

Note on Method and Sources

The in-depth investigation of individual administrators in this book was made possible by the astonishing amount and range of information available about their lives in French archives. The most accessible sources are for *employés* of the Revolutionary and nineteenth-century Ministry of the Interior. Catherine Kawa's study of bureaucracy through a prosopography of clerks in the Ministry of the Interior between 1792 and 1799, Igor Moullier's study of the organization of that same ministry in the Napoleonic period and Clive Church's more synoptic study of the 'French Ministerial Bureaucracy' from 1770 to 1850, have already made strong use of these records held in the *Archives nationales*.¹ These records also cover personnel from the Ministry of Police, the Ministries of Public Works, Public Instruction, Commerce and Agriculture, all of which emerged from under the umbrella of the Ministry of Interior, shared personnel, and were organized in a similar fashion. In addition, the study investigates the *employés* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which retains the personnel dossiers of its nineteenth-century *employés*, diplomatic and administrative, in two series of dossiers.² It could not include a similar study of *employés* of the Ministry of Finance as that administration's records were destroyed by fire during the Commune. Finally, at the time that this project was researched, limited public access to the Ministry of War archive also made any large-scale work on their personnel files impractical. It was possible to access that ministry's organizational memoranda and records of personnel decisions.

In order to investigate 'office politics', I began by using salary records to draw up lists of *employés* by bureau, in order to locate clerks who worked together in the period from 1792 to 1849. The sample researched for this book concentrated on specific divisions and the bureaux within them.³ In the Ministry of Interior, it included *employés* working in the Secretariat (including the Registry and Archives), Commerce, Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures, and Local and Regional Administrations. I called up 53 separate cartons of personnel dossiers, in which I looked at 260 different personnel files. This sample also included a closer investigation of personnel files of two randomly chosen cartons (AN F/1bI/278/1 and 278/2) to ensure that what held true for the specific bureaux selected held true more generally. It also expanded to contain *employés* whose names emerged in the course of the investigation, such as sons or nephews identified in the original sample's personnel files or other primary sources. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a sample of 90 *employés* concentrated on the 'political' divisions tasked with organizing diplomatic correspondence, as well as the Bureau of Commercial Relations and the Archives. In both ministries, regular 'reorganizations' and budgetary cutbacks, which frequently occasioned the paring down of all 'non-essential' personnel, did not prevent a core group of *employés* from surviving the end of the Old Regime and maintaining their places through the Empire and into the Restoration (some even survived to the July Monarchy).⁴ In order to provide a more comprehensive account of the later periods, I added *employés* at work from 1828 to 1832 and 1846 to 1851 to my

initial sample from the Revolution and Empire in the Ministry of Interior; and between 1823 and 1824 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵

This approach departs from that of Catherine Kawa, whose study of the Ministry of Interior between 1792 and 1799 collated information about each and every clerk employed during that period. Although the numbers employed in the Ministry of Interior during the 1790s were small by today's standards, the scale of Kawa's comprehensive investigation of 519 clerks restricted the ways in which she could follow those men in their lives outside the ministry.⁶ Her study could only offer a cursory look at the relationship between *employés*.⁷ Studying how administrators interacted with one another in real life is also handicapped if one takes a 'random' sample of all the *employés* in the ministry within a fixed number of years, as William Reddy did in *The Invisible Code*.

As well as the 'official' records of ministry organization, in the *Archives nationales*, *Archives des affaires étrangères* and *Service historique de la défense*, I located and drew on specific organizational notes left behind (often in boxes marked simply 'affaires diverses' or 'mélanges') by division chiefs, secretary generals and bureau chiefs. These greatly aided the study of the tensions generated by the gulf between the ideals of organizational memoirs and the need to find real solutions to the problems of office practice. To build a more complete picture of the administrators' interactions outside their offices, I also drew on records relating to my sample of *employés* in the *Minutier central des notaires de Paris*. These documents included a diverse range of loan and rental agreements, *inventaires après décès*, marriage contracts and testaments entered into the notaries' minutes from the 1770s up to the 1840s. Other sources – Legion of Honour dossiers, the records and bulletins of the *Société philanthropique*, the *Société pour l'encouragement de l'industrie nationale* and the *Société de géographie*, registrations of wills and inheritances in the *Archives de la Seine*, the administration of a specific bureau chief's will by the *Assistance publique* – were also located and investigated on the basis of the sample. Therefore, while this study is not biographical or prosopographical, it did proceed by seeking to find out as much as possible about a specific set of individuals who worked in the offices of the French state during the first half of the nineteenth century. This is a study, not of 20,000 fools or the 'common-places of bureaucratic satire', but of real administrators who worked and lived in early-nineteenth-century Paris.

Endnotes

Introduction: 20,000 Fools

1. Fouilloux 'Grande indignation du Père Duchêne, contre les bureaucrates, tous sacrés jean-foutres', *Je suis le véritable Père Duchesne*, 4 (July 1791).
2. *La néologiste française ou vocabulaire portatif des mots les plus nouveaux de la langue française* (N.P., 1796), 58.
3. *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.*, ed. Maurice Tourneaux (Paris, 1878), VI, 80.
4. Jacques Peuchet, 'Bureaucratie', reproduced in Guy Thuillier, *Le bureaucratie aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris, 1987), 56–61.
5. J.-J. Leuliette, 'Sur la bureaucratie', *L'orateur plébéien, ou le défenseur de la République*, 60 (27 Ventôse IV).
6. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 5th edition (Paris, Year VI (1798)), II, 767. Similarly, Boiste et Bastien's *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française ou manuel d'orthographe et de néologie* (Paris, 1800) defines bureaucracy in terms of a regime under the 'illegal influence of clerks'.
7. *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* (hereafter AP), dir. J. Mavidal et E. Laurent, 1st series, (Paris, 1867–), LXXVI, 313 (10 October 1793).
8. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Néologie, ou vocabulaire de mots nouveaux, à renouveler ou pris dans des acceptions nouvelles* (Paris, Year IX (1801)), 20.
9. L.B. Picard, *Médiocre et rampant ou le Moyen de parvenir, comédie en cinq actes et en vers, représentée pour la première fois sur le Théâtre Français, le 1er thermidor an 5* (Paris, Year V). The play, whose title translates as 'Mediocre and Crawling, or the Means of Success', was first performed in Year V, but enjoyed a massive resurgence in popularity in the early 1800s, leading to the publication of a second edition of the script in 1802. Frederick Schiller also translated the play as *Der Parasit, oder Die Kunst sein Glück zu Machen*, and it played successfully in the Court Theatre in Weimar (run by Goethe for Duke Karl August) in October 1803. For a discussion of the reception of *Der Parasit*, see Schiller, *Oncle et Neveu, comédie en 3 actes* (Paris, 1883), 9–11.
10. 'Feuilleton de littérature, spectacles, anecdotes, modes et avis divers' [*Supplément à la Quotidienne du 3 thermidor an V*].
11. J.-R. Surrateau, 'Fonctionnaires et employés', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 30 (1958), 71–73.
12. The meaning of the word *employé* in French is not the same as that of employee in English and has therefore been left in the French through this book. According to *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 6th Edition (Paris, 1835), I, 629, an *employé* is a 'man employed in an administration, in an office . . .'.
13. These histories include George T. Matthews, *The Royal General Farms in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, 1958); J.F. Boshier, *French Finances 1770–1795: From Business to Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, 1970); Vida Azimi, *Un modèle administratif de l'ancien régime: les commis de la ferme générale et de la régie générale des aides* (Paris, 1987); Harold T. Parker, *The Bureau of*

- Commerce in 1781 and its policies in respect to French Industry* (Durham, NC, 1979); Harold T. Parker, 'Two administrative bureaus under the Directory and Napoleon', *French Historical Studies*, 4, No. 2 (1965), 150–169; Clive Church, *Revolution and Red Tape: the French ministerial bureaucracy, 1770–1850* (Oxford, 1981); Howard Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791–1799* (Oxford, 1995); Igor Moullier, 'Le ministère de l'intérieur sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire (1799–1814): Gouverner la France après le 18 brumaire', Ph.D., Université Lille III (2004).
14. The limits of this ideal type as a means to analyse *employés* in the Ministry of Interior during the Revolution are explored more closely by Catherine Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir en Révolution: les employés du ministère de l'intérieur sous la Première République, 1792–1800* (Paris, 1996). Weber's ideal type is also called into question by Howard Brown in *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State*.
 15. J.C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998).
 16. Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004); G.J. Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Peter McPhee, *Living the French Revolution, 1789–1799* (London, 2006).
 17. Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, CA, 2004).
 18. Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789–1790)* (Princeton, NJ, 1996).
 19. David Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690–1830* (Cambridge, MA, 1987).
 20. William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, CA, 1997). This is not dissimilar to historian Theodore Zeldin's portrayal of the bureaucrat as 'a sort of Frankenstein' made monstrous by the 'ambiguities and insecurities' of his position: *France, 1848–1945, I: Ambition, Love and Politics* (Oxford, 1973), 129–130.
 21. Guy Thuillier has also written several books on nineteenth-century bureaucracy in this vein, including *Bureaucratie et bureaucrates en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1980).
 22. Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, trans. David Fernbach (London, 1975), 285–294.
 23. Research on the bourgeoisie based on analysis of their financial means include Ernest Labrousse, 'New Paths Toward a History of the Western Bourgeoisie', trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt (New York, 1995); Adeline Daumard, *Le bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1963); Daumard et al., *Les fortunes françaises au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1973); Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Les bourgeois de Rouen: une élite urbaine au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1982).
 24. For example, Charles Morazé, *Les bourgeois conquérants* (Paris, 1957).
 25. Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge, MA, 2003). The same could be said to be true of the tag 'bureaucrat', but – to date – nobody has argued that bureaucrats did not exist.

26. Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIXe siècle (1809–1880)* (Paris, 1965); Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée: maisons et mentalités, XVIIIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1989); Michelle Perrot, 'At Home' in *A History of Private Life, IV: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1990); Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, CA, 1998). My study also builds on the work of the French anthropologist, Béatrix Le Wita, who argues the bourgeois individual expresses his or her identity in practice, by demonstrating mastery of gestures, objects, rituals and everyday actions: *French Bourgeois Culture*, trans. J.A. Underwood (Cambridge, 1994).
27. Maurice Agulhon, *Le cercle dans la France bourgeoise 1810–1848* (Paris, 1977); Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999).
28. Pierre Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, 1986), 241–258. See also, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in *Power and Ideology in Education*, ed. J. Karabel and A.H. Halsey (New York, 1977), 503; 'Le capital social: notes provisoires', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 31 (1980), 2–3; Bourdieu and Loïc J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago, 1992), 119. James S. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, MA, 1994) has also done much to popularize the term. For him, the issue is how social capital determines forms of collective action, through networks of reciprocity, trust and shared social values. See also James S. Coleman, 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94 [Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure] (1998), S95–S120. Another key theorist of social capital, Robert D. Putnam, argues in *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community* (New York, 2002) that social capital is important as a means of generating civic engagement.
29. For a definition of 'symbolic capital', see, in addition to the works cited above, Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (Cambridge, 2000), 166, 242.

1 A Revolution in Administration

1. This narrative is constructed using a memorandum on the organization of the Ministry of the Interior, dated 29 Ventôse X, Archives Nationales (hereafter AN) F/1a/634. I have also incorporated details from a number of other organizational memoirs in AN F/1a/1. Other ministries were organized similarly during the Revolution and Empire. The Ministry of Police was modelled directly on the Ministry of the Interior: AN F/7/3006. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also operated along similar lines, though without division chiefs due to its smaller size, and complicated by the special measures surrounding secret despatches: Archives des Affaires Etrangères (hereafter AEE), Organisation et règlements du ministère, I (1547–1806) [Personnel: volumes, 3 bis], 'Organisation des bureaux des relations extérieures, 22 frimaire an 4'.

2. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs kept three couriers of its own who could be depended on to handle diplomatic material. The Ministry of Interior used local couriers or those sent to them from the *départements*.
3. On the time taken to move paper between offices, see AN F/1a/634.
4. For example, AN F/10/252, 'Observations sur la nature des pâturages de l'arrondissement de Pontarlier, département du Doubs', 21 July 1813. This is filed with reports from other correspondents. The close relationship between the Society of Agriculture and the Bureau of Agriculture is also described in AN F/10/211, 'Société d'agriculture'. Silvestre, the Chief of the Bureau (later the Division) of Agriculture from 1801 to 1815 was simultaneously perpetual secretary of the Society.
5. AN F/1a/1, 'Ordre du travail du ministre avec les chefs de division', 5 Ventôse VIII.
6. Pascal Durand-Barthez, *Histoire des structures du Ministère de la Justice, 1789–1945* (Paris, 1973), 2. This is also noted explicitly in 'Décret relatif à l'organisation des bureaux des départements de la justice, de l'intérieur, des contributions publiques et de la marine' (29 September–2 October 1791), in J.B. Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens, avis du conseil-d'état* (Paris, 1834), III, 403.
7. Thierry Sarmant, *Les ministres de la guerre 1570–1792* (Paris, 2007), 111. This reform, due to its publication in January 1792 in B.C. Gournay, *Journal militaire* (Paris, 1792), is sometimes erroneously attributed to Duportail's successor Narbonne. Prince de Montbarey, Secretary of State for War between 1778 and 1780, claimed in *Mémoires autographes de M. le Prince de Montbarey*, 2 vols, II (Paris, 1826), 256, to have appointed the first Secretary General. However, nobody with that title appears in the *Almanach royal* for 1779 or 1780, and his description of the role of Secretary General, charged with collecting and recording ministerial decisions after they were made, is very different to the active role played by the Secretary Generals of the 1790s. Montbarey's *secrétaire intime*, Hyacinthe Arcambal, received the Minister's personal correspondence and responded to 'letters of compliment or pure formality' (257). See also Anne Buot de l'Épine, 'Les bureaux de la guerre à la fin de l'ancien régime', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, LIV (1976), 555–556.
8. AN F/1b1/272/6 [Letellier, Antoine François]. In the Ministry of the *Maison du Roi*, from which the Ministry of Interior emerged, affairs were often sent to *premier commis* and bureau chiefs directly, circumventing the Secretary of State: René-Marie Rampelberg, *Aux origines du ministère de l'intérieur: Le ministre de la maison du Roi, 1783–1788, Baron de Breteuil* (Paris, 1975), 40–41.
9. Frédéric Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères pendant la Révolution, 1787–1804* (Paris, 1877), 159, 161.
10. AN F/1a/1, 'Organisation du département de l'intérieur'. The organization of the offices under Delessert is described in *Etat des bureaux du ministre de l'intérieur, remis à l'Assemblée nationale, en exécution du décret du 14 janvier 1792* (Paris, 1792). Cahier de Gerville maintained the same structure: *Almanach national* (Paris, 1792), 131–134.
11. Edith Bernadin, *Jean-Marie Roland et le ministère de l'intérieur (1792–1793)* (Paris, 1964), 205; *Almanach national* (Paris, 1793), 128–131.

12. Paul Marichal, 'F¹⁷. Instruction publique', in Direction des archives de France, *Etat sommaire des versements faits aux archives nationales* (Paris, 1935), II, 357 (note 2).
13. Bernadin, *Jean-Marie Roland*, 205–206.
14. Champagneux credits Pache for spearheading the reform that placed all departmental correspondence under his surveillance: Claude Perroud, 'Les mémoires inédits de Champagneux', *Revue historique*, LXIII (1897), 87. The original document is in AN F/7/4638.
15. AN F/7/4394, dossier 1, 'Compte rendu au Citoyen Vandermonde du journal qui se tient chez le ministre de l'intérieur'.
16. Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 81; Brown, *War, Revolution and the Bureaucratic State*, 297; General Herlaut, *Le colonel Bouchotte. Ministre de la guerre en l'an II* (Paris, 1946), I, 15–21.
17. AN F/13/504, ministerial order, 18 Pluviôse IV. For the Department of Foreign Affairs, see Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 146–147.
18. For example, the paperwork system above is the same as that used by the Commission of Marine and Colonies after the abolition of the ministries: AF/II/24 (196), 'Mémoire sur le travail usité dans les bureaux de la marine et des colonies'. For a detailed discussion of the organization of the commissions, see Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 87–93.
19. AN F/1a/1, ministerial order, 18 Germinal VIII. When Chaptal replaced Lucien in January 1801 (Pluviôse IX), he restored the payroll to about 160 *employés*, and reappointed division chiefs.
20. For example, AAE Organisation et règlements du ministère, I [Personnel: Volumes, 3 bis], 'Observation sur le travail du bureau d'analyse (prairial an V)'; AN AD/I/78, 'Ordre du travail des bureaux du ministère de l'intérieur (VI)'. See also Jean-Claude Bonnin, *Principes d'administration publique*, 3rd edition, 3 vols (Paris, 1812), II, 222–225.
21. A. Didot and Lefebvre, in AN F/7/3006, letter to the Minister of Police, Pluviôse V, describe the punishing schedule of a *commis d'ordre*. Both claimed to work from nine in the morning until six in the evening without a moment's rest, staying late on the evenings whenever military service interrupted their ordinary day's work.
22. See Chief of the Bureau des Subsistances Jean Remondat's note on his subordinates' need to seek information in neighbouring offices, AN F/10/225. The difficulty of getting information from other bureaux through 'official' channels is also described in AN F/1a/634. This need is one of the reasons ministerial attempts to restrict the movement of clerks between offices, as discussed in Chapter 2, failed.
23. AN F/1a/22, Ministry of Interior circular, 12 December 1791; Service Historique de l'Armée du Terre (hereafter SHAT) 1M2015 Commission de l'organisation et du mouvement des armées de terre, 'Avis', 30 Vendémiaire Year III.
24. Handwriting was even taught in special schools: Alfred-Louis-Auguste Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers et professions exercés dans Paris depuis le treizième siècle* (Paris, 1906), 287.
25. For blank templates, see, for example, AN F/1a/57, 'Envoi du manuel des administrateurs', 17 Messidor IX. Ambassadors were equally sloppy in their correspondence with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which attempted to

- order and regulate their correspondence: AAE Organisation et règlements du ministère, I [Personnel: Volumes, 3 bis], 'Pour servir de règle à la correspondance des employés, vendémiaire an IV'.
26. Rondonneau, *Manuel des agens et adjoints municipaux* (Paris, Year VII); *Manuel des commissaires du Directoire exécutif près les administrations centrales et municipales, et près les bureaux centraux* (Paris, Year VIII); Rémy Fleurigeon, *Manuel administratif, ou recueil par ordre de matières de toutes les dispositions des lois nouvelles et anciennes encore en vigueur jusqu'en germinal an IX, relatives aux fonctions administratives et de police des préfets, sous-préfets, maires et adjoints* (Paris, Year IX); Fleurigeon, *Code administratif, ou recueil par ordre alphabétique de matières de toutes les lois nouvelles et anciennes, relatives aux fonctions administratives et de police*, 6 vols (Paris, 1809), first published in 1806 and reissued in 1822–1823; Claude-Joseph Lalouette, ex-sous-préfet, *Elémens de l'administration pratique* (Paris, 1812); Victor Mercier, *Répertoire administratif, guide de la classification générale des affaires publiques ou Dictionnaire complet des attributions de toutes les ministères et de toutes les administrations du Royaume* (Paris, 1835).
 27. This was a criticism of Choiseul's reform in 1762–63: Rafe Blaufarb, 'Noble Privilege and Absolutist State Building: French Military Administration after the Seven Years' War', *French Historical Studies* 24, No. 2 (2001), 240–241. As Blaufarb notes, this administration was never tested in a continental war, and therefore the validity of the critique cannot be ascertained.
 28. L. Mention, *Le comte de Saint-Germain et ses réformes (1775–1777), d'après les archives du dépôt de la guerre, thèse présentée à la faculté des lettres de Paris* (Paris, 1884), 12–15.
 29. Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 34. Saint-Germain's organization is reproduced in SHAT 1M2015.
 30. Late eighteenth-century reforms have been described as a form of 'corporate' professionalization, seen in action most famously in the Comte de Ségur's 1781 ordinance reforming the Old-Regime army by limiting high command to officers enjoying four quarters of nobility: David D. Bien, 'La réaction aristocratique avant 1789: L'exemple de l'armée', *Annales ESC*, 21 (1974), 23–48, 505–534; Jay M. Smith, 'Honour, Royal Service and the Cultural Origins of the French Revolution: Interpreting the Language of Army Reform, 1750–1788', *French History*, 9 (1995), 294–314.
 31. Vida Azimi, 'L'accès aux fonctions publiques sous l'ancien régime', *Mémoires de la société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands*, 44 (1987), 194. See also Azimi, *Un modèle administratif*.
 32. Matthews, *The Royal General Farms*, 190.
 33. Archives de l'Assistance publique de Paris, Auget de Montyon papers, carton 7, 'Des agents de l'administration', cited in Boshier, *French Finances*, 132.
 34. Boshier, *French Finances*, 132, 133, 135.
 35. Jean-Claude Devos, 'Le secrétariat d'état à la guerre et ses bureaux', *Revue historique des armées*, 162 (March 1986), 91.
 36. On Necker's reforms, see Boshier, *French Finances*, 142–164. Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*, 36 vols (London, 1783–1789), XVII, 287–288.
 37. Jean-Nicolas Dêmeunier, *Rapport sur l'organisation du ministère fait au nom du comité de constitution par M. Dêmeunier. Imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée nationale (7 mars 1791)* (Paris, 1791), 5.

38. Pierre-Hubert Anson, *Discours de M. Anson, sur l'organisation du ministère. Imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris, [1791]), 3; Demeunier, *Rapport*, 8–9; AP, first series, XXIV, esp. 688–692.
39. 'Décret relatif à l'organisation des bureaux des départements de la justice, de l'intérieur, des contributions publiques et de la marine', 29 September–2 October 1791, in Duvergier, *Collection complète des lois*, III, 403. Examples of these *état des bureaux* include *Etat général de la formation des bureaux de la guerre, et des traitements dont ils jouissent, à compter du premier Octobre 1791: en vertu du décret du 19 septembre précédent, imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée nationale, en vertu d'un décret du 31 janvier 1792* (Paris, 1792); *Etat des bureaux du département de la justice, et du sceau de l'état, avec le nom, les fonctions, et le traitement de chaque employé, imprimé conformément à la loi du 2 octobre 1791, et au décret du 14 janvier dernier* (Paris, 1792); *Etat des bureaux du ministre de l'intérieur, remis à l'Assemblée nationale, en exécution du décret du 14 janvier 1792* (Paris, 1792).
40. What follows does not claim to be a thorough or exhaustive investigation of the many and varied organizations and reorganizations of government administrations during the Revolution and Empire. Several excellent works already offer detailed accounts. On administration in general, see Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*; Jacques Godechot, *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'empire* (Paris, 1968). On the Ministry of Interior, see Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*; Bernadin, *Jean-Marie Roland*; Igor Moullier, 'Le ministère de l'intérieur sous le consulat et le premier empire (1799–1814): Gouverner la France après le 18 brumaire', PhD thesis (Université Lille III, 2004), <http://documents.univ-lille3.fr/files/pub/www/recherche/theses/moullier-igor/html/these.html>. On the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*; Jean Baillou, *Les affaires étrangères et le corps diplomatique français*, 2 vols (Paris, 1984). On the Ministry of War, see Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State*; Herlaut, *Le Colonel Bouchotte*. On the Ministry of Justice, see Durand-Bartez, *Histoire des structures*.
41. AP, first series, XXXIV, 135 (8 October 1791).
42. AN O/1/587B, f 1084, circular, Minister of the Interior to Department Directors formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War, 3 April 1791.
43. Decree of 27 September 1791, cited in Henri Alexandre Allon, *La chambre de commerce de la province de Normandie, 1703–1791* (Paris, 1903), 343.
44. Isabelle Guégan, *Inventaire des enquêtes administratives et statistiques, 1789–1795* (Paris, 1991), 75–76. See also, G. Bourgin, 'Statistiques révolutionnaires: enquête de Delessart et de Roland en 1791–1792', *Bulletin d'histoire économique de la révolution, publié par la Commission de recherche et de publication des documents relatifs à la vie économique* (1910), 244–302.
45. On the Constituent Assembly's concern about lack of order and routine in local administrations in 1790–1792, see Alison Patrick, 'French Revolutionary Local Government, 1789–1792', in *The Political Culture of the French Revolution* [The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, II], ed. Colin Lucas (Oxford, 1988), 404–407. As Patrick notes, to say that the system was disorganized is not to say that nothing got done (415–417).
46. *Réimpression de l'ancien moniteur* (Paris, 1862), XI, 449. See also Judith A. Miller, *Mastering the Market: the State and the Grain Trade in Northern France, 1700–1860* (Cambridge, 1998), 135.

47. Bailey Stone, *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2002), 177–178.
48. Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State*, 82–83.
49. Godechot, *Les institutions de la France*, 324–325, 340–346.
50. AP, first series, LXXIII, 168–169.
51. AP, first series, LXXIX, 451–460.
52. AP, first series, LXXX, 629–635.
53. Cited in Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State*, 125.
54. On the failure of paperwork, see Benjamin Kafka, 'The Imaginary State: Paperwork and Political Thought in France, 1789–1860', DPhil thesis (Stanford University, 2004), 116–120. On the longer-term success of the 14 Frimaire law, see R.R. Palmer, *The Twelve who Ruled* (Princeton, 2005), 127. Alan Forrest, *Paris, the Provinces and the French Revolution* (London, 2004), 172, argues that, in the period after the Frimaire law, many *députés en mission* succeeded in introducing 'local people . . . to the everyday virtues of sound administrative practice'.
55. AP, first series, LXXIX, 455. See also Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: corporeal metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800* (Stanford, 1997), 310–320.
56. Colin Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change', in *Rewriting the French Revolution*, ed. Colin Lucas (Oxford, 1991), 69–118.
57. De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 113–121.
58. *Œuvres de Maximilien Robespierre*, ed. Armand Carrel (Paris, 1840), III, 405.
59. 'Rapport sur un mode de gouvernement provisoire et révolutionnaire, fait au nom du comité de salut public, par Billaud-Varennes, dans la séance du 28 brumaire [an II]', in *Réimpression de l'ancien moniteur* (Paris, 1860), XVIII, 473–479 (2 Frimaire II).
60. On the influence of ideas of political economy on the Directory, see Livesey, *Making Democracy*, 64–71. On its translation into administration, see Dominique Margairaz, *François de Neufchâteau: biographie intellectuelle* (Paris, 2005), 313–345. See also, John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 2006); Richard Whatmore, *Republicanism and the French Revolution: An Intellectual History of Jean-Baptiste Say's Political Economy* (Oxford, 2000).
61. Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*, 2 vols (Paris, 1802). On the 'medical revolution' (a term coined at the time), see Elizabeth A. Williams, *The physical and the moral: Anthropology, physiology, and philosophical medicine in France, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1994); Elizabeth A. Williams, 'The French Revolution, Anthropological Medicine and the Creation of Medical Authority', *Recreating Authority in Revolutionary France*, ed. Bryant T. Ragan Jr. and E.A. Williams (New Jersey, 1992); John Pickstone, 'Bureaucracy, Liberalism and the Body in Post-Revolutionary France: Bichat's Physiology and the Paris School of Medicine', *History of Science*, 19 (1981), 115–142; Martin S. Sturm, *Cabanis: Enlightenment and Medical Philosophy in the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1980); Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York, 1994), 64–87; David M. Vess, *Medical Revolution in France, 1789–1796* (Gainesville, FL, 1975); Dora Weiner, *The Citizen-Patient in Revolutionary and Imperial Paris* (Baltimore, 1993).
62. Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis, *Coup d'oeil sur les révolutions et sur la réforme de la médecine* (Paris, 1804), 5.

63. Cabanis, *Coup d'Oeil*, v; Williams, *The physical and the moral*, 78–81; Staum, *Cabanis*, 268–269.
64. A basic theory of sensation outlined, for example, in George Louis Le Clerc (Comte de Buffon), *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, new edition, 127 vols (Paris, Year VII (1808)), XX (Histoire de l'homme, II), 35–36.
65. See the definition of a 'science of administration' in Lucien Bonaparte's circular to Prefects, 1 Prairial VIII, or in Chaptal's survey of horse breeding, 17 Floréal IX, in *Recueil des lettres circulaires, instructions, arrêtés et discours publics, émanés des Cens Quinette, Laplace, Lucien Bonaparte, et Chaptal, ministres de l'intérieur*, III (Paris, Year X (1802)), 237, 730.
66. Nicole and Jean Dhombres, *Naissance d'un nouveau pouvoir: sciences et savants en France, 1793–1824* (Paris, 1989), 42–45, 64, 743–746.
67. Staum, *Cabanis*, 287. Sieyès, Roederer and even Talleyrand have been named as 'Ideologues', believers in the application of natural principles to society and politics: Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago, 1975), 272–285; Maurice P. Crosland, *The Society of Arcueil: a view of French science at the time of Napoleon I* (Harvard, 1967).
68. For a list of Degérando's responsibilities, see AN F/1a/1. On Degérando's career, see J. Balteau, Marius Barroux, Marcel Prévost, et al., *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933–), XV, 1197–1199; Hoefler, *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 46 vols (Paris, 1852–1866), XIX, 142–146.
69. Joseph-Marie Degérando, *Des signes et de l'art de penser considérés dans leurs rapports mutuels*, 4 vols (Paris, 1800).
70. Projects to purify and perfect language were rife in the 1790s: Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language* (Stanford, 2001), 123–180; Jean Starobinski, *La remède dans le mal: Critique et légitimation de l'artifice à l'âge des lumières* (Paris, 1989). For a wealth of examples of Revolutionary politicians accusing one another of 'abusing' words like 'sovereignty', the 'public' or the 'people', see Jon Cowans, *To speak for the people: public opinion and the problem of legitimacy in the French Revolution* (New York, 2001).
71. Degérando, *De la génération des connaissances humaines* (Berlin, 1802), 95; *Des signes*, I, 221–223. Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language*, 217–220, 227–228, describes Degérando's contribution to the Ideologue circle as a retreat from 'Ideology' and a belief in relativity. On this movement within Ideologue circles especially in the National Institute, see also Martin S. Staum, *Minerva's message: stabilizing the French Revolution* (Montreal, 1996).
72. AN F/10/225, letter, members of the bureau consultatif d'agriculture, commerce et arts, to Lancel, 28 Messidor VII.
73. AN F/1a/1, 'Copie de l'organisation des bureaux de la quatrième division de l'intérieur (brumaire an V)'
74. Bonnin, *Principes d'administration publique*, I, i–ii, xiv, xxvii; II, 220. An excellent précis of Bonnin's book is Leonard D. White, 'Principes d'administration publique by Charles-Jean Bonnin', *Public Administration Review*, 5, No. 3 (1945), 271–274.
75. *Ibid.*, II, 209.
76. *Ibid.*, II, 210–211, 217. Another means used by the Ministry of Interior to reach citizens was subsidizing the *Feuille du cultivateur*, a newspaper offering practical farming advice. The state also oversaw veterinary schools in Lyon and Alfort, the former royal domains in Versailles, Saint-Cloud,

- Saint-Germain, du Raincy, de Fontainebleau and Rambouillet (where, in 1795, it introduced Spanish merino sheep for the first time in France) and a plant nursery adjacent to the Luxembourg gardens. The benefit of state intervention could be felt in measures like the law of 11 Ventôse III awarding a bounty for the destructions of wolves, which accomplished the destruction of 424 males, 228 females and 1,037 cubs: M. Mauguin, *Études historiques sur l'administration de l'agriculture en France*, 3 vols (Paris, 1877), I, 549.
77. AAE Mémoires et documents: France, 518, circulars of Vendémiaire III, 27 Brumaire, and 28 Nivôse IV.
 78. AAE Mémoires et documents: France, 518, 'Rapport au premier consul de la République par le ministre des relations extérieures, germinal an VIII'; Organisation et règlements du ministère, I [Personnel: Volumes, 3 bis], 'Rapport au ministre (an VIII)'. This idea was presented graphically a few years earlier in AEE Mémoires et documents: France, 1414, 'Cercle figuratif de l'administration de la République française', 23 Vendémiaire VI.
 79. According to Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago, 1995), the nineteenth century also saw the development of the idea of a 'social body' separate and distinct from politics in Britain.
 80. Several remained left over in the offices of the Bureau of Agriculture, and were inventoried during one of its moves, AN F/10/225.
 81. Baron Degérando, *Institut du droit administratif ou Eléments du code administratif* (Paris, 1829), 5–10, 24–26.
 82. Lalouette, *Elémens d'administration pratique*, 7.
 83. A partial exception to this rule occurred in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where, during the Empire, new supernumeraries were instead assigned to the archives to learn by 'experience and habit' from past paperwork: AAE Personnel: première série, 44 [Bourjot baron de], letter, Talleyrand to Bourjot, 19 May 1807.
 84. AAE Mémoires et Documents: France, 518, 'Rapport au premier consul . . . germinal an VIII'.
 85. Fleurigeon, *Code administratif*, I, 9–11.
 86. AAE Organisation et règlements du ministère, I [Personnel: Volumes, 3 bis], 'Rapport sur l'organisation du travail attribué à la Commission des relations extérieures, 24 brumaire an III'.
 87. *Ibid.*, ministerial order setting up the *bureau d'analyse*, 18 Frimaire III.
 88. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 415.
 89. AAE Personnel: Volumes reliés, X [Bonnet], 22 recto.
 90. AN F/10/225.
 91. AN F/1a/634, ministerial order, 22 Pluviôse X; 'Organisation du 29 ventôse an X'.
 92. AN F/1a/590-2, 'Rapport présenté au ministre de l'intérieur par Scipion Mourgues le 17 thermidor an XI'.
 93. *Ibid.*
 94. AN F/1a/590-2, 'Rapport par De Lavédrine à Son Excellence, août 1807'.
 95. AN F/1a/634, 'Rapport au ministre par Carré d'Haronville le 14 pluviôse an XIII'; AN F/1b1/590-2, letter, Carré d'Haronville to the Minister of the Interior, 19 Floréal XIII.

96. For an overview of various statistical projects undertaken by the Ministry of the Interior's bureaux of agriculture, commerce and, of course, statistics, see Stuart Woolf, 'Contribution à l'histoire des origines de la statistique: France, 1789–1815', in *La statistique en France à l'époque napoléonienne: Journée d'étude, Paris, 14 février 1980* (Brussels, 1981), 45–116.
97. The political aspects of the Code Rural are discussed in depth in Serge Aberdam, *Aux origines du code rural, 1789–1900: Un siècle de débat* (Nantes, 1982), as well as briefly in Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 36–37.
98. AN F/1a/25.
99. Woolf, 'Contribution à l'histoire des origines de la statistique', 87–88.
100. Paul Marmottan, 'Un projet de code rural sous le premier empire', *Revue des études napoléoniennes*, III (May 1913), 7–8. For correspondence related to the *Code Rural* and a list of private correspondents, see AN F/10/287-288.
101. Woolf, 'Contribution à l'histoire des origines de la statistique', 84.
102. Guy Thuillier, *La vie quotidienne dans les ministères au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1976), 80.
103. AN F/1b1/272/7 [Loiselet, Edouard-Ignace-Joseph], letter, Loiselet to Degérando, 3 January 1808.
104. AN F/1a/590, 'Rapport par De Lavédrine à Son Excellence, août 1807'.
105. The process by which documents were sacrificed in this period is explored in my article 'The French Revolution and the Materiality of the Modern Archive', *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 46, no. 1 (2011), 1–25.
106. Jacques Ymbert, *L'art du ministre; par un excellence. Première partie. Le ministre qui s'en va* (Paris, 1821), 42.
107. SHAT 1M2015, Commission de l'organisation et du mouvement des armées de terre, 'Ampliation d'ordre du 14 vendémiaire l'an 3^e'.
108. Serge Chassagne, 'Les bureaux centraux: le personnel et les mécanismes administratifs', in *La statistique en France à l'époque napoléonienne*, dir. Louis Bergeron (Brussels, 1981), 153–161; Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 307–317.
109. *Table générale par ordre alphabétique des matières, des lois, sénatus-consultes, décrets, arrêtés, avis du conseil d'état, et c. publiés dans le Bulletin des Lois et les collections officielles* (Paris, 1816), I, 117–121 [decrees listed under 'Appointemens et traitemens des fonctionnaires publics, employés des administrations, etc.'].]
110. Conseil des Cinq Cents, *Rapport et projets de résolution présentés par Daubermesnil, au nom d'une commission spéciale, sur les dépenses du matériel du ministère de l'intérieur pour l'an VIII. Fructidor an VII* (Paris, Vendémiaire Year VIII). For the Ministry of War's plan to reduce employees by half in response to the same budget, see SHAT 1M2015, 'Copie de la lettre du ministre de la Guerre, au chef de la 5e division', 4 Vendémiaire VIII.
111. Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 92; AP, second series, I, 280. The clerks' response to these reviews will be analysed in Chapter 3.

2 Revolutionary Time and Space

1. Rapport approuvé par le Roi le 28 janvier 1790, cited in Frédéric Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 67–68.

2. Before the Revolution, Montmorin was spending three days a week in Paris but was unable to move much of his administration from Versailles: letter, Louis Bonnet to J.D. Barbié du Bocage, 15 June 1787, Bibliothèque Nationale Française, Cartes et Plans, Ge.FF.15631.
3. Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750–1980* (1986), 120–155.
4. Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York, 1959).
5. For a good introduction: K. Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences make Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 26–32.
6. Bruzen de la Martinière, *Le grand dictionnaire géographique*, 6 vols (Paris, 1768), VI, 111.
7. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 11–13, 18–19.
8. In addition, as Félix Ravaisson reports in *Rapport adressée à son Exc. le ministre d'état au nom de la commission instituée le 22 avril 1861* (Paris, 1862), 133, while the offices of the *contrôle général* were in the rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs in 1788, its archives were kept in two houses on the rue du Temple, and one on the rue de Paradis.
9. Edouard Grimaux, *Lavoisier, 1743–1794* (Paris, 1888), 65; *Almanach royal* (1788), 586–588. For the *fermes générales* as the first 'modern' bureaucracy: George T. Matthews, *The Royal General Farm in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, 1958); Azimi, *Un modèle administratif*.
10. Natacha Coquery, 'L'émergence des quartiers administratifs de l'Ouest Parisien à la fin du XVIII^e siècle', in *La ville divisée: Les ségrégations urbaines en question, France XVIII^e–XX^e siècles*, ed. A. Fourcaut (Grâne, 1996), 233–243.
11. AN O/1/1072. Choiseul combined control of the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War and the Marine in November 1758. He retained effective control of French Foreign Affairs until December 1770, although he turned over the title of Minister to his cousin, the duc de Praslin, from October 1761 to April 1766.
12. *Almanach royal* (1789), 226–236.
13. See also Norbert Elias' canonical account of Versailles architecture in *The Court Society*, trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford, 1983), 81.
14. For an overview of demands that administrative *employés* prove their civic virtue (including the requirement from 1793 which demanded they produce *certificats de civisme* from their local sections): Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 137–161.
15. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989). On how Habermas has been used by historians of the eighteenth century: Anthony LaVopa, 'Conceiving a public: Ideas and society in eighteenth-century Europe', *The Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992), 79–116; for French Revolutionary history: Benjamin Nathans, 'Habermas's "public sphere" in the era of the French Revolution', *French Historical Studies*, 16 (1990), 621–644. Rebecca Spang's 'Paradigms and paranoia: How modern is the French Revolution?' *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 119–147, has brought to our attention how Revolutionary historians use Habermas's 'public sphere' without acknowledging his account of its relationship to economic and material change.
16. Stephen Auerbach, "'Encourager le commerce et répandre les Lumières": The press, the provinces and the origins of the Revolution in France: 1750–1789', PhD thesis (Louisiana State University, 2002), 3; For the most provocative

- analysis of *affiches*: Colin Jones, 'The great chain of buying: Medical advertisement, the bourgeois public sphere, and the origins of the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 13–40. Cissie Fairchilds, 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. J. Brewer and R. Porter (New York, 1993), does suggest a spatial dimension for the late-eighteenth-century market revolution, describing how nonguild traders established themselves in religious jurisdictions and journeymen sold illegally from their homes.
17. For the classic compendium on Revolutionary political culture: *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed. Keith Michael Baker, François Furet, Colin Lucas and Mona Ozouf, 4 vols (Oxford, 1987–1994); for a non-materialist critique of 'language games': Jay Smith, 'No more language games: Words, beliefs, and the political culture of early modern France', *The American Historical Review*, 102 (1997), 1413–1440. As noted by Baker, however, Smith's own work is no less concerned with language, with the meaning of 'nobility' and the meaning of 'honour': <http://www.h-france.net/vol5reviews/baker.html>.
 18. On turning to 'public opinion' as an arbiter in Old-Regime judicial cases: Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, CA, 1993); On publishing jurisdictions: Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA, 1982); On papermaking: Leonard N. Rosenband, 'The competitive cosmopolitanism of an Old Regime craft', *French Historical Studies*, 23 (2000), 455–476.
 19. AP, first series, IX, 350–354, 6 October 1789.
 20. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 72–73.
 21. *Etat nominatif des pensions, traitements conservés, dons, gratifications qui se payent sur d'autres caisses que celles du trésor royal* (Paris, 1790), 16–31.
 22. AP, first series, XXVII, 365 (21 June 1791).
 23. Montmorin answered questions about Louis XVI's passports on 24 June: AP XXVII, 484–486. Montmorin was eventually exonerated: *Décret de l'Assemblée nationale, qui ont déclaré irréprochable la conduite de M. de Montmorin . . .* (Paris, 1791).
 24. Miot de Mérito, *Mémoires du comte Miot de Mérito*, 3 vols (Paris, 1858), 31–34; Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State*, 42.
 25. AP, first series, XXV, 509–513, (2 December 1791); Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 44–45; Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 113.
 26. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 141. The building today is rue Lafitte, No. 4.
 27. While the final years of the Old Regime also saw ministerial instability, particularly in the *contrôle général*, the rapid turnover of ministerial personnel during the Revolution was unprecedented. From 16 July 1789 to 10 August 1792, each department had between four and eight different ministers. During the period between August 1792 and April 1794, the average durability of a minister or commissioner was four months for the Marine and *Contributions*, two and a half months for Justice and Foreign Affairs and only one and a half months for War and the Ministry of the Interior. Quick turnover continued in the ministries of Police, War, Justice, Marine and

- the Interior during the Directory (though not in Foreign Affairs): Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 66.
28. AP, first series, LIII, 116 (2 November 1792).
 29. Montmorin's annual rent had been 13,000 livres. The rent for the ministry on the rue Cérutti was 25,000 livres. Delessart guaranteed this personally, which allowed the Convention to transfer costs to his heirs (Delessart was killed while being taken to Paris for trial in September 1792): Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 68, 141.
 30. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 302.
 31. AN F/13/504, Police et ordre du travail des travaux publics, 30 Floréal Year II, article 10; *La Commission des subsistances de l'an II, procès-verbaux et actes*, ed. P. Caron (1925), xlv.
 32. AN F/13/504, Commissioner's order, 21 Thermidor II. The same order was enforced in the Commission for External Relations: Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 301–302.
 33. AN F/13/207, letter, Minister of the Interior to the Minister of Finances, 13 Frimaire IV, and reply, 15 Frimaire IV.
 34. *La Commission des subsistances*, ed. Caron, xi.
 35. For a similar description of signposting in the Ministry of War offices on the rue Grange-Batelière, see Herlaut, *Le Colonel Bouchotte: ministre de la guerre en l'an II*, 2 vols (Paris, 1946), I, 27.
 36. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 323.
 37. *La Commission des subsistances*, ed. Caron, xlv–xlv.
 38. *Ibid.*, xlvi. For a similar concern in the Ministry of War that visiting veterans should be treated with more respect, see SHAT 1M2015, circular, Bernadotte, Minister of War, to Division Chiefs, 3 Thermidor VII (21 July 1799).
 39. AAE Organisation et règlements du ministère, I (1547–1806) [Personnel: dossiers généraux, 3bis], Moriceau, 'Observation sur le régime intérieur du département des relations extérieures, 21 brumaire an IV'. Moriceau's advice is taken up in a ministerial order, 25 Brumaire IV.
 40. *Ibid.*, 'Copie de la lettre écrite par le directoire exécutif au ministre des relations extérieures'; also AN F/13/504. I have found only one documented example of an *employé* selling information, which suggests that such deceit existed but was not as widespread as politicians feared. In 1812, Laforêt, the *employé* who delivered Ministry of Interior contracts and payments to entrepreneurs, was stripped of his role. He was suspected of taking a 5 per cent cut of ministry commissions: AN F/1bI/10/02, 'Notes sommaires sur les employés de la 4e Division, 30 August 1812'.
 41. AAE Organisation et règlements, I, letter, Talleyrand to Boulouvard, Second Division Chief, 7 Pluviôse VII.
 42. AN F/1bI/10/1, ministerial order [Year IX]. For the dismissal of the Interior bureau chiefs, Dumouchel and Lallemand, in Year IX: AN F/1bI/11–14 and AN F/1bI/6. Both were eventually reinstated. See also AN F/1bI/11–14 for the case of Malon, a *garçon de bureau* dismissed for having been on duty when a theft occurred.
 43. P. Siguret and J. Silvestre de Sacy, *Le faubourg Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1987), 263–265; J. Vacquier, 'La mairie du Palais Bourbon', *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie des VIIe et XVe Arrondissements de Paris*, 2–3 (1906–1907), 10–11.
 44. AN F/13/1207, letter, Commission des travaux publics to Commission des approvisionnements, 5 Prairial Year III.

45. AN F/13/1207, 'Devis d'ouvrages à faire dans la maison Conty en ventôse an 3'.
46. AN F/13/1207, letter, Third Division Chief to Poyet.
47. AN F/13/1207, report, Poyet to the Minister of the Interior, 17 Frimaire Year VI.
48. AN N III Seine 1114. Plans 10, 11 and 12 (referred to as an *état ancien*) have been edited to show the ministry layout in 1819. However, on plan 10, numbers from 1797, or Year VI, are only lightly effaced. The 1797 key is in AN F/13/1207.
49. AN F/13/1207, 'Réponse à l'examen fait des plans de division des bureaux du ministère de l'intérieur dans la Maison Conty', no date.
50. AN F/13/1206, dossier 14, letter, Poyet to the Minister, 17 Frimaire Year VI.
51. AN F/13/1207, 'Réponse à l'examen . . .'
52. *Ibid.*, 'Examen fait des plans et de devis descriptif des travaux à faire pour l'établissement des bureaux . . . dans la Maison Conty', no date.
53. *Ibid.*, 'Réponse à l'examen . . .'. Poyet believed that, to move the archive, he would have to install in the ill-lit rooms either the draughtsmen of the *plan de Paris* or the accountants of the *bureau central de règlement* (both of whom clearly needed light to work).
54. *Ibid.*, report, Mouchelet to the Minister of the Interior, 9 Nivôse IX. On the pragmatic approach of the *conseil des bâtiments civils* generally: L. M. O'Connell, 'Redefining the past: revolutionary architecture and the conseil des bâtiments civils', *Art Bulletin*, 77 (1995), 207–224.
55. AN F/13/1212, letter, de Joly to the Director of Public Works, 19 April 1821.
56. AN F/13/1208, report, bureau des bâtiments civils to the Minister of the Interior, 23 Vendémiaire VII.
57. *La Commission des subsistances*, ed. Caron, II, xli–xlii.
58. *Ibid.*, xlii.
59. Cited in Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 318. The order went on to note that 'this citizen has no other function'.
60. SHAT 1M2015, order, 14 Vendémiaire III; letter Pille to 5th Division, 16 Vendémiaire IV.
61. AN F/7/3007, order, Cochon, Minister of Police, to division and bureau chiefs, undated.
62. AN F/7/3007, ministerial order, 27 Prairial VI.
63. AN F/7/3006, 'Ordre du Ministre de la Police Générale de la République, 20 thermidor an VII'.
64. *Ibid.*, Chevanne, Secretary General, to the Chief of the Second Division, 18 Pluviôse VII.
65. AN F/1a/1, 'Organisation des bureaux du ministère de l'intérieur, 18 germinal an VII'.
66. AN F/1a/1 (114), ministerial order, 11 Ventôse XI.
67. AN F/1b1/276/3 [Pihet], letter, Pihet to the Secretary General, undated.
68. AN F/1b1/272/7 [Loiselet], letter, Loiselet, Chief of the Registry, to Degérando, Secretary General, 3 January 1808.
69. AN F/1b1/11–14.
70. See, for example, the various lists in AN F/1b1/10/2 [1814]. The only mention of office hours is in respect to Terrasse, *chef adjoint* of the Bureau du Commerce: Terrasse, suffering from sciatica, was 'not able to attend his office conscientiously; however, he does the work we send home to him promptly and well'.

71. AN F/1bl/264/2 [Delangle, Jean Cécile], Despery note, 8 February 1822.
72. AN F/1bl/262/8 [Broin, Germain], letter, Broin to Edmond Blanc, Secretary General, 21 June 1836.
73. AN F/13/1210, letter, Poyet to the Minister, 25 Fructidor Year XIII; report, J.P. Barbier-Neuville to the Minister, 20 Vendémiaire Year XIV.
74. On the stove in bureaucratic satire: A.-M. Bijaoui-Baron, 'La bureaucratie: Naissance d'un thème et d'un vocabulaire dans la littérature française', Doctorat d'Etat des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (Université de Paris IV, 1981). See also Figure 6.1.
75. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, 'Audiences', in *Tableau de Paris*, ed. J.-C. Bonnet, 2 vols (1994), I, 1026.
76. AN F/13/320, 'Mémoire des ouvrages de peinture faits dans la maison occupée par le ministre de la police générale, quay Voltaire . . . 22 fructidor an IV'.
77. The first official reference to an 'antechamber' I have found was in 1803, when the Ministry of Interior's Secretary General asked for attendance registers be put in 'the antechamber that precedes the *cabinet du travail* of each division chief': AN F/1bl/10/1, notice, Coulomb to division chiefs, Ventôse Year XI.
78. AN F/1a/590-2, report to the Minister of the Interior, 22 Thermidor Year X.
79. Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 477–478. The hôtels Gallifet and Maurepas were connected via their stables.
80. Comte de Garden, *Histoire générale des traités de paix et autres transactions principales entre toutes les puissances de l'Europe depuis la paix de Westphalie*, 14 vols (1848–1859), X, ii.
81. *Mémoires et souvenirs du comte de Lavalette (1769–1830)*, ed. S. Giocanti (1994), 405–406.
82. For example, Mona Ozouf's work on the symbolic order of Revolutionary festivals in *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1976); C. Hesse's review in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22 (1988–1989), 234–235, notes Ozouf's 'heavy reliance on the programmatic vision of cultural life expressed in government documents' and lack of 'ground-level perspective'.
83. J. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares and Public Buildings in France, 1789–1799* (Montreal and Kingston, 1991), 307.
84. On the division of left and right, already becoming apparent in Versailles: Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*, 178–179, 200–201; On the Manège: A. Brette, *Histoire des édifices où ont siégé les assemblées parlementaires de la Révolution et de la première République* (1902), I, 162–170. O'Connell, 'Redefining the past', 207–224, also argues that Revolutionary public building projects were primarily conversions.
85. Colin Jones notes a 'resurgence of the corporative strand of professionalism': 'Bourgeois revolution revived: 1789 and social change', in *Rewriting the French Revolution*, ed. C. Lucas (Oxford, 1991), 118.

3 Telling Tales

1. *Oeuvres de J.M.Ph. Roland, femme de l'ex-ministre de l'intérieur*, ed. L.A. Champagneux (Paris, Year VIII), II, 215.
2. It is likely that Collot d'Herbois was looking for an excuse to postpone his departure on mission to the *départements* of Oise and Aisne.

- He resigned from this mission the next day: AP, first series, LXX, 183 (2 August 1793).
3. *Opinion de M. Lamy sur l'importance de décréter la responsabilité des chefs de bureau, comme suite nécessaire de celle des ministres* (Paris, 1790); AP, first series, XI, 281. Journals denouncing administrative 'royalism' (particularly that of senior officials) include Brissot's *Patriote français*, CLXVII (22 January 1790) and Marat's *Ami du peuple*, 475 (29 May 1791). For a survey of pieces questioning administrators' political loyalties, see Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 163–169.
 4. See chapter-by-chapter lists of 'victims' in Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*. Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State* and Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, also list at regular intervals the names of 'purged' *employés*.
 5. Madame Roland tells of how her husband was 'constantly restricted' by the 'principles and practices' of the personnel he found in place during his first Ministry (March–April 1792): *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, ed. Claude Perroud (Paris, 1905), I, 69. In any case, Roland's August purge simply anticipated the arrival of a 'hit list' delivered by the Paris Commune ten days later: Auguste-Théodore Girardot, *Les ministres de la République française* (Paris, 1860), I, 90–91. See also Edith Bernardin, *Jean-Marie Roland et le ministère de l'intérieur (1792–1793)* (Paris, 1964), 207–209. Like Champagneux, many of the administrators purged in 1792 found themselves imprisoned during the Terror. Chaumont de Millière, whom Roland removed from the head of the Sixth Division on 11 August 1792, was arrested five days later and spent the next four years in and out of prison on various political charges before finally being exiled in 1798 (207n).
 6. For a practical illustration of Roland's belief that 'ministerial bureaux should operate openly' see *Lettres à M. Roland, ex-ministre de l'intérieur, par Claude Champy, député de la commune de Strasbourg* (Paris, n.d.), 3. These letters relate to Roland's investigation of a denunciation made against municipal officials in Strasbourg. The matter ended up before the Legislative Assembly in June 1792: AP, first series, XLV, 372, 499–501, 509–512, 666–667. A similar argument for the need for transparency in diplomacy was made by Roland's colleague Dumouriez before his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs in March 1792: Charles François Duperrier (Dumouriez), *Mémoire sur le ministère des affaires étrangères* (Paris, 1791). On the effect of transparency on the conduct of Revolutionary diplomacy, see Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, "'The Reign of the Charlatans is Over": The French Revolutionary Attack on Diplomatic Practice', *The Journal of Modern History*, 65, No. 4 (1993), 706–744.
 7. For Champagneux's claim to be one of the 'first victims' see *Oeuvres de J.M.Ph. Roland*, ed. Champagneux, I, lviii; II, 393.
 8. AN F/7/4638, letter, Garat to Champagneux, 2 August 1793 (another copy is in BNF Ms n.acq.fr. 6241).
 9. On the well-known struggle for power between the rival Revolutionary factions, the Girondins and Montagnards, see (among others) Albert Mathiez, *Girondin et Montagnard* (Paris, 1930); M.J. Sydenham, *The Girondins* (London, 1961); Alison Patrick, *The Men of the First French Republic: Political Alignments in the National Convention of 1792* (Baltimore, 1972); Patrice Higonnet, 'The social and cultural antecedents of Revolutionary discontinuity: Montagnards and Girondins', *English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 513–543; Gary Kates,

- The Cercle Social, the Girondins, and the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1985); Morris Slavin, *The Making of an Insurrection: Parisian Sections and the Gironde* (Cambridge, MA, 1986). Champagneux edited Madame Roland's posthumous memoirs. His son, Léon, married Eudora Roland on 13 December 1796.
10. AN F/7/4638, 'Maison d'arrêt de la force: Champagneux détenu depuis le 4 août 1793' (other copies in BNF Ms n.acq.fr. 6241, fol. 163, 175).
 11. AN F/7/4638, letter, Champagneux to the *comité de sûreté générale*, August 1793.
 12. *Gazette nationale ou le moniteur universel*, CCXVI, 302 (4 August 1793).
 13. AP, first series, XLV, 671 (29 June 1792).
 14. AP, first series, LXX, 128 (2 August 1793). The 190-point questionnaire denounced by Collet d'Herbois, 'Questions sur lesquelles les communes de la République sont priées de fournir des solutions au ministre de l'intérieur' is available in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and reproduced in Isabelle Guégan, *Inventaire des enquêtes administratives et statistiques, 1789-1815* (Paris, 1991), 81-88.
 15. In his report to the *comité de sûreté générale*, 2 August 1793, on steps to halt the transmission of the circulars, Garat continued to assume responsibility of authorship, referring to the 'series of questions I proposed to send to the municipalities': AN F/7/4394 [Pièces et lettres de l'ex-ministre de l'intérieur Garat].
 16. Bertrand Poirot-Delpech, *Papon: un crime de bureau* (Paris, 1998) 202; for the proceedings of his trial, see *Le procès de Maurice Papon*, 2 vols (Paris, 1998).
 17. AP, first series, XLVIII, 348 (18 August 1792).
 18. Marcel Dorigny, 'La propagande girondine et le livre en 1792: le bureau de l'esprit public', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 21 (1989), 203-215; Bernardin, *Jean-Marie Roland et le ministère de l'intérieur*, 403-409; Pierre Caron, *La première terreur, 1792: les missions du conseil exécutif provisoire et de la commune de Paris* (Paris, 1950).
 19. Marcel Dorigny, 'La propagande girondine et le livre en 1792', 206-207. See also Adolphe Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution française publiés sur les papiers inédits du département de la police secrète de Paris* (Leipzig, 1867), I, 138-144; II, 101-122.
 20. These papers were later donated by the Champagneux family to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: BNF MS n.acq.fr. 22422 and 22423.
 21. AN H//1/1448.
 22. BNF Ms n.acq.fr, 6241, fol. 181-196.
 23. If the search had been carried out, the Comité de sûreté générale might easily have found other papers which they could have used against Champagneux. Among the papers the Committee seized from Brissot were the minutes of a meeting between Roland and Brissot on the theft of the crown jewels, written in Champagneux's hand: AN F/7/4334 [Brissot]. Another copy, also in Champagneux's hand, can also be found in Roland's papers: BNF Ms n.acq. fr. 22423, fol. 167-168. In this case, Champagneux's role was one of transcription, but it demonstrates the real danger of attributing authorship of opinions on the basis of handwriting.
 24. *Almanach national* (1793), 131.
 25. BNF MS n.acq.fr, 6241, fol. 174: Champagneux was being disingenuous because the members of a *bureau particulier* dealt directly with the Minister, not through the Secretary General. While Letellier and Madame Roland also went to prison, Lanthénas was removed from the list of proscribed

- Girondin deputies on 31 May 1793 after Marat pleaded his 'harmlessness'. He survived the Terror as a free man.
26. For Letellier see Claude Perroud, 'Aventures d'un chef de bureau (A.-F. Le Tellier) sous la Révolution', *Révolution française*, LIII (1907), 255–268.
 27. AN F/7/4774/21, 'Table à remplir par le comité de surveillance de la Section de Brutus, 18 prairial an II'. Chevalier Saint Dizier's letter to Roland can be found in P.-J.-B. Buchez and P.-C. Roux, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1836), XXVIII, 105–107. For the politics of the Section Brutus at this time, see the denunciations reproduced in Charles Renard, *Pièces diverses sur le 48 sections de Paris* (n.d.), I.
 28. The problem of disciplining authorship during the Revolution was not limited to government offices. The collapse of the royal institutions regulating the book trade in 1789 forced the Revolutionaries to tackle the problem of individual literary property, both to stem a flood of anonymous, seditious pamphlet literature and to protect the financial integrity of publishing houses. The Constituent Assembly tackled the first problem with the incorporation of a law on libel and sedition into the Constitution of 1791, criminalizing anonymity and making authors legally responsible for their texts. In the law of 19 July 1793, the Convention went further by establishing limited property rights for authors (to recompense intellectual activity) while entering all works eventually into the 'public domain': see Carla Hesse, 'Enlightenment Epistemology and the Laws of Authorship in Revolutionary France, 1777–1793', *Representations*, 30 (1990), 109–137.
 29. AP, first series, LXX, 128 (2 August 1793). On the positive uses of denunciation, see Jacques Guilhaumou, 'Fragments of a Discourse of Denunciation (1789–1794)', in *The Terror* [The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture, IV], ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford, 1994).
 30. For the wider context of denunciation as a practice, see *Accusatory Practices: Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick and Robert Gellately (Chicago, 1996), and their special issue of *The Journal of Modern History*, 68:4 (1996) ['Practices of Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789–1989'].
 31. Colin Lucas, 'The Theory and Practice of Denunciation in the French Revolution', *The Journal of Modern History*, 68, No. 4 (1996), 781, 783. See also Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 209–233. Jacques Guilhaumou's more positive treatment also treats denunciation wholly as a 'revolutionary speech act': 'Fragments of a Discourse of Denunciation', 152.
 32. For a critique of historians accounts of the Revolution's 'obsession' with plots, Timothy Tackett, 'Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789–1792', *The American Historical Review*, 105, No. 3 (2000), 691–713; Rebecca Spang, 'Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern Is the French Revolution?' *The American Historical Review*, 108, No. 1 (2003), 119–147.
 33. *Recueil des actes du comité de salut public avec la correspondance des représentants en mission*, ed. Alphonse Aulard, 28 vols (Paris, 1889–1951).
 34. AAE Organisation et règlements du ministère, I (1547–1806) [Personnel: volumes, 3 bis], 'Observation sur le nombre des personnes employées à la Commission des relations extérieures, an III'.

35. For example, AN F/1bI/4, letters from Ginguené, Head of Public Instruction, to his *employés*, 8 Messidor V, explaining that the Minister had not been able to procure additional funds from the Convention and so was unable to re-employ dismissed *employés*.
36. AN F/1bI/6, letter, Quinette, Minister of the Interior, to Montlinot, Chief of the Second Division, Vendémiaire VIII. The number of dismissals is taken from Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 92.
37. Lucien asked his Secretary General to take responsibility for these *réclamations*: AN F/1bI/6, letter, Secretary General to the Chief of the 5th Division of the Ministry of the Interior, 12 Nivôse Year VIII.
38. The following discussion draws on Christine Mironesco, 'Individual and Collective Interests in Game Theory', in *Democracy, Consensus and Social Contract*, ed. Pierre Birnbaum, Jack Lively, and Geraint Perry (London, 1978), 324–331, as well as on some applications of 'game theory' to labour relations in a twentieth-century context, particularly Richard E. Walton and Robert B. McKersie, *A Behavioral Theory of Labor Negotiations: An Analysis of a Social Interaction System* (New York, 1965).
39. AN F/1bI/282/3 [Villemont, Jean Pierre], letter, Villemont to Champagny, undated [1805]. More of Villemont's requests to his Division Chief, Lansel, can be found in AN F/10/225.
40. AN F/1bI/10/1, 'Rapport au ministre de l'intérieur', 5 May 1809. Another report in the same carton, dated 24 March 1809, reapportions the salary of a retiree, Cahusac, between the other *employés* of the bureau of statistics.
41. AN F/1bI/11–14.
42. AN F/1bI/10/1, letter, Letellier to the Minister of the Interior, 15 Vendémiaire VIII. Letellier's eventual return to the bureaux was as ordinary clerk in the *bureau des commissaires du gouvernement* under Chaptal on 20 Brumaire VIII (9 November 1799).
43. AN F/1a/3.
44. This school, founded by the Emperor, was under the immediate surveillance of the Minister of the Interior. 450 pupils, chosen by the Emperor, were boarded at the Government's expense. In addition day-pupils, each paying 500 francs, were enrolled. The narrative that follows is largely taken from AN F/1bI/11–14, letter, Cochaud [to Lansel], 29 June 1808, and 'Propositions remises à M. le Secrétaire Général, le 7 avril 1808'. See also, AN F/12/1085, Letter, Cochaud to Lansel, 16 May 1808.
45. The visa can be seen on even the most mundane of documents Cochaud produced in this period: AN F/12/1130/a, 'Demande de quelques-unes de ces limes pour être soumises l'examen du bureau consultatif des arts et manufactures', 23 April 1808.
46. AN F/1bI/11–14, letter, Cochaud to [], 1 June 1808.
47. *Ibid.*, letter, Cochaud to [Lansel], 29 June 1808.
48. *Ibid.*, letter, Cochaud to Lansel, 17 May 1808.
49. AN F/7/14327, note, 30 August 1810. In this case, it seems like Costaz was definitely not to blame, as the report in question was delayed in the Minister's office. Arguably, the dispute did not end even in 1815, when Costaz was dismissed for 'insubordination' at the start of the Second Restoration: see Chapter 6. The Bureau of Arts and Manufactures (now run by Cochaud) took him to court for publishing material from Ministry

- bulletins in the *Moniteur* under his own name. Costaz's defence against these allegations of intellectual theft (like Champagneux's defence against allegations of his involvement in the *bureau d'esprit public*) was that the minutes for the material prepared for *Montiteur* were in his handwriting.
50. AN F/1bI/272/7 [Loiselet, Edouard Ignace Joseph], letter, Loiselet to Degérando, 3 January 1808.
 51. On Old-Regime pensions see Vida Azimi 'Les traitements des agents publics sous l'ancien régime', *Revue historique de droit française et étranger*, 67 (1989), 428–468.
 52. For pensions during the 1790s, see Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 200–202; Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 189–193.
 53. On clerks' desire for new regulations on pensions, expressed prior to the legislation, see AN F/1bI/11–14, letter, Degérando, Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior, to the Second Division Chief, 12 April 1806.
 54. AAE Personnel: Volumes reliés, XXX [Févelat (Claude-Denis)], letter, Févelat to LeBrun, 15 March 1793.
 55. AN F/1bI/3/a, memoir, Sausseret to the Minister of the Interior, Year IV.
 56. AN F/1bI/264/2 [Delétang, Edme Michel].
 57. For some of the correspondence between the Ministries' secretaries general kept by Fauchat, the secretary general of the Ministry of Interior, see AN F/1bI/7.
 58. One of these notes can be found in AN F/1bI/262/3 [Béranger, Jean Baptiste].
 59. For a description of how the personnel dossiers emerged as part of this process, see AN F/1bI/6 [1807] 'Note pour Monsieur Labiche'. These dossiers are those currently classified in the *Archives nationales* under the code references AN F/1bI/261–283. Earlier personnel documents for the 1790s are to be found collected in a single carton, AN F/1bI/11–14.
 60. Claude-Anthelme Costaz's official *état des services* is in his individual personnel file, AN F/1bI/263/4.
 61. AN F/1bI/6 [1807], 'Note pour Monsieur Labiche'.
 62. See list of donations in *Journal de l'Empire* (24 May 1815), and 'invitation' from the Minister of the Interior to all functionaries to donate, *Journal de l'Empire* (31 May 1815).
 63. AN F/1bI/10/3, letter, Secretary General of the Ministry of Interior, to Lescarène, Chief of the 5th Division, 7 June 1815, followed by *état* listing enrolments and ranks.
 64. AN F/1bI/8 [Réorganisation, 1815], order, 10 May 1815. The purge was not aimed at those who had served Louis XVIII during his emigration (who had been the subject of a general pardon on 12 March), but more specifically at those who were 'royalist' partisans. Carnot's own involvement might have contributed to the failure of this attempted political purge. Those with long memories would remember that he had urged the 'regeneration' of administration in a speech on Revolutionary government, given on 12 Germinal II (printed in the *Journal des Débats*).
 65. AN F/1bI/8 [Réorganisation, 1815]. letter, Laumont to the Minister of the Interior, 13 May 1815.
 66. *Ibid.*, letter, Arnault, Chief of the Imperial University Offices, to the Minister of the Interior, 13 May 1815,

67. *Journal de l'empire* (15 May 1815).
68. Jean Tulard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: le consulat et l'empire, 1800–1815* (Paris, 1970), 392, cites several examples.
69. Bibliothèque Thiers, Manuscrits: Fonds Masson, carton 5, letters, Jean-Denis to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 16 April 1815, 5 August 1815, 11 August 1815.
70. Jean Tulard, 'Les épurations administratives en France de 1800 à 1830', in *Les épurations administratives, XIXe et XXe siècles* (Geneva, 1977). Tulard's analysis of prefectural changes (only six prefects survived the return of Napoleon from Elba), does not go into the detail of how these purges affected less conspicuous officials (54–5). On prefects as politicians, see Nicholas Richardson, *The French Prefectoral Corps, 1814–1830* (Cambridge, 1966), 16.
71. AN F/1b1/8 [Réorganisation, 1815], memo, 21 July 1815.
72. *Journal des débats* (9 July 1815). Even those who had been dismissed for other reasons during that period benefited from this political lottery: AN F/1b1/8 [Réorganisation, 1815], notes on the reorganization by Goubault, Chief of the First Division, 16 July 1815.
73. Cited in Jean Tulard, 'Napoléon et la naissance de l'administration française', *Revue de souvenir Napoléonien*, 359 (June 1988), 9.
74. AN F/1b1/8 [Réorganisation, 1815], 'Copie d'une question adressée au ministre de l'intérieur, communiquée au S. Huard, le 26 9bre 1815', and 'Réponse à cette vile dénonciation, Paris le 26 9bre 1815'.
75. AN F/1b1/532.
76. Bibliothèque Thiers, Manuscrits: Fonds Masson, carton 5, letter, Jean-Denis to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 4 October 1815. The press coverage Barbié refers to has led historians to assume the purge occurred, for example François Furet's comment that the 'Restoration preserved the structures of the Imperial state, but used its own men' in *Revolutionary France, 1770–1880*, trans. Antonia Nevill (Oxford, 1992), 281–282. In fact, the most senior administrators of the Ministry benefitted from the return of Louis XVIII: as Barbié du Bocage explains in a letter to his son, Guillaume: 'There have been big changes in the State: MM. de Hauterive, La Besnardière and Reinhard have all been named Councillors of State. M. Fleury, Chief of the *bureau des consulats*, is named an honorary Councillor, all of which does not prevent them from keeping their positions. MM. Bourget, Chalais and Renneval have been named Masters of Requests. Poor M. Roux has not been given any new position; I am disappointed for him': Bibliothèque Thiers, Manuscrits: Fonds Masson, carton 5, letter, Jean-Denis to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 29 August 1815. Unfortunate Roux de Rochelle!
77. AN F/1b1/8 [Organisation 1815], ministerial order, 8 August 1815.
78. AN F/1b1/9/1, 'Projet d'organisation définitive de la quatrième division du ministère de l'intérieur, août 1815' and AN F/1b1/8 [Organisation, 1815], 'Quatrième division du ministère de l'intérieur: Projet d'organisation définitive, août 1815'.

4 Civil Servant, Civil Society

1. Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1999), 61.

2. Rebecca L. Spang, 'Paradigms and paranoia: How modern is the French Revolution?' *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 146–147; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1989). The history of Revolutionary political culture also draws on other Marxist writers like Benedict Anderson (for treatments of 'nation') and Walter Benjamin (for the French Revolution as the 'birth of modernity').
3. Colin Jones, 'Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change', in *Rewriting the French Revolution*, ed. Colin Lucas (Oxford, 1991), 69–118.
4. Of course, this was not always the case. The idea that the bourgeoisie were a distinct class with a singular set of economic and moral values is evident in earlier literature, for example in Charles Morazé, *Les bourgeois conquérants* (Paris, 1957).
5. Daumard, *Le bourgeoisie parisienne*, 378–390; Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 220–226.
6. Research on the bourgeoisie based on analysis of their financial means include Ernest Labrousse, 'New Paths Toward a History of the Western Bourgeoisie', trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt (New York, 1995); Daumard, *Le bourgeoisie parisienne*; Daumard et al., *Les fortunes françaises*; Chaline, *Les bourgeois de Rouen*. The sheer variety of bourgeois social and occupational groups, as well as wide regional differences, that led Theodore Zeldin, for one, to question the value of 'bourgeois' as a category of social analysis, suggesting that the term was too broad for any useful understanding of modern French society: *France, 1848–1945, I: Ambition, Love and Politics* (Oxford, 1973).
7. Sarah Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*. Maza argues that, for writers and politicians, the ambiguity surrounding who actually belonged to the bourgeoisie made the tag all the more useful. Dror Wahrman has also made the case for the emergence of the 'middle class' in the political arena, arguing that Liberals in England from the 1790s to the 1830s used the idea of a 'middle class' to distinguish their politics from 'radicalism': *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge, 1995). For the classic equation of the bourgeoisie with Orleanism, see Jean Lhomme, *La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir, 1830–1880* (Paris, 1960).
8. Daumard, *Maisons de Paris*; Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée: maisons et mentalités, XVIIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1989); Michelle Perrot, 'At Home' in *A History of Private Life, IV: From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1990); Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, CA, 1998). My study also builds on the work of the French anthropologist, Béatrix Le Wita, who argues the bourgeois individual expresses his or her identity in practice, by demonstrating mastery of gestures, objects, rituals and everyday actions: *French Bourgeois Culture*, trans. J.A. Underwood (Cambridge, 1994).
9. Studies of bourgeois consumer behaviour include Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, CA, 1996); Michael Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton, NJ, 1981); Philippe Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie, A History of Clothing in*

- the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Richard Bienvenu (Princeton, NJ, 1994); Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Culture in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, CA, 2001); Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1992).
10. Maurice Agulhon, *Le cercle dans la France bourgeoise 1810–1848* (Paris, 1977); Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1999).
 11. Of course they would not use the term ‘interest’ themselves, because – as William Reddy has argued – ‘interest’ in the period was seen as socially destructive. A man who pursued his interests inevitably cut himself off from society: Reddy, *The Invisible Code*, xi.
 12. There were, of course, many other arenas in which bourgeois masculinity manifested itself in the period, including in rhetorics of honour and the duel: Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Oxford, 1993).
 13. This aspect of administrative work is what Theodore Zeldin singles out when he classifies the ‘bureaucrat’ as a member of the bourgeoisie in *France, 1848–1945, I: Ambition, Love and Politics* (Oxford, 1973), 129.
 14. See *Bulletin de la Société d’encouragement pour l’industrie nationale* (hereafter *Bulletin de la SEIN*), I (Paris, Year XI), 26–27, for the re-elections to the different Commissions.
 15. Costaz, out of favour with the Ministry of Interior, successfully applied for his Cross of the Legion of Honour in the 1840s through the intermediary of the SEIN: AN F/12/5114; AN LH//598/48/COSTAZ.
 16. Jean Boullaine. *Histoire de l’agronomie en France*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1996), 238–239.
 17. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [Joly, Jean-Baptiste Charles], 394rv, 395r, 396rv.
 18. *Ibid.*, 394rv, 395r.
 19. The *Lycée des arts* (later renamed the *Athenée*) took care to maintain a close relationship with the Ministry of the Interior. Offering their pamphlets for distribution within the offices, they solicited the minister’s protection and support: AN F/17/1097 [dossier 12].
 20. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [Joly], 390rv–393r: E.P.A. Dergny, ‘Rapport sur les nouvelles lampes à double courant-d’air du C. Joly, lu à la séance publique du 10 germinal an X’.
 21. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [Joly], 392r.
 22. For the sorts of problems related to the use of oil lamps in offices, see Bousquet the Ministry of the Interior *lampiste*’s personnel file: AN F/1bI/262/7 [Bousquet, Jean]. Bousquet was forced to retire after the Baron Mounier complained of the weak illumination and the rancid smell of the lamps in his apartment: there were 26 lamps in Mounier’s apartment alone in December 1820. On the importance of lighting technology in the nineteenth-century city more generally, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA, 1995).
 23. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [Joly], 394r.
 24. On the social utility of science in the period see Margaret C. Jacob, *Scientific Culture and the Making of the Industrial West* (Oxford, 1997), 178–186. On

- the social utility of science in the work of the Minister of the Interior and chemist, Chaptal: Jeff Horn and Margaret C. Jacob 'Jean-Antoine Chaptal and the Cultural Roots of French Industrialisation', *Technology and Culture*, 39, No. 4 (October 1998), 681–682; For a similar treatment of Fourcroy, see Nicole et Jean Dhombres, *Naissance d'un nouveau pouvoir: sciences et savants en France, 1793–1824* (Paris, 1989), 779.
25. In Year X, the *Athenée des arts* calculated the oil usage of Joly's lamp at 33g an hour: AAE Personnel: Volumes reliés, XXXIX [July], 390r–393r. The *Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale*, investigating an improved model in 1806, found it had reduced consumption to 26g per hour: *Bulletin de la SEIN*, XXIV (June 1806), 293.
 26. Walter Benjamin describes Carcel's lamp in his *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 562, 564, 568. Benjamin chooses Carcel as his example because the clockwork mechanism, unlike Joly's conical funnels, marked a material change in the technology of light production (564). That Joly's invention won the competition points to the danger of over-dependence on theories of 'modernity' when investigating nineteenth-century European society.
 27. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [July], 392v. For the same reason, professors who lectured at the *Lycée* normally did not accept payment, being content with a mention in the society's prospectus and the recognition of their fellow members: Lucien Scheler, *Lavoisier et la Révolution française* [Le Lycée des arts] (Paris, 1956), I, 14.
 28. Jean De La Bruyère, *Les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, 5th edition (1690), XI, 85. For an example of the use of emulation in eighteenth-century societies, see Bollioud de Mermet, Louis, *Discours sur l'émulation, adressé à la Société royale des sciences et belles-lettres de Nanci* (Lyon, 1763). John Shovlin, 'Emulation in Eighteenth-Century French Economic Thought', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36, No. 2 (2003), 224–230, traces the development of the political economy of emulation from the Old Regime into the Revolution as a bulwark against (what was considered) socially disruptive individual 'interest'.
 29. Chevalier de Jaucourt, 'Emulation', in *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et métiers* (Paris, 1755), ed. Diderot and d'Alembert, V, 601–602. Rebecca Spang kindly provided both this and the La Bruyère citation above.
 30. Michael Schroder, *The Argand Burner: Its Origin and Development in France and England, 1780–1800* (Odense, 1969), 69–88.
 31. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction', in *Power and Ideology in Education*, ed. J. Karabel and A.H. Halsey (New York, 1977), 503; Bourdieu, 'Le capital social: notes provisoires', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 31 (1980), 2–3; Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 119. Elsewhere, Bourdieu has tended to treat 'social capital' as a dimension of 'cultural capital', but this study retains a distinction between the two: *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (London, 1984).
 32. Joly's invention is mentioned in a manuscript prospectus for the SEIN, delivered to the Ministry of Interior: AN F/12/502; see also 'Rapport sur les nouvelles lampes du C. Joly, fait au comité d'administration de la Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale', *Bulletin de la SEIN*, III (Brumaire XI), 29.

33. 'Extrait des séances et de la correspondance du conseil (de l'administration)', *Bulletin de la SEIN*, XXIII (June 1806), 293; 'Rapport fait au conseil d'administration par MM. de Lasteyrie, Gillet-Laumont et Mérimée, sur les nouvelles lampes de M. Joly', *ibid.*, XXVIII (October 1806).
34. These names represent only a small selection of members from each of these occupational groups: 'Première liste des souscripteurs de la Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale', *ibid.*, I, 143–148.
35. For an extended debate on the economics of fuel consumption in large-scale stoves, see *Rapports et comptes rendus du comité central d'administration des soupes économiques de Paris, pendant l'an X* (Paris, Year XI), the official bulletin of what was soon to become the *Société philanthropique*. On both Bourriat and Rumford's contributions to the society, see also (by the former Ministry of Interior Secretary General), Joseph-Marie de Gérando, *Le visiteur du pauvre* (Paris, 1837), 205.
36. *Rapports et comptes rendus*, 2 (rue du Bacq), 15 (Gros Caillou). For a list of those involved in Year IX, see 'Recette: Souscriptions et Dons', *ibid.*, 49–64.
37. 'Rapport fait par M. Bourriat, au nom du Comité des arts économiques, sur la cuisine-poêle de M. Mella', *Bulletin de la SEIN*, VII (1808), 184–186.
38. Giving money directly to the poor was forbidden by the *Société philanthropique's* statutes: *Rapports et comptes rendus*, 101. The *Société philanthropique* expanded its activities to include the establishment of mutual-insurance companies for the poor. Imposing strict regulations on how the workers could handle their finances and binding them to a systematic code of conduct, they hoped to educate the labouring classes in the virtue of budgeting and household management. The involvement of societies in the establishment of mutual-assurance companies for labourers is dealt with in detail in Carol Harrison's *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999) 123–156.
39. *Rapports et comptes rendus*, 10.
40. *Ibid.*, 12.
41. On 'cultural capital', see Bourdieu, *Distinction*; 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, 1986), esp. 243–246.
42. For wider treatments of bourgeois civil society in the period: Maurice Agulhon, *Le cercle dans la France bourgeoise 1810–1848: étude d'une mutation de sociabilité* (Paris, 1977); Charles Yriarte, *Les cercles de Paris, 1828–1864* (Paris, 1864).
43. On pre-revolutionary bourgeois milieu, see Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 17–102; Michel Vovelle and Daniel Roche, 'Bourgeois, Rentiers, and Property Owners: Elements for Defining a Social Category at the end of the Eighteenth Century', in *New Perspectives on the French Revolution*, ed. Jeffrey Kaplow (New York, 1965); Elinor G. Barber, *The Bourgeoisie in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1955). Most bourgeois in the eighteenth century would of course have preferred to be noble.
44. For a more developed treatment of how philanthropic societies distinguished the 'bourgeoisie' from the 'labouring classes' through charity and the promotion of mutual aid societies, see Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France*.
45. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, Société de Géographie* (hereafter BNF CP SG), Colis n° 26 (3748), 1–3.

46. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (hereafter *Bulletin de la SG*), I, 3–8.
47. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 4. Membership rules did not exclude women. Indeed, a motion for the inclusion of women members, proposed in February 1823 by Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, was debated and passed [*Bulletin de la SG* (Paris, 1822), I, 165]. Meetings of the society were, nonetheless, entirely male, reflecting the professions of map-making and geography, navigation and exploration. More generally, the belief that the ‘natural’ vocation of women was to raise families meant that their contribution to civil society was effectively limited to participation in charitable and philanthropic (often religious) societies. These female associations policed their own emulative order, organizing educational programmes for young women under the watchful surveillance of their central commissions. However, although these societies were public, they were not published: on the ‘silence’ of these associations compared to their male counterparts, see Catherine Duprat, ‘La Silence des femmes: associations féminines du premier XIXe siècle’, in *Femmes dans la cité, 1815–1871*, ed. Alain Corbin, Jacqueline Lalouette and Michèle Riot-Sarcey (Grâne, 1993), 79–100.
48. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 29–30.
49. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2914). *Revue encyclopédique ou analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts (1819–1835)*.
50. Alfred Fierro, *La Société de géographie, 1821–1946* (Paris, 1983), 21–22, 271 (table).
51. BNF CP SG Colis n°6 bis (2020), letter to the Minister of War, 26 June 1824; Colis n°6 bis (2022), letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 12 August 1824; Colis n°6 (2023), letter to the Minister of the Marine, 12 August 1824.
52. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921); Colis n°18 (2906), letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 6 June 1822. The secretary of the French mission to the United States, Bresson, proved of particular value as a correspondent: Colis n°18 (2916 and 2917).
53. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 81–83, 101–109. Manuscript minutes record that Langlès, the Orientalist linguist and Central Commission member, offered several comments on the spot: BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921), 20.
54. On Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage’s early career, Catherine Hofmann, ‘Un géographe sur les traces du mythe grec: Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (1760–1825)’, *Revue française d’histoire du livre*, 94/95 (1997), 135–154; Georges Tolia, ‘A l’ombre des voyageurs. L’oeuvre géographique et cartographique grecque de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (1760–1825)’, *Tetradia ergasias*, 17 (Athens, 1993), 321–423.
55. AAE Personnel: première série [Barbié du Bocage, J.-D.], letter, J.D. Barbié du Bocage to the Duc de Cadore, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2 June 1810 (while Barbié du Bocage claimed five children, I am only aware of the existence of four). Barbié du Bocage signed this letter ‘Geographer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Member of the Institute; Professor at the Imperial University, etc.’, noting the three different milieu in which he had served.
56. Bibliothèque de l’Institut, *Correspondance Barbié du Bocage* [MS.5497(II)], dossier 1, 6, letter, J.-D. Barbié du Bocage to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 27 October 1814,
57. BNF CP SG Colis n°6 bis (2013), ‘Circulaire imprimée datée de 1822, appelant à adhérer à la Société de géographie’. Subscription – even with rapid

- growth to over 300 members – could not hope to finance all the society's objectives. The society recognized that it could not fit out expeditions with only 5,000 francs in its coffers: BNF CP SG Colis n°19 (2927), letter, J-P. Du Cros to De Rossel, President of the Central Commission, 25 April 1822. Despite the society's close ties to several ministries, it only received 1,000 francs in government subvention per annum during the Restoration. After the Revolution of July, it renewed its claim to the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Public Instruction, requesting an annual subvention of 4,000 francs: BNF CP SG Colis n°6 bis (2038 and 2039). A further request was addressed to the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works at the end of 1831: BNF CP SG Colis n°7 (2088).
58. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921), 50. This claim to internationalism did not prevent a *Société de géographie* deputation from presenting the Dauphin with the first volume of their *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires* and expressing their desire to extend the glory of France: BNF CP SG Colis n°6 bis (2027). Their desire to extend France's honour – in collaboration with *savants* from across Europe and the World – was analogous to the desire of the individual member to extend his own reputation, through collaboration in the progress of geographical science.
 59. See, for example, the despatch of a *circulaire de correspondant* to Adrien Partarieux, a 'man of colour' en route to Sénégal asked to deliver letters to different people in that part of Africa: *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 71.
 60. 'Proposition sur les moyens à donner une direction méthodique aux travaux géographiques en général, et ceux de la Société de géographie en particulier, lue dans la séance du 15 février (1822) par Malte-Brun', *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 48.
 61. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921), 70.
 62. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921), 56–60.
 63. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 166.
 64. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 42, 55.
 65. BNF CP SG Colis n°19 (3039), 11.
 66. 'Observations présentées par M. le Chevalier Langlès, vice-président, sur la proposition de publier un journal (séance du 1er février 1822)', *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 46–47.
 67. BNF CP SG Colis n°19 (2963), 'Une lettre qui met en doute l'utilité de publier Marco Polo, 5 février 1823'.
 68. Sometimes, even 'honourable mentions' were criticised as overly generous: BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2921) 43.
 69. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 235–239.
 70. BNF CP SG Colis n°26 (3782), 'Rapport de la section de correspondance: ensemble des mesures adoptées par la section de correspondance pour établir les relations de la Société de géographie'. Author's italics.
 71. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 52.
 72. *Ibid.*, I, 162–3. BNF CP SG Colis n°19 (2963), 'Une lettre qui met en doute l'utilité de publier Marco Polo, 5 février 1823'.
 73. *Recueil des voyages et de mémoires, publié par la Société de géographie* [Les voyages de Marco Polo] (Paris, 1824), I, vi–vii.
 74. That promise was made in BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2917), 14, Circular of the Central Commission, 10 April 1825.

75. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2917), 2, letter, 20 April 1825. This letter, sent to several learned academies – including the Berlin Academy of Sciences and the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia – announcing the publication of the *Voyages*, is in Barbié du Bocage's handwriting.
76. BNF CP SG Colis n°18 (2917), 9, letter, Barbié du Bocage to Ch. Roux, March 1825.
77. *Bulletin de la SG*, I, 85.
78. *Ibid.*, I, 86.
79. *Ibid.*, I, 89–90. Cassini IV was still alive, but in retirement since the Revolution and not active in the Society. The discussion referred to the family and never to the individual.
80. La Renaudière, 'Eloge de M. Barbié du Bocage', *Bulletin de la SG*, VI, 252, 260.
81. Dacier, *Notice historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Barbié du Bocage* (Paris, 1826), 13.
82. *Bulletin de la SEIN*, 25 (1826), 89–91, 191–204.
83. They drew on a rhetoric of honour and virtue – and a debate on merit and service – already well-established during the Old Regime: see Jay M. Smith, *Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996); Rafe Blaufarb, *The French Army, 1750–1820: Careers, Talent, Merit* (Manchester, 2002). See also Jay Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 2006) on emulation as the 'love of honour' in commercial society.
84. Roederer to the Corps Législatif, in *Fastes de la Légion d'honneur: biographie de tous les décorés accompagnée de l'histoire législative et réglementaire de l'ordre*, ed. A. Lievyns, Jean-Maurice Verdout and Pierre Bégat, 5 vols (Paris, 1842–1847), I, 35.
85. *Ibid.*, I, 12.
86. Fréville to the Tribunal, in *ibid.*, I, 21.
87. Roederer to the Corps Législatif, in *ibid.*, I, 34. I use the term 'symbolic capital' here, because the Cross of the Legion of Honour represented a recognition of the legitimacy of multiple forms of other capital – economic, cultural and social: Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, 166, 242.
88. Napoleon Bonaparte to the Conseil d'état, in *Fastes de la Légion d'honneur*, I, 12–14; also, Girardin to the Tribunal, 44; Portalis to the Conseil d'état, 18 Floréal X, 14.
89. On the notables and the masses de granit, see Martyn Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the legacy of the French Revolution* (New York, 1994), 160–177; Louis Bergeron and Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Les masses de granit: cent mille notables du 1er Empire* (Paris, 1979); Bergeron and Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Grands notables du Premier Empire: notices de biographie sociale*, 28 vols (Paris, 1978–); Jean Tulard, *Napoléon et la noblesse d'Empire: avec la liste des membres de la noblesse impériale (1808–1815)* (Paris, 1993); Chaussinand-Nogaret, Bergeron and R. Forster, 'Les notables du "Grand Empire" en 1810', *Annales ESC*, 26, No. 5 (1971).
90. Bergeron and Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Les masses de granit*, 51.
91. The rules governing the composition of juries were established in 1808: AP, 2nd series, X, 68 (7 November 1808).

92. AN F/1bI/9/2, 'Liste des fonctionnaires et employés du ministère de l'intérieur qui ont le droit d'être désignés pour remplir les fonctions de jurés', 1824; AN F/1bI/276/4 [Poitevin de Maureillan, Jacques Théodore Hyacinthe]; AN F/1bI/280/3-281 [Turgot, Aimable Georges].
93. AAE Personnel, première série, 52 [Brule jeune]; AN LH//379/23/BRULE N; Masson, *Le Département des affaires étrangères*, 487.
94. AAE Personnel: volumes reliés, XXXIX [Joly], 408 recto.
95. AAE Personnel, première série, 154 [Guerard François-Marie]; AN LH//1374/41/GUERARD F M.
96. 'Décret du 29 floréal an X – 19 May 1802', in *Fastes de la Légion d'honneur*, I, 44.
97. Lucien Bonaparte to the Corps Législatif, in *ibid.*, I, 33.
98. 'Décret du 29 floréal an X – 19 May 1802', in *ibid.*, I, 43, fixed the number of ordinary *chevaliers* at 5,250. It limited the number of officers to 450, commanders to 300 and grand-officers to 105. Louis XVIII's 'Ordonnance concernant la Légion-d'honneur', 17 February 1815, in *ibid.*, I, 121–123, changed this regulation so the number of *chevaliers* was unlimited. The game was still 'fixed', however, in that only a specific number predetermined by the King could be appointed in any one year.
99. 'Ordonnance royale relative aux propositions à faire pour les nominations et promotions de la Légion d'honneur', 31 August 1814, in *ibid.*, I, 118. The annual intake of the Legion was divided into fortieths and distributed between the various ministries in 1815: 'Ordonnance royale qui fixe la répartition des grades de la Légion d'honneur entre les divers ministères', 17 February 1815, in *ibid.*, I, 123. The Ministry of the Interior and Religions (as it existed in 1815) was responsible for five-fortieths of the nominations, which it rewarded not only for service in administration, but also in civil society and the church.
100. 'Ordonnance royale concernant la Légion d'honneur', 17 February 1815, in *ibid.*, I, 121.

5 Surrogate Fathers, Suitable Sons

1. As reported in the *Livre rouge* in 1790, their sisters, Marie-Anne and Jeanne, received royal pensions of 750 livres each the same year. These pensions were topped up by a further 450 livres in 1785: AP, first series, XIII, 686–687. The issue of 'inbreeding' in Old-Regime administrations has been treated elsewhere by Anne Buot de l'Épine, 'Les bureaux de la guerre à la fin de l'ancien régime', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* LIV (1976), 538; Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 36–37; Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 238–240.
2. *Les constitutions de la France depuis 1789*, ed. Jacques Godechot, new edition (Paris, 1995), 121.
3. This was true, for example, for tanners of St Médard in Paris, discussed by David Garrioch in *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 74–75.
4. Vida Azimi, 'L'accès aux fonctions publiques sous l'ancien régime', *Mémoires de la société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois, et romands* 44 (1987), 190–191. See also Azimi, *Un modèle*, 100–107; Matthews, *The Royal General Farms*, 206–212.

5. 'Mariage entre le Sieur Fleurigeon et la Demoiselle Tassin, le 4 février 1781', Archives nationales minutier centrale (hereafter ANMC) ET/III/1124. A letter from Despréaux, another clerk in Pétigny de Saint-Romain's bureau, in AN F/1bI/61, also reveals that it was common practice for *employés* to receive bonuses on the occasion of their marriage.
6. Jean-Pierre Samoyault, *Les bureaux du secrétariat d'état des affaires étrangères sous Louis XV* (Paris, 1971), 212–213. Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 36, suggests that clerks in Versailles married 'within the circle of the Ministry or into that of minor domestics in the Royal Household'. Although I would agree that most clerks did not marry above their rank, my evidence points to the existence of a large number of matches made across administrations.
7. Jean Petot, *Histoire de l'administration des ponts et chaussées, 1599–1815* (Paris, 1958), 185–186.
8. Guy Thuillier, *La bureaucratie en France aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris, 1987), 24–25.
9. On the Ségur law, see David D. Bien, 'La réaction aristocratique avant 1789: L'exemple de l'armée', *Annales ESC*, 29 (1974), 23–48, 505–534, and 'The Army in the French Enlightenment: Reform, Reaction and Revolution', *Past and Present*, 85 (1979), 68–98; André Corvosier, 'Hiérarchie militaire et hiérarchie sociale à la vielle de la Révolution', *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, 30 (1970), 77–91; Jean Egret, *The French Pre-Revolution, 1787–1788*, trans. J. Bosher (Chicago, 1977), 47–53; Jay M. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), 218.
10. AN F/1bI/269 [Isnard, Joseph Paul Bathélemy (veuve)]. For three generations of the Isnard family in the Chamber of Commerce in Marseille, see Octave Teissier, *Inventaire des archives historiques de la chambre de commerce de Marseille* (Marseille, 1878), 44, 51, 56, 300, 303, 305, 316, 461, 465.
11. AN F/1bI/267/1 [Gambier, Robert Denis Timoleon], letter, Gambier de Campy to Minister of Interior de Corbière, undated [1823].
12. Desan, *The Family on Trial*. See also Jean Carbonnier, *Droit civil* (Paris, 1957); Godechot, *Les institutions de la France*, 691–696; Michelle Perrot, 'The Family Triumphant', in *A History of Private Life*, IV [From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War], ed. Michelle Perrot, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA, 1990), 99–129; Martyn Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution* (New York, 1994), 94–103.
13. AN MC ET/XLIV/899, 'Dépôt de testament de M. Gambier, 3 août 1827'; Archives de la Seine, DQ7 3817, 1006, 'Succession de Gambier, Robert Denis'. On problems of revolutionary successions caused by the divorce laws of the 1790s, and their resolution in the late 1790s and especially under the Civil Code, see Desan, *The Family on Trial*.
14. Godechot, *Les constitutions de la France depuis 1789*, 103. For the 'band of brothers' argument, see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London, 1992).
15. For a discussion of 'women's history' and its relationship to the 'history of feminism', see Karen Offen, 'The New Sexual Politics of French Revolutionary Historiography', *French Historical Studies*, 16 (1990), 909–922.
16. More has been done by historians of Britain, in particular by John Tosh in *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*

- (New Haven, 1999) and *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow, 2005). See also Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class* (Manchester, 1992); *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, John Tosh (Manchester, 2004); Mary Poovey, 'Exploring Masculinities', *Victorian Studies*, 36, No. 2 (1993); Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44, No. 2 (2005).
17. For 'classic' accounts of how modern political culture rests on the exclusion of women from public politics, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, CA, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, MA, 1996); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 1988). *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Meltzer and Leslie W. Rabine (New York, 1992) also outlines how women came to be denied the rights they helped established in the 1790s. Critiques of a strict separation of spheres have come from (among others), Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31, No. 1 (1992), 1–20; Linda Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: the Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History*, 75 (1988), 9–39. See also the forum on the public sphere in *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1992).
 18. Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 144–148.
 19. Letter, Demaille to the Director-General of Agriculture, undated, AN F/1b1/278/1 [Raulin, André Jean].
 20. Lists of these proofs are in AN F/1b1/5.
 21. AN F/1b1/6 [an VIII, division II], letter, Minister of the Interior to Moulinot, chief of the Second Division, Vendémiaire VIII. Comments made by Champagneux reveal that 'paternity' as the organizing principle behind Quinette's reorganization was common knowledge among personnel: AN F/1b1/10/1 [an VIII], letter, Champagneux to Roux-Fazillac, 11 Vendémiaire VIII.
 22. AN F/1b1/6 [Year VIII, division V], letter, secretary general of the Ministry of the Interior to the chief of the Fifth Division, 12 Nivôse VIII. The chief of the Fifth Division communicated this letter to all his *employés* the next day.
 23. AN F/1b1/10/1 [Year VIII], letter, Letellier to Roux Fazillac, chief of the First Division, 15 Vendémiaire VIII.
 24. *Ibid.*, letter, Letellier to Roux Fazillac, chief of the First Division, 15 Vendémiaire VIII, and Letellier to the Minister of the Interior, 15 Vendémiaire VIII.
 25. *Ibid.*, 'Employés réformés'.
 26. *Ibid.*, letter, Champagneux to Lucien Bonaparte, Minister of the Interior, Vendémiaire VIII.
 27. AN F/1b1/10/1 [an 8], letter, Champagneux to Roux-Fazillac, 11 Vendémiaire VIII.
 28. AN F/1b1/276/4 [Poitevin de Maureillan, Jacques Théodore Hyacinthe], letter, Théodore Poitevin to the Baron de Barante, secretary general of the Ministry of Interior, 11 September 1815. For pay levels during the 1820s, see AN F/1b1/532.

29. AN F/1bI/278/3 [Roussel, Jean Edouard] and 278/3 [Roussel jeune].
30. AN F/1bI/272/7 [Loiselet, Edouard Ignace Joseph]; AN F/1bI/278/1 [Remuzat, Etienne François David Marie].
31. AN F/1bI/267/1 [Gambier, Robert Denis Timoleon], letter to Gambier, 14 August 1823.
32. *Ibid.*, letter to Gambier, undated.
33. AN F/1bI/267/1 [Gambier, Jean Ernest], letter, Jean Ernest Gambier to Minister of the Interior, 21 October 1830.
34. AN F/1bI/266/2 [Florentin, Jean Honoré] and F/1bI/266/2 [Florentin fils].
35. Archives de l'assistance publique / hôpitaux de Paris (hereafter AAP) 136 Foss CIV, 49304, 'Nomination de Melle Florentin pour recevoir la dot de 6,000f de la fondation Telmon applicable à l'ex. 1828, Séance du 9 juillet 1828'. The money was claimed on 27 May 1829, AAP 136 Foss CVII, 51438, with special dispensation needing to be granted on account of the marriage having been transacted after 1 January 1829.
36. AN F/1bI/280/1 [Telmon, Jean], *état de services*, 6 May 1808.
37. AN MC ET/LXV/670, 'Testament olographe de M. Telmon, 20 novembre 1821'. See AAP 455 W 423 [dossier Jean Telmon] for details of the administration of this bequest.
38. Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne*, 401.
39. MC ET/CXXII/894, 'Mariage du C. d'Harchis avec la Cene Riqueur, 6 avril 1793'.
40. Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 220–226; Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne*, 378–390, esp. 389. Daumard collapses state and commercial *employés* together in her conclusion that 'very few *employés* married the daughters of *employés* (381). In fact, her figures show that state *employés* were far more likely to marry the daughters of other *employés* than they were to marry into any other group (380).
41. Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne*, 288. According to Daumard, a further 6 per cent became *fonctionnaires* (upper-level state administrators). 28.3 per cent joined the liberal professions. Also according to Daumard, 42.5 per cent of the children of *fonctionnaires* also became *fonctionnaires*. 25.5 per cent became *employés d'état*.
42. AAE Personnel, première série, XVII [Barbié du Bocage, Guillaume], letter, Jean-Denis to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 27 June 1814.
43. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MS.5497 (II), dossier 1(3), letter, Jean-Denis to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 12 October 1814. Of the contacts he arranged for Guillaume, only Doula, the school's administrator, was not a personal acquaintance.
44. The difference between a formal letter of solicitation and a personal letter is striking – in terms of length, amount of detail and in particular (due to the cost of paper and postage) size of handwriting.
45. Adèle would marry a music teacher, Aimé Lemoine, the son of a Ministry of Interior bureau chief: AN MC ET/XLIII/744, 'Mariage entre M. Lemoine et Mademoiselle Barbié du Bocage, 18 octobre 1824'. The piano was in Barbié du Bocage's house when he died in 1826: AN MC ET/XLIII/753, 'Inventaire après le décès de Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, 29 mars 1826'.
46. Bibl. de l'Inst. MS.5497 (II), dossier 1 (10), letter, J-D. to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 17 January 1815.

47. *Ibid.* Barbié du Bocage added, 'That is not to say that you should neglect M. Deval, because he is essential for you'.
48. Bibl. de l'Inst. MS.5497 (II), dossier 1 (10 and 11), letters, J-D. to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 17 January 1815 and 18 February 1815.
49. This advice was offered because Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage suspected that 'such things interested him'. Jean-Denis went so far as to counsel his son to avoid frequenting Turkish market places, where his presence among the market women might be noted by some mischief-maker out to destroy his reputation: Bibl. de l'Inst. MS.5497 (II), dossier 1 (19), letter, J-D. to Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, 24 December 1815.
50. AAE Personnel: première série, XVII [Barbié du Bocage, Guillaume], letter, J-D Barbié du Bocage to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 27 June 1814.
51. *Ibid.*, 'Etat de services'. See also 'Nécrologie: paroles prononcées sur la tombe de M. Guillaume Barbié du Bocage, à Ivry, le 23 mai 1843, par M. Roux de Rochelle', *Bulletin de la SG*, 2nd series, XIX (1843), 478–480.
52. AN F/17/20084 [Barbié du Bocage]. Alexandre's rival was no unknown: see 'Guigniault, Joseph Daniel', in *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Hoefer (Paris, 1856), XXI, 573–574. Guigniault returned to the Ecole normale in 1826 as *maître des conférences* in Greek Literature. In 1830 he was named Director of that school. He finally won the Faculty's Chair of Geography after Alexandre's death in 1835, and entered the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* in 1837.
53. There was of course no question of Alexandre's capacity (he had already taught his father's courses) or of his character (he could produce an impressive array of recommendations guaranteeing the 'purity' of his principles and his good behaviour). For a brief chronology of Alexandre's career, see Christophe Charle, *Les professeurs de la faculté des lettres de Paris: dictionnaire biographique 1809–1908* (Paris, 1985), I, 24–25.
54. 'Notice nécrologique sur Alexandre-François Barbié du Bocage', *Bulletin de la SG*, 2nd series, III (1835), 277–278.
55. 'Férussac, André-Etienne-Just-Paschal-Joseph-François d'Audebard, baron de', *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XVII, 570–571.
56. Broin had already established another surrogate son in the office in 1810. François Jourdy, 'un de mes parents', had come to Paris after his parents died: AN F/1bl/270 [Jourdy, François].
57. AAP 136 Foss CXXXI, 66434 (13 August 1834).
58. AN F/1bl/267/2 [Gellée, Charles Hippolyte], Broin to Fumeront-d'Ardeuil, directeur de l'administration départementale et communale, 28 décembre 1833.
59. *Ibid.*, letter, Broin to Edmond Blanc, secretary general of the Ministry of Interior, 2 October 1835.
60. *Ibid.*, letter, Broin to Edmond Blanc, 3 August 1836.
61. *Ibid.*, letter, Broin to Edmond Blanc, 5 December 1837. Original italics.
62. *Ibid.*, note to the secretary general, 31 January 1838.
63. *Ibid.*, letter, Gellée to Edmond Blanc, 21 March 1838, AN F/1bl/267/2.
64. *Ibid.*, 'Note à l'appui du relevé des adresses de MM les employés de la direction'.
65. *Ibid.*, note to M. Duguet, 3 May 1839.
66. AN F/1bl/262/8 [Broin, Germain], letter, Broin to Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, 6 May 1839.

67. 'Eloge historique de M. Barbié du Bocage', in *Mémoires et dissertations sur les antiquités nationales et étrangères, publiés par la Société royale des antiquaires de France* (Paris, 1826), VII, ccxxvi–ccxxvii. The tomb has not survived (that I can find), unlike those of François de Neufchâteau, Ginguené and Fourcroy.
68. AN F/1b1/264/2 [Delétang, Edme Michel], letter, Delétang to the Minister of the Interior, 14 January 1812.
69. *Ibid.*, letter, Mme Delétang to the Minister of the Interior, October 1812.
70. *Ibid.*, 'Note pour M. le secrétaire général', 8 December 1829. More details of the story come from AN F/1b1/264/2 [Delétang, Louis Emile Julien], letter from Louis Emile Julien Delétang to the Minister of the Interior, 26 January 1820.
71. AAP 136 Foss XCV, 44519, 'Nomination de Mlle Delétang, pour recevoir une dot de la fondation Telmon, applicable à l'année 1826' (7 June 1826).
72. AN F/1b1/272/3 [Mercier, Alexandre Victor]; AN MC ET/LXV/692, 'Mariage entre M. Mercier et Mlle Delétang, 2 octobre 1826'.
73. AN F/1b1/264/2 [Delétang, Edme Michel], letter, Mme Delétang to the Minister of the Interior, 6 September 1836. There is a noticeable difference between the style of this formal letter and that of her earlier solicitations.
74. It is interesting to contrast the ease with which Mme Delétang claimed her pension after the creation of *états de service*, with the trouble undertaken by Julien Nicolas Sausseret on behalf of his ex-colleague Hennebert's widow in June 1807, just prior to the implementation of the *états de service*: AN F/1b1/279/1 [Sausseret, Julien Nicolas].
75. Garrioch, *The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie*, 223–224, has shown that, while in the 1770s and 1780s wives helped their husbands in running their businesses in the Parisian parish of St Médard, the separation of home and work in the early-nineteenth century points to the increasing distance of women from their husbands' workplaces.
76. Antoine Marie de Lavalette, *Mémoires et souvenirs du Comte de Lavalette (1769–1830)*, ed. Stéphane Giocanti (Paris, 1994), 413–419.
77. For example, as a *commis d'ordre* in 1811, Julien Nicolas Sausseret lived on the rue du Carême prenan in the faubourg du Temple (this road has since been swallowed up in the expansion of the Hôpital St Louis): AN F/1b1/7. A sub-chief by 1818, he had moved to the Grande Rue Taranne, shortening his walk to the office considerably: AN F/1b1/279/1 [Sausseret, Julien Nicolas].

6 The Social Politics of Bureaucracy

1. The *Moniteur* article is reproduced in full in the *Journal de l'Empire* (15 May 1815).
2. *Journal des débats* (19 July 1815).
3. One response to political attacks on bureaucrats in this period – and their punishment in annual budgets – is [Eugène Dossion], *Le cri des employés, réponse à MM de la Bourdonnaye, Castel-Bajac, de Villèle, Cornet d'Incourt, Dufourgerais, et c.* (Paris, 1817). Dossion, a *rédacteur* in the Ministry of Interior, wrote anonymously, 'do you wish to follow the example of the Jacobins, your predecessors, who delivered one after the other to the fury

- of the populace (which is not the same as the people), nobles labelled as “aristocrats”, priests labelled as “fanatics”, magistrates and financiers as “leaches”. . . . Out of the idea of “bureaucracy” the adjective “bureaucrat” has naturally formed, [in the same way that] ignorance and bad faith, among all parties, built up hatred of those the Revolution designated as “aristocrats” and “democrats” (5–7). See also Houchard, *Les employés, les bureaux et les réformes considérés sous le rapport moral et politique* (Paris, 1819).
4. For example, Clive Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*, 290, reports how in 1815 there were 387 applications for 12 positions in a fiscal establishment in the Eure.
 5. This ‘excess’ in the period is treated by Lenore O’Boyle, ‘The Problem of An Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe, 1800–1850’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 42, No. 4 (1970), 471–495. O’Boyle, however, sees the problem as caused by an ‘overproduction’ of graduates.
 6. *Le Rôdeur français ou Les Mœurs du jour* (Paris, 1816), I, No. XVII (8 February 1815), 192.
 7. *Annales politiques, morales et littéraires*, 15 (30 December 1815).
 8. Guillaume de Berthier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 119–120, 278–281.
 9. AN F/1b1/9/1, ‘Note officielle pour insérer dans les journaux’; AN F/1b1/8 ‘Etat des sommes à payer aux employés supprimés du ministère de l’intérieur et qui ont obtenu des traitements provisoires pour le mois de novembre 1815’, and letter, Lavédrine, chef du secrétariat, to Barbier de Neuville, 30 November 1815. For the Ministry of War, see *Annales politiques, morales et littéraires* (2 March 1816).
 10. On the politics of the press in the period, see Irene Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814–1881* (Oxford, 1959); Eugène Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* (Paris, 1861); Robert Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Basingstoke, 1989).
 11. Joseph Fiévée, *Correspondance politique et administrative*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1815), I, 56, 71.
 12. *Ibid.*, I, 71.
 13. *Journal des débats* (22 September 1815).
 14. *Ibid.* (13 July 1815). Paradoxically, by supporting Fiévée, the *Journal des débats* was waging its campaign against ‘Bonaparte’s agents’ by lionizing a man who – although this fact did not emerge until much later – had been an agent for Napoleon during his period as editor of the journal from 1805–07: Joseph Fiévée, *Correspondance et relations de J. Fiévée avec Bonaparte (1802–1813)*, 3 vols (Paris, 1836); Jean Tulard, *Joseph Fiévée, conseiller secret de Napoléon* (Paris, 1985).
 15. [Ymbert], *L’art d’obtenir des places, ou la clef des ministères, ouvrage dédié aux gens sans emploi et aux sollicitateurs de toutes les classes*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1816). The book was reviewed in the *Constitutionnel* on 12, 17 April and 3 May 1816. The *Journal de Paris: politique, commercial et littéraire*, 150 (30 May 1819) also published a positive review of Ymbert after having attacked Fiévée’s account of administration on 18 January 1819.
 16. *Le Constitutionnel, journal politique et littéraire* (17 April 1816).
 17. *Ibid.* (20 April 1816).

18. Ibid. (30 April 1816).
19. Ymbert, *L'art de promener ses créanciers, ou complément de l'art de faire des dettes, par un homme comme il faut, dédié aux gens destitués, réformés; aux victimes des révolutions et des changements de ministères passés, présents et à venir* (Paris, 1824).
20. Jacques Gilbert Ymbert, *L'art du ministre: par une ex-excellence. Première partie: le ministre qui s'en va* (Paris, 1821).
21. Ymbert, *Profession de foi aux électeurs de l'Aisne* (Paris, 1834).
22. SHAT X^s 117, report, 6 May 1818.
23. SHAT X^s 118 (1823), 'Tableaux nominatifs des employés réformés du département de la guerre, jouissant d'une indemnité temporaire sur les fonds du budget de ce département (Chapitre XVII, article 4). Exécution de la loi du 1^{er} mai 1822'.
24. Jacques-Gilbert Ymbert, *Des dénonciateurs et des dénonciations* (Paris, 1816), 229–230.
25. Ibid., 20, 28, 61.
26. *Le Constitutionnel* (15 September 1816).
27. Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press*, 36–41. The use of metaphor to avoid censorship has been explored in more depth in the period of the July Monarchy, especially in relation to the newspapers of Charles Philipon: David Kerr, *Caricature and French political culture, 1830–1848* (Oxford, 2000); James B. Cuno, 'Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: the business, politics, and public of caricature in Paris, 1820–1840', Ph.D. thesis (Harvard University, 1985); Elizabeth C. Childs, 'The Body Impolitic: Press Censorship and the Caricature of Honoré Daumier', in *Making the News: Modernity and the Mass Press in Nineteenth-century France*, ed. Dean de la Motte and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (Boston, 1999); Richard Terdiman, *Discourse / Counter-Discourse: The Theory of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1985); Sandy Petrey, *In the Court of the Pear King: French culture and the rise of realism* (Ithaca, NY, 2005).
28. Collins, *The Government and the Newspaper Press* 42–48; Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse*, VIII, 383–393; Laurentie, *Souvenirs*, 63–98.
29. *Le Corsaire, journal des spectacles, de la littérature, des arts, moeurs et modes*, 335 (9 June 1824), 377 (21 July 1824).
30. *Le Drapeau blanc* (8 July 1825).
31. Ibid. (25 October and 10 November 1825).
32. On the criticism of Restoration government through cloaked political reference in the theatre itself, see Sheryl Kroen, *Politics and Theater: The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (Berkeley, CA, 2000).
33. For a similar project but with the opposite political slant, see Alexandre Duval's notice for 'La manie des grandeurs', in *Œuvres complètes d'Alexandre Duval* (Paris, 1823), VII, 345–373 (this play premiered in the *Théâtre Français* on 21 October 1817). As a royalist, Duval blamed the Revolution for stirring ambitions and located the peak of administrative intrigue during the Napoleonic Empire.
34. Ymbert, *Moeurs administratives*, 2 vols (Paris, 1825), I, 160–162. There is little true about this characterization of Napoleonic offices.
35. Ibid., I, 107–112, 182–185.
36. *Revue encyclopédique ou analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans les sciences, les arts industriels, la littérature et les beaux-arts*,

- 116 (August 1828), 483–484. On the political trajectory of the Revue's editor, Jullien, see R.R. Palmer, *From Jacobin to liberal: Marc-Antoine Jullien, 1775–1848* (Princeton, NJ, 1993).
37. *Moeurs administratives*, II, 99–103. Ymbert, *Le sous-chef ou la famille Gautier, comédie-vaudeville, en un acte, représentée pour la première fois à Paris, sur le Théâtre des Variétés, le 30 août 1825* (Paris, 1825).
 38. AN F/21/987, report, Alinan de Chapel to the Minister of the Interior, 28 December 1824.
 39. *Ibid.*, opinion, Lémontey to the Minister of the Interior, 3 January 1825. The play was also in prose, rather than verse, which the final authorization considered less dangerous: authorization, 6 January 1825. For the edited play script, see AN F/18/653.
 40. Stendhal, *Courrier anglais: London Magazine: Athenaeum*, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris, 1936), 190–192 (letter X, 16 September 1825).
 41. *La Pandore, journal des spectacles, des lettres, des arts, des moeurs et des modes*, 845 (6 September 1825).
 42. The *Corsaire* was in the middle of an extended dispute with the Théâtre des Variétés, which contributed to the negative review the play received. The *Corsaire's* campaign against the Théâtre des Variétés – and the systematic denigration of *Le sous-chef Gautier* as part of it – can be read in issues 774 (31 August 1825), 775 (1 September 1825), 780 (6 September 1825), 790 (16 et 17 September 1825), 799 (26 September 1825), 801 (28 September 1825), 804 (1 October 1825), 806 (3 October 1825), 807 (4 October 1825).
 43. Scribe, Imbert and Varner, *L'intérieur d'un bureau ou la chanson, comédie-vaudeville en un acte, représentée, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique, le 25 février 1823* (Paris, 1823). The famous actor, Bernard Léon, played Belle-Main in this production. That it continued to be a significant role in his repertoire is shown by his taking it on tour to Calais in 1825: *Le Corsaire*, 798 (25 September 1825).
 44. *Le Réveil*, 211 (27 February 1823). From the content, the play was probably a critique of the government censors' office, but this was nowhere made explicit.
 45. AN F/21/972, report on 'La matinée de bureau: Théâtre du Gymnase-dramatique', 18 January 1822. See also censors' script edits in AN F/18/643.
 46. Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers, MS 1289, François Grille, 'Notices biographiques sur quelques personnages contemporaines'.
 47. *L'Hermite de la chaussée d'Antin, ou Observations sur les moeurs et les usages parisiens au commencement du XIXe siècle*, 6th edition (Paris, 1815), I, 296.
 48. *Le Corsaire*, 195 (21 January 1824).
 49. This movement of administrators into the 'suburbs' during the Restoration is noted by Henri-Joseph Gisquet, *Mémoires de M. Gisquet, ancien préfet de police, écrits par lui-même* (Paris, 1840), IV, 315.
 50. Other 'bourgeois types' – lawyers, shopkeepers, money-lenders, journalists – were being constructed in the same period, in vaudevilles, newspapers, caricatures and in the seemingly ubiquitous *physiologies* of the 1830s. As Richard Sennett has suggested in his introduction to Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (London, 1982), 13–14, one reason for Parisians' preoccupations with visible bodily clues to class, profession, character and circumstances was the rapidity of the cultural

- and social changes occurring in the city which onlookers strained to understand. See also Nathalie Basset, 'Les physiologies au XIXe siècle et la mode', *L'Année balzacienne*, new series, 5 (1984), 157–172.
51. Gabriel et Edmon, *Le déjeuner d'employés, comédie-vaudeville, en un acte . . . représentée, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre de Vaudeville, 18 juillet 1823* (Paris, 1823); Théaulon, Francis and Artois, *Le protecteur, comédie-vaudeville en un acte . . . représentée pour la première fois sur le Théâtre des Variétés, le 24 août 1826* (Paris, 1826); Francis and Maurice, *Les employés, comédie-vaudeville en un acte . . . représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre des Nouveautés* (Paris, 1828); Carmouche and Frédéric de Courcy, *La place et le dîner, comédie-vaudeville en un acte . . . représentée pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, le 17 mai 1828* (Paris, 1828); Casimir Bonjour, *Le protecteur et le mari, comédie en cinq actes et en vers . . . représentée, pour la première fois sur le Théâtre Français, par les comédiens ordinaires du Roi, le 5 septembre 1829* (Paris, 1829).
 52. *Le déjeuner d'employés* was reviewed in *Le Corsaire*, 19 July 1823, *Le Pandore*, 21 July 1823, and *La Foudre*, 20 July 1823; *Les employés* in *La Semaine*, 24 August 1828, and *Le Moniteur parisien*, 29 August 1828; *La place et le dîner* in *Le Corsaire*, 18 May 1828, and *La Semaine*, 18 May 1828; *Le protecteur et le mari* in *La Semaine*, 6 September 1828 and *La Revue encyclopédique* XLVI (April–June 1831), 261. I located no reviews of *Le protecteur* (1826).
 53. *La Pandore* (21 July 1823).
 54. Scribe, Imbert and Varner, *L'intérieur d'un bureau ou la chanson*, 5, 7.
 55. Dumersan, Brazier and Carmouche, *Les femmes d'employés, comédie en 1 acte, mêlée en couplets, représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre du Vaudeville, le 15 mars 1832* (Paris, 1832), 3.
 56. Monnier, 'Scènes de la vie bureaucratique: intérieurs de bureaux', in *Collection des plus belles pages d'Henry Monnier*, ed. Fleuret (Paris, 1939), 225, 228–231.
 57. According to Champfleury in *Nouvelle galerie des artistes dramatiques vivants*, ed. Charles Geoffroy, I (Paris, 1855), Monnier claimed that his most famous character, the pompously naive Monsieur Prudhomme (later adapted and portrayed by Daumier in over 60 sketches between 1852 and 1870) was modelled directly on his bureau chief in the Ministry of Justice, Boniface Petit. He also claimed that the tyrannous principal clerk, M. Douremer, in the *Scènes de la vie bureaucratique* was a thinly disguised copy of his old *commis d'ordre*, Vaudremer. However, Anne-Marie Meininger's introduction to Henry Monnier, *Scènes populaires. Les bas-fonds de la société*, ed. Anne-Marie Meininger (Paris, 1984), 13, disputes both these assertions. Petit did not enter the bureau Monnier had worked in until June 1823, well after Monnier had left: AN BB/30/516/1 [Petit, Boniface]. The Monnier as reformed bureaucrat myth was also developed in E. de Mirecourt's *Henry Monnier* (Paris, 1857), 15, written while Monnier was still alive. De Mirecourt tells his readers that Monnier's job in the office was to correspond with executioners. In fact, Monnier drew up the payrolls of Councillors of State and the judiciary: Meininger, 'Balzac et Henry Monnier', *L'Année balzacienne* (1966), 220.
 58. AN F/10/203/b, letter, La Bergerie to Richelieu, 9 October 1820. The work in question was *Cours d'agriculture pratique ou L'Agronome français, par une société de savans, d'agronomes et de propriétaires fonciers* (Paris, 1819–1822).

59. AN F/10/203/b, letter, chief of Third Division to La Bergerie, 17 November 1820, and report, Fauchat, to the Minister of the Interior, 24 May 1821.
60. *Le cri des employés du gouvernement; par un chef de division* (Paris, 1828), 6, 8–10, 13.
61. AN F/1bI/282/2 [Vidal, Léon Jérôme].
62. AN F/1bI/262/7 [Boüé de Verdier, Jean Ariste], letter, Ariste Boüé to the Minister of the Interior, 14 June 1838.
63. AN F/1bI/262/8 [Brousse], esp. letters, Minister to Jacques Lefebvre, 23 February 1839; Minister to Brousse, 30 July 1839.
64. AN F/1bI/262/7 [Boüé de Verdier, Jean Ariste], letter, Vivien to the Minister of the Interior, 29 July 1838.
65. AN F/1bI/262/8 [Brousse], letter, Lefebvre to the Minister of the Interior, 21 February 1839.
66. Stendhal treated this form of political corruption in his unfinished novel, *Lucien Leuwen*, written in 1834: *Lucien Leuwen*, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris, 1988).
67. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français, depuis le 1er mai 1789 jusqu'au 1er mai 1889*, dir. Adolphe Robert, Edgar Bourloton and Gaston Cougny- Bourloton (Paris, 1889–1891), I, 286; IV, 584; V, 100.
68. *Ibid.*, I, xii; Sherman Kent, 'Electoral Lists of France's July Monarchy, 1830–1848', *French Historical Studies*, 7, No. 1 (1971), 118. On clientalism, see Sherman Kent, *Electoral Procedure Under Louis Philippe* (New Haven, 1937), 125; Robert L. Koepke, 'The Failure of Parliamentary Government in France, 1840–1848', *European Studies Review*, 9, No. 4 (October 1979), 433–545; Patrick L.-R. Higonnet and Trevor B. Higonnet, 'Class, Corruption, and Politics in the French Chamber of Deputies, 1846–1848', *French Historical Studies*, 5, No. 2 (1967), 204–224. On family networks in the Ministry of Interior in this period, see Maurizio Gribaudi, 'Le savoir des relations: liens et racines sociales d'une administration dans la France du XIXe siècle', *Le Mouvement social*, 228 (2009), 9–38.
69. *Le Constitutionnel*, 22 June 1837, 2 July 1837, 16 July 1837. See also F. Julien-Laferrière, *Les députés fonctionnaires sous la monarchie de Juillet* (Paris, 1970).
70. Pierre Birnbaum, *Les sommets de l'état: essai sur l'élite du pouvoir en France* (Paris, 1994), 28.
71. The phrase 'juste milieu' comes from Louis-Philippe's promise at the start of his reign to ally himself with politicians in the centre, away from both the excess of popular power and the abuse of royal despotism. Leading members of this 'juste-milieu' in the Assembly were immortalized by Honoré Daumier in his political *portrait-charges*: Edouard Papet, Agnès Cascio, Juliette Lévy, Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, Virginie Perdrisot, *Daumier: les célébrités du juste milieu, 1832–1835* (Paris, 2005).
72. F/1bI/280/3-281 [Trigaut de Beaumont, Pierre Eugène], letters from Decazes to the Minister of the Interior, 1 October 1834, 27 September 1839, 30 November 1850; Feuillade-Chauvin to the Minister, 16 September 1844.
73. AN F/1bI/279/2 [Sers, Elisabeth Pierre Clermont].
74. AN F/1bI/264/1 [Debionne, Barthélemy Eugène], esp. note to the Minister, [1844], and letter from Debionne's father to Paul de Ségur, *député* for Seine et Marne, 8 August 1847.
75. AN F/1bI/264/4 [Desfontaines-Gouget, Pierre Emile].

76. AN F/1b1/267/2 [Germain, Charles].
77. 'Des employés – des pensions et retraites (premier article)', *La Presse* (12 January 1837).
78. 'Centralisation de la centralisation', *La Presse* (19 December 1840). See also Emile de Girardin, *Le l'instruction publique*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1842), 430–438.
79. Jules Delbousquet, *De l'organisation des administrations centrales des divers ministères: des droits et des devoirs des employés* (Paris, 1843), 29, 40.
80. *Ibid.*, 100.
81. *Ibid.*, 87–88.
82. Both Cuvier's plan and the July Monarchy plans discussed above are also treated in Guy Thuillier, *L'E.N.A. avant l'E.N.A.* (Paris, 1983), 56–80.
83. AN F/17/4412, note to the Minister of Public Instruction, 18 June 1837.
84. AN F/17/4412, procès-verbal de la première séance de la Commission des hautes études de droit, exposé du ministre, 30 June 1838.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Georges Demartial, 'Le statut des fonctionnaires', *Revue politique et parlementaire*, 156 (June 1907), 535–538.
87. 'Des employés', *La Presse* (12 January 1837). The distinction between copy clerks as *employés* and *rédacteurs* and above as *fonctionnaires* is even more explicitly made in another article in *La Presse* entitled 'De l'organisation des bureaux administratifs' (4 April 1848). For similar reclassifications of *employés* as *petits fonctionnaires*, see Jean Delbousquet, *De l'organisation des administrations centrales*, 9; Patience, *Pétition à MM. les membres de la chambre des députés, sur la dernière organisation des ministères* (Paris, 1847), 4.
88. On the category of *hauts fonctionnaires*, see Christophe Charles, *Les hauts fonctionnaires en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1980). In the twentieth century, another category of *fonctionnaires* became important – the *moyen*: see Jean Le Bihan, 'La catégorie de fonctionnaires intermédiaires au XIXe siècle. Retour sur une enquête', *Genèses*, 73, No. 4 (2008), 4–19.
89. Alexandre-François-Auguste Vivien, *Etudes administratives* (Paris, 1845), I, 80.
90. *La Presse*, 351 (1 July 1837) and 352 (2 July 1837). The exact nature of any relationship between Girardin's plan and Balzac's 'plan Rabourdin' is unknown: Hervé Donnard, *Balzac: les réalités économiques et sociales dans la comédie humaine* (Paris, 1961), 280.
91. *La Presse*, 352 (2 July 1837).
92. *Ibid.*, 362 (12 July 1837).
93. *Ibid.*, 358 (8 July 1837).
94. *Ibid.*, 358 (8 July 1837). A 'reproduction' of the caricature of Rabourdin plucking feathers from his colleagues (their faces superimposed on turkeys) and feeding them into a stove marked 'administrative execution' appeared in *ibid.*, 364 (14 July 1837). The actual author of the caricature was Honoré Daumier.
95. Indeed, the character of the ministry artist and *mystificateur*, Bixiou, whose observations on office life Balzac used to push forward the novel's social critique, was, according to Berthall, based on Henry Monnier. He quoted Balzac as saying, 'You will see how precious he has been to me in giving to my work the physiognomy of the times. You will find him everywhere, mingled with the action, and you will hear his mocking laugh sounding

- at every moment through the anthem of passions, sentiments and dreams. My Bixiou is Henry Monnier; I have emphasized certain of his traits; I have enlarged him a little, but he is himself . . .': *L'Illustration*, 1768 (13 January 1877).
96. Anne-Marie Meininger, 'Qui est des Lupeaulx?', *L'Année balzacienne* (1961), 153–154. Balzac also drew inspiration from Henry Monnier's translation of the nuances of accent into written dialogue, his abandonment of conventional form to express the incoherence and confusion of social relationships, and his penchant for reusing characters in different storylines. Some early articles which formerly were attributed to Balzac were in fact written by Monnier: Meininger, 'Balzac et Henry Monnier', 227, 233. See Edith Melcher, *The Life and Times of Henry Monnier* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), 174–175, for a more detailed comparison.
 97. *La Presse*, 355 (5 July 1837).
 98. Honoré de Balzac, *Physiologie de l'employé*, ed. Anne-Marie Baron (Bordeaux, 1994), 17–20 (18).
 99. Honoré de Balzac, *Les employés*, ed. Anne-Marie Meininger (Paris, 1985), 95; *Les petits bourgeois*, ed. Michel Bouteron [*La comédie humaine*, VII] (Paris, 1936), 95. Charles Rabou completed Balzac's unfinished manuscript for *Les petits bourgeois* and published it in 1856–57 as *Les parvenus*. However, as Balzac left no indication of his own ideas as to its conclusion, this version does not form part of my analysis of the work.
 100. Balzac, *Les petits bourgeois*, 75, 77.
 101. *Ibid.*, 89–90.
 102. *Ibid.*, 70.
 103. Until the 1970s, Marxists dominated critical interpretations of realism. Best illustrated by Georg Lukács' *Balzac et le réalisme français*, trans. Paul Laveau (Paris, 1999), they elaborated the power of realist novelists to describe real-life 'types'. Structuralist and post-structuralist critics after 1968, however, challenged this viewpoint. Roland Barthes, in particular, pioneered the study of realism as a form of representation: 'The Reality Effect', in *French Literary Theory Today: a Reader*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov, trans. R. Carter (Cambridge, 1982), and *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York, 1974). Barthes argued that realism is both a constructed and a constructing practice. 'Types' are, in fact, stereotypes. Theoretically informed critics since Barthes have continued this investigation, looking in particular at the realists' naturalization of socially and historically constructed gender categories and conceptions of the body: Dorothy Kelly, *Fictional Genders: Role and Representation in Nineteenth-Century Narrative* (Lincoln, NE, 1989); Naomi Schor, *Breaking the Chain: Women, Theory, and French Realist Fiction* (New York, 1985); Jan Matlock, *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 1994); *Spectacles of Realism: Body, Gender, Genre*, ed. Margaret Cohen and Christopher Prendergast (Minneapolis, 1995).
 104. Balzac, *Les petits bourgeois*, 94–97.
 105. *Ibid.*, 45–46.
 106. *Ibid.*, 131.
 107. *Ibid.*, 100.
 108. *Ibid.*, 97, 137, 140, 148–149.

109. *Ibid.*, 208–213.
110. ‘Notice sur “Les petits bourgeois”’, in Douchan Z. Milatchitch, *La théâtre de Honoré de Balzac, d’après des documents nouveaux et inédits* (Geneva, 1973), 193.
111. For historians of the nineteenth century, the label ‘petit bourgeois’ has more often been associated with shopkeepers and master artisans. However, this label (applied perjoratively by writers during the period under discussion) does little to reveal the complexity of those groups’ social identities any more than it does for administrators. For instance, they were very much central to the development of industrial capitalism in Continental Europe: Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haput, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe, 1780–1914: enterprise, family and independence* (London, 1995). On the realist novel’s concentration on seemingly marginal social milieu as a device to categorize society as a whole, see D.A. Miller, ‘The Novel and the Police’, *Glyph*, 8 (1981), 128–137.
112. Maza, *The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie*, 5.
113. Research on the bourgeoisie based on analysis of their financial means include Ernest Labrousse, ‘New Paths Toward a History of the Western Bourgeoisie’, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt (New York, 1995); Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne*; Daumard *et al.*, *Les fortunes françaises*; Jean-Pierre Chaline, *Les bourgeois de Roen: une élite urbaine au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1982).

Coda and Conclusion

1. These dishes actually featured in the men’s 1876 banquet, also in the Grand Véfour, the menu for which is preserved in AN 4AS/6.
2. On the Grand Véfour as a symbol of urbanity, social status and expensive dining in mid-nineteenth-century Paris, see Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and modern gastronomic culture* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 220, 238–239. In the early 1880s, the Association moved its meetings to the newly constructed Hôtel Continental. This new venue was described by a guide to the 1889 international exhibition Paris as offering ‘princely luxury’: *Guide dans l’exposition. Paris et ses environs* (Paris, 1889), 21. The Grand Véfour, in the meantime, had lost its status as an elite eatery: it now marketed itself as a restaurant for family gatherings (25).
3. AN 4AS/1, Circular, Association des anciens élèves de l’Ecole nationale d’administration, 17 May 1860.
4. Antony Rouilliet, *Lettres sur l’Ecole d’administration* (Paris, 1876), 21–24. These students were, on average, more successful in their careers than the graduates of any of the other state *grandes écoles*: M.R. Grégoire, ‘Une tentative saint-simonienne: l’Ecole d’administration de 1848’, *Revue politique et parlementaire* (November 1948), 267.
5. See records for subscriptions to annual banquets in AN 4AS/1.
6. See Chapter 6.
7. Howard Machin and Vincent Wright, ‘Les élèves de l’Ecole nationale d’administration de 1848–1849’, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*,

- 36, No. 4 (1989), 607. The first round of exams was hastily organized, and students did not entirely know what to expect. Nevertheless, the maison Dupuy-Cessac on the rue Cassette quickly organized special preparatory courses for candidates: see the advertisement in *Tribune des employés* (8 May 1848). By the time the school started to recruit a second cohort of students in late 1848, textbooks to help potential students prepare had begun to appear: L. Gallais, *Guide des candidats à l'École administration institué près le Collège de France* (Paris, 1848); *Documents officiels sur l'École d'administration fondée par le gouvernement: ou guide de l'aspirant au titre d'élève du Collège de France* (Paris, 1848). On the School, see also George Langrod, 'L'École d'administration française, 1848–1849', in *Études variées du domaine de l'histoire de l'administration publique*, I (Milan, 1965), 487–522; Robert J. Smith, 'The students of the École d'administration, 1848–49', *History of Education*, 16, No. 4 (1987), 245–258.
8. Henri Boucher, *Souvenirs d'un parisien pendant la Seconde République* (Paris, 1808), 78–83.
 9. AN F/17/4192, dossier 1, letter, Charles Kiefer to Minister of Public Instruction, 27 March 1849.
 10. A. Bobin, *Dette d'un patriote à ses frères les travailleurs. Plan complet d'organisation et d'administration du travail et des travailleurs*, par A. Bobin, ancien socialiste, décoré de juillet; citoyen français; membre de plusieurs clubs (Paris, 1848). Bobin's day job as an *employé* is revealed in *Tribune des employés* (10 April 1848).
 11. *Recueil complet des actes du gouvernement provisoire (février, mars, avril, mai 1848): avec des notes explicatives, des tables chronologiques et une table alphabétique, analytique et raisonnée des matières*, ed. Emile Carrey (Paris, 1848), Part II, 361–379, 392–393. The report of the Ministry of Public Instruction's *Haute commission des études scientifiques et littéraires*, proposing this order and accepted by Carnot, was published (and reviewed negatively) in the *Journal des économistes*, XIX (Paris, 1848), 96–102, 120. It also appeared in Gallais, *Guide des candidats à l'École administration*, 13–24.
 12. AN F/17/4145/2, letter, De Larochechambeau to Minister of Public Instruction, 19 April 1848.
 13. This discussion precedes a reprint of Carnot's ministerial order of 12 April 1848 for the administrative journal's readership: *Tribune des employés* (17 April 1848). For an excellent survey of administrative journalism during the Revolution of 1848, see Guy Thuillier, 'Aux origines du syndicalisme des fonctionnaires: La presse administrative en 1848–49', *Revue administrative*, 22^e année, 130 (1969), 432–443; also, Thuillier, *Bureaucratie et bureaucrates*, 193–219.
 14. AN F/17/4142, dossier 1, 'Etat des fonctionnaires appartenans à des corps administratifs, ou autres, susceptible de se recruter dans le sein de l'École d'administration' [another copy in AN C//921].
 15. *Moniteur universel* (1 September 1848).
 16. Or so it was estimated by Pinard, a potential applicant to the school, in a letter to Minister of Public Instruction Carnot, 15 April 1858, AN F/17/4145/2. Despite this cost, at least some entrants viewed the school as a cost effective exemption from military service. For the exemption granted to students, see AN C//921, article 7 of Presidential *arrête*, 23 August 1848. For one

- example of how the exemption mattered to families, see letter, Vique to Minister of Public Instruction, 30 September 1849. In the aftermath of the school's closure, Vique called for the Assembly to vote to confirm his son's exemption from military service.
17. Machin and Wright, 'Les élèves de l'École nationale d'administration de 1848–1849', 610.
 18. AN C//921, 'Réflexions sommaires d'un employé sur l'institution d'une École administrative'.
 19. As a general indicator of their dissatisfaction with the July Monarchy, it is worth noting that clerks (including commercial and financial *employés*) accounted for 7.2 per cent of insurgents in the February Revolution: Mark Traugott, 'The Crowd in the French Revolution of February, 1848', *The American Historical Review*, 93, No. 3 (1988), 650. They had accounted for 5.1 per cent of insurgents in 1830: see David Pinkney, 'The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830', *The American Historical Review*, 70, No. 1 (1964), 1–17.
 20. C. François, *Organisation des fonctions civils attachés aux ministères et aux administrations de l'état. Aux employés* ([Paris], 1848), 2.
 21. On the managerial nature of Saint-Simonian socialism (which attracted many graduates of the *École polytechnique* to the cause in the 1830s and 1840s) see *Henri Saint-Simon (1760–1825): Selected Writings on Science, Industry, and Social Organization*, trans. and ed. Keith Taylor (New York, 1975); Frank Edward Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* (Cambridge, MA, 1956); Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 571–602. Bobin began his *Plan complet d'organisation* with two slogans, one from Saint-Simon ('The Golden Age, which blind tradition has placed in the past, is before us') and one of his own invention ('Without a Revolution in Administration, an Organization of Work is impossible').
 22. *Le Moniteur des postes, journal de l'association des employés des postes* (1 April 1848).
 23. *La réforme administrative*, cited in Thuillier, *Bureaucratie et bureaucrates*, 200.
 24. 'L'union fait la force', *Tribune des employés* (3 April 1848) and 'Travailleurs de la plume', *Tribune des employés* (24 April 1848).
 25. 'Liberté, égalité, fraternité', *Tribune des employés* (3 April 1848).
 26. Also meeting on the rue Saint Honoré were the *Club du triomphe* (led by Fraboulet de Chalandar, who was prosecuted after the left-wing demonstrations in June 1849), the *Club des amis fraternels* ('communist-egalitarian'), the *Club des incorruptibles* (a 'club rouge') and the *Club des hommes libres*: Alphonse Lucas, *Les clubs et les clubistes* (Paris, 1851), 22–24, 163–166, 248.
 27. As advertised on the *affiche* for the *Association fraternelle des bureaucrates* [Bibliothèque nationale de France, LB-53-640].
 28. William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge, 1980), 263.
 29. *Ibid.* The *Association fraternelle des bureaucrates* asked to be represented at the Luxembourg Commission immediately after its first meeting on 18 March 1848: *Moniteur universel* (20 March 1848). Commercial *employés* already seemed to have had their own separate association up and running at this point: according to *La Presse* (18 and 25 March 1848), they organized meetings in the *hôtel de ville* on 19 and 26 March 1848. The fate of this society is

- unknown. On workers' rhetoric and ideas of a Social Republic in 1848, see Sewell, *Work and Revolution*, 243–276.; Fortescue, *France and 1848*, 113–133; Agulhon, *The Republican Experiment*, 22–48.
30. *Tribune des employés* (3 April 1848).
 31. Lucas, *Les clubs et les clubistes*, 53.
 32. 'Une nouvelle aristocratie', *La Liberté, journal des peuples* (4 April 1848); 'Nouvelles diverses', *La Liberté* (10 April 1848). The secretary of the Association of Postal *employés* wrote on 11 April 1848 boasting that they had not let themselves be intimidated. Nevertheless the *Moniteur des postes* only survived for two issues.
 33. *Moniteur universel* (28 March 1848).
 34. 'De la bureaucratie', *Le Bon conseil républicain: journal politique, industriel, socialiste, commercial et littéraire*, 3 (27 March 1848).
 35. 'La curée des places, études du jour par Cham', *L'illustration*, X, 20 (11 March 1848).
 36. 'Club des employés (histoire pour rire), par un de leurs', *Le Corsaire* (11 April 1848).
 37. 'L'union fait la force', *La Tribune des employés* (3 April 1848).
 38. During the Third Republic, state administrators did reembrace aspects of their 1848 program, and were keen proponents of syndicalism and unionization during the 1890s and early 1900s. One historian, concentrating heavily on postal workers, has suggested that this constituted the 'proletarianization' of administration: Judith Wishnia, *The Proletarianization of the Fonctionnaires: Civil Service Workers and the Labor Movement under the Third Republic* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1990). However, another historian, Siwek-Pouydesseau, has shown that administrators' unions looked not only to pursue narrow labour interests, but also to influence twentieth-century debates on state centralization and administrative reform: Siwek-Pouydesseau, *Le syndicalisme des fonctionnaires jusqu'à la guerre froide: 1848–1948* (Lille, 1989). See also, Florence Descamps, 'L'état moderne, une contribution originale des fonctionnaires des finances à la réforme de l'état (1928–1940)', *Revue française de l'administration publique*, 120, No. 4 (2006), 667–668.
 39. The most influential text to make this interpretation was, of course, Karl Marx, *Class Struggles in France* (New York, 1964). It was a crass simplification as historians have subsequently shown: Charles Tilly and Lynn Lees, 'Le peuple de juin 1848', *Annales ESC*, 29, No. 5 (1974), 1061–1092; Tilly and Lees, 'The People of June, 1848', in Roger Price, *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic* (London, 1975), 170–209; Mark Traugott, 'Determinants of Political Orientation: Class and Organization in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 86, No. 1 (1980), 32–49.
 40. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York, 1964), 18, 122, 128–129, presented bureaucrats as existing outside of society, 'a host of officials numbering half a million . . . , this appalling parasitic body, which enmeshes the body of French society like a net and chokes all its pores' (18). They were among the winners when the coup d'état of Louis Bonaparte and his 'adventurers' made the state independent of social control. Bureaucrats did not figure as a social group at all in Louis Blanc, *Révélation historiques en réponse au livre de Lord Normanby*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1859).

41. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections: the French Revolution of 1848*, ed. J.P. Mayer and A.P. Kerr (Brunswick, NJ, 1987), 12–13, 75.
42. A partial exception to this was the creation by executive act on 6 July 1848 of a commission of *employés* in the Ministry of Interior to advise the minister on the promotion and dismissal of personnel. This commission, its members renewed annually, was made up of the secretary general, two division chiefs, two bureau chiefs, one sub-chief, one *rédacteur* and one *expéditionnaire*. It was shut down by order of Louis Bonaparte on 21 May 1850, in response to a report by Minister of the Interior Jules Baroche condemning its perversion of office hierarchies: AN F/1bI/10/9, 'Note pour Monsieur le sous-secrétaire d'état', 16 January 1850; report, Jules Baroche to the President of the Republic, Louis Bonaparte, 26 May 1850.
43. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 15.
44. Charles Tranchant, *Notice sommaire de l'école d'administration de 1848* (Nancy, 1884), 44.
45. AN 4AS/1, 'Lettre adressé à MM les membres de la Commission chargé d'examiner la proposition de M. Bourbeau sur l'École d'administration'. Also, letters to Cavaignac, 6 January 1850, and to President Louis Bonaparte, undated.
46. Draft letter to journals in AN 4AS/1. For a list of pro-Bonapartist papers (including *La Presse*, *L'Événement* and *La Liberté*), see William Fortescue, *France and 1848: The End of Monarchy* (London and New York, 2005), 152. *Le National* and *La Liberté* supported Cavaignac in the December 1848 election. However, as Maurice Agulhon notes in *The Republican Experiment, 1848–1852*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, 1993), 114, it is difficult to ascribe any fixed political position to newspapers in 1848.
47. 4AS/1, letter, Charles Tranchant to students, 27 January 1850.
48. Léon Aucoc, *Une page de l'histoire du droit administrative: M. Boulatignier* (Paris, 1895), 10. AN 4AS/1, invitation to lessons, Tranchant to students, 9 January 1850. Classes began 14 January 1850 at 7.45pm Monday and Friday at No. 12, rue Taranne). Costs would not go above 2fr a month. On his friendship with Tocqueville, see AN 4AS/5, *Revue de la cinquantaine par M. Charles Tranchant, ancien conseiller d'état, président du comité de l'association* (Paris, 1899), 11.
49. For example, AN 4AS/2 [Léon Aucoc], letter Léon Aucoc to Charles Tranchant, 27 February 1859.
50. AN 4AS/3 [Dehérain, Pierre Paul], letter, Déhérain to Tranchant, 25 July 1856.
51. AN 4AS/1, printed circular to students, September 1849.
52. Aoust's sad story was recounted by Charles Floquet in his address to the reunion of 8 March 1860 – AN 4AS/1, circular, 17 May 1860. See also 4AS/2 [Aoust], letters, Aoust to Floquet, 22 April 1857; AN 4AS/2 [Claveau], letter, Claveau to Tranchant, 12 February 1858. Aoust also borrowed money from individuals: AN 4AS/2 [Aoust], letter, Aoust to Tranchant, 9 November 1855.
53. AN 4AS/1, circular, 2 June 1912.
54. AN 4AS/2 [Boucher].
55. Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, trans. Lauretta C. Clough (Stanford, CA, 1996). See also, James S. Coleman and

- Thomas Hoffer, *Public and Private Schools: the impact of communities* (New York, 1987) on how the impact of social and economic disadvantage can be overturned by the cultural capital accrued through attendance at private Catholic schools in the USA.
56. As Christopher Charle has argued, this social elite came into its own during the Third Republic: Christophe Charle, *Les élites de la République, 1880–1900* (Paris, 1987). On the impact of the *Ecole libre des sciences politiques* (founded in 1872 and better known as *Sciences po*), see also Thomas R. Osborne, *A Grand Ecole for the Grands Corps: The Recruitment and Training of the French Administrative Elite in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1983).
 57. Charles Tranchant, *Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole nationale d'administration: revue de la cinquantaine* (Paris, 1899).

Note on Method and Sources

1. Clive Church, *Revolution and Red Tape*; Catherine Kawa, *Les ronds de cuir*; Igor Moullier, 'Le ministère de l'intérieur sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire'.
2. The only major study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs central-office personnel during the Revolution is Masson's *Le Département des affaires étrangères*.
3. As Harold Parker has noted, an administrative office is a 'living unit': Harold T. Parker, 'Two Administrative Bureaus under the Directory and Napoleon', *French Historical Studies*, 4, No. 2 (1965), 153.
4. A good quantitative analysis of *employé* instability is Serge Chassagne, 'Les bureaux centraux: le personnel et les mécanismes administratifs', in *La statistique en France à l'époque napoléonienne*, dir. Louis Bergeron (Brussels, 1981), 153–161, although his source (AN F/1bI/531, an annual register of *employés*, rather than the monthly pay sheets in AN F/1bI/6), does not account for *employés* who weathered budgetary crises by continuing to turn up to their offices, banking on the fact that they would be reintegrated once a job opened up, and sometimes even compensated in retrospect for their work. See also Kawa, *Les ronds-de-cuir*, 307–317.
5. Payroll records used were AN F/1bI/6; F/1bI/15, F/1bI/55; F/1bI/531; F/1bI/532; F/1bI/533. AAE Compatabilité: Volumes [Finances du Ministère], 18, 24, 25. Payrolls for the bureaux of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the 1840s are not available.
6. The numbers of those employed in the Ministry of Interior fluctuated during the Revolution, peaking at 345 clerks employed in the Ministry of the Interior after its reformation in Year IV. Between 1799 and 1818, there were never more than 250 *employés*: AN F/1bI/531. Less than 100 people worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at any one time: AAE Compatabilité: Volumes [Finances du Ministère], 18.
7. See the 'flatness' of the database accompanying her study at <http://www.lirmm.fr/~dony/kawa/kawa.html> [accessed 22 March 2012].

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Compatibilité. Volumes, 18, 24, 25.
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Personnel dossiers. Volumes reliés, origine–1830.

2 Archives nationales (AN)

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