*, in practice they continued to mark

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 643.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 635-639. Kwass cites Mirabeau and Mercier as contemporary observers of the prevalence of the wig among the lower classes.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 652-654.

social status.¹⁵² The wig could bestow status but also signaled a commitment to new Revolutionary values, such as an authenticity of a nuanced "inequality transformed."¹⁵³ Yet on August 10, 1792, the Convention forbade wearing a wig in the name of equality of appearances.¹⁵⁴ However, it's not clear if this was a general prohibition for all meetings of the Convention or merely for this particular meeting.

Momoro's wig gave him an air of authenticity *and* legitimacy, something the 17th century wigs did not convey; their frivolity was replaced by the "authentic" and the "natural". In actuality, however, the tension between a socially leveling medium such as the wig and the inherent distinctions in rank and social status remained. Perhaps Momoro was similar to Robespierre in this regard, a revolutionary who chose to wear Old Regime silks and the powdered wig even at the height of the Terror.¹⁵⁵ Revolutionaries reinvented their relationships to each other and to the public, creating images that illustrated equal and diverse access to power.¹⁵⁶ Perhaps men like Momoro and Robespierre wanted to align themselves with the legitimacy of the noble Deputies who wore the official costume prescribed by the King in 1789. There is an interesting tension here between wanting to be aligned with forms of Revolutionary legitimacy, such as the clothes and hair of the elite or the Revolutionary Guard uniform, and the desire to valorize one's artisanal status, which was in itself a marker delineating skilled men and women from common laborers. While Momoro was not

¹⁵² Ibid., 658.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Gerbod, *Histoire de la Coiffure et des Coiffeurs* (Paris: Larousse, 1995), 129

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 346.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 351.

a wealthy master artisan, he suffered numerous personal attacks by his contemporaries due to his perceived elitism and pretension.

The portrait of Momoro truly encapsulates three aspects of his persona - the proud artisan, depicted by the press and shelves of books (but not his dress), the revolutionary citizen, depicted by the choice of National Guard uniform, and the member of the new elite adorned with his "authentic" wig. The portrait's title ensures that the viewer made the connections between these three facets and understood the significance of his being the first to strike out and exercise his liberty to print. When Momoro responded to his critic, *l'Argus Patriote*, he spoke directly to this tension between equality and elitism; he wrote that he "took this qualification, not as a title of superiority, which would be absurd, but because he was in fact the first..."¹⁵⁷ The tension embodied in the visual image of the portrait is expressed as well in the stanza that accompanies it:

Liberty of the press, liberty of thought,
He dared be the first to exercise such a fine right.
He was a citizen; he had energy,
Love of the public good was his justification.

The *quatrain* is written from a third person perspective, like the letters written to the editor of *Rôdeur*, and pushes the question of greatness in a more profound direction. The author, probably Momoro, speaks from the future and judges *himself* for posterity. Here we see again an interesting connection to Marat, who also wrote a

¹⁵⁷ BN LC2-293 *Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et du Brabant*, No. XXIV.

caption for a portrait of himself: "People, behold your friend, who, for liberty, told you the truth at peril to his own life."¹⁵⁸ Apparently, it was "frequent enough" during the period for Revolutionaries to "precede the judgment of posterity" with something penned by one's own hand.¹⁵⁹ Momoro's portrait thus celebrated what he wanted future generations to remember him for - his courage and will in the fight for freedom of the press and his dedication to the community as a devoted citizen.

In my view, both his portrait and title are quite significant in what they reveal about Momoro. The portrait seems to reflect Momoro's growing self-consciousness about his historic role as a revolutionary actor and points to his active role in the creation of this identity. The purposeful exploitation of engraved prints intended to carry messages to the public exploded as the eighteenth century progressed, particularly among members of groups. Historian Levitine argued that an awareness of marketing was obvious in this proliferation, channeling propaganda, publicity and education.¹⁶¹ In this light, we may view Momoro's portrait as both propaganda and publicity. Just as deregulation affected the publishing trade, so too, did the Revolution affect the artist's world. The opening up of printing and the eventual abolition of the Paris Book Guild parallels the proliferation of new types of art that depicted a "humbler clientele." The National Assembly deputy Barère de Vieuzac

¹⁵⁸ *"Peuple vois ton amis, qui, pour la liberté/Au peril de ses jours t'a dit le verité."*

Cited by Adrien Basile, "Momoro, Un Fondateur révolutionnaire, 1756-1794,"

La Fonderie Typographique, no. 46 (1902): 301-310, 333-336. BN4-V-4988.

¹⁵⁹ Basile, 302.

¹⁶¹ George Levitine, "French Eighteenth Century Printmaking in Search of Cultural Assertion," in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715-1814*, organized by Victor I. Carlson, John W. Ittmann (Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Museum of Art; Minneapolis, MN: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1984), 12.

likened the freedom of the press with the opening up of the Salon in 1791 and the introduction of more "vulgar" art forms, such as the portrait.¹⁶² Momoro's engraving encapsulates the valorization of the commoner to a degree; the use of engravings for propaganda marks a particular moment in the Revolution, one where men like Momoro could have their time in the spotlight. Momoro represented a man who had broken with tradition yet was very much a part of the tradition at the same time. He sold a portrait of himself to draw attention to his bravery and strength, something unthinkable for a person of his status prior to 1789. The engraving represents what Momoro aspired to be - an elite member of the Revolutionary "guard" conjoined with a man of the people, motivated purely by the public good.

The Right to Print

By declaring himself "First Printer of National Liberty" and circulating his portrait in Paris, Momoro proudly and purposefully tied his identity to revolutionary events that culminated in the eventual freedom of the press. Yet as he manouevered through the rapidly changing print culture, Momoro displayed considerable caution in his early business dealings. The declaration of freedom of the press in August of 1789 meant that Momoro was able to legally operate a printing establishment. As a former bookseller in the Paris guild, Momoro had been restricted to the sale of printed texts only. Like numerous other minor guild members, he took advantage of the new press freedoms and within a year acquired four presses, ten cases of type, and joined them

¹⁶² Halliday, 29-30.

with the small type foundry inherited from his father-in-law in 1788. His holdings were not very large, but his income would almost double under the newly deregulated economy.¹⁶³ His financial fate was inextricably linked to the press freedoms that came with the abolition of the guilds and therefore not atypical of others in the publishing business. In early June 1790, Momoro declared bankruptcy, and was by no means alone in this dire situation.¹⁶⁴ The financial interdependence among members of the old guild system made them vulnerable once the guild was eradicated and subsidies by the monarchy were discontinued.¹⁶⁵ Even large publishers like Charles-Joseph Panckoucke were worried about bankruptcy between 1789 and 1793; the new political and institutional changes that emerged in this period created a crisis in publishing, exacerbated by the general financial crisis in France. Thus, while Momoro initially profited from the Revolution, the unstable economy and the large influx of new printers created financial instability for Momoro and other former guild members throughout the Revolutionary era.

Between 1788 and 1790, Momoro primarily sold medical texts from his *librairie* at 160 rue de la Harpe.¹⁶⁶ Booksellers in the Old Regime specialized in particular genres, such as medical or legal texts, which may explain why Momoro largely sold one category of book. He also sold a handful of fairly disparate texts, such as a French language text, the popular *boudoir* novel *Lucinde*, a volume of German poetry, and a text on civil legal reform in July 1789. As discussed earlier, it

¹⁶³ Hesse, 166-167.

¹⁶⁴ Hesse, Appendix 2, 253.

¹⁶⁵ Hesse, 73-79.

¹⁶⁶ See Appendix A for his complete book list.

was typical for a journeyman printer to marry into his future business, but we know that Momoro's *librairie* was not a family endeavor since the Fourniers were typographers. Therefore, when he opened up his shop in 1788, it is quite possible that he bought an existing business from another bookseller. As was customary, Momoro would have also purchased the bookseller's stock of titles, in this case, medical texts.

If we judge Momoro solely by the materials he sold leading up to the Revolution and into 1790, he looks very much like a traditional Old Regime bookseller. Yet during this same period, Momoro added pamphlets and journals to his repertoire, a transition that might be interpreted as an indication of his early political allegiances. However, another interpretation of his actions could have been economic; the numerous financial pressures experienced by guild members during the precarious period leading up to the collapse of the Paris Book Guild forced some Old Regime printers to print materials that did not necessarily represent their political views. One publisher claimed there were few printers in Paris who can afford not to print and sell libelous material.¹⁶⁷ Clearly, it is important not to over-interpret Momoro's choices in his clientele, particularly in the early months of the Revolution. However, as a result of several legal disputes brought against Momoro during this early period, we can better understand Momoro's criteria for printing sometimes-libelous material.

¹⁶⁷ Buchez and Roux (eds.), *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* 4:270, cited in Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics*, 98.

Les Journaux

In the early years of the Revolution, printers who successfully published multiple journals were typically the "new" printers of Paris, men like Momoro who had not been among the sanctioned thirty-six *imprimeurs* of Paris.¹⁶⁸ As a member of this new generation of printer, Momoro was involved in the publication of six *journaux* or newspapers in Paris, beginning in July 1789 - *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*; *Entretiens d'un Patriote et d'un Député, sur les Bases du Bonheur Public*; *Spectateur Patriotique ou Observations Impartiales sur tout ce qui se dit, ou se fait journellement à Paris*; *Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et du Brabant*; *Observateur du Club des Cordeliers* and the *Journal du Club des Cordeliers*. Two of these journals were quite successful while the others disappeared after only a few editions, as did many during this tumultuous period.

His first publication, *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*, was a daily paper published between July 7, 1789 and February 3, 1790. As did many of the early journals, the paper dealt solely with reporting detailed accounts of the Estates General and eventually the National Assembly and was largely successful, eventually merging with Panckoucke's larger paper, *le Moniteur Universel*. Momoro is credited as the *Bulletin's* editor for twenty-eight editions (numbers 3-31).¹⁶⁹ However, another source

¹⁶⁸ Labrosse and Rétat, *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire*, 1789, 42-43.

¹⁶⁹ Pierre Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789: Bibliographie Critique*, (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988), 46-47. The *Bulletin* ended with No. 31 before merging with Panckoucke's *Moniteur*.

claims Momoro was the journal's publisher.¹⁷⁰ In examining the first edition of the *Bulletin*, dated 7 July 1789, Momoro's name appears as the bookseller responsible for its subscriptions but his imprint doesn't reveal if he edited and/or printed the *Bulletin*.¹⁷¹ One of the difficulties in trying to clarify Momoro's role in these early publications is the rather ambiguous use of the terms "publisher", "editor" and "printer". What exactly differentiated an eighteenth century editor from a publisher or a printer? The distinction is an important one because if Momoro held an editorial position on the *Bulletin*, it would translate to an active role in the journal's daily content and format, perhaps indicating something about the evolution of Momoro's political allegiances.

The structure of newspaper ownership changed very little between the Old Regime and the Revolutionary era. The Parisian journals were typically under personal ownership and belonged to either the editor, the printer, or to a third party such as a publisher or investor. There were also printer-proprietors who controlled the contents of their newspapers and supervised the printing process, sometimes using part-time editorial help.¹⁷² According to one study, personal ownership remained the

¹⁷⁰ Carl Christophelsmeier, "The Fourth of August 1789," *University Studies of University of Nebraska*, Volume VI, (1906): 338-339.

¹⁷¹ H. Haener of Nancy printed the provincial edition of the *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale* between September 1789 and July 1790. Momoro had an interesting connection to Haener - when he inherited part of the Fournier foundry in 1788, Haener purchased the remaining interest in the business.

¹⁷² Hugh Gough *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988), 160.

norm throughout the Revolution, in part due to the relatively low cost of materials.¹⁷³ With this in mind, the *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale* could have had as many as five different controlling interests - owner/publisher, editor, printer, and distributor or bookseller. Some journals changed printers regularly due to the cheaper competition that resulted from the fall of the Paris Guild. As a result, publishing arrangements changed often, though on average contracts between Parisian printers and journal owners remained formal.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, it appears that each journal of the Revolutionary period went by its own individual arrangements, formal or not; for example, an editor for one journal may have had a controlling interest or simply been a journeyman in charge of preparing copy for the typesetter, or both. Unfortunately, the journals Momoro had a hand in provide little detail to help make a clearer distinction in his role(s).

Notably, Momoro used the title of *libraire* rather than *imprimeur* for his imprint on the *Bulletin*, a choice that indicates Momoro's initial adherence to Old Regime publishing regulations that required strict distinctions between booksellers and printers. Similarly, Momoro also went through the appropriate Old Regime avenues for publishing the *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*; at least two of its editions (July 16 and September 2) bear the permission of the police.¹⁷⁵ His adherence to the traditional print formalities is understandable given the ambiguous

¹⁷³ Ibid, 163-164. Large-scale capital was not required for starting a journal and many journals began with shareholding arrangements between owner, editor and printer. Most journals were started from savings, loans from family or friends or the money collected from subscriptions prior to publication.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 163.

¹⁷⁵ Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789*, 48.

state of the print trade during this early phase of the Revolution, in particular the uncertainty over the role of the Paris Book Guild. Louis XVI first lifted the censorship laws in July 1788 in preparation for the historic meeting of the Estates General, an action which opened the floodgates for all forms of printed material, yet it wasn't until August 1789 with the drafting of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen that the parameters of the freedom to print became formalized, specifically in doing away with prepublication censorship. Freedom of the press was thus granted in stages and left relatively undefined until 1793. The dual structures of Royal and guild authorities that regulated and ordered the working lives of printers and booksellers like Momoro were threatened by the political uncertainty stemming from the meeting of the Estates General, yet both administrations maintained power and influence well into 1793; this complicated Momoro's ability to react to events in the Revolution as a bookseller and expand his business to function as a printer. Within this context, Momoro's choice in maintaining his Old Regime *libraire* imprint on the *Bulletin* in 1789 rather than use his "First Printer" title is quite telling. Because the Paris Book Guild and the Royal Administration of the Book Trade still existed, it is quite plausible that Momoro adhered to the Old Regime regulations as a precaution against any legal difficulties, despite the declaration of freedom of the press in August 1789. He had only purchased his "first presses of liberty" a few days after the Declaration of Right of Man, which indicates to me that he exercised considerable caution in publishing the *Bulletin*.

Three legal disputes brought against Momoro between 1789 and 1790 provide us with insight into what Momoro feared during these first tenuous months of press freedom. The first is a well-publicized case brought by Camille Desmoulins in July 1789, followed by two separate libel charges filed against Momoro in early 1790. In each of the cases, Momoro's responses to his detractors underscored his tenuous position as he attempted to broaden his bookseller's business and print material for the Revolutionary audience. Beginning with the case brought by Desmoulins, the difficulties Momoro faced in correctly interpreting the political atmosphere in terms of his own safety and livelihood are laid bare.¹⁷⁶

The journalist Camille Desmoulins filed a formal complaint against Momoro with the newly formed Saint-André-des-Arcs district on June 19, 1789. He asked the district to intervene on his behalf in retrieving copies of his pamphlet, "*La France Libre*" from Momoro, who had allegedly refused to distribute them or return them to Desmoulins. Desmoulins claimed to have taken his manuscript to Momoro to be printed in the middle of June 1789, purportedly choosing Momoro because he had already taken the title "First Printer of National Liberty".¹⁷⁷ In a letter to his father in

¹⁷⁶ Momoro and Desmoulins were colleagues in the Cordeliers and Jacobin Clubs. Despite the contentious nature of the libel suit in 1789, Momoro supported Desmoulins against a bid to expel him from the Jacobin Club in 1794 following the publication of his journal, *Le Vieux Cordelier*. However, Momoro's support was short-lived; he voted to expel Desmoulins at the Cordeliers Club, inspiring Desmoulins' lengthy diatribe against Momoro.

¹⁷⁷ Cited in Jules Claretie, ed. *Oeuvres de Camille Desmoulins*, 64. Claretie cites the pamphlet, *Ode Patriotique au Roi sur les Etats-Généaux assemblés à Versailles*, which bears Momoro's "First Printer" title, as evidence of this but I am quite skeptical of this connection. I am still trying to find the exact publication date of the piece, to corroborate Claretie's claim, but more importantly, I have found no evidence that

early June, Desmoulins bemoans "having the greatest problems possible with my printer and my bookseller."¹⁷⁸ Momoro allegedly refused to distribute his pamphlet, *La France Libre*, because of its incendiary content, and as a result, Desmoulins' piece appeared after the fall of the Bastille.¹⁷⁹ The implication here is that his pamphlet could have been connected to the historic event.

Desmoulins' address to the District tribunal lays out the numerous problems he experienced in trying to get his pamphlet published; his appeal provides us with a first hand account of Momoro's business dealings and the challenges he faced in crossing the blurry line from Old Regime bookseller to revolutionary printer. Desmoulins writes:

I am a victim of despicable plunder. Four weeks ago, I brought a patriotic manuscript to the bookseller Momoro and hired him to print 1000 copies. But he said that the piece was extreme and I am made to pay horribly for the alleged danger and speed (in printing it); he isn't ashamed to take 100 francs

Desmoulins made this connection *except* in hindsight. In the January 1794 edition of his journal, *Le Vieux Cordelier*, Desmoulins wrote, "...it's proof that Momoro, who called himself 'First Printer of National Liberty', insisted on holding this revolutionary pamphlet prisoner in his boutique..." Desmoulins notes the irony in Momoro's title and his failure to publish his revolutionary document, *La France Libre*. However, this is done in retrospect; there is no evidence that Desmoulins sought out Momoro as a bookseller because of his title.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 64. Desmoulins uses the phrase "*mon imprimeur et mon libraire*" which indicates two separate individuals. However, Momoro is the only one named by Desmoulins in the formal complaint. Importantly, Momoro had not yet purchased his presses and served only in his legal capacity as *libraire*.

¹⁷⁹ Desmoulins claimed several years after the incident that Momoro "delayed the publication of this pamphlet as much as he could...having foreseen the tremendous influence that it would have..." This is a somewhat ambiguous charge because it could either mean that Momoro feared the authorities or sought to hold onto the pamphlet for himself. See January 1794 edition of Desmoulins' journal, *Le Vieux Cordelier*, 226-227.

for it. I needed the pamphlets in four days yet he made me wait four weeks. My piece was supposed to be four pages but he removed one page in spite of our agreements...and he had it printed without a title.

...I took fifty of the pamphlets to the Palais Royal, and yesterday when I went in search of fifty more, he (Momoro) told me there was some danger and challenged me to sign my name to the piece. It was a trap! He counted on me not daring to sign it and then, finding that I took him at his word by offering my signature, he had no more excuses to hold onto my pamphlet, the miserable man. Trying with all his might to keep my money, (for the printing costs and the proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet), he betrays himself. He denies my deposit, saying he does not have my pamphlets...¹⁸⁰

Unfortunately, we do not have Momoro's account of the dispute. However, Desmoulins' account provides important glimpses of Momoro's fear and caution in publishing the radical pamphlet. According to Desmoulins, Momoro had charged him a considerable sum because "the piece was extreme" and then edited its content considerably, removing one page and printing it without a title altogether, "in spite of their agreements." It seems likely that Momoro's editorial choices indicate his warranted concern about the pamphlet's content based upon his own assessment of the political situation in June and July 1789. Desmoulins' account of events implies Momoro's awareness of the significance of the fall of the Bastille, an event that held very different meanings for the two men at this early juncture in the revolution. While

¹⁸⁰ *Mémoire adressé au District de Saint-André-des-Arcs*, excerpted in *Oeuvres de Camille Desmoulins*, Jules Claretie, ed., 67. Desmoulins also claims in this statement to the district, "seeing that he (Momoro) could not steal from me, he sought to discredit me and ran to denounce me at Versailles."

Momoro held onto the pamphlet, perhaps fearful of repercussions from the Administration of the Book Trade and the guild, Desmoulins had hoped to get *La France Libre* out to the public and contribute to, or even lead, the political dialogue.¹⁸¹ Momoro's trepidation after July 14th is obvious when Desmoulins reports that Momoro "told me there was some danger and challenged me to sign my name to the piece..." By asking Desmoulins to sign his pamphlet, Momoro is ensuring that he is following print regulations, most certainly as a hedge against legal action by the authorities.¹⁸² Obviously, Momoro could not foresee what the taking of the Bastille would mean; it might have led to heightened political repression and more restrictive press laws, in which case his caution would have proven justified.

It is curious that Desmoulins did not understand Momoro's caution, either during the initial legal proceedings or years later, when recounting his problems with Momoro in his journal, *Le Vieux Cordelier*. In his later version of events, Desmoulins accused Momoro of consorting with the authorities by taking *La France Libre* to the police, "having foreseen the tremendous affect it would have..."¹⁸³ Yet there may be an explanation other than cowardice for Momoro's alleged visit to the police. The laws regulating legal publications changed radically in the summer and fall of 1789; for example, on July 24th, the Police Committee of the Commune of Paris decreed

¹⁸¹ Desmoulins' *La France Libre* was "the first truly republican manifesto of the revolutionary era", according to Gary Kates.

¹⁸² As we will see in the next two libel cases against Momoro, he did not always publish the name of the author but reserved the right to name him/her if asked by authorities. This likely reflects changes in the political climate and his own confidence in his new role as the "First Printer of National Liberty".

¹⁸³ Camille Desmoulins, *Le Vieux Cordelier*, No. VII, 15 January 1794, 226-227.

that all printed material bear the name of the printer. On 2 August, this expanded to require the bookseller's name as well and registration and deposit of the printed text with the Paris Book Guild.¹⁸⁴ Desmoulins' claim that Momoro took *La France Libre* to the police may have simply reflected Momoro's adherence to Old Regime procedure. As noted earlier, Momoro's *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*, published around the same time as Desmoulins' pamphlet, bore the permission of the police. In both instances, seeking permission was part of the traditional protocol Momoro followed as a *libraire* up to the new decrees of July and August.¹⁸⁵

Desmoulins' complaint against Momoro incorporates attacks against his character, specifically that Momoro intended to keep his pamphlet and profit from it; he claimed, "Trying with all his might to keep my money, for the printing costs and the proceeds from the sale of the pamphlet, he betrays himself." Not only is Momoro overly cautious, even cowardly, he also implies that Momoro is greedy and dishonest, intending to keep his pamphlet and the money from its sales.¹⁸⁶ The district quickly

¹⁸⁴ Cited in Hesse, 47-48; Lacroix (ed), *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, 1st ser., 1:82.

¹⁸⁵ In his *Traité Elementaire*, Momoro describes briefly the process he followed when scrutinizing texts brought to him by an author; the key criterion seemed to be judging whether the piece would pass the assessment of the censors under the Old Regime. See *Traité* entry entitled *privilège*.

¹⁸⁶ Desmoulins would continue to have problematic relationships with Parisian printers and was quite vocal about his discontent. In May 1790, Desmoulins severed his relationship with the *libraire* Garnéry, the publisher of Desmoulins' *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*. Details vary on their dispute - Garnéry allegedly claimed proprietary rights over the journal; he was in charge of printing and distribution and paid Desmoulins a salary for his material. Both men viewed the journal as belonging to them. Desmoulins wrote disparagingly of the experience, "so many of these libraires are jews", revealing a startling anti-semitism. Yet another dispute occurred in May 1792, as Desmoulins attempted to start a new journal, *Tribune des Patriotes*. His *libraire*, Patris (named as "an associate of Momoro") failed to distribute the first

ruled in Desmoulins' favor, asserting the right of every citizen "to print and publish any work whatsoever, so long as they sign and assume responsibility for their words."¹⁸⁷ In consequence, the district ordered Momoro to return the copies of *La France Libre* to Desmoulins.

Momoro's apparent trepidation in his dealings with Desmoulins at this early juncture in the Revolution is in marked contrast to his emerging bravado a few short months after the dispute between the two was settled. Momoro's purchase of his "first presses of liberty" at the end of August and his self-promotion in November and December as the *Premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale* point to his increased confidence as a printer despite his bookseller status within the still functioning Paris Book Guild. But it's important to note here that Momoro's transition was nonetheless gradual, as reflected in the two libel cases brought against Momoro in early 1790; both cases clearly illustrate Momoro's tenuous position as a new printer and reveal

edition, resulting in his denunciation and subsequent expulsion at the Jacobin Club. As with Garnéry, Patris also claimed proprietary rights over the journal. For dispute with Garnéry, see Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie Historique et Critique de la Presse Périodique Française* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866), 145-146; Jacques Janssens, Camille Desmoulins, *Le Premier Républicain de France* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1973), 259; Leonard Gallois, *Histoire des Journaux de la Révolution Française*. (Paris: Société de l'Industrie Fraternelle, 1846), 39-40. His dispute with Patris is documented in Francois-Alphonse Aulard, *La société des Jacobins; recueil de documents pour l'histoire du Club des jacobins de Paris*. (Paris, Librairie Jouaust, 1889-97), Vol. 3, 567-570 and in Fleury, (ed.), *Etudes Révolutionnaires: Camille Desmoulins et Roch Marchandier. La Presse Révolutionnaire*. (Paris: Chez Dumoulin, 1802), 240-242.

¹⁸⁷ *Assemblée générale des électeurs. Procès-verbal des séances et délibérations de l'Assemblée générale des électeurs de Paris, réunis à l'Hôtel-de-Ville le 14 juillet 1789. Rédigé par M. Bailly et M. Duveyrier...*(Paris: Chez Baudoin, 1790), Tome II, 185.

how his fears about repercussions continued to influence his choices well after freedom of the press was declared.

L'Abbé Lefèvre filed a complaint against Momoro on January 7, 1790 for an article published in his journal, *Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et de Brabant*; the piece accused Lefèvre of blowing up the guardroom (*corps-de-garde*) of the batallion of the district Saint-Leu.¹⁸⁸ The anonymous author of the piece wrote that Lefèvre, "armed with pistols, descended during the night into the cave that stored a considerable amount of gunpowder and was about to start a fire when fortunately, he was discovered and arrested..." Momoro's testimony appeared in the journal *Le Moniteur Universel* the following month¹⁸⁹; he claimed responsibility for printing and distributing the *libelle*, asserting that he deemed it acceptable to print because the piece was written by an acquaintance: "He added that when he is given a manuscript by a known resident, he printed it without difficulty, and withheld the author's name as long as he wasn't bothered by authorities over the subject matter."¹⁹⁰ Momoro takes responsibility for the *libelle* and, notably, cooperates with the authorities in naming the author, a lawyer named "M. de Noël." While his relationship to the

¹⁸⁸ The article by Momoro is from *le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et de Brabant*, numero XIX, 11 December 1789. The complaint by Lefèvre is cited in Lacroix, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, Vol. III, 381, dated 7 January 1790.

¹⁸⁹ Momoro's name is misspelled as 'Monnoveau' here and in the following libel case I discuss. His name is corrected in March 31st edition of *Le Moniteur Universel*. This appears to have been a common mistake with Momoro's name; the error occurs in numerous other journals and documents, as do other variations of 'Monoro' and 'Monmoro'.

¹⁹⁰ *Le Moniteur Universel*, No. 50, 19 February 1790.

author¹⁹¹ is a significant factor in what Momoro chooses to print, he is clearly cognizant of his obligations to the authorities in presenting them with pertinent information when necessary. In contrast to his uneasy response to Desmoulins' pamphlet, here Momoro appears to show no concern over the article's content or any potential repercussions to his business.¹⁹²

The final case against Momoro took place just one month later, in February 1790, and reveals the most about Momoro's fears concerning his livelihood. The journal *Le Moniteur Universel* reported on a complaint against Momoro, "the bookseller, who is charged with the impression of the *libelle* entitled *Lettres d'un ami de l'humanité* by MM. de Pontchareaux¹⁹³ and Carrière.¹⁹⁴ Momoro's testimony from the February 8 states that he indeed printed the pamphlet:

...sometime after the decree by the National Assembly permitting freedom of the press;¹⁹⁵ that he received the manuscript from the bookseller M. Planche¹⁹⁶...who gave it to him to print; that he did not believe it to be libelous; that it was true that the piece was unsigned but it was sufficient that

¹⁹¹ This makes me wonder if Momoro was acquainted with Desmoulins prior to their dealings over *La France Libre*. Was some of his reticence in publishing Desmoulins' pamphlet a result of there being no former relationship between the two?

¹⁹² The outcome of the case is unknown.

¹⁹³ Alternately spelled as 'M. de Pont-Charreaux' in No. 90, *Le Moniteur Universel*.

¹⁹⁴ *Le Moniteur Universel*, No. 48. Like Momoro, Jean Baptiste Carrière would become a member of the Cordeliers Club and was active in the Vendée during the same period as Momoro. However, Carrière became very controversial due to his extreme use of violence against counter-revolutionaries in Nantes, where he was responsible for mass executions in the form of drownings. It is interesting that they met so early in their careers.

¹⁹⁵ I believe this refers to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen on August 26, 1789 that formally declared freedom of the press.

¹⁹⁶ Pierre Planche was a contemporary of Momoro's in the Paris Book Guild and did business on the rue de Richelieu.

it was a person known to him; that he had not included his name as the printer of the piece because not being privileged, he feared that the guild would confiscate his presses that had cost him 200 *louis*."¹⁹⁷

As in the previous libel case, Momoro's relationship to the person hiring him was an important element in his decision making process, whether that person was the author or, as in this case, a bookseller serving as publisher of the piece. Unlike Momoro's apparent concern about the "incendiary" content of Desmoulins' pamphlet, Momoro found nothing libelous about this pamphlet. However, he notably chooses not to identify himself as its printer, in direct defiance of the new press laws, because he feared losing his newly acquired presses.¹⁹⁸ This is a prime example of the kind of tightrope Momoro walked in becoming a printer. Here we see him in conflict with two sets of authorities, the new Municipal authority and the Paris Book Guild; the municipality required that all printed material carry the name of its author, printer and bookseller but because the guild was still intact, Momoro's *libraire* privilege did not entitle him to own and operate presses. While Momoro had acquired his presses as a consequence of the relaxed press laws, this demonstrates his obvious awareness of his

¹⁹⁷ *Le Moniteur Universel*, No. 48.

¹⁹⁸ Momoro's shop had already been searched in the fall of 1789 on suspicion of having published the incendiary *Le Furet Parisien*. BHVP MS 807 149.

tenuous position vis-a-vis the guild.¹⁹⁹ Momoro's acquisition of presses directly challenged the guild divisions between booksellers and printers.²⁰⁰

Momoro published five other journals in 1789. He served as editor for *Entretiens d'un Patriote et d'un Député, sur les Bases du Bonheur Public*, though apparently only its first two editions.²⁰¹ *Entretiens* was a daily paper published in mid-August 1789 that focused primarily on political discourse. *Entretiens* (and his other journal, *Spectateur*) belonged to a group of more obscure and ephemeral publications specializing in personal commentary that tended to incorporate "wandering and uncontrolled speech."²⁰² Yet its editors proclaimed that the paper "only contained news that was guaranteed to be the truth...and would be edited in a manner to serve as evidence for History." The journal dealt with issues such as food shortages, usury and in one instance, the sale of *Hôtel de Mont-du-Piété* to benefit the poor.²⁰³ Momoro is listed as its editor for the first two editions, along with *Valleyre aîné*, another guild member. As with the *Bulletin de l'Assemblée Nationale*, Momoro

¹⁹⁹ Historian Hugh Gough asserts that "Momoro defended his failure to put his name and address at the foot of his publications as late as March 1791" but I have been unable to corroborate his assertion. See Gough, 35.

²⁰⁰ It seems quite plausible that Momoro was among those printers and booksellers responsible for the pamphlet, *Requête des Nouveaux Imprimeurs et Libraires, contre les ennemis de la Liberté, et les injustes persécutions qu'ils éprouvent journellement*. The pamphlet, dated sometime after August 1789, complains of the extreme persecution of booksellers and peddlars by the municipality despite the new press freedoms. Its authors imply that the rich and powerful guild members were behind the persecution.

²⁰¹ Rétat, 98-99.

²⁰² Labrosse et Rétat, *Naissance du Journal Révolutionnaire*, 31.

²⁰³ The *Mont-du-Piété* was an institution created in 1777 that provided assistance to the needy in exchange for personal goods.

is referred to as *libraire* on the actual journal; this edition predates his use of the imprint, "*premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale*", by one month.

Momoro also printed the short-lived journal, *Spectateur Patriotique ou Observations Impartiales sur tout ce qui se dit, ou se fait journellement à Paris*. The journal appeared between September and October 1789 and bears Momoro's "first printer" imprint for one of the first times.²⁰⁴ The journal's ideological content differed somewhat from other material Momoro printed and published; its "impartial observations" supported the new Parisian municipality against accusations of orchestrating food shortages, calling for restraint and moderation, two stances Momoro later despised.

There is some discrepancy about Momoro's role in the journal *Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et du Brabant*; Lacroix credits Momoro as its editor while Rétat lists him only as *imprimeur*.²⁰⁵ The journal appeared between November 1789 and February 1790 in three editions weekly. It is easy enough to verify that Momoro was the journal's printer; his "First Printer of National Liberty" adorns each edition, but it is not obvious if he served as its editor. Perhaps this is an instance where Momoro served in both capacities. The *Moniteur* belonged to a category of

²⁰⁴ The editor of the journal was the *libraire* Madame Dubois. Rétat and Labrosse categorize the journal as "*discours politiques, réflexions, variétés*", meaning that this group of publications were quite varied in content and form but in general, included more personal political reflections and ardent discourse. Another key similarity was the ephemeral nature of their existence. Both historians emphasize the narrow delineation between this category of *journaux* and other diverse Revolutionary pamphlets.

²⁰⁵ Sigismond Lacroix, *Actes de la Commune de Paris pendant la Révolution* (Paris: Société Française d'Éditions d'Art, 1899), 568. Pierre Rétat, *Les Journaux de 1789, Bibliographie critique*, 179.

small journals that focused on sensational accounts of conspiracy generally grounded in rumor and anecdote. This is evidenced by the (libelous) story Momoro ran that accused l'Abbé Lefèvre of conspiring to set an explosion. The *Moniteur* also reported specifically on political events in Brabant, particularly the alleged atrocities committed against the Belgian patriots at the hands of the Austrian-Hapsburg emperor, Joseph II.²⁰⁶

Finally, Momoro wrote and published the *l'Observateur du Club des Cordeliers et de la section du Théâtre-Français* between March and April 1791.²⁰⁷ Mathiez referred to this “*petite feuille*” as a prototype for the officially sanctioned *Journal de Club des Cordeliers* that Momoro published in June of the same year.²⁰⁸ Only two editions of the short-lived *Observateur* have survived. The journal reported on political events in the section and published proclamations made by the Club in response.²⁰⁹ Following the demise of the *Observateur*, Momoro was charged with editing the *Journal du Club des Cordeliers*. The journal's prospectus, printed by Momoro, included the club's authorization for Momoro to publish the periodical: “...to give an exact and detailed account of each of its meetings” based upon original

²⁰⁶ Rétat's characterization is “*journal à nouvelles, à sommaire (en général sensationnel)*.”

²⁰⁷ Editions 3 and 5 are in the BNF, LC2-2489.

²⁰⁸ Albert Mathiez, *Le Club des Cordeliers pendant la Crise de Varennes et le Massacre du Champs de Mars*, (Généve: Slatkine-Megariotis, 1975), 42, footnote 2.

²⁰⁹ A brief overview of the editions can be found in Jacques DeCock, *Les Cordeliers dans la Révolution Française, Textes et Documents*. (Lyon: Fantasques Editions, 2002), 710.

materials from each assembly.²¹⁰ The journal was published four times a week and while primarily focused on the Cordelier's proceedings, it also included news from Paris, the provinces and abroad. Momoro published and printed ten editions of the journal between June 28 and August 4, 1791.

Conclusion

Although the documentary evidence of Momoro's early life remains thin, I have outlined a plausible narrative of his apprenticeship and emigration to Paris. His tenure as a journeyman under the master printer, Louis Cellot, facilitated Momoro's eventual entrance into the Paris Book Guild in 1787 as a *libraire*. Momoro's marriage in 1786 into the celebrated Fournier family doubtless helped him secure the means for his business and bolstered his reputation among the typographical and printing elite. His partial inheritance of his father-in-law's foundry also provided Momoro with a considerable material advantage in his business. Momoro's transition into being a more public figure began in August 1789; three days after the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen formalized freedom of the press, Momoro reportedly purchased his "first presses of liberty" and began printing journals and pamphlets for the revolutionary audience. Despite the prohibitions against booksellers like Momoro

²¹⁰ *Prospectus - Club des Cordeliers, Société des Droits de l'homme et du Citoyen*. Another club member, Senties, was authorized as well; both men were *secrétaires* of the Cordeliers Club at the time. At various times between 1793 and 1794, Momoro served as president of the Club.

owning presses, he boldly began to fashion himself as "First Printer of National Liberty". By December, Momoro was embroiled in a debate over his title and the perceived egoism of such a claim; denying any implication of superiority, he proudly defended his "energy and will" in establishing his print shop "on the debris of despotism". Yet despite the bravado of his claim, Momoro also exercised considerable caution as he maneuvered around the ambiguous press laws; the series of libel cases brought against Momoro chronicle his vigilance. As liberty of the press became codified, Momoro increasingly embraced his "first printer" persona, commissioning his portrait for sale to a general audience in April 1791. By the time the guilds were formally abolished in June 1791, Momoro had successfully embarked on his career as a "new" printer.

Momoro's Political Ascendancy in Sectional Politics

Momoro's career in politics is best understood within the context of the Parisian districts, sections and popular societies that emerged in the early years of the revolution. Politically, Momoro was in many ways typical of his class of master artisans in the Paris Book Guild; excited by the political changes taking place in 1789, artisans became very involved in local politics primarily during crisis periods.²¹¹ However, Momoro differed significantly from his cohort by his continued activity in sectional politics, first as secretary for the assembly meetings and increasingly as its president. The printed ephemera documenting his participation combined with his written work on political issues portray Momoro as a passionate, articulate, and politically savvy figure who became increasingly radicalized as the revolution progressed. The close associations he made - from pre-revolutionary corporations, parishes and *quartiers*, to revolutionary district and section assemblies, to meetings of Jacobin and Cordelier clubs - were doubtless reminiscent of the corporate affiliations and loyalties held by artisans in the ancien regime. Historians

²¹¹ Though artisans and shopkeepers often participated more fully than other citizens, electoral participation remained low throughout the Revolution despite intense political activity in districts, sections and clubs. For example, attendance at Parisian assemblies rarely exceeded 15 percent of potential voters. Rose concludes similarly though with uncharacteristic cynicism, that only major political issues stirred men out of "their political apathy." See Malcolm Crook, *Elections in the French Revolution*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1996), 17; R.B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes*. (London: Manchester University Press, 1983), 93.

agree that the customary culture that preceded the French Revolution was grafted onto the new Revolutionary culture in a variety of ways. In examining Momoro's life after 1789, we can see the extent to which he relied on the traditional values of guild loyalty, obligation and tradition while simultaneously attempting to break from the restrictions of that system.

Momoro's parish, St. André-des-Arts²¹², became part of the Saint-André-des-Arts district in 1789, just adjacent to the radical Cordeliers district, one of the most radical and fervent proponents of direct democracy (all formerly part of the *quartier du Luxembourg*). Momoro printed a fair amount of work for the Cordeliers district between November 1789 and June 1790, including excerpts of its deliberations and decrees made by its general assembly. When municipal lines were redrawn again in June 1790, the Cordeliers and Saint-André-des-Arts districts merged with two others to become section Théâtre-Français. As did many men in publishing, Momoro quickly adapted to these political changes; he printed for his section, as well as other sections, and regularly attended and presided over assembly meetings until his death in 1794.

Popular societies such as the Cordeliers Club emerged alongside the forty-eight sections in 1790, essentially serving as government watchdogs. Momoro was an active member of the Cordeliers Club, writing, printing, and speaking on behalf of its interests to the National Assembly and other clubs, such as the *Cercle Social* and

²¹² The spelling was originally St. André-des-Arcs but changed to "des-Arts" in the 19th century.

the Jacobins. He was also a member of both of these clubs.²¹³ As in his section Théâtre-Français, Momoro also presided over club meetings with a fierce determination to ensure the municipal government adhered to Republican principles; he followed a similar zealous agenda in the monarchical regions of the Vendée where he served as *Commissaire Nationale* for the Department of Paris beginning in May 1793. Early in the Revolution he formed a close relationship with Hébert, the colorful author of the journal *Père Duchêne*, and Hebert's followers; this relationship ultimately led to Momoro's execution in 1794. Although Momoro left no direct evidence of his early political influences, it seems plausible that his experiences in the Parisian districts, sections and popular societies enhanced his previous corporate experience in the Paris Book Guild.

Like the defunct corporate relationships of the ancien regime, the history of the political structuring of Paris from April 1789 illustrates both solidarity of interests as well as intense factionalisms. This chapter examines the relationship between the Saint-André-des-Arts and Cordeliers districts, the Section Théâtre-Français and the Cordelier Club, looking specifically at Momoro's role in each setting. The discussion provides an overview of the political transformation of Paris from sixty electoral districts in 1789 through the creation of the forty-eight sections in 1790 and the

²¹³ In 1792, Momoro wrote to the Jacobins about his request for membership, which he felt had been delayed. *Journal des Debats de la Société des Amis de la Constitution*, No. 285. Momoro is listed as 'vice-president' at a Jacobin meeting of January 1794, a position only held by members. Francois-Alphonse Aulard, *La société des Jacobins; recueil de documents pour l'histoire du Club des jacobins de Paris*. (Paris, Librairie Jouaust, 1889-97.) Vol. 6, p. 718. For membership in the Cercle Social, see Appendix A in Gary Kates, *The Cercle Social, the Girondins, and the French Revolution* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1985).

simultaneous growth of popular societies such as the Cordeliers Club. One of my goals in this chapter is to elucidate the inner workings of the sections in particular, specifically section Théâtre-Français where Momoro lived and worked as a printer and *sectionnaire*.²¹⁴ I examine Momoro's political career and his social and political relationships within the section and the fledgling municipality of Paris. Where was Momoro within the complexities of electoral district politics and afterwards, in sectional organization and political maneuvering, within the numerous changes in structure under a constitutional monarchy and a republic? How did he use this system to further his career in printing and in politics, and to what extent was he successful? While there is a dearth of archival material on the districts and sections due to the fire at the Hôtel de Ville in 1871, enough resources exist to piece together a fairly intricate view of the daily operations of sectional assemblies and, importantly, Momoro's colorful and often dictatorial presence over a four-year period.

While this chapter will focus on Momoro within sectional politics beginning in 1790, it is necessary to step back and examine the continuities from his early district participation to his later section and departmental ascendancy. I begin with a brief discussion of the first municipal government in Paris in 1789 and the evolution of Paris into sixty administrative and electoral districts; these served as important building blocks of the sections that would become the seat of ultra radicalism in the 1790s. A significant radicalization took place as the suppressed districts were

²¹⁴ The section was renamed Marseille in August 1792, then Marseille-et-Marat from 1793-Pluviôse, year II, the section Marat until Pluviôse year III, finally returning to the original section Théâtre-Français until 1795.

transformed into sections and further splintered into popular societies; in each stage, we see and hear Momoro.

The Municipal Government of 1789

Under the Old Regime, Paris was organized into twenty-one *quartiers* and had no representative government. The administration of Paris was a complex web of offices that functioned under a mostly honorific constitution. The Prévot de Police, headquartered at the ancient court known as the Châtelet, administered Paris along with four magistrates and a tangled bureaucracy of forty-eight lesser royal commissioners and twenty-four inspectors from each *quartier* of the city. In addition to being judge, administrator and head of police, the Prévot de Police issued ordinances that carried royal decrees into effect. A separate administration at the Hôtel de Ville oversaw trade on the Seine and its tributaries and regulated the supply of foodstuffs into the city.²¹⁵ Under this system, political participation via public assemblies was limited to the *fabriques* or parish organizations, where qualified men voted in assemblies for their churchwarden twice a year.²¹⁶

The first municipal government began taking shape in Paris with the calling of the Estates General in January 1789. Elections were needed to provide deputies from the Third Estate to meet at Versailles and essentially represent the interests of those

²¹⁵ Henry E. Bourne "Improvising a Government in Paris in July, 1789", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Jan., 1905), 281-283.

²¹⁶ Voting was restricted to males who were rated on the tax roles for at least six livres, a restriction that remained in district and section assemblies well into the Revolutionary regime. Bourne, 283.

eligible to participate in assemblies. The Royal decree of April 13 called for the creation of an Electoral Assembly composed of delegates voted by sixty newly established districts, thereby replacing the twenty-one *quartiers* of Paris. The decree stipulated that Paris alone would be divided along purely geographic lines; to the dismay of many artisanal groups, residence rather than guild status would determine district membership.²¹⁷ On the 15th of July, after the events at the Bastille and the restoration of relative calm in Paris, an improvised municipality created a permanent committee of electors with four bureaus, overseen by the first Mayor of Paris, Sylvain Bailly, and the Commander of the National Guard, the Marquis de Lafayette.²¹⁸ A permanent, regularized administration of Paris replaced this ten days later on the 25th, although the structure of the assembly itself underwent several further transformations. Initially, however, an elected assembly of 120 representatives - two delegates per sixty districts - replaced the original electors. This number increased steadily until August when a new provisional municipal constitution was adopted, allowing for five representatives per district for a total of 300. This final configuration of district electors remained unchanged until the middle of 1790 when the districts themselves were remade into forty-eight sections.

It is important to note that in this early revolutionary period, there was a great deal of tension between the new municipality and the emergent district leadership. By the fall of 1789, the districts had essentially become semi-independent

²¹⁷ Georges Garrigues, *Les Districts Parisiens pendant la Revolution française*. (Paris: Editions Spes, 1931), 5.

²¹⁸ R.B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes*. (London: Manchester University Press, 1983), 58-59.

governments and grew to resent the municipality for attempting to limit district autonomy and the power they held within their separate jurisdictions. The municipality sought to prevent the districts from becoming rivals to their own administration. The ensuing conflicts between district and municipal leadership remained in place until the demise of the districts, where personal hostilities between the newly formed sections and the municipality would continue. In his position within both the section and the Cordeliers Club, Momoro wrote vehemently of the usurpation of power by the mayor, Bailly, and his administration.²¹⁹

The Creation of Districts

Historians of the French Revolution acknowledge the integral role played by the forty-eight Parisian sections in the increased radicalization of the populace. Ernst Mellié and Albert Soboul in particular highlighted the connection between sectional politics and the direct participation of the people of Paris, specifically the *sans-culottes*, in assembly meetings, sectional committees and workshops. Yet it wasn't until the work of R.B. Rose in the 1980s that the importance of the district was explored explicitly in connection with the rise of the popular movement in Paris. Rose argued that prior to the existence of sections in 1790, Parisian electoral districts helped to facilitate the development of democratic ideas, such as the insistence on

²¹⁹ Bailly ended up at the guillotine in November 1793, for "*etouffer la voix du peuple*." One source of Momoro's disdain for Bailly stemmed from his enforcement of martial law during what became known as the massacre at the Champs-de-Mars in July 1791.

direct democracy by the *sans-culottes*.²²⁰ In what he referred to as the "springtime of democracy," Rose examined attempts by Parisian districts to create and maintain independent self-governments alongside the new municipality in the first year of the Revolution.²²¹ One contemporary account of this period characterizes the districts as "sixty little republics," and highlights their dedication to democratic and sovereign principles; each 'republic' had its own administration, consisting of a forum, committees, army and arsenal.²²² Historians now view Parisian districts as crucial instruments in the growth of political radicalism and the spread of democratic and republican sentiments. Though short-lived, the districts left a significant legacy; their struggle for local political autonomy and rights of surveillance over perceived corruption in the municipality and National Assembly would be taken up by the forty-eight sections after them and subsequently championed by powerful political clubs such as the Cordeliers beginning in 1790.

On April 13, 1789, a royal decree created sixty districts from the former twenty-one *quartiers* of Paris to serve as the basis for the election of deputies to the Estates General in May. District assemblies convened on 21 April to choose members for the Electoral Assembly of Paris and, indirectly, the twenty Paris deputies to meet at the Estates General in Versailles. The franchise for the Third

²²⁰ See Ch. L. Chassin, *Les élections et les cahiers de Paris en 1789*, (Paris: 1888-89). Georges Garrigues, *Les Districts Parisiens pendant la Révolution française*, (Paris: Editions Spes, 1931).

²²¹ Rose, 5.

²²² Garrigues, 19; citing Dusaulx, *Mémoires de Linguet sur la Bastille et de Dusaulx sur le 14 juillet, avec des notices, des notes et des éclaircissements historiques par MM. Berville, et Barrière*, (Paris: Baudoin fils, 1821), 470.

Estate was given to "university graduates, government office holders, master craftsmen and all individuals paying six livres capitation." Tradition held that common men, "by virtue of their education and the type of work to which their poverty [had] condemned them, [were]...incapable at the moment of participating fully in public affairs."²²³ Ironically, while the districts did in fact become "workshops of democracy" and served as the basis for popular revolution, their initial purpose was not revolutionary; rather, districts allowed *a limited* group of men *limited* political functions.²²⁴ As the Revolution progressed, however, a wider proportion of the population participated,²²⁵ and districts gradually became both the executive and educational foundations for popular democracy.

Rose argues that these first April assemblies displayed some of the initial signs of insubordination by the Third Estate, predating the fall of the Bastille by three months. Fifty-four of the sixty districts disregarded the official regulations for the elections established by the municipal officer, the Prévôt des Marchands.²²⁶ Notably, even with the novelty of electoral assemblies, participants and electors displayed a strong corporate sensibility. This may have been due in part to the coextensive nature of parish and district boundaries, which could explain the relative business-like manner in which they performed their duties. Despite the fact that the division into

²²³ Excerpt from Chassin, Vol I p. 94. Also cited in Malcolm Crook, *Elections in the French Revolution* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996), 13.

²²⁴ Rose, 24.

²²⁵ This would be a pattern followed by the sections in 1790 whereby a limited "bourgeois" franchise was extended out of necessity to the greater population. See Rose, 23.

²²⁶ Rose, 24-31.

districts was purely geographical, their corporate sensibilities stemmed from former relationships in old regime assemblies and from professional bonds predating the Revolution.²²⁷ Men with former experience in their parish assemblies or *fabriques* did participate and in at least one case, a master artisan active in his parish assembly became a second-degree elector to vote for deputies to the Estates General.²²⁸ François Furet, who also acknowledged the continuity of Old Regime practices and loyalties in the electoral procedures in the early days of the Revolution, supports this idea.²²⁹

The composition of the first district assemblies was primarily middle class, representing a generalized political revolution acted out in the districts. Voter turnout in Momoro's district Saint-André-des-Arts was above average, with 300 eligible men voting in their assembly. The adjacent Cordeliers district was among the largest, with 412 voters.²³⁰ It is highly probable that Momoro cast one of the 300 votes in the Saint-André-des-Arts district²³¹ in April 1789, although I have no direct evidence to prove his physical presence at assemblies during this period. However, because he

²²⁷ Rose presents several examples of relationships among assembly members stemming from Masonic lodges, learned academies and the courts. See *Making of the Sans-Culottes*, p. 30.

²²⁸ Rose, 31.

²²⁹ François Furet, "The Monarchy and the Procedures for the Elections of 1789," *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 60 supplement, "Rethinking French Politics in 1788" (Sep. 1988). Ron Halevi, "The Monarchy and the Elections of 1789," *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 60 supplement, "Rethinking French Politics in 1788" (Sep. 1988).

²³⁰ Garrigues, 9.

²³¹ While I have not found any document specifically naming Momoro's district, the physical parameters of Saint-André-des-Arts district coincides with the various locations of Momoro's printing establishments between 1788-1790.

was a master artisan in the Paris Book Guild, he was indeed eligible to participate and vote. Article 15 of the *'Règlement d'Avril'* listed eligibility requirements for active citizenship, a status that translated to admission to district assemblies and voting rights. As a consequence of his status as master artisan, Momoro automatically fulfilled the requirement for active citizenship; proof of his *lettres de maîtrise* that he received upon admittance to the Paris Book Guild in 1787 was all that was needed. A more convincing piece of evidence of his participation in district politics beyond the April elections comes from a manuscript fragment written by Momoro in November 1789.²³² He writes of being named as a member of the Civil Committee for his district; qualifications for this position were similar to those required for district assemblies and voting rights. Men must be 'active' citizens, live in the particular district for a minimum of a year, and be at least 25 years old.²³³ Momoro was thirty-four in 1789, lived in the Saint-André-des-Arts district and, given his position as master *libraire*, he was certainly an 'active' citizen and therefore eligible for a position on the Civil Committee. The *Comités Civils* were created by the districts following the fall of the Bastille in July 1789 and generally consisted of up to twenty-one members. Their complex administrative functions included serving as liaison between the districts themselves as well as executing the decrees of the municipality and district general assemblies.²³⁴ Though loosely organized initially, the *Comités Civils*

²³² BHVP MS. 807, #149 "Sur la Servitude de la Presse."

²³³ Garrigues, 45.

²³⁴ Committees were composed of a president, vice-president, battalion commander, and secretary. The number and configuration of officers varied considerably. Garrigues, 42.

served to restore order to Paris after the fall of the Bastille.²³⁵ Being named to a Civil Committee was considered to be an honor; although Momoro was unable to serve because of an investigation into his alleged publication of an incendiary journal²³⁶, he was indeed qualified to serve. His selection for the Committee in itself further supports a view of Momoro as an active, engaged citizen in the early days of the Revolution.

Momoro became an *electeur* of his section in July 1791,²³⁷ proving that he was indeed an 'active' citizen at that point and could afford the financial requirement, known as the *cens*, to hold this position.²³⁸ There was, in fact, considerable continuity among those who participated in district and section assemblies. A comparison of thirty-nine men who served as presidents, secretaries and committee members in the districts illustrates this continuity; notably, all thirty-nine men went on to become prominent leaders in their sections in 1790.²³⁹ Momoro doesn't appear on this list, nor does anyone from his district. However, this may be due to the limited number of district registers that survived the destruction of the Hôtel de Ville in 1871.

²³⁵ The *comités* remained a key part of the administration of Paris until October 1795. Albert Soboul, *Dictionnaire historique de la Revolution Française*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), 256.

²³⁶ The journal was *Le Furet Parisien* and the accusation against him is discussed in the aforementioned document from the BHVP MS. 807, #149.

²³⁷ Etienne Charavay, *Assemblée Electorale de Paris*, (Paris: D. Jouast, 1890) Vol 2, p. 55.

²³⁸ Eligibility requirements varied throughout France and changed during the numerous changes in government. Yet until 1792, the requirement for becoming an *electeur* was the equivalent of ten days work, or roughly between five and ten *livres*. Crook, 44-45.

²³⁹ Garrigues, 26-27.

Despite the evidence of Momoro's involvement and participation in district politics, contemporary accounts of the early district assemblies held between April and July lead us to believe that artisans were not present. First-hand accounts attest to the preponderance of "orators of the bar, princes of eloquence, men of law...and agents of the interest of commerce."²⁴⁰ The 'popular element' was notably separate from the 'bourgeois' intellectuals already popular as orators and writers. For example, members of the first Civil Committees were taken from the 'well-to-do bourgeoisie' and only as the Revolution progressed did men from the 'petit bourgeoisie' play leadership roles.²⁴¹ The early general assemblies were thus split into two distinct groups - the popular faction concerned with popular democracy and the more moderate bourgeoisie, eager to play a role in the new order. Momoro's absence from the district leadership is in sharp contrast with his continued leadership roles in the sections and popular societies between 1790-1794; this may be partially explained by the unwillingness of the district assemblies to initially entrust their hopes to less experienced men like him. In the first months of their existence, the districts preferred men who had already made names for themselves.²⁴² Rose concurs that although the early district assemblies were accessible to master artisans of modest incomes, a criterion that Momoro certainly fits in 1789, the existing evidence shows that they did not fully participate until the revolutionary crisis of July that brought

²⁴⁰ Excerpt from Chassin, vol. II, p. 592. See also Henry E. Bourne, "Improvising a Government in Paris, 1789," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Jan. 1905. R. B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-Culottes*.

²⁴¹ Garrigues, 48-49; *Ibid* p. 25.

²⁴² Garrigues, 25-26

about the fall of the Bastille.²⁴³ This contention is supported by Momoro's own experience; remember that he was named to the Civil Committee in November 1789, a full three months *after* the Bastille.

However, it is important to understand that artisans did participate in the early months of the Revolution, even if their numbers were not excessive. For example, in looking at the careers of verified second-degree electors in April 1789, 137 of the 407 men chosen were merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans, notably ten master printers, two from Momoro's Saint-André-des Arts district and one from the adjacent Cordeliers district.²⁴⁴ Thus, while it is obvious that artisans participated in this early period and that printers were relatively well represented as a trade group, the distinction between master artisans from the soon-to-be-defunct guilds and the journeymen and apprentices needs to be emphasized. In addition, there was considerable economic disparity between masters within the Paris Book Guild and district voting undoubtedly favored the wealthier *maîtres*, a category that Momoro certainly did not fit into. Momoro's economic situation in 1789 can be gleaned from the few precious documents that still exist. In 1788, Momoro ranked in the twentieth capitation class of the Paris Book Guild; of the 213 members, Momoro was one of eighteen master artisans at the bottom of the guild hierarchy in terms of relative

²⁴³ Rose, 38. Rose supports his claim that master artisans did not participate in April using only one pamphlet as evidence.

²⁴⁴ Baudoin, Cailleau, Clousier, Desprez, Moutard, Pankoucke, Stoupe were *imprimeur-libraires* like Momoro. Mequignon and Cuchet were *libraries*. From Chassin Vol. II p. 329-331. For the specific districts of electors, see Paul Robiquet, *Le Personnel Municipal de Paris pendant la Revolution. Periode Constitutionnelle* (Paris: D. Jouaust, 1890) p. 44-45.

wealth (approximately the lowest eight percent).²⁴⁵ Momoro had only been admitted to the guild a year earlier, so his meager wealth may have been because of his status in a new enterprise. His wealth increased considerably between 1790 and 1794 and was the subject of considerable speculation by his contemporaries; unfortunately, no precise records exist regarding his actual financial situation. While district assemblies may have been led by the more privileged artisans, such as electors from higher capitation classes than Momoro,²⁴⁶ it does not preclude Momoro from participating in other roles, since clearly men of his class were there.

The District des Cordeliers

From the beginning, the Cordeliers district was a force to be reckoned with and became known as one of the most radical or "ultra-democratic" districts. Initially composed of both moderate and radical voices where men such as Danton and Desmoulins mixed with the likes of Marat and Hébert, they were the first district to meet in their general assembly prior to the fall of the Bastille to discuss the upcoming Estates General.²⁴⁷ After the July 14th uprising, the Cordeliers and other districts saw themselves as the means for re-establishing order in Paris. Moving beyond their initial role as an electoral body, they set about creating permanent officers and armed detachments for protection from the king's troops and pillagers and called for daily

²⁴⁵ Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1810* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991), 60.

²⁴⁶ See list of names from footnote 31.

²⁴⁷ Jacques De Cock, *Les Cordeliers dans la Révolution française, Textes et Documents* (Lyon: Fantasmagorie éditions, 2002), 44.

meetings of district assemblies where every citizen regardless of rank would be given entrance.²⁴⁸ During the bread shortages of 1789, the Cordeliers district responded by sending two *commissaires* to Longjumeau for grain. This marked the beginning of calls for price controls on grain and is the earliest public demand for a maximum on grain. Several years later, Momoro would write an influential pamphlet on the subject of price controls on grain that mirrored those of the Cordeliers district leaders (discussed later in this chapter.)²⁴⁹

Between November 1789 and April 1790, the Cordeliers and other 'militant' districts asserted the principle of self-determination; they maintained that the Commune of Paris itself had the right to approve a constitution to be ratified by the National Assembly. They also sought legislative and executive power for districts, giving minimal power to the municipal administration. They sought the permanence of districts, which meant the right of general assemblies to meet on issues of public interest rather than at prescribed narrow intervals.²⁵⁰ This issue would be central to the success and empowerment of the sections as they gained permanence.

Momoro lived and worked in the Saint-André-des-Arts district, adjacent to the Cordeliers.²⁵¹ According to his marriage certificate,²⁵² Momoro was married in his

²⁴⁸ Rose, 50.

²⁴⁹ *"Opinion de Momoro, administrateur et member du Directoire du Département de Paris. Sur la fixation du maximum du prix des grains dans l'universalité de la République Française,"* 1793. BN LE38-2461.

²⁵⁰ Rose, 78.

²⁵¹ There is a possibility that Momoro lived in parish St. Severin on rue des Prêtres, according to the document referenced below. It's unclear to me whether he lived there or his parents did, though I have some evidence to show that his family lived in Besançon.

wife's parish, St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, on 18 January 1786 in the Luxembourg *quartier*. In 1789 his workshop was located on the rue de la Harpe, a quarter that was in the heart of the old regime publishing quarter on the left bank of the Seine. The Cordeliers district boundary came right up to Momoro's door, a narrow block away from his residence.²⁵³ The boundary marker between the two districts was the rue Hautefeuille, which ran parallel to Momoro's rue de la Harpe, and between the rue des Cordeliers to the south and rue St. André-des-Arts to the north.²⁵⁴ The close-knit relationship among neighboring communities in Paris changed considerably during the Revolutionary period, as old regime *quartiers* were increasingly exposed to "outside" influences. Prior to the Revolution, the village-like atmosphere within neighborhoods such as Momoro's facilitated assistance in times of need but also intrusiveness. Residents knew each other's occupation, natal province, habits, religious affiliation, and personal associations. A reputation for integrity and respectability was held in high regard as a considerable asset both socially and economically.²⁵⁵ As a bookseller and printer, Momoro's enterprise would have

²⁵² BHVP Ms. 807, Folio 211. This is an interesting physical document; it is an excerpt from the original church register, apparently ordered by the Committee of Public Safety and the new municipality of Paris. Perhaps it was needed as verification of Momoro's marriage but to what end?

²⁵³ For the specific district boundaries, see Chassin *Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789*. (Paris: Jouast et Sigaux, 1888) Volume 1, 421.

²⁵⁴ *Nouveau plan routier de la ville et faubourgs de Paris par Pichon, 1789*. Bibliotheque Nationale, département des cartes et plans; GE A1911.

²⁵⁵ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 28-29.

suffered if he were to be perceived as dishonest in his business dealings.²⁵⁶ Such an intimate setting no doubt contributed to the network of affiliations men such as Momoro made and maintained throughout the Revolution. Yet the "importance of the broader outlook" also opened up Momoro's horizons, perhaps allowing him to move in increasingly larger circles and certainly appreciate and follow the political activity of his neighboring districts.²⁵⁷ Both the tightness of community and the expanding outlook aided Momoro in his political education.

While there is no evidence that Momoro published material for his own district, he published a considerable number of pamphlets for the Cordeliers district.²⁵⁸ Early in the process of district construction, the Cordeliers district engaged Momoro and several other printers to print their materials; Momoro printed for them until their demise in June 1790. He published a variety of Cordeliers documents, ranging from the proceedings of assembly meetings to controversial editorial pieces, most notably a defense of the district's protection of Marat from arrest by the municipal authorities in January 1790.²⁵⁹ It is important to note that while a number of Cordeliers documents exist with Momoro's imprint on them, there may have been a significant number of documents printed by Momoro *without* an imprint, and therefore not traceable to him. Such anonymity was not an uncommon practice,

²⁵⁶ Momoro was brought up on libel charges several times in the early days of the Revolution. It's not clear what impact this had on his business economically, but there are indications that it contributed to his questionable reputation in some circles. See Chapter One for more on Momoro's business dealings.

²⁵⁷ Garrioch, 299.

²⁵⁸ There is always the possibility that he printed materials for his own district but the documents have either not survived or have yet to be uncovered.

²⁵⁹ See Appendix A for a complete list of Momoro's publications.

particularly in the first year or so of the Revolution; "new printers" such as Momoro felt pressure to show allegiance to the more established masters in the trade. As late as 1791, Momoro wrote about his fear of retaliation from these former leaders in the trade.²⁶⁰

There is no direct evidence that Momoro aligned himself with the ephemera he printed for the Cordeliers district. However, given his later political activity and writing, it is tempting to believe that Momoro printed for the district out of political allegiance to their ideals. This temptation is particularly strong with regard to a pamphlet Momoro printed in January 1790, "*Pieces Justicatives, Relativement à l'exécution d'un Décrêt lancé contre le sieur Marat.*" The pamphlet cemented the Cordeliers district's identity as ultra-radical through its defiance of the Paris municipal administration, notably mayor Bailly.²⁶¹ It defended the district's right to protect those within its own jurisdiction, namely Marat, who had sought asylum from arrest. We know that Momoro idolized Marat and is likely to have had close contact with him as a fellow elector and active member of Section Marseille in 1792.²⁶² Notably, the final line of Momoro's last letter before his execution reads, "Marat taught me to suffer."²⁶³ However, despite his strong affinity for Marat in the future, Momoro made no claim to this effect during the existence of the Cordeliers district.

²⁶⁰ "*Requête des nouveaux imprimeurs et libraires: contre les enemis de la liberté, et les injustes persécutions qu'ils éprouvent journellement; à la Nation.*" BN 8-LB39-8224.

²⁶¹ BN LB40-1385.

²⁶² See Charavay, Vol. 3, p. 70 for the list of electors of Section Marseille.

²⁶³ *Archives Nationale*, carton W77, plaque 1 #47.

That said, Momoro's testimony from two libel cases during this period provides a pragmatic explanation of his decision making process in accepting work to be printed. When asked why he printed a defamatory pamphlet in February 1790, Momoro testified, "When an individual known to him, and a resident, gave him a manuscript, he printed it without difficulty..."²⁶⁴ Momoro indicates here that his personal relationship to the client was essential in accepting work; the physical proximity of the Cordeliers district supported such a close working relationship. In testifying that he would essentially print anything, as long as the client met his "familiar" criteria, Momoro displays an enormous amount of trust in his community; this was no doubt born out of the close-knit structure of the neighborhood, developed long before district lines were drawn. However, his loyalty may have gotten him into trouble, for shortly after he began to print for the district, Momoro's shop was searched.

In the fall of 1789, Momoro's workshop and residence were subjected to a rigorous search by municipal authorities. As a result of this search,²⁶⁵ Momoro drafted an opinion piece entitled "*Sur la Servitude de la Presse*", questioning the power of the new municipal administration to search his printing establishment.²⁶⁶ After a futile early morning search of his workshop and residence, Momoro recounted

²⁶⁴ *Le Moniteur Universel*, No. 50, 19 February 1790.

²⁶⁵ This hand written document has been dated 10 November 1789 by an archivist from the *Bibliothèque de l'Histoire de la Ville de Paris*; the piece itself bears no date. However, Momoro names the journal *Le Furet Parisien* in the piece, which would date the search sometime in September 1789. [BHVP MS. 807, Folio 149]

²⁶⁶ This handwritten document is a good indicator of Momoro's attitude toward the municipality and may have been intended to be composed for printing as a pamphlet or for publication in one of the daily journals.

his disgust at the similarity to Old Regime practices regulating the press. He demanded to know who ordered the search and after some time, his searchers relented, providing him with the order from the *Comité des Recherches*. The Paris municipal council had created the *Comité des Recherches* on October 21, 1789, as an investigatory and prosecutory body to serve as the political police for the city, specifically to find and prosecute the enemies of the fledgling Revolution. The Committee joined with the Châtelet to serve as the heart of the political justice system in Paris under the direction of LaFayette.²⁶⁷ Momoro had been accused of having printed the third edition of *Le Furet Parisien*, an incendiary pamphlet targeting Bailly and Lafayette specifically; at this early juncture, the journal was accused of instigating anti-Revolutionary sentiments.²⁶⁸ Because of the journal's stance against the emerging municipality, Momoro would have been considered an enemy of the Revolution.

On the 21 May 1790, the debate over direct democracy was defeated after National Assembly and Commune representatives adopted a new constitution based on a representative system of democracy. The Cordeliers reacted: "Is it our destiny to see ourselves enslaved eternally by our mandatories...and subordinated endlessly...to the absolute orders, to the hidden interests of a species of men uniquely

²⁶⁷ Barry M. Shapiro, *Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 14-15. This was Momoro's first encounter with Lafayette's authority, though arguably an indirect experience. Momoro's more violent experience at the Champs de Mars in 1791 apparently turned him against Lafayette.

²⁶⁸ BHVP MS. 807, Folio 149. I find the assertion that Momoro printed the pamphlet to be false.

instituted to execute our wish to maintain an oversight over our interest?"²⁶⁹ In June, the districts were formally transformed into new administrative units called sections. As a result of this turn of events, in the spring of 1790, a few leaders from the Cordeliers district founded the *Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité*, which became known as the Cordeliers Club.²⁷⁰ The leadership of the Revolutionary government would be drawn from such clubs, fraternal societies and sections; Momoro was to become a powerful voice within both of these groups.

Momoro and Section Théâtre-Français

The Constituent Assembly set in motion another evolution of the municipal government in the weeks between 21 May and 27 June 1790, dividing Paris into forty-eight sections. Sanctioned by the King, the sections replaced the sixty districts; the municipal charter laid out the restricted parameters of each section, establishing the procedures for elections to municipal positions, sectional administrators and commissioners. Most importantly, in light of calls by the Cordeliers District for universal suffrage, the charter delineated clear parameters for 'active' citizenship and voting rights. Despite the restricted nature of the sections, in reality they maintained some of the autonomy and power of the former districts. They continued to meet regularly and discuss political issues not proscribed by the original charter; they actively asserted the rights of active citizenship for all members and sat in permanent session beginning in September 1792. The network of forty-eight sections

²⁶⁹ Rose, 80.

²⁷⁰ Rose, 82.

communicated with each other through delegations and printed decrees and formed meetings of delegates for common deliberations. Each section named members of their own committees, fixed dues, paid indemnities for volunteers, levied extra taxes and maintained direct correspondence with governmental committees, all with near autonomy from the municipality. Derived from their district forerunners, the complex of sectional committees exercised considerable influence within Paris. Designed to oversee specific areas of section administration, the array of committees included civil, military, revolutionary, charitable and agricultural oversight in each section.²⁷¹

The historiography on the forty-eight sections, principally the work of Ernst Mellié, Albert Soboul and R. B. Rose, examines the importance of the sections in the political evolution of Paris. Ernst Mellié argued that the history of the Revolution remained inseparable from the history of the sections.²⁷² In his view, historians had only looked in a cursory manner at the sections during times of crisis. For Mellié, the sections represented more than mere territorial divisions thrown together for the purposes of elections; he argued that section assemblies created debates, deputations and civil and revolutionary committees, which combined to create an active and fairly cohesive unit. Historians had looked to the violence in sections rather than exploring their organization and "real" work, thus overlooking valuable insight into the inner workings of revolution. Mellié sought to elucidate the conditions that gave rise to the sections, their organization, distribution of need and how, when reduced to limited

²⁷¹ Ernst Mellié, *Les Sections de Paris pendant la Révolution Française*, (Paris: Au Siège de la Société, 1898), 304-305.

²⁷² *Ibid*, 1-3.

electoral divisions, they transformed themselves into nearly autonomous agencies to impose their will on the legislative power. He also considered the phases of their slow evolution as they responded to the necessities of the hour, day and month. In Mellié's view, the sections gave birth and sustenance to revolutionary movements and revolutionaries as they exercised the necessary surveillance of the municipality to prevent the development of an oligarchy.²⁷³ Although Mellié published his study in 1898, recent scholars have returned to his work and applaud its focus on the importance of the sections; these historians have attempted to paint a more complex and nuanced picture of the role of the section in Revolutionary politics and society.

While Mellié sought to rehabilitate the reputation of the sections from historians who saw only the violence and terror associated with them, Soboul took issue with Mellié for his "modest contribution." Soboul claimed that Mellié myopically examined the section's framework and inner-workings, yet wrongly excluded the people, specifically the *sans-culottes*.²⁷⁴ Soboul argued that historians had failed to focus on the unique character of the *sans-culottes* movement, specifically their idiosyncratic belief in traditional economic positions alongside demands for direct democracy.²⁷⁵ Soboul's work sought to return the popular movement to their rightful place within the history of the sections.

In his important work on the *sans-culottes*, Richard Mowery Andrews critiques Soboul's conclusions by essentially turning Soboul's view of the *sans-*

²⁷³ This is a similar point made by R. B. Rose in reference to the districts in 1789.

²⁷⁴ Soboul, xxv.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, xxvi-xxvii.

culottes on its head. In his view, Soboul's main problem was in not presenting the biographies of the *sectionnaires* in any depth, leaving their socio-economic status before and after the Revolution unexamined.²⁷⁶ Historians agree that the sources for such a study are both extremely scattered and limited in number, yet Mellié suggested a viable approach toward one aspect of this limitation. Mellié believed that the fairly uniform organizational structures of the sections made it wholly possible to piece together a detailed blueprint of their operations. Although sections varied greatly in terms of political and social orientations, their organizational and fundamental operations were quite similar, thus allowing for some degree of generalization regarding section procedures and even relationships among the *sectionnaires*.²⁷⁷ Mellié's work provides a significant foundation for this discussion of Momoro within the sections and his relationship to the *sans-culottes*. In addition, Mowery Andrews' innovative approach to tracing the economic status of artisans before and after the revolution provides a more fully contextualized picture of the *sans-culottes*, enabling us to locate Momoro as he continued his transition into a vocal political figure.

Section Théâtre-Français

Following the reforms of May and June 1790, the districts of Saint-André-des-Arts and the Cordeliers combined to form section Théâtre-Français. It was to be one

²⁷⁶ Richard Mowery Andrews "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-1794: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's *Les Sans-Culottes Parisiens en L'An II*," *Journal of Social History*, 19:1 (1985: Fall), 98.

²⁷⁷ Mellié, 6.

of the largest sections in terms of its active membership and it stood at the center of the revolutionary movement to democracy.²⁷⁸ The radical Cordeliers Club fell within its boundaries, which contributed considerably to the section's radical composition; for example, in 1791, every elector from the section was a Cordeliers Club member.²⁷⁹ A considerable number of well-known revolutionaries began their careers as electors from the section between 1790 and 1792, Momoro among them as well as men such as Danton, Marat, Desmoulins, Billaud-Varenne, Boucher Saint-Sauver, Chaumette, Fabre d'Eglantine, Fréron, Manuel, Robert, Sergent, and Vincent.²⁸⁰

The new section boundaries included numerous religious buildings and colleges, most notably the convents of Grands-Augustins and the Cordeliers and the College d'Harcourt.²⁸¹ The population of section Théâtre-Français was approximately 15,000 people, primarily composed of a mixture of artisans and lawyers; its population has been described as an 'aristocracy of workers' because of the prevalence of skilled artisans, with a large number involved in the printing and bookselling trade and all of the tasks involved with the production of texts.²⁸² On average, a typical

²⁷⁸ Section Théâtre-Français went through several different namings. In August 1792, it was renamed Section Marseille; a year later it became Section Marat, though sometimes referred to as Section Marseille and Marat. It reverted back to Section Théâtre-Français in February 1795.

²⁷⁹ Raymonde Monnier, "L'Évolution du Personnel Politique de la Section de Marat et la Rupture de Germinal An II" in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, No. 263, January-March 1986.

²⁸⁰ Soboul, *Dictionnaire de personnel*...454.

²⁸¹ Momoro published a libelle in 1790 entitled '*Lettre du Diable au Pape*' and used the imprint "Moromon, The Devil's Printer, residing in Paris, quartier Collège d'Harcourt." This is the only instance of his use of this address.

²⁸² Of all classes of artisans, printers/booksellers made up 17.3%. Cited in Monnier, 54.

master artisan employed ten workers.²⁸³ Printing and bookselling were concentrated in the area between the rue Saint-André-des-Arts and the rue de la Harpe; not coincidentally, Momoro's shop was on the rue de la Harpe, the densest artisansal sector of the section. Section Théâtre-Français was a relative wealthy section; Monnier concludes that the section was 'comfortable' and included a blend of classes of artisans in the print and luxury trades, smaller businesses, intellectuals and men in the legal professions.²⁸⁴ He asserts that the absence of clear social boundaries between the petit and 'medium' bourgeoisie provided the section's political leaders, like Momoro, with a larger repertoire of support to draw from during times of crisis. In terms of political action, the most active members of the section were booksellers, printers and apothecaires, after the members of the Six Corps²⁸⁵ of Paris.²⁸⁶

Section Théâtre-Français occupied the Cordeliers convent on the rue des Cordeliers free of charge; its various rooms served different needs for the section's numerous committees. Meetings of its general assemblies, strictly designated for purposes of debate, met in the room "Saint-Michel" until restoration of a section of the large dining room was completed.²⁸⁷ The church sacristy was used for meetings of the *comité de surveillance* while the *comité militaire* met in an office and bedroom to the left of the garden on the ground floor; the *comité de bienfaisance* met in the small

²⁸³ Monnier, Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Monnier, 58.

²⁸⁵ Considered among the most distinguished trades, the *Six Corps* included clothworkers, grocers, mercers, furriers, hatters and goldsmiths.

²⁸⁶ Monnier, 56.

²⁸⁷ A document that approves funds for the construction of a wall "in the former Cordeliers church to hold citizens from the section..." dated October 1792. BHVP 807 #202.

refectory, whose entrance laid in the courtyard de Cuisines. The section's guardroom occupied a separate courtyard on the rue des Cordeliers.²⁸⁸ The section's use of the Cordeliers convent is interesting in the way that Old Regime communal associations such as parishes continued to align people within the revolutionary associations of districts, sections and clubs. The parish relationships transcended the political events of the period.

Historian R.B. Rose refers to the sections of Paris as "workshops of democracy", a particularly useful analogy when thinking about artisans such as Momoro familiar with the Old Regime culture and structure of work based on skilled apprenticeships. In this sense, much the same as Momoro performed and benefited from his apprenticeship and journeyman's duties with increased confidence, skill and acumen, throughout his political career in section Théâtre-Français demonstrates a pattern of apprenticeship and mastery. Michael Sonenscher offers a different perspective on this 'workshop model', however, and asserts that the political and legal acumen that enabled artisans to find careers in sectional politics stemmed from a different type of corporate relationship, specifically in the numerous disputes between masters and journeymen.²⁸⁹ Essentially, their skills and abilities in navigating the legal system evolved out of the Old Regime, making them excellent candidates to maneuver in the more open, democratic system that would emerge post 1789. From either perspective, sectional politics was a logical step for artisans like Momoro. The

²⁸⁸ Mellié, 50-51.

²⁸⁹ Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural law, politics & the eighteenth-century French trades*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

political skills he practiced in the section proved useful as well in other venues, particularly in the Cordeliers Club, and also in the Jacobin Club and the Cercle Social.

The "bon patriot"

The following section examines the different roles Momoro occupied within section Théâtre-Français, as its printer, secretary, delegate and president. Although I have grouped the discussion around these roles, there seems to have been considerable fluidity between these positions. I have imposed this structure with the goal of better understanding the tasks that Momoro performed in each capacity and to tease out what it might reveal about Momoro and his political philosophy. As either secretary or president, Momoro witnessed, experienced and contributed to both mundane and historic events of the Revolution. His printer's skills helped to shape the section's communication with other sections, the legislature and the broader public audience in the form of pamphlets and placards. While it is difficult to identify Momoro's voice in this discourse with any certainty, I believe that we can see his intense passion and commitment and begin to understand the logic of his ideology, particularly when we examine his own writing on specific issues like the clergy, subsistence and price controls. The challenge here is in differentiating between those instances where Momoro serves as a spokesman for the section and when he speaks for himself.

Given that the majority of events Momoro took part in were reported and recorded by others, I have tried to interpret reports of Momoro's actions with a good deal of skepticism, always careful to mind possible assumptions, in the hope that the material might offer some clues about Momoro as an artisan and political figure. As with so much about Momoro, we are left to glean information indirectly from the sources, although clearly some sources are more fertile and make it considerably easier to draw out and identify some aspects of his complicated persona. One such example is an opinion piece written by Momoro in 1792 in response to Abbé Sieyès' pamphlet on religion.²⁹⁰ In a tangential section of the pamphlet, Momoro describes the qualities of the *bon patriot*, a man who happily accepts his role in the republic with pride and dedication. Arguably, Momoro describes himself here:

...the good patriots who have never betrayed their vows, who will never abandon the republic, either through frequently assisting at their section assemblies for working toward the general good, or in regularly frequenting the patriotic clubs; these supporters of liberty defend the republic with their writing, their behavior and their energetic character.²⁹¹

Momoro was active in every one of the areas he defines for the *bon patriot* - in the sections and clubs and as a writer. The "energetic" patriot resembles his own *energie* included in the quatrain beneath his portrait and in his responses to critics attacking

²⁹⁰ *Opinion de M. Emmanuel Sieyès... In response to the denunciation of the Decree by the Department of Paris, the 11 April preceding, on religious buildings and the general freedom of religion.* This is discussed later in the chapter.

²⁹¹ Momoro, *Réflexions d'un Citoyen sur la Liberté des Cultes Religieux*, 1792.

him for taking the "First Printer of National Liberty" title.²⁹² In fact, there is ample evidence in the archives of the *bon patriot* Momoro.

He first appears in archival records for his section as secretary for assemblies and eventually as president, at which point he becomes a regular and vocal presence. In her article on Section Marat, Raymonde Monnier asserts that Momoro surpassed his section cadre in a "quasi-permanent" fashion as a constant presence in the section's assemblies and presided often over the meetings. His continued presence through the Revolution sets Momoro apart from many of the other Cordeliers leaders who became less involved with sectional politics as the Revolution evolved. Monnier believes that Momoro remained "one of the most influential revolutionaries in the section Marat," not only because of his constant presence but because the poor in the section "relied on Momoro in the general assemblies."²⁹³

The municipal charter that created the sections outlined specific rules limiting section activities to electoral functions and provided strict procedures for their assemblies. The charter detailed the convocation of primary assemblies (for voting) and general assemblies (for debating) and also established the verification process for determining and recording each section's active citizenry. When the sections were first created in 1790, only the municipality could convoke the meetings, a tactic meant to discourage independence among the sections. However, after considerable debate and lobbying by the more radical sections such as Momoro's, the right to meet

²⁹² See Chapter 1 for discussion about Momoro's portrait and title and the ensuing criticism of his detractors.

²⁹³ Monnier, 63.

"in permanence" was granted between July and September 1792. The initial verification of active citizenship was a cumbersome process; once the names of each member were verified and recorded in two separate notebooks, the citizen was issued an admission card and invited to participate in the section's election of a president and secretary.²⁹⁴ The municipal charter also laid out the process for electing officers for each assembly; the elected members were to take an oath "that their views were in perfect accord with the the opinion of the *Comité de constitution*."²⁹⁵ Title V of the charter, Article IV, stated that once a meeting of the assembly was approved and explained by a citizen approved by the municipality, each subsequent assembly would nominate a president and secretary, to be determined by a simple plurality of the votes cast and reviewed by three oldest members.²⁹⁶ This process took place at each assembly, after which the president and secretary took an oath of allegiance, pledging "to maintain the constitution with all their power, to be loyal to the nation, to the law and the King, in choosing in their hearts and conscience, the most worthy citizens for the public confidence, and to fill with zeal and courage the civil and political functions to be conferred on them."²⁹⁷

Momoro initially appears as printer and secretary for section Théâtre-Français between 18 May and 5 July 1791. A meeting of 18 May details various business from the section's general assembly, including their deliberations on the right to petition, an

²⁹⁴ Mellié, p. 54-56 - cited minutes from a meeting of the Section Arsenal, 1790; Archives Nationale F1/2505.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 55.

²⁹⁶ Mellié, 21.

²⁹⁷ Mellié, p. 57 - cited minutes from a meeting of the Section Arsenal, 1790; Archives Nationale F1/2505.

important issue that would come to the foreground with the Champ de Mars massacre in July. The section pamphlet asserts the right to petition for every citizen taking the civic oath to defend the new constitution. Momoro's signature with the title *secrétaire-greffier* (recording secretary) appears down the right side of the pamphlet's first page. This would indicate that he played a more complex role than merely serving as secretary for the assemblies. The *secrétaire-greffier* worked for the *comité de commissaires*, a group of seven men elected by the section assembly and charged with surveillance, reporting to the police and ensuring that ordinances were carried out. The *secrétaire-greffier* recorded the minutes of the *commissaires* meetings and was paid with public monies, although the salary for this position is unknown.²⁹⁸ Both positions of *secrétaire* and *secrétaire-greffier* required writing and editorial skills because their tasks related to compressing information into dispatches and reports.²⁹⁹ It may be that Momoro appealed to members of his section because of his career in publishing and the fact that he was the author of a printing manual. When Momoro printed this pamphlet, he identified himself as the "first printer of liberty", one of many overlaps with his artisanal career during this period; as the revolution progresses, this overlap diminishes and his political career appears to take precedence

²⁹⁸ Mellié, 19-21.

²⁹⁹ Richard Mowery Andrews' study of the Justices of the Peace during this period includes interesting material on the role of the *secrétaire-greffier*, a relatively prominent position because of the required legal and procedural knowledge in drafting documents. See "The Justices of the Peace of Revolutionary Paris, September 1791-November 1794 (Frimaire Year III)" in *Past and Present*, Volume 0, Issue 52 (Aug.1971), 56-105.

over printing. However, this is purely speculative as it is difficult to compare his more private artisanal career with the very public political one.

Assembly meetings such as the meeting of 18 May generated a significant amount of paperwork, and, consequently, provided work for printers like Momoro. Sections regularly printed their deliberations and decrees to share with the other sections, as well as letters, invitations and identity cards. At the end of the aforementioned pamphlet, secretary Momoro wrote, "the present will be printed and sent to the other 47 sections with an invitation to instantly agree, and to name two commissaires to appear...to draft an address to the commune of Paris."³⁰⁰ Similarly, in a series of meetings of the Convention on subsistence and price fixing in April 1793, Deputy Levasseur asks that the proposed projects be printed and the discussion be taken up again the following week, indicating a relatively fast turnaround time expected of the printers.³⁰¹ This is commonly seen in the official documents of not only the sections, but also those issued from the municipality and the National Assembly. Not only did the municipality issue enormous quantities of printed ordinances and regulations via their municipal printer, but the sections also communicated with one another and the general citizenry through printed invitations, declarations and placards.³⁰² Momoro also printed materials for cabinet members and

³⁰⁰ *Section du Théâtre-Français, Extrait du registre des délibérations de la Section, du 18 mai 1791.* BHVP 807 #158.

³⁰¹ *Archives Parlementaires*, 25 April 1793, 319. The turnaround was nine days to meet the deadline of the next meeting on the subject.

³⁰² Pierre Casselle describes "the mountain of printed matter in the archives" produced by the municipal printer, who was charged with maintaining the flow of information in Paris. See his article, "Printers and Municipal Politics" in *Revolution*

committees. On August 29, 1792, Momoro received a payment of 600 livres as "president of the Section Théâtre-Français (dite de Marseille)" from the minister of the interior for printing a pamphlet written by Ronsin and Murville in honor of the citizens killed on August 10th.³⁰³ On the 27th November, (8 *frimaire*, an II) a handwritten bill signed by Momoro using his Old Regime title of imprimeur-libraire is addressed to the "Committee of Public Safety of Section Marseille/Marat."³⁰⁴ The bill details two completed jobs, the first on 12 May 1793 for a ream of receipts for civic donations; the second, dated 30 June 1793, for 400 tickets for "the contingent of the enlisted."³⁰⁵

As secretary for the section, Momoro drafted its documents for printing and distribution. We see evidence of this in different pieces that have survived in various stages of completion, written in Momoro's hand. Momoro appears as secretary for a general assembly on April 28th (along with Leclerc Saint-Aubin) that discusses the usurpation of power by the municipality; the declaration drawn up by Momoro and Saint-Aubin asserts the rights of the 48 sections in the deliberations over appointments to the Commune, specifically here the commander of the National

in Print: *The Press in France 1775-1800*, R. Darnton & D. Roche (eds), (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989)

³⁰³ AN AD1 102.

³⁰⁴ BHVP 811 No. 63.

³⁰⁵ One source reports that Momoro was actually named to replace Lottin as printer for the Commune of Paris on 11 August 1792. However, the same source later names Momoro's former associate, Patris, as the new printer for the Commune. Maurice Tourneux, *Procès-verbaux de la commune de de Paris, 10 août 1792-1er juin 1793: extraits en partie inédits publiés d'après un manuscrit des Archives nationales* (Paris: 1894), 12, 15.

Guard.³⁰⁶ A second piece in Momoro's hand is a letter, dated 16 June 1791, naming M. Claude Fournier '*américain*' as elector "for the second legislature", signed "secretary of the primary assembly."³⁰⁷ As secretary, Momoro was in charge of correspondence for the section, for both its general and primary assemblies. A third printed letter from Momoro to Fournier formally announces Fournier's election as one of 26 electors for the section. Momoro writes that "the primary assembly has charged me with giving you notice in order that you will prepare proof of your eligibility" to be presented at the upcoming meeting of the general assembly.³⁰⁸ Here, we might consider what, if anything, of Momoro exists in these documents? As a printer, he edited and composed (literally) materials for the press, choosing what parts of a sentence were necessary or not to fit the format for the job. This undoubtedly involved a degree of word play, moving words around the page, adding to or correcting what the author/client provided as copy.³⁰⁹

Momoro served as secretary during many significant section assemblies, such as the debate over the right of petitioning and here, as his section responded to the flight of Louis XVI to Varennes on 21 June 1791. Section Théâtre-Français initially asserted its autonomy over the municipal government but surprisingly acquiesced in recognition of the need for unity. Amidst the uncertainty of the royal family's

³⁰⁶ *Actes*, Vol. III, 770-771. Momoro also served as secretary for the Cordeliers Club on the same date regarding the same issue.

³⁰⁷ *Section du Théâtre-Français, assemblée primaires pour la nomination des électeurs*. AN F7 6504, dossier 70.

³⁰⁸ F7 6504 #83.

³⁰⁹ See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives, Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987) for examination into the early modern scribe's role in creating 'fictive' documentation.

whereabouts, the section responded to the increased presence of the National Guard in their area (decreed by mayor Bailly) by essentially sealing themselves off; they declared to an *aide-major* of the Guard, "to receive no other orders than those of the permanent committee of Section Théâtre-Français" and to stop all other *aides-de-camp* from coming into the territory of the section.³¹⁰ Their perceived insubordination in operating as an autonomous, legitimate authority led to the immediate denunciation by the *Conseil général* of the Commune, who deemed their actions unconstitutional. Secretary Momoro drafted a quick response from section Théâtre-Français, and surprisingly acquiesced to the Commune's condemnation. Momoro explains, "in a moment of danger, public safety was the supreme law"³¹¹; understanding the need for unity, Momoro promises their compliance in respecting the laws of the Municipality. It is notable how quickly the section changes its position; there is no way of knowing whether Momoro and his colleagues truly accepted the authority of the municipality in sending troops into their section, though their recognition of the need for unity seems compatible with their rhetoric in general.³¹²

Momoro's role as secretary seems to have lasted until early 1792, when he began to sit regularly as president of both primary and general section assemblies. But before delving into Momoro's role as president of the section, I will explore his

³¹⁰ *Actes*, Vol. V, 6-7.

³¹¹ *Actes*, Vol. V, 7-8.

³¹² Mellié, 99. Mellié claimed that the section's shift from its original autonomous stance stemmed from the failure of other sections to follow suit and oppose the authority of the municipality.

participation in the numerous deputations sent out from the section. Deputations were a significant element of the political culture of the sections, serving as a means of communication between sections to garner support and influence policy at the municipal and legislative levels; section deputies also visited the numerous political clubs, such as the Jacobins and Cordeliers. Many of the deputations Momoro participated in dealt with pressing issues of security during threats from internal and external enemies and reveal the section's continual negotiations with municipal authorities over issues of autonomy. Typically, the proposals brought by deputies to the neighboring section meetings were immediately discussed while they were still in attendance.³¹³ A prime example of this on-going debate is a meeting of the municipality on 31 May 1791 where Momoro appears as a *commissaire* for section Théâtre-Français. Momoro is joined by *commissaires* from eight sections to protest the municipality's decision concerning the "*canonniers soldés*" (paid soldiers) and to ask that they be incorporated into the Parisian National Guard.³¹⁴ The *commissaires* protested the usurpation of power by the municipality in the creation and/or dismissal of military forces. Momoro and his fellow *commissaires* presented their lengthy address, entitled *Les Commissaires des huit sections réunies pour la demande de la convocation de la Commune à l'effet de délibérer sur l'incorporation des canonniers soldés dans la bataillons, aux citoyens assemblés le 1er juin*.³¹⁵ The sections sought

³¹³ Mellié, 108-109. By 27 July 1792, a Central Bureau of Correspondance was created to serve as a central clearinghouse for section business in order to streamline information between sections and speed up the lines of communication.

³¹⁴ *Actes de la Commune de Paris pendant la Révolution*, Tome IV, 456-460.

³¹⁵ Source cited by Lacroix in *Actes*, as BN LB39/9956.

full participation in the decision making process and did not want to lose control of the guard in their areas. Section Théâtre-Français had asked for a convocation of the Commune on the 28 February yet nothing happened until the 31 May.³¹⁶

Section Théâtre-Français passed a resolution on 9 March 1791 in protest of the allegedly harsh treatment of prisoners at Vincennes, which included a severe denunciation of the municipality. Part of their denunciation related to the original decision by the municipality to convert the Keep of Chateau Vincennes into a prison in November 1790. Apparently influenced by a statement issued by the *Quinze-Vingts* section a week earlier denouncing the secret imprisonment of patriots at Vincennes, members of section Théâtre-Français' general assembly followed with their denunciation and called for the prison's demolition and the release of its prisoners.³¹⁷ Théâtre-Français' resolution invited all sections to join with them in calling for a convocation of the Commune in order to present their views.³¹⁸ Momoro and three other members were named as *commissaires* charged with presenting their views to the Directoire of the department.³¹⁹ As was customary, copies of their joint statement were to be printed, sent to the other forty-seven sections and, ultimately, brought to the Directoire by Momoro and his cohort. As a result of their concerted efforts, the prisoners at Vincennes were released on 21 March. This is a particularly useful example of the many-tiered process that sections followed in bringing their views

³¹⁶ Sections were unable to convoke their own assemblies until September 1792.

³¹⁷ *Actes*, Vol.III, 14.

³¹⁸ It is noteworthy that in spite of its radical reputation, members of Section Théâtre-Français followed the protocol regarding the convocation of assemblies.

³¹⁹ *Actes*, Vol. III, 14-16. The other commissaires with Momoro were: Verrières, Roch du Louvet and Lohier.

before the municipality, beginning with consensus building in order to present a strong appeal for a formal convocation of the Commune. The selection of *commissaires* to serve in the deputations and the information sharing between sections relied significantly on the printed decrees drafted by the section's secretary.

The issue of protecting Paris from external enemies became heightened in April as the uncertainty and fear promulgated by the declaration of war with Austria intensified. Amidst the declaration of war, section Théâtre-Français declared itself in permanent status on 28 May 1792 and sent a deputation of twenty-four of its members to the National Assembly to present them with the proclamation.³²⁰ On 10 June, Momoro was part of a deputation to the Legislative Assembly that declared their support for the decision to bring 20,000 additional National Guard members from the 83 departments to Paris to help in securing the capital.³²¹ Arguing against a petition that called the decision unconstitutional, Momoro and his colleagues pledged their support, asserting that "we will combine our arms with their arms, we will triumph together..."³²²

Momoro demonstrated his oratory skills in an appearance before the National Convention as spokesman for the section on 20 March 1793. His speech followed a deputation from the volunteer *Marseillais* army who had warned of the counter-revolutionary forces in the Midi and pledged to make "the sacred commitment to defend liberty and equality, to maintain the Republic one and indivisible..." by

³²⁰ *Archives Parlementaires*, Vol. XLIV, 214; Mellié, 104-105.

³²¹ The other deputies are Lebois, Anaxagoras, Chaumette, Déchaillon and Helyes.

³²² *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome XLV, 10 June 1792, 67.

ridging France of all tyrants.³²³ Momoro's evocative speech expressed a similar commitment to the defense of the Republic:

A party of citizens that section Théâtre-Français is obliged to furnish for coming to the defense of the Republic presents themselves before you.

It is in this sanctuary of liberty that these new spartans pledge to defend with ardor and with bravery, the sacred rights of humanity and national representation, to fight as brave republicans and save the country.

If our enemies are cowards enough to attack us from all sides, we are sizeable and daring enough to fight them from all sides. Their foolish fury transformed us into lions.

The destiny of free men is to conquer.

If crime is in the hearts of the tyrants, humanity is in the hearts of the French people. We will not abuse the victory that justice promises us. It is for the good fortune of men that we desire to bring justice.

We pledge, citizen representatives, to be worthy of liberty; we will take our oath.

Momoro's language here is particularly colorful in equating the section volunteers with "spartans" and "lions"; he evokes powerful images of professional warriors fighting for nothing less than "the sacred rights of humanity." Momoro redefines the sacred by removing it from its religious connotations and aligning it with humanity. He asserts the legitimacy of the French "with humanity in their hearts" over the tyrants' heart rife with crime. By blending religious and classical imagery, he outlines a new type of humanistic crusade in defense of the Republic. Following his speech, we get a rare glimpse into the patriotic theater of the Assembly, when Momoro and

³²³ *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome 60, 20 March 1793, 344.

the deputation are allowed to "march within the Convention" and proudly "traverse the room to the sound of a drum and amidst the cheering of the assembly."³²⁴ Momoro's energy and enthusiasm for the new Republic made him an ideal spokesman.

Eight months later, on November 13th, Momoro³²⁵ and a large delegation of twenty men from section Marat present a decree to the National Convention "concerning the republican ceremony to take place on the 24 Brumaire (14 November) in the former church Saint-André-des-Arts, for the inauguration of this national edifice under the name 'Temple of the Revolution', and extend an invitation to the National Convention to send a deputation there."³²⁶ A lengthier account of the ceremony, signed by Momoro in his role as president, includes some interesting rhetoric regarding the "roots of fanaticism that still infects the foundation of liberty", opposing "the mistakes of (religious) fanaticism and superstition" to reason and truth. Even though Momoro's message banishes religion, he makes use of a language tinged with it, just as they make use of the church buildings themselves.

The assembly general of section Marat, filled with the hallowed principles which establish liberty and eternal truth, having in all times and in all circumstances long rejected all those destructive prejudices of liberty and all the mistakes of fanaticism and superstition, gave its support unanimously to the following decree, proposed and enacted by the *comité révolutionnaire*, in

³²⁴ *Archives Parlementaires*, 20 March 1793, 344.

³²⁵ In this account of the deputation the reporter names "Momoro père"; this is the only mention I have seen of an elder Momoro, except for an identity card issued 10 August 1793 for Jacques Momoro, clearly Momoro's father. The remainder of the documentation for this deputation refers only to Momoro.

³²⁶ *Archives Parlementaires*, 13 November 1793, 144-145.

taking all suitable measures to solemnly assure the triumph of reason and truth.³²⁷

The purification of the former Saint-André-des-Arts, set for ten o'clock on the morning of the 14 November (24 Brumaire), involved correcting the mistakes of the past and ensuring that the "hallowed principles which establish liberty and eternal truth" replace superstition. This process of purification, enacted by the *comité révolutionnaire* of section Marat, "lock[ed] away in the sacristie of the church all the effects of religion and fanaticism from different sections of the church" until they could be transported "*à la Monnaie*." Following this ritual, Momoro led another deputation before the Convention in the name of section Marat and presented them with "a considerable quantity of chalices, patens, wafer boxes, crosses, censers, tunics, etc., and thirty-four diamonds."³²⁸ Momoro states that they dedicated a temple to the Revolution, noting, "they recognize no other gods than those of liberty and nature..." His deputation is one of several sections bestowing the Convention with the spoils from their churches; one account claimed "the majority of these deputations entered in procession, adorned with religious habits and preceded by drums... welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm."³²⁹ The imagery in this account is quite striking in its resemblance to a formal religious ceremony, complete with subjects

³²⁷ *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome LXXIX, 13 November 1793, 145. Source cited from AN, carton C280, dossier 770.

³²⁸ *Archives Parlementaires*, 15 November 1793, 294.

³²⁹ *Ibid.* Momoro's deputation also renewed a demand made by the commune "for the transfer of the Opera to the chambers of the *Comédiens français*, because its quarter suffers from the lack of a monument that will enrich many families." He asked that the matter be passed to the Committee of Public Instruction.

bestowing their fealty to God and King in the form of riches. Yet here, Momoro and his fellow deputies pledge their loyalty to a secular and natural philosophy of liberty: "and recognize from this point forward no other God than nature."³³⁰ We get a more complete picture of the celebration in the pamphlet published by the section Marat under Momoro's presidency.³³¹ Momoro presented the assembled crowd with his vision of the path forward, beyond liberty, and toward social justice. Momoro's voice is quite strong here as he invokes the necessity of assuring the subsistence of all citizens: "the torch of truth has been lit and the triumph of reason arrived, men have awakened from a long delirium."³³² He confidently asserts that "it is no longer enough to have established Liberty, consecrated the Republic, and destroyed superstition and fanaticism; it is still necessary to assure Citizens their existence and their enjoyment of the fruits of Equality. Without this we have done nothing."³³³ Momoro is essentially arguing for a revised revolutionary goal, one that focuses on the common good of all citizens, poor and rich alike. "Yes, citizens, everyone's good fortune depends on our individual happiness...That the rich share with the poor, that the hard working Citizen be assured of his livelihood without being reduced to the harsh poverty of this curse."³³⁴ Momoro's assertion of the wealthy citizen's social

³³⁰ Archives Parlementaires, 15 November 1793, 295. For a fascinating discussion on nature in revolutionary rhetoric, see Mary Ashburn Miller's *A Natural History of Revolution: Violence and Nature in the French revolutionary imagination, 1789-1794* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

³³¹ *Section de Marat et de Marseille, Séance des 23 et 24 Brumaire, l'an 2 de la République Française, une et indivisible.*

³³² *Ibid.*, 7.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 8.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

obligation to the poor is premised upon his belief that individual happiness is an essential element of society's overall well being, a truth "where liberty and the destruction of fanaticism must bring us."³³⁵ He ends the speech with a nod to his supporters: "*Vive la République, la Montagne et les Sans-Culottes.*"³³⁶

Thus far, we have seen numerous instances of Momoro's ardent participation in section politics and his close proximity to important issues of the period, as secretary, printer and deputy. Each of these roles afforded him a voice in the political process; as secretary, he drafted, edited and sent all correspondance and decrees, arguably a fairly powerful role in terms of his knowledge and use of rhetoric in crafting correct and persuasive correspondance. As one of the printers for the section, he could more fully edit the materials and give it a certain asthetic appeal based on his artisanal expertise; as deputy, Momoro physically experienced the larger political arena and exercised, perhaps even improved upon, his oratorical skills. What I find so interesting, and surprising, is the apparent fluidity between these different roles; Momoro moved between them in no obvious progression or pattern. For example, he begins to serve as president for the section in early 1792, although he also continues to perform the functions of secretary, albeit with less frequency. On the surface, his presidency might indicate his ascendancy in the section, yet his functioning in other capacities could be viewed as a more democratic non-ordering within the group. Here I am thinking of Momoro's insistence on *égalité*, as the 'first among equals', in his description of the printer's workshop and in his defense of taking the title 'first printer

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid., 9.

of national liberty.' His detractors clearly recognized the contradictions in Momoro's insistence on naming himself *premier*.³³⁷ This tension (and derision) followed him into his role as president for the section as well.

President Momoro

Specific information on the role of the president in section assemblies has proven difficult to find; therefore, the following discussion is premised in part on the duties of the district president because of their similar structures. Each district's president convoked all meetings of the primary and general assemblies and presided over debates. His signature decorated all official decrees and minutes from meetings and he managed personnel to carry out various commissions on his orders. The president sent notices to all active citizens about the time and reason for the assembly, prepared lists of officers for elections and addressed all complaints made by other assemblies. Momoro carried out some of these tasks as president of his section; his signature adorns countless decrees and proclamations and all manner of printed ephemera for the section. Beginning in April 1792, we see president Momoro's signature at the bottom of an identification card verifying the active citizenship of "M. Fournier" within the section.³³⁸ Momoro presided over the appointment of commissioners to the various section committees, as in his approval of two

³³⁷ See Chapter 1 for the full discussion of these issues.

³³⁸ F7 6504 #87.

commissioners to the *Comité de Surveillance* on 13 August 1792.³³⁹ Two months later, Momoro authorized the *comité de surveillance et militaire* to meet and name sixteen *commissaires* (two from each *arrondissement*) to take up collections "for the clothing and equipment of its volunteers."³⁴⁰ A day later, president Momoro signed an order for construction work to be done in the former Cordeliers *église*.³⁴¹ These somewhat mundane tasks performed by Momoro were balanced with weightier political issues involving the section during his presidencies.

Momoro spoke briefly about his role as president when called to the bar of the National Convention in October 1792; he adamantly protested their assertion that his presidency conferred responsibility on him for the section's controversial decree on voting procedures. He stated, "...I respond that I am not section Théâtre-Français; we know fully that a president does not make the decrees, that he is content with putting them to the vote."³⁴² Momoro describes his role as president as a figurehead and facilitator rather than a leader, as a citizen who votes with his fellow *sectionnaires* but does not make policy. If so, then why was Momoro chosen over any another member? What qualifications did he possess for the position? Was it simply a matter of Momoro's regular attendance? According to Mellié, both president and secretary of a section were elected daily by a simple plurality of votes and reviewed by three senior members of the section. Therefore, Momoro's regular presidency would seem

³³⁹ BHVP 802 #436. Momoro apparently served on this committee because the new commissioners were appointed "on the resignation of citizen Momoro."

³⁴⁰ BHVP 811, #62.

³⁴¹ BHVP 807, #202.

³⁴² *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome LII, 482. This is the only instance where Momoro addresses what his position means to him.

to reflect some popularity in the group, meaning that he possessed any number of skills that made him an effective facilitator. Anything beyond this is purely speculative given the lack of evidence.

Momoro's appearance before the Convention in October also reveals the significance that the role of president held in the eyes of some of his contemporaries. The issue at hand was a decree signed by Momoro as president that insisted on the use of the roll call vote for all elections; it boldly asserted, "considering that the National Convention have themselves established the mode of their elections by roll call...Section Théâtre-Français only conforms to their method that we believe to be the best..."³⁴³ Deputy Guadet denounced their decree as an overt act of rebellion against the law and called for a decree of accusation; fellow deputy Dartigoeyte followed with an attack on Momoro's impunity and likened his culpability as president to "a general who betrays the nation."³⁴⁴ He asserted that the decree was in fact orchestrated by Momoro: "[it] isn't the work of the citizens of the section; it is of some men who want to bring anarchy through division."³⁴⁵ Both deputies Guadet and Dartigoeyte seem to have understood something about the leadership position of the section president and even its secretary. Yet they may also have been familiar with, and biased by, Momoro's reputation in radical circles. We see something of this recognition in an angry statement made by fellow deputy Buzot, who had encountered Momoro before: "I am not surprised to see an act of rebellion signed by

³⁴³ *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome LII, 12 October 1792, 464.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 465.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

Momoro, by this man who.... I had snatched from the vengence of a crowd justly annoyed by the incendiary preaching of this heckler who wanted to share the land."³⁴⁶

Buzot's experience with Momoro reinforced his certainty that the "false patriot" Momoro would be behind *any* act of insubordination.

Other deputies, notably Marat, spoke in support of further investigation into the allegations of rebellion and the Convention voted to summon Momoro and secretary Peyre to ensure their signature on the controversial decree. Both men appeared before the bar the following day where Momoro claimed that the Convention's decree prescribing the "secret vote" had essentially crossed paths with section Théâtre-Français' deliberations on appropriate voting methods, thus reassuring his accusers that they had abided by the Convention's decree.³⁴⁷ However, after explaining away their alleged insubordination, Momoro added a caveat: "but at the same time, it was our opinion that the people have the right to protest against a law contrary to their interests..."³⁴⁸ Momoro's caveat raises the question whether his explanation for their defiance was plausible and/or sincere.

Momoro continues by further explaining his role in the section, noting, "It is not an individual who expresses himself through my person, it is as a representative of the

³⁴⁶ Ibid. Buzot is referring to an incident in the department of l'Eure, where Momoro distributed his controversial version of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which attacked the legitimacy of private property. Momoro allegedly met with considerable hostility and escaped. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the incident and Momoro's tenure as a *commissaire*.

³⁴⁷ *Archives Parlementaires*, 13 October 1792, 483.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

forty-eight parts..."³⁴⁹ Momoro thus downplays his individuality and presidency in favor of the larger fraternity of sections and acknowledges that the majority view (the Convention's decree on secret ballots) rendered the minority section Théâtre-Français submissive to their views. It is notable that Momoro adheres to the wishes of the Convention president and provides a full account of the alleged insubordination to the deputies. However, Momoro continues to challenge the president with his own refusal to speak for the section: "I myself am not section Théâtre-Français."³⁵⁰ Despite the president's apparent annoyance, Momoro nevertheless felt it necessary to make the point a second time:

To the demand made by the citizen president, I respond that I am not the section Théâtre-Français; we well know that a president does not make the decrees, and that he is content with putting them to the vote. I may no longer respond as to what the section will do on any other occasion, nor the opinions that they will have in meetings to come.³⁵¹

Momoro's refusal to continue highlights the tension between serving as the voice of the people, as a *bon patriot*, and what is arguably his prideful interest in filling this role. In his printing treatise, Momoro wrote that the foreman of the shop (*prote*) was "first among equals", and I believe that Momoro expressed that sentiment in this instance. In the end, Momoro and section Théâtre-Français were exonerated of any wrongdoing.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

In his capacity as president, Momoro also addressed the needs of the poor; in a letter to the Convention in mid October 1792, Momoro sent the Convention joint decrees by sections Théâtre-Français and Luxembourg naming *commissaires* to circulate in the markets to encourage support from the people for the newly issued *petits billets de la Maison de Secours*.³⁵² The Convention had addressed the issue of aid in September, setting aside three million livres for the *Maison de Secours*.³⁵³ Committees from the sections and the municipality were expected to distribute the notes as they saw fit. The two sections also decreed their intentions to write to the Convention, asking them to take the needs of the indigent citizens into considerations, specifically the means of exchange (*moyens d'échange*) necessary for the purchase of foodstuffs. Momoro's letter set off a lively debate regarding care for the indigent. Momoro's most fervent advocacy for the poor was his passionate speech at the dedication ceremony for the *Temple de la Révolution* in November the following year, in which he called for a renewed dedication to the needs of the indigent to alleviate the “curse” of poverty.

The president also attended fêtes commemorating important *journées* of the revolution. Many of these events were themselves commemorated in the form of printed pamphlets and contain speeches given by Momoro in his capacity as president of the section. In early November 1792, Momoro invited the "brothers from the other sections" and "all *fédérés* and bataillons" of Paris to join in a republican ceremony at the Cordeliers in honor of the brave citizens who died on August 10th, "shattering the

³⁵² *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome LII, 19 October 1792, 569.

³⁵³ *Archives Parlementaire*, 28 September 1792, Tome LII, 195-196.

throne of tyranny."³⁵⁴ Momoro's speech at the event begins with an overview of events, "in honor of the brave defenders of liberty and equality."³⁵⁵ He immediately evokes their patriotic "love of country" and "republican energy" and situates them within a heroic past; their selfless determination, he notes, "elevated the heart of Brutus above the sentiments of nature for the good of his country."³⁵⁶ Images of Brutus were common during the Revolution as an embodiment of civic virtue. Momoro's reference to Brutus is meant to evoke images of his ultimate sacrifice in executing his two sons for treason, for the safety of the Roman Republic. In emphasizing Brutus' rise above the "sentiments of nature", Momoro emphasizes the strength and perhaps necessity in sacrificing familial loyalties in order to ensure the greater good of the Republic.³⁵⁷

In a somewhat surprising move, Momoro, who was often accused of creating division, asked the assembly to remember the true spirit of the Republic and avoid factionalism: "Swear at this moment to not serve any faction, and let our hand be scorched on this tomb if our hearts betray this oath."³⁵⁸ He then addresses the women

³⁵⁴ BN LB 40-2160.

³⁵⁵ *Cérémonie Républicaine, En mémoire des braves Citoyens, des généreux Marseillois, et des Fédérés des Départemens, morts glorieusement à la journée mémorable du 10 Août 1792.* Thanks to the Newberry Library for providing me with a copy of this pamphlet.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 23.

³⁵⁷ Denise Amy Baxter, "Two Brutuses: Violence, Virtue, and Politics in the Visual Culture of the French Revolution", *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Volume 30, Number 3, (Fall 2006): 51-77. I have chosen to interpret Momoro's Brutus as a reference to the first Brutus, founder of the Roman Republic, who executed his two sons accused of treason. However, as Ms. Baxter discusses, the second Brutus who assassinated Caesar, was also evoked during the Revolution as a symbol of civic virtue.

³⁵⁸ *Cérémonie Républicaine*, 23.

and young citizens, "the hope of the country", asking them to support the interests of the Republic "to their last breath." Momoro conveys a paternalistic perspective in his final words to the women and children, "We have liberated you from servitude: acquaint yourselves with this dignity, come to respect it, as we learn to maintain it." Momoro's "we" clearly refers to the men of the Revolution and disavows any participation by women in the struggle. His paternalistic tone in speaking to both women and children as a single unit (*espoir de la patrie*) also serves to remove them from the adult male events that brought about the creation of the Republic.

He ends the speech urging all citizens to imitate the devotion of those who died on August 10th in whatever capacity they may be called upon in the new republic. Momoro then led the attendees "around the *catafalque* (bier) where they placed their *couronnes civics*."³⁵⁹ Momoro closed the ceremony by encouraging citizens to model themselves after those killed in the defense of their liberty:

Citizens, section Théâtre-Français has no need to thank you; we all have enjoyed this delightful feeling (of fraternity): your admiration and our satisfaction are shared; imitate the brave men that we remember and be entirely devoted to the interests of the country, whose unity and fraternity tie us closely together.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 2.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

The ceremony's attendees - the Marsellais, deputies and men and women citizens - marched past Momoro and fellow speaker, Chaumette, bestowing upon them "the kiss of peace."³⁶¹

Just as the printed speeches given by Momoro as president informed neighboring sections of ongoing political news and events, printed placards posted in the neighborhoods of Paris was an effective way of reaching members of the general public outside of the section assemblies. The name of the president and secretary of the section were printed at the bottom of the piece. Two large placards posted under Momoro's presidency illustrate their use as public notices of important events and as propaganda for particular issues. The first placard, dated December 20 1792, contains an excerpt from the deliberations of section Théâtre-Français, asserting that the section "effectively provoked, with the sans-culottes of the fauborgs, the insurrection of August 10."³⁶² The piece celebrates the section's massive public distribution of weapons during the insurrection: "All Paris witnessed this abundant distribution of arms."³⁶³ After establishing their preeminence in the historic *journée*, Momoro asks that the arms be returned to help protect the public, along "with the sans-culottes", from the agitators seeking to bring down the Republic.³⁶⁴ The section pledges to hunt down the cowards and enemies of the new republic and name them publicly,

³⁶¹ Ibid. The pamphlet was printed by C.J. Gelé, *Imprimeur de la Gendarmerie Nationale*, rue de la Harpe, No. 173; Gelé was in very close proximity to Momoro's shop.

³⁶² BN FOL-LB40-2157. C.J. Gelé also printed this placard.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

"however few in number they may be."³⁶⁵ This serves as a warning to all those viewing the placard, who would doubtless share the threat with their brethren in the neighborhood or section. The placard also acknowledges the significant role played by the sans-culottes both in the insurrection of August 10th and in their vigilance "unmasking" hypocrites and slanderers of the "true patriots". The end of the piece makes public their position on the fate of the King, "...in memory of the victims of 10 (August), and by the need to be free, Louis will perish, or no republican will survive him."³⁶⁶ Notably, the King would begin his defense on December 26th, a few days after the placard appeared.³⁶⁷

A second placard signed by Momoro and section Théâtre-Français entitled, "Response to the Slanderers" was directed towards Momoro's slanderers in particular.³⁶⁸ Dated January 13 1793, it begins with an acknowledgment of the constant slander directed toward the section by a "dying aristocracy." The placard reveals something of what Momoro's fellow *sectionnaires*, and his enemies, thought about him and his presidencies. Most notable is the way his detractors apparently targeted Momoro for his frequent presidency. The placard focuses almost entirely on Momoro, "a citizen unjustly attacked... whose every moment has always been employed in performing patriotic work; we immediately rise up to tear the sword from the hands of the slanderer that he would use to assassinate a patriot." It alleges

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Momoro attended the King's execution in January 1793 as part of a delegation from the Department of Paris.

³⁶⁸ *Régistre des Deliberations du 13 Janvier 1793*. BN FOL-LB40-2157.

that Momoro's detractors reproach him for "having been retained in the presidency of the Assembly." There is no further explanation of what his frequent presidency meant to them but it seems plausible that his detractors viewed this as dictatorial and contrary to the democratic spirit of the assemblies. Another interpretation might be that Momoro used this power for personal gain. Evidence for the latter comes a bit later in the placard: "you accuse him of embezzling the funds of the section." They defend (and explain) Momoro's regular presidency as "the reward for his regular work and authentic proof of the esteem felt by fellow citizens." Whereas his detractors view his presidency as evidence of his abuse of power, Momoro's supporters see it as proof of his diligence and the high regard of his colleagues in the section.³⁶⁹ His supporters go on to cite Momoro's nomination "to one of the premier positions in the Department" as "certain proof" of the general regard for him outside of his section, a reference to Momoro's appointment to the Department of Paris in 1793. And finally, they address the heart of the allegations against Momoro, "know this, slanderers, that he was never in charge of handling any funds or any management of this kind." What I find interesting about this piece is the rather odd progression of the allegations against Momoro; his frequent presidency appears to be the more serious point of contention, above the criminal accusation of embezzlement. The placard finishes with a plea to journalists, "*encore vrais patriotes*", to share with their audiences "this slap in the face given to the slanderers." Not only do the *sectionnaires* want the public to

³⁶⁹ This difference in the interpretations of Momoro's behavior - as either corrupt or diligent - encapsulates the split in public opinion that followed him throughout his political career.

understand Momoro's virtuous position in the section, they also want to showcase their response to the slander of one of their own. Their appeal to patriotic journalists reveals both the significant role journalists played in spreading the section's news, from placard to journal to pamphlet, and influencing public opinion as well as their own acumen in exploiting journalistic skills to further their interests.

Momoro signed this and other placards but this does not tell us what he contributed to its narrative or to the decision to post it. Despite the evidence about his different roles within his section, we still don't know how much real power or influence he had as president beyond the proscribed administrative duties discussed above. Momoro appears to be quite self-effacing in public as a representative of the section rather than as its leader. When called to the bar of the Convention in October, Momoro repeatedly insisted on his equal status with his fellow *sectionnaires* and refused to speak *as* the section. Although his signature adorns numerous proclamations, letters, and pamphlets, it is important not to assign too much directorial credit to Momoro. However, it is clear that the public's *perception* of his numerous roles within the section became a source of derision. As we saw above, those in support of Momoro perceived his ardent participation as diligence whereas his enemies viewed him as corrupt and dictatorial.

Three Documents

Momoro's written work on political issues is widely dispersed in various formats such as letters, essays, petitions, reports and speeches. I have chosen three

examples of his writing to more fully explore his political views, each written in response to a specific crisis between 1791 and 1793 - the massacre at the Champ de Mars, the Tolerance decree for refractory priests and the ongoing crisis over price controls. The texts provide insight into Momoro's unwavering political sensibilities as well as his impressive rhetorical skills.

Pétition à l'Assemblée Nationale

The first piece is his *Pétition à l'Assemblée Nationale*, written after his arrest and imprisonment for his role in the protest at the Champ de Mars in July 1791.³⁷⁰ The unpopular decision by the National Assembly to retain Louis XVI in power as the head of a constitutional monarchy despite his attempted escape from France provoked enormous protests. Approximately 20,000 citizens assembled, some to sign the petition drawn up by the Cordeliers Club that called for the removal of the King as head of state. Momoro attended the assembly in his capacities as a member of the Cordeliers Club and as an elector for the department of Paris and was arrested as the National Guard closed ranks on the crowd. Momoro's arrest appears to have had quite an impact on him. Sometime in September, he published his "Petition to the National Assembly", asking for reparations for his lengthy imprisonment and subsequent loss of livelihood. The petition discloses a great deal about Momoro's strong sense of honor and justice, although his evocation of these values may have been rhetorical to some degree. He immediately begins with a bold statement defining the wrongfully

³⁷⁰ Momoro, *Pétition à l'Assemblée Nationale*. BN 8-LN27-14429.

imprisoned group of men. Rather than begin the piece with a denunciation of the shooting at the Champ de Mars, Momoro chooses to emphasize the qualities of the men arrested: "Virtuous citizens, friends of liberty and the constitution, electors of the Department of Paris, have been slandered, persecuted, accused, and thrown in irons, their honor compromised." His use of the more formal third person creates a degree of anonymity, drawing his audience in to learn more about this grave injustice. His relationship to the event is not yet revealed but Momoro is clear about his motivation - "a resounding reparation is owed" those harmed by the arrest.

He describes in general terms the "real" problem that the group faces; he claims that the true perpetrators of the plot that unfolded at the Champ de Mars had gone unpunished and innocent men, like himself, have no recourse to prove their innocence. The amnesty issued on 14 September that freed Momoro and his compatriots, "made it impossible for these citizens to bring their innocence to light by exposing the despicable plot that led to the unfortunate *journée* of 17 July and its criminal authors."³⁷¹ Although Momoro touches on his belief in a conspiracy behind the "massacre", his objective lies elsewhere; he returns to the lack of justice conferred by the amnesty. He writes, "...having thus experienced all the horrors of captivity, they have come up against the most atrocious denigrations, and ... will not be able to

³⁷¹ The plot that Momoro alludes to is the popularly held belief that the municipality and National Guard conspired to compromise the liberty of the people in order to placate the aristocracy. According to David Andress, the cultural climate on the eve of the Revolution was one "of turbulent fear, alarm and suspicion, a population 'forever on the lookout' for plots..." See Andress, *Massacre at the Champ de Mars: Popular Dissent and Political Culture in the French Revolution*, (Boydell Press: Suffolk, UK, 2000), p. 37.

obtain Justice. A decree prevents this." Momoro hints here at his problem with the amnesty decree in that amnesty is for criminals, a category that he and his fellow electors do not fit into.

Momoro's petition then takes an unusual narrative turn as he makes a rare personal revelation. Moving to a first person voice, Momoro describes his own experience in prison as "one of these oppressed citizens." By switching his perspective in this way, his personal story turns to represent the whole, and instills his writing with stronger rhetorical power. As he describes his arrest and imprisonment, his feelings of humiliation, fear and outrage are laid bare.

A father of a family, grabbed from my home in the middle of that horrible night by an excessive number of soldiers, thrown mercilessly in irons, dragged like a vile felon to the tribunals, mixed with criminals and assassins, deprived, in contempt of the law, of the sweet consolation of seeing my friends. I suffered the horrors of this captivity for twenty-two days...

It is interesting to note the order of the denigrations that he experienced. He begins by qualifying himself as "a father of a family" which immediately enhances his image as a virtuous citizen and legitimates his outrage. Being a father is akin to being a good citizen, and Momoro is representing both his family and his fellow citizens. Imagining him taken from his home in the middle of the night at an undignified hour, the reader can imagine the fear this must have engendered in Momoro and his family; to make matters worst, numerous soldiers entered the family home, a point Momoro makes certain to emphasize to further highlight the absurdity of his arrest. Momoro's personal humiliation is quite evident here, as he is put in irons and "dragged like a

vile felon to the tribunals" and is forced to mingle with "criminals and assassins." Here, Momoro stresses that he is a citizen *within* the law, not a trespasser of the law like the felons, a law-abiding citizen illegally deprived of the company of friends. He writes that he was in fact, "wrongfully kidnapped" and held for twenty-two days, causing him to contract "an agonizing illness" that "almost stole me away from my young wife and son"³⁷²; due to his absence from his printing business during his imprisonment and subsequent illness, he notes that his "means of existence were devastated". Momoro's invocation of his arrest as a kidnapping reinforces its illegality and transfers criminality to the National Guard and the municipality who ordered his arrest; they are on par with the "criminals" he is forced to associate with in prison.

Momoro claims that his vindication was close at hand when the amnesty was decreed, which pardoned him from "an imaginary crime." The amnesty robs him of the ability to repair his damaged honor. While he began the petition speaking for the group of virtuous citizens wrongfully arrested, Momoro finishes the statement for himself, demanding from the National Assembly "an act of Justice" in the form of reparations, "in proportion to the persecutions which I have been the innocent victim." His insistence on reparations for himself reorients the focus of the petition to Momoro himself, apart from the group, which exposes an irresolvable tension between his standing as an individual and as a member and spokesman for a wronged group.

³⁷² His wife, Marie Françoise Josephine, was 22 years old; their son, Jean-Antoine, born eleven months after their marriage, was 4 years old.

Momoro finished by signing the petition as "First Printer of National Liberty" and "elector for the department of Paris." It was somewhat unusual for him to emphasize his print identity before his political one; perhaps he identified himself as a printer first because he sought reparations for lost revenue. Another interpretation is that Momoro had been redefining what it meant to be a printer under the new press freedoms and exerted complete control over its content and form of the petition, crafting it rhetorically and materially. In doing so, the "first printer of national liberty" became the self-appointed spokesman for those arrested and for himself. With Momoro's use of his title in the petition, the social meaning of printer becomes central to the creation and maintenance of liberty under the revolution. Moreover, the act of writing, printing and signing the petition exemplifies the printer's intellectual and material labor.

Réflexions d'un Citoyen...

The next piece by Momoro is a long pamphlet entitled *Réflexions d'un Citoyen sur la Liberté des Cultes Religieux, pour servir de reponse à l'opinion de M. l'Abbé Sieyes*.³⁷³ Broadly speaking, the pamphlet addresses the issue of religious freedom but it also contains Momoro's impassioned support of "the people." Written in response to Sieyes' opinion piece supporting religious freedom and refractory priests, Momoro's editorial hones in on Sieyes' derision of protesters accused of attacking priests who

³⁷³ *Réflexions d'un Citoyen sur la Liberté des Cultes Religieux, pour servir de reponse à l'opinion de M. l'Abbé Sieyes, Suivies de quelques observations sur les personnes en place, et sur les elections prochaines*. BN LD4 3556.

had refused to take the required oath of loyalty in 1791. Momoro's relationship to religion is frequently commented on in the historiography of the Revolution with regard to the secular fêtes and his wife's infamous role as the Goddess of Reason in 1793. Some historians have asserted that Momoro opposed religion entirely and forced his Catholic wife, Sophie, to deny her faith and participate in the secular celebration.³⁷⁴ However, in this early pamphlet, Momoro expressed a less oppositional view of religion and agreed in principle that freedom of religion must be protected, as "a natural right like the liberty to express one's opinions".³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the pamphlet vehemently supports the right of "the people" to protest the actions of non-juring priests.

The revolution marked an acceleration of the process of secularization in France as national sovereignty increasingly took precedence over the authority of the Catholic Church and Rome in particular. The Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen eliminated the tithe in August 1789, followed by the state's confiscation of church property to pay the national debt in November. In June 1790, legislators crafted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, intended to codify and strengthen the clergy's allegiance to the state; the bill detailed the position of the clergy within the new civil order under a sovereign constitution, thus severing ties to the papacy.³⁷⁶ As demonstrations for and against the Civil Constitution began in earnest throughout

³⁷⁴ Chapter Four contains a longer discussion of Momoro's views on religion in relation to the counter-revolution in the Vendée in 1793.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 3.

³⁷⁶ Furet, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (eds) François Furet & Mona Ozouf (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1989), 455.

France and in Paris, the political clubs and radical societies such as the Cordeliers put pressure on refractory priests to pledge their allegiance to the new Constitution. The contentious debate over the constitution and the controversial oath of loyalty for members of the clergy lingered on until November 26th, causing the Constituent Assembly to decree a two-month grace period for non-juring priests. Despite the extension, only a third of ecclesiastical members of the Assembly and a handful of bishops had pledged their loyalty to the new constitution by January 1791. The clergy's resistance to the oath was so great that by the end of January, the Assembly backed off again from their original requirement for taking the oath and permitted refractory priests not already replaced in their parishes by juring clergy to remain there and receive a small pension from the state. Further conciliation followed in May, when the Assembly issued a decree of tolerance for refractory priests, allowing them to celebrate mass in "constitutional" churches, or to buy or rent churches for the sole purpose of saying mass. At the same time, the decree forbade any non-juring priest from speaking out against the Civil Constitution or the constitutional clergy.³⁷⁷

The tolerance decree of May 7th illustrates one of many ruptures that developed between the Legislative Assembly and the administrative municipality of Paris. By granting tolerance to refractory priests, the Assembly overrode the municipality of Paris in its desire to closely monitor and punish priests who gathered falsely under the pretext of religion to protest the civil oath and the Constitution. The

³⁷⁷ Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 27.

extended debate between the Assembly and the municipality hinged on the degree of religious freedom granted in the Declaration of Rights of Man.³⁷⁸ The Legislative Assembly ruled that the municipality overstepped its boundaries in drafting a law to deal with refractories, but amended the tolerance decree to include the municipality's concerns; the second amendment provided for the punishment of priests who attacked either the civil constitution of the clergy or the new constitution itself.³⁷⁹

As a member of the *Directoire* of the department of Paris, Sieyes responded angrily to the Legislative Assembly's denunciation of the municipality's decree in a lengthy pamphlet entitled *Opinion de M. Emmanuel Sieyes... In response to the denunciation of the Decree by the Department of Paris, the 11 April preceding, on religious buildings and the general freedom of religion.*³⁸⁰ Although Sieyes argues in this pamphlet for greater municipal autonomy in restricting the actions of non-juring priests, more important for Momoro's rebuttal is the fact that Sieyes asserts the need for stricter protection of non-conforming religious assemblies through more specific language in the law (as had also been initially decreed by the *Directoire* of Paris) to ensure swift persecution of violent protesters against the refractories. He argued

³⁷⁸ *Actes de la Commune de Paris pendant la Révolution*, ed. Lacroix, 2nd series, tome III, 563-575.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 574.

³⁸⁰ *Opinion de M. Emmanuel Sieyes, Député de Paris à l'Assemblée Nationale, le 7 Mai 1791; En réponse à la dénonciation de l'Arrêté du Département de Paris, du 11 Avril précédent, sur les Edifices religieux & la liberté générale des Cultes.*

persuasively for the need to keep public order to ensure the protection of religious liberty at the departmental level.³⁸¹

Momoro's pamphlet begins as a response to Sieyes' tolerant position toward the non-juring clergy. In contrast to Sieyes' *Opinion*, Momoro entitled his pamphlet "Reflections of a Citizen", thus presenting himself as pensive, thoughtful and open, and conveying to his readers his intention to consider the issues rather than merely judge them. Yet the opening lines of the piece depart from this immediately with its zealous language and tone rather than measured inquiry. Momoro boldly announces, "We will never contradict our character; we will always hold to the sacred principles of liberty and the rights of man and citizen when we have opinions to express."³⁸² As he did in his petition for reparations discussed previously, Momoro speaks here using "we" and presents himself both as a principled, upright citizen exercising his rights of free expression and as a representative of the people's interests. In contrast to the formality of Sieyes' frontispiece, which details his official capacity as Deputy to the National Assembly, Momoro tenders his identity as a defender of liberty.

Momoro assures his readers, "we have read with reflection" Sieyes' *Opinion*, thus emphasizing the thoughtfulness of his approach. He respectfully asks Sieyes to admit that Catholicism is essentially divided into two sects because of the refractory clergy, to "assure us of the good faith and intentions of the refractory priests, as well

³⁸¹ The extensive debate between Sieyes and the Assembly is quite interesting on many levels, particularly with regard to the question of the parameters of municipal, state and federal power. See *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome XXV, 18 April & 7 May 1791, in addition to Sieyes' pamphlet.

³⁸² *Réflexions*, 1.

as their flocks."³⁸³ Momoro ensures Sieyes that, with his guarantee, "we will yield immediately" and respect the tolerance decree. Obviously, Momoro is not asking for Sieyes' personal guarantee but his request serves the purpose of instilling his discourse with civility and rationality from the outset, quietly demonstrating that Sieyes, or any person, is incapable of guaranteeing the loyalty of the non-juring priests. He rhetorically pauses to wait for Sieyes' response to his request for assurance and fills the space with his argument against the treachery of the refractories and their supporters.

But meanwhile...we take a quick glance at the suspect, if not to say treacherous, intentions of the unsworn priests, intentions known not only by their resistance to the law but by maneuvers that they practice in different parts of the kingdom in order to light the torches of fanaticism, to give birth to those cruel wars of religion that ravaged the kingdom in the past...³⁸⁴

His strong language here evokes intense suspicion by tying the priests to the past violence of religious wars. Rather than present an argument against any particular religious doctrine or religion, Momoro establishes the threat posed by the refractories. Because there are significant things to fear with regard to past religious violence and fanaticism, the people have a right to their disobedience of the tolerance decree; he boldly asserts, "this disobedience would be civic virtue."³⁸⁵ Here he twists the notion of obedience to the law by asserting that the priests' "resistance to the law" (meaning the law requiring renunciation of loyalty to Rome) makes them

³⁸³ Ibid, 2.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

untrustworthy, yet then goes on to defend "the people" who break the law regarding freedom of religion. Momoro seems to understand that he must vindicate his behavior beyond just showing the risks of past religious wars; he does not want to acknowledge that the people are breaking the law on par with the actions of the priests. Momoro thus qualifies his views by turning the idea of resistance on its head: "But fortunately, we are in a more advantageous position, our resistance is precisely obedience to the law, as we will soon prove."³⁸⁶ Although the people may have *technically* broken the law by violating the civil protections of the refractory priests, their resistance follows a greater Law. Momoro passionately defends the legitimacy of the citizens as purveyors of "the Law" and endows them (and him) with the innate ability to determine authentic religious gatherings from illegitimate ones. Momoro suggests two forms of law essentially, the authentic law of the people and the counterfeit law of the refractories. Liberty itself is the guiding principle behind authentic law and its full protection trumps all else: "We impose the strict obligation to oppose with all our effort anything that would reverse the liberty that we have won and intend to preserve."³⁸⁷ Because liberty is their ultimate authority, any resistance to its infringement is in effect obedience.

Momoro frames his support of the people in juxtaposition to what he sees as Sieyes' disrespectful attitude. In his *Opinion*, Sieyes reported, "These religious meetings were threatened in a scandalous manner by a malicious crowd, a mob that

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 2-3.

we will no longer refer to as "the people."³⁸⁸ Momoro is clearly incensed by such a characterisation and vehemently defends the crowd's actions as highly principled:

If the good citizens that M. Sieyes no longer wants to call *le peuple*...oppose the refractory priests celebrating mass in venues other than those allowed under the law, under the specious pretext of liberty of religion, they are right and doubly right; they act not only as true patriots, as free men, but also as men who respect the law and who are in the spirit of the law.³⁸⁹

While Sieyes has taken away the people's dignity by referring to them as a mob, Momoro infuses them with respect, insight and goodness. The spirit of the law is within their right actions in defense of liberty. It is notable that Momoro dismisses the refractory priests for their disobedience to the civil law but does not grant them the same freedom of conscience; their disobedience is against the new constitution and liberty, therefore wrong and quite possibly counter revolutionary. He characterizes what Sieyes sees as the practice of freedom of religion not as a protected enactment of liberties but as a "specious pretext." He also disregards any possible similarity between a transcendent libertarian authority and the religious authority of God as legitimizers of dissent.

Momoro then changes his tone, calmly stating that he can "easily prove" the legality of the people's behavior. Momoro offers a concession to Sieyes: "that liberty of religion is a natural right like the liberty to express one's opinions and we must not

³⁸⁸ *Opinion de M. Emmanuel Sieyes, Député de Paris à l'Assemblée Nationale, le 7 Mai 1791; En réponse à la dénonciation de l'Arrêté du Département de Paris, du 11 Avril précédent, sur les Edifices religieux & la liberté générale des Cultes.*

³⁸⁹ *Réflexions*, 3.

disrupt its exercise in a free state."³⁹⁰ Yet he makes an important distinction between liberty of religion and the "religion" practiced by the refractories; clearly, Momoro does not consider their position to be a religious one. Citing an example of a peaceful Protestant mass in June 1791 at Saint Thomas du Louvre, Momoro explains his position: "the people were enlightened by the decent manner which the partisans of this religion comported themselves in this temple."³⁹¹ The people did not bother them because the Protestants were actually practicing their religion rather than fomenting against the government. In this example, we see that Momoro is clearly not against religion but extremely fearful of counter-revolution.³⁹² He believes that those present at Saint Thomas du Louvre appreciated "the essential distinction between the different known religions and the supposed new genre of religion that the refractory priests want to sanction."³⁹³ Momoro implies that "the people" act properly when there is no cause for them to act improperly.

His measured tone begins to shift as he passionately attempts to expose the priests as leaders of an impending civil war inadvertently sanctioned by the National Assembly's misguided tolerance decree. He asks, "if the patriots don't see in the conduct of the refractory priests and in that of their partisans, an initial germ of civil

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid. An article in the *Journal Général de France*, 8 June 1791, remarked on the peaceful assembly of Protestants on rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre. Momoro's reference is to an incident at Saint-Thomas du Louvre, but this church took the name of Saint-Louis-du-Louvre in 1744. I am assuming that these are the same incidents, in part because it is plausible that Momoro referred to the church by its former name.

³⁹² This is an important distinction. During his tenure in the Vendée, Momoro railed against "fanatics" misleading the people in the name of religion and makes a similar distinction between religion and its misuse.

³⁹³ Ibid, 3-4.

war that will develop over time if we don't destroy it first?" Momoro firmly believes that the disloyalty of the non-juring priests will serve to divide the country into factions. Although the refractories are relegated to saying mass in specific parish churches, Momoro asks Sieyes how the decree could be realistically carried out given "the conduct of the refractory priests and their partisans." The "initial germ of civil war" will develop and spread "if we don't destroy it from the beginning."³⁹⁴ In order for liberty to maintain its precarious foothold in France, Momoro condones and promotes intolerance towards the refractories. He asks, "Who would dare condemn the wise behavior and patriotism of the people, the hard-working people who know suffering without complaint, provided they are free...the people who love the revolution for the revolution itself, not like the schemers who only appear to adopt it to solicit for their positions..."³⁹⁵ His invocation portrays himself and the people as patriots inspired and driven by liberty with limitless dedication to the revolution for itself. They are imbued with innate wisdom and keen instincts that enable them to unearth the inauthentic behavior masking the false religion of the refractories. Momoro's passionate and intense language brings to mind a secular religious movement, as he describes an asceticism of the people based in faith and love of the revolution "for itself." Their authentic love of the revolution and protection of liberty stands in stark contrast to the self-interested schemers and hoarders. Momoro's evocation of hoarding is powerful as it connects the refractories and their followers to

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 4.

³⁹⁵ *Réflexions*, 5.

the selfish hoarders that plague Paris, committing the ultimate crime against the revolution.³⁹⁶

Because the date of Momoro's *Réflexions* is unknown, I can only speculate that the next segment of the pamphlet may reflect his own experience of imprisonment after the events at the Champ de Mars. In attempting to further demonstrate the citizens' good intentions and the "innumerable abuses of power and incredible humiliation" they endure, Momoro describes what could have been his own arrest: "We transport them to prisons and question the majority of these unfortunate victims while they are locked away, their only crime is being a patriot."³⁹⁷ As with his petition for reparations after his arrest, Momoro seeks justice in asking that the suspect behavior of these "enemies of the revolution" be carefully scrutinized. Momoro seems to be speaking both to the officials who, in support of the refractory priests, turn a blind eye to the abusive treatment of the people and to the refractory priests as well. He seems to include Sieyes in the former category because he includes a second comment about Sieyes' slur, wryly noting "the people that you would like to depict as a horde of agitators."³⁹⁸ Men such as Sieyes, "close their eyes to the cries of the unfortunate, oppressed patriots."³⁹⁹ Momoro begins to attack more specifically the corruption of "perverse administrators" and "lying magistrates", men elected by the people to represent their interests but who betray them in the end,

³⁹⁶ Momoro is ambiguous when speaking of hoarders in this passage; he may be referring to officials as well as clergy.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

mistakenly believing "they were no longer members of the people they oppressed."⁴⁰⁰ He alludes here to the false pride that makes the administrators more interested in their positions and status than in representing the needs of the people.

In contrast to these perverse and specious men, Momoro characterizes the "good magistrate" much as he did the "good patriot". He implies that perhaps because the number of good administrators is small, they are forgotten, but their dedication is complete and unwavering. "Their only glory is to earn the esteem of the people through their candor and loyalty of character."⁴⁰¹ Momoro qualifies issues in extremes; people are either completely committed or completely treasonous. His "good magistrate" is forthright and dedicated to speaking the truth, no matter how painful; such officials "live and breathe only for liberty." Momoro insists that such men "blush to think otherwise and believe themselves unworthy of being men, if they were to betray these sentiments."⁴⁰² Momoro's tremendous evocation of the selfless civil servant is powerful in its complete and utter dedication to the needs of the citizenry. He assures his reader that officials who follow any other principle bring shame and humiliation to themselves.

Momoro then turns to counsel his readers, urging citizens faced with real and potential threats to their hard-won liberty to use their freedom wisely in order to protect and safeguard it from the unscrupulous. He alludes to "the next elections" and asks patriots, "remember that your first duty is to be vigilant in the maintenance of

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

liberty."⁴⁰³ Such vigilance is necessary to sniff out false patriots and support instead the true patriots, easily recognized by their commitment to the public good through their "real work" in section assemblies, patriotic clubs, and in their writing. They alone will defend liberty "under peril of their own lives."⁴⁰⁴ Momoro's views here point to his own interest and participation in the political arena. It is quite plausible that Momoro is positing himself as the good civil servant here, an administrator who defends liberty at all costs. He was very active in his section during this period and eventually became one of its electors a year after his pamphlet was published. His future role as an administrator and *commissaire* for the department of Paris clearly points to his fervent commitment to political engagement. Momoro warns citizens "to resist these schemers who under the appearance of their manufactured patriotism seek to capture your vote; resist these men who want to affectionately take your hand and call you friend, these men who have always regarded you as beneath them."⁴⁰⁵ He points again to the disjuncture between "the people" and the pretenders who "only idle at our assemblies to thwart us or beg for our vote during an election."⁴⁰⁶

Momoro returns to the initial focus of the pamphlet and Sieyes' dismissal of the people as a mob. Sieyes' sentiment, along with the behavior of the insincere administrators and magistrates who manipulate the people to serve their own goals, exposes their underlying disdain. Momoro's antidote to such abuse is vigilance: "Look at these horrible magistrates you have been given and shudder. In the name of

⁴⁰³ *Réflexions*, 7.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

liberty and patriotism, make the right choice; defy these nasty citizens who call patriots 'agitators', defy all the temperates, the moderates and supposed friends of the law, who are truly only friends of disorder and the ancien regime."⁴⁰⁷ His well-placed allusion to the Old Regime serves to remind the reader of the abuses in the not-so-distant past and the need to diligently protect their political gains. Momoro places a heavy burden of responsibility on the patriots by insisting they make the proper choices with their votes and avoid being enslaved again, "becoming the scorn of nations."⁴⁰⁸ Momoro demonstrates the significance of fostering and maintaining liberty for the lives of the French people and for the broader public watching their experiment in democracy; he does not want their revolution to fail and bring derision upon the nation and patriots like himself.

Throughout the final section of his pamphlet, Momoro presents a dual image of the people - as victims of the treacherous and crafty magistrates and as activists, bestowed with the responsibility to alter the political tide. Momoro lays the responsibility for their future at their own feet, encouraging them to look closely at the candidates and resist insincere overtures. He finishes with a cautionary demand: "you wanted to be free, do not neglect the means in your power to ensure this precious liberty..."⁴⁰⁹ Momoro aptly signs his pamphlet "citizen of the Section Théâtre-Français," which serves to remind his reader one last time that he is one of them.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

Given the broad scope of Sieyes' lengthy *Opinion*, it is interesting to note just what Momoro focuses on in his response to Sieyes, and what he ignores. Momoro initially asks Sieyes to concede that the tolerance afforded refractory priests under the Constitution (and the municipality's decree of 11 April) will create two Catholicisms and provide the basis for factionalism and civil war. Knowing that Sieyes cannot guarantee the loyalty of this second tier Catholicism, Momoro lays out for his readers the enormous risk involved in allowing such tolerance. While both Sieyes and Momoro agree in principle on religious freedom, Sieyes' position carries this ideal farther in seeking to not only protect refractory priests but to persecute those who threaten the refractory's religious rights.⁴¹⁰ Momoro is intent upon exposing the threat that these priests pose to the fragile stability of the new constitutional state. Where Sieyes sees disorder and chaos in Paris, Momoro sees vigilant citizens protecting their liberty from priests lighting "the torches of fanaticism."⁴¹¹ Both men identify different groups as fanatical and seek to eradicate them; Sieyes points to "fanatics" and "the odious intolerance recently manifested in Paris" in discussing the citizens who protest the leniency of the tolerance decree.⁴¹² Conversely, Momoro conflates fanaticism with religion and superstition, and considers it to be one of the pillars of counter-

⁴¹⁰ In Sieyes' testimony before the Assembly regarding the municipality's own tolerance decree, he eloquently presented his position: "The department has only said to those [priests] who hide themselves, 'You are not persecuted', and to the intolerants and fanatics, 'You will not persecute.'" *Archives Parlementaires*, 18 April 1791, Tome XXV, 186.

⁴¹¹ *Réflexions*, 2.

⁴¹² Sieyes makes these references in his testimony mentioned above and not directly in his pamphlet. See also *Archives Parlementaires*, 18 April 1791, Tome XXV, 187.

revolution. From his perspective, Sieyes and "the moderates" have abandoned the needs of "the people" to protect fanaticism from Momoro's "true patriots". His *Réflexions* presents his disdain for the tolerance decree and Sieyes' treatment of the 'patriots' as well as his broader concerns about the impending elections. Momoro instructs his readers about their responsibility as purveyors of the spirit of the Law to choose candidates who will best represent their interests and bestows them with a mandate "to ensure this precious liberty" at all cost.

Opinion de Momoro

The third piece written by Momoro in May 1793 focuses on the important issue of price controls in the fragile revolutionary economy and represents one of his most controversial positions. The pamphlet, entitled *Opinion de Momoro... sur la fixation du maximum du prix des grains dans l'universalité de la République française*, addresses the issues concerning the supply of grain to Paris in particular but also more broadly throughout France.⁴¹³ In contrast to the two previous pieces, Momoro wrote this pamphlet in his official capacity as an administrator and member of the Directory of the department of Paris. He is no longer merely a citizen of his section but is attempting to influence and craft the law. Momoro's *Opinion* is an interesting piece in terms of the logical progression of his arguments in favor of the

⁴¹³ *Opinion de Momoro, Administrateur et Membre du Directoire du Département de Paris, Sur la fixation du maximum du prix des grains dans l'universalité de la République française*. BN LE 38-2461.

maximum and for what it reveals about his ideas on liberty, property, the social contract and the role of government in its protection.⁴¹⁴

The issue of subsistence was a top priority and focus of debate by 1791 due to inflation and the falling value of the *assignats*; requisitions for the army in 1792 as well as an end to grain imports added considerably to the continuing economic crisis, culminating in increased calls for an agrarian law. Additionally, price controls on goods and wages were viewed as a sound method for provisioning the cities and ameliorating shortages. While Liberals viewed the maximum as a return to Old Regime economic controls and supported a non-regulated, *laissez faire* economy, the more radical Montagnards threw their support behind economic regulation, in part because they understood that support from the *sans culottes* (the main proponents of price controls) was essential to their political success. Despite the liberal aversion to controlling the grain trade, the Convention capitulated to a number of pressure groups between 1792-1794 - the working poor seeking affordable bread, the political clubs, particularly the Jacobins and Cordeliers - and created the controlled economy of the Terror.⁴¹⁵ The law of 4 May 1793 established a maximum on the price of grain, to be based on the average price of grain over a six-month period. By September, passage of an additional "general maximum" placed controls on essential goods such as salt, soap and tobacco; prices were set at 1/3 above average prices from 1790 in each

⁴¹⁴His pro-regulation stance on the maximum is interesting given the deregulation of the guilds and the profound impact, both negative and positive, deregulation had on Momoro's status and career. In his *Traité*, for example, he clearly expresses the problems facing the trade because of the lack of oversight once provided by the guild.

⁴¹⁵Judith A. Miller, *Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700-1860*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 140.

region of the country. A *Commission des Subsistances* was to administer the new laws with the aid of the Revolutionary Army.⁴¹⁶

Beginning in March 1793, the Committee on Agriculture and Trade had begun formulating the new subsistence policies. Momoro appeared before the Committee on the 23 April with his recommendations for the maximum; minutes from the meeting report "the citizen Momoro...proposes a maximum only for older grain. He rejects fixing a maximum on all varieties of grain from the last harvest, apart from the last three months."⁴¹⁷ Momoro's fourteen-page pamphlet outlining his proposals was printed by order of the Committee and appeared in public the following month.

Momoro begins his pamphlet with a brief introductory statement that justifies the implementation of the maximum. He then offers five brief propositions in the form of questions that he proceeds to answer in detail, offering carefully reasoned explanations for each aspect of the maximum. Momoro addresses potential objections for each of his proposals in a very methodical manner, which instills his points of view with measured rationality and intelligence. He opens by asserting the serious intentions of the department of Paris in focusing on the issue of subsistence. He speaks in his official capacity in the municipal government rather than as a citizen representing the interests of his fellow citizens as we saw in the two previous documents. Momoro assures the reader that the department takes seriously the

⁴¹⁶ François Furet and Mona Ozouf (eds.), *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 504.

⁴¹⁷ *Procès-verbaux des comités d'agriculture et du commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative et de la Convention*, 4 vols., Fernand Gerboux and Charles Schmidt, eds. (Paris: 1906), 3: 116.

"urgent demands [made] by the authorities of its arrondissement, for fulfilling the pressing needs of their communes lacking in subsistances or prices that an artisan might afford."⁴¹⁸ After two days of meetings and "enlightened discussion", a petition was drafted and presented to the Convention "in the name of all people in the department of Paris...interested in assuring subsistances to the more populated departments and fixing an affordable price for the majority of workers."⁴¹⁹ Momoro explains that the petition requested that a maximum be placed on the price of grain. He then switches from reporting on the strategies of the department in dealing with food shortages to providing an explanation and justification for price fixing. Momoro's thirteen-page assessment and argument for the maximum is meant to dispel any unfavorable impressions that may deem the measure, "inadequate, impractical and dangerous."⁴²⁰ He begins with a somewhat negotiable position with regard to price fixing: "I will attempt to show that if we do not find better means, the price fixing proposed by the department must be adopted..."⁴²¹ Although this implies there is room for negotiation in dealing with food shortages, perhaps in terms of other legislation, he offers no further suggestion beyond his own. Instead, he expresses a very real sense of urgency, and exasperation as he describes current conditions: "experience proves to us that laws rendered on this matter are insufficient and we must necessarily take another road, quickly, in order to stop the voracious greed of

⁴¹⁸ *Opinion de Momoro*, 1.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

the monopolists..."⁴²² Here, Momoro expresses the popularly held view that hoarders were behind the food shortages and asserts that urgency was needed to address their greed; the maximum thus becomes moral legislation against greed rather a measure that addressed consequences of bad harvests or insufficient stores of grain due to war. To this end, Momoro alleges that a corrupt notion of liberty in relation to the grain trade has led "monopolists" to starve their fellow citizens. This corrupted view of liberty contributed to outrageous prices and starvation: "It is easy to demonstrate that the ideas of liberty attached to the grain trade have not been applied in their true sense, and under this specious pretext, one may charge an insane price for grain and starve the people."⁴²³ This false pretext wrongly emphasizes a grower's individual liberty over the needs of the community. Momoro begins to flesh out a nuanced vision of liberty in order to counteract such greed and instead stresses the connection between individual liberty and the social contract. By reassessing and redefining liberty within its social context, "we will reach a justification for the necessity of a maximum and establish the foundation to support it."⁴²⁴ Liberty must be regulated to be workable in a community as a hedge against individual greed and monopoly.

To address the practical concerns that may arise, Momoro methodically outlines for his readers five propositions in support of the maximum.⁴²⁵ He poses five rhetorical questions that provide the framework for his arguments; his choice of

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid., 2.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

⁴²⁵ The careful and logical structure of Momoro's presentation of his proposals mirrors the methodical structure of his printing manual.

questions most likely indicates some of the major objections to the maximum. He immediately tackles the critical issue of private property to fully address the problematic relationship between individual liberty and communal needs, and chooses to redefine property in relational terms. Here Momoro demonstrates his concern with clarity by defining property:

Strictly speaking, property...is the right to use ones possessions as one wishes. An individual may build a house on the land that belongs to him and knock it down the next day, because it is his property and he has the right, under the safeguard of the laws, to use and abuse it (without harming society by this abuse).⁴²⁶

Momoro draws an important distinction between an individual's use, and even abuse, of property and the larger needs of society. Individual rights are necessarily held in check by the needs of society. He then draws a distinction between individual property, including land, and agricultural property, and asks "Doesn't this same right belong to the cultivator, for the products that he grows on the land as a result of his sweat?" He answers with a resounding "no, without a doubt" because such goods "are for everyone in society" for a fair and just price.⁴²⁷ Momoro is not advocating for the wholesale sharing of resources but contends that fair and affordable prices for goods must be in proportion to what workers earn, "an indispensable clause of the social contract."⁴²⁸ Products of agricultural property belong to the community in a moral

⁴²⁶ *Opinion*, 4.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

sense; the price of foodstuffs is set according to what can be afforded by the population. In this regard, agricultural property is not property in the strict sense of the word, and cannot be degraded or abused because of its direct relationship to human subsistence. Momoro affirms the legitimacy of the social contract to demonstrate a somewhat communal ownership of crops, or at least a right to purchase them for a fair price.

Momoro's argument bears similarity to other representatives before the same Committee on Agriculture and Trade who asserted the subordinate role of property with regard to public necessity. Such arguments may reflect the influence of Rousseau and his contention that an assurance of existence was the principal condition of the social contract.⁴²⁹ Momoro maintains that the social contract guarantees that foodstuffs are necessarily the property of the people.⁴³⁰ He asserts that if such a principle did not exist, "there would be no society."⁴³¹ Momoro has proven the legality and legitimacy of the maximum in terms of the social contract in his first proposition; because of its unique relationship to subsistence, agricultural property is not property and therefore the maximum is not a violation of the cultivator's rights as property owners.⁴³²

Momoro had addressed the controversial issue of property ownership the previous year in his edited version of the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen.

⁴²⁹ S.E. Harris, *The Assignats* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 139-140.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid*, 140.

⁴³¹ *Opinion*, 4.

He was widely denounced for his stance on industrial and territorial property.⁴³³ Article XXVI of Momoro's Declaration of Rights reads: "The nation only recognizes industrial property; it assures its guarantee and inviolability." If we compare his version with the original Declaration from 1789, we see that Momoro has stressed "industrial property" rather than property as a broader concept, as in the original Declaration of Rights. Land that served a purpose for the community, such as housing workshops or producing crops, was categorically protected. However, Momoro asserted a controversial caveat regarding "territorial property": "The nation assures equally to its citizens the guarantee and inviolability of what we falsely call territorial properties, until the time when laws will be established on this subject." His critics interpreted this to mean that private property was a false concept and that future legislation would establish limitations on property owners.

Returning to his pamphlet on the maximum, his second proposition posits the feasibility of enforcing the maximum, and asks the important question as to whether it is right. Although he confidently asserts the feasibility of establishing the maximum, he acknowledges the difficulty in doing so "with precision."⁴³⁴ He admits to his reader that he recognizes certain problem areas surrounding implementation, such as the need to ensure the uniformity of weights and measures throughout France. His straightforward assessment serves to reassure the reader of his realistic perspective, setting him apart as a common sense thinker. This allows him to continue pushing

⁴³³ See Chapter Four for a complete discussion of Momoro's attempted distribution of his "Declaration" in Bernay and Lisieux.

⁴³⁴ *Opinion*, 4-5.

further into his agenda on the maximum. Momoro explains that the actual price set for the maximum affords the farmer "an honest price for his labor and work, but still the encouragement to farm his land," thus implying that productivity would increase. The security offered the farmer by fixing the price of grain would bolster confidence in their livelihood and promote more farming. Momoro then directly reassures the reader a second time, ensuring the reader of the care taken in drafting the measure, including the endorsements of "cultivators consulted on this matter."⁴³⁵ His reference to the cultivator's expertise further confers on him an air of reasonability, perhaps persuading some that Momoro's maximum is a practical tool rather than a political one.

As he sums up his argument about the feasibility of the maximum, we get a sense of Momoro's optimism and faith in his (and his cohort's) reasoned approach to food shortages. It is almost as if he cannot conceive of its failure, though we could also interpret his disbelief as a rhetorical strategy meant to impart complete confidence in the measure.

If the cultivator experiences no inconvenience in fixing the price for the maximum, if the cultivator desires it in good faith, if he finds its guaranteed benefit and its security worthy, if society finds it equally advantageous, how can it be impossible to establish?⁴³⁶

Momoro seems to believe that the issue itself is just that logical, despite his earlier acknowledgment that instituting price controls would be complicated. However, it is

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

clear that Momoro's belief in the maximum lies beyond the logic of its implementation. He strongly believes that the social contract's guaranteed right to subsistence serves as the ultimate justification for implementing the maximum. There is no question as to what is right because he has demonstrated its feasibility: "It is right to establish [the maximum] because we must provide subsistence for society in an assured manner, proportional to its abilities, so that the father of a family may feed his wife and children with the fruits of his labor."⁴³⁷ In his logic, necessity and justice legitimate the ratification of the new law.

Momoro presents the reader with five advantages to the maximum on grain; the first three are quite straightforward: a reduction in the price of grain, control over greedy monopolists and grain traders, and a proportional relationship between the price of grain and a day's labor. The final two advantages are less tangible and affirm Momoro's optimistic hopes for society. He confidently proclaims that the maximum will produce a "guarantee of calm and respect for property..." and in characteristic fashion asserts that the truth is self-evident: "nobody will contest this truth, that when the people are assured their subsistence, it is peaceful."⁴³⁸ Momoro asserts the popular view that the root of disorder lies in scarcity; if their basic needs are satisfied, the people will respect property. Furthermore, "villains who use the grievances of the people to cause disorder" cannot manipulate a satisfied citizenry.⁴³⁹ He repeats the views expressed in his rebuttal to Sieyès that characterized the people as pawns of the

⁴³⁷ Ibid, 6.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

unscrupulous magistrates or speculators with self-serving motives, but here he pushes the idea farther by connecting their vulnerability to outside manipulation to their physical needs rather than a reflection of their lack of intelligence. In doing so, Momoro imbues the people with dignity and individual will.

The fifth and perhaps most interesting of Momoro's arguments for the maximum is far broader in scope in its vision of widespread social welfare. He optimistically asserts that implementation of the maximum will encourage agriculture, commerce and the arts by creating an easier existence. The farmer would show more interest in his fields "being independent from circumstances that destroy fortunes"; commerce itself will thrive, "naturally encouraged by the certainty of the maximum," and, perhaps most interesting, "the *arts* will resume their brilliance, because the creative genius will have more flexibility" as a result of a secure existence.⁴⁴⁰ I interpret this to mean that the cultivator, freed from the uncertainties of the market, will have more (leisure) time, allowing him to experiment and create new *art* in the form of innovative agricultural techniques or tools.⁴⁴¹ As an artisan, he may also be referring to the broader cultivation of innovation across the spectrum of trades, or perhaps he is considering the arts beyond their practical application.

After demonstrating the advantages to the maximum, Momoro turns to address possible inconveniences for non-grain producing departments. He is adamant that the maximum be administered uniformly throughout France to have a beneficial effect, except for the costs of transport, to be determined by departmental

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 7-8.

⁴⁴¹ I am translating Momoro's use of the terms "arts" as agricultural skills.

administrations. "If price fixing was not uniform...greed will naturally bring grain into those departments where the maximum would be the strongest in order to gain an advantage."⁴⁴² In other words, grain could continue to be hoarded and sold at the owner's advantage, especially in those non-producing areas, thus creating shortages elsewhere. Momoro reassures those departments that they will be better off because "the maximum (price) will be determined from the mass of the commodity... in consideration only of what is to be consumed."⁴⁴³ His focus here is to assure the reader of the benefit to each department and that hoarders will be eradicated from the system by the universality of the maximum; there will be no place for speculators to hide. Non-producing departments will not be inconvenienced but rather be assured a steady and affordable supply of grain.

It is very important that Momoro address the general fear surrounding the regulation of the "free" grain trade. Momoro strongly denies that the maximum is a return to the Old Regime highly regulated economy, and instead points to its capability for creating a free-er flow of grain *through* regulation. He notes, "the maximum will make them empty their granaries and grain will be taken to market...The farmer will have no interest in limiting his supply of grain since he will have no hope of selling his grain beyond the maximum."⁴⁴⁴ Momoro responds to critics by demonstrating how the traditional practice of holding onto grain for the highest price would be eradicated by the maximum. Moreover, he casts doubt on the

⁴⁴² *Opinion*, 8.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

whole notion of a free market by showing the defacto manipulation by hoarders and unscrupulous grain merchants that hinders the flow of grain. Regulation through the maximum would derail their control over the grain trade.

Once he has established the benefits of regulation, he then reassures the reader that France has sufficient supplies of grain. Momoro repeats the commonly held belief that "France produces more grain than it consumes."⁴⁴⁵ His assumption of plenty had a long tradition in France and although it may have been true that French resources were adequate, the string of poor harvests during the Revolution, coupled with inflation, hoarding, war with Austria and the discontinuation of grain imports, made food shortages a reality.⁴⁴⁶ Historian Judith Miller argues that France's dogged insistence on a sufficient grain supply helped create the popular sentiment that food shortages were the result of foul play and greed.⁴⁴⁷ Momoro echoes this constant suspicion throughout his pamphlet, assuring the citizens, "price fixing properly established is only to suppress greed, it is a law against the usurers."⁴⁴⁸

Having established his five propositions, Momoro responds to several theoretical objections to the maximum. Most significant here is his continued insistence on the fairness of the maximum in general and more specifically, its function as a hedge against hoarding. He asks the rhetorical question, "aren't suppliers

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Judith A. Miller, *Mastering the Market: The State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700-1860*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 141.

⁴⁴⁷ Miller, *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Opinion*, 10.

going to be hurt by price fixing?" as a means of expressing his own disdain and anger:

Too bad for the hoarders, too bad for those who want to get rich from the people's provisions; too bad for the counter-revolutionaries who seek to starve us. This consideration must not be an obstacle to price fixing; to the contrary, it must determine it.⁴⁴⁹

Momoro is absolute in his dismissal of the needs of grain dealers and suppliers; in his view, they have become counter-revolutionaries. Because he believes that France has enough grain to feed itself, he places the responsibility for shortages and exorbitant prices at their feet. In fact, he dismisses the notion that discontinuing imports of grain from abroad will have any impact on French supplies.

Momoro had written a second, shorter pamphlet on the maximum entitled *Quelques Idées ou Projet de Décret sur les Subsistances* (published a month earlier in April 1793), in which he established eleven articles outlining the tenets of the proposed decree on the maximum.⁴⁵⁰ His language in this earlier piece is more strident in its denunciation of hoarders and speculators. Where his final *Opinion* did not contain concrete punishments for such behavior, Momoro's *Idées* stated the consequences explicitly in Article II. Violators attempting to sell grain beyond the maximum price and/or those attempting to sell grain from previous harvests were

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

⁴⁵⁰ *Quelques Idées ou Projet de Décret sur les Subsistances, imprimé par ordre des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce Réunis.*

"subject to confiscation..."⁴⁵¹ Momoro followed in Article X with more severe punishment for any corrupt individuals who impeded the citizenry's consumption of grain; "through speculation or malevolence...[they] will be sentenced to six years in irons."⁴⁵² It is not clear why Momoro left this language out of his final set of propositions. He did add more specificity in his longer *Opinion*, but this addressed the administration of the maximum by municipal and departmental authorities and determining the cost of shipping grain from departments with high yields to the non-producing regions.

Both of Momoro's pamphlets on the maximum leave us with many unanswered questions concerning his role in their creation and implementation. It is not clear if the ideas Momoro expresses are solely his own or if he served as a spokesman for the department of Paris. However, he became renowned for his passionate promotion of the maximum, so much so that he was characterized by a contemporary as the "celebrated preacher of the agrarian law..."⁴⁵³

Conclusion

Momoro's political career evolved considerably during the initial creation of the municipal government in 1789 and lies within the tumultuous relationship between the districts, sections, the municipality and the National Assembly. His

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 4. The death penalty was established for persons restricting the flow of grain in 1792, so Momoro's advocacy of six years in prison is actually quite moderate by comparison.

⁴⁵³ *Annales de la République Française*, No. 13, 13 January 1793. BN LC2-758.

printing for the districts and the location of his *atelier* in the center of the publishing quarter put him in close proximity to both moderate and radical voices such as those in the neighboring Cordeliers district. While it is impossible to know his initial political intentions, we do know the importance Momoro placed on active participation in section assemblies and hear Momoro's voice become more prominent in sectional and departmental politics as the Revolution progressed. Momoro moved with apparent fluidity between his responsibilities as printer, elector, section secretary, delegate and president, and displayed considerable political acumen and fortitude. Although typical of his class of artisans in terms of his initial political involvement, he broke from their ranks by his continued engagement in section politics. His political skills may well have stemmed from his corporate experience, as Sonenscher has suggested.⁴⁵⁴ Clearly, Momoro's literacy in publishing served him well in his secretarial and presidential roles in his section. The reliance on all forms of printed materials in the political sphere meant that Momoro could serve many functions for the districts and sections; his intricate knowledge of the entire printing process meant that he could write, edit and print sectional declarations, placards, and pamphlets. In marrying his artisanal skills to his emerging political activities, Momoro proved himself to be an articulate and passionate writer and spokesman. The three examples of Momoro's writing discussed above clearly display his intelligence in crafting persuasive and well-reasoned arguments in the pursuit of justice for "the people" and the protection of liberty in a fragile democratic state. Momoro's acute

⁴⁵⁴ Sonenscher, *Work and Wages*.

sense of justice drives his arguments for reparations for his arrest, in favor of the persecution of non-juring priests, and, finally, for price controls on grain. Rife with allusions to honor and justice and pleas for vigilance in their protection, his writing reveals the inherent tension between individual liberty and maintaining the security of a new political state. While Momoro acknowledges and supports the freedom of religion and expression, he understands the fragility of revolutionary gains and desperately wants to maintain them. We see this clearly when he advocates for infringing on the religious liberty of the non-juring priests as a precaution against counter-revolution. He further develops the notion of limited liberty in relation to provisioning grain, advocating strict price and distribution regulation in order to create a free-er flow of grain to put an end to hoarding and speculation. While Momoro writes that liberty is his guiding principle, his stance reveals his difficulties in accepting the risks to state security that such freedom brings.

Momoro conveys considerable respect and dignity for "the people" in his writing. In *Réflexions*, he imbues them with keen abilities to discern the inauthentic religion of refractory priests; with liberty as their authority, "the people" are the true patriots acting in the spirit of the law. Yet despite such a romantic evocation, Momoro nonetheless counsels them somewhat paternalistically on their considerable responsibilities as new voters, urging their vigilance in choosing the right candidate. In his *Opinion*, Momoro argues that satisfied people are less likely to be manipulated by the unscrupulous, further instilling "the people" with dignity by taking their material needs seriously and the intelligence to recognize corruption.

Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie:
Conservative Instruction from the "First Printer of National Liberty"

This chapter examines Momoro's printing manual, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie*, within the larger context of the manual genre and specifically the work of his celebrated predecessor, Martin-Dominique Fertel, author of *Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie*. Historians of the Revolution and historians of printing and typography note the significance of Momoro's *Traité Élémentaire* yet Revolutionary scholars in particular have often misrepresented Momoro's manual as a revolutionary text. Given Momoro's radical political credentials between 1789 and his death in 1794, this is certainly understandable. My initial response to his manual was to also interpret Momoro's text through the lens of his Revolutionary career. I first discovered Momoro's manual while doing research for a project on the culture of work during the French Revolution. Freedom of the press is often the focus of study during this era, but I was more interested in the experiences of artisans and what may have been lost as the print trade became deregulated and the guilds abolished in 1791. Leafing through Momoro's *Traité* for the first time, I was struck by the extreme pride he communicated as he described the centuries-long traditions of his trade as well as the extreme despair he often expressed over the print trade's decline. However, I mistakenly assumed that he described the trade during the newly deregulated culture of 1789 Paris. This interpretation has proven to be far too simplistic. Having read the manual many times now, I would propose that Momoro was a proponent of *stricter*

regulation and an advocate for a return to traditional, privileged relationships between educated masters and carefully selected apprentices. His narrative is essentially one of decline rather than Revolution; in fact, the Revolution is largely absent from the manual. Momoro's rare mention of the Revolution in connection with his manual is restricted to newspaper advertisements and his presentation of the *Traité* to the Jacobin Club in 1793.

Momoro wrote the *Traité Elementaire* over an eight-year period, at least half of it before the fall of the Old Regime. He published the manual in 1793, two years after the abolition of the guilds and all Royal privilege regulating the trades. Because of the dynamism of this period, the entries in his *Traité* vary considerably and present many challenges in interpreting the manual. The text clearly provides a great deal of insight into Old Regime restrictions; more challenging, however, is identifying and appropriately interpreting Momoro's feelings about the new press freedoms unleashed by the Revolution. Such instances are rare and often quite subtle and contradictory. While there are many explicit references to the Old Regime in the manual, the bulk of his commentary is difficult to attribute to a specific time period with certainty. Thus, the despair he expresses at times over the state of the trade could easily be attributed to both Old Regime guild issues or to post-Revolution deregulation and expansion in the trade. There are in fact some entries that appear to move between these vastly different political contexts. The reader is left wondering why Momoro did not speak more directly about the revolutionary changes that were all around him. Why didn't he amend the manual after the fall of the guild in March 1791 and address the many

legal changes and challenges to the traditional cultural practices in the trade? Given how radical Momoro had become by 1793, why is the tone and content of the manual so conservative? What did he hope to convey by leaving in the Old Regime restrictions? Does its conservatism indicate Momoro's own uncertainty about the direction of his trade?

The chapter begins with an overview of the manual genre and discusses Momoro in relation to two fellow printer-authors, Martin-Dominique Fertel, his predecessor, and Martin Sylvestre Boulard, his contemporary. I hope to tease out not only the differences in their approaches to the trade but also their intentions in publishing their respective manuals. I then discuss Momoro's smaller first treatise, *Manuel des Impositions*, published in 1789, before analyzing his larger manual, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie*, published in 1793. I analyze both texts in terms of what they reveal about Momoro's attitudes toward printing, the state, and the guild before and after the Revolution. I also explore what Momoro hoped to achieve by publishing his work and what this may reveal about him personally.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁵ This part of my discussion is informed by the work of Philippe Minard and Winifred Aldrich, specifically their respective studies of manuals. See Winifred Aldrich, "Tailors' Cutting Manuals and the Growing Provision of Popular Clothing, 1770-1870," *Textile History* 31, no. 2 (2000). Philippe Minard, "*Travail et travailleurs dans les imprimeries sous la Révolution: permanences et mutations*," *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* 9, *Livre et Révolution* (1987).

The 'Manuel' Genre

*A book can never provide what it takes to become a good worker, or a skilled printer, nor can it perfect typography. Instruction and taste are the best masters of this art.*⁴⁵⁶

In 1837, the printer Georges Crapelet expressed his doubts about the relatively new genre of practical trade manuals. Forty-five years earlier, Momoro had also acknowledged the limitations of didactic books, despite having written two of them; he stated, "the best book on printing is not enough to make a good printer..."⁴⁵⁷ Yet despite a general recognition by artisans of their limitations, practical manuals proliferated in Europe. The manual derived from a characteristic genre of utilitarian and practical literature describing the arts and *métiers* that dated back to the fourteenth century.⁴⁵⁸ Facilitated by the popularization of science in Europe, the manual or treatise belongs to the family of dictionaries and descriptions of trades and professions of which Diderot's *Encyclopédie* is the most well known. Printers, surgeons, tailors, merchants, carpenters, even alchemists,⁴⁵⁹ wrote and published

⁴⁵⁶ Georges Crapelet, *Etudes Pratiques et Littéraires sur la Typographie, Seconde partie*, (Paris: 1837), 54 footnote #1.

⁴⁵⁷ *Annales Patriotiques & Littéraires, No. 427*. BN LC2-249

⁴⁵⁸ See Joanna Stalnaker, *The Unfinished Enlightenment: description in the age of the encyclopedia*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2010). Ms. Stalnaker provides an interesting discussion on the popularity of descriptive texts.

⁴⁵⁹ The alchemist manual belongs to a forerunner of the manual proper; these little "books of secrets" were technical "how-to" books and included subjects such as dye making, fruit preserving and jewelers' chemistry. Books of secrets multiplied significantly with the advent of printing, but many exist in manuscript form that date back to the 10th century. See William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

manuals as a means of conveying "expert" information to the novice. The impulse to write and publish manuals was varied and complex; some sought to legitimize their craft and distinguish it apart from other "lesser" trades, thus elevating their own social position in the process. Others purportedly wrote for altruistic reasons, either to improve their trade from within its ranks or to improve the lives of the less fortunate by teaching them valuable skills drawn from their particular expertise. As with Momoro's manual, many wrote to standardize and regulate their trade in the face of decreasing guild control.⁴⁶⁰

Texts that described the printing process appeared in France as early as 1567 but were not explicitly manuals.⁴⁶¹ These early technical texts contained varying degrees of practical printing information, yet relied more heavily on descriptions of the components of typefounding and printing than on pragmatic information.⁴⁶² The eighteenth century printer's manual evolved from these early theoretical treatises into full-blown instructional books, what Giles Barber refers to as "proper trade

⁴⁶⁰ Philippe Minard, cited above; Celeste Chamberland, "Honor, Brotherhood, & the Corporate Ethos of London's Barber-Surgeon's Company, 1570-1640," *Journal of the History of Medical and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 64, No.3, (July 2009); Winifred Aldrich, cited above; John E. Dotson, "Commercial Law in Fourteenth Century Merchant Manuals," *Medieval Encounters*, 9, No. 2/3 (2003); Frans A. Janssen, "The first English and the first Dutch printer's manual: a comparison," *Quaerendo*, 30, No. 2, (2000); Lisa Maruca, "Bodies of Type: The Work of Textual Production in English Printer's Manuals," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, (Spring, 2003).

⁴⁶¹ Christophe Plantin, *La première, et la seconde partie des dialogues françois, pour les jeunes enfans*, (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1567)

⁴⁶² For an excellent compilation of French printing texts, see Giles Barber, "French Letterpress Printing, A list of French printing manuals and other texts....", Oxford Bibliographical Society, Occasional Publication No. 5, (1969).

manual[s]."⁴⁶³ Clearly, printer's manuals differed considerably from one another in format, style and emphasis, though much borrowing between the printer-authors is notable. The manuals of Fertel, Boulard and Momoro discussed here are each quite unique in their scope, intention and practical application, yet they share a common historical awareness of their predecessors in the trade.

Historians such as Robert Darnton have used printer's manuals as a means of entering into the physical space of the *atelier*, in part through interpreting the often-cryptic slang sprinkled through the texts.⁴⁶⁴ Momoro's manual, with its dictionary-like ordering of printing terminology, is often cited as an invaluable tool in deciphering this esoteric language. Printer's manuals contain numerous imperatives, many of them negative ones, and thus offer views into printers notoriously bad behavior and misdeeds. The manuals are rich sources to be mined for information on language, behavior, politics, even hygiene in the eighteenth century *atelier*.

A different but fascinating approach to the printer's manual lies outside the history discipline in literary studies. Lisa Maruca's study explores the relationship between the medium of print itself and the printer-author. Her work focuses on the uniqueness of printer's manuals as texts about the production of texts; because of this distinctive relationship, manual authors transmitted degrees of self-reflexivity that provides the reader a view into the trade and importantly, a glimpse into their sentiments about the work of making texts public. For Maruca, print manuals make

⁴⁶³ Giles Barber, "Martin-Dominique Fertel and his *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie*, 1723," *Oxford Journals, The Library, Sixth Series*, Vol. VIII (1) (1986).

⁴⁶⁴ Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 243.

us privy to the printer-author's personal recognition of the significance of his work within both local and larger historical environments. "By revealing the literal nuts and bolts of print, these manuals made opaque what might otherwise have been a transparent medium, making the medium...the message."⁴⁶⁵ This opacity is the text's physicality, the imprint of men and women whose hands smudged ink on the margins or left errors in the typesetting; thus, the physicality of the work described in the manual is seen and felt in the very text itself. While the scope of Maruca's analysis lies outside the focus of this discussion, her work deepens my own approach to Momoro's manuals. Her recognition of the uniqueness of the print manual as a self-reflective text informs my understanding of Momoro's personal and historical awareness as an author and artisan producing and publishing his own expertise.

Martin-Dominique Fertel

The first French printer's manual appeared in 1723, the second oldest printer's manual to be published in Europe.⁴⁶⁶ Martin-Dominique Fertel's *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie* is a practical manual, written in response to what he found lacking in his own education as a young printer's apprentice in Saint Omer, France. Fertel wrote *La Science Pratique* to enable young apprentices to become good master printers; although Fertel claimed that masters would find it useful as well, the apprentice was clearly his primary focus.

⁴⁶⁵ Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2007), 31.

⁴⁶⁶ The first printer's manual was *Mechanick exercises on the whole art of printing* written by Joseph Moxon in London in 1683.

...the majority of Masters and learned journeymen reserve the [practical] information for themselves, like a secret, not communicating it to anyone.... So that apprentices who have the misfortune to find themselves among them, are unaware all their lives of the most essential and most useful [methods] in the practice of this Art....⁴⁶⁷

Fertel expressed considerable confidence in his undertaking and promised, "those who observe attentively what I have written will be perfect workers in a short time."⁴⁶⁸

Much of Fertel's manual focuses on composition and typography and contains numerous illustrations and examples to guide the novice, while the last slim section of the book covers the printing press, its construction, and specific printing techniques. Historians have generally described Fertel's manual as a "compositor's book" because of his emphasis on type composition and imposition, even though his final section on printing techniques is quite detailed.⁴⁶⁹ Despite the discrepancy between his sections on type and presswork, Fertel clearly believed that compositors and pressmen were equals. He commented on the interdependence of compositors and pressmen, indicating that neither artisan held rank over the other. He wrote: "One must certainly bestow as much esteem to a good printer as to a good compositor, because it is he

⁴⁶⁷ Martin-Dominique Fertel, *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie* (Saint Omer, 1723) preface.

⁴⁶⁸ Fertel, preface.

⁴⁶⁹ Giles Barber, Frans A. Janssen, G. A. Crapelet, Francis Thibaudeau.

who crowns the work. If the impression of a book is full of defects [in inking] the book is despised."⁴⁷⁰

Fertel's inclusion of the word "science" in the title of his work exemplifies the growing predominance of science in European culture and would be echoed in the numerous printer's manuals that followed, including Boulard's and Momoro's. Fertel commented on the growth of scientific treatises: "It is surprising to see the appearance of so many Instructions for perfecting the different Sciences, and to have not yet seen one for printing."⁴⁷¹ Fertel moves back and forth between descriptions of printing as an art and a science, a practice Momoro would continue. Though Fertel's influence on future generations of printers and authors has been debated, more recent scholarship points to his wider influence, even among the contributors to Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.⁴⁷² Citing numerous manuals from England, France and Holland, Frans Janssen demonstrates Fertel's tangible legacy to subsequent generations of printer-authors; similarities in structure, the inclusion of concrete details, and choice of subject matter all mirrored Fertel's work. Momoro certainly echoed Fertel's emphasis on utility in his work and even borrowed sections explicitly, particularly his descriptions of press components.

⁴⁷⁰ Fertel, 229.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid

⁴⁷² Giles Barber claimed Fertel had a very limited sphere of influence, citing only four other 18thC manuals that referenced his manual. Frans A. Janssen, "Correspondence, Martin-Dominique Fertel," *Oxford Journals, The Library* s6-IX (1) (1987): 53-55. Giles Barber, "Martin-Dominique Fertel and his *La Science Pratique de l'Imprimerie*, 1723," *Oxford Journals, The Library, Sixth Series*, Vol. VIII (1) (1986).

However, it must be said that despite these similarities, Fertel and Momoro's respective depictions of the print trade differ drastically. Fertel's manual is a far kinder, more optimistic work than Momoro's; he teaches proper technique but does so without chastising and belittling the print workers as Momoro does repeatedly in his manual. Fertel treats the trade and its practitioners with respect, a far cry from what we will see in Momoro's hostile admonishments to the "ignorant" journeymen.

Martin-Sylvestre Boulard

A contemporary of Momoro's, Martin-Sylvestre Boulard, wrote and published his *Manuel de l'Imprimeur* in 1791, two years before Momoro's larger treatise reached the public. Where Fertel emphasized the practical needs of the apprentice in his book, Boulard's manual targeted the new, post-Revolution audience. Boulard's openness is in stark contrast with the closed nature of the Paris Book Guild that trained him. His manual's subtitle explicitly addresses the changing culture of the print trade in Paris: "A work useful to all those wanting to know details of the tools, prices and costs of handling this interesting Art and to anyone wanting to open a print shop."⁴⁷³

Boulard's preface presents an historical overview of the troubled state of the print trade; he writes of the negative effects of the state's strict regulation of the trade, particularly its restriction of the number of printers in Paris to thirty-six. Boulard noted, "we may compare [the state] to the gardener's dog, who does not want anyone

⁴⁷³ Martin-Sylvestre Boulard, *Le Manuel de l'Imprimeur* (Paris: Chez Boulard, 1791).

approaching the haystack on which he sleeps." He blames the Royal censors and officials for "stifling the genius" of the "unfortunate author[s]." Boulard directly addresses his manual to the honest men looking to start a print shop but who "cannot because of their ignorance of the means necessary." He writes: "I have seized the moment where the French citizen is free to make use of his industry so long as he does no harm to others. I believe that it is necessary to shed some light, that I owe it to the craft, and to the art that has been surrounded by the most obscure shadows."⁴⁷⁴ Boulard wants to serve as an experienced guide for the new Parisian printer to counter the centuries of exclusivity and stagnation.

An advertisement for Boulard's manual appeared in the *Journal de Paris* on July 22, 1792. Like the preface to the manual, the announcement boasted of the manual's usefulness to new or aspiring printers in the deregulated world of publishing; it also emphasized Boulard's integrity:

At a time when the numbers of print shops are multiplying, a lot of men may be easily duped because of their lack of knowledge, or frightened by the expenditure. This small book gives specific details to all those establishing of a print shop. The author has neglected nothing in order to fulfill the goal for which he composed it; one may, by this means, open and operate a print shop or at least manage it himself.⁴⁷⁵

The career trajectories of Boulard and Momoro intersected in numerous ways. Both men entered the Paris Book Guild as *imprimeur-libraires* the same year and

⁴⁷⁴ Boulard, *avertissement*.

⁴⁷⁵ *Journal de Paris*, 22 June 1792, No. 174.

were politically active in their sections; like Momoro, Boulard served as an elector between 1790 and 1791 and both wrote and published printing manuals. However, the similarities end there. Unlike Momoro, Boulard survived the Revolution and prospered, probably because he stayed out of radical politics. Yet despite the relatively radical views expressed in his manual regarding the unregulated trade, Boulard's important connection to the first generation of Revolutionary printers has inexplicably been ignored.

Momoro's Manuel des Impositions Typographiques

Sometime in 1789, Momoro published his *Manuel des Impositions Typographiques*, "a small text that may be useful to *Messieurs* the printers."⁴⁷⁶ The twenty-six-page illustrated manual depicted the various layout formats used in printing books. In both first and second editions, Momoro qualified his authorial expertise by including his credentials as a "former printing foreman" on the title page.⁴⁷⁷ The text of the first edition begins with a brief preface and four written pages explaining the method for preparing forms of metal type (*pages d'impression*) for the press. The remaining pages consist of engraved illustrations of conventional layout formats, or impositions, such as in-folio, in-quarto, and in-octavo. A second edition followed quickly, also in 1789, to which Momoro added a three-page supplement of impositions and four new engraved plates; these included illustrations of type cases and, most notable to his contemporaries, a detailed engraved chart

⁴⁷⁶ This was the subheading for its first edition only.

⁴⁷⁷ "Par M. Momoro, ci-devant Prote d'Imprimerie."

entitled "*Manière de Corriger les Epreuves d'Imprimerie.*" This important addition mapped out the appropriate way to read and correct proofs; it provided the reader with the specific marks used by printers and compositors to indicate particular problems with a proof. These included marks to indicate where letters had been transposed, where the wrong typeface had been used, and where spacing was incorrect. For the apprentice, learning these marks was an important step toward mastering the language of his trade. Fertel had referred to corrector's marks as "a foreign language" that every printer must learn.⁴⁷⁸ Momoro's corrector's chart was no doubt an important addition to his manual, particularly because his predecessor Fertel had not provided such explicit detail on the subject. It is very likely that Momoro's *Manuel* was the first French publication of this "language".⁴⁷⁹

Momoro's preface to the first edition is the longest and provides some insight into his motivation for writing the manual. His tone in the preface is warm and friendly yet formal, addressing the reader as "gentlemen and dear *confrères.*" Momoro proudly presents his work:

The work that I have the honor to present you with today has a usefulness that each of you will easily recognize, though there is no other merit in having

⁴⁷⁸ Fertel, 187.

⁴⁷⁹ Giles Barber credits Nicolas Contat with recording corrector's marks twenty-five years before Momoro's manual. However, this is somewhat misleading because Contat's text was never published; it remained in manuscript form until 1980 when Giles Barber published the manuscript. Contat's list of marks is quite short (eleven lines) and differs from Momoro's comprehensive list published for the first time in the *Manuel des Impositions*. Nicolas Contat, *Anecdotes typographiques où l'on voit la description des coutumes, moeurs et usages singuliers des compagnons imprimeurs*, Giles Barber, ed. (Oxford, 1980).

undertaken this project than having done something useful for the more educated among you, as well as for the least informed.⁴⁸⁰

Momoro immediately stresses the utility of his text, setting it apart as a practical piece rather than a historical or theoretical discourse on printing and typography of the kind popular during that period. Consciously or not, Momoro strategically aligns himself with his predecessor Fertel, who emphasized practicality and utility in his manual, referencing utility six times in his six-page preface. Fertel declared, "I have committed myself to provide those engaged in this profession the utility of this book, entitled the Practical Science of Printing."⁴⁸¹ Boulard also emphasized utility in his manual, priding himself on providing the aspiring printer with "the most important details" for successfully operating an *imprimerie*.⁴⁸²

Although Momoro's tone in the opening paragraph is confident, he quickly switches to a more deferential manner, as if to avoid what could be perceived as overconfidence. He begins by stating the obvious usefulness of his manual to his fellow printers, then steps back to say "there is no other merit...than having done something useful for the more educated among you, as well as for the least informed." Importantly, this is the one mention Momoro makes of a diverse audience for his manual, "the least informed" of artisans. While there is no explicit evidence that

⁴⁸⁰ *Le Manuel des Impositions, Petit Ouvrage qui peut être utile à Messieurs les Imprimeurs. Par M. Momoro, ci-devant Prote d'Imprimerie.* (Paris: Chez Momoro, 1789) I wish to extend my thanks to McGill University Library in Montreal for supplying me with a free photocopy of this rare edition.

⁴⁸¹ Fertel, preface.

⁴⁸² Boulard, *Journal de Paris*, 22 June 1792, No. 172.

connects Momoro to Fertel in 1789, Momoro's inclusion of the "least informed" as part of his audience echoes Fertel's explicit focus on writing a manual for the apprentice. However, this was Momoro's only nod to the beginner. He then humbly shifts tone to address the seasoned printer, "You, *Messieurs*, know all the technical terms of our art; I write this for you. While I cannot teach you anything that you don't already know perfectly, I pray that you will accept this small book as a sign of the sentiments of brotherhood which makes me, all my life, your devoted Momoro." Momoro walked a fine line here, having written a technical manual as a newcomer to the Paris Guild (he entered in 1787), he navigated the line between confidence and arrogance. His manual offered expertise to an experienced audience yet he did not want to appear *too* expert. His preface depicts this careful maneuvering; one senses that each word in its spare three paragraphs has been selected with the utmost care. He puts himself forth as a skilled printer but not any more skilled than his colleagues and as someone whose only care is to be useful to his community.

I should note that his deferential tone may have been a function of eighteenth century formality; in 1789, traditional protocol was still intact. Although Fertel's preface shows few signs of such deference, his dedication in the manual was quite formal. The dedication was a necessity of Ancien Regime publishing and the need for approbation was mandatory in order to legally publish. Perhaps with the fall of the strict publishing prohibitions in 1789, Momoro's replacement of the dedication with a formal preface was a sign of the transitional time in which he was living.

Momoro added a postscript to his first edition preface, referring to his *Manuel* as "an excerpt" of a more considerable work to be published in the future if the *Manuel* proved successful. There are few instances where we know Momoro's intentions, so this is a rare, albeit small, glimpse into his objective:

P.S. In order to promptly bring you its usage, I have detached this excerpt from a more significant book bearing the title *Dictionnaire Typographique*, in which I discuss printing as a man skilled in the art. I propose to print it without delay if this pamphlet is favorably received.

This postscript indicates Momoro's urgency to publish the pamphlet, purportedly to test the waters for the reception of his more substantial *Traité Elementaire*, which he refers to with the title, *Dictionnaire Typographique*.⁴⁸³ It's possible that he felt pressure from his colleagues to publish, or that such a *dictionnaire* was the result of a need Momoro understood as a member of the Paris Book Guild. The political atmosphere in 1789 may also have influenced his decision to publish.

On the surface, it makes sense that he published it in 1789 to take advantage of the political upheaval in Paris and the resulting ripples within the structure of the Paris Book Guild. While I don't have the exact publication date of the *Manuel*, I can speculate based on the context of known events. In July 1789, after the fall of the Bastille, Momoro had begun to print newspapers. In August 1789, Momoro purchased "some presses" and referred to them as the "first presses of liberty."⁴⁸⁴ Notably, this was three days after the publication of the Declaration of the Rights of

⁴⁸³ This is the only mention of this title; to my knowledge, Momoro never used it.

⁴⁸⁴ See Chapter One.

Man and Citizen, which formally brought an end to prepublication censorship. By December, Momoro had begun to call himself the "First Printer of National Liberty". My approximation is that Momoro published the first edition between July and August, before he took on the "First Printer" identity. It seems reasonable that in the publishing frenzy that began in 1788 following the convocation of the Estates General, Momoro would want to publish his *Manuel*. Rather than wait until he completed his larger *Traité Elementaire*, he could test the waters for an audience and perhaps make a name for himself while contributing something valuable to his community. Yet this is somewhat problematic due to the formal tone of the *Manuel* and the fact that Momoro made no mention of the political events going on around him, particularly those that made publication of his piece possible. However, the journals Momoro had a hand in producing between July and August also reflect Old Regime protocol; their imprint bore his Old Regime guild classification of *libraire* rather than *imprimeur*, a term Momoro began to use in the final months of 1789. This is most likely due to the continued policing of printed work by the Commune of Paris, who declared on August 2nd that all printed material in Paris must carry the name of author, printer, or bookseller and be registered with the Paris Book Guild; additionally, the Guild collected a sample copy for its records.⁴⁸⁵ Because Momoro was still technically a member of the Guild at this juncture, he was obligated to follow its procedures as dictated by the Administration of the Book Trade. His first

⁴⁸⁵ Cited in Hesse, 48. P. J. B. Buchez & P. C. Roux, eds., *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* (Paris: Paulin, 1834), 2:191, 246; LaCroix (ed.), *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, 1st ser., 1:82.

and second editions of the *Manuel* bear out this formality, specifically by using his Old Regime imprint.

Momoro published a second edition of his *Manuel* in 1789 as well, and I believe that the differences between the two editions point to a December publication date. The second edition provides some clues to the reception of his first edition; clearly its mere appearance meant the piece was at least moderately well received to warrant another edition. Additionally, the differences between the two editions might reflect his readers' desires, as well as his own, in terms of the new material added. Given the dynamic political period, it is also possible that his audience may have broadened between editions. In the first year of the Revolution, the number of printing shops had expanded from the thirty-six sanctioned by the Guild to two hundred, no doubt impacting Momoro's potential readership.

In contrast to the first printing, the second edition bears no mention of the "*Messieurs* the printers" in its subheading; instead, it includes a brief description of two important additions - Momoro's method for correcting proofs and new illustrations of the Roman and Greek type cases. Momoro also altered the title slightly by adding the word "*typographiques*":

LE MANUEL DES IMPOSITIONS,
TYPOGRAPHIQUES.

Followed by a Plate where one finds
the manner for correcting Printing proofs,
and an illustration of the Roman case and simple Greek case.

There are several ways that Momoro changed the second edition to be more democratic. By eliminating the "*Messieurs les Imprimeurs*" from the title page, he may have expanded his audience; the new, more descriptive subheading and the addition of "*typographiques*" to the title also provides his readership with more information about the book's contents. However, the most significant addition to the second edition is the engraved portrait of Momoro as the "First Printer of National Liberty" to the left of the title page. While I have doubts as to whether Momoro included this himself, it lends itself to interesting speculation.⁴⁸⁶ This identifies his earliest book with a Revolutionary audience and substantiates the more democratic changes to his title page. It may also explain the removal of the longer, deferential preface published in the first edition. Instead, Momoro included a very brief, paraphrased excerpt from the longer preface, in which he immediately gets to the point:

The usage will readily convince you of the utility of this small book. I have excerpted this from a more considerable text that I propose to put on press without delay, a book in which I treated printing as an expert.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ As discussed in Chapter One, the only provenance that I have found dates the engraving from 1791. However, the Revolutionary Guard uniform that Momoro wore in the portrait is consistent with the uniform he would have worn as a member of his local National Guard batallion and therefore could have originated in 1789. I have only seen this edition of the *Manuel* as a scan and therefore cannot say with any certainty if this engraving was bound into the book as part of the original process or perhaps added by a bookseller at a later date.

⁴⁸⁷ *Le Manuel des Impositions, Typographiques*. Suivi d'une Planche où l'on trouve la manière de corriger les épreuves d'Imprimerie, & de la représentation de la Casse Romaine & Grecque simple. Par M. Momoro, Libraire, ci-devant Prote d'Imprimerie. Seconde Edition Augmentée. (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1789)

As in the first edition, Momoro refers to the larger work to be printed "without delay" but there is no mention of waiting to see how the piece is received before printing the larger book. This may reflect a more confident Momoro based on the positive reception of the first edition *Manuel*.

Momoro's second edition was reprinted and sold by the *libraire* Blanchon in 1792 without Momoro's name or preface from his first or second editions.⁴⁸⁸ Blanchon's title page differs from Momoro's second edition, but the text of the book is identical to Momoro's edition.⁴⁸⁹ It was common practice for unbound signatures to be stored and sometimes resold for publication at a later date but this doesn't explain the absence of Momoro's name on the piece. How could Blanchon sell the book without crediting Momoro?⁴⁹⁰ The suppression of the Administration of the Book Trade and the Paris Book Guild in 1791 left the policing of printed material to local commissioners of police in each Section. Beginning in 1788, the extreme proliferation of printed matter created considerable challenges to authorities and members of the guild alike; without the oversight of the guild after 1791, pirating was more rampant and difficult to prosecute. As a living author, Momoro owned the rights

⁴⁸⁸ Jean-André Blanchon entered the Paris Book Guild in 1787, the same year as Momoro. Blanchon survived the Revolution and remained a bookseller until 1816.

⁴⁸⁹ Blanchon's copy of the *Manuel des Impositions* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* is an excellent example of bookbinding practices at the time of the Revolution. Its inside cover (endpapers) is made up of waste paper, a common practice in eighteenth century bookbinding, that used scraps from misprints or outdated materials as temporary binding materials. The paper cover for Blanchon's pirated *Manuel* is backed with a subscription form dated 1789 for a journal Blanchon printed, entitled *Constitution de la France, ou Recueil complet des opérations de l'Assemblée Nationale...*

⁴⁹⁰ On the inside of Blanchon's edition at the BN, a handwritten note attributes the text to Momoro, most likely the notation of an archivist.

to the *Manuel des Impositions* and could have brought charges against Blanchon for what appears to be a pirated edition. It is doubtful that Blanchon's reprint went unnoticed by Momoro given the close-knit nature of publishing relationships in Paris, particularly among Old Regime guild members; unfortunately, I have found no evidence to clarify the issue.

After Momoro's death in 1794, a third edition and two reprints appeared. Giles Barber lists both of the reprints with an altered title, *Manuel de l'Imprimerie*; the first is an anonymous "re-engraved" version that dates from 1803 and was sold by the Parisian bookseller, Farge.⁴⁹¹ Unless authorized by Momoro's widow, this edition was a pirated version. The law of July 1793 had guaranteed authors or their heirs exclusive rights of publication during the author's lifetime plus ten years after death. The 1803 reprint fell short of this by one year, unless of course the rights were ceded by Momoro's estate. However, why change the title of the book and leave Momoro's name off if not to avoid scrutiny? The second 1817 reprint is purportedly a copy of Momoro's manual but attributed to the Parisian printer Joseph Gaspard Gillé; however, in examining this edition, I have only found a few pages copied from Momoro's manual.⁴⁹² An apparently legal third edition was published in 1819 in Brussels bearing Momoro's name. The printer, F. Visscher, redesigned the title page

⁴⁹¹ I am not sure what to make of the altered title; this could be an error on Barber's part, though it may represent an attempt to maintain the anonymity of the manual.

⁴⁹² Giles Barber, *French Letterpress Printing: A list of French printing manuals and other texts in French bearing on the technique of letterpress printing, 1567-1900* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1969), 14. Momoro's engraving of corrector's marks is used in the 1817 edition by Gillé, as well as a number of pages on imposition.

and wrote a new preface, but the actual text is Momoro's. The engravings were remade, with a few additions, but as with all the reprints of Momoro's *Manuel des Impositions*, his table of corrector's marks remained unchanged. I believe the popularity of this single element speaks to its comprehensiveness and utility; the manual's solid reputation also speaks to Momoro's intelligence and acumen in understanding the significance of providing such important information. By the time of the publication of his *Traité Élémentaire* in 1793, Momoro's confidence in the significance of his work had noticeably increased.

Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie

It took Momoro eight years to write and publish his longer treatise on printing, *Traité élémentaire de l'imprimerie*. In 1785, Momoro began composing the book and ultimately published it in 1793.⁴⁹³ The 383-page *Traité* is unusual in its organization and departs from the formats used by predecessors Fertel, Castillon, and his contemporary, Boulard. Their manuals were arranged by subject, whereas Momoro's format combined elements of their traditional structure with a new, encyclopedic organization. The *Traité* begins with a brief preface and long introduction that includes a concise history of printing and typography; he follows this with several detailed sections that explain the innumerable operations of a print shop, although it should be noted here that the information conveyed is in no way elementary. These

⁴⁹³ Many have mistakenly believed that Momoro published his *Traité* in 1785, probably because he wrote in its preface “This work was composed since the year 1785.” I believe that readers have misinterpreted this phrase, as there is no evidence that he published the manual before 1793.

sections cover composition and impression (press technique), the basic tools for a print shop, the necessary methods for formatting and proofing type, and finally, the functions of the printer (or *pressier*). Each of the terms Momoro uses in these first, summary sections is then defined in detail and conveniently arranged in alphabetical order in the larger section that follows. This section of the *Traité* resembles a cross between a dictionary and an encyclopedia; Momoro was quite proud of its arrangement and felt it would facilitate an ease of use for his readers. As with his *Manuel des Impositions*, Momoro placed his emphasis on the utility of his book; he explains in the preface: "To make this manual more convenient, I thought it necessary to arrange it alphabetically, this being the easiest step to find the explanation for each word on the Art of Printing at first glance."⁴⁹⁴ Remember that Momoro initially referred to the *Traité* in 1789 as a "more significant book bearing the title *Dictionnaire Typographique*."⁴⁹⁵

Of the thirty-six engraved illustrations Momoro included in the *Traité*, twenty-four depict impositions for setting type (in-quarto, in folio, etc.), two pages are dedicated to the Roman and Greek type case configurations, one page contains the same chart for correcting proofs that Momoro published in his *Manuel des Impositions*, and the remaining pages are dedicated to engravings of the press and its various components, as well as other pressroom tools. It is worth noting that several

⁴⁹⁴ *Traité, Avertissement*, iii.

⁴⁹⁵ *Manuel des Impositions*, 1st edition.

of the engravings, specifically the press and pressroom, bear a striking resemblance to those published in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*.⁴⁹⁶

Traité Elementaire goes public

Momoro was extremely proud of his contribution to printing and to the larger educated public; he formally presented his manual to the public on two separate occasions. Both instances provide rare commentary by Momoro about his work and its connection to the Revolution. On October 17, 1793, he brought two copies of the *Traité* to the National Convention and asked the assembly to "accept this work for its utility and order it to be placed in the *bibliothèque nationale*."⁴⁹⁷ Momoro's emphasis on utility is central to his rationale in offering the treatise to the Convention, as a practical offering to the public for their benefit and by extension, the good of the Republic. He begins his presentation by describing the technical advantage of the *Traité* and its necessity:

I am pleased, *citoyen* President, to present to the National Convention two copies of *Traité de l'Imprimerie*, full of the necessary illustrations for understanding this art. This is the first work that we have in this genre, with that of Fertel, which is quite rare and very outdated. Given that printing has

⁴⁹⁶ Philippe Minard asserts that Momoro's two illustrations of the printing shop are "miniaturized versions of the illustrations of printing in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*." See Minard's "Agitation in the Work Force" in *Revolution In Print: The Press In France, 1775-1800*. Robert Darnton & Daniel Roche, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 113.

⁴⁹⁷ *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, Première Série, fondé par M. Mavidal et E. Laurent*. (Paris: Librairie Paul Dupont, 1910), Tome LXXXVI, 666.

become a necessity for a people reborn through liberty, anything that may help to propagate and to perfect this art will naturally be welcomed.

Momoro has made his manual integral to the progress of printing at a time when it has become "a necessity," referring most certainly to the enormous proliferation of printing after 1789 and the subsequent flood of new printers in Paris. Surprisingly, this is one of the few times where Momoro connects himself to the Revolution when discussing his manual. In linking his manual to the progress of printing, he also links himself to the progress of the Republic. However, as we will see in the text of his manual, his concerns are ultimately for the benefit of the art of printing itself. One could even argue that printing takes precedence for Momoro.

Momoro's second presentation of the *Traité* occurred at a meeting of the Jacobin Club on October 29, 1793. The Club's journal noted that Momoro paid tribute to the Society and presented them with a political report on the state of affairs in the Vendée.⁴⁹⁸ He then presented them with his printing manual "entitled *Traité de l'Imprimerie*, to facilitate knowledge of this art that has served to propagate enlightened philosophy, and which is the first author of all revolution."⁴⁹⁹ Momoro's representation of printing as an "author of revolution" is fascinating; he instills printing with a subjectivity beyond its concrete reality as a trade. He seems to be conflating the role of the printer/author with the act of printing itself. Momoro's

⁴⁹⁸ *Rapport sur l'Etat politique de la Vendée*, par A. F. Momoro, Commissaire nationale. (Paris: l'Imprimerie de Ballard, 1793) At this time, Momoro held a post in the Vendée as a *commissaire nationale* and representative of the department of Paris.

⁴⁹⁹ Société des Amis de la Constitution, *Journal des débats de la Société des amis de la Constitution, séante aux Jacobins à Paris*. No. 525. BN LC2-599.

comment indicates his larger understanding of print history as well as popular views on the role of printing in the arts and sciences. Condorcet, for example, wrote extensively about the role of printing in eradicating "superstition" and promoting philosophic and scientific inquiry; printing held the keys to human perfectibility through its physical dissemination of knowledge and truth. Condorcet argued that even in the face of tyranny, "...the press can spread a pure and independent light. This enlightenment, that each man may acquire from books in silence and solitude, can never be universally corrupted ..."⁵⁰⁰

Five months later, March 4, 1794, an announcement for Momoro's manual appeared in the Parisian journal *Annales Patriotiques & Littéraires*.⁵⁰¹ The manual was available for sale at Momoro's shop on the rue de la Harpe⁵⁰² and at the bookseller's François Buisson on the rue Haute-Feuille; its cost was 8 livres for a *broché* edition.⁵⁰³ The announcement is rather lengthy; its author, most likely Momoro himself, echoes many of the same sentiments discussed above in the preface to *Manuel des Impositions*. However, the journal *annonce* articulates more precisely

⁵⁰⁰ Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain* (Paris: Boivin et cie, 1933), 119.

⁵⁰¹ *Annales Patriotiques & Littéraires*, No. 427. BN LC2-249

There may have been other advertisements for Momoro's work but this is the only one I have located to date. Momoro was executed three weeks after its appearance.

⁵⁰² No. 171, to be exact.

⁵⁰³ The term *broché* refers to a temporary binding made of unstiffened paper. As a bookseller, Momoro would have bound only as many copies as he expected to sell. The cost of binding was not contingent on the volume of the order; therefore, printers and booksellers generally did not tie up their capital in bound books that might not sell. Michèle Valerie Cloonan, *Early Bindings in Paper: A Brief History of European Handmade Paper-covered Books*, with a multi-lingual Glossary (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1991), 108-109. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) 146.

the ways that Momoro thought about printing in relation to other "arts" and, to a certain extent, the Revolution. While I cannot be certain Momoro penned this announcement, there is enough similarity in style and content to accept him as its author. Moreover, it was common practice for publishers and booksellers to write their own copy for these *annonces*.⁵⁰⁴ Momoro begins by acknowledging his predecessor, Fertel, and the Encyclopédists who wrote about the art of printing; he then places himself in their legacy as an integral part of the progress of his day, notably, in the third person:

...However, this new treatise...must be of actual utility, and superior to those that preceded it because of the progress that printing has made in our time. By profiting from what was written before him, the author has rendered a true service by developing new methods that no man can better comprehend than a man skilled in the art [of printing].⁵⁰⁵

Momoro explicitly credits himself with "developing new methods" that will bring the art of printing to new heights. The *Traité* itself does not explicitly mention Momoro's specific contributions in terms of innovation. The phrasing with its emphasis on utility are quite similar to what Momoro wrote in his preface to the *Manuel des Impositions*; however, here he refers to the utility of the *Traité* as a necessity ("*doit être d'une utilité réelle*"), as if the stakes were quite high. It may be that events of the Revolution account for this sense of importance. His urgency in creating a useful

⁵⁰⁴ Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775-1800*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 257-260.

⁵⁰⁵ *Annales Patriotiques*, *Ibid.*

manual may have been directed at the loss of guild structure and oversight of the trade. In light of his comments during his presentation of the treatise to the National Convention, his urgent tone may also reflect his response to demand from those "reborn through liberty." Momoro seems to want to meet this demand and also direct the course of the trade by preserving its traditions and standards.

Ultimately, it was Momoro's wife who facilitated the completion of his *Traité*. In a letter to his wife, Sophie, dated June 19, 1793, Momoro wrote, "my book must be moved forward; urge on its printing and most of all, take great care with it..."⁵⁰⁶ The tone is quite straightforward, almost official, as he concludes the letter, "your true friend, Momoro, *Commissaire national*."⁵⁰⁷ The sense of urgency implied in the tone of Momoro's *annonce* is made more explicit in this excerpt. It must be said that Alkan's use of this piece is somewhat problematic because he includes it out of its original context; this leaves Momoro's wife's role a bit unclear. Thus, it is difficult to get a solid read on Momoro's intention and the level of his concern, as he may not be instructing her to publish it as forcefully as it sounds.⁵⁰⁸ That said, the excerpt gives us crucial information about the publication of his treatise from abroad. It was published in late October 1793 but Momoro did not return to Paris until September.

⁵⁰⁶ Alkan, *ainé*, *Discours prononcé le 6 Avril 1856*. (Paris: Mallet-Bachelier), 12-13, footnote 1.

⁵⁰⁷ The letter is written from Niort during the period when Momoro served as a member of the *département* of Paris; as *Commissaire national*, he reported on events in the *Vendée* via dispatches, many of which were published in Parisian journals. See Chapter Four on *Vendée*.

⁵⁰⁸ I have been unable to find a copy of this complete letter.

Therefore the work overseen by Sophie, as indicated in this excerpt, was crucial to its publication date.

Printing as "noble emulation"

Momoro acknowledges the limitations of the manual in practical terms but adeptly offers his book as a means of bridging the gap between book-learning and hands-on experience:

One can only comprehend the physical arts through performing the physical work himself; the best book on printing is not enough to make a good printer. While the practical is absolutely necessary, the methods are useful; they facilitate work by aiding intelligence. This art is one that requires the most from whoever has the noble emulation to distinguish himself in his craft, and [seeks] not to confine himself to a blind mechanical [process] and mercantile transactions.

Momoro's manual promises to enhance the experience of the artisan wanting to distinguish himself through a better understanding of printing methods. His choice of the phrase "noble emulation" is quite striking given the political atmosphere in Paris and Momoro's radical political affiliations. Momoro detested the nobility, and intentionally or not, the irony in his use of the phrase is obvious. By using the term "noble" in reference to an artisan, he turns the idea on its head and appropriates its respect and loftiness for the worker. Momoro differentiates between the conception of the artisan as a mere machine operator and/or proprietor and the more intelligent craftsman striving to improve himself and his trade; with the use of Momoro's manual

and methods, the "noble" printer will unite physical and mental intelligence to achieve greatness. Clearly, Momoro saw himself as a member of this new nobility.

The subsequent paragraph of the *annonce* speaks more to this vision of nobility. He acknowledges the possible limitations of his manual, "that a book of this genre, arranged alphabetically, is not subject to much analysis." Momoro admits that the book is meant to be "leafed-through" by the curious apprentice but he clearly does not want to be limited by its utility. There is thus a recurring tension between Momoro's prioritization, and valorization, of utility and his obvious desire to elevate the trade, and himself, *beyond* the pragmatic. He writes that his manual "may furnish the *philosophe* with some observations on the progressive industry of the human spirit," thus intimating that printing and he himself are worthy subjects for study by the intellectual; he is inviting a different class of audience into his world. Momoro continues to broaden his vision of what superficially would be viewed as a trade manual; he boldly claims that his book "must engender above all, as with all books on the arts and trades, a reflection quite capable of tempering the arrogance of science." Clearly there is a lot of ambiguity here but it appears that, taken in context, Momoro is claiming that his manual will reveal to the man of science (the *philosophe*?) a language and culture foreign to him yet worthy of consideration and respect. He identifies the "arrogance of science" by giving an example of a man well versed in his own language "who becomes a foreigner from the moment the language changes from the conventional to the technical." His manual will not only convey a new language to the novice tradesman and to a curious, wider audience in general, it will

moderate the prideful sentiments of those who believe in the superiority of a particular science with its "foreign" idiom. Momoro argues that anyone can become estranged from knowledge when the language becomes technical and overly specific; the printer's idiom stands shoulder to shoulder with the language of the *philosophe* in its potential to isolate and segregate and, therefore, is worthy of the same respect. The "arrogance of science" is to ignore the intelligence of the artisan. Momoro's sentiment is clarified in the remainder of the paragraph, where he artfully constructs a space for himself in the libraries of learned men and women:

We have fifty French dictionaries that may only be understood by a particular people, and it is they who cultivate the art of which each of these dictionaries contains the language. The people of the sea, as well as engineers, locksmiths, etc., have their own extensive idiom which Voltaire and Montesquieu would know nothing."⁵⁰⁹

Momoro speaks to the power of language in furthering the progress of *any* art, whether it be the art of a locksmith or of Voltaire; those who understand a specific art/culture will cultivate it and facilitate its progress. This is a significant issue for Momoro, one that he repeats frequently in his manual; the printer must fully understand his craft through physical and mental intelligence in order to continue its important evolution. The progress of printing is particularly significant to Momoro and should also be of concern to the intellectual. As in his word choice with "noble emulation," Momoro's use of "*le peuple*" in reference to sailors, engineers and

⁵⁰⁹ Annales Patriotiques, *annonce*.

locksmiths evokes a romantic conception of the commoner bearing knowledge that men of letters do not understand. Momoro is cleverly situating himself alongside Voltaire and Montesquieu as a purveyor of knowledge and culture through his manual.

The *annonce* ends with Momoro's proud recognition of the role printing has played in the Revolution: "We will say no more about this book, whose usefulness must be felt all the more, as the art of printing has spread throughout the world, and germinated a host of proud and beneficial opinions that brought about the French Revolution. This is enough reason for all true republicans to interest themselves deeply in the perfection and propagation of this sublime art." This is reminiscent of his statement to the Jacobins discussed earlier, where Momoro credited printing as "the first author of all revolution."⁵¹⁰ Printing is the medium through which ideas and discourse came to life. Momoro has tied himself through his trade to an important, historical moment; as a printer, he belongs to the most esteemed group of artisans whose work influenced events in the revolution. "True republicans" (like himself) are those enlightened men interested in the perfection of printing and, arguably, a new society.⁵¹¹

The subject matter in Momoro's *annonce* is quite unique, particularly when compared to one written by his contemporary, Martin-Sylvestre Boulard. Appearing

⁵¹⁰ See page 22.

⁵¹¹ In July 1790, a group of journeymen printers carried a flag with the words, "Printing, the torch of liberty" during a procession at the Champs-de-Mars. Cited in Paul Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre en France de 1789 à la Constitution de la Fédération du Livre*, (Paris: Librairie Rivière, 1956) 8, from *l'Orateur du Peuple*, BN 80 LC2, 390.

in June 1792 in the *Journal de Paris*, Boulard's short *annonce* contains nothing to connect his manual with the Revolution. Unlike Momoro's advertisement, Boulard's piece basically paraphrases the preface to his *Manuel de l'Imprimeur*; he appeals to the men seeking to open print shops in post-guild Paris: "In a time where imprimeries are multiplying, many men may be fooled because of their lack of knowledge, or scared by the expense. This small book gives the most particular detail to all those who enter in the formation of an *imprimerie*."⁵¹² Boulard's concise ad targets a very particular audience of entrepreneurs and contains none of the grandiosity of Momoro's. There is no mention of "true republicans" or "noble emulation" or Voltaire. Boulard is ultimately more democratic than Momoro; he does not mention himself in connection with history or progress. Rather, he claims to have "neglected nothing" to fulfill the goal of helping interested parties open and run their printing business. Clearly, Momoro and Boulard were different types of men; this brief comparison highlights Momoro's larger, perhaps grandiose, worldview - of printing, the Revolution and himself.⁵¹³

The Avertissement

The *Traité élémentaire de l'imprimerie* illustrates the intimate knowledge Momoro had of all aspects of printing, from composition to press work, as well as a detailed understanding of the history of printing. As in the *annonce*, his preface to

⁵¹² *Journal de Paris*, 22 June 1792, No. 174. BN Micro D-80, 1792/01.

⁵¹³ A more complete study of Boulard's career in printing would be quite interesting, particularly in contrast to his contemporary, Momoro.

the manual further reveals his motivation for writing the manual as well as his varied attitudes toward printing. His opening statement lays bare the impetus for the manual: "Anxious to contribute to the perfection of the Art of Printing, I conceived a plan to trace its theory; I have performed this task with all possible care."⁵¹⁴ Momoro immediately shares with the reader his desire to contribute to the improvement and progress of his craft. He wants his audience to know that he has taken great care in this important project, and notably, that he intends to join the ranks of those who came before, yet whose work he feels is dated and too basic for the times:

Few people have written on printing. The *Encyclopédie* has a treatise that is generally speaking, too basic. We have only one good example of this genre in the *Science Pratique*, by Fertel of St. Omer, but this work has become dated. Our inclination is to improve, and the progress that we have made in the Art of Printing over the years necessitates a new treatise of this science.⁵¹⁵

Note the similarity to the *annonce* discussed earlier, specifically his regard for perfection and progress; in both pieces, he also makes reference to Fertel and the *Encyclopédie*. Momoro explains to his reader that, "in order to make his manual more convenient" he has chosen to organize the text in alphabetical order, claiming, "I am devoted to present the best means to reach the perfection of this art that is invaluable to the progress of science and philosophy."⁵¹⁶ As in the *annonce*, his emphasis on the *Traité's* physical organization is closely tied to his concern for utility

⁵¹⁴ Antoine François Momoro, *Traité Élémentaire de l'Imprimerie, ou le Manuel de l'Imprimeur*, (Paris: Chez Momoro, 1793), iii.

⁵¹⁵ *Avertissement*, iii.

⁵¹⁶ Momoro p. iii

in general. Although his alphabetical ordering of the manual was certainly not unique, it was unusual within the manual genre. Momoro's mention of Diderot's contribution to the genre demonstrates his awareness of the Encyclopédist; it is noteworthy that both men placed considerable emphasis on the "convenience" of the alphabetical order.⁵¹⁷ Diderot's alleged "impatience with the language of the mechanical arts" due to its lack of order and continuity served as motivation for his project.⁵¹⁸ Momoro's project and motivation were quite similar to Diderot's in this respect; his *Traité* gives order to the printers' language and methods to enhance its utility and earn respect from the general public for the printer's craft. Momoro's desire to make his book readily accessible is tied to the progress of the trade; the easier its accessibility, the better informed the artisan will be, thus improving the trade. Momoro clearly sees himself as the means to such progress.

In the final comments of his preface, Momoro makes a rare acknowledgement of the apprentice, or amateur. Whereas his predecessor Fertel came close to dedicating his book to the apprentice, and Boulard's manual clearly targeted the novice printer and entrepreneur, Momoro rarely mentions the beginner or unskilled worker in the *Traité* as his target audience. However, here he acknowledges that someone with little knowledge of printing may refer to his method for correcting proofs: "I also give an illustration of the way to correct proofs, for those unaccustomed to printing, who could be hindered by the proper signs to use to

⁵¹⁷ Cynthia J. Koepf, "The Alphabetical Order: Work in Diderot's Encyclopédie," in *Work in France - Representation, Meaning, Organization, and Practice*, eds. Steven Kaplan & Cynthia Koepf (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

⁵¹⁸ Koepf, 250.

express their corrections."⁵¹⁹ It is feasible that Momoro was addressing someone other than an artisan, perhaps an author interested in learning the appropriate marks to use when reading and correcting a press proof of his work. Less plausible is that Momoro was directing himself to Boulard's audience, the post-1789 printers with little formal (guild) training. Momoro's remark to the "unaccustomed" is unlike anything in the manual and as a result I am unsure what to make of it. As we will see, there is little evidence of Momoro's concern for anyone but the traditional artisan in his manual.

Through his preface, Momoro presents us with his lofty vision of himself and his trade; his awareness of his place in history as successor to Diderot and Fertel prepares the reader for the rich culture about to unfold with Momoro as the qualified guide.

Momoro's Historical View

The first full section of the *Traité* begins with Momoro's fairly detailed overview of the progress of printing and typography from its inception in Europe. Perhaps characteristically, Momoro praises the French, primarily Parisians, for swiftly bringing the art of printing to new heights of perfection. Momoro attributes considerable innovation, progress and beauty to the esteemed French type engravers such as the 15th century Simon de Colinet, 16th century Claude Garamond and

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

Robert Granjon, and the 17th century Guillaume Le Bé and the Sanleques family.⁵²⁰ According to Momoro, a period of stasis (*engourdissement*) followed due to the superiority of the materials created by these masters, specifically the type punches.⁵²¹ Momoro attributes little need for further innovation to the resultant stable supply of type. This is an interesting logic in that he places innovation in the realm of default; he appears to be arguing that innovation resulted from an inferiority in materials rather than from the individual drive and creative energy of gifted individuals. Only when the opportunity arose, when the metal punches broke, did innovation occur. For reasons Momoro does not delve into, this torpor lasted about thirty years before vigorous innovation began anew.

In the next section, titled "*Art Typographique*," Momoro focuses more on the actual printing of books than on the design and manufacture of type. It is worth briefly discussing the somewhat confusing way Momoro moves between the terms *typographie* and *imprimerie*; there are many instances throughout the manual, but specifically in this section, where he uses the terms interchangeably, yet the terms are not technically equivalent. For example, he writes, "*la typographie* made rapid progress, beginning with Plantin" but then begins the next paragraph, "*l'imprimerie* has, like all new discoveries, experienced from its origin, difficulties in its execution; it was subject to degrees of perfection which can only be reached over time."⁵²²

⁵²⁰ Momoro's inlaws were connected to the Le Bé family. See Chapter One for a detailed discussion of the Fournier family genealogy.

⁵²¹ A letter is carved, or "cut", on the end of a steel punch that is then used to create a matrix; the matrix is placed in a mould and metal type is produced one letter at a time.

⁵²² *Traité*, 9-10.

Typography in the eighteenth century was defined as the art of printing, meaning the processes of type design, type manufacture and printing. The term *imprimerie* literally meant the art of printing books, yet one can argue that the art of printing books included typography, because type is integral to printing. That said, it is safe to say that the art of printing books (*imprimerie*) was specific to the process of printing, such as readying the paper, ink and type for the press. Momoro moved between the two terms frequently, which confuses their distinction.

The section ends with Momoro directly positioning his manual within its honorable past; he states, "The *Traité* that I present today only contains material which relates to the goal [of perfection.] I am not at all attached to the history of printing, I leave this career for others to consider. I prefer to make a useful book."⁵²³ He then suggests, in some detail, two good historical texts on the history of printing. I find Momoro's change in tone somewhat puzzling; while he clearly thinks that the history of his craft is important, he abruptly negates the significance of history in favor of utility, as if he has already wasted precious time. He seems to believe that utility is somehow diminished by history, yet he has curiously spent a good deal of time recreating the history of printing for the reader. Here, I think we catch a glimpse of Momoro's inner process - he has told the reader he wants his manual to be useful above all else, not just a descriptive text like those that preceded his. He then describes the impressive history of printing, a move that allows Momoro to valorize his own position and the craft. Yet this was undoubtedly too descriptive, so Momoro

⁵²³ Ibid.

reminds the reader again, and perhaps himself, that utility is the goal. Thus, Momoro has come full circle; he reprioritizes utility for his audience as a means of contributing to the perfection of the trade and, ironically, secures his place in history.

"Of the operations relative to Printing..."

Momoro begins the main body of his manual with an overview of what the reader should already know. This first didactic section, unremarkably entitled "Brief Summary," consists of five densely packed pages of imperatives; the technical language Momoro uses here convinces me that his intended audience is a skilled one. He begins:

Initially, it is necessary to acquire a preliminary understanding of the characters and their sizes, the difference in size of the type-body, meaning thickness, their height... the face of the type-cases that contain the characters, their layout and which characters to place there. After this preliminary knowledge, it is necessary to know how to lift the letters during composing....⁵²⁴

Much of Momoro's language reflects necessity, for example, in his use of the imperatives "*il faut*", "*il faut savoir*", "*savoir encore*", "*connoitre ensuite*", "*connoitre l'usage*." He catalogs meticulously what must be known about composing type for the press, "how to make up a placard, a poster, small tickets..." and the procedure for proofing them once composed.⁵²⁵ Notably, Momoro gives no instruction here; rather,

⁵²⁴ *Traité*, 11.

⁵²⁵ *Traité*, 12.

he supplies unbroken, lengthy lists of procedures and processes. A person with no prior knowledge or exposure to printing, hoping to use Momoro's manual as a training tool, would be lost. Here, Momoro describes the knowledge needed to operate a printing press:

It is then necessary to apply oneself to the other part of printing, which is knowledge of the press, and the methods for making a good impression; for this know the construction of the different parts of the press and the methods for remedying any defects that may arise. Know the use of the chase in imposing forms, and their specific qualities...⁵²⁶

Momoro is essentially describing what an apprentice, then journeyman, learned during his tenure before entering the guild as a master printer.

In the section that follows, "The Way to Establish a Print Shop," Momoro gives his reader detailed, practical information on the necessary tools and materials for putting together an *imprimerie*. The section provides a very long list of essential materials, right down to the sponges used by compositors and pressmen, totaling six pages; Momoro conveniently highlights the most "indispensable objects" with an asterisk for those with monetary constrictions. He chooses location and lighting as the first two essential features of the new shop, noting the need for "a fine location, especially well-lit for placement of the rows of compositors..."⁵²⁷ Clearly, the natural light in a print shop would be extremely important, especially in the composition

⁵²⁶ *Traité*, 14. A chase is a heavy metal frame that holds the forms of composed type in a specific locked position as they are printed.

⁵²⁷ *Traité*, 16.

process where each individual piece of type, particularly the smaller size fonts, was quite small. Of interest here is that in Momoro's equipment list he recommends "at least two presses."⁵²⁸ This number probably reflected the necessary number of presses to maintain an efficient balance between the typesetter/compositor and the pressman.

Momoro's opening line in this section is of particular interest to me because there is no indication what group he is addressing; he begins, "Anyone who wants to establish a print shop, must observe to do it with all possible intelligence, so that nothing will stop you in the execution of work."⁵²⁹ This seems an opportunity where Fertel or Boulard would have specifically identified his audience, but Momoro leaves it completely impersonal and open-ended. There is no mention of future republicans, or disenfranchised journeyman in the Old Regime system, or new printers from outside of Paris. We are left to speculate on what group he addressed himself to here. Given the dynamic period in which Momoro wrote and published the manual, it's plausible that he was uncertain about the legalities of who was eligible to print at any given time. The eight years between 1785 and 1793 certainly produced enough changes in the press laws to warrant confusion on Momoro's part.

His final section, "Functions of the Printer," prepares his reader for the very detailed, alphabetically arranged body of the manual that follows. Momoro is quite succinct here, walking the reader through the numerous processes involved in preparing paper, ink and type for the press: "The printer will first have the task of

⁵²⁸ *Traité*, 19.

⁵²⁹ *Traité*, 16.

soaking the paper two or three times by hand... the printer then prepares his ink balls (*balles*)...Paper, ink balls, and ink being well-arranged, the printer then occupies himself with arranging the *frisquette*..."⁵³⁰ Each of these processes contain a very specific vocabulary that Momoro will carefully define in the encyclopedic section to follow. As with the previous sections, Momoro provides detailed lists of procedures in a clear, narrative form. There is no editorializing, only instruction in the traditional methods of the *imprimerie*.

"Abaisser" to "Voleurs"

The next three hundred pages make up the bulk of the *Traité*, and consist of alphabetically ordered descriptions of the terminology used in the composition and printing process. While some descriptions are as brief as one or two lines, the majority of entries are quite lengthy; they provide us with remarkable insight into Momoro's work ethic, cultural biases, Old Regime regulations, and printer's slang and culture. Momoro's descriptions and proscriptions are a treasure trove of rare commentary on the trade and trade practices. Not only does he provide the modern reader with precise descriptions of tools, processes and artisanal culture in an eighteenth century printing *atelier*, Momoro also editorializes, sometimes in nuanced ways, about the state of the print trade as the guild became weaker and deregulation influenced traditional practices and work hierarchies. Although it is often not clear when Momoro wrote specific entries, many can be interpreted and understood by

⁵³⁰ *Traité*, 27-31. The *frisquette*, also known as *petit tympan*, is an iron frame that fits over the chase containing the locked-up typeset form.

their references to the Old Regime guild structure. Importantly, many of these entries convey Momoro's favorable views of the system rather than explicit criticism. Unfortunately, few entries convey much direct information about printing during the Revolution or Momoro's responses to those changes. Because he published the manual after the fall of the guild and the system of privileges for book production, his lack of critique indicates to me his basic support of the system. In my analysis of his manual, Momoro's critique is not political at all and represents quite a divergence from his political activity and radicalism; surprisingly, the *Traité* focuses explicitly on standards in the trade, specifically their decline. This last piece of the chapter is organized around the larger themes expressed in the *Traité's* alphabetically ordered entries. They convey fascinating historical insight and reveal some surprising examples of Momoro's wit and sarcasm.

Le "Bon Ouvrier"

Momoro's manual is very much a book about propriety; given the changes in print culture during this period, there is little in the manual itself to indicate that he envisioned or supported revolutionary changes in the print trade. The accolades scattered throughout his text correspond to a traditional work ethic that emphasized diligence, care, cleanliness and accountability. Momoro presents the *Traité* as the means for maintaining quality in the trade in continuation of the traditional methods taught to him and countless generations before. This attitude is a very clear departure from the work of his contemporary, Boulard, whose manual included very little about

negative conditions within the trade; rather, Boulard sought to demystify the printing process for the new printers of Paris. Momoro appears to have resented these men because of their poor skills and ignorance, attributing the further decline of the trade to their presence.⁵³¹ Momoro's approach also differs significantly from his predecessor, Fertel, whose tone was respectful and considerate of both the workers and their craft, in direct contrast with Momoro's often scolding and despairing tone.

Momoro's characterization of good work practices is essentially the marriage of proper technique and proper behavior; this important union formed the core of Momoro's *bon ouvrier*. Importantly, he defines proper technique in strictly conventional terms, meaning the methods learned in apprenticeship under a competent master. Momoro lays out the process by which an apprentice's skill is evaluated and assigned to the specific tasks of the *imprimerie*; for example, apprentices who demonstrate minimal skill in typesetting are then trained as pressmen. The unfortunate apprentice who demonstrates little aptitude at the press "remains at the (type) case, a bad apprentice and bad worker."⁵³² This process of training is coupled with numerous other duties performed for the shop's journeymen and master; these duties, some of them mundane, also teach the apprentice essential skills, such as preparing (soaking) paper for press, handling ink, redistributing dropped type, and preparing ink balls for use by the pressmen. Thus, the apprentice's education depends in part on his acceptance by the shop's journeymen, and his subordination and finesse of these relationships. Momoro insists that apprentices

⁵³¹ This is expressed in his entry on the *imprimerie*.

⁵³² *Traité*, 50.

"must have a lot of deference to the foreman (*prote*), be polite and honest towards the workers, and make themselves liked by them if he wants their instruction."⁵³³ He makes clear that the technical foundation of a good apprenticeship is invaluable, implying in several entries that the "bad apprentice" can never unlearn bad practices. He notes, "When a compositor has completed a good apprenticeship, he may become a good worker; but if he has made a bad apprenticeship, he is never anything but a bad worker."⁵³⁴ Throughout the manual, as we will see, Momoro elaborates on this static conception of technical education

The requisite qualities and behavior that Momoro outlines as essential counterparts to technical skill includes diligence, honesty, and a keen sense of responsibility. There are numerous entries where Momoro directly characterizes the *bon ouvrier* or *bon compositeur* who possesses these qualities, yet, curiously, many of the positive attributes he illustrates are negatively defined. For example, Momoro regularly comments on the tremendous care that must be taken in all aspects of the printing process. Here, he defines care by demonstrating carelessness; he provides an example of bad workers who recklessly break the fine underscores (*filets*) used in typesetting when handling them, men "who understand nothing, breaking them before using them."⁵³⁵ Similarly, we are informed of the importance of cleanliness through an example of the sloppy printer who "has not taken the care to wash his hands well"

⁵³³ *Traité*, 51.

⁵³⁴ *Traité*, 113.

⁵³⁵ *Traité*, 176.

and thus smudges the paper with ink.⁵³⁶ In his entry on "*les pâtés*" (dropped type), Momoro informs his readers that "clumsy, absent-minded or negligent workers" who drop type and fail to fix their mistake "do actual harm to their bourgeois." Additionally, a bad apprentice often "hides his *pâtés*" instead of taking responsibility for the error.⁵³⁷ In each of these examples, Momoro clearly asserts the expected appropriate behavior and emphasizes the need for extreme care and personal responsibility in the *atelier*.⁵³⁸

Momoro believes that "good workers may serve as an example" to those less careful; he illustrates this point using an example of an artisan who uses his tools and materials cautiously, in part to spare the *bourgeois* unnecessary waste and expense. "I have seen many who have used the same *coins*⁵³⁹ to lock up each form in completing their job. In contrast, and this is the majority, I have seen others who can barely use the same *coins* three times without changing them, or breaking them when locking and unlocking them."⁵⁴⁰ This type of worker is afforded little sympathy by Momoro. They not only break tools and equipment but also incur unnecessary expenses to the shop. Momoro's "good worker" exhibits skill, care and concern for the greater good

⁵³⁶ *Traité*, 228. It is interesting to note that the term for bad printers is *machurat*, meaning to smudge or blacken.

⁵³⁷ *Traité*, 251.

⁵³⁸ Momoro's hostility to the worker here and throughout the manual differs profoundly from the attitude of his predecessor Fertel. Where Momoro attributed ignorance and absent-mindedness to the worker who dropped type, Fertel described it as an inevitable misfortune. See Fertel, *Science Pratique*, 196.

⁵³⁹ A *coin* is a rectangular locking mechanism used for securing a form of type into its frame (*chase*) before printing. If a *coin* is improperly locked, the type will fall out and scatter.

⁵⁴⁰ *Traité*, 107.

of his master. Importantly, Momoro shows his allegiance and understanding of the needs of the *bourgeois*, perhaps because of his own experience as master.

Diligence in the workshop includes cleanliness and Momoro provides very clear instructions on the significance of good hygiene. He begins somewhat curiously with an entry three paragraphs long on the seemingly simple task of sweeping (*balayer*) the *imprimerie*: "the apprentice must sweep the print shop at least once a week independently from the sweeping he must do from time to time in the compositor's area. When he sweeps the shop, he must collect the refuse in one place, then extract the type and wash them to put the good characters back into the [type] case."⁵⁴¹ His detail of this process indicates the importance of maintaining a certain order in the workshop, particularly as it pertains to dropped or lost letters, in order to avoid unnecessary costs for replacement type. Later in the same entry, he further explains the need for cleanliness in the *atelier*:

Since the *imprimerie* is a unique workshop, it is appropriate that it be kept clean. The journeymen themselves, for their own sake, must be vigilant; I have seen several who have taken great care to keep their work area clean, and are not averse to cleaning it themselves. These are men who love order and propriety. But how many are there who leave garbage piled up in their area, rather than take the trouble to clean it themselves?⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ *Traité*, 61-62.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

Momoro clearly feels disdain for this type of worker; such workers rely on the apprentice to clean their area and care little for the order that he believes is essential for the smooth operation of the *imprimerie*.

Further on in the manual, Momoro emphasizes cleanliness again, this time with regard to the merits of a good compositor: "Before distributing type, the compositor must clean his case well... Cases are often filled with dirt because of certain compositors who eat bread above the case while working, and the crumbs mix with the letters."⁵⁴³ This was apparently such a significant problem that Momoro somewhat humorously includes an entire entry on bread (*pain*), writing "one must be careful to never eat on the [type] case, in order to not let the bread crumbs fall into the case, because they will cause improper spacing..."⁵⁴⁴ Incorrect spacing would result in unnecessary corrections and the need to print a second proof to ensure the rectification; undoubtedly, the time wasted on such matters could be costly and unavoidable.

Momoro often expressed despair over what he perceived as the ignorance of the majority of his fellow printers. In his lengthy entry on printing (*imprimerie*), he laments, "Where do they come from? It is because we make apprentices of the first candidates we find" and, unfortunately, only a minority of these trainees become good workers.⁵⁴⁵ He often repeats this claim regarding the majority of bad workers

⁵⁴³ *Traité*, 109.

⁵⁴⁴ *Traité*, 246. Crumbs would adhere to the metal type and prevent the letters from resting properly next to one another; this would appear as incorrect spacing in a word or sentence.

⁵⁴⁵ *Traité*, 210.

and, in fact, devotes an entry to them. Under *caleur*, he describes "the lazy or drunken journeymen who never like to work, who only fool around in the *imprimerie*, distract others from their work, by gossiping with them or by telling lies."⁵⁴⁶ I find it interesting that he specifically describes journeymen here, using the word *compagnon* rather than the more general term for worker that would include the apprentice. This implies that the "bad workers" are only found among the journeymen.⁵⁴⁷

Momoro portrays the lazy worker as a journeyman who performs the minimal amount of work for his weekly pay; once he completes his assigned project, he "only occupies himself by watching the sun turn, and waiting with impatience for the end of its revolution." In this example, Momoro is distinguishing between journeymen hired "*aux pièces*" (by the job), who are only paid for how much they produce, and the "*gens de conscience*", journeymen paid by the week, "who occupied or not, [the master] is obliged to pay..." He asserts that while some *gens de conscience* work hard for their pay "a lot of them" do less than the printer who is hired by the job. Momoro suggests here that "it is advantageous to the *bourgeois* to have in his *imprimerie*" journeymen *aux pièces* because they are more productive.⁵⁴⁸ In chastising the lazy *gens de conscience* and advocating for the more cost effective piece worker, Momoro once again demonstrates his allegiance to the bourgeois.

⁵⁴⁶ *Traité*, 83.

⁵⁴⁷ I am hesitant to use *caleur* as a general term for a bad worker because Momoro only refers to it under the entry above. Throughout the manual, he uses the term "*mauvais ouvrier*" which indicates there may be a particular distinction he intends when using *caleur*.

⁵⁴⁸ *Traité*, 255.

While this discussion has focused on Momoro's rather hard-nosed attitudes toward his fellow printers, there are a few entries that reflect his more moderate point of view. Despite his frequent assertions about the necessity for propriety, Momoro expressed a nuanced understanding of the need to balance between the real demands of production in the workshop and the loftier, artistic aspects of printing. While praising the very productive pressman or compositor, known as an *abbateur*, he confesses that *abbateurs* are not necessarily good workers. He notes: "...[les *abbateurs*] are not always the best workers, or the most diligent; they nevertheless have their merit, and generally provide more service than the journeymen who only work with exactitude and care but always produce less of the work."⁵⁴⁹ Momoro admits here that production sometimes trumps perfection; when speed is important and quality less so, the highly productive *abbateur* fills this need. The most diligent journeymen are slower, he implies, and their high quality work is therefore balanced out and supported by the *abbateurs'* productivity. Here, we can imagine that the most meticulous journeymen would produce the finest pieces, most likely books, and the *grands abbateurs* worked on placards and other less-scrutinized ephemera; these *bilboquets* demanded "little time and little care to compose...and ordinarily brought a good profit to the master printer."⁵⁵⁰ Given Momoro's clear disdain for the "*mauvais ouvriers*", it is somewhat surprising that he expressed tolerance for the difference in skills between the *abbateur* and the slow but meticulous journeymen.

⁵⁴⁹ *Traité*, 34.

⁵⁵⁰ *Traité*, 75.

A second instance of a less strident Momoro appears in his entry *détransposer*,⁵⁵¹ where he acknowledged the inevitability of mistakes. Despite his despair and repeated frustration over the poor quality of work and workers, he plainly understood that no amount of scrutiny prevented errors from occurring in the printing process. He recognized that speed, as well as meticulous scrutiny, could produce errors: "One may transpose a paragraph, a line, a word in a composition, without being accused of carelessness or being absent-minded: this may happen to the most attentive workers, as to the most accomplished in the art."⁵⁵² This is a very rare acknowledgement by Momoro of human fallibility not born from laziness or other character flaw. His reflection also indicates his experience in the trade where he doubtless made his own share of mistakes.

The final example of Momoro's relative moderation in the *Traité* appears in his long entry on imposition. Momoro acknowledges that very few workers know or remember all the variations in imposition,⁵⁵³ yet rather than chastise them for their forgetfulness as we might expect, he excuses it: "This knowledge itself is easily forgotten, for little is ever put into practice. As it is a matter of arranging [type], rather than a science, it isn't surprising that it escapes the memory so easily."⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ The process of correcting a transposed group of letters or a line of type.

⁵⁵² *Traité*, 146.

⁵⁵³ Imposition is the layout or format that type is arranged to create one signature or sheet. *In-quarto* is an example of an imposition that lays out four pages of type in correct order on the sheet; this results in an eight-page signature.

⁵⁵⁴ *Traité*, 196. Fertel had expressed empathy for workers who forgot the numerous details in formatting type forms. This is a rare instance where Fertel and Momoro both conveyed a generosity of spirit toward the worker.

These three rare examples depict a more reasonable Momoro. Although he wants very much to demonstrate and teach correct technical methods and professional behavior, at times quite stridently, his strict adherence softens as he admits the tension between productivity and perfection and when acknowledging the inevitability of mistakes in the workshop.

Ignorance and the "mauvais ouvrier"

Momoro frequently commented on the widespread ignorance among his fellow printers, often claiming that the ignorant printers formed the majority in the trade. Ignorance was a characteristic largely attributable to his colorful portrait of the "*mauvais ouvrier*" and his varied use of the term provides important clues into his belief system. At face value, 'ignorance' simply describes either a particular or general lack of knowledge; Momoro used the term to describe the unskilled, the untrained or the uneducated worker. However, he curiously reserved this critique solely for journeyman, as there are absolutely no rebukes of "ignorant apprentices" in the *Traité*. It appears that Momoro distinguished between types of legitimate and illegitimate ignorance - the inexperienced apprentice is expected to know little and is therefore excused from Momoro's reproaches. In contrast, the seasoned journeyman has no excuse for his ignorance and as a result, his character becomes the target of attack.

Momoro allows the apprentice a great deal of latitude as a beginner; by their very nature, apprentices are ignorant of everything in the *atelier*, though Momoro

never describes them as such. Perhaps he felt it was an obvious truth. In the entries where Momoro mentions the apprentice, he is relatively generous in his commentary about their mistakes. For example, in the following account, Momoro reminds his reader to monitor the apprentice closely in order to avoid errors and foregoes chastising the errant apprentice:

An apprentice learns to know the different kinds of characters through *dépatisser*;⁵⁵⁵ but only entrust him with distributing the fallen type when you are certain that he knows his characters well, otherwise he will mix them up; he will place the *romain* in the italics...the *saint-augustin* in the *cicero*, etc.⁵⁵⁶

Momoro leaves the apprentice's character and intelligence unassailed. Similarly, after castigating the "clumsy, careless or absent-minded" workers (journeymen) for neglecting to fix their errors when composing type, Momoro nondescriptly adds, "the apprentices also make *pâtés*..."⁵⁵⁷ He has no problem attributing carelessness to the journeymen yet says nothing disparaging about the apprentice's character, implying that apprentices can make the same errors but are not personally culpable.

Momoro's lack of harsh criticism perhaps indicates his empathy for the apprentice, particularly in light of his critique of the flawed journeymen. His empathy is also conveyed in a reference Momoro makes to a small pamphlet written in 1710

⁵⁵⁵ This is a process of cleaning and redistributing type that has fallen to the floor; each letter must be "distributed" back into its appropriate compartment in the type case.

⁵⁵⁶ *Traité*, 143. Romain, Saint-Augustin and Cicero are type fonts.

⁵⁵⁷ *Traité*, 251. *Pâtés* is the term to describe type accidentally dropped on the floor or over the type case.

entitled, "*la Misère des apprentifs*" (Apprentices' Misery).⁵⁵⁸ The piece is written from the perspective of an apprentice and portrays the hardships and inequalities that he experiences at the hands of his master and the journeymen he employs. The pamphlet's author, Dufresne, illustrates through eight pages of verse, "the hardship that we endure in this damned trade."⁵⁵⁹ Momoro places this reference to Dufresne at the end of his entry on the apprentice, after concluding a long list of extra duties that some apprentices were expected to perform. By including the reference, Momoro further highlights the apprentice's difficult position in the workshop, as well as his own compassion for their plight.

His kinder attitude toward the apprentice is in stark contrast with his disparaging attitude toward the "ignorant" journeyman: "We say of an ignorant compositor, that he doesn't know the *cassetin aux espaces*, meaning that he is limited and uneducated."⁵⁶⁰ He chastises the journeyman compositor for being so ignorant that he is unable to locate the most frequently used compartment in the type case. Unlike the unassailed apprentice discussed above, this compositor's intelligence and education are called into question; his ignorance is no longer "legitimate" and therefore his character is faulted. Momoro has shifted from attacking poor behavior to attacking the worker's character. He makes a similar attack in another entry when

⁵⁵⁸ Dufresne, "*La misère des apprentis imprimeurs appliquée par le détail à chaque fonction de ce pénible art*", in *Typographiques des Lumières*, Philippe Minard (Seysse: Champ Vallon, 1989), 271-278. The *misère* belongs to a genre that recounts the hard lives of workers from all backgrounds.

⁵⁵⁹ Dufresne, 271.

⁵⁶⁰ *Traité*, 90. *Cassetin aux espaces* is the compartment in a type case that holds the spacers for separating words in the composing process.

describing damage to a printing press; he remarks, "this is proof of the negligence and ignorance of the journeymen that work there."⁵⁶¹ He goes on to chastise printers who cannot properly identify the differences in type: "I have seen ignorant printers, who want to clean with their *pointe*,⁵⁶² the *pieds-de-mouche*, (the typographical symbol ¶), believing that it was the letter q filled with debris."⁵⁶³ This would result in damaged type and further reveals their lack of intelligence. Furthermore, Momoro informs the reader that the very use of the *pointe* in making a type correction is a questionable practice. He counters with the proper, "intelligent" method: "There are many intelligent workers who only use their fingers when correcting..." thus removing the risk for damaging the type and incurring unnecessary costs for the bourgeois.⁵⁶⁴

Momoro offers a more nuanced characterization of ignorance in his discussion of print "signatures." In this instance, ignorance is demonstrated through the printer's inability to distinguish between a general practice and a rule. Momoro explains, "There are stubborn printers, ignorant and limited to the point of believing that it is an invariable and certain rule" to print a specific side of a sheet before the others.⁵⁶⁵ While one particular technique for printing both sides of a sheet may be the accepted general practice in one workshop, Momoro asserts that it is not a rule followed by all printers. The printer who doesn't understand this distinction is clearly limited. Essentially, Momoro is valorizing the ability to reason beyond the parameters of

⁵⁶¹ *Traité*, 157.

⁵⁶² A *pointe* is a sharp pin used to carefully remove type from a form during the correction of proofs or to remove debris from individual letters.

⁵⁶³ *Traité*, 254.

⁵⁶⁴ *Traité*, 262.

⁵⁶⁵ *Traité*, 147.

general practices, to innovate new techniques where applicable using sound personal judgment. Momoro's ignorant, stubborn printers stand in opposition to such innovation and lack the ability for complex reasoning. In the entry *malheur* (misfortune), Momoro illustrates this lack of reasoning in reference to the superstition of "simple printers" who mistakenly believe that certain lettered signatures are jinxed. He explains that the signature "O" is often considered a *feuille de malheur* by these "simpletons" because of the multiple accidents that occur when printing it, but clarifies for the reader, "this is not a reason for believing that bad luck is attached to this signature."⁵⁶⁶

Momoro's reference to the poorly educated (*peu instruit*) compositor above most likely refers to a journeyman that served a bad apprenticeship, although it's possible Momoro is referring to a poor education in general. He may also be pointing to a general decline in the quality of young men seeking apprenticeships, an issue that he addresses at some length throughout the manual. Momoro clearly believed that the skills differentiating the good from the *mauvais* worker could be taught, although at times he implied that good character was an innate quality and the key ingredient in becoming an exemplary worker. Ultimately, Momoro's vision of good work practices stems from solid apprenticeships that instill the apprentice with proper techniques; the methods learned over the four year tenure would only be effective if the worker was careful, clean, and diligent. Problem workers stem from bad apprenticeships, where poorly learned skills and a deficient work ethic are joined with "innate" tendencies

⁵⁶⁶ *Traité*, 229.

toward ignorance, drunkenness, and superstition. Throughout the manual, Momoro alludes to discrepancies in natural talent, taste and strength among those entering the trade, and asserts that only the careful selection of apprentices will lead to higher standards and better workers. Limiting who may enter the trade through a proper, merit-based selection process would weed out the ignorant and unmotivated candidates and improve the art of printing overall. Momoro seems to advocate a return to the principles of an earlier era when only "learned men" were granted the privilege to print and thus trained their apprentices appropriately.

Decline and Renewal

Momoro's characterization of good and bad workers is directly related to two central issues alluded to in the *Traité* - the degraded state of the print trade and the desperate need for its revival. In his entry on the print shop (*imprimerie*), we see Momoro subtly working out an antidote to the problem of degradation; looking backward to the early days of printing, he proposes a rededication to the art of printing as a means of correcting its downward trajectory.

Momoro begins the entry in very neutral terms, describing the human components in a print shop, its *cassiers* (compositors) and its *pressiers* (pressmen), and the optimal arrangements of space to allow for the chattiness of the pressmen and the compositor's need for quiet focus. Yet within the first page, his impartial tone shifts to criticism as he describes the "many people who work in the trade without any

talent at all."⁵⁶⁷ He tells us that because of the need for errand boys to carry proofs, "we make apprentices of the first ne'er-do-wells we find." He allows that some may become good workers in the end, though they will be the minority. Momoro thus points to a diminished pool of untalented applicants at the apprentice level.⁵⁶⁸ He hints at the cause for this, noting, "The mania for printing in the century which I am writing is carried to the point of making workers of all those who present themselves for entry into this trade; in spite of the considerable quantity of printers, we still lack the manpower."⁵⁶⁹ Higher demand has diminished the labor pool of journeymen as well as apprentices; this may be a reference to the period between 1789 and 1791 when printing essentially became deregulated.⁵⁷⁰ Nevertheless, clearly Momoro is concerned with the poor skill levels in the dwindling supply of journeymen printers.

He continues by harking to the past, comparing the modern ne'er-do-well with their superior predecessors; Momoro laments, "In the early days of printing, it was only learned men who were granted the privilege to print. These learned men took educated men for their apprentices and skillful men to correct their proofs; thus one

⁵⁶⁷ *Traité*, 210.

⁵⁶⁸ His concern about the poor quality of apprentices is shared by journeymen writing in 1790, who proposed a renewal of standards regulating apprenticeships; as does Momoro, the journeymen propose a minimum requirement of literacy for all new apprentices and stricter oversight of their training. See Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre en France*, 11-12.

⁵⁶⁹ *Traité*, 211.

⁵⁷⁰ Phillipe Minard attributes this line to the period between 1789 and 1791 when the guild and the Administration of the Book Trade were still intact but not functioning. Although this is plausible, the majority of the entry seems to refer to the trade under the Old Regime. For Minard's discussion, see *Typographes des Lumières*, 175-178.

saw masterpieces of correction coming from their presses..."⁵⁷¹ His rationale is clear - learned teachers influence and train educated apprentices in their craft, and establish the foundation for future generations of printers. An apprentice who begins with severe deficits in education and talent, as Momoro experiences in his day, will negatively impact the trade beyond the individual workshop; at best, a minority of these inferior apprentices may become good workers but at the expense of important advances in the trade.

Momoro complains of the poor language skills of masters as evidence of decline at the highest levels in the workshop:

The Etiennes were right to complain of the ignorance of some printers of their time. If they were to see a portion of them today, what would they say? As far as a master printer knowing the Latin language, reading Greek...what can I say? Some of them do not even know French, their native language."⁵⁷²

Momoro's contemporaries pale in comparison to the Etiennes, a respected family of Parisian printers and typographers from the sixteenth century. It is interesting how Momoro aligns himself with printers' early ancestors; although a relatively new printer himself, he places himself on common footing by agreeing with the Etiennes' assessment of their ignorant contemporaries. As did the Etiennes, Momoro too must deal with such ignorance on a daily basis.

⁵⁷¹ *Traité*, 211.

⁵⁷² *Traité*, 211.

Possibly because of deregulation in 1791, Momoro claims that the trade has fallen into the hands of diletantes, charlatans and speculators who have brought shame to his beloved trade; his despair in this passage is palpable:

I have seen hat makers buy a print shop with their fortune and obtain a privilege, and only knowing hat-making, put themselves at the head of a trade which they haven't the first notion. Others, after having made careers as charlatans, buffoons, musicians, become printers. Oh what shame! Others still, treat the print shop like a factory; they invest for profit rather than for the honor of the art.⁵⁷³

Although this passage expresses Momoro's anguish quite well, his use of the term *privilège* presents some ambiguity in determining the specific context for his despair. It may literally refer to the Old Regime legal certification (*privilège*) to print a specific text or body of work that was awarded after passing the royal censor's scrutiny. More abstractly, the privilege may refer to the actual license (*arrêt définitif*) awarded to a limited number of printers and printer-booksellers in each town by the

⁵⁷³ *Traité*, 211-212. His distinction between honor and profit misleadingly gives the impression that Momoro is a selfless printer plying his trade with little concern for monetary gain. However, there is ample evidence in the *Traité* that illustrates Momoro's business acumen and his recognition of the financial end of printing. Several entries describe his concern for the economic success of the bourgeois in hiring productive journeymen, his awareness of the cost of materials and wasteful habits of negligent journeymen who discard costly type and readily break or discard materials meant to be reused numerous times. Momoro is not against profit per se but vehemently outraged at the lack of pride exhibited by those whose *only* motive is profit. This is an important distinction and easily missed when reading his treatise, in part because his often-romantic language in describing printing's past and present overshadows the more mundane elements of the business practice and realities of staying financially solvent.

Bureau de la Librairie, also during the Old Regime. A third possible context could be a looser form of this *privilège* resulting from the declaration of freedom of the press in August 1789 and the declining power of the Paris Book Guild to regulate access to printing. Momoro's despairing evocation depicts a trade infiltrated by men seeking novelty and profit rather than honor, but who were these charlatans? Clearly, under the Old Regime, it would have been impossible for a "hat-maker" to buy a print shop because of the extreme regulation of the trade. Perhaps we are meant to read Momoro metaphorically here, as a way to understand the sheer lack of skill and talent he saw entering his trade. I believe the most plausible context for this passage is some time after 1789, or perhaps after the fall of the Paris Book Guild in 1791.

Momoro goes on to express his reverence for the art of printing, and its role in the propagation of enlightenment, philosophy and even revolution. He draws a direct parallel between the level of a printer's education and the quality of his craftsmanship, and warns his readers about the high stakes at risk if "charlatans" continue to corrupt the trade. He laments, "How can beautifully crafted books come from these presses?"⁵⁷⁴ Momoro essentially grieves the loss of an art throughout the manual, using his text to both warn and inspire printers to embrace their legacy as gatekeepers to enlightenment and revolution. He urges printers to aspire for greatness by creating beautifully crafted books as works of art in themselves. Momoro names three scions of fine craftsmanship, "MM. Didot, M. Pierres, M. Barbou,"⁵⁷⁵ to serve as models for

⁵⁷⁴ *Traité*, 212-213.

⁵⁷⁵ Momoro is likely referring to the many generations of the Didot family in Paris in the eighteenth century. M. Pierres refers to Philippe-Denis Pierres, *imprimeur*

those aspiring to make a reputation for themselves.⁵⁷⁶ He insists that printers "interested in fine craftsmanship" must not scrimp on pressroom materials or "work with even slightly worn materials."⁵⁷⁷ Each printer must re-dedicate himself to valuing correct and tasteful design above profit, which includes investing in quality materials for each stage of the printing process. For Momoro, the progress of printing and, tangentially, nothing less than the progress of civilization, depends on a total recommitment to art. He endows printing with an extreme form of responsibility in several places in the manual, most explicitly in its preface, where he dedicates himself (and his manual) to the goal of attaining perfection in "...this art that is invaluable to the progress of science and philosophy."⁵⁷⁸ Momoro's arguably inflated vision of printing as civilizing agent and arbiter of genius is certainly not unique to him; from printing's inception, intellectuals stressed and valorized the significance of printing in the dissemination of knowledge. One of its most notable proponents in the eighteenth century was Condorcet, who wrote at length about the connection between

ordinaire for Louis XVI and inventor of "the improved common press." M. Barbou refers to sixteenth century printers from Limoges who founded a print house in Paris in 1704; Joseph Gérard Barbou published Fournier *le jeune's* celebrated *Manuel Typographique*, an interesting connection to Momoro's in-laws.

⁵⁷⁶ *Traité*, 168. Reputation is important to Momoro; in explaining the Old Regime law mandating the use of a printer's address on the frontispiece of a book, he claims that, "A printer interested in making a reputation is anxious to rigorously include his address on his work. Because we respect beautiful printing, we look carefully at those addresses..." (*Traité*, 42-43) Where some might have complained of the regulation, Momoro instead sees it as an opportunity to advertise one's talent.

⁵⁷⁷ *Traité*, 167-168. Materials (*étoffes*) refer to ink, paper, and type but Momoro refers also to the lesser known supplies, such as wool, leather and wood used to make the balls for inking the type before impression.

⁵⁷⁸ *Traité avertissement*, iii. As a guild member, Momoro is essentially echoing the corporation's devotion to the practice and perfection of a given art.

printing and the progress of civilization.⁵⁷⁹ Given that Momoro shared this popular view, it is understandable why his concerns over declining standards in the trade are so strongly expressed in the manual.

Momoro continues in the *imprimerie* entry by differentiating between the personal or individual standards at the workshop level and the standards dictated by the authorities, in particular their lack of scrutiny in licensing printers and awarding publishing privileges. Immediately following his query about the future of well-crafted books, he asks, "How can they grant privileges so readily? Why not give them according to merit? Why not ensure that only those educated printers with the necessary skills to obtain licenses are admitted to the competition?"⁵⁸⁰ His dismay has shifted from the personal idiosyncrasies of those seeking entrance to printing to the authorities regulating the trade itself. This passage is quite illustrative of the tumultuous regulatory period Momoro witnessed and navigated; the "they" he refers to are either the Administration of the Book Trade under the Old Regime or the looser amalgam of the same that limped along until March 1791 when the abolition of guilds became formalized into law. However, the terminology he uses in this excerpt points more readily to the Old Regime period, specifically because of his use of the term *concours* (competition). This is an explicit reference to the competition that eligible printers underwent to be chosen as a town printer (or bookseller) in the event of a vacant business. The local lieutenant general of the police administered the *concours*;

⁵⁷⁹ Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*.

⁵⁸⁰ *Traité*, 212. In translating this passage, I have differentiated between two types of *privilège* - the privilege granted by Royal authorities to publish specific texts (*accorder des privilèges*) and the license to be a printer (*obtenir des privilèges*).

the exam required that each applicant compose and print one page from a written manuscript. The license would be awarded to the most capable competitor.⁵⁸¹ This quota system was not enforced after 1789; the licensing of printers after August 1789 was essentially in limbo due to the political upheaval in Paris, not to be settled again until 1791.⁵⁸² Momoro suggests here that unskilled applicants had infiltrated the competition *before* the fall of the Old Regime.

Is Momoro pointing his finger at the authorities as the source of decline in the trade? Their lack of scrutiny, perhaps even their lack of regulation (post-Revolution), has had serious consequences. As a solution, Momoro advocates a return to a merit-based system that rewards the better-skilled and better-educated applicants. He laments the loss of the traditional process of selection in "the early days of printing" when only learned men were granted privileges to print and served as the foundation for well-instructed apprentices, journeymen and subsequent generations of printer-artists.⁵⁸³ His manual stands as the means to regain the past glory and inject the trade with a renewal of skills and a recommitment to the honor of the art. Momoro is certainly not the only printer to hearken back to a previous golden age, nor is he unique in stressing merit as the basis for membership in the trade. In a recent study tracing the introduction of licensing procedures in early modern France, historian Jane McLeod examines the various categories of arguments that provincial printers

⁵⁸¹ A lengthy list of requirements outlined by the Administration of the Book Trade had to be met in order to get to the *concours*.

⁵⁸² See Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics* for a full discussion of the upheavals and eventual dissolution of the Paris Book Guild and the Royal Administration of the Book Trade.

⁵⁸³ *Traité*, 211.

put forth when applying for licenses in their towns.⁵⁸⁴ Merit arguments became prevalent in the eighteenth century when defending their applications for the restricted number of licenses to print; they increasingly emphasized their acquired skills, particularly if they had no family claim to a license.⁵⁸⁵

Momoro shifts his focus from the authorities back to the apprentices as he nears the end of the entry; using a somewhat paternalistic tone, he advises trainees to take seriously their tenure in order to become sound workers, perhaps implying that in spite of the problems in the trade, individuals may still rise above the fray. Then, as if realizing that his narrative has wandered too far afield, Momoro's impassioned tone changes abruptly to the neutral, unemotional voice that began the entry: "The number of printers is fixed in each city of the kingdom. One may not, for this reason, easily succeed in obtaining one of the spaces; the number of applicants is infinitely too large."⁵⁸⁶ This is clearly a reference to the Old Regime quota system but doesn't fit with his previous complaints about the "buffoons" becoming printers in large numbers. His inconsistency between eras may reflect an attempt on his part to update the entry, for example, leaving in the first and last sections of the entry from before the fall of the Old Regime and then adding material in the center of the entry as events in Paris unfolded during the Revolution.

⁵⁸⁴ Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty, Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011)

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 128-131. It is interesting to note that Momoro did not have a family claim to a license when he entered the guild in 1788.

⁵⁸⁶ *Traité*, 212.

Momoro's uneven narrative in this entry is at times puzzling as his commentary confusedly moves between Old Regime regulations and the more complicated deregulated Revolutionary period; his lack of specificity makes it difficult to identify with certainty the context for his despair. Yet despite its ambiguity, the entry exposes Momoro as a proponent of stricter regulation and scrutiny for entry into the trade and an advocate for a return to merit based printers' privileges. It is notable, surprising even, that the narrative Momoro weaves of decline in the trade takes precedence over the narrative of the Revolution. For reasons that are unclear, he maintains a focus almost completely separate from the political events around him; in this regard, his *Traité* is primarily a story of decline rather than one of liberation.

Printing in the Ancien regime

Momoro's *Traité Elementaire* crosses the gulf between two regimes and reflects the staggering changes in laws regulating the print trade. Momoro's irregular labeling of its *ancien regime* entries, written between 1785 and 1793, creates a challenge to the modern reader attempting to contextualize his work. In the introduction to his manual, Momoro asserts his disinterest in writing a history of printing, yet the amount of Old Regime material left in the text provides a truncated history of Old Regime royal and guild regulations. Numerous passages provide information on outdated Royal regulations and edicts; for example, in singing the praises of the print shop *correcteur* (proof reader), Momoro proudly cites the 1686

edict specifying their requisite qualifications, yet this information would have no practical value to someone entering the trade in 1793. At the time of its publication in 1793, both royal and corporate systems for regulating the printing trade had been abolished for two full years; both were deeply criticized as the embodiment of elite privilege, primarily by those outside the Paris Book Guild. Given this political climate, why did Momoro choose to leave the Old Regime passages in the manual? May we interpret his inclusion of them as an indication of his support for the Old Regime system of privilege? What did he hope to convey with this outdated material? In this final section of the chapter, I will examine the remainder of Old Regime entries in an effort to understand Momoro's possible motives.

There are roughly twenty-five entries in the manual dealing with printing under the Old Regime; Momoro explicitly identified about half of these entries as such.⁵⁸⁷ Momoro briefly explains his rationale for leaving in the outdated material in the entry *approbation*. He explains, "I am leaving this article in, along with many others, to reveal the manner in which liberty of the press was hindered under the Old Regime."⁵⁸⁸ This is one of the only instances where he makes a clear distinction between old and new regimes and importantly exposes himself as an advocate for freedom of the press, in spite of what he has to say in other parts of the manual about the charlatans who infiltrate(d) his trade. Momoro's interest in depicting Old Regime

⁵⁸⁷ The question remains as to why he identified some entries explicitly but others not at all, particularly his informative and puzzling entry on the *imprimerie*. Could this reflect, at least in part, his lack of scrutiny as a writer and editor?

⁵⁸⁸ *Traité*, 51. The *approbation* was the formal approval granted by the censor for a specific book; the printer was legally obligated to display the printed *approbation* at the beginning of the text.

restrictions on freedom of the press most certainly would stem from the regulation and censorship of texts directed by the Administration of the Book Trade. However, it is important to distinguish between his support of a free press and his feelings about the liberty to become a printer.⁵⁸⁹ As we saw in the *imprimerie* entry, he advocates stricter regulation of printers; Momoro does not critique or address the liberty to enter the print trade, which was under the purview of the guild. This distinction is further illustrated in the entry *imprimer* (to print), when Momoro explains the quota system regulating the number of printers in the country: "The permission to print is limited in France; they only grant a certain number of privileges, and it is difficult to obtain one, due to the small number of places and the large number of candidates."⁵⁹⁰ His impartial summary tells us nothing about his feelings about the system, but he makes a revealing comparison in the next paragraph. Momoro continues, "In foreign countries, they print freely - they ask a prince or magistrate for permission to open a printshop and this request is never refused."⁵⁹¹ Rather than blatantly criticize the closed system in France, he quietly contrasts quotas with the extreme freedom to open an *imprimerie* elsewhere. Momoro thus scrutinizes the larger system of Royal regulations responsible for the quotas but notably does not attack the guild. He is silent about the actual process regulated by the guild for becoming a printer; his

⁵⁸⁹ As a Master *libraire-imprimeur*, Momoro's attitudes about the freedom to become a printer would undoubtedly differ from the Journeymen in the trade; they clearly had more to gain with deregulation in terms of opportunity. For an interesting discussion of journeymen's experience after the fall of the printer's guild, see P. Chauvet, *Les Ouvriers du Livre...de 1789 à la Constitution...*, 6-51.

⁵⁹⁰ *Traité*, 209

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

criticism is reserved for the Royal administration throughout the manual, particularly those entries explicitly labeled *ancien regime*.

When describing the *adjoint* (the assistant to the guild syndic), he begins with a benign caveat, "This article, made useless by the suppression of the guilds, will remind us of Printing before the revolution."⁵⁹² Here, Momoro writes as both journalist and historian, reporting the functions of the *adjoint* in settling differences between masters and journeymen and describing the 1686 and 1723 edicts that regulated the *adjoints'* number and activities. Momoro also expresses a subtle optimism, even pride, in his reporting that suggests his support for the corporate system. He describes the partnership between guild *syndic* and *adjoint* quite positively, as "forming a competent body" where both master and journeymen present their cases "with all possible honesty, and particularly with complete candor."⁵⁹³ He ends by suggesting a collection of royal edicts to those interested in learning more about the guild.⁵⁹⁴ His tone throughout is respectful and informative; despite having explicitly left it in after the suppression of the Paris Book Guild, there is no derision or critique of the guild itself.

In the Old Regime entry *maron*, Momoro describes a text or pamphlet printed without permission.⁵⁹⁵ Setting aside any overt commentary, he reports how *marons*

⁵⁹² *Traité*, 39.

⁵⁹³ *Traité*, 41.

⁵⁹⁴ He identifies the publisher of the edicts as "*Mercier père*" of Paris.

⁵⁹⁵ *Traité*, 234-235. The lieutenant general of police, Jean-Charles-Pierre Lenoir, mentioned by Momoro as *M. le Noir*, in this piece held office in Paris between 1774-1775 and then 1776-1785. He figured prominently in the policing of the book trade during the Old Regime. Momoro writes in the past tense in this piece, perhaps an

were not only produced in clandestine print shops, as expected, but also in sanctioned print shops. He then surprises the reader with a humorous tale of the *maronneur's* skill in eluding the police. The piece gives us a rare glimpse of Momoro's humor:

One day, the lieutenant general of police, Monsieur le Noir, was searching for the shop responsible for printing an illegal ecclesiastical broadside. As he was conducting a search along one of the suspected streets of Paris, (the *maronneurs*) placed some of the printed sheets of the illegal gazette, still damp, in the lieutenant general's carriage, which read as follows: 'Monsieur lieutenant-general of police is at this moment searching for our gazette.' The search was in vain for they had discovered nothing. The *maronneurs* were clever and the police lieutenant left as he had come.⁵⁹⁶

Momoro's inclusion of this tale may be interpreted as a critique of the Old Regime in policing printed matter; the incompetence of the police in 1784 is contrasted with the competence of the *maronneur*. Momoro's pleasure in celebrating the *maronneur* may be due to his support for freedom of the press and a relaxation or abolition of censorship in particular.

As in the *maron* account, Momoro's entry on *privilège* is clearly identified as an Old Regime piece; writing in the past tense, he states simply, "it was the exclusive permission to print or have work printed."⁵⁹⁷ He explains in neutral terms the process an author would follow to be published as he navigated the various levels of censorship and approval until being granted the final *privilège*. Momoro gives the

indication of when he wrote it in contrast to the majority of the other entries, written in the present tense.

⁵⁹⁶ *Traité*, 235.

⁵⁹⁷ *Traité*, 282.

reader no indication what he may have felt about this system. His lack of commentary is somewhat surprising given what he wrote about *privilège* in the *imprimerie* entry and its relation to the decline of the trade.

Momoro describes the *quête*, a fund collected for sick journeymen under the guild's supervision in the Old Regime.⁵⁹⁸ He informs the reader that although "today this type of fund is no longer in place," a society established by journeymen printers has been created to replace it. Momoro applauds the new organisation, suggesting that "this society, wisely administered, deserves the attention of all journeymen printers."⁵⁹⁹ Momoro is likely referring to *La Société Typographique*, founded in June 1790; it served as a voluntary association of journeymen printers interested in the maintenance of order and standards in print shops.⁶⁰⁰ He ends the entry by describing the additional collection drawn from all members in the trade for their annual fêtes honoring *Saint-Jean-Porte-Latine* or *Saint-Martin*. This is an interesting example of an entry that Momoro has clearly updated, although incompletely; he revises the defunct Old Regime *quête* with the post-Revolution journeymen's *société*, yet obviously does not foresee the *société's* abolition in 1791, when all forms of associations were made illegal. This is illustrative of how much change took place in

⁵⁹⁸ *Traité*, 285.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁰ Also known as *Le Club typographique et philanthropic*; they published a weekly journal that carried some of Momoro's ads. Momoro shows interest in the needs of the journeymen in various entries in the manual despite being a Master. See BN 8-LC2-2438. Historian Paul Chauvet made special mention of Momoro's praise for the *Société*, implying that the organisation's discipline and structure merited "a very favorable response" from Momoro. See Chauvet, *Ouvriers du Livre... 1789 à la Constitution...*, 27.

the laws regulating printers and guilds during the period Momoro wrote the manual; any number of revisions Momoro could make in 1791 would be in need of further revision by the time he actually published in 1793.

Like the *quête*, there are numerous entries dealing with Old Regime practices that became illegal after the passage of the D'Allarde and Le Chapelier laws in 1791. Not only were guilds abolished but all forms of association became illegal; journeymen associations and the myriad of cultural practices that encompassed their status in the trade became associated with Old Regime conservatism.⁶⁰¹ Momoro includes many of these practices in the manual but neither labels them as Old Regime or comments on their demise; this seems rather odd, given how drastically the political climate was altering his work culture. For example, Momoro includes entries describing the cards (*billets*) journeymen carried "allowing" them to leave their job and seek work elsewhere, signed by the master printer or foreman, and the fines (*amendes*) paid by journeymen for bad behavior, all made illegal in 1791. His descriptions of the corporate oaths, patron saints, and traditional workshop practices such as the *chandelle*, *chapelain*, *chappelle*, *chevet*, and *copies de chapelle* also remain intact and curiously uncommented on. Similarly, Momoro's long entry on the

⁶⁰¹ There were actually three laws that dealt with abolition of the guilds and the regulatory system - the Allarde Law (March 1791) suppressed the guilds and allowed anyone the freedom to establish a business once they purchased a license (*patente*). The Le Chapelier Law passed in mid-June prohibited all occupational associations of either workers or employers. The Goudard Law passed in September abolished the central administration of trade and its infrastructure of economic regulation; regulating power was intended to pass to the municipalities. For a fuller discussion, see Philippe Minard, *La fortune du colbertisme. Etat et industrie dans la France des Lumières* (Paris, 1998), 351-61.

apprentice, discussed earlier in this chapter, is another instance of Old Regime policy left intact. The formal structure of apprenticeship ended in 1791, yet Momoro kept the entry in the manual without any reference to the changes that had taken place after 1789. Clearly there were still apprentices in the trade after the fall of the guild but there was no legal oversight to regulate the relationships between masters and apprentices.⁶⁰²

As we saw earlier with his *annonce*, Momoro wrote about the connection between printing and the Revolution, yet he is mute on the subject in the *Traité*. While there is some evidence of revisions in his discussion of the *quête*, for example, and his inclusion of a few identifying titles above Old Regime entries, the bulk of the manual was clearly written before the Revolution and left unedited. Aside from his comment on the liberty of the press, the majority of his views are conservative in their support of a greater regulation of printers. Why didn't Momoro edit the manual to better represent the radical changes taking place in the trade between 1789-1793? Ironically, he had explicitly critiqued Fertel's printing manual for being "outdated" yet his own manual was already outdated in 1793 because of the rapid political changes in Paris. We know that Momoro instructed his wife, Sophie, to manage the printing of the manual while he was away from Paris in 1793; it may be that he was simply too occupied in his administrative position in the department of Paris to undertake serious revisions of the manual. From our modern perspective, it is easy to overlook the

⁶⁰² The journeymen's association, *le Club Typographique*, sought to regulate apprenticeships in response to the lack of oversight in the trade after 1789, in part to protect their own livelihood in the print shop. For a full discussion of the *Club*, see Minard, *Typographes des Lumières*, Chapter X.

physical work involved in bringing a manuscript to press in the eighteenth century, especially the coordination required to impose type in its correct format to produce a coherent, ordered book. It seems plausible that the physicality of the formatting process may have contributed to the lack of coherence between entries and in some cases, within entries, where he appears to move between regimes. Editing a manuscript to either add or delete outdated material meant that Momoro might have had to reconfigure entire sections of the book to accommodate the physical type changes that would result in each signature. In other words, adding or deleting words and phrases would have changed the pagination, thus altering the original format decided upon by Momoro and his compositor(s). To avoid this, Momoro may have amended the entries by simply labeling some of them Old Regime entries, a change which could be facilitated with minor changes to spacing within that particular page. This would avoid a ripple effect, whereby changes in one page would affect subsequent pages. Another possibility is that Momoro printed the manual over a period of years and stored the printed signatures until all the print work could be finished. This would allow Momoro to print the text during slow periods in his business and possibly help absorb the cost of the printing and materials over a longer period, thus having less of an economic impact on the business. This would account for the outdated material at the time of its publication.

Perhaps Momoro's inability to thoroughly transform his manual in the face of the enormous political changes surrounding him is indicative of the scale of the tumult and confusion in the trade. It may reflect the level of uncertainty felt by guild

members over a future re-establishment of a corporate structure. If so, we may interpret Momoro's manual as an indicator of his careful negotiation between old and new regimes, an enterprise that would not indict him should the Revolution fail and the guild and monarchy re-establish themselves.

Letters from the Vendée:
Momoro's Narrative of Revolution and Counter-Revolution

This final chapter examines Momoro's political affiliations outside his section in the political clubs of Paris. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the evolution of the clubs and Momoro's various memberships. The bulk of the chapter focuses on Momoro's position in the department of Paris after the fall of the monarchy in August 1792 and his two "missions" to regions south of Paris between 1792 and 1793. I look first at his role as *commissaire nationale* in Bernay and Lisieux and the controversies that arose from his unauthorized distribution of an edited version of the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen. I then examine his second longer "mission" to the Vendée during the counter-revolution beginning in May 1793. This discussion focuses entirely on Momoro's detailed letters from the Vendée to his colleagues in Paris.

Political Clubs and Societies

The functions of the political clubs and societies were varied, although generally speaking they served as interest groups for particular causes, such as the abolition of slavery, ensuring freedom of the press or ending restrictions on voting; some served as reading clubs to allow easy access to expensive periodicals for the general populace. Moreover, the clubs provided the setting for “thinking men” to

develop personal and political connections beyond the section assemblies.⁶⁰³ The popularity of the club for political figures, journalists and intellectuals was at its peak in 1790.⁶⁰⁴ These organizations are often described as popular societies (*sociétés populaires*), patriotic societies or clubs, and both contemporaries and historians have used the terms interchangeably. Additionally, some clubs also had popular societies, such as the Cordeliers Club's *Amis du Peuple*. The Cordeliers Club, of which Momoro was a member, emerged alongside the forty-eight sections of Paris in 1790.

Momoro's membership in the *Cercle Social* is not well documented but, given his relationship to publishing, it makes perfect sense that he affiliated himself with them, at least in the early years. The *Cercle Social* consisted largely of Girondins, such as Bonneville, Fauchet, Brissot, Roland, and Condorcet, all intellectuals with published books or pamphlets prior to the Revolution. Although Momoro would not have aligned himself with their moderate politics as he became more radicalized, their intellectualism would likely have appealed to him. The *Cercle Social* conceived of itself as an “association of citizens” representing a confederation of existing clubs and societies.⁶⁰⁵ Its *Confédération des Amis de la Vérité*, a popular offspring of the *Cercle Social* begun in 1790, became one of the largest clubs of the Revolution and held radical views on land reform, religion, women’s rights and democracy. They initially limited themselves to debating political philosophy rather than developing actual legislation, leading some Cordeliers members to initially criticize the group for

⁶⁰³ Gary Kates, *The Cercle Social, the Girondins, and the French Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 92-93.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

its moderate position. The *Confédération* gradually did become more involved in political activities, however, and joined with the Cordeliers Club in seeking to establish a democratic Republic in 1791 after the flight of the King.⁶⁰⁶ Momoro is listed among the members of the *Confédération*, though this may only have represented Momoro's attendance at a single meeting on July 15, 1791.⁶⁰⁷ The discussion focused on ways to pressure the National Assembly to depose the king. The Cercle Social's journal, *Bouche de Fer*, reported, "In this tempestuous meeting...Momoro, of the Cordeliers Club (*société des amis des droits de l'homme*)...distinguished himself at the podium."⁶⁰⁸ Notably, this meeting was the beginning of events that led to the massacre at the Champ de Mars on July 17th and Momoro's arrest, and also marked the end of the Cercle Social's *Confédération*.⁶⁰⁹

Given Momoro's occupation as a printer and bookseller and his political involvement with the Cordeliers Club, it is likely that he attended meetings of the *Société des Amis de la Liberté de la Presse*, a group organized in July 1790 in response to the arbitrary press censorship imposed by the Châtelet; Loustallot, the political editor of *Révolutions de Paris*, and Desmoulins, the editor of *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, were the group's organizers. Journalists and radicals in Paris and the provinces came together as a club in a first meeting of the *Société* at the Cordeliers Club in mid-July, 1790, with Danton serving as chairman. The club

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁰⁷ Because no official list of members exists, Kates attributes membership in the Confederation to those who attended one or more meetings. p. 277, Appendix A.

⁶⁰⁸ *Bouche de Fer*, No. 96, 18 July 1791.

⁶⁰⁹ Kates, 170.

pledged to fight against the restrictions of the court and announced its intention to present a 'mathematical' defense of press freedoms to the National Assembly.⁶¹⁰ Of interest here are the men who attended the meetings, notably Desmoulins and Marat, two men whom Momoro clearly knew. Additionally, a fellow *sectionnaire* and Cordeliers member, François Sergent, is also credited as one of the leaders of the *Société*.⁶¹¹ Two notices dating from July and August of 1790 contain the few details known about this short-lived group of 50 members. They sought to support the liberty of the press indefinitely for all authors, regardless of their political perspectives, and intended to present a petition to the National Assembly demonstrating "mathematically" that the liberty to think, write and print and the natural rights of man, like the ability to see and walk, and work, was an eternal right sovereign to all men.⁶¹²

Momoro also belonged to the *Club de l'Evêché*, a political organization of Parisian electors beginning in August 1791. Its club members, made up largely of Cordeliers and Jacobins, met in the evenings to discuss candidates in public meetings

⁶¹⁰ Hugh Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988), 50.

⁶¹¹ Mathiez, *Le Club des Cordeliers Pendant la Crise de Varennes et le Massacre du Champ de Mars*. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne H. Champion, 1910), 20.

⁶¹² Paul Vailland "Les débuts de la société des amis de la liberté de la presse", in *Annales Historique de la Révolution Française*, Vol. 6, 1929, p.83-84. Prudhomme reported that it was Fréron, the author of the journal, *Orateur du Peuple*, who proposed the creation of a "*club de la liberté de la presse*." See *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 52, 737.

and considerably influenced the choices of the Electoral Assembly. It is noteworthy that the club supported Momoro's nomination for mayor in November 1792.⁶¹³

The exact date of Momoro's entrance into the Cordeliers Club is rather vague, but we know that he was first elected as club secretary in March 1791, before serving as editor of its *Journal du Club des Cordeliers*.⁶¹⁴ Momoro's participation in various political clubs, particularly the Cordeliers, is illustrative of the interconnection among the groups and their significant overlap with section politics. Momoro's continued presence in his section coincided with his activity and leadership role at the Cordeliers Club; he regularly moved between section assemblies and meetings of the Cordeliers and Jacobin Clubs as well as the *Cercle Social* and *Amis du peuple* in order to shape political policy at the municipal and legislative levels. His position in the department of Paris after the fall of the monarchy reflected many of the Cordelier's Club's positions, including their support of terrorist policies in support of the Republic and their passionate promotion of de-Christianization.

⁶¹³ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires*, No. 310, 5 November 1792. Momoro's name appears as a member in two documents: *Les Électeurs formant la société en l'Evêché, à leurs commettans*. (Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791); *Pétition d'une partie des citoyens composant le Corps électoral de Paris à l'Assemblée Nationale*, cited in Lacroix, *Département de Paris et de la Seine pendant la Révolution*, 28-29.

⁶¹⁴ Mathiez' early study of the Cordeliers club, which includes primary documents from the club's journal and proceedings, along with DeCock's more recent substantial collection of primary documents relating to the Cordeliers, both provide important documentary evidence of Momoro's participation in the radical group that paralleled his section activism and leadership. DeCock's exhaustive collection in particular would serve as the basis for a future study on Momoro's role in the Cordeliers Club but is beyond the scope of my current project.

Momoro in the Department of Paris, 1792

After the overthrow of Louis XVI in August 1792, Momoro was elected to serve as an administrator for the Department of Paris in the newly declared Republic. His section (Marseille) elected him to the administrative position on August 21st where he served with six other members, Cournand, Leblanc, Collin, Dubois, Salmon, and Piquenard.⁶¹⁵ Eight days later, Momoro was elected to also serve on the new Board of Directors (*Directoire*).⁶¹⁶ In his new capacity, Momoro worked for three separate offices - public works, dispatches and sequestration of *émigrée* properties - each overseen by Roland as Minister of the Interior.⁶¹⁷ Momoro and Leblanc were initially assigned to work for public works handling its dispatches. As a member of the *Directoire*, Momoro was involved in a wide variety of issues, some mundane and others monumental, as in the execution of Louis XVI. Momoro and the Board communicated frequently with the Minister of the Interior, Roland, on matters relating to administrative appointments, infrastructure, public assistance, safety and institutional requests made to the new Republican administration. The correspondence between the Board and Roland illustrates the relative power that was wielded by the Board members. For example, Momoro and his fellow administrators rejected Roland's proposition to appoint M. Soyer as treasurer of the Bicêtre prison;

⁶¹⁵ *Patriote François*, No. 1124, 7 September 1792; *Du Moniteur*, No. 252.

⁶¹⁶ Lacroix, Sigismond *Le Département de Paris et de la Seine pendant la Révolution*. (Paris: 1904), 218.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

they cited the failure of Soyer's letters of referral to reach the *Directoire* and informed Roland of their decision to appoint another candidate (Leroy) to the position.⁶¹⁸

Momoro and the Board were also involved in the ongoing process of the confiscation and sale of church lands. They handled claims from former religious institutions that sought exemptions, such as the former community of *l'Enfant-Jésus* seeking reclamation of their confiscated property at Issy.⁶¹⁹ Momoro also served as interim president of the Board in at least two instances; the first dealt with the administration of the *Hôtel des Militaires Invalides* and, in the second instance, Momoro led a Board meeting that heard "patriotic testimony" from former religious leaders who presented the council with their *lettres de prêtrise*.⁶²⁰

The execution of Louis XVI was arguably the most significant event Momoro was to witness and record. He attended the execution with his colleague, Lefèvre, both representatives from the *directoire* of the department of Paris, and signed his name along with four other functionaries to a description of the king's execution.⁶²¹ The document chronicles their transport to the *hôtel de la Marine* at the *Place de la Revolution* at nine o'clock in the morning to carry out the decree ordered by the National Convention and sanctioned by the Executive Council. At fifteen past ten, "the procession led by General Santerre arrived at the scaffold with a carriage holding

⁶¹⁸ Tuetey, Alexandre, *L'Assistance Publique à Paris Pendant la Révolution*. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), Vol. III, 24 November 1792, 321-322.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 3.

⁶²⁰ BHVP No. 799, 242 - 6 November 1793. *Archives Parlementaires*, 7 November 1793, 550.

⁶²¹ Other witnesses were Sallais and Isabeau, commissaires of the Executive Council and municipal representatives, Bernard and Roux. BN LB39-103.

Louis Capet...At ten-twenty, Louis Capet walked to the scaffold and at ten twenty-two he ascended it. The execution was immediately carried out and his head shown to the people."⁶²² Although Momoro officiated at the execution, he left no other record of his experience of the historic event.

During his tenure as an administrator, Momoro aligned himself with the controversial issue of price fixing; his proposition concerning the maximum on grain with its controversial implications for property owners unleashed considerable hostility towards him that plagued him until his execution. In late April 1793, Momoro presented his thoughts on subsistence in response to the question put forth by the Committee on Agriculture and Commerce, "Is it right to fix a maximum on the price of grain?"⁶²³ Subsistence was presented as an important issue in addressing counter-revolution, particularly in the region of l'Eure-et-Loir, an area rich in resources and where Momoro would soon be sent as *commissaire*.⁶²⁴ However, Momoro's controversial stance on property rights preceded the debate over the maximum. His version of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, published in the fall of 1792, stated that only "industrial property" was guaranteed by the nation; this earlier stance on property served as the basis for his argument in support of the maximum. In the following section, we will see the effects of Momoro's attempt to distribute his Declaration in the regions south of Paris.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ *Archives Parlementaires*, 25 April 1793, 314, 343-348.

⁶²⁴ See Chapter Three for an in depth discussion of Momoro's pamphlets on the maximum.

Controversy in Bernay & Lisieux

Momoro's position in the Department of Paris led to his position as one of thirty *commissaires* sent to recruit volunteers from l'Eure and Calvados regions on August 29th. Men like Momoro volunteered for these positions shortly after the fall of the monarchy in August, prompting the provisional government (*Conseil Executif*) "to accept the offers of several good citizens to go and instruct their brothers in the departments on the exact details of these events and spread educational documents (*pieces d'instruction*)... which the national assembly will decree alternately as publicity."⁶²⁵ In his instructions to the new *commissaires*, the new Minister of the Interior, Roland, directed them to "instruct their brothers in the departments of the actual details of the events of August 10 and spread *pieces d'instruction* deemed appropriate by the national assembly."⁶²⁶ Judging by the numerous accounts in Paris newspapers, Momoro's travels as *commissaire* in August and September created considerable controversy, particularly with regard to his distribution of his edited version of the Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen.

There are two reported controversies in the cities of Bernay and Lisieux that concerned Momoro, although the latter is the most written about and the most misrepresented, in my view. I will start with Momoro's mission in Bernay, using his very detailed account of the troubles that he encountered there. A series of three short newspaper articles dealing with Momoro's presence as *commissaire* in Bernay slowly reveals the most problematic issue he encountered in his travels. Initially, the

⁶²⁵ *Révolutions de Paris*, 473.

⁶²⁶ *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 166, 8-15 September 1792, 473.

journalist positively depicts Momoro's mission, a sentiment apparently shared by the citizens of Bernay, but as the journalist (and reader) learn of the distribution of Momoro's personal version of the *Déclaration*, this perspective changes. The revelations that come to light over the course of the three articles mirrors the troubles the populace experienced with Momoro outside Paris. The issue is not Momoro's mission, but rather his stance on property that pushed his colleagues and journalist sympathizers to ultimately condemn his actions.

The first report is largely positive in its assessment of Momoro and Dufour's⁶²⁷ mission and overall conduct in the l'Eure. It explains how both *commissaires* "were nearly massacred because of the intrigues of aristocrats and fanatical priests" who had accused Momoro and Dufour of being "conspirators."⁶²⁸ The crowd threatened to decapitate the *commissaires* and present their heads to the electoral assembly.⁶²⁹ The article chronicles the debate over their arrest and subsequent acquittal, whereby Momoro and Dufour were free to go: "they returned to Lisieux, where Momoro managed to pacify a violent insurrection and save several citizens from the rage of the people."⁶³⁰ The author of the piece clearly sides with Momoro and Dufour in his characterization of the crowd as "aristocrats and fanatical priests." Furthermore, he ends his report by describing Momoro's return to Lisieux

⁶²⁷ Dufour's identity is not clear here. There is a report of an arrest of a paper maker Dufour for his role in the printing of counterfeit assignats. While interesting in terms of his connection to printing and perhaps Momoro, there is nothing to say this is the same Dufour. *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires de la France*, No. 78, 18 March 1792.

⁶²⁸ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires de la France*, No. 259, 15 September 1792.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

and his allegedly heroic efforts to quell an insurrection, leaving the reader little doubt as to the courage of the two *commissaires*.

The 15 September edition of the same newspaper includes an excerpt from the journal, *Patriote Français*, that reports, "commissaires sent by the Executive Council and the commune of Paris are here distributing a declaration of rights..."⁶³¹ The writer does not name the *commissaires*, but they are undoubtedly Momoro and Dufour since Momoro was the only *commissaire* accused of this specific action. The article contains two excerpts from the disputed Declaration of Rights dealing with property rights: "the nation recognizes only industrial property, and assures its guarantee and inviolability" and "the nation assures equally to its citizens a guarantee and inviolability of what is falsely called territorial properties until the time when a law is established on this subject."⁶³² The author comments in a footnote that the arrest of the "apostles" surely meant they were "obviously brigands and the Executive Council cannot have brigands for missionaries."⁶³³ It is Momoro's distribution of his version of the "Declaration", specifically his take on property that turns popular opinion against him and marks his descent from respected *commissaire* to scoundrel.⁶³⁴

⁶³¹ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires de la France*, No. 260, 16 September 1792.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Ibid. The editor cites the *Patriote Français*; I have located the actual edition, dated 15 September 1792.

⁶³⁴ A letter published in the *Patriote François* reacted strongly to the paper's reportage on the commissaires' distribution of an alternate Declaration of Rights on the 15 September. The writer, L. F. Guynement (de Keralio), took issue with Momoro's contention that industrial property was the only property to be recognized by the government. See *Patriote François*, No. 1142, 25 September 1792, 347-348.

The following day, the same journal presented a longer explanation of Momoro's problems in Bernay. Having learned of Momoro's distribution of the "Declaration" the author adjusts his original positive stance toward Momoro (and Dufour) on the grounds that Momoro's behavior was contrary to the mission proscribed by the Executive Council.⁶³⁵ He comments on Momoro's troublesome assertion regarding the supremacy of industrial property:

.... he presumably based this on the notion that the earth was but a large factory; but though it might be true that a field could be regarded as a workshop, one would no more be allowed to dispossess what had been legitimately acquired than to remove Monsieur Momoro's presses and printing business. Landed property is therefore not illusory, as M. Momoro alleges, and he should not present his misrepresented idea on an article of the declaration of rights, which can be made still worse by others, and have the most disastrous consequences.⁶³⁶

The author clearly takes issue with the nature of Momoro's editorializing in the "Declaration" and views it as a usurpation of Momoro's power as a *commissaire*, particularly his mission to quell unease within the provincial citizenry. What I find valuable in this set of reports is the author's slow realization of the nature of Momoro's mission and the deep animosity, even among supporters of the Republic and the *commissaires'* mission, towards his reassessment of property rights.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires de la France*, No. 262, 18 September 1792.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Momoro approached the subject of property rights again the following year in his arguments for the imposition of the Maximum. See previous chapter for a discussion of the specifics of his argument.

Momoro's courageous efforts highlighted in the first report have been supplanted by his misuse of his position to proselytize his own unique political views.

A separate source from September 23rd also reported negatively on Momoro's stance on property, "Momoro and a companion Dufour overstepped the powers given them...spread[ing] the word that territorial property must not be recognized."⁶³⁸ Momoro's Article XXVII explicitly stated, "the nation only recognizes industrial property and guarantees its inviolability," thus calling into question the private property rights of the citizenry. As in the first set of articles, Momoro and Dufour are taken to task for agitating the people and misusing their mission to propagandize the "infernal idea" of property redistribution. The author counsels them sarcastically to "return quickly to Paris before we follow their system of land sharing and there will be no roads left for them to drive on."⁶³⁹

Fortunately, we have Momoro's own account of his experience in Bernay, published in the 8 September edition of *Révolutions de Paris*, but it curiously reveals nothing about the troubles surrounding his distribution of the edited "Declaration". The paper's editor, Prudhomme, used letters from Momoro and several other *commissaires* (Lacroix, Ronsin, & Hunier) to illustrate to his readers "the loftiness of the public spirit between Paris and its frontiers" and inspire confidence in the provisional administration.⁶⁴⁰ Momoro's published account is in the form of a letter to Danton, the new minister of justice; although the newspaper edited the content of his

⁶³⁸ *Courier de l'Egalité*, No. 36, 23 September 1792.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁰ *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 166, 8 - 15 September 1792, p. 479-483. The code of behavior for the *commissaires* is published in this edition as well.

letter, it provides a fascinating account of Momoro's experience in Bernay as well as his attitude toward the mission.

Momoro recounts attempting to leave Bernay after "fulfilling our mission" only to be detained by the municipality, who accused them of being "false commissaires."⁶⁴¹ He writes of their rough treatment by citizens of the municipality, where they were made to give up their pistols. Amidst the threatening environment, Momoro rose to declare the authority of his position and request safe escort from the town. In his retelling, Momoro conducts himself in quite a collected manner despite the agitation of the crowd. He admonishes their behavior to Danton: "after having traveled in so many districts, cantons and communes and felt such welcome and integrity, I am astonished that the municipality of Bernay waited precisely for the moment of our departure to block the progress of the provisional Executive Council."⁶⁴² He rather surprisingly claims to have had no indication of the level of their discontent.

He then recounts the mostly positive events that preceded their arrest. This is a rhetorical move Momoro used often, as we will see in his letters, distracting his reader from the controversy by disclosing positive news. Upon registering their commissions with the director of the district, Momoro and Dufour returned to the inn and soon met with several electors who requested Momoro's presence at the electoral assembly to reassure the citizens about the nature of their mission. Momoro concedes that "although I was tired and in need of a rest, I hastened to agree with the wishes of

⁶⁴¹ Ibid, 479.

⁶⁴² Ibid

the electors."⁶⁴³ Once at the assembly, Momoro met the president, M. Buzot, who verified Momoro's papers and asked him to address the group. In a somewhat self congratulatory manner, he describes Buzot's delight with his oratory: "when I finished, M. Buzot whispered to me, as he took my hand, that he was delighted with the energy with which I spoke and said that I had awakened the patriotism of the members."⁶⁴⁴ Momoro's connection to Buzot here is important because he would prove to be integral to Momoro's release from Bernay in the end.⁶⁴⁵

Momoro concedes that although the evening ended with accusations against him for slander by "priests", he was safely escorted back to the inn for the night. His cavalier mention of the accusatory heckling implies that such behavior was not uncommon, perhaps even expected, and that his mission was not yet threatened. The following day, the electoral assembly requested Momoro's presence again and although he initially refuses to go with them, he gives in to their persistence. He and Dufour are issued their entry cards (*carte d'electeur*) to the assembly and as M. Buzot greets them, the assembly surrounds them, prompting Momoro to speak his mind: "since my mission is to excite patriotic ardor in the hearts of the citizens that nourishes free men, I expressed my opinions openly. I distributed copies of the declaration of rights of man with several additional articles suitable for the national

⁶⁴³ Ibid, 480.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid

⁶⁴⁵ Coincidentally, Momoro had printed a pamphlet written by Buzot in 1789, entitled *Danger du Veto Absolu*. In his letter to Danton, he claims not to have known Buzot; perhaps Momoro printed Buzot's pamphlet through a third party.

convention, signed by me."⁶⁴⁶ It appears that Momoro felt the audience's support, or interest, at least enough to distribute his version of the Declaration, which he clearly believed to be a part of his mission. Momoro and his audience discuss the articles until Buzot requests they stop to ensure other electoral duties take place.⁶⁴⁷ In Momoro's account, his presentation and discussion of the controversial material is completely peaceful and only comes to an end because of other administrative needs. Only afterwards, as Momoro prepares to leave Bernay, did the trouble begin, as "numerous people who wanted to cut our throats and carry our heads to the frontiers" surrounded them.⁶⁴⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know the content of Momoro's speech before the assembly, yet because he admits to openly pronouncing his opinions, in particular, his views regarding the articles on property added to the Declaration of Rights, we can assume that this is what provoked his arrest. Momoro sees no rupture between his mission as laid out by the Convention and distributing the controversial pamphlet on property rights. In fact, he naively claims that his frankness is in keeping with his mission.

As his letter to Danton continues, Momoro defends against the violent threats of the crowd by immediately suggesting that criminals had infiltrated and

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid, 480-81. In mentioning that his pamphlet is "suitable for the National Convention", Momoro may be legitimizing his distribution of the pamphlet to the reader, Danton. I have found no evidence that the Convention ever sanctioned his pamphlet.

⁶⁴⁷ In Aulard's account of Momoro and Dufour's difficulties in Bernay, he asserts that Buzot "warned Momoro, author and signatory of the Socialist Declaration of Rights, 'to behave with circumspection and to limit himself solely to the object of his mission...'" Momoro's account does not contain any such warning from Buzot. See Vol. 1, 132, Aulard's *The French Revolution*.

⁶⁴⁸ *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 166, 480-81.

"contaminated" the town against them; he seems incapable of comprehending any other explanation for their hostility. Momoro admits that the crowd's threats caught their attention but claims that rather than fear the actual threats, they feared infiltration by a criminal element.⁶⁴⁹ He bravely maintains, "as for death we have no fear; we had hardened ourselves after having defied it several times during the revolution."⁶⁵⁰ The crowd accuses Momoro and Dufour themselves of inciting civil war and denounces them as seditious villains masquerading as *commissaires*. Momoro lists the numerous charges made against them by the crowd, "Others denounced us as spies, another said that our domestic fled from us, another denounced us for having dined with an elector and his wife."⁶⁵¹ Momoro skillfully minimizes the concerns of the crowd by including their petty accusations with the more serious claims they alleged. His account of their denunciations is quite detailed and one wonders why he included them in the letter. Was it to demonstrate to Danton his courage and dedication? By explicitly naming one of his critics who denounced his "Declaration" "and the additional articles proposed and signed by me for the national convention" as "a *libelle*", Momoro highlights his dedication to the revolution and to his own vision of its proper direction.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹ This is very much the same rhetoric that Momoro used against the refractory priests in his piece in response to Sieyès.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid, 481.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Ibid. The accused happened to be a deputy to the Convention, Duroy. Notably, this excerpt is the only instance that I have found where Momoro takes credit for the revised articles on property in the Declaration.

Finally, the assembly of "priests and aristocrats" allows Momoro to respond to the denunciations, at which point he asks the assembly to make a ruling on whether they are to be interrogated or allowed to defend their legitimacy as *commissaires*. He asks Buzot to verify the state's seal on their papers by comparing them with other documents in Bernay's archives and refuses to participate further until the assembly either formally charges them or frees them. Implying that the president of the assembly is sympathetic to them, the matter is finally decided by Buzot, "who really suffered to see the deliberate and prolonged error made by the electoral assembly."⁶⁵³ Buzot cites a law against any interference with the missions of the Executive Council, deemed punishable by death, as justification for their release "amidst the cheers of the people..."⁶⁵⁴ Momoro thus concludes his letter on a positive note: "we returned to Tiberville, where we encountered a great deal of patriotism.... and more than two hundred armed and equipped men and a great deal of money for volunteers."⁶⁵⁵

Momoro's letter to Danton reveals the serious discord he encountered in Bernay, some of which clearly occurred after he unveiled his ideas about the Declaration of Rights and property in particular. The accusations made against Momoro and Dufour for inciting civil war were a significant concern for the provisional government in Paris; the commissaires were meant to instill confidence and gain support for the new order rather than incite violence and acrimony. Yet it appears that Momoro was unfazed by the unrest, seemingly confident in his mission,

⁶⁵³ Ibid, 482.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 483.

and continued to speak openly about the "Declaration" with its controversial proposals. Momoro characterizes himself as quite bold and brave in relation to the 'criminals' who denounce him, and in the end, stridently refuses to continue listening to denunciations until charges are formally made for their arrest or release.

The events in Bernay are little commented on in the historiography on the Revolution; in fact, Momoro's detention in Bernay is often confused with the actions of a different group of *commissaires* in Lisieux, arrested and detained until the Convention ordered them released.⁶⁵⁶ Momoro wrote a series of letters after the Bernay incident in which he complained about the false accusations circulating about his alleged arrest in Lisieux. Although Momoro was in Lisieux after his detention in Bernay, it is quite clear that he was the victim of mistaken identity. Two other *commissaires*, Goubeau and Millier, were indeed arrested in Lisieux at the time Momoro was allegedly arrested; the confusion seems to stem from Momoro's detention in Bernay and the proximity of the other *commissaires*. An account of his purported arrest, dated 25 September, claims Momoro was traveling with Millier rather than Dufour. "The district and commune of Lisieux arrested citizens Millier and Momoro, *commissaires* of the executive council, for disrupting the peace; a large

⁶⁵⁶ Aulard seems to be the only historian to have noticed the oversight about Momoro's detention in Bernay and its confusion with events that followed in Lisieux. Aulard claimed, "the two commissaires were allowed to leave Bernay unmolested. But their attempt at a socialist propaganda, of which news spread all over France, caused a considerable scandal; the most advanced of the journals disowned them and blamed them." Alphonse Aulard, *The French Revolution, A Political History*. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1910) Vol. II, 132-133.

sum of assignats and coins was found on them."⁶⁵⁷ A second report in the *Moniteur* reported on 29 September, "the committee of general security decreed that Momoro and Millier, *commissaires* of the Executive Council, arrested in Lisieux, will be freed."⁶⁵⁸ However, the minutes of the National Convention for the 29th report the release of two *commissaires* from Lisieux and neither one is Momoro or Dufour: "Monsieurs Goubeau and Millier, members of the commune of Paris, *commissaires*, arrested at Lisieux, will be freed immediately."⁶⁵⁹

Momoro reacted strongly against these false accusations of his arrest and wrote two letters decrying the slander. If we are to believe Momoro's accounts of his actions in Lisieux, his indignation is understandable because rather than behaving inappropriately, he actually saved several citizens from a mob and quelled the violence of the crowd. Reports in several journals support Momoro's story; one account claims that Momoro and Dufour left Bernay quickly for Lisieux where Momoro managed to pacify a violent insurrection and save several people from a furious crowd.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid, No. 271, 25 September 1792. The money referred to here is likely the money collected from provincial citizens for the volunteer army. The article reports that the administrators in Lisieux asked the Assembly to advise them about the arrest of the two *commissaires*. Fabre d'Eglantine and Bourdon request their release and Lacroix suggests the return of the money taken from Momoro to the *comité de surveillance*.

⁶⁵⁸ This account is repeated in the *Courrier de l'Egalité* in its 30 September edition.

⁶⁵⁹ *Archives Parlementaires*, 29 September 1792, 231. Further evidence of Goubeau's and Millier's arrest is found in the 25 September minutes for the Convention, (Vol 52), 148 and *Etat des lois de l'Assemblée nationale législative envoyées aux directoires de départements par le ministre de l'intérieur, le 30 septembre 1792*, reprinted in *Archives Parlementaires*, 4 October 1792.

⁶⁶⁰ *Annales Patriotiques*, No. 259, 15 September 1792.

Momoro's first letter, printed in the newspaper *Annales Patriotiques*, denies any arrest in Lisieux:

An atrocious calumny was publicized yesterday, 26 September; this calumny came in the form of a letter read before the National Convention from the administrative corps of Lisieux, department of Calvados. The letter said that the administrative corps had arrested and held me prisoner in their town for my appalling behavior, and asked the Convention how to proceed with regard to me.

I respond to this atrocious slander that I was never detained in Lisieux, that I live in Paris, rue de la Harpe, no. 171, where I have been since my return from my mission last Tuesday.⁶⁶¹ It is not possible that I could be in Paris and Lisieux at the same time.

I add that today, Thursday, 27 September, a group of soldiers that I recruited in the Calvados presented themselves to the Convention assembly, and together with them I respond to the unceasing slander directed at me since being employed by the National Executive Council.⁶⁶²

Momoro's objection here goes beyond the slander about his behavior and arrest; he points to the continuous abuses he has experienced since being named as a *commissaire*. This makes me wonder whether Momoro was in fact targeted and whether the "unceasing slander" he experienced resulted from his political views or were more personal in nature; unfortunately there is no evidence to explain his claim.

⁶⁶¹ This would have been September 18th.

⁶⁶² *Annales Patriotiques*, No. 272, 27 September 1792.

Two days after the first letter appeared in print, a second letter of Momoro's was read before the National Convention dated the 28th.⁶⁶³ The letter contains a more thorough account of his experience in Lisieux and his heroic efforts to maintain the peace:

An atrocious calumny against me was published in the papers on the 26th of this month. A letter from the administrative corps of Lisieux, read at the Assembly during the meeting of Wednesday the 26th, said that I was arrested and held in Lisieux for having behaved in an appalling manner, while I am in Paris, having returned from my mission on the 24th of September.⁶⁶⁴

I presented myself to you, citizen President, and informed you of this slander; you could pass judgment [on this slander], since my presence alone [before you] is sufficient to destroy the slander.

Consequently, I have released a letter to be read at the Assembly in order that the same journalists who slandered me unintentionally may retract this calumny.

It doesn't appear that this letter had been read; it was, in all fairness, necessary to make it known. I ask you, citizen President, to communicate this to the Convention Assembly.⁶⁶⁵

Momoro makes reference here to a letter sent by the administrators of Lisieux regarding his arrest, which seems to be what started the rumor that he had been arrested. Yet the only letter read before the Convention from the administrators of Lisieux (dated the 25th) states "two commissaires were arrested from the commune of

⁶⁶³ *Archives Parlementaires*, Tome LII, 29 September 1792, 225-226.

⁶⁶⁴ The date here contradicts what was printed in the newspaper from the first letter, perhaps a typographical error. In my calculations, Momoro returned from his mission on Tuesday September 18th.

⁶⁶⁵ *Archives Parlementaires*, Vol. 52, 29 September 1792, 225-226.

Paris, Goubeau and Millier..."⁶⁶⁶ There is no mention of Momoro here or in any other meetings of the Convention in relation to Lisieux. How did Momoro become mistakenly associated with the arrests of Goubeau and Millier? As I mentioned earlier, there were indeed newspaper reports naming Momoro but he himself references a letter from Lisieux denouncing him to the Convention, implying that the letter wrongly named him. It seems plausible that the journalists made an error in their reporting and confused Momoro with the other two commissaires, but this doesn't explain why Momoro blames the administrators from Lisieux for slandering him. At the end of his letter, Momoro asks that the Convention read aloud his letter so "the journalists who slandered me unintentionally may retract this calumny." The fact that Momoro states their slander was "unintentional" indicates further that he believed the misinformation stemmed from Lisieux rather than from the journalists. Given his contentious experiences in Bernay, perhaps Momoro was quicker to assign blame to municipal authorities rather than journalists, with whom he shares a common interest.

Momoro penned a third letter (to an unknown recipient) on October 9th describing "an injustice" perpetrated against him. He explains what transpired in Lisieux and requests an indemnity for his extensive work as *commissaire*. Momoro complains that while his colleague Dufour received monetary compensation, he received nothing, despite his greater responsibilities in relation to Dufour: "it is I who carried out all operations directly, and he (Dufour) was only a secondary agent who

⁶⁶⁶ *Archives Parlementaires*, Vol. 52, 25 September 1792.

took notes on my interactions."⁶⁶⁷ Momoro describes two events that serve as evidence of his sacrifice, dedication and justification for the indemnity:

....It is I who spoke passionately to the citizens in each of the departments I traveled to; it is I, who, in the presence of my associates, D'Albitte and Lecointre, saved the life of the former Baroness de Drucourt, as well as her servants, who they wanted to massacre in Lisieux... It is I who thereafter prevented the massacre of other citizens detained in the prisons in Lisieux. Finally, it was against me that the most horrible slander was directed, and it was I who thereafter was summoned to the bar of the Convention, where after having been heard, I received the honors of the meeting by unanimous decree.

Momoro's tone here is quite emotional, and effective, in legitimizing his request for compensation. He is indignant that his work and sacrifice had not been compensated, particularly because he was the principal spokesman in the departments. Moreover, his heroic efforts to save the former Baroness de Drucourt and her servants, allegedly at risk from a violent crowd, had seemingly gone unnoticed and unappreciated. His indignation is palpable here, particularly as it comes on the heels of accusations about his improper behavior.

He ends the letter using simple prose to remind his reader of the financial losses that resulted from his work as a commissaire.

I observe also that during my month long voyage in the department, I was deprived of receiving the compensation reserved for a person in the

⁶⁶⁷ Momoro, letter *9 Octobre l'an première de la république*. BHVP Folio 811, #60.

position of a member of the *Directoire* because I had not assisted at meetings during this period.

Ultimately, the Executive Council recalled the commissaires in November due to growing concerns over their contribution to continued unrest in the departments. The debate in the Convention detailed the alleged liberties taken by some of the *commissaires*, who, like Momoro, preached and supported the broad re-distribution of national properties (*biens nationaux*). One of Momoro's detractors, Convention deputy Duroy, claimed "Momoro and Dufour, sent to the departments of Eure and Loire-du-Cher, wanted to force some poor citizens to take possession of the chateau of an *émigré*, which belonged to them as national property; I have before me a written document whereby Momoro demanded an agrarian law."⁶⁶⁸ It should be noted here that in Momoro's letter to Danton about events at Bernay, Momoro claimed that Duroy denounced his "Declaration" as "*a libelle*."⁶⁶⁹

Candidate Momoro

During his tenure in the department of Paris, Momoro was put forth as a candidate for mayor of Paris. His name appears on five of the seven municipal ballots in 1792 and again in a new election for mayor after Chambon's brief tenure ended in February 1793. Momoro's "active" citizenship status made him eligible to hold office. The electoral culture of the Old Regime persisted in revolutionary France, and as a

⁶⁶⁸ *Archives Parlementaires*, 26 November 1792, Vol. 52, 600.

⁶⁶⁹ See footnote 42.

result, Momoro would have been discredited had he actively sought office. It was customary for political clubs to compile lists of candidates, which would essentially serve as ballots; this process was often quite prolonged, as in the seven rounds of voting in the mayoral race of 1792.⁶⁷⁰ Momoro's nomination is recorded in a meeting of the *Club de l'Evêché*, an organization composed of electors from the Electoral Assembly of Paris in 1791, of which Momoro was a member. The club met and discussed the future election for mayor in November 1792; they rejected a *feuillantiste* candidate, Grouvelle, but gave a favorable nod of approval to Momoro.⁶⁷¹

Turnout for the municipal elections in 1792 throughout France was quite poor due to uncertainty over voter eligibility, modes of voting and war, with only 13.9% of Parisian voters casting votes for mayor.⁶⁷² The protracted election for mayor of Paris began in September, when Pétion resigned to serve in the National Convention, and lasted until the end of November, when, after seven separate ballots, Chambon was elected mayor.⁶⁷³ We know that Momoro staunchly believed in changing the methods of voting in the new elections to reflect a new transparency in government, and advocated the public vote (*haute voix*) in place of the secret ballot. As mentioned in

⁶⁷⁰ Melvin Edelstein, *The French Revolution and the Birth of Electoral Democracy*. (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 168-169.

⁶⁷¹ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires*, No. 310, 5 November 1792.

⁶⁷² Crook, Malcolm, *Elections in the French Revolution: An Apprenticeship in Democracy, 1789-1799*. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1996), 98-99.

⁶⁷³ For an in-depth study of the mayoral election of 1792, see S. Lacroix, "*l'Élection du Maire de Paris en 1792*," in *La Révolution Française, Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, Tome 38 (1900): 500.

Chapter Two, Momoro was called before the Convention (as president of his section) for his role in disobeying the rules on voting procedures for these elections.⁶⁷⁴

On October 23, 1792, the *Journal de la Municipalité* reported the results of voting for the candidates for Mayor in Section Théâtre-Français; Momoro impressively received the second highest number of votes.⁶⁷⁵ This was in fact the second election for mayor due to victor Pétion's refusal to fill the position. On November 8, 1792 the *Moniteur Universel* reported that Momoro received one hundred and two votes in the election for mayor out of a total of 9361 votes counted; the election was finally concluded in December with Chambon as the victor.⁶⁷⁶ Although votes for Momoro represent a fraction of the votes cast, it is notable that he received more votes than many more prominent figures, such as Danton, who received only twelve votes, and Robespierre with thirty-three.⁶⁷⁷ In the seventh and final ballot for mayor, reported on November 28th, Momoro received 110 votes. Momoro also received 172 votes for *procureur* of the commune of Paris on the 11 December.⁶⁷⁸ When Chambon's brief tenure as mayor ended in January 1793, we again find Momoro among the list of candidates, although here he lost more dramatically than in the previous elections, garnering only 27 of the 15,191 votes cast

⁶⁷⁴ See Chapter Three.

⁶⁷⁵ LC2-2556 *Journal de la Municipalité et des Sections de Paris*. In order of number of votes: Panis, Momoro, Hérault de Sechelles and Freteau.

⁶⁷⁶ BN LC2-115 *Gazette Nationale/le Moniteur Universel*, No. 313, 8 November 1792.

⁶⁷⁷ *Journal de Paris*, No. 313.

⁶⁷⁸ *Gazette Nationale/Moniteur Universel*, No. 346, 11 December 1792.

in the final ballot on 16 February.⁶⁷⁹ As a highly regarded public figure in his section and in the Cordeliers Club, Momoro's nomination for the mayoral elections reflects his public role and the relative esteem his colleagues held him in.

Commissaire to the Vendée

The counter-revolution in the Vendée that began in March 1793 constituted the most concentrated provincial opposition to the Revolutionary government. The revolt posed a serious ongoing threat to the work of the new regime and its prosecution of the war against France's external enemies. It began almost simultaneously in the southwestern regions between Nantes, La Rochelle, Poitiers and Angers and was the result of four years of growing tensions between those who embraced the Revolution, primarily an urban phenomenon, and those against the Revolution's reorganization of the church and the deportation of nonjuring priests. Over the course of the year, between 50,000 and 100,000 rebels fought in the region south of the Loire.⁶⁸⁰ The Vendée demanded the attention of the new regime and Momoro played a significant part in the efforts to destroy the counter-revolution and bring the inhabitants of the region into the republican fold. On May 11, 1793, following the recommendations of the *procureur*, Lulier, and fellow administrator, Lemit, the War Council appointed Momoro to serve as *commissaire nationale*. Momoro and Damesmes, his colleague in the department of Paris, were initially sent

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., No. 47, 16 February 1793.

⁶⁸⁰ Charles Tilly, *The Analysis of a Counter-Revolution in History and Theory*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (1963), 31-32.

into the insurgent departments to facilitate an accelerated recruitment of soldiers but, as the conflict grew, Momoro's role expanded.⁶⁸¹ The War Council was created during a reformist period at the end of the Old Regime, tasked with cutting costs and improving efficiency; they took over legislative functions, drafted ordinances and allocated funds. During the Revolution, the Council developed into a strategy planning body composed of generals and *représentants-en-mission*.⁶⁸² Momoro's colleagues in the Cordeliers Club, Vincent and Ronsin, dominated the War Ministry and may have been responsible for Momoro's mission to the *Vendée*.⁶⁸³

Between May 18 and August 13, *commissaire* Momoro wrote twenty-eight letters detailing the rapidly unfolding rebellion in the region; the majority of the letters were addressed primarily to his colleagues in the department of Paris.⁶⁸⁴ In one of his first letters, Momoro described his mission as that of an "eyewitness to events."⁶⁸⁵ His conception of himself as such is clearly evident in many of his lengthy letters, loaded with precise news about troop movements and rebel activities as well as his subjective evaluations of the attributes of the army leadership and the state of public opinion towards both the insurgents and the revolutionary army. The letters contain several recurring elements - daily news from the field, propaganda, requisitions, and accusations - and serve as further evidence of his strong rhetorical

⁶⁸¹ Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public...* Vol. 4, 98-99.

⁶⁸² Howard G. Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791-1799*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 19.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid*, 75.

⁶⁸⁴ The other *commissaires* wrote letters to Paris from the *Vendée* as well. Many of them are published in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vols. VII & X, ed. Jules Taschereau, (Paris: 1836).

⁶⁸⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 22 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol VII.

skills. They also reveal a great deal about Momoro's political beliefs, biases and personal affiliations. In addition, the more personal letter format provides us with important glimpses of Momoro's awareness of himself as a writer.

Momoro's Duties

Momoro and Damesme left Paris on May 16th and arrived in Tours the following evening. His first letter, dated the 18th, describes some of his editorial duties during meetings of the War Council and other committee work. He was well suited to this position given his experience in publishing and his initial role as secretary in meetings of the Cordeliers Club and as editor of their journal. Momoro describes several instances of the arrival of couriers and the complicated task of integrating incoming information in the midst of active meetings: "As I was writing the news, another courier arrives at the department; I rush to receive the information in the letters..." Momoro collects the information and is then called to a meeting: "the administrators seat me in their office, where I take the following notes..."⁶⁸⁶ Shortly after this, Momoro reports another interruption: "As I am taking notes, the secretary for General Sandos arrives..." and brings news of a victory. Momoro incorporates this latest news into his letter.⁶⁸⁷ These examples depict a certain fluidity in his tasks, as he moves between couriers, secretaries and administrators in order to send the most up-to-date reports back to Paris. Moreover, they show an awareness of his role as a

⁶⁸⁶ Momoro, Letter from Tours, 18 May 1793, published in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, (Paris: 1836), 264.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

chronicler of history as he inserts himself into the public records. His repeated descriptions of his tasks - "As I was writing...", "I rush to receive information...", "I take the following notes" - indicates this historical self-consciousness and a desire to be recognized for his contributions.

As an editor of the news, Momoro adds drama to the unfolding events and builds a narrative for his colleagues in Paris; he also shows some adeptness at tailoring the narrative for different audiences. This is particularly evident in the handful of letters signed by both Momoro and his fellow commissaires, which differ in tone and content from Momoro's individual letters. While Momoro clearly wrote the group letters,⁶⁸⁸ the writing is often more succinct and less hyperbolic than in those signed only by him. Two letters from August 5th offer a clear example of this; while they convey much of the same news, the letter from *commissaires* Momoro, Laporte and Parein is more concise and less embellished than Momoro's letter. For example, their description of a skirmish between General Ronsin and the rebels at Doué is quite matter-of-fact: "The gunfire from the rebels then began with more intensity. General Ronsin advanced..."⁶⁸⁹ In Momoro's individual letter, he adds a few choice words of embellishment to heighten the tension and underscore the courage of the Republican general: "The gunfire from the rebels then began with the

⁶⁸⁸ These letters either refer to Momoro as their author or repeat information contained in Momoro's separate, individual letters.

⁶⁸⁹ Momoro, Laporte & Parein, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X (Paris: 1837), 438.

greatest force. General Ronsin, bursting with courage, advanced..."⁶⁹⁰ Apparently, Momoro felt the need to stress the intensity of the fighting to heighten Ronsin's courage and efficacy as a leader, perhaps because of the recent re-organization of the army under *sans-culottes* leadership.

In addition to this embellishment, Momoro's individual letter consistently minimizes the numbers of men wounded or killed and increases the number of prisoners taken by the Republican troops. For example, in reporting the outcome of the battle in Doué, Momoro states that "fifty were taken prisoner"⁶⁹¹ which differs from the thirty prisoners reported in the letter from all three commissaires.⁶⁹² Similarly, Momoro writes that "we have only lost two soldiers and have seven or eight wounded"⁶⁹³ which conflicts with the parallel account stating the loss of "six men and had fifteen soldiers wounded."⁶⁹⁴ It is difficult to know why Momoro would alter the numbers in this way, and what end this may have served since both letters were sent to the same colleagues in the Department of Paris.

Momoro stresses his role as eyewitness in many of his letters, particularly his nearness to the action, perhaps to prove his authenticity as a reporter and bolster the perception of him as a serious and courageous *commissaire*. In the first days of his mission, Momoro assures his colleagues that he is close to the action "to see and

⁶⁹⁰ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X (Paris: 1837), 442.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid.

⁶⁹² Momoro, Laporte and Parein, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, 438.

⁶⁹³ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, 442.

⁶⁹⁴ Momoro, Laporte and Parein, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, 438.

observe everything, and take down all the details possible on our actual situation."⁶⁹⁵ His letters certainly reflect his attention to detail and his earnest commitment to fulfilling his mission. Towards the end of the same letter, he repeats this commitment: "We will definitely send you some interesting news by the first courier; we go to these places to be eyewitnesses to the events and share them with you..."⁶⁹⁶ Clearly Momoro believes that this manner of reporting from the field is invaluable; later in the same letter, he attacks Deputy Carra⁶⁹⁷ for studying maps of a battle zone rather than going into the field and seeing it firsthand.

Momoro's closeness to the action meant that he often accompanied the Republican military leadership. His letters are filled with interactions with generals in the field, many of them his colleagues in the Cordeliers Club, such as Ronsin, Rossignol and Santerre; Momoro had presided over Ronsin's oath of loyalty in section Théâtre-Français in August 1792.⁶⁹⁸ In at least one instance, Momoro took part in the interrogation of prisoners, due in part to a social event with General Rossignol. In late May, Momoro described a dinner he shared with Rossignol whereupon five spies "from the christian army...were brought to him [Rossignol] and

⁶⁹⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 22 May 1793, in *Révue Retrospective*, Vol. VII, 269.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 275.

⁶⁹⁷ Jean-Louis Carra, journalist and founder of the journal *Annales Patriotiques et littéraires*; elected deputy to the National Convention in 1792 and sent to the Vendée in 1793 to enforce the law on military recruitment. He was executed during the purge of the more moderate Girondins in October 1793.

⁶⁹⁸ *Section du Théâtre-Français, dite de Marseille. Serment du 11 Aout 1792*, cited in *La Vendée Patriote*, Ch. L. Chassin, Tome I, 546, note 2.

we interrogated them."⁶⁹⁹ This rather privileged position seems to go beyond his duties as *commissaire*. In another instance, Momoro inserts himself into the action as he awaits a coordinated military attack to begin. He writes proudly, "Lachevardière and Minier... wait as we do for the definitive passage of the military plan, in order to march with our brothers against the enemy. Though *commissaires*, we are soldiers."⁷⁰⁰ His willingness to be close to the fighting illustrates Momoro's total commitment to the revolution and the narrative construction of himself as such. In his letter of June 10th, Momoro and his colleague Lachevardière responded to the desertion of cavalry troops during the siege of Saumur and "followed this troop for nearly a league, vainly seeking to rally them."⁷⁰¹ The letter stresses the dangers that Momoro and his colleagues were under as a result of their "incredible efforts to support our soldiers."⁷⁰² The retention of Saumur was considered to be an integral part of the protection of Paris from counter revolutionary forces and the letter stresses the desperation and fear over the loss of the town to the rebels. "There isn't one among us whose life was not threatened one hundred times during this unfortunate day."⁷⁰³ Momoro regularly inserted himself into the action, whether in interrogations or marching with troops to battle or attempting to track down discouraged soldiers. His role as commissaire seems to have expanded almost immediately; one wonders if

⁶⁹⁹ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 27 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 279.

⁷⁰⁰ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 1 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 296.

⁷⁰¹ Momoro and Lachevardière, Letter from Tours, 10 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 402.

⁷⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Ibid, 403.

this grew out of necessity or was more of a reflection of his personal initiative and zeal for the cause.

The counterpart to his proximity to the military was the performance of mundane tasks in support of them, which he appears to have also taken quite seriously. Throughout his letters to Paris, Momoro repeats the need for supplies in the form of weapons, materials, and additional troops. He is quite skilled in the formulation of his requests, often linking the requisition to a much-needed victory. For example, in late May he wrote, "we must have men and weapons; we cannot partially attack these brigands without exposing ourselves to certain death."⁷⁰⁴ His requisitions always have a stated goal - to avert massive losses and to prevent the expansion of the revolt, as in an instance a few weeks later, when he asserts a need "to cut all rebel communications with the sea."⁷⁰⁵ His persistence and persuasiveness seems to have been successful in procuring the desired materials. Momoro wrote that General Duhoux confided in him, "they still are waiting for camping materials, such as pots and pans and other necessary utensils for the soldiers..."⁷⁰⁶ (Note the implied trust between Momoro and the general). Later that month, Momoro reports his diligence in returning to Paris to "solicit the minister of war for camping materials and carts for the army at Niort, who until now have been unable to set off without

⁷⁰⁴ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 22 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 272.

⁷⁰⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 2 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 294.

⁷⁰⁶ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 1 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 289.

these indispensable materials."⁷⁰⁷ He demonstrates his efficiency and efficacy to his colleague Lachevardière, "My complaints were welcome; the objects requested were sent and I leave again to return to my post where I continue my mission."⁷⁰⁸

Momoro served many needs on his mission beyond those of the military leadership and troops, at times drawing on his printing expertise. Along with the *commissaires nationaux*, there were other functionaries sent to the region, such as the *representatives en mission*, deputies from the National Convention. Momoro writes of an instance where he carried out a task requested by an unnamed representative: "I have just removed from the print shop in Saumur all of the wood and metal *fleurons* and *vignettes* that represent the signs of royalty or emblems of the ancien regime."⁷⁰⁹ Momoro is well equipped to use his printing expertise in physically locating the woodcuts, engravings and metal *vignettes* in the print shop and disposing of them. He acknowledges the danger of symbols such as the *fleurs-de-lis* and the royal coat of arms, noting "the printer could put them at the head of the proclamations that he printed for the brigands."⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁷ Momoro, Letter from Paris, 29 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 422-423.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁷⁰⁹ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 6 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 374.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.* Momoro wrote about these symbols in his *Traité Elementaire* and in those descriptions, there is nothing overtly connected to the monarchy, except the *fleur de lis*. What Momoro doesn't say in his letter is that his removal of the *fleurons* and *vignettes* from the printer in Saumur is because of their stylistic attachment to the ancien regime; they are not in themselves overt symbols of the monarchy. Here is Momoro on the *vignette*, "*vignettes de fonte* are small [cast] ornaments arranged by the compositor...placed at the head of a volume or to mark the beginning of a new subject."

Momoro also served on many committees, mostly located in Saumur where the Central Commission was established in May. In early July, he wrote to Paris about his appointment to the Revolutionary Committee and stated proudly that he and colleague Lachevardière were to occupy the top two positions on the committee. Momoro believed that the establishment of the committee "inspires fear in the aristocrats, who escape, hide or are caught."⁷¹¹ He was also named to the ten member *Comité de Surveillance* in Angers to investigate reports of spies from the *armée catholique* infiltrating the ranks of the revolutionary army. Momoro was the first member of the committee and notably the only *commissaire* among the committee members.⁷¹² He expressed great faith in its ability to rout the enemy and assured his colleagues in Paris that the Revolutionary Committee of Angers has "incarcerated a good number of counter-revolutionaries and fanatics...This revolutionary institution is of great utility in the region, where the majority of the men of means are aristocrats or fanatics."⁷¹³

In a very real sense, Momoro's mission in the Vendée was to spread republican sentiment to the troops and to the inhabitants of the region. He writes, "we go into these miserable regions as our army obtains victory, to revive public sentiment and open the eyes of the misled inhabitants. You can count on our zeal and

⁷¹¹ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 8 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 378.

⁷¹² François J. Grille *La Vendée en 1793*, (Paris: Chamerot Libraire, 1851), Tome I, 283-284.

⁷¹³ Momoro et Lachevardière, Letter from Angers, 11 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 378.

prudence."⁷¹⁴ Momoro's faith in the re-education of the 'mised' population is notable. One method of spreading and reinforcing the doctrine in the general population was through meetings of the popular societies. In late May, Momoro wrote about his attendance at a meeting of the popular society of Saumur. Momoro names the other attendees, most of them his colleagues, "Representatives of the people, generals Menou and Salomon, Lachevardière, myself, Damesme and our secretary, all attend."⁷¹⁵ He describes the passionate speeches that "electrified" the group and proudly reports the collection of 225 francs for the poor women and children of the volunteer army. Here we get a sense of the culture of the meetings in the soon-to-be besieged town of Saumur. Momoro writes, "We decided to meet twice a week and after ending the meeting with the hymn Marseillais, we left satisfied...and formed a circle around the Tree of Liberty and danced the Carmagnole."⁷¹⁶

Daily News

Perhaps the most striking element of Momoro's letters is the incredible detail he provides to his colleagues. His descriptions often go well beyond a simple narrative of facts about troops and rebels and contain evocative language to describe a scene or reflect the tensions of a conflict. Momoro's letter of May 27th from Saumur is among his longest and contains some prime examples of the precision of his accounts. In the first example, early in the letter, Momoro recounts Rossignol's

⁷¹⁴ Momoro, Letter from Tours, 18 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 266.

⁷¹⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 27 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 281.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

"brave" plan to seize the rebels' correspondence in a nearby chateau: "The general entered the chateau and removed from the room of one of the [rebel] leaders...all of the correspondence *that was on a table which served as a desk...*"⁷¹⁷ [my italics] The detail concerning the table serves no practical purpose here but Momoro includes it to bring his readers into the room with Rossignol, thus heightening the tension of the letter. A few pages later, Momoro describes an expedition with Rossignol within a thick forest near the town of Thouars: "The day was beautiful, and for the first time, the farmers were cultivating the land on all sides. Exiting the woods, we tightened our grip on our pistols and headed toward Briou..."⁷¹⁸ Momoro juxtaposes the tension of their forest crossing with the beautiful weather and the serenity of fields filled with farmers tilling the land. He describes a brief moment of peaceful pleasure then brings the tension back as they exit and continue marching through fields strewn with "hedges of broom four to five feet high" behind which lay the brigands. Momoro is telling a story to his colleagues in Paris, painting them a picture of his experiences and his perspectives as if to bring them along with him.⁷¹⁹ The thoroughness of his descriptions seems to mirror his total commitment to the mission, to the Republic and to the recording and narrativizing of these events.

To further highlight the unusual detail in Momoro's letters, we can briefly examine an anonymous letter dated the same as one by Momoro; both letters comment on the same events. Although both men report different skirmishes with the

⁷¹⁷ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 27 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 275.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 278.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*

rebels in their letters, the anonymous letter provides an important point of contrast with Momoro's style and use of inflammatory language. The anonymous letter describes an altercation in concise, focused language: "The enemy is also present in Vercher, six leagues from Saumur but our cavalry pushed them back and killed one hundred and fifty men, their leader among them."⁷²⁰ There is no embellishment of the facts and few details beyond the facts of the skirmish. In contrast, Momoro describes a battle near Nueil in the following way: "At five o'clock in the evening, a patrol of five hussards advanced on Nueil, where the brigands had burned the tree of liberty and set fire to the municipality's papers. The hussards swooped down on them and killed twelve, then went to warn those in Vercher."⁷²¹ Whereas the anonymous letter is direct, Momoro provides his reader with the time of day, the number of troops, and the brigands' crime (against liberty essentially). Furthermore, his use of "swooped" to describe the hussards movement conveys the power and dominance of the victorious, who, despite their small number, manage to kill twelve.

The detail in Momoro's accounts reflects his optimism and passion for the new Republican regime. In fact, his letters overflow with optimism and confidence, qualities that certainly would have served him well in performing his duties in the hostile Vendée, in particular as one of his roles in the provinces was to bolster the spirits of the soldiers. However, I wonder if his passion for the cause contributed to a certain degree of naïveté when it came to reporting realistically about the counter-

⁷²⁰ *Lettre au citoyen L'Huillier, procureur-général syndic du Département de Paris, 28 Mai 1793*, published in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol VII.

⁷²¹ Momoro, Supplemental Letter from Saumur, 28 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 283.

revolution and the actual prospects for victory. Much of his optimism surrounds the end of the fighting; in early July, Momoro reports from Saumur, "within fifteen days, all will be finished."⁷²² He asserts "we will take advantage of this moment to wipe them out...Day by day, our success becomes more certain."⁷²³ Later in the month, he repeats this hope, "that the civil war will end at the end of July, and the victors of the Vendée may fraternize with their brothers in Paris at the Federation of August 10."⁷²⁴ The following month, he assures his friend, Vincent, "I believe that we will soon have wiped out the Vendée."⁷²⁵ Momoro is adept at creating a narrative of victory, whether it is the ultimate victory of crushing the counter-revolution, or the myriad small victories that he purportedly witnessed. Momoro's August 13th letter from Saumur, notably printed as a placard and read at the Jacobins days later, is indicative of this rhetoric.⁷²⁶ Although he begins with a description of rebel victories in Chatillon and Cholet, he quickly turns the focus of his narrative to the strength of the army under Rossignol's command and the growing unrest in the communes against the 'brigands', and even among the 'brigands' themselves. "Disgust spreads among them, they fight amongst one another; a large number of communes are divided...There was a bloody brawl among these fanatics in Vilgüe, and in the commune of Glessail; they also fought each other in Chissay."⁷²⁷ He reassures his

⁷²² Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 6 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 374.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁷²⁴ *Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires*, No. 190, 10 July 1793.

⁷²⁵ Momoro, Letter to Vincent, 1 August 1793. BHVP No. 811, Doc. 65.

⁷²⁶ *Lettre du Citoyen Momoro, Commissaire Nationale, aux Citoyens Adminstrateurs de Département de Paris*. BN LB40-3219.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*

colleagues that the Republic profited from the rebels' "internal disputes", when, under the command of General Salomon, the troops carried away "all of their grain, flour and feed."⁷²⁸ Momoro's accounts of these small victories decreases the strength of the rebel successes reported earlier.

Momoro continues the letter by reporting the execution of an army deserter who "shamefully fled in the presence of the enemy and abandoned his company."⁷²⁹ While desertion is clearly negative news, Momoro adeptly frames it in a more positive light. He acknowledges the shameful act but then quickly asserts the efficiency of the military commission in their swift prosecution of the crime. Then, in the next sentence, Momoro chronicles the bravery of sixteen *hussards* who miraculously killed and injured forty rebels and return unscathed to Saumur with the rebels' carts full of provisions: "None of the sixteen received a single scratch."⁷³⁰ Momoro ends the letter confidently, "As soon as we finish here...", implying (incorrectly) that victory was close at hand.

Despite the overwhelmingly positive stance in his letters, there are a few instances where Momoro expressed despair and exhaustion. In his letter from Angers in mid July, he reported a major defeat at Vihiers and wrote angrily of the need "to terminate this cruel war."⁷³¹ He expressed hope that the *levee en masse* that required men between the ages 18 and 60 to fight would bring a decisive end to the fighting. He concludes the letter with a rare confession, "I am extremely tired of seeing this

⁷²⁸ Ibid.

⁷²⁹ Ibid.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 19 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 400.

war drag on."⁷³² These are small but significant glimpses into his state of mind that stand out from his typical hyperbole. As he returns to Saumur on July 20th, he describes the desolation of the town, "I was the first to arrive in Saumur. I only found the mayor, the *procureur* of the commune and some members of the district. No civil or military administrators. Everyone fled at the hint of the Brigands' return."⁷³³ He then hints at his own despair, "In the middle of such disorganization you might guess how much we are grieved to have to put some order to all of this."⁷³⁴ We can almost feel his disheartenment in looking at the enormous task at hand.

There are several instances in the letters where Momoro asks about events in Paris and shows interest in its unfolding political events. He congratulates his colleagues in Paris after the *journées* of May 31-June 2 and the purge of the moderate Girondins: "you have conducted yourselves like gods, and as a result, we cried tears of joy..."⁷³⁵ His language here is interesting; by comparing the actors in the *journées* to gods, he evokes the glory of the Roman Republic and connects their political struggles with the greatness of the classical past. He then carries it even further with his use of the phrase, *Rostro et unguibus*: "We will embrace you wholeheartedly upon our return, our dear fellow citizens, for such good work; keep up your bravery as we assist you in these fanatical climates where you sent us to de-fanaticize and de-

⁷³² Ibid.

⁷³³ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 20 July 1793 reprinted in Grille, *La Vendée en 1793*, Volume I, 330-331.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 331.

⁷³⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 4 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 301.

aristocratiser. *Rostrum et unguibus, (by tooth and nail)* we fulfill our mission."⁷³⁶ Momoro's dedication and excitement for the news of the Parisian *Journées* is marked here; we can feel the intensity of his pride and perhaps even his melancholy at not being in Paris to participate. It is notable that Momoro follows his praise by bringing the narrative back to his contribution and that of his colleagues in the Vendée, and his assurance of their determination to rid the *Vendée* of "fanatics".

Several times in his letters, Momoro writes hopefully of returning to Paris to attend various *Fêtes*. At times Momoro seems to feel isolated from his colleagues, perhaps even forgotten. In a postscript to a letter from August 13th, Momoro wrote, "I have not received any of your letters. You have totally forgotten me." He tells his colleagues where to find him, noting "address your letters to me in care of the general in charge, Rossignol."⁷³⁷ We can only wonder if this is truly a case where they don't know where to find Momoro. He mentions something similar in an earlier letter, though here it seems to be a matter of wanting news from Paris. He writes, "You have not written to me since I left nearly three months ago; please give me some news from Paris as soon as possible."⁷³⁸ These instances reveal a rare vulnerability in Momoro, in marked contrast to his vitriolic attacks on the rebels and the "incompetent" military leaders surrounding him.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

⁷³⁷ *Lettre du Citoyen Momoro, Commissaire Nationale, aux Citoyens Administrateurs de Département de Paris*. BN LB40-3219.

⁷³⁸ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 24 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Tome X, 407.

Accusations

Momoro's detailed letters from the field are filled with personal attacks and accusations of treason. Initially, his primary targets are the Vendéen rebels but he turns his vigilant gaze upon the Republican military leaders whose failure to end the regional conflict invites suspicion, as well as the municipalities that allow spies and brigands to move through their towns despite their alleged Republican loyalties. All of his attacks are quite excessive and intensify as the fighting in the region continues to expand. Initially, Momoro targets the aristocrats and priests who he believes purposefully mislead the citizens to take up arms against the republic. As the fighting worsens, he turns his scorn to a handful of Republican leaders who fail to demonstrate the proper commitment to the cause, specifically Deputy Carra and Generals Quetineau, Biron, and Westermann. Momoro insists that their inability to exhaustively pursue and engage the enemy afforded the brigands numerous opportunities to retrench and strengthen in numbers.

His first personal attack, against one of the Republic's inner circle, begins early in his mission as he settles into Saumur on May 22nd. As Momoro presents his papers to the Central Commission in Saumur, he self-assuredly implies that the procedure is just a formality, as "my name alone was sufficient enough for the patriotic deputies."⁷³⁹ This serves to set him apart from the upcoming object of his derision, Deputy Carra, who is in the office as Momoro enters. Momoro notes that Carra's journal, *Annales Patriotiques et littéraires*, had published a series of articles

⁷³⁹ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 22 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 271.

on his previous mission to Bernay and Lisieux (discussed above) and reported negatively on his distribution of his amended version of the Declaration of Rights. Momoro thus believes that Carra is uncomfortable sharing the office, noting "my name did not make him very happy, or rather my presence, because he had to remember that he had slandered me horribly in my last mission."⁷⁴⁰ The article in Carra's journal had taken Momoro to task for usurping his position as a commissaire in Bernay to peddle copies of his 'Declaration' and ridiculed his denigration of private property rights. Momoro's personal feelings of being wronged seem to get the best of him here as he continues the letter and recounts rumors about Carra's chilly reception in Saumur, writing "They told me that if good patriots like us had not arrived, they would not have remained with Carra. I don't know what Carra did, but it appears that due to his manner, he did not work well with the other deputies; rather than expediting operations, he delays them considerably, groping his way along in all of his affairs."⁷⁴¹ Notably, Momoro tells his reader that he himself, a "good patriot", is welcomed; he adds that Carra is not liked in Tours either: "I know that the generals here complain about him, but since they don't want to write this, they tell us; consideration must be given to the powers above."⁷⁴² Momoro pretends to be tactful in acknowledging the protocol regarding Deputies to the Convention but he shares the rumor about Carra anyway while putting himself forward as a privileged confidante and "good patriot".

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

Momoro's attack on Carra doesn't relent as he questions Carra's plan to send "partial, discrete forces" into battle.⁷⁴³ Here, Momoro points to the tactical differences between himself and Carra: "We must not judge the region only through maps; it is through inspection of the very locales, broken up by hedgerows and shrubs, pools of water, ruts and woods, where the scoundrels hide to shoot at us."⁷⁴⁴ He implies that Carra makes his decisions from behind a desk rather than out in the field, as Momoro would. Carra's studied approach rankles Momoro, who continually presses the need for exhaustive action to rout the enemy. In a final stab at Carra, Momoro connects him to General Quetineau, "hated by all of the inhabitants of the countryside nears Thouars."⁷⁴⁵ Momoro asserts that Carra is Quetineau's "protector" and while "patriots and enlightened men only see a traitor" Carra "sees in him a good man."⁷⁴⁶ Momoro aligns Carra with an incompetent, traitorous leader, which serves to further instill doubt in the minds of his colleagues about Carra's judgment, sympathies and abilities in the provinces. It seems that Momoro has gotten even with his slanderer in a single letter.

A week later, Momoro returns to his criticism of General Quetineau in a more detailed letter. Momoro recounts the surrender of Thouars to the enemy and squarely places the blame for the defeat on the shoulders of General Quetineau and the town

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 272.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Pierre Quetineau, General of Republican Army of La Rochelle in 1793. He was responsible for a significant Republican loss at Thouars and arrested for treason after the fall of Saumur in June; he was eventually acquitted. Ironically, he was guillotined a few days after Momoro in March 1794.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 272-273.

leaders. Momoro is unrestrained in his attack, beginning with his unsavory characterization of the administration of Thouars as "cowardly men, if not traitors, because if they had performed their duty, this town would not have been abandoned to the brigands..."⁷⁴⁷ He asserts that Quetineau had pressed for surrender "or have his throat cut", which left no other option for the town; according to Momoro, this led to an attempted suicide by the district president with a pistol given him by Quetineau.⁷⁴⁸ In his view, Quetineau should have martyred himself rather than give up the town. Momoro has harsh words for Quetineau's cowardice, "The republic is well managed by such officials! In order to have their positions, they swear to die at their posts...and when the situation arises to show their resolution and courage, and to perish rather than betray the cause of liberty, there are no more oaths. Never mind, liberty does not depend on these pusillanimous individuals; it depends on the people..."⁷⁴⁹ Momoro points to the insincerity of both Quetineau and the town officials who swear oaths of allegiance but flee when their loyalty is tested. He juxtaposes their cowardly actions and lack of dedication with that of "the people" whose only goal is liberty; their "authentic" patriotism looms large over the cowardly general and office-holders.

Momoro explicitly outlined his concerns about specific military leaders in a letter to his friend Vincent, deputy to the minister of war. The letter is quite sarcastic, perhaps a reflection of the poor state of affairs in the civil war. He complains about

⁷⁴⁷ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 2 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 294.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 295.

generals "who either betray us categorically, or poorly serve the republic's cause by their incapacity or lack of concern..."⁷⁵⁰ Here, Momoro identifies three different manifestations of treasonous behavior - blatant betrayal, sheer incompetence or disinterest. Momoro expresses impatience with the military leadership and specifically blames the ongoing rebellion in the Vendée on the poor performances of Generals Biron and Westermann: "We must have a great deal of patience and courage to not rise up in indignation at the sight of men unconcerned with the fate of the republic."⁷⁵¹ As he did in his accusations against Carra and Quetineau, Momoro remarks on the insightfulness of "true republicans" (like himself) who see through the traitorous ineffectiveness of the generals: "...true republicans cannot hold out for long, they never thought that liberty and equality would be defended by the men against whom we fought the revolution. It is an undeniable truth often repeated, on which our good fortune depends, but is not yet understood. Republican leaders! Republican leaders! Republican leaders!We will defeat our enemies."⁷⁵² Momoro implies that the ineffectiveness of Biron and Westermann stems from their hidden allegiance to the Old Regime, and for Biron in particular, his noble birth. They cannot be trusted because they don't have the same stake in the Republic's success.

Momoro returns to his attack against General Biron in a letter from Angers a few weeks later. He begins the letter in a confessional tone, as if his conscience

⁷⁵⁰ Cited in Savary, *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans Contre la République Française, ou Annales des Départements de l'Ouest Pendant ces Guerres*, (Paris: Baudouin Frères, 1824), Tome I, 372. Unfortunately, Momoro's complete letter is not included.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 372-373.

forces his hand: "I believe to have not fulfilled my mission in the Western departments if I don't make you aware of my concerns about the fate of the war..."⁷⁵³ As a way of explaining the lengthening civil war, Momoro accuses the military leadership of purposefully prolonging the fighting in order to disparage Republican troops and embolden the rebel army. He denounces General Biron, accusing him of lethargy and a lack of commitment, "This general appears to me extremely cold and indifferent to the events of this unfortunate war; when I told him of the fall of Saumur, a place very important for us, he received the news with shocking indifference for a true republican."⁷⁵⁴ This kind of scrutiny is indicative of the vigilance espoused by radical revolutionaries. Momoro again points to his own ability to ferret out indifference, to distinguish between authentic and false loyalty. He maintains that Biron, with all of his talents, could end the war if he truly wanted, "in attacking the brigand army from all sides and with all of our troops..."⁷⁵⁵ Momoro is essentially accusing Biron of treason.⁷⁵⁶ The following month, Momoro denounced Westermann in similar language, revealing his hatred for the aristocrats who serve in the army, "It is time to chase all of the scoundrels from the army, beginning with the generals who were formerly nobles."⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵³ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 23 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 380.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

⁷⁵⁶ Momoro is alleged to have drawn up a list (with Ronsin) of officers from the army of La Rochelle, and assigned letters designating their fate.⁷⁵⁶ The names of Generals Biron and Westermann were designated with the letter 'G' for guillotine.

⁷⁵⁷ Momoro, Letter to Vincent, 1 August 1793. BHVP No. 811, Doc. 65.

In a rather strange move, Momoro used the arrival of his wife and son in Saumur to comment further on the costly mistakes made by the lukewarm military leaders: "My wife and my son arrived yesterday, the 25th, in Saumur. They were not a little surprised to see this town in a state of war and the enemy at our door, when they believed to come to a region embellished by its victories."⁷⁵⁸ Her surprise and disappointment at the state of affairs directly mirror Momoro's. He uses her status as a wife and mother to legitimate his own claims about the terrible state of affairs caused by the poor leadership.

The Antidote

Momoro's remedy to the problems concerning the lack of 'true republican' leadership is to replace "scoundrels" such as Biron and Quetineau with *sans-culottes* leaders. He insists, "the army must only be commanded by the *sans-culottes*" and then identifies five exemplary generals who are above suspicion - Rossignol, Santerre, Dutruy, Salomon and Ducluseau.⁷⁵⁹ Momoro mentions proudly that the army has a general staff composed of the *sans-culottes* Hazard and Hardy. He claims to have been sought after for the post of "chief of the general-staff, but the administrative functions which my fellow citizens called me to require that I return to my post."⁷⁶⁰ Momoro clearly aligns himself here with the *sans-culottes* and ends the

⁷⁵⁸ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 26 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 409.

⁷⁵⁹ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 19 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 400.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 426.

letter vowing unity: "we work together for the common cause and to aide the *général en chef*."⁷⁶¹

He conveys a great deal of hope that the "*sans culottes* general Rossignol" will reverse the course of the insurrection and asserts Rossignol's selfless characteristics, which are essentially those of the *sans-culottes*, noting "this brave man is without any ambition other than to serve his country."⁷⁶² Momoro uses similar language when he expresses his faith in the virtuous "people" to restore and maintain "our glorious equality" in the Vendée but does not refer to them as *sans-culottes*.⁷⁶³ He uses these examples of a pure, almost innate form of patriotism to heighten the corruption and cowardice of those soldiers "who rushed to the Vendée to fight the brigands and then flee when confronted by them."⁷⁶⁴ His language drips with romantic notions of 'the people' but he subtly holds himself apart from them despite their common goals. Here, Momoro distinguishes the "true republicans" from the rural citizens: "What a touching spectacle for the true republicans to see these good country people rushing with ardor to the defense of the country without any interest other than to serve it well!"⁷⁶⁵ While their selflessness parallels that of the *sans-culottes*, he makes a distinction between the 'good country people' and republicans,

⁷⁶¹ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 2 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 425.

⁷⁶² Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 427. Momoro posted several letters on the 5th to the department of Paris, two signed only by him and the third as one of three commissaires.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

perhaps an indication of their lack of education in republican ideals. Yet in spite of this, they fight with almost an innate sense for their country.

Les Brigands

Whereas the generals represented an enemy from within the Republican ranks, the "brigands" stood for the external enemy within, as a personification of the Old Regime and its repressive social and political structure. In Momoro's view, these 'brigands' are the priests and aristocrats who consciously deceive the inhabitants of the Vendée in order to re-subjugate them. Momoro clearly sees his mission to serve in the re-education of the citizenry and "open the eyes of the misled inhabitants."⁷⁶⁶ His disdain for priests in particular predated the fighting in the Vendée with the issue of the refractory priests in May 1791 and what he perceived as their disloyalty to the new regime. Judging by his letters, Momoro's vitriol against the priests intensified considerably in the two years since the Toleration Decrees. Momoro often uses the term "*fanatique*" interchangeably with "brigand", "counter-revolutionary", or "aristocrat" which makes it difficult to determine exactly what group he is targeting, but for this discussion, I will focus on his specific comments about priests and their abuse of religion.

Two weeks into his mission, Momoro described the brief interrogation of two prisoners taken at Puy-Notre-Dame, doubtless "fanaticized by their villainous

⁷⁶⁶ Momoro, Letter from Tours, 18 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 264.

priests."⁷⁶⁷ He writes of the rebel prisoners as if they were puppets, and even insinuates they are "imbeciles"; this serves to further villainize the priests who use the vulnerable to further their cause. Later in the same letter, Momoro recounts an order given by "some priests" to "slit the throats of the prisoners rather than release them to the scoundrels"; Momoro assures his colleagues that the rebel general refused "with contempt" and that "these devilish priests are despised by the very brigands they employ."⁷⁶⁸ Momoro reveals the cruelty of the priests in his description of this alleged incident and the apparent lack of commitment on the part of the rebels in response to the priest's agenda. He implies that the priests' manipulation is behind the insurgency rather than a commitment on the part of the Vendéen citizenry.

In another incident, Momoro describes the army's discovery of the bodies of two women found among the dead, dressed in men's clothing, "who doubtless fought for religion."⁷⁶⁹ Momoro does not seem to be outraged by the women themselves but rather by the priests who manipulated them to fight. Momoro expressed his categorical disdain for the priests: "The villains of this christian army are the priests. There is no abomination or horror that these brigands have not committed in the name of religion."⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁷ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 27 May 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 275.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁷⁶⁹ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 16 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 392.

⁷⁷⁰ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 6 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 371.

Les Mesures Vigoureux

In order to combat such an enemy, Momoro continually asserts the need for more weapons and for a full-fledged attack to bring a final victory and essentially destroy the Vendée. This was clearly what the generals that Momoro approved of, namely Rossignol, viewed as a solution to the problem. Momoro's tenure in the Vendée corresponded with the increased use of terror tactics to deal with the perceived threat to the stability of the new Republic. By mid summer, the tenacity of the rebellion prompted harsh responses from the Republican army, specifically the use of fire in the field and repressive revolutionary committees to enforce censorship and prosecute enemies of the Republic. It is clear from his letters that he approved of these enhanced tactics of intimidation, what he referred to as "vigorous measures."

In his letter from July 16th, Momoro described the structures set up to facilitate the prosecution of enemies of the state. He reports that in Angers, the representatives established a revolutionary committee, "of which I am president; it is the terror of the aristocrats who are in hiding."⁷⁷¹ He describes how the committee works in conjunction with the Military Commission, "to which we send all traitors and conspirators that we have arrested."⁷⁷² Momoro includes a brief description of a "printer for the fanatics" sent to Paris for judgment after his arrest in Angers.⁷⁷³ The close scrutiny of printed material was an important element in controlling the population and forcing its acceptance of the Republican regime. In the same letter,

⁷⁷¹ Momoro, Letter from Angers, 16 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 392.

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

Momoro describes his proclamation regarding the "perversion of public opinion" in response to the malicious individuals creating dissent with regard to the acceptance of the constitution in Angers: "A proclamation against all the malicious individuals who seek to pervert public opinion and divert the citizens from acceptance of the constitution; we will treat them as enemies of the republic."⁷⁷⁴ A week later, Momoro wrote proudly of the Military Commission's swift persecution of a rogue soldier in Chinon "who had the audacity to cry out....'Vive le Roi! etc.'; the general in charge requested the Military Commission, "who immediately went to Chinon and condemned this traitor to the guillotine yesterday; he will be put to death today."⁷⁷⁵ Momoro purposefully includes a description of the 'crime' and its swift prosecution and punishment to highlight the efficacy of the Committees.

Following a series of military reversals, Momoro wrote about the reorganization of the army under the *sans-culottes* leadership of Rossignol and praises the arrival of the brave *avant-garde* commanders Salomon and Santerre and their brave cavalry. This serves to reassure his colleagues in Paris about the army's new direction and its preparedness. He then seamlessly introduces a new tactic, "We will, however, be obliged to burn the forests and underbrush to destroy the lairs of these brigands and enter the regions as if entering an enemy country."⁷⁷⁶ He assures them that there are no patriots left in these regions, "only traitors and the weak

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., 393.

⁷⁷⁵ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 24 July 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 406-407.

⁷⁷⁶ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 428.

and apathetic."⁷⁷⁷ On the surface, Momoro seems to be quite unambiguous in his positive assessment of the tactic, and perhaps he was, but his wording and timing are interesting. He moves from certainty in his praise of their readiness for action under the new leadership to a tentativeness; rather than simply report their decision to burn the forests, he instead chose to write that they are, "however, obliged to burn the forests..." The wording makes it seem that they are forced to do it, that the brigands have forced their hand, and perhaps Momoro is aware of how serious a matter it is. Later in the letter, he argues against the practice of sending military leaders, commissaires and representatives to the Vendée who are native to the region because their personal interests interfere with the "vigorous measures that circumstances oblige us to take."⁷⁷⁸ This is a chilling insight into Momoro's understanding of the necessary level of disconnect to carry out a campaign of terror. In September, back in Paris, Momoro spoke at a meeting of the Jacobins in support of fellow commissaire Parein's suggestion for a second guillotine in the Vendée. Momoro stated that Parein "had himself guillotined a large number of aristocrats"; this was met with applause from the other members.⁷⁷⁹ There is no doubt that Momoro approved of the harsh reprisals for the enemies of the Republic.

His support for extreme measures such as these translated to a disdain for moderate Republicans; he dismissed his fellow *commissaires* Minier and Damesme as

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 430.

⁷⁷⁹ *Journal des Débats de la Société des Amis de la Constitution*, No. 513.

"only moderates and unworthy of fulfilling the mission given them."⁷⁸⁰ Momoro's feelings about moderates is further expressed in a letter from his colleague, Lachevardière, written after the fall of Saumur in June; he expresses concern about Momoro's whereabouts: "I learned on the 25th that he had been arrested, presumably for his opinions. You know about his patriotism, he is ardent and probably displeased with the administrations that are most infected with *feuillantism* and the most extreme moderation."⁷⁸¹ His concern for Momoro stems from his understanding of his intolerance for the political moderates; he assumes that a rumor about his arrest would be true.⁷⁸² Momoro apparently had no patience for half measures.

An Official Vendée Narrative & the Use of Terror

Momoro ended his mission and returned to Paris sometime in September, where he resumed his position in the Department of Paris and his role as a printer. He wrote two lengthy reports on his experiences in the Vendée that were subsequently published; the reports summarized much of what he had written in his letters to the Department of Paris and, importantly, explained in greater depth the decision to revert to terror tactics. The reports are invaluable in their explanation of the rationale behind the use of harsh measures and the revelations about Momoro's unambiguous support.

⁷⁸⁰ Momoro, Letter from Saumur, 5 August 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. X, 439.

⁷⁸¹ Lachevardière, Letter from Tours, 27 June 1793, in *Revue Rétrospective*, Vol. VII, 421.

⁷⁸² Momoro was not arrested and responded to the rumor in a letter two days later, assuring Lachevardière of the "extreme patriotism" he witnessed in La Rochelle.

In their report sent to the Commune of Paris on 9 September 1793, Momoro and General Ronsin detail the terrorist tactics used to subdue rebels in the region of Rigué. Momoro's name is attached to the report but the writing is terse and less dogmatic than his letters to his colleagues in the department of Paris. Of interest here is their expectation of criticism for their approval of the use of fire to destroy rebel properties; "We don't doubt that a large number of complaints were addressed to the National Convention...[regarding this tactic]; the malevolent men only condemn these measures which, as rigorous as they are, may alone create disorder in the brigands' army and finish a cruel war."⁷⁸³ The report credits the questionable tactic with numerous surrenders and ends chillingly: "Such are the results already produced by fire."⁷⁸⁴

In October, Momoro drafted a thirty-six-page report on the Vendée for the Committee of Public Safety, the Executive Council and the Department of Paris. His *Rapport sur l'Etat Politique de la Vendée* is perhaps the most revelatory piece of his in terms of his intense disdain for the nobility and clergy. He summarizes what he reports in many of his letters discussed above and further reveals the same slow erosion of his optimism and naïveté regarding the duration of the fighting in the region. Moreover, it reaffirms his undying dedication to the survival of the Republic by any means possible, even the use of terror.

⁷⁸³ *Rapport du général Ronsin et de Momoro, commissaire national, envoyé à la Commune de Paris*, published in *Revue de la Révolution*, October 1889, 40.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Momoro begins the report by clearly laying the blame for what he views as the reason for the extended fighting in the Vendée, which is to say the lack of "vigorous measures to suppress these initial movements" on the part of administrations in the region.⁷⁸⁵ As in his letters, Momoro assigns blame regularly in the report to either administrators or to incompetent generals. He calls into question the patriotism of administrators who neglected to act against the insurgencies in their communes. Momoro continually falls back on this tactic, revealing his lack of trust in anything less than complete dedication and revolutionary zeal. The "germ of rebellion" spread in the Vendée because of the duplicitous behavior of royalists masquerading as supporters of the revolution. Momoro again and again points to the "rogue priests," the "horrors of humanity," who abuse the credulity of the people to manipulate their allegiances and turn them against the revolution. Here, it is notable that he does not name religion as the problem per se, but rather the priests, who, "in the name of religion" act against national authority. Momoro depicts the inhabitants of the region as mere pawns, easily duped and abused by the clergy.

The nobles fall into the same group as the priests in terms of their duplicitous behavior and their abuse of the naïve rural inhabitants and battle to re-establish the monarchy. Momoro asserts that the priests and nobles worked in conjunction to deceive the peasants to do their bidding and is quite explicit in his characterization of their joint deception: "To start with, the inhabitants of the country were aroused only to avenge the offended religion in the person of their good priests; [priests and

⁷⁸⁵ *Rapport sur l'Etat Politique de la Vendée, par A. F. Momoro, Commissaire Nationale, 2.*

nobles] musn't speak to them of the ancien regime, or nobility or feudalism because the people were happy to be rid of the *corvées* and fees and thousand other shameful laws which they had been subjected to. The scoundrel nobles who fomented the rebellion felt that if they had spoken openly about reviving their former abuses by demanding the re-establishment of nobility...the peasants would turn against them."⁷⁸⁶ Momoro contends that the nobles tricked the peasants by changing into their clothes and living among them, "to eat the same bread and sleep with them in the woods" in order to win their confidence. He asserts that this strategy changed the hearts and minds of the peasants, "who, fooled, say: 'But they want to be our equals, they share our pain and our love of religion; they act in good faith."⁷⁸⁷ While this characterization blatantly discredits the nobles and the priests, it also discredits the peasants as inherently vulnerable and intellectually challenged, incapable of deciphering the nobility's play to reassert its power.

Momoro builds an interesting argument here - that this type of calculated infiltration on the part of the nobles and priests into the hearts and minds of the populace created "an administration that destroys liberty (*liberticide*)."⁷⁸⁸ He contends that this studied infiltration caused administrations to ignore the civil war fomenting in the Vendée; perfidy, manipulation and trickery caused them to turn a blind eye and allowed the rebellion to flourish. Momoro seems to be unable to conceive of any alternate reason why the regional populations would not embrace the

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 5.

changes initiated by the revolutionary government. In other words, surely they would embrace the revolution if they hadn't been manipulated to fight against it.

Momoro is quick to correct the "desperate" depiction of the Vendée in the newspapers by countering with a fairly detailed list of republican victories, including number of men killed and the weapons and stores of provisions seized. However, unlike the continued optimism in his letters from the Vendée, Momoro then describes in some detail the considerable challenges to overcome in squelching the rebellion. "It is against the French, misled by fanaticism, that we had to battle. It is against the French, seduced by the nobles who seek to re-establish royalty and their privileges that we had to battle. It is against an entire population that we had to fight."⁷⁸⁹ Momoro mentions somewhat surprisingly "we must also count among our enemies the women...who serve as spies for their army."⁷⁹⁰ He refers to the women again in more detail, farther into the report, adding that as well as serving as spies "they also serve as soldiers and canonier, as several were killed in the ranks...and recognized as women afterwards."⁷⁹¹ In highlighting the women's participation, Momoro draws attention to the ubiquity of the enemy. He thus admits that "our enemy is more numerous and more dangerous than we initially believed."⁷⁹² His honesty here is notably unlike the optimistic reports in his letters. Momoro thus ends the reports on a pessimistic note, or perhaps despairing is more apt, arguing that serious attention and manpower be given to strike the enemy from all sides to bring fighting to a close. He

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 28.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 31.

⁷⁹² Ibid., 29.

maintains that only coordinated attacks will work, given the intransigence of the "fanatics."

Momoro ends the report in a rather strange manner by mocking the religious practices of the priests and the peasants. It is significant that he is not attacking religion per se, as in having faith in god, but instead targeting the priests themselves; they are disloyal, untrustworthy and overly privileged in the same way that nobles are. To Momoro, the performing of these practices proves the peasants' submission to an untrustworthy authority: "The priests continue to dominate the peasants...All of the Brigands carry a rosary, a reliquary, or a small woolen heart colored red or white; they do not miss the recitation of their prayers, evening and morning. Immediately after a victory, their priests make them kneel down and thank god. Before they engage in battle, absolutions inundate this very christian army."⁷⁹³ Momoro doesn't directly attack the peasants, though arguably his depiction of their gullibility is not exactly praise; the trappings of religion he describes here are essentially forced on them. Through Momoro's eyes, the peasants act like trained animals, praying, kneeling when told, and asking for forgiveness. Here it is important to note that Momoro's bias against the behavior of refractory priests must surely have colored his views on what he views as counter-revolutionary behavior. Momoro ends the report with an exhortation to "destroy the Vendée."

Attached to Momoro's report on the Vendée is a three page pamphlet entitled *Observations sur l'esprit public du pays et des Départemens avoisinans*. Momoro's

⁷⁹³ Ibid., 32-33.

tone is more intense and strident than in the previous report, perhaps an indication of a different target audience. Given his reputation as an orator, it is easy to imagine him reading this aloud at the Cordeliers or Jacobin Clubs or even the National Convention. The opening four stanzas are almost poetic in their sentiment and cadence as he takes aim at those he believes are ruining the revolution:

Everywhere the people are the same, which is to say they love the revolution and want liberty.

Everywhere the rich, the self-centered, the tax farmers and the merchants are the same, which is to say that they profit from the communal misery to enrich themselves and make the people suffer.

Everywhere the priests, the former men of law are the same, that is to say they mourn the loss of the *ancien regime* and the abuses from which their existence depended.

Everywhere also the *Sans-culottes* defy these men, and for the little he is supported by these alleged patriots, he returns them to their senses.⁷⁹⁴

Each stanza is powerful in its evocation of Momoro's black and white characterizations, starting and ending with the innate goodness of the people/*sans culottes*; they love liberty and the revolution and work selflessly for its success. But everywhere the self-centered, self-interested profiteers seek a return to the privileges of the *ancien regime*.

Momoro then moves into a truncated recitation of the problems plaguing the revolution and skillfully manipulates the reader through his juxtaposition of images to inspire and repulse. For example, directly after evoking the defiant and selfless *sans-*

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., 34.

culottes, he describes the "perversion" of public sentiment in Niort at the hands of the royalist dandies known as "Muscadins." He continues with this type of comparison as he contrasts "the people" with the administrators, led and/or coerced by nobles and priests to do their bidding. The enemy of the revolution in the Vendée is the "vicious" administrations, the "sworn enemies of the Republic."⁷⁹⁵ Momoro categorically blames these "egoists, royalists, and federalists" for the poor public sentiment in the Vendée.⁷⁹⁶

He then turns to the solution for ending the corruption of the hearts and minds of the citizenry: "the time has come where the Republic cannot tolerate priests within its midst. Artisans of untruth and deceit may not exist in a Republican state, founded on the eternal principles of truth and justice."⁷⁹⁷ The eradication of the priests will cleanse the republic of the problem. Momoro's use of the term "artisan" is significant here, given his own identity as one; he creates the image of priests as perverted craftsmen, shaping untruths. Because this is spoken by an artisan, especially one from a respected craft such as printing, it is quite powerful; the term itself juxtaposes the honest and respectable with the deceitful, not to be tolerated in a state founded on Republican principles. "Artisans of untruth" are antithetical to the Republic at its very core.

Momoro asserts frequently "liberty will triumph." He reports to the reader that his observations were collected after his five-months-long mission in the region, that

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid.

his views "conforms to those made by those who have not wanted to disguise the truth."⁷⁹⁸ Here, Momoro constructs himself as a truth teller but interestingly not the only one; he is a voice among others. Of course, at the heart of it, his strong assertion about the incompatibility of the priests with the new regime points to the harsh repressive measures of the Terror. We see this in the last part of the piece as he asserts, "The Vendée will soon no longer exist."⁷⁹⁹ Momoro writes boldly of the need for "active surveillance" in the region to continue as a means of ensuring its destruction. "If we don't want to see the same troubles to reappear, we must close our hearts to pity and make a grand example. Upon founding a Republic, it is necessary to sacrifice some section of the Republic itself; this sacrifice must be made without stopping for any consideration, which would be very dangerous to the Republic."⁸⁰⁰ Here, Momoro makes clear here that sacrifices must be made to avoid a repeat of the insurrection in the Vendée; repressive measures, like eradicating the priests, must be taken. The image of the heart closing itself off to pity and compassion is evocative and perhaps is what Momoro does himself as he steels himself to save his precious republic.

The final paragraph intensifies Momoro's assertion of the need for repressive tactics:

When speaking of us, Europe must say with astonishment: Liberty is so great a good, that in order to establish and defend it, the French have shattered the throne, burned several of their most beautiful towns, sacrificed many of their

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 36.

brothers and at the same time, struggled against all of the external coalition powers.⁸⁰¹

He is clearly aware of France's position on the European stage and its significance for future generations in terms of how France, how he himself, will be judged. His view of sacrifice, and his logic there, is quite interesting. The sacrifice comes in the form of France losing some of its beautiful villages, yet there is no mention of what the citizens of those locales lost, of their personal sacrifices. Momoro's focus is on the big picture - the success of the Republic and the vigilant protection of liberty as a guiding principle. A few months later, probably March 1794, Momoro pronounced his full support for the use of terror: "Terror must be the order of the day against the criminals; such is the view of the revolutionary government, and the goal of the Committee of Public Safety... Such is the goal of the Montagnard that we will equally defend with the *sans-culottes*."⁸⁰² Momoro clearly believed that government supported terror was the only way to effectively combat counter-revolution in a "fight to the death" for the virtue of the Republic.

Arrest and Execution

Momoro was arrested on March 13th for allegedly conspiring "against the liberty of the French people" with his fellow "conspirators" Ronsin, Vincent, Hébert

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² AN W78 plaque 1, #73. Mathiez claimed this was a draft of an article for the Cordelier's re edition of Marat's journal, *l'Ami du peuple*. This would date the draft around March 4, 1794.

and fifteen others. He was transported to the Conciergerie the following day, where he remained until his execution twelve days later.⁸⁰³ His association with Ronsin, General of the Revolutionary Army, proved to be his downfall; Momoro had championed the creation of the Revolutionary Army in section assemblies and meetings of the Cordeliers Club and supported Ronsin's appointment as General in the Vendée.⁸⁰⁴ Momoro and the others were charged with planning a "foreign plot" to bring down the Revolutionary Government and replace it with a military dictatorship. Details of the evidence against Momoro during this purge document the absurd nature of the charges brought against him, particularly in light of his strident support for the Republic.⁸⁰⁵ The list of evidence against Momoro details his more controversial undertakings. It alleges that his veiling of the Rights of Man and Citizen at the Cordeliers Club in March 1794 amounted to a declaration of insurrection. It also cites his distribution of his edited version of the "Declaration" in the departments, and accuses him of writing "liberticides" against the *représentants en mission*.⁸⁰⁶ The other evidence listed concerns his direct association with General Ronsin during his time in the Vendée, claiming that Ronsin and Momoro "favored the progress of the rebels and massacred our partisans."⁸⁰⁷ It is notable that his distribution of his "Declaration" in Bernay became proof of his role as a conspirator. Momoro's

⁸⁰³ AN W76, plaque 2, #119.

⁸⁰⁴ Richard Cobb, *The People's Armies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 35-36.

⁸⁰⁵ AN W78 plaque 2, #139.

⁸⁰⁶ I believe this is in reference to Momoro's harsh criticism of the representatives Bourdon de l'Oise and Fontenay who had slighted Momoro's friend, Rossignol.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

controversial assertions about the inviolability of only industrial property continued to turn attitudes against him until the very end.

Momoro was executed on March 24th along with Hébert, Ronsin, Vincent and fifteen other "conspirators." His final letter to his wife before his execution is a testament to his passion for the Republic and particularly notable for its impersonal and didactic prose. The physical letter is quite small, approximately the size of an index card, but it conveys a great deal.

Republican woman, preserve your character, your courage. You know the purity of my patriotism. I shall preserve the same character until death. Raise my son in Republican principles. You cannot manage the printing press alone, so dismiss the workers. Hail to the Marat citizenesses! Hail to the Republicans! I leave you my memory and my virtues. Marat has taught me to suffer.⁸⁰⁸

By addressing his wife, Sophie, as "Republican Woman", Momoro immediately places himself in the historical record as a devout follower of Republican principles. The letter has more to do with his legacy than his feelings for his wife and son. As he did in his numerous letters from the Vendée, Momoro skillfully crafts his language to highlight the strength of his character and willingness to suffer, like Marat, for his beliefs.

⁸⁰⁸ AN W77 plaque 1, #47.

EPILOGUE

On March 19, 1794, a few days after Momoro's arrest, his wife Sophie (Marie-Françoise Fournier) was arrested along with Hébert's wife and held in prison for "close to three months."⁸⁰⁹ Six months after Momoro's death, August 23, 1794, Sophie Momoro filed a formal petition to the National Convention for financial assistance.⁸¹⁰ Her petition for aide is quite eloquent in its evocation of the Republic's responsibility to poor widows and orphans: "You proclaimed that the French Republic respected the unfortunate; Republicans applauded this generous sentiment. It is in this spirit that I address you..."⁸¹¹ Like her husband, Sophie is adept at crafting an argument. She appeals directly to their sense of honor by reminding them of their alleged respect for the poor. She then curtly states that her husband was lost to her and describes her dire situation: "I remain alone with my son and my mother, without means and without any resources other than my dowry."⁸¹² She relates that all of her finances, dowry included, were seized until the authorities decided "what belonged to the Nation."⁸¹³ This makes clear her particularly vulnerable situation as the wife of an executed man. She informs them of her three month long imprisonment and pleads

⁸⁰⁹ M.F.J. Fournier, *veuve Momoro*. "Aux représentans du Peuple de la Convention Nationale". BHVP 807, #212. She was released from prison on May 26, 1794. AN F7 4774⁴⁸, doss. 2, #2.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹¹ Ibid.

⁸¹² Ibid.

⁸¹³ Ibid. I believe this is in reference to payment of taxes and/or creditors.

for their help: "The Republic has entrusted you with the paternal task of caring for poor widows and orphans, so I address you with faith that you will hear my misfortune with compassion and make an effort to dry my tears and support my financial needs."⁸¹⁴

Under the Old Regime, widows were allowed to continue their husband's printing businesses. In 1764, for example, widows owned between a fifth and a quarter of all printing establishments and some even ran large businesses, like Madame d'Houry who printed the prestigious *Almanach royal*. If a woman remarried outside the trade, however, she lost all of her rights to operate the business.⁸¹⁵ In Momoro's last letter, he instructs her to let go of the business and the workers. He may have understood that the authorities would confiscate his presses. In November, the Commission on National Revenues ruled against the request of "veuve Momoro" for the return of Momoro's presses.⁸¹⁶ Her request was apparently made in an effort to stave off creditors against Momoro's estate. Their refusal speaks to the lengthy process widows of the "condemned" were expected to endure before final resolution of their estates was reached through the formal liquidation of assets and settlements with creditors. The Commission advised Madame Momoro to "take measures to hasten this liquidation."⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

⁸¹⁵ Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 71.

⁸¹⁶ AN F7 4774⁴⁸, dossier 2.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.

The liquidation of Momoro's assets stretched as far as his native Besançon. The day after Momoro's execution, prosecutor Fouquier-Tinville wrote to the municipal authorities in the department of Doubs requesting the confiscation of all assets connected to Momoro.⁸¹⁸ His father had died but his mother, employed as a domestic, lived in Besançon until her death shortly after Momoro's execution. The *commissaires* of the department searched her premises and other than very meager clothing, recovered "an old armchair and small mirror, 26 livres, 17 sols, 460 assignats, a crucifix and a gold ring...a small fir box and a small bag filled with various papers."⁸¹⁹ Clearly the bulk of Momoro's estate was his workshop and presses.

Three years after Momoro's execution, Sophie apparently found a solution to her financial distress through her remarriage to Jacques-Marie Botot, (called Du Mesnil), whose brother Charles Bottot served as secretary to Barras under Napoleon's Directory.⁸²⁰ They had a daughter, Stéphanie-Joséphine-Adèle. DuMesnil was a lawyer in parlement and became captain of the *gendarmerie* in 1791; it is likely that he met Sophie during her short imprisonment after Momoro's arrest. In 1800 he became *general de brigade* and commander of the Hôtel des Invalides.⁸²¹ Sophie apparently died in December 1808.

⁸¹⁸ Albert Mathiez, "*La Mère de Momoro*" in *Annales Revolutionnaire* Vol. 9 (1917): 544-545.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 545.

⁸²⁰ *Annuaire de la Noblesse de France* (Paris: 1915), 175-177.

⁸²¹ The Botot family were known for their very popular mouthwash, *l'Eau de Botot*, still produced today.

Momoro and Sophie had one child, a son, who survived the Revolution along with his mother. He worked as *sous-chef* to the minister of public works in Paris and in 1838 became a sergeant-major of the 11th legion of the Paris National Guard.⁸²² Jean-Antoine's career was markedly different from his father's; he eschewed politics for a literary career and became a fairly successful author of vaudeville plays. Each of his three plays, *L'Horoscope*, *La Pacotille*, and *Le Mari d'un Jour*, were performed at the *Théâtre du Pantheon* between 1835-36. Jean-Antoine is also credited as the co-author of a comedic play, *Non!*, performed at the *Théâtre de la Galte* in 1826. Jean-Antoine appears to have differed quite significantly from his father in both his interests and temperament. Unlike Momoro, who carefully crafted his Revolutionary persona and who seemed to relish his very public identity, Jean-Antoine was reportedly quite modest and refused to publish his plays. He reportedly refused to keep Momoro's surname after his father's execution in 1794 and took his mother's family name of Fournier. Ironically, the name that his father had worked so hard to promote became a source of derision for the young man as he sought to distance himself from the troubled legacy of his father. Thus, Momoro's private legacy seems tenuous. His focus was elsewhere, on the significance of his very public role as "First Printer of National Liberty" in a time of considerable change.

⁸²² J. M. Querard *Les Supercheries Littéraires Dévoilées*, Tome II, (Paris: Daffis Libraire, 1870), 69-70.

Appendix A

Books Sold by Momoro, 1788-1790.⁸²³

'Suite des Livres de médecine, chirurgie, belles-lettres & autres, que l'on trouve chez Momoro, libraire, rue de la Harpe, numéro 160, vis-à-vis la rue du Foin.'

1788:

Anon. *Lucinde, ou les Amans traversés; Histoire presque véritable.*
Paris: chez Momoro, 1788

Anon. *Causes (des) & remèdes de l'amour considéré comme maladie; par un Médecin anglais.*

Astruc, Jean. *Tractatus pathologicus.*

Aubry, Jean François. *Les oracles de Cos, ouvrage intéressant pour les jeunes médecins, utile aux chirurgiens, curés & autres, & curieux pour tout lecteur d'une attention raisonnable.*

Aymen, J.B. *Dissertation sur les jours critiques, etc; piece qui a remporté le prix à l'académie de Dijon en 1751.*

Baer (de). *Recherches sur les maladies épizootiques, sur la maniere de les traiter, & d'en préserver les bestiaux, &c.*

Bammacarus, Nicolaus. *Tentamen de vi electrica, &c.*

Barboirac. *Medicamentorum constitutio, feu formulae medicae.*

Barker, J. *Essai sur la conformité de la médecine des anciens & des modernes, &c. traduit de l'anglais par Schomberg.*

Bartholinus, Thomas. *Anatomie ex omnium Veterum Recentiorunque.*

⁸²³ I compiled this list of texts from the *Journal de Paris*, *Mercure de France*, and the *Catalogue Hebdomadaire*.

Baudry. *Traité des eaux minérales de Bourbonne-les-bains, avec une explication sur tous leurs usages.*

Bazin, Giles Augustin. *Observations sur les plantes, &c.*

Berkhey, Jan van. *Expositio florum Structurae florum.*

Bertrand, E. *Mémoires sur les tremblemens de terre.*

Blackey, M. *Méthode pour élever & conserver les enfans en bonne santé.*

Bona. *Historia aliquot curationum, mercurio sublimato corrosivo perfectorum, &c.*

Bonnaud, Jacques. *Dégradation de l'espece humaine par l'usage des corps à baleine, &c.*

Borrelli, Giovanni. *De motu animalium.*

Boschettus. *De salivatione mercuriali, &c.*

Boyle, Robert. *Experimenta, observationes, &c.*

Bromfield, William. *Observations sur les vertus des différentes espèces de solanum qui croissent en Angleterre; avec des remarques sur l'usage de la salsepareille, du mercure & de ses préparations, &c.*

Brouzet, N. *Essai sur l'éducation médicale des enfans, & sur leurs maladies.*

Bulliard, Pierre. *Avicéptologie française; ou, Traité général de toutes les ruses.*

Butini. *Lettre sur la cause de la non-pulsation des veines, &c.*

Calmet. *Traité historique des eaux & bains de Plombières, de Bourbonne, de Luxeuil & des Bains.*

Carrere, J.B.F. *Traité théorique & pratique des maladies inflammatoires, &c.*

Cartheuser, J.F. *Matière médicale, &c.*

Chabert, P. *Observations de chirurgie-pratique.*

Charrier. *Traité des opérations de la chirurgie, où l'on explique les causes des maladies qui les précèdent, leurs signes & leurs symptômes; avec des remarques après chaque opération, & un traité des plaies, avec la méthode de les bien panser.*

Chevalier. *Dissertation physico-medicinale sur les maladies dangereuses, & sur les propriétés d'une liquer purgative & vulnéraire, qui est une pharmacopée universelle.*

Chirrac, P. *Observations de chirurgie sur la nature & le traitement des plaies, & sur la suppuration des parties molles.*

Chomel, J.F. *Traité des eaux minérales, bains & douches de Vichy, augmenté d'un discours sur les eaux minérales en général; avec des observations sur la plupart des eaux minérales de France.*

Christiani, Andrea. *Avis au peuple de la campagne, touchant l'éducation de la jeunesse relativement à l'agriculture.*

Colombier, Jean. *Dissertatio nova de suffusione seu cataracta, oculi anatome & mecanismo locupletata.*

Cox, Daniel. *Nouvelles observations sur le pouls intermittent, qui indiquent l'usage des purgatifs, &c.*

Curzio. *Dissertation anatomique & pratique sur une maladie de la peau, d'une espece rare & fort singuliere, &c.*

Dehorne, Jacques. *Examen des principales méthodes d'administrer le mercure, &c. avec une dissertation sur l'esprit de nitre dulcifié relativement à la dissolution du mercure.*

Deidier, Antoine. *Dissertation médicinale sur les maladies vénériennes. ---Traité des tumeurs contre nature, avec une dissertation sur la chirurgie-Pratique, des observations sur différentes maladies, & un discours académique sur la contagion de la peste, &c. Consultations de médecine.*

Desmars. *Discours sur les épidémies d'Hyppocrate.*

Dumonchaux, M. *Bibliographie médicinale raisonnée, ou Essai sur l'exposition des livres les plus utiles à ceux qui se destinent à l'étude de la médecine.*

Falconer, William. *De l'Influence des Passions sur les Maladies du Corps Humain.*

Paillet, M. *Délassemens champêtres, ou élite de poésies pastorals, traduites de l'allemand.*

Rivarol, Antoine de. *Au Rédacteur en chef du petit Almanach de nos Grands Hommes.*

1789:

Dionis, Pierre. *Anatomie de l'homme, suivant le circulation du sang & les nouvelles découvertes, démontrée au jardin du Roi, &c.*

---*Dissertation physique à l'occasion du nègre blanc.*

Donati, Vitaliano. *Essai sur l'histoire naturelle de la mer Adriatique.*

Duboseq, J.T.G. *Recherches sur la rougeole, sur le passage des alimens & des médicamens deans le torrent de la circulation, sur le choix des remedes mercuriaux dans les maladies vénériennes.*

Dulac, Jean Louis Alléon. *Mélanges d'histoire naturelle.*

Durado, J. Georg. *Traité physiologique & chymique sur la nutrition, &c.*

Eller. *De la connoissance & du traitement des maladies, principalement des aigues, traduit par Agathange le Roy, médecin de Monsieur, &.*

Ellis, John. *Essai sur l'histoire naturelle des corallines & d'autres productions marines.*

Hurtaut, Pierre. *Essai de médecine sur le flux menstruel, &c. traduit du latin par Emmet.*

Ettmuller, Michael. *Traité du bon choix des médicamens de Ludovicus.*

Fabricus, ab Aquapendente. *Opera omnia anatomica & physiologica, &c. cum notis Albini.*

Fizes, Antoine. *Tractatus de tumoribus, &c.*

Flamant, M. *Le véritable Médecin, ou le moyen de se conserver la santé, &c.*

Flavigny, vicomte de. *Examen de la poudre.*

Flurant, Claude. *Splanchnologie raisonnée, rédigée en démonstrations, où l'on traite de l'anatomie & du mécanisme des visceres du corps humain.*

Fracassinus, Antonio. *Opuscula pathologica, &c.*

Freville. *Nouveaux Essais d'Education, ou Choix des plus beaux traits de l'Histoire ancienne & moderne, &c.*

Fuller, Thomas. *Pharmacopoeia extemporanea, &c.*

Garengot. *Splanchnologie, ou l'Anatomie des viscere, avec une dissertation sur l'origine de la chirurgie.*

---*Traité des instructions de chirurgie les plus utiles, par M. Garangeot.*

Garnier, Pierre. *Formules de médecine, latines & françaises, pour l'hôtel-dieu de Lyon; utiles aux hôpitaux des villes & des armées, aux jeunes médecins, chirurgiens & apothecaires, aux personnes charitables, & aux habitans de la campagne.*

Graaf, Reynier de. *Tractatus de virorum organis generationi inservientibus, &c.*

Guerin. *Lettres sur les nouveaux Bains médicinaux.*

---*Traité sur les maladies des yeux, avec les différentes méthodes de faire l'opération de la cataracte; & la proposition d'un instrument nouveau qui fixe l'œil tout-à-la-fois, & opere la section de la cornée.*

Guisard, Pierre. *Pratique de chirurgie, ou Histoire des plantes en général & en particulier, contenant une méthode simple pour se conduire sûrement dans le cas les plus difficiles, &c.*

Gurischius, Martinus. *Tractatus historico medicus, de chilo humano, &c.*

Guyot. *Manuale mediocorum, &c.*

Haller, Albrecht von. *Mémoires sur la formation des os, fondés sur des expériences, &c.*

---*Sur la formation du coeur dans le poulet, sur l'oeil, sur la structure du jaune, &c.*

---*Historia morborum, &c.*

Hambergerus. *Physiologica medica, &c.*

Hecquet, Philippe. *Traité de la peste, sur les moyens de s'en guérir, & sur le danger des barraques & des infirmeries Forcées, &c.*

---*La Médecine théologique, ou la Médecine créée, telle qu'elle se fait voir ici, sortie des mains de Dieu, & régie par ses loix, &c.*

---*La Médecine naturelle, vue dans la pathologie vivante; dans l'usage des calmans & des différentes saignées; des veines & des arteres rouges & blanches, spontanées ou artificielles; & des substituées par les sangsues, les scarifications, les ventouses, &c.*

---*Brigandage de la médecine réformé, ou la saignée du pied, le tartre-émétique, & le kermès minéral disciplinés.*

---*Brigandage de la chirurgie.*

---*Observations sur la saignée du pied, & sur la purgation au commencement de la petite vérole, des fièvres malignes, & des grandes maladies, &c.*
---*Naturalisme des convulsions, démontré par la physique, par l'histoire naturelle, & par les événemens de cet oeuvre, &c.*
---*Indécence aux hommes d'accoucher les femmes; & de l'obligation aux meres de nourrir leurs enfans, &c.*
---*De la digestion, & des maladies de l'estomac, suivant le système de la trituration & du broiement sans l'aide des levains, dont on fait voir l'impossibilité en santé & en maladie, &c.*

Heister, Lorenz. *Abrégé anatomique.*
---*Méthode de tailler au petit appareil; & ses avantages, &c.*

Helvétius. *Recueil de méthodes pour traiter les principales maladies, &c.*
---*Principia physico medica, &c.*

Hérissant, Louis-Antoine-Prosper. *Bibliothèque physique de la France, &c.*

Hermannus. *Cynosura materiae medicae, &c.*
---*Museum zeylanicum.*
---*Hiéroglyphes.*
---*Hippocratis aphorismi ex editione Janssionii, &c.*

Hossmannus. *Medicae rationalis systematicae, &c.*

Hunauld, Pierre. *Dissertation sur les vapeurs & les pertes de sang.*
---*Dissertation sur les fièvres malignes, qui régnent dans les saisons de l'été & de l'automne.*

Hurel, M. *Traité du farcin, maladie des chevaux, & des moyens de la guérir; ouvrage utile à toutes les personnes qui se servent de chevaux.*

Jaubert. *Cause de la dépopulation, & des moyens d'y remédier, &c.*
---*Instruction sur le jardinage, &c.*

Julliot, O.A. *Dictionnaire de matière médicale.*

Keil. *Tentamina medico-physica, &c.*
---*Introductio ad Physicam, & Astronomiam.*

Kleinius. *Selectus rationalis medicaminum, &c.*

Kleinkosch. *Anatomia monstri bicorporei monocephali, &c.*

Klein. *Le Médecin interprete de la nature, ou Recueil de pronostics sur le caractere des maladies, leur guérison, Leurs métastates, & leurs suites funestes, traduit de l'Anglais.*

Kramer. *Elenchus vegetabilium, & animalium per Austriam inferiorem observatorum.*

Lametrie. *Traité du vertige, avec la description d'une catalepsie histérique, &c.*

Lamotte. *Dissertation sur la génération, &c.*
---*Traité complet de chirurgie, revu & augmenté par m. Sabathier.*

Lamy. *Discours anatomiques, &c.*

Lannoy, François de. *The Elements of the French Language.*

Laugier. *Traité des remedes vulnéraires, &c.*

Lazerme. *Traitement des maladies internes & externes; avec les formules en latin & en français, & un Traité des maladies vénériennes.*

Le Bas. *Réfutation des sentimens de m. Bouvart, sur les naissances tardives.*

Le Breton. *La Médecine statique de Sanctorius, ou l'Art de se conserver la santé par la transpiration.*

Le Camus. *Mémoires sur divers sujets de médecine, &c.*

Le Cat. *Remarques sur l'opération de la taille.*

Le Dran. *Consulatations sur la plupart des maladies qui sont du ressort de la chirurgie.*

Le Febure. *Manuel des femmes enceintes, de celles qui sont en couches, & des meres qui veulent nourrir.*

Lémery. *Pharmacopée.*

Le Fevre. *Opera medica, &c.*

Lieutaud. *Anatomie historique & pratique, revue, corrigée & augmentée, par m. Portal, &c.*
---*Historia Anatomica-medica, &c.*

Limbourg. *Dissertation sur les bains d'eau simple, tant par immersion, qu'en douches & en vaperus.*

---*Traité des eaux minérales de Spa.*

---*Le même.*

Loob. *Traité de la petite vérole, Traduit de l'anglais, &c. 2 vol. in-12, 6 liv.*

---*Traité pratique de la cure des fièvres, &c. 2 vol. in-12, 5 liv.*

Lorry. *Statica medicina Sanctorii.*

Loubet. *Lettres sur la maladie de la goutte, &c.*

---*Traité des plaies d'armes à feu.*

Louis. *Eloges de differens Chirurgiens, prononcés aux écoles de chirurgie.*

---*Recueil sur l'électricité médicinale, dans lequel on a rassemblé les principales pieces publiées par divers savans, sur les moyens de guérir en électrifant les malades, &c.*

---*Recueil de peices sur differentes matieres chirurgicales, &c.*

---*Parallele des différentes méthodes de traiter la maladie vénérienne.*

---*Mémoires contre la légitimité des naissances tardives, dans lequel on concilie les loix civiles avec celles de l'économie animale.*

---*Recueil d'observations d'anatomie & de chirurgie, pour servir de base à la theorie des lésions de la tête par contre-coup.*

---*Mémoire sur une question anatomique.*

Lower. *De corde. Item de motu, colore & transfusion sanguinis, &c.*

---*Maladies des gens de cour.*

Malpigijs. *Discours anatomiques sur la structure des viscères: savoir, du foie, du cerveau, des reins, de la rate, du polype du coeur, & des poulmons.*

Mangetus. *Bibliotheca macueto-medica, &c.*

---*Manuel d'agriculture.*

Maria. *Tractatus de inoculatione, &c.*

Marius. *Traité du Castor, dans lequel on explique la nature, les propriétés, & l'usage médico-chymique du castoeum dans le médecine, &c. traduit de l'anglais, par Eidous.*

Martin. *Traité de la phlebotomie & de l'artériotomie, &c.*

Martine. *Dissertations sur la chaleur, avec des observations nouvelles sur la construction & la comparaison des thermometres, ouvrage traduit de l'anglais.*

Mead. *Avis & préceptes de Médecine, avec un discours sur les qualités qui constituent & perfectionnent les médecins.*

---*Médecine statique, ou Science de la transpiration, &c.*

Méhée de la Touche. *Traité des lésions de la tête par contre-coup, avec des expériences propres à en éclairer la doctrine.*

Menuret. *Traité du pouls.*

---*Avis aux meres sur la petite vérole & la rougeole.*

Meyer. *Essais de chymie sur la chaux vive, la maniere élastique & électrique, le feu & l'acide universel primitif; avec un supplément sur les élémens, &c.*

Morand. *Traité de la taille au haut appareil, où l'on a rassemblé tout ce qu'on a écrit de plus intéressant sur cette opération, avec une lettre de m. Winslow, sur la même matiere.*

Musitanus. *Opera omnia, feu trutina medica-chirurgica, pharmaceutico-chymica, &c.*

Noguez. *L'Anatomie du corps de l'homme, ou Description courte de toutes ses parties, avec l'explication de leurs differens usages tirée de leur structure, & des observations les plus modernes, &c.*

---*Nomenclator agriculturae, &c.*

---*Observations sur la petite vérole naturelle & artificielle.*

Obicius. *Medicina statica.*

Parsons. *Description de la vessie urinaire de l'homme, & des parties qui en dépendent.*

Pascal. *Traité des eaux de Bourbon l'Archambaud, &c.*

Paulian. *L'Electricité soumise à un nouvel examen, &c.*

Person. *Elémens d'anatomie raisonnée, revue & augmentée d'un traité de la génération, par m. Bruny, &c.*

Peyer. *Parerga anatomica & medica septem.*

Phile. *De animalium proprietate, &c.*

Pingeron. *Education des abeilles.*

Planque. *Observations rares de médecine, d'anatomie & de chirurgie, &c.*

Pomme. *Réflexions sur les affections vaporeuses, ou examen du Traité des vapeurs des deux sexes.*

Portus. *De sanguinis missione, &c.*

Pouteau. *Avis d'un serviteur d'Esculape sur les mélanges de chirurgie.*

---*Progrès de la médecine.*

---*Prodromus florum Argentoratensis.*

Principes sur les Etats-généraux & sur leur convocation, suivis de quelques projets de réforme dans la législation civile & criminelle, & dans l'instruction des procès criminels; par un Docteur en droit.

Pullaci. *Description d'un nouvel instrument propre à abaisser la cataracte avec tout le succès possible.*

Purcell. *Traité de toutes les especes de coliques & de leur cure.*

Quesnay. *Observations sur les effets de la saignée, &c.*

Ranby. *Méthode de traiter les plaies d'armes à feu*

Raulin. *De la conservation des enfans, ou les moyens de les fortifier, de les préserver & guérir des maladies, depuis l'instant de leur existence jusqu'à l'âge de puberté.*

---*Le même, en 3 vol.*

Raymond. *Histoire de l'Eléphantiasis, contenant aussi l'origine du scorbut, du feu saint Antoine, de la vérole, &c. avec un précis de l'histoire physique des temps.*

Raymar. *Observations physiques & morales sur l'instinct des animaux, leur industrie & leurs mœurs.*

---*Recueil des piéces concernant l'inoculation de la petite vérole, & propres à en prouver la sécurité & l'utilité.*

Reisser. *Avis important au sexe, ou Essai sur les corps baleines, pour former & conserver la taille aux jeunes personnes.*

Riverus. *Institutiones medicae. &c.*

Robert. *Recherches sur la nature & l'inoculation de la petite vérole.*

- Roux. *Mémoire sur l'inoculation de la petite vérole.*
- Ruleau. *Traité de l'opération césarienne, & des accouchemens difficiles & laborieux, avec des remedes contre les maladies qui surviennent aux femmes, &c.*
- Rutty. *Traité des parties qui servent de passage à l'urine, des principales maladies qui affectent ces parties, & de la pierre dans les reins & dans la vessie.*
- Ruysch. *Remarques sur l'abus des purgatifs & des amers, au commencement & à la fin des maladies, sur l'utilité de la saignée deans les maladies des yeux, dans celles des vieillards, des femmes & des enfans, &c.*
- Sanctorinus. *Observationes anatomicae, &c.*
- Sandris. *De sanguinis statu, &c.*
- Sanctorius. *De statica medicina, &c.*
- Schelhammerus. *De genuina febres curandi methodo, &c.*
---*Ars medendi universa, &c.*
- Scilla. *De corporibus marinis lapidescentibus quae defossa reperiuntur.*
- Silva. *Traité de l'usage des différentes sortes de saignées, principalement de celle du pied.*
- Simon. *Collection d'observations sur l'anatomie, la chirurgie & la médecine-pratique, extraites des ouvrages étrangers.*
- Spielmann. *Institutiones chemiae, &c.*
- Stalh. *Traité des sels, dans lequel on démontre qu'ils sont composés d'une terre subtile intimement combinée avec de l'eau.*
- Storck. *Ars componendi medicamenta Genuinae restitutam integritati, &c.*
- Strack. *Tentamen medicum de dyssenteria, &c.*
- Sue. *Essais historiques, littéraires & critiques sur l'art des accouchemens, &c.*
- Senguerdius. *Osteologia.*
- Tarin. *Desmographie, ou Description des ligamens du corps humain.*

Tauvry. *Pratiques des maladies aiguës, & de toutes celles qui dépendent de la fermentation des liqueurs, &c.*

Taylor. *Le Mécanisme ou l'Anatomie du globe de l'oeil, avec l'usage de ses différentes parties, & de celles qui lui sont contigues.*

Thomas, C. P. *Considérations philosophiques et politiques sur la Révolution. Ouvrage patriotique, où l'on trouve l'origine des désordres passés, la cause de nos erreurs & de nos préjugés, les tentatives sourdes & obliques de l'intérêt particulier contre l'intérêt commun, la perspective de nos craintes & de nos espérances, & le moyen de fixer irrévocablement le bonheur.* Paris, Chez M. Momoro, libraire, 1789.

Tissot. *Gymnastique médicinale & chirurgicale, ou Essai sur l'utilité du mouvement & du repos dans la cure des maladies.*

Tyrannie que les hommes ont exercée contre les femmes, par m. Laugier.
Paris, chez m. Momoro, 1789

Valentin. *Question chirurgico-légale, sur les symptômes des vraies & fausses grossesses, avec des principes sûrs pour distinguer si une femme est accouchée, ou si elle a eu une hydropisie de matrice, &c.*

Venderlinden. *Selecta medica, & ad ea exercitationes.*

Vandoeveren. *Observations physico-médicinalles sur les vers qui se forment dans les intestins, ou l'on traite particulièrement du toenia ou le ver solitaire, avec les différents moyens de traiter cette maladie, &c.*

Vansweiten. *Description des maladies qui régnent dans les armées, avec la méthode de les traiter, &c.*
---Commentaire des Aphorismes de Boerhaave.

Verheyn. *Anatomica corporis humani, &c. 2 vol.*

Vieussens. *Expériences sur la structure & l'usage des viscères, avec une explication physico-mécanique de la plupart des maladies.*

Vignon. *Essai de médecine-pratique pour l'usage des pauvres gens de la campagne, afin qu'ils puissent se secourir eux-mêmes, & utiles aux jeunes chirurgiens qui s'y établissent.*

Violente. *De variolis & morbillis, &c.*

Veridet. *Dissertation sur les vapeurs qui nous arrivent, &c.*

Warner. *Observations de chirurgie, ou l'on en trouve de remarquables sur les effets de l'agaric de chêne dans les amputations, & la composition des bougies souveraines dans les maladies de l'uretre; des regles pour conserver la santé, sur l'usage du tabac, & l'abus des remedes empyriques, &c. traduit de l'anglais.*

Winkler. *Instructions sur le jardinage.*

Zvinger. *Compendium medicinae universae.*

1790:

Principes sur les Etats-Generaux & sur leur convocation suivis de quelques projets de reformée dans la législation civile et criminelle, & dans l'instruction des procès criminels; par un Docteur en droit.

Appendix B

Momoro's Publications

Journals, Pamphlets & Books

1789-1793

JOURNALS - 1789-1791

Bulletin de l'Assemblée nationale.

Paris: Chez Momoro, 7 July 1789- 6 August 1790.

*Entretiens d'un patriote et d'un député sur les bases du bonheur public.*⁸²⁴

Paris: Chez Valleyre l'aîné ... & Chez Momoro, libraire, 1789.

Le Spectateur patriotique, ou, Observations impartiales sur tout ce qui se dit, et s'écrit, ou se fait journellement à Paris

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, September 1789

Le Moniteur Patriote ou Nouvelles de France et de Brabant

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 10 Nov. 1789 - 20 Feb. 1790.

⁸²⁴ This journal includes an alternate title, also printed by Momoro: *La Vérité. No. III. Observation faite à toute la France sur la plainte portée aux tribunaux par sieur François Ducruix...contre le sieur La Fayette...*
Paris: Imprimerie du Premier Imprimeur de la Liberté, 1791.

Journal des délibérations du Club de la Bazoche sur le pouvoir judiciaire et l'administration de la justice.

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1790.

Journal de Club des Cordeliers

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1791.

L'Ami du Peuple, par le Club des Cordeliers, société des droits de l'homme et du citoyen; Nos. 243 & 244.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie du club des Cordeliers.⁸²⁵

PAMPHLETS - 1789

Anecdote héroïque: beau trait de courage d'un gentil-homme manceau.

Le Riche de Cheveigné. Paris: Chez Momoro, Libraire, 1789.

Discours prononcé le 23 Juillet 1789...à M. le Marquis de la Fayette...

Paris: Momoro, libraire, 1789.

Le Faux comte d'Artois pendu a Strasbourg: Lettre d'un bourgeois de Strasbourg à M. Manchon, marchand foureur, rue S. Honoré, du 22 août 1789.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

⁸²⁵ This is one of only two examples where Momoro printed material under this imprint; its address, No. 171 rue de la Harpe, is Momoro's.

Arrêt Rendu par le Peuple, qui condamne Boniface-Basile-Ignace-Blaise-Lubin-Isaac-Gilles-Innocent-Cyr-Ovide-Sérapion-Loup Veto, sans état, mais fort ambitieux, à être rompu vif et jeté au feu, dans la place de Grève, vis-à-vis la Funeste Lanterne, pour être contraire aux intérêts de la nation.

Lebois, R. F. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Le courrier des enfers

Paris: Chez Momoro, Imprimeur & Libraire, 1789.

Le Mort de dix-huit francs, ou, Récit exact de ce qui s'est passé en l'église royale de Saint Paul.

Lebois, R. F. (Paris): De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

L'Innocence reconnue: Conduite des magistrats, réflexions sur les droits de l'homme.

Lebois, R. F. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Générosité du roi envers les citoyens: Sureté des citoyens de la ville de Paris : et arrivée de 28 voitures de fusils à l'Hôtel-de-ville, hier 16 septembre 1789, à midi précis.

Lebois, R. F. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Chambres a louer presentement au temple, ou, Le départ des banqueroutiers.

Lebois, R. F. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

La Conjuration découverte; lettre d'un membre du clergé, à Messieurs les Députés du Tiers.

Paris: Momoro, 1789.

Arrêté de l'Assemblée nationale, relativement à l'amnistie qu'avoient accordé les électeurs de Paris.

Paris: Momoro, libraire, 1789.

La révolte des Juifs à Avignon, ou, Le noir complot contre le vice-légat, suivi de ce qui s'est passé dans cette ville le 15 de septembre, écrit par un notable bourgeois de la ville.

Martin. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Lettre écrite par M. Hell, député de Haguenau en Alsace, à MM. de l'Assemblée nationale, le 18 août 1789, en leur adressant un écrit, ayant pour titre: Méthode d'améliorer les pommes de terre.

Hell, François Joseph Antoine de. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Le Coup de Massue, premier coup.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1789.

Hommage pastorale, au patriotisme: discours en actions de grâces de l'heureuse révolution & de la paix nationale du 17 juillet, prononcé le sur-lendemain / par M. Mille, bachelier de Sorbonne, curé d'Evry-sur-Seine, en présence de S.A.S. Madame la duchesse de Bourbon, Dame de Petitbourg, & de ladite paroisse.

Mille, François-Bernard. Paris: Chez Momoro, 1789.

La confession de M. de Calonne

Calonne, M. de. Paris: Chez Momoro, Libraire, 1789.

Croyez-moi, ou, Le secret de la comédie à l'Assemblée nationale:

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

La marmite renversée: ou Le froc aux orties; dialogue.

Paris: Chez Momoro, Libraire, 1789.

Extrait d'une Délibération du District des Mathurins, Relativement à un Projet d'Arreté du Comité de Correspondance générale, du 6 Novembre 1789, envoyé à tous les Districts.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Prière d'Henri-Quatre, général de l'armée française, avant la bataille de Coutras, adressée à Louis-Seize, chef de la nation française, après sa séance paternelle à l'Assemblée nationale.

Paris: Momoro, 1789.

Evenement arrivé au marché Saint-Martin, par le feu. Avis a tous les citoyens.

Lebois, R. F. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

La chasse aux monopoleurs sur le pain, suivi d'un moyen sûr pour empêcher la fraude dans la distribution qui se fait tous les jours chez les boulangers; & détails justes & précis du prix de la farine à la Halle.

Lebois, René-François. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Déclaration du peuple parisien au roi, sur son arrivée à Paris, & sur la diminution des vivres.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Plan de municipalité proposé aux membres composant le comité chargé par l'Assemblée des représentans de la commune, de travailler au plan d'organisation du Corps municipal de la ville de Paris.

Joly, M. Paris: Chez Momoro, libraire, 1789.

Proposition d'une femme citoyenne, pour établir les moyens de remédier à toutes les calamités qui environnent la France...

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Nouvelles très-intéressantes du Havre de grâce, révolution, arsenal forcé, prise de la tour et réjouissance du peuple.

Paris: Chez Momoro, 1789.

La joie des français ou L'arrivée de M. Necker.

Paris: Chez Momoro, libraire, 1789.

La destruction des brigands, ou Etablissement des centuries agricoles.

Paris: Chez Momoro, libraire, 1789.

Appel [à] l'Assemblée nationale, celle de la commune, et aux districts de Paris pour et au nom des volontaires nationaux de la Bastille

Parein Du Mesnil; Estienne; Hulin. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Le vrai caractère de Marie-Antoinette

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1789.

Vers à M. le marquis de La Fayette.

Taconnet, J.; Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Ode Patriotique au Roi, sur les Etats-Généraux assemblés à Versailles 1789.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Aventure arrivée au curé de S. Nicolas-des-champs au sujet d'un chantre de la paroisse

Lebois, René-François. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Motion faite au district de Saint-Séverin, pour les citoyens détenus relativement à des motions du Palais-Royal. (27 septembre.)

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1789.

Anéantissement du veto.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale 1789

Exil de monseigneur le comte d'Artois.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale 1789.

Dire de M. le vicomte de Mirabeau, Relatif à l'affaire du parlement de Metz, dans la séance du 17 novembre 1789.

Mirabeau, vicomte de; Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale 1789.

La grande découverte, ou, Les menés ministerielles dévoilées

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789

*Discours d'un membre de l'Assemblée nationale à ses co-députés suite du Discours ...
Du remboursement des charges.*

Antraigues, Comte d'. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale, 1789.

Le triomphe du Tiers - Etat à l'Assemblée nationale, ou Le bon tems prochain.

Chaudon de la Mede. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Copie d'une lettre écrite à Monsieur Necker, par le chevalier de Meude-Monpas, de plusieurs académies, etc.

Meude-Monpas. Paris: Momoro, 1789.

La punition miraculeuse d'un chef de séditeux, et le récit sanglant de ce qui s'est passé à Orléans, les 12, 13 et 14 septembre 1789: Extrait d'une lettre d'Orléans.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

La ruse noire, cousue de fil blanc, ou, Le nouveau tour de force & d'adresse, des prêtres & des grands pour écraser les petits, ou, Le droit qu'a le monarque de résister à la volonté de son peuple en refusant de signer, ou de sanctionner la loi qu'il s'impose ...

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1789.

Déclaration admirable de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche, Reine de France, envers la nation, & son entretien avec la roi, sur la diminution du pain.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté.

Pièces qui établissent l'illégalité de l'arrête des manditaires provisoires de l'Hôtel de Ville, relativement aux cinq manditaires particuliers du district des Cordeliers. (12 septembre-22 novembre 1789.)

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

Déclaration du bataillon des Cordeliers, sur l'exécution du décret décerné contre le sieur Marat.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

Pièces justificatives relativement à l'exécution d'un decret lancé contre le sieur Marat.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

Le conciliateur sur la sanction des loix.

(Paris): De l'imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Danger du veto absolu.

Buzot, François-Nicolas-Louis. Paris: impr. de Momoro, 1789.

Amendement au projet de bienfaisance du Sieur Lafarge.

Joachim Lafarge. Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro

Patriotisme (le) persécuté; défense contre une accusation en crime de sédition.

Duchesne, S. Paris: Momoro, 1789.

District des Cordeliers. Extrait des registres des délibérations de l'assemblée des Cordeliers du 17 novembre 1789.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1789.

Arrêté

Assemblée nationale constituante. Paris: Momoro, de l'imprimerie de Grangé, 1789.

BOOKS - 1789

Dénonciation au roi, a l'Assemblée nationale, aux ministres du roi, aux magistrats, et aux municipalités du royaume, des défauts des loix qui régulent l'administration de la justice civile de la France, et des infractions à ces loix; et Projet de loi, pour régler cette administration selon le droit naturel, et un bon droit civil; pour que le mot de liberté ne soit pas une expression vague et insignifiante; pour augmenter le pouvoir de la magistrature, relever le pouvoir royal de sa nullité presque absolue dans cette partie, et montrer celui que l'Assemblée nationale peut se procurer.

Havy, Pierre. Paris: Chez Momoro, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1789

Principes sur les États-Généraux et sur leur Convocation, Suivis de quelques projets de réforme dans la Législation civile & criminelle, & dans l'instruction des Procès criminels. Par un Docteur en droit.

Paris: Chez Momoro, Libraire, 1789.

Les coupons: ou Considérations sur les affaires générales par un Spectateur privilégié.

Paris: Chez Momoro, Libraire, 1789.

PAMPHLETS - 1790

Très-intéressantes nouvelles adressées a Messieurs du P..... R..., ou, Assemblée patriotique. Caption title: Très-intéressantes nouvelles, ou, Assemblée patriotique, tenue par des honnêtes citoyens, à l'occasion du départ, pour l'isle de Cayenne, du vaisseau, le Révolution.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

Permanence & formation des sections ou district: Au soixante districts. (Caption title: Avis aux soixante districts, sur la permanence et formation des sections ou districts.)

Boileux de Beaulieu. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

A Nosseigneurs de l'Assemblée nationale. "Arrêté en l'Assemblée, à l'Hôtel de Ville, l'onze janvier 1790.

Bernay. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

L'Achille français, le héros de la Bastille, ou, Le brave Élie récompensé.

Ducros. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

Coup-d'oeil sur la question de la traite et de l'esclavage des noirs, considérée dans son rapport avec le droit naturel.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

La vérité rendue sensible : dédiée au patriotisme et au royaume.

Adhenet. Paris : impr. De Momoro, 1790.

La lanterne brisée: adresse au peuple français.

M. V**. Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté nationale 1790.

Lettre du Diable au Pape, sur la suppression des règles dans les Communautés de Filles. Extrait de la Correspondance de Lucifer avec le Chef de l'Eglise, & l'arc-boutant du catholicisme.

Rocher. Paris: Moromon, Imprimeur du Diable, 1790.⁸²⁶

Proclamation du district des Cordeliers; Extrait du Registre des délibérations dud. District du neuf Juin 1790.

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

Suite du discours d'un membre de l'Assemblée nationale à ses co députés. Du Remboursement des Charges.

Antraigues, Emmanuel de Launay, Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale 1790.

Motion de M. H... député de H..... du 14 décembre 1789.

Hell, François Joseph Antoine de. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

Moyens contre la concession faite au sieur Rambourg de trois cantons de la forêt de Tronçais, département de l'Alie, maîtrise de Cérilly, appelés Landes-Blanches, Montaloyer et la Bouteille.

⁸²⁶ 'Moromon' is likely Momoro. The BN attributes authorship of this piece to Antoine Rocher.

Butty. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

Messieurs, L'objet le plus importante de la regeneration du royaume est sans doute la déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen.

Desaint Hilliers, D. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

Mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée nationale, par Joseph-Jérémie Tribert, négociant à Poitiers. Tribert, Joseph-Jérémie. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

Mémoire a messieurs les députés de l'Assemblée nationale. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1790.

Opinion d'un député de la province de Normandie: sur le mode du rachat du treizieme. Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, 1790.

Réflexions sur le plan de constitution judiciaire de M. Duport, député à l'Assemblée nationale, lu à la Société des amis de la constitution. Aux Jacobins, le 24 mars 1790. Loyseau, Jean René.; Momoro. Paris, De l'Imp. de Momoro, 1790.

Détention a l'Abbaye et au Chatelet de M. de Reynier : accusé du crime de lèse-nation : suivie de ses interrogatoires, sorti en liberté provisoire par jugement souverain du 30 mars. Reynier, Joseph de, [Paris] : De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1790.

l'A B C de la nouvelle constitution : Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, décrétés par l'Assemblée nationale, dans les séances des 20, 22, 23, 24 et 26 août 1789... Paris: impr. de Momoro, 1790.

Pièces justificatives, exposé de la conduite et des motifs du district des Cordeliers, concernant le décret de prise du corps prononcé par le Châtelet contre le sieur Marat, le 8 octobre 1789, et mis à exécution le 22 janvier 1790.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

Extrait des registres des délibérations de l'assemblée du district des Cordeliers. Du 20 avril 1790. Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

Vues sur la Révolution actuelle, ou Considérations sur les Anciens et les Modernes.

Paris: Momoro, 1790.

Avis aux citoyens aisés des trois sections du faubourg Saint-Antoine et à ceux des sections voisines. Letellier, Jacques-Pierre. Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1790(?)

Extrait des registres des délibérations de l'assemblée du district des Cordeliers du 20 avril 1790. Danton, Georges Jacques, Paris : Momoro, 1790.

Adresse aux quarante-huit sections de Paris. Le Comte. Paris: Momoro, 1790.

Extrait des registres des délibérations de l'assemblée du district des Cordeliers. 14 juin 1790. Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

District du Cordeliers. Extrait du registres des délibérations de l'assemblée du district des Cordeliers du 19 juin 1790. Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro.

BOOKS - 1790

Plan de Banque Nationale Immobiliare, Dédié à la Nation.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale.

Abrégé de la Vie d'Antoine Monnatte, Natif du village de Martinet...

Paris: De l'imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale
1790.

PAMPHLETS - 1791

Discours et Projet de Decret sur le Militaire. Imprimé par ordre du Club des Cordeliers.

Boussard. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la liberté Nationale, 1791.

Réponse à Quelques Lettres sur l'instruction pastorale de M. Asseline, évêque du ci-devant diocese de Boulogne.

Michaud, M. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté nationale, 1791

Les Electeurs formant la société en l'Evêque, à leurs commettans.

(Paris): De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier imprimeur de la liberté nationale, 1791.

Club des Cordeliers, Explication au Peuple, sur l'Arrêté du dix-sept avril mil sept cent quatre-vingt-onze...

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Club des Cordeliers, Extrait du regître de la Société des Amis des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, du 15 mai 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Adresse aux Patriots sur les Funerailles d'Honore Riquetti Mirabeau; Extrait des registres du Club des Cordeliers.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie du Club des Cordeliers, 1791.⁸²⁷

Discours à MM. de la Société des Amis de la Loi, sur les avantages de la Constitution.

Paris: De l'Imprim. de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français; extrait du registre des délibérations de la Section, du 18 mai 1791 (protestation contre le décret du 10 mai, sur le droit de pétition.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier imprimeur de la liberté, 1791.

Les droits de la femme. À la reine.

Gouges, Olympe de, Paris: l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français; extrait du registre des délibérations de la section Théâtre-Français, du 19 février 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français; extrait du registre des délibérations du 10 mars 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français. Extrait du registre des délibérations du 28 avril 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

⁸²⁷ Although a different title from Momoro's typical ones, the address is Momoro's.

Section du Théâtre-Français; extrait du procès-verbal, en date du 4 février 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français; extrait du registre des délibérations du 16 février 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Section du Théâtre-Français. Extrait du registre des délibérations du 16 juin 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

Pétition individuelle des citoyens de la section des Quinze-Vingts, faubourg Saint-Antoine, présentée à l'Assemblée nationale, le 11 décembre 1791.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1791.

BOOKS - 1792

Philippeaux, député à la Convention nationale, jugé par lui-même, dans son numéro 43 intitulé, Le défenseur de la liberté ou l'ami du genre humain, décembre 1792

(vieux stile)

Philippeaux, Pierre. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, premier Imprimeur de la Liberté Nationale, 1792.

PAMPHLETS - 1792

Pétition individuelle des citoyens du faubourg Saint-Antoine présentée à l'Assemblée nationale, le 26 janvier 1792, l'an 4e de la liberté française.

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1792.

Arrête de l'Assemblée Générale de la Section des Quinze-Vingts, ci-devant des Enfants-Trouves

Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1792.

Bataillon de 540 vieillards: motion faite à l'Assemblée générale du District des Cordeliers.

Callieres de l'Etang, Pierre Jean Georges de, Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1792.

PAMPHLETS - 1793

Rapport des citoyens Bouin, et Gonord l'aîné, membres de la Société des Jacobins, sur l'esprit public qui règne à Tonnerre, chef lieu de district du département de l'Yonne, et sur les causes qui divisent les citoyens de cette cité.

Bouin, Gonord, & Momoro. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro.

Arrêté de l'assemblée générale de la section des Quinze-Vingts, ci-devant des Enfants-Trouvés, composée des enfants du bataillon.

Paris: Imprimerie de Momoro, 1793.

PAMPHLETS - 1794

Rapport sur le Luxembourg et le Théâtre-Français, section de Marat. Séance du 5 ventôse an II (23 février 1794).

Momoro. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Momoro, 1794.

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