

Summer 8-6-2018

Cafes and Pamphlets of the French Revolution: Critical Components in the Dissemination of Revolutionary Discourse and Public Opinion

Denise R. Diliberto

Southern Illinois University Carbondale, dilibertodr@siu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/gs_rp

Recommended Citation

Diliberto, Denise R. "Cafes and Pamphlets of the French Revolution: Critical Components in the Dissemination of Revolutionary Discourse and Public Opinion." (Summer 2018).

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at OpenSIUC. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Papers by an authorized administrator of OpenSIUC. For more information, please contact opensiuc@lib.siu.edu.

CAFÉS AND PAMPHLETS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: CRITICAL COMPONENTS
IN THE DISSEMINATION OF REVOLUTIONARY DISCOURSE AND PUBLIC OPINION

by

Denise René Diliberto

M.A. Southern Illinois University, 2018

A Research Paper

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts

Department of History
in the Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
August 2018

Copyright by DENISE R. DILIBERTO, 2018
All Rights Reserved

RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

CAFÉS AND PAMPHLETS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: CRITICAL COMPONENTS
IN THE DISSEMINATION OF REVOLUTIONARY DISCOURSE AND PUBLIC OPINION

by

Denise René Diliberto

A Research Paper Submitted in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the field of History

Approved by:

Dr. Jonathan Wiesen, Chair

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
June 26, 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
LIST OF TABLES	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	iii
TEXT – Cafés and Pamphlets of the French Revolution.....	1
REFERENCES	32
VITA	36

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
Table 1 – Frequency of Revolutionary Themes in Café Documents	15

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>FIGURE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
Figure 1 - On 12 July 1789, Parisian Camille Desmoulins incites the crowd at the Café de Foix	10

CAFÉS AND PAMPHLETS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The business going forward at present in the pamphlet shops of Paris is incredible. I went to the Palais Royal to see what new things were published, and to procure a catalogue of all. Every hour produces something new... We think sometimes that Debrett's or Stackdale's shops at London are crowded [sic], but they are mere deserts compared to Desein's, and some others here, in which one can scarcely squeeze from the door to the counter... This spirit of reading political tracts, they say, spreads into the provinces, so that all the presses of France are equally employed. Nineteen-twentieths of these productions are in favour [sic] of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and nobility.¹

Arthur Young's description in his *Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*

differentiates between the political climate in London and Paris, and its peripheral regions. He illuminates the significance, as well as the apex, of pamphleteering at the onset of the French Revolution. His assessment concerning pamphlets of the revolution provides credit to my source base of Revolutionary Era pamphlets. These pamphlets located in the Newberry Library are specific to the café and demonstrate the upheaval of the political and social order against the clergy and nobility.

In 1789, the district of the Palais Royal remained a private place under the authority of monarchy, but was open to the public. Here the new public figures engaged in a variety of lively debates with little police surveillance. Coffeeshouses such as the Café de Chartes, the Café de la Régence, and Café de Foix inundated this now public domain. Coffee and conversation were a fraction of the entertainment one could indulge in – restaurants, booksellers, and prostitutes abounded, as well as notoriously forbidden books and texts. These indulgences coalesced, making the Palais Royal indeed “The Vestibule of the Revolution.”² Although understudied,

¹ Arthur Young, *Arthur Young's Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789 (1792)*, ed., Mathilda Betham-Edwards, accessed February 12, 2018, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/young-arthur-youngs-travels-in-france-during-the-years-1787-1788-1789>.

² Jonathan Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from The Rights of Man to Robespierre* (Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 34.

cafés throughout France contributed to the war effort. This study examines the centrality of French cafés and underscores the relationship between the cafés and pamphleteering.

As a social center of private and public space, the café functioned as an arena of communication and served as a critical component in the production and dissemination of public opinion and revolutionary discourse. Exhibited in pamphlets, popular opinion finds publication via authors whose intent was to make specific dialogue public through the recreation of café discourse. In addition, authors of café pamphlets act as agents of the common people by expressing their conversation in times of crisis or when religion and superstition overpowered them.

Using Antoine De Baecque's categorical and analytical method in "Pamphlets: Libel and Political Mythology," I provide analysis of the Newberry Library's collection of French Revolution pamphlets which relate specifically to the cafés of France between 1789 and 1791. Each pamphlet links to a café either directly or incidentally. Inside the texts of these pamphlets, one finds a corpus of evidence demonstrating De Baecque's various classifications of French Revolution literature. Although categorically defined, what the Newberry pamphlets hold in common is revolutionary discourse. In addition, this body of pamphlets has yet to find analysis in the scholarship of the French Revolution or in research pertaining to cafés. Cafes, pamphlets, and discourse operate collaboratively forming public opinion.

In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Jürgen Habermas had discussed the changes of public life in the transition from the Early Modern to the Modern period. During the Bourbon regime, the monarch represented political and divine power and presented this power to the people in the form of public displays. Subjects were not participants of monarchical display; they acted as non-

political and non-public observers, an audience who legitimized the king's authority. Beginning in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, an increase in population and education contributed to the formation of a literate, urban bourgeoisie. Prompting the development of a different sort of publicness, dialogue and discussion became open to all autonomous, relatively equal persons who in public discourse might address the general or public interest.³ This new form of publicness depended on individual, subjective opinions, which found basis in reason, not power. Overall, this new public sought transparency not the legislative secrecy of the monarch. Due to their social dynamic, institutions such salons, clubs, and cafés, appealed to the people and served as meeting places for individuals from varied socioeconomic backgrounds. In combination with a semi free press, they made possible the development of a discursive sphere. Habermas coupled this new public sphere with the rise of public opinion.⁴

The eighteenth century exemplifies the era in which a bourgeoisie public sphere and public opinion coalesced. As a result, a new defined space formed where the removal of discussion from the sway of the state allowed the development of eighteenth century public authority/power. This amalgamation further intensified with the onset of the Revolution resulting in the formation of popular public opinion via the people, print, and the café.⁵

The historiography of the café remains incidental to the French Revolution. Robert Darnton in *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, espouses cafés exhibited

³ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans., Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), chapt. 2; *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2000); Joan Landes' *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Roger Chartier's *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991). I draw on Spang, Landes, and Chartier as a synthesis of Habermas' work.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 42. Landes asserts the "new private individuals whose focus of reasonable discourse in these new social institutions produced a social product, public opinion. It was a social product because it was the result of an open form of communication...there is no hierarchy of speakers, no privileged status."

“loose talk about current events” where public opinion formed resulting in “noise.” Darnton, known for his use of police reports, is essential in demonstrating the decline of public deference for the monarchy.⁶ Like Darnton, Tabettha Ewing in “Bad Places: Sedition, Everyday Speech, and Performance in the Café of Enlightenment Paris,” asserts the café as a space of “a confusion of voices where misinterpretations of texts was commonplace.” In mid-century France, all talk was gossip and opinion was an example of public speech, which had no formal political effects.⁷ Although Scott Haine’s focus is on the post-revolutionary working class, in *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789-1914*, he provides a brief account of the Revolutionary Era cafés and argues they were politicized from their inception and consistently under the scrutiny of the governing authority. He confirms that not only the “grub street” intellectuals of Darnton’s fame, but also the working class, adopted the café as an institution. These individuals were the habitués of the café and played a central role in the revolution.⁸

In 1672, an Armenian by the name of Pascal became the first to sell coffee publically in Paris. His beverage found its sales during the fair of St. Germain; though confined to a booth, he peddled it throughout the crowds through the means of Turkish boys who acted as waiters. After the close of the fair, Pascal opened a small coffee shop near the Pont Neuf where he continued to peddle his product through the streets. Without much success, he moved to London where coffee consumption was a more lucrative business. Although street vending and small shops with a Middle Eastern flair continued as a means of supplying coffee, it was not until 1686 that a

⁶ Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (London: Fontana Press, 1996), 233-34. Darnton expresses public opinion as problematic. “Like everyone else, the French authorities failed to define ‘the public,’ but they knew it had opinion and they took those opinions seriously.”

⁷ Tabettha Ewing, “Bad Places: Sedition, Everyday Speech, and Performance in the Café of Enlightenment Paris,” in *The Thinking Space: The Café as a Cultural Institution in Paris, Italy and Vienna*, eds., Leona Rittner, W. Scott Haine, and Jeffrey H. Jackson (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 74.

⁸ Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class, 1789-1914* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 208-9.

French adaptation of a Middle Eastern coffee house opened. Established by François Procope, the Café de Procope attracted a significant and notable clientele.⁹

Due to its location opposite of the Comédie Française, the Café de Procope became known as an actual literary salon as its clientele consisted of authors, actors, and musicians. William Ukers' *All About Coffee* lists Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Franklin among the many habitués who gathered around the marble tables of the Procope. Ukers extends his list as the Revolutionary Era Café Procope found the likes of Marat, Robespierre, Danton, Hébert, and Desmoulins discussing and writing about the events of the day. The Café Procope contributed to the firm establishment of the coffeehouse as an institution and coffee as an everyday drink. Ukers related during the reign of Louis XV, Paris had six-hundred cafés. At the end of the eighteenth century, established coffeehouses numbered around eight-hundred.¹⁰ Cafés became a gathering place for every strata of the French social order, from elites to the dregs of society. When the National Constituent Assembly established the Le Chapelier Law on 14 June 1791, they stressed the abolishment of citizen's guilds.¹¹ With this action, the café became the haunt of the working class and various clubs, including the Jacobins Club, which also met in the cafés of the Palais Royal as well as cafés in peripheral regions, such as the François Café in Marseilles.¹²

As the epicenter of the Paris cafés, the Palais Royal housed twenty-five cafés. On the eve of the Revolution, prominent cafes, such as the Café de Foix, Café de Millie-Colonnes, Café

⁹ William H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1922), accessed January 17, 2018, <https://www.gutenberg.org>.

¹⁰ Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 5.

¹¹ Le Chapelier Law, Article four states, "If, against the principles of liberty and the Constitution, citizens attached to the same professions, arts and trades make decisions or created agreements between themselves which would lead them to refuse, or only make available at a set price, their industry or their work, the said decisions, accompanied by an oath or not, are declared unconstitutional and detrimental to the liberty and to the Declaration of Human Rights, are null and void." accessed January 15, 2018, <http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/le-chapelier-law-1791/>.

¹² W. Scott Haine, *The World of the Paris Cafe*, 61; See also, Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The First Years* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982), 10; Michael Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles, 1790-1794* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1973), 28.

Italien, Café de Caveau, and Café de la Régence, due to their locale at the Palais Royal, enabled the repositioning of café life thus displacing the Café Procope.¹³ Does this imply that production of oral and written Enlightenment ideals and reason faded or that they too relocated with the new focal point of the cafés in the Palais Royal? The answer is likely the latter as evidence and history corroborates. These cafés became the spaces in which popular and elite culture mixed resulting in a blend of popular speech, philosophy, and politics.¹⁴ Habitues of the Café de la Régence included Rousseau, Diderot, Voltaire, and Robespierre – it is probable that they rubbed shoulders with the common people.¹⁵ In his *Memoirs*, the Marquis of Ferrières had suggested this intermixing stating, “Here a man is drafting a reform of the Constitution; another is reading a pamphlet aloud; at another table, someone is taking the ministers to task; everybody is talking; each person has his own little audience that listens very attentively to him.”¹⁶ As an active politician and a man of letters, Ferrières’ remark attests to the amalgamation of the social order and verbal communication. The latter aspect of this—verbal communication is essential in identifying the illiterate classes who orators read to as they listened. Ferrières sheds light on the production of political works as well as oral and written communication taking place within the café. Scott Haine has maintained that one of the most significant moments of intellectual history in the eighteenth-century is the development of the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné de sciences, des arts et des métiers* that Diderot conceptualized on the marble tables of the Café

¹³ Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 209. Although no longer the center of activity, the Procope Café continued as a gathering place of political discourse as demonstrated in the pamphlet, *Address of the Society Sitting at the Procope Café*.

¹⁴ Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 209.

¹⁵ Ulla Heise, *Coffee and Coffeeshouses*, trans., Paul Roper (Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1987), 151.

¹⁶ Charles-Éli de Ferrières, “Memoirs of the Marquis de Ferrières,” in Jean Robiquet, *Daily Life in the French Revolution*, trans., James Kirkup (NY: Macmillan, 1964), 4. Ferrières’ *Memoirs* chronicle the activity in the cafés of the Palais Royal as information came forth concerning the decisions of the National Assembly.

Procope.¹⁷ Although no evidence exists that the *famous* habitués constructed any treatise of reason while in the cafés of the Palais Royal, it is also difficult to dismiss this entirely.

Arthur Young, whose account *Travels in France* opened this paper, recalls his time spent in Paris. Young encountered a variety of individuals from “coffee-house politicians to leaders of the state.” In terms of coffeehouse politicians, he asserts that the crowds who gather inside and outside of the coffeehouses of the Palais Royal peer in windows and gather in doorways “listening to orators who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience.” Young calls these cafés “hotbeds of sedition and revolt, which the ministry does nothing to suppress.”¹⁸ This statement is not entirely correct. According to the cahiers des sénéchaussées and baillages, “That the laws on the sanctification of Sundays and feasts be renewed...to the strict observation of these laws...by suppressing the public markets and the fairs which are held those days, the public games as well as the cabarets and the cafés, sources of scandal and disorder.”¹⁹ There seems an effort at suppression, if only on holy days. One wonders why suppression of the café was not a priority. The answer may lie in coffee itself. It had become a part of everyday life and consumption, which is consistent with the number of coffeehouses. Habermas had suggested that coffee and coffeehouses embody a new social diffusion, which ties to salons and *Collegia Musica*. These all find placement in commercialization and an emerging market economy.²⁰

However, we do recognize that the café and its habitués came under constant surveillance as

¹⁷ Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 209.

¹⁸ Young, *Arthur Young's Travels in France*, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/young-arthur-youngs-travels-in-france-during-the-years-1787-1788-1789>; The phrase coffeehouse politician came into vocabularies as people adopted the habit of drinking coffee and discussing the news of the day. It may be used as a positive or negative connotation depending on the one's own opposition to the established political order. See also Ulla Heise, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 170.

¹⁹ J. Madival and E. Lawrence, and, al., eds., *Parliamentary Archives from 1789 to 1860: Complete Collection of the Legislative and Political Debates of the French Chambers* (Paris: Administrative Library of P. Dupont, 1862), accessed February 12, 2018, <https://purl.stanford.edu/fz023ddp4399>. A sénéchaussées refers specifically to the districts of Southern France where baillages are its northern equivalent, thus a senchal and a bailli were representatives of the King who governed the regions.

²⁰ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 38.

police reports and pamphlets of the pre and post-revolutionary era demonstrate. In any case, the combination and recognition of lecturers, authors, and auditors resulted in chaos as opinions flared. Young reaffirms this as he relates the responses of the crowds gathered in the Palais Royal. “[They] display eagerness and applaud a sentiment (opinion) against the present order” as it finds expression not only in orality but also through pamphleteering inside and outside of the café.²¹

Beginning in 1787, an increase in political pamphleteering paralleled the convening of the Estates General. As tradition dictated, the cahiers de doléances conveyed the grievances of the common people—specifically the middle class and working professionals who suggested political and religious reform, as well as freedom of the press.²² Many of the submitted tracts came in the form of a pamphlet and were anonymous which is characteristic of ephemeral literature. Anthony Popkin’s “Journals: The New Face of News,” connects the characteristic appearance of the octavo format pamphlet to newspapers and journals. Thus in appearance and rhetoric, pamphlets contained topics ranging from political events and public figures to clergy and commoners; Revolutionary Era pamphlets served as the news of the day.²³

Antione De Baecque’s essay, “Pamphlets: Libel and Political Mythology,” features the pamphlets of the *Catalogue de l’histoire de France* in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The *Catalogue* contains over 12,000 pamphlets with the largest portion spanning from 1789-1792,

²¹ Young, *Travels*, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/young-arthur-youngs-travels-in-france-during-the-years-1787-1788-1789>.

²² Laura Mason and Tracy Rizza, ed., *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*, “Cahiers De Doléances,” (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 54-8; See also, Jeremy Popkin, “Journals: The New Face of News,” in *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, eds., Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989), 141.

²³ Antoine De Baecque, “Pamphlets: Libel and Political Mythology,” in *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, eds., Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989), 165, 168; See also, Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993). Maza dates the decline of personal pamphlets and scandal to 1787 and provides a comprehensive account concerning the impact of courtroom literature and its contribution to the rise of public opinion.

which boasts 9,635 works. De Baecque has emphasized the diversity of the pamphlets in terms of content indicating several categories of literature, which are apparent in these ephemeral works. These categories include reflections on government and institutions, political essays, commentary on current affairs, as well as political polemic. De Baecque has defined these categories based on style, imagery, rhetorical technique, and purpose. In addition to this categorical process, highlighted in this ephemeral literature is anonymity, which allows the emphasis of commentary. “Characteristic of the pamphlet form of literature, too long overlooked and even scorned, they [pamphlets] offer us commentary on the Revolution.”²⁴ Pamphlets, according to De Baecque’s methodology, link to other pamphlets through these indicators. Moreover, among the vast holdings of pamphlets, one can discover a specific subject, a timeframe, or a topic once deemed as an underlying milieu—in this case, the café. No individual exemplifies this connection between cafés and pamphlets more effectively than Camille Desmoulins.

History views Camille Desmoulins as a café habitué, known pamphleteer, and energetic protagonist who found inspiration in the political reform surrounding the Estates General. With the dismissal of finance minister Jacques Necker on 11 July 1789, waves of protests erupted in Paris. The next day, news of Necker’s dismissal reached the Café de Foix spurring Camille Desmoulins to leap onto a table. Figure one illustrates this historic event depicting Desmoulins with a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other as he incites his audience to take up arms. The image exemplifies the characteristic chaos of the outdoor café as the mass of people look up to the orator. Arms are raised and hats wave as political fervor ensues. In addition, the illustration depicts a man with what appears as a rope around his neck while the man behind him appears as

²⁴ De Baecque, “Pamphlets,” 168.

if in control.²⁵ Desmoulins' effective diatribe prompted the attack on the *Esplanade de Invalides* where rioters gained arms. The wave of popular feeling resulted in the storming and taking of the Bastille on 14 July 1789. In the view of many scholars, this event indicates the inception of the French Revolution.



Figure 1. On 12 July 1789, Parisian Camille Desmoulins incites the crowd at the Café de Foix

“The insurrection grows.”²⁶ In a letter to his father, Camille Desmoulins’ conveyed the chaos of the Palais Royal as he describes the National Guard’s position as a refusal to obey

²⁵ Camille Desmoulins at Café de Foix in the Palais Royal, image courtesy of Google Images, accessed March 23, 2018, <http://www.google.com>.

²⁶ Camille Desmoulins to Jean-Nicolas, June 24, 1789 to July 12, 1789, *Letters*, trans., Simone Remy, in Melkam Live Journal, accessed, January 19, 2018, <https://melkam.livejournal.com/6939.html>.

orders. As punishment for their insubordination, fourteen of the Guardsmen were sent to the Bastille to await hanging. The Palais Royal, which Desmoulins refers to as the “patriots’ camp,” served as a safe haven for the fourteen after being rescued by a military column who “marched to the prison and bludgeoned down the doors. This action won over the troops and National Guard.”²⁷ This incident at the Café de Foix, in the Palais Royal, is significant because Desmoulins description indicates that the Bastille came under attack before 14 July. In addition, this letter may validate the chaos illustrated in Figure 1.

In this same letter, Desmoulins describes the atmosphere of the Palais Royal after the meeting of the three orders.

Your prince de Condé dare not appear. He is booed, ridiculed, and made the subject of insulting songs...A few days ago a countess was whipped in the Palais Royal, where she was supporting anti Necker proposals. In the Palais Royal, those with stentorian voices take it in turns to speak every evening. They stand on tables; people band together to listen to their speeches. They read out the most powerful writing of the day on current affairs.²⁸

Desmoulins letter attests to the anti-royal sentiment taking hold of the masses who gathered at the Palais Royal. The popular insults of the Bourbon prince, expressed through song comprise as only one of the various ways in which the dissemination of news occurred. In *Poetry and Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Robert Darnton has demonstrated how song served as a powerful mnemonic device. Memory served as a significant force in the communication systems during the Ancien Régime’s semi-literate society. Many of the songs provided a commentary on political affairs, which were adapted and/or added to as these political tunes meandered their way through the streets.²⁹ Darnton develops this indicating song

²⁷ Camille Desmoulins to Jean-Nicolas, June 24, 1789 to July 12, 1789, *Letters*.

²⁸ Camille Desmoulins to Jean-Nicolas, June 24, 1789 to July 12, 1789, *Letters*.

²⁹ Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in the Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 3-4; See also, Robert Darnton, *The*

functioned like a newspaper. In addition, songwriters joined with men of letters in cafés where they improvised and developed their songs. Darnton cites the Café du Caveau as a particular haunt for this combination. Moreover, many of the street singers sold pamphlets containing the words of their compositions.³⁰

In a letter addressed to his father dated 3 March 1789, Desmoulins had described the orators and auditors present in the environs of the café; he states, “I am currently writing a patriotic work *La France Libre*. The pleasure I have in hearing, in the club and certain cafés, the admirable plans of our zealous citizens, captivates me.”³¹ Not known for his strength as an orator due to his habitual stammering, Desmoulins’ traits at this time place him alongside other spectators at the cafés. It is likely that his scrutiny and admiration of orators prompted his call to action, as he physically emulates them and finds his voice.³² In addition, Desmoulins’ observations concerning the events of the Palais Royal and the cafés therein influenced the production of *La France Libre*, which would not find publication until 18 July 1789. As one the most significant pamphlets of the Revolution, *Le France Libre* ignited the foundational revolutionary pyre. Declaring the aristocrats “vampires of the state,” Desmoulins’ pamphlet appealed to the masses, not only for its simplistic style, but also for its message; *Le France Libre* implied citizenship for everyone in the establishment of a new nation no longer held in

Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France (London: Fontana Press, 1996), 239. Darnton demonstrates word spread via the media through gossip, song, letters, and pamphlets.

³⁰ Darnton, *Poetry and the Police*, 83-84, 87. Although Darnton’s treatment of song is in reference to the Ancien Régime before mid-century, this cultural trend continued throughout the Revolution. See also, Laura Mason, “Songs: Mixing Media,” in *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*, eds., Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989), 252.

³¹ Camille Desmoulins to Jean-Nicolas, March 3, 1789, in *Letters*, trans., Simone Remy, in Melkam Live Journal, accessed, January 19, 2018, <https://melkam.livejournal.com/6939.html>.

³² John Moore, physician and traveling author published *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution (1795)*. It reads as a first-hand account. “[On] that memorable day when the Prince attacked the people at the Pont Tournant, Camille Desmoulins mounted on a table at the Palais Royal, and encouraged them to take arms. Since that time he had supported the popular cause by his speeches in the clubs, and by his writing not entirely void of wit, and generally full of that kind of course pleasantry which is relished by the common people.” John Moore, *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution (1795)*, vol., 2, accessed, January 24, 2018. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?num=238&u=1&seq=7&view=plaintext&size=100&id=pst.000001500271>.

subjugation through aristocratic and religious despotism.³³ Various publications of Desmoulins' *Le France Libre* were in circulation; the Newberry Library holds four.

The Newberry Library houses 38,454 pamphlets, which are specific to the French Revolution; these range in date from 1780-1810. Of this mass collection, seven address the topic of cafés and are situated between 1789-1791.³⁴ As De Baecque has indicated, this period demonstrates the climax of pamphlet production. The concentration of dates reflects the early revolution thus; the dates connect the Newberry café pamphlets to the apex of pamphleteering underscoring the role of the café during the French Revolution. Anonymity, signatories, and in-text locations assist the historian in the contextualization of this group of pamphlets further supporting the significance of the café. In addition, De Baecque's emphasis on commentary finds relevance with this particular group of French Revolution pamphlets as they appear in letter form, conversational exchange, or poetry. Highlighted in this study are the letters and conversations as they display back and forth annotations and dialogue between individuals,

³³ Camille Desmoulins, *La France Libre*, 4th ed. (Paris, Chez Garnery, 1789), accessed, January 19, 2018, <https://melkam.livejournal.com/693.html>. Desmoulins' intellectual clamor in *La France Libre* fits into the category of political essays in that Desmoulins, a well-known figure, presents his ideas on the constitution, the Declaration of Rights, and Estates.

³⁴ All translations I credit to Jérôme Bailly. This study could not find fruition or realization without his diligence and French flare. In addition, I thank Erin Anderson for her contribution of translations and her continued support in this endeavor.

³⁵ One pamphlet, "Quart-d'heure du Café de Foix," in its poetic form demonstrates a quality of high literature and stands outside this grouping. Although thematically related and beautifully composed, it will not find analysis in this work.

³⁶ No known record exists to indicate any differentiation between the National Café Club and the Café National. See Stephen Auerbach, "Politics, Protest, and Violence in Revolutionary Bordeaux, 1789-1794," *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, vol. 37 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2009), fn. 23, accessed April 3, 2018, quod.lib.umich.edu. "Unfortunately, there is no published history of the Club National. The best studies are Bécamps, "Le club national de Bordeaux;" Jeanne Melchior "Histoire du Club National" (doctoral thesis, Université de Bordeaux, 1951). Auerbach implies the Club National derives from the Café du Club National; he changes this identifier in his essay. Michael Kennedy attributes the establishment of the Café du Club National as a patriotic society formed by groups of citizens to emulate Parisian control. Michael L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 10.

observations of individuals, or groups.³⁵ Ranging from six to twenty-two pages, these Revolutionary Era café pamphlets illustrate a variety of individuals' commentary extending from the National Assembly and deputies to political clubs and commoners. Three of the pamphlets are anonymous; two, although not individually signed contain the markers The National Café Club and the Café National.³⁶ Another, printed by the order of the National Assembly, contains the signature of Victor Broglie.³⁷ These identifiers combine with revolutionary discursive themes revealing the significance of cafés as a driving force of the revolution.

The six pamphlets presented in Table 1 exhibit themes which are germane to revolutionary discourse. For the scope of this study, I will provide an analysis of the café pamphlets in hope of highlighting the leitmotifs. Of the twenty-six revolutionary themes, political conflict/reform, opinion, the people, National Assembly, and religious conflict/reform appear in at least five of the six pamphlets. This indicates the frequency of these themes were topics of discussion, writing, and dissemination throughout cafés. It also lends evidence that the

³⁷ As the signatory of the pamphlet *Address of the Society Sitting at the Procope Café*, Broglie, a French politician and soldier served with La Fayette in the American War of Independence; his revolutionary role remained consistent. According to Joseph Fouché, on that fateful day in the Palais Royal, now with a military title of Marshal, Broglie had orders to advance on the insurgents. Fouché claims, "There would have been no 14th of July, if on the 12th the troops and generals of the king had done their duty...Besenval, in spite of the king's orders sounded a retreat...Marshal Broglie himself was paralyzed by his staff. These are incontrovertible facts." Fouché's statement places Broglie in the chaos of the Palais Royal on 12 July 1789, linking him to the inception of the revolution. Two years later, Broglie identified as a member of the Jacobins Club and acquired the title of President of the Society. In terms of the pamphlet's discourse, Broglie's response regarding the supply of weapons acknowledges the "gift" as a sense of duty to the revolution over tyranny in that weapons in the hands of free men provide "an instrument of safety, happiness, and glory...an inconceivable power against tyrants..." According to Broglie, weapons provide equality. The key here is equality among free men. "They are dangerous in the hands of slaves." This statement sheds light on the lingering issue of slavery on the mainland and in the colonies as well as reflects the contradictions in the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution. Serving in the National Constituent Assembly and denounced during the Terror, Broglie's end was the guillotine. Joseph Fouché, *The Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of the General Police of France*, trans., Alphe de Beauchamp, 2nd ed., vol 1. (London: Printed for C. Knight, 1825), 6, accessed January 15, 2018, babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwke9n;view=1up;seq=9; See also, Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*, 62.

Table 1. Frequency of Revolutionary Themes in Café Documents

Note: The following list provides the titles of the documents, which correspond with the letter

Document A) *Address of the Society Sitting at the Procope Cafe*

Document B) *This is What was Said and Passed at the Chartres Cafe*

Document C) *The Cup of Coffee Without Sugar*

Document D) *Dialogue Between François Café and Widow's Cafe*

Document E) *The Story of What Happened at Montauban*

Document F) *Dialogue Between a Priest and Common Sense*

Themes	Document A	Document B	Document C	Document D	Document E	Document F
café	x	x	x	x	x	x
political reform	x	x	x	x	x	x
opinion		x	x	x	x	x
the people		x	x	x	x	x
National Assembly	x		x	x	x	x
religious reform	x		x	x	x	x
nation	x	x	x			x
clergy			x	x	x	x
orators			x	x	x	x
philosophy		x		x	x	x
patriots	x		x		x	x
constitution	x	x	x			x
aristocracy		x	x	x	x	
monarchy	x	x		x		
revolution	x				x	x
press			x	x		x
justice				x	x	x
moral reform			x	x		x
liberty	x		x			
fraternity	x				x	
general will			x			
equality	x					
tyranny	x					
Estates				x		
Bastille						
public opinion						
republicanism						

people's opinion centered on these topics to a greater degree than the revolutionary themes liberty, fraternity, and equality.

Presented as a commentary on current affairs and in the form of a letter, *The Address of the Society Sitting at the Procope Café* is an expression of political reform/crisis.³⁸ It attests to the conflict of the peripheral regions in terms of France's internal enemies—the emigres. Labeled as criminals, the Society expressed the need to “breach [their] criminal projects.” Fraternity is significant in this endeavor to support the law. The pamphlet's emphasis is the distribution of weapons/rifles to the Jura Department to maintain “the continuation of the Constitution.”³⁹

In terms of the café, this pamphlet places the Society of Jacobins in political affiliation with Procope Café in 1791. Although W. Scott Haine *In the World of the Paris Café* downgrades the significance of the Procope after 1781, this pamphlet demonstrates otherwise.⁴⁰ One cannot deny the inception of the revolution as related to the cafés of Palais Royal—specifically the Café de Foix. However, Jonathan Israel in *Revolutionary Ideas* highlights an event on 15 July instigated by Georges Danton. Danton, a dedicated revolutionary and lawyer, led a march, which began at the Café Procope and proceeded to city hall. Authorities arrested Danton; the crowd used the march to demonstrate that the capture of the Bastille was representative of their sovereignty.⁴¹ After the mayhem of 12 July and with the storming of the Bastille on 14 July, municipal authorities shut down the Café de Foix in September, others in the Palais Royal came

³⁸ Society Sitting at the Café Procope, *Address* Newberry French Pamphlets, (Paris: The Imprimerie Nationale, 1792), accessed November 17, 2018, https://archiveorg/details/adresse00soci_12.

³⁹ The Jura Department was an area in Eastern France created from the former province of Franche-Comté, in 1790.

⁴⁰ Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 209.

⁴¹ Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*, 63-4. Israel refers to the district Cordeliers district located in the Left Bank as a “hub of political ferment.”

under surveillance.⁴² There is no indication that authorities shut down the Procope Café. Through 1791, the Café Procope maintained its character as a locus of revolutionary discourse.

Because the *Address of the Society Sitting at the Procope Café* emphasizes political and religious reform and conflict in an official capacity, it does not concern opinion as a thematic attribute. However, due to its concentration on upholding the Constitution, there is an implication of opinion, which was a central issue in the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution. Its subordinate themes include: the National Assembly, the nation, patriots, monarchy, revolution, tyranny, liberty, equality, and fraternity. This is the only pamphlet in the group, which mentions liberty, equality, and fraternity. Although not institutionalized as the official motto of France until the Third Republic, Robespierre used the tripartite in his speech to the National Assembly on 5 December 1790.⁴³

The Constitution as a revolutionary discursive theme was perpetual throughout the Revolution and is highlighted in the pamphlet titled *This is What was Said and Passed at the Chartres Café*.⁴⁴ Dated 1791, it is a political polemic in that it reflects the strife between multiple factions. The pamphlet underscores political reform/crisis, opinion, and the people. It is a literal war of words and presents a dispute between a Constitutionalist, a Jacobin, a Monarchist, and a Royalist pertaining to the Constitution and the overall acceptance of the document. The pamphlet remains in anonymity save one name—M. Fontaine who, trying to keep the peace, urges the

⁴² Heise, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 173.

⁴³ Maximilien Robespierre, "On the Organization of the National Guard, 1790," article XVI, In *Complete Works, 1758-1794*, eds., The Society of Robespierist Studies, pg. 643, accessed April 3, 2018, archive.org/details/oeuvrescomplte06robeuoft. "They will gather each year on the 14th of July in each district to celebrate, by patriotic fetes, the joyful age of revolution. They bear on their bosom these grave words: The people of France: liberty, equality, fraternity. The same words will be inscribed on their flags, which will bear three colors of the nation."

⁴⁴ "This is what was said and passed at the Café de Chartres," [s.l.: s.n., 1791, *Newberry French Pamphlets*, accessed November 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/voilacequisestdi00unse>.

gentlemen in the Chartes Café to calm down.⁴⁵ In the mind of the Royalist, the revolutionaries with their constitutional agenda, produced the document based on their own self-interest – not the people who were tied to their traditions though religion. As the conversation spirals from political talk to accusations and insults, it escalates with the Jacobin leaving the café.

In the context of mid-eighteenth century France, the police developed a network of informers to track café talk and events. They recorded the talk and opinions of the people within. Many of these reports, which Darnton refers to, are archival police reports. Darnton has also acknowledged the significance of pamphlets and has related that much of this ephemeral literature, via communication networks, became the news of the day.⁴⁶ Our pamphlet exhibits this process in that it appears as an overheard conversation in the café, related in writing, and distributed, all of which are evident in the title. Moreover, the epigram, which relates, “In this grand café of the Palais-Royal, where there are so many witty people and beasts who have so much spirit; here is a great fight with a tongue-in-cheek, where one will see a Jacobin treated like he deserves,” displays the continuation of traditional coffeehouse talk. It had always consisted of discursive wit where the objective was for one to provide the best argument—no matter the topic. Finally, the title of the pamphlet conveys the sharp divisions as political and personal opinions flared during the Revolution.

Cafés catered to all factions serving as a gathering place for their representatives. Royalists and aristocrats frequented the Café Chartres in the Palais Royal. Although parties differed from one another in their political convictions, the one commonality was that in terms of

⁴⁵ Although it is difficult to identify this individual with any certainty, given the company he keeps and the political affiliation of this particular café, this individual is possibly Baron Francois-Xavier Octavie Fontaine who served in the American War of Independence as well as the French Revolution. Charles Mullié, *Biography of Military Celebrities of Land and Sea Armies from 1789 to 1850*, (1851) vol. 1, 523, https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Biographie_des_c%C3%A9brit%C3%A9s_militaires_des_arm%C3%A9es_de_terre_et_de_mer_de_1789_%C3%A0_1850.

⁴⁶ Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers*, 239. See also, Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant*, 214.

the coffeehouse, “[All] the tendencies were represented—Jacobin, Royalist, moderate Constitutionalist, extreme reactionary—and one encountered inside only two kinds of customers, one’s friends or one’s enemies.”⁴⁷ The conversation in the Chartres Café certainly confirms this.

In the same vein as the pamphlet concerning the political conversation at the Chartres Café, *The Cup of Coffee without Sugar* recalls not only café conversation; it also exhibits political and religious reform/conflict.⁴⁸ Dated 1790, the pamphlet resembles a personal entry of a journal or diary; however, it is possibly a surveillance report. At sixteen pages, the length of the pamphlet allows for ten subjacent themes—all which support its political and religious overtone (see Table 1), as well as exposes the shift from the Old Regime to the current order. Although the anonymous author had used rhetorical devices to nuance his partiality, the pamphlet is a political polemic due to the pamphlet’s intent—the distribution of daily news.

The pamphlet allows an exceptional account of café life within the vicinity Tuileries near the Feuillant’s Club—not far from the Palais Royal. It exhibits the various clientele, which frequented the café from deputies and aristocrats to clergy and “regular customers.” The pamphlet demonstrates the indoor and outdoor capacity of the coffeehouse as our café habitué chooses not to go into the café. Instead, he sits near a group “close enough to conversation and orders a coffee.” This implies the author’s intent, which was two-fold, the recording of café conversation, and its distribution. Talk within a café was open. One could join freely in any conversation as long as one respected the individual speaking.⁴⁹ This behavior was a lingering characteristic of the Salon in which men of letters conversed using new mannerisms of polite

⁴⁷ Heise, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 174.

⁴⁸ “A Cup of Coffee Without Sugar,” s.l.:s.n., 1790, *Newberry French Pamphlets*, accessed November 17, 2017, archive.org/ssedecafsans00unse.

⁴⁹ Dena Goodman, *Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 122.

sociability.⁵⁰ However, as demonstrated earlier, surveillance was commonplace; one cannot rule out the clandestine nature of the pamphlet as it reveals several encounters within its discursive themes.

The author reveals four conversations, the first concerns the Bishop of Châlons who in feeding the sparrows, is a metaphor for the representatives who “skinned” the clergy but continue to receive the benefits of their positions; “they devour everything.” Our author reveals his bent in that he finds pity for the Bishop whose financial woes are “due to the lords of the nation.” No doubt, our author’s innuendo concerns the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

Next, our author reveals a lengthy conversation between an aristocrat and Guy Jean-Baptiste Target, a lawyer and deputy of the Constitutional Committee as well as one of the principle authors of the Civil Constitution.⁵¹ He reveals their dialogue “without allowing myself any personal opinion.” The focus of the exchange concerns the formation of the Constitution and highlights “the split over the colonies.” Opinions flared regarding individual constitutions for each colony, trade, and the oath of the clergy, which to the aristocrat propagates obvious contradictions within the French Constitution and financial sector.⁵² Target’s reply to this concern is, “Everything will work out fine.” The portrayal of Target as lackadaisical commands the entirety of the conversation, which the aristocrat dominates.

Our café habitué relates another conversation concerning the anger of an abbot over his newspaper (the name of the actual newspaper is hidden in the original text of the pamphlet and only provides the initials of the newspaper—c..r.f..s). The abbot wishes to keep his newspaper

⁵⁰ Goodman, *Republic of Letters*, 120.

⁵¹ Peter McPhee, *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), 95. See also, Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*, 54.

⁵² In terms of the oath and constitution in the colonies—specifically in San Dominique and Guiana, the Constitution was not applicable and its various inhabitants found themselves subjected to the watchful eye of the local government. Miranda Spieler, *Empire and Underworld: Captivity in French Guiana* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 66.

out of the shadow of French freedom. In this scenario, the author agrees with “absolute freedom of the press.” This places the author in the middle class or working class of the bourgeoisie as these individuals, as previously mentioned, touted freedom of the press.

The final conversation refers to a small man leaning on a cane with the “stance and style of a regular customer.” He is discussing the changes of his neighborhood due to “oral movements of our left-wing senators and the noisy applauses that follow them.” It is within this context our author reveals his façade, which is to illustrate the shift in the social and political order. The regular customer may possibly be an old man due to his dependence on a cane and the reference of him as a corbin. Accordingly, the “regular customer” expresses in his conversation the shift from sounds of peacocks, dogs, and horses to oral movements between the left and right, which now dominate the area. This signifies the urbanization of the area as well as the rise of political clubs that crowd the cafés.⁵³

As the number of political clubs in the eighteenth century increased, they continued their connectivity to the café. Clubs multiplied as the news of the turmoil in Paris and the taking of the Bastille spread to the peripheral regions of France. The Revolution created a new political culture based on male suffrage. Lynn Hunt in *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* underscores not only the symbolic nature of the revolution, but also the effects of the vote, “The men who were elected stood for their club, their profession, their neighborhood....”⁵⁴ This dynamic holds true specifically in many cities where reading clubs and freemasonry

⁵³ Eighteenth century Paris saw a significant rise in population, with its neighborhoods expanded. These increases coincide with the rise of the bourgeoisie, the crumbling of the social structure, and the rise of public opinion. Peter McPhee, *Liberty or Death*, 3-10.

⁵⁴ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984), 127.

undoubtedly influenced Jacobinism.⁵⁵ The following three pamphlets exhibit the connectivity of political clubs to the café.

The Dialogue between François Café and the Widow's Café dated 14 June 1789 remains in anonymity and concerns Marseilles at the inception of the French Revolution.⁵⁶ The presentation of the pamphlet demonstrates strong conversational dialogue placing it in the category of a political polemic. It portrays two cafés as neighbors of opposing gender and ideals in which political and religious reform/conflict highlight the discourse.

Research has indicated the François Café in Marseille served as a point of formation for the citizens' militia. Michael Kennedy in *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles 1790-1794*, ties the inception of the Jacobin Club of Marseille to the leaders of the militia and National Guard. He points to the formation of a variety of clubs, which parallel the convening of the Estates General. After the formation of the National Guard on 15 February 1790, François Café continued as the main gathering place for the patriots of Marseille.⁵⁷

The Café also served as locale of oration, located on the Cours Belsunce down the street from the Rue Thubanaue, "There, day and night, without interval, orators gave interminable harangues."⁵⁸ This underscores the dialogue between the two cafés in an accusation against François' Café. "He hosts quarrelsome politicians who continually talk where no one listens or is listened to." This also demonstrates the café "noise" Darnton espouses.

⁵⁵ Michael Kennedy demonstrates the link between freemasonry and Jacobins Clubs. Providing evidence from membership rosters, of the 588 masons, he identified 109 future Jacobin Club members. Some held political sway locally, others such as François-Omer Franet served in the Legislative Assembly. In addition, Kennedy emphasizes the close relationship between reading clubs and the Jacobins in that their purpose was the appropriation of periodicals. He lists four reading circles, which actually evolved into Jacobin Clubs. Michael L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 8; See also, Michael L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles*, 23-4.

⁵⁶ "Dialogue Between François' Café and the Widow's Café," [s.l. : s.n., 14 juin 1789, *Newberry French Pamphlets*, accessed November 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/dialogueentrelec00usne>. This pamphlet refers to the Youth Café and the Widow's Café. I find no reference to either in any source except this pamphlet.

⁵⁷ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseille*, 30.

⁵⁸ Théodore de Lameth, *Mémoires* in Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles*, 29.

The pamphlet discloses various secondary themes within the conversation and exposes popular opinions concerning the vote for representation in the National Assembly as well as the finances of the Old Regime, which “fell on the poorest... Fear shuts down the voice, but people’s opinion does not get any better...hatred concentrates and gets stronger. Soldiers and cannon can impose silence.⁵⁹ Cautiousness prevents me from saying more.”⁶⁰ Considering the date of the pamphlet, the conversation makes public the traditional structure of Marseille where the nobility, wealthy merchants, and clergy dominated every aspect of the city—social and political. In the early stages of revolution, these comments suggest a people on the verge of revolt and their fear of those in control.⁶¹

Next, the dialogue moves to a discussion of slander, books, and the king’s denouncement. François Café believes before one can place an opinion concerning the king, he [the king] must justify himself. The reply of the Widow’s Café concerns the traditional sacred nature of the sovereign—the process of no guilt. Not to love the king was treason, to challenge him—felonious. Arlette Farge in *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth Century France*

⁵⁹ The local administration elected its deputies to the National Assembly. Kennedy relates the third estate of Marseille was strongly urged by the citizens’ militia to choose Mirabeau and three merchants as their deputies. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseille*, 10.

⁶⁰ During the Old Regime, one could find oneself in the Bastille for a variety of seditious talk concerning the monarchy. Injurious remarks, plots, letters, denunciations, ill-omens, thoughts, even dreams make the list of the various subjects prompting imprisonment. Thus, one refrained from seditious talk – even with family, friends, and neighbors. See, Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 128.

⁶¹ The date and locals mentioned in the pamphlet place it directly after a counterrevolutionary invasion of Marseille. On 20 May 1789, Lieutenant-General Comte de Caraman entered the city suppressing the Council and exiling six patriot leaders. As representative of the Parliament in Aix, he established a new civic guard made of sixty companies headed by members of the nobility and wealthy merchants. This revolutionary conflict between Marseille and Aix escalated when in July Marseille marched on Aix, freeing sixty-nine prisoners. By August, counterrevolutionaries labeled the patriots as brigands, arrested, and bound them in chains by order of the royal minister. Appealing to Paris for help, the patriots requested representation. However, the lawyer assigned to them aligned with the provost of province. That fall Mirabeau pleaded their case to the National Assembly who removed the provost. It is within this context that Marseille formed a National Guard and we find the inception of the Jacobins Club in Marseille. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles*, 10-14.

⁶² Cangé collection, Vol. LXVI (quarto, 1719); cited in Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, trans., Rosemary Morris (Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 133.

explores this phenomenon in minute detail. “Kings are not accountable for their actions save to God alone, from whom they draw their authority.”⁶² The Widow’s Café offers a traditional worldview throughout the pamphlet. She is not in favor of political talk, slanders Mirabeau—Marseille’s representative in the National Assembly, and holds the traditional role of the king as sacred. Thus, François Café and Widow’s Café represent the opposing revolutionary views pertaining to Marseille.

Taking into consideration the political affiliation between the François Café and the Jacobin Club, as well as the penchant of the Jacobins to disseminate information, the pamphlet may be a piece of their propaganda. I have considered the possibility that this pamphlet may be counterrevolutionary. However, the language of the pamphlet is in a simplistic form, which is characteristic of Jacobin rhetoric. They highlighted plain speech—specifically when addressing the common people. In addition, literate members of Jacobin Clubs were encouraged to read aloud to semi-literate and illiterate people. They drew on three sources of information: discussions from the National Assembly, instructions sent by the “motherclub” in Paris, and readings from other political papers affiliated with the Jacobins.⁶³

The following two pamphlets are specific to Bordeaux. Although incidentally linked to the café, they find placement in this study due to their possible affiliation with the Jacobin Clubs. Ulla Heise asserts that the Jacobin Clubs and their associates met in coffeehouses, “[T]he formation of the Jacobin Clubs assured the importance of the coffeehouse as a meeting place.”⁶⁴ I have revealed the connection between the Jacobin Club and the François Café in Marseille as well as established proof of their affiliation with the Procope Café in 1791. In *The Jacobin Clubs*

⁶³ Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins During the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 211-13, 218.

⁶⁴ Heise, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 173.

in *the French Revolution: The First Years*, Michael Kennedy informs that one of the earliest political clubs formed in Bordeaux was the Club du Café national, established 21 July 1789. One of its first acts was the denunciation of a local noble to the National Assembly. This informative bit fits characteristically with the Jacobins Club, who incorporated all anti-Absolute forces.⁶⁵ In addition, Kennedy's work demonstrates the amalgamation of many clubs; most of which became affiliated with the Jacobins Club. It is likely the Café Club National assimilated into a Jacobin Club, as after 1791, there is no reference to them.⁶⁶ From this information and its namesake, one can easily deduce that the Café Club National likely met in the cafés of Bordeaux.

Presented in the form of a letter and dated 1790, *The Story of What Happened at Montauban*, as related by the patriots of the Café National in Bordeaux is a commentary on current affairs.⁶⁷ The first portion of the letter/pamphlet reveals religious reform and conflict in Montauban during the early phase of the revolution. The second portion of the pamphlet is a response to Montauban from the governing body of Bordeaux dated 16 May 1790.⁶⁸ It acknowledges the religious and political conflict between patriots and aristocrats of the area. The pamphlet concerns military and monetary reinforcements for Montauban as well as illuminates the death of five traitors.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs*, 10-12.

⁶⁷ "Relation of What Happened in Montauban," A. Bordeaux: [s.n.], 1790, *Newberry French Pamphlets*, accessed November 17, 2017, https://archive.org/details/realtiondecequis00unse_2. Jonathan Israel provides a compelling story of a similar incident in Nîmes, France on 4 May 1790—less than two weeks prior to this document. Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*, 115.

⁶⁸ Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 142-3. Hunt informs that the cities of the South and Southwest came under the influence of the Jacobins who penetrated towns and the countryside. They dominated influential political relationships due to the poverty and illiteracy of the peasantry. Montauban and Bordeaux are both cities in the south/southwestern region of France approximately one hundred ten miles apart. The pamphlet states they are "forty ordinary miles" from one another.

⁶⁹ The pamphlet ends with this anecdote. "The National Café Club rendered a decision to hang five of our Deputies...for having signed the protest against the Decree of the National Assembly regarding the goods of the clergy." Due to their sacred nature, they hung the priests in effigy. There is no indication of what happened to the physical body of the priests. However, the death of the sacred in effigy finds its roots in the traditional transfer of power from one king to the next or in the social representation of killing the sacred. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early*

In terms of revolutionary discourse, the pamphlet details the author's concern as orators prompted conflict between Protestants and Catholics and the patriot and aristocratic companies of Montauban; this nullified an agreement. He reveals the crowds of women who blocked the doors of convents preventing the Council from assessing its inventory. This implies the National Assembly concerned itself with the acquisition of church property before the implementation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy on 12 July 1790. The pamphlet provides a list of patriots imprisoned in Montauban and a statement, which expresses the opinion of the author concerning the danger of sending reinforcements. "I believe it will be dangerous to send us some reassurance because it can be a pretext to cut all of our throats instead of waiting and working hand in hand to make it work."⁷⁰ Given that the factions had a previous agreement, the author appears to believe the best course of action against the counterrevolutionaries is none; he holds a neutral position and fears for his life. In addition, this is in direct relation to the religious strife in Montauban where the Right and Left Assembly sought to control the vote of peripheral regions and did so through religious propaganda—much of which came in pamphlet form.⁷¹ The response from Bordeaux reaffirms the right-wing majority of Montauban's city hall as comprised of aristocrats, clergy, and nobility who were responsible for the disorder by "manipulating the people using superstition and fanaticism." It is no surprise that the National Café Club of Bordeaux would issue an official publication and a response to the disorder.

Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 276-7; See also, Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words*, chapt., 5.

⁷⁰ By August of 1790, there were approximately ninety-one secure club affiliations with the Jacobins in Paris. Religious strife hindered the development of the Jacobin Club in Montauban. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution*, 17.

⁷¹ Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*, 115, 117.

The Dialogue Between A Priest and Common Sense is in a conversational format.⁷² It is a reflection of *The Story of What Happened at Montauban* and is a publication of the National Café Club. I strongly suggest it is a response to the incident at Montauban. Although polemical, it is a commentary on current affairs as it relates to Montauban and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Dated 1791 and situated in Bordeaux, this pamphlet offers a view into the religious reform/conflict taking place throughout France.

The discursive themes not only reveal religious conflict, but also expose opinions, the people, and the press. Presented in a simplistic form, it succinctly demonstrates the disparity of wealth between the ecclesiastics and the people that they are supposed to serve. Uncovering the income of Cardinal Rohan, at 1,600,000 Francs and labeling the clergy cruel and ignorant, *Common Sense* states, “[They] must have needs that I do not know about.” The religious dynamic of the pamphlet continues as accusations and insults transpire through printed propaganda by both sides. In this, a calumny against the Cardinal titled “The Memoire of the Countess of Lamothe” emerges. In the priest’s opinion, this book and others like it were part of an influx of “bad books,” which are the “fruits of the revolution” allowing the people to express their opinions over every matter. Books and pamphlets of this nature, known as *causes célèbres*, found wide distribution throughout the eighteenth century Old Regime as scandal combined with politics. This combination revealed public opinion concerning the private lives of public figures.⁷³ The people “act as a small legislator and pretend to know better than his [own] priest!” The dialogue of the pamphlet ends with the priest propositioning *Common Sense* though a

⁷² “Dialogue Between a Priest and Mr. Common Sense, Artisan,” (Bordeaux: The Imprimerie du Club National Café, 1791), *Newberry French Pamphlets*, accessed December 2, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/dialogueentreunc00unse>.

⁷³ Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, 315.

monetary gift as well admitting to the persuasion of the masses/workers. The pamphlet attests to the rise of popular opinion and the decline of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The Dialogue Between A Priest and Common Sense explicitly demonstrates the left and right factions gripping the region. This aspect also resembles the pamphlet titled, *The Dialogue Between François' Café and The Widow's Café* in Marseille. The style of these two pamphlets illustrates how factions with an agenda appealed to the masses through semi-fabricated conversation. Riddled with themes germane to political and religious conflict/reform, the pamphlet's discursive remarks reveal the opinions of people as told through the lens of the National Café Club. This is an informative piece of propaganda disseminated to the people with an objective—to inform why the National Assembly must abolish religious titles.⁷⁴ The National Café Club expressed the desire to make this information public by printing it. This last aspect is crucial in that dialogue and discursive material expressed in pamphlet form may or may not contain entire truths as its intent promotes their own political agenda. Although the contextual events have verification, the dialogue is likely a fabrication or an extraction of a conversation as expressed in the café. Revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries used cafés for a higher and specific agenda, surveillance was one use; the expression of public opinion through pamphleteering was another.

As De Baecque has indicated, pamphlets offer a commentary on the Revolution. The Newberry Library café pamphlets are an exemplary model. They allow us to view how authors represented and expressed latent themes in pamphlets. These bolster the paramount themes of political and religious reform/conflict, which shook Paris and the provinces in the eighteenth-century. The pamphlets demonstrate the struggle of a shifting social and political order from the

⁷⁴ These reasons relate to the establishment of the early church in which titles such as Cardinal, Archbishop, Monk, Abbott did not exist, thus are void.

Estates and decentralization of the king to Republicanism. These pamphlets are not the slanderous libelles or police reports of Robert Darnton fame; they do resemble them in utilization. Commentary allows the historian to extract information from the pamphlets revealing the political and religious *influence* of ephemeral works as the literate interacted with the illiterate through oral readings and speeches in the cafés. Political figures and club representatives preyed on the propensity of the people, explicitly in terms of political policies, which were in accord with their own agenda. In turn, through surveillance tactics, we learn these reactions, as well as the concerns and opinions of the people, organizations/clubs, and representatives of factions who frequented the café. The café acted as a network of information and communication for the distribution of pamphlets—written and oral.

This study adds not only to the scholarship of Revolutionary France, but also underscores the collaboration of the café and pamphleteering, adding to the significance of the café. This research is essential due to the continuous attributes of the café, specifically their relationship to political climates and discourse, as well as serving a vital role in the dynamics social movements.

In “What to Do When Laptops and Silence Take Over Your Café,” Karen Stabiner of the *New York Times* illustrates the perpetual significance of the café as technology and remote workers occupy a space once known for discussion. Café owners such as Kyle Glanville of the Los Angeles café “Go Get Em Tiger,” has expressed his concern as individuals linked via Wi-Fi extract while providing minimal contributions to business and/or society. “There is no social order here to tell us how to behave.” The result of this trend is a semi-restricted internet café. Owners also look to design to send a message and promote social interaction through face-to-face discourse. Setting limitations has allowed conversation back into café life. “It is as though

[Glanville] were contemplating a newly formed nation, which in a way he is.”⁷⁵ Café design is changing to allow sociability with an emphasis on coffee and conversation—a place to converse about the news of the day, which brings the coffeehouse back to its origins.

Various forms of written and oral communication over the past two centuries replaced pamphlets. Smart phones and laptops act as the pamphlets of the Revolutionary Era did. Social media allows commentary and the sharing of political, religious, and social concerns. New cafés and new ideas of café sociability look to the eighteenth-century café as social media via the World Wide Web and discourse combine. Contemporary cafés mirror and model those of the past. Café culture began in the Middle East, diffusing through Europe and eventually the world. They are one of the treasures in which term longevity truly applies. From their location in neighborhoods and décor to their clientele of writers, artists, and workers, cafés continue the trend of disseminating current news and media as well as social and political ideologies through public and private discourse.

In *The World of the Paris Café*, Scott Haine relates “[T]he apogee of the Parisian café political culture, saw the judicial and police records of all the years since the 1789 Revolution go up in smoke. The Commune [1781] thus casts a large shadow over the subject, not only politically but also archivally. The copious commentary on café life found in judicial archives begins only after 1871.”⁷⁶ This contributes to the limitation of sources used in the scholarship concerning the cafés of Revolutionary France circa 1789-1791. Moreover, pamphlets such as the ones in this study provide such commentary, thus linking pamphlets to the café. Finally, one must consider the multitude of pamphlets left undigitized in the archives, which have yet to find

⁷⁵ Karen Stabiner, “What to do When Laptops and Silence Take Over Your Café,” In *The New York Times*, February 13, 2018, accessed March 4, 2018, nytimes.com.

⁷⁶ Haine, *The World of the Paris Café*, 244.

analysis. How many of these connect to the cafés of Revolutionary France and are any contained in the Newberry Library that may illuminate French café political and social culture?

REFERENCES

- “A Cup of Coffee Without Sugar.” [s.l.: s.n., 1790. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. <http://archive.org/details/latassedecafsans00unse>.
- Auerbach, Stephen. “Politics, Protest, and Violence in Revolutionary Bordeaux, 1789-1794.” In *Journal of the Western Society for French History*. Volume 37. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 2009.
- “Cahiers De Doléances.” In *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*. Edited by Laura Mason and Tracy Rizza. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Chartier, Roger. *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. London: Fontana Press, 1996.
- . *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in the Eighteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.
- De Baecque, Antoine. “Pamphlets: Libel and Political Mythology.” In *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*. Edited by Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989.
- de Ferrières, Charles-Éli. “Memoirs of Charles-Éli de Ferrières,” In Jean Robiquet, *Daily Life in the French Revolution*. Translated by James Kirkup. New York: Macmillan, 1964.
- Desmoulins, Camille. *La France Libre*. 4th Edition. Paris: Chez Garnery, 1789. Accessed January 19, 2018. <https://melkam.livejournal.com/693.html>.
- Desmoulins, Camille. *Letters*. Translated by Simone Remy. In Melkam Live Journal. Accessed, January 19, 2018. <https://melkam.livejournal.com/6939.html>.
- “Dialogue Between Francois’s Café and Café de laVeuve.” [s.l. : s.n., 14 luin 1789. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/dialogueentrelec00usne>.
- “Dialogue Between a Priest and Mr. Bon Sens, Artisan.” Bordeaux: The Imprimerie du Club National Café, 1791. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed December 2, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/dialogueentreunc00unse>.
- Ewing, Tabetha. “Bad Places: Sediton, Everyday Speech, and Performance in the Café of Enlightenment Paris.” In *The Thinking space: The Café as a Cultrual Institution in Paris, Italy, and Vienna*. Edited by Leona Rittner, W. Scott Haine, and Jeffrey H. Jackson. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013.

- Farge, Arlette. *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*. Translated by Rosemary Morris. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1995.
- Fouché, Joseph. *The Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of the General Police of France*. Translated by Alphe de Beauchamp. 2nd Edition. Volume 1. London: Printed for C. Knight, 1825. Accessed January 15, 2018. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwke9n;view=1up;seq=9>.
- Goodman, Dena. *Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Google Images. *Camille Desmoulins at Café de Foy in the Palais Royal*. Accessed March 23, 2018. <https://www.google.com>.
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Fredrick Lawrence. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991.
- Haine, W. Scott. *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability Among the French Working Class, 1789-1914*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Heise, Ulla. *Coffee and Coffeeshouses*. Translated by Paul Roper. Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1987.
- Higonnet, Patrice. *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins During the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Hunt, Lynn. *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Israel, Jonathan. *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from The Rights of Man to Robespierre*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Kennedy, Michael. *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: The First Years*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- . *The Jacobin Club of Marseilles, 1790-1794*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973.
- Landes, Joan B. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Le Chapelier Law. Accessed January 15, 2018. <http://alphahistory.com/frenchrevolution/le-chapelier-law-1791/>.

- “Parliamentary Archives from 1789 to 1860.” In *Complete Collection of the Legislative and Political Debates of the French Chambers*. Edited by J. Madival and E. Lawrence. Paris: Administrative Library of P. Dupont, 1862. Accessed February 12, 2018. <https://purl.stanford.edu/fz023ddp4399>.
- Mason, Laura. “Songs: Mixing Media.” In *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*. Edited by Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989.
- Maza, Sarah, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célébrées of Prerevolutionary France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- McPhee, Peter. *Liberty or Death: The French Revolution*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Moore, John. *View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution (1795)*. Volume 2. Accessed, January 24, 2018. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?num=238&u=1&seq=7&view=plaintext&size=100&id=pst.000001500271>.
- Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Mullié, Charles. *Biography of Military Celebrities of Land and Sea Armies from 1789 to 1850*. Volume 1. 1851. Accessed March 23, 2018. https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Biographie_des_c%C3%A9l%C3%A9brit%C3%A9s_militaires_des_arm%C3%A9es_de_terre_et_de_mer_de_1789%C3%A0_1850.
- Popkin, Jeremy, “Journals: The New Face of News.” In *Revolution in Print: The Press in France 1775-1800*. Edited by Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989.
- “Quarter-hour at the Café de Foix”. A Paris: [s.n.], 1789. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/quartdheureducaf00unse>.
- “Relation of what happened in Montauban.” A. Bordeaux: [s.n.], 1790. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. https://archive.org/details/relationdecequis00unse_2.
- Robespierre, Maximilien. “On the Organization of the National Guard, 1790.” Article XVI. In *Complete Works, 1758-1794*. Edited by The Society of Robespierriest Studies. Accessed April 3 1018. <https://archiveorg/details/oeuvrescomplte06robeuoft>.
- Society Sitting at Café Procope. *Address*. Paris: The Imprimerie Nationale, 27 August, 1791. *Newberry French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. https://archive.org/details/adresse00soci_12.

Spang, Rebecca L. *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Spieler, Miranda. *Empire and Underworld: Captivity in French Guiana*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Stabiner, Karen. "What to do When Laptops and Silence Take Over Your Café." In *The New York Times*. February 13, 2018. Accessed March 4, 2018. <https://nytimes.com>.

"This is what was said and passed at the Café de Chartres." [s.l. : s.n., 1791. *Newbery French Pamphlets*. Accessed November 17, 2017. <https://archive.org/details/voilacequisestdi00unse>.

Ukers, William H. *All About Coffee*. New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1922. Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://www.gutenberg.org>.

Young, Arthur. *Arthur Young's Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789 (1792)*. Edited by Mathilda Betham-Edwards. Accessed February 12, 2018. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/young-arthur-youngs-travels-in-france-during-the-years-1787-1788-1789>.

VITA

Graduate School
Southern Illinois University

Denise René Diliberto

drdiliberto17@gmail.com

Southern Illinois University Carbondale

Bachelor of Arts, History, May 2014

Bachelor of Arts, Classics, May 2014

Special Honors and Awards:

2012	SIUC Dean's List
2012	SIUC Scholastic Honors
2013	SIUC University Foundation Colonial Dames Scholarship
2013	SIUC Biannual Conference of the Peace History Society Scholarship
2014	SIUC Dean's List
2014	SIUC Scholastic Honors
2014	Eta Sigma Phi
2018	National Honor Society

Research Paper Title:

Cafés and Pamphlets of the French Revolution: Critical Components in the Dissemination of Revolutionary Discourse and Public Opinion

Major Professor: Doctor Holly S. Hurlburt

Publications:

“Separation of Church and State: Thomas Jefferson, the Baptists, and the First Amendment.” *Legacy: A Journal of Student Scholarship*, Vol. 12 (2012): 43-59.