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'Tout est romanesque dans la Révolution de la France.'

A study of French prose fiction of the years 1789-1794.

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in the Department of French of the  
University of Warwick.



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No part of this thesis was carried out in collaboration  
with anyone.

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ABSTRACT

A chapter on Republican fiction shows how writers used the

This thesis has three main aims: to give information about the prose fiction of the period 1789-1794, to situate these works in their historical and social background, and to compare different categories of prose fiction in an attempt to gauge their effectiveness, their qualities, and their failures.

The study points out the previous lack of worthwhile criticism, shows how some authors attempt to shake off the chains of moral servitude, and introduces the difficulties of a practical nature that beset writers during the Revolution.

The second chapter discusses writers' adherence to the moral cliché - that virtuous conduct will lead to happiness - and examines ways in which authors attempt to vary their instructive process. The third and fourth chapters trace the technical progression of this process; the third, concentrating on licentious novels, concludes that the cliché retains its force, while the fourth, itself divided into three main sections, examines pornographic works that are written, 1) because sex is a saleable product, 2) because the description of the excessive sexual appetites of important figures questions their ability to govern, and 3) because pornography represents a means of portraying both a political faith and a personal dilemma.

The fifth chapter shows how fiction incorporates real (i.e. historically verifiable) elements for the purpose of propaganda. Here the manner of the description determines the political interpretation. In contrast, the next chapter introduces allegorical and mock Oriental stories where lightly-veiled fiction comments on the revolutionary situation by drawing obvious parallels.

A chapter on Republican fiction shows how writers used the pastoral (itself a form of allegory) to popularise the principle of An II republicanism, virtue. A concluding section on Restif de la Bretonne illustrates how one author attempted each of the options open to the fiction of the period.

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PREFACE.

My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Marian Hobson, who has, by her generosity, greatly exceeded her obligations. Thanks are also due to Professor D.G. Charlton of the French Department of the University of Warwick, and to Dr. V.G. Mylne of the University of Kent, who kindly allowed me to consult her bibliography of French fiction of the years 1789-1794.

Quotations are given according to the edition referred to. Restif's particular form of spelling is kept with the use of a [*sic*] to confirm the correctness of forms that may puzzle the reader. Notes, which are placed opposite the text for facility, give brief bibliographical details as well as page references. A full description is given in the section on bibliography at the end of the thesis. A square bracket following the date of an edition in a note gives the first date of publication. Square brackets in quotations are my parentheses, as are round brackets in the main body of the text. A diagonal stroke in a quotation shows a page-cut.

The quotation given as the title of the thesis is taken from the 'Préface' to Sénac de Meilhan's L'Emigré of 1797, in Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle, ed. Etienne, Paris (Gallimard - Pléiade), 1965, Vol.2, p.1549.

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1) LE BRETON, André. Le Roman au Dix-Huitième Siècle. Paris,  
s.d. [=1898], p.395.

Chapter One.      An Introduction.

'Au moment où éclata la Révolution Française, le roman était engagé dans toutes les voies où l'a poussé le 19<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il était le seul genre en progrès, le seul genre vivant; (1)

This study has two main aims; the first is to give information about a period whose prose fiction remains largely unknown, and the second is to show why authors chose specific forms of writing. Within the broad classification of prose fiction a number of variations are possible. Our classification into categories will reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the options open to writers.

Our first chapter serves as an introduction to the background of the period. In order to situate my own position more sharply I will begin by looking at criticism of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Then, having defined in detail my own categorisation, I shall point out the paucity of criticism contemporary to the period 1789-1794 and show how novelists react, both by the rejection of innovation, and by the introduction of flippancy. The atmosphere of doubt created by a form of self-conscious awareness of the clichés in which they are dealing will allow writers to attempt new forms and more subtle methods. The conclusion to the chapter will point out the need for caution in interpreting a period beset with a number of practical difficulties.

- 2) NODIER, Charles. "De la Littérature pendant la Révolution." in Revue de Paris. Vol.V, pp. 5-23, and Vol.VI, pp. 23-35.
- 3) ALBERT, Maurice. La Littérature Française sous la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration. Paris, 1891, p.6.
- 4) The gap will of course be filled by the promised publication of the Bibliography of the French Novel, 1751-1800 by Drs. Mylne, Martin, and Frautschi.
- 5) THIBAUDET, Albert. Histoire de la Littérature Française de 1789 à nos jours. Paris, 1936, p.19.  
A similar point is made by Georges May in his Le Dilemme du Roman. Paris (P.U.F.), 1963, p.4. :

A quelques exceptions près, telles par exemple, les œuvres de Restif, de Laclos, ou de Sade, le roman, entre 1760 et 1790, ne devait s'engager que dans des voies sans issue.

Criticism of the novel of this period is in general most disparaging. While André le Breton saw the novel as the only genre of any worth at the outbreak of the Revolution (See note 1), his 19th Century predecessors were dismissive. Charles Nodier concluded that the only worthwhile element produced by the Revolution was political eloquence (2), while Maurice Albert, in a more general study, decided that, '....la littérature de cette époque est plus que médiocre.' (3) More recent critics have been similarly harsh; Daniel Mornet summed up the attitude by choosing 1780 as the closing date of his bibliography of the novel (in his edition of Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloïse). At the moment of writing there is still a gap for the years 1780-1800. (4)

This study hopes to go some way towards filling this void by describing works whose collective interest has never been discussed. In the past critics have been concerned primarily with the question of literary qualities at the expense of neglecting both the aims of the writer and the ideas that his particular form attempts to express. One typical example will situate the tendency that must be overcome if the real value of this literature is to be determined. Albert Thibaudet, writing a general literary history, notes:

Le théâtre de la Révolution abondait au moins en quantité; un millier de pièces en dix ans. On n'en peut même dire autant du roman. Entre les Liaisons Dangereuses et le début du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'interregne littéraire est complet. Il est vrai que dans le monde infra-littéraire abondent et triomphant Ducray-Duminil et Pigault-Lebrun. Et hors de France, il y aura un roman de l'émigration: le genre de l'avenir a passé la frontière, avec le meilleur de la littérature. (5)

6) The bibliography mentioned in note (4) will no doubt help us to answer this question.

Most critics would agree that the novel slept through the crisis of the Revolution and awoke to the bright lights of the Directory. Others would not deny the existence of the novel but would maintain that its value was so little as to be negligible. A number of questions need to be asked; is there any evidence to prove a statistical reduction in production? (6) Is there a whole range of 'undiscovered' writers and masterpieces waiting to be read? Did the publication of countless political pamphlets restrict the printing of the novel? Were writers engaged in the field of practical politics instead of sitting at their desks? And perhaps the most important question of all, are the dismissive critics properly equipped to deal with a period of intense literary production and political turmoil? Are the literary demands that they have made on writers unsuited to this specific historical period?

Our study would suggest that writers found ample time to write and that the critics have been looking for the wrong things. Professor Georges May's excellent study of the dilemma confronting novelists is a fine analysis of a much earlier period. That the novel was forced either to conform with or escape from the critical prejudices of the time may indeed have summed up the problem of writers early in the century. One demand was for realistic novels, so writers would expand their vision to include immoral episodes and appear more lifelike; in turn, critics would be harsh on such authors and level the criticism of immorality. The only solution would seem to have been a tame

7) See Georges May's Le Dilemme du Roman. Paris (P.U.F.), 1963.  
The dilemma is presented in the 'Introduction'.

compromise that satisfied neither faction. The dilemma itself is the expression of an insoluble problem. (7).

In this later period the debate continues but it forms only a part of the entire production. A brief survey of the categories introduced in this study will help clarify the situation. This first chapter attempts to sketch a general background against which the divisions stand out. The second chapter discusses writers' adherence to the maxim 'Do unto others as you would be done by' (See appendix) and points out the limitations of such a formula. The moral novel of this chapter is restricted by a bond of virtue: the hero must obey a code which insists that only impeccable conduct can lead to eventual happiness. Within this limitation it is seen nevertheless that some writers attempt to reverse the literary formula by showing characters whose immoral conduct leads to misery and unhappiness. 'Immoral', it appears, refers only to sexual freedom.

Indeed, the hero's virtue in the second chapter is defined by his attitude towards sex. The succeeding chapter presents a contrast: it shows how authors allow their usually young heroes a free rein and points out the consequences of this freedom. Their sexual freedom does not rule out the possibility of other forms of virtue, notably that of charity to the poor, but the extent of their liberation is always tempered. The conclusion to the novel will always redress the moral balance. Eventual happiness is gained only at the cost of a moral conversion; the hero will reject his 'immoral' past and guarantee either

fidelity within marriage or chastity without. In the event, the cliché retains its full force.

In contrast, the next chapter dismisses the cliché and reinforces elements that were implicit in both the previous chapters; characters are now allowed total sexual freedom without the negation of happiness, and sometimes without the taint of guilt. The sexual act is now described in detail, and this for three main reasons. The first motive would appear to be purely commercial - sex is a saleable commodity that guarantees financial success for the publisher. This study takes little account of this first motive, believing that the interest of these mainly short works is only their existence. However, the same kind of work assumes a political, indeed polemic significance when the characters involved are recognisable public figures. The lurid details of the Queen's private life as told by a number of these short pamphlets can have done little to further the cause of the already-tottering monarchy. The third motive is that of authors like Sade and Mercier who, while retaining elements that are political when read in a revolutionary setting, manage to use pornography for the statement of a personal dilemma and a philosophical position.

Sex is the element that delimits the first section of this study. The second section is defined mainly by its attitude towards politics. The political aspect which can be read into the maxim now becomes explicit. First of all we look at the

manner in which authors, always aware of the preceding debate which opposed moral utility with credible illusion, apparently, at least according to their critics, to their mutual exclusion, now instil into works of fiction elements that are recognizably real. Identifiable situations and events introduce fictional characters, or real characters are seen against a fictional background - in both cases in the cause of political propaganda.

We then examine an opposing technique which rejects all attempts to produce a satisfying, recognisably French illusion. Here the author prefers the traditional Oriental tale as a medium. The allegorical veil is hardly visible, proof enough that such subterfuge represents less an attempt to deceive the censor than a means of making political commentary in a manner that is guaranteed both to please and to sell commercially.

The fun of the allusion game gives way to the severity of the Republican novel and 'conte'. In works whose dedication to the régime is often unconditional there is no room for humour. The pastoral provides the most consistent setting for an ideal society. The morals of the maxim and the cliché are underlined in the cause of a Republic based on the principle of virtue.

Finally, and as a convenient conclusion, a chapter on one of the most productive literary figures of the age, Restif de la Bretonne, illustrates how this one author, aware of the disparate elements that composed the novel of this time, managed to unite them in a form that was at once both highly personal and undoubtedly popular.

8) MARECHAL, Sylvain. Analogues Modernes à l'Usage du Dauchin.  
Bruxelles, 1788, p.35.

Having explained the categorization that will be imposed on the writers we are studying, we must return to the dilemma that has consistently intrigued critics. In the period 1789-94 authors continue to use the excuse of realism, where they claim a total dedication to truth, to justify the inclusion of immoral elements in their fiction. But it should be remembered that the meaning of 'truth' is far from clear. It can mean both actual truth describing an event that has taken place, or potential truth to prescribe an ideal that is aimed for. Sylvain Maréchal, writing a series of short stories in 1788, explains the confusion by playing on the word 'histoire'. It can mean both an event that has taken place or an imaginary account. Its two meanings are contradictory. He points out the aim of his story:

Tout ceci n'est qu'un conte à l'époque où je le trace. Mais je le dis en vérité; il deviendra un jour une Histoire. Heureux ceux qui pourront renconfronter l'une à l'autre. (8)

The author's fiction describes the kind of world he would like to live in. He hopes one day that the fiction will become fact but such a transformation would remove the fictional nature of his story. In the ideal world there would be no contradiction between fact and fiction since, according to the author, his Utopia will exist in reality. In Utopia, of course, there is no need for the moral novel - prescriptive literature would cease to have any function, all writing would be descriptive.

There are very few writers who will claim that what they are writing is untrue, and equally few who will not claim some kind of moral purpose. As a consequence the sub-titles 'Histoire Morale' and 'Histoire Véritable' are practically void of meaning.

9) The question of reality in the Eighteenth Century French novel has been discussed by F.C. Green in the following articles:

"Realism in the French Novel in the first half of the Eighteenth Century." in Modern Language Notes. Vol. XXXVIII, June 1923, pp.321-329.

"The Eighteenth Century French Critic and the Contemporary Novel." in Modern Language Review. Vol. XXIII, 1928, pp.174-187.

"Further Evidence of Realism in the French Novel of the Eighteenth Century." in Modern Language Notes. Vol. XL, May 1925, pp. 257-270.

The question of reality in the English Novel has been discussed by Ian Watt in The Rise of the Novel, London (Penguin -Peregrine) 1970 , p.11.:

If the novel were realistic merely because it saw life from the seamy side, it would only be an inverted romance.

The question of the dislocation between reality and fiction is treated by Roger Mercier in his article, "Le Héros Inconstant, Roman et Réflexion Morale, 1730-1750." in Revue des Sciences Humaines. Vol. XXXVI, Fasc. 143, Juin-Sept. 1971, pp. 333-355.

Restif, as we shall see later, confuses the issue even further by claiming a moral purpose in lurid, detailed descriptions of the actions of libertines. He maintains that such an extreme represents simply a desire to shock the reader into submission - if the reader is disgusted he will not attempt to emulate the characters described. The same writer will also claim that his novels are more true than those of his literary rivals because they emphasise the lower classes. Yet all Restif has done is to alter the bias - his novels are no more or less true because he rejects the higher echelons. (9) Writers claiming realism constantly attempt to distinguish themselves from the writers of moral tales, but in doing so they betray an artistic misconception. The writer of the best kind of moral tale will attempt to be just as realistic as the so-called 'realistic' writer. Both need to convince the reader, both attempt a credible illusion, a picture of reality that could be true and that the reader will not automatically dismiss as fiction.

The persuasion of truth is far more important when the event or character involved is known to exist or to have existed in reality. It is then that the inter-weaving of two entities, the real and the fictional, are balanced to promote a particular view, a view which, in the revolutionary setting, conceals a political bias. Since the aim of the great majority of writers is to persuade the reader, our stress must necessarily be placed on the examination of the manner of persuasion. It would seem, for example, that a reader worn out by the tireless repetition of

didactic clichés is likely to feel that they undo their purpose. Perhaps then the novel where the message is not totally obvious will prove a more effective medium of persuasion. Just as writers felt compelled to guarantee the edifying nature of their works, so they felt obliged to guarantee the truth of their account. It was assumed, not always with absolute sincerity, that such guarantees in the form of an editor's warranty or an 'avant-propos' explaining the authenticity of the memoirs, letters or narrative were sufficient to convince the credulous reader. The sub-title, 'Histoire Véritable' had been so over-used that it had become a part of the novel. Its original intention had been eroded away by constant usage. The 'Histoire Véritable' had been used to heighten the contrast with the contemporary 'Histoire Morale', but the final result, the novel, is so similar that the titular distinction is now seen to be worthless. If anything, it would seem that the sub-titles were still in use because critical opinion favoured works that could easily be classified. This same opinion still held an unconcealed preference for explicitly 'moral' works whose message was quite unmistakable. This critical constriction gives rise to a number of paradoxes: works which appear trite in the extreme borrow the sub-title, 'Histoire Morale' in order to assume a significance they do not have; others sarcastically claim a 'moral' purpose in the preface that is contradicted in the narrative to the extent of appearing 'immoral'. The extreme paradox is that in which the novel borrows the sub-title and then proceeds to satirise the genre of which it is supposed to form part.

- 10) BOISSY D'ANGLAS, François-Antoine. Quelques Idées sur les Arts. Paris, 25 pluviôse An II, p.24.

Cf. also Marie-Joseph Chénier in his De la Liberté du Théâtre en France. Paris, 1818 [1789], p. xlii. :

Je serai toujours persuadé que le but de ce genre si important est de faire aimer la vertu, les lois et la liberté, de faire détester le fanatisme et la tyrannie.

- 11) CHAUSSEARD, Pierre. Essai Philosophique sur la Dignité des Arts. Paris, An VI, p.17.

- 12) The link is a common one. Cf. Mme de Staél in her De la Littérature Paris, 1820 [1800], in the Oeuvres Complètes. Vol. 4, p.495. :

Ce qui est vraiment beau, c'est ce qui rend l'homme meilleur.

The Abbé Sabatier de Castres makes a similar definition of beauty in his Mémoires et Observations Morales. Vienne, 1794, p.260. :

....le beau dans les arts, comme dans la morale, est ce qui affecte agréablement l'esprit et le sentiment; de sorte que le beau n'est, en dernier résultat, que le bon, l'utile.

He makes a similar statement on p.264. :

....la bienfaisance, la vertu, l'héroïsme composent le beau moral.

Cf. also Marmontel in the 'avant-propos' to his Fictions Morales. Paris, 1789, p.Xiii. :

....le jeune homme y verra combien il est essentiel de bien regarder au-dedans de soi, de bien consulter son sens moral, et de préférence à tout ce qui nous environne, de creuser enfin sans relâche le beau idéal, dont nous portons tous la source éternelle en nous-mêmes.

and finally the Marquis Elie de Ferrières in the first part of his novel Saint-Flour et Justine. Paris, 1791, p.43. :

La lecture des Romans me donna dès l'âge le plus tendre l'idée du beau moral.

This 'beau moral' described by Ferrières is distinguished from the real world that it imitates and can only be found in a novel describing a perfect society.

The critical demand for moral, didactic literature must be seen not only in terms of historical tradition, but also with regard to the contemporary political situation. Boissy d'Anglas, a 'Conventionnel' and close friend of Florian, in a discourse to the 'Convention' in An II, called for greater artistic education of the populace. He maintained that:

Toutes les représentations dramatiques doivent être des leçons de morale, les théâtres des écoles de vertu. (10)

Although speaking of the theatre his demands, in the context of a Republic whose explicit principle is virtue, are as political as they are moral. Pierre Chaussard, writing after the fall of Robespierre, in turn equates beauty with goodness:

L'Artiste qui se dirige vers la contemplation du beau, doit nécessairement s'élever à celle de la vertu. (11)

Here, with specific reference to painting, the critic establishes a link between artistic beauty and social utility that is given a new meaning by the specific historical context. (12)

Transposed into a novel context, Chaussard's conclusion would suggest that the writer of a tale that is obviously moral will also establish himself as the creator of beauty. Of course the idea is ridiculous since not only are there good and bad moral tales, but immoral (by the 18th Century critic's standards) tales that are good. The novel, like the theatre, cannot afford to deal in ideal abstractions. Any instructive aim that the author may have is best conveyed by concealment. The novel must offer a stark contrast to the moral treatise whose conclusions it so often repeats if it is to have an effect other than a confirmatory one. Lesay-Maraësia, in a work dating from 1784, is

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13) LELAY-MARNESIA, C.F.A. Plan de Lecture pour une Jeune Dame.  
Paris, 1800 [1784], p.10.

See Chapter Two, pp. 27-28 for a discussion on the differences  
between the novel and the treatise.

14) MILLEVOYE, Ch. Satire des Romans du Jour. Paris, An XI,  
p. 14.

Cf. also Brissot's criticism quoted in Chapter Two,  
Note (54).

sceptical of the value of moral works but admits that exceptions are possible:

Les ouvrages de morale bien faits sont peu nombreux. A peine en trouve-t-on dix ou onze dont la lecture soit vraiment utile. Les autres, médiocres ou mauvais, sans rien apprendre, donneroient seulement beaucoup d'ennui. Pour que la morale charme et touche, il faut qu'elle soit en action; c'est ainsi qu'on la trouve dans quelques Romans parfaits. (13)

The moral, which should after all be directed at the reader who most needs it, must be seen to work by example in action. The novel, in an imitation of reality, must convince the reader both that the events described actually happened, and that the particular moral that is conveyed in this presentation of reality has a relevance beyond the limits of fiction. In 18th Century terms, the writer must appeal to the reader's sympathy, his sensibility; he must create a form of identification with the hero of the novel that the reader not only accepts willingly, but that he does not even think about. Of course such an ideal is seldom attained, but at the same time it is seldom encouraged. Critics demand novels whose moral is unequivocal, fearing that readers are incapable of interpretation. Millevoye, writing his Satire des Romans du Jour in 1802, asks the indicative question:

Quelle est la jeune personne qui, après avoir dévoré les lettres brûlantes des deux amans, ne soit prête à imiter Julie dans ses faiblesses et non dans ses vertus? La Nouvelle Héloïse est un livre d'autant plus dangereux qu'il paraît l'être moins. (14)

Certainly a case could be made for the corrupting influence of Rousseau's novel, but the critic's demands are essentially restrictive. The same danger is foreseen by Dampmartin, again in a work dealing specifically with the novel. He maintains that

15) DAMPMARTIN, Vicomte Anne-Henri. Des Romans. Paris, An X,  
p.70.

the novel is a potentially corruptive influence:

Le Romancier doit se regarder comme exerçant un ministère public, dont il s'est volontairement chargé; qu'il ne perde jamais de vue que les passions de ses personnages excitent celles de ses lecteurs. Une maxime licencieuse, une image indécente et même un seul trait hasardé sont capables d'égarer des milliers de jeunes gens. (15)

It is hard to believe that such a fear of the novel could exist, but there is no doubt about the sincerity of the critic. His insistence on the need for total purity is absolute. Only one form of literature will find favour with the critic, the sterile moral tale where all the characters are walking embodiments of virtue, and where no dubious image mars the perfect universe. Critical belief suggests that an 'immoral' work will find immediate converts in society in the same way that a 'moral' tale will have an undoubted beneficial effect. Ideally, a circular movement of influence is set up where reality provides the essence of fiction and where fiction in turn modifies the reality that was its initial inspiration. This at least is the ideal conception. In fact the practical efficacy of moral fiction must be doubted; there is no reason to believe that a moral novel would be read by the person who could most benefit from its instruction, although there is a strong likelihood that it would not be. It is hard to visualise a libertine with the patience (or time) to read the worst of the moral tales, but it is easy to imagine a moral tale preaching to the converted. If this is the case the moral novel is purely confirmatory and as such is totally sterile.

Marmontel, both critic and novelist, professes a similarly limited conception of the novel. Nowhere, for example, does he suggest that the reader might simply be reading for pleasure.

16) MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Essai sur les Romans. Paris, 1818  
[1787], Oeuvres Complètes, Vol.10, p.287.

17) DORAT, Claude. Contes et Nouvelles. Paris, 1882 [1765],  
p.15.

Cf. also Chapter Five, Notes (4) and (5).

He writes:

Le plus digne objet de la littérature, le seul même qui l'ennoblisse et qui l'honore, c'est son utilité morale. (16)

As we shall see, Marmontel is less severe than his theory would suggest; the majority of his moral tales are free from that preaching tone favoured by critics but scorned by the more enlightened writers. The division of fiction that is created by the supposed realistic/moral dilemma presupposes a line that is far too easily drawn. In fact the categories are often confused. When moral maxims can be described as 'vérités', a novel that would seem to belong to the 'histoire morale' category can very easily be described as an 'histoire véritable.' Dorat, discussing the 'conte philosophique' as early as 1765, uses this meaning of 'vérité'. He is not referring to the question of actual truth, but only to philosophical truth when he says:

Ce genre surtout ne doit pas être négligé; il est conforme à nos moeurs, à notre goût, à notre caractère; la morale y disparaît sous le voile de l'enjouement; voilà ce qu'il nous faut; nous aimons la vérité, pourvu qu'on nous la dise en riant; et ce n'est qu'en nous amusant qu'on peut nous rendre meilleurs. (17)

Dorat does not enter the moral/realistic debate since he is aware of the fact that the moral of a work is far more likely to have an educative effect if the didactic element is not too obvious.

The meaning of 'truth' in the novel is further confused by the 18th Century desire to define the genre for easy categorization. It is not easy for us to sympathise with the long debate which attempted to distinguish the novel from the history it was trying to mimic. (See the beginning of Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of the problem). The distinction is meaningless, and

18) RIVAROL, Antoine. Maximes et Pensées, 1753-1801. Paris  
(Editions André Silvaire) 1960, p.35.

19) CASANOVA DE SEINGALT, Jacques. Jcosameron. Paris, 1928  
[1788], Vol.1, p.iM.

not in the least clarified by the loose usage of the word 'vérité'. If 'vérité' can mean both actual truth and ideal truth, that is, what would be true in an ideal world, there is no apparent difference between the two poles of the moral/real dilemma. History, an account of events that did take place, cannot be distinguished from the novel that makes the same claim of truth yet whose essence is fictional. Indeed, the novel will constantly try to pass as truth, as history, especially when it is believed that any moral aim harboured by the writer will achieve a greater effect if the characters chosen to exemplify the moral are real - that is, they either do, or did exist. Rivarol remarks on the confusion of the two genres where mutual borrowing is commonplace, and where methods used would appear to contradict the normally accepted definitions:

L'historien et le romancier font entre eux un échange de vérités, de fictions et de couleurs, l'un pour vivifier ce qui n'est plus, l'autre pour faire croire ce qui n'est pas.  
(18)

As a result, the methods of both genres are identical; if the critic really wants to distinguish them he must look for evidence outside the works involved for impartial corroboration. Yet even here there is a danger that he will be duped. Casanova de Seingalt, albeit with tongue in cheek, writes:

Personne au monde n'est en état de décider si cet ouvrage est une histoire ou un roman, pas même celui qui l'auroit inventé, car il n'est pas impossible, qu'une plume judicieuse écrive un fait vrai dans le même temps qu'elle croit l'inventer, tout comme elle peut en écrire un faux étant persuadée de ne dire que la vérité. (19)

We must conclude that the long history/novel debate that had preceded our period is not satisfactorily answered by the authors examined in this study. Indeed, the debate itself is unproductive, meaningless and negative. Fortunately it will be seen that a number of writers confess a similar disenchantment with the discussion and mock the apparent seriousness of writers intent on giving their works a sub-title that does not stand up to a critical examination.

In many ways the distinction that has been made between critic and novelist is a false one that does not take into account the versatility of many 18th Century writers. We have no proof that authors do any more than pay lip-service to critics whose normal function is simply to describe the tone of the novel being reviewed and to give a brief analysis of the plot. Critics normally serve to announce new works rather than to give a detailed appraisal. For this reason we cannot talk of a reaction to critics by incensed novelists - the two work concurrently in the manner best illustrated by Marmontel himself. He makes critical noises but seems deaf to these noises himself. In the same way, Fournier de Tony, discussing the incredibly popular Télémaque in an article that precedes his own novel, defines his conception of prose-fiction but then fails to conform to the standards he himself suggests. He maintains the extreme view that only a prefatory warning will allow the reader to distinguish the novel and its fictional elements from real life. We read:

20) FOURNIER DE TONY. Les Nymphes de Dyctyme. Paris, 1790,  
p.v/vi.

21) Anon. Le Portefeuille du Bon Homme. Londres, 1791, p.60.

22) SQUZA, Mme de. Adèle de Sénange in Oeuvres Paris, 1840  
[1793], 'Avant-Propos', p.1.

A similar statement of intent is made by Henri Decremps in a work that borrows the fictional form for a strange method of scientific instruction. The 'Avertissement' denies the utility of incredible events. Les Petites Aventures de Jérôme Sharp. Bruxelles et Paris, 1789, p.12/13.:

Les faits merveilleux et les aventures romanesques peuvent intéresser pour un instant le vulgaire, et produire l'étonnement dans l'esprit d'un lecteur qui a la bonté de les croire; mais de quel usage ces événements controuvés peuvent-ils être dans la vie ordinaire puisqu'il ne s'en présente jamais de pareils?

Par Roman, on entend le récit d'une aventure dont la scène se passe dans le monde, et qui a tellement l'apparence/ de la réalité qu'on la croirait véritable, si on n'avertissait le lecteur par l'intitulé, que c'est une fiction composée pour le plaisir et l'instruction. (20)

His definition makes no allowance for the allegory that he himself writes and that no reader could possibly confuse with reality.

The story of a love-affair in a fairy-tale world inhabited by virginal nymphs visibly fails to conform to his definition of a novel, and does not even possess the saving grace of satire. We are left with the common confusion explained by, among many others, the anonymous author of Le Portefeuille du Bon Homme:

.....la meilleure histoire contient peut-être plus de mensonges que de vérités, et quelquefois un mauvais roman contient plus de vérités que de mensonges. (21)

There is no way of knowing whether 'vérités' here means true events that have taken place, or moral maxims that are meant to act as guides to behaviour in society.

When the novel is forced into a position where it has to offer guarantees of veracity it is, at the same time, likely to favour the relation of events that are everyday and banal. Normally, of course, it is not the events in themselves that determine the quality of a novel but the manner of their description. As it is, Mme de Souza, in her novel Adèle de Sénange, has found the perfect excuse for banality. She explains in the 'Avant-Propos':

Cet ouvrage n'a point pour objet de peindre des caractères extraordinaires: mon ambition ne s'est pas élevée jusqu'à prétendre étonner par des situations nouvelles. J'ai voulu seulement montrer dans la vie, ce qu'on n'y regarde pas, et décrire ces mouvements ordinaires du cœur qui composent l'histoire de chaque jour. (22)

23) DOPPET, F.A. Vitznried, Paris, 1789, 'Préface', p.viii/ix.  
This 'préface' supposedly written by the 'éditeur', seems  
more likely to have been written by the author himself.

24) Ibid. p.94.

In fact the novelist's selection of situations is no different from that of many of her contemporaries; love is the central theme complicated by the required amount of obstacles, a gentle dose of English characters and English countryside, and a happy ending with the marriage of the two lovers. The author's admission of the ordinary nature of her work does not in any way distinguish her from so many other similar writers. This straightforward explanation of everyday events can also be used as a form of guarantee. Doppel, in his novel (for it does appear to be a novel) Vitzenried, can maintain that the account he gives is true simply because it will not strike the reader as untrue. Once again, the very banality of the events described is supposed to be proof enough of their veracity. A novel, the 'éditeur' explains in his 'Préface', would not be so trivial:

Pour peu qu'on réfléchisse, il est aisé/ de convenir que je n'ai aucune raison pour imposer au Public. Si j'eusse désiré faire un roman, je ne m'en serais pas tenu à des récits si simples et des faits si ordinaires; j'aurais écrit en romancier, ainsi que je l'ai fait dans d'autres ouvrages..(23)

Yet the import of the statement is contradicted later in the novel by the supposedly different first person narrator. The contradiction, ironic in as much as the 'Mémoires' have been printed, reads:

Quelle rapidité dans les événemens! Ma vie fut toujours si romanesque, que j'ai souvent été tenté de faire imprimer mes mémoires; je ne l'ai point fait, parce qu'on n'y ajouterait aucune foi. (24)

The naïveté of the contradiction encourages the belief that it is done on purpose. Normally, an admission by the narrator of the unlikelihood of the events described is intended to increase the

- 25) DAUBENTON, Mme M. de. Élie dans le Désert. Paris, 1787  
[1786], Vol.2, p.309/310.

César de Perlencour, writing to his friend in R-M. Lessuire's Le Crime. Bruxelles et Paris, 1789, also uses the accepted idea of the novel to deny the fictional nature of his own account. He writes, Vol.2, p.139. :

Tu vas me dire que je te donne un Roman; mais c'est la vérité toute pure; et ce n'est pas ma faute si les événemens, par une bizarrerie sans exemple, se sont précipités et entassés l'un dessus l'autre, avec une rapidité romanesque en apparence.

- 26) Anon. L'Esprit Dupe du Coeur, s.l. 1790, 'Avis au Lecteur'.

- 27) Ibid. Vol.1, p.14.

We read:

Je n'ai que seize ans. Si cela vous choque, cher lecteur, jettez [sic] le livre au feu.

reader's willingness to believe.

A situation now exists where writers can play on the accepted idea of the novel to show how their apparently true production is different. For example, Mme Daubenton, in the popular Zélie dans le désert, a variation on the Robinson Crusoe theme, writes:

Si nous avions écrit un Roman, l'histoire de mon amie et la mienne finiroient à l'époque de notre mariage. Mais comme/ ce n'est pas une fiction, je vais en donner la suite par le récit de mon retour en France avec ma famille. (25)

In most novels the conclusion follows the removal of the obstacles that have hindered true love - the story ends with the marriage. In this case, an awareness of the cliché is used to act as a guarantee of veracity.

It is this very awareness of what constitutes the normal novel that provides the most interesting theoretical exercises. The reader will willingly join in the game of deceit when he realises that the author respects his intelligence and does not hope to fool him by blind assertions of truth. The anonymous L'Esprit Dupe du Coeur, by its title, seems to hint at what novelists claim is the normal 18th Century reading process where the rational mind rejects the straightforward statement but is willing to be deceived by emotions that identify the reader with the novel hero. Adopting a flippant attitude, the author begins by an act of deliberate deflation:

Il n'y a point, selon moi, de plus pitoyable vanité que celle d'un auteur qui prétend dire/des choses neuves.....Tout a été dit....(26),

and he continues the comic tone by admitting his age to be sixteen with a note that if the reader is shocked by such a confession he is under no obligation to continue. (27) The novel, (or true-story, the sub-title, 'Histoire Véritable' is retained) shows an

28) Anon. L'Esprit Dupe du Coeur. Vol.2, p.18/19.

episodic picture of the hero and describes his reactions to different situations. We learn of his support for the Revolution, his encounter with a prostitute, his atheism, and his love-affairs in a foreign country. The exposition of intimate details in turn leads to an intimate writer-reader relationship, and eventually to a detailed discussion of literary forms that at once overthrows the normally accepted definitions:

Moi je dis de même, quant à la forme de mon ouvrage: considéré comme une production littéraire, je ne sais non plus comment le définir. Il y a trop peu de vraisemblance pour un roman, et trop de vérité pour une histoire. Les historiens taient les faiblesses de leurs héros, ou déguisent celles qui sont trop connues pour qu'ils puissent les passer sous silence. Moi qui ne fais ni l'un ni l'autre, je ne suis assurément pas historien, du moins pas tel qu'on l'est à l'ordinaire. Pour un écrit romanesque l'esprit de l'auteur est trop souvent en / contradiction avec lui-même, pour que les faits qu'il raconte, ne doivent parfois quelquefois de la dernière improbabilité. Prenez donc, lecteur, mon ouvrage pour ce qu'il vous plaira! c'est, à dire vrai, ce dont je me soucie le moins. (28)

The author says that he is not able to define the form of his work, but the tone of the denial is undoubtedly ironic. The suggestion that this narrative is too true to qualify as history is of course comic in that it turns the normally accepted definition of history upside down. In the same way, and by a similar reversal method, the idea that his production contains too many internal contradictions to qualify as a novel is equally comic - the idea pretends that the normal novel is a sustained argument to promote a particular point of view rather than a haphazard account of experience. Having mocked the ultra-serious writers who attempt to define the limitations and qualities of their works, the author then throws away his own opportunity to emulate them and leaves the reader to decide. In fact, he concludes, the matter is of little importance anyway!

29) Sterne in Tristram Shandy, and Diderot in Jacques le Fataliste, had both used similar methods of self-commentary.

30) GAUTIER, Abbé J-J. Jean le Noir ou le Misanthrope.  
Paris, 1789, 'Avis au Lecteur'.

31) Ibid. p.15.

In the same way, the author mocks the normal content of the novel and the constant theme of love and its obstacles. We read, p.45. :

C'est une perte réelle pour mon livre que mon héros n'ait point été sensible; l'amour doit nécessairement entrer dans tous les Romans.....mais puisque mon héros n'a point aimé, je n'en ferai point un amoureux pour amuser mon Lecteur.

By this form of self-commentary the author is able to adopt the tone of so many would-be theorists and laugh at their conclusions. The technique itself is not new, but it does provide welcome refreshment. (29) The reaction to the majority view confirms the thesis that writers seldom duped their readers by constant guarantees of authenticity. While the writers of the most unlikely stories affirm the truth of the events they describe by acknowledging and even underlining their incredible nature, some, admittedly a very small minority, mock the constant preoccupation. Gautier admits in the '*avant propos*' to his Jean le Noir, ou le Misanthrope:

Il est donc plus que probable que ces Mémoires ne sont que des fictions; ce qui ne m'empêche point de les publier, parce qu'il y a bien d'autres histoires qui ne sont que des fictions, et que les fictions ne laissent pas de renfermer souvent une très bonne morale. (30)

The dismissal of the claim notes that the morality of fiction, a message that the author may wish to impart to his reader, does not necessarily depend on the absolute veracity of the account. The subsequent tone of the novel is cynical and satirical - the author mocks the miraculous pedigree of so many novel heroes by commenting on his own character's very ordinary upbringing:

Il ne fut pas non plus allaité miraculeusement par une biche, ni par une louve officieuse. Sa grand-mère le nourrit, dit-on, tout simplement de lait de vache et de soupe mitonnée, sans avoir consulté la Médecine. (31)

Here the author attempts to deflate the unreal world of fantasy and imagination that is expected in a fairy story but does not belong in a novel that a writer will claim to be true. By constant emphasis of the banal he makes no concessions to contemporary expectations, and implies that the reader should revalue his opinion of fiction.

32) See, for example, note (25) of Chapter Six where an accumulation of guarantees weakens the illusionary edifice. Cf. also the parodies written by Nogaret in note (63) and Gorjy in note (67) of Chapter Six.

33) Anon. Lucinde, ou les Amans Traversés. Londres et Paris, 1788, 'Préface'.

We should also note the sub-title to François Marchant's Le Roman sans Titre. Paris, 1788. :

Histoire véritable, ou peu s'en faut, par un philosophe du Palais-Royal.

The 'peu s'en faut' has the same force as the 'presque' of Lucinde. Marchant's novel is discussed on pp. 37-38 of Chapter Two.

In similar fashion, Nerciat gave the sub-title, 'Histoire à-peu-près véritable d'une citoyenne active...' to his Julie Philosophe, s.l. 1791. This novel is discussed at length in Chapter Four, pp. 119-122.

The most biting criticism will always be tinged with humour; a comic admission of the novel's invention and a subsequent rejection of the 'véritable' tag is matched by a comparable technique which exaggerated to the point of absurdity the serious attempts of previous writers, and indeed of many contemporaries, to offer guarantees of truth. The clichés of letters found in a wallet and published for the benefit of mankind, and the third person guarantees of a narrator who tells the story of a dear (and often departed) friend may once have persuaded the novel reader of the veracity of the work in hand. But by now the regular novel reader has seen the methods so often that he cannot really be expected to believe wholeheartedly. Thankfully, some writers are aware of the cliché and introduce a variation of it as a form of parody. (32) For example, the anonymous writer of Lucinde, ou les Amans Traversés gives his novel the tag, 'Histoire presque Véritable', and a 'Préface' whose aim is obviously to mock since it consists only of blank lines and the enigmatic, if slightly curious, (in that one would have expected 'plus' rather than 'moins') :

Rien de moins ennuyant, ainsi devroit-on les faire toutes.(33)  
The 'presque' of the tag renders the guarantee quite meaningless since the reader has no means of finding out which parts, if any, are true and which are not.

So far in this chapter we have attempted to sketch and describe the critical background to our specific period of study. An analysis of the general trends, both recent, and contemporary to the years 1789-1794, led to the conclusion that the dilemma as stated by Georges May was not a satisfactory model for this period. It was suggested that there was very little exchange of ideas

between the critical and creative poles, and indeed that the two poles were often united in the same person, the 18th Century 'homme de lettres'. The long debate on definition where the novel was to be distinguished from history was seen both to be unimportant and singularly unproductive. The debate itself is linked to the preoccupation with moral literature by confusion over the meaning of 'vérité'. There is a need for an extensive study of the use of literary sub-titles and of their reception by readers, and for a study that would compare the different forms of introduction with the novel that follows. It seems reasonable, given the fact that there are a number of parodies, that very few readers would be totally convinced by the clichéd guarantees; but the point remains to be proved and is barely within the scope of this study. Here the intention is quite simply to describe the background situation by pointing out the critical attacks and the writers' aims. The choice of a period of social turmoil determines the basis and the bias of this thesis: there is at once a need to examine the social importance of the novel, especially during the years 1789-1794, by picking up casual references and by indicating any obstacles that may have impeded novel production.

First of all it should be stated that the Revolution did not favour the novel form. The interest in politics encouraged the short pamphlet to the detriment of longer works. The fictional 'conte' will of course respond to contemporary demand, but the difficulties encountered by novels increase the value of those that were printed and have survived. In the pamphlet Les Politiques du Galetas a meeting of printers is being held. One speaker, a writer of political pamphlets, proudly announces:

- 34) Anon. Les Politiques du Gilets. s.l. 1788, p. 9/10.

Cf. also note (22) of Chapter Five where the pamphlet makes a reference to Florian's popularity, and, discussing the pamphlets that clutter the table, the author writes, p.16. :

Toutes étoient d'auteurs inconnus ou qui avoient eu la modestie de ne se nommer qu'à leurs connaissances et à leurs amis.

The increase in printing occasioned by the Revolution was evidently prodigious. In a Mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée Nationale in 1790 by the Corps des Libraires et Imprimeurs de l'Université, it is requested that those printing qualifications obtained before the Revolution should retain their validity. It would appear that these official bodies wished to maintain a printing élite. To prove the need for strict controls, these printers point out that in 1789 there were only 36 printing presses in Paris and that by 1790 the number had increased to over 200. The remarkably small number is confirmed by Michaud in his Biographie Universelle in an article on Boulard - Imprimeur-Libraire (and novelist). Describing Boulard's ambitions, Michaud writes:

Il se proposait d'embrasser l'état d'imprimeur, mais les anciens règlements en fixaient le nombre à 36 pour la ville de Paris;...

- 35) CARACCIOLO, L-A. Lettres d'un Indien à Paris. Amsterdam et Paris, 1789, Vol.2, p.361.

- 36) DEVAINES, Jean. Lettres de la Comtesse de \*\* au Chevalier de \*\*. s.l.n.d. [=1789], p.7.

A review of Lemierre d'Argy's Les Heureux Modèles, ou L'école du Bonheur confirms the Comtesse's view.  
Esprit des Journaux. Février 1791, p.424. :

Depuis que chaque jour en France fournit quelques pages à l'histoire, on s'y intéresse beaucoup moins aux romans.

- 37) TRAHARD, Pierre. La Sensibilité Révolutionnaire. Paris, 1936. The author writes, p.36.:

Si les futurs révolutionnaires lisent Montesquieu et Helvétius, Voltaire et Mably, Raynal et les Encyclopédistes, s'ils connaissent les réformateurs sociaux et les théoriciens politiques, ils lisent davantage peut-être la littérature romanesque et sentimentale de l'époque.

- 38) MORNET, Daniel. "Les Enseignements des Bibliothèques Privées." in R.H.L.F. Vol. XVII, 1910, pp. 449-492.

Daniel Ligou has suggested that these findings are unreliable since, given the contemporary attitude to the novel, official inventories would not always include them. See Romans et Lumières au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris (Editions Sociales) 1970, pp.48-64)

- 39) SOBOUL, Albert. "L'Audience des Lumières sous la Révolution." in Utopies et Institutions au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris (Mouton, pour l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes) 1963, pp.289-303.

He writes, p.298. :

Les œuvres romanesques demeurent nombreuses.

Nous avons fait tomber les romans anglois, les voyages traduits de l'anglois, les poésies fugitives des allemands, et nous touchons même à l'époque heureuse où l'on ne fera plus que bâiller au théâtre...../...Nous seuls occupons tous les imprimeurs. (34)

Admittedly, the tone of the pamphlet is satirical, but it does undoubtedly contain elements of truth. Yet this truth is hard to ascertain in the light of conflicting reports. Caraccioli's apparently objective Indian observer writes to his friend Glazir in 1789:

Des Romans et des libelles, des libelles et des Romans, voilà depuis quelque tems toute la littérature présente. (35),

while in the very same year, in Devaines' Lettres de la Comtesse de \*\*\*\*\*au Chevalier de \*\*\*\*\*, the heroine writes:

Pas une pièce de théâtre, pas un seul roman, et toutes les brochures du jour. (36)

Quite obviously, for different reasons, writers will assign varying significance to the novel.

Our evidence of the importance that can be attached to the novel will have to be more objective, ideally statistical. Pierre Trahard has suggested that people read more novels than works of political theory but he gives no evidence for his conclusion.(37) Daniel Mornet's findings from research into private libraries are no more helpful since libraries themselves were indicative of class and proved possession rather than readership. (38) Other methods of research have been attempted but none is far-reaching enough to allow a wholly satisfying conclusion. By examining the inventory of a 'colporteur's' bag and finding a number of novels, Albert Soboul arrives at a conclusion that is similar to that of Trahard. (39) But it could be suggested that the discovery proves rather that novels were not popular since they had not been sold by the

- 40) The anonymous pamphlet, La Babiole, ou le Colporteur chez son Libraire, s.l.n.d. does give an insight into the relationship. The 'colporteur' is unwilling to take much of the 'libraire's' stock of pamphlets because, he maintains, they show aristocratic tendencies. He is also unwilling to take long volumes, saying of an author who intends to write at length on the question of the degeneration of the 'Assemblée', p.33. :

Songez donc qu'aujourd'hui il y perdrait à coup sûr, et sa peine et son tems.

The 'colporteur' says that the title alone decides the success of a book, claiming, p.34. :

....c'est là ce qui décide à-peu-près du succès d'un Ouvrage.

The author, possibly Mibert, of the Suite du Catéchisme du Père Duchêne, s.l.n.d., is unconditional in his support of 'colporteurs'. He writes, p.7. :

Sans eux, et les piqûres du faubourg St. Antoine, nous ne serions pas si grands garçons. Les Colporteurs sont les porte-voix de la révolution, ce sont les trompettes du jugement dernier des calotins et des aristocrates.

- 41) Anon. [=? Aubry?]. Nouveautés Politiques et Littéraires. Lundi 11 février, 1793, p.3.

- 42) Ibid. Lundi 15 avril, 1793. 'Avis de l'Editeur'.

'colporteur'. If he were forced to accept novels by 'libraires' because they showed a greater profit than the shorter pamphlets, no valid conclusion on readership can be drawn. (40)

Unfortunately, the Revolutionary period could boast no truly comprehensive form of bibliographical announcement. The Journal de la Librairie ceased publication in 1789, and the Feuille de Correspondance du Libraire suffered a similar fate in 1792. The only forms of compensation for such losses were selective announcements of the kind made in newspapers - that all too often reflected the political affiliation of the paper itself - and the equally limited Nouveautés Politiques et Littéraires. Indeed, the value of the latter is less in its announcements than its comments on the contemporary situation. For example, on Monday the 11th of February 1793, the editor explains the lack of novels in a manner that would seem to indicate a general disdain of the genre:

Depuis que tous les Ecrivains se livrent sans relâche à la politique, ils négligent l'intéressante partie des Romans, qui a toujours fait le charme de la société, et particulièrement celui des femmes. (41)

In February the novel is being neglected in favour of politics, but by mid-April the malaise has spread to affect the whole of printing. A publication whose existence depends on the announcement of new material is understandably troubled when little fresh material is available. The editor explains his predicament:

Nous ne pouvons dissimuler à nos lecteurs l'embarras dans lequel nous nous trouvons pour remplir cette Feuille, uniquement consacrée, comme on le voit, aux Nouveautés Politiques et Littéraires. Depuis que la Convention a décrété la peine de mort contre tout Auteur, Imprimeur, et Colporteur qui publierait des écrits tendant à rétablir la royauté, il ne paraît plus aucun Ouvrage de circonstance. Nous nous attendions au moins que ceux tendant à affirmer la République allaient abonder; mais il ne paraît pas plus de l'un que de l'autre. Nous ferons donc de notre mieux jusqu'à ce que la crise dans laquelle nous nous trouvons soit passée. (42)

43) See Eugène Hatin's Histoire Politique et Littéraire de la Presse Française, Genève (Slatkine Reprints), 1967 [1859-1861], Tome 4, p.89.

The author quotes the newspaper, Les Révolutions de Paris of the year 1792, Vol.12, p.402, which tells of the paper-shortage.

44) ROCHEFORT, A-T. de. Adraste et Nancy. St. Maixent, 1794,  
p.190.

Fear was certainly one very good reason for the lack of printing in 1793, but it is not the only one. There was, for example, a paper shortage that had dated at least from 1792 (43), and a lack of manpower as a direct result of the revolutionary wars. In his novel Adraste et Nancy that appeared in 1794, the author, A.T. de Rochefort, explained:

La difficulté que les Imprimeurs éprouvent dans les départemens pour se procurer des ouvriers, en a retardé l'impression jusqu'à ce jour. (44)

A brief examination of passing references to the novel and to the importance that was assigned to it does not give us a clear picture either of the novel's place in literature, or of its situation in society. This study must attempt to point out the possible significance of the different forms of fiction, both by the analysis of authors' stated aims, and by the estimation of readers' possible interpretations. The preoccupation with moral literature, works with a stated didactic aim, determines the method to be used. We must account for the incidence of novels that claim a total dedication to truth and show how this claim does not necessarily entail a rejection of the traditional teaching process, rather that it provides a stronger form of guarantee of the reader's need to reform. By singling out the much quoted maxim (see Appendix) we hope to show that the ethical and political 'moral' tales very often have the same personal philosophy to propose. In more general terms this study can claim to give information about writers and their works that has not previously been accessible; in specific terms, the strict form of categorization that has been imposed will help to explain why writers chose certain methods in preference to others, and eventually will gauge the effectiveness of some techniques in relation to others.

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Chapter Two.Moral Clichés in the Novel, and the  
Amorality of the 'Contes Moraux'.

A study of the prose fiction of a given historical period must first of all describe and situate contemporary normality. It must do this by attempting to point out recurring trends. These same trends, by constant use, eventually assume the value of a cliché. Our first chapter rejected the too simple writer/critic schism as unsuitable for this period. By pointing out those writers who were aware of the theoretical clichés we automatically distinguished them from the mass. For a moment we must concentrate on this mass and show how, in a great field of mundane writers attempting to enflame the literary world with damp materials and burnt-out matter, some do nevertheless manage to produce a spark of originality that, for a brief moment, separates them from the great majority.

It is these few writers who, although accepting the restriction to write what they claim to be moral, instructive, didactic literature, demand our attention. Those writers that have been banished into the dark cells of obscurity will remain there because they had neither the ideas nor the methods with which to plead release. Others will betray the accepted norm and attempt new formulae as their passport to freedom. These new formulae in turn lead to greater variations. This chapter will attempt only to establish the norm and hope, by this method, to introduce the diverse concentrations on technique that succeed the awareness of the cliché. It should be made clear that the condemnation of many

1) POLLIN, Abbé Jean-Baptiste. Le Citoyen des Alpes. Turin et  
Paris, 1789, Vol.1, p.2.

novels is based on the conviction that the contemporary novel had to overcome a strong defensive barrier if the intended reader, i.e. he who would most benefit from the work, was to be reached. Starting from the premise that the cliché novel would be read and enjoyed by those readers who already agreed with its tenets, such a novel would be confirmatory rather than instructive. Our demands of the moral novel are greater - it must not only instruct, it must modify the reader's mode of existence by forceful awareness and unrelenting pressure. The reader must be forced to think and to choose a position. If he is allowed the complacent reaction of agreement, the novel has failed since it has taught him nothing.

There is an immediate need to distinguish the novel from the contemporary moral treatise. For the 18th Century reader the treatise attempts to persuade by reason and force of argument, while the novel is supposed to appeal to the reader's sensibility, his emotions. The methods of the two are quite different, even if the end product, the message, is the same. The novel will normally exemplify in an illusion of reality what the treatise maintains in universal terms. Briefly, the novel coaxes and persuades while the treatise reasons and states. The Abbé Jean-Baptiste Pollin is well aware of the distinction - he writes:

....on y contemplera [i.e. in the treatise he is writing] la vertu comme une règle sévère de notre conduite dans l'ordre de la morale, et non comme un sentiment délicieux de notre cœur; je dois abandonner aux écrivains remplis de sensibilité le soin de nous la rendre aimable. (1)

The Abbé does not mention the treatise and novel explicitly, but his division remains an important one. The treatise is a cold and analytical work which prescribes by statement while the novel seduces the reader into acceptance by emphasising the gratifying warmth of sensibility - the reader is persuaded that he will have the same benefits as the fictional hero, but only if he deserves

2) MAUZI, Robert. L'Idee du Bonheur au Dix-Huitieme Siecle.  
Paris (Armand Colin), 1960, p.581.

3) Ibid. p.602-603.

them by good conduct.

The modern reader of 18th Century novels cannot hope to react to these works in the way that authors wanted their contemporaries to. We do not, for example, have the same awareness of the meaning of virtue. Even though this study can suggest a limited number of definitions of the concept, it cannot hope to give any more than an impressionistic meaning. It would seem fair to suggest that the clichés of virtue were less obviously clichés at the end of the 18th Century. A reader at that time would certainly have appreciated the very close links between happiness and virtue, but he would not be as cynical as we are in our derision of the terms. Robert Mauzi, in his L'Idée du Bonheur au Dix-Huitième Siècle, typifies the modern reaction by pointing out an apparent contradiction:

Être heureux, c'est être vertueux. Être vertueux c'est sacrifier son bonheur à celui des autres. S'agit-il d'un marché de dupes, ou tient-on en réserve quelque merveilleuse compensation? (2)

Yet Mauzi does not allow for the time sequence implicit in the 18th Century formula. Happiness will rarely be the immediate result of virtue, but it will inevitably be either the ultimate consequence, at the most, or a consoling factor at the least. That is, a character would have been a lot unhappier if he had not displayed a show of virtue.

The various nuances of meaning discerned by Mauzi are more subtle than any specific contemporary text could possibly be. He distinguishes three kinds of virtue; there is what he calls, 'le bonheur de repos' which is the result of a moderation of passions, and a social extension of this term where inactive virtue gives way to an act of charity. Finally there is that 'lutte intérieure' which demands constant vigilance and self-sacrifice and self-denial. (3)

4) GOURCY, Abbé de. Essai sur le Bonheur. Vienne et Paris, 1777,  
p.150.

5) Ibid. p.165.

By his distinctions Mauzi is perhaps complicating the issue by attempting the kind of detailed analysis that no 18th Century writer would feel the compulsion to undertake. His reader is well aware of the meaning of 'la vertu' - it is a general label and one that has a traditional meaning. Its sense had not changed since the Abbé de Gourcy had indicated the source of happiness:

Le Bonheur est ici; il est partout où la sagesse et la vertu réprimant nos désirs et dirigeant nos démarches. (4)

The Abbé begins by attributing happiness to the final element in Mauzi's definition. It depends on a strict form of self-control. He does not feel obliged to describe what he means by virtue until later, and then he would appear to link the term with charity, the second element of Mauzi's analysis:

Car la vraie vertu ne peut être renfermée en elle-même...../ Une douce et invincible pente la porte à se communiquer, et à communiquer tout ce qu'elle a pour la consolation et le bonheur des humains. (5)

It would be facile to indicate the contradiction - rather we should note that the self-sacrifice form and the outgoing charitable forms of virtue are not mutually exclusive but complementary.

For the moment these simple definitions of virtue and happiness will be sufficient for our needs. Having noted the distinction between the novel and the treatise, we must now concentrate on the many variations, both of the theme of virtue and of its presentation, within the novel itself. While the treatise deals at length with the inter-relationship of ideas, the novel begins with the conclusions offered by the treatises and attempts to popularise them by showing their application in life. For this reason it is less the ideas they are trying to propagate than the methods used by novelists that interest us.

The simplest form of all the instructive methods is that which describes a virtuous action followed by a deserved and consequential

6) CRESSY, Louis-Claude de. Essai sur les Mœurs. Paris, 1790, p.18.

7) The Journal Général de France, for example, devoted a column to 'Bienfaisance' in which it described various acts that had been drawn to its attention. One should note the importance of 'bienfaisance' in forming political heroes. The Duc d'Orléans, for example, undoubtedly owed much of his popularity to the ostentation of his acts of charity. The scepticism of Cressy and Billaud-Varenne (See note (8) of this chapter) is justified by those treatises which guarantee happiness as the result of virtuous action, and so change the emphasis of the motive.

An engraving in the 1797 edition of Florian's Fables manages to convey the two meanings of an apparently virtuous action; the nobleman has obviously just given alms to a poor farmer, and the caption reads, 'Je fais souvent du bien pour avoir du plaisir.' The mean look on the nobleman's face and the anxious looks on the faces of the farmer and his wife suggest an ulterior motive not unconnected with the wife herself.

8) BILLAUD-VARENNE. Les Eléments du Républicanisme. Paris, s.d.  
[=? 1793], p.24.

happy physical and mental state. Statistically, this is the most popular method, and is itself indicative not of literary fashion alone, but also of contemporary social fashion. France at the moment of impending crisis was a country of strange contradictions. The interest in charity, itself betraying an awareness of economic inequality, is not only reflected but actively proposed by the novel. Not all commentators are in favour of this apparently noble (and it is an essentially noble pastime) gesture. Louis-Claude de Cressy, himself of noble origin, is sceptical of the motives of those that give so willingly:

Ici ce sont les riches ou des grands qui, sous le titre respectable de bienfaiteurs, ne se chargent d'élever la jeunesse que pour la faire servir un jour à la lubricité. Leurs bienfaits ne sont que des poisons, ils sont toujours funestes. (6)

Indeed, charity is only a virtue in a society where it can be totally disinterested. The constant pleas for 'bienfaisance' must be considered within the social structures that make them necessary. (7) A republican who was to become a key figure in the Committee of Public Safety of An II was similarly aware of the real meaning of this apparent generosity:

Par fois l'ostentation ou des vues corruptrices ont déterminé le riche à laisser tomber quelques largesses de ses mains, mais jamais l'humanité ne sut lui arracher un bienfait. (8)

Remarks like these suggest that the novel was perhaps politically naive and even simplistic in its unquestioning advocacy of a remedy whose efficacy is far from certain.

The examination of a writer who enjoyed great popularity as the period's author of children's stories will suggest the distinction

9) GENLIS, Mme de. Les Veillées du Château. Paris, 1784 [1782].  
Vol.1, p.65.

For a scathing attack on Mme de Genlis by Restif de la Bretonne  
see Chapter Eight, p.278, and note (54).

10) Ibid. Vol.1, p.70.

between novelist and treatise-writer in most graphic terms. In her collection, Les Veillées du Château, Mme de Genlis, via a story-teller, tells of a young girl who is spoilt by her mother but eventually corrected by an eight-month stay in a cowshed. Her transformation is indicated by her words at the end of the 'conte':

....je n'oublierai point qu'il existe des infortunés et que le bonheur de les soulager est le plus grand qu'on puisse goûter dans la vie. (9)

The stress of the intended action is not on the good that can be done to the deserving case, but on the happiness that will come to the person performing the act. The act of charity in Mme de Genlis is evidently not a political act. In turn the consequence of the message is certainly lost on the children listening to the tale within the fictional framework. Their comments take on an ironically comic value for they have misunderstood the aim of the charitable act by turning all the profit towards themselves. In a sense, they are the perfect novel readers. They have been persuaded to emulate the events described by extracting only the essence of the tale, but at the same time it would appear that their motives are not of the best. Their immediate reaction contains a revealing admission:

Il faudra nous charger de découvrir quelque vieille bonne femme bien à plaindre; si nous en pouvions trouver une aveugle, quelle joie!.....Nous ferions venir un chirurgien d'Autun pour lui faire l'opération des cataractes....(10)

The children's anticipation of joy seems even greater than the presumed satisfaction of having performed a worthy act. There is no apparent show of sympathy, for the phrasing of the sentence implies that they would be happier finding a poor old lady in obvious discomfort than in not finding one at all!

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11) For example, she wrote in the 'Préface' to her Villées, p.vii.:

ne

Il n'y a point de sujet de morale qu'on puisse traiter avec  
agrément, et il n'y a point de livre de morale qui puisse  
être utile s'il est ennuyeux.

12) GENLIS, Mme de. De la Religion considérée comme l'unique base  
du Bonheur et de la Véritable Philosophie. Paris, 1787, p.317.

conclusions to be reached for the different works. The novel and short story aim at easy persuasion of a simple notion, exaggerated of course in the case of the Veillées, but valid as a general conclusion nevertheless. The need is for entertainment and concision, and the Veillées provide simple fable-like tales which offer easy definitions, sometimes facile explanations, but always an unequivocal moral, however politically or ethically naive this may be. Mme de Genlis is well aware of the dangers of writing moral literature (11) but it would be generous to say that she avoided the pitfalls. Her treatise, De la Religion considérée comme l'unique base du Bonheur.... would seem to show total ignorance of the precepts laid down in the 'Préface' to her Veillées - daunting in length and dry in content it forms the perfect contrast to her stories. The treatise does make an interesting suggestion, however. It states that 'la bienfaisance mondaine' :

....ne coûte que des sacrifices momentanés, elle n'impose point de privations extraordinaires, elle produit quelques actions d'ostentation, et non des actions surprenantes et sublimes; (12)

We are faced with an apparent contradiction, and one that can only be explained by suggesting both a different audience, and a different tradition. Mme de Genlis novelist is writing for a wide audience - in this case, particularly women and children - while Mme de Genlis treatise writer is restricted to an intellectually more demanding audience that is looking not for strength of emotion, but for force of reason.

This distinction can help us to explain many of the novel's failings. The contemporary novel fails to grasp the subtleties of the theory of the treatise and for this reason leaves itself wide open to easy attack both from critics and from later novelists. Indeed, an important aspect of Sade's work would seem to be his systematic destruction of the moral clichés found in works like those

13) Anon. Le Fils Naturel. Genève et Paris, 1789, Vol.1, p.2.

14) Ibid. Vol.1, p.77.

of Mme de Genlis. Briefly, the novel tends not to discuss the motives of charity but concentrates only on its promotion in the most general fashion.

The most simple method of promotion is then that which shows happiness as the direct result of a virtuous action - but how effective is such a method? The reader will rarely be convinced by an extreme example and would be justified in demanding the kind of action with which he can identify. It is suggested that a work that includes at least some immoral action will eventually have a greater moral effect because it is more convincing, more lifelike. But even without the introduction of an immoral episode or a vicious character, a number of variations are possible. There is a need to involve the reader by forcing him to make a tacit choice or a mental comparison. The anonymous author of Le Fils Naturel would seem to have been aware of this need; the hero of the novel, the first person narrator, is a character who was raised in poverty by a peasant family, but later taken away to live in a castle. Eventually he has to choose whether to remain in the castle or to return to the village. His decision is indicative in that he finds happiness incompatible with magnificence and luxury:

Mon seul désir étoit de retourner à la vie rustique, à la paix, au repos qu'elle m'offroit. (13)

Later, he stresses the wisdom of his choice:

.....je suis plus content dans ce trou, que ne le sont tous les princes de la terre dans leurs magnifiques palais. (14)

The hero has experienced two life styles and his rejection of one in favour of the other can be seen to represent a statement made by the author. Obviously the reader is not expected to make similar choices in real life, but he is expected to judge the hero and evaluate the fictional selection. The hero of Gorjy's Biançay

15) GORJY, Jean-Claude. Blangay. Paris, 1792 [1788], Vol.2, p.200.

16) LEGAY-MARNESIA, C.F.A. Marquis de. Le Bonheur dans les Campagnes. Neufchâtel, 1785, p.53.

17) FERRIERES, Marquis Elie de. Saint-Flour et Justine. Paris, 1791.

The editor notes in his 'Avertissement' that:

La première partie de cet Ouvrage parut en 1788; des raisons qui n'existent plus empêchèrent L'Auteur de publier les trois parties suivantes.

The novel is not particularly critical of the 'Ancien Régime', although there are some episodes which are hardly laudatory. It would seem more likely that the author is trying to give his work a significance that it only marginally possesses.

makes an identical choice. He marries the girl he loves and, tired of the 'false' pleasures of the town, he retires into the countryside:

Dans une telle situation, qu'auraient été pour nous les prétendus plaisirs du grand monde! Nous y renonçâmes pour jamais, et les brillantes sociétés de la capitale furent remplacées par le solide attachement des gens de la campagne.(15)

From the reader's point of view, the choice that is offered is not a fair one. The structure of the novel which compresses the time sequence and introduces the past as the present is justification enough of the hero's decision. The choice he made is in the past, but the wisdom of the choice is guaranteed by the present situation. That is, the hero is still in the country so he made the correct choice. The choice does not have to bear any relationship to contemporary reality. The novel can forget the miseries of the peasantry and paint an ideal picture of harmony and plenty. The Marquis de Lezay-Marnésia, in his Le Bonheur dans les Campagnes, wanting to extol the pleasures of the countryside, but realising on the contrary that the rural life was not the ideal that novelists would have us believe, nevertheless makes the appeal:

Que le poète, l'orateur, le romancier même, se joignent à vous [priests]; que tous les talents d'accord nous montrent les avantages de la vie champêtre; qu'ils en peignent les charmes, et nous en inspirent l'amour. (16)

His appeal would appear to have met a favourable response.

Saint-Flour et Justine by the Marquis de Ferrières is divided into four parts and includes as the first part a treatise on women which had earlier been published separately. (17) This treatise, with its emphasis on female chastity, serves as a philosophical introduction to the fiction that follows. Its conclusion proposes a defence of the countryside:

Ce n'est que dans les petites villes et dans les conditions bornées que l'on est véritablement heureux. Les grandes passions sociales n'y ont point altéré le caractère primitif de l'espèce; chacun y suit librement la marche de la nature;

18) FERRIERES. Saint-Fleur et Justine. 1<sup>ere</sup> Partie, p.116/117.

19) Ibid. 2<sup>e</sup> Partie, p.33.

les fortunes n'ont point cette infégalité monstrueuse qui / asservit l'homme à l'homme.....(18)

For the major part, the novel exemplifies the truth of this statement. The hero, Saint-Flour, falls in love with a rich bourgeoisie, Justine. However, his position in the army calls him away to Normandy, and his absence opens the way for a seducer. Justine submits to her music master who manages to corrupt her by denying the value of virtue and by introducing her to a rich duke who wants her for his mistress. The duke in turn persuades her to marry a rich old man so that he can enjoy her favours without incurring the incidental expenses. This marriage offers the possibility of salvation. Her husband listens attentively to her confession and promises her his total devotion. Justine writes to Saint-Flour, whom she claims always to have regretted, and informs him of her new situation. She invites him to see her in Paris - they meet, swear total devotion (again !) and vow to honour her marriage. The promise proves to be very short-lived. Both characters are carried away by the force of their passion, each blames the other for the fault, and the next day, in a fit of remorse, Justine takes her own life.

The novel proves the perfect enactment of the moral given in the first part. The town would certainly appear to be the corrupting influence it is claimed to be. But does the effectiveness of the moral weaken in the light of what appears to be contradicting evidence? Incidental episodes of the novel offer strange contrasts. The sweetness of the rustic paradise is embittered by a 'journalier's' remarks that:

Le pire, Monsieur, c'est que les impositions royales, sel, taille, corvées, réparations d'églises, que supportaient quinze, tant métairies que borderies, sont retombées en perte sur la Paroisse, et l'ont entièrement ruinée. (19)

The Marquis de Ferrières would seem to have two aims. He begins in

the treatise by making his viewpoint apparent, and then reveals in the novel that the present situation is wrong because it does not conform to his ideal. He combines the cold statement of the treatise with the novelist's technique of biased description. By this form of fictional selection he hopes to produce a reaction in his reader. The contradiction between theory and practice, i.e. the novel, would, in this analysis, be a deliberate one aimed at highlighting the contradiction in real life between potential and actual reality.

This same novel teaches a lesson which, in terms of presentation, represents a major shift away from the norm as it has been stated, where virtue leads to happiness. Here there is a more flexible method. Each character teaches a variation of the same theme. Justine provides the antithesis where vice leads to misery, while Saint-Flour, at least until the 'dénouement', represents a virtuous but unhappy figure. This is not to say that the value of the first formula is being questioned, rather it shows an awareness of the sterility of the totally pure moral novel where no immoral action is allowed, and an attempt to improve the instructive novel by a more subtle technique and by the rejection of dogmatism. In short, the content of the cliché has not changed, but the manner of its presentation has been modified.

The more astute novelist will add a further dimension to his work. He will play on the reader's sympathy rather than rely on his imitative admiration. For example, the author of Blancay, in his novel Victorine, tells the story of a young girl who is badly maltreated by an old lady but eventually rescued by a kind aunt. However, the uncle is as cruel as the aunt is kind and Victorine is forced to leave. She is taken in by a friend of her aunt's and is allowed the pleasure of accompanying her on her charitable excursions.

20) GORJY, Jean-Claude. Victorine. Paris, 1789, Vol.2, p.93.

Victorine comments:

....j'éprouvais combien, en secourant les malheureux, on suspend le sentiment de ses propres peines. (20), but her charity proves to be her downfall. She helps an old woman who has fallen into a ditch, but the old woman turns out to be a man with two accomplices in crime. A fortuitous rescue assures her survival and eventually she escapes into Holland where she marries and finds happiness. So virtue does bring happiness in the end, but not before a Sade-type reversal. The immediate effects of a virtuous action prove to be disastrous for an innocent heroine. One immediately thinks of Sade's Justine and a similar rejection of the automatic formula. Gorjy does not attempt a systematic destruction of the formula but he does manage an almost ironical question of the sacred doctrine. The reversal is no more than momentary and has the effect of increasing the reader's sympathy for the novel's heroine.

In the context of a moral novel the contradiction is essentially comic - a novelist is aware of the effect that such an episode will have on his reader, and indeed may well be attempting to mock the undying seriousness of the pure moral tale. We are forced to a similar conclusion when we find a novel that includes the statutory act of charity but which exaggerates the sense of well-being that ensues. While retaining the cliché of the virtuous action, François Marchant mocks the cliché of reward, both by exaggerated language, and by compression of the time sequence. The joy of giving is now the immediate result of the virtuous action. The hero of the novel Le Roman sans Titre (itself an ironical title!) gives his purse to a beggar standing outside the Opéra. The description is suitably pathetic:

- 21) MARCHANT, François. Le Roman sans Titre. Paris, 1788,  
Vol. 1, p. 81.

The sub-title to the novel is given in note (33) of Chapter One. The author's opinion of himself as a 'philosophe du Palais-Royal' would seem to be a deliberate contradiction in terms. The Palais-Royal was better-known for its prostitutes than for its philosophy. See Chapter Eight, note (37).

Son geste, plutôt que sa voix, me fit connoître qu'il implorait mon secours. Il paraissait honteux de sa démarche; sa figure m'intéressa. Je compris, et je lui donnai ma bourse.....  
Musique expressive de Gluck, accords mélodieux de Paisiello, non jamais vous n'avez affecté aussi agréablement mes oreilles, que le 'Je vous remercie' de ce pauvre! (21)

The short staccato phrases are intended to convey the depth of the emotion felt by the narrator/hero, just as the musical metaphor is supposed to show the effusion that follows the act. Both, however, seem overstated and deliberately literary. They are both self-conscious manners of description that aim to create a reaction in the reader rather than to explain the events that have taken place. The ironical overstatement mocks the normal totally serious deadpan and straightforward manner of description. Here the novelist is not attempting to satirise the emotions or sentiments of the moral novel, a later episode shows how this act of charity prevented a suicide, but he is suggesting the decadence of the normal formula and calling for a new method of instruction.

The structure of a novel can be enough to indicate its moral purpose. The simple relation of events will justify the virtuous action by showing a happy ending. There is a danger, however, that such simplicity will automatically place the novel in the land of the cliché, especially if the conclusion is predictable. For the formula to survive, and it does survive, the structure where charity brings consequential happiness, or more generally of virtue leading to happiness, needs a further ingredient. There must always be the possibility that the ending will not be happy; the hero must be constantly threatened and his position shown to be far from secure. Again, it is Gorjy who provides the perfect example of a novel that can interest, instruct, and amuse while still adhering to the formula that has been condemned as cliché.

- 22) GORJY, Jean-Claude. Saint-Alme. Paris, 1790, Vol.1, p.19.

The escape into the mountains leads to a lyrical passage praising the virtues and advantages of the countryside over the town:

Je respire! Me voilà loin de cette ville maudite, où les amis, où les amantes ne tiennent pas contre un revers de fortune.

- 23) Ibid. Saint-Alme is given a drink by Joséphine in, Vol.1, p.35/36.:

....un gobelet d'étain dont le mauvais état / annonçait l'ancienneté, mais qu'une extrême propreté avait rajeuni.

The hospitality of these people leads to an appreciation of their values, Vol.1, p.48.:

Cette simplicité patriarchale, qui ne laisse pas d'accès à la défiance, est le cachet de la pureté primitive. On la retrouve encore dans les montagnes, dans les hameaux reculés, dans les endroits enfin, qui ont le bonheur d'être si éloignés de la corruption qu'ils n'en soupçonnent même pas les attaques.

- 24) Ibid. Vol.1, p.59. Saint-Alme, describing Joséphine's past to his correspondant, remarks:

Elle doit le jour à ce que, dans le monde, on appelle des gens comme il faut.

- 25) Gorjy's technique here is similar to that of Louvet. Louvet concludes his Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas, in Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle Paris (Gullimard-Pléiade), 1965, Vol.2, p.846, with an appeal 'Au Public' that only if they continue with the next volume will the hero be released:

Il ne tient qu'à vous que j'en sorte, MONSIEUR; mais il faut pour cela que vous ayez encore le désir de voir une nouvelle suite de mes aventures.

Saint-Alme too is in prison at the end of the volume, and will remain there unless the reader decides to read on.

Saint-Alme manages to include all the contemporary clichés - which is itself quite a feat - and yet still retain the reader's interest until the very end of the novel. The hero, after losing his loved one to a rich rival, leaves the town where he lives and seeks refuge and escape in the mountains. (22) He is given shelter by an old woman and the girl looking after her, (whom he wrongly assumes to be her grandchild). Having made the customary acknowledgement of the cleanliness of the cottage and paid tribute to the simplicity of these country people (23), the hero is then told of the girl, Joséphine's real status. This in turn leads to another ironical jibe at the rich (24), and a short life history. Meanwhile, there is some doubt about Joséphine's affection for one of the villagers - a red herring that serves to reveal Saint-Alme's jealousy followed by an injury and the resulting death to the hero's father. Then, for a reason that is explained afterwards, (he is wrongly accused of spying), Saint-Alme has a short stay in prison. The episode allows a brief word in favour of the King, (see Chapter 5, Note 19) for his innocence is soon established and his release imminent. (25)

However, during his absence Saint-Alme is unaware of the events taking place outside. Joséphine's father has returned with plans for her marriage. She must obey her father to retain her virtuous status, and poor Saint-Alme is presented with a 'fait accompli'. Ironically, his rival saves his life, and although Joséphine gives the hero an indication of her love for him - she faints when he makes a surprise appearance - Saint-Alme decides that he must respect the marriage and attempt to overcome his passion. When Joséphine gives birth to a child (who is soon to die), Saint-Alme can hardly conceal his jealousy. Later, when Joséphine becomes ill, he keeps

a constant vigil over her without ever attempting to compromise her. By now, of course, the reader is beginning to sympathise with the unfortunate hero. Saint-Alme's courage eventually gives out and he wanders away to the mountains in semi-madness. An attempted suicide fails but serves as confirmation of the hero's derangement. In his absence, however, his rival dies of apoplexy and Joséphine decides to look for her departed lover. The happy reunion disperses the hero's madness and the narrator, the person who had received Saint-Alme's letters, concludes the novel with the assurance of the couple's eventual happiness.

We must decide what distinguishes this novel from so many other similar efforts and attempt an explanation of its qualities. Gorjy is supremely aware of the audience he is writing for. He knows that his readers expect and want a happy ending and that their enjoyment is increased if the progression towards the conclusion is beset by seemingly insuperable obstacles. The prison episode allows just this balance of despair and mystery. The cause is explained after the event, and after the reader has had time to examine the hero's conduct to judge whether the sentence was justified. The escape offers momentary hope which is soon destroyed by a statement of fact: that the hero's loved one has married another. Again there is apparently no hope for the hero. Convention does not allow the possibility of a future liaison - at least not in the virtuous novel - and the reader assumes the novel will end badly. A convenient death removes the next obstacle, and only the hero remains to be found! The plot retains the reader's interest until the final page. In fairness it must be duly stated that the 'dénouement' was never easily predictable. One suspected that Saint-Alme would eventually marry Joséphine, but,

26) The titles of two of Gorjy's novels are sufficient indication of this point. He seemed to have a marked preference for the works of Sterne and for the use of self-conscious parody of the novel within the novel itself. In 1784 he published the Nouveau Voyage Sentimental, and in 1792 the six-volumed novel, Ann'quin Bredouille, ou le Petit Cousin de Tristram Shandy. See especially Chapter Six, pp. 200-205 for a discussion of the second novel.

27) GORJY. Maint-Alme. Vol.1, p.173.

given the situation as it was, it was not easy to see how he could. The novel retains all the usual clichés; the defence of the country-side, the attack on the rich and luxury, the virtuous daughter obeying a despotic father, and, although of a different order, the death by apoplexy. Gorjy's quality as a novelist results from his appreciation of what constitutes a cliché. We know that he was well-versed in the English novel (26) and that he was fully conscious of the need for irony in fiction. In this case, we have a narrator, who is after all, the all-powerful creator in reality, who denies his power and deliberately introduces doubt into the account. For example, a note purportedly from the editor explains that one of the letters was practically illegible:

Cette lettre était si effacée par les larmes de Saint-Alme, que Dorval put à peine en lire quelques lignes.....(27)

To sum up, Gorjy knew what his readers wanted and expected and was able to satisfy them by a thorough understanding of the novel form and the diversity of technique that it allowed.

In Saint-Alme the reader is never absolutely sure that virtue will gain its ultimate reward. The reader is led through a period of doubt and the moral message is strengthened by the rejection of the automatic formula. This doubt would seem to be of the greatest importance, since, by it, the plot and structure of the novel become inextricably linked with its moral. On the simplest level there is the literal reward and punishment structure. The admirable novel Le Danger des Circonstances is, like the novel to which it is undoubtedly indebted, Les Liaisons Dangereuses, an advanced form of letter novel. The author, Nougaret, maintains the expected insistence on the truth of the novel but with a slight variation; he stresses in particular the fact that his characters are French and have nothing to do with the recent spate of English or mock

- 28) NOUGARET, P. J-B. Le Danger des Circonstances. Bruxelles et Paris, 1789, Vol.1, p.vi. The 'Avertissement de l'Editeur', probably written by the author himself, states:

Pour moi, je déclare que les lettres que je publie ont été écrites en France, et qu'elles sont très authentiques.

Cf. also Louvet's 'Préface' to the Fin des Amours du Chevalier de Faublas in Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle. Paris (Gallimard-Pléiade), 1965, Vol.2, p.418.:

C'est en France, et ce n'est qu'en France, je crois, qu'il faudra chercher les autres originaux dont j'ai trop facilement dessiné les copies:...

- 29) Vorsange, although he has adopted the noble title, 'de Vorsange', admits that he is of more humble origin, Vol.2, p.4.:

Je suis très riche, et une vaste opulence vaut bien de vieux parchemins....

A third-person description of the same character is more complimentary and more explicit, Vol.2, p.36.:

M. de Vorsange jouissait d'une opulence considérable,.... il avait tout l'esprit de la nouvelle Finance, c'est-à-dire des lumières distinguées, la connaissance du monde, un caractère franc sans brusquerie, et une gaieté qui rendait son commerce fort agréable à ses amis.

- 30) Ibid. Vol.3, p.274.

Vorsange asks in his will that the marriage take place:

Il est juste que votre vertu soit récompensée: je déclare dans mon testament que je vous laisse tous mes biens, à condition que vous épouserez le Chevalier de Joinville.

English novels. (28) The distinction between this novel and those classified as licentious in the next chapter is mainly one of tone. The licentious novel either delights in the joys of sex or emphasises its comic potential, while this novel remains totally serious, offering a philosophical examination of a problem in which the characters represent different ideas and ways of life. The structure of the novel and the pattern of events that subsists at the end of the work indicate the moral message.

The plot is easily described; a noble daughter is orphaned and taken in by a noble family with two sons, the Comte and the Chevalier de Joinville. Both sons fall in love with the girl, Mlle d'Arans, but both are sent away for their education. While they are away a vile seducer attempts to modify their feelings for the girl. He succeeds with the elder son who, in disguise, attempts to abduct the girl and is stopped and killed by his brother. As a concession to the times, the Joinvilles are suitably poor and favour the marriage of Mlle d'Arans to a rich financier, Voreange.(29) The marriage takes place, the Chevalier despairs, and even Mlle d'Arans admits (though only to her confessor) that she has not married the person she really loves, but has married Vorsange out of respect and obedience to the Joinvilles. Fortunately, Vorsange is old and generous. He appreciates Mlle d'Arans' sacrifice and stipulates in his will that on his death, which is not long coming, she should marry the Chevalier. (30) The stage is set for a perfect conclusion, but it is not to be. The marriage between the Chevalier and Mlle d'Arans does take place but it does not bring the happiness that the reader expects. The vile seducer, the aptly-named Fauxfilter, is still lurking in the background. The Chevalier pities the wife of

- 31) The contradictions arise from the contrasting characters that most influence his life. His mother, the Marquise, writes that he should stop seeing Mlle d'Arans, Vol.2, p.153. :

Soumettez-vous sans murmure à l'obéissance que vous devez à l'auteur de vos jours, montrez que vous possédez la première des vertus, le respect et l'amour filial.

The forceful Fauxfilter offers other advice, Vol.2, p. 164. :

....n'ayez pas le ridicule de vous livrer à une mélancolie amoureuse, goûtez les charmes d'une vie si agréablement dissipée.

- 32) Ibid. Vol.4, p.420/421.

- 33) The virtuous noble is forced to recognise the ills of contemporary society. Virtuous status depends both on the giving of alms, (See Vol.3, p.265), and on the awareness of the present sickness. The Marquis writes to his son, Vol.4, p.124. :

J'espère qu'un tems viendra où la noblesse, éclairée de la lumière qui brille de toutes parts, s'empressera de n'être point étrangère au corps des citoyens.....Alors elle renoncera au vain éclat du luxe; elle en aura un plus solide, celui des vertus.

Fauxfilter ( who married in order to secure an inheritance) to the extent of being unfaithful to his own wife. Meanwhile, Fauxfilter, made destitute by a life of debauchery, is in a pitiful state himself. The Chevalier and his wife, Mlle d'Arans, both attempt to help the criminal, but the wife destroys Fauxfilter's world by revealing that a friend has told her all Fauxfilter's life-history. In a fit of rage Fauxfilter attempts to kill Mlle d'Arans, but is prevented from doing so by the Chevalier. He takes the blows and dies himself, quickly followed by Fauxfilter. Mlle d'Arans leaves the world and retires into a convent.

This novel provides an unusually rich selection of character contrasts. From the extremes of vice and virtue of Fauxfilter and Mlle d'Arans, to the contrasting brothers, the virtuous financier, the charitable nobles, and the incidental victims of vice, we are given a structure of rare complexity. The Chevalier is acted upon both by his virtuous parents and the vicious Fauxfilter, but he appears not as the symbolic representation of virtue's victory, but as a tragic character with violent internal contradictions. (31)

The conclusion to the novel provides the enigmatic global message:

le bonheur ou le malheur de cette vie dépend des circonstances où nous nous trouvons, et/qu'ainsi il faut savoir connaître celles qui nous sont utiles, et résister de toutes nos forces à celles qui nous deviendraient funestes. (32)

A comparison of individual characters does provide a more satisfying message. Mlle d'Arans' devotion to a husband she had not chosen brings its deserved reward, while Fauxfilter's life of sin brings an aptly violent death. Within the novel the moralising tone is constantly emphasised by the two noble and seemingly disinterested characters, the Joinville parents; (33) this tone satisfies the need for the accepted clichés, but it is not an all-pervading tone.

The quality of Nougaret's novel, like that of Gorjy before, lies in the balance of its construction. The ideas expressed are fairly commonplace, but the vehicle that is used for their expression is varied, full of contrasts, and, in the final analysis, unpredictable.

This novel includes both the simple reward/retribution formula and the more subtle enigma variation. We must examine further the possibility that ambiguity in the novel has a greater educative effect than the straightforward, simplistic adoption of the cliché. Perhaps the author will achieve a greater effect by making the reader think for himself, by making him break down a complex puzzle to arrive at an interpretation. Stress must be placed on this question of interpretation of a mass of material since here is another major distinction that separates the novel from the treatise. The treatise described at length and prescribed the reasoned conclusions it drew; the novel could not afford such luxury and dispensed with the detailed analysis - it assumed that the reader was aware of the terms that were used. More simply, the reader was expected to be familiar with the conclusions of the treatises. The 18th Century would have had as much, if not more, knowledge about the meanings of the terms, 'bonheur', 'luxe', 'bienfaisance', and 'vertu/vice' as we have, but the 18th Century novel reader would also have had a lot more patience than we have. He would be a far less demanding critic since he would have had neither the benefit of an easy supply, nor the quality that his position in time refused him. He, or perhaps more probably, she, would have been used to a novel that confirmed a moral viewpoint with which she/he agreed wholeheartedly. If this is the case for the majority of novels, a move away from the obvious may represent not only a stylistic advance, but also an attempt to reach a different kind of audience. The ambiguous novel does not offer the easy confirmative

34) RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Dangers de la Ville.  
La-Haie [sic], 1785, Vol.2, p.239.

This novel, better known under the title La Paysanne Ferverte, first appeared in 1784. See Bibliography for details of this edition.

kind of moral, rather it demands a positive reaction from the reader. A rejection of the simple virtue/reward formula shows an appreciation of the novel's real value as instructive entertainment rather than instruction which happens to entertain.

Nougaret, like Gorjy, was aware of the clichés that were found in novels, but he manages to go beyond the expression of the purely banal. He pays lip service to all the essential components of the general term 'virtue' yet can still offer a contrasting possibility. The main figure of contrast is, of course, Fauxfilter. In the Lovelace, and more recently Valmont, tradition this character is the perfect embodiment of vice. Selfish, unthinking, lecherous, and, more frighteningly, powerful, this figure represents the perfect antithesis. He not only is vicious but he makes a determined attempt to corrupt others. As such he is the anti-hero of the moral novel. Fauxfilter is not the only representative of vice found in moral tales. The figure of Gaudet in Restif's La Paysanne Hervertie is obviously a close relation. He is instrumental to Ursule's corruption but he never manages to corrupt the reader; Restif is at pains to point out the false nature of Gaudet by highlighting his lies and his treacherous deceptions. The reader, like the writer, has the advantage of objectivity as he watches the drama unfold - he is quite aware of the natures of the different characters. Only Ursule is convinced by her brother Edmond's unscrupulous friend; she believes him to the point of submitting to his desires. He had previously explained:

La pudeur n'est donc, en physique, qu'un être de raison, et en morale, plutôt un vice qu'une vertu....(34)

The only person to expound moral theory in the novel is the immoral Gaudet. He takes the contemporary clichés and moulds them until their meaning is altered. For example, he borrows the much-quoted

35) RESTIF. Les Dangers de la Ville. Vol.3, p.50/51.

36) Ibid. Vol.4, p.300.

maxim, 'Do unto others as you would be done by' but modifies the motives in a way that alters the meaning. He removes the generosity and disinterest that gives the maxim its value when he states:

Quant à votre morale, et à votre philosophie, suivez celles de la nature: ne faites pas à Autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous fit: faites du bien, pour qu'on vous en fasse: ne faites jamais / à Personne un mal inutile, c'est-à-dire, qui n'aît pas pour vous un avantage assés grand, pour que vous puissiez un jour réparer le mal que vous auriez fait, s'il était nécessaire. (35)

The motive for action in Gaudet's philosophy is not the selfless generosity of virtue but the egoism of vice. Yet Gaudet is the only character in the novel who appears articulate enough to explain a moral position. The novel form allows us to see the motives behind the actions which deceive Ursule. We know that Gaudet is insincere because we, as readers, have been told his aims. He eventually manages to corrupt the unsuspecting and innocent girl who, in turn, adopts a life of vice. The cataclysmic ending serves as a warning to the reader - Ursule exceeds her master in her vice-ridden ways but she pays heavily for her excesses. She loses all her money, finally repents, is physically deformed, and, as a result of a misunderstanding, is killed by Edmond, her brother. The moral of the novel is given in a conclusion 'hors texte':

La Religion, l'Honneur y [in this work] triomphant de la Perversion et du Libertinage.....Malheur sur ceux que ces lettres n'auront pas ému, touché, déchiré! il n'a pas l'âme humaine; c'est une brute. (36)  
(sic)

In this case the seducer is surprised at the extent of his seduction. Ursule goes beyond the limit set by Gaudet - once she is persuaded of the truth of the 'false' philosophy, only the events can act as a brake. Gaudet is a credible character whom the reader will listen to; but the novel's structure and the violent ending ensure that the reader will not be taken in by the seduction. We are left at the end with an unequivocal moral.

37) FERRIERES. Saint-Flour et Justine. 3<sup>e</sup> Partie, p.40/41.

Not all novels will allow the representative of vice such a free rein - more often he will be a lone figure, an outsider who is invariably proved wrong. In Saint-Flour et Justine the protagonist of vice is the Italian music master, Flavicourt. He seduces Justine, dissuades her of the value of virtue, and achieves her corruption and his personal satisfaction. Saint-Flour enters the debate, fighting first with words, then with a sword - he kills Flavicourt in a duel and throws the body into the river, virtue literally overcoming vice, and vice literally being washed away. At one point in the argument the editor, or more probably the author, gives us a footnote explaining the inclusion of Flavicourt's arguments:

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'avertir le Lecteur que tous les raisonnemens de Flavicourt sont de misérables sophismes; mais il est utile de les faire connoître, afin de prévenir les jeunes / filles sur les moyens coupables que l'on emploie pour les séduire. (37)

The passage is open to a number of interpretations - we could say that, by highlighting the inclusion of Flavicourt's 'false' reasoning, the author has forestalled the possibility of adverse criticism; we could, on the other hand, suggest that the explanation betrays a real need to show the author's intentions to the reader in case he should be mistaken. The use of a footnote in a novel is a means of drawing attention to a statement. The flow of the narrative is stopped and the reader is forced to look down and consider the importance of what is said. Our difficulty lies in attempting to appreciate what would be the reaction of the 18th Century reader. One suspects that it would be amusement. He would laugh at the way the author is talking down to him and smile at the irony of a situation where the reader knows exactly what is expected from him. The reader realises that the author is not

- 38) ARNAUD, F-T. Baculard d'. Linville, ou les Plaisirs de la Vertu. Paris, An II, 'Avant-Propos', p.i.

- 39) Ibid. p.67.

Linville proclaims:

Ah! riches! riches! vous êtes privés [sic] de la première des satisfactions lorsque vous ne procurez pas la jouissance pure de la bienfaisance!

- 40) Ibid. p.8.

Linville, considering his future course of action, reflects:

....une voix intérieure me disoit que je ne devois point m'écartier de mes premiers principes, qu'ils étoient les préceptes sacrés de la nature même, que tous les hommes jouissaient également des mêmes droits, qu'en un mot la villageoise avoit un honneur à conserver aussi bien que la princesse....

- 41) Ibid. p.97.

Linville's father tells him:

....il n'est point de satisfactions au-dessus de celles que donne la vertu...

- 42) The significance of these names should not go unnoticed. The repetition of the 'V' and 'F' sound is perhaps more than coincidental. Flavicourt is the name of the villain in Saint-Flour et Justine. Valicourt that of the corresponding character in Linville. Fauxfilter that of the villain in Le Danger des Circonstances. The name of Laclos' villain in the Liaisons Dangereuses is, of course, Valmont. One should also consider the names of characters in Sade's novels. In Aline et Valcour, for example, the reader has every reason to expect that Valcour will be the villain. In fact he turns out to be the perfect novel hero, and as such the name assumes an ironical importance.

seriously excusing the inclusion of an evil character, nor does he believe that the novel was written for 'jeunes filles' - but he laughs at the convention, laughs too at the fact that he is expected to laugh and, to cap it all, has done just that.

In the endless conflict between vice and virtue, vice is the loser with regularity. Not until Sade do we find a change of emphasis and a stress on the power and the energy and the force of vice. There are admittedly a number of variations on the theme in what must be classified as virtuous novels, but they are limited in their possibilities. Virtue may not always be the outright winner, but it is quite evident that the hero who has not received his due award would have been far less happy if he had chosen to live by the opposing ethic. The indicatively titled, Linville, ou les Plaisirs de la Vertu, a fictional antidote to Sade's Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu of 1791, begins with the familiar cliché:

Nous osons nous flatter qu'elle sera une leçon sensible pour nos jeunes concitoyens, et leur donnera.....un avant-goût des vrais plaisirs....(38)

The reader expects this kind of introduction and so anticipates the kind of novel he has purchased. Linville exposes half of the problem and leaves the remaining half to the complementary, Eugénie, ou les Suites Funestes d'une Première Faute. Linville too includes all the contemporary clichés; the promotion of charity, (39) the equality of rights, i.e. the poor villager is as worthy a character as the rich town-dweller (40), and the idea that happiness will follow on from virtue with no attempt whatsoever to define terms. (41) Yet this novel, like Nougaret's and Ferrières', has a characteristic that distinguishes it from the vast number of cliché novels. Linville is not allowed to repeat ad infinitum his virtuous clichés; he has an antagonist, the skilfully drawn and perhaps indicatively-named, Valicourt. (42) Valicourt's function in the novel is to mock the

43) ARNAUD. Linville. p.2.

44) Ibid. p.131.

An engraving in the novel depicts the tender scene, but in somewhat ambiguous fashion. In the picture of the reunion we see Annette, her father, the two children, and a figure that one assumes is Claude, her husband, looking remarkably feminine!

hero and ridicule his excesses. We are told that he is of the same age as Linville but he has far more experience of the world in which they live. Linville is the perfect novel hero while Valicourt is the harsh realist. Linville falls in love with Annette, described as '*la rose qui vient d'éclore*' (43), but his superior social standing proves an obstacle to the union he desires. Annette realises that she is not socially acceptable to Linville and, at the same time, she cannot accept the idea of love without marriage. Linville is able to help her father avoid an unwarranted prison sentence by arranging a loan, but rather than hand over the money himself and risk embarrassing the old man, he arranges for Valicourt to perform the generous act. Valicourt returns to Linville with shattering news that Annette is to marry somebody else, a certain Claude, a humble gardener. Linville is hurt but wonderfully understanding. He leaves the area to undertake government service abroad and hears news from home that Annette has indeed married and had children. When he eventually returns home he visits the happy family and is told, in secret, that Annette had really loved him but that society had outlawed their love. As compensation they vow eternal (Platonic) friendship and seem perfectly happy with the compromise. (44)

Linville's character is amply described. Meek and generous, his happiness is sustained not from the satisfaction of a desire, but from a sacrifice he is forced to make. To put it simply, Linville appears happier not obtaining what he wanted than he would have been attaining it. The apparent contradiction (mentioned by Mauzi, see Page 28, note 2.) can only be understood by an appreciation of the cliché; Valicourt, the antagonist, must be seen as a catalyst in the crystallisation of the virtuous ethic. If we see Linville as a comic figure we have not understood the moral novel. The author

45) ARNAUD. Linville. p.18

46) Ibid. p.19.

47) Ibid. p.20.

Valicourt, as if aware of the history/novel debate, introduces  
a deliberate contrast.

suspects that the reader's reaction to Linville will be the same as that of Valicourt, a character with self-admitted faults but not, for all that, an antipathetic figure. Yet there is no doubt that in the author's mind, Valicourt's reaction is a wrong and reprehensible one. Linville describes Annette as 'la divinité de mon cœur', a phrase immediately taken up by Valicourt and ridiculed:

La divinité de mon cœur! magnifique expression! tu as tout le pathos du poète. (45)

Later, when Linville is describing his dilemma to Valicourt, he would appear to overstate his problem to a comic extreme. He is simply acting the part of the virtuous novel hero:

Valicourt, si je suis aimé, j'en suis plus malheureux!  
is immediately deflated by Valicourt:

Imbécille! [sic] dis-moi dans quel roman as-tu pillé cette riche et superbe phrase? (46)

Linville, as a novel hero, represents a form of self-parody that the author is aware of, indeed that he stresses, and uses for even greater dramatic effect. In other words the cliché is acknowledged but has the quality of reinforcing an unstable foundation. Valicourt cannot understand Linville's problem - and there is a suggestion that he is the poorer for his insensitivity - since for him there would appear to be a very simple solution: he advises Linville to make love to Annette with no fear of the consequences:

....faire le plaisir de tous deux, mon très respectueux, très vertueux parent: voilà ce qu'on appelle non du galimathias, [sic] non du roman, mais de la vérité historique, de la bonne et franche nature....(47)

The reader realises that such a suggestion constitutes heresy in terms of the virtuous novel and is supposed to be sympathetic not to the proud, self-important Valicourt, but to the pitiful and long suffering Linville. Ideally, the reader likes to feel that he is

- 48) ARNAUD, F-T. Baculard d'. Eugénie, ou les Suites Funestes d'une Première Faute. Paris, An II, p.5.

The confession type of novel offers its own kind of guarantee. Addressing her readers as 'Jeunes Personnes', the heroine introduces her narrative; p.6. :

Lisez-la bien cette espèce de confession qui expose mes coupables erreurs, les chagrins, les tourments, la juste punition, les remords éternels qui les ont suivies.

able to understand the hero's dilemma and, like him, reject the simple solution. The author, aware of his audience and conscious of their knowledge of contemporary morality, can present two extremes and yet still be almost certain that the most harmless, the least threatening of two characters will be considered the hero. The novelist can emphasise the cliché, yet continue to use it with effect.

The complement to Linville reverses the structural method but uses the same formula from a different perspective. The time sequence of the novel allows no misunderstanding, nor indeed does the title: Eugénie, ou les Suites Funestes d'une Première Faute. The narrative begins in the present and recounts in the first person the events that have led the heroine to her pitiful state. The opening lines of the novel indicate well enough the tone of the work:

C'est de mon lit funbre où j'achève le peu de jours que j'ai à vivre,.....je me relève du sein de la mort pour tracer une image.....(48)

There is no attempt to excuse the conduct that has led to this sad conclusion - the confession is frank and apparently objective. Eugénie tells how she disobeyed her mother and fell in love with a rich libertine, Derval. She fully believed his pledge and did not see that his unwillingness to marry concealed a plan to satisfy his lust at her expense and then abandon her. She eventually left the convent to which she was sent by her mother and ran away with Derval. One day the libertine failed to return home. He sent a letter via a friend explaining that his father disapproved of his liaison with Eugénie, and offered her money as compensation. Meanwhile, Dormeuil, the friend in question, finds her a situation in a relative's house. Dormeuil, like Valicourt in Linville, now attempts to destroy the virtuous training instilled in the still innocent Eugénie by contradicting the lessons taught by her mother. Like Valicourt he maintains that terms like virtue are acceptable only in a fictional

49) ARNAUD. Eugénie. p.48.

Once again we find the opposition between the novel, the fictional ideal, and 'histoire', the established fact.

50) On two occasions Eugénie laments her degradation. Once when she falls in love and realises that by becoming a paid mistress she has destroyed herself, p.69. :

Sellerive....rougirait...d'être mon mari.

And again when she meets her mother in the street and is struck by the contrast, p.77. :

....elle me paraît dans l'infortune, tandis que j'affiche l'opulence! Que cette opulence m'humilie!

context and that they have no relevance in real life:

La vertu, l'honneur, la sagesse, la bonne conduite, le pur amour: tout cela d'admirables expressions à consigner dans les livres; mais que sont aux regards de l'homme qui pense, que l'expérience, la vérité éclairent, que sont les livres? de pitoyables jeux d'esprit, des romans les plus invraisemblables. C'est moi, ma chère, qui vous enseigne l'histoire de la vie, le vrai, le vrai; et laissez là tous les mensonges qu'il a plu à des sots de nommer l'art de la morale. (49)

DormeUIL's form of truth leads Eugénie to despair and attempted suicide, but she eventually comes to terms with a life of sin, even though she is conscious of her degradation.(50) Lover succeeds lover on the downward path; a meeting with her mother becomes a tragic confrontation between two ways of life. Rich vice cannot bear the force of poor virtue and Eugénie is disdainfully rejected. Eventually the mother returns to offer her daughter the possibility of salvation by a return to virtue. Eugénie accepts, gives away her ill-gotten gains, and ends her life poor and repentant.

The vice/misery formula is seen to be as effective as the virtue/happiness formula found in the majority of novels. The time sequence allows no ambivalence of interpretation nor any possibility of a surprise ending. The reader feels less compulsion to finish this kind of novel so the moral needs to be introduced at the beginning of the account and reiterated throughout. Artistically less satisfying, it does, nevertheless, offer the variation of squalor and misery that is seldom a part of the vision in the clichéd novel. The same conclusion applies but the perspective has changed.

Baculard d'Arnaud's heroine is finally converted to virtue. She is repentant at death and open to the possibility of salvation. The philosophical argument would appear to be strengthened by this total dedication to the sequence. The more violent the death, the more ugly the form of retribution, the greater the moral impact.

Alexandre Vicomte de SéGUR certainly seems to support this view;

51) SEGUR, Alexandre, Vicomte de. La Femme Jalouse. Paris, 1790,  
p.194.

52) Ibid. p.228.

his novel La Femme Jalouse allows no compromise. It tells the story of deceit and misunderstanding and includes as the main characters a Chevalier who is in love with a Vicomtesse who loves a Marquis. The Marquis, a great friend of the Chevalier's tries to arrange the relationship to please the Chevalier but is not aware of the Vicomtesse's feelings for him. Nor, significantly, is he aware of the jealous reaction he has provoked in his own mistress, the Baronne, the 'femme jalouse' of the title. At a masked ball the Baronne disguises as the Vicomtesse with such effect that she tricks the Chevalier into making love to her. She thinks that this ruse will arouse the jealousy of her lover, the Marquis, and send him back to her. She admits to her correspondant:

Vous me connaissez trop pour croire que le moindre remords puisse pénétrer dans mon âme; je jouis au contraire de mon crime. (51)

Such a bold admission is bound to lead to regrets; her failure to bring the Marquis back (now his primary concern is the Chevalier's apparent madness) leads her to arrange a rendezvous in the Bois de Vincennes. This, she hopes, will allow the Chevalier and the Vicomtesse to be seen by the Marquis, and will convince the Marquis that he should abandon all hope of winning the Vicomtesse..... The Chevalier arrives first, sees the Marquis arriving and suspects, despite countless denials, that the Marquis is attempting to seduce the Vicomtesse, and kills himself in a fit of passion. The Baronne's plot has failed; she too goes mad and is physically deformed by the horror of her act:

Son visage, dit-on, a tellement pris l'empreinte de ses atrocités, que si la curiosité porte à s'approcher d'elle, on est repoussé dans le même moment par l'horreur qu'inspire sa vue. (52)

In case the reader should not appreciate the moral of the novel, the conclusion includes a word of warning:

53) SEGUR. La Femme Jalouse. p.228.

- 54) For example, Brissot de Warville, in his Correspondance Universelle sur ce qui intéresse le Bonheur de l'Homme et de la Société of 1783, in a discussion of Laclos' Les Liaisons Dangereuses, is critical of fiction which is not obviously didactic, No.3, Article 1, p.124. :

Un Roman dont la morale est équivoque est un poison bien dangereux; un Roman médiocre est au moins inutile; un bon Roman même n'est l'aliment que de l'enfance ou d'un être débile pour qui la morale sans ornement est un objet effrayant.....

Brissot maintains that the novel must be totally explicit in its moral purpose, and that it cannot afford the luxury of interpretation.

A criticism of Rousseau's La Nouvelle Héloïse which appeared in Le Nouvel Abeillard, ou Lettres propres à l'Institution de la Jeunesse. s.l. 1789, p.5, condemned the novel as a 'roman licencieux' because Julie had had the weakness to submit to Saint-Preux.

Quel exemple effrayant! puisse-t-il du moins servir de leçon aux âmes faibles qui, se livrant à leurs passions, n'en prévoient pas les suites funestes. (53)

Ségur carries the vice/misery formula through to its ultimate conclusion; there is no repentance, nor any concession allowed. The author rejects the possibility of salvation by total dedication to an uncompromising artistic theory.

The vice/misery sequence is of course no more subtle in its method or message than its virtue/happiness counterpart. There is still a majority view in favour of works whose meaning is not open to interpretation, and a general belief that the moral novel cannot afford ambiguity. This is certainly the traditional view and the one that is favoured by the greater number of literary critics. (54) This opinion is not, however, unanimous; the introduction of a likeable villain of the kind found in the licentious novel (in the mould of Tom Jones) changes the focus of the novel and attempts a more complex instructive method. Valicourt, in the novel Linville, is not an unpleasant character; he is sincere in his advice and obviously cares about what happens to his relation and friend. Linville himself is not the perfect hero - he is happy at the end of the novel but not because his virtue brings deserved reward. For Linville, virtue acts as a consolation in an unhappy but fixed position.

Since the moral of such a novel is hardly less strong than the moral of the straightforward formula, we are forced to consider the possibility that ambiguity and an invitation to interpretation are more instructive than the simplicity and invariable mechanism of the norm. Having seen how Gorjy in his novel Victorine momentarily reversed the normal sequence, it was suggested that this reversal was subsequently more productive in that it encouraged the reader to identification and sympathy. The same would appear to be true for

55) Anon. Horton et Mathilde. Londres et Paris, 1789. Vol.1, p.v.

The novel is one that conforms to the analysis made by Robert Mauzi in his L'Idée du Bonheur au Dix-Huitième Siècle. Paris (Armand Colin), 1960. See p.28. in this chapter. Mauzi writes on p.147. :

Alors que tous les traités expliquent longuement et suavement que le bonheur se confond avec les qualités morales, la plupart des romans ne montrent que des personnages malheureux malgré leur vertu ou à cause d'elle.

The validity of such a statement should be questioned. One must allow for a further subtlety in the novel, the possibility of characters who should be unhappy because their aims have not been achieved, but who could not possibly be happy now if their aims had been achieved in a manner that was not totally virtuous. In both Linville and Horton et Mathilde, novels of the kind described by Mauzi, there is an implication that the two heroes are happier in defeat, though retaining their virtuous status, than they would be if all their aims were achieved and their virtuous status lost.

It would seem that the anonymous La Jeune Nièce, ou l'Histoire de Suckei Thomby. Paris, 1789, is a far more typical example of the Eighteenth Century novel. The niece is wrongly accused of a misdemeanour with a suitor. She has admitted that she loves the character, feels guilty at the admission, and makes no attempt to excuse her conduct. Her accusers interpret this as an admission of guilt of the much worse sin of physical love, and delight in the possibility of the poor girl's destitution. The conclusion of the novel redresses the balance and states categorically, Tome 3, p.170. :

Tous ceux que vous avez vus se conduire d'une manière coupable ont fini misérablement. Aucun n'a échappé....

56) Ibid. Vol.2, p.206.

a number of other full-length novels and, paradoxically, for many of the so-called 'Contes Moraux'. The paradox implies that amorality in fiction is more morally instructive than didactic morality. Amorality depends on a different reader/writer relationship; the reader is not being talked down to, rather he is invited to take part in an imaginary discussion. Didactic literature depends on the kind of teacher/pupil relationship that will often be rejected by the perceptive and intelligent reader. More simply, if the reader realises he is being fed moral propaganda he will nearly always react against it.

The anonymous author of Horton et Mathilde was certainly aware of the need for subtlety and variation of method, even if his own methods were not original. Linville was faultless in his conduct but did not receive a reward for his virtue. Indeed, one could say that his virtues contributed to his unhappy state. In Horton et Mathilde the Editor warns the reader of the tragedy he is about to hear in terms that could well have been written by the Abbé Prévost some 50 years earlier:

Un cœur plein d'humanité, une âme généreuse, voilà les causes du malheur dont il fut la victime. (55)

At the end of the novel the Editor emphasises the pitiful hero's lot in life. Horton dies in a state of madness - the conclusion stresses the magnitude of his suffering:

Il expira après avoir éprouvé des douleurs inconnues aux plus malheureux des hommes. (56)

A brief analysis of the plot is needed to explain the tone of the novel. Horton, rejected by his love's father, is forced to leave the comfort of love and the haven of home to travel. While absent he worries because his love, Mathilde, has not written. A visit to a M. Winterton's house allows him to make the acquaintance of the man's daughter, Julie, who in turn (and for the reader's benefit)

57) Anon. Horton et Mathilde. Vol.1, p.56.

58) Ibid. Vol.1, p.13<sup>4</sup>.

59) Ibid. This in turn leads Horton to state the tragic contradiction,  
Vol.1, p.204.:

Pauvre Julie, je crains bien qu'elle ne soit pas heureuse,  
quoiqu'elle fasse le bonheur de tant d'autres.

writes to her friend Sophie with praise for Horton and news of his interest in the theatre. His début on stage is a great success but it cannot dissipate his melancholy. He complains, perhaps aptly considering his dramatic success:

Tout est illusion; les choses que nous prisons à une certaine distance, perdent leur pouvoir et leurs charmes lorsqu'elles sont à notre portée. Notre bonheur est purement idéal, soit qu'il provienne des plaisirs des sens ou des passions plus délicates de l'âme. (57)

Julie tells how one night Horton had explained his love for Mathilde, how Mathilde's father had rejected an act of charity, and how he, Horton, had been forced to abandon everything he cherished. Horton now takes Julie entirely into his confidence but is accused by her father of trying to seduce her. This unjust claim leads to a sorrowful lament from the hero - he would appear to have been misled by the simplicity of the moral cliché for he asks:

Si je dois être ainsi tourmenté dans toutes les circonstances de ma vie, pourquoi existé-je? Ou quelle est donc la récompense si vantée de la vertu? (58),

but the complaint does nothing to change his fortune. A row with Julie's brother leads to a perfidious attack on stage (he is struck by an apple with a knife in it); this in turn leads to the inevitable duel where the good Horton spares his enemy's life only to be betrayed and eventually locked up. The traitor, Bolton, a friend of Julie's brother, is given permission and encouraged to marry the unfortunate girl -again virtue does not bring reward for the charitable character (59)-and Horton now feels obliged to spell out the message exemplified by his life. Without the power of Sade, and by playing to the rules of the virtuous novel, we nevertheless find a questioning of the accepted cliché. Horton analyses the moral of his life and draws a conclusion that is similar to that of Justine's sister, Juliette:

- 60) Anon. Horton et Mathilde. Vol.1, p.210.

The title of Sade's novel, that appeared in its full version in 1797, is sufficient to indicate the nature of the events described:

La Nouvelle Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu, suivie de l'Histoire de Juliette, sa sœur, ou les Promérités du Vice.

- 61) Ibid. Vol.2, p.64/65.

Horton exclaims:

O vous mortels insensibles,/ enivrés par les richesses et plongés dans la débauche, que ne connoissez-vous le plaisir d'arracher la vertu des mains de la misère! Vous abandonneriez bientôt vos vains amusemens et vous jouiriez du vrai bonheur.

- 62) Ibid. Vol.2, p.91.

Again, it is Horton who remarks:

Douce Julie, ton malheureux sort nous fait voir que la pratique des plus éclatantes vertus ne suffit pas en ce monde pour être heureux et tranquille!

- 63) Ibid. Vol.2, p.203.

Her dying words indicate her conversion:

Par les regrets que je ressens actuellement, je forme une idée des plaisirs enchantateurs d'un amour vertueux...

Il semble en effet que le lot du vice soit de prospérer, et celui de la vertu d'être en proie aux plus indignes persécutions .....la vertu porte, dit-on, avec elle sa récompense; je nie la vérité de l'assertion. Je ne suis point vicieux, cependant je n'ai jamais éprouvé les récompenses que donne la vertu. (60)

In effect, Horton doubts the value of what are misleadingly called, 'moral truths'.

The hero's tale of woe is endless; he leaves England where the action has taken place and moves to Ireland. Staying with a friend in the country, he manages to offer alms to a poor and dying man (which leads him to praise the 'vrai bonheur' that such action brings) (61), but a letter from England confirms Julie's misery at having to marry the wicked Bolton and so introduces yet another refutation of the virtue/happiness sequence. (62) Later, Horton returns to England to find that Mathilde has been unfaithful, Julie dies unhappy, although it is stressed that she possesses all the normal trappings of happiness, and the wicked Bolton asks forgiveness. Horton decides to kill the Lord B\*\* who had seduced and corrupted Mathilde, but not before Mathilde herself has committed suicide (thus proving that vice does not bring happiness either). (63) Eventually Horton too dies; like Saint-Alme before him he has escaped into madness to avoid the harsh reality of the world his life is meant to symbolise.

This novel offers a number of possible interpretations. It would be possible, for example, to compare this work with a novel like Sade's Justine and suggest that the meaning of the two works is similar. Certainly, both novels would seem to reject the simple good conduct/reward sequence that is a cliché both in the moral novels and in the contemporary treatises. Yet the two novels differ greatly in tone. In Horton et Mathilde we are expected to pity the main characters and admire their attempts to gain happiness through virtue. Their failure is always the result of circumstances and the vicissitudes of fortune. In Justine our attention is not focussed on

64) It has been seen, in note (54) of this chapter, that critics still insisted on a straightforward moral exemplification. However, such demand for simplicity is not universal. The critic of the Journal Général de France, for example, was aware of the shortcomings of the cliché. (See also note (73) of this chapter). In a review of Mme la Comtesse de Getnon-Ville's L'Epouse Rare, a facile story about a wife's devotion in spite of her husband's infidelity, the critic noted contemptuously, on the 8th March 1790, p.267. :

Nous nous contenterons de dire que non seulement il est écrit dans le simple, selon l'expression de l'Auteur; mais qu'il est écrit pour les simples.

There is still a tendency to divide the novel into sections without regard for the overall aim of the author, and without a real appreciation of the methods used. For example, a review of Louvet's Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas in the Chronique de Paris which followed the reprinting of the novel in 1790, distinguished the conclusion from the rest of the novel. The critic wrote, on the 26th January 1790. :

....mais ses peintures sont un peu vives, et les détails un peu voluptueux. Après avoir fait ce reproche plus grave à M. Louvet, nous conviendrons que le dénouement est plus moral.

the sufferings of the heroine; they become so commonplace and repetitive that the normal reader will skip the long scientific details of methods of torture and perversion and will tend to concentrate on the reasoned arguments put forward by the protagonists of vice. The villains are strong, energetic, compelling figures who command our respect and attack our intellect. The heroes in Horton et Mathilde are weak, pathetic figures that we are expected to pity - they are allowed a sanctuary of madness that is refused to the sufferers in Sade's novels. In the final analysis, the reader is expected to balance the incidents in the novel against the pervasive tone of the work. The result will be not a critical rejection of the power and value of virtue, but an invitation to maturity where the reader is not given the same old formula, rather a form of ambivalence to consider and judge. There is never any suggestion that vice will bring the kind of happiness that virtue has failed to produce, but there is certainly an implication that both Horton and Julie, the tragic heroes of a melancholic novel, would have been a lot less happy without the consolation of virtuous status.

The general conclusion to Horton et Mathilde suggests a strange paradox: that the moral novel is more instructive when it flatters the intellect of the reader and gives him an ambiguous (but decipherable) message. There is of course a danger that the novelist will be too subtle for his reader and leave him with a message that the novel has in fact tried to destroy. This is certainly the fear of those critics who were unable to appreciate the potential of amoral and even immoral literature because they still felt that the gullible reader would ape any one of a dozen characters in any given novel (64) without being aware of the ulterior motives of the writer. The critic is blind to the emotive effects of suffering (especially

when such suffering is not deserved) and is unable to distinguish sexual virtue from the much broader term '*la vertu*'. He is still ignorant of the selling power of sex and of the potential of a work that, while accepting the inclusion of what are generally considered 'immoral' characters, is in a position to promote a social ethic based on the generous expansive notion of charity and the awareness of human suffering. The strict moralist will insist that sex is not a private matter since it constantly involves two figures and eventually the whole of society. For the moment, however, and especially in the licentious novels that are the subject of the next chapter, it is worth remembering that what amounts very often to an itemization of the components in the general notion is, in fact, little more than an attempt to include the reader in the serious matter of definition of terms. The ambiguous novel is a more advanced teaching method than the didactic uncompromising novel since it accepts the possibility of an intelligent readership.

It is possible to describe the same general trends in the '*contes*' of the period. The majority, perhaps because of their inclusion in newspapers and reviews, will not deviate from the norm established by the novel. There will of course be limitations imposed by length and consequent simplification of concepts that are not easily simplified. The result in the majority of these works is artistic and philosophical failure, and the reduction of serious topics to the commonplace. Again, however, there are some very important exceptions to this general criticism. The form of the '*conte*' will often prove unsatisfactory; a character telling a story to an assembled crowd (very often of children since they can best benefit from the advice that is given) tends to reduce the depth of analysis and introduce a strange and alien homely atmosphere.

The compression of time in the '*conte*' and the limitation of

65) GENLIS, Mme de. Les Veillées du Château. Vol.3, p.4.

Her italics are underlined.

characters and plot impose a restriction on this shortened form of narration that the novel can easily avoid. The sequence of virtue and happiness (and its counterpart vice/misery) depends largely on the conviction of the reader and hence on the author's ability to create a persuasive illusion. The same sequence in the short-story is less credible because the result appears too automatic. That is, the compression simplifies the sequence and reduces the value of the moral tale. The overall consequence of this disadvantage is a relegation of the 'conte moral' to the banal. This at least is true for those tales (and they are in the majority) which attempt only to mimic the novels and fail to show an awareness of their particular problems. To be fair, not all the 'contes' are open to the same criticism. While it is very possible that the simplicity of many of these stories is what constitutes their charm and attracts the female and juvenile audience for whom they are apparently intended, there exists concurrently a moral tale that is aware of the pitfalls of the genre and avoids the danger by a reduction of didacticism and, as we have seen, concentrates on a subtle blend of moral tone and amoral structure.

Again, it is Mme de Genlis who admits the distinction between the overtly instructive 'conte' and the more subtle story which pretends to offer no strict moral message but which implies one by its tone and feeling. She writes, describing her Veillées:

Vous pourrez lire, dans la suite, beaucoup de Contes infiniment plus agréables que les miens; mais du moins vous trouverez dans ceux-ci de la morale et de la vérité. (65)

The authoress claims two redeeming factors for her stories that the most generous of critics could not rate more highly than dull. Yet the meaning of what she says is not as clear as it seems; Mme de Genlis does not suppose for one minute that her works are credible or realistic. She has an avowed moral aim in writing which destroys

66) MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Oeuvres Complètes. Paris, 1818.  
Vol.3, p.vi.

any realistic illusion. What she seems to be saying here raises once again the important double meaning of '*vérité*'. It has already been seen that novelists mocked the succession of 'true' stories. Mme de Genlis would appear to claim less the truth or actuality of the events she recounts than the philosophical truth of the moral she is trying to teach. The consequence of her statement is far-reaching indeed, since it forces us to re-consider the meaning of the various sub-titles. The most incredible story can be described as '*véritable*' as long as it adheres to the accepted moral code.

The '*conte moral*', unlike the novel, does not feel compelled to offer constant guarantees of authenticity. The discovered manuscript, the personal diary, the bundle of letters found by chance, read by an editor and thought to be of some value are considered unnecessary in what is essentially an oral art. The '*conte*' is judged on its own merits and not on exterior evidence. Marmontel, in the '*Avertissement*' to the 1786 edition of his '*contes*', stresses the nature of his works:

Mes contes et ceux de mes ouvrages où, comme dans mes contes, j'ai tâché de rendre sensibles des vérités intéressantes, sont tels qu'il a été en moi de les produire dans la maturité de l'âge; (66)

His meaning of '*vérités*' would appear to be the same as that given by Mme de Genlis. Marmontel appreciates the need to teach, but he is far more conscious of the methods that need to be used. '*Sensible*' is that quality linked to the emotions which sympathises and effuses. It is a softness intended to move the reader to compassion and hence to emulation. The '*vérités intéressantes*' are similarly moral truths which involve the reader in a form of identification and encourage his affection for the fictional characters involved. He too is aware of the force of ambiguity and realises the tragic potential of a perfect hero given an undeserved hard life.

67) MARMONTEL. Les Rivaux d'Eux-Mêmes. in Oeuvres Complètes.  
Vol.5, p.197/198.

Marmontel's technique is its own guarantee of truth; the author claims to be the passive audience and translator of a story told either to him personally or to a group of which he forms part. The distance and the impediment of the medium created by the handing down process from character to narrator to reader increases the gap between actual story and present reader but at the same time also increases the credibility of the account. So, for example, in a short story like the Ecole de l'Amitié Marmontel, although only repeating a story he himself was once reader/audience to, has managed to accentuate the importance of the narrative. The story itself is simple; Mme de Néray tells how she fell in love with Alcime, a man who only wanted her friendship, and how he introduced her to a man he knew would make the perfect husband. Alcime seems too good to be true - he is described in such glowing terms that the reader would willingly accept his marriage with the heroine of the story, and even half expects it. The story forms part of a collection of 'contes' explicitly entitled 'moraux' but whose message is far from obvious. Is the author examining the nature of true love, is he comparing the vice/virtue relationship, or is he evaluating the worth of friendship? The reader must decide for himself since the pleasure of reading this kind of literature derives from its interpretation.

Another 'conte', the intriguingly entitled Les Rivaux d'Eux-Mêmes, offers a similarly amoral conclusion. Two parents want their children to marry each other but the mother of the daughter has a strange (and potentially comic) request. She writes to the son's father:

Monsieur,.....je vais vous paroître fantasque et peut-être un peu romanesque; mais d'abord je ne veux donner pour époux à ma fille qu'un homme qui lui plaise; en second lieu, je veux qu'elle l'aime sans l'avoir vu; (67)

The admission of the peculiar nature of the desire is its own form of safeguard. Of course the idea is ludicrous, the author realises it

- 68) The major work on Mercier, by Léon Béclard, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, sa vie, son œuvre, son temps, Paris (Champion), 1903, does not assist in a precise dating. The Fictions Morales of 1792 is not the same work as the Contes Moraux, ou les Hommes comme il y en a peu which appeared in 1776 and was attributed to Mercier. Béclard, to confuse the issue further, denies that this collection is by Mercier, and says that some of the 'contes' which formed the Fictions Morales appeared in a collection entitled Contes Moraux of 1769 which has not been traced.

In the 'Avant-Propos' to the Fictions Morales the author says of the 'contes', p.xi. :

Epars dans différens anciens journaux et recueils, je les ai rassemblés aujourd'hui, non sans peine, sous le titre de 'Fictions Morales'.

For this reason a distinction should be made between the 'contes' of the Fictions Morales and those that formed the collection entitled the Nouveaux Contes Moraux which, written by Marmontel, were appearing for the first time in the revolutionary period.

and forestalls the reader's criticism. The two children write to each other using pseudonyms and describe the incidents in their everyday lives. Three years pass before it is decided that a meeting should take place. At a ball in Paris the couple talk to each other unaware of the other's identity. Both express their regret and melancholy at leaving the Loire and both feel guilty about talking, as if the act constituted a betrayal of the loved correspondants from home. When they meet next they decide they should never see each other again in order to keep faith with their respective loves. At the goodbye scene the boy mentions the name of the girl he loves, the girl recognises herself, and the two are now able to rejoice in the possibility of their union. The moral of the tale is far from clear; the 'conte' would seem to be an amoral account of a strange event that is nevertheless compelling and engaging in its simplicity. Happiness is the result not of virtuous action by those who obtain it (strictly speaking, the fact that the two met twice in the knowledge that they were breaking faith constitutes an immoral action) but it follows a bizarre wish of the girl's mother. Once again, the 'conte moral' is not obviously moral.

Marmontel is not alone in this ambiguous conception of the moral tale. A contemporary, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, an author known better for his theatre, shares the artistic theory. Little can be said concerning debt or originality because of the difficulty in dating Mercier's works. (68) In many cases Mercier follows the traditional pattern of virtue exemplified and rewarded - such 'contes' are predictable and the pleasure in reading them stems less from suspense than from the confirmation of an ethic that would be shared by many of the readers. For example, the title of the Avare Corrigé is indication enough of the ending of the tale; the hero tires of being despised as a miser and turns his fortune to charitable ends.

69) MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. Fictions Morales. Paris, 1792,  
'Avant-Propos', Vol.1, p.vii.

70) MERCIER. Les Hypocrites. in Fictions Morales. Vol.2, p.150.

Mercier was bold enough in his conception of the moral tale but was not always consistent with his own demands. He criticised his contemporaries for concentrating too much on what he called 'ridicule' and by asking the question:

Un écrivain ne seroit-il pas plus sage; et ne rempliroit-il pas mieux le but qu'il se propose en tournant tous ses traits contre le vice, en le poursuivant dans l'ombre, en le démasquant d'une main hardie? (69),

but he significantly fails to do better himself. Les Hypocrites, although admittedly dating from the 1760's, tells the story of the indicatively named Boncoeur and the life of persecution he lives in spite of his faultless motives. His belief in the power of virtue is eroded by the sequence of events. Meanwhile, his brother, having adopted a life of vicious hypocrisy, finds happiness comparable in extent to Boncoeur's misery. The author explains the heresy of this 'conte':

On veut sur le théâtre et dans les livres que les bons triomphent; je le veux aussi, mais dans le monde on ne le sait que trop, le crime a le plus souvent l'avantage, et je ne puis ici mentir pour offrir au lecteur un but plus moral. (70),

but he does not offer a satisfactory answer to the question raised by his own internal contradiction. The excuse of real life is not valid unless one is describing actual events. Fiction creates its own reality, Mercier, it could be suggested, is aware of this but foresees the potential of the apparently amoral and the obviously contradictory. The hero Osman, in the 'conte' of that name, is the perfect example of the tragic and sympathetic hero who rejects the cliché by exemplifying the opposite. He generously forgoes his own love to help the one he loves find her husband, his rival. Eventually he is forced to kill the girl to save her honour, and follows this act with his own suicide. His dying speech asks the obvious question:

71) MERCIER. Osmun. in Fictions Morales. Vol.3, p.77.

72) Anon. Histoire de Pauline. in Esprit des Journaux. Juillet, 1789,  
pp. 240-252. p.252.

J'ai cherché dans la vertu le bonheur qu'elle accorde, dit-on,  
à ceux qui s'y consacrent. Où est-il ce bonheur?(71)

The answer of course is that the virtue referred to is found only in the clichéd moral tale that both Marmontel and Mercier would seem to question. The rejection of the cliché in fiction does not constitute its rejection in reality - authors who appreciate the need to instruct what has become a cliché realise the need for different methods.

They turn to amorality and rely on the reader's intellect to draw a message from the tragedy and to interpret the tone of the fiction.

The moral tale offers the same broad spectrum as the moral novel. The intensity of a tragic novel like Horton et Mathilde is mirrored by the short-story Histoire de Pauline. The heroine is abandoned by her parents and adopted by a rich family. She is deceived by this family into losing her chastity and eventually asked to marry the perpetrator of the crime. She accepts in an attempt to regain some of her lost honour but her husband is sent to prison and leaves her penniless. Having recounted how she poisons herself in despair, the author draws the conclusion:

Pauline, l'infortunée Pauline n'étoit plus; et elle avoit éprouvé qu'avec de la fortune, de la beauté, des talents, un grand amour pour la vertu, on peut être malheureuse, avilie, et même criminelle. (72)

This appeal to the reader's sympathy constitutes an attempt to break down the barrier between author and reader that is erected and reinforced by uncompromising didacticism.

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the norm in the late 18th Century and to show how the norm eventually attains the status of cliché. The simple formulae where virtue brings happiness and vice brings misery persist both in fiction and in the treatise, but their effects are questioned in an attempt to involve readers in the dialectic of the reading process.

73) Journal Général de France. 9.12.1790, p.158/159.

It would appear that the simple formula very often satisfied an audience wanting only confirmation of their beliefs - if such is the case, the moral novel is indeed sterile. Other writers, while expressing a belief in the truth of the cliché, reverse or modify the structure of the novel in an attempt to interest the reader. In such cases the critical emphasis must be placed less on what is said than on the manner of its expression. Novel technique and self-conscious narration can both betray the realisation of stagnation. It could be claimed that subtlety is more instructive than overt didacticism, and that apparent contradictions of the cliché are more often attempts to force the reader to think for himself. One writer in particular was aware of the impotence of the cliché and noted it in a review of Louis-Claude de Cressy's Essai sur les Mœurs:

Qu'un Ecrivain, alliant comme Rousseau, la Morale avec la Philosophie et la Politique, l'embellisse à la fois par un style mûr et une dialectique serrée, par une sensibilité profonde et une éloquence entraînante, il se fera lire avec transport;.....Mais est-ce la peine de prendre la plume/ pour répéter, en style commun, des choses triviales; pour dire que le luxe, le célibat, et l'inégalité des fortunes nuisent aux mœurs? (73)

The critic is demanding originality, strength and beauty in exchange for flatness and repetition. The fact remains, however, that a multitude of writers paid no attention to the advice offered by the critic. Generally speaking, we have affirmed the quality of novels which, while making no claims of originality in ideas, nevertheless showed an awareness of the need to find new structures, different methods of presentation, contrasting characters, and non-didactic narration.

This chapter has tried to state the norm and to show how this norm is devalued into the cliché. The emphasis on methods of presentation rather than on the content of the cliché now leads us to examine further greater variations and subsequently to note the

effects of the Revolution on the prose fiction that is produced. While fiction, in the form of propaganda, can exert an influence on the society that produces it, society, by selection and rejection, can determine the forms that fiction is forced to adopt.

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1) Anon. Histoire Naturelle, Philosophique et Politique des Annes,  
traduite de L'Italian. s.l. 1789, p.6.

It seems highly likely that this work was in fact first  
written in French.

Chapter Three.The Virtues of the Licentious Novel.

Il nous corrige, parce qu'il ne nous expose point à la honte de nous corriger; il nous a touché au vif, mais il a l'air de n'y avoir pas songé; c'est nous qui prenons la leçon qu'il ne donne point. Voilà le Roman. (1)

In the discussion of the cliché we discerned a gradual move away from the dogmatism of the harsh moral novel and tale and an appreciation by authors of the need to find more imaginative literary devices. Consequently, we tended to study methods that were used rather than ideas that were expounded. Different forms of the novel demand different critical approaches. We must, when considering licentious novels, ask the question: are we justified in taking authors of licentious novels seriously when they seem to be giving a moral lesson? How far can one trust a novel that proudly proclaims its utility but which uses a technique that includes scenes that would seem to conflict with the form of ethic proposed? Can we assume that the seriousness of the Introductions is anything more than a literary convention, and can we conclude that a novel has a serious message to impart even if the methods used tend to border on the slapstick and trivial?

The only way that such questions can be satisfactorily resolved is by a systematic study of a number of introductions and 'avant-propos' and a discussion of the various stated aims, followed by an appraisal of the corresponding works and an attempt to clarify the authors' aims in writing by suggesting personal and possible

contemporary reactions to the particular form chosen. Briefly, one must assess whether the end-product, the narrative, has been fairly advertised in the Introduction.

It must be clearly stated from the outset that we are not claiming the originality of this kind of literature at this particular time. The licentious novel had flourished both in England and France throughout the century. What we are claiming is that while the majority of previous works were either unashamedly non-instructive or professedly instructive but in fact not, those novels written in the late 1780's do, for the most part, promise and maintain a moral viewpoint that differs little from the cliché studied in the previous chapter. The distinction that must be made between the clichéd moral tale and the licentious novel we are now to study is not philosophical (since the explicit ethic is practically identical) but literary in the sense that it depends on methods.

The first problem that arises depends on the sincerity of authors. While this study will attempt to gauge the truth of writers' claims, it must also point out why authors chose this particular form. In the past it was suggested that the novel had been aimed at a female audience concerned not with major philosophical problems but wanting easy undemanding entertainment with a sterile message that in no way threatened their mode of existence. Other writers suggest that the readership of the novel is far from being totally female and hint at a vast potential readership that remains, as yet, untapped. Certainly, one assumes that there were as many male as female readers of novels like Crébillon's Le Sophie and Diderot's Les Bijoux Indiscrets and, at least if we are to take writers' stated aims seriously, it must be suggested that the fact was recognised by all but the most stubborn and reactionary of critics. The difference now is that authors are writing works that are aimed at an audience

- 2) MAIMIEUX, Joseph de. Suite du Comte de Saint-Méran, ou les Nouveaux Egaremens du Coeur et de l'Esprit, Bruxelles, 1789, 'Preface', p.xi.

The title alludes to the earlier novel by Cr billon fils, Les Egarements du Coeur et de l'Esprit of 1736-1738. The novel was popular enough to be re-published in the 1780's. For a short bibliography see Romanciers du Dix-Huiti me Si cle, ed. Etiemble, Paris (Gallimard - Pl iade) 1965, Vol.2, p.1917.

Michaud, in the Biographie Universelle, Paris, 1843 [1811-1828], describes Maimieux (1753-1820) as:

....l'un de nos auteurs les plus f conds, mais un de ceux qu'on lit le moins....La R volution l'ayant oblig  de s' loigner, il se r fugia en Allemagne, o  il ne s'occupa que de litt rature.

He was not put on the list of 'Emigr s' and was allowed to return to France in 1797.

- 3) Robert-Martin Lesuire (1737-1815) was born in Rouen but spent the greater part of his life in Paris. He was made 'lecteur' to the Duc de Parme, and after the Revolution was given the post of 'Professeur de L gislation' at the Ecole Centrale de Moulins.

- 4) LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Charmansage. Paris, 1792, Vol.2, p.43.

- 5) Michaud notes that on his return from Italy with the Duc de Parme, 'il se mit aux gages des libraires, et publia chaque ann e de nouvelles productions, dont quelques-unes eurent du succ s dans une certaine classe de lecteurs.'

that is specifically male. It is supposed that the male is the one who needs to be instructed in a passive and unexciting moral code. The writer must choose his method to suit his instructive purpose; Joseph de Maimieux, in the 'Préface' to Suite du Comte de Saint-Méran, notes:

Un ouvrage destiné aux gens du monde n'est point un livre ascétique; un roman diffère d'un sermon. (2)

The 'gens du monde' would seem to mean the same as our expression, 'man of the world' and all that that implies. The novel differs from the sermon in as much as it demands interpretation. The preacher states his viewpoint from the beginning and uses the sermon to persuade the doubters and confirm the believers. The novelist has to seduce his readers by describing scenes that will interest them. He can use licence to persuade that licence is wrong and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions based on the events that are described.

Robert-Martin Lesuire (3) makes a defence of his chosen form in terms that are similar to those of Maimieux. He too is aware of the need to attract an audience and selects the adventure story (with a good deal of licence thrown in) as the ideal. With reference to Charmansage, which we will examine in detail later, the author notes, after a digression into the subject of gravity and Newton, that:

Il faut revenir aux aventures, qui sont lues plus volontiers par les gens qui ne cherchent que des lectures de pur amusement.(4)

Although Michaud, in his biography, dismisses Lesuire he nevertheless admits that he was successful in his limited aims. (5) The reader buys what he knows to be second-class literature since he personally has no pretensions; the author satisfies his need for entertainment and attempts a diluted form of instruction within the humble framework. The author is not open to attack from the critics for he

6) LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. L'Aventurier François. Londres et  
Paris, 1782, Tome 2, p.78.

has done more than he promised to do in the 'Préface'. In the early novel, L'Aventurier François, which appeared in 1782, Lescuire indicated his intended audience when excusing a passage that was supposed to be frightening and obscure. He writes:

J'écris pour les hommes; et si quelques jeunes demoiselles étoient rebutées de la lecture de ce Roman, par des passages de cette espèce, il faudroit supporter ce malheur. (6)

The excuse (or lack of it) is ironical in a context where the reader in fact feels no fear, but the essence of the statement remains. The author is writing for a male audience that wants and expects some degree of licence; but the author is careful in his restrictions and conscious of the instructive potential of this kind of novel.

These self-imposed restrictions justify the novel's presence in this particular category. Writers are fully aware of what they are attempting and conscious of the bridge that they form between the clichéd moral novel and the more vigorous pornographic novel. The licentious novel relies on the same kind of ambiguity that was a mark of quality in the previous chapter. The ability to force the reader to work out for himself the moral of the fiction, the rejection of a dogmatic presentation of a moral standpoint, and the reliance on physical structure to redress the balance of the tale, are all features of the licentious novel. Our study of different authors will highlight the similarities of technique. Here, as in the previous chapter, the conclusion of the novel is the only true indication of its meaning. As a general rule it can be stated that immorality (that is, where husband is unfaithful to wife) will invariably lead to regrets and never bring more than momentary satisfaction. The extent of sexual morality that distinguishes this section from the previous one is itself restricted. We will not find the delight in detailed and lurid gratuitous description of the human body and its sexual activities that is the main feature of the

pornographic novel, nor will we find the strength of argument found in an author like Sade. Instead, we shall find a light-hearted casual tone, comic sequences, contemporary satire, ironic prudishness, and a recurrent figure, the absent truly-loved girl who can excuse the hero's infidelities by reducing their importance. Sexual infidelity within the terms stated is never actually excused; but it is understood and tolerated and balanced with positive virtues that are of much greater social significance. The overall conclusion differs little from that of the clichéd moral novel, but the variation of methods shows greater appreciation of the reasons for writing, and an awareness of the need to educate a specific group of people that can benefit from the kind of instruction that is given.

Perhaps the greatest single fault of the moral tale was its singular lack of humour. Fiction must be allowed to laugh at itself if it is to strike the right kind of balance. In the licentious novel there are two major sources of comedy; on the one hand there is the internal comedy which includes ridiculous characters, absurd situations, satire and exaggeration, while on the other there is that deliberate questioning of the reader/writer relationship where the writer denies his total control and teases the reader with incomplete descriptions, unfinished episodes, and unfair invitations to guess solutions that his position denies him knowledge of.

It has to be made clear that this category is defined by its attitude towards sex; the subject is no longer avoided, no longer romanticised and elevated. Instead it is used both for comic relief and as a basis for that mocking tone which pervades the novels. Sex introduces comic episodes that in turn lead to a commentary on the novel itself. In the best ribald traditions of comic farce we find a succession of mistaken identities, couples surprised in

- 7) LOUVENT DE COUVRAY, J-B. Une Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas, in Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle, ed. Etiemble, Paris (Gallimard - Pléiade) 1965, Vol.2, pp. 677-683.

quotations from the Faublas novels in this thesis are all taken from the Etiemble edition quoted above. The three novels that form the cycle are:

Une Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas.  
According to Etiemble, this novel appeared either in 1786 or 1787. See p. 1973. of his edition.

Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas, pour servir de suite à sa première année.  
This novel first appeared in 1788.

La Fin des Amours du Chevalier de Faublas.  
First appeared in 1790.

Etiemble gives few biographical details in his edition. He notes, p.405/406, that Louvet died in 1797 after an active parliamentary career in the 'Convention.' An attack on Robespierre forced him to leave Paris and seek refuge. He remained a 'Girondin' and a friend of Mme Roland. He directed the newspaper, the Sentinelle, that was financed by Dumouriez.

See note (43) of this chapter for more details of Louvet's political career.

compromising situations, and misunderstandings that only the reader, from his privileged position outside the novel, can appreciate. Louvet de Couvray provides the classic example of such an episode in his Une Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas. (7) Faublas, locked by mistake in his mistress's house, is obliged to spend the night with the maid, Justine. In the past she has not been ungenerous with her favours towards Faublas but this time the hero, in pure frame of mind and thinking of his true-love, Sophie, declines her offers and settles to sleep on the floor. Unfortunately, he goes too close to the fire and sets himself alight. Justine manages to put out the flames but the cries of alarm have brought others to the scene of the disaster. Faublas takes refuge up the chimney but his mistress is not satisfied that her maid was alone. She spots the potential danger of the fire in the grate and pours water to extinguish it. Thick black smoke rises from the ashes, chokes Faublas, and forces him down to a confrontation. Faublas and Justine are professing their innocence to the Marquise, the mistress, when the Marquis arrives looking for his wife. Again, Faublas hides and is locked in the room for safety. At this point La Jeunesse, Justine's lover, arrives in amorous intent. He knocks on the door, Faublas replies with an imitation of Justine's voice, La Jeunesse opens the door and comes face to face with Faublas whose face is pitch black from the smoke. La Jeunesse takes the figure to be the devil, swings a punch, misses, is knocked down, and allows the young hero to make good his escape. The tone of this episode is one of liberated joy; the comedy is crude and boisterous and adds nothing to the philosophical interest of the novel. Yet it situates the technique of the licentious novel and introduces the funny possibilities of sex. The comedy is extrovert and uninhibited.

8) LOUVET. Une Année. p.503.

See also the note by Etienne on p.1962.  
Lavater's Essais Physiognomiques apparently appeared  
in translation for the first time in 1781.

9) Mesmer, a German, came to France in 1778. The Larousse  
du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle notes the popularity of this new 'science'.  
The practice of animal magnetism was condemned in 1784  
by a Royal Commission.

10) LOUVET. Six Semaines. p.777.

11) Ibid. p.778.

unlike the self-important introversion of the all-too-serious variety of moral tale.

The attitude towards sex also allows more subtle forms of comedy. In the same novel the classical cuckold figure is the victim of a well-aimed comic attack. The Marquis, husband of Faublas' mistress, professes a great interest in the new popular science of physiognomy. He maintains that character can be deduced from physical traits and boasts rashly: 'Je me connais en figures' (8). Yet he is totally deceived by Faublas' disguises. He first meets the hero at a ball where Faublas has gone dressed as a woman. The Marquis' science fails him rather badly as he makes amorous advances to the transvestite. Comedy here is the effect of a contradiction. The pompous Marquis becomes a ridiculous figure as the value of his science is destroyed, but the science itself does not escape a satirical thrust. The author was sceptical of popular sciences. A later episode mocks the practice of animal magnetism introduced by Mesmer (9) by giving a salacious meaning to the term. Faublas, trapped in a house of 'magnétiseurs' describes the treatment he received at the hands of a young female practitioner:

....elle serra mes deux jambes dans les deux siennes, promena doucement sur plusieurs parties de mon corps sa main que je trouvais familière; et d'une façon tout à fait gentille, frotta avec ses deux pouces les deux miens. (10)

Eventually the girl asks:

Beau jeune homme, le magnétisme agit-il sur vous?

to which Faublas gave no reply, but now he notes in retrospect:

....je trouvais la question presque impertinente. Me demander si le magnétisme agissait sur moi, sur moi dont l'imagination si promptement s'allume, dont le sang s'enflamme si aisément!(11)

Faublas is indignant because he thinks that his manhood is being questioned. Certainly, the description of the girl's method would seem to owe more to the sex act than to a form of medical treatment.

- 12) For example, Restif de la Bretonne, while expressing distaste for the incidence of transvestism, is not surprised by it. Describing what he thinks is a girl in the rue Saint-Honoré, he writes, Nuits de Paris, Londres, 1788-89, Vol.1, p.377/378. :

Je fus surpris de sa beauté douce et naïve. Je l'abordai pour lui demander, ce qui la faisait [sic] remarquer? Elle me sourit, et rien au monde de si charmant que son sourire. Je ne savais que penser lorsque l'Enfant, sans parler, leva ses jupes, et montra ses culottes. Je compris alors, que c'était un Petitgarçon [sic], qui s'amusait d'une manière peu convenable.

- 13) We have seen the episode in Faublas where the physiognomist fails to recognise a male face and is rendered comic by his mistake. A similar episode is found in Granville's Paulin, ou les Aventures du Comte de Walter, Philadelphia, 1792, Vol.2, p.16. The hero goes to a ball disguised as a woman, a real woman sees through the disguise and invites him home with her where the woman's husband, lacking his wife's perception, is duly cuckolded.

According to Quérard's La France Littéraire, Paris, 1827-1839, Granville was an actor with the Théâtre Louvois. His real name is said to be C-F. Grandin.

When it is later revealed that the practitioner is a former 'friend' of Faublas - she was previously one of the infamous 'filles de l'Opéra' - the sexual link and the consequent attack on the science become practically explicit.

In attempting to categorise a particular section one is forced to list recurring characteristics. It has been seen that transvestism can introduce an attack on a popular science but this is rather an isolated example. Some investigation must be made into the great incidence of transvestism in these novels and its comic potential explored further. There is a difficulty of approach; one tends to be sceptical of the importance of such inclusion, and there is certainly a temptation to laugh it off without due consideration. The modern reader doubts the real significance of transvestism but is prepared to accept the literary convention. The 18th Century reader would have found the inclusion of what we call a deviation far less puzzling and indeed, would even accept it as commonplace. (12) Transvestism in the novel is a rich source of comedy. The reader is not expected to question the perfection of the disguise - he must accept factual statements without comment in order better to enjoy the fun at the consequences. In the Faublas cycle transvestism has a practical function too. It allows the hero to escape from France, to see his true-love in a convent (the disguise is so complete that he can undergo an interrogation and still not reveal his true nature), and it allows him to see his mistress without incurring the wrath of her husband. The comic consequences, where husband attempts to seduce/disguised male, serve as further indication of the completeness of the disguise. (13)

Transvestism also has an important technical role to play in the licentious novel. Sex is the fulcrum of the libertine novel but it cannot be introduced too blatantly since this might destroy the

14) LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Repentir. Bruxelles, 1789,  
Vol.2, pp.4-12.

15) LESUIRE. L'Aventurier François. Vol.1, p.77.

comic possibilities of the subject. Transvestism permits subtle inclusion by withdrawing the malicious intent that is so often the hallmark of the pornographic novel. In Lesuire's novel, Le Repentir, the hero, César de Perlencour, in danger of arrest, escapes into an attic and disguises himself as a woman. He leaves the house in full security and meets a group of Abbés who are also making an escape. He is invited to join them but they ask him to disguise as a man so as not to draw attention to the group. At the inn where they spend the night the head Abbé sleeps with César - it must be remembered that they think César is a woman and he thinks they are men. In fact, the Abbés turn out to be women in disguise! The reader laughs at the intricacy of the deception and willingly accepts the sly inclusion of unintentional sex. (14)

Libertinage is introduced into the novel in a less blatant, less shocking way than would otherwise be possible. Two characters sleeping together discover by chance that the other is of the opposite sex, so the consequences are less damning than if the act had been planned. Very often of course the reader will be given an unmistakable clue. The hero, Grégoire, of Lesuire's novel, L'Aventurier François, is arrested and imprisoned. His cell-mate, indicatively named La Rose, has, we are told, a feminine face. Such clues are rarely misleading and the truth is revealed as the hero admits:

Enfin je crus entrevoir à la lueur de notre lampe que son sein paraissait élevé comme celui d'une femme..... C'était en effet une fille... (15)

This leads us to a further consequence of transvestism which happens to form part of the sequence although it is not strictly related to the deviation itself. The subtle means of suggestion that the mistaken identity allows does not lead on to a detailed description of the sexual activity. Instead, the author withdraws from the scene and confesses either modesty or ignorance with regard to the

16) LESUIRE. L'aventurier François. Vol.1, p.77.

17) LESUIRE. Charmansage. Vol.2, p.62.

outcome. The author teases the reader by a form of prudish discretion:

J'abandonne cet article aux conjectures de mes lecteurs; et je me retranche dans un silence modeste. (16)

Transvestism allows a subtle treatment of sex that contrasts with the stated need for total realism claimed by the pornographers. There is constant suggestion of the sexual act but an equally constant unwillingness to confirm. The reader is deceived by the author, led to the threshold of love, but never allowed into the darkened room past the ever-closed door. The reader smiles at the manner of the deception and learns a little more about the reader/writer relationship.

In the first person novel the hero/author figure is obviously uneasy about the extent of his revelations. The hero in Lesuire's Charmansage invents a pair of wings and succeeds in flying. In doing so he surprises a courting couple - the boy flees in fright leaving the girl to defend herself. Charmansage flies her to a pavillion for safety but we are not told how safe the girl really was in his hands. The hero confronts the reader with the question:

Croit-on que je fus capable d'abuser de la candeur et de l'inexpérience de cette jeune fille? Cela seroit bien coupable; mais s'être rendu maître de soi-même dans une pareille circonstance, cela seroit bien héroïque. Ah! laissez le Lecteur nous juger d'après son propre cœur. (17)

Of course the reader cannot guess the outcome of the episode, nor is he meant to be able to. The novel is deliberately ambiguous - even the name of the hero implies a contradiction for he is both 'charmant' and 'sage', an unlikely combination, and one which is intended to confuse the reader.

There is a certain amount of pleasure to be derived from the game. The reader enjoys his special relationship with the author and is amused at the invitation to provide his own conclusion to the

18) LOUVET. Six Semaines. p.758.

19) Ibid. p.758.

20) Ibid. p.758.

A footnote explains the warning to the prelate.

On censurait encore dans ce temps-là; maintenant on ne censure plus; mais je n'en serai que plus réservé; je craindrais trop de profaner la liberté par la licence.  
[Author's italics underlined.]

It should be pointed out that Louvet's promise of self-censorship is the ideal reaction and the one that the liberal legislators had hoped for. The admission here can be seen both as a profession of faith and as an appeal for other writers to follow suit.

events because he is aware of the literary convention and fully realises that the invitation is neither serious nor important. In the final analysis he hardly cares what happens as long as the novel has managed to retain his attention and interest. For this reason, the long exaggerated excuses and explanations assume a comic value. The author makes them because he knows that the reader wants and expects them, and the reader expects them because he likes to be teased and toyed with in a manner that underlines the need for his presence in the reader/writer relationship. So when in Louvet's Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas the hero sees the possibility of a sexual conquest, the author stops the narrative and addresses his character. Faublas, disguised as a nun, is being cared for in a convent by the sweet-natured Ursule. The author addresses his character:

Allons Faublas, galant compagnon de Rosambert, docile élève de Mme de B<sup>e</sup>, c'est ici qu'il te faut montrer digne de tes maîtres. Le triomphe peut te paraître difficile; mais enfin la carrière est ouverte, et vois comme il est digne de toi, le prix que le hasard propose en ce moment à l'éloquence; une fille charmante, et la liberté! Si jamais séduction fut excusable, assurément voici le cas. (18)

The reader prepares for what seems to be the inevitable but it does not take place. Instead, the author addresses an imaginary reader in the figure of a prelate (the choice of character is comic in that one would not expect a prelate to be reading this sort of novel):

Prélat curieux qui, seul au coin du feu, parcourrez dévotement ce méchant livre, si vous êtes aussi étourdi que son jeune auteur, composez de quoi remplir les six pages suivantes; mais prenez garde à la censure, elle ne permet pas de tout imprimer. (19)

The author suggests that the prelate's conclusion may give rise to censorship, even though a footnote added later makes his own position clear. (20) He, Louvet, would not be drawn into writing obscenities. A gap follows to allow the reader/prelate to finish

21) BOULARD, Martin-Sylvestre. La Vie et les Aventures de  
Ferdinand Vertmont. Paris, 1791, Vol.3, p.87.

22) Ibid. Vol.1, p.187/188.

(not in any sense an innovation as the technique had been used by Sterne in Tristram Shandy), the tone of the novel has been maintained and the bounds of decency have not been transgressed. This form of teasing is an important feature of the licentious novel, and one which distinguishes it most clearly from the all-revealing pornographic.

So far the definition of this category has been broadly based on the idea of comedy. There is a further recurring element which balances much of the horse-play and excuses what might otherwise constitute unacceptable sin. This distinctive aspect, best called the true-love concession, relies on the use of a person removed from the front of the fictional stage by unfortunate circumstances but whose omnipresence is a constant impediment to the hero, and a guarantee that in the final outcome of the novel the moral cliché will be respected. The statement of a fact given early in the novel that the hero really loves one particular person is enough to condone passing infidelities and acts as a promise that virtue will be the ultimate victor. In Boulard's novel, La Vie et les Aventures de Ferdinand Vertamont et de Maurice son oncle, the hero falls in love with Mimi and eventually marries her and has children by her. In his travels, however, the call of his senses is too powerful - he admits his infidelities using a Sade-type argument to excuse them (*la faute n'en est-elle point aussi à la Nature qui m'avoit donné des sens si faciles à émouvoir?* (21)), and rationalizes his life to a philosophy of some personal convenience. He states:

....je ne regardois pas à la vérité, la fidélité exacte comme une vertu bien méritante, mais je voulois qu'un honnête homme restât constamment attaché à celle que son cœur avoit choisie, et qu'elle fut en quelque façon le point/de ralliement auquel le ramèneroient constamment la satisfaction et le dégoût. Mimi seule pouvoit remplir mon cœur, les autres ne pouvoient guère faire qu'une impression passagère. (22)

23) GRANVILLE. Paulin. At the beginning of the novel the young Paulin, being taken to an unknown destination by an 'exempt', stops at an inn overnight and has the fortune to make the acquaintance of the young, innocent and delightful, Agate. He escapes the control of the 'exempt' and, Vol.1, p.26, goes off in a coach with the girl and her mother.

24) Ibid. Vol.1, pp.103-122.

For example, the hero, sent to a farm for his own safety, meets the seductive sixteen-year old daughter of the farmer. The title of the chapter is indication enough of what is to follow, Vol.1, p.103.:

Qui n'eût pas succombé ?

One night, while out walking with the girl, the inevitable happens. It happens not once, but three times for comic effect.

25) Paulin, in Granville's novel, loves Agate and eventually marries her. Lesuire's 'Aventurier', Grégoire, loves Julie and spends the length of the novel trying to find her. In Charmanteuse, also by Lesuire, the only variation is one of name: Aurora of Le Crime and Le Repentir is substituted by Angélique.

26) As we have seen in note (25) of Chapter Two, and shall see again on p.89., Louvet integrates the 'décalage' of publication into the fictional world. The note, 'Au Public' at the end of the Six Semaines addresses the reader, p.846.:

Si vous ne daignez pas, MONSIEUR, continuer à cet essai l'indulgence dont vous avez honoré le premier, je me verrai condamné à finir mes jours dans ma prison,....

The dates of publication of the three novels are given in note (7) of this chapter.

27) A more detailed analysis is given on pages 90-91.

The acceptance of two kinds of love - one for the heart and the other for the senses - succinctly defines the true-love concession. Infidelity never harms the true-love; it does not exist on the same plane.

In similar fashion, Paulin in Granville's Paulin, ou les Aventures du Comte de Walter (23) loves Agate, is separated from her, and satisfies his sexual appetite elsewhere until the reunion at the end of the novel. The presentation of the infidelity is deliberately comic (24) but the 'bienséance' is guaranteed by the statement of fact that concludes the novel and shows the hero happy with his wife. There is no need to recount details of a common theme. It reappears constantly in Lesuire's novels (25), and forms the linking thread between the different volumes of the Faublais cycle. (26) The libertinage element is never more than recreation (both for the character in the fiction and for the reader), and the promise of eventual happiness in the future within a rigid marital bond combined with the vicious retribution handed out to disbelievers (27) are ample indications of the message of these novels.

The licentious novel allows sexual infidelity because there is never any danger that the comic gestures of the libertines will be confused with the expressions of true love that act as counterweights. The pornographic novel, especially when written by Sade, will tend to reject the instructive potential of humour. Nerciat does, of course, provide an exception in that his light-hearted tone and the ability to mock his own productions places him in a limbo between two imprecisely defined categories. Having talked about the comic aspects of the licentious novel we now detect a need to prove that the serious side did not go unnoticed. If it had done, the dislocation between artistic theory, where the writer claims a moral purpose, and practical effect, where the impact on the reader is gauged, would

28) The criticism is quoted in note (64) of Chapter Two.

have been such as to question the sincerity of the author. We know what the contemporary critic of the Chronique de Paris thought of Louvet (28) - he was both critical of the method and laudatory of the message. It would appear that our attempt to distinguish method from meaning in what is best described as a compromise form does at least have the authority of 18th Century readers. Since we are concerned with the different interpretations of moral (and later, political) propaganda, we must constantly attempt to estimate a contemporary reaction to the novels by explaining and justifying our own reactions.

Our primary task was to define this particular category by noting recurrent themes and methods. Having already evoked the question of artistic theory and suggested consciousness of aims, our next problem must be to assess the significance of explicit aims in order eventually to compare the aims stated with the effects achieved. Whether or not the author was sincere in the claims he made is not of major importance. The only question worthy of study is the reader's assessment of the work he is reading. Only when there is a blatant contradiction between aim and effect is one justified in doubting the writer's motives.

The reader's reaction to the novel he is about to read is influenced by the theory stated in the introduction. If he is told that the novel has a moral value he is constantly looking for the message, especially when the method chosen by the author would seem to conflict with the moral guarantee. The author's assertion of subtlety in his method flatters the reader into finding a message, even when the message is barely existent. Some time must be devoted to the abstract theory of the licentious novel before we can go on to confront the theory with the practice.

29) MAIMIEUX. Suite du Comte de Saint-Méran.

The attack is levelled primarily at the critic of the Année Littéraire who had declined, 33, Lettre iv, 1788, to give details of the novel, saying:

....la plupart de ces détails saliroient ma plume.

30) Ibid. 'Préface', p.xi.

Maimieux quotes the Année Littéraire.

31) Ibid. 'Préface', p.xvii.

32) Ibid. 'Préface', p.xx/xxi.

33) Ibid.

Banin, the Comte's tutor and now his friend, is introduced as a person, Vol.1, p.6.:

....qu'ils chérissaient cordialement, qu'ils respectoient même, malgré ses fréquentes citations de grec et de latin, l'apreté de son zèle....

Ducray-Duminil, in his novel Petit Jacques et Georgette. Paris, 1794 [=? 1789], introduces a tutor whose name and character would seem too similar to be coincidental. Bonnin, the tutor in question, is described, Vol.1, p.108.:

....un savant et parleur impitoyable.

Joseph de Maimieux, in his novel, Suite du Comte de Saint-Méran, attacks the critics of his previous novel in a 'Préface de l'Editeur'. (29) The author, or possibly the editor, attacks the assertion that 'les dix dernières pages ne suffisent pas pour réparer le mal qu'ont fait près de quatre volumes' (30). The author denies that he was simply trying to prove that sooner or later virtue and innocence would win over vice. He claims that the aim of the work was not to illustrate a simple maxim, rather that he was trying to prove a 'toute autre vérité' (31). The nature of this truth is not easy to define but it would seem to suggest an attempt to imitate contemporary corruption in order eventually to attack it. Maimieux asks the question that in turn doubts the veracity of the idealistic moral cliché:

Combien de libertins et de scélérats mourroient vertueux et innocens, si la vertu et l'innocence reprovoient ainsi leurs droits/ tôt ou tard! Ce seroit blesser visiblement le sens commun, que d'entreprendre un ouvrage avec l'intention absurde d'ériger en vérité générale une conclusion particulière qui porteroit sur un fait dont le contraire arrive plus communément. (32)

The fault would seem to lie with the reader. His demand for moral literature imposes a general conclusion on a work that describes a particular event. In most moral literature the general conclusion will of course be explicit but Maimieux denies that this is the case here. He is attempting a more subtle approach by denying a moral aim but claiming a moral effect. The result is incidental, not intentional. The hero, Germeuil (Saint-Méran) is married to Sophie of the earlier novel and still studying under his tutor, Banin. (33) Germeuil inherits a house from the Marquis de Monpal but in the process also comes before a temptation he is not prepared for. He meets his first love in a park and succumbs to her charms. A new friend, the Marquis d'Av\*\*\*, a libertine figure in the Fauxfilter tradition (See pp. 45-46.) attempts to corrupt Germeuil and succeeds

34) MAIMIEUX. Suite du Comte de Saint-Mirran. Vol.2, p.9.

The relationship between hero and tutor is not unlike  
that of Télémaque and Mentor.

35) LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Crime. Bruxelles, 1789,  
'Avant-Propos'.

The three novels referred to are:

L'Aventurier François. of 1782.

Le Philosophe Parvenu. of 1787

Le Crime. of 1789.

36) LESUIRE. L'Aventurier François. 'Avant-Propos'.

in instilling in him a passion for the widow, Mme de Monpal. The author balances the tone of the novel with a well-placed guarantee:

Saint-Méran peut être séduit par le vice, aveuglé par ses passions; mais il ne sauroit cesser d'aimer la vertu. Facile, imprudent, loin du guide et des conseils qui devoient, à son âge maintenir l'équilibre entre ses sens et sa raison, il peut s'égarer et tomber, les yeux fermés, dans les pièges du crime, mais il lui sera toujours impossible de ne pas les redouter. (34)

Convention does not allow such a promise to be broken. The conclusion of the novel shows the hero back with his wife, the happy father of a young boy, and the faithful husband of the future. The novel differs little from the more subtle of the cliché novels. The rejection of a general moral message changes the emphasis from illustration to description but the reader's reaction is not likely to be very different. The specific conclusion of this novel could very easily become a general maxim of the kind we have already studied.

From the theoretical point of view, a far more interesting figure is R.M. Lesuire. Over a period of ten years there is an indicative modification in his theory which suggests a growing awareness of the contradiction between stated aim and achieved effect. Writing the 'préface' to his Le Crime in 1789 (before the completion of the cycle), Lesuire described the various emphases of his earlier works:

Dans le premier, l'amusement n'est pas sans utilité; dans le second, l'amusement et l'utilité sont à peu près de niveau; ....dans le troisième enfin, l'utilité n'est pas sans amusement. (35)

There is more to Lesuire's distinction than a slick opposition. In the 'avant-propos' to his first novel mentioned in the cycle the author had denied any moral purpose:

Il eût été plus beau, sans doute, d'avoir un but moral et de faire parvenir notre lecteur à la vertu par le chemin du plaisir; mais c'est le comble de l'art. Nous oserons tenter par la suite un si noble effort. (36)

In retrospect he affirms an instructive element that he denied at the moment of publication. The only plausible reason for such a denial

37) LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Suite de l'Aventurier François.  
Londres et Paris, 1783, 'Avant-Propos', p.1.

38) For example, in the Aventurier François the hero, Grégoire, had been put in the same cell as La Rose, a woman dressed as a man. The episode is described on p.76. of this chapter. When the two meet again, before a final parting, the hero states, Vol.1, p.94.:

Je l'aimois de tout mon coeur (sans préjudice de mon amour pour Julie).

In the Suite de l'Aventurier François the third-person narrator reassures the reader, Vol.2, p.232.:

....car il faut avouer qu'il aimoit sa Julie plus que toutes les femmes qui étoient à sa disposition.

must depend on an attempt to entice and gain readers. If this is the case then Lesuire must not be underestimated; he reverses the normal procedure of claiming moral purpose in novels where the moral is not evident by denying it when there is some evidence of it.

In the Suite de L'Aventurier François which appeared a year later (in 1783), the 'avant-propos' comments on the earlier work:

Quoique le principal but de cet ouvrage soit l'amusement, il nous paroît qu'on a reconnu dans la première partie, des idées philosophiques, et le caractère d'un auteur qui, en écrivant un Roman, ne pouvoit renoncer entièrement au plaisir d'être utile. (37)

The explicit statement offering pleasure to the reader in the first novel is modified in the second by the author's own admission of his search for pleasure derived from social and ethical utility. The irony of all this depends on a knowledge of the two novels, for it becomes apparent that the only real difference between the two works is the author's description of them! The hero of both novels is the same Grégoire Merveil (again an indicative name) - in both accounts he embarks on a number of enforced journeys in search of his love, Julie (who marries him at the end of the first novel), in both the hero is confused with a villain who is his exact double and suffers as a consequence, and in both novels he moves from prison to prison, from foreign land to foreign land until finally, at the end of both, he is reunited with his true love. The infidelities he commits during his travels are shrugged off as unimportant (38) and quite without prejudice for his love of Julie.

The fault with both these novels is quite simply their endless repetition of episodes. The hero moves from adventure to adventure with only a short prison sentence acting as punctuation to an endless paragraph. Eventually, in Charmansage, Lesuire approaches a perfect solution to his particular problem. He tells the reader that his aim:

39) LÉSUIRE. Charmansage. Vol. 1, p.2.

40) LÉSUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Repentir. Bruxelles, 1789,  
'Avant-Propos'.

....est d'amuser le loisir des gens honnêtes par la lecture d'une espèce de Roman, et non d'un traité philosophique. S'ils sont de plus, éclairés par cette lecture sur des objets intéressans, ce sera un surcroit de bien que je ne me promets pas; mais je serai flatté de voir naître de mon ouvrage. En un mot, je tâcherai qu'il soit l'histoire d'un jeune homme, et non pas d'un pédant. (39)

The emphasis now is on useful entertainment rather than amusing instruction. Yet Lesuire tends to divide his categories too arbitrarily. By failing to integrate the instructive with the pleasing he manages to satisfy neither category completely. His statement that:

Nos travaux pourroient être plus instructifs, si nous n'étions pas obligés de chercher l'amusement de la jeunesse que nous voulons servir et intéresser. (40)

implies a division in his theoretical approach that in turn destroys the natural, realistic element that he claims in his productions. The structure of Charmansage does nothing to eradicate the fault. The hero is both wise and charming, both well-behaved and libertine. The contradiction implied by the name has already been noted (See p77) and the reader finds it hard to bear with the unnatural transitions that the contradictions impose. The hero's position as tutor to an aristocrat allows passages of scientific information to be followed by lascivious antics to amuse the reader. The result is a constant conflict rather than a blend in a novel which moves erratically from episode to episode without natural transition and without the imperceptible fusion of instruction and amusement that will be the hallmark of the best of this category of novel.

Lesuire realises that the novel must strive for something more than 'vraisemblance' if it is to achieve its full effect and realise its potential. The events must not only be described in a manner that is convincing, they must actually have taken place. The paradox is obvious and one which Lesuire is not slow to exploit. The novel is an unreal work, fiction, imaginary by accepted

41) LESUINE. Le Repentir. Vol.2, p.221/222.

- 42) For example, in the early novel, the Aventurier François, the hero discovers an unknown land called 'La France Australe'. This discovery allows him to make lightly-veiled comments on the contemporary situation in France. The hero is made king of the imaginary land and complains that he could do nothing to relieve, Vol.2, p.243.:

Beaucoup de misère, comme par tout ailleurs; beaucoup d'injustices commises en mon nom; un petit nombre de gens blasés regorgeant de richesses; un bien plus grand sans pain, traité comme un vil troupeau.

It is not suggested that there is anything new in such a technique, but the quotation does permit the reader to trace the author's subsequent political development.

- 43) Louvet's first political gesture was to justify the people of Paris in their action and so defend them against the accusations of Mounier, the constitutional monarchist from Grenoble. Later he entered the 'Club des Jacobins', was elected deputy to the 'Convention', and sided with the 'Girondins' against the 'Montagne'. After a vicious attack on Robespierre on the 29th October 1792, he was forced to leave Paris for his own safety. He returned after the 9th Thermidor to take up his seat in the 'Convention'.

- 44) Quoted by Etienne in his edition of Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle, Vol.2, p.406.

- 45) Quoted in the 'Notice sur la Vie de Louvet' that precedes his Mémoires, Paris, 1823.

definition, that has to deny its own essence if it is to be of any worth. Consequently, the novel is forced into an absurd position where it asserts its own incredibility to emphasise the truth of what it portrays. In Le Rementir, the sequel to the Crime, a character writes to the first-person writing the 'real' letters to say that his letters are more like a novel than real letters:

Ta soeur, son amant et moi, nous te lisons avec autant d'intérêt que de plaisir. Tes longues/relations ne sont pas des lettres. C'est un roman détaillé, qui nous présente le double charme de la féeerie et de la vérité. (41)

The reader is not likely to be convinced by such a technique but he will appreciate the attempted fraud and smile at the paradox that is raised. In the final analysis, he will be less critical of the most unlikely tale that is in fact being counterfeited for reality. Lesuire's art certainly matured over the years and, if the antics of the heroes have changed little, the settings most decidedly have. The globe-trotting of the early heroes and the abstract moral (both ethical and political) that ensued have given way to a contemporary setting that adds verisimilitude, conviction and relevance to the fiction.<sup>(42)</sup> We shall return to study the message of these works a little later and must then analyse the sincerity of any political statement and possible readers' reactions to serious aspects in a novel that deliberately mocks its own nature.

Louvet, like Lesuire, had the advantage of hindsight and was able to provide the clue to the meaning of his early novel. The figure of the author presents us with something of a contradiction. On the one hand we come face to face with a 'républicain austère' actively concerned with politics <sup>(43)</sup> and whose dying words were supposed to be:

Grâce à Dieu, je finis avant la République.(44),

while on the other hand, and some would say in complete contrast, we have the author described by contemporaries as a 'romancier licencieux' (45). We must ask whether the two descriptions are

46) LOUVET. Mémoires. p.26.

47) Anon. Détail de la Mort de Louvet. s.l.n.d. [ =? 1797 ], p.1.

48) The mid-Nineteenth Century critic, Géruez, in his Histoire de la Littérature pendant la Révolution, Paris, 1869, allows his hate of Robespierre to outweigh all objective analysis. He wrote, p.151.:

Nous aimons mieux Louvet attaquant sans détour Robespierre, et prenant le style des Catalinaires contre le nouveau Catalina; Louvet méritait de ne pas écrire le mauvais livre qui le déshonneure.

Rivers, in his Louvet, Revolutionist and Romance writer, London, 1910, insists, p.19. :

Precisely, Faublas, we repeat, is not an immoral book. It has none of that subtle, furtive and leering indecency which debases much of the Eighteenth Century....

More recently, Dietmar Rieger, in his article, "Les Amours du Chevalier de Faublas von Louvet de Couvray. Ein Roman und seine Kritiker." in Romanische Forschungen. 82, 1970, pp.536-577, indicates the political significance of Louvet's novels, p.549. :

Die Tatsache, dass das Vorwort zum 3. Teil der Amours du Chevalier de Faublas 1789 verfasst wurde - wahrscheinlich um die Jahresmitte, wie Louvets eigene Angaben glaubhaft machen, also während der grossen Ereignisse jenes Jahres - und der sich durch grosse Teile dieses Vorworts zichende deutlich vernehmbare republikanische Grundton legen die Vermutung nahe, dass der Autor schon hier geheimnisvoll und vorsichtig - 'comme la littérature a encore ses aristocrates, il faut parler bas' - auf die in seinem Roman vertretenen republikanischen Prinzipien hinweisen will.

49) The novel may, in fact, have appeared a year earlier, in 1786. See Note (7) of this chapter.

50) LOUVET. Une Année.

The hero's reaction is immediate to the extent that he can already say, p.426. :

....je ne voyais dans le monde entier que Sophie; l'amour innocent et pur m'enflammait pour elle, et j'ignorais encore qu'il existait un autre amour.

compatible and must consider the author's avowed aims in writing this particular kind of fiction. Louvet insisted that his Faublas cycle could and should be taken seriously. He wrote, albeit with the advantage of hindsight:

A propos de ce petit livre j'espère que tout homme impartial me rendra la justice de convenir, qu'au milieu des légèretés dont il est rempli, on trouve, au moins dans les passages sérieux, partout où l'auteur se montre, un grand amour de la philosophie, et surtout des principes de républicanisme assez rares encore à l'époque où j'écrivais. (46)

The task of the critic must be to balance stated aim with achieved effect in order to assess both the sincerity of the claim and the value of the message. The anonymous author of the Détail de la Mort de Louvet was in no doubts about the quality of the cycle, although the generosity of his praise may owe something to its position in an obituary. The acclaim is still worth quoting:

Son roman de Faublas fera les délices de tous les âges, et tous les lecteurs admireront plusieurs caractères de ce bel ouvrage... (47)

Later critics were less generous in their praise and concentrated their criticism on the literary form chosen by the author. More recently, Louvet has received due reward from critics able to appreciate the subtle insinuation of his art. (48)

The plot of the novel is a simple one that depends heavily on swift movement from episode to episode within an easily recognisable environment. The novel appeared in three separate parts and this explains the unnatural cliff-hanging at the end of the first two parts. The Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas which appeared in 1787 (49) describes the Chevalier's entry into Paris and his experiences in the new world he discovers. From the very beginning the 'true-love concession' is introduced. Faublas meets a friend of his sister, a certain Sophie de Pontis, is struck by her beauty, and can already reject all other women for her. (50) He is tempted into the outside world by a libertine, the Comte de Rosambert, who

51) LOUVET. Une Année. p.435.

52) The edition of Les Amours du Chevalier de Faublas. s.l.  
(Union Générale d'Éditions - Bibliothèque 10/18) 1966.,  
while comprising for the most part the Année de la  
du Chevalier de Faublas, concludes with the opening  
sequence of the Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier  
de Faublas. The final line, p.439.:

Malheureux chevalier! quand tu revins à toi, où  
étais-tu ?

is found on p.724. of the Etienneble edition.

persuades him to dress as a woman to attend a society ball. Seduced by the Marquise de B<sup>ee</sup> (whose husband is the proud physiognomer), he is introduced to the delights of physical love. Louvet is careful to emphasise the passive role of his innocent hero; he gets into bed, 'ne soupçonnant pas encore qu'on pût avoir, en couchant deux [sic], d'autres désirs que de causer ensemble avant de s'endormir'. (51) The narrative is interrupted by the introduction of a new episode which relates the story of M. du Portail, a friend of Faublas' father and a refugee from Poland. He tells of the forced departure from his homeland and how his wife died of cold and starvation while they were in hiding. He also mentions a lost daughter (who predictably turns out to be Sophie). Faublas continues his affair with the Marquise but eventually the Marquis is told of his disguise, challenges Faublas to a duel, is hurt, and puts Faublas in a position where he is forced to leave the country or be locked up for duelling. The Chevalier leaves for the border taking Sophie with him. When the various parents arrive the marriage can take place and the first delivery of the novel is concluded. (52)

The Six Semaines opens with a strange incident. The ceremony is interrupted as a young man enters the church, mutters a brief lament and leaves as quickly as he came. Sophie is taken from the church by her father and to everyone's surprise he bundles her into a pre-arranged coach and leaves at great speed. Faublas gives chase but is unable to catch them. He faints from the shock of the events and awakes to become a stock Romantic hero. He walks alone in the garden bemoaning his fate until Rosambert, who has come to play a trick on the Marquise de B<sup>ee</sup> (who in turn has come from Paris to console the young hero) takes Faublas' place in bed one night, receives the favours of the unsuspecting Marquise, and tells the pathetic hero that his love and wife is in a convent in Paris.

Faublas disguises himself as a nun, is captured on his return and mistaken for a nun who has escaped, and is put in a convent. The reader is left to fill in the details of what happens during his stay at the convent. (See p.78.) Eventually, Faublas makes his escape and continues his search. Arrested by the guard, Faublas is imprisoned and later taken out by a woman needing a servant. His situation introduces a new character to the novel, the attractive young Comtesse de Lignolle. Aged only sixteen, she is married to a fool of a husband, a would-be poet and a pedant. The Comtesse is totally innocent and naive and indeed, is still a virgin. Faublas shows her what marriage should be by obeying her orders to make love to her. As a willing servant he can hardly refuse! The sequence finishes with Faublas going to a convent in search of Sophie. His disguise is good enough to allow him entry but he is arrested before he can see his love and taken to the Bastille. The novel's second instalment ends with a reminder to the reader that he alone is in a position to secure the hero's release by reading on!

La Fin des Amours finds Faublas imprisoned and miserable. His father soon secures his release, however, and so allows the antics to continue. It soon becomes apparent that the Marquise de B\*\* had contributed to Faublas' release by using her influence at court. She is now prepared to sacrifice her own happiness by helping the hero to find his love, Sophie. Meanwhile, Faublas continues his liaison with the Comtesse de Lignolle, accompanying her on charity trips in the country and admiring her selfless generosity. On the way back to Paris Faublas catches a glimpse of Sophie - he returns when he can but finds only a letter explaining the reasons for her abduction. Her father had realised that Faublas would not be faithful to his wife and had taken Sophie away to make Faublas conscious of her loss. He now says that he will return her only

53) LOUVET. La Fin des Amours. p.1181.

54) Ibid. p.1196.

55) Ibid. p.1202.

after the death of the Marquise de B<sup>ee</sup>. The Comtesse de Lignolle learns of her 'rivale' but is pregnant by Faublas and has still never made love to her husband. The casual, light-hearted antics begin to give way to a more serious tone. The only feasible solution is to make the Comte make love to his wife and convince him that he is the father. The ruse fails because the Comte proves to be impotent. Faublas is surprised in a compromising position with the Marquise de B<sup>ee</sup> by her furious husband. The Marquise receives the fatal blow intended for Faublas but before she actually expires she manages to profess her love for Faublas and to state the extent of her long suffering. On her deathbed she laments:

O dieux! dieux vengeurs! Si c'est une justice, elle est bien cruelle. (53),

and so manages a cautionary warning not to imitate her conduct. Her death means that Sophie can now return to Faublas, but this too introduces a dilemma:

Il faut pourtant aujourd'hui, pour assurer le bonheur de l'une, causer le désespoir de l'autre. (54)

Yet the nature of his love for Sophie is such that he has little freedom of choice. The hero is quite unable to deal with the situation. For the first time in the novel he has to bear the responsibility for his actions. Sophie arrives while the Comtesse is still in the house - a farcical situation is not without its tragic elements. The Comtesse attempts to kill herself with a pair of scissors, fails, but is missing when Faublas returns. He goes into the street to look for her and is greeted by a storm ('La fureur des éléments ne m'annonçait-elle pas la vengeance des dieux?' (55)). He finds the body of the Comtesse floating in the river.

The hero is overcome with emotion and faints. His loss of consciousness forces a change in the form of the narrative. The first-person narrator gives way to the epistolary form as the

56) LOUVET. La Fin des Amours. p.1222.

57) Ibid. p.1222.

58) Ibid. p.1222.

59) LOUVET. Préface de la Fin des Amours. p.417.

60) Ibid.

The author wrote, p.417. :

quoi qu'il en soit, lisez mon dénouement, il me justifiera sans doute.

characters close to the hero discuss his state of health and his madness. Finally, when Faublas himself is well enough to write to his friends, he tells them of his present situation in Poland - he has moved with Sophie's father to Warsaw - and draws two explicit morals to the events he has described in the account. The first redresses the balance of the libertine element in the cycle:

Je jouis, au sein de l'hymen, d'une félicité que je n'ai jamais connue dans mes égarements. (56).

while the second assures the reader of his continued suffering, the divine punishment for his youthful misdemeanours:

....les dieux vengeurs ont condamné Faublas à des souvenirs plus chers et plus funestes. (57)

Faublas still has visions and nightmares of a woman floating in water, 'une femme qu'il ne m'est pas plus permis d'oublier que d'atteindre.' (58)

From the ethical point of view the only question we must ask is whether the conclusion of the novel is strong enough to act as an antidote to all that has preceded it. The vivid descriptions of universal suffering at the end of the novel would seem to guarantee the author's claim that:

Cet ouvrage, si frivole en ses détails, est au fond très moral. (59)

The author insists that the total structure of the novel must be considered before any valid judgement can be made. (60) Certainly, Louvet's politics and his own evaluation of the work do suggest a serious side that counteracts the comic libertine element.

When Faublas first arrives in Paris he quickly notes the contrasts that the prospect offers him and the social implications that these contrasts suggest. He compares the misery of an area like the Faubourg Saint-Marceau with the extravagant richness of the Place Louis XV (now Place de la Concorde), and concludes:

61) LOUVET. Une Année. p.420.

62) For a similar vision see Voltaire's Le Monde comme Il va, in Romans et Contes, ed. H. Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1960.

Babouc, the chosen observer, notes with admiration, p.69/70. :

....les ponts magnifiques élevés sur le fleuve, les quais superbes / et commodes, les palais bâties à droite et à gauche....

In this case, of course, Paris is substituted by Persépolis.

Rousseau, in Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse, ed. R. Pomeau, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1960, was more direct. Saint-Freux, on his first visit to Paris, is amazed at the inequality of conditions in the capital. He writes to Julie, p.208. :

....c'est peut-être la ville du monde où les fortunes sont le plus inégales, et où règnent à la fois la plus somptueuse opulence et la plus déplorable misère.

63) For example, Etienne, in the 'Préface' to his edition of Romanciers du Six-Muitième Siècle, notes with some considerable scorn, Vol.2, p.xxiv/xxv. :

Si j'aime Faublas, ce n'est pourtant pas par "vertu" républicaine. J'avouerai même que l'un des pires moments du livre, trois pages des Six semaines, où le narrateur assiste à l'agonie d'un misérable, ne valent pas mieux que du Delly ou / du Fadéiev:....

64) LOUVET. Six Semaines. p.787.

....l'expérience ne m'avait pas encore appris que partout les palmis cachent des chaumières, que le luxe produit la misère, et que de la grande opulence d'un seul naît toujours l'extrême pauvreté de plusieurs. (61)

If the observation is not original (62), it nevertheless indicates a certain sympathy with the oppressed which, at this particular time, represents a political statement. It would seem that the republican principle of civic virtue is stated and favoured in a libertine novel which in effect constitutes an attack on libertinage. Louvet's particular strength lies in his ability to fuse the serious with the comic with a balance that assures both a light-hearted tone and an earnest message. The moral constantly appears as a consequence of an action rather than appearing as the pre-requisite which determined the course of the romanesque plot. It seems casual rather than planned.

The episode that follows Faublas' experiences at the hands of the 'magnétiseurs' (see p.74) is a deliberate contrast of tone and an attempt to silhouette the blackness of the real world against the fictional creation that forms the background. If the method has not gained universal acclaim (63), it would nevertheless seem certain that this is the kind of episode that the author referred to when he claimed his 'principes de républicanisme'. (see note 46) Faublas, escaping from the 'magnétiseurs' by running along the rooftops, is seen and forced to enter an attic slum. Inside he finds a man and his son in the depths of poverty and starvation. The man pleads with the aristocratic hero:

Est-ce ma faute à moi si, jeté par le hasard de la naissance dans la classe la plus indigente, j'ai vu mon enfance tourmentée de mille besoins, et condamnée à toutes les privations! Est-ce ma faute si, faisant ensuite d'inutiles efforts pour flétrir l'ingrate fortune, je & me suis livré qu'à des travaux mal payés, parce qu'ils étaient pénibles;....(64)

The answer to all the rhetorical questions is the obvious negative that the reader as well as the hero, is expected to provide. The

65) LOUVET. Six Semaines. p.789.

66) Ibid. p.790.

episode is supposed to represent an aspect of reality that exists outside the limits of the fiction. Faublas' actions are a model for individuals reading the account to follow in similar situations. The hero feels guilt at his previous conduct and selfishness and attempts to make amends in a practical way. In a passage of self-criticism he admits:

Depuis plus d'un an, jeté dans un monde nouveau, continuellement distrait par les plaisirs d'une vie très dissipée, j'ai négligé des devoirs que rien ne pouvait me dispenser de remplir. Je vous l'avoue, uniquement occupé de moi, j'ai tout-à-fait oublié ceux de mes frères à qui j'aurais dû songer tous les jours. (65)

More precisely, Faublas admits that his libertine way of life is self-centred and contradicts the form of civic virtue that he now expresses favour for. His pleasures have contradicted his duties in a way that only a rich man's can. Dissipation occupies the time normally spent working. In pre-Revolutionary days there is one very effective (and conscience-relieving) remedy for excess richness - charity. Faublas does the only thing he can in the circumstances.

He tells the man:

Je ne prétends pas vous offrir un faible secours qui ne vous arracherait que pour un moment à l'horreur de votre situation déplorable: deux cents louis sont dans cette bourse; empruntez-m'en la moitié....(66)

The man is overwhelmed but agrees, asks Faublas his name so that he can repay the money, and Faublas' reticence is indication enough that he never wants the money to be returned. In this particular case the moral of the episode results directly from the action; the same is not true for all the didactic elements of the novel.

A similar episode uses a quite different method of persuasion. The worst variety of moral tale would depend on a central figure to indicate the message of the fiction by constant sermonizing, both to other characters and to the reader. Such technique, while allowing no possible misinterpretation, tends to break the flow of

67) LOUVENT. La Fin des Amours. p.907.

the narrative and, at the same time, threatens to destroy the fictional illusion. No matter how worthy the sentiments - and Louvet would seem to be sincere in his preaching - an episode like that in which the hero goes into the country with his young mistress, the Comtesse de Lignolle and is inspired to an attack on luxury does not fall as smoothly into the narrative as a moral that follows from an action. No doubt the hero was contributing to the author's republicanism when he said, talking of commerce:

Un fléau destructeur qu'il amène avec lui, le luxe, vient encore dans nos campagnes décliner les plus beaux hommes qu'il précipite à jamais dans le vaste abîme des capitales où s'engloutissent les générations. Que reste-t-il pour cultiver nos champs déserts? Quelques triates esclaves, condamnés à l'oppression des heureux de la terre qui, par la plus inique des répartitions, ayant gardé pour eux l'oisiveté avec la considération, les exemptions avec les richesses, laissent à leurs vassaux la misère et le mépris, le travail et les impôts. (67)

But the fact remains that such a passage is not wholly compatible with this type of novel and compares badly with a moral resulting from the action within the fiction.

The serious element in the novel is highly critical of contemporary France. As such, the moral, the message that is imparted, is political. Faublas' eloquent condemnations of the corruption of the 'Ancien Régime' (to which he in part contributes by his actions), are indicative of an internal contradiction both in the character of the hero, and in the novel itself. It is suggested that the author is conscious of these contradictions and that he distinguishes between the contradiction of method used to attract the reader and that of the serious element which is intended to balance, and eventually tip the scales in the latter's favour. Faublas himself is allowed to mis-spend his youth but only for the length of time needed to make him aware of the contradictions in his character. The author is treading a careful path between sexual comedy and serious social

68) LOUVET. La Fin des Amours. p.899.

69) Ibid. p.899.

70) Ibid. p.900.

71) See particularly the poetry episode in the Six Journaux.  
pp.812 813. The Comte does not realise that he is the  
subject of Faublas' heavy irony. The Chevalier's  
remark that he finds the Comte's poetry, p.812. :

Surprenant! d'une simplicité!...sublime!

is taken as a compliment by the Comte although it is  
meant sarcastically by Faublas.

commentary. An increase in the amount of either would not necessarily destroy the novel but it would radically alter its appeal.

So far it has been seen that the message of the novel depends on one of three methods: description, action and sermonizing. Two further elements remain to be studied if one is to have a feel of the whole novel. The first is a simple contrast of character, the second a more abstract form of vision and prediction. The Comtesse de Lignolle's husband, the Comte, is introduced as impotent, naive, and affected. He is cuckolded by Faublas to become a stock comic figure in the Molière tradition. On one occasion he returns from Versailles elated at the prospect of a 'pension'. He explains to his wife, 'Madame, on n'est jamais trop riche' (68) but her reaction forms a bitter contrast to his delight:

Hé! monsieur, tant d'honnêtes gens ne le sont pas assez!  
Pourquoi ne pas laisser les grâces de la Cour se répandre  
sur ceux qui en ont un véritable besoin? (69)

The count's reply accuses his wife of naiveté of the ways of the world but she is firm enough to insist on her beliefs:

Monsieur, je ne connais, comme vous le dites bien, ni le monde, ni le cœur humain, ni, Dieu merci, l'art des beaux raisonnements; mais j'écoute ma conscience: elle me crie qu'aujourd'hui vous avez surpris les ministres, trompé le roi et volé des malheureux. (70)

The vividness of the contrast depends a little on prior knowledge of the Comte. We have already seen the obnoxious self-centred nature of his character and the shallowness of his intellect. (71) The Comtesse, although accused of being naive, is what the 18th Century reader would call 'sensible'. She is soft, warm-natured, sympathetic of other people's suffering, and generous. She is the character we should identify with even though she is a Comtesse and aware of her social position, and even if her solution to the world's problems is the not very radical solution of charity.

72) LOUVET. Une Année. p.588.

73) According to a note in Lesuire's Le Repentir.  
Vol.1, p.242.

The final instructive technique in the novel, that referred to as an abstract form of vision and prediction, depends on what is almost an artificial addition to the novel. A character within the fiction tells his life-story and this account has its own particular message to convey. M. du Portail, the Polish friend of Faublas' father and father of the hero's eventual wife, recounts the story of his youth, how he left Poland to fight for freedom in America, and how he lost his greatest friend, Pulauski, in battle. Remembering that the date of publication is 1787, Pulauski's dying words are particularly significant:

Je vois dans une immense capitale, longtemps avilie, déshonorée par toutes les espèces de servitudes, une foule de soldats se montrer citoyens et des milliers de citoyens devenir soldats. Sous leurs coups redoublés la Bastille s'écroule;... (72)

The suggestion is obvious and the sympathies of the author apparent in a speech of such eloquence and emotion. The Bastille, the symbol of oppression, is already seen as the likely target of the masses and the object of hate in a people wanting freedom.

There is obviously not time to attempt similarly detailed analyses of all the novels that are classified in this section. There would be ample to justify Louvet's claims of republicanism in his novels, even if the political statement is not especially coherent or unified. Our aim is to show the existence of a serious element in the licentious novel - it would seem in part to be proved. A consequence of the proof suggests a political awareness, at least in Louvet, and to a lesser extent, in Lesuire. Lesuire uses actual events in his fiction but is less obviously in support of a particular faction than Louvet. The study is restricted to one novel, Charmansage, published in 1792 but written in 1789 (73) whose sub-title is intriguingly political in promise, 'Mémoires d'un jeune citoyen faisant l'éducation d'un ci-devant noble', yet which is remarkably restrained and guarded in its precepts. General criticisms of

74) LESUIRE. Charmesage. Vol.1, p.174.

75) Ibid. The hero writes, Vol.1, p.200. :

J'étois pénétré, pour cette belle, d'un amour fondé sur les sens, il est vrai, mais qui avoit beaucoup de force à mon âge, et qui n'excluoit pas un autre amour plus pur, fondé sur l'estime, que je conservois pour l'image de ma chère Angélique.

76) Ibid. This episode would seem to be a comic imitation of the Masonic initiation ceremony. The hero writes, Vol.2, p.108. :

Je n'en décris point le cérémonial, qui fut assez amusant.

institutions are found to be balanced by specific praise for the King, Louis XVI.

A short account of the plot and tone of the novel is needed as introduction. The hero, Charmansage, is made tutor to the young and aptly named, Surveillé. After a short stay in Paris the family leave for their summer retreat in Normandy. Charmansage accompanies them and uses the holiday as a further source of instruction. The arrogant young nobleman, Surveillé, is shown the value of agriculture (Charmansage is a good physiocrat - 'Voyez, lui dis-je, combien ce peuple honnête, qui ne jouit que de ce qu'il gagne à la sueur de son front, en travaillant pour vous nourrir.....est encore bien content quand il peut vivre de son travail,...' (74) ) and the Normandy country provides the stimulus for lessons on nature and the formation of the world. The true-love theme is maintained in the novel and brought back at irregular intervals. The hero's love for Angélique does not of course exclude passing infidelities (75) but it does serve as a guarantee and an assurance that true love and not libertinage will be the eventual winner. The lessons continue both within and outside the bounds of fiction. Lessons on astronomy lead to lessons on Newton and gravity, while episodes of pure fantasy, where the hero invents a pair of wings and flies, lead to episodes of a more obscure nature where the hero is initiated into a private sect. (76) Real events are fused into the fiction. The people discussing the impending 'Etats-Généraux' serve as a background to the tutor's education of Surveillé and the teaching of which side he should support. A short stay in the Bastille is terminated by the events of the 14th July which, in turn, give way to a chapter entitled - 'Idées sur la Révolution.' A detailed discussion of contemporary topics ensues with Charmansage attempting to persuade his pupil of the benefits offered by the newly-found

77) LESSUIRE. Charmansage.

Surveillé admis, albeit when he thinks he is dying,  
Vol.4, p.253. :

J'ai été un pécheur; je suis né, et j'ai vécu dans  
cette classe insatiable, qui possède tout, et qui  
méprise encore ceux dont elle dévore la dépouille...

78) Ibid. Vol.4, p.264.

79) Ibid. Vol.3, p.5.

liberty. Judging by Surveillé's eventual stand (77) the tutor would appear to have achieved his aims. At the same time, however, the conclusion to the novel casts doubt on the seriousness of the political element in the novel. Charmansage notes in delight:

J'ai une femme céleste, une double famille qui m'aime, plus de cinquante mille livres de rentes; je n'ai pas vingt-cinq ans, et je jouis de la fleur de la santé. Vive la Constitution, Vive la Liberté. (78)

Charmansage's support for the Revolution would seem to be not wholly unconnected with his present prosperity and must, as a result, be viewed with some scepticism. If we are looking for a coherent political statement we are forced to the conclusion that this novel is less extreme than a simple relation of the plot tends to imply. Support for the Revolution is tempered by support for the Monarch. When Charmansage is arrested and taken to the Bastille he questions the justice of his arrest. The question at once represents an attack on the corruption of the 'Ancien Régime' and a specific defence of the King, the head of the régime:

Le Roi n'a pas le droit, plus que personne, de donner des ordres injustes. D'ailleurs vous savez bien que ce n'est pas la volonté du Roi que vous suivez. Vous savez comment tout cela se fait. On a des blancs signés du Roi, des lettres de cachet avec les noms en blanc, et on les remplit comme on veut; si le Roi ne sait pas un mot de toutes ces indignités commises en son nom. (79)

The excuse of ignorance is a popular one and one that we shall find recurring in the Oriental tales of Chapter Six. Yet it is not good enough to explain the signing of blank forms which could only be used for one purpose. The modern reader constantly has the impression that Lesuire is less prescriptive than descriptive. The attitude he describes and his apparent support for a limited form of monarchy would seem to owe as much to his audience as to his beliefs. Perhaps the author expects that his readers are of good bourgeois stock and is fearful of the extremes offered by the Republic. As a

80) LESUIRE. Charmansage. Vol.3, p.166/167.

81) Ibid. Vol.4, p.50.

result, a term we shall call the 'liberty/licence restriction' is introduced to temper the euphoria. In contemporary tracts there is a recurrent theme which warns of the dangers of going beyond the limits of freedom into the land of licence. The meaning of liberty is modified to act as a restriction which negates its essence. For example, when Poulette, one of the prisoners in the Bastille, is released by the events, she confuses the meaning of liberty. She rationalizes her actions:

Ici l'on se permet, sur le champ, la plus grande familiarité; ici cessent, tout-à-coup, toutes les distinctions établies parmi les hommes. On se trouve tout de suite égaux, amis, amans, frères; on est plus que frères, on devient époux pour le moment; c'est la pure union fraternelle, ou plutôt conjugale.  
(80)

The result of Poulette's ecstasy is Charmansage's hasty retreat from Paris. Her liberty is too much for the moderate hero since it destroys the values on which he wants to build his new society. Virtue, which he defines as 'l'amour du bien public' (81) is the new standard which determines social distinctions. For him it must entail both self-control and sincerity in relationships (his passing affairs do not have the same value as his love for Angélique), and it must include a sacrifice for the good of society. Yet the hero (and the author it would seem) is unaware of the need to destroy the old distinctions of wealth before new criteria can be introduced. There is a desire to conserve which is incompatible with the Revolutionary setting that is described. The hero, particularly at the end of the novel, is too self-satisfied, too content with his own happiness to spread the belief that he seemed at times to suggest in the course of the novel.

This particular criticism of Charmansage may seem harsh, but it should prove one point. One can take the licentious novel seriously, and one would expect the 18th Century reader to have adopted a similar critical analysis. In the novel the third estate convinces

the nobility of the need to readjust and so reverses the normal roles. Lenuire uses a political subject without really making his novel political. The events are not biased towards a coherent philosophy - instead one constantly has the impression that the author is writing the kind of novel he knows his audience will like. He serves to confirm their beliefs and not to educate or convert his readers.

This study of the licentious novel has suggested that the libertinage elements which justify inclusion in this section are little more than bait dangled to entice the reader. The disguise, which is always destroyed in full view of the reader at the end of the novel, may conceal a carefully hidden serious aspect (be it ethical or political) that will ultimately become apparent. The sincerity of those authors who claimed a serious purpose in this light-hearted form would seem to be proved. The licentious tale which boasts a moral purpose normally (but not always) keeps its promise, even if the value of the message may vary enormously. This is a particularly important point and one that must be borne in mind when considering those novels that are classified as pornographic. There the promise is not normally kept, the tone differs considerably, the description is complete to the point of luridness, and vice, instead of being used to teach virtue, may also be used to teach vice. The conclusion to the licentious tale differs very little from the conclusion to the moral tale. The formula is modified, the method of instruction is more subtle, but the message remains substantially the same: libertinage will breed unhappiness, sickness or death. But a further political element is present in these novels that becomes even more apparent in the next section on pornographic novels and 'contes'.

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1) The extent of the fashion can be judged from Louis-Sébastien Mercier's condemnation of Sade's Justine in the Nouveau Paris - Paris pendant la Révolution. Paris (Presses de l'Opéra), s.d. [1798]. Mercier writes, p.119. :

On ne lisait pas à Sodome et à Gomorrhe les livres que l'on imprime et que l'on vend publiquement au Palais-Egalité. Justine, ou les Malheurs de la vertu est étalé sur des planches. Mettez une plume dans la griffe de Satan ou du mauvais génie ennemi de l'homme, il ne pourra faire pis. Vingt autres productions, moins abominables il est vrai, car celle dont je parle a remporté le prix de la turpitude et du vice, sont là pour achever de décomposer ce qui restait de morale, par instinct, dans le cœur de quelques jeunes gens.

Et les vendeurs et les acheteurs s'autorisent de ces mots qui nous ont tant trompés: Liberté, liberté illimitée de la presse.

In fairness, one should point out that there was evidence to date the increase in pornography before the passing of the bill liberating the press. Cobban, in his History of Modern France. London (Penguin - Pelican), 1957, Vol.1, p.118., notes, in connection with the Queen :

A flood of almost inconceivably scurrilous pamphlets, instigated by her enemies at court, poured out. They attributed to her as lovers practically every eligible male at Versailles, except Fersen.

These pamphlets were already being printed in the 1780's.

Chapter Four.      Pornography: Politics and Personal Philosophy.

It has been seen that the licentious novel could be used for an instructive purpose, and theoretical arguments put forward by authors in defence of their chosen technique have been discussed. Similarly, the inclusion of politics has been noted - where recognisable events and characters are used - in a genre that has yet to gain respectable status. Our conclusion suggested that writers attempted to titillate their readers by broad hints and lascivious remarks without ever actually crossing the bounds of decency, and without differing greatly in aim from the writers of anodyne moral tales. Since the frontiers of decency are not clearly defined, the division between the licentious and pornographic novels will not always be apparent. The primary distinction is obviously one of degree. The form of self-censorship practised by writers of licentious works is effaced by the wanton brashness of pornographers. The veil of decency, both literal and metaphorical, that 'protected' the reader (and ironically excited him all the more) is pierced by the rays of a powerful but unselective spotlight that reveals all in the sacred name of reality.

Having made this primary distinction, there is an immediate need to categorise. The pornographic element comprises three main divisions. The first can be dealt with briefly since it is defined by its lack of importance. It includes those works that offer no serious intellectual comment. Its presence is indicative only of a literary fashion that forms a background to two more significant trends. (1) The second category is easily defined as political. Here obscenity will be used both to encourage sale and increase readership. Its message may be of general or specific political interest, attacking either the régime as a whole or contemporary

2) Madeleine Cerf, in her article, "La Censure Royale à la Fin du Dix-Huitième Siècle." in Communications. 9, 1967, pp.2-27., writes, p.23. :

A quoi bon la censure, à quoi bon des censeurs, puisque les ouvrages interdits par eux, n'en circulent pas moins au su et au vu de tous.

3) Anon. Les Religieux et Religieuses. Paris, 1790.

The author notes, p.4. :

Tous les hommes en général contribuent chaque jour, par diff'rens moyens, à établir cette licence qu'ils introduisent sous le nom spacieux de Liberté.  
/ underlined in text.

See also p.99. in chapter three, and note (5) of this chapter.

4) Ibid. p.5/6.

figures of some importance, and depending for its force as propaganda on excess and exaggeration. The greater the perversion described, the more obscene the poses adopted by the figures, the more powerful is the attack that the pamphlet constitutes.

These first two categories have a common property, that of simplicity. The avid reader of pornography wants immediate (perhaps vicarious) satisfaction without the bother of complicated literary devices, while the writer of political pornography aims for an unequivocal message of great impact. The failings of these first two categories define the quality of the third: that of literary and intellectual complexity. This third category will concentrate on three examples of authors who, while differing from each other in terms of aims and achievement, nevertheless conform to a standard of aesthetic value that distinguishes them from the majority. The message of this third section has to be interpreted by the reader.

The statement that the first category is of little importance must be examined against a background of the period. The act which gave liberty to the press in 1789 had a considerable effect on the facility of printing and obtaining pornography but it did not mean a sudden rush of obscene publications. The act merely gave formality to what was already a common practice. (2) For example, the anonymous writer of Les Religieux et Religieuses, having evoked the liberty/licence restriction (3) attacks the act because it has lowered standards:

....l'auteur qui n'est plus courbé sous le faix de la censure, se soustrait aux lois de l'éloquence et du langage, les événemens journaliers occupent sa plume mercenaire, il écrit à la hâte et sans réflexion, pour satisfaire l'avidité du public; l'appas du gain flatte sa cupidité et lui fait oublier le soin de sa réputation. La liberté de la/presse a fait naître un essaim de soi-disant auteurs....(4)

Yet we cannot take the attack too seriously for the author's own work has been condemned along with the works he disparages because

5) See, for example:

Le Cousin Jacques. La Constitution de la Lune. Paris, 1793.  
p.47. :

....la licence est diamétralement opposée à la liberté.

Le Citoyen Perreau. Le Vrai Citoyen. 7, May 15th 1791, in an  
article entitled "De la vraie Liberté." , p.193. :

Il nous paroît important de fixer quelques idées sur la  
question de la vraie liberté, dont l'outragent tant de  
raisonneurs de mauvaise foi, et de l'autre pour éclairer  
le Peuple, qui, souvent faute d'instruction, peut trop  
aisément, je l'avoue, confondre la liberté avec la  
licence.

6) Anon. Les Petits Bougres au Manège. Enculons, l'An second  
du Rêve de la Liberté [ =? 1790 ], p.12.

he too found that obscenity was a means to readership. The severity of the 'Préambule' is matched by the freedom of the engravings and texts. Consequently, we should not put too much trust in the moral tone of the introduction, nor indeed should we accept without question the idea that the act gave birth to a sudden increase in obscenity.

The concern that liberty may be confused with licence is a recurring theme (5) and one whose ironical possibilities are not missed by the anonymous author of the pamphlet, Les Petits Bougres au Manège. Here the confusion with licence is deliberate and flagrant:

La liberté individuelle, décrétée par nos très augustes et très respectables représentants, n'est assurément pas un être de raison; et d'après ce principe, je puis dispenser de ma propriété, telle qu'elle soit, selon mon goût et mes fantaisies: or mon vit et mes couilles m'appartiennent....personne n'a le droit de réclamer contre l'usage que j'en fais.....(6)

The mocking tone of the adjectives and the deliberate reduction of theoretical principles into simple practical examples are indications enough of the tone of the work. The author seems at first to be proposing a serious consequence of the decree in language that corresponds exactly to a classical form of argument but the introduction of slang obscenity reduces the argument from the logical to the ridiculous.

The mocking pamphlet is one of many that parody the countless examples of serious political endeavour. Our first section, while it contains little in the way of intellectual comment, nevertheless manages to provide a number of fine parodies. Literary fashion demands an educative purpose, so the pattern of even the most simple 'conte' is to conform. The moral, the instructive element of the first story in the collection, Les Bijoux du Petit Neveu de l'Arétin, is that we should follow the example set by the fiction. In

?) Anon. Les Bijoux du Petit Neveu de l'Arétin. Paris, 1791, p.9.

8) One might conclude that this 'conte' represents a harsh attack on the church, but such an interpretation is not sufficient to warrant a change in our categorization. The sexual exploits of ecclesiasts have themselves become something of a cliché. Dominique Darimajou's La Chasteté du Clergé Dévoilée. Paris, 1790, contained the 'Procès-Verbaux des Séances du Clergé chez les filles de Paris' for the years 1755-1766. The debauched conduct of the clergy was no longer a subject for revelation.

9) DUVERNET, Abbé T-I. La Retraite, les Tentations, et les Confessions de Mme la Marquise de Montcornillon. Bruxelles, 1880 [ 1790 ], p.13.

La Consolation des Nonnes we are told of an 'abbé' who:

....depuis long-tems....sollicitoit la Soeur de la Providence, que nous logeons aux Filles-Dieu de la rue Saint-Denis, de profiter des effets ineffables du décret de la même Assemblée qui autorise toutes les Nonnes à se débarrasser de leurs guimpes sacrées, et à ne plus tenir leurs cons sous les verroux d'une chaste règle. (7)

Again, the passage starts in serious tone and then introduces slang vulgarity. The 'abbé' calls on the nun, finds her occupied (by another lover), but manages to make a compromise which satisfies the sexual appetites of three people. The explicit statement of moral purpose is dubious if only because it deals with the commonplace. (8) Here, as in Duvernet's La Retraite, Les Tentations, et Les Confessions de Madame la Marquise de Montcornillon of 1790, we are not really expected to take the subject seriously, even though the latter bears the sub-title, 'Histoire Morale'.

The narrative of Duvernet's novel is introduced by what would appear to be a deliberate parody:

J'aime les histoires de dévotion; je me suis toujours plu à raconter celles qui parlent. En voici une qui est édifiante et même morale; les jeunes veuves me sauront gré de la bonne instruction qu'elles y trouveront. Elle déplaira peut-être à ceux qui n'aiment que lire des romans, mais que m'importe de plaire à des gens qui repaissent leur imagination de sales intrigues et d'amour profane ? (9)

The introduction does not in the least correspond to the fiction that follows, the idea of a young widow finding an edifying message is absurd, and the forestalling of possible criticism by joining in the attack on novels is ironic in this context. A detailed examination of the contents of this work will not permit a serious interpretation. The Marquise, on the death of her husband, retires to a convent and fades in the misery of an unnatural life. Gradually her constitution improves and the temptations - different male sex organs - eventually re-establish her health. The explicit moral is sufficient to dismiss a serious interpretation of the novel:

10) DUVERNAT. La Retraite. p.64.

The moral confirms the maxim quoted in conclusion to Voltaire's L'Ingénue. in Romans et Contes. ed. R.Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier ), 1960,p.283.:

Malheur est bon à quelque chose.

11) Anon. Mylord, ou les Bamboches d'un Gentleman. Lausanne,s.d.  
[ 1789 ].

Arsouille would appear to be a corruption of the English, 'arscholic'.

12) Ibid. p.8.

13) Ibid. The tone of this novel can best be indicated by a passage illustrating the aims of the orgy, p.16. :

On se promit même de mettre en action ces tableaux que L'Arétin. l'Ode à Priape, Justine, Le Portier, Le Rideau Levé etc. offrent aux amateurs du genre...

Each of the works quoted is itself pornographic and totally explicit. One assumes that the Justine is the novel by Sade - hence a minor problem: the Nineteenth Century reprint of Mylord gives the date of publication as 1789. It would appear to have been later, for Sade's Justine did not appear until 1791.

The Rideau Levé is sometimes attributed to Mirabeau, sometimes to the Marquis de Sentilly. It appeared as early as 1786.

Mes amis, n'oubliions jamais que votre bonheur et le mien sont une preuve qu'en ce monde malheur et bêtise sont bons à quelque chose. (10)

The triviality of the events described and the mocking tone of the narrative will normally indicate how seriously we can take the moral of a novel. Ultimately, it would seem, the lack of rapport between stated moral purpose and events described constitutes a parody of the seriousness and earnestness of the straightforward moral novel.

The fiction placed in this section can afford a self-conscious laugh at itself for authors realize that their works will not be taken seriously. The anonymous writer of the novel Mylord can make a harmless allusion to current ideas in full knowledge of the fact that his statements will never constitute a political bias. The hero, Mylord Arsouille (11), one of the active participants in the orgies that are to follow is introduced:

D'abord il ne s'amuse point au dépens du peuple; il ne paye pas avec l'argent de ses sueurs les putains qu'il fait manœuvrer, ni ses amis, ni ses associés; il ne dépense que son revenu et son patrimoine. (12)

The contradiction in the passage needs to be made clear; the shocked reader is more likely to forgive debauched conduct from a character who has sweated for his money and chosen this particular form of self-gratification but he is unlikely to forgive a character leading a life of excess from the profits of an unearned income. The concession that Arsouille is not enjoying his pleasures at the people's expense is, as the author well knows, quite meaningless. The narrative of the novel contains nothing but vivid descriptions of countless sexual exploits which, in failing to go beyond the purely mechanical, suffer the fate of so many other similarly worthless productions, that of tedium and blind repetition. (13)

A single aspect of this kind of literature needs further investigation. It is apparent from the few quotations given that even this second-class form of literature used contemporary allusions and curr-

14) It has been noted by Robert Darnton in his article, "The High Enlightenment and the Low-Life of Literature in Pre-Revolutionary France." in Past and Present.51. pp.81-115. He states that the 'libelles', p.110. :

....communicated a revolutionary point of view: they showed that social rot was consuming French society, eating its way downward from the top. And their pornographic details got the point to a public that could not assimilate the Social Contract and that would soon be reading Le Père Duchêne.

The Père Duchêne, edited by Hébert, was written for the Parisian 'Sans-Culottes' and delighted in the repeated use of virulent language.

-ent ideas in a context designed to mock the ultra serious moral novels and, more important, to satirise the spate of political pamphlets occasioned by the political crisis. Our first section only includes politics as a secondary, minor feature. Our next section will develop the political content of pornographic pamphlets and show the relation between the extent of the description and the force of the political attack.

The existence of political pornography and its special appeal has already been noted. (14) Once again, there is a kind of literature that corresponds to the particular needs and the intellectual level of a certain category of reader. The critic's task must be to determine the suitability and effectiveness of this type of writing for the audience for whom it is intended; the critic must attempt to assess possible interpretations that contemporary readers could give to these works. It has been suggested that there are two possible modes of attack: an author can describe a situation that reflects badly on a régime that allows and even fosters such conduct, or choose to use real, recognisable characters as his fictional heroes and leave the reader to draw the conclusions from what he has seen.

The anonymous L'Echo Foutromane is a collection of several 'contes', the first of which is entitled, Les Epreuves de l'Abbé Dru et son refus de prêter serment en faveur de Mme Conillac. Mme Conillac, an aristocrat whose name is sufficient indication of her qualities, will not allow the Abbé to make love to her until he has refused to take the Civil Oath of the Clergy. Eventually, the flesh being somewhat weaker than the poor Abbé's spirit, he duly refuses and the love affair can progress. The narration concludes with sufficient clarity and force to justify a political interpretation:

15) Anon. L'Echo Foutromane, s.l.n.d. [=? 1792?], p.30.

16) Anon. Les Délices de Coblenz. Coblenz, 1792, p.18.

15) Anon. L'Echo Foutromane, s.l.n.d. [=? 1792], p.30.

16) Anon. Les Délices de Coblenz, Coblenz, 1792, p.18.

L'Abbé Dru perdit en effet sa cure par son refus au nouveau serment; mais Mme Conillac lui en tient lieu, et cette grande union aristocratique dure encore au grand scandale de la nation, et ne cessera, selon toute apparence, que lorsque les vrais patriotes indignés se seront mis, une fois pour toutes, dans la tête de leur foutre malheur ainsi qu'à ceux qui leur ressemblent. (15)

It is not possible to state with any certainty how a work like this would be received. A reader hostile to the new régime could be delighted at the description of events, while his political opponent could be antagonised by such a flagrant rejection of new principles. In the same way, the letter-novel, Les Délices de Coblenz could allow two opposing critical reactions. The description of debauchery amongst noble 'émigrés' in Germany might antagonise the Parisian suffering the hardships of food-shortage and poverty, while it might just as easily delight the reader who, like the characters in the fiction, is in opposition to the new régime. For example, Mme de Saluces in Paris receives the following note despatched from Coblenz:

Jugez donc, ma chère amie, des agréments que nous goûtons ici, et comparez-les à la vie ennuyeuse et mesquine que vous menez à Paris, où l'on gémit entre l'indigence et le chagrin. (16)

The suffering Parisian would be angered by the account of luxury given by Mme Mesgrigny, while the aristocrat would be reassured. The novel will polarise opinion no matter what the intention of the author writing the novel may be. This is the kind of work written to provoke anger against the aristocracy, but the message of this particular novel is not clear enough to allow a clear interpretation. Another work which has been given the 'Private Case' classification will serve as justification for an anti-aristocratic reading of the Délices de Coblenz. The Chronique Arétine ou Recherches pour servir à l'histoire des Mœurs du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle criticizes the conduct of named members of the aristocracy. The author notes in the 'Preface' that:

17) Anon. Chronique Arétine. Caprée, 1789, p.3.

- 18) Certainly, if one looks outside the novel at contemporary tracts, the attack is explicit. Consider, for example, Borel's Opinion sur la Régénération des Mœurs. Paris, An II. Discussing the bases of good government, Borel notes, p.6. :

Une des principales c'est sans doute de bonnes mœurs, des mœurs simples et analogues au régime que nous avons adopté: car telle chose qui était bonne ou indifférente sous le régime despote est mauvaise, et même dangereuse sous le régime républicain.

A similar point was made by Rousseau in his Contrat Social, ed. C.E. Vaughan, Manchester University Press, 1962 [This edition first printed 1918, the work first published in 1762], p.58, where Rousseau made a 'grande simplicité de mœurs' one of the pre-requisites of a democracy.

19) Anon. Les Vérolés de l'Assemblée Nationale. Paris, 1790, p.3.

This particular work, perhaps because of its misleading title, was also given the 'Private Case' classification by the British Museum. It is not what one would normally call pornographic since it contains no details of sexual acts. In passing one should note the figure of the Abbé Maury. A frequent participant in obscene literature, he was, with Cazalès, at the head of the counter-revolutionary faction.

C'est à la corruption des mœurs, il n'en faut pas douter, qu'il faut, et que l'on doit s'en prendre de l'abâtardissement momentané de la Nation. (17)

The cliché of the moral novel which showed a depraved and rich nobility flouting the rights of the pure and poor is now used as a real political weapon. A general description of corruption is intended to serve as a critique of the régime which engendered it.(18)

More specifically, an attack on the behaviour of a political figure is sufficient to question his ability to command a position of power. Les Vérolés de l'Assemblée Nationale, which appeared in 1790, describes the plottings and secret meetings of the Abbé Maury (a recurring figure in this kind of pamphlet) Cazalès, an important aristocratic spokesman, and a number of leading members of the clergy. The attack on the group is vicious and inflammatory but no proof is ever given, nor is any detailed description of their activities ever provided. The group is only described in general terms:

Gangrenés par toutes les passions, ambitieux, vains, intéressés, sordides, incrédules, et libertins tout à la fois; ils n'obéissent tout à la fois qu'à leur insatiable cupidité, qu'à leur orgueil tyannique. (19)

The passage systematically destroys the Christian virtues of a group apparently faithful to the established church and denies even their belief in their faith. Individuals are named but are not accused of any specific immoral act. The dividing line between reality and fiction is particularly thin at a time when invention and libel can go unchecked by law, and when the sheer force of language can destroy a person's political reputation. In the final analysis it matters little whether the events are true or not. The very placing of a noble person in a context that is ultra-obscene is enough to degrade him in real life.

A pamphlet written in defence of the king will set the tone of this specific form of political pornography. Mlle Raucour, the

20) Anon. La Liberté, ou Mlle Raucour à toute la secte  
anandrine assemblée au foyer de la Comédie Française.  
Lèche-Con, 1791.

21) Ibid. p.4.

22) Ibid. p.7.

celebrated actress, supposedly addressing the 'secte anandrine assemblée au foyer de la Comédie Française' (20), pities the plight of :

....un roi juste et bon, captif au milieu de ses sujets, qui se disent libres; une reine digne de l'adoration de tous les Français, en butte à la plus affreuse calomnie....(21),

and goes on to warn the sect that it too is in danger. The Revolution may force the sect into prostitution, a prospect that Mlle Raucour finds particularly daunting since it would force her to make love to men:

....je n'y songe jamais, sans que les poils de mon cul se hérissent; sans que mon clytoris racourcisse subitement;...(22)

This pamphlet uses forbidden words and obscene situations to defend, not to attack the monarch and his queen. The choice would seem to be significant (numerically speaking, such pamphlets are really quite rare) in that in this case pornographic attacks would appear to be countered by a pornographic defence.

It should be made clear that many of the works in this section can hardly be classified as novels. The majority fall into a category situated midway between drama and prose fiction, often comprising short scenes in dialogue form that were obviously never intended for the stage. At the same time it should be remembered that works such as the Bordel Royal suggest not only a literal brothel, but also a metaphorical one where disorder reigns, and where the verb 'foutre' not only has its literal sense but also its metaphorical one of 'done for'.

The Queen plays the lead in the majority of the obscene productions. In the Bordel Royal three men are needed to satisfy her unnatural sexual appetite. The obvious delight in her anticipation of what is to follow at once formulates her character and shows her supposed disdain for the Parisian populace:

23) Anon. Le Bordel Royal. Neufchâtel, 1872 [First appeared  
in 1790 ?], p.2.

The same expression appears in the anonymous Autrichienne  
en Goguettes, s.l., 1789, p.8. The 'grenouilles de la  
Seine' represent the Parisian populace.

24) Anon. Le Bordel National. Neufchâtel, 1872 [First  
appeared in 1790 ?], p.41.

25) Anon. L'Autrichienne en Goguettes, s.l. 1789, p.16.

Voilà enfin le moment où mon esprit, fatigué du cri rauque des grenouilles de la Seine, va se délasser et jouir à son aise des plaisirs qu'on ressent à Cythère. (23)

Yet all these pamphlets, however strong the language they contain, offer, by their very nature, a distinct lack of variety in their methods of pornographic attack. A writer can suggest perversion, excessive appetite, and/or sexual infidelity - and indeed, will normally use them all. When for example, in the Bordel National, we see the Queen participating in an orgy with La Fayette and Barnave, and when we hear her saying:

Foutez, enculez-vous, messieurs, tant qu'il vous plaira; quant à moi, je ne veux être fouteue qu'en con. Il me faudrait un régiment entier, et tous les Carmes, les Cordeliers de France pour assouvir mes ardeurs,...(24)

we realise that the attack has exhausted all the possibilities of pornographic propaganda. Admittedly the situations do vary according to the character currently under fire. The Autrichienne en Goguettes, for example, shows the Queen making love to the King's brother, le Comte d'Artois, using the King himself as a cushion. The moral to the 'Opéra Proverbe' is drawn by an observing guard:

Sur le dos d'un Monarque humain  
Je vois la mère des vices  
Plonger dans d'affreuses délices  
Un Prince polisson, une Reine catine. (25)

Again, not only the literal but the metaphorical meaning must be emphasised. The idea here is that the King is being exploited for the Queen's corrupt purposes - in the literal and metaphorical meaning he is totally unaware of the deception. It is worth noting that the King himself is seldom an active participant in the various orgy scenes. Rather he appears as a blind, benevolent and incompetent fool, quite unable to match the wiles of his wife.

While the Queen plays the leading role in these various scenes, she does not perform without a supporting cast. The recurring guest artist is the infamous Duchesse de Polignac. The latter finds

26) Anon. Le Boudoir de Mme la Duchesse. Paris, 1789, p.1.

27) Ibid. p.4.

28) Anon. La Messaline Francaise. Tribaldis, 1790.

The work itself, of course, is obliged to deny its  
fictional qualities, p.21. :

Si j'écrivais un roman, je te dirais, mon ami, que je  
fus tourmenté des songes les plus désagréables.

29) Ibid. p.59.

30) Ibid. p.71.

her greatest condemnation in a most fitting setting. In Le Boudoir de Mme la Duchesse the tone is coldly descriptive - the work is fiction only if the statements are untrue. The Duchesse is described:

Cette voluptueuse courtisane, devenue riche par ses intrigues, employait des millions pour égayer/sic/ ses sens et satisfaire ses plaisirs. (26),

and a little later:

Il n'est rien que son impudicité n'ait dévoilé au grand jour. Elle n'a rien ménagé; elle s'est représentée à elle-même toutes ses attitudes lascives, et a voulu savourer les délices de la variété. (27)

Two excesses are emphasised in this pamphlet: on the one hand is the great expense involved in the Duchesse's debauchery, while on the other is the extent of her craving and passion for licence. The political import of such a work depends on an appreciation of the Duchesse's proximity to the Queen.

A similar point is made by a work which is more obviously a novel. In the Messaline Française (28) an 'abbé' recounts his arrival at Court and the attempts of the Princesse d'Hé\*\*\* to seduce him. He eventually succumbs to her wiles and the liaison lasts for six months. One night he mistakes his lover for another. The outcome of the mistake is a mysterious relationship where identities are kept secret and two women are involved. One of these two turns out to be Duchesse de Polignac. The 'abbé' admits in passing:

Oh! je t'avoue, mon ami, que je n'ai jamais vu de femme qui ait la passion aussi énergique que la Duchesse de Polignac. (29), and the affair continues untroubled until the Revolution. In this novel we hear not only of the Duchesse's sexual exploits but also of her political activities:

Je savais qu'elle avait la plus grande part aux projets de la cabale aristocratique: je savais qu'elle se trouvait plusieurs fois la semaine à des assemblées nocturnes; mais j'ignorais ce qui s'y passait; j'étais bien loin de penser que ces conciliabules secrets étaient tous tenus par des scélérats qui tramaient la ruine du peuple Français. [sic] (30)

31) Anon. La Messaline Française, p.77.

A similar point is made by the author of the Délassons-nous  
Secrets, ou les Parties Fines de plusieurs Députés à  
l'Assemblée Nationale, Londres, 1790. The anonymous  
author notes in the 'Avant-Propos' :

Les aventures galantes ne sont pas rares dans cette capitale,  
mais celles que j'annonce sont d'une nature à réveiller  
l'attention du public, qui ne s'imagineroit jamais que de  
graves Sénateurs, que des Curés, des Pontifes même qui  
affichent une vertu stoïque, fussent capables de se livrer  
aux tendres épanchemens de l'amour et aux jouissances de la  
volupté.

32) Ibid. p.77.

The time sequence of the novel crystallises as we are made aware of the novelist looking back with regret at a past episode in his life. The conclusion of the novel situates the author; his distaste for life as an 'émigré' led to the collapse of the affair and his return to France. In a final letter to his Correspondant (i.e. us, since we are his readers too) he indicates the political significance of the account:

Voilà mon ami, les détails que tu me demandais: je suis persuadé que tu les trouveras intéressants; ils te font voir quelle est la conduite de ces femmes titrées dont l'opulence et l'orgueil écrasaient et traitaient avec insolence la modeste vertu bourgeoise. (31)

If we are to conclude that the aim of the novel is indeed to incite hatred of the debauched aristocracy, some form of objective statement is required to guarantee the author's sincerity. In traditional style it is the 'éditeur' who supplies the needed assurance. He confirms that the writer of the 'Mémoires' is now back in France and asserts that:

....il donne ici des preuves du patriotisme le plus soutenu; mais on ignore qu'il ait jamais eu aucune liaison avec la Polignac. (32)

A novel has been forced to deny its fictional essence in order not simply to create a credible illusion of reality but to guarantee that the force of the political attack is a real one. The events must be true if the political message is not to be lost, and the description of the Duchesse herself in compromising situations must be emphasised, first to constitute a specific attack on her, and secondly, and by extension, to allow a general critique of a morally corrupt aristocracy.

To give full value to the political significance of this kind of pornographic fiction there is a corresponding need to show the existence of a counterpart which uses similar terms of reference.

- 33) Anon. Les Vices Découverts. En France, 1789, p.24.

One should also consider, for example, Olympe de Gouges in her Avis Pressant. s.l.n.d. She writes, p.8. :

Je pourrais ajouter que sans la perversité de sa cour, il eût été peut-être un roi vertueux.

This same theme will reappear constantly in the allegorical tales that are studied in Chapter Six.

- 34) MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Les Veillées du Couvent. St.Cyr et Paris, L'An de Vénus 5793 [=? 1793], p.5.

This novel does not in the least resemble Mme de Genlis' Les Veillées du Château (See pp. 31-33. in the second chapter). whose title it would appear to imitate.

- 35) Ibid. p.7.

The choice of Mirabeau is itself indicative of contemporary taste. The aristocratic hero of the Third Estate was well-known as a writer of pornography.

Such works are not hard to find. Most defences of the King will underline his personal purity in a corrupt court in the way that the anonymous Les Vices Découverts does:

....mais Louis XVI qui aime ses Sujets, dont il veut être chéri et estimé, qui a appris par une triste expérience, à distinguer le vice de la vertu, ne sacrifiera pas à de vils intrigans, son bonheur et celui de son Peuple qui en est inseparable. (33)

The contention that pornography had a serious social purpose must be judged within this context of political and moral debate.

The distinction between the first two categories has been one of political content with little or no discussion of literary qualities. The emphasis must now be changed to study authors who have an interest beyond the purely political. The pornographic novel can, for example, be studied in the context of the literary tradition that precedes and surrounds it. A study of the pornographic novel can contribute to a better understanding of the moral novel with which it forms such a stark contrast. Mercier de Compiegne begins his Veillées du Couvent by attempting to destroy the self-righteous tone of the moral novel. The 'avant-propos', itself threatening to become a genre in its own right, takes the brunt of the opening attack. He substitutes a dedication 'A Mon Livre' which begins:

Bavardage coutumier pour suppléer aux Avis du Libraire, Lettres à l'Auteur, Discours Préliminaires, Introductions, Avertissements, Préfaces de l'Editeur, etc. etc. qu'on ne lit jamais. (34)

and so dispenses with the need for an introduction. He continues to mock the sanctity of the genre by admitting the deception in his sub-title, 'Poème Eroti-Satyrique par un bâtarde de Mirabeau l'ainé'.

He reveals:

Il ne fallait rien moins que la complaisance aveugle d'un père idolâtre de ses productions chétives, pour m'engager à te décorer du nom de l'auteur de l'Erotika Biblion; mais je sais que l'enseigne fait beaucoup pour achalander une taverne. J'ai donc menti, heureux si ce mensonge te procure quelque renommée! (35)

The narrative that follows this introduction is remarkably simple.

A nun discovers the pleasures of her sexuality and proceeds from

36) MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE. Les Veillées du Couvent. p.49.

This passage would seem to owe something to the techniques  
of self-conscious narration of Sterne and Diderot.

37) Ibid. p.80.

lesbianism to heterosexuality. Yet this simple framework in turn introduces an explanation from the author. He admits that he feels obliged to conform to a certain literary fashion:

Je vous dirais bien tout simplement et sans colifichets poétiques qu'il était nuit et qu'il était huit heures du soir, si je ne voulais pas me conformer à l'usage de mes confrères qui ne voulant pas perdre l'occasion de montrer de l'esprit et des connaissances en mythologie, croyent qu'il y en a beaucoup à se rendre inintelligible aux trois quarts de leurs lecteurs. La mode étant un tyran impérieux qui dans ce siècle-ci soumet à son joug et le petit maître et le philosophe, je suis forcé de les imiter, pour montrer que j'ai autant d'esprit et que je sais coudre des descriptions aussi bien qu'eux, à des mots emphatiques vides [sic] de sens et rebattus. (36)

The consequence of such a passage is a change of emphasis. The reader now pays less attention to what is being said than to the manner of its expression. The introduction of obscenity into a satirical context serves to heighten the reductive capacity of the satire. Mercier copies the technique of the epic pastoral (of whom the best-known contemporary exponent was Florian), but he frequently interrupts the narrative to draw the reader's attention to the ridiculous of the hyperbolic style.

Agnès, the nun and heroine of the novel, is understandably naive and innocent. The gardener, Colin, describes the male physiology to her but his lowly social position makes him an unsuitable lover for her. The author discusses his problem with the reader:

Je devrais donner à Colin des boucles dorées flottantes sur des épaules d'ivoire; mais d'abord les cheveux roux ne sont plus de mode, n'en déplaise à Phébus lui-même, tout mon maître qu'il est; et Colin n'a pas montré ses épaules pour que je sache si elles sont d'ivoire.....(37)

Now it is the relationship between the reader and the writer that is the source of comedy. Each is aware of the other's deception: the author could so easily have invented the ideal lover, but now he pretends a limitation imposed by truth. The reader is amused by such a technique for he knows the author's claims to be false and yet remains totally dependent on the whims of the writer. The writer now

38) MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE. Les Veillées du Couvent. p.100.

39) Ibid. p.49/50.

38) MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE. Les Veillées du Couvent. p.100.

39) Ibid. p.49/50.

pretends that it is the situation (which, after all, he created) that makes his task so difficult. He explains his problem to the reader:

A Paris je n'en serais point embarrassé; je leur donnerais bientôt un galant; mais dans le fond d'une province, dans une campagne éloignée de la ville, dans un couvent bien muré qui ne communique point avec le reste du monde, comment trouver l'ombre même d'un homme aimable? Comment? je le sais bien, mais ce n'est pas un roman que j'ai promis, ce n'est pas un conte, une histoire, c'est un poème, et un poème épique, et voilà le diable, il faut du merveilleux.....(38)

Having elaborated the difficulty of his task, itself magnified by the apparent restrictions of truth, he suddenly realises that he is not writing a novel and can consequently introduce the supernatural element demanded by the epic form. The reader quickly realises that the long-winded complaints about the restrictions imposed by truth were entirely without foundation.

In this particular novel, given the fact that it is satirising an ultra-pure pastoral form, the introduction of obscenity heightens the contrast. For example, wanting to say quite simply that the time is eight o'clock in the morning but realising the compulsion to remain true to the epic style, Mercier gives the following description. Up to a point the passage is the perfect imitation but the conclusion introduces a comic incongruous diversion:

La pâle Phébé quittait avec regret le sein brûlant d'Endymion, son berger/favori....chemin faisant elle regrettait de n'avoir pu rendre immortelle une politesse aussi grande, et sa main libertine, en essayant les résultats de sa lubrique séance, en créait de nouveaux. (39)

Mercier manages to imitate the flowery style of the epic while nevertheless pointing out the absurdity of the exaggerations. At the same time he encourages the reader's awareness of what he is attempting by internal self-commentary. Finally, he destroys the sanctity of the form by including obscenity and licence.

While Mercier uses pornography as a satirical device, his contemporary, Nerciat, goes one step further. The lack of biographic information on Nerciat renders the critic's task more difficult:

40) Apollinaire, in the 'Introduction' to Julie Philosophe ou Le Bon Patriote, Paris (Bibliothèque des Curieux), s.d., wrote, Vol.1, p.v. :

Ce roman pimpant, rempli de détails précis sur des personnages historiques comme Calonne, Mirabeau, la comtesse de la Motte et Morande, ce folliculaire qui rédigeait le Gazetier Cuirassé, pourrait bien être l'œuvre du chevalier Andrea de Nerciat.

one is never sure when to take the author seriously. A restriction to three novels, one admittedly not certainly by Nerciat (40), will allow detailed synopses of plot and appreciation of the aims and achievements of the writer. Les Aphrodites is the name of a society dedicated to the pursuit of pleasure. Mme Durut, whose name is again indicative of her character, is the heroine and leader of the group's orgiastic activities. The work is divided into eight parts, but there is no internal progression, no real plot - rather we are given eight episodes of Mme Durut's private life.

Mon Noviciat, as the title implies, concerns the instruction of a nun three months before she eventually marries. Men arrive for 'parties nocturnes' disguised as nuns and the predictable orgies ensue. Finally Lolotte, the heroine who is in the convent, abandons the supposedly chaste life to marry a rich old man, is widowed, and from then on free to enjoy the pleasures offered to her by a lusty Chevalier.

Julie Philosophe, similar in style to Mon Noviciat, describes the life until marriage of an attractive girl with an interest in politics. The novel begins in childhood and initiation in the arms of her tutors leads on to affairs with Calonne and Mirabeau. The conclusion, which as the author points out is unusual for this kind of novel, shows the heroine as a happily married wife looking forward to the promise of future happiness within the marriage bond.

Sex is the most obvious recurring theme of these novels, but it is not the only one. Each, for example, will introduce discussion about contemporary events, and in each case the choice of names is significant. On a simple level, the choice of 'Julie' is meant to remind the reader of Rousseau's heroine, and is richly ironical in a context of unlimited sexuality. Mme Durut, the heroine of Les Aphrodites does, as we have seen, have a name that corresponds to

- 41) The choice of indicative names is not by any means limited to Nerciat's works. The brothel-keeper in the anonymous Lyndamine, Larnaka, s.d. [A Nineteenth Century reprint that claims to copy an edition of 1794], is named Mme Jolicon. Mme Conillac is the heroine of Les Eurusvès in the collection L'Echo Foutromane (See pp.106-107. in this chapter), and Mme Conlaché, the heroine of Le Secret in the same collection. It was noted (in note (11) of this chapter) that the name of the 'Gentleman' in Mylord is the suggestive Arsouille.
- 42) NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Mon Noviciat, s.l.1792, 'Avis de l'Editeur', p.iii/iv.
- 43) Ibid. 'Avis de l'Editeur', p.v.

The author/editor figure writes, p.v. :

Je me suis donc déterminé civiquement à faire les frais de cette édition, trop heureux (dût-il m'en coûter quelque perte) si la vue de tant d'images licencieuses, de nature à soulever le cœur de tout bon Démocrate, peut envenimer encore la patriotique haine que nous devons, en francs nationaux, à ces vrais pourceaux d'Epicure.

her character, as too does her friend, the Duchesse de l'Enginière. In Mon Noviciat, however, the choice of names is less obvious. Lolotte, the heroine, has a lover, Alexis, whom she initiates, while her friend, Félicité, has a lover, Fanfare. Ducray-Duminil, a writer of children's stories (read by adults) had used these names previously in a context that was totally pure and innocent. Alexis is the hero of the novel of that name, while Lolotte and Fanfan are the child heroes of the novel: Lolotte et Fanfan, ou les Aventures de Deux Enfants abandonnés dans une île déserte. (41)

Julie Philosophe differs from the other two novels in one very important detail - here the author is prepared to accept the fictional nature of his work since the didactic element depends less on the assertion of truth than on explicit statements made by the heroine. Both Mon Noviciat and Les Aphrodites rely on the insistence of truth for the revelation of the message, and here, as previously, the more obscene the poses, the clearer the message becomes. The supposed 'éditeur' introduces Mon Noviciat in the guise of a philanthropist:

Je suis donc infiniment au-dessus de ces misérables Typographes qu'on voit descendre à l'impression de futilités telles que des vers, ou des romans. Mais celui-ci que le hasard a fait tomber dans mes mains, m'a paru faire exception....(42)

The exceptional nature of this particular novel is simply one of extent. The novel is political in that it describes the sexual antics of a debauched aristocracy in a detail which, according to the author/editor, is intended to provoke the Democrat. (43) Certainly there is an element of irony in a novel which constantly excuses its detailed descriptions, and this particularly because of a very close reader/writer relationship encouraged by the author. The repeated warnings of what is to follow form part of a literary game where the writer seduces the reader in full knowledge of the

44) NERCIAT. Mon Noviciat.

For example, a footnote asks the reader to forgive the word 'foutre' in the narrative. The sensitive author/editor explains apologetically, Vol.1, p.25. :

Pardon, lecteur, mais on ne peut rien changer aux citations.

One is reminded of a much earlier parody of this type of novel. The collection of 'contes' written by Savin and published in 1771 under the title of Le Manuel Amusant, and in 1775 as Mes Soirées ou le Manuel Amusant, was re-published in 1794 with the curious title: Facéties Agréables. Paris, 1794., and signed by a certain unidentified W.G.M. The 'conte' La Bonne Mère tells the story of an illegitimate birth. The author asks his reader to forgive a perfectly harmless word and so adds to the irony of the situation. He writes, Tome 2, p.83. :

J'en demande pardon à mes lecteurs et surtout à mes lectrices, mais sans y entendre d'autre finesse, elle avait fait ce qu'on appelle un enfant. Autant vaut-il trancher le mot tout d'un coup que de tourner une heure autour pour le faire entendre.

45) Ibid. Vol.2, p.103.

46) Ibid. Vol.2, p.103.

47) Ibid. 'Avis de l'Editeur', Vol.1, p.5.

48) NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Les Aphrodites - Fragments Thali-priapiques pour servir à l'Histoire du Plaisir. s.l.  
1864. / First appeared in 1793 ? /

fact that it is he who controls both the strings of the puppet-like fictional characters and those of the equally dependant reader.

While the supposed writer of the 'Mémoires' entices the reader and delights in the extremes of obscenity, the 'editor' tries to take the reader to one side and excuse the description in the sacred name of truth. (44) When Lolotte admits with obvious delight that she has made love to her father she anticipates the reader's reaction of astonishment and repeats as if to stress:

Eh oui, mon père, pointilleux lecteur. (45)

The 'editor' for his part cannot hold back his disgust at an admission of incest and reaffirms the moral of his mission:

C'est ici que je t'attendais, aristocratie maudite, pour faire bien connaître ta superlative dépravation. C'est ce grand trait qui m'a décidé à mettre au jour ce diabolique ouvrage. (46)

Within a humorous context, Nerciat has managed to emulate the writers of straightforward political pornography by introducing internal movement and dialogue. On the one hand he has made the plainly political statement he promised in the 'Avis de l'Editeur':

Je trouvai l'ouvrage dont il est ici question aristocratique à trente-six carats, quoiqu'il ne contienne pas une seule syllabe de politique; il était néanmoins bon à publier, parce qu'il peint au naturel la dépravation de moeurs de ces Villains Nobles (et leur sequelle) que nous avons si sagement chassés pour jamais de notre France. (47),

while on the other he has produced a novel which is eminently readable and which, were it only for the mastery of the footnote commenting on the narrative, could easily stand up without its political support.

Les Aphrodites, as the sub-title suggests, (48) differs in style both from Mon Noviciat and from Julie Philosophe. Episodes describing various (although with little variation) orgies take the place of a continuous narrative, and the moral comes less from an internal contrast or explicit statement than from the absurd intransigence of the heroine. The 'Préambule Nécessaire' describes

49) NERCIAT. Les Aphrodites, 'Préambule Nécessaire', Vol.1, p.3.

50) Ibid. Vol.1, p.35.

51) Ibid. Vol.2, p.41.

52) Ibid.

See note (44) in this chapter. In Les Aphrodites the editor/author figure again asks the reader to forgive the character's over-exuberant language, but again the apology is ironic. Following a detailed description of an orgy, the editor/author selects one word, 'foutre' and says, Vol.2, p.81. :

Pardon pour Mme Durut, cher lecteur.

53) NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Julie Philosophes ou le Bon Patriote, s.l. 1791, Vol.1, p.58.

It should be noted that Julie's aim has the same restriction as that of the maxim. See appendix.

the formation of the society under the Regency of the Duc d'Orléans and makes a ridiculous comparison with contemporary events. The members, we are told:

....d'accord avec la nation reconnaissent la liberté, l'égalité, pour bases de leur bonheur: qui comme elle, méprisent toutes distinctions de naissance, de rang et de fortune....(49),

but such admirable precepts are not held by one of the leading and most active members. The personal creed of the Duchesse de l'Engin-ière is explained:

....le point essentiel est qu'aucun levain roturier ne puisse fermenter dans ses nobles entrailles; elle a donc fait et tenu jusqu'alors le serment de ne se livrer qu'à des nobles. (50)

On closer inspection she would seem to differ very little from Mme Durut herself. In a discussion with a Marquise about the possibility of emigration, Mme Durut admits that she too favours the aristocratic faction. For purely practical reasons she explains:

Et qui me fait donc vivre, moi, si ce n'est la chère aristocratie! La fichue nation nous apporte-t-elle un écu? Est-ce ici que les infâmes jacobins dépensent l'argent qu'ils puissent à pleins sacs dans les coffres publics? Non, tout cela s'éparpille parmi les culs crottés et les sans-culottes. Je suis, et je m'en pique, aristocrate à pendre....(51)

Mme Durut, by her extreme position, her contradictions, and her total lack of reason, forces the reader to an anti-aristocratic interpretation of the novel. The moral here is not dependant on the extent of the depravity, nor on the contradiction between author and editor - although a technique similar to that found in Mon Noviciat is used (52) - rather it depends on a lucid analysis of the central figure, and an appreciation of her total incoherence.

The novel Julie Philosophe encourages similar conclusions within a significantly different framework. The descriptive element is based not on an 'aristocrate' but on a 'patriote' of the 'Tiers-Etat'. Julie, the heroine, is quite frank about her aims in life. All she seeks, she says, is happiness and:

....tous les moyens d'y parvenir, qui ne nuisent point à nos semblables, sont permis. (53)

54) NERCIAT. Julie Philosophe. Vol.2, p.70.

55) Ibid. Vol.1, p.143.

56) Ibid.

Julie asks the reader, Vol.2, p.27. :

Deviendrais-je la maîtresse d'un homme odieux à ma nation,  
d'un homme qui l'a foulée, vexée ?

Already we have seen two of the arguments used by Sade himself. The aim of life is pleasure, and the implication that sex is not socially harmful. As a consequence, the descriptive elements in this novel are unlikely to contain the moral message. Instead, we shall have to look at the commentaries that follow episodes and events. Sex is seen simply as a means to pleasure and is not constricted by moral attitudes. Since the heroine is from the middle-classes, the proportional method which linked the amount of obscenity to the harshness of the attack is replaced by an overt form of criticism that depends on the direct speech of the heroine. Julie is in no doubt as to which section of society possesses real merit. At the death of a surgeon who had saved her life she explains:

C'est parmi la classe mitoyenne, parmi les citoyens à demi-aisés qu'on trouve les hommes les plus recommandables par leurs talents et par leurs vertus. Assez éloignés de l'indigence pour pouvoir cultiver leur esprit, mais trop éloignés de l'opulence et des grandeurs pour se laisser corrompre le cœur, pour se livrer aux vices qui en font la suite, ils vivent tranquillement sans connaître les tourments de l'ambition. (54)

Julie is a new kind of novel heroine; proud of her femininity, coherent, and anything but submissive, she delights in the pleasures of sex and rejects any form of personal or political subordination. She is the exact opposite of the conventional heroine of the moral tale and scorns the virginal sterility of her literary ancestors. She proclaims:

....une femme peut être galante, se livrer au plaisir toutes les fois qu'elle en trouve l'occasion, et être en même temps bonne, bienfaisante, honnête, respectable, et je dirai même vertueuse. (55)

For Julie there is no contradiction between unlimited sexual gratification and virtue.

The introduction of real characters into the novel provides Julie with the practical possibility of showing her political allegiance by her sexual attitude. She is cold to Calonne, explains why (56),

57) NERCIAT. Julie Philosophe. Vol.2, p.28.

58) Ibid. Vol.2, p.79.

59) Ibid. Vol.2, p.220/221.

60) Ibid. Vol.2, p.221.

but eventually succombs with one thought in mind:

....je l'engagerai à retourner en France et à tourner ses lumières au profit de ses concitoyens;... (57)

To Mirabeau, on the other hand, she is immediately more welcoming, and this for a very simple reason:

Une femme patriote peut-elle refuser quelque chose à un membre des Etats-Généraux? (58)

She now admits in retrospect that she was unaware at the time of his liaison with the treacherous Orléans, and tells of her departure to Brabant on a mission for the erstwhile hero.

The conclusion of the novel again plays on the accepted idea of the contemporary novel in a manner intended to stress the individual nature of this particular one. Julie, the first-person narrator, remarks that most novels conclude with the inevitable marriage; but most novels describe ideal people, people as they should be and not the reality of people as they really are. What is normally a cliché is not one here:

Les romans finissent ordinairement par un mariage; c'est à ce grand terme qu'aboutissent tous ces assauts de vertu, de grandeur d'âme, de générosité, tout cet étalage de beaux sentiments qui se trouvent dans ces livres où l'on peint les hommes tels qu'ils devraient être et non tels qu'ils sont; mais tu ne te serais sûrement pas attendu que l'histoire d'une femme galante comme moi, se fût terminée par un hyménée; ainsi ce qui n'est qu'une uniformité insipide dans les autres livres, est ici une nouveauté, / un dénouement original. (59)

She bids goodbye to her reader and goes off to farm the land with her husband, leaving the familiar, if slightly changed (and possibly salacious) parting words, 'il faut labourer notre jardin' (60).

Nerciat manages to fuse a coherent political statement in novels of varying techniques; his use of humour, particularly in passages which play on the movement between writer and editor and reader and author will contrast greatly with the lack of humour in Sade's productions. Nerciat's quality lies in his ability to treat a serious subject in a comically pornographic setting while still

61) SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Idée sur les Romans. in Les Crimes de l'Amour. Paris (Club Géant, Editions de la Renaissance). 1967, pp. 21-44. p.42.

retaining enough awareness to ensure the understanding of his message.

A study of Nerciat and of his theory of the novel is restricted to an examination of the novels themselves. His better-known contemporary, the Marquis de Sade, has left us with an Idée sur les Romans that serves as a useful key to the understanding of his more extreme and humourless productions. The Idée attempts a genesis of the novel, a discussion of former novelists where Fielding and Richardson are singled out for special mention, and finally a prescriptive analysis of the ideal. The two Englishmen are praised because they showed:

....que l'étude profonde du cœur de l'homme, véritable dédale de la nature, peut seule inspirer le romancier, dont l'ouvrage doit nous faire voir l'homme, non pas seulement ce qu'il est, ou ce qu'il se montre, c'est le devoir de l'historien, mais tel qu'il peut être, tel que doivent le rendre les modifications du vice, et toutes les secousses des passions;.....ce n'est pas toujours en faisant triompher la vertu qu'on intéressse. (61)

The cliché which asserted that happiness would always result from virtuous conduct is challenged by Sade. He would agree that the novel should be prescriptive rather than purely descriptive, but he rejects a fictional world that takes no account of vice. Indeed, the instructive element in a novel can, according to Sade, be greater if the ideal victor in the virtue/vice confrontation does not always win.

Sade has constantly been misinterpreted by critics who assumed that the stronger, more energetic vicious characters in his novels represented ideal creations that the reader should imitate. To oppose such a view it must be shown that only a synthetic analysis of Sade's works can indicate the true meaning and intention of the author. It must be shown, for example, that even though Justine in the novel of that name is the constant loser, what she represents is not denigrated but, on the contrary, praised.

By his own admission, Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu is an

- 62) SADE. Correspondance, in Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Gilbert Lely, Paris (Au Cercle du Livre Précieux), 1966, Tome 12.

In a letter to his lawyer, Reinaud, on the 12th June, 1791, Sade wrote, p.488. :

On imprime actuellement un roman de moi, mais trop immoral pour être envoyé à un homme aussi sage, aussi pieux et aussi décent que vous. J'avais besoin d'argent, mon imprimeur me le demandait bien poivré, et je le lui ai fait capable d'empester le diable.

- 63) SADE. Catalogue Raisonné, in O.C. Tome 2, p.270.

- 64) SADE. Justine, ou les Malheurs de la Vertu, in Oeuvres, ed. J-J. Pauvert, Paris (Club Français du Livre), 1960, p.85.

A similar idea had been proposed earlier by Romance de Mesmon in his De la Lecture des Romans, Paris, 1776, p.22. :

Un Roman est un grand Drame et je me suis souvent étonné qu'on n'y ait pas appliqué plutôt la fameuse division d'Aristote, qu'on n'ait pas compris que la terreur et la pitié entraînent aussi bien et mieux que l'amour dans ces compositions.

imperfect work since it represents less the author's philosophy than his need for money. (62) In the Catalogue Raisonné of his works that he set out in 1788, Sade, describing the earlier version of Justine, the less famous Infortunes de la Vertu, wrote:

Le dénouement seul rend à la vertu tout le lustre qui lui est dû, et il n'est aucun être qui en finissant cette lecture n'abhorre le faux triomphe du crime et ne chérisse les humiliations et les malheurs qui éprouvent la vertu. (63)

The argument rests on our belief of the author's sincerity. It would certainly be hard to read Justine without some kind of pity or disgust, but whether the conclusion justifies the means employed cannot be determined without recourse to other sources. The aim of the novel as stated in the 'Dédication' helps to explain the extremes of the work:

....hasarder en un mot les peintures les plus hardies, les situations les plus extraordinaires, les maximes les plus effrayantes, les coups de pinceaux les plus énergiques, dans la seule vue d'obtenir de tout cela l'une des plus sublimes leçons de morale que l'homme ait encore reçue; c'était, on en conviendra, parvenir au but par une route peu frayée jusqu'à présent. (64)

The author has attempted to compose a work whose essence is boldness, whose nature is extraordinary, whose philosophy is frightening, and whose brushwork, to retain the author's image, is emphatically vivid. The reader is not offered the reassuring picture of happiness that was a characteristic of the moral novel, rather he is presented with a world whose primary function is to shock.

A synopsis of the novel serves as ample indication of the means employed. Thérèse, who later turns out to be Justine, is orphaned at the age of twelve and separated from her sister, Juliette. She undergoes a long series of unfortunate sexual and violent experiences which, even though they are a result of it, never manage to shake her faith in virtue. The conclusion to the novel is directed at the reader:

65) SADE. Justine. p.525.

66) Ibid. p.321.

Puissiez-vous vous convaincre avec elle, que le véritable bonheur n'est qu'au sein de la vertu, et que si dans des vues qu'il ne nous appartient pas d'approfondir, Dieu permet qu'elle soit persécutée sur la Terre, c'est pour l'en dédommager dans le Ciel par les plus flatteuses récompenses. (65)

Whether this conclusion is sufficiently convincing and positive to ensure the moral effect desired by the author depends on the reaction of the individual reader. If there is a mathematical ratio that links the degree of violence suffered by the heroine to the amount of pity and sympathy evoked in the reader, the greater the horrific detail, the greater is the emotional effect. A brief survey of a number of episodes will help to clarify the author's chosen method and help to situate the novel as a direct antithesis to the sterile moral novel.

The much-quoted maxim (see appendix) 'Do unto others as you will be done by' is constantly rejected by the enemies of Justine. Le Père Clément (the name is obviously ironical), one of the debauched monks in a monastery that Justine wrongly takes to be a refuge, has his own brand of rational philosophy that contradicts the contemporary belief that the self should be sacrificed for the good of society. Discussing the corrupt, perverse individual he asks:

....lorsque préférant son bonheur à celui des autres, il renverse ou détruit tout ce qu'il trouve dans son passage, a-t-il fait autre chose que servir la nature dont les premières et les plus sûres inspirations lui dictent de se rendre heureux, n'importe au dépens de qui? (66)

The question asks no answer, merely introduces a symbolic confrontation that opposes weak female with particularly strong male in a situation that allows the female no possible escape. Eventually, it is Justine's quality of virtue and the nature of this virtue that ensure her downfall. Of the two extremes vice is strong, energetic, selfish and unremitting, while virtue is weak, selfless and compassionate. Rodin, the cruel surgeon who plans to dissect his daughter,

67) SADE. Justine. p.224. :

Comment me persuaderez-vous qu'une vertu qui combat ou qui  
contrarie les passions, puisse se trouver dans la Nature ?  
Et si elle n'y est pas, comment peut-elle être bonne ?

68) Ibid. p.240/241.

69) Ibid. p.525.

justifies his action on natural grounds. (67) When he catches Justine attempting to release the girl he is quick to point out the ironic contradiction:

....voilà donc l'effet de vos/ grands principes de vertu..... enlever une fille à son père! (68)

There must be no suggestion that Sade was not aware of what he was doing here. Rodin's remark, ironic in a context of cruelty and where Justine's action is the more virtuous, highlights the lack of meaning in a broad term which, by its very breadth, is bound to include internal contradictions.

Sade consistently and systematically questions the belief that virtue is a principle of natural law by introducing characters who are no less natural than Justine, but who act against the principle. Just as Sade himself embodied the opposing principle, so his characters, by their very existence, prove exceptions to the rule symbolised by Justine. Admittedly, the novel is an imperfect presentation of the vice/virtue conflict since it is too dogmatic in its antitheses, and too extreme in its contrasts. The literal thunderbolt that strikes the heroine to conclude the novel is as extreme in its execution and function as are the main antagonists. Ultimately the thunderbolt does have a moralising influence - Juliette, Justine's sister who had chosen vice as the more likely path to prosperity, is converted by the sight of her dead sister and remarks:

La prospérité du crime n'est qu'une éprouve où la Providence veut mettre la vertu; elle est comme la foudre dont les feux trompeurs n'embellissent un instant l'atmosphère, que pour précipiter dans les abîmes de la mort le malheureux qu'ils ont ébloui. (69)

This conversion allied to the hint of life in Heaven for Justine would seem sufficient to redress the balance of the novel and to contradict the logical reasoning of the protagonists of vice. It was

- 70) For example, Michaud, in his Biographie Universelle, described the novel:

Ce livre, où les mœurs, les lois, la nature, la religion, l'humanité, sont outragées et violées de la manière la plus infâme.

Charles Villers, in his Lettre sur le Roman intitulé "Justine ou les Malheurs de la Vertu", Paris, 1871 [First appeared in the Spectateur du Nord. IV, 1792], used what is intended to be an even more devastating image, p.15. :

Il est, parmi les livres, ce que Robespierre a été parmi les hommes.

- 71) The play, Oxtiern, ou les Malheurs du Libertinage, in O.C., Tome 11, which first appeared in 1791, the same year as the first edition of Justine, shows the wicked villain, Oxtiern, overwhelmed by the virtuous hero, Fabrice.

- 72) SADE. Aline et Valcour, in O.C., Tomes 4 and 5.  
'Avis de l'Editeur', Tome 4, p.xxvii.

The sub-title suggests that the novel was written, 'un an avant la Révolution de France', but the title page reproduced in Tome 16, fig.38, shows 1793 to be the date of publication.

not, however, deemed sufficient by contemporary critics who consistently mistook the vicious characters in the novels as the author's personal mouthpiece. (70)

while one can sympathise with the misinterpretation of this crude early production, one must nevertheless note with some surprise the lack of attention paid to a far greater work, the letter novel Aline et Valcour. The novel Justine depends on a play for its aesthetic antithesis (71), while Aline et Valcour, by the complexity of its internal structure, provides its own antitheses, its own contrasts, and its own conflicts and conclusions. Valcour, the passive hero of the novel, has been forbidden to see Aline, the girl he loves, by her father, Blamont. Blamont aims to give his daughter (without her consent) to an old friend, Dolbourg, in return for a mistress of a similar age to his daughter. Blamont's wife and Valcour's friend, Déterville, both strive to bring about the happy union of Aline and Valcour. Another couple, Léonore and Sainville, break up the epistolary exchange by the accounts of their respective life-stories, and it eventually becomes apparent (to the reader) that Léonore is in fact Blamont's daughter. The novel ends badly: Aline's mother and her greatest defender dies, Aline commits suicide at the prospect of a forced marriage, while her love retires to a monastery in despair.

The 'editor's' introduction to the novel differs little in essence from that to Justine. His commentary on technique and method proposes that:

....si la vertu s'y fait adorer par la manière intéressante et vraie dont elle est présentée, assurément les couleurs effroyables dont on s'est servi pour peindre le vice ne manqueront pas de le faire détester;...(72)

The suggestion here is that the manner of description will determine the reader's reaction to what is described. In a sense the apology

73) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 4, p.90.

precedes the event in order to make sure that there can be no possible misinterpretation of the action. The remark introduces a sequence of explanatory notes dealing both with the aesthetics of novel construction and the subsequent interpretation of the mechanisms of the reader/writer relationship. It has already been seen that Nerciat used the footnote to emphasise an ironical dislocation of the writer/editor figures. Such irony in turn introduced a form of comedy where the apology for obscenity is made by the person directly responsible for its inclusion. Sade, who rejects the use of humour, finds further more significant functions for the footnote. He comments on the text by excusing detailed descriptions and makes suggestions in the position of an objective observer, the editor, to ensure that the main body of the text is correctly interpreted by the reader. At the same time, given the epistolary form of the novel, individual characters can apologise for their apparently excessively descriptive accounts of events in the way that Déterville, writing to his friend (and reader) Valcour, excuses his own style:

J'ai malheureusement deux libertins à représenter; il faut donc que tu t'attendes à des détails obscènes, et que tu me pardones de les tracer. J'ignore l'art de peindre sans couleur; quand le vice est sous mon pinceau, je l'esquisse avec toutes ses teintes, tant mieux si elles révoltent; les offrir sous de jolis dessins est le moyen de le faire aimer, et ce projet est loin de ma tête. (73)

In fact, of course, the image of the artist painting his picture and the excuse of its contents seem artificial when they form part of the correspondence between two friends, and can only be fully understood in terms of the reader/writer situation. At the same time it should be pointed out that such technique is hardly original. Used not only by Nerciat but also by Restif, it is a cliché of the pornographic tradition.

This form of internal self-commentary must be seen as a complement to the footnote which, in Aline et Valcour, assumes a major significance.

74) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 5, p.304.

75) Ibid. Tome 5, p.307.

76) Ibid. Tome 5, p.278.

-ance. Merciat's footnotes were ironical in the sense that they excused something the author could very easily have omitted. The apology was empty and comic because the hypocrisy was obvious to the reader. Sade too excuses the manner of description. Sophie, an orphan found in the woods, has been subjected to the perverse whims of the arch-villain, the Président de Blamont. A footnote warns the reader:

Nous prévenons nos lecteurs que la décence nous a contraints à élaguer beaucoup ces détails; peut-être reste-t-il encore des choses fortes, il est impossible d'affaiblir par trop la teinte des caractères. (Note de l'Editeur) (74).

Yet the actual description proves perfectly harmless and quite lacking in the extreme details that the reader is led to expect. Sophie recounts merely that:

....il m'a soumise, la moitié de la nuit, à tout ce qu'a pu lui suggérer l'égarement de sa tête et la perversité de son cœur. (75)

The apology plays on the tradition of the footnote in the licentious and pornographic novel and is ironical because it is quite unnecessary. The warning is more frightening than the description itself - the author prepares his reader for the worst and then deliberately disappoints his expectation.

On another occasion we are shown the roguish Président writing to Dolbourg, his partner in crime. The letter proves to the reader that the villain has not reformed in any way, although Aline had wrongly supposed that he had. The 'editor' again notes with apologies:

....quelque affreuse que soit cette lettre, sans doute, elle nous a paru trop essentielle à la catastrophe, trop utile aux teintes du caractère pour pouvoir être supprimée. Il y a beaucoup de lecteurs qui feront bien de ne la point lire, et les femmes surtout. (76)

Once again the footnote has an ironical importance. The 'editor' notes first of all that even though the contents of the letter are frightening, the letter itself is too important to suppress. Then he goes on to suggest that many readers would do well not to read it.

77) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 5, p.109.

The advice is hardly likely to be taken since, by the 'editor's' own admission, the letter is too important to miss out! At the same time, of course, such advice and such commentary are more likely to seduce and entice the reader than to turn him away. Similarly, if the reader is to maintain his position of superiority over the fictional characters, he must be aware of the villain's true nature before the heroine learns of it.

Sade, writing a novel and conscious of the power of creativity, realises the value of apparently objective footnotes to excuse, enlighten and explain. Their irony depends on this distance between event described and commentary and, to an even greater extent, on the power of the footnote to deny the fictional nature of the novel and to claim the absolute truth of the novel of which, after all, it forms part. The sequence of excitement and disappointment in the footnote/narrative relationship must be compared to the technique in the licentious novel that seduces the reader, shows him the way to debauchery, and then draws the curtain or puts out the light at the moment of the action.

Yet in Sade the function of the footnote goes beyond the merely seductive. By commenting on the narrative the footnote can, and indeed should, emphasise the true nature of what is being recounted. Realising that many of his readers will expect a coherent philosophy to emerge from the novel, Sade deliberately highlights a contradiction between characters to suggest that this is not a novel at all. Clémentine, a companion of Léonore's during her exile, proposes that political power should be constantly changing. In doing so she contradicts a suggestion made by a previous character that political power should remain in the hands of a permanent élite. The editor's footnote clarifies the situation by suggesting how best to benefit from the novel:

78) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 5, p.109.

79) Ibid. Tome 5, p.333.

quelques lecteurs vont dire: voilà une bonne contradiction; on a écrit quelque part avant ceci qu'il ne fallait pas changer souvent les ministres de place: ici l'on dit tout le contraire. Mais ces vétilleux lecteurs veulent-ils bien nous permettre de leur faire observer que ce recueil épistolaire n'est point un traité de morale dont toutes les parties doivent se correspondre et se lier; formé par différentes personnes, ce recueil offre, dans chaque lettre, la façon de penser de celui qui écrit... (78)

This denial of coherence is of course little more than a sop to tradition. The 18th Century reader is well used to some form of assurance that what he is reading is not a piece of invention but an account of events that actually took place. On the other hand, he is just as used to expecting some kind of moral message to emerge from the relation of events, so the 'editor's' statement will have the effect of making him consider the meaning more carefully.

The consequence of denial, and the reader's acceptance of the tradition, even if he does not believe the denial, places both reader and author in a false position. The ultimate irony comes when the author praises his account of events in what amounts to little more than a piece of tongue-in-cheek self-adulation. Sophie, the orphan, has been lost and the wicked Blamont is naturally suspected of foul-play. The footnote comments on the high-drama of the situation in a statement whose modesty is not even saved by the substitution of the 'editor' for author:

qui ne frémira pour Aline, en ayant autant de raisons de trembler pour Sophie ? Si ceci était un roman, nous ne pourrions nous empêcher de dire qu'il y a bien de l'art à suspendre ainsi la foudre sur la tête de l'héroïne, à alarmer sur son sort, en écrasant tout ce qui l'entoure. (79)

The reader is well aware of the author/editor's deception but he is prepared to smile at the irony of a situation in which he is, after all, master. The writer knows that the reader will not be fooled, and the reader is flattered because he is not; he sees through the artifice and gains in stature because of the experience.

On the one hand Sade was aware of the importance of the footnote

80) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 4, p.254.

Sainville is lavish in his praise of the island king:

Grand par ses seules vertus, respecté par sa seule sagesse,  
gardé par le seul cœur du peuple, je me crus transporté,  
en le voyant, dans ces temps heureux de l'âge d'or, où les  
rois n'étaient que les amis de leurs sujets....

81) Ibid. Tome 4, p.281.

82) Ibid. Tome 4, p.281.

83) Ibid. A similar statement has already been made. When  
Sainville pleads, Tome 4, p.176. :

Ô France, tu t'éclaireras un jour, je l'espère: l'énergie de  
tes citoyens brisera bientôt le sceptre du despotisme et de  
la tyrannie....

A footnote explains the wish:

Il ne faut pas s'étonner si de tels principes, manifestés dès  
longtemps par notre auteur, le faisaient gémir à la Bastille,  
où la Révolution le trouva.

in his literary tradition, and conscious of the aesthetic self-commentary that the device allowed. In Aline et Valcour, on the other hand, he takes the technique a stage further so that the comments made by the 'editor' about the letters clarify the author's political beliefs outside the bounds of the fiction. The dislocation between the narrative and the footnote allows the 'editor' to comment on characters and ideas exposed in the novel, so that even though there may be internal contradictions between fictional characters in the novel, the author's personal message is never obscured. Sainville interrupts his life-story by recounting the life of Zamé, a king he came across in his travels. Zamé, at least according to Sainville, is the ideal king. (80) The monarch, from his island Utopia, predicts the expansion of the American Republic and the consequent fear of the world. Addressing the French Nation, he excludes her people from the impending general fear:

....vous...finirez par secouer le joug du despotisme, et par devenir républicains à votre tour parce que ce gouvernement est le seul qui convienne à une nation aussi franche, aussi remplie d'énergie et de fierté que la vôtre. (81)

Remembering that the letters were written in 1788, Zamé's words imply an attack on the present form of government. Now the 'editor' in the present, i.e. 1793-1795, uses a footnote to explain the remarks and to highlight the prediction:

Conviens, lecteur, qu'il fallait les grâces d'état d'un homme embastillé pour faire en mil sept cent quatre-vingt-huit une telle prédiction. (82)

The consequence of this second kind of footnote is ultimately destructive. Previously the 'editor' insisted that we should not look for consistency in a collection of letters written by various different people, but now, in order to maintain the force of his argument, he refers to a single author. The reference to the man's imprisonment identifies the man as Sade. (83) He cannot resist the

84) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 5, p.23.

85) Ibid. Tome 5, p.23.

temptation of asserting his revolutionary pedigree, even if this very assertion casts doubt on the authenticity of the letters.

The footnote can both further and destroy the illusion of which it forms part. It can introduce new information, aid interpretation, and discuss points raised in the main body of the text in a detailed form that will not greatly affect the narrative. By commenting on an event or statement the footnote can introduce views which are far more obviously Sade's own. In Léonore's story we hear of the libertine Fallieri who abducted her and removed her from Sainville's control. He became furious when learning of the girl's fever and cried:

Ne m'en parlez plus....(tant il est vrai que le libertinage étouffe tous les sentiments de la nature). (84)

We assume that the parentheses are Léonore's own since the statement is revoked in a footnote which far more obviously represents Sade's own views:

Il n'étouffe pas les sentiments de la nature mais il entraîne à l'égoïsme: les désirs du libertin, presque toujours en contradiction avec les devoirs sociaux, et se trouvant dans son âme, d'après les principes qu'il s'est faits infiniment plus forts que ces devoirs, il les anéantit, mais il n'a fait que céder à l'égoïsme. (85)

The footnote has taken the reader to the dilemma that is central to the understanding of Sade as a man, a politician, and a writer.

Aline et Valcour, like Justine, can only be fully understood as a series of juxtapositions and contrasts. Briefly, there are good characters like Mme de Blamont, Aline, Valcour, and Déterville, and bad characters like Blamont and Dolbourg. Our sympathy consistently lies with the good characters, even though vice is the stronger of two opponents and the eventual physical victor.

In terms of structure we can trace the progress and impediments of the ideal love-affair between Aline and Valcour - yet at the end of the novel Mme de Blamont is dead, Aline has committed suicide,

- 86) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Dolbourg, moved to emotion by the tragedy, concludes, Tome 5, p.414. :

....cet épouvantable événement m'ouvre enfin les yeux sur tous les désordres de ma vie. Ce n'est que par mes vices que j'ai inspiré de l'horreur à cette malheureuse; je suis las de n'être dans ce monde qu'un objet de terreur et de mépris;

- 87) Ibid. Mme de Blamont, giving money to Isabeau, the woman who raised Sophie, points out, Tome 4, p.140. :

Il est si doux, mon ami, de faire un peu de bien! et à quoi servirait-il que le sort nous eût favorablement traité, si ce n'était pour satisfaire tous les besoins de l'infortune ?

- 88) Ibid. In a discussion with Valcour, where the hero is confronted by the villain and virtue by vice, Blamont dismisses Valcour's concept of love by asserting, Tome 5, p.297. :

....l'amour n'est que l'épine de la jouissance, le physique seul en est la rose....

- 89) SADE. Correspondance. Tome 12, p.276.

The letter is dated 20.2.1781.

- 90) SADE. Aline et Valcour. Tome 4, p.158.

The footnote reads:

Le lecteur qui prendrait ceci pour un de ces épisodes placé sans motif qu'on peut lire ou passer à volonté, commetttrait une faute bien lourde.

and Valcour is in a monastery. One character is unaffected by the events that take place around him: Blamont himself, the arch-villain, the embodiment of vice and evil. Vice is stronger, more energetic than virtue, and although some slight concessions are made - Dolbourg is converted (86), and Blamont is killed by robbers in England - these are little more than afterthoughts on the part of the author. A comparison of characters already suggests a literary expression of Sade's personal dilemma. Aware of the social need for virtue but unable to curb his natural vigour and excess, the author sees himself as a tragic figure, lucidly aware of his flaw, but quite unable to solve the problem that it poses. He is at once both the virtuous Mme de Blamont, delighting in the pleasures of charity (87), and her vicious husband, Blamont, for whom only physical love has any value. (88) In a letter to his wife dated 20.2.1781, Sade wrote a form of profession of faith that alone can help an understanding of his fiction. What he called his 'Grande Lettre' reads:

Je suis un libertin, mais je ne suis pas un criminel, ni un meurtrier, et puisqu'on me force à placer mon apologie à côté de ma justification, je dirai donc qu'il serait peut-être possible que ceux qui me condamnent aussi injustement que je le suis ne fussent pas à même de contrebalancer leurs infâmes par des bonnes actions aussi avérées que celles que je peux opposer à mes erreurs. Je suis un libertin, mais trois familles domiciliées dans notre quartier ont vécu cinq ans de mes aumônes, et je les ai sauvées des derniers excès de l'indigence. (89)

Sade hopes that the acts of charity will compensate for a fault he readily admits but can do nothing to eradicate. Just as different characters in Aline et Valcour can represent divergent trends of the author's character, so too can the two fictional worlds described by Sainville. A footnote insists that the episodes introduced by the accounts given by Sainville and Léonore are an important part of the novel, and should not be classified in the same category as those episodes that had become a stock feature of the contemporary novel and that went off at a tangent to the main body of the text. (90)

91) SADE. Aline et Valcour, Tome 4, p.189.

92) For a discussion of the politics in Aline et Valcour, see Pierre Favre's Sade Utopiste. Paris (P.U.F.), 1967. While limiting his discussion to the explicit Utopias, and taking no account of the literary expression of the theme in the novel, the author does, nevertheless, make the perceptive remark, p.15. :

Le despotisme des gouvernements de Butua a donc effectivement un caractère sexuel dans la conception propre du Marquis de Sade.

93) Sade was secretary of the Parisian 'Section des Piques' from the 25th October 1792 until his arrest on the 8th December 1793. In November 1792 he wrote to the 'Représentants du Peuple Français', saying, Opuscules Politiques, Tome 11, p.130.:

....adorons les Vertus, où nous révérions des chimères; que l'emblème d'une vertu morale soit placé dans chaque église, sur le même autel où des vœux inutiles s'offraient à des fantômes;....que la piété filiale, la grandeur d'âme, le courage, l'égalité, la bonne foi, l'amour de la patrie, la bienfaisance etc., que toutes ces vertus...deviennent les seuls objets de nos hommages;....

Chastity, it should be pointed out, is not given in the author's list of virtues.

94) SADE. Aline et Valcour, Tome 5, p.141.

Sainville, recounting his travels, describes the land of Butua and the inhabitants as 'le peuple le plus cruel et le plus dissolu de la terre' (91), where Euthanasia is common practice, where women are totally subservient to male domination, and where the law of the strongest is the only one that prevails. He escapes from Butua to the island of paradise ruled by the virtuous monarch, Zamé. The contrast is a vivid one: here the people live in total equality, property is state-owned, and crime does not exist. It is not stretching the analogy too far to suggest that Sade represents the land of Butua but that he is constantly striving to attain the status of Zamé's ideal land. (92)

The arrival of the Republic does, in some measure, allow Sade to achieve that status; his active participation in politics until his arrest in 1793 gives weight to the suggestion that Aline et Valcour can be interpreted as a political novel. (93) Admittedly, none of the major characters makes any explicit remarks about politics, but the footnotes constantly imply the author's republican beliefs, and one minor character strongly defends the republican form of government. The incidence of brigandage in France finds a literary expression in the aptly-named Brigandos. A protector of Léonore during her travels, he appears as a Robin Hood figure, justifying his thefts with arguments of social injustice and attempting to right the wrongs by redressing the balance of wealth. He sees the republican form of government as the 'modèle de tous' and describes his conception of it:

....un gouvernement qui romprait ses fers, qui, culbutant la monarchie, n'établirait ses bases que sur les droits et sur les devoirs imprescriptibles de l'homme.....(94)

Yet Aline et Valcour is only a political novel in as much as it conveys some of its author's political aspirations. While this study has been necessarily short and has concentrated on one salient

95) SADE. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir, in O.C. Tome 3, p.573.

96) Ibid. Tome 3, p.392.

Dolmancé tells Eugénie:

....la vertu n'est qu'une chimère, dont le culte ne consiste qu'en des immolations perpétuelles, qu'en des révoltes sans nombre contre les inspirations du tempérament.

97) Ibid. Tome 3, p.399.

Dolmancé continues:

....elle [bienfaisance] accoutume le pauvre à des secours qui détériorent son énergie;...

98) Ibid. Tome 3, p.422.

Taking a belief in materialism to the extreme, Dolmancé insists:

....le meurtre n'est point une destruction; celui qui le commet ne fait que varier des formes; il rend à la nature des éléments dont la main de cette nature habile se sert aussitôt pour récompenser d'autres êtres;..

99) Ibid. Tome 3, p.436.

Dolmancé asks:

Avons-nous jamais éprouvé une seule impulsion de la nature qui nous conseille de préférer les autres à nous, et chacun n'est-il pas pour soi dans le monde? Vous nous parlez d'une voix chimérique de cette nature, qui nous dit de ne pas faire aux autres ce que nous ne voudrions pas qu'il nous fût fait; mais cet absurde conseil ne nous est jamais venu que des hommes, et d'hommes faibles.

95) SADE. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir, in O.C. Tome 3, p.373.

96) Ibid. Tome 3, p.392.

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feature, the footnote, a general conclusion should be kept in mind which would maintain that this, the greatest of Sade's novels, is the perfect literary expression of the author's own tragic dilemma. The variations of character prohibit easy identification of the author; rather it is suggested that Sade's dilemma is conveyed by a synthetical account of the novel which permits contrasting figures to represent contrasting traits in the author's personal character. The tragic conclusion to the novel is the author's own realisation of the superior force of vice, and the acceptance of the fact that the energy of crime and vice will always overwhelm the placid impotence of virtue.

In the later La Philosophie dans le Boudoir the letter form gives way to the dialogue, and the implicit politics of the earlier novel have now become totally explicit. Two central male characters, Dolmancé and Le Chevalier are 'educating' a young girl, Eugénie. The character of Le Chevalier is quite obviously similar to that of his creator, and indeed he asks the kind of question that Sade himself might have asked:

L'homme est-il maître de ses goûts ? il faut plaindre ceux qui en ont des singuliers, mais ne les insulter jamais : leur tort est celui de la nature;... (95)

Dolmancé is far more dogmatic and less apologetic in his rejection of virtue. He maintains that chastity works against nature and demands on perpetual self-sacrifice (96), that charity is destructive of the energy that would normally force a man to work (97), that murder is justified since it does no more than change the formation of matter (98), and that even the universal maxim of mutual help must be rejected on the grounds that it is propagated by weak men for their own interests. (99)

Eugénie, the young girl, cannot see the relationship between 'mœurs' and 'gouvernement'. Dolmancé seizes the opportunity to

100) SADE. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir. Tome 3, p.490.

101) SADE. Aline et Valcour, Tome 4, p.314.

Zamé, the virtuous king, maintains:

Etablissez l'égalité des fortunes et des conditions,  
....et tous les crimes dangereux disparaîtront.

Rousseau made a similar point in the Contrat Social.  
ed. C.E. Vaughan, Manchester University Press, 1962,  
p.30. :

Dans un Etat bien gouverné, il y a peu de punitions,  
non parce qu'on fait beaucoup de grâces, mais parce  
qu'il y a peu de criminels:...

102) SADE. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir. Tome 3, p.498.

The pamphlet, "Français, encore un effort si vous voulez  
être républicains.", that Dolmancé is supposed to have  
bought in the 'Palais de l'Egalité', reads:

....l'état moral d'un homme est un état de paix et de  
tranquillité, au lieu que son état immoral est un état  
de mouvement perpétuel qui le rapproche de l'insurrection  
nécessaire dans laquelle il faut que le républicain  
tienne toujours le gouvernement dont il est membre.  
[Sade's italics underlined.]

103) Ibid. Tome 3, p.504.

104) Ibid. Tome 3, p.525.

105) Ibid. Tome 3, p.526.

introduce a pamphlet he has just bought from the Palais Royal. It is the infamous 'François, encore un effort si vous voulez être républicains', so often taken to be Sade's profession of faith but which, in fact, only represents one facet (and that an extreme one) of Sade's thought and character. The primary suggestion that:

Il est fort peu d'actions criminelles dans une société dont la liberté et l'égalité font les bases,....(100)

is reminiscent of the suggestion made by Zamé, the virtuous king in Aline et Valcour. (101) If theft exists it is justifiable in a country of social inequality since it works as an equalising agent. Property is no more than a defensive law made by those who actually possess, and even licence is acceptable in a republic since only the energy of vice can maintain constant revolutionary vigilance. (102) Physical strength determines the laws in Dolmancé's ideal world. Woman is of secondary importance, although the pamphlet does make a not very convincing concession to their rights:

Je veux que les lois leur permettent de se livrer à autant d'hommes que bon leur semblera. (103)

In the face of Dolmancé's extreme position, the Chevalier offers a moderation that would seem to be more representative of Sade himself. He refuses to accept Dolmancé's rejection of 'bienfaisance', and reminds him that his own brand of philosophy depends greatly on his personal wealth. He suggests that Dolmancé's views would change:

....si, privé de cette fortune immense où tu trouves sans cesse les moyens de satisfaire tes passions, tu pouvais languir quelques années dans cette accablante infertile dont ton esprit féroce ose composer des torts aux misérables! (104)

The Chevalier's implication that vice is the pastime of the wealthy recalls the clichés of the moral novel. His moderation does not succeed in re-educating Eugénie, but his views have nevertheless balanced the extremes of the novel. His plea that we should not abandon 'les vertus que la sensibilité nous inspire' (105) should

106) SADE. Correspondance, Tome 12, p.410.

The letter was sent to Mme de Sade in November 1783.

It should be noted that Sade is in direct opposition to Rousseau on this point. Rousseau, in the Contrat Social, ed. C.E. Vaughan, Manchester University Press, 1962, writes, p.16. :

....on ne peut offenser un de ses membres sans attaquer le corps, encore moins offenser le corps, sans que les membres s'en ressentent.

be considered in relation to Sade's 'Grande Lettre' (see note 89 of this chapter). The Chevalier, like Sade, is aware of his particular perverse desires, but he insists that his failings are something he can do nothing to correct because they depend on his physical make-up, and as such are attributable to nature. Sade is abnormal because nature has made him that way - he cannot conform to a norm defined by the majority. His personal conduct is pre-determined. Even if he cannot conform to a standard defined by others, he should not, he would claim, be subjected to punishment. He suggests that his personal conduct is not relevant in a state context:

Qu'un particulier croie en Dieu ou qu'il n'y croie pas, qu'il honore et vénère une putain ou qu'il lui donne cent coups de pied dans le ventre, l'une ou l'autre de ces conduites ne maintiendra ni n'ébranlera la constitution d'un Etat. (106)

Sade must have realised the self-justification that such an argument proposed, and never managed fully to resolve the conflict between the state and the individual. His personal dilemma results from an appreciation of the impracticality of his own selfish solution on a state scale.

It is far too easy to classify Sade's works as obscene and to remove them for the protection of the reading public. Some distinction should be made between those works intended for publication and those that he wrote in the Bastille to satisfy his own fantasies that were taken away during the sacking of the fortress. It would seem that the only way to understand the novels is by a comparison with the author's other productions, and especially with his correspondence. Critics who have identified the author with his most violent creations have made the mistake of too easy identification of character and author. Sade's productions must be seen as a totality whose message emerges from internal contrast, synthetical analysis, and careful balancing of extremes. There is no simple solution, no facile ideology, rather the literary statement of a tragic personal

dilemma.

This chapter has constantly emphasised the need to vary one's critical approach according to the aims and methods of individual authors. *Sade* used extreme methods and was misunderstood and far too easily dismissed. *Nerciat* fused humour with serious political commentary, was easily understood, but far too easily banished, while *Mercier de Compiègne*, in the Veillées du Couvent at least, attempted a parody of the cliché by original methods but was similarly rejected by the censor because he crossed the invisible frontier of decency.

It is far too easy to affix the tag of pornography and to use it as a critical label. Many of the works written at the end of the 'Ancien Régime' in no way reflect the specific qualities of the age that engendered them. This category can often be dismissed for its lack of social or literary significance. Other works, however, do constitute serious political propaganda, where the force of the message is in direct proportion to the excess of the activities described and where the actors chosen for the set-pieces are indicative of the bias of the attack. In pornography, as indeed in all branches of literature, there are degrees of quality which prohibit a facile dismissal of the entire spectrum.

The progression from the clichéd moral tale to the licentious and culminating in the pornographic is intended to highlight similarity of intent within a framework of vastly different methods. It is suggested that extreme methods had more didactic value than clichés that were often only confirmative, and that even if novels used 'immoral' settings their moral - be it political or ethical - was more immediately instructive. The use of the footnote in pornography has been emphasised since it constitutes both a means of self-commentary (with consequent irony), and a supposedly objective guarantee of truth. The next chapter will show how writers of fiction used this

same technique to comment on the real world outside their creations, and will introduce a change of emphasis. So far this study has concentrated on the moral, the message of fiction, and its suggested codes of behaviour for the real world. Now we will show how fiction incorporates identifiable reality and study the message that ensues from the transformational process.

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1) LOUIS XVI. Chronique de Paris. 2.3.1791. In a speech read  
by Cloots and signed in the King's name.

Chapter Five.Fiction, Reality and Propaganda.

La grande révolution régénératrice de la France, et dont le monde s'étonne est un de ces événemens qui font douter de la vérité de l'histoire, et font passer les historiens pour des romanciers. (1)

A study of self-confessed moral literature must necessarily compare different methods used by authors to ascertain both the meaning of the message and the effectiveness of the medium that is chosen. Our categorization has started from a simple base, that of the moral novel where the tone corresponds to the type of message that is being taught, has shown how the same message is promoted in the libertine novel where the action at first seems to contradict the moral conclusion, and finally has discussed the manner in which so-called pornographic writers, although flouting all the laws of decency, nevertheless instill into their works a message that is often not very different from that of their pure counterparts. In each case, the variation of method corresponds to a varying attitude towards sex.

Our previous chapter noted how political pamphlets had borrowed the techniques of the pornographic novel for propaganda purposes. The extent of the description of verifiable characters (who indeed were sometimes named) would determine the ferocity of the attack. While pure propaganda borrows from fiction to discuss and attack elements in the real world, so fiction incorporates aspects of the reality outside fiction for its own (albeit weakened) form of political propaganda. It should be pointed out that there is no

2) BELIARD, F. Zélauskim. Paris, 1765, Vol.1, p.xv.

3) For a chronological survey see Georges May's "L'Histoire a-t-elle engendré le Roman?" in R.H.L.F. LV, 1955, pp.155-176.

question here of chronological progression. We are dealing with variations within a set period and not with literary debt or invention.

If one accepts the general principle that the majority of novels (and here the Oriental, fairy, and allegorical tales are excepted from the definition) aim to represent reality in a fictional setting, or aim to produce an illusion of reality in fiction, what happens when the novel uses a real, i.e. identifiable, setting? Logically speaking such a novel destroys its own fictional essence and becomes the more factual genre of history. At the same time, of course, it also becomes more credible. The confusion between the novel and history had, by this time, become a well-worn cliché. Béliard, in his novel Zéflaskim, was stating nothing very new when he wrote in the Discours pour la Défense des Romans which precedes the narrative:

La plus grande différence que je trouve entre les Histoires et les Romans, c'est que ceux-ci, sous une apparence de fiction, contiennent un grand nombre de vérités, et que celles-là, sous un air de vérité, contiennent beaucoup de fictions. (2)

Zéflaskim was published some twenty-four years before the outbreak of the Revolution, but the confusion dates from an earlier period. (3) If anything, Béliard makes the issue even less clear by introducing two meanings of 'vérité'. On the one hand it means 'actual truth' while on the other it means 'philosophical truth', i.e. truth as it should be and not truth as it really is.

This same confusion is fostered by an article that appeared in the Esprit des Journaux in June 1794. Here the anonymous author takes what he calls 'la vérité philosophique' as the factor that distinguishes the novel from history. He notes:

4) Anon. Essai sur les Rapports du Roman et du Genre Dramatique.  
In Esprit des Journaux. Juin 1794, pp. 178-194, p. 178/179.

5) BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE. La Chaumière Indienne. Paris, 1823  
[1791], 'Avant-Propos', p.1.

Les rapports du roman à l'histoire sont aisés à assigner quand on prend la vérité philosophique pour caractère distinctif des deux genres. Le roman est vrai, l'histoire est problématique. Dans le roman la cause de tous / les événements se trouve assignée. La marche est philosophique. (4)

In the novel each action can be explained logically and every cause will have an effect. The confusion between history and the novel must be highlighted if we are to understand the significance of novels that disclaim their fictional property, their invented quality. Propaganda, as we shall see, depends on slanted description within a professedly true framework, yet at the same time writers deliberately incorporate two distinct meanings into the word 'vérité'. The contemporary novelist's claim of truth implies both that the events described actually happened, and that the relation of events conforms to the logical demands of philosophical truth. For example, when Bernadin de Saint-Pierre claims in the 'préface' to his La Chaumière Indienne:

Voici un petit conte indien qui renferme plus de vérités que bien des histoires. (5) ,

he means both that the events described actually happened and that the narrative teaches a message that conforms to a philosophical logic.

Propaganda depends on both these forms of truth. If the reality that is described in fiction is a particularly corrupt kind of fiction, the tale carries its own implicit message. At the same time, the message that can be extracted from a logical sequence of events promotes a pure form of philosophical truth that exists outside the bounds of the fiction that exemplifies it. The two meanings of 'vérité' are indicative of the dialectic that confronts all fiction with an expressed moral purpose. On the one hand fiction uses real background to produce an illusion of reality in the reader, while on the other hand the reality described must be shown to be

6) Anon. Grandor. Trèves et Paris, 1791, p.xi.

insufficient and lacking in perfection if the reader is to be aware of the need for improvement.

One very obvious method of achieving the ideal compromise depends on the introduction of a foreign - and therefore objective - observer. The lessons taught by Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes had not been forgotten; the anonymous author of Grandor, under the guise of the editor, introduces his story of Ethiopian history but, lacking the subtlety of his predecessor, he feels obliged to point out to the imperceptive reader:

....l'éditeur a trouvé un plus grand défaut dans le traducteur; c'est d'avoir voulu trop franciser son éthiopie... [sic] (6)

In actual fact the fictional allegory does little to hide the contemporary nature of the events described. Our next chapter will examine in detail the relationship between allegory and truth; for the moment we should consider this method as an extreme which sacrifices contemporary reality in order better to concentrate on the philosophical truth of the fiction.

This use of a removed form of reality dispenses with the need for a convincing illusion. The novel which attempts to pass as reality poses a far greater problem for the critic. One must constantly attempt to distinguish casual description that is given for realistic purposes from slanted description that is given in the interests of propaganda. The problem is all the more difficult because the propagandist will always try to make his description pass as the objective truth of the realist. In plain terms, a conservative writer will not describe, nor even select the reality that is chosen by, for example, a republican. As a result, propaganda tends to be evasive and indirect and, as a consequence, difficult to discern.

One recurring form of this evasiveness is the introduction into the narrative of an impartial observer who plays practically no part

7) MARAT, Jean-Paul. Les Aventures du Jeune Comte Potowsky. Paris,  
1848, Vol.2, p.39.

in the furtherance of the plot but makes comments in what amount to parentheses. For example, Jean-Paul Marat's unpublished (during his lifetime) novel, Les Aventures du Jeune Comte Potowsky is deliberately removed from a French setting and tells the story of a young Pole who plans to marry a childhood sweetheart. A parental disagreement postpones the marriage. Gustav, the young hero, is forced to follow his father in support of the Confederate cause and to fight with an army whose aim he detests. Eventually he deserts and expresses his support for the cause favoured by Lucile, his love, and her father, that of the Russians and their intermediary, Poniatowsky. This change of heart permits the marriage to take place and a subsequent happy ending. The background to the novel is historically verifiable but the events are totally Polish until the introduction of a Frenchman. This outsider allows himself to comment on the current situation in Poland but his nationality suggests that he may well have France too in mind when he complains:

Vous sentez comme moi, si vous n'avez pas renoncé au bon sens, combien il est cruel que le travail, la misère et la faim soient le partage de la multitude; l'abondance et les délices, celui du petit nombre. (?)

The reality of the Polish situation is no more than a backcloth that puts the '*vérité*' the message into its true perspective. The Frenchman makes no contribution to the advancement of the plot but, by painting him in relief, Marat has managed to convey a coherent political idea.

The emphasis on the figure of the impartial observer means, of course, that we are emphasising small aspects of the novels in which they appear. Indeed, if they took greater parts in the fiction, they would not be impartial. At the same time it should be made clear that such a technique does not warrant the novel's release from the cliché category. For example, in Mme Gautier-Lacapède's

8) GAUTIER-LACAPEDE, Mme. Sophie, ou Mémoires d'une Jeune Religieuse,  
Paris, 1790, p.211/212.

9) Ibid. p.190/191.

Sophie, ou les Mémoires d'une Jeune Religieuse the heroine retreats into a convent when the man she loves marries another. The man, Lusanne, is seen to have made a poor choice. His wife gambles away the family fortune and, when a son of the marriage catches smallpox, it is the virtuous Sophie who leaves the convent temporarily to care for the boy incognito. When the father contracts the same disease Sophie nurses him too. A beautifully ironical situation evolves. Lusanne writes to Sophie (who in disguise has taken the name of Emilie) praising his nurse. Sophie is both reader and heroine of the account written by Lusanne:

Vous vous disposez gaiement à entendre / le récit de quelque joli conte. Mais reprenez s'il vous plaît votre sérieux, et croyez que dans tout ce que je vais vous dire, je n'ajouterai rien à la vérité. (8)

Eventually she is called back to the convent. Then, on the death of Mme de Lusanne, she is free to marry her loved one and the only obstacle, her vows, have been annulled as a result of these Mémoires. In many ways this novel is similar to the more famous Diderot production but there is one essential difference. Here we have the introduction into the novel of a non-participating character. The Frenchman in Marat's novel gives way to a farmer who takes Sophie to see the sick baby and describes his own lot in life:

Dame! il faut bien aussi que les riches aient leurs peines; sans cela ils seroient trop heureux. Bien / boire, bien manger, dormir tant qu'on veut, et ne rien faire, c'est le paradis sur la terre; tandis que nous autres pauvres malheureux, ne dormons guère, manquons souvent de pain, ne buvons que de l'eau, travaillons comme des forçats, et tout cela pour mourir sur la paille. (9)

This harsh picture of reality has no significant bearing on the novel which emphasises the love-affair and its major impediments: the marriage of convenience and the religious vows taken later by Sophie. The farmer meets Sophie for a very short period of time yet he is given a passage of some considerable importance. The reality he describes is no more than background; what is important is that he

10) See pp.34-36, and pp.47-48, and note (17) in Chapter Two.

11) FERRIERES, Marquis Elie de. Saint-Flour et Justine.

On his return from exile in England the hero distinguishes two classes of people, the rich and the poor. He defines the cause of misery in economic terms in an analysis that is intended to represent pre-Revolutionary France. Saint-Flour notes, 4<sup>e</sup> Partie, p.45/46. :

C'est au moment où la moitié d'un / peuple peut fournir par son travail à la nourriture et à l'entretien de l'autre moitié que commence cette monstrueuse inégalité des conditions, et avec elle, ces distinctions de rang, de naissance, de fortune qui font du même peuple deux peuples différens, dont l'un outré de travail semble voué à la peine et à la misère; dont l'autre excédé d'oisiveté semble voué aux passions, aux maladies, et à l'ennui.

12) See note (19) in Chapter Two.

has been made to say it at all. It would seem fair to suggest that the inclusion of such description signifies more than a mere concession to the revolutionary atmosphere. Other novelists did not feel compelled to make any concessions, rather the authoress wants to clarify her personal position to an audience that would not be expecting it. The very briefness of the farmer's intervention highlights the importance of what he has to say and by its general nature it contrasts vividly with the personal drama that forms the major part of the action.

Another novel, previously discussed in Chapter Two, introduces a speaker of similar status in a comparable situation. (10) One might think that the noble author of the novel Saint-Flour et Justine would be unlikely to criticise the 'Ancien Régime'. However, by 1792 noble status is not necessarily related to political belief, and is little indication to the interpretation of the novel. As we saw previously, the novel's plot centres on the evolution of the love-affair between Saint-Flour and Justine, but again this affair does not constitute the sole interest of the novel. Saint-Flour's travels enable him to comment on the situation in France (11), while a conversation with a 'journalier' enables him to introduce a character who plays no part in the action of the novel, but who can offer his own analysis of the economic situation. (12)

It is suggested then that the utterances of impartial observers who are not involved with the exposition of the plot are more likely to be historically reliable than those fictional characters who play a vital role in the action. Certainly, the impartial observer may betray the author's personal belief so a degree of caution is needed before accepting the absolute truth of apparently objective statements. The value that can be assigned to such comments depends on a comparison of sources outside the world of fiction. When

13) DAMPMARTIN, Anne-Henri, Vicomte. Un Provincial à Paris pendant une partie de l'année 1789. Strasbourg et Paris, s.d. p.148.

14) BODARD DE TEZAY, N.M.F. Les Trois Ordres en Voyage. s.l. 1789, p.9.

15) Ibid. p.11.

Pierre Antoine de la Place, in his Anecdote Moderne. Paris, 1789, includes a poem written to the nobility pointing out the unfairness of the contract, p.27. :

Homme noble! Pour être encore plus respectable,  
Songe qu'un Laboureur n'est pas moins ton semblable,  
Et que par son travail, (ton seul et sûr appui)  
S'il peut vivre sans toi, tu périrais sans lui.

Dampmartin's 'Provincial' came to Paris in 1789 he saw the Revolution as an end to suffering:

Le laboureur, aussi estimable qu'utille, ne traînera plus sa triste existence au milieu des souffrances continues du besoin et de l'oppression. (13)

His implication of previous hardship echoes the sentiments of Ferrières' 'journalier' and, to some extent, adds credence to the reality of the situation. Yet the reader/critic must always consider the distinction that the novelist is constantly trying to hide: that of real truth and the semblance of reality. Only then is he aware of the propaganda value of fiction. Only by comparison and, where possible, by an examination of political ideology outside the novel can he appreciate the significance of the novel itself.

The importance of the impartial observer did not go unnoticed by writers of pure propaganda. Assimilating techniques used in the novel, Bodard de Tezay, in his Trois Ordres en Voyage, tells the story of three representatives of the three orders and their journey to Paris for the meeting of the 'Etats Généraux'. Jean Gosselin of the third estate leaves later than his two companions. We are told why:

Jean Gosselin, levé deux heures avant le jour, s'étoit occupé des soins nombreux qu'exigent les travaux champêtres; (14)

The humble character has already won the reader's sympathy with the result that the nobleman, by haughty contrast, assumes an ironical role:

La Noblesse défendoit la Patrie, le Clergé prioit pour sa prospérité, non pas gratis à la vérité; le Tiers-Etat travaillait pour les deux autres Ordres et pour lui-même; n'est-il pas fâcheux que les Malheurs de l'Etat dérangent peut-être un système si raisonnable, et risquent de troubler une si belle harmonie? (15)

The nobleman omits to mention that his role of defender is an ancient one that is no longer valid and that the prayers offered by the clergy seem to have had little real effect; the harmony that he

16) BODARD DE TEZAY. Les Trois Ordres en Voyage. p.19.

speaks of is a particularly one-sided affair. When the three characters stop for a drink it is Maitre Jean who foots the bill at the inn. The pause for refreshment allows the introduction of a fourth character, called significantly a 'Voyageur Anonyme'. Having no family ties and no particular class, he is the perfect impartial observer to comment on the current French situation with impunity. He destroys the nobleman's defence by pointing out that he is amply rewarded for his pains, and suggests that since the church possesses half of France it should pay half its taxes. His remark that :

Je vois de grands abus par-tout...(16)

is more easily accepted as impartial and more damning because of his lack of class affiliation. His stated fear that the third estate's intolerance may jeopardize its own search for freedom may be taken as a general conclusion to the pamphlet. It is the 'Voyageur' who moderates the extremes of the three biased characters and his description that is most easily accepted as the true one.

The introduction of a character who plays only a passing role in the fiction is intended to give the reader a description of reality that is dependent neither on the evolution of the fictional action, nor on the fictional illusion of reality that forms the backcloth to the events described. We have already seen how the use of a footnote can excuse the excesses of apparently 'true' narratives, and how it can make clear the beliefs of the author outside the terms of the world he has created. A parallel technique incorporates the real, identifiable world into the fictional one. By temporarily breaking the illusion of fiction, it reinforces the belief in the fiction's actual reality and at the same time can constitute a political position. Taking the defence of the reigning monarch as the theme we can see how apparently innocuous novels nevertheless assume a political significance. Loaisel de Tréogat, in his novel Dolbreuse,

17) LOAISEL DE TR. OGATE, Joseph-Marie. Dolbreuse. Amsterdam et  
Paris, 1783, Vol.2, p.41.

(of 1783) tells the story of his hero's love-affair with his childhood sweetheart, Armane, and their subsequent marriage. Dolbreuse leaves his country seat to go to Paris and succumbs to the wiles of a seductress. He takes up gambling, loses his fortune, is arrested for debt, and sent to prison. The harsh manner of his arrest leads to the inclusion of identifiable reality in the novel. Dolbreuse, as the first-person narrator of the 'Mémoires', writes in a footnote:

Il serait bien à souhaiter que ces tristes détails fussent mis sous les yeux du jeune Souverain.....qui multiplie les réformes nécessaires à l'humanité, et se plaît à convertir en liens d'amour le joug si doux à porter qui lui soumet tout un peuple.  
(17)

The passage is at once both critical of a state of affairs that should not exist, and laudatory of the young King. It adds belief in the reality of the fiction and comments on the real world outside the illusion. Such forms of praise in literature are not of course original but they do have significance in a literary climate where authors are under no moral obligation to praise the ruling monarch. Loaisel is not seeking literary patronage and would fear nothing by the omission of such passages. Consequently, the inclusion of such passages must be interpreted as sincere praise on the part of the author.

A similar conclusion must be drawn for Ducray-Duminil, the popular writer of children's stories (almost certainly read by adults), a journalist, and an important theorist of the novel. While his politics are admittedly flexible - the Republic will find him writing simplistic propaganda - an episode in Alexis shows him to be eloquently laudatory of the King. Alexis, the young hero, leaves society and is given refuge by a hermit, Candor. The hermit lives in some woods with his daughter (or so he says), Clairette, and his servant, Germuin. The hero undergoes a long series of trials until, at the end of the novel, he is re-united with his parents and free to marry

- 18) DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Alexis, ou la  
Maisonette dans les Bois. Grenoble et Paris, 1789, Vol.3, p.52.

Clairette. One short episode contains an explicit reference to the King. Alexis is wrongly arrested as a robber and is tortured to tell the truth. The author thinks that such an admission may incriminate the régime that allowed it and intervenes in the narrative. This intervention breaks the fictional illusion for a moment and in the process highlights the importance of the passage. We read:

Que dis-je ? Quel délice m'emporte, moi qui écris cette Histoire! puis-je oublier qu'un Monarque aussi juste qu'humain vient d'abolir le plus barbare de tous les abus, la question préparatoire.....O mon Roi! permets que je te témoigne ici tout l'enthousiasme qu'excite en moi cet acte de générosité, peut-être aussi grand que ceux qu'on te voit commettre journellement! (18)

Again, the very inclusion of the passage leaves no doubt as to its sincerity. The author deliberately breaks the illusion he has created because he realises that the impression that he has given is both critical of the régime and contradictory of contemporary reality. The time sequence implied by the King's action in revoking the 'question préparatoire' would have allowed the author to retain the episode without attacking the King. The gratuitous praise that follows, addressed to the monarch in person, and in the familiar 'tu' form, underlines the author's sincerity and the warmth of his feeling.

In the case of Alexis the situation that is criticised in the novel no longer exists in reality so any implied attack can be dismissed. In Gorjy's Saint-Alme that appeared a year later in 1790 but which relates to an event that has taken place in the past, there is an implication that the hero, again wrongly arrested, owes his release from prison to the recent accession of the King. Saint-Alme, re-telling the event, remarks:

19) GORJY, Jean-Claude. Saint-Alme. Paris, 1790, Vol.1, p.199.

20) Anon. Aristarque à Zoile. Paris, 1790, p.10.

The classical reference needs to be explained.  
Aristarque was a famous grammarian of the 2nd Century B.C.  
Larousse notes:

Son nom s'est passé dans la langue - on dit d'un critique sévère mais juste et éclairé, 'C'est un Aristarque.' Ce nom s'oppose souvent à Zoile, critique envieux et injuste d'Homère, qui a rendu son nom ridiculement célèbre par l'omertume et l'injustice de ses censures du chantre d'Achille.

The implication of the pamphlet is that Aristarque's criticism and observations have a certain objective value.

21) Ibid. p.12.

qui sait de combien encore ces recherches auraient prolongé ma captivité ? Mais la bonté du Ciel venait de placer sur le trône ce jeune Monarque qui, ne voyant dans ses sujets que des enfans chers à son cœur ne veut leur offrir, dans leur Roi, que le père le plus tendre. (19)

Admittedly, the time sequence implied by the novel of a past event recounted in the present will normally exonerate the present régime from blame, but the incidence in novels at this time of unjustified arrests and harsh treatment does, if only in a small way, temper the enthusiasm of the repeated adulations.

Works which are far more obviously works of propaganda use related means to praise the King but change the emphasis and direction of the message. In the pamphlet Aristarque à Zoile the writer of the letters is in Paris and his friend in the country. The manner of glorification is far more transparent - Zoile is merely a passive reader and never replies. The letters imply an internal contradiction that betrays the aim of the propaganda. The pamphlet is only twelve pages long, yet only the first five pages and the final paragraph on page twelve are addressed to Zoile and tell of the situation in Paris. The writer interrupts his correspondance to direct his remarks at the King:

Oui, mon Roi, c'est avec regret que j'afflige votre âme paternelle; votre pauvre peuple est lâché d'une manière insultante, la cupidité invente journallement des moyens pour la faire périr de misère et de faim, l'excessive cherté du bled a réduit le pauvre artisan, le journalier, dans un état où il faudra des années pour l'en tirer. (20)

The fictional illusion of letters is broken by this long digression with the result that it is not really Zoile, nor even the King that the writer is addressing but the ordinary reader. The pamphlet points out the need for reforms but is confident that the King is the person to carry them through. The final remark to Zoile moderates the tone of the previous criticism by assuring:

Mon ami, si notre bon Roi eût connu lui-même les malheurs de son Peuple, nous serions plus heureux. (21)

22) Anon. Les Politiques du ~~Lietus~~, s.l. 1788, p.<sup>24</sup>.

Galathée and Estelle are both short novels written by Florian.  
See notes (107) to (111) in Chapter Seven, and pp. 22-23, and  
note (34) in Chapter One.

23) MARCHANT, François. Les Bienfaits de l'Assemblée Nationale.  
Paris, 1792, 'Préface'.

The vast production of pamphlets occasioned by the 'Etats-Généraux' forced writers of propaganda to search for new methods to ensure a large and worthwhile readership. The anonymous satire Les Politiques du Galetas shows a meeting of printers discussing the situation and complaining that business is bad; the setting is given:

Le public, quelque échauffé qu'il fut sur les affaires présentes, ne vouloit rien lire.....les femmes, qui donnent toujours le ton en France, trouvoient ces livres d'un ennui insupportable, et auroient désiré qu'une brochure sur les Etats-Généraux fût écrite du style de Galathée ou d'Eustelle. (22)

In order that they be distinguished from the vast output of material, writers were forced to be inventive, even obliged to use the popular techniques of the novel if their pamphlet was going to be read and purchased.

The increase in Oriental and allegorical 'contes' can certainly be explained in this way, and so too can works that are similar in quality to François Marchant's Les Bienfaits de l'Assemblée Nationale. While the title gives no indication of the nature of the work, the 'préface', the next attraction to a likely reader, sets the scene in the 'Halles' and guarantees the truth of the narrative in the way that so many novels had previously underlined the reality of the events they described. The author writes:

Si, pour mériter un accueil général, il suffit de dire des vérités, j'ose me flatter que personne ne le méritera plus que moi. (23)

The main character is a certain Mère Saumon - as her name implies, she is the coarse, fishwife type - whose crude dialogue is imitated by the author in his transcription of her speech. Speaking to her assembled crowd, her language and the simplicity of her analysis are intended at once to be convincing and sincere. In an apology for the King which mirrors the fictional apologies made in the Oriental tales, the Mère suggests:

Si not' bon Roi, qu'est la justice même, avoit z'été instruit /

24) MARCHANT. Les Bienfaits de l'Assemblée Nationale, p.31/32.

25) POCHET, A. La Boussole Nationale, Paris, 1791, Vol.1, p.213.

26) Ibid. Vol.3, p.74.

The Chronique de Paris, reviewing the novel on the 7th September 1791, is in no doubt about the work's moral value. It states, somewhat chauvinistically, p.1007. :

Les Lecteurs trouveront dans ces anecdotes le tableau fidèle et animé du bonheur que l'on trouve en France, et les maux qu'on rencontre dans les pays étrangers....

dans l'temps des injustices qui se commettent [sic] il y  
uroit bien mis ordre.....(24)

The Mère can see no contradiction in the fact that the King is defended and that he was the figurehead of a régime which she admits was corrupt. Hers, and the author's aim, is to write a defence that will be readily understood by the undemanding audience for whom the pamphlet was intended. Once again, the King is the only real, identifiable character in a work whose propaganda is greatly dependent on the techniques popularised by the novel.

Not all writers, however, will claim the total innocence of the ruling monarch. Pochet, in his Boussole Nationale can concede that:

....il n'a pas été en garde contre la flatterie de ses courtisans....(25)

since Jaco, the hero of the novel and a descendant of Henri IV, proves from his observations in his travels that the monarchy is the only form of government suitable for France. Jaco, whose real name is in fact Henri, is the example, the compass of the title that we, his readers, should take directions from. The Curé of the village makes the reference explicit to the followers of the faith:

Prenez désormais Henri pour exemple. C'est votre seule boussole pour arriver au bonheur où tout bon chrétien patriote doit aspirer. (26)

These defences of the King have in common the fact that the defence comes in the form of a casual statement. The introduction of an actual character within a fictional framework can serve as a political defence. We must now approach the question of propaganda from another angle. Taking a real, identifiable background that forms the base of the fiction, we start with given reality and note a fictional character's reaction to it. An extreme example will serve as an illustration of this opposing possibility. The short pamphlet Le Suédois à Paris, using a less remote form of the Lettres Persanes technique, introduces a Swede in Paris commenting on the current

27) Anon. Le Suédois à Paris, Paris, 1792, p. 13/14.

situation. The foreign observer notes:

Non, je le jure, mes fils ne viendront jamais à Paris, où cette capitale, maintenant plongée dans les horreurs de la misère, de la/démence, de l'anarchie, reprendra son premier bon sens et son ancienne splendeur.....Il n'y a rien dans cette capitale que la révolution n'ait détruit ou défiguré....(27)

A work that is critical of the régime will obviously paint that aspect of reality that best indicates the worst features of the new social order. The dates of these publications assume a significance which, in turn, assist our interpretation. The Swede is in no doubt as to the causes of the present corruption. He is criticising the advent of the Republic in 1792. The same remarks made two years earlier would be aimed at the Constitutional Monarchy.

There is no need to enumerate the vast list of works that are similarly critical of the Republic but there is a need to show that such works are balanced by a technique which deliberately rejects a painting of reality and resorts to the evocation of a dream world that, as yet, exists only in the author's imagination. The straight-forward description of a particularly harsh form of reality is opposed by an indirect method of presentation which is utopian and quite removed from the contemporary setting. The Coup d'Oeil sur la Société en général en 1792 appears, at least from the title, to be a short appraisal of the previous year and the progress - or lack of it - that has been made. In fact, the work turns out to be a historical survey of society, similar in technique to the first part of Rousseau's Discours sur L'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité. The survey follows the progress of man from an animal state to a social one, describes how the first king was chosen because of his superior strength or reason, how the respect shown for the sons of the king created a class of nobles respected for their parentage, and finally moves towards a situation where the king calls the three orders together. The hypothetical survey starts to embody real

28) Anon. Journal d'Œil sur la Société en 1792. Paris, 1793, p.106.

29) Anon. Le Journal d'un Habitant de Sciozo. Paris, 1790, p.3.

30) Ibid. p.47.

elements; a million people living in a large city are dying of starvation while the king lives in luxury nearby, and an old fortress is razed to the ground. The vision contains elements that are recognizably French, and looks forward to the future where:

De grandes montagnes, de grandes mers séparaient les sociétés; mais elles étoient toutes régies par les mêmes loix, nourries des mêmes sentiments, et heureuses par les mêmes vertus... (28)

The author has deliberately avoided a straightforward description of contemporary France so has no need to claim the truth of what he is describing. His message of hope is consequently more subtle and far less didactic.

By using a dream or visionary technique an author forces his reader to make the comparison with contemporary society. His Utopia can only be judged by its contrast with the actual situation. When the writer of the Songe d'un Habitant de Scioto leaves for Scioto, the place of his dreams, he is disappointed by the prospects that his new home affords and admits on his arrival:

....l'illusion avoit fait place à une réalité affreuse. (29)  
His dreamworld contains the opposite of what he had hoped for and, a situation where the ground is rough, the climate awful, and the inhabitants unfriendly, proves to be worse than the France he had left behind. Consequently, he now dreams of his previous reality, admits the abuses of a corrupt priesthood and an oppressive nobility, and awakes to find that the wrongs had been righted by the Revolution. He regrets leaving his homeland and describes his reactions:

Je me réveillai alors dans toute la force de mes visions; j'en suis fâché. Je voyais le divorce établi, les Prêtres mariés, les Universités anéanties, l'impôt bien posé, et réparti surtout également. Heureux François, vous verrez tout cela! Ah, je regrette de ne plus être au milieu de vous. Pourquoi suis-je à Scioto? (30)

The Utopian dream has become, or at least is becoming, reality. The work has managed to criticise the 'Ancien Régime' by stressing the

need to escape in the first instance, and to praise the new order by stating some of its benefits and, indeed, its dreamlike qualities.

The force of propaganda depends greatly on the methods employed by the author. A work that is critical of the 'Ancien Régime' will concentrate on the harsh aspects of the previous reality, just as a work that is critical of the Revolution will emphasise the present excesses. In both cases the different authors must convince their readers of the truth of their descriptions if the message of their works is to be effective and their aim in writing achieved. We have concentrated on extreme examples and should at least note in passing a method that allows opposing points of view to be stated, even if the subsequent message is no less biased. Jean-Joseph Mounier's Adolphe introduces a dialogue between a 'sage vieillard', Ulrich, and a young revolutionary idealist, Adolphe. Their Germanic names are presumably supposed to suggest their apparent objectivity, even if their descriptions suggest that it is the 'sage' Ulrich who will eventually be proved right. Throughout the dialogue, Ulrich's moderation tempers the extremes of his antagonist and finally manages to persuade him of his misconceptions. The value of the dialogue is that it allows the opposition of two extremes within a single work and shows the reader which of the two paths exposed leads to eventual happiness.

We have seen how a fictional world can accept real elements and how, in the examples given, praise of Louis XVI can further a political objective that is not apparent and indeed that is sometimes contradictory to the events described. We have also noted the more drastic method where, particularly in the novel and 'conte', subtle suggestion is disdained for overt propaganda. Two further categories where the moral is not so much stated as evident from the reality that is described should now be discussed.

31) LAVALLÉE, Joseph. Le Nègre comme il y a peu de Blancs.  
Madras et Paris, 1789, Tome 1, 'Préface', p.xii.

32) Anon. Aza ou le Nègre. Paris, 1792, 'Préface', p.vi/vii.

The concern for human rights in the revolutionary period naturally focused attention on the slave-trade and led to the publication of a number of novels that treated the subject. The best-known of these, Joseph Lavallée's Le Nègre comme il y a peu de blancs which appeared in 1789, is, as the title suggests, the story of a Negro captured in Africa, shipped across the Atlantic, and forced into slavery. His conduct is impeccable, his character generous, and his virtues myriad. The conclusion to the work calls for an end to racial prejudice and, albeit implicitly, the entire novel proposes the abolition of slavery. For the moment, however, it is the theory of the novel as stated in the 'préface' that is our major interest. The author explains why he chose the novel form to make his apology for the negro:

Je sens qu'un roman n'est pas fait pour opérer cette grande révolution; mais un roman est lu de tout le monde, et peut-être est-il de la bonne politique de faire aimer d'abord ceux que l'on veut servir ensuite. (31)

The novel will reach a wider audience than the treatise and is more likely to endear the cause it is defending. In itself, the author realises, the novel cannot produce the required effect, but it can constitute a preliminary step by arousing its reader's conscience. A comparable work, the anonymous Aza, ou le Nègre of 1792, makes a similar point in defence of the chosen form:

Il est une autre classe de lecteurs que la discussion fatigue ou ennuie, et dont il importe cependant de diriger l'opinion: je veux dire les femmes et les enfans.... C'est pour eux que sont faits les ouvrages d'imagination, dans lesquels la vérité se couvre du voile transparent de la fiction, présente la sagesse sous un visage moins austère, et fait aimer la vertu, même avant que le raisonnement ait appris ce que c'est que vertu. (32)

Such a statement is a clear indication of the importance assigned to the novel for propaganda purposes. According to the author, the aim of the novel is to popularise a serious theme to an audience that the treatise would not normally reach. The veil has to be transparent to ensure that what it hides is nevertheless visible to the audience. By avoiding the austere arguments of the treatise, the novel appeals

33) LAVALLEE. Le Nègre. Tome 1, 'Préface', p.xiii.

Ducray-Duminil makes a similar technical point in his Alexis to forestall the criticism of 'invraisemblance'. He writes, Vol.4, p.74/75. :

Qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un Roman? un tissu d'aventures enchainées artistement; mais, qui prises séparément, sont très croyables. On n'y ajoute pas/foi, parce qu'il est impossible, dit-on, qu'elles soient arrivées toutes à la même personne. Eh, mais que m'importe que cela soit! au lieu d'un héros, si cette histoire en a deux cent, les faits n'en sont pas moins vrais, et moins intéressants pour moi.

34) Anon. Aza ou le Nègre. 'Préface', p.iv.

35) For example, Pierre Duplessis, in his novels Honorine Derville, Londres et Paris, 1789, and the Histoire du Marquis de Séligny, Londres et Paris, 1789, makes passing references to the slave-trade; commenting on the situation of the negroes in Jamaica, in an episode barely relevant to the central interest of the plot, we read in the Histoire du Marquis de Séligny, Vol.2, p.220. :

A la couleur près, qui est l'effet du climat, les Nègres sont des hommes comme nous.....

In Honorine Derville, one of the three women guarding the heroine makes a passing reference to the situation in Saint-Domingue. We read, 2<sup>e</sup> Partie, p.93. :

Ce ne fut que là que je pus bien juger combien est cruel le sort des malheureux Africains, arrachés par la surprise ou la force, à leurs pays, pour venir défricher une terre dont les immenses produits ne sont dûs qu'à leurs sueurs.

According to Michaud's Biographie Universelle, Duplessis, the author of these two novels, was born in 1750 at Saint-Pierre, Martinique, and was 'envoyé jeune en France'.

not to the reader's faculty of reason but to his emotional sensibility.

*Aza*, the hero of the novel, tells the story of his capture, the treatment he suffers at the hands of his white masters, and his eventual escape to freedom. The moral of the tale is implicit rather than explicit, and must be seen as an attack on the slave-trade with the understood plea for its abolition. Lavallée too was aware of the need to popularise ideas that were current but not yet generally approved. Having explained his choice of the novel form, Lavallée goes on to indicate the construction of the fictional elements. Somewhat defensively he states:

Si l'on me reproche de n'avoir écrit qu'un roman, je répondrai: les actions de mon Héros sont les traits détachés de la vie de différens Nègres; je les ai recueillis, rassemblés, liés ensemble, et je n'en ai fait qu'un tout. Ce n'est donc pas précisément un roman; c'est l'histoire d'un caractère national que j'offre dans le caractère d'un seul homme. (33)

According to the author, the individual elements of the novel are based on reality, but the novel has heightened this reality so that one central figure unifies the disparate events that are recounted. The hero is an artificial figure who represents a general character in the intensified person of an individual. In both these novels the aim is the same. The author of *Aza*, introducing his work, explains:

J'ai donc voulu prouver que les Noirs étaient en effet malheureux dans leur esclavage et par l'esclavage et que l'acte de violence qui les arrache à leurs foyers était un crime dans l'ordre de la nature et de la société. (34)

On the one hand the novel is seen as the ideal medium for gaining sympathy for the cause but, on the other hand, if the work can be dismissed as mere fiction, the real force of the arguments is in danger of being reduced. While some writers will prefer to raise the problem in a footnote, hoping by this technique to draw the reader's attention to a reality that exists outside the limits of the fiction (35), others prefer to reject the fictional tag and stress

- 36) LECOINTE-MANSILLAC. Le More-Lack, ou Essai sur l'Abolition de la Traite. Londres, 1789.

This work presented a number of difficulties of classification: The 'Bibliothèque Nationale' classified it as a moral treatise, while Nantes Municipal Library, possibly in deference to the town's vested interests, preferred to classify it as fiction.

- 37) Ibid. p.2.

the absolute veracity of what they describe. Lecointe-Marsillac's Le More-Lack, ou Essai sur l'Abolition de la Traite (36) contains a series of anecdotes aimed to prove the justice of negro claims for equality. The ambiguous figure of a white albino negro tells his story and asks for the reader's sympathy:

Lecteurs compatissans, ce n'est point ici un roman ébauché dans l'espoir d'amuser vos loisirs; c'est l'histoire véritable des traitemens barbares dont vos semblables nous accablent depuis plus de deux siècles. (37)

He explains the system, uses statistics to prove his points, quotes other writers, and describes the misery of the slave's conditions. We are asked for pity on humanitarian grounds and the brutality that is described is sufficient to determine our reactions.

Authors writing on the slave-trade needed to gain the absolute credence of their readers if the aim of their work was to be achieved. Writers explain their choice of the novel form by the need to move a readership unwilling to read a more severe form of writing. The moral of these works is always evident; i.e. it is either explicit, or implicit but obvious. The reality that is described is specially selected for the purpose in hand.

Our final category discusses novels that are obliged to be far more subtle in their blend of reality and fiction. Their reality is specifically the reality of the Revolution. Our division is made according to the various techniques used by authors. The epistolary novel that had known an enormous success in the second half of the Eighteenth Century continues to be written in the Revolution. It does of course have the advantage of immediacy and can claim a less self-conscious form of presentation. Jean Devaine's Lettres de la Comtesse de \*\*\* au Chevalier de \*\*\* is a short ironic evaluation of the events just prior to the meeting of the 'Etats-Généraux'. The 'Avertissement' is supposed to guarantee the authenticity of the letters but in fact it involves an ironical contradiction:

38) DEVAINES, Jean. Lettre de la Comtesse de \*\*\* au Chevalier  
de \*\*\* s.l.n.d. [=? 1789], 'Avertissement'.

39) Ibid. p.5.

40) Ibid. p.10.

Les négligences dans le style, le défaut de liaison dans les idées, et un certain abandon qui ne se trouve pas dans ce que l'on destine à l'impression, prouvent que ces Lettres ne sont pas supposées. (38)

The letters of course have been printed and one naturally suspects that they were always meant to be. There is no evidence of negligence in the style, nor any lack of liaison in the ideas. The Comtesse discusses the Chevalier's changing interests; his regiment now takes second place to the 'Stats-Généraux'. In the circumstances the Comtesse has made a concession to the changing climate of opinion.

The concession:

Savez-vous que depuis que vous êtes dans le parti du Tiers, je ne gronde plus mes gens ? (39),

is admittedly typical of the paternalism of the first Revolution, but in this context it assumes a comic role. Naturally, we compare her attitude with the implied sincerity of her lover, the Chevalier. She has one 'doléance' to place in the 'Cahiers' which itself indicates how seriously we can take her remarks:

Je vous en conjure, n'oubliez pas d'insister dans vos Cahiers sur le divorce. Je n'ai jamais aimé mon mari. (40)

Her comments form a witty statement about the values of her class, and the priorities of the decadent aristocracy.

The epistolary novel that includes only the letters of one correspondant differs little from the first-person confession or revelation type of novel. The only significant difference in detail is that which results from the author's awareness of his readership. For example, Devaines' Comtesse is determined by the fact that she is writing to a Chevalier whose liberal views she is well aware of. The heroine of Mme M-F. Abeille de Kérario's Les Visites of 1792 is, like the Comtesse, writing to a friend. Both writer and receiver of the letters are strangers to Paris. The receiver is living in the Provinces and the writer visiting Paris. Amélie d'Orvillars, whose letters we are reading, is apparently in an objective position and

41) KERALIO, Mme M-F. Abeille de. Les Visites. Paris, 1792, p.2.

42) Ibid. p.27.

The 'éloquent abbé M...' referred to here is the Abbé Maury, the staunch royalist who frequently starred in the pornographic fiction discussed in the previous chapter. See Chapter Four, note (19).

43) SENAC DE MEILHAN, Gabriel. L'Empereur. In Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle. ed. Etiemble, Paris (Gallimard - Pléiade), 1965, Vol.2, pp.1545-1912. Vol.2, 'Préface', p.1549.

According to the 'Avertissement', p.1547, the letters were written in 1793. The novel was first published in 1797.

able to comment without prejudice on the situation in Paris. She is a kind of impartial observer but her impartiality is marred by her author's obvious bias. In the very first letter she writes:

Depuis cinq jours je suis dans cette ville jadis si brillante, maintenant le séjour de l'injustice et du crime....(41),

and so sets the critical tone of the rest of the letters. Calling Paris the centre of crime in 1792 is tantamount to a defence of the monarchy. When she visits the 'Assemblée Nationale' her reaction is the predictable:

....l'éloquent abbé M....y, plusieurs autres encore qui méritent également d'être cités, par le sincère attachement qu'ils ont pour le roi....(42)

The objectivity that her situation would suggest is quite obviously determined by political prejudice.

A later novel, which includes the intricacies of several correspondants, represents a far more critical analysis of the Revolution. Sénac de Meilhan, aware of the confusion between the novel and truth, uses this confusion to guarantee the truth of the events he describes. He notes in the 'préface' that:

....les plus déplorables situations deviennent des événemens communs, et surpassent ce que les auteurs de roman peuvent imaginer. (43)

what might seem ~~as~~ fictional exaggerations in his novel are no more extreme than everyday events. Ironically, according to the author, the novel is less 'romanesque' than the reality it is trying to imitate. Again, according to the author, the collection of letters constitutes a historical document rather than an imaginary account. L'Emigré presents a consistent political stance. The major characters, all nobles of French or German origin, are concerned with the plight of the noble 'émigrés' from France and the contemporary political situation. Against a background of society letters, where the situation is explained and analysed, the hero, the Marquis de saint-Alban, recounts his life-story. He tells how he was forced to

44) SENAC DE MEILHAN. L'Emigré. p.1682.

45) Ibid. p.1886/1887.

leave his castle by the revolutionary mob, how his love suffered a similar fate and died, and how he fled to Germany for safety. The Marquis' letters indicate his growing love for a Comtesse de Loewenstein who, on the death of her husband, is free to marry the pitiful Marquis. However, before the marriage can take place, the hero fittingly dies a hero's death; leading a counter-revolutionary battalion he was captured and imprisoned but before he could be guillotined he took his own life.

Sénac realises that if he can move the reader by gaining sympathy for his fictional hero, this same reader is more likely to trust the reality of the descriptive background. His hero describes the 'Convention Nationale' as a 'monstre altéré de sang' and claims that:

....rien ne peut lui échapper par son obscurité, ni l'éblouir par son éclat. (44)

The terms are quite uncompromising. Actual verifiable events are included in the fiction as a further means of persuasion. When we hear of Marie-Antoinette's death by execution in 1793 we are told nothing of the past scandals with which she was associated, merely that:

La fille de Marie-Thérèse, la descendante de vingt empereurs, a succombé sous la hache des bourreaux...../....Marie-Antoinette a montré jusqu'au dernier moment, un courage héroïque et sans aucune ontentation. (45)

When the Marquis is given command of a battalion in Condé's army, is captured, tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal and sentenced to death, he kills himself rather than suffer the insult. The extract from the *Gazette de \*\*\** which reports the event tells of the scenes that follow his suicide and stress the barbarity of 'le peuple' who, incensed by a slip of paper left by the Marquis to praise the King, tear the body to pieces like wild animals. The death of the imaginary hero is deliberately compared to the death of an actual Queen. Fiction is fused with reality but the choice of character,

the selection of events, the force of tragedy, and the plea for humanity, are all slanted in the cause of political propaganda.

The epistolary novel will normally allow correspondants of different backgrounds to compare, argue, and resolve by debate and persuasion. The author manipulates his characters from an exterior position and directs his message at the reader by apparent objectivity. The novel may include a reader-figure, the recipient of the letters, but he will not always be allowed to clarify his own reaction. The reader-figure in Baltazard's novel, L'Isle des Philosophes, is an inactive recipient of letters written by his uncle, Le Chevalier de Haut-Mont. The uncle recounts a journey that he undertook with the Vicomte de Bisval (the names of the two characters represent deliberate contrasts), tells of the arguments they had, and explains their opinions on contemporary events. The novel starts in the present, recounts the past, and the past progresses to become the present. The unity of the novel is chronologically perfect. Within this unity there are two focal points: the Chevalier's reaction to contemporary events in France, and his appraisal of the land he discovers. In both cases the presence of a companion is intended to ensure unbiased objectivity but, in the event, irony and sarcasm mar the neutrality so that the Abbé Baltazard makes his own views apparent by refraction through his characters.

The significance of the focal points is indicated in the full title to the work: L'Isle des Philosophes et Plusieurs autres, Nouvellement Découvertes, et remarquables par leurs rapports avec la France actuelle. The reader is faced with two aspects of reality: the first is actual and identifiable, while the second is allegorical and comments on the first. The Chevalier's postscript to his first letter situates the time of the action and introduces the opinion of the writer:

46) BALTAZARD, L'Abbé. L'Iala des Philosophes, s.l. 1790, p.4.

47) Ibid. p.4/5.

See Chapter Four, note (5) for other examples of the  
liberty/licence confusion.

48) Ibid. p.54.

49) Almost certainly an imitation of an episode in Swift's  
Gulliver's Travels.

J'ai appris avec grand plaisir la venue des Etats-Généraux, dont l'ouverture s'est faite, dites-vous, à Versailles le 5 de ce mois. Le beau moment pour la France.....(46)

The Chevalier's friend, however, is less enthusiastic. The Vicomte de Bisval writes:

Si, sous prétexte de liberté, on commence par rompre tous les liens qui unissent les différens ordres de la monarchie et les divers membres de la société les uns aux autres, cette dangereuse liberté se changera bientôt en licence. (47)

We are told that Bisval had once been tempted by the ideas of the 'philosophes' but now he reaffirms his faith in Christianity. The two friends went to America together and discovered a number of new islands. On the first island the threat of death proved a source of worry to the Chevalier but the Vicomte displayed monumental calm and patience. The Chevalier was at risk because of his atheistic views, while the Vicomte's devout belief secured his release. This confrontation of views in the past is now matched by a confrontation in the present on contemporary issues. The Chevalier justifies violent revolution so the Vicomte turns to one of his friend's philosophical heroes for a contradiction:

L'un de vos philosophes ne dit-il pas lui-même qu'acheter la liberté au prix du sang d'un seul citoyen répandu injustement, ce seroit la payer trop chère. (48)

In the past, and by use of allegorical islands, the Vicomte ridicules the beliefs of the Chevalier. 'L'Isle du Hasard' shows an island where men have hooves and the horses have hands (49) - the conclusion shows that our real world has managed a far better arrangement and that God must take the credit for its harmony. Materialism, it is suggested, cannot explain the perfection of the world.

A revolution has taken place in the 'Isle des Philosophes.' The church land has been re-distributed to a people who differ greatly from Europeans. The Vicomte is consequently prepared to accept the possibility of a revolution here; its workability depends on the 'mœurs' of a country:

50) BALTAZARD. L'Isle des Philosophes, p.117/118.

See note (47) of this chapter, and, once again, note (5) of Chapter Four.

51) Ibid. p.331/332.

Comme les peuples de l'Europe et même les philosophes ne sont pas comme vous, sans vices, sans passions, / sans intérêt personnel, vos maximes sublimes y seroient bien dangereuses; cette liberté dégénéreroit en licence....(50)

The argument is a familiar one that, in this context, has an aesthetic importance. The real world and the allegorical world are faced with the same problem - the allegorical, being more perfect than the real, can succeed. France, on the other hand, because of its corruption, is doomed to failure.

The end of the novel shows the return of the characters to Europe. The allegorical world gives way to the real and the final confrontation shows the two characters faced with the same problem, death. The Vicomte dies peacefully and without fear, while the Chevalier, impressed by his friend's faith, is converted to Christianity. On his deathbed he manages to spell out the final message of the novel:

....souvenez-vous que si votre oncle a vécu/en incrédule, il a le bonheur de mourir en chrétien. (51)

The final note in the novel returns to the real world with information supposedly given by the editor: that on the 13th April 1790 the 'Assemblée' refused to make Catholicism the official state religion. The events of the novel and the conversion of the disbeliever imply that the 'Assemblée' was mistaken.

Of the various forms of epistolary novels, that which includes a number of characters does obviously allow a far more detailed and less subjective description of a given situation. When there is only one writer the form differs little from the first-person narrative. The major difference is defined by the audience for whom the letters are intended. In the epistolary novel the letters are written by one character to another whose reactions are normally known. In the first-person narrative we, as readers, fulfill the function of the recipient. The consequence of the difference is that the first-

- 52) Anon. Les Emirantes ou la Folie à la Mode, Paris, s.d.

This episode recalls the examination of transvestism in Chapter Three, pp.75-77. In this novel the disguise is adopted in the interests of safety during the journey. It is expected to be as effective and as foolproof as before.

- 53) Ibid. 'Préface'.

- 54) 'Mysterious' because practically nothing is known about his life.

Charles Monselet, in his Les Criminels du Siècle Dernier, Paris, 1864, describes Gorjy, p.236, as a :

lizard littéraire que nul n'a jamais entrevu....

- 55) GORJY, Jean-Claude. Les Tablettes Sentimentales du Bon Pumphile. Paris, 1791, p.57.

The strange nature of this defence demands further comment. An anonymous pamphlet, L'Aristocrate Converti, Paris, 1792, makes an almost identical statement. The pamphlet tells of a counter-revolutionary aristocrat who is won over to the Revolutionary cause. Before his conversion the author describes the aristocrat, p.6. :

Par exemple, il vouloit conserver son banc à l'église, sous le prétexte que cette même église avoit été bâtie en entier par ses ancêtres.

It seems highly likely that the pamphlet was also written by Gorjy. It appeared both individually and, as if by chance, as a space-filler to the six-volumed novel 'Ann 'Quin Bredouille', Paris, 1792. (See pp. 200-205 for a discussion of 'Ann 'Quin.)

person narrative will normally, but not always, be more direct in its message. The anonymous Les Emigrantes ou la Folie à la Mode introduces a number of women and one man 'disguised' as a woman who decide to emigrate. The women will disguise as men and the man will 'disguise' as a man too. (52) They tell each other stories which explain their different reasons for leaving France. These reasons, it should be pointed out, are remarkably trite. There is no political substance of any kind, even though the title would lead the reader to expect some. No real reference is made to the contemporary situation. In the circumstances, and it must be assumed that this is the intention of the author, the 'Préface' which states:

....le but que je me suis proposé en écrivant est manqué, si je suis obligée de le faire appercevoir; (53),

is a fine example of irony and even of parody of the ultra-serious moral tale that allows no room for interpretation. The novelist has shown the incidence of emigration to be little more than a society game.

The mysterious J-C. Gorjy (54) gives us a far more explicit political message in his novel, Les Tablettes Sentimentales du Bon Pamphile. Pamphile, the hero of the first-person narrative, decides to visit an old friend, Mathieu, to commiserate about recent events. On his way he meets an old woman still living in an ancient castle abandoned by the noble occupier. It is thought that the noble was drowned while trying to escape. A strange defence of the nobility is made by the old woman:

S'il entendait la messe dans un banc particulier c'est que, sans le grand-père du sien, les gens de ce pays-ci prieraienr encore Dieu dans une grange; (55)

Pamphile reaches his destination to find that the family are sheltering a mother and child endangered by the Revolution. A short walk in the country introduces a hermit - who turns out to be the Comte de Guérinval, the nobleman believed drowned. The Comte has lost his

56) GORJY. Les Tablettes Sentimentales. p.168.

57) LE BASTIER, Ch.-B. Borbeuil et Céliane de Valran. Paris,  
An III, 'Dédicace'.

daughter and grandson. The conclusion is already obvious from the summary. The Comte is allowed to defend himself by claiming his works of charity in the area:

Nos vassaux malheureux étaient toujours sûrs de mes secours;  
j'aurais exposé ma vie pour défendre celle du moindre d'entr'eux.  
(56)

Pamphile returns to the village to gauge the climate of opinion.

He finds a 'curé' who tells how a gang of 'brigands' had led the village astray ( a similar idea will be found in Liomin's La Bergère d'Aranville) and now he speaks to the villagers asking them to revise their opinions. The Comte eventually re-enters the village in triumph but with one regret, the loss of his daughter and grandson. They are revealed as the couple staying with Mathieu, and the novel finishes with a view of the perfect happiness that now reigns in the village.

There can be no doubting the propaganda value of such a novel. Its lack of subtlety can be excused by the clarity of the message. It would be fair to conclude that this is a poor novel but good propaganda. It lacks the more satisfying balance of a work like L'Emigré. A novel written after the fall of Robespierre provides the most critical first-person narrative attack on the régime. Published in An III (1794-1795), Bordeuil et Céline de Valran manages to produce the required fusion of fictional and real, verifiable events that can both satisfy the novel-reader and yet still convey a coherent and forceful political message. The 'Dédicace' explains the mixture:

Je puis donc affirmer que le cadre seul est arrangé par mon imagination et que l'ouvrage est tracé par la vérité. (57)

The fictional elements concentrate on the love-affair of the two heroes, the difficulties that confront them, the obstacles that have to be overcome, and the concluding marriage. The obstacles are both fictional and historically possible. The figure of the 'galant'

58) LE BASTIER. Borbénil et Orlans de Valran. Tome 1, p.124/125.  
Author's italics underlined.

59) Ibid. Tome 2, p.178.

(and therefore insincere) Terval represents the greatest impediment to the couple's happiness. He invites Dorbeuil to a meeting of his 'section' in Paris. The language situates both the events and the sympathies of the author:

Il n'est pas nécessaire d'en fixer l'époque, on la devinera aisément. L'honneur et la probité étoient alors au fond des cachots, sous les poignards des scélérats, ou traînés aux échafauds. Alors enfin, comme on l'a dit énergiquement; tout étoit crime excepté le crime. (58)

Such descriptions of course easily situate political affiliations. The hero's mother pledges to leave France and return to Philadelphia, a 'comité révolutionnaire' indulges in corruption, brigands roam the countryside and attack the innocent couple, and the hero, Dorbeuil, having done enough to gain the reader's sympathy, is arrested for no apparent crime. The arrest forms the conclusion to the novel. Imprisoned on the 2nd Thermidor An II, the hero is released on the 9th following the fall of the 'tyran', Robespierre. The message of the novel is spelt out at the end:

Sous un gouvernement oppresseur, car on appeloit cette anarchie sanguinaire un gouvernement; sous un tel gouvernement donc, poursuivit Dorbeuil, l'homme vertueux est obligé de fuir et de se cacher: il est exposé à des événemens qui ont plus ou moins d'intérêt. Sous un gouvernement humain et juste au contraire, il vit paisible au sein des douces affections de la nature et des devoirs de la société, et ses jours simples et uniformes offrent alors aux yeux de ses semblables le tableau du bonheur et de la vertu. (59)

This stress on the virtue of the heroes, and the emphasis on qualities of 'sensibilité' and 'humanité' are intended as rhetorical devices to arouse antagonism for their oppressors. The political content of the novel at once gives a realistic background and a biased interpretation of the revolutionary events.

The relatively small number of full-length novels produced during the Revolution, and this, as we have seen, for a number of reasons, makes statistics a little meaningless. It would seem nevertheless that the events modified the meaning of novels written earlier. In

60) GOODRICK, H. Lindor and Adelmaide. London, 1791, p.240.

The novel, published anonymously, has a sub-title that allows the attribution:

A moral tale in which are exhibited the effects of the late French Revolution on the peasantry of France. By the author of 'Observations on Dr. Price's Revolution Sermon.'

such cases the relevance, the contemporary awareness of works is superimposed by the critic and reader rather than intended by the writer. There are few full-length novels which mention the Revolution specifically yet the speed with which an anonymous English novel, Lindor and Adelaide, was translated into French suggests a positive demand for such works. What should be emphasised is the mainly critical attitude of the few novels that there were since this alone hints at the authorship of fiction and pre-supposes the aristocratic nature of their creation. As we shall see when we look at the kind of fiction produced during the Republic, An II propaganda was of a shorter and quite different nature. Lindor and Adelaide describes the sorry end of a noble who cared for his villagers (a recurring feature of anti-revolutionary fiction), the personal greed of the Revolutionaries, the sincerity of the local priest, a defence of the aristocracy by showing its dedication to the army, and, significantly, an attack on the 'nouveaux riches' who were seen as the founders of the Revolution. Lindor, a doubting but at first sincere revolutionary, notes the anomaly of a rich 'bourgeois' preaching equality and remarks:

No I don't see that!.....I have no sumptuous house, keep no magnificent table, drink no wine, and can scarcely afford to buy myself a pitiful dinner; while you have horses and houses, and even your equals, men, at your command. (60)

Lindor's doubt proves to be enough to warrant his murder. His love, Adelaide, dies of a broken heart and the novel ends with a warning that the Revolution has not brought with it the perfect happiness it had promised.

Even if the manner of their presentation is biased, those novels that were written and published during the social crisis do have the advantage of introducing to the modern reader contemporary fears. One such fear, the very real one of brigandage, leads on to an attack on the Revolution by an equation of brigand with revolutionary. This

61) LIOMIN, Louis-Auguste. La Bergère d'Araville. Paris, 1826  
[1792], Vol.1, p.32.

62) Ibid. Vol.1, p.56/57.

63) Ibid. Vol.1, p.72.

See Chapter Four, note (5) for other examples of the liberty/  
licence confusion. One should also note a brigand in the  
Robin Hood tradition, Brigandos in Sade's Aline et Valcour.  
See p.134 in Chapter Four.

technique has been noted in passing with reference to Gorjy's Tablettes Sentimentales (See p.167) but is given more importance in Liomin's La Bergère d'Aranville. This novel, which appeared for the first time in 1792, introduces an idyllic setting which is deliberately removed from the normal Parisian scene. Aranville lies at the foot of the mountains between France and Spain; it houses a happy people with simple tastes and rustic innocence. Louise, a shepherdess, is sixteen years old and most attractive. A village 'fête' introduces a young noble, respected for his impeccable conduct, and Bellesert, a town boy with a taste for luxurious living. Beyond the idyllic setting is a real world of corruption and poverty. There, luxury and magnificence are the brash reminders of hate and jealousy. A minister, Necker (although he is not named in the novel), is brave enough to publish the pitiful state of the country's finances. The King, we are told, 'était faible, mais il était bon.' (61)

The contrast is established between two worlds, but one day the idyll is confronted by the real. The wicked Bellesert whips up anger and preaches revolution to the villagers:

....tous ceux qui veulent nous conduire et nous tenir dans l'abjection au nom de dieu ou du roi, méritent le nom de tyrans. Ils doivent être déçouillés, couverts d'opprobre, / et leur sang n'est pas assez pur pour mériter nos regrets; (62)

Louise's father, the moderate and wise Montane, tries to calm the wrath of the revolutionary brigands and argues with Bellesert on the familiar lines:

Dès que la licence prend le nom de liberté, qu'elle ose trouver à l'abri de ce titre l'impunité de ses crimes, elle n'a plus de frein,.....(63)

His plea, however, goes unheeded. Two fugitive 'émigrés' heading for liberty in Spain pass through the village and are exhausted by their flight from the brigands. Montane offers assistance and it soon transpires that the brother of the couple has fallen in love with

64) Anon. la Pariséide. Paris, 1790, p.18.

Lambesc was the officer of the 'Royal-Allemands' accused of violence in dispersing the crowd assembled in the Place Louis XV on July 12th 1789.

65) Ibid. p.91.

Louise. Bellesert arrives with his band of 'brigands', threatens to kill the fugitive, Séville, but is accidentally stabbed himself. A more moderate revolutionary is sent as a replacement from Paris. The newcomer turns out to be Montane's long-lost son. He falls in love with Séville's sister, a double marriage takes place, and they all live happily ever after in Spain.

There is no explicit moral to the novel but one is hardly needed. A number of implications arise: the King is seen as an essentially good figure who is badly advised and weak; Necker is seen as a possible saviour, while the revolutionaries are shown to be blood-thirsty, arrogant brigands. Montane, the retrospective hero of the novel, is a moderate, apolitical figure who asks only for compassion, humanity, and justice.

The moral of this novel depends on a number of internal character contrasts. The same is true for the anonymous La Pariséide of 1790. Similar in many ways to Lesuire's Charmunsage, this novel tells of the love-affair between two characters of different estates. Allegorical abstract figures participate in the fiction to give the novel a tone of comedy and licence. La Discorde is unhappy at the sight of the happy love-affair between Crisostome, a patriot, and Pétronille, an aristocrat. On the 12th of July 1789 the allegorical Discorde becomes the real Lambesc (64), and only the allegorical Amour manages to save the real Crisostome. Later that same night the patriot goes to a meeting at the Palais-Royal where 'cocardes' are distributed in preparation for the following day's sacking of Saint-Lazare. Later, the allegorical Liberté overcomes the allegorical Despotisme, the real crowd takes the Bastille, De Launai (sic) is killed, La Fayette is made head of the National Guard, and Bailli is made 'chef des Représentants d'un Peuple libre'. (65) As a background to these recognisable events, the fictional Pétronille,

66) Anon. La Pariséide, p.126.

Sade makes a similar criticism of Restif. See note (?) of Chapter Eight.

67) Ibid. p.130.

Once again, see note (5) of Chapter Four.

*herself*

anxious about the absence of her lover, has disguised<sup>/as</sup> a man, nearly been raped by three 'abbés', and finally been taken by the revolutionary crowd to Versailles. When at the end the two lovers are re-united, the incredible nature of her story is emphasised in terms which may well indicate contemporary opinion:

La belle savait narrer. Elle avait lu beaucoup de Romans; non pas les Romans dégoûtans de l'infpuisable Retif-de-la Bretonne, ni les Homélies sentimentales du révérend père D'Arnauld Baculard [sic] ; mais les Contes de Boccace et de la Fontaine, Fanzai, le Sopha, et le Chevalier de Faublas. (66)

It is hardly surprising, given this list of authors and novels, that Pétronille's account itself borders on the licentious. The conclusion of the novel moderates both the licentiousness that the fiction itself has displayed, and the excessive liberty threatened by the real events described. In a warning that itself has become a cliché it is pointed out that Liberté:

....voit avec peine que plusieurs de ses sujets ont passé les bornes qu'elles [sic] leur avaient prescrites; qu'ils ont pris la Licence pour la Liberté; et que, pour finir par une comparaison, ils ressemblent à cet homme qui, voulant monter sur son cheval, sauta trop fort et tomba de l'autre côté. (67)

A novel which at first appeared to be an unrestrained plea for liberty and revolution turns out to be a restrictive plea for moderation. The tone of the narrative is essentially light-hearted, but this in no way contradicts the serious nature of the moral. Real figures combine with fictional and allegorical characters to produce a novel that illustrates perfectly that fusion of identifiable reality and fiction which, by its introduction of allegory, acts as a presentation of our next category, that of the Oriental, fairy, and allegorical novel.

This chapter has concentrated on the inter-dependence of fictional invented characters and events, and real identifiable historical figures and occurrences. In discussing methods of propaganda we have emphasised the importance of literary techniques and categorised our

materi l accordingly. The first section described the use of an impartial observer who, while not a major figure in the novel, commented on identifiable reality outside the bounds of fiction and, by so doing, made a political statement. The footnote was seen as a related technique which allowed the author, again from a vantage point outside the fiction, both to comment on events that have taken place in the novel and, as a consequence, to generalise the relevance of his comments so that they apply to the real world that the novel has tried to imitate.

In both cases the significance of propaganda was of marginal importance. That is, the propaganda was certainly effective but was visibly not the '*raison d'être*' of the novel. By contrast it was seen that there were other forms of novel and pamphlet whose meaning was only apparent because of the biased picture of reality that was given. Here the emphasis has changed: fiction no longer introduces aspects of reality - rather the real world is enhanced by fictional techniques in the interests of propaganda. The meaning of these works again depends on the reader's willingness to believe the truth of the reality that is described. The dream allowed a contrast with the real world by offering a vision of utopian perfection that contradicted the harsh aspects of contemporary reality. Novels dealing specifically with the slave-trade underlined the atrocity of the slave's conditions in an attempt to gain the reader's support and sympathy. In such cases, the moral of the novel was totally dependant on the manner of description.

Our final section examined novels that deliberately selected the reality of the Revolution. Again, according to differences of technique, it was shown how various authors managed to present a political message by a fusion of aspects that were obviously fictional with events and characters that were historically verifiable. In

68) Anon. Histoire Naturelle, Philosophique, et Politique des Aouds.  
Traduits de l'Italien. s.l. 1789, p.5.

passing it was noted that the majority of full-length novels (here to be distinguished from the 'conte' and pamphlet) were hostile to the Revolution. It was suggested that this was a fair indication of the social class of the contemporary novel-writer. The technique used for this final section was consistent and should be pointed out. Since most novels will depend on the outcome of a love-affair, the novel that is hostile to the Revolution will introduce a sympathetic couple and endear them to the reader, and will then show how the revolutionary events and the harshness of the régime unfairly disturb the couple's happiness and prove a constant obstacle to their union.

We should perhaps conclude on a word of caution. By attempting to distinguish reality from fiction we are treading on very dangerous ground, and this for a very simple reason. The tradition of the 18th Century has forced the novel into a situation where its only course is to deny its value as fiction. The novel-writer cannot admit that he has written a novel without devaluing the worth of his counterfeit. If the forgery is apparent, the production is worthless. We should perhaps turn to the anonymous author of the pamphlet, L'Histoire Naturelle, Philosophique, et Politique des Anes for the final cautionary word:

Le plus hardi Philosophe ne soutiendra pas qu'il est sûr de les distinguer....L'Histoire fait passer ses mensonges en raison de sa prééminence, et le Roman déguise ses vérités en raison de sa subordination; (68)

At the same time, of course, history adapts fictional techniques to attract a readership, while the novel invents techniques to perfect the imitation of historical reality.

Our next section, in contrast to this one, introduces novels and 'contes' that deliberately refuse to participate in the history/novel debate by situating their fictions away from the verifiable in the Orient or in Fairyland. As we shall see, however, the message they

propagate is no less relevant to the real world in which they were published.

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1) MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Eléments de littérature, in Oeuvres Complètes. Paris, 1818, Vol.12, p.174.

Chapter Six.      Allegory and the Rejection of Contemporary  
Realism.

Le mérite de l'allégorie est de n'avoir pas besoin d'expliquer la vérité qu'elle enveloppe; elle la fait sentir à chaque trait par la justesse de ses rapports. (1)

We have now seen the force of propaganda in novels that claimed to be true, and noted how such novels placed fictional characters in the foreground of historical events. The reactions of these characters to the situations that confront them subsequently mould our own reactions and encourage a particular interpretation. The moral, the didactic element which led to the creation of the work, dominated the choice of technique that was to be used. In effect, the moral of the novel was seen to depend on the quality of the specific reality that was portrayed.

This next section discusses works which deliberately reject the use of contemporary realism. Novels and 'contes' become puzzles of varying complexity in which the reader participates by extracting the implied moral, by guessing the anagrams -sometimes with the aid of a key -, and by indulging in his own capacity to see through the veil of allegory and discover the real world that lies beyond. The consequences of this technique are numerous: we shall see how the same technical method is used for entirely different purposes, how some works are seen to be allusive even though the author may strenuously deny it, and how works which had long been familiar are now given meanings that the author probably never intended since they

2) One obvious example of such a work is Fénelon's Télémaque. Dr. Mylne has pointed out that it was printed throughout the century and, more pertinently, that it retained its popularity during the Revolutionary period.

3) MARMONTEL. Éléments de Littérature, in O.C. Vol.12, p.175.

4) Anon. Les Simples. s.l.n.d. p.1.

are dependent on events taking place outside the world of fiction and at a period that the author could not have foreseen when he composed the novel. (2)

We must first of all ask what is meant by the description 'allégorique' in a sub-title. A poem, Les Simples, has the sub-title: 'Histoire véritable, allégorique, et remarquable du Dix-Huitième Siècle'. An awareness of the author's meaning regarding this text will improve our understanding of other similar works. First of all there would seem to be a contradiction. The author claims both that his poem is 'véritable' and that it is 'allégorique'. What he means is that beyond the allegory is a real situation that corresponds exactly to the allegorical one. In the Eighteenth Century, allegory should not have been any more than a veil that was easily seen through. Marmontel's definition will explain the contemporary conception of the form:

L'allégorie....se propose, non pas de déguiser, mais d'embellir la vérité et de la rendre plus sensible.....Or une qualité essentielle de la métaphore [he has previously called 'allégorie' a 'métaphore continue'] est d'être transparente;....(3)

Les Simples conforms exactly to Marmontel's definition and prescription. Describing the advent of the 'Etats-Généraux', the first verse begins:

Du chardon étoilé, l'épine (a)  
 Nous pique depuis trop long-tems;  
 Du chardon bénit, la doctrine (b)  
 Ne convient plus qu'à des enfans,  
 Disoit le Trèfle, en son langage (c)  
 Il nous faut changer tout cela; (4)

The meaning of the poem is totally obvious yet the author still sees fit to give a key explaining the allusions: (a) is 'La Noblesse', (b) 'Le Clergé' and (c) 'Le Tiers-Etat'. The meaning of the allegory must be easily accessible and it must be available to all. Indeed, it is the obvious nature of the majority of these allegories that proves, paradoxically, to be their most frequent characteristic.

5) LUCHET, J-P. L. Marquis de. Amusement des Gens du Monde.  
s.l. 1785, Tome 1, p.362.

6) ROSNY, A-J. N. de. Ulamor et Feltidie. Londres et Paris, 1789,  
'Clef de l'Ouvrage.'

This would seem to indicate the popular audience for whom they were intended and can hardly be used as a criticism against them. The very nature of allegory, at least at this particular time, was to be obvious.

It remains to be seen whether the readers of these works were aware of their obvious nature or whether they were flattered by their own ability to unravel the knots and pierce the veil. Certainly, the Marquis de Luchet, writing his criticism of Le Roi Voyageur in 1785, was under no illusions about the contemporary reader.

He noted:

Les abus communs, que l'écrivain prétend examiner [sic] dans l'administration de la Lydie, (tout le monde sait que la France [sic] est désignée sous ce nom), sont des abus éternels, qui se remontrent dans toutes les administrations.....(5)

Since everybody realises that Lydie is France in disguise, any suggestion that allegory was used to fool the censor can be dismissed immediately. This may have been the case for earlier allegories but it no longer remains true. The choice of allegory is a deliberate one, made to attract readers and to criticise the régime in an open and obvious manner.

The use of allegory responded to a large extent to a contemporary demand; even novels with no great critical pretensions imitate the method. Rosny's Ulamor et Feltidie adds a further element to its sub-title of 'Histoire Allégorique', that of the equally obvious, 'traduite de l'arabe'. The reader would be well aware of the deception, and would certainly not consider the work to be authentic. In the final analysis, of course, he would care little whether the novel was translated or not! The novel is no more than a love-story: 'Ulamor' is 'l'amour', and 'Feltidie' 'fidelité'. The key given by the author deflates the allegory and even mocks the technique:

Voilà toute la magie et la féerie de ce Roman, qui n'est que l'histoire du siècle et du jour. (6)

7) Anon. Voyage du Diable et de la Folie. Imprimé dans la Lune,  
1793, p.9.

8) Anon. Le Royaume de Naudelit, s.l. 1789, 'Préface', p.iii/iv.

In a period where the novel is in decline and where ultra-serious political tracts and pamphlets abound, the use of allegory may well represent a literary reaction and an attempt to embellish truths and maxims that were already current and generally accepted.

This, at least, is how the author of the Voyage du Dimble et de la Folie explained his personal use of allegory. His allegory has no claims to originality, it merely proposes a literary alternative:

La vérité présentée en riant, frappe certains esprits souvent beaucoup plus que les raisonnemens les plus logiquement calculés. Ma brochure contient des vérités, je veux les dire en plaisantant. (7)

The 'vérités' he refers to turn out to be criticisms of the Convention and a defence of the King. The two characters of the allegory become permanent members of the assembly; the intended implication needs no further comment.

The anonymous author of Le Royaume de Naudelit is less modest in the claims of his allegory. The work tells of the voyage of a Norman prince who discovers a new island. The author is supposed to be the secretary of the prince, writing down his observations as the journey progresses. The result is a Utopian description of the perfect monarchy. It is the form of the description rather than the analysis of the Utopia that interests us for the moment. The 'Préface' explains in detail:

Pour qu'il puisse intéresser un plus grand nombre de lecteurs, les forcer même à convenir de la nécessité des opérations des Etats-Généraux, j'ai cru devoir couvrir la marche graduelle de nos Représentans du voile de l'allégorie, pour ne pas blesser / la délicatesse de certains lecteurs qui pourroient encore tenir aux systèmes anciens, par quelque intérêt, ou par quelqu'autre motif personnel.....

C'est donc sous l'embrème d'un Roman que je vais annoncer des faits étonnans, des vérités grandes et pompeuses, des réflexions solides tirées des principes même de la Constitution Frangoise... (8)

The author claims that he has chosen the allegory because it can at once interest and persuade those readers likely to be hostile to the suggestions he makes. He maintains that his work will be more

9) BENARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE. La Chaumi re Indienne. Paris,  
1823 [1791], p.7.

10) The Grand Larousse Encyclop dique gives the following  
information on Adm te :

Roi l gendaire de Ph r s, en Thessalie, l'un des Argonautes;  
il donna l'ospitalit   Apollon banni de l'Olympe, qui obtint  
pour lui des Parques la faveur d'阾tre exempt de la mort si l'un  
des siens se d vouait  sa place: sa femme, Alceste, se sacrifia.

11) Anon. L'Education d'Adm te. Paris, 1791, p.6.

ideologically effective than a straightforward reasoned analysis since it will not shock or offend his antagonists. Furthermore, he asserts that his novel will introduce original material, that it includes ideas that are the result of lengthy consideration. To sum up, he has chosen allegory for its practical ability to persuade.

It remains true that the author was not forced into his subterfuge by fear of repercussions. Bernadin de Saint-Pierre indeed claimed that the incidence of allegory was greater in a period of political freedom. He quotes England as his example, saying:

On peut observer que les Anglais, dans leur littérature, ont un goût particulier pour l'allégorie, quoique la vérité puisse se dire chez eux fort librement. (9)

The same would certainly appear to be true for France. The liberation of the presses in 1789 (and effectively a good deal earlier) had no appreciable effect on the kind of literature that was produced, only on the amount. It would appear that allegory and subterfuge proved to be less an alternative for straightforward realistic novels than for banal treatises and pamphlets. Its fictional form is chosen not simply because it offers a literary exercise, but because it proposes a valuable didactic propagandistic alternative.

This view is confirmed by the author of the 'conte', L'Education d'Admète. (10) Admète is a king who receives an education that is ideally suited to his position. The author, or if we are to believe what we read, the translator, points out:

On a prétendu depuis quelque temps que l'allégorie n'étoit que le langage des nations esclaves; on pourroit, par une foule d'exemples, prouver au contraire que les peuples libres en ont le plus fait usage. La vérité cachée sous un voile en paroît moins dure et plus piquante. (11)

The conclusion that was made for the moral tale, that its instructive element was more effective when the moral was not obvious, can also be drawn here. The veil does not hide but intensify the meaning of the author. The allegory appears as a medium of transmission rather than an obstacle.

12) See R. Darnton's "Reading, Writing and Publishing in 18th Century France." in Dædalus, 100, winter 1971, pp.214-256., and an article by A. Soboul, "L'Audience des Lumières sous la Révolution." in Utopies et Institutions au 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Paris (Mouton, pour l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes), 1963, pp.289-303.

13) The publication of the Bibliography mentioned in note (4) of Chapter One will greatly assist the task of re-assessment.

14) FENELON, François de Salignac de la Mothe. Télémaque. in Chefs d'Oeuvres de Fénelon. Paris (Lefèvre), 1839, pp.215-524. p.230.

15) GOUGES, Olympe de. (pseud. of Marie Gouze). Le Prince Philosophe. Paris, 1792, Vol.1, p.26.

To understand the increase of allegory in political 'contes' we need to examine contemporary reading taste. More evidence is needed of the kind supplied by two historians, Robert Darnton and Albert Soboul. Both suggest that it is not the great names of the 18th Century that had most popularity at this time, but rather the 'libelles', the 'colportage' literature and pamphlets which demanded little intellectual appreciation but offered simple entertainment and low-level instruction. (12) It is therefore highly likely that works that the modern reader will dismiss as trivial had a far greater effect than those which are normally regarded as classics. The importance of works which have now been forgotten will have to be re-assessed when the necessary statistics are available. (13)

A number of examples will clarify this point; the remarkable popularity of Télémaque a century after its publication could be explained by its use of an allegory that is still relevant to the contemporary situation. The wise Mentor, educating his pupil, Télémaque, points out the dangers of kingship in terms which are remarkably similar to the classical defence of Louis XVI:

Hélas! à quoi les rois sont-ils exposés! Les plus sages mêmes sont souvent surpris. Des hommes artificieux et intressés les environnent. (14)

Olympe de Gouges in her novel, Le Prince Philosophe, may or may not have intended a contemporary significance but the fact remains that the reader would have noticed an allusion in the story of a prince who travels to gain experience and who notes:

....en appréciant la fausseté des courtisans, les injustices des mandarins, et en voyant l'affluence des jolies femmes, tout lui faisoit craindre une cour trop somptueuse. (15)

Similarly, L-S.Mercier's Fictions Morales, while only a collection of 'contes' previously published in different reviews, contains the story Abézaid that is situated in Persia. Yet the Orient could well represent France, and an allusion to Necker might be seen in the

16) MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. Fictions Morales. Paris, 1792, Vol.1,  
p.26.

17) FOURNIER DE TONY. Les Nymphe de Dystyme. Paris, 1790,  
'Anté-Préface.'

18) Anon. Le Roi Trompé et Détroussé, ou les Bonnes Leçons.  
Paris, 1790, p.6.

description:

La Perse, avilie et ruinée, penchoit vers sa chute. Abézaid, qui y régnait alors, eut le bonheur de choisir un homme honnête pour ministre, et la Perse fut sauvée. (16)

The title alone of Fournier de Tony's Les Nymphes de Dyctyme, ou Révolutions de l'Empire Virginal is enough to encourage the reader/purchaser, but he would look in vain for a political statement. The novel tells of a love-affair which, complicated by the girl's status as a virgin, is only rendered possible by the destruction of Diane's rule over the nymphs. The conclusion does make a slight concession to the reader's expectation, but it will hardly compensate for his disappointment:

Cet ouvrage composé il y a un an se trouve, par un hasard assez étonnant, avoir rapport à la Révolution qui vient de s'opérer dans les Monastères. (17)

It would seem likely that the reader would find allegories where they are not intended because he has considerable expertise in looking for them where they are. The modern reader is naturally perplexed when he finds a novel which seems to contain allusions but which he cannot identify. The remarks made by authors introducing their texts are often deliberately misleading. The 'editor' of the 'conte', Le Roi Trompé et Détrompé, ou les Bonnes Leçons, states in the 'avant-propos':

Au reste, nous protestons d'avance contre toutes les allusions ou interprétations qu'on pourroit faire, ainsi que de la pureté de nos motifs et de nos intentions vraiment patriotiques. (18)

In all fairness there would seem to be very few distinct parallels, yet again the hero is a prince who becomes king after having given proof of his wisdom. Once in power he is subject to corruption. The people show considerable disquiet and move towards revolution. The King reacts by beheading all the chiefs and all the 'savants' of the kingdom. Neighbouring countries threaten invasion and the King has nobody to turn to for advice. His wives do nothing but cry, and only

19) Anon. Le Roi Trompé et Détrompé, ou les Bonnes Leçons. p.41.

20) FONTETTE DE SOMMERY. L'Oreille. Paris, 1789, 'Dédicace.'

21) Ibid. p.5.

a young boy, the son of the King's former minister, can find a solution. The stated conclusion of the 'conte' proves to be a disappointing anti-climax. The King resolves in the future:

....non seulement d'être aux femmes jusqu'à la moindre connaissance des affaires du gouvernement; mais de les exclure encore de ses conseils domestiques....(19)

This 'conte' does not conform to the definition of allegory because its meaning is far from clear. Yet it was no doubt accepted as allegory by readers hungry for the genre and delighting in the joys of Orientalism. The 'conte' contains no specific comments on the Revolution in France, but events outside fiction undoubtedly gave the work an interpretation it did not claim or warrant.

In much the same way, Mlle Fontette de Sommery was fully aware of the vogue for allegory and indeed, conscious of the effect that such an attitude might have on her own novel, L'Oreille. Once again, the 'Dédicace' denies any allusions:

Et tandis qu'il s'élève de chaque ordre des légions d'administrateurs, de législateurs etc. etc. la très petite partie de la société assez juste ou assez modeste pour ne se pas croire [sic] 7 appelée au grand œuvre de réformer le royaume, ne me saura-t-il pas gré de chercher à la distraire des sujets attristans dont on l'environne. (20)

The reader is not unnaturally perplexed by such a statement of intent since he has no sure way of gauging its sincerity. In the event he will try to read the novel with an open mind, ready to pick up allusions if he comes across them, but equally aware of the fact that there may not be any. Yet even this approach poses its problems: the introduction to the novel tells of a king who inherited the throne while still very young (as did Louis XVI), and describes the debt and poverty that reign in the land, (as they did in France). It would be hard not to see a reference to France in the description:

....l'avidité des courtisans, les rapines des financiers, la passion du luxe portée à l'excès dans la plus grande partie du royaume, ayant ruiné l'état, et tout étoit en désordre. (21)

- 22) Anon. Annonces de Bibliographie Moderne. Paris, 1790, Vol.1, p.249/250.

Similarly, the title and place of publication of J-G. Peltier's Domine Salvum Fac Regem. Sur les Bords du Gange, 1789, suggest a form of allegory. In fact the pamphlet merely recounts the story of the King's journey to Paris from Versailles in October 1789.

- 23) For example, in Caraccioli's Lettres d'un Indien à Paris. Amsterdam et Paris, 1789, Zator writes to his friend, Glazir, telling him of the journey he had made from Marseilles to Paris. He observes the great contrast between the rich and the poor, yet praises Louis XVI, Vol.1, p.317/318. :

....un Prince/aussi ami de la justice que de la vérité.

The Lettres Persanes pour 1789 et 1790. s.l.n.d. introduce Usbeck who is a descendant of the better-known character in Montesquieu's novel, and who is more politicised, and far more critical of the present régime. He writes, p.8. :

Cette France, tant célébrée par Usbeck, est disparue: il n'y a plus de roi ni de nation ni de magistrature. Il n'existe plus qu'une multitude immense en désordre, d'individus sans règle ni chef.

- 24) Babouc was given the task of examining Persia. To Babouc's excuse that he had never before visited the country, the 'génie' replied, Voltaire, Le Monde Comme Il Va, in Romans et Contes. ed. H. Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1960, p.66. :

Tant mieux,....tu ne seras point partial.

Two 'contes' appeared that referred explicitly to Babouc: Le Retour de Babouc. Concordopolis, 1789, and Le Fils de Babouc à Persépolis. Paris, 1790.

- 25) For example, the 'Avertissement' to the Fils de Babouc. Paris, 1790, in a typically long-winded explanation, guarantees, although not very seriously, the authenticity of the manuscript:

Un descendant du mage Smerdis, de ce sage adorateur du feu, de ce premier ami de la liberté, paroît avoir été l'auteur du manuscrit persan que nous venons de traduire, et qui a été trouvé à Alexandrie dans les cendres de la bibliothèque, recueillie à grands frais par Ptolomée Philadelphie, et incendiée, à la honte de l'esprit humain, sous le califat d'Omar, dans le septième siècle.

In passing, we should note that Nogaret's satire, (See note (63) of this chapter, p.199), makes a similar reference to this library.

Yet by the sixth page the king has cured the ills of his country and the rest of the novel is devoted to his son, Prince Constant. We are told of the Prince's romances and of the dismembering of his true-love by a jealous rival. The Prince is given one ear of the remains - hence the title of the novel - and spends the rest of the novel trying to piece her together. On completion the inevitable marriage takes place and happiness is assured.

An allusion could easily be found in the early description but we cannot say whether it was intended by the author. The result of the reader's searching is utter confusion. The anonymous Anecdote Historique traduite du Turc may be exactly what it claims to be and no more. Yet given a background of allegory, the reader is sceptical of the title and suspects that here too is another veiled attack on France. Our reaction to the Anecdote is exactly the same as that of a contemporary critic who, obviously perplexed, wrote:

Nous avons lu très attentivement cette brochure; mais soit défaut de sagacité de notre part, ou ce qui est moins vraisemblable, défaut de clarté de la part/ de l'auteur, nous n'avons pu rien comprendre à cet ouvrage, sinon qu'il s'y trouve quelques rapports avec les circonstances présentes. (22)

The reader and critic has been conditioned by what he expects to find in these works. He is misled by a title which may, contrary to popular usage, be exactly what it claims to be.

The majority of these works, however, provide no great problems for the reader. Many will use the technique popularised by the Lettres Persanes and, as we saw in the previous chapter, introduce an impartial observer to comment with apparent objectivity on contemporary French reality. (23) Others recall literary allusions of the past so that Babouc, the hero of Voltaire's Le Monde comme il va makes a return to the stage to take up his previous employment. (24) The 'Avertissements' invariably point out the authenticity of the manuscripts (25) but the provision of a key which reveals the identity

26) Anon. Nitona Frunka, Paris, An V<sup>e</sup> de la Liberté, [1792],  
'Lettre à l'éditeur', p.ii.

27) Ibid. p.vii.

28) Chronique de Paris, 30.7.1792.

The reviewer adds that the work would comprise 16 volumes and that it would be paid for by subscription. It does not seem that the other volumes ever appeared.

of the various characters does nothing to convince the readers nor, of course, is the reader really meant to be convinced. The fictional illusion is destroyed by the work itself and the pretence does no more than to conform to a literary game devised for the reader's entertainment.

In much the same way, other works will claim to be faithful historical accounts of distant revolutions, but again the allusions are obvious, and their denial tantamount to confirmation. The writer/ 'translator' of the anonymous Nitona Franka writes to deny the allusions that might be found in his work but in the process gives the key to its understanding. Almost indignantly he asks:

Quand, par l'effet du hasard, on trouveroit dans les mots de Rapis et d'On-tiran, ceux de Paris et de Trianon; quand les lettres renversées des mots, Anconel, Galopinc, Tire-le-bu, Sot-a-ri, offriroient Calonne, Polignac, Breteuil, Artois; est-ce une raison pour avancer que Versailles est Putrida? (26)

The answer to his question is the obvious affirmative. Indeed, a little later the 'translator' tells the reader how best to benefit from this history:

Si vous voulez lire cette histoire avec fruit; en la rapprochant de la vôtre, soulevez un voile transparent: un contraste étonnant vous frappera. (27)

The narrative itself describes an impoverished kingdom with corruption in high places and self-interest on the part of the prime-minister, a certain Kener (i.e. Necker). A criticism of the novel which appeared in 1792 comments on the transparency of the veil to the point of destroying it:

Cette histoire de notre révolution, écrite d'une manière plaisante et faite par un vrai patriote, offre sous une allégorie orientale bien facile à pénétrer, une peinture vraie des événemens. (28)

Yet the criticism does not analyse the value of the allegory, nor does it explain what is meant by a 'peinture vraie'. It has previously been suggested that truth is only compatible with objectivity and this

29) Anon. Le Conte Vrai. s.l.n.d. p.1.

29) Anon. Le Conte Vrai. s.l.n.d. p.1.

is something that Nitona Franka singularly fails to provide. We must consider the importance of the previous chapter if we are really to understand the incidence and significance of the numerous allegorical and Oriental tales, and their deliberate rejection of a reality that purports to represent revolutionary France.

In our last chapter we compared the varying relationship of truth and fiction and concluded the chapter with a section that showed how some novels used a real, verifiable background as the centre-piece of the action. In the interests of propaganda, fiction was prepared to accept identifiable reality into its domain. Here the formula is totally reversed. We begin with a real framework whose harsh reality is planed down to provide a modelled analogy whose primary function is to amuse, yet whose political message is equally, if not more, potent. A detailed analysis of one such work will serve to exemplify the reversal. The title of the work, Le Conte Vrai is itself indicative; situated in the Middle-East, (the heroes of the tale are Arabs), the Conte begins with a warning to its reader:

Un lecteur un peu attentif y voit toutes les passions s'agiter et se mouvoir: la nature y est peinte au naturel; en croyant s'amuser à un conte, il suit une histoire; du moins il n'a d'autre peine que de supposer d'autres noms. On en jugera par celui qui va suivre, et où je ne changeraï absolument rien. (29)

The central figure in the story is a certain Sezei Vislo; a king, he has been on the throne for fifteen years. His people, Les Canfrois, have been subjected to heavy taxes, but they have borne the burden heroically. Thirteen years after his accession to the throne a minister named Neocaln (Calonne) called an assembly of nobles, (*L'Assemblée des Notables* of 1787). He proposed a land tax which did not meet with their approval. Suspected of mismanagement, the minister was promptly dismissed. His replacements fared no better so the Canfrois decided to call for a general assembly (*Les Etats-Généraux*). Representatives were elected and the meeting took place but:

30) Anon. Le Conte Vrai, p.3.

31) Ibid. p.5.

32) Ibid. p.7.

The 'conte' reads:

Les frères Thélam furent hennis et conspués, leur nom devint une injure; le peuple s'attacha aux gens sages et à son Roi, qui n'avoit jamais voulu faire le mal....

33) Ibid. p.8.

34) One should also note a very similar form of attack on the same brothers in the anonymous Histoire Très Morale, s.l.n.d. Here, in a 'conte' whose title parodies the sub-title of contemporary fiction, the brothers appear as the easily identifiable 'Maleths.'

....pendant que ceux-ci étoient occupés à ces importantes fonctions, le peuple renversa une des tours du serrail, où les Visirs jettoient dans d'affreux cachots ceux qui blamoient leur conduite....(30)

The allegorical Bastille has fallen, the nobility loses its status, the Bramines (clergy) are disgraced, and 'le peuple' achieves its required equality. The excessive power of the king is reduced and a host of excellent reforms carried out. All, however, is not well; two brothers, the Thélam (Lameth) attempt to seize power. They misuse their influence in the army to the extent that:

....quelquefois ils ne consultoient l'assemblée des représentans de Canfre que pour la forme. (31),

and they force themselves to a position of importance. Eventually the people themselves rebel against the favouritism practised by the Thélam (32), vow their attachment to the king, and live happily ever after. The conclusion to the 'conte' addresses the reader and asks the rhetorical question:

Lecteur, voilà le conte arabe que je voulois vous rapporter; examinez-le bien attentivement, vous verrez s'il ne renferme pas une excellente moralité, s'il ne semble pas avoir en soi toute la véracité de l'histoire. (33)

Certainly, one must agree that much of the 'conte' would appear to be true. Events are recognisable, anagrams are easily solved, and the situation represents an obvious parallel. Yet one particular aspect of the historical reality has been singled out; two brothers are highlighted, criticised, and their activities exaggerated. The 'conte' was designed not simply to offer a parallel historical account, but also to make a specific attack on two political figures. (34)

The Précis Historique des Causes Principales qui ont amené la Révolution présente dans l'Empire de la Cochinchine, whose anonymous author calls himself an 'observateur impartial', claims total objectivity:

Le Lecteur me permettra d'assurer que je ne suis aucunement gouverné par l'esprit de parti; et que, loin de vouloir embellir mon récit par les ornemens de l'exagération, comme ont fait les autres Ecritains, mon unique but est de tout réduire à sa juste valeur.....(35)

Once again the King has inherited a corrupt state. Against a background of identifiable events three villains stand out. One is the Prince Philppinaccio, an' ètre abominable', another is Mme le Gouverneur, and the third is L'Iroquois. Transposed to France 1789 the characters can be identified as Orléans, Mme de Genlis, and Necker. The Prince takes the brunt of the attack; he is seen as a traitor to the noble cause but his role is exaggerated in the interest of propaganda. The objectivity claimed by the author is no more than a statement whose meaning comes to mean quite the opposite.

The meaning of the Précis Historique can easily be discerned since it depends on a general knowledge of a national figure. Yet this is not always the case. For example, the same allegorical form is used in a 'conte' whose terms of reference are strictly local, and whose understanding depends on a regional awareness. The Histoire Persane 'extraite d'un Manuscrit Arabe, trouvé dans les ruines de Palmyre' by J-P. Gallais, is in fact nothing of the sort. Rather it is a satire against the clergy of Le Mans during the elections to the 'Etats-Généraux'. Although the action takes place against a background of recognisable major figures (e.g. Renéck is obviously Necker), the full meaning of the work can only be appreciated with the aid of a key. (36) The work conforms to the definition of allegory only if it is considered as a local work. The evidence that we have suggests that the 'conte' may never have reached Paris for the only copy that has been traced is in Le Mans municipal library. Le Mans was both the home of the author and of the ecclesiastics attacked in the fiction.

Our study of method has concentrated especially on works which attack specific figures. There is now a need to balance the emphasis

35) Anon. Précis Historique des Causes Principales qui ont  
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Wimbledon, 1791, p.3.

36) The key is given by F. Drujon in his Livres à Clef, Paris,  
1885-1888, Vol.1, p.470.

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Our study of method has concentrated especially on works which attack specific figures. There is now a need to balance the emphasis

by considering works whose aim is to defend by using the same, or at least similar, techniques. Taking the figure of the King as our central theme, we shall note how differences in method are indicative of variation in aims. It should be pointed out that statistically there are far more works which defend the King than which attack him. Those attacks that there are normally take a less literary form.

Hébert depended on virulent language in his paper, Le Père Duchêne, and the writers of the pornographic 'libelles' were more concerned with lurid details than sophisticated suggestion.

Before turning to works which defend the monarch, we should perhaps set the scene by discussing two short pamphlets which criticise him. The kingdom in the Monarchie Infernale is situated in the 'empire des morts'. Pluton, the king, asks his subjects to write down their complaints in the same way that Louis had invited his subjects to compose the 'cahiers de doléances'. Pluton, it should be pointed out, is the ideal king with whom Louis compares very badly. In a speech made before the assembly takes place, Pluton declares:

Je déclare ici que je n'admetts plus de distinction de rang dans les assemblées nouvelles que je tiendrai; je déclare ici que j'accepte, dès ce moment, et les avis et les secours de mon peuple, qui m'est seul entièrement dévoué....(37)

Louis of course said a very similar thing but not before he was forced to do so by circumstances outside his control. Consequently, the implication of the attack depends on a knowledge of the chronology of the declaration, but the pamphlet is hardly embittered and forms a comparatively weak antidote to the number of 'contes' written in Louis' defence.

A more biting form of criticism of the King is again situated in Hell, again under the monarchy of Pluton. Louis descends to be judged by Pluton and the massacred victims of August 10th 1792. His reception is understandably hostile. He claims to have done all in

37) Anon. La Monarchie Infernale. Cerberopolis, 1789, p.17.

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38) Anon. L'Arrivée de Louis Capet aux Enfers, Paris, 1793, p.22.

39) GOUGES, Olympe de. Dialogue Allégorique. s.l. 1789, p.1.

40) Ibid. p.11.

41) Ibid. p.15.

his power to relieve the poverty and hardship of his people, is accused of lying, found guilty, and sentenced to have:

....le coeur déchiré par un vautour; et pour perpétuer son supplice, son coeur renaitra chaque jour. (38)

His punishment is everlasting torture - the violence of such a condemnation is itself indicative of an age and of the depth of hatred.

Pamphlets and 'contes' defending the King will rarely achieve such intensity. There is no need to distinguish between those works which defend Louis and those which profess a belief in the value of the Constitutional Monarchy since their aims are almost identical, nor is there any need to attempt an exhaustive study of all the works printed, since this would involve constant repetition. Olympe de Gouges, in a work dedicated to the 'Etats-Généraux', claims an altruistic aim in writing her Dialogue Allégorique of 1789. She describes her motivation:

Ardent auteur, j'ai écrit dans le tems ce que j'ai cru nécessaire au bien de ma Patrie. L'intérêt personnel ne m'a jamais conduite; le seul désir du bien public a guidé ma plume. (39)

The dialogue introduces two main characters, Truth and France. The latter admits that she has not been feeling well and that her constitution is not all it could be. She looks to the 'Etats-Généraux' for a remedy to her ills. Truth, who cannot tell a lie, appreciates the need for improvement but does not think that the treatment needs to be too radical. She maintains, for example, that:

....rien ne peut altérer les bontés, la clémence d'un Roi tout à la fois, homme juste, généreux et humain. (40)

Having defended the King, Olympe, a well-known feminist, sees a practical solution to France's current problem. She asks:

Que sait-on si une femme ne vaut pas un homme en politique dans ce siècle frivole et d'égoïsme? (41)

and insists:

C'est une injustice de la part des hommes de ne point admettre

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42) GOUGES, Olympe de. Dialogue Allégorique. p.16.

43) BODARD DE TEZAY, N.M.F. Le Dernier Cri du Monstre. s.l. 1789,  
p.4.

44) Ibid. p.7.

45) Ibid. p.7.

les femmes dans les affaires,....(42)

Olympe demands reform rather than revolution, and emphasises the part that could be played by women in her ideal monarchy. The Dialogue Allégorique, where the veil is scarcely visible and the meaning perfectly clear, must be classified as a work which defends the monarchy and therefore, by extension, the King himself.

Bodard de Tezay's Le Dernier Cri du Monstre again takes up the idea of sickness and the need for an effective cure. On this occasion the 'Ancien Régime', after a long and painful illness, is now close to death. Such is the hold of the disease that no cure seems possible. The king, Civis, looks on with anguish as his subjects suffer:

On en voyoit qui parvenoient à une grandeur démesurée, tandis que d'autres restoient noués et rachitiques. Les uns avoient le ventre enflé et tendu comme un tambour; les autres étoient éthiques et transparens. (43)

There is an enormous difference between the status and physiques of the sick citizens. The king calls on the physician, Noelac (Calonne) but the gravity of the malady is too much for his humble talents. Eventually the king turns to a sage, Kernev (Necker), who takes the monarch to a sanctuary of truth. A voice bellows out the need for unity and within the allegory another allegorical figure appears. An enormous monster in its death throes is described by the voice of Truth:

Voyez-vous ses membres décharnés? Cette tête colossale, en attirant à elle les sucs nourriciers, les a privés de leur substance.....s'il n'est régénéré, il mourra. (44)

The king realises the meaning of the monster. He shouts, 'fatale allégorie' (45), aware that the monster represents the 'Ancien Régime,' and gives Kernev the task of rebuilding from the diseased remains. The monster is attacked and slaughtered, significantly by the king himself, who thereby gives proof of his willingness to criticise the past and to start again.

46) Anon. Histoire Véritable de Ginsicolo. s.l.n.d. p.6.

47) By Meister in the Correspondance Littéraire. Paris (Garnier Frères), 1881, Vol.16, Juin 1792, p.157.

See note (80) in this chapter.

And by the Journal Général de France on the 12th May, 1792.  
The critic writes, p.532. :

Cette brochure, de 60 pages, est en effet un joli conte où,  
sous le voile de l'allégorie, on y présente, d'une manière  
agréable et piquante, l'histoire de la deuxième législature.

Our first two examples have shown their authors' readiness to point out the allegory to the reader, and both have used the double meaning of 'constitution'. The sickness of the political body is cured by a benevolent king whose purge promises health and happiness in the future. Yet such works can only offer a weak form of compromise; the past ills were the result of poor precautionary measures and the head of the new constitution remains the same. Obviously, political propaganda demands subtlety and flexibility. In a work whose main aim is to ridicule Necker (under the guise of Dadas he is given the torture of having six pages of De L'Administration read to him each night), we find a good king, Gingigolo, who has a reputation as a great hunter (of animals, and not, as his name might have us believe, of women). He would rather kill a hundred animals than harm any of his subjects. Yet he has two faults:

Une bonté excessive qui assurait l'impunité aux méchants, et une simplicité de cœur qui l'empêchoit de se défier de leurs funestes conseils. (46)

Ironically, his faults are both qualities so he has no faults at all. The suggestion, if any, is that Gingigolo is too good to be king.

Works which defend the king will naturally include the theme of a good and wise king. Generally speaking, the popularity of these works is impossible to assess since we have no information about numbers or size of editions. However, one work, which undoubtedly made a considerable impact, is the anonymous Le Règne du Prince Trop-Bon dans le Royaume des Fols. The sub-title, 'Conte Oriental, ou plutôt, Histoire Occidentale', introduces the allegory to the reader and guarantees that the message of the author will be easily understood. At least two editions of the 'conte' were published and it was important enough to be criticised both in the Journal Général de France, and by Meister in the Correspondance Littéraire. (47)

The author of the 'conte' uses the traditional pretext for an Oriental

48) Anon. Le Rêgne du Prince Trop-Bon dans le Royaume des Fous.  
Coblentz, Worms, Tournay, Aix-la-Chapelle, et Paris, s.d.  
[=1792], p.7.

49) Ibid. p.8.

50) Ibid. p.48.

The episode refers to the King's flight from Paris on June 20th 1791, and his arrest at Varennes on the following day.

51) Ibid. p.64.

story. The Sultan, Zulimé, demands a story from one of his wives, Fatimé, who begins by returning the compliment with a similarly traditional style of narration. Her story starts:

Il y avoit une fois un prince....(48)

who had the misfortune to reign over a kingdom of fools. As the title suggests, the king was too good to be king. The sultan, suspicious about the content of the story, (as indeed, the reader would be), provokes his wife into an immediate defence:

Histoire ou conte, si je vous intéresse, si je charme un moment votre ennui, si sous l'habit même du mensonge, vous alliez appercevoir la vérité qui n'aime pas à se montrer toute nue, eh bien! faudroit-il épiloguer sur les mots? (49)

Fatimé, an author figure, is not prepared to go into the normal denials because the king/sultan, her critic, has not adopted the usual position. He has not asked for the truth, nor even the appearance of truth that most critics would demand but, on the contrary, pure fiction. Fatimé's story tells of a kingdom where the people were getting madder every day. The few remaining wise men consider emigration as the only solution to their problem, as too, a little later, the king himself does. The 'editor' is struck by the similarity of the events described and contemporary events and enters the narrative to say so. The death of a nobleman killed defending the monarch introduces the note:

Voilà une mort qui ressemble à celle du Marquis de Dampierre. Il y a en vérité, dans cette histoire du Prince Trop-Bon, des aventures qu'on croiroit presque, si nous n'étions pas aussi sages que nous le sommes, être les mêmes que celles qui se sont passées parmi nous. (50)

In the context the intrusion is comic rather than instructional, since the allegory is all too patently obvious. The tale itself ends with an enigma. A new assembly is formed and the king is shown an ecstatic vision. Fatimé refuses to reveal its contents and answers the request for confirmation of the return to wisdom of the people with the non-committal: 'vous le saurez bientôt'. (51) The allegory

52) Anon. Le Rat du Châtelet, s.l. 1790.

The conclusion reads, p.50/51. :

Hélas! à quelles mains viles avons-nous abandonnés [sic] les rênes de notre repos, de notre liberté, de nos droits?... Des hommes sans / nom, des hommes corrompus, un tas d'êtres voués de tous les temps à l'opprobre, vendus au crime,....

53) Ariste does not seem to be based on a classical figure.

54) Anon. Les Trois Rois, Par-Tout, 1790, p.14.

promises hope for the future in the same way that the newly-formed Convention offered new hope to the France of 1792. The illusion of the allegory merges with the reality of actual events as the time sequence of the two coincides.

It has previously been suggested that the distinction between 'contes' which defend the King and those which attack the new régime is not very great. Not all 'contes' will include a heroic king as the central figure of an allegory - some prefer to introduce magical elements to provide the distance from actual reality. In Le Rat du Châtelet a man is changed into a rat and is therefore in a position to comment freely on conditions within the prison. In a situation where men have been wrongly deprived of their liberty, the conclusion is able to question the value of the Revolution. (52) The reaction to the Revolution will constantly doubt the value of the liberty that had been achieved and, as was seen in Chapter Four, it will show the proximity of liberty to licence, highlight examples of repression, and, in this case, introduce the allegorical figure of Liberty so that she herself can comment on the new situation. In a re-enactment of the birth of Christ, the 'conte', Les Trois Rois, tells of the birth of liberty and the hommage paid to her by three kings. The events take place in Ariste's (the so-called 'author') dream. (53) Confronted by characters called Populus, Nationas-semblée, and the redoubtable Mire-a-beau, the sleeper suffers a rude awakening and exclaims:

Qu'un songe est singulier, me dis-je alors à moi-même! des oiseaux, des plantes, des rois, des champs; il confond tout. La fiction, la réalité, tout s'unir avec un air si vraisemblable, que vous jureriez alors exister.... (54)

The mirror-image reflected by reality comments on the object that created it. Propaganda, like fiction, demands an exaggerated form of reality in order best to sustain its moral message. Ariste, the sleeper in this 'conte', guarantees that the message does not go unnoticed. When he awakes from his slumbers he comments on the

55) Anon. Les Trois Rois. p.20.

56) MAURY, Abbé J.S. Les Grandes Prédictions d'un Petit Prophète.  
Paris, 1793, p.5.

The situation is described:

Cet Olusi, qui en récompense de ses bienfaits, est renfermé  
dans une tour lugubre avec sa femme, ses enfans, et sa soeur.

57) Ibid. p.9.

58) Ibid. p.13.

content of the dream where three monarchs (the three estates) had argued over who was to have the largest slice of a cake. He prefers the reality that preceded the dream to the confusion offered by the vision (and which is in fact contemporary France), exclaiming:

....l'égalité, les droits de l'homme, ceux de la nature, rendent mes vassaux fiers et insolens. Je souffre tous ces maux; et pour m'en consoler, je me dis avec du soupir: je suis libre; eh morbleu! rendez-moi mes fers! (55)

Ariste maintains that the liberty offered by his dream and France's reality has in fact curtailed his personal freedom. In the event, he prefers his previous slavery.

A 'conte' attributed to the Abbé Maury introduces a good king named Olusi (again an anagram of Louis) in a city called Sapir (Paris). A systematic attack is made on the value of the newly-found liberty in a situation where the king himself is in prison. (56) The prophet Remia (an anagram of Marie) points out to the people the contradictions of the new régime:

Quoi! vous ne rougissez pas de vanter les bienfaits de la liberté en accablant sous le poids de vos horribles chaînes celui que vous proclamâtes vous-mêmes le Restaurateur de la liberté? (57)

The prophet's analysis of the situation does not mention the flight of the king nor the abdication that such an action implied. The effectiveness of propaganda depends on a writer's ability to instil fear in his reader. In this case a man of God is ideally suited to his task. The eloquence that we saw praised as the only quality to emerge from the Revolution (see Chapter One, Note Two) is now used in the service of counter-revolution. The people, it is claimed, will regret their hasty action and be forced to contemplate on their wisdom in the after-life. In forceful language in the form of a sermon the prophet warns:

Mais ils [le peuple] lui [le Seigneur] seront livrés eux-mêmes, et leur sang impur coulera à gros bouillons et les chiens iront le lécher sous l'échafaud, et les corbeaux et les vautours iront déchirer leurs entrailles, et les restes hideux de leurs cadavres ne trouveront point de sépulture. (58)

59) MALLET DU PAN, Jacques. Voyage et Conspiration de Deux Inconnues.  
s.l.n.d.

The Feuille de Correspondance du Libraire, commenting on the subtitle, 'Histoire Véritable', doubts the veracity of the 'conte'. The critic writes, No. 2187, 1792. :

Cette petite Histoire est très agréablement écrite, seulement on aura de la peine à la croire véritable, par les faits incroyables qu'elle contient; en effet, qui pourra jamais croire que la raison ait été en correspondance de lettres avec M. Mal..du Pa..? Comme c'est sur de telles aventures que roulent tous les détails de ce Roman, nous sommes bien aises d'en prévenir nos Lecteurs, afin que les charmes du style ne les séduisent pas.

The message of the 'conte' needs no interpretation. The assumed author was a well-known supporter of the monarchy (he was also a frequent participant in the orgies described in the obscene 'libelles') whose conclusion quite simply states that liberty does not exist in the present régime.

A similar point is made by Mallet du Pan in his Voyage et Consécration de Deux Inconnues, Histoire Véritable. (59) Reason and liberty are personified and the two characters who represent them meet similarly tragic ends. Liberty, for example, in the person of Mme Eliot, is invited to France by the 'Assemblée Nationale.' Her arrest and trial underlines the lack of liberty in France. Meanwhile, her companion, Mme Stuard who personifies Reason, systematically criticises the new régime and proves its poor foundations. As a consequence, she too is arrested and imprisoned. The implication of the tale is that neither Liberty nor Reason can live freely in France under the Revolution. They are finally saved by Divine intervention and manage to escape back to England and the freedom of the perfect constitutional monarchy.

Quite obviously, propaganda cannot afford to be too subtle in case the significance of what it is urging is lost on the reader. By conforming to a definition of allegory that demands transparency and easy identification, the majority of these works present no great difficulty of comprehension. Yet co-existent with these works, whose message needs explanation only because of our distance from the events that are alluded to, is another category of allegory that rejects a direct form of commentary on events and chooses rather to make comments that could be interpreted as referring to the current situation. The direct mirror-image gives way to translucent representation where the aim of the fiction is to introduce an invitation to contemplation rather than to comparison.

60) See note (10) of this chapter for information on Adm&ts.

One could claim that works which discuss the education of a prince form an oblique attack on the present monarch by suggesting that his own was far from perfect. Yet it would seem that authors of these works have an aim that is more general than specific, more Utopian than real. Certainly these works did have a contemporary interest and appeal since the second son of Louis XVI was born in 1785, but the relevance is inferred by the reader, not implied by the author. For example, Perreau's Mirzim, ou le Sage à la Cour had appeared as early as 1782 and was reprinted in 1789 with the significantly changed title, Le Bon Politique, ou le Sage à la Cour. The interest in politics occasioned by the advent of the 'Etats-Généraux' explains the change of title. The hero of this 'histoire égyptienne' is the humble Mirzim, a mere 'laboureur'. The king meets him while he is out hunting and asks him to go to the Court to act as his advisor. With reluctance Mirzim agrees to leave the fields, imparts his wisdom to the monarch, supervises the education of the young prince who is born later (the essence of his system is to remove the boy from the flattery of the court environment), and when his task is complete he returns to the fields. At least, this is what the author says he thinks happened.

The reader is not expected to see a direct relationship between the allegory and current reality, only asked to consider the worth of Mirzim's theory. The theme that is used is a familiar one: Marmontel, in his novel Bélisaire, had re-worked the classical theme of a wise prince deposed by a tyrant where the tyrant fails to recognise the good counsel given by the former king, and the Arabian Nights contain a number of tales where the Calife would visit his kingdom in disguise to gauge the feeling of his subjects and ask for suggestions for improvement. In the anonymous L'Education d'Admète (60) a hunting expedition again leads to the king meeting a humble subject, this time a shepherd who, unaware of the king's identity, tells the monarch how

- 61) The Grand Larousse Encyclopédique gives the following information:

Antipatros étant mort, et son fils Cassandre s'étant emparé de toute la Grèce, Antigonus confia à son fils Démétrios la mission de s'emparer de l'Europe. Celui-ci occupa Athènes, dont il chassa Démétrios de Phalère, qui y gouvernait au nom de Cassandre; les Athéniens décernèrent à leur préteur libérateur les honneurs divins. Celui-ci écrasa ensuite la flotte lagide à Salamine de Chypre: il fut alors proclamé roi par son père, mais ne put débarquer en Egypte, ni se rendre maître de Rhodes. Il traita avec les Rhodiens et retourna combattre Cassandre, qu'il contraignit à lever le siège d'Athènes; il le défut près de Thermopyles, délivra le reste de la Grèce, et rétablit la Ligue de Corinthe, dont il fut proclamé 'généralissime'.

Démétrios reigned from 336 B.C. to 282 B.C.

- 62) CHAMBERT, Pierre. Démétrius, ou l'Education d'un Prince.  
Paris, 1790, 'Préface', p.xiii.

he would educate a prince, how he would bring his pupil up as an ordinary individual unaware of his future power, how he would make him suffer hardship so that he could appreciate the meaning of real poverty and hunger, and how he would make him travel incognito to see how other states are ruled. The king follows the shepherd's advice, asks the shepherd to take the position of tutor, and returns next day to find that the shepherd, who was in fact Apollo in disguise, has disappeared.

The lessons taught by these 'contes' are not difficult to discern but they lack the depth of their still-respected predecessor, Télémaque. Only one novel comes close to matching Fénelon's detail, Chambert's Démétrius, ou l'Education d'un Prince. Once again the author borrows a classical theme (61), but is anxious that his novel should not be seen as a veiled attack on Louis XVI. Discussing the King, he notes in the 'Préface':

....j'ai vu sa tendre sollicitude pour son peuple, dans les moments mêmes où il étoit induit en erreur sur les moyens de le rendre heureux. (62)

Antigone, the King of a large part of Asia, realises the mistakes he has made during his reign and is anxious that his son, the prince Démétrius, should not repeat them. Consequently, he nominates Ariston as tutor (thus creating a Mentor/Télémaque relationship) and agrees to the tutor's request that his son be taken away from court. The novel traces the prince's progression, his voyages, his liberation of Athens by defeating Cassandra, his growing intelligence and respect for reason and liberty, his belief in the rule of good laws, and finally his succession to the throne in a moment of revelation when he is told of his status. In turn he marries and gives his own children an identical form of education.

Evidently this is a didactic novel but it appears descriptive rather than prescriptive. One certainly could find contemporary

63) NOGARET, François-Félix. Le Miroir des Evénemens Actuels.  
Paris, 1790, p.1.

allusions in it but these in no way constitute the novel's major interest. The author is proposing a general message that will apply to all kings everywhere. He asks that particular attention be paid to the education of the inheritor of the throne and suggests that this education can only be successful if it is carried out away from the court and the artificiality of its life. He asks that the prince be made to learn the principles of government in a normal, everyday situation by the experiences of life.

Such a novel cannot be construed as propaganda because it does not adhere to a strict '*esprit de parti*'. Its aim is not to produce a dogmatic message but rather to provide a platform for discussion. In the event, its value as a work of literature is more durable and its philosophical interest greater. Curiously, the deceptively entitled Le Miroir des Événemens Actuels proves to be a similar work. The reader in 1790 would have expected to find a transparent allegory in Nogaret's novel but in fact the mirror-image is anything but clear and the parallels hard to find. The introduction to the novel continues the deception started by the title. In a parody of the normal guarantees of truth the author explains the pedigree of his story:

Une histoire du temps passé, qu'il ne faut pas regarder comme apocryphe; car je la tiens d'un Voyageur véritable, dont le trisaineur l'avoit ouf conter à un sage, qui la tenoit de son grand-père, qui l'avoit lue dans le Sérapéon avant que les livres de cette bibliothèque fussent employés à chauffer les bains d'Alexandrie. (63)

The accumulation of guarantees, far from assuring the truth of the narrative, in fact suggest quite the opposite. We are told that the novel is an '*Histoire à Deux Visages*', and this would seem to be the best clue for its analysis. On the one hand we have the love-story where the beautiful Aglaonice agrees to marry the man who invents the best machine, while on the other we are given a background of politics

64) NOGARET. Le Miroir des Événemens Actuels. p.57.

65) With reference to Gorjy's 'Ann'quin Brédouille  
Monselet, in his Originaux du Siècle Dernier. Paris,  
1864, and the Goncourts in their Histoire de la  
Société Française pendant la Révolution. Paris (Flammarion),  
1928 [1854], make similar remarks.

Monselet describes the novel, p.236. :

....le pamphlet le plus mordant, le plus téméraire  
qui ait jamais été dirigé contre la révolution  
française.

66) GORJY, Jean-Claude. 'Ann'quin Brédouille, ou le Petit  
Cousin de Trixtram Shandy. Oeuvre Posthume de Jacqueline  
Lycurvues, actuellement fifre-major au greffe des menus  
Derviches. Paris, 1792.

which restrains and affects the events of the fiction. The first contender, a noble refugee from Sparta, wants to provoke a counter-revolution but his inventive capacity is too great for his own good: he invents a flying machine of such efficacy that he flies away and is never seen again. As the main theme progresses, so the political background changes. Eventually the tyrannical powers, the clergy called the 'Druïdes' and the nobility called the 'larles', are restricted by the powers of 'La Nation'. The task of 'La Nation' could not be completed until certain revelations had been made:

Il a fallu d'abord faire connoître par-tout la vérité; ne laisser aucun doute sur la rapacité des larles qui, profitant de la facile bonté du Roi, s'étaient fait donner....la majeure partie de l'égargne, [sic]....(64)

The clarity of the mirror-image is marred by the presence of the love theme. In the end the girl's marriage loses significance and the minor theme grows in importance.

An enigma which increases the charm of literary allegory may also reduce its effectiveness as propaganda. We are faced with a category that is good literature but poor propaganda. There is a consequent possibility that works written as commentaries on contemporary events were not appreciated as such by readers of the time. J-C.Gorjy's 'Ann'Quin Bredeouille' would appear to be such a novel. The author gives no real indication of meaning, although past critics have always accepted the fact that the novel represents a satire on the Revolution. (65) However, there is evidence to suggest that an opposing interpretation is possible and even intended. The title acknowledges a debt to Sterne (66), and the novel, like its English predecessor, introduces typographical comments as a substitute for language. Indeed, the 'Préface' mocks the serious novel whose authenticity depends on a verbal guarantee or written statement:

67) GORJY. Ann. Quin. Vol.1, 'Préface'.

68) Ibid. Vol.1, p.81.

69) Ibid. Vol.1, p.90.

One should note in passing that the allegory of a clock had previously been used by the anonymous writer of the Histoire de la pendule. s.l.n.d. [=? 1791?]. In this pamphlet the clock represents the state, and the hand the King.

,!\*\*\*(...)= - ? , .

and continues in similar vein until the last line draws the only possible conclusion:

!!!!!!!!!!!!!! (67)

The novel itself is based on the account given by Jacqueline, the supposed authoress, of a journey undertaken by three characters: 'Ann'Quin, Mme Jernifle, and the meddler, Adule. The work presents a complex structure of political satire and enigmatic statement. The characters, on a ship heading for the indicatively-named 'Néomanie', come across a quiet man who is:

....écrivant aussi paisiblement que si le navire avoit été dans le port. (68)

They can only distinguish four letters of what he is writing but these are enough to give a clue to his identity. Gorjy himself wrote a novel entitled Lidorie, and his presence in this, his own fiction, is a good introduction to the tone of irony that reigns in the novel, and the juxtapositions of real and unreal that the reader is expected to interpret. On their arrival in 'Néomanie' the characters meet with celebrations caused by an event of great (and symbolical) importance. We read:

....la grande ville de Néomanie étoit dans la plus grande joie parce que la grande horloge venoit d'être confiée à un homme que l'on croyoit grand. (69)

The repeated use of the adjective 'grand' acts as a moderating influence on the import of the passage, just as the verb 'croyoit' is weak enough to allow the possibility that the opposite may equally well be true. Here the clock of 'Néomanie' would seem to correspond to the government of France and the great man to Necker. The city is at present undergoing a strange process of equalisation. A curious ceremony takes place under the guidance of a certain Ori-peau (Mirabeau) and is remarkable for the violence of its methods. The process is absolute and compulsory:

70) GORJY. 'Ann 'quin. Vol.1, p.96/97.

There is a classical reference to such action. Procrustes, killed by Theseus, forced travellers to take beds according to their height: the shortest were placed on large beds and stretched, while the tallest were put on small beds and cut to size.

71) Ibid. Vol.1, p.119/120.

72) Ibid. Vol.3, p.39.

73) Sterne, and more recently, Diderot in Jacques le Fataliste, used similar techniques to force the reader to consider the meaning and essence of fiction.

Lesuire and Restif de la Bretonne both used this method of self-reference, frequently for self-glorification. Gorjy's interest would seem to be more ironic than boastful.

Ceux qui étoient trop grands, on les foulloit et refoulloit tant et tant, qu'il falloit finir par / se rapétisser au point désiré; les procédés étoient bien un peu violens; mais enfin on en venoit à bout. Les trop petits, on les étroit jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent parvenus à la mesure nécessaire. (70)

At the same time, far away in a little cavern, another figure described as 'quelque chose' is bellowing like a wild animal. Above the beast's cave are marked the letters: TAMAR (an anagram of Marat). He feeds his people on spicy foods with the result that Mme Jernifle, whose greatest quality is her commonsense, makes the poignant remark: ....ces malheureux finiront / par être échauffés au point d'en devenir enragés. (71)

The pun is of course intended since the the 'enragés' in the Revolution was the name given to the extreme left-wing movement that demanded an economic solution to the problem of food-shortage.

The narrative goes on to describe recognisable events in allegorical terms but is suddenly interrupted by a burst of laughter from 'Ann'Quin himself. The author admits his embarrassment and confesses that he has lost control of one of his characters:

Sûrement, lecteur, je le suis, embarrassé, et beaucoup. Je désirerois que vous eussiez votre part de ce qui faisoit rire mon oncle; mais quand bien même je vous dirois que cela se trouve dans les Tablettes Sentimentales du bon Pamphile....(72)

The author cannot explain the reason for 'Ann'Quin's laughter in any detail for fear, he says, of plagiarising the author of the Tablettes. In fact, of course, Gorjy is author of that novel too. Here he wants to destroy the illusion created by the novel in order to make the reader consider the author/reader relationship. (73)

In 'Néomanie' the characters of the novel are introduced to a new card game. The rules are straightforward and even though the allusions to the Revolutionary situation are obvious, the passage is full of wit and ironical criticism;

74) GORRY. Ann Quin. Vol.3, p.149/150.

75) Ibid. Vol.5, p.54.

76) Ibid. Vol.5, p.56.

The author admits:

J'aurois voulu pouvoir y joindre une explication; mais cela passe mes facultés intellectuelles.

Quant aux règles, en voici l'extrait./  
 Une poignée de basses cartes prises au hasard  
 Beaucoup de piques,  
 Peu de cœur.  
 Des carreaux et des trèfles, comme cela se trouve.  
 Grand nombre de valets,  
 Quelques dames,  
 Un seul roi.

....Ce sont les piques qui gagnent. (74)

The tone of the passage is comic and sarcastic, even bitter. The author tries on the one hand to provoke laughter by holding up real events to ridicule, while on the other he seems, by the very obvious nature of his allusions, to be parodying the contemporary use of political allegory.

After a series of digressions where Jacqueline is taken to court for publishing a blank page, the author (or possibly authoress if we accept the idea that Jacqueline is the author of the account) announces that in the future he will be more methodical. To prove his good intentions he announces the content of his next five chapters. However, after the first chapter the author breaks into the narrative to say how he would like to comment on it. This interruption is itself a chapter which is excused:

Regardez donc ce petit chapitre-là comme non avenu, et passons sans retard au numéro 2 de ma promesse. (75)

Of course the explanation is enough to constitute a break in the announced plan, and the fifth is only a fragment whose meaning is apparently as unintelligible to the reader as it is supposed to be to the author. (76)

It is the final volume of the novel which proves to be the most interesting. 'Ann'Quin is telling a story when the author breaks into his account to protest at the content of the 'fagots', i.e. 'bundles', here meaning 'volumes'. We read:

77) GORJY. 'Ann 'uin. Vol.6, p.42/43.

The reference to 'fagots' is to Molière's Le Médecin Malgré-Lui. Sganarelle, the poor woodcutter, is taken to be a doctor and ~~manages~~ to convince of his authenticity.

78) Ibid. Vol.6, p.140.

79) Ibid. Vol.6, p.143/144.

Vos fagots, puisque fagots il y a, ne sont pas simplement des fagots comme ceux de Sganarelle. Avec l'air d'y être faits au hasard, on y remarque une sorte de combinaison, et principalement une allusion continue dans le choix des bois qui les composent; .../... Vous en conviendrez, tout cela n'est pas ainsi sans dessein. Au fait, il nous faut absolument la clef de votre bizarre composition. (77)

Yet the key is never given, nor is it really needed. The author is being deliberately naive in his request since he knows that all his readers have picked up the easy allusions. The author agrees to a reader's request for a play by including a short piece praising the generosity of a misunderstood nobleman. This forms the first conclusion to the novel, and ends on a note that defends the aristocracy.

Then the last chapter of the work is devoted to an apology. The author has promised six volumes but is not going to be able to keep his promise. He cannot offer an explanation for the early conclusion since, as he himself points out:

Ce n'est pas faute de matériaux, et l'on s'en doute sûrement bien. Les portefeuilles de mon oncle en contenoient encore pour je ne sais combien de volumes. Elle est malheureusement si abondante, la mine qui les lui fournit. (78)

The mine of reality is far from exhausted but the author takes his leave before filling his final volume and offers good wishes for the future and hope for better things to come. This, apparently, is the end, but why?

If the author could fill the final volume why did he decline to do so? The 'libraire' who announced six volumes admits that he is in an embarrassing position. Faced with a number of empty pages that he has to fill somehow he decides to use a space-filler. He selects a pamphlet and explains that he has:

.....enfin procuré la bagatelle suivante. Elle n'est pas du même genre que le reste; / mais elle nous a paru avoir son mérite. Peut-être même cette diversité aura-t-elle son prix pour le plus grand nombre des lecteurs. (79)

80) MEISTER, Jakob-Heinrich. Correspondance Littéraire. Paris  
(Garnier Frères), 1881, Vol.16, Juin 1792, p.157.

The 'bagatelle' that is used is L'Aristocrate Converti which, as we have seen, is almost certainly by Gorjy too. (See Chapter Five, Note Fifty-Five) The pamphlet, which favours the Revolution, acts as an effective antidote that changes the meaning of the entire novel. The 'Note du Libraire' and the 'bagatelle' would both seem to have been written by Gorjy and must, as a result, be considered part of the novel. The serious nature of the pamphlet forms a reasoned postface to the antics of 'Ann'Quin which itself must be considered more as a parody of the allegorical form than as a critical analysis of the reality of the Revolution. The converted aristocrat is a symbolic literary creation of the novel's own converted meaning.

It is most unlikely that contemporary readers would have been able to offer our particular interpretation of the novel since it depends on a knowledge of three texts published separately. The indicative comment which defends the nobleman's right to maintain his own pew in church is admittedly a minute point but the fact remains that it is a defence of the nobility that has not been seen elsewhere. This, plus the fact that of all the available 'bagatelles' it is the Aristocrate Converti that follows 'Ann'Quin would seem to be proof enough.

The fact remains that Gorjy's political position is far from clear and as a result he is not a good writer of propaganda. The majority of allegories will be utterly transparent and aim for clarity of message at the expense of literary quality. Very few works will manage the balance demanded by Meister in his review of the Règne du Prince Trop-Bon dans le Royaume des Fols:

....mais encore ne faut-il pas que cette transparence soit extrême ou ne laisse rien deviner aux yeux de l'imagination, car dans ce cas l'allégorie ne seroit plus une allégorie, et ce pourroit être le premier défaut du nouvel apologue d'être beaucoup trop clair. (80)

But it must be remembered that the demands of the literary critic

81) Ann Quin Mardonville, Rapport de Prospectus, n.l.n.d., p.3.

are not the same as those of the popular reader for whom these pamphlets are intended. The majority of these works aim for nothing more pretentious than comic effect. Authors try to amuse their readers by ridiculing contemporary events. Any instructive element is a luxury addition that they would be pleased to acknowledge but would rarely claim seriously. Quite obviously there was a great demand for the genre; the continued popularity of Télémaque is indication enough of that. At the same time serious writers do see the instructive potential of allegory but here again, if we were to take Chambert's Démétrius as an example, it would be hard to believe that the casual reader would finish such a severe novel any more than he would finish a treatise discussing the same subject without the literary adornment.

One lasting quality emerges from the great number of Oriental and allegorical tales that were produced by the Revolution, and it is worth retaining for the contrast it forms with the next category of our study. In novels and 'contes' that attack or defend the Revolution and in works which offer enigmatic parallels with contemporary events or Utopian visions written to offer fictional paradises, we are struck time and again by the authors' use of humour and their ability to laugh at themselves, their deceptions, and their creations. The repeated guarantees of authenticity are written with the tongue so firmly in cheek that it is inconceivable that authors ever might have thought that they were actually deceiving their readers. The overall tone of the majority of these works corresponds exactly to the description given of Jacqueline in the 'Espèce de Prospectus' that preceded the publication of 'Ann'Quin':

Alors elle prit le parti moyen d'être gaiement sérieuse, ou sérieusement gaie, ce que l'on appelle rire sans montrer les dents....(81)

As we shall see, the same could not be said for the Republican novel and 'conte' that we shall study next.

1) LAVAUZ, Jean-Charles. Journal d'Instruction Civique et  
Politique, Paris, 1793, p.10.

Chapter Seven.Republicanism, Virtue, and the Pastoral Myth.

Les érudits pourront tourner en ridicule notre manière simple de présenter nos instructions; mais la satisfaction que nous éprouverons, si nous réussissons à pénétrer de ses droits la classe du peuple que l'on tient depuis si longtemps dans la grotte de l'ignorance, nous placera bien au-dessus des érudits. (1)

From the use of allegory during the Revolutionary period two main conclusions could be drawn: the veil imposed by the form was often so transparent as to be unnecessary, and the invitation to deduction made by the technique was made for reasons of comedy and humour rather than for reasons of political necessity. In short, the great majority of allegories proved to be remarkably simple. The same is true for this, the final category of novels. Here we have straightforward republican tales and republican tales using the pastoral form as a medium of transmission. Eventually we shall see that the pastoral is little more than an alternative to the more popular mock Oriental allegory.

Laveaux's quotation that serves as an epigraph to this chapter makes two main points: in a work that is admittedly not fiction the author willingly acknowledges the simplicity of his manner of presentation, and he maintains that he has chosen this technique in order better to educate the class of people in need of instruction. Our primary task must be to determine the content of this instruction so that we may elucidate the choice made by authors for their didactic purposes. The theme of republicanism unites three major techniques: The first can be defined less by what it proposes than by what it attacks. For example, an onslaught on the monarchy will normally imply a republican author. The second evokes images of the classical

- 2) BLANCHARD, Pierre. Le Catéchisme de la Nature. Paris, 1793,  
p.5.

The author sums up the plight of man, p.5.:

Tels sont les hommes; ils désirent ardemment le bonheur,  
et ne savent point faire de sacrifices pour l'acquérir.  
Ils voudraient jouir du bonheur qui ne s'acquiert que par  
la vertu, sans renoncer aux faux plaisirs que le vice  
leur présente.

- 3) The maxim, or variations of it quoted in the Appendix, is  
explicit in the Catéchisme de la Nature. Blanchard writes, p.29.:

Ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne voudrais pas qu'on te fit.

- 4) Rousseau, in the unpublished (at least during his life)  
Chapter Two of the Contrat social entitled 'De la Société  
Générale du Genre Humain' in Contrat Social. ed. C.E. Vaughan,  
Manchester University Press, 1962, was more concerned with  
the problem of individual liberty within the social pact.  
He wrote, p.174/175. :

Il est faux que dans l'état d'indépendance la raison nous  
porte / à concourir au bien commun par la vue de notre  
propre intérêt. Loin que l'intérêt particulier s'allie  
au bien général, ils s'excluent l'un l'autre dans l'ordre  
naturel des choses; et les lois sociales sont un joug  
que chacun veut bien imposer aux autres, mais non pas  
s'en charger lui-même.

Golden Age and invites comparisons with contemporary reality; it is Utopian in essence and critical by contrast. The third, the pastoral, offers the picture of an idyllic world in a real framework, and asks its readers not to undertake a massive emigration into the countryside but to follow the examples set by the characters portrayed in their ideal setting.

The single theme of republicanism leads to a general concentration on the propagation of virtue, the principle of the new political régime. Antiquity, and more recently Montesquieu, had distinguished the republican form of government from others by insisting on its dependence on social and private virtue. Yet the meaning of the word had been consistently vague throughout the century with the result that authors felt justified in using and prescribing virtue without ever feeling the need to elucidate and define what they meant. The result is the repetition of a cliché whose meaning is rarely examined. Writers in the Revolution took over the simple equation that virtue leads to happiness without stating that the same cliché had been parroted by writers with whose views they violently disagreed. The political situation would seem to have given the word and its concept a certain respectability and a slight variation in meaning. The apparent contradiction where virtue leads to happiness and yet virtue entails a form of self-denial is never satisfactorily resolved. Admittedly, Blanchard finds an exit to the impasse by introducing what he calls 'faux plaisirs' but this too involves an internal contradiction. (2) The base of his moral code is no more revolutionary than the much-quoted maxim to which he too adheres. (3) This maxim, taken from the Bible and current in previous centuries, nevertheless has a particularly Eighteenth Century flavour. It is the expression of pure reason in relation to human conduct and is rarely questioned. (4) All too rarely do authors appreciate the relationship between

5) CONSTANT DE REBECUE, Samuel. Instructions de Morale.  
Lausanne, 1799 [First appeared in 1785?], p.32.

6) LEQUINIO DE KERBLAY, Joseph. Du Bonheur. s.l.n.d. [An II],  
p.9.

the maxim and individual liberty and the subsequent political meaning of the word 'virtue'. In the event a belief in the power of virtue demands a negation of the self and a sacrifice for the common good. Samuel Constant de Rebecque, writing his Instructions de Morale for the youth of Switzerland, defines virtue in familiar terms:

....c'est l'attention que nous apportons au bonheur et au bien-être des autres, c'est le désir et le plaisir que nous en avons en le préférant à notre propre intérêt, sans attendre d'autre récompense. (5)

The cynic would reject the illogicality out of hand; the reward for self-negation is a small one that is not even guaranteed. The idealism of the statement is only valid in a perfect world where the self can expect similar treatment from the other. The statement remains quite oblivious to events outside literature that would seem to question the conclusion.

There is no time here to attempt a detailed analysis of 'virtue'. It should simply be pointed out that works similar to those that were being printed fifty and even a hundred years earlier were still appearing without significant modification. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that other writers, starting from the same basic maxim, attempted to distinguish elements within the term that were especially relevant to the Revolutionary situation. For example, Lequinio de Kerblay, in a speech made in the 'Temple de la Vérité, ci-devant L'Eglise Catholique de Rochefort' in An II, points out the dialectic of virtue by introducing a form of reward that was absent from the idealistic moral treatises: Speaking of the individual, he asserts:

Il faut qu'il veuille le bonheur d'autrui, et pour lors il travaillera franchement à faire ce qui convient aux autres, afin que les autres travaillent à ce qui lui convient à lui-même. (6)

Virtuous action here will result in the self benefitting from the virtuous action of others. Lequinio rejects the idealistic approach of disinterested virtue and correlates the term with a detailed

7) LEQUINIO DE KERBLAY. Du Bonheur, p. 16/17.

8) Anon. Portrait du Vrai Patriote, Béthune, An II.

description of An II republicanism:

L'homme qui est avidement épris du bonheur des autres, est nécessairement patriote; il abhorre l'oppression qui rendoit la multitude / malheureuse; il abhorre l'aristocratie, de quelque espèce qu'elle soit, parce qu'elle ne peut exister qu'en faisant le malheur de la multitude. (7)

Virtue that depends on others' happiness will necessarily become politicised. Indeed, the concept of 'patriote' is itself political with a meaning closely related to the Revolutionary situation.

Lequinio's patriot despises all forms of aristocracy, by implication the church as well as the nobility, and is immediately identified with the mass of the people. His patriot will manage to fulfill all those duties and conditions which make up the general term 'la vertu'. A detailed description of a 'patriote' will enable us to understand these conditions and, at the same time, will clarify the meaning of Revolutionary virtue. This clarification will in turn help us to appreciate the aim and the meaning of the simplistic 'contes' and novels that we will shortly be studying.

In a broadsheet printed in An II at Béthune we are given a complete picture of the 'patriote'. The Portrait du Vrai Patriote shows how he will defend the Revolution without question, no matter whether or not he has personally benefitted from the events. He will combine domestic with civic virtues:

Le Patriote est bon fils, bon époux, bon père; son amour confond dans son cœur sa patrie, sa femme et ses enfans; il vit pour eux; c'est pour eux qu'il travaille, et c'est par eux qu'il se délassse. (8)

His love for his family is matched only by his love for his country - his country is put before his love for his family in the quotation - his happiness is dependent on theirs with the result that all his actions are motivated by their interests. His qualities are sincerity and total belief in the correctness of his actions. His simplicity, and this will become more apparent later in the chapter, is that of the novel hero. The 'Patriote', it would seem, is perfection personified:

9) Anon. Portrait du Vrai Patriote.

10) ROBESPIERRE, Maximilien. Rapport sur les Principes du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire. in Discours et Rapports de Robespierre. ed. Charles Vellay, Paris (L'Elite de la Révolution), 1908, p.517.

11) SAINT-JUST, Louis-Antoine de. Fragments sur les Institutions Républicaines. in Oeuvres Complètes. ed. Charles Vellay, Paris (L'Elite de la Révolution), 1908, Vol.2, p.506.

Le Patriote a l'abord facile, le ton simple, la conversation libre; la naïveté est dans ses expressions, la franchise dans ses discours, et la pureté dans son cœur; il console ses amis, les avertit de leurs fautes. Le Patriote ne craint pas d'offenser les hommes évidemment suspects; il les surveille, les attaque, les combat et sort vainqueur de la lutte entre le crime et la vertu. (9)

It would seem to us that there are two distinct sides to the patriot's character, both of which we see re-appearing in the revolutionary theories of Robespierre and Saint-Just. The patriot is at once the perfect hero: his character comprises simplicity, candour and purity. Yet he both consoles his friends and tells them of their faults, acting violently against the enemies and opponents of the régime.

The 'Patriote' acts according to two principles: virtue towards his fellow republicans, and terror, i.e. surveillance and violence, towards his opponents. A brief examination of the theories expounded by the two major protagonists of An II republicanism will help us to understand the figure of the 'Patriote' and will subsequently shed light on the apparently anodyne fiction that the Republic encouraged and produced. Robespierre, writing his Rapport sur les Principes du Gouvernement Révolutionnaire, asserted:

La République n'a pour elle que les vertus. Les vertus sont simples, modestes, pauvres, souvent ignorantes, quelquefois grossières; elles sont l'apanage des malheureux et le patrimoine du peuple. Les vices sont entourés de tous les trésors, armés de tous les charmes de la volupté et de toutes les amores de la perfidie;....(10)

The contrast is as vivid as that between the perfect novel hero and the vicious libertine. Saint-Just's definition of Republican government is even more daunting; no compromise is possible in a revolutionary situation:

Un gouvernement républicain a la vertu pour principe, sinon la terreur. Que veulent ceux qui ne veulent ni vertu ni terreur?... ...La force ne fait ni raison ni droit; mais il est peut-être impossible de s'en passer, pour faire respecter le droit et la raison....(11)

Later we shall see that Saint-Just's intransigence finds a literary

- 12) As one example of many, note the Cousin Jacques' La Constitution de la Lune. Paris, 1793. Stating his preference for a republican form of government in a work that recalls the allegory of the previous chapter, the author, discussing the need to modify public morality, writes, p.291.:

....il faut nous en rendre dignes, et pour cela il faut que nous soyons doux, vertueux, religieux, moraux, humains, sages, fidèles observateurs des lois, et tolérants...

- 13) MABLY, Gabriel, Bonnot de. Entretiens de Phocion. Amsterdam, 1763. See especially pp.34-35.

According to the Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Phocion was a :

Général, orateur, et homme d'état athénien. Disciple de Platon, il fut, quoique sans ambition, un des chefs du parti aristocratique, et conquit une grande autorité par sa simplicité, sa probité, son éloquence un peu rude.

- 14) BOREL, Hyacinthe-Marcellin. Opinion sur la Régénération des Mœurs. Paris, An II, p.6.

parallel in the propaganda produced by the Republic. The one-sided accounts, the dogmatism, the limited aim and the clarity of the message allow no personal interpretation of the fictional productions.

The Republican régime encouraged the printing of countless manuals telling how the ideal citizen should act and behave in different situations. It goes without saying that in these works there is unanimity on the importance of individual behaviour in a Republic. (12) The Abbé de Mably's Entretiens de Phocion sur le Rapport de la Morale avec la Politique, although not a text easily assimilated by many readers, was a much-quoted source of inspiration from the past. The Abbé's emphasis on the values of simplicity, temperance, frugality and work is one which is understandably topical in An II. (13). Borel, a deputy in the 'Convention', reaffirms the dependence of the Republic on private morality, and indeed, maintains that there is an explicit distinction between the ideal morality of a republic and that of a monarchy. He is extremely close to Montesquieu when he claims:

....car telle chose qui étoit bonne ou indifférente sous le régime despotique, est mauvaise, et même dangereuse sous le régime républicain. (14)

He insists that the Republic demands simplicity, unquestioning acceptance of the faith by its adherents, and so differs from the monarchy which can tolerate and even encourage personal ambition as a virtue. Borel's speech was printed but it seems unlikely that it attracted many readers. It fails to interest the reader by its lack of attention to technique. The method chosen is as important in the writing of a treatise as it is in the writing of a novel. One consequence of this awareness is the reversion to the classical form of dialogue.

In the Eléments d'Instruction Républicaine by the Citoyenne Desmaretz we find a form where the question is simple and naive, and the answer is comprehensive and informative. The dialogue is divided by a series

15) DESMARETS, Citoyenne. éléments d'Instruction Républicaine.  
s.l. An II, p.4.

16) DULAUENT. Pratique du Bon Français. s.l. An II, p.3.

This speech was 'Lue dans la Section des Tuilleries pour l'Ouverture du Temple de la Raison et de la Vérité, le 10 Brumaire, l'an 2<sup>e</sup> de la République Française, une et indivisible.'

17) Ibid. p.5.

of sub-headings. For example, under the heading 'De la Vertu' the question asks 'En quoi consiste-t-elle?' The reply offers a complete definition of republican virtue:

A regarder, à traiter tous les hommes comme des frères; faire pour eux, tout ce que nous voudrions qu'on fit pour nous; Être toujours justes, toujours vrais; aimer sa patrie; honorer ses parents; respecter la Vieillesse; et obéir aux Lois.

Then, as if this was not enough, the questioner asks, 'Ensuite?', and the answer provides a supplement:

Joindre la sobriété à l'amour du travail. (15)

Once again we are given a variation of the maxim, the emphasis on the self/other relationship, the veneration of old age which is a feature of the moral tale, and the stated claims of family, country, work, and sobriety. The dialogue form has the advantage of retaining the reader's interest, and this particular example has the added advantage of brevity.

The faith that the Republic demands in the governing body parallels the faith once demanded by the now disgraced church. Indeed, the language used by both faiths is remarkably similar. Dulaurent, whom we shall meet later as the writer of republican tales, uses the structure of the Lord's Prayer with the difference that the Lord has become the Republic and liberty. We read:

Pourvois aux besoins de tes enfans; assure-leur le pain de tous les jours....(16),

and the Apostle's Creed of the Christian Faith has given way to a 'Crédo Républicain':

Je crois que l'unité et l'indivisibilité de la République font le bonheur du peuple, qu'un attachement sans bornes à la Constitution qu'il a acceptée, peut seul lui en assurer la jouissance, et que l'homme, pour conserver ses droits, ne doit jamais oublier ses devoirs. (17)

The creed asks for the same total belief and offers the promise of temporal happiness in exchange for the eternal paradise offered by Christianity; both faiths retain the emphasis on duties as the essential principle.

- 18) In parentheses we should perhaps note another recurring feature, that which pictures man as a microcosm of the state, where passions are seen as metaphorical tyrants that destroy his freedom. Frey's Philosophie Sociale. Paris, 1793, repeats an idea that dates at least from Plato, p.19. :

Les anciens ont aussi toujours regardé l'homme comme un microcosme. Platon le regarda comme une république; il le présenta comme un modèle du régime républicain;...

In Louis-Claude de Cressy's Essai sur les Moeurs. Paris, 1790, we find a similar idea, p.21. :

Le corps social est comme le corps humain: les maux qui affectent ses membres, il les ressent.

- 19) POISSON DE LA CHABEAUSSIÈRE. Catéchisme Républicain, in a recueil, Melun, An II, p.86.

- 20) Ibid. p.89.

Self-denial as a Christian virtue is mirrored by the attack on passions in the Republic. In a work indicatively entitled, Le Catéchisme Républicain, the question/answer form imitates the priest-congregation of the church. Virtue is defined in terms of self-sacrifice, and passions must not only be avoided by the individual but positively overwhelmed in the quest for total liberation from their tyrannical influence. (18) The question asks, 'Qu'est-ce que les Passions?' and the reply is given:

La révolte des sens, d'immodérés désirs,  
Du feu céleste en nous obscurcissent la flamme,  
Détruisant, en tyrans, la liberté de l'âme,  
Et menant aux regrets par l'appât des plaisirs. (19)

Passions are seen as unnatural, excessive and dominating to the extent that they tyrannise the body. The language that is chosen is, for obvious reasons, political. The parallel with the individual and the state is an intentional one that underlines the need for private morality by pointing out the dangers of the loss of liberty. If the individual can learn to dominate his personal passions then the Republic state can in turn survive and prosper. Yet the author's aim here is not wholly negative and restrictive. The Catéchisme promotes the now familiar ideals:

Sois bon, juste, indulgent, ennemi sans pitié  
Du vice, de l'intrigue et de la tyrannie;  
Mais nourris dans ton cœur, pour embellir ta vie,  
L'amour de ton pays, l'étude et l'amitié. (20)

There is no promise here of a divine paradise after death but the guarantee of an attainable heaven on earth as the result of personal and, by extension, universal virtue.

A poster which appeared in An II offered a similar imitation of the church. The title: Les Vertus Républicaines des Martyrs de la Liberté, ou Litanies des Sans-Culottes, is indication enough of the tone of the work and the message of the script, where the republican martyrs have replaced their Christian predecessors. The same plea is

- 21) Anon. Les Vertus Républicaines des Martyrs de la Liberté,  
ou Litanies des Sans-Culottes. s.l.n.d. [ =? An II ].

Marat, for example, is praised:

Toi, sublime Marat, dont le patriotisme, le génie et  
les vertus étoient le fléau du despotisme et l'effroi  
de tous les tyrans, ardent Républicain, qui terrassa  
tant de fois l'égoïsme, l'erreur, les abus, et le  
cruel fanatisme, toi dont une furie a terminé les  
jours....

- 22) Rousseau claimed that metallurgy and agriculture were born simultaneously, the one depending on the other. He wrote, in the Discours sur les Origines et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes. Paris (Gallimard - Idées), 1965, p.97. :

La Métallurgie et l'agriculture furent les deux arts dont l'invention produisit cette grande révolution.

The 'révolution' he refers to is the division of labour where man no longer works simply to provide his own food, but exchanges the production of his particular art for food grown by another.

made to an all-powerful God, the 'Être éternel' and the 'Auteur de la Nature.' In language of religious invocation we are given a list of republican virtues and the near-divinification of the martyrs of liberty. (21) The text finishes with a prayer to the Supreme Being that asks for protection from a great list of evils including tyrants, royalist brigands, fanaticism, 'écrivains aristocrates', luxury, egoism, frivolity, and finally, 'de l'inégalité, fléau de la société.'

The manner in which propaganda borrows religious imagery underlines the need to substitute a faith in republicanism that equals a believer's faith in his religion. The stress on the microcosm where the body needs perfect health to function properly in turn confirms the need to prove that the state machine can only advance with the aid of perfect 'mœurs'. The Republic in An II demanded propaganda that promoted its principle. The idealism of the pastoral tale, the purity and courage of the fictional heroes and the generosity of their actions must be examined in this light. We shall see that whether intended or not, the close relationship between the pastoral and simplistic moral tale and the strict morals of an austere republican régime amply satisfy the demands and requirements of propaganda.

At the same time we should consider for a moment why the pastoral should be chosen to fulfill this demand. It would seem that the novel was accepting clichés that were stated in works other than fiction. The idyll of fiction is based to some extent on the physiocrats' defence of the countryside as the primary source of a nation's wealth. Agriculture, the first social occupation in Rousseau's Discours sur les Origines et les Fondemens de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes was, in the 1770's being defended as the only purely productive industry. (22) Diderot himself wrote the article Agriculture in the Encyclopédie and was in no doubt of its value:

Cet art est le premier, le plus utile, le plus étendu, et peut-

23) DIDEROT, Denis. "Agriculture." in the Encyclopédie.  
Paris, 1751, Vol.1, p.183.

24) For a detailed account of the Physiocrats, see Georges Weulersse's exhaustive work, Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France. Paris (F. Alcan), 1910, and a more recent study by Ronald Meek, The Economics of Physiocracy. Harvard University Press, 1963.

25) BOUTET DE MONVEL, J-M. Discours sur le Caractère et les Devoirs du Républicain. s.l.n.d. p.185.

Cf. also, Sylvain Maréchal in his De la Vertu. Paris, 1807. He wrote, p.267. :

La vertu et l'agriculture sont comme deux bonnes parentes qui ont toujours aimé à vivre ensemble.

être le plus essentiel des arts. (23)

He notes, along with the other major physiocrats, the Marquis de Mirabeau and François Quesnay, that the contemporary position of agriculture was a false and unjust one. (24) The specific ideas contained in physiocratic philosophy are watered down for the purposes of fiction and used to justify the unreal idyll painted by authors. Fiction too must take much of the blame for popularising the concept of natural law. The 'philosophes' could not agree on the inherent nature of man nor on the laws that should be defined as universal and immutable. Fiction disregarded the problem. For the majority of popular novelists, natural law meant little more than those few laws that would have existed when man was in his pre-social and untainted state. The concept of natural law is seldom defined nor even examined yet it provides the basis of countless political tracts and is consistently confused with republicanism. The confusion is such that natural law becomes mixed up with defences of agriculture, and its application is seen as the ideal solution to which all contemporaries should aim. Writers of both tracts and fiction suggest in all innocence that if the vicious town-dweller could follow the example set by those working on the land all contemporary problems could be solved. A belief in natural law has become a belief in the virtue of the peasantry. Treatises and 'contes' work to achieve the desired conversion of civilised man's morality. Boutet de Monvel in his Discours sur le Caractère et les Devoirs du Républicain describes republican government:

C'est de tous les systèmes de société, qu'ont adopté les hommes, celui qui, les rapprochant le plus de l'état de nature, leur procure le mieux tous les avantages de la civilisation. (25)

According to the author, republican government manages to combine two ideals: it retains the essence of the mythical pre-social paradise with the advantages brought by civilisation. Yet no attempt is made

- 26) HERAULT DE SECHELLES, Marie-Jean. Discours Prononcé lors de la Cérémonie qui a eu lieu pour l'acceptation de la Constitution. in Le Moniteur Universel. 12.3.1793.

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to elucidate the contents of the natural paradise, nor is it apparent what advantages civilisation is supposed to have introduced. Without clarification, Boutet's description is void of meaning.

The same conclusion must be drawn for Héault de Séchelles' speech of acceptance of the new constitution in 1793. He too saw that the Republic represented a return to a pure natural state:

Souverain du Sauvage et des nations éclairées! O nature! ce peuple immense, assemblé aux premiers rayons du jour devant ton image, est digne de toi. Il est libre. C'est dans ton sein, c'est dans tes sources sacrées qu'il a recouvré ses droits, qu'il s'est régénéré. Après avoir traversé tant de siècles d'erreurs et de servitudes, il fallait rentrer dans la simplicité de tes voies pour recouvrer la liberté et l'égalité. O Nature! reçois l'expression de l'attachement éternel des François pour tes lois.....(26)

Once again, however, the meaning of 'nature' is far from clear. The speaker's rhetoric does not allow definition of his central term, and the spiritual use of regeneration hardly seems applicable to the intense struggle that had achieved the liberty of which Héault is so proud. One assumes that the speaker's 'nature' is the same as Rousseau's vision of a pre-social state with none of the prejudices introduced by social man, and that the regeneration is a re-creation of this primitive perfection. But the speaker is dealing in clichés whose sense should be defined if the reader/listener is fully to understand. It seems to us that Héault is doing little more than spouting political jargon to a sympathetic audience. The terms 'country', 'nature' and 'agriculture' are rarely distinguished; only their usage and context defines their meaning. In fiction 'nature' comes to mean a poetic ideal of green (and therefore untainted) fields and happy peasants endowed with every possible virtue, reflecting a civilised image of a philosopher's pre-social state that contrasts so vividly with the contemporary corruption. Propaganda demands simplicity so it correlates nature with virtue, makes virtue the principle of the republic, and calls for the ideals found in the

27) FAUCHET, Abbé Claude. Discours sur les Mœurs Rurales.  
Paris, 1788, p.31.

28) SABATIER, Abbé Antoine, dit Sabatier de Castres. Pensées et Observations Morales et Politiques. Vienne, 1794, p.336.

apparently perfect country, not by offering scientific proof, but by the more subtle and persuasive means of fiction.

While it remains true that the republican propaganda used the natural cliché to sell the product, some note should be taken of a tradition that was selling the same product in a different package. Fiction did not monopolise the market, it simply made the product more accessible to the consumer. The Abbé Fauchet in his Discours sur les Mœurs Rurales borrows the exaggerated language of advertising to propose the same natural cliché. A brief examination of the language he uses will help us to understand the significance of the fiction we shall shortly be looking at. The Abbé is not describing a general rural state, rather he is addressing the congregation of the 'Eglise de Surenne' and contrasting life-styles. The proximity of Surenne to Paris makes the contrast all the more vivid. The Abbé concludes his speech:

Au-delà du fleuve, un bois profane touche à vos simples rivages et s'étend jusqu'aux barrières fastueuses de la Capitale. Dans ses vastes allées le luxe effronté promène son orgueil, et sous ses ombrages, redoutables à l'innocence, la volupté honteuse recèle ses crimes. (27)

The Abbé's speech is less descriptive than prescriptive. He is less concerned with the physical characteristics than with the moral conduct of the inhabitants. Indeed, the idyll bears little relationship to contemporary reality with the mass emigration of the peasantry into towns and the outdated farming methods noted by Arthur Young during his travels in France. The Abbé's speech, like a sermon, constitutes a warning to the faithful, yet the form is hardly suited to the aim. As the Abbé Sabatier de Castres has pointed out in what is already a truism:

Un Ecrivain, qui aspire à être utile, doit chercher les moyens de se faire lire, et on ne se fait pas lire, quand on est monotone et ennuyeux. (28)

The form chosen by the author will, of course, determine the readership of the work. The demand is for works that touch the reader's

- 29) Jean-Nicolas Billaud-Varenne, the author of Séemens du Républicanisme, joined the 'Comité de salut Public' in September 1793. Alfred Cobban, in his History of Modern France. London (Penguin Books), 1965, describes him, Vol.1, p.220. :

By no means a mere vulgar agitator, he had produced books and pamphlets which indicate serious thought on the problems of government.....

- 30) BILLAUD-VARENNE, Jean-Nicolas. Rapport fait à la Convention sur la Théorie du Gouvernement Démocratique..... s.l.  
Floréal An II, p.20.

We should note a similar remark made by Marie-Joseph Chénier, the leading republican dramatist, as early as 1789. In his De la Liberté du Théâtre in Théâtre de M-J. Chénier. Paris, 1818, we read, p.xlii. :

Je serai toujours persuadé que le but de ce genre si important est de faire aimer la vertu, les lois et la liberté, de faire détester le fanatisme et la tyrannie.

sensibility: the work best suited to supply this demand is the 'conte'. The modern reader is faced with the disadvantage of having to assess contemporary taste. It is far too easy to dismiss as trivial the clichéd novel and 'conte' without taking into account the reaction of readers at the time of writing. This would certainly seem to be the case for republican propaganda; the exaggerated sentiments, the unnatural stilted language that is totally out of keeping with the characters involved, the utter predictability of plot, and the highly idealised settings must all be seen in terms of a different theory of the novel.

The lesson taught by propaganda fails if it is not immediately accessible to the most humble reader (or, as may well be the case, the most humble listener, when the 'conte' would be read by one of the few people able to read). Billaud-Varenne, a staunch republican (29) and a member of the 'Comité de Salut Public', pointed out to the 'Convention' the need for moral propaganda of a particular sort. He proposed that literature should commit itself to the education of the people by the portrayal of examples. The Republic, he said, had an urgent need for:

...de bons ouvrages de morale, des journaux patriotiques, des pièces de théâtre exemptes d'obscénités, et ne retracant que des scènes de vertus et de civisme. (30)

The demand and the need is for a kind of literature that is explicitly didactic and where the success of the work is proportionate to the influence and educative effect it has on the reader. Ultimately, it is the form chosen by the reader that will determine the success of his work.

It must be conceded that virtue does not have the same attraction for us as it did for writers and readers of the Eighteenth Century, and even then there was a psychological barrier to overcome. Readers do not appreciate being told how to act in given situations, particularly when the writer has a habit of talking down to his audience.

31) MARÉCHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. De la Vertu. Paris, 1807, p.103.

32) The Abbé Pollin was writing a treatise describing principles, not writing a novel of persuasion. See note (1) of Chapter Two.

33) POLLIN, Abbé Jean-Baptiste. Le Citoyen des Alpes.  
Turin et Paris, 1789, Vol.2, p.58/59.

The Abbé defines 'le peuple' as that class of people which depends on work as the sole source of income. He thereby distinguishes it from the general term, 'tiers-état', and the nobility.

34) BOUFFLERS, Stanislas de. Discours sur la Vertu. Paris, 1800, p.10/11.

Just as the treatise must persuade by force of reason, so fiction must convince by efficacy of action. Fiction must seduce the reader into acceptance in a way that will allow no misinterpretation. At the same time it must avoid excessive dogmatism. Sylvain Maréchal explains the process:

La morale est une science toute pratique. Les raisonnemens et les livres ne font point l'homme vertueux; des exemples et des sentimens développent en nous le goût du beau, l'amour du bien, cette tendance à l'ordre qui constitue la vertu. (31)

This is a vital quotation; Sylvain Maréchal would seem to be suggesting that literature is not ideally suited for teaching a doctrine that is based on practical examples. His stress on 'pratique' doubts the value of any written morality although, it would seem to us, that of all the different branches of literature, fiction is the only one that, by convincing the reader of an illusion of reality, can manage to portray virtue in action and not simply as it is in theory.

We are returning to the distinction made by the Abbé Pollin between the treatise and the novel. (32) Writers, he claimed, should act on the reader's sensibility rather than on his faculty of reason. Pollin endowed 'le peuple' with the quality of sensibility, claiming:

....le peuple est compatissant, sensible, autant qu'il peut l'être; il est de lui-même hospitalier; il s'attendrit aisément à la vue des maux d'autrui; et malgré cette extrême sensibilité, il supporte encore avec plus de courage ses maux, que nous... (33)

By extension, the author of the moral tale should encourage the same reaction in his reader. The force of the message will depend on the extent to which the reader sympathises with misfortunes described in the novel. If the reader can be rendered 'sensible' he will be persuaded of the force of virtue since, as Stanislas de Boufflers points out:

....la vertu a le principe/de son existence dans notre sensibilité. (34)

For fictional propaganda to be successful it must move the reader emotionally to the extent that he suffers with the suffering of virtue.

in the novel.

Once again we return to a study of methods. We have seen how the Cousin Jacques adapted the allegory to support the Republic, (see Note twelve of this chapter) but it should be made clear that the incidence of this form of allegory is minimal compared to its use during the Constitutional Monarchy. A fairy-story, La Fée Républicaine introduces a fairy who is attacked by dwarfs and overcomes her oppressors to strengthen the Republic and revive the oak-tree, symbol of the power and unity of the régime. (35) This short-story lacks the subtlety of Moutonnet de Clairfons' Le Véritable Philanthrope, ou l'Île de la Philanthropie. Here the narrator/writer figure is washed ashore after a shipwreck to find himself on an inhabited but unknown island. One of the natives, Androphile, describes the customs and constitution of the country in terms that are distinctly Utopian. There is no private property in this haven:

Tous nos biens sont communs, nos richesses sont égales: nulles distinctions que pour la vertu; point d'honneurs. Ce régime est le plus puissant pour guérir les coeurs avides, insatiables, éteindre les passions éffrénées et détruire tous les vices enfantés par le luxe. (36)

Such is the nature of the contrast that any reader aware of his moral background will see a reference and comparison to contemporary France. The familiar maxim rules the nation in perfect harmony in a way that, as Androphile points out, does not exist elsewhere. In a passage that deliberately evokes the France of the 'Ancien Régime', Androphile, a much-travelled character, notes:

....j'ai vu partout le préjugé à la place de la vérité, le fanatisme et l'intérêt dominer impérieusement, écraser le faible, des guerres sanguinaires pour de vaines prétentions....(38)

On the basis of this 'conte' it would be fair to suggest that the writer was a republican. Yet the date of publication is only 1790 and a later 'conte' in the same collection contains lavish praise of the King:

35) Anon. La Féé Républicaine. in Esprit des Journaux.  
Sept. 1794, pp. 161-165.

36) MOUTONNET DE CLAIRFONS. Le Véritable Philanthrope.  
Philadelphia, 1790, p.32.

Literally, the native's name means, 'lover of man.'

37) Ibid. p.33.

One axiom rules the nation:

Ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne veux pas qu'il te fasse;  
ou ce qui revient au même: Fais pour autrui ce que tu  
désires qu'il fasse pour toi.

See Appendix for other examples of the maxim.

38) Ibid. p.49.

in the novel.

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39) MOUTONNET DE CLAIRFONS. La Promenade Solitaire. in  
Le Véritable Philanthrope. p.109.

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Mais qu'il est adorable, ce jeune Monarque sage, bon, juste, pacifique, loyal, économe, né pour la gloire et le bonheur de ses peuples....(39)

In An II a 'conte' like Le Véritable Philanthrope would be seen as republican propaganda. The irony for the modern reader is that the same author can produce short-stories with opposing tendencies: one implies support for a republic while the other, in the same collection, contains remarks that are laudatory of the present King, the same King who represents the biggest obstacle in the way of the proclamation of the Republic. Admittedly such works are rare but they must be accounted for since they indicate the difficulty of establishing exactly what the implications are for contemporaries.

It was seen that allegory was normally quite straightforward and its meaning obvious enough. Yet it seems reasonable to suggest that it did not prove effective enough for the demands of propaganda in the Republic. Republican propaganda asks not for judgements or reactions but aims simply to instil a positive message in its reader. It deals with ideology and cannot afford the luxury of individual interpretation, nor the adornment of humour that belonged to the allegory, nor the delight in unmasking characters in disguise. Here the tone is serious, idealised and lofty, straightforward and explicit. In brief, its message must be totally obvious.

While the great majority of republican tales will be explicit in their aims, there nevertheless exists a strain of fiction that is more easily classified by what it attacks than by what it proposes. Some authors prefer the method of attacking the present monarchic régime and leaving the reader to contemplate the alternatives. Such fiction can be called republican by implication and anti-monarchist by intention. Sylvain Maréchal, in his Apologues Modernes à l'Usage du Dauphin. Premières Leçons du Fils Aîné du Roi, maintains just such an anti-monarchist campaign by using various 'contes' to illustrate

40) MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. Apologues Modernes à l'Usage du Dauphin. Bruxelles, 1788, p.25.

41) BARBAULT-ROYER. Craon, ou les Trois Opprimés. Paris, 1791, p.17.

42) Ibid. p.39/40.

43) Ibid. p.69.

his opinions. One 'conte' shows a fête given by the King for his people where two fountains of wine flow all day. The author's message to the Dauphin, (and to his reader), is the succinct:

Malheur au peuple dont le roi est généreux! Le roi ne peut donner que ce qu'il a pu prendre à son peuple. Plus le roi donne, plus il a pris au peuple. On n'est point avare du bien d'autrui. (40)

Logically, of course, the king is in an untenable position since whatever action he takes will be censured. The later 'contes' predict the violent overthrow of the monarchy and the abdication of the king in favour of a rustic life away from the ardours of government. In 1788, the date of publication, such a work would have been considered less a defence of republicanism than an overt attack on the monarchy. Yet at the end of 1794, Barbault Royer published his indicatively entitled Les Loisirs de la Liberté, Nouvelles Républicaines and included 'contes' which are not unlike those of Maréchal. Indeed, one 'nouvelle' which had appeared in 1791 under the title Craon, ou les Trois Opprimés now re-appears with the significant title change, Félix, ou les Trois Opprimés. The only change is the substitution of names: Félix, as we shall see, was a popular name for the hero of the pastoral tales. The narrative itself remains identical: Craon/Félix listens to the stories of three oppressed characters and comments on their situations. The first, a Moscovite, tells of his trials at the hands of the nobility:

Des Nobles m'ont dépouillé de tout, en disant qu'il n'appartient qu'à des Nobles d'être riches. (41),

while the second, named Hirckond Jahed, Kan de Caramanie (sic), tells his own story admitting:

Quoiqu'élevé dans les maximes du séraïl, la politique cruelle/ des tyrans me fit toujours horreur....(42).

The third, an African slave, tells how:

Le jour j'étois souffleté sic par les vents, et le soir je recevois des coups de fouets. (43)

44) BARBAULT-ROYER. Craon, ou les Trois Opprimés. p.108/109.

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The relevance of these stories to the revolutionary situation hardly needs pointing out. More significant than the individual stories is the concluding comment made by Craon/Félix which, if anything, is more relevant to France in 1794 in the midst of its altruistically determined revolutionary wars than it was in 1791. The hero declares:

Tous les peuples sont nos frères....s'ils sont dans l'oppression; ils peuvent compter sur nos efforts, et nous serons/leurs libérateurs. Espérez tout des François. (44)

The patriotism of the hero is typical of the propaganda novel that flourished and was actively encouraged during the Republic.

The significance that can be attached to these 'contes' by Maréchal and Barbault Royer varies not only according to the time at which they were written but, more importantly, to the time at which they were read. In 1791 Barbault's hero is quite simply defined as a revolutionary - in 1794 he is quite obviously the perfect republican. The meaning of Barbault's 'conte' is given by the reader and not made explicit by the author.

Further along the scale are works whose support for the Republic is quite explicit. A.T. de Rochefort's signed novel, Adraste et Nancy V.Y. tells the story of a French officer during the American War of Independance. Through the medium of letters we see the hero fall in love with an American girl and the dismay of the hero's brother and guardian who is also in America. The two brothers provide the necessary political contrast: Adraste, the hero, is a confirmed republican while his brother is an equally confirmed monarchist. The editor/author's interventions ensure that the reader makes the desired interpretation, even though the structure of the novel provides a symbolic monarchic victory. Adraste's brother's family superiority - his age determines his superiority - forbids the desired marriage and destroys the chance of a happy ending.

Writing to his brother to announce his love, and telling how well

45) ROCHEFORT, A-T. de. Adraste et Nancy V.Y. St. Maixent, An II,  
p.12.

46) Ibid.

Adraste describes the perfection of the villagers, p.26. :

La beauté se retrouve sur tous les visages, la vertu dans tous les coeurs.....l'étude de la sagesse, la gaieté de l'innocence, la joie d'une conscience pure, voilà à quoi l'on reconnaît les jeunes Américains.

47) Ibid. p.66.

48) Ibid.

Adraste maintains in his reply, p.87. :

Si nous avons perdu cette pureté, que vous désirez pour êtres libres, nous la recouvrerons avec la liberté....nos coeurs, dégagés du joug du despotisme, s'élèveront tous vers la vertu. C'est notre gouvernement gangrené qui a vicié nos moeurs; elles changeront avec lui.

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C'est notre gouvernement gangrené qui a vicié nos moeurs;  
elles changeront avec lui.

he had been received in a village on the River Elk in Maryland,

Adraste points out:

L'hospitalité est pour eux un devoir sacré: être utile et mettre tout en œuvre pour nous plaire, paraît être un de leurs plus pressans besoins. L'âge d'or si vanté, dont nos poètes se complaisent journellement à retracer le souvenir, se trouve ici dans toute sa simplicité. (45)

The American inhabitants, already savouring the effects of their Revolution, would seem to be endowed with the republican virtues of hospitality and generosity. The evocation of the Golden Age, whose significance we shall be studying later, guarantees the idyllic haven of simplicity and sincerity. (46) The villagers would seem to be perfect republicans and an example the French reader would do well to emulate. Nancy's father, so much admired by Adraste, denies the possibility of a good king by pointing out that such a monarch is more easily deceived by his entourage. Adraste's consequent republicanism finds a harsh critic in his brother. An intervention by the editor/author prevents us reading the brother's critical reply.

The form of censorship is explained:

D'après le conseil de mes amis j'ai cru devoir supprimer de cette lettre, plusieurs réflexions indignes d'être lues par de vrais républicains. Elles n'eussent servi qu'à renouveler leur juste colère,.....Le lecteur se fera une idée de ces sottises aristocratiques en lisant la deuxième lettre, qui contient les réponses victorieuses d'Adraste.....(47)

The intervention reinforces the republican message of the novel by deflation and obvious bias. Adraste's reply is predictably forceful and eloquent. (48) He emphasises his brother's selfishness in dismissing the plight of the multitude while personally quite content with his lot in life. The outcome of the novel ensures the reader's sympathy. Adraste's brother, both older and in a superior position, despotically refuses permission for Adraste to leave his ship and so prevents any subsequent meetings with Nancy. This sympathy with his situation leads naturally to sympathy for his ideals.

There is no doubt about the political message of the novel although

49) ROCHEFORT, A-T. de. Adraste et Nancy V.Y. La Rochelle,  
1801, p.v.

50) Ibid. Edition of 1794.

The implied attack reads, p.87. :

La nature a fait des hommes, et le crime seul a pu  
créer des rois.

51) Ibid. Edition of 1801, p.76.

its isolated effect was probably very small. A second edition did appear in 1801 with changes that determine our interpretation of the first. The political situation had changed in France and the 'Pré-face' is modified accordingly. We read:

Je supprime dans cette seconde édition les dissertations sur la politique, qui se trouvent dans la première. On les a regardé [sic] comme déplacées dans un Ouvrage de pur agrément. (49)

The cuts that are made indicate a change of emphasis, but the suggestion that the political comments were out of place in the first edition hardly rings true. On the contrary, the novel could not be defined as one of 'pur agrément', and the reader of An II, as indeed the modern reader, would have thought that the political element was the most important in the novel and even that it constituted its 'raison d'être.' It would seem that a compromise had been made to the new régime. In 1801 the discussion on liberty and purity is cut,  
 (50)  
 and an attack on the King and the monarchy becomes, in the second edition:

Assurément j'aime ma patrie, je l'ai toujours servie avec zèle; il n'est pas de devoir que j'ai rempli avec plus de plaisir. (51)

The author has managed to adapt his novel to suit the Napoleonic régime, but in doing so he has produced what is, in essence, a different novel. The change at least serves to indicate the importance attached to fictional propaganda. A work readily accepted by the Republic in An II - we should remember that the novel was signed - would not satisfy the censor of 1801.

For the modern critic the enforced change adds weight to the justification of a solely political interpretation of the novel. If there remains a slight doubt about Adraste et Nancy V.Y. there can be no such uncertainty regarding the productions of the humble Dulaurent. He provides a number of perfect examples of simple republican tales. Joseph, ou le Petit Ramoneur is the story of a young boy raised in Vendée during the time of the royalist uprising.

52) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. Joseph, ou le Petit Ramoneur.  
s.l.n.d. [=? 1794], p.3/4.

53) Ibid. p.8.

54) Ibid. p.13.

His pedigree is that of the perfect republican:

Une pauvre chaumière étoit l'asile que le père habitoit avec son fils. Le bonheur / régnoit dans cette cabane, parce que la vertu en avoit banni l'ambition et les remords qui l'accompagnent. (52)

Poverty and virtue, contentment with one's estate, lead to the usual happiness. But an event disrupts the peace and charm of the idyll. Rebel troops arrive, are defeated by the republican army, but Joseph's father is killed in the fighting. The poor orphan leaves the cottage in despair and goes to Paris in search of an uncle. He is rejected by the uncle who says:

....la fortune nous a trop éloignés l'un de l'autre pour que la nature puisse nous rapprocher aujourd'hui. (53)

Joseph is forced to find a job to keep himself, is employed by a chimney sweep, and three months later, in the course of his work, he comes across the same uncle. The Revolution has now destroyed his criminal means of earning money and reduced him to abject poverty. The reader half expects the author to intervene with a moral statement but instead Joseph takes pity on his cruel relative and offers assistance from his meagre savings. It is now that the author enters the narrative to ask the question:

Eh bien, riches orgueilleux, que pensez-vous de la générosité de cet enfant! (54)

Joseph would have been perfectly justified in returning his uncle's cruelty and refusing help. The uncle's misfortune would have been sufficient to teach the moral necessity of helping those in need. But the boy's generous action strengthens the moral of the tale by stressing the meaning of real virtue, that which bears no grudge, and that that will always come to the assistance of the poor and suffering. In the end the boy's virtue gains its true reward: while sweeping a chimney, Joseph hears the groans of a father who has lost his son. He tries to console him and is adopted as a result. The author points out the limitations of the republican tale by stressing his lack of free choice in the conclusion:

Après avoir présenté le tableau de ses vertus, n'aurai-je pas / à offrir celui de son bonheur. (55)

Propaganda demands that the rigid virtue/happiness formula be strictly adhered to.

Dulaurent's other major contribution to this form of republican propaganda consisted of a series of short speeches exemplifying republican virtue which, when printed, differed little from the normal fictional tale. The short anecdotes were all based on different branches of the family. Le Bon Vieillard repeats the fictional cliché of a rich boy who wants to marry the daughter of a poor widow. Predictably, the boy's father refuses to allow the marriage, so the couple enlist the aid and advice of the patriarch figure, the wise old man, Damon. An episode within the narrative shows the arrival in the village of two soldiers, one of whom admits that his patriotic duty is all the harder to bear since it separates him from his loved one. Damon reminds him of his priorities:

....mais il faut d'abord faire la guerre, et puis nous ferons l'amour. (56)

The episode serves to remind the reader of the needs of the fatherland and of the prior claims of the army. Eventually, Myrtile, the unhappy son, manages to save his loved one from a fire; his father is impressed by the display of courage and permits the marriage to take place. The bonds of the union will strengthen the foundations of the Republic with the final result that:

....vous ferez...envier à l'Europe entière une constitution qui honore la loyauté, le courage, la piété filiale, le malheur, et qui a mis au rang des premiers devoirs du citoyen, celui de respecter et d'honorer la vieillesse. (57)

Further speeches celebrate the good mother educating her family in the republican precepts and forgiving a prodigal son who returns to help the republican cause, (58) the good father setting an example to his children by readily giving alms to a poor old man, (59) and what is perhaps the best of the series, the good son in contrast with the

55) DULAURENT. Joseph, ou le petit Ramoneur. p.16/17.

56) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. Le Bon Vieillard. s.l. An II, p.17.

57) Ibid. p.49.

58) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. La Bonne Mère. s.l. An II.

The mother consoles Adèle, the least pretty of her daughters,  
p.3. :

La vertu seule, mes enfans, est belle à mes yeux, la  
vertu seule est aimable.

59) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. Le Bon Père. s.l. An II.

The father explains his charitable action, p.10. :

Un homme, mon égal, mon frère, réduit dans cet état  
déplorable! Non, je ne le souffrirai pas.

It should be noted that the meaning of charity is totally  
sincere and disinterested in a republican context. It should  
be compared with the earlier attitude (See Chapter Two, p.30.)  
where charity was seen as a corrupting action.

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60) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. Le Bon Fils. s.l. An II, p.3.

61) Ibid. p.21.

62) Ibid. p.27.

63) DULAURENT, Le Citoyen. La Bonne Mère. p.20.

bad. Here a family has two sons: Théodore, the ideal, and Germueil, his exact opposite. Théodore has little free time to himself:

Excepté les momens qu'il donnoit à l'étude, aux assemblées de la section, et aux autres devoirs de la société, Théodore était toujours auprès de ses père et mère. (60) ,

while his wicked brother thinks of nothing beyond the satisfaction of his own selfish desires. At the death of his mother and following a disaster at sea which strips the family of all its possessions, Théodore goes to work in order to provide for his elderly father. He sleeps well at night because his conscience is clear:

Le sommeil de l'artisan laborieux n'est pas comme celui des riches fainéans, troublé par des soucis et des songes; il est calme et tranquille; c'est le sommeil du citoyen qui aime sa patrie, et qui se repose après avoir travaillé toute la journée pour elle. (61)

The implication here is that the humble worker toils for the fatherland while the rich idler thinks only of himself. Eventually - and predictably - news arrives that the boat is not lost after all. Théodore vacates his job to make way for a more needy worker, and the prodigal son returns home converted, now prepared to swear allegiance to the Republic because, as he says:

.....j'éprouve aujourd'hui que l'on n'est véritablement heureux que quand on est bon citoyen et bon fils. (62)

In the hierarchy of republican virtues the demands of the fatherland are greater than those of the family. The good citizen will attend section meetings, take up arms when required to, and work for the general good and the betterment of society. The good son will honour his parents and serve them in their hours of need. The dual demands are explicit in the Bonne Mère:

....si le premier devoir d'un Républicain est d'aimer sa patrie, le second est d'honorer ses père et mère. (63)

64) Anon. Portrait du Vrai Patriote. The full quotation is given in note (9) of this chapter.

65) BARBAULT-ROYER. Démophon, in Les Loisirs de la Liberté. Paris, An III, p.35.

According to the Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Démophon was a :

....roi légendaire d'Athènes; fils de Thésée et de Phèdre, frère d'Acamus. Au siège de Troie il délivra sa grand'mère Aethra, devenue l'esclave d'Hélène. Au retour il fut jeté par la tempête sur la côte de Thrace, et épousa la fille d'un roi de ce pays, Phyllis.

66) Ibid. p.41.

We have already seen that:

Le Patriote ne craint pas d'offenser les hommes évidemment suspects: il les surveille, les attaque, les combat et sort vainqueur de la lutte entre le crime et la vertu. (64)

In a régime where the fatherland has the prior claims, even patricide, where the father is the enemy of the state, can be justified. The first of Barbault-Royer's Nouvelles Républicaines (Les Loisirs de la Liberté) tells the story of Démophon. During the reign of the tyrant, Alcionaus, Démophon is made head of a group of brigands and is told by an oracle to work to avenge the tyrant's misdeeds. The same oracle also tells Alcionaus that Démophon is his son. Unwittingly, the son makes plans to kill his father. He is summoned to appear before the tyrant during some public games and seizes the opportunity to perform the assassination. Alcionaus manages to reveal that he is Démophon's father before expiring and so contributes to the new hero's understandable 'égarement'. Eventually Démophon sees the light of reason and justifies his action:

....la nature doit-elle composer quand il s'agit de la félicité de tous....? (65)

The Gods themselves, the inspirers of the act, remind Démophon of the republican hierarchy:

Traître...lorsqu'il s'agit de la félicité de tous, lorsque par un coup divin, tu as brisé le tyran le plus féroce, dois-tu t'exhaler en plaintes; n'importe qu'il soit ton père, la patrie et tes frères doivent passer avant tout. (66)

The Republic enforces a scale of values that dismisses any possibility of sentiment. There can be no compromise, least of all in the France of An II, threatened from the outside by foreign armies, and undermined from within by opposing factions.

From the evidence produced so far it would appear that the harshness of propaganda matches the severity of the régime. The examples we have looked at so far seem particularly threatening and uncompromising. There is an immediate need to balance the picture by

- 67) ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques. Discours sur les Origines et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes. Paris (Gallimard - Idées), 1965.

The note reads, p.103. :

Attonitus novitate mali, divesque miserque,  
Effugere optat opes, et quo modo voverat, odit.

The quotation is taken from Book 9 of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

- 68) OVID. Métamorphoses. Paris (Société d'Editions "Les Belles Lettres", Collection des Universités de France, texte établi et traduit par Georges Lafaye.) 1928, Vol.1, p.10.

The translation of Book 1, Lines 89-90, reads:

L'âge d'or naquit le premier qui, sans répression, sans lois,  
pratiquait de lui-même la bonne foi et la vertu.

The translation of Book 1, Lines 107-108, Vol.1, p.11, reads:

Le printemps était éternel et les paisibles zéphyrs caressaient  
de leurs tièdes haleines les fleurs nées sans semence.

introducing first a parenthesis and afterwards an examination of what is perhaps the most significant literary production of the Republic, that of the pastoral novel and 'conte' with an emphasis on its most popular exponent, Florian.

The parenthesis must attempt to explain the repeated use of Golden Age imagery and show the links of such imagery with the pastoral. It is impossible to ascertain the precise classical debt for such a technique. Virgil would seem a likely source but it is worth noting that Rousseau provides a clue in his Discours sur les Origines et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes. His quotation of Ovid's Metamorphoses (67) leads us to an examination of the Golden Age as described in Book One. We read:

Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo,  
Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.

and:

Ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris  
Mulcebant zephyri natos sine semine flores; (68)

The earth was a paradise free from human strife and the provider of plenty. But the Golden Age becomes corrupted, giving way first to a Silver Age, where man built houses and planted seeds, then to the Bronze Age, and finally to the Iron Age, the antithesis of the Golden, where man in his greed sells for personal gain and where his material desires increase to the detriment of his spiritual purity.

During the Revolution, and especially during the Republic of An II, Golden Age imagery would seem to have two main functions: it is primarily the evocation of an ideal towards which the Republic should aim, but it also represents an implicit attack on the present situation, the reality left by the corruption of the 'Ancien Régime'. So for example, La Comtesse Beaufort d'Hautpoul writing her novel Zilia, roman pastoral, describes a setting of idyllic charm and innocent love. Thésandre, a shepherd competing in the village games,

- 69) BEAUFORT D'HAUTPOUL, LA Comtesse Joséphine, née de Coutances.  
Zilia, Roman Pastoral, Londres, 1797, 'Avertissement de l'Editeur.'

Guérard gives 1789 as the date of the first edition but this has not been substantiated, the copy in the B.N. lacking its title-page. Accordingly, the 'moment actuel' referred to in the quotation would seem to apply to the date of the edition, that is, 1797. The edition of 1796 makes no mention of the contrast.

- 70) See pp. 155-156 in Chapter Five for a discussion of the use of dreams and Utopias.

- 71) VERNE, F. La Franciade, ou l'Ancienne France, Lausanne, 1789, Vol.1, 'Introduction', p.i.

becomes the loved one of the most beautiful girl in the village, Zilia. His courageous action in saving a drowning girl assures the success of his love and guarantees general approval. The subsequent marriage takes place followed by the normal prediction of eternal happiness. The only cause of strife in the village results from the common desire to practise charity and offer hospitality. A law has to be made to allow total charity rights to the first person to meet the deserving cause. The Avertissement to the 1797 edition makes the explicit analogy that the novel:

....porte tous les caractères qui peuvent retracer l'image de l'âge d'or; ce contraste avec le moment actuel intéressera le lecteur. (69)

One is not sure, unfortunately, what the 'moment actuel' refers to. This edition of the novel was sold by subscription in London in 1797, and the Avertissement is written for the benefit of the subscribers. The list of distinguished subscribers named in this edition makes a political interpretation dangerous. On the other hand, however, any evocation of a literary paradise will invite comparison with contemporary reality, and we have already noted the use of dreams and Utopias for that very purpose. (70)

Other dreams deliberately evoke the 'Âge d'Or', and to bring the message a little closer to home they introduce a picture of a pre-monarchical France. F. Verner, admittedly a Swiss writer, uses this method of a distant paradise with a romantic setting as the spiritual evocation:

Ainsi j'errais le long des bords du Léman, l'âme plongée dans cette mélancolie douce qu'exhale, pour ainsi dire, une nature où, à chaque pas, l'homme sensible croit rencontrer le tableau le plus romantique....(71)

The situation of melancholy, nature and sensibility produce an emotion-al state of dreams conducive to escape and imagination. The rationality of the mind gives way to a dream state where:

72) VERNES. La Franciade. Vol.1, 'Introduction', p.ii/iii.

73) Ibid. p.iv/v.

74) Ibid. p.xii.

75) Vernes chooses the name 'Genève' for his shepherdess and pretends that the city is named after her. In the same way, another shepherdess, Lausanne, gives her name to the town.

76) The critic of the Année Littéraire. 1790, Tome 2, Lettre X, is particularly harsh. He notes the debt to Virgil, calling the novel, p.279, an:

....imitation visible et pâle copie des touchantes descriptions de l'Enéide.

77) VERNES. La Franciade. Vol.1, p.121.

78) Ibid. Vol.2, p.295.

Bientôt j'oubliai mon siècle et ses plaisirs factices; je me crus transporté / parmi les peuples de l'âge d'or, de cet âge heureux auquel la dépravation du notre [sic] nous empêche de croire; (72)

Again the contrast will be a striking one; he will need to create a new kind of literature to convey his message:

Ne trouvant pas, dans la Littérature, de genre qui convint au plan que j'avais embrassé, j'ai tâché d'en créer un qui eût le/ double avantage de réunir le sublime de l'Epopée, et les grâces naïves et touchantes de la Pastorale. (73)

The result of the union is a combination of stilted language taken from the epic, and the innocent emotions taken from the pastoral. What interests us most of all is not the form of the work but the stated aim of the author:

Qu'on me pardonne donc de longs épisodes; ils tendent tous, je le répète [sic], au principal but de mon Ouvrage; celui d'inspirer le goût des vertus et des moeurs de l'âge d'or, par la peinture du bonheur qui les accompagne. (74)

The novel recounts the love-affair of the shepherd, Aldée, and the shepherdess, Genève. (75) Aldée competes in the various games in order to merit his love, fights in defence of his country, and is finally rewarded with his chosen wife. The multiple episodes are remarkably similar to the Virgilian epic and tend to be far too long to retain the reader's interest. (76) But the message spelt out by the novel is perfectly clear. The description of the different regions leads to the question:

Peuples heureux! Pourquoi vos mœurs simples, vos vertus sociales-  
Les sont-elles si loin de nous? (77)

A reference to Geneva in 1789 introduces the simple desire that the sun of liberty may bring back 'ces jours heureux de l'âge d'or dont j'ai esquissé la peinture.' (78) The political message of the novel would seem to be republican, even though an angel with the gift of prediction concludes that two fellow countrymen (Rousseau and Necker) would eventually enlighten the people of France, and endows a 'Chef' (Louis XVI) with the desire of his people's happiness. How far such

79) VERNES, F. Le Francinisme, ou la Philosophie Naturelle.  
Londres, 1794.

The modified version of the maxim reads, p.255. :

En aimant ton prochain, tu t'aimes toi-même; tu le  
disposes aux sentiments d'humanité dont tu auras  
besoin dans tes futures vies.

Vernes mixes a strange belief in reincarnation with  
elements of materialism. His maxim owes more to self-  
interest than to republican altruism.

80) Ibid. p.334.

81) CAMUS DARAS, N.R. Le Songe. Paris, 1790, p.3.

a form of praise depends on the contemporary situation is hard to ascertain; but a work by the same author that appeared in 1794 makes us doubt the sincerity of the earlier praise.

Le Francinisme, ou la Philosophie Naturelle introduces an Oriental, Aldiman, who is visiting the French nation. Auguste, as his name implies, a 'vénérable vieillard', shows his guest around and instructs him in a few basic truths. These include the need for a belief in the Supreme Being who favours total equality of mankind, a modified version of the maxim (79), and a 'Profession de Foi' which insists that:

Tous les hommes sont mes frères, mes égaux; nous avons tous les mêmes droits, la même origine, les mêmes besoins, la même destinée. (80)

In some respects 'Le Francinisme' would seem to resemble the philosophy of An II republicanism. Indeed, this similarity must influence our interpretation of the earlier work. There is never any suggestion that man should revert to his primitive existence - rather it is proposed that the values by which we judge are false ones that have no natural justification.

There is a need to stress this double usage of Golden Age imagery: on the one hand it is critical of corruption and false values in the 'Ancien Régime', while on the other it offers an ideal solution from which only the essence must be extracted. Camus Daras is one of the few writers to use the image and to combine contemporary references. His dream takes him to 'le plus beau des pays possibles' (81), but there is no Voltairean irony here. His dreamworld is a land of innocence and simplicity, a haven of happiness and abundance. In this antique 'Gaule' an old man serves as a guide to the stranger/author, telling him how the most courageous soldier had been made king and how this same king, once in power, had been corrupted. The antique situation, a parallel of the present reality, can claim only two, good

82) CAMUS DAKAS. Le Sommeil, p.23.

83) MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Les Délaissemens d'un Philosophe. Paris, An III, p.98.

kings in all its history. The first, a certain Hiren (Henri IV), had been assassinated, while the second, unnamed, was alive today (Louis XVI). Gaul in fiction has become France in reality. The inhabitants, the Gaulois, incensed by bad management, the result of the King's poor counsellors, overthrow a fortress in a violent revolution. Their aim is explicit:

C'étoit aux Gaulois à se ramener à ces jours heureux de l'univers naissant, à cet âge d'or qu'on avoit jusqu'alors traité de fable. (82)

The implication of the fiction is that the French in 1790 have the same possibilities open to them. Admittedly, their choices are limited: the monarchy has failed in spite of a benevolent king so two alternatives remain - the compromise of a constitutional monarchy on the English lines, or the more extreme republic that was based on the principle of virtue.

If we are to believe the pastoral tales of the period, the Golden Age already exists, at least in the countryside. The first-person narrator of Mercier de Compiegne's Les Délassemens d'un Philosophe walks in the country and sees a group of peasants dancing. He exclaims

....l'âge d'or n'est point une fable; la vérité conduisait les crayons qui nous ont transmis l'image. Il existe encore des heureux! Mais il faut descendre pour les trouver. (83)

If the Golden Age is normally no more than a marvellous vision, a fable that represents an ideal that does not really exist, the pastoral constitutes an attempt to scale down the model and presents the reader with something that is tangible and attainable. We shall see that the virtues of simplicity and innocence are praised in the antique legends of the pastoral in a form that is accessible and which hopes to teach by example. Then, as now, there was an impressive barrier to overcome. Florian, whom we shall study at length at the end of this section, wrote the most important theoretical work on the genre.

- 84) FLORIAN, J.-B. Claris de. Essai sur la Pastorale. in Estelle.  
Paris, 1788, p.2.

- 85) Ibid. p.2/3.

Florian makes the point that the pastoral is a neglected genre. He writes, p.4/5. :

Les bergeries de Racan, à travers le mauvais goût qui les dépare, justifient quelquefois les éloges de Despréaux. / Ségrais et Madame Deshoulières ont mis dans leurs églogues une grâce, un naturel, trop loués peut-être de leurs tems, mais trop oubliés du nôtre.

- 86) See note (22) of Chapter Five for confirmation of Florian's popularity.

In his Essai sur la Pastorale Florian summed up the modest aims of this form of writing:

....je veux seulement rendre compte de ma manière de voir la pastorale, et des moyens que je crois les plus propres à lui donner un degré d'intérêt, peut-être même d'utilité. (84)

He is fully aware of the contemporary attitude to the genre, in spite of the continued success of Gessner and Mme Deshoulières, and realises full well that his major task is to arouse the reader's interest. Any instructive element is a luxury that will depend on the success of his primary aim. He describes the attitude that has to be overcome:

....dès que l'on annonce un ouvrage dont/les héros sont des bergers, il semble que ce nom seul donne envie de dormir.

J'ai cru d'abord que ce dégoût venait uniquement de l'énorme distance où nous sommes de la vie pastorale, de la prodigieuse différence de nos moeurs avec les moeurs des bergers; ce qui sûrement y influe; mais il est possible que la faute en soit à la manière dont on a traité ce genre; (85)

The first point confirms our suspicion that the pastoral was not a very popular genre, although there is ample evidence to prove that Florian himself was an exception to this (86), while the second point suggests that one of the reasons for this lack of popularity was the distance and difference between two life-styles. A further suggestion points out that it may be the treatment of the subject, and not the subject itself that explains the lack of interest.

Florian demands a microcosm of reality represented by the pastoral where the unity of the situation would limit the amount of description and restrict the action of the plot. He also demands a simple life-style that is in keeping with the nature of the characters. The emphasis should be laid on the shepherds themselves - outside characters can be admitted only for the purpose of comparison. But by far the most important aspect of the Essai is Florian's analysis of the aim of the genre. It must be quoted at length and discussed in some detail if our study of the pastoral at this particular time

87) FLORIAN. Essai sur la Pastorale. p.27/28.

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is to be of any value:

....C'est en peignant des êtres vertueux et sensibles, qui savent immoler au devoir la passion la plus ardente, et trouvent ensuite la récompense de leur sacrifice dans leur devoir même; c'est en présentant la vertu sous son aspect le plus aimable, en l'environnant de tout ce qui peut en relever l'éclat, en prouvant qu'elle est également nécessaire au berger, au prince pour être heureux, que je crois possible de donner à la pastorale un degré d'utilité. Les bergers d'â présent ne lisent guère; mais les maîtres de leurs troupeaux lisent; et si des auteurs plus habiles que moi, d'après les principes que je viens d'indiquer, faisoient des ouvrages où se réuniroient à l'intérêt d'un sujet bien choisi, le tableau touchant des moeurs de la campagne, les descriptions toujours / agréables des beautés de la nature, l'heureux mélange de la prose et des vers, et sur-tout des leçons d'une morale pure et douce: de tels livres ne seroient, je crois, ni ennuyeux, ni futilis; et les pauvres des villages s'apercevroient si leur seigneur les lit souvent. (87)

Florian's proposals amply resume the major trends of the genre. He insists that the heroes of the tales be both virtuous and 'sensibles'- by this he means that they must be fully open to human emotions, must be capable of the most passionate kind of spiritual love, and yet be able to repress these sentiments in the sacred name of duty. Such repression, it is suggested, will bring its own reward. Virtue must not be painted as a harsh restrictive quality: it must be seen in a sympathetic light in colours bright and striking enough to ensure its approval. The values of the concept must be appreciated not only by the shepherds who, in the novel, embody it, but also by characters of a higher station. The utility of the novel depends on the extent to which the symbolic representation affects the reader. The process begun by the literary creation will start a circular process which passes through the real masters of the symbols and concludes with the real people that the shepherds represent symbolically in the fiction. The scene that is painted must in turn touch the reader's sensibility; he must be moved by the beauty and sentiments of the novel and taught by the lessons exemplified in the fictional creation. The effectiveness of the work could be gauged by any change in attitude of the master to the servant, of the lord to the shepherd. Florian suggests

- 88) Cf. for example, the anonymous writer of the Code du Républicain Villageois, Paris, s.d. Addressing the workers in the country, he writes, p.53. :

Dans vos travaux, oubliez-vous vous-mêmes, pour ne penser qu'à vos frères; par ce moyen vous rappellerez l'agriculture à sa première institution; étrangers à tous les vices, vous ne le serez plus aux vertueux plaisirs de la vie rurale; vous découvrirez le germe du bonheur, et vous verrez éclore au milieu de vous le règne de la fraternité.

The writer promises all the benefits praised in the pastoral tales: a modified form of the maxim will lead to a virtuous existence and to eventual happiness.

Robespierre himself, in a passage reminiscent of Rousseau's ideal occupations for Genevans in the Lettre à d'Alembert sur les Spectacles, writes, in his Sur les Rapports des Idées Républicaines et Morales avec les Principes Républicains, et sur les Fêtes Nationales, in Discours et Rapports de Robespierre, ed. Charles Vellay, Paris (L'Elite de la Révolution), 1908, p.368. :

....le véritable prêtre de l'Etre Suprême, c'est la Nature; son temple l'univers, son culte la vertu; ses fêtes, la joie d'un grand peuple rassemblé sous ses yeux pour resserrer les doux noeuds de la fraternité universelle, et pour lui présenter l'hommage des coeurs sensibles et purs.

- 89) JAUFFRET, Louis, F. Les Charmes de l'Enfance. Paris, 1796, 'Préface', p.8.

The same contrast is made by Mercier de Compiègne in the 'conte', Le Petit Curosse, in the collection, Les Soirées de l'Automne, Paris, s.d. He writes, Vol.2, p.50. :

....l'ami de la belle nature sera toujours celui de l'humanité: ses promenades solitaires, en le laissant pleinement jouir de lui-même, l'apprivoisent avec son infortune, ou doublent son bonheur par ses réflexions et son souvenir. Un promeneur ne peut être jamais un homme méchant, il les a tous laissés dans la Ville.

that the pastoral tale does have a contemporary relevance. It has to publicise and popularise, preach and teach, move and instruct. It is both written about shepherds and for the benefit of shepherds.

Florian does not maintain that he is painting a specific truth, however. On the contrary, his proposals would seem to compare the theory of the pastoral with that of the allegory: in neither case are we presented with actual truth. The ideal world represented by the pastoral could very easily be an ideal world disguised in an Oriental costume. The tradition of the pastoral with its emphasis on the innocence and purity of its characters is particularly important for the period we are studying. The relevance of the myth stems both from its contrast with the corruption of the 'Ancien Régime', and from its similarity with the political theories being expounded by the writers of treatises and by actual politicians. (88)

Much of the effectiveness of the pastoral is due to the specific contrast that writers make between the idyll of the countryside, and the harsh reality of the town. If the Revolution was to be successful it was suggested that the inhabitants of towns should model their lives on those of the peasants. This contrast is a recurring one that needs to be highlighted. Louis F.Jauffret in the 'Préface' to his Charmes de l'Enfance suggests that:

La révolution aura un effet salutaire; elle rappellera sans cesse aux ambitieux que le sentier de la fortune est glissant; que la félicité habite plutôt sous le chaume que sous l'ardoise;....(89)

He maintains that the revolution will teach the literary message of the pastoral tale by strengthening and emphasising the contrast between two opposing modes of life. His poems and 'contes' teach the familiar message of simplicity and innocence, but more in the form of a gentle reminder than in the form of instruction. Although still dependant on propaganda, there is a suggestion that the Revolution itself will teach the principles on which it depends.

90) BLANCHARD, Pierre. Félix et Pauline. Paris, 1793, 'Préface',  
p.xxvi.

Pierre Blanchard's novel Félix et Pauline, while depending on a traditional plot where an old man prefers that his daughter marry a rich older man than the poor son (whom she loves) of a lifelong friend, shows a greater awareness of the needs of propaganda. The author explains in the 'Préface' to his novel:

....j'ai tâché d'inspirer l'amour de la simplicité et de la nature: la simplicité est la première vertu du Républicain, et la nature présente le bonheur à l'homme libre. (90)

It should be pointed out that 'simplicity' has none of the present-day pejorative connotations. Here it means sincerity, honesty, and straightforwardness. It is a natural virtue because it rejects the artificial, 'factice' qualities of the town. In the novel Félix, the poor son madly in love with Pauline, the daughter of the ambitious father, despairs when he discovers the plans that will deprive him of the marriage he so greatly desires. The girl, in order to retain her virtuous status, has to obey her father's wishes and agree to marry the husband he has chosen for her. On the wedding-day Félix commits suicide; the wedding is postponed as a result, Pauline visibly withers away and finally dies of a broken heart. The moral force of the novel is proportionate to the reader's sympathy with the predicament of the lovers. The old man, the father of Pauline, realises the dreadful mistake he had made and dedicates his life to charity and the physical aid of the less fortunate. If we pity the lovers we must admire their ideals, and if we admire their ideals the author's aim has been achieved.

This virtue of simplicity and blind obedience is a recurring theme of the pastoral tale. Ducray-Duminil, a novelist whose popularity in the Nineteenth as well as the Eighteenth Century has yet to be satisfactorily explained, lends himself to the provision of simple 'contes' not unlike those of Dulaurent but this time in a pastoral setting. The childlike simplicity of plot and message might be

91) DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. L'Hospitalité.  
s.l.n.d. [ = An II ], p.9.

92) See notes (16) to (21), pp.213-215. in this chapter.

93) DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Le Chêne de la Liberté.  
in Esprit des Journaux. Août 1794, pp.266-271, p.266/267.

Cléophas was one of the two disciples to whom Christ appeared after the Resurrection.

In this 'conte' an old man telling stories to children whose fathers had been killed in the wars underlines the need for propaganda. We read, p.269. :

....il faut consacrer ses talents à son pays, et le servir,  
soit de son bras, soit de ses écrits...

94) Ibid. p.271.

explained by the audience for whom they were intended. L'Hospitalité at least was read at the Lycée Républicain, but it should be noted that the author appeals to 'tous les pères qui me lisent' (91) so was obviously intended for publication. Other tales, especially those that appeared in a review like the Esprit des Journaux would seem to be aimed at an essentially adult audience. The message of the short-stories is decidedly republican, the link between the pastoral and the Republic is quite explicit, and the same religious language seen elsewhere (92) is used to spread the faith. The hero of the Chêne de la Liberté describes the pastoral scene of a neighbouring community:

....j'examinais de loin les toits de la commune voisine; je les voyais surchargés d'oriflammes tricolores. Nouveau Cléophas, mon imagination soulevait ces toits impoans, et je voyais la vertu, l'innocence et l'humanité habiter les asiles du patriotisme. La cabane du pauvre n'étoit plus adossée au palais des superbes: la maison plaintive / n'étoit plus prosternée aux pieds de l'insolente opulence. (93)

The country is the home of patriotism, the defender of the Republic; but the Republic, at least according to propaganda, has repaid the debt and raised the standard of living of the peasant community. Ultimately, the 'conte' reverts to a form of self-commentary by including a demand for propaganda in its political message. The tale finishes with a civic prayer, again a parallel of the Catholic religion that is now suppressed:

Ô patrie! Ô France libre et régénérée! Que ton nom soit célèbre à jamais! que tes enfans meurent plutôt que de te voir asservie, et qu'ils n'aient jamais plus pour religion que ton amour, pour autel que la nature, et pour prêtres que leur conscience. (94)

Once again we have the idea of a spiritual and moral regeneration, and the same form of imagery that is used by Robespierre himself. (See notes 26 and 88 of this chapter) Here, it should be stressed, the prayer is to France and not to the Supreme Being. The formula which defines the plot is extremely simple: love of the countryside leads to the love of one's fellow man which in turn leads to love for and obedience to the Republic, 'La Patrie'.

95) DLDOT, Pierre, fils ainé. L'Ami des Jeunes Demoiselles.  
Paris, 1789, p.18/19.

This is the kind of novel and the sort of expression, 'les auteurs de mes jours', that are so successfully parodied by Mercier de Compiègne in his Veillées du Couvent. See pp.113-115. in Chapter Four.

96) Ibid. p.125.

The conclusion reads:

Ces deux jeunes époux furent heureux autant qu'ils méritoient de l'être. Ils consacrèrent leurs jours au respect, à l'amitié, aux égards continuels pour leurs parens....

97) Ibid. p.23.

Rosalie finds Aglaé reading Florian's Estelle:

....qui paroisoit tout nouvellement et dont chacun faisoit l'éloge.

In this example the links between the pastoral and the Republic are fully explicit. However, there would seem to be cases when even works lacking explicitness were interpreted as republican, especially when the values they propose and defend are the same as those of the régime. Accordingly, a work like M. Didot's Ami des Jeunes Demoiselles, insipid as it is and having the rare distinction of an official 'approbation' (dated 14.11. 1788), can be given a political interpretation simply because it defends particular ideals. The heroine of the novel, the innocent Rosalie, is described:

....le premier soin qui l'occupe à l'instant de son réveil, et qui se renouvelle chaque jour, est un sentiment de reconnaissance qu'elle vole au devant des auteurs de ses jours, s'informe de tous deux avec une tendre inquiétude si, depuis / qu'elle les a quittés, leur santé n'a point souffert quelque altération, leur souhaite une heureuse journée....(95)

Her gratitude to her parents may seem a little excessive in the same way that her constant questions may prove harmful to their health rather than the opposite! Rosalie has a 'cousine' Aglaé who accuses her true-love, Félix (yet another Félix - see p.223), of jealousy. As a result she marries an older man, who turns out to be far more jealous than the unfortunate Félix, and leaves Félix free to marry the more virtuous - and therefore more deserving - Rosalie. Once again, the predictably happy union ensues. (96)

The values praised in Didot's novel are the social values of respect, friendship and obedience. The characters are totally innocent, (at one point Rosalie finds Aglaé reading a pastoral novel) and not dissimilar to the simple heroes of republican propaganda.(97) A political interpretation of this novel might seem a little far-fetched: the date is only 1788, but it does contain all the major elements of the later republican propaganda.

We have tended to concentrate on human activity within a pastoral framework and noted that the consequent didactic element depends on the reader's willingness to emulate the examples of the fictional

98) POLLIN, Abbé Jean-Baptiste. Le Hameau de l'Agnelus.  
Paris, 1792, 'Préface'.

99) Ibid. p.24.

100) Ibid. p.144.

heroes. The pastoral does have another function, and this too could be construed as political; by offering the picture of an idyllic paradise away from the corruption of the towns, the pastoral is making an implicit attack both on the customs of urban life and on the régime which tolerates and even encourages such corruption. If the pastoral can be considered escapist literature its antithesis, the town that is being fled, is implicitly being attacked.

As a consequence, the location of these tales now assumes a major importance. Blanchard's Félix et Pauline was situated in the Jura mountains, Vernes used a Swiss Alpine setting, and Pollin, in his Hameau de l'Agnislas chose the Alps of Savoie. Pollin's aim is quite explicit:

Si mes tableaux peuvent inspirer du goût pour la vie champêtre,  
je me croirai heureux. (98)

Our task must be to determine the nature of the country life that he is trying to popularise and to attempt an estimation of a contemporary reading. Pollin writes:

Que de jouissance offre le hameau! quel plaisir d'y contempler la candeur et la bonté de ses paisibles habitans, et cette douce égalité, l'union des coeurs. (99)

The hamlet would seem to be the home of the familiar republican virtues. The essential goodness of the inhabitants is eventually contrasted with the character of the town-dwellers:

Bons Savoyards! vous valez mieux aux yeux du philosophe, que les inutiles bourgeois de nos villes;...(100)

The values of luxury and wealth are rejected in favour of those of simplicity and modesty.

In conclusion one needs to prove that the contemporary reader of the pastoral did in fact see its republican significance. In another example of specific localisation a writer from the Pyrenees, J.-P. Picqué, a deputy in the 'Convention' tells his Veillées Béarnaises.

Published in 1790, the work again praises the simplicity and hospital-

101) PICQUE, J-P. Véillées Révolutionnaires. Paris, 1790, 'Dédicace.'

102) Petites Affiches, 14.10.1790. Quoted in the Feuille de Correspondance du Libraire, 1792, No. 2152.

103) Anon. Code du Républicain Villageois. Paris, s.d.

The Code is particularly critical of sexual licence, p.27/28. :

Pour céder au penchant de l'umour, il est des lois, des barrières qu'on ne sauroit franchir sans commettre un crime de lèze-nature et de / lèze-nation.

104) SAILLARD, G. Florian - Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre. Toulouse, 1912.

The most important biographer of Florian points out the difficulty of interpretation, p.73. :

On ne peut pas affirmer davantage que ses sentiments républicains, quelqu'incontestables qu'ils soient, furent bien sincères; car c'est surtout sous la pression des événements qu'il les manifesta; on ne peut pas non plus l'accuser d'être resté fidèle à l'ancien régime, car son oeuvre et la fin de sa vie protestent contre cette accusation; ce fut un homme honnête, libéral par tempérament, républicain par raison, révolutionnaire par peur et par nécessité.

105) Florian dedicated his Numa Pompilius. Paris, 1786, to the Queen. He praises the hero of the novel in the 'Dédicace' as:

....le meilleur des rois,

and draws a comparison with the present King:

De ces tendres époux je célèbre la gloire:  
Reine, votre seul nom assure mon succès;  
De Louis, de Vous, des Français,  
On croira que j'écris l'histoire.

-ity of the local population. The 'Dédicace' sets the tone of the work:

Qui sait aimer les champs, sait aimer la vertu. (101),  
but it is the critic of the Petites Affiches who draws the analogy we have been looking for:

Ce petit ouvrage sera goûté sans doute des lecteurs qui chérissent la philosophie douce de la nature. Une description fidèle des charmes de la vie champêtre profondément sentis, y déclare à tout moment l'amour extrême de l'Auteur pour la liberté. (102)

Our interpretation and estimation of likely readings would seem to be amply justified. The pastoral describes an idyllic paradise of modesty, purity (103), and innocence; it portrays shepherds whose only quarrel, and this would be ironical in other forms of literature, is the right of offering charity and hospitality. The pastoral manages to combine an exemplification of an ideal with a romantic escape from the vices of the real world. It would appear to satisfy all the demands of republican propaganda but only if it can overcome the barrier mentioned by Florian in his essay on the genre. (See especially notes (85) and (87) of this chapter)

Florian admitted that the pastoral was normally seen as a sterile boring genre but diagnosed this as the result of poor writers. There is some evidence to suggest that he himself was exempt from such criticism, at least at the time he was writing. (See notes (22) of chapter five, and (97) of this chapter) As the unrivalled major writer of the pastoral, Florian warrants separate consideration. Whether or not he can be called a republican writer remains open to doubt since the examination of the entirety of his productions raises a number of contradictions. (104)

Florian's arrest in Messidor An II (July 1794) and his brief stay in prison was made on the grounds that he was a royalist. The proof for the indictment was found in his literary past (105), and little or no account was taken of his most recent works, the essence of which

- 106) For example, the fable, Les Singes et le Léopard which appeared in 1792 and which the author quoted in an attempt to obtain his release, tells the story of a princely leopard's attack on some monkeys, his subjects. The monkeys are playing a game when the leopard intervenes and wounds one of them. The moral of the fable is quite explicit, in Fables. Paris, 1797, p.84. :

Ne jouons point avec les grands,  
Le plus doux a toujours des griffes à la patte.

- 107) FLORIAN. Estelle. Paris, 1788, p.38.

- 108) See the quotation of Robespierre in note (10) of this chapter. Estelle would seem to possess all the virtues required of a good republican.

- 109) FLORIAN. Estelle. p.37.

Describing a pastoral scene, the author writes:

....les pasteurs avec les bergères, assis ensemble près du fleuve, jouissoient des doux plaisirs que donnent un beau ciel, un bon roi, l'innocence, et l'égalité.

would seem to be purely republican. The praise in the dedication of Numa Pompilius was taken to be sincere and, while it no doubt explained the award of both an 'approbation' and a 'privilège', its subsequent contradiction by other works should, one would have thought, have guaranteed the author's freedom during the Republic. (106)

Florian was best known during his lifetime for two short pastoral novels, Estelle and Galatée. The latter was 'imitée de Cervantes'. Estelle is the story of a shepherdess who loves a certain Nemorin but whose father has promised her to somebody else. The theme is common enough in Eighteenth Century fiction, and will normally lead to illicit love or the retreat into the convent. In Estelle's case the only solution open to her is obedience to her father. Nemorin leaves, supposedly never to return, and is fortunate enough to take part in a war in which he kills his rival and gives a personal display of great courage and valour. His eventual prize is marriage to Estelle, the reward for his service to his country. The figure of Estelle herself is the one that most interests us, for she seems to be the embodiment of republican virtue. We are told that:

....tous ses désirs avoient pour objet la félicité des autres.  
Simple, douce, franche, sensible, elle ne distinguoit point le bonheur de la vertu. (107)

In short, the heroine possessed all the virtues demanded by the Republic of An II. (108) At the same time the story, situated during the reign of Louis XII, manages special praise for the monarch. (109) The political message, if indeed there is supposed to be one, is far from clear. One doubts very much whether the author was aware, at this stage, of the republican interpretation that his novel could be given.

Each reader of Estelle could extract from the novel those beliefs most similar to his own. Florian's other major novel, Galatée, is hardly more explicit, but again offers the possibility of republican

110) FLORIAN. Galatée. Londres, 1788 [1784], p.2.

111) Ibid. p.83/84.

interpretation. Addressing the reader in language that sets the tone of the work, Florian writes:

Vous qui n'êtes heureux qu'aux champs, vous, âmes sensibles, pour qui l'aspect d'une campagne riante, le bruit d'une source d'eau vive, sont des plaisir presqu'aussi touchans que celui de faire une bonne action, puissiez-vous trouver quelque douceur à me lire. (110)

It would seem from such an address that Florian is writing for the believers rather than trying to convert his reader. At the same time he is preparing his reader for the action that is to follow. The novel describes how the shepherdess Galatée, in spite of her love for the shepherd, Elicio, is to marry a Portuguese of her father's choice. Convention, as we have seen before, will not allow the girl to disobey her father's wishes, but she is allowed the mercy of a moment's honesty:

Oui je regrette ma patrie; j'y laisse peut-être mon cœur: mais je n'en/suis que plus résolue à obéir à mon père: ce devoir sacré l'emportera sur tout. (111)

Here the hierarchy that placed the fatherland before the family is upset. A shepherdess of An II would have chosen to stay for the sake of her country. In the event, the choice is never enforced. The wicked Portuguese attempts an illicit abduction, Galatée's father relents at the sight of such conduct, and the girl is free to marry Elicio.

Florian's novels would seem to promote the ideals of the Republic in a non-political setting. The exact location of the events is not essential to the action, since the fiction always introduces a form of paradise that is rarely described in detail but amply evoked. The '*nouvelle*' Claudine proves an exception in that it is given a specific setting but the author, addressing the master of the art, Gessner, points out that people, not places, are the essence of the pastoral:

112) FLORIAN. Claudine, Nouvelle Savoyarde, in Nouvelles Nouvelles. Paris, 1797 [1792?]. p.57/86.

113) FLORIAN. Gonzalve de Cordoue. Paris, 1791, Vol.1, p.244.

114) Ibid. For example, the hero himself is described, Vol.2, p.356, as:

....le plus grand des héros, le plus fidèle des amis,...

and his wife as:

....la plus aimable des épouses.

O mon bon ami Gessner, vous pensiez bien comme moi, vous qui, né dans le pays le plus varié, le plus pittoresque de la terre, le plus propre à vous fournir des descriptions toujours différentes, n'avez jamais, comme tant d'autres, abusé de l'art d'écrire; n'avez jamais cru qu'un tableau, quelque brillant que fût son coloris, pût se passer de personnage! [sic] Vous chantez les bocages sombres, les prés verdoyans, les ruisseaux limpides; mais des bergers, des pasteurs y donnent des leçons d'amour, de piété, de bienfaisance. (112)

Quite simply, the moral of Florian's novels depends on the actions of their characters, not on their situations. The pastoral represents an ideal world where people act naturally and without artifice. The reader is invited to follow the examples that are set and is not expected to change his situation in search of a similar paradise out of town. The moral is as relevant to the town-dweller as it is to the peasant and lord living in the country.

In the later Gonzalve de Cordoue Florian, invoking the 'chastes nymphes' of Spain for learning and inspiration, demands:

....cachez le front austère de la vérité sous les guirlandes qui couronnent vos têtes; mais en parlant aux âmes tendres des peines, des plaisirs qu'elles ont éprouvés, rappelez à tous les rois du monde que les seuls soutiens de leur trône sont la justice et la vertu. (113)

The historical truth of the novel is of secondary importance in a work which aims first at arousing the reader's emotions, and secondly at teaching general, philosophical truths. Florian asserts that the precision demanded by an actual background is of no advantage in a moral novel. The work itself shows the hero participating in innumerable courageous exploits, and falling in love with the enemy of his people, the girl he is eventually able to marry. The tale is full of superlatives, perfectly suited to the super-heroes who are described. (114) We are only asked to retain the essence and are not expected to believe the actual truth of the events described. We should admire the hero's willingness to help others, his sensibility, and his relentless fight for liberty. One short passage can be selected from the novel for its description of the perfect state. An African

115) FLORIAN. Gonzalve de Cordoue, Vol.2, p.192.

116) SAILLARD. Florian - Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre.

The author quotes the letter, p.201. :

J'ai conçu le plan d'un ouvrage que je crois utile à la morale publique. J'ai chanté dans ma prison le héros de la liberté.

117) FLORIAN. Guillaume Tell. Londres, 1829 [An X], p.1.

118) A Parisian 'section' was named after the folk-hero.

Schiller's famous play did not appear until 1804.

captive tells of his youth as a member of a nomadic tribe:

Libre, mais soumis à un cheik, le camp forme une république qui se fixe ou se déplace, décide la guerre ou la paix, d'après l'avis des chefs de la famille. Notre cheik nous rend la justice; et le code de toutes nos lois se réduit à cette simple maxime; sois heureux sans nuire à personne. (115)

The microcosmic ideal parallels a constitutional monarchy where the 'cheik' is the king, and the 'chefs de famille' the barrier to an absolute monarchy and the safeguard of the separation of powers. The people themselves are governed by a version of the republican maxim we have already seen so often.

So far this study of Florian has stressed the apolitical nature of the 'contes' and novels but in each case has suggested possible political interpretations which would appear relevant in the contemporary situation. Florian's final novel, which he planned from his prison cell, is an explicitly political work that can be seen both as a defence of the Republic and as a personal indictment of Robespierre. His claim of public utility in a letter to his friend, Boissy d'Anglas, must now be analysed with reference to the novel itself. (116)

The opening lines of the first book of Guillaume Tell again create the heroic mood and are at once both republican in their political context of An II, and critical of a régime that had sent the author to prison. Here Florian appeals to 'amis de la liberté' to come and hear:

....comment un seul homme, né dans un pays sauvage, au milieu d'un peuple courbé sous la verge d'un oppresseur, parvint par son seul courage à relever ce peuple abattu, à lui donner un nouvel être, à l'instruire enfin dans ses droits; droits sacrés, inaliénables, que la nature avait révélés, mais dont l'ignorance et le despotisme firent si longtemps un secret. (117)

The hero-figure, not unlike Gonzalve de Cordoue, is retained by the author but in a completely different context. Tell is a folk hero whose legendary action was as familiar to the reader during the Revolution as it is to us now. (118) Tell's legend is retained by

119) FLORIAN. Guillaume Tell, p.2.

120) Ibid. p.2/5.

121) Ibid.

Edmée, Guillaume's wife-to-be, is described, p.6. :

Edmée était la plus chaste, la plus belle des filles d'Uri.

122) Ibid. p.17.

123) Ibid. p.73.

Florian in its entirety. There are, however, some aspects of the novel that are typical of Florian and need pointing out. For example, the flowery epic style that was a feature of his pastoral novels, also has a place here. Describing the setting of the legend, the author writes:

Au milieu de l'antique Helvétie, dans ce pays si renommé par la valeur de ses habitans, trois cantons, dont l'enceinte étroite est fermée de toutes parts de rochers inaccessibles, avoient conservé ces coeurs simples que le créateur du monde donna d'abord à tous les humains pour les défendre contre le vice. (119)

Yet it should be pointed out that the life-style of this idyllic paradise is one that is open to the France that Florian is writing for. He writes:

Les habitans de ces trois contrées, sans cesse occupés des travaux champêtres, échappèrent pendant plusieurs siècles aux crimes, aux malheurs produits par l'ambition, / par les querelles... (120)

The people too are similar to those he describes in his pastoral tales. One of the inhabitants, fostering a great love for his country, plans to free it from foreign domination. His marriage to a shepherdess, who once again is described in superlatives, (121) strengthens his resolve to fight for the country's liberation. Guillaume Tell, in tones that must surely have a contemporary reference given Florian's unfortunate experience, laments:

O comble de l'ignominie! un peuple entier, une nation est soumise aux caprices d'un homme.... (122)

The hero refuses to bow before Gesler's bonnet, is imprisoned, succeeds in winning his freedom in the agreed manner, is betrayed, and yet still manages to avenge his fatherland and ensure its liberty. Guillaume concludes the novel with a speech that might easily have been made by Robespierre in the 'Convention.' He asserts:

Citoyens, vous êtes libres; mais cette liberté précieuse est peut-être plus difficile à conserver qu'à conquérir. Pour l'un le courage suffit, pour l'autre il faut des vertus austères, constantes, indébranlables. (123)

Florian's hero, like the two major exponents of austere An II republicanism, (see notes (10) and (11) of this chapter) includes within his definition the harshness and limitations of republican liberty.

It is a point of some considerable irony that in a chapter devoted to the study of republican propaganda we find both works whose political message is stated and apparent, and others whose authors probably had no intention of writing something that could be construed as political propaganda. In a sense, the two extremes are found in Florian himself. The idyllic paradise evoked in Galatée which was, after all, written as early as 1784 and, furthermore, was an imitation of Cervantes, and the republican interpretation that could be given to it, contrasts strongly with the intended republicanism of his last novel, Guillaume Tell. Within the extremes a number of other ironies have been pointed out. The popularity of the term 'natural law', the sacred quality given to nature and a contemporary interest in the social value of agriculture provoked by the physiocrats, all tended to form the backbone of the republican principle. Simultaneously, harmless pastoral tales, necessarily using the same vocabulary, assumed a far greater importance because of the philosophical and linguistic coincidence. The Republican leaders' stress on virtue as the principle of the new régime gave a retrospective relevance to anodyne pastoral tales that were written earlier. The idealism that greets a new form of government similarly favoured the success of writers using Golden Age imagery more in the interests of contrast and comparison than in a specifically propagandist vision. Eventually, of course, political propagandists came to realise the real potential of the literary forms, simplified them even further, and with the residue produced works of little literary interest but whose political message was totally apparent. In the end, writers would seem to obey

124) BARBAULT-ROYER. L'Ombre d'Helvétius. in Les Loisirs de la Liberté. Paris, An III, p.105.

the recommendations of Helvétius, the hero of Barbault-Royer's L'Ombre d'Helvétius who, prescribing what writers should produce for children, wrote:

....au lieu de romans dégoûtans et absurdes, ou de contes de spectres hérissés de serpents, ornez vos discours de la parure de la fiction, et parlez toujours de la patrie et du courage républicain. Ces contes philosophiques deviendront peu à peu la matière chérie de leurs entretiens innocens. (124)

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Chapter Eight and Conclusion.Restif de la Bretonne: The Novel's 'Jack of all Trades'.

This concluding chapter introduces and discusses at some length an author who, by his diverse and piecemeal nature, would have warranted a place in each of the categories of novel that we have established. An explanation of his theory of the novel, with asides on his conception of the moral novel and his fierce debate with the other major writer of his period, the Marquis de Sade, will be followed by an account of his use of contemporary fictional trends in an order that mirrors the divisions made in the course of this study.

Understanding Restif depends on an appreciation of the two kinds of truth that were discussed previously. (See note (21) of Chapter One) On the one hand he expresses the moral idealism of the novels that were criticised in Chapter Two for their adherence to the moral clichés that had preceded their creation, while on the other he professes a profound belief in the values of total realism. In this second category all events are worthy of description and all classes of characters constitute justifiable fictional heroes. In Restif we find the unification of two opposing schools of thought: that which demands that novel heroes be perfect, if unreal, representative figures, and that which permits the introduction of libertine and pornographic elements into a fictional creation whose aim is to propose an opposing moral philosophy. The opposition is made at the cost of total contradiction explicable only in psycho-analytic terms.

To his credit, Restif was conscious of the contradictions that such a theory implied. In the introduction to the first of the Femmes de

1) RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Femmes de Carnison. in  
Les Contemporaines. Strasbourg (Editions les Yeux Ouverts),  
1962, Vol.3, p.83.

2) Ibid. Vol.3, p.86.

Garnison he points out the problem he was trying to resolve:

Jamais on n'a tant parlé morale, décence, convenance, pudeur, que dans notre siècle; et jamais peut-être on ne s'est autant éloigné de tout cela. (1)

This particular 'conte', which tells how a soldier becomes involved with a prostitute and is nearly killed as a result, manages to strike a balance between implied moralising and overt libertine description.

The appeal that:

Il faut des moeurs; les bonnes moeurs sont ce qui fait fleurir les Etats. (2)

acts as the antidote that is required to ensure the tone desired by the author. Here Restif has managed to avoid the sermonizing that was all too often a feature of the moral tale and which, in the event, would seem to have made the genre unsuitable for the audience for whom it was intended and who could most benefit from the lesson it gave. Restif's constant assertion was one of total truth, of authentic reality. One hardly needs to point out the impossibility of such an ideal. Instead one tends to concentrate on an examination of the methods that the author used to encourage belief in the utter veracity of his descriptions. To be fair, it should be remembered that Restif constantly denies that he is a novelist; rather he considers himself an observer, a reporter of events.

Two major solutions are envisaged by the author: the first makes use of the autobiography where the elements that are used imply a self-condemnation, and the second has recourse to pornography where the details that are described are in apparent contradiction to the stated aim of the author. Restif's first solution is modelled on Rousseau's Confessions. The confession of sins that appear trivial to the reader encourages belief in the truth of what is stated; when the reader is faced with a systematic attack on the author's contemporaries he is more likely to side with a writer whose candour

3) RESTIF. M. Nicolas. Paris (Pauvert), 1959 [1794-1797].  
Vol. 1, 'Note de l'Auteur', p. xxxiii.

4) Ibid. Vol. 6, p. 467.

5) Grimm revealed the plot to persuade the Marquis de Croismare to return to Paris in his Correspondance Littéraire of 1770. It is quoted in Diderot's Oeuvres Romanesques, ed. H. Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1962, pp. 848-868. Grimm notes the success of the ruse, where the Marquis was duped by a work of fiction, saying, p. 850. :

....le loyal et charmant marquis de Croismare...ne se douta pas un instant de notre perfidie.

he has already admired. In Monsieur Nicolas the admission of guilt carries with it a comparable aim to convince. The author is quite explicit:

Je déclare aux puristes, à ces prétendus moraux, qui font consister toute la vertu dans l'abstinence de l'amour et des femmes, que je les brave dans cette production. Obligé de dire la vérité, en m'immolant moi-même pour être utile à mon siècle et à la postérité, je n'ai fait que des tableaux fidèles. Je montre la marche des passions, non dans la vraisemblance, si souvent trompeuse, mais dans la réalité. (3)

Of course the obligation that the author refers to is no more than a self-imposed one, demanded only by the work he has chosen to create, and the disdain of 'vraisemblance', the very nature of which is to deceive, corresponds not to an objective criticism but to a personal belief in a specific form of writing. The need for self-sacrifice too is determined by the form of work that the author has chosen to write and by the requirement that fiction, what is imagined, be distinguished from what actually happened. Restif's rejection of verisimilitude constitutes the exact inversion of a novelist's normal formula.

The author's dogmatic approach is easily explained: he denies that he is in any sense a novelist and claims only to be a reporter of events. He pretends that he is a passive medium who translates reality onto paper without changing a single detail. In Restif's theory there is no room for the imagination. A brief aside will elucidate this point. He makes a ridiculous and injudicious dismissal of Diderot without appreciating their vastly different aims. He writes:

Je ne conçois pas comment Diderot a choisi de faire sa Religieuse absolument d'imagination! La vérité aurait été plus saillante, Mais c'était la paresse de la chercher. (4)

In fact, of course, Diderot achieved the conviction he desired and which led to the writing of the novel, and remains quite untouched by Restif's criticism. (5)

6) RESTIF. M. Nicolas. Vol.6, p.313.

7) SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Idées sur les Romans. in Les Crimes de l'Amour. Paris (Club Géant, Editions de la Renaissance), 1967, pp.21-44, p.34.

A consequence of Restif's absolute dismissal of the value of imagination introduces the second solution and at once invites the contrast with his contemporary, the Marquis de Sade. In Sade, the use of pornography can normally be seen as the expression of a tragic personal dilemma that confronts physical desires of unnatural proportions with a mental awareness of the categorical imperative that such desires contradict. The result is a fierce inner battle. In Restif, pornography would seem mainly to represent an extreme of reality that must be described in the interests of total veracity. The one is a symbolic demonstration of a personal conflict, the other a trivial description of events. Sade realised that his personal problem was unacceptable in a perfect society, while Restif was only concerned to show that the perfect society could not exist while the events he described persisted.

This perfect society envisaged by Restif would allow a certain liberty of the press but with some important reservations. A 'lecteur' (remarkably similar in fact to a censor) would be appointed to ensure that a work printed 'n'est pas un Ouvrage comme Justine'. (6) Restif's indignation at Sade's novel was sufficient to prompt the writing of the Anti-Justine, a work which, if anything, is more scurrilous than the original and would certainly never have gained the approval of Restif's 'lecteur'. Sade, in turn, makes biting criticisms of his enemy. In the Idée sur les Romans he sums up Restif's modest achievements:

....un style bas et rampant, des aventures dégoûtantes, toujours puisées dans la plus mauvaise compagnie; nul autre mérite enfin, que celui d'une prolixité....(7)

Even the merit he allows Restif is not really one at all. His criticism represents an entirely different concept of the novel. He attacks those very aspects, the low class of his characters and the adventures that disgust in order better to instruct, of which Restif

8) SADE. Idée sur les Romans. p.21.

9) RESTIF. Les Nuits de Paris. Londres, 1788-1789, Vol.4,  
142<sup>e</sup> Nuit, p.1487.

himself was so proud. It should be remembered that Restif, on his own terms, is not writing fiction but reporting actuality and living with the low characters who are described in his works. While we may, and indeed should mistrust his guarantees of authenticity, we can very well imagine a simple defence based on the theoretical conflict.

For Sade a novel is:

....l'ouvrage fabuleux composé d'après les plus singulières aventures de la vie des hommes. (8)

It is an essentially unreal, exaggerated description of particularly significant adventures. But Restif has dismissed the power of the imagination and allows only truth as the criterion of value. His art is described in the Nuits de Paris, a collection of observations made on nightly walks in Paris:

De tous nos Gens-de-lettres, je suis peut-être le seul qui connaisse le Peuple, en me mêlant avec lui. Je veux le peindre; je veux être la sentinelle du bon-ordre. Je suis descendu dans les plus basses Classes, afin d'y voir tous les abus:... (9)

Restif claims that his descriptions are based on first-hand experience with the idea of social utility constantly in mind. Indeed, the descent into what Sade called the 'plus mauvaise compagnie' is, at least according to Restif, what distinguishes him from so many other writers. Yet this descent is not always marked by the expected defence of the low classes described. The affirmations of truth seem slightly ironical in a context where the excuse of veracity justifies the inclusion of material that would seem to condemn the people taking part in the action. The muddle of two values where total truth seems to be immoral and where the low classes that Restif claims affection for seem particularly unscrupulous, is now at its most confused. Restif explains his use of pornography by insisting on the need for a total vision of reality but he seems to forget that those classes he wishes to defend would benefit from a more judicious selection of events. When, for example, in the Palais Royal the

10) RESTIF. Le Palais Royal. Paris, 1790, Vol.1, p.190.

11) Ibid. Vol.1, p.190/191.

author describes his personal experience with a prostitute he thinks is his cousin, the descriptive passage borders on the ecstatic:

Elle nous attira dans ses bras; le charme était tout-puissant: c'était Gertrude, à seize ans, lorsqu'à seize ans nous brûlions pour elle!....L'ivresse était insurmontable. Nous cherchâmes la volupté; nous la trouvâmes, avec tous ses accessoires, et nous entrâmes par la voie la plus étroite, dans le temple du bonheur....(10)

The 'editor' claims to be offended by such description and adds a footnote to explain its inclusion:

Nous avons eu envie d'effacer cet alinéa; mais / c'est été mentir.....Nous le laissons malgré-nous! (11)

This assertion of the need for total truth raises the problem that is never answered: Restif could very well have omitted the episode in its entirety and the reader would have been none the wiser. To plead impotence in a situation of total power casts doubt on the claimed sincerity of intent. Even Restif's reporting process involves constant selection; in the end, therefore, the author's relation of apparently real events differs little from the novelist's imaginary account. It is hardly more true because the reader has no way of knowing what has been rejected from the totality of reality.

To some extent, Restif was aware of the contradictions between his theory and his practice. He is forced to justify the inclusion of pornography not only by the guarantee of truth but also, and this is where the major problem is encountered, by asserting the moral utility of licentious poses. In the 'Avis' to the second part of the Palais Royal he stresses the instructive nature of his work by emphasising a process that offers a complete contrast to the ideal world that was described in the moral tale. In the moral tale the perfect idyll was given for the reader to imitate. In Restif's pornography a harsh real world is shown so that the reader will be shocked and hence moved to disgust or, as the case may be, reformation. Just as in the pornographic political 'contes' where the greater the corruption, so

12) RESTIF. Le Palais Royal. Vol.2, 'Avis', p.10.

13) Ibid. Vol.2, p.77.

the greater was the vilification of the figure involved, now, in a work that contains no easily identifiable character, the greater the corruption described the greater, it is claimed, is the horrified reaction of the reader to it. Restif would appear to be in no doubt about the value of his work:

Les mœurs vont s'épurer, ô chers Concitoyens, et cet ouvrage, publié non pour divertir les sots, égayer les fous, émoustiller les libertins, mais pour montrer à quel point effrayant nous sommes, cet Ouvrage sera pour la Postérité, un monument historique....(12)

Restif rejects one by one the possible criticisms that could be levelled at his work and maintains, with little modesty, that the value of his description is its veracity. He is writing pornography as a social document, not as a means of personal attack. Not surprisingly, a little later on he has serious misgivings about his work. After a description of the love-exploits of the 'Sunamites' he admits his doubts but gathers courage to continue his laudable process:

Nous parcourons une carrière pénible. Cent fois la plume nous est tombée des mains...Mais la pureté de nos motifs nous a soutenus....Non! Moralistes sévères, renfermés dans des Sociétés épurées, vous ne connaissez ni le vice, ni les raffinements de la volupté. (13)

Restif does not belong to the 'sociétés épurées' of the literary salons; he is the brave explorer of the town jungle, the reporter of corruption in Paris. His technique of hesitancy and then reaffirmation is a familiar one used mainly to forestall criticism. He realises that the aim of his work is far from clear to the sceptical critic.

We are allowed two interpretations of Restif, both of which depend ultimately on his sincerity. We know that he was desperately poor during the Revolution and so might conclude that he wrote licentious and pornographic works to obtain a wider uncritical audience. On the other hand, we also know that he was a firm believer in a primitive form of communism which was based on a principle of puritanical

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- 14) See especially Vol.6, of M. Nicolas, and the discussion  
on p.280 of this chapter.
- 15) RESTIF. L'Année des Dames Nationales, Genève et Paris,  
1791-94. The quotation is taken from a 'Nota', not paginated,  
at the end of the October volume.
- 16) SADE. Idée sur les Romans. p.38.

virtue. (14) It seems unlikely that a critic of immorality would be prepared to prostitute his pen, although Restif, in his naiveté, may seem to, yet at the same time it is hard to discern a moral effect in novels - there seems to be no other satisfactory description for them - whose only quality, by the author's own admission, is their painting of truth.

The later work, the Années des Dames Nationales, proves to be equally inconclusive in this respect. Merciat and Sade both managed to convey a coherent philosophy in their pornographic productions, but Restif makes no attempt to imitate their examples. Indeed, he is most anxious to point out the difference between a work like Justine and his own productions:

Je déclare en outre, pour les récits libres, que je ne les crois pas immoraux, quand ils ne sont qu'énonciatifs: mais l'infâme Roman de Justine est dangereux [sic]; je mourais de honte de l'avoir composé. Je sais faire aimer la Vertu même en peignant le Vice; c'est une faculté que tout le monde me connaît. (15)

Restif doubts neither his own ability nor the value of his own achievements. But his most severe critic, concentrating on Restif's manner of writing, points out:

On n'a jamais le droit de mal dire, quand on peut dire tout ce qu'on veut; si tu n'écris, comme R.... que ce que tout le monde sait, dusses-tu, comme lui, nous donner quatre volumes par mois, ce n'est pas la peine de prendre la plume; personne ne te constraint au métier que tu fais; mais si tu l'entreprends, fais-le bien. Ne l'adopte pas surtout comme un secours à ton existence. (16)

The final line represents a scornful attack on Restif's motives for writing - he was indeed a professional writer but so, at that particular time, was Sade himself. The major part of Sade's attack centres on the banality of Restif's prose. Sade can find no excuse for such poverty of style, for such blind repetition of the commonplace. To sum up, Sade cannot accept that there exists a viable theory of the novel that differs from his own.

To be fair to Restif, he rarely indulges in the kind of detailed

17) At least, not until the appearance of the Anti-Justine in 1798.

Restif wrote, L'Anti-Justine. Bruxelles, 1864, 'Préface', p.vii. :

Mon but est de faire un livre plus savoureux que les siens  
[i.e. those of Sade] et que les épouses pourront lire à  
leurs maris pour être mieux servies; un livre où les sens  
parleront au cœur, où le libertinage n'ait rien de cruel  
pour le sexe des grâces, et lui rende plutôt la vie que de  
lui causer la mort.

18) RESTIF. L'Année. Juillet, p.2211/2212.

19) Ibid. Février, p.523.

description of sexual activities that is a feature of the works both of Sade and Mercier; but his 'contes' are no less specific for that.

(17) The 72<sup>e</sup> Nationale for example, tells the story of two sisters.

Both are pretty although the age difference is eleven years. The elder attracts two lovers: the first sees her working in an enclosed yard, surprises her, and rapes her not once, but three times:

....il se jeta sur elle, et lui fit violence, au-moyen du saisissement que son attentat lui avait causé....On fut longtemps à briser la grille, et lorsqu'on la délivra, elle avait subi le 3<sup>e</sup> assaut. (18)

The girl, understandably overcome by such an attack, goes into convalescence but only to fall victim to the second rival. She immediately renounces love and takes steps to ensure that her younger sister does not suffer in the same way. She applies creams to the younger girl's face and a mask so that even the girl herself is not aware of what has happened. Eventually, a suitor arrives on the scene who is quite unconcerned by the ugliness of the girl's face. Such a generous attitude permits the unmasking of the girl, the revelation of beauty, and the promise of happiness in the future. The rape scene constitutes the main part of the action - although it is the mask and its eventual removal that introduces the moral of the story: that beauty is not necessary for perfect happiness, and that true love is not confined to the admiration of physical characteristics. The critic of Restif must ask whether the violence of the action is compensated for by the force of the implied moral.

The 72<sup>e</sup> Nationale has promised to reveal the lower depths of vice in an attempt to make the Année totally representative. Restif explains:

Dans ces Nationales, les traits sont aussi variés que les pays: on y voit passer en revue toutes les fantaisies, tous les préjugés, tous les caprices des Hommes....et des Femmes, et quelquefois leurs vices les plus odieux, comme dans celle-ci. (19)

A Parisian libertine asks for the hand of Agnès-Roussi. Her father

- 20) RESTIF. L'Année. Février, p.525.
- 21) Servais Etienne, in his Le Genre Romanesque En France.  
Paris (Armand Colin), 1922, calls Restif, p.397. :  
....un photographe et un reporter.
- 22) Restif confesses in the Année. Décembre, 'Avis', p.3801,  
that a more suitable title would have been 'Kalendrier  
des Citoyens.' He asks his readers to forgive the error,  
pleading poverty and saying that five volumes of the novel  
had been printed before the declaration of the Republic in  
1792.
- 23) RESTIF. L'Année. Décembre, p.3801/3802.

is against the marriage but he agrees after being persuaded by an aunt. The girl is predictably maltreated:

Dès le 1<sup>er</sup> soir, cette Fille, honête [*sic*] et décente, se trouvant livrée à un Libertin de Paris qui avait tous les vices des Employés de bureau, les plus corrompus des Hommes, se vit obligée de dévorer les immondices d'une crapuleuse lubricité.(20)

Two friends of the libertine are invited to watch the proceedings of the nuptial chamber and when he is exhausted they take over his function. The libertine is furious at this treachery and plans terrible revenge. What form this revenge took is unknown to present-day readers in Paris for the five vital last pages are missing from the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale!

In accordance with his aim to report events, Restif's style is indeed matter-of-fact and dry; his pornography lacks the vigour (and perhaps the enthusiasm) of Sade, and cannot boast the self-conscious irony and humour of Merciat. While it may be suspected that there is an element of masturbation in Restif's pornography, it seems fair to agree that the general tone of these writings is in keeping with that 'voyeur' element that is a feature of works whose subject matter is completely different.

As an observer, an objective reporter, Restif generally abstains from drawing an explicit moral. (21) In an apology for the title of his Année des Dames Nationales (22), pleading poverty as the deciding factor, Restif makes three important theoretical points:

J'espère que les patriotes trouveront ces raisons suffisantes; car mes infirmités, ma pauvreté actuelle, me mettent hors d'état de faire les cartons nécessaires. J'observerai encore, / que le genre de cet Ouvrage, n'exige pas une correction morale, [*sic*] comme un autre: Qu'est-il en effet? C'est un recueil d'Anecdotes, de faits vérifiables: si je les avais déguisés, j'en aurais affaibli l'utilité, qui ne peut résulter que de leur vérité: je peins les moeurs par les faits; la moindre alteration [*sic*] donne un tableau faux, une erreur, une idéalité, dont on ne peut tirer auqu'une induction [*sic*] réelle....(23)

The author maintains that the form of this work dispenses with the need for moral correction. In fact, as we shall see, Restif does not

24) RESTIF. L'Année. Mars, p.784.

always adhere to this doctrine. The conclusion of a great number of the 'contes', while not drawing an explicit moral, nevertheless redresses the balance of the events described and indulges in the same form of reward and retribution that was a feature of the moral tale. His second point insists that the utility of these stories is directly linked to their veracity, and his third assertion carries on from the second: he claims that only the relation of an event that actually happened can in turn influence the real world. He seems to show a total lack of comprehension of what constitutes verisimilitude, the 'vraisemblance' he has already rejected. In many cases, of course, the reader is quite unable to determine whether an event described in the fiction actually happened or not. In such examples the criterion of truth is quite meaningless. Quite obviously, Restif's theory is defensive of his own personal style of writing and its manifest limitations. What Restif classifies as 'truth' is restricted to a particular low class, 'le peuple'. This self-imposed restriction in turn destroys the creation of a total world vision.

The critic is indeed justified in adopting a critical and sceptical approach to the author's claimed sincerity. The clichéd intrusion of an editor figure to guarantee truth represents no more than an author's attempt to increase the reader's belief in the stories. Neither we, nor the Eighteenth Century reader, are likely to be taken in by such guarantees that are offered:

Les histoires ne sont pas de mon choix [sic], comme dans Les Contemporaines, les Françaises, et les Parisiennes; ici, je suis obligé de peindre les Evénemens provinciaux, et de peindre par eux, non ce qui me rit davantage, mais ce qui est. (24)

Such statements would seem mainly to be an attempt to apologise for the mediocrity that so many of the 'contes' display. There is a vast difference between what Restif states his aim to be and what the reader actually finds. The insistence on the low social classes of the heroes of the Année that is stated in the theory of the novel is

25) RESTIF. L'Année. Janvier, p.76.

26) Ibid. Mars, p.592.

27) Ibid. Mars, p.593.

not apparent in many of the stories and is certainly not an integral part of the description. In the same way, the announcement early in the collection that:

Je parlerai rarement des Femmes d'une naissance illustre, mon but, dans ces Traits rassemblés, n'est que d'honorer la vertu cachée, dont l'odeur suave embaume, comme la violette, dans les Classes inférieures de la Société. (25)

is contradicted by 'contes' where one looks in vain for a trace of perfumed subtlety, and where the nature of the stories suggest that vice rather than virtue is the major quality that is described. Evidently, this contradiction between theory and practice destroys the value of the theory that is continuously propounded and even forces the critic to consider whether Restif believed in himself to the extent that his constant justification suggests. The reader expects to find examples of shining virtue in people whose stories would not normally be told. Instead, all he finds is that the selection process that the author implied he would reject is still continued. The result is that the emphasis is still placed on the relation of events that are out of the ordinary and appear, if anything, highlighted by their mock-real setting.

For example, the story of Kraft from Colmar in Alsace tells the incredible tale of a rich unmarried man who abducts all the girls of three and four years old, imprisons them, and releases them only after they have borne him a grand total of sixty-two children. He asks the women not to reveal his secret and the author comments:

Chose étonnante! On lui a gardé son secret! (26)

It is indeed surprising, yet there is no indication of how the author managed to obtain the story, only a flippant remark that removes the reader's gaze from the ridiculous nature of the events described:

Voilà une singulière Histoire, dira-t-on. J'en conviens. (27)

A footnote attributes to the editor this remark which seems more likely to come from Restif himself.

28) RESTIF. L'Année. Mars, p.767.

The choice of a shoe as a love-token needs explaining.  
Cupidonnet, in L'Anti-Justine. Bruxelles, 1864, admits,  
p.1. :

....j'avais surtout un faible pour les jolis pieds et les  
jolies chaussures,....

The outrageous nature of the events described is accentuated by the matter-of-fact style of narration. Restif would seem to be approaching an ironical position where total truth is claimed, where the style is in keeping with everyday events, and yet where the incidents themselves are highly unlikely and quite incredible. This dislocation in turn raises another internal contradiction. It is Restif's own dogmatism that invites this criticism of a minor point. A number of stories, relying on dialogue as the guide to the plot, introduce low characters with remarkable powers of expression. For example, the 105<sup>e</sup> Nationale describes the strange love-affair of a girl from Chatillon-sur-Seine. A young peasant named Seignelet (sic) falls in love with the girl but she is far above his station. Lucie, the girl in question, is the daughter of a notary and quite unaware of her loving admirer. Yet this in no way cools his passion; he resorts to poetry, even though he has previously been referred to as an 'Ours', and eventually succumbs to revealing the results of his lyrical labours. He reads his verses to the grocer's boy who in turn informs all the village gossips. Eventually, Lucie herself reads the poems and confronts the poet with the question of authorship. Now the burly, insensitive 'bear' is moved to a language quite unexpected in a man of such humble talents. Lyrical in his praise, he expounds:

....si vous saviez comme je vous honore! comme je vous respecte!  
Vous êtes à mes yeux [sic] une Divinité! Je voudrais vous  
donner [sic] mon sang, ma vie, s'ils vous étaient [sic] utiles  
pour faire votre bonheur....Je suis un Paysan, je suis pauvre...  
mais j'ai un cœur et du courage:....(28)

He asks for a love-token, takes a shoe (a typical fetishist choice on Restif's part), and pledges to return it when he has made his fortune and can therefore hope to marry Lucie. Lucie agrees, Seignelet leaves for America, and does not witness the run of misfortune that gradually deprives Lucie of her wealth. She refuses suitors to retain her pledge to Seignelet and is eventually reduced to a state where her

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29) R. TIF. La Vie de Mon Père. Paris (Hachette - Collection Flambeau), 1963 [1779], 'Avant-Propos', p.27.

only remaining valuable is a gold-embroidered shoe, the other half of the love-token. Just as Lucie is to be forced to sell the shoe her lover returns. He has made his fortune in America, asks Lucie to marry him, and her agreement ensures the happy ending and the promise of future harmony.

Is this really what Restif means by low-class realism? The story owes more to the fairy-tale than it does to reality. The humble peasant recites verses worthy of a classical drama, and the concluding fortuitous ending is more worthy of the most imaginative fiction than a real event. One could admit the possibility of the truth of one such story but the Année comprises any number of similar tales with just as many incredible events. It would appear that Restif's guarantees of reality are little more than an encouragement to credibility.

Having examined Restif's theory of the novel in some detail we can now look at his practical flexibility. It is no small feat on Restif's part to have produced works which correspond to each of the divisions made in the course of this study. He adamantly denied that he was writing idealistic novels of the kind criticised in Chapter Two. Yet his methods, for all his statements of intent, differ very little. The early autobiographical novel, La Vie de Mon Père describes what is apparently the real-life of an actual person, the author's father; but the central character could easily be an imagined fictional hero of a novel. The 'Avant-Propos' sets the tone of the work:

....moi, je vais jeter des fleurs sur la tombe d'un honnête-homme dont la vertu fut commune et à tous les jours, pour ainsi parler....Il ne fut que juste et laborieux: qualités qui sont le fondement de toute société, et sans lesquelles les héros mourraient de faim. (29)

Restif explains that his intention is to praise ordinary humble virtues of the kind that can be found in the town proletariat and in country farm-workers, the classes with which he is most familiar. These

30) RESTIF. La Vie de Mon Père. p.107.

31) Ibid.

When, for example, Edmond, as a small-holder, invites his workers to dinner, he makes no class distinctions, p.150. :

Tout le monde mangeait le même pain; la distinction odieuse du pain blanc et du pain bis n'avait pas lieu dans cette maison.

basic virtues form a marked contrast with those of the super-heroes of life, those normally praised in fiction. Edmond, Restif's father, who is the hero of the novel, marries the girl chosen by his father rather than the girl of his choice. By so doing, of course, he acts according to the principles of the moral tale where the desires of youth are suppressed in favour of the parent's. Similarly, Edmond possesses that charity which is the quality of the ideal fictional hero. He is described:

Cet homme si laborieux, si économe chez lui, ne regrettait jamais la perte de son temps, de ses peines, lorsque cela était utile au prochain. (30)

His willingness to help others situates him both as the ideal character of the moral tale and the perfect republican 'avant la lettre'. (31) For the reader, however, there is no difference between the moral tale that purports to be true and this apparently true story that retains all the elements of fiction. The perfection of the real attains the same status as that of the imaginary. Restif's real world contains all the clichés of the moral tale we have previously dismissed. His criterion of truth does not enhance the value of the account.

In the second chapter we attempted to show that while a great number of novels had no greater ambition than to illustrate contemporary moral clichés, there nevertheless existed a category of novels which, while retaining the same basic ethical philosophy, sought different methods of presentation. The reversal of the 'virtue brings happiness' formula where vice brings misery is one obvious possibility. The more subtle of the novels, however, attempted a combination of both formulae by reference to vastly different characters within the same novel.

The novel Les Dangers de la Ville (more commonly known as the Paysanne Pervertie) manages an effective combination of possibly real description and consequential moral lesson. Ursule, the peasant girl

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The novel Les Dangers de la Ville (more commonly known as the Paysanne Pervertie) manages an effective combination of possibly real description and consequential moral lesson. Ursule, the peasant girl

32) RESTIF. Les Dangers de la Ville. La Haie, 1785 [First  
appeared in 1784 with the title La Paysane Perverte].  
Vol.1, p.130.

33) Ibid. Vol.3, p.215.

and the sister of Edmond, the hero of the earlier Paysan Perverti, leaves her country home and goes to Paris. The very immensity of the city provides a sufficient explanation of its corruption and allows the expression of a new sensation: that of the individual confronted by an anonymous mass. The greatness of the city increases the personal freedom of the individual:

Il me semble, sans être philosophe, que c'est pourquoi le vice va plus tête levée ici qu'ailleurs; il n'a que le moment présent de la honte à craindre; la chose passée, la rue quittée, on est un Ètre tout-neuf, et absolument intact où l'on arrive. (32)

Crime and vice in the big city less obviously damage the reputation of the perpetrator. A character is re-born with each new street, untainted by his action and not in the least bound by its effects. We have already seen the extent of the corruption and the progressive downfall of the innocent victim at the hands of the seducer, Gaudet. (See Chapter Two, pp.45-46.) Again, the life of vice is not a happy one. Restif adopts the conclusion of retribution where the editor figure intervenes in the narrative and asks:

Quel raffinement [sic] de libertinage! Mais quelle punition effroyable l'attend? (33)

Gradually all Ursule's riches are whittled away, she becomes a servant, marries a poor water-carrier, suffers endless humiliations, becomes deformed, and is eventually killed by the brother who was instrumental in her initial corruption.

The length of this particular novel and the subtlety of the seducer figure, Gaudet, manage to provide a contrast, interest, and intensity that will not normally be found in the 'contes'. The short-stories of the Année des Dames Nationales are not greatly different in terms of content or method but their shortness dispels the possibility of complexity and subtlety of character delineation. The 160° Nationale tells the story of the love-affair of Tiennette-Boussac. The affair is not favoured by circumstances. The girl's father will not allow

34) RESTIF. L'Année. Avril, p.1240.

The author himself served his apprenticeship at Auxerre with  
the printer, François Fournier.

35) Ibid. Avril, p.1243.

his daughter to marry Cusset, a humble 'manufacturier en draps'. The father, a 'juge d'élection', selects a suitable husband for his daughter but the girl, unhappy at the choice (and of course in violation of the moral law that obliged her to obey her father), leaves home to become a servant. The situation of the plot now changes: two villains, Varzi and Séri, attempt first to rape the girl and, when this fails, seek more subtle means of achieving their ends. Meanwhile the real lover leaves his home to search for his loved one. Chance takes him to Aucerre(sic) where the girl is working and the same good fortune introduces him to the two villains. They find him employment and lodge him in the same house as Tiennette. He discovers her identity and protects her from the wiles of the two villains by sleeping with her. However, the purity of his intentions is stressed, even if the manner of description seems deliberately to titillate:

Ce véritable Amant ne porta pas une main téméraire sur ses chastes attractions. (34)

The protection lasts for two months until Cusset is dismissed and leaves for Paris to study law. Tiennette returns to her parents to await the triumphant homecoming of her loved one. His eventual success means that he has now become a suitable suitor; his reputation is enhanced by his previous respect for the girl's virginity, the marriage is ensured and the tale concludes with the assurance that the two lovers:

....sont heureux dans la meilleure ville du monde. (35)

While the tale deviates slightly from the path normally followed by the moral tale in that the girl at first disobeys her father, and that the bedroom sequence is deliberately titillating, the formula, where virtue brings its due reward of happiness, is maintained and the symbolic conflict between virtue (Cusset) and vice (Varzi and Séri) results in a resounding victory for the former.

36) RESTIF. L'Année. Août, last page of the volume, not numbered.

37) RUDE, George. The Crowd in the French Revolution. Oxford University Press, 1967 [1959].

The author notes, p.216. :

In the years to come the arcades and the gardens of the Palais-Royal (soon to be renamed the 'Maison de l'Egalité') became notorious as a haunt of prostitutes, money-jobbers, speculators and gamblers, rather than of political journalists or orators.

38) RESTIF. Le Palais-Royal. Vol.3, p.12.

Yet this tale does not correspond to the precepts laid down by Restif himself. (See note (23) of this chapter) There is a 'corrección morale' in this story, and the chance elements that not only take Cusset to the same town but even to the same house as his loved one are of the kind that one would not normally expect to find in reality. This consistent moral conclusion destroys the credibility of stories that, whether they be based on reality or not, differ little in content from the most imaginative form of fiction.

As we have seen earlier, Restif does not seem to appreciate that the distinction between truth and the appearance of truth is not an important one. Le Palais Royal claims to be a collection of short stories that are descriptive and anecdotal, and therefore true.

Alluding to the work in the August volume of the Année the author claims:

Sous une écorce qui annonce la futilité et peut-être quelque chose de pis, cet Ouvrage présente le Tableau filosofique [sic] de l'ancienne corruption. Ce ne sont pas les histoires des Filles en elles-mêmes qui sont intéressantes. C'est la peinture des moeurs qu'elles amènent, et le mérite de cette peinture ne consiste que dans sa vérité. (36)

The philosophical picture of the former corruption, itself a political reference to the corruption of the 'Ancien Régime', is far from evident and the merit of truth is not a merit when the stories are so drably presented and their accounts so lacking in interest. The attempt at self-justification for mediocrity cannot appease the critic. Different girls in the various brothels of the Palais-Royal have different tasks to perform. (37) Rose, now retired from her profession, is chosen to talk with an old lady. Discussing the job in hand with a friend, she points out:

Nous avons épuisé tous les Contes de la Ville et des Provinces; nous avons récité à la Princesse toutes les Contemporaines de N.E. Restif, ses Françaises, ses Parisiennes, qui par leur naturel, lui paraissent des faits réellement arrivés; au lieu que les contes de Marmontel, ne sont que de jolis contes... (38)

The value of these stories is supposed to result from their truth but

39) RESTIF. le Palaïs-Royal. Vol.3, p.103.

For a note on Démophon see note (65) of Chapter Seven.  
There seems to be no logical reason for Restif to have  
chosen this specific name.

the value is an artificial one, particularly when, contrary to the contrast that Restif himself introduces, they do not seem any more convincing than those of Marmontel, the example that the author takes as his antithesis.

Restif does not help his cause by inconsistent comments of the kind seen already and particularly by an admission he makes regarding the story of Démophon, a widower who was supposed to have married twelve different women in twelve different areas of Paris. The introduction of a pseudonym does not forestall the criticism that is invited by the following passage:

Regardera-t-on cette Historiette comme une plaisanterie, ou comme une réalité? Comme plaisanterie elle n'est pas saillante; comme réelle on la trouvera peut-être invraisemblable....En la lisant, j'ai pensé qu'il fallait demander ce qui en était à M.Aquilin-des-Escopettes. Il m'a répondu: cette nouvelle est véritable; mais j'ai été obligé de la défigurer, en la redigeant, pour ne pas compromettre le Héros....(39)

The admission of changes may enhance the charm of the story but it destroys the claim of total truth. In the same way, the question that asks for the identification of the particular form of this work is, in the final analysis, self-destructive.

In this survey of the various kinds of novel produced by Restif there is no need to follow the exact categorization imposed in the course of this study. We have already noted Restif's justification of the licentious and pornographic and given sufficient examples of these particular forms. Restif explained his works that could be described as immoral by using the excuse of the need for total truth, even at the expense of vulgarity and self-condemnation. Now we have seen that while rejecting the label of a moral, idealistic novelist, the author did create works which fall very easily into that category. We should now take up a section of this study which finds an exact parallel in the work of Restif: that which used verifiable historical events and placed them in a fictional setting for the purposes of

40) RESTIF. Ingénue Saxancour. Paris, 1789, 'Avis de l'Editeur'.

41) Ibid. 'Avis de l'Editeur'.

propaganda. In Restif's case, this particular category must include an aspect of his work which deserves special treatment, the auto-biographical element.

Not all of Restif's autobiographical works take the idealised form of the early Vie de Mon Père, where the father is a paragon, a perfect model that the reader should emulate. A striking contrast is provided by the much longer Ingénue Saxancour in which the author recounts the story of his daughter's marriage. He explains why he has chosen to tell the horrific story:

Que l'on dise, qu'on répète aux Jeunes personnes, il ne faut pas vous marier malgré vos Parents, par caprice, par amourette! Elles ont les oreilles si souvent rebattues de ces lieux communs, que leur vérité ne fait aucune impression. Mais qu'un Ecrivain courageux, méprisant le gentil, l'agréable, le poli de nos insipides Brochures, prenne sur lui de publier une Histoire véritable, autant qu'horrible,....c'est une sorte d'héroïsme.(40)

Apart from the self-adulation that is practically explicit in such an introduction, we should note the author's claim that the horrible truth will have a greater instructive effect in the form of a real example. A consequence of this aim leads to the now familiar excuse of method. Just as the pornographic element is excused by the need for total truth, so Restif claims that violence in the narrative has a powerful instructive lesson to impart. Discussing the 'horreurs' in the account, the editor figure admits:

....je sens qu'il faut qu'elles s'y trouvent, pour que le Livre soit profitable aux Filles qui se marient malgré leurs Parents... (41)

The daughter is proposed to by a certain Moresquin. The father, (Restif himself in real life) disapproves of the suitor and refuses to allow the marriage to take place. But his refusal serves no purpose whatsoever: the marriage duly takes place and the beatings start with indecent haste, (thus confirming Restif's correct judgement). Moresquin considers making his wife a prostitute to ease the family budget; her refusal leads to yet more beatings which, in the

42) RESTIF. L'Année. Septembre, p.2821.

end, persuade her to leave her husband. The separation is legalised and the marriage dissolved. The moral of the tale is obvious: daughters should obey their fathers. But the critic remains slightly sceptical of the total truth claimed by the author. Restif has been proved right a little too easily; his apparent wisdom is the direct result of his selection of events and of his bias in the narrative. Autobiography may not be any more reliable than the normal third-person narration.

We must now question whether the inclusion of verifiable historical events provides a greater guarantee of truth. The 426<sup>e</sup> Nationale uses a real revolutionary setting as the background to a fictional love-affair. Saumur, where the action takes place, is the birthplace of Eufratine-la-Daguenière. Her father, the elected mayor, is an ardent supporter of the new republican régime, while her mother remains less enthusiastic. Two suitors present themselves: the first, a disguised aristocrat, is quite convinced that the Revolution will fail. His view is described:

Les embarras où était alors le Gouvernement républiquain, [sic] lui firent regarder comme [sic] certaine la dissolution [sic] de la France, et le renversement de la nouvelle Constitution.(42)

For this reason he courts the girl's mother as his most likely ally. The mother in turn attempts to persuade the daughter to accept Saintemaure (the aristocrat) as her husband. But the girl herself is otherwise inclined. She prefers a young 'patriote' named Sorigni. At this time the town of Saumur was surrounded by the Catholic counter-revolutionary army. The treacherous aristocrat goes ahead with his marriage plans but is thwarted by the arrival of General Biron and the liberating army. Sorigni, who had been captured during the siege as a result of his rival's ruse, (Saintemaure had spiked the cannon and given the signal for his rival's capture), is now released. He arrives too late to save his loved one from suffering at the hands

43) RUSTIF. L'Année. Septembre, p.2826.

44) It should be noted that the author's position had modified over the years. We read in the 'conte' La Dédaineuse Provinciale, in Les Contemporaines, Strasbourg (Editions les Yeux Ouverts), 1962, Vol.3, p.126, a reference to Louis XVI as the 'roi patriote'.

of the brigand element in the liberating army who, learning that the girl had been about to marry an aristocrat, had decided to rape her before his eyes. Sorigni, on his release, sees that only two things can repair the wrong that has been done: first he duels with the perpetrator of the crime and kills him in equal combat; then he decides that he must earn the right to the girl's hand by fighting for the revolutionary army. His absence, he points out, will determine whether or not the rape has had any unfortunate repercussions. The mother is touched by such generosity and now favours the alliance with Sorigni. He leaves Saumur to return later after a predictably glorious and victorious military career to marry Eufratine. After a symbolic cleansing ceremony where the girl is immersed in water three times, the marriage can take place and the promise of future happiness is assured. The author adds a short celebratory note:

Et moi, puissé-je rendre à cette Victime de la fureur et de la vengeance, la renommée de la vertu! (43)

The tone of the narrative, the tragic situation of the heroine, the comparative description of two suitors and two parents, and the ultimate victory for the 'patriotes' would seem to indicate the political affiliation of the author. The value of the tale as propaganda depends directly on the manner of its narration and on the author's emphases. One small point should be borne in mind: Restif is most critical of the blind fury of the brigand element in the patriot army. Nevertheless, on the whole there can be little doubt that by 1794 Restif had chosen the republican option in preference to the monarchy. (44)

Although Restif used a real setting for this 'conte' where both situation and historical events are easily verifiable, the nucleus of the work, that which deals with the relationships between the characters, is no more obviously real than in works that are, by their own admission, fiction. Certainly the real elements make the

45) RESTIF. L'Année. Septembre, p.2827.

fiction more credible but the guarantee is no greater for that. In the event, the distinction between historical fact and fictional imagination is minimal in a situation that the most gifted writer would have been hard-pressed to imagine. In our fifth chapter we saw how a writer like Sénac de Meilhan used a revolutionary background with significant verifiable events. There, as here, in a novel that has an obvious political bias, the reader is less likely to believe wholeheartedly in the truth of the account. In a collection of short-stories whose actual truth the reader understandably doubts, there is, nevertheless, one particular 'conte' whose truth would seem to be guaranteed or at least verifiable by other sources. It is this 'conte' that justifies Restif's claims of total truth, but it remains an isolated example and one which, paradoxically, destroys the value of the writer's theories. Everything that is contained in the story is true, but does the story tell everything?

The story in question is the 42<sup>e</sup> Nationale, that which tells the history from birth to death of Marianecharlotte-Cordai-D'Armand (sic), the assassin of Marat, an interesting choice on Restif's part, not only because she is a character who is easily identified, but also because she can be given a strange nature without fear of political repercussions. Restif's attitude to her is discerned by his selection of material: he describes her unnatural (an emotive word) coldness to men:

Autant elle était affable et gaie avec ses compagnes, autant elle paraissait sérieuse et même triste, avec l'autre sexe. (45)

Her break with a lifelong girl-friend, Félicité, after a passionate lesbian episode, her row with an ignoble aristocratic suitor and his attempt at revenge, the re-appearance of Félicité as a 'rivale' and Félicité's success in winning the man, culminate in her fierce hatred for Marat. The emphasis on the girl's background is presumably intended to show the murder as a consequence of her bizarre and cold

46) RE TIF. L'Année, Septembre, p.2841.

47) Ibid. Septembre, p.2855.

nature. The very first mention of Marat in the story situates the author's sympathies. We are told that before the Revolution Marat was a clever doctor who had failed because:

....il falait [*sic*] un peu de charlatanisme, pour se maintenir, et Marat n'en avait pas. (46)

We follow the hero's new profession of journalism and his growing fear of attack. Then the tale reverts to the girl as we watch her preparations for the murder and finally, the climax of her life, the assassination of a man she knew only by political reputation. The story concludes with an abbreviated transcript of the trial, the main value of which is to show the forthright and cold-blooded planning of the killing. The conclusion of the trial, the judgement and the sentence of death, also provides the conclusion to the story:

En conséquence le Tribunal a condamné à la peine de mort Mianecharlotte-Cordai-Darmand [*sic*]; ordonné qu'elle sera conduite à l'échafaud en chemise rouge; que le présent jugement sera exécuté [*sic*] sous les 24 heures. etc. (47)

The fusion between reality and fiction is complete when reality provides the kind of events found normally only in fiction. But this fusion is not a guarantee of veracity; here the statements of fact are all verifiable and would indeed appear to be accurate. Yet one must take into account the author's selection of the biographical details and consider the omissions he has made in order to make the criminal appear more hateful. Indeed, the very choice of Corday is a significant one for it allows the introduction of violence and sexual deviation into the story. In brief, this particular story is ideally suited to Restif's style of writing. When dealing with a historical figure as well-known as Marat the author is restricted to some extent by the awareness of his readers. Any conclusion that he wishes to draw must be a logical one that follows on directly both from the events described and from those omitted but of which the reader has knowledge. In this instance the stated truth

48) RESTIF. Les Veillées du Marais. Waterford, 1785, Vol.1, p.28.

Once again, the title would seem to allude to Les Veillées du Château by Mme de Genlis. See note (34) of Chapter Four), and pp. 31-33. in the second chapter.

49) Ibid. Vol.1, p.10.

of the events proves an impediment to propaganda rather than an assistance. The imagination is more fertile in possibilities than reality, and the possible impact is therefore potentially greater.

To be fair, Restif does make a concession to fiction. Aware of the popularity of the allegory and thinly-veiled disguise, the same author will deliberately disguise actual truth for the increased enjoyment of fiction readers. As we saw in the chapter on allegory, the disguise cannot afford to be too effective or the pleasure of the reader is reduced and point of writing lost. The reduction of serious figures to comic anagrams increases the satirical impact.

The Veillées du Marais which appeared in 1785 purports to tell the story of the education of the present prince, Oribéau. The story is set in an Ireland that has many French characteristics. An appendix explains the importance of the story:

Fabuleuse, ou véritable, l'Histoire des Princes d'un Pays est toujours intéressante pour les Peuples qu'ils gouvernent: Mais combien doit l'être davantage un Récit dépourvu de fables, sans néanmoins les taire, qui tend à faire aimer la vertu, en nous montrant un Jeune Prince, souche de l'auguste Maison qui nous gouverne depuis tant de siècles, élevé par un sage; un grand Ministre calomnié, qui fait le bien par l'amour du bien seul; enfin un Jeune Roi père de son peuple, dont il veut connoître tous les besoins. (48)

Restif has momentarily dismissed the requirement of total truth, fully realising, no doubt, that within this fictional framework both the present King and possibly Necker (who had been dismissed in 1781) could be recognised. To make fully sure that the work is not misinterpreted, the author explains the apparently trivial nature of his story:

Féerie, sortilèges, tout cela devait disparaître dans un siècle comme le nôtre. Géants, Nains, Personages ridicules *[sic]* peuvent amuser un instant les Oisifs: mais si l'on ne met pas des vérités sous cette écorce, l'histoire devient nauséabonde pour les Gens sensés. (49)

The veil is not intended to hide anything, it is simply a device to make significant points more interesting. It is a means to an end

50) RÉTIF. Les Veillées du Marais. Vol.1, p.311/312.

rather than an end in itself. In the story the prince, Oribœau, marries Oribelle, the princess of a neighbouring country (Marie-Antoinette from Austria ?), and is educated in the art of kingship by a certain O-Barbo. The sage recommends travel and constant observation. The two break their journey to praise the famous Iratlove (Voltaire), discuss the importance of the social maxim, compare the virtues of the countryside with the vices of the town, and overhear a discussion on literature and style that has some considerable significance for Restif's own special brand of writing:

Un homme d'environ 50 ans appellé Sfiertaledonebar [Restif de la Bretonne], prit la défense de l'illustre Funfbo [Buffon] ; Jeune homme, dit-il, ne confondez pas L'Ellerutanteriosih [Histoire Naturelle], qui est l'histoire des merveilles divines, avec l'histoire des faits obscurs et mesquins dont les Hommes sont les auteurs. Dans la première, l'Historien est presque toujours poète; dans la seconde, il faut que l'Ecrivain humble et modeste, parle modestement des folies ou des niaiseries / qu'il raconte: relevera-t-il des turpitudes par un style brillant ? (50)

The apology that is implicit in such a discussion, where an author is determined by the material he is discussing, in fact sums up Restif with his concentration on content rather than on manner of presentation. The critic is not likely to agree with such a facile distinction of genres and will certainly not excuse Restif as a consequence.

The relevance of this particular novel with its praise of the ideal monarch, its implicit defence of physiocracy, and its recognisable characters, is quite evident but it fails to be totally convincing. The reader's interest is not sustained for the entire length of the narrative, although it is possible that at the time of publication, following the birth of Louis' second son in 1785, readers saw more significance in a novel that describes the ideal education of a prince than we do now.

Our concern is mainly with the form of the novel: the deliberate removal from contemporary reality marks an important variation from

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51) RIF. L'Année, Juillet, p.1928.

52) Ibid., Août, p.2279.

the author's normal technique. A similar variation is found in the later collection of short-stories, the Année des Dames Nationales. Here we find an even simpler use of anagrams as a means of personal and political attack. The 277<sup>e</sup> Nationale tells the story of the torrid love-affairs of the wife of Camille Desmoulin, the influential political journalist. The tone of the narrative is again indicative of the aim of the writer. Irène Huplessis has a mother who is a fanatical book-reader. The mother wants her daughter to marry an author but the girl has other ideas: she has a marked predilection for 'patriotes'. Their conversation is overheard by Aellimac-Sniluom-sed, 'nom barbare, comme ses écrits à l'envers du bon sens' (51), who decides to act the good patriot in order to marry the girl. His ruse succeeds and he lives quite happily with her until she discovers that he is less important than he had claimed. Later she hears of the exploits of an 'éclésiastocrate', the Abbé Yruam (Maury). Forgetting her previous preference for revolutionaries she arranges a meeting with the Abbé and the subsequent infidelity ensues. This affair leads on to others, each of which is equally short-lived but long enough to imply a mockery of the cuckolded husband. Camille is seen to be easily duped while the Abbé is shown as a far from virtuous cleric. Obviously the truth of such incidents can hardly be verified, nor is it intended to be. The very appearance of well-known figures in burlesque situations guarantees the comic effect and introduces an implicit criticism.

A more subtle attack on the court is the subject of the 231<sup>e</sup> Nationale. The 'conte' is introduced:

Elevons-nous un peu plus haut que de coutume, et parlons, une fois seulement, des désordres de la Cour. (52)

Although the essential clue is given, the actual characters are less easy to identify. Nevertheless, one can attempt reasonable conjectures

53) RESTIF. L'Année. Août, p.2280.

54) Ibid. Août, p.2280.

The 'Gouvernante d'Enfans' is Mme de Genlis, tutor to the children of Philippe-Egalité, and, as we have seen, the author of the Veillées du Château. Restif attacks her in the Décembre volume of the Année, describing her education of Orléans' children, p.3805. :

elle en fit des homes-femmes [sic].

Restif points out that she was then exiled in Switzerland 'avec la Fille Egalité, Egalité Chartres, et Laclos.'

He concludes, again on p.3805. :

Tel a été le sort de la plus astucieuse et de la plus immorale des Intrigantes.

55) Ibid. Août, p.2284.

56) Ibid. Août, p.2288.

as to their real identity: Silfide-Blondin would seem to be the Queen, and Ondine Cherignan the Duchesse de Polignac, her constant companion and star of so many of the pornographic stories. The two tire of their mutual caresses and Silfide in particular 'devint furieuse de luxure'; (53) They turn to a 'Gouvernante d'Enfans, appelé [sic] La Brûlard' (54) for assistance in finding a young man who has the capacity to satisfy the desperate Silfide. The Adonis, a certain De Rosières, is obtained and treated to the delights offered by Silfide. Yet still she is not satisfied for she complains:

Celui-ci ne fait boire la volupté que dans les petits verres;  
je voudrais un Amant à pleine coupe. (55)

So the search continues until the perfect contender is finally found. He trains for four days, goes on a restricted diet, and is induced to all the sleep he requires by reading Mme de Genlis' Les Veillées du Château. (The collection is discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 31-33.) His favours are requested during the performance of a play that has seven intervals. He manages to perform the feat with no undue difficulty and still has enough energy left at the end of the performance to make a total of eight. Silfide is finally satisfied and Ondine subsequently highly-favoured. The conclusion to the tale is the enigmatic:

Devine qui pourra cette histoire enveloppée [sic] : Je n'en ai pas moi-même le fin mot; mais je sais qu'elle n'est pas controuvée. (56)

Once again the author guarantees that the events he describes actually took place, even if they may seem a little unlikely. La Brûlard represents Mme de Genlis and given the situation of the story there seems little doubt as to the identity of the two leading figures, particularly when one considers the pornographic tales of a similar nature. Restif uses the disguise here to add mystery to what is in fact a popular cliché. The critical power of the 'conte' is at least as great as that of those that portrayed the Queen and her entourage

57) NERVAL, Gérard de. Les Illuminés. Paris (Calmann-Lévy), s.d.

Nerval writes of Restif's success, p.31. :

....c'était désormais le conteur à la mode, et rien ne peut donner une idée de la vogue qui s'attachait aux livraisons de ses ouvrages, publiés par demi-volumes, sinon le succès qu'ont obtenu naguère chez nous certains romans-feuilletons.

as females with enormous sexual appetites, and the Court as the centre of debauchery and corruption.

This concluding chapter has attempted to show how Restif managed to write novels that corresponded to each of the various categories established in the course of this study. The sheer breadth of his production would demand a monograph for a total critical appraisal. Such is not the aim of this chapter. Restif must be seen as an author who was acutely aware of contemporary literary fashion; writing for a living, his major objective is financial success. (57) His theory, rejecting as it does the value of the imagination, is evident from the majority of his works, and indeed forms an apology for the greatest failings of his production. He was both morally and politically aware, but a consequence of this same theory allows a minimum of discussion in the novels.

In our previous chapter we noted the incidence of republican fiction and examined the various forms that were adopted. The emphasis was placed on the efficacy of fiction as a medium of instruction and propaganda. During the course of this chapter it has been noted that, with the progression of years, Restif, like so many other writers of his period, modified the small amount of political comment that his novels allowed. In the Année des Dames Nationales his sympathy for the republican cause is quite apparent. At the same time a case could be made for a republican interpretation of the much earlier Vie de Mon Père, although the major aim of the novel would not appear to have been the popularization of a political ideology. The Année itself concludes with an apology for the inclusion of 'contes' that depict non-republican reality. Appealing to the 'Lecteur Républiquain', Restif writes:

Ne vois dans ces NOUVELLES, que des faits vrais, que je ne pouvais corriger, sans leur ôter leur utilité. Tu y trouveras des mœurs qui ont été; au lieu que les Romanciers ne te donnent que

58) RESTIF. L'Année. Décembre, final page, not numbered.

59) Ibid. Novembre, p.3512.

Misérofile would appear to be a fictional representation of Restif. Discussing Christianity, Misérofile points out, p.3510/3511. :

Je l'ai attaqué dans le Paysan Perverti, dans tous mes autres ouvrages, de la manière de la plus forte et de la plus adroite, en employant les lumières / de la Fisique. [sic]

60) RESTIF. M. Nicolas. Vol.6, p.50.

Restif writes:

....la victoire de l'intérêt général contre l'intérêt particulier est ce qu'on nomme la Vertu. [Author's italics underlined.]

61) Ibid. Vol.6, p.311.

des mœurs factices, enfans de leur imaginacion [sic], et par conséquent sans utilité pour les mœurs. (58)

To the end Restif still insists that the best method of instruction is that which is based on the truth of real examples. His naive approach insists that the truth criteria outweigh both artistic selection and beauty of presentation. Absent from his fictional works are the clarity and coherence demanded of a great moral writer. But this is not to say that such qualities are never found in Restif. In the Année the major republican statement takes the form not of a story, an account, but of a 'réflexion' by a fictional character, the strangely-named, as if happy in his misery, Misérofile. He introduces the ideal of 'réciprocité' that we shall shortly find again in M.Nicolas. Misérofile explains:

L'Homme éclairé n'a besoin que de la réciprocité pour être bon Citoyen; l'unique base de sa morale est la maxime sacrée, 'Fais à autrui ce que tu voudrais qu'on te fit. (59)

The maxim is familiar enough and reappears in the sixth volume of M.Nicolas as the basis of the author's moral ethic. Restif's 'morale' includes an attack on private property and a plea to sacrifice the self for the sake of the community. Virtue is defined as the victory of general interest over self-interest.(60) 'Réciprocité' is the kind of mutual aid demanded by the maxim, and the 'communisme' advocated by the author consists of the following ideals:

A mettre en commun, dans chaque Cité, toute la surface de la Terre....à mettre en commun tous les produits, tant des champs, des vignes, des prairies, des bestiaux de toute espèce; que les produits des métiers, des arts des sciences; de sorte que tout le monde travaille, comme on travaille aujourd'hui, et que Chacun profitât du travail de Tous; Tous du travail de Chacun: (61)

It is quite apparent that Restif is more extreme in his views than the republican government he supports. The basis of his theory remains the same but Restif fails to popularise his beliefs by the wider dissemination of the novel form. This failing can be explained by his personal view of the traditional novel learnt when serving his

62) RESTIF. M. Nicolus.

Describing the novel Cloerval Philosophe by Du Rozoi, that was printed at the place where he worked, Restif explains, Vol.6, p.181. :

Jamais peut-être Ouvrage aussi ennuyeux, aussi mauvais n'est sorti de sous la presse. Mais il me servit beaucoup.

Restif goes on to point out that this novel taught him everything a novel should not be.

63) Ibid. Vol.6, p.181.

apprenticeship as a printer at Auxerre. (62) He claimed that:

...un Roman est un Récit, et que les vérités philosophiques n'y peuvent être que légèrement disseminées pourachever de peindre le cœur des Personnages, leur esprit, leur moralité, autrement leur manière d'exister et de penser: Qu'une dissertation par laquelle est étouffé le Récit, dégoûte même des vérités les plus saillantes et les plus utiles. (63)

He can find no room in the novel for serious political or moral statements of any length: a novel that attempts to fuse two genres, the treatise and fiction, will fail even to the extent of producing an effect contrary to that which is intended. To sum up, Restif's republicanism is not in doubt; he simply did not see the novel as the means of promoting the ideal.

The figure of Restif de la Bretonne has proved to offer the perfect exemplification of this study's categorization of technical options and their coincidence with moral thought. His diversity sums up the numerous variations of the novels and short-stories discussed in the course of this study, and his personal opinion is one that will lead us to a general conclusion. Restif was one of the many writers of this period who despised the novel form yet persisted in using it. The novel was the only genre that could provide him with a sufficient source of income.

Contrary to critical belief and notwithstanding an understandable drop in production, the novel, and its close relation, the short-story, continued to be the most popular literary form of the Revolution. We have attempted, in the course of this study, to indicate the novel's place in the literary world of the Revolutionary era by a strict categorization of the various possibilities that the genre afforded. Beginning with an appraisal of the form, the critical reaction towards it and the writers' attempts at self-justification, we pointed out the novel's dependence on contemporary moral thought.

In the novel the popular moral maxim (only later to become political) was seen to be modified into a technical formula. Constant

repetition of the formula, stated simply as 'virtue brings happiness', gave the maxim the low status of the cliché. Our second chapter attempted to show how writers tried to overcome the weariness of the cliché without daring to stray too far from its well-worn path. The introduction of contrasting characters proved to offer one possible solution, as too did the reversal of the component parts of the formula. The solution offered by the equation was, in the end, identical: 'virtue brings happiness' proved to be equal to 'vice brings misery'.

A consequence of the examination of the cliché led to a concentration on the major element implicit in the formula, that of sex, and on the variations of the element's treatment. In the moral novel virtue could nearly always be summed up as a chaste attitude. Taking sex as the central aspect of the cliché we then proceeded to examine novels which, while maintaining the same attitude of sexual purity, nevertheless allowed illicit sex into the lives of their central fictional characters. Having begun by retaining an element of doubt about the sincerity of writers who seemed deliberately to titillate their readers, we then went on to show that in novels that were apparently permissive, the same moral attitude prevailed. The category was seen to be defined by its limitations: sex was never explicit, merely hinted at (admittedly, sometimes very obviously). A curtain would always be drawn at just the right moment to save the reader's embarrassment and to hide the sexual act from view. The conclusion of these novels would invariably redress the balance by retribution or by reward.

Our next chapter, freed from the constraints of what we defined as the licentious novel, introduced total liberty of expression and permitted fully explicit details. This section proved to be somewhat hybrid, containing within it a number of internal categorizations.

The first suggested that sex was used as a product that sold and that therefore proved popular with writer and printer alike. The only interest of this section was its existence. The second maintained that sex was used a means of vilification where important political figures were depicted with enormous and outrageous sexual appetites. This was not to say that the pornographic works did not have an instructive role to play. A final section showed writers like Sade and Nerciat, the latter attempting to promote a republican message in works that would surely have been condemned by the leaders themselves. A brief study of Sade, the major writer of his time, attempted to illustrate how this same pornographic category could be used with great effect to present the reader with the portrait of a tragic personal dilemma.

The total emphasis on sex gave way to an element that was implicit in all the previous categories. Taking up the political message of the maxim, the next chapter examined the way in which some novels took elements from reality that were historically verifiable. As a consequence, particularly during this period of social crisis, the novel became little more than an instrument of propaganda. While the real elements increased the credibility of works that remained essentially fictional, fictional characters themselves were shown attempting to influence readers by their own attitudes and reactions to outside events. More simply, starting from the thesis that most novels describe love-affairs, it was suggested that where real identifiable events and characters impeded the logical course of the romance, the reader, who had been persuaded to sympathise with the fictional characters, would eventually adopt an attitude that was similar to that of the characters themselves.

The next category offered a stark contrast with this diluted form of realism: where in the previous chapter writers had infused real

events that were historically verifiable, writers in this section deliberately play a game of disguise. It was emphasised that this was never more than a game. Behind a veil of fiction, real characters, were easily identifiable. Allegory would take the place of a straightforward account and anagrams would be substituted for proper names. The interpretation of these stories was, with very few exceptions, quite apparent. The technique was mainly one of endearment, one of prettification. The overriding tone was one of humour.

Our final category retained the simplicity of technique of the allegorical and Oriental tales but dispensed with their humour. A study of republican fiction, with special reference to that of An II (1793/1794), noted the use of the pastoral to paint pictures of idyllic paradises of simple happiness away from the corruption of the towns. By their total dedication to propaganda, these stories emphasised a hierarchy of social values where the self was reduced in status and became totally subservient to the state. These tales teach the political applications of the popular social maxim.

Restif de la Bretonne, who by his diversity represented the perfect synthesis for this study, was seen to adopt all the various possibilities that were afforded by the novel of the time. Justifying pornography by a claim of total realism, praising the pastoral by reference to his own autobiography, and excusing plainness of style by guarantees of total authenticity, this one writer, if only by the disdain of the genre that kept him alive, managed to prove that the novel did not cease to exist in that long gap between 1780 and 1800 that is so neglected by critics; rather it was seeking a better mode of expression.

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Appendix.

This appendix lists in alphabetical order examples of the maxim quoted below that have been found in works consulted for this thesis. The primary reference is Matthew VII. 12.

Toutes les choses que vous voudrez que les hommes vous fassent, faites-les-leur aussi de même.

Anonymous references are given at the end of the list.

BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE. La Chaumière Indienne. Paris (Méquignon) 1823 [1791], p.94 :

Ne faites pas aux autres ce que vous ne voudriez pas que les autres vous fissent.

BLANCHARD, Pierre. Catéchisme de la Nature. Paris (Maradan) An II, p.29 :

Ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne voudrais pas qu'on te fît.

BOISSY D'ANGLAS, François-Antoine. Quelques Idées sur la Liberté, la Révolution, le Gouvernement Républicain, et la Constitution Française. s.l. 1792, p.57 :

....ne faites à autrui que ce que vous voudriez qu'on vous fît.

CHEVRET, Jean. Principes de Sociabilité. En France et à Paris (Aux Frères Unis) 1793, p.7 :

....l'homme vertueux...sait que, traiter les hommes de la même manière que nous voudrions nous-mêmes qu'ils nous traitassent, leur faire tout ce que nous voudrions qu'ils nous fissent, c'est la vertu...

DESMARETS, Citoyenne. Éléments d'Instruction Républicaine. s.l. An II, p.4. Her definition of virtue is:

A regarder, à traiter tous les hommes comme des frères; faire pour eux, tout ce que nous voudrions qu'on fît pour nous...

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Petit Jacques et Georgette, ou les petits Montagnards Auvergnats. Paris (Maradan) 1794 [1789?], Vol.4. p.92/93. The inhabitants of Cayenne are described:

....ils ont cette bonne raison de la nature qui leur indique de ne faire que ce qu'ils permettent qu'on leur fasse, et ils sont heureux.

FREY, L-J. Philosophie Sociale. Paris (Froullé) 1793, p.47:

Aime ton prochain comme toi-même; ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne veux pas qu'on te fasse.

HOURCASTREME, Pierre. Les Aventures de Messire Anselme, Chevalier des lois. Londres ( - ) 1789, Vol.1. p.72/3 :

Agissez envers les autres, comme vous voudriez qu'ils agissent envers vous. Aimez jusqu'à vos ennemis; ne laissez pas de faire du bien, même à ceux qui vous persécutent et vous calomnient.

LE MERCIER DE LA RIVIERE, P.F.J.H. L'Heureuse Nation. Paris (Buisson) 1792, Vol.2. p.14 :

....tritez les autres comme vous voulez qu'ils vous traitent; soyez toujours pour eux ce que vous voulez qu'ils soient toujours pour vous.

LEQUINIO DE KERBLAY, Joseph. Du Bonheur. s.l.n.d. p.9 :

Il faut qu'il veuille le bonheur d'autrui, et pour lors il travaillera franchement à faire ce qui convient aux autres afin que les autres travaillent à ce qui lui convient à lui-même.

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Charmansage. Paris (Défer de Maisonneuve) 1792, Vol.4. p.49 :

La liberté consiste à faire tout ce qu'on veut, ou tout ce qu'on peut, pour son avantage, tant que cela ne nuit pas à l'intérêt public ou particulier de qui que ce soit,...

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Suite de l'Aventurier François. Paris (Quillau) 1783, Vol.1. p.147 :

Il semble donc qu'on doit s'en tenir au principe universel: 'Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voulez pas qu'on vous fasse à vous-mêmes.

MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. De la Vertu. Paris (Colin) 1807, p.103:

Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qui vous fut fait.

MEISTER, Jakob-Heinrich. De la Morale Naturelle. Paris ( - ) 1788, p.30 :

....ne faites jamais aux autres ce que nous ne voulez point qu'on vous fasse à vous-mêmes.

MOREL DE VINDE, Vicomte C. La Morale de l'Enfance. Paris (Danné) 1790, p.25 :

Ne point faire au prochain ce qu'on craindrait pour soi,  
Pour l'intérêt de tous, c'est la commune loi;  
Mais ce n'est point assez, et la vertu suprême  
Est de faire le bien qu'on voudrait pour soi-même.

MOUTONNET DE CLAIRFONS. Le Véritable Philosophe. Philadelphia ( - ) 1790, p.33 :

Ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne veux pas qu'il te fasse; ou ce qui revient au même: Fais pour autrui ce que tu désires qu'il fasse pour toi.

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andréa de. Julie Philosophe. s.l. 1791, Vol.1. p.69 :

....ne point faire aux autres ce que je ne voudrais pas qu'on me fît, voilà quelle a toujours été mon unique maxime, mon unique système.

PERREAU, Jean, André. Mirzim, ou le Sage à la Cour. Neufchâtel (Imp. de la Société Typographique) 1782, p. 73 :

....la liberté n'est que le droit d'user, à son gré et en tout sens de sa personne et de ce qu'il a acquis, tant qu'il ne nuit pas aux autres.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. L'Année des Femmes Nationales. Genève, et se trouve à Paris (chez Duchêne, Mérigot jeune, et Louis) 1791-94, p.3512.

L'Homme éclairé n'a besoin que de la réciprocité pour être bon citoyen: l'unique base de sa morale est la maxime sacrée, 'Fais à autrui ce que tu voudrais qu'on te fît' et ne fais pas... etc.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Dangers de la Ville. La Haie [sic] ( - ) 1785, Vol.2, p.76 :

....le crime c'est tout ce qui est contraire à la maxime de ne pas faire à Autrui, ce que nous ne voudrions pas qu'on nous fît.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. M. Nicolas. Paris (lauvert) 1959 [1794-1797], Vol.1. p.11 :

Fais à Autrui ce que tu voudrais qu'on te fît.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Veillées du Marais. Waterford ( - ) 1785, Vol.1. p.106 :

....il faut faire aux Autres ce qu'on veut qu'ils nous fassent.

SADE, D.A.F. Marquis de. Dialogue entre un Prieur et un Moribond. In O.C. Paris (Au Cercle du Livre Précieux) 1966, [Written 1782] Vol. XIII-XIV, p.64 :

Toute la morale humaine est renfermée dans ce seul mot; rendre les autres aussi heureux que l'on désire de l'être soi-même et ne leur jamais faire plus de mal que nous n'en voudrions recevoir.

SADE, D.A.F. Marquis de. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir. In O.C. Paris (Au Cercle du Livre Précieux) 1966. [1795], Vol.III-IV. p.436

Vous me parlez d'une voix chimérique de cette nature, qui nous dit de ne pas faire aux autres ce que nous ne voudrions pas qu'il nous fût fait;...

THEIS, Marie-Alexandre de. Encyclopédie Morale ou le Code Primitif.  
Bruxelles et se trouve à Paris (Belin) 1786, p.37 :

Mais si j'interroge un Sauvage, il m'aura bientôt répondu :  
Puisque je ne suis rien, ne puis rien sans mes Frères, mon devoir,  
dira-t-il, est de faire pour eux tout ce que je voudrois qu'ils  
fissent pour moi-même.

Anonyme.

Le Code du Républicain Villageois. Paris (Masson) s.d. p.8 :

....fais à ton semblable ce que tu voudrois qu'on te fît.

Essai de Morale et de Politique. s.l. 1791, p.7 :

Faites aux autres ce que vous voudriez qu'on vous fît, et ne leur  
faites pas etc....

Les Veillées de la Bonne Mère Gérard. Paris (Frouillet) 1792, p.38 :

....la liberté consistera à ne faire que ce qui ne pourra point  
nuire à autrui.

The bibliography is divided into the following eight sections, and comprises, unless otherwise stated, works that have been consulted.

Section One. French prose fiction of the years 1789-1794.

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Section Two. Anonymous French prose fiction of the years 1789-1794, classified by title. Of the articles, only 'de la', 'du', and 'des' are classified. 312

Section Three. Prose fiction of the years surrounding the period 1789-1794, including works wrongly classified in previous bibliographies, translations, and foreign (i.e. non-French) fiction of the years 1789-1794. Listed first by authors, then, when anonymous, by title. 324

Section Four. Works other than prose fiction including moral treatises, political works, literary criticism, poetry, and drama, both of the contemporary period and earlier. Listed first by authors, then, when anonymous, by title. 336

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Section Eight. French prose fiction of the years 1789-1794 that has not been traced in the major European libraries. Classified first by author, then, when anonymous, by title. 382

SECTION ONE. Prose Fiction of the years 1789-1794 whose authors are known.

ANDRE, Jean-François, dit Publius. Histoire des Oeufs de Pâques de M. de Cal. [=? Calonne ?], ex-ministre, viciés par M. de Cerr. [=? Cerrutti ?], ex-jésuite italien, dans un voyage de Bretagne. s.l. 1789 in 8° pièce, 32pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 1490.

ANDRE, Jean-François. La Quasi-Modo de Surène. s.l.n.d. [=? 1789] in 8° pièce, 48pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 7122.

ANDRE, Jean-François. Le Roi d'Yvetot à la Reine de Hongrie, tenant sa cour plénière aux Halles de Paris. Paris (Debray), 1789 in 8°, 14pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 11705.

ARNAUD, F-T Baculard d'. Les Loisirs Utiles. Linville, ou les Plaisirs de la Vertu, suivi d'Eugénie, ou les Suites Funestes d'une Première Faute. Paris (Lepetit), An II, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 24. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 14490-14491.

BALTAZARD, L'Abbé. L'Isle des Philosophes, et plusieurs autres nouvellement découvertes et remarquables par leur rapport avec la France actuelle. s.l. 1790 in 8°, 340pp. B.N. 8°R6022.

BARBAULT-ROYER. Craon, ou les Trois Opprimés. Paris (L'Huillier), 1791 in 12°, 148pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 16067.

BARBAULT-ROYER. Les Loisirs de la Liberté. Nouvelles Républicaines. Paris (Bailly), An III [= Décembre 1794] in 8°, 321pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 16069.

BARTHELEMY, L'Abbé Louis. Mémoires Secrètes de Mme de Tencin, ses tendres liaisons avec Ganganielli, ou l'heureuse découverte relativement à d'Alembert. s.l. 1792, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 8°. B.N. Ln<sup>27</sup> 19420. [This work, signed by M. L'Abbé Barthélemy, with the maxim 'La vérité sera toujours mon idole', has a ms. note that 'cette indécente production' is not by the 'célèbre et vénérable auteur d'Anacharsis, mais d'un individu nommé L. Barthélemy, né à Grenoble vers 1760. Also in the B.M. 12511.d.24.]

BASTON, L'Abbé G.A.R. Narration d'Omai, insulaire de la mer du sud, ami et compagnon du Capitaine Cook. Ouvrage traduit de l'O-Taïtien par M.K. \*\*\* et publié par le Capitaine L.A.B. Rouen (Boucher), et Paris (Buisson), 1790, 4 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>55996-55999.

BEAUFORT D'HAUTPOUL, Comtesse Joséphine, née de Coutances. Zilia, Roman Pastoral. Paris (Desenne, Palais-Egalité, et Mercier, rue de Coq-Monoré), 1796 in 12°, 112pp. B.M. 12515.de.17. [Quérard gives 1789 as the date of the first edition but this has not been verified, the edition in the B.N. lacking its title-page, could be 1789. The B.M. has another edition, Londres 1797, with a list of subscribers 12517.aa.32.]

BEAUMARNAIS, Fanny de. Les Noeuds Enchantés, ou la Bizarrie des Destinées. Rome (--), 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 8°. B.M. 012548.a.17 (1). [This novel has never been available on frequent visits to the B.M.]

BEAUNOIR, Alexandre. Les Masques Arrachés. Histoire Secrète des Révolutions et Contre-Révolutions du Brabant et de Liège, par Jacques le Sueur. Amsterdam (-), 1791 [First appeared 1790], 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 8°. B.N. M20328-20329. [The B.N. has two other copies, M29038, mq. vol.1, and M36214-36215. The B.M. also has three copies, 1094.cc.7, 1192.cc.1, and 1443.a.10.]

BEFFROY DE REIGNY, L-A, dit le Cousin Jacques. La Constitution de la Lune, rêve politique et moral par le Cousin Jacques. Paris (Froullé), 1793 in 8°, 302pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>706.

BEFFROY DE REIGNY, L-A, dit le Cousin Jacques. Historiette contée au Cousin Jacques par l'Amour. In Esprit des Journaux. Septembre, 1791, pp.283-291.

BERENGER, L-P. D'Anarcharsis, ou Lettres d'un Troubadour sur cet ouvrage. Amsterdam et Paris (Maradan), 1799 in 8°, 110pp. B.N. J24620.

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BILDERBECK, Le Baron de. Cyane, ou les Jeux du Destin, Roman Grec. Neuwied (Société Typographique), et Strasbourg (Treuttel), 1790 in 8°, 190pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>18150

BILDERBECK, Le Baron de. Paramythes, imitée de Herder. s.l. 1790 in 16°, 166pp. B.N. Rés. p.2539.

[A ms. note by the author reads: 'je n'ai fait imprimer ce petit recueil qu'en 25 exemplaires pour mes amis - il n'est point entré dans le commerce de la librairie'. The work is a mixture of prose and poetry.]

BLANCHARD, Pierre. Félix et Pauline, ou le Tombeau au Pied du Mont-Jura. Paris (Le Prieur), Seconde Année de la République [~? An II] 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>18301-18302.

BODARD DE TEZAY, N.M.F. Le Dernier Cri du Monstre, conte indien. s.l. Juillet 1789 in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2097.

BODARD DE TEZAY, N.M.F. Les Trois Ordres en Voyage. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 31pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1344.

BOULARD, Martin-Sylvestre, Imprimeur-Libraire. La Vie et les Aventures de Ferdinand Vertamont, et de Maurice, son oncle, avec la description du pays et des mœurs des Péru-Méxicains. Paris (Boulard), 1791, 3 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>73122-73124.

BOURDON, L-G. Le Parc au Cerf, ou l'Origine de l'affreux déficit, par un zélé patriote. Paris, sur les débris de la Bastille, 1790 in 8°, 191pp. B.N. Rés. Lb<sup>39</sup>3068.

BRUGUIERE DU GARD, J-T. Martial. Roman Pastoral imité d'Estelle de Florian. Paris (Imprimerie des Sciences et des Arts), An III de la République, 3 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>19953-19955.

[According to Monglond, the first edition appeared in 1790.]

CAMUS-DARAS, N.R. Le Songe, suivi du Discours d'un Nègre conduit au supplice. Paris (Desenne), 1790 in 8°, 56pp. B.N. F.375 (8).

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CARACCIOLI, Louis-Antoine, Marquis de. Lettres d'un Indien à Paris à son ami, Glasir, sur les mœurs françoises, et sur les bizarries du temps. Amsterdam et Paris (Briand), 1789, 2 vols. in 12°.  
B.N. Li<sup>3</sup>67.

CARACCIOLI, Louis-Antoine, Marquis de. La Passion de notre vénérable Clergé. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 6pp. B.M. F.409 (13)

CARON, P.S. Le Cocu Consolateur. s.l. L'an du Coquage 5810 [=? 1789] in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Z17252. [Also in B.M. C.39.a.12 (3). A reprint of 1829, according to the B.M. one of an edition of 15.]

CONSTANT DE CAZENOUE D'ARLENS, née de Constant-Rebecque. Alfrède, ou le Manoir de Warwick. Lausanne (Luquiens), 1794, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.M. 12517.a.11.

CAZOTTE, Jacques. Les Mille et un Jours, contes orientaux, in Oeuvres Badines et Morales, philosophiques et historiques. Paris (Bastien), 1817, Vol.4. [First appeared in the Cabinet des Fées, vols. 38-41, See Collections at the end of section two, 1788-1789. Possibly a translation.]

CHAISNEAU, L'Abbé Charles. Pastorales dédiées à la Nation par M. Chaisneau, curé des Plombières, près Dijon. Dijon (Bidault), et Paris (Berry, Librairie rue St.-Nicolas), 1791 in 8°, 53pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>17427. [In spite of the shelf-mark denoting poetry, the Pastorales are a collection of short prose works. The B.N. has another copy, Z44946.]

CHAMBERT, Pierre, avocat au Parlement. Démétrius, ou l'Education d'un Prince. Paris (Debure l'aîné), 1790, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>22082-22083.

CHAMPAGNY, Charles de Nompère, Chevalier de, Officier de Cavalerie. Les Voyages d'Amour, fils de Vénus. Paris (Barrois le jeune), 1789, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>73855-73856. [A novel of the same title and by the same author appeared in 1784. It comprises only the first part of the 1789 edition, and even this part is not identical. Its shelf-mark in the B.N. is Y<sup>2</sup>22134.]

CHARRIERE, Isabelle, Agnès, Mme de. Aiglonette et Insinuante, ou la Souplesse. s.l. 1791 in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4982. [In Lettre à M. Necker sur l'Administration. See Section Four.]

CHEVRIER, François, Antoine de. Etrences Voluptueuses. Londres, s.d. [=? 1790] in 16°. B.M. P.C. 29.b.48. [A short prose poem entitled 'La Jouissance des Cinq Sens' followed by verse.]

Le Cousin Jacques. See Beffroy de Reigny in this section.

COUILLARDIN, L'Abbé. Catéchisme Libertin à l'Usage des Filles de Joie, Luxuriopolis, s.d. in 24°, 72pp. B.M. P.C. 31.b.14.

CUBIERES, Michel de. also known as Cubières-Palmézeaux, le Père Ignace de Castel Vadra, Dorat-Cubière, Enégiste-Palmézeaux, M. de Maribarou, Métrophile, C-D. Tavel. Voyage à la Bastille fait le 16 Juillet 1789. Paris (Garnéry et Volland), 1789 in 8°, 48pp. B.N. Lk<sup>7</sup>7686.

DAMPHARTIN, Anne-Henri, Vicomte. Un Provincial à Paris pendant une partie de l'année 1789. Paris (La Villette), s.d. in 8°, 258pp. B.N. Lk<sup>7</sup>6040.

DECREMPHS, Henri. Les Petites Aventures de M. Jérôme Sharp - ouvrage contenant autant de tours ingénieux que de leçons utiles. Bruxelles (Vve. Dujardin), 1789 in 8°, 386pp. B.N. R12649.

DELANDINE, A-F. Les Chevalières Errantes, ou les Deux Soeurs femelles, roman traduit de l'anglois. Paris (Maradan), 1789, 3 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>11715-17. [Dr. Mylne suggests that this novel may well be the translation that its sub-title claims.]

DELLECOURT, P-J. Les Adieux d'un Citoyen Grenadier; ou les Dangers d'un rôle outré. Paris (Fagniart), 1791 in 8°, 13pp. B.M. F.901 (1). [The B.N. also has a copy, shelf-mark, Ln<sup>27</sup>5695.]

DEVAINES, Jean. Lettres de la Comtesse de \*\*\* au Chevalier de \*\*\*. s.l.n.d. [=? 1789] in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1524.

DEVERITE, Louis-A. La Vie et les Doléances d'un Pauvre Diable, pour servir de ce qu'on voudra aux prochains Etats-Généraux, En France, 1789 in 8°, 120pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>922. [also attributed to L-A. Wicquet d'Ordre, and Maugée.]

DIDOT, Pierre, fils aîné. L'Ami des Jeunes Demoiselles, suivi d'un Epître aux célibataires. Paris (Didot fils aîné), 1789 in 18, 137pp. B.M. 08416.e.134.

DOPPET, François, Amédée. Vitzenried, ou les Mémoires du Chevalier de Courtille pour servir de suite aux mémoires de Mme de Warens, à ceux de Claude Anet, et aux confessions de Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1789 in 12°, 139pp. B.N. 8°Z10380 (178).

DOPPET, François, Amédée. Zélamire, ou les Liaisons Bizarres, Paris ( - ), 1791 in 12°, 207pp. B.M. 1094.dd.22.

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Alexis, ou la Maisonette dans les Bois, Manuscrit trouvé sur les bords de l'Isère et publié par l'auteur de Lolotte et Fanfan. Grenoble et Paris (Maradan), 1789, 4 vols, in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>28794-28797. [Lacks pp.xi-xiv. of the 'Avant-Propos'.]

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. L'Autel de la Forêt, Idylle. In Esprit des Journaux. Octobre, 1794, pp.156-162.

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Le Chêne de la Liberté, ou la Prière Civique, Idylle, In Esprit des Journaux. Août, 1794, pp.266-271.

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume L'Hospitalité, ou le Bonheur du Vieux Père, Idylle lue au Lycée Républicain, s.l.n.d. in 8°pièce, 11pp! B.N. 8°Y<sup>2</sup> pièce 1498.

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Petit Jacques et Georgette, ou les petits Montagnards Auvergnats, par le citoyen Ducray-Duminil, Paris (Maradan), 1794, 4 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>29171-29174.  
 [This would appear to be the third edition of the novel. According to Michaud the first edition appeared in 1789, while Monglond and Cioranescu give 1791. The B.N. does possess an edition of 1791 but it lacks vols. 1 and 2. The 'Avertissement de l'Auteur' suggests that 1789 is the correct date. It reads that the novel first appeared 'dans les premiers mois de notre glorieuse révolution.' ]

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. La Soirée d'été, ou la Lecture, Idylle. In Esprit des Journaux, Septembre, 1794, pp.155-161.

DULAURENT. Le Bon Fils. s.l. An II in 8°, 27pp. B.N. Lb<sup>40</sup>2184.

DULAURENT. La Bonne Mère. s.l. An II in 8°, 20pp. B.N. Lb<sup>40</sup>2183.

DULAURENT. Le Bon Père. s.l. An II in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Lb<sup>40</sup>2182.

DULAURENT. Le Bon Vieillard. s.l. An II in 8°, 50pp. B.N. Lb<sup>40</sup>3371.

DULAURENT. Joseph, ou le Petit Ramoneur. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 23pp.  
B.N. 8° Pièce Y<sup>2</sup>1458.

DUMARQUET, Abbé Louis-Joseph. Les Délassemens d'un Parasseaux, par un C.R.D.E.A.C.D.L. Pigritiopolis, et se vend à Lille (Vanackere), 1790 in 12°, 224pp. B.M. 1102.b.6. [Mainly a collection of poetry, but includes a short 'conte' pp.120-125, Anecdote Athénienne. Also in B.N. Réa. 24034.]

DUPIN, M. l'Abbé. Belville et Hyder-Aly, Nouvelle Historique.  
In Esprit des Journaux, Juin, 1789, pp.205-214.

DUPLESSIS, Pierre, Chevalier. Histoire du Marquis de Séligny et de Mme de Lusai. Londres et Paris (Régnault), 1789, 2 vols. in 12°.  
B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>42410-42411.

DUPLESSIS, Pierre, Chevalier. Honorine Derville, ou Confessions de Mme la Comtesse de B\*\*\* écrites par elle-même. Londres (Hockham), et Paris (Duchesne), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>42855-42856.

DUVERNET, Abbé T-I. Les Dévotions de Mme de Batzamooth et les Pieuses Facéties de Monsieur de Saint-Orgon, Turin (Gay et Fils), 1871 in 8°, 92pp. B.N. Enfer 319. [According to Monglond, the date of the first edition is 1789. This edition claims that it is 'réimprimé sur l'édition originale de 1789'.]

DUVERNET, Abbé T-I. La Restraite, les Tentations et les Confessions de Mme la Marquise de Montcornillon, Histoire Morale. Ouvrage Posthume de feu M. de Saint-Leu, Bruxelles (Gay et Doucé), 1880, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°. B.N. Enfer 23. [According to Monglond, the first edition appeared in 1790. The first part of this volume comprises Les Dévotions, the preceding work.]

FERRIERES, Elie Marquis de. Saint-Flour et Justine, ou Histoire d'une jeune Françoise du Dix-Huitième Siècle, avec un Dialogue sur le caractère moral des femmes, Paris (Belin, Royez, et Desenne), 1791, 4 parties en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>34826-34829. [The Dialogue appeared as vol. 1. of La Femme et les Voeux, Amsterdam et Paris (Poinçot), 1788, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>34150-34151. The novel Saint-Flour was serialised in the Esprit des Journaux. Mai, 1793, pp. 213-286, and Juin, 1793, pp. 182-248.]

FLOMIAN, J-P, Claris de. Nouvelles Nouvelles, Paris ( - ), 1797 in 12°, 248pp. [This edition, ex-meis, first appeared in 1792.]

FONTETTE DE SOMMERY, Mlle. L'Oreille, conte asiatique, Paris (Barrois l'ainé), 1789, 3 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>9260-62.

FOURNIER DE TONY. Les Nymphes de Pyctyme ou Révoltes de l'Empire Virginale, Paris ( - ), 1790 in 8°, 226pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>573. [The B.N. has a copy of another edition of the same year, Y<sup>2</sup>37226, and an edition with mes. notes by the Abbé de Saint-Léger, Y<sup>2</sup>37225.]

FREY, Lucius, Junius. Les Aventures Politiques du Père Nicomée, ou L'Antifédéraliste, Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1793 in 18, 72pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 756.

GALLAIS, J-P, Dom. Histoire Persane, extraite d'un manuscrit arabe trouvé dans les ruines de Palmyre. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 62pp. [Loaned from the Bibliothèque Municipale du Mans, bound in a collection entitled, 'Droit Public Recueil', Tome III, Sciences et Arts, 1003. Monglond and Quérard agree that 1789 is the date of the edition. The key that is essential to an understanding of this work can be found in F. Drujon's Les Livres à Clef, Paris, 1888, vol.1, p.470. There is a ms. key bound with the edition of the novel that is quoted. No other copy of the work has been found.]

GAUTIER, Abbé J-J., Curé de la Lande de Gul. Jean le Noir, ou le Misanthrope. Paris (Hôtel de Bouthillier), 1789 in 8°, 246pp. The B.N. has two identical copies, Y<sup>2</sup>38030, and Y<sup>2</sup>z74.

GAUTIER-LACAPEDE, Mme. Sophie, ou Mémoires d'une jeune Religieuse, écrits par elle-même, adressés à la Princesse de L', et publiés par Mme G. Paris (Bureau de la Correspondance des Artistes et des Amateurs des Sciences et des Arts), 1790 in 8°, 295pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>69008. [The B.N. has another edition of 1792 with the same pagination as that of 1790, Y<sup>2</sup>z76., and a second copy of the first edition, Y<sup>2</sup>69009.]

GETNON-VILLE, Mme la Comtesse de. L'Epouse Rare, ou Modèle de Douceur, de Patience, et de Constance. Malthe et Paris (Froullé), 1789 in 12°, 192pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>z80.

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Oeuvres. Paris, 1792, 17 vols. in 18. B.N. Réa. p.Z2104 (1-17). [This is not a uniform edition, being a mixture of Louis and Guillot. In the text of the thesis, quotations have been taken from the earliest editions available.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. 'Ann 'Quim Bredouille, ou le Petit Coumin de Tristram Shandy, Oeuvre Posthume de Jacqueline Lycurgues, actuellement fifre-major au greffe des menuis Derviches. Par l'auteur de Blangay. Paris (Louis), 1792, 6 vols. in 18. Vols. 12-17 of Oeuvres. [Two isolated volumes of the novel, vols. 3 and 6, are classified in the B.N. with the Espèce de Prospectus. s.l.n.d. 4pp. B.N. Lc<sup>2</sup>2475. The collected Oeuvres is a recent acquisition to the B.N. Vol.6. includes the pamphlet L'Aristocrate Converti. See Section Four of Bibliography, and Chapter Five, note (55) and p.205. of the text.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Lidorie, ancienne chronique allusive, Paris (Guillet), 1790, 2 vols. in 18. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>49240-49241. [Also in vols. 7-8. of Oeuvres. The B.N. possesses a translation into German, Y<sup>2</sup>39772, and a translation into English, 8° Y<sup>2</sup>22308.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Saint-Alme, Paris (Guillet), 1790, 2 vols. in 18. [Vols. 9-10. of the Oeuvres. The novel was translated into German under the title Gustave by B.N. Junger.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Tablettes Sentimentales du Bon Pamphile pendant les mois d'août, septembre, octobre, et novembre 1789, Paris (Guillet) 1791 in 18, 229pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>39787. [Also vol. 11. of the Oeuvres.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Victorine, Paris (Guillet), 1789, 2 vols. in 18. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>39782-39783. [Also vols. 5-6. of the Oeuvres.]

GORSAS, Antoine, Joseph. Les Merles Déniichés, ou les Crimes du Général Dumourier. Poème en Prose en 2 Chants, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>127. [Also in B.M. F.400 (8). The work was both written and printed by Gorsas.]

GOUGES, Olympe de. (pseud. of Marie Gouze.) Dialogue Allégorique entre la France et la Vérité, dédié aux Etats-Généraux, s.l.n.d. [-? 1789] in 8°, 32pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1741.

GOUGES, Olympe de. (pseud. of Marie Gouze.) Le Prince Philosophe, conte oriental, Paris (Briand), 1792, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>60745-46.

GOURBILLON, J-A. Stellino, ou le Nouveau Werther, Paris (Debure et Valade), 1791, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°. B.M. 837.e.9.

GRANVILLE. (Stage-name and pseud. of C.F. Grandin). Paulin, ou les Aventures du Comte de Walter, Philadelphia (--), 1792, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>57875-57876.

HOURCASTREME, Pierre. Les Aventures de Messire Anselme, Chevalier des lois, Londres (-), 1789, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Z29096-29097. [The B.N. has a further copy, Z Beuchot 1330.]

JAUFFRET, Louis, F. Les Charmes de l'Enfance, et les Plaisirs de l'Amour Maternel. Paris (Moutard), 1796, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°.  
 B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>10341. [A collection of short 'Idylles' in prose. A shorter edition appeared in 1791, Paris (Moutard), in 12°, 81pp. B.N.  
 Rés. R2139.]

KERALIO, M-F. Abeille, Mme de. Les Visites. Paris (Gattey), 1792 in 8°, 154pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>73510.

LA ROCHE, A.C.N. de Closquinet de. Le Loup Philosophique - A bon chat bon rat, ou le plus bête des deux n'est pas celui qu'on pense. Conte Moral. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>7581.

LAVALLEE, Joseph. Le Nègre comme Il y a peu de Blancs, par l'auteur de Cécile, Fille d'Achmet III. Madras et Paris (Buisson), 1789, 3 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>56127-56129. [The novel was translated into English with the title, The Negro Equalled by Few Europeans. London (Robinson), 1790, 3 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. 8°B5408.]

LE BRETON, F. Le Rêve Philosophique et Patriotique de Bryltophend. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 112pp. B.N. R48943. [The B.M. has a copy, Pékin et Paris, 1789, shelf-number 440.k.32.]

LECOINTE-MARSILLAC. Le More-Imack, ou Essai sur les moyens d'Abolir la Traite des Nègres. Londres et Paris (Prault), 1789 in 8°, 288pp. B.N. R44543. [The B.N. has another copy, 8°Lk<sup>39</sup>.]

LEMAIRE DE NANCY, (Pseud. of Henri Jeanmore). Le Gil Blas François, ou Aventures de Henri Lancon. Neuwied ( - ), 1791, 3 vols. in 8°. B.M. 1094.cc.25. [The B.N. has vol.3. only, Paris ( - ), 1791, Y<sup>2</sup>38869.]

LE MERCIER DE LA RIVIERE, P.F.J-H. L'Heureuse Nation, ou Relations du Gouvernement des Féliciens. Peuple souverainement libre sous l'Empire absolu de ses Lois. Paris (Buisson), 1792, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. \*E4646-4647. [The B.N. has another copy, \*E2611-2612.]

LE PILEUR DE BREVANNES, Comte Henri. Les Bienfaits de la Révolution, vision qu'il en fut jamais. Schismaticopolis ( - ), 1791 in 8°, 32pp. B.M. R.207. (6).

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Charmasse, ou Mémoires d'un jeune citoyen faisant l'éducation d'un ci-devant noble. Par l'auteur de l'Aventurier François. Paris (Déter de Maisonneuve), 1792, 4 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>5867 (1-4).

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Crime, ou Lettres Originales contenant les Aventures de César de Perlencour. Bruxelles (Dujardin), 1789, 4 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>25181-25184.

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Repentir, ou Suite de Lettres Originales contenant les Aventures de César de Perlencour intitulées le Crime. Bruxelles (Dujardin), 1789, 4 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>62040-62043.

LIOMIN, Louis-Auguste. La Bergère d'Aranville, ou l'Emigration. Paris (Masson), 1826, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>17273-17274.

[According to Quérard, the novel first appeared in Neufchâtel, 1792 in 12°, 14Opp. This is confirmed by the Feuille of 1792, entry 3104, which quotes the 'Dédicace'. It is the same as that in the 1826 edition.]

LIOMIN, Louis-Auguste. Le Solitaire des Alpes, ou Aventures de Deux Illustrés proscrips, suivi de Félix, épisode pastoral. Paris (Caillot) An X, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>68953-68954. [According to Quérard, the novel first appeared in 1792 with the title: Les Deux Solitaires des Alpes, ou Histoire des Malheurs du Comte et du Chevalier de Malmore. The short-story, Félix, is not mentioned in any bibliography, and appears on pp.179-227. of the second volume of this edition.]

LOUVET DE COUVRAY, Jean-Baptiste. Les Amours du Chevalier de Faublas. In Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle, ed. Etienne, Paris (Gallimard Pléiade), 1965, 2 vols. in 16, vol.2, pp.403-1222. [This edition comprises three novels originally published separately: Une Année de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas of 1786/1787, Six Semaines de la Vie du Chevalier de Faublas of 1788, and La Fin des Amours du Chevalier de Faublas of 1790.]

LOUVET DE COUVRAY, Jean-Baptiste. Emilie de Varmont, ou la Divorce Nécessaire et les Amours du Curé Sevin. Paris (Bailey), 1791, 3 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>49711-49713.

MAIMIEUX, Joseph de. Suite du Comte de Saint-Méran, ou Les Nouveaux Egarements du Coeur et de l'Esprit, Bruxelles (Vve. Dujardin), 4 parties en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>23564-23567. [This novel is the sequel to the Comte de Saint-Méran which appeared in 1788, 4 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7352-7355, and Y<sup>2</sup>23560-23563.]

MAISTRE, Xavier de. Voyage autour de ma Chambre, par M. le Chevalier X\*\*\*, O.A.S.D.S.M.S. Paris (Dufart), An VII in 18, 144pp. B.N. 8°Y<sup>2</sup>56936. [According to Monglond, the first edition appeared in Turin in 1794, a point confirmed by Michaud.]

MALLET DU PAN, Jacques. Voyage et Consécration de Deux Inconnues. Histoire Véritable, extraite de tous les mémoires authentiques de ce temps-ci, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 52pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5706. [Barbier attributes this work to Malouet, but Mallet du Pan would seem to be the more likely author. The Feuille of 1792, entry 2187, probably the year of this edition, notes: 'Cette petite histoire est très agréablement écrite.....en effet, qui pourra jamais croire que la raison ait été en correspondance de lettres avec M. Mal... du Pa...?']

MARCHANT, François. Les Bienfaits de l'Assemblée Nationale, ou Entretiens de la Mère Saumon, Doyenne de la Halle, Paris (Palais-Royal), 1792 in 32, 160pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5713.

MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. Contes Saugrenus, Bassora ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 176pp. B.M. P.C. 29.b.70. [Monglond attributes this collection of short-stories to Merciat but is contradicted by the 1927 edition, Paris (Bibliothèque des Curieux), edited by Le Chevalier de Perte-fleur, i.e. Louis Perceau, and Fernand Fleuret, 197pp. in 16°, B.N. 16°Y<sup>2</sup>13625 (1). The attribution must remain doubtful, and is not at all assisted by the anonymous entry in the N.U.C. 4PQ Fr.3640.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Oeuvres Complètes, Paris (Verdière), 1818, 19 vols. in 8°. B.N. Z29225-29243.

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Les Bateliers de Besons. In O.C. vol.5, pp.307-353. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1792, Mai, pp.5-21, and Juin, pp.4-20, and Juillet, pp. 4-23.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Les Déjeunés du Village, ou les Aventures de l'Innocence. Liège (Latour), 1791 in 12°, 99pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>75866. [Also appears in Nouveaux Contes Moraux. Liège (-), 1792, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°, tome 2, pp.1-82.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. L'Ecole de l'Amitié. In O.C. vol. 5, pp. 1-65. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1791, Octobre, pp.6-28, and Novembre, pp. 4-28, and Décembre, pp. 5-26.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. L'Erreur d'un Bon Père. In Nouveaux Contes Moraux. Liège (-), 1792, tome 2, pp. 83-142. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1791, Avril, pp.4-24, and Mai, pp. 7-33.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Il le Fallait. In O.C. vol.6, pp. 1-35. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1792, Mars, pp.5-19, and Avril, pp.6-21.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. La Leçon du Malheur. In O.C. vol.4, pp.413-437. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1791, Mars, pp.1-33.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Nouveaux Contes Moraux. Liège (-), 1792, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. 8°Y<sup>2</sup>76430. [Tome 1 includes La Veillée and Le Franc Breton, and Tome 2 includes Les Déjeunés du Village, ou les Aventures de l'Innocence, L'Erreur d'un Bon Père, Palémon, and Les Solitaires de Murcie. Palémon appeared in the Mercure of 1791, Juin, pp.7-26. This collection is not the same as that which appeared with the same title in An IX (1801), Paris (Garnéry et Maradan) and Strasbourg (Chez les Frères Levraut), 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. This later collection includes, La Veillée, tome 1, pp. 1-170, Le Trépied d'Hélène, tome 1, pp.171-202, and La Leçon du Malheur, tome 1, pp.203-234. The second tome includes L'Ecole de l'Amitié, pp.5-83, Le Franc Breton, pp.84-147, L'Erreur d'un Bon Père, pp.148-201, La Cassette, pp.202-261, wrongly paginated 240.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Les Rivaux d'eux-mêmes. In O.C. vol.5, pp. 195-246. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1792, Août, pp.6-21, and Septembre, pp.4-23.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Le Trépied d'Hélène. In O.C. vol.4, pp.387-413. [Appeared in the Mercure of 1792, Février, pp.4-19, and Mars, pp.4-16.]

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. La Veillée. In Nouveaux Contes Moraux. vol.1, pp.1-189.

MASSON, Ch.-Fr. Ph. Elmine, ou la Fleur qui ne se flétrit jamais, conte pour les jeunes demoiselles, fait pour S.A.S. Mme la Princesse wilhelmine de Courlande. In Esprit des Journaux. Février, 1791, pp. 250-260. [According to Monglond, first appeared in Berlin in 1790.]

MAUGEE. See DEVERITE, Louis-A.

MAURY, J.S. Abbé, Député de Peronne à l'Assemblée Constituante. Les Grandes Prédictions d'un Petit Prophète. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1793 in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>2482. [The work is signed but the attribution must remain doubtful.]

MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. Charidème. In Esprit des Journaux. Août, 1794, pp.226-266. [First appeared, according to Béclard, under the title La Sympathie in the Contes Moraux of 1769. Also appears in Fictions Morales. vol.1, pp.109-158.]

MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. Fictions Morales. Paris (Cercle Social), 1792, 3 vols. in 8°. B.N. Z29587-29589. [Many of the 'contes' in this collection appeared elsewhere earlier. The 'Avant-Propos' points out, p.xi, 'Epars dans différens anciens journaux et recueils, je les ai rassemblés aujourd'hui, non sans peine, sous le titre de "Fictions Morales".' Vol. 1. contains: Vivonne et Ruyter, Abézaid, Les Sauvages des Bords de l'Orenoque, Anecdote Historique tirée d'une ancienne chronique d'Allemagne, Le Marquis de Siqueville, La Sympathie, L'Avaré Corrigé, Dolmell, Dom Pedro, Alibée, Ephegme, L'Oiseau de Vérité, and Les Amans du Groenlandais. Vol.2. contains: Où est le Bonheur?, Menzicoff, Les Hypocrites, and L'Homme Sauvage. Vol.3. contains: Oman, Léodamus, Les Epoux Malheureux, Histoire de Mlle de Rémières, Le Nouveau Doyen de Killerville (a play), Séfi et Péhri, and Giaffar and Abassah. Béclard claims that the Fictions Morales first appeared in 1789.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Ismael et Christine, Nouvelle Africaine, Paris (Louis), An III in 12°, 167pp. B.N.

Y<sup>2</sup>52895. [The novel was announced in the Esprit des Journaux of Décembre 1793. The B.N. has an earlier edition of the novel in the Réserve, Paris (Girouard), 1793 in 18, 180pp. 8° Z Don 594 (14). A short story, Zélindor ou Essai sur le Bonheur. is found in the An III edition, pp.127-167.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Nouvelles Galantes et Tragiques, recueillies et publiées par C. Mercier de Compiègne, Paris ( - ), 1795 in 12°, 173pp. B.M. 1094.a.a.43. [According to the 'Avis', the first edition appeared in 1793.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Mosalie et Gerblois, Nouvelle Historique, Paris (Louis), 1796 in 18, 176 pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>52897. [According to Quérard and Gay, and the 'Avis de l'Auteur', the novel first appeared in 1792.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Les Soirées de L'Automne et les Epanchemens de l'Amitié, Paris (Girouard), 1792, 2 vols. in 12°. B.M. 12236.a.1. [A mixture of prose and poetry.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Les Veillées du Couvent, ou le Noviciat de l'Amour. Poème érotico-satyrique par un bâtard de Mirabeau l'ainé, St.-Cyr et Paris ( - ), L'An de Vénus 5793 [-? 1793] in 18, 141pp. B.M. P.C. 31.c.14. [The 'poème' is in prose.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Zélindor ou Essai sur le Bonheur. See Ismael et Christine, in this section.

MOUTONNET DE CLAIRFONS. Le Véritable Philosophe, ou l'Île de la Philanthropie. Aux mœurs de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Philadelphie ( - ), 1790 in 8°, 171pp. B.N. Z37024. [This edition contains a number of short-stories: Nérimante ou la Bonne Mère, La Promenade Solitaire, Le Sommeil et la Toilette de Vénus, Sophie, ou la Fille bien née, L'Hirondelle et ses Petits, Le Cerf, La Biche, et Le Faon, ou les Hommes sont plus cruels que les Animaux, Céphise, ou le Premier Amour and L'Epervier, Le Perdreau, et la Pie. The work was announced in the Chronique de Paris of 26.2.1791.]

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Les Ambradiques, ou Fragments Thalïo-Priapiques pour servir à l'Histoire du Plaisir. s.l. 1864, 8 parties en 4 vols. in 18. B.N. Enfer 423-426. [First appeared in 1793.]

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Contes Saugrenus. See MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain, in this section.

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Julie Philosophe, ou le Bon Patriote. Histoire à peu-près véritable d'une citoyenne active qui a été tour à tour agent et victime dans les dernières révoltes de la Hollande, du Brabant, et de la France. s.l. 1791, 2 vols. in 18. B.N. Enfer 688-689. [The B.N. also possesses a copy of the novel edited by Apollinaire, Paris (Bibliothèque des Curieux), a.d. Réa. Y<sup>2</sup>2608 (1-2). Apollinaire attributes the novel to Nerciat but offers no certain proof.]

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Mon Noviciat, ou les Joies de Lolotte, s.l. 1792, 2 vols. in 18. B.N. Enfer 455-456.

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. Monrose, ou le Libertin par Fatalité s.l. 1795, 4 parties en 2 vols. in 16. B.N. Enfer 451-452. [According to Monglond, the first edition appeared in 1792.]

NERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. L'Oeuvre de Nerciat. Paris (Bibliothèque des Curieux), 1910-1911, 2 vols. in 8°. [Contains extracts of Nerciat's novels.]

NOGARET, François-Félix. Le Miroir des Événemens Actuels, ou la Belle au plus offrant, Histoire à deux visages. Paris (Palais-Royal), 1790 in 8°, 75pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8709. [Announced in the Chronique de Paris of 2.6.1790.]

MOUGARET, P.-J.-B. Le Danger des Circonstances, ou Lettres du Chevalier de Joinville et de Mlle d'Arane, ainsi que de divers autres personnes intéressantes. Bruxelles et Paris (Defer de Maisonneuve), 1789, 4 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>25533-25536.

PERRIN, Pierre. Wertherie. Paris (Louis), An II, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 18. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>58298-58299. [According to Monglond, first appeared in 1791. The B.M. has three copies: Paris, 1792, 12547.a.12, Liège, 1792, 1074.h.32. and the third edition, 12547.a.21.]

PICQUE, J-P. Veillées Béarnaises. Paris (Guillot), 1790, 2 vols. in 12°. [Loaned from the Bibliothèque Municipale de Bagnères-de-Bigorre.]

POCHET, A. La Boussole Nationale, ou Aventures et Voyages à pied d'un Laboureur descendant du frère de lait de Henri IV. Paris (Imprimerie de la Liberté), 1791, 3 vols. in 8°. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 8788. [The novel was announced in the Chronique de Paris of 7.9.1791. Monglond gives the title as: 'La Boussole Nationale, ou Aventures histori-rustiques de Jaco, surnommé Henri IV, laboureur, descendant du frère de lait de notre bon roi, Henri IV.' He gives 1790 as the date of publication.]

POLLIN, L'Abbé Jean-Baptiste. Le Hameau de l'Agnielas suivi du Ruisseau, et de Cécile et Blondel ou l'Oratoire; et du Nid de la Fauvette etc. par l'auteur du Citoyen des Alpes. Paris (Pellet), 1792 in 12°, 235pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> z85.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. L'Année des Dames Nationales; ou Histoire jour par jour d'une femme de France. Genève et se trouve à Paris (Chez Duchêne, Mérigot jeune, et Louis), 1791-1794, 12 vols. in 12°, 3825pp. [Numbered consecutively, each volume corresponding to a month of the year] B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 62091-62102.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Le Curé Patriote. In Le Palais Royal. vol.3. pp.121-144.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Le Drame de la Vie contenant un homme tout entier, Pièce en 13 actes, des ombres, et dix pièces régulières. Paris (Vve. Duchêne et Mérigot le jeune), 1793, 5 vols. in 12°. B.N. Réss. Y<sup>2</sup> 3372-3376. [As the title suggests, the work is in dialogue form.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Ingénue Saxancour, ou la Femme séparée. Histoire propre à démontrer combien il est dangereux pour les filles de se marier par entêtement et avec précipitation, malgré leurs parents. Liège et Paris (Maradan), 1789, 3 parties en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 43379-43381.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Le Palais Royal. [Also known as Les Filles du Palais Royal.] Paris (Palais Royal d'abord, puis partout, même chez Guillot), 1790, 3 vols. in 12°. Arsenal.  
8° N.F. 33205. [Also in B.M. Tab. 605.b.28. and B.N. Réa. Li<sup>5</sup>407.]

ROCHEFORT, A-T. de. Adraate et Nancy V.Y. St-Maixent (Chez Lainé, rue de la Liberté), An II de la République Française, in 12°, 192pp. B.M. 12515.c.44. [A second edition appeared with modifications in An IX, La Rochelle (Chez Bouyer frères). B.M. 12515.bb.44. Both editions contain the short-story, Tonga et Peggy Nyrédon.] ]

ROERGAS DE SERVIEZ, E-G. Les Prémisses d'Annette. Paris (La Villette), 1792 in 12°, 167pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>z88. [Announced in the Feuille entry 3830.] ]

ROSNY, A.J.N. de. Ulamar et Feltidie. Histoire Allégorique traduite de l'Arabe. Londres et Paris (Gattey), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>9821-9822.

ROUVEROY, de Liège. L'Hospitalité - Idylle. In Esprit des Journaux. Juin, 1794, pp. 157-168.

ROZET, Libraire. Anecdotes Historiques de la Vie de Bogislas X, Duc de Poméranie, surnommé le Grand. Suivies de Korem et Zendar, conte tartare. Paris (Desenne), 1792 in 8°, 72pp. B.N. N36349.  
[The 'conte' is a translation from the English, 'Conversations in Polite Life.', not traced. The 'Anecdotes' could feasibly be genuine but the Poméranie that is described bears a number of resemblances with the France of the end of the 'Ancien Régime'.] ]

RUTLIDGE, James, dit Jean-Jacques. Alphonse, ou les Dangers du Grand Monde, par l'auteur de la 'Quinzaine Anglaise'. Londres et Paris (Regnault), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>13590-13591.

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Oeuvres Complètes. ed. Gilbert Lély, Paris (Au Cercle du Livre Précieux), 1966, 16 tomes en 8 vols. in 8°.

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Aline et Valcour,  
ou Le Roman Philosophique, Ecrit à la Bastille un an avant la  
Révolution de France. In O.C., tomes 4 and 5. [According to title  
page reproduced in tome 16, fig. 38. of O.C., the novel first appear-  
ed in 1793.]

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François. Justine, ou Les Malheurs de la  
Vertu, ed. J.-J. Pauvert, Paris (Club Français du Livre), 1960 in 8°,  
739pp. B.N. 8° Y<sup>2</sup>89327. [The novel first appeared in 1791.]

SANCHARNEAU, J.B. Zamore, ou le Cri de l'Humanité en faveur des  
Esclaves Nègres. In Année Littéraire of 1789, Genève (Slatkine Reprin-  
ts), 1966, pp.391-393.

SEGUR, Alexandre Vicomte de. Correspondance Secrète entre Ninon de  
l'enclos, le Marquis de Villarceaux, et Mme de Maintenon. Paris  
(Renard), 1805 in 8°, 342pp. B.N. 253412. [First appeared in 1789.  
The B.M. has a copy of 1789, 12511.h.6.]

SEGUR, Alexandre Vicomte de. La Femme Jalouse, recueil de Lettres.  
Paris (Henry), 1790 in 8°, 228pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>34158. [The B.N. has a  
second copy, Y<sup>2</sup>s75.]

SELIS, Nicolas-Joseph. Lettres Ecrites de la Trappe par un novice,  
mises au jour par M<sup>e</sup>. Paris (Garnéry), An premier de la Liberté  
[= 1789], in 12°, 122pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2978.

SENAC DE MEILHAN, Gabriel. Les Deux Cousins. Paris (Desenne), 1790 in  
12°, 174pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>68214.

SERIEYS, Antoine. Le Martyr de la Liberté. Paris ( - ), 1790, 2 vols.  
in 12°. B.M. 1208.0.26. [Announced in the Chronique de Paris of  
31.12.1789.]

SOUZA, Mme de., formerly Mme de Flahaut. Adèle de Sénange.  
In Oeuvres. ed. Sainte-Beuve, Paris (Charpentier), 1840, pp. 1-198.  
[In a 'Notice sur l'Auteur et ses Ouvrages', pp. i-xix of this  
edition, Sainte-Beuve states that the novel was written and published  
in London in 1793.]

STAEL, Mme de. Zulma, fragment d'un Ouvrage. In Oeuvres Complètes. Paris (Treuttel et Würtz), 1820-1821, Vol.2, pp.347-374. B.N. 230146. [According to Monglond, the work first appeared in 1794.]

VALETE. Profitez-en, Un Romain aux François. s.l.n.d. [-? 1789] in 8°, 8pp. B.M. R195 (9).

VASSE, Cornélie, Pétronille, Bénédicte, Baronne de. Le Mariage Platonique, imité de l'Anglois. Amsterdam et Paris (Maradan), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>72618-72619. [Possibly the imitation or translation it claims to be, although the original has not been traced.]

VERDAN. La Vie et L'Oeuvre de feu l'Abbé Basin, Evêque de Mizouri en Missouri. Paris ( - ), An VII in 12°, 176pp. B.N. Enfer 564. [First appeared in 1794 ? The work includes: pp. 9-42, a biography of the Abbé Basin, pp.43-100, Valentine, poème. pp.101-128, Histoire de Raoul d'Aigremont. pp.129-173, Haly, fils d'Haly-Bed, conte arabe, pp.174-176, Le Consommé, conte (in verse). The 'Abbé Basin' was a pseudonym used by Voltaire. The 'Introduction' to this work states: 'Sous une enveloppe très gaie, et même un peu graveleuse, cet ouvrage renferme une morale pure, des idées philosophiques, quelques remarques dont la révolution actuelle prouve la justesse.' Basin is supposed to be the author of the works that follow his biography.]

VERNES, F. La Franciade, ou l'Ancienne France. Lausanne (Mourer), 1789, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>72911-72912.

VERNES, F. Le Francinisme, ou la Philosophie Naturelle. Londres ( - ), 1794 in 12°, 330pp. B.N. 8°R25274.

VESQUE DE PUTLINGEN. Le Roi Guict. Histoire Nouvelle, tirée d'un vieux manuscrit poudreux et vermoulu. s.l. 1791 in 8°, 144pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 11397.

VILLETERQUE, A-L de. Les Veillées d'un Malade, ou la Fatalité, Essai Philosophique. Paris (Librairie des Bibliophiles), 1881 in 16, 83pp. B.N. Rés. Y<sup>2</sup>1728. [According to Quérard, the novel first appeared in 1793.]

VOLNEY, C.F. Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires. In Oeuvres Choisies. Paris (Lebigre frères), 1836, pp.1-243.  
B.N. \*E3581. [According to Cioranescu, the work first appeared in 1791.]

WIESENHUTTEN, Frederike, Henriette, la Baronne de. Journal de Lolotte. Francfort (-), 1793, 2 vols. in 8°. B.M. 1102.c.12.

WIESENHUTTEN, Frederike, Henriette, la Baronne de. Lydie de Gersin, ou Histoire d'une jeune Anglaise de huit ans, pour servir à l'instruction et à l'amusement des jeunes Françaises du même âge. Paris (Renouard), An XI in 12°, 115pp. [Dr. Mylne has pointed out that according to the N.U.C. catalogue there is a copy of the 1789 edition in Boston. Quérard gives 1796 as the date of the novel's appearance in the same author's Historiettes et Conversations. Barbier gives 1803 as the date of appearance. The B.N. has a further copy, Paris (Billois), 1812 in 12°, 170pp. r<sup>2</sup>49901. The pages of this edition have not been cut.]

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SECTION TWO.Anonymous Fiction of the years 1789-1794.

Les Adieux de Mme de Polignac aux Français, suivis des Adieux des Français à la même, par l'auteur de sa maladie. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 13pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 1994.

Les Amours Clandestines, ou Parties Nocturnes de l'Abbé de Montesquieu. Paris (L'Imprimerie des Démocrates), 1790 in 12°, 36pp. B.N. Enfer 591.

Les Amours et les Malheurs de Louise. Paris (Maradan), 1790, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 12°. B.M. 12512.a.13.

Anecdote Historique traduite du Turc. Constantinople (Dans le Palais du Sultan), 1790 in 8°, 56pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 8260. [The B.M. Cat. states that the work is 'a political satire'. Its shelf-mark is R.197 (6). The Annones, vol.1, p.249, admits: '...nous n'avons pu rien comprendre à cet ouvrage, sinon qu'il s'y trouve quelques rapports avec les circonstances présentes.' ]

Apparition de Thérèse Philosophe à Saint-Cloud, ou le Triomphe de la Volupté, Dédié à la Reine. Ouvrage volé dans la poche d'un Aristocrate par M. Barnave. Saint-Cloud (Chez la Mère des Grâces), 1790 in 8°, 24pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (16).

Aristarque à Zoile. Paris (Imprimerie de M. Clouzier), 1790 in 8°, 12pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 8328.

Armes Bas. Conte qui n'en est pas un. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 4pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 1940. [A transparent allegory, probably of 1789. ]

L'Arrivée de Louis Capet aux Enfers. Paris (rue Percée, No. 1.), 1793 in 8°, 23pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 383.

Artamon et Suzanne. See anonymous fiction in Section Three.

L'Autrichienne en Goguettes, ou l'Orgie Royale, Opéra Proverbe.  
s.l. 1789 in 8°, 16pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7.(6) [In dialogue form,  
also in B.N. Enfer 375.]

Aventures Intéressantes d'un Orphelin François. La Haye, et se trouve  
à Paris (Chez Froullé - libraire, Quai des Augustins), 1789 in 12°,  
412pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>15297.

Aza, ou le Nègre. Paris (Bailly et Marchands de Nouveautés), 1792 in  
8°, 74pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>86.

La Babiole, ou le Colporteur chez son Libraire, s.l.n.d. [-? 1789],  
in 8°, 34pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2779.

Les Bijoux du Petit Neveu de l'Arétim, ou Etrennes libertines dédiées  
aux femmes ci-devant de qualité. Paris (Delauney), 1791 in 8°, 84pp.  
B.M. P.C. 30.f.21. [A mixture of prose and poetry.]

Le Bon Filz. In Esprit des Journaux, Août, 1793, pp.200-207.  
[Not the same work as the 'conte' with the same title by Dulaurent in  
the previous section.]

Le Bordel National. See Le Bordel Royal.

Le Bordel Patriotique institué par la Reine des François pour les  
plaisirs des Députés à la nouvelle législature, précédé d'une Epître  
dédicatoire de sa Majesté à ces nouveaux Licurgues. Aux Tuilleries et  
chez les Marchands d'ouvrages galants, 1791 in 16, 72pp. B.N. Enfer  
604. [Same work as Le Bordel National.]

Le Bordel Royal, suivi du Bordel National, Neufchâtel (Presses de la  
Société), 1872 in 8°, 58pp. B.M. P.C. 27.b.52. (10) [First appear-  
ed in 1790?]

Le Bordel Royal, suivi d'un Entretien Secret entre La Reine et le  
Cardinal de Rohan, après son entrée aux Etats-Généraux. s.l.n.d. in  
8°, 16pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (19). [Also in B.N. Enfer 606.]

Le Branle des Capucins, ou la 1000<sup>e</sup> tour de Marie-Antoinette,  
s.l. 1791 in 8°, 24pp. B.M. P.C. 27.b.52. (2). [In dialogue  
form, also in B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4893.]

Le Cadran des Plaisirs de la Cour, ou les Aventures du Petit Page  
Chérubin, pour servir de suite à la vie de Marie-Antoinette, ci-devant  
Reine de France. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), s.d. in 18, 84pp.  
B.M. P.C. 30.a.8. [Same work as Le Cadran de la Volupté. Cologne  
(-), s.d. in 12°, 71pp. B.M. P.C. 30.a.29. (3).]

Charidème. See MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. in the previous section.

Les Chevalières Errantes. See DELANDINE, A-F. in the previous section

Chronique Arétine, ou Recherches pour servir à l'histoire des mœurs  
du Dix-Huitième siècle. Caprée (-), 1789 in 8°, 104pp.  
B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (9).

Les Confédérés Vérolés et plaintes de leurs femmes aux putains de  
Paris. Réponse de Mlle Sophie, Présidente des Bordels; Liste des  
bourgeoises qui ont gâté les Députés provinciaux. Paris (Chez Mlle  
Gauthier, maîtresse maquerelle), s.d. in 8°, 32pp. B.M. P.C. 25.a.49.

Confession du Comte d'Estaing, ou Essais Historiques sur son origine  
et sa vie privée, recueillis par un de ses soi-disant amis. Tours  
(Dans son Château), 1789 in 8°, 24pp. B.N. Lb<sup>37</sup>7226,

Le Conte Vrai. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4849. [A transparent  
allegory. The B.N. has a second copy, Y<sup>2</sup>p836.]

Le Conteur. Londres et Paris (Hôtel de Bouthelliers), 1789 in 12°,  
366pp. B.N. Z19809. [A collection of 'contes', many of them  
historical.]

Cormy et Zamore, ou les Illustres Américains. Manoa, et se trouve à  
Paris (Vve. Prault), 1789, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 12°, 335pp.  
B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>24490-24491. [Announced in the Feuille. No. 2654.]

Correspondance Secrète de l'Abbé Vermont, l'Abbé Mauri, et Mme de  
Polignac. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 6pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2127.

Coup d'Œil sur la Société en général en 1792, par J.J.H. Paris  
 (Cercle Social), 1793 in 12°, 118pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 298. [In spite of its misleading title, this work comprises a fictional vision.]

Le Courrier Extraordinaire des Foutours Ecclésiastiques, Ouvrage  
recueilli par Machault, évêque d'Amiens, Neufchâtel (Presses de la Société des Bibliophiles Cosmopolites), 1872 in 8°, 39pp. B.M. P.C. 17.b.36. [The B.N. also possesses a copy, Enfer 625. First appeared in 1790.]

Le Décret des Sens sanctionnés par la volupté, Rome (De l'Imprimerie du Saint-Père), 1793 in 8°, 128pp. B.M. P.C. 30.c.9. [Also in B.N. Enfer 626.]

Les Délassemens Comiques de l'Abbé Maury aux Enfers, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.M. FR. 140. (?) [Sometimes attributed to Restif de la Bretonne.]

Les Défoulements Secrets, ou les Parties Fines de plusieurs députés à l'Assemblée Nationale, Trad. de l'Anglais par A.W. Londres (De l'Imprimerie du Palais de Saint-James), 1790 in 12°, 108pp. B.N. Enfer 627. [Probably not the translation claimed by the title.]

Les Délices de Coblenz, ou Anecdotes Libertines des Emigrés Français. Coblenz (-), 1792, 2 vols. in 18. B.M. P.C. 30. i. 4. [The B.M. has vol. 1. only, wrongly paginated. It should read 72pp. and not 66pp.]

Delphire, ou la Bienfaissance, Conte Pastoral, In Année Littéraire of 1789, Genève (Slatkine Reprints), 1966, pp.566-571.

Le Désespoir de Marie-Antoinette sur la Mort de son Frère, Léopold II, Empereur des Romains, et sur la maladie désespérée de Monsieur, frère du Roi de France, s.l. (Imprimerie de la Liberté), s.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 5803.

Le Diable Boiteux à Paris, s.l. 1790 in 8°, 43pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 8320.

Le Diable Mordax, ou Voyage d'un Descendant d'Asmodée dans diverses régions de la France, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 1372.

Le Docteur Pangloss et le Docteur Martin, ou tout est au mieux dans le meilleur royaume du meilleur des mondes possibles. Dialogue.  
Constantinople ( - ), 1790 in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 2905.

Dom Bougre aux Etats-Généraux, ou Doléances du Portier des Chartreux,  
par l'auteur de la Foutromanie. Foutropolis (Braquemart), s.d. in 8°,  
6pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (4). [ Sometimes attributed to Restif de la  
Bretonne. ]

L'Eau à la Bouche et la Pelle au Cul, Histoire Véritable. Paris  
(Lallemand), 1791 in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Ld 3614.

L'Echo Foutromanie, ou Recueil de Plusieurs Scènes Lubriques et  
Libertines, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 81pp. B.M. P.C. 15. aa.25.  
[ This Nineteenth Century reprint has the date 1875 written in pencil.  
It claims to be a faithful copy of the work 'imprimé à Démocratis,  
Aux dépens des fouteurs démagogues, 1792.' ]

L'Ecouteur, ou une Scirée au Palais de Philippe. Cocopolis ( - ), L'An  
III de la Papirocratie, in 8°, 47pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 5500.

L'Education d'Admète, roi de Thessalie, Conte Patriotique, utile aux  
peuples et aux rois. Traduit du Grec. Paris (Desenne), 1791 in 8°,  
42pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>p831. [ Almost certainly not a translation. The B.N.  
has another copy, Lb<sup>39</sup> 10066. ]

Les Emigrantes, ou La Folie à la Mode, par Mme \*\*\*. Paris (Tous les  
Libraires), s.d. in 8°, 253pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>p87. [ This edition is full  
of pagination errors; it was announced in the Chronique de Paris. of  
28.5.1792. ]

Les Enfants de Sodome à l'Assemblée Nationale, ou Députation de L'Ordre  
de la Manchette aux Représentans de tous les Ordres. Paris, et se  
trouve chez Le Marquis de Villette, Grand Commandeur de l'Ordre, 1790  
in 8°, 44pp. B.N. Enfer 368.

L'Epoque Indulgence, Anecdote Morale, In Décadaire Philosophique,  
Littéraire, et Politique. Messidor, An II, Vol.1, pp.533-539, and  
Thermidor, An II, Vol.2, pp.31-37. B.N. Z23188-23189.

L'Espion Ottoman, ou l'Envoyé Secret de la Porte Ottomane. Paris (Denné), 1791 in 8°, 12pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5118.

L'Esprit Duper du Coeur, ou L'Histoire Véritable du Philosophe Touler, écrite par lui-même. Ouvrage édifiant et orthodoxe. s.l. 1790, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°. Arsenal 8°B22027. [Announced in the Feuille No. 1734, and the Chronique de Paris of 29.10.1791.]

Essais Historiques sur la Vie de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche. Londres (-), 1789, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Réa. Lb<sup>39</sup>73.

Les Etats-Généraux d'Esops, Traduction des Manuscrits de l'Assemblée Générale des Bêtes, tenue dans l'Empire d'Esope. Athènes (-), 1789 in 8°, 24pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>11658.

La Fée Républicaine, In Esprit des Journaux. Septembre, 1794, pp.161-165.

Le Fils de Babouc à Persépolis, ou Le Monde Nouveau. Paris (Imprimerie de Roland), 1790 in 8°, 120pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4449. [The B.N. has two other copies. Y<sup>2</sup>35777, and a copy lacking the title-page but possessing a key to the allegory, Y<sup>2</sup>2112.]

Le Fils Naturel. Genève et Paris (Buisson), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>35799-35800. [Monglong attributes this novel to Loaisel de Trézegatte, but Dr. Mylne has shown me a copy that boasts, 'par Diderot'. The B.N. cat. also attributes the novel to Diderot.]

Les Fredaines Lubriques de J\*\*\* F\*\*\* Maury, prêtre indigne de l'Eglise Catholique. Paris (Aux dépens des immodestes Capucines de la Place Vendôme), 1790 in 12°. B.N. Enfer 38 bis. [This work forms the second part of Les Enfans de Sodome. See that title in this section. It takes up pp.45-71.]

La Galotte de Saint-Cloud, ou le Voyage Extraordinaire de M. Lucas à la Cour. Paris (Imprimerie des Capucins), s.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8936.

Le Génie Conciliateur, Rêve d'un Citoyen. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 15pp. B.M. F. 390. (5). [The B.M. has two other copies, R.88.2. and F.R. 77. (5). Also in the B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6866.]

Grandeur, ou le Héros Abissin, Histoire Héroïc-Politique. Très et se trouve à Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1789, 2 vols. in 12°.  
 Bibliothèque Municipale de Nantes. Belles-Lettres. 31048. Vol. 1. only,  
 [No other copy of this novel has been found in any other library.  
 It was reviewed in the Mercure of 2.3.1791, so the second volume does appear to have existed.]

Histoire de la Galanterie chez les Différens Peuples. Paris (Maradan), 1793, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>42227-42228. [The B.N. lacks vol. 2.  
 'Absence constatée en 1946.]

L'Histoire de la Pendule, fait historique. L'Entente est au Diseur.  
 s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5478. [The B.M. gives 1791 as the date of publication, shelf-mark, F. 34.(2).]

Histoire de la Princesse Liberté. Anecdote Orientale. s.l.n.d. in 8°,  
 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2300.

Histoire de la Vie et les Aventures de la Duchesse de Kingston.  
 Paris (Maradan), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>42247-42248.

Histoire de Pauline. In Esprit des Journaux. Juillet, 1789, pp. 240-252.

Histoire Naturelle, Philosophique et Politique des Âmes, traduite de l'Italien. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 90pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6815. [Probably not a translation.]

Histoire Très Morale, presque sans Réflexions. Mères, ne gâtez pas vos Enfants, car ils finiront par vous battre. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp.  
 B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>9814. [An attack on the Lameth brothers.]

Histoire Véritable de Gingig-le, roi du Mano-Emugi. s.l.n.d. in 8°,  
 23pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6270. [A transparent allegory.]

Horton et Mathilde. Londres et Paris ( - ), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol.  
 in 12°. Arsenal. 8°B23079.

L'Infortuné, ou l'Habitant des Bois, allégorie; par un Philanthrope.  
 In Esprit des Journaux. Mars, 1793, pp. 211-229.

Les Intrigues du Cabinet de la Duchesse de Polignac. s.l. 1790 in 8°,  
32pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (15)

La Jeune Nîçoise, ou l'Histoire de Suckei Thomby. Paris (Letellier),  
1789, 3 parties en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>44085-44087.

Julie Philosophe. See MERCIAT, Le Chevalier Andrea de. in Section One  
Lettres Persanes pour 1789 et 1790, ou Contes de la Mère Baby. s.l.n.d.  
in 8°, 81pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8318.

La Liberté, ou Mlle Raucour à toute la secte anandrine assemblée au  
foyer de la Comédie Française. Lèche-Cou ( - ), 1791 in 8°, 36pp.  
B.N. Enfer 658.

Lindor et Adélaïde. See GOODRICKE, H. in Section Three.

Le Lit de Nocé, ou les Nuits du Docteur Pyrico-Proto-Patouphlet.  
Livre Comique, et cependant médice-philemophilique, traduit tout  
nouvellement de la langue Gasconne, par un berger d'Arcadie.  
s.l. 1791 in 8°, 101pp. B.N. Enfer 696.

Lyndamine, ou l'Optimisme des Pays Chauds. Larnaka (Chez Giovane della  
Rose), s.d. in 8°, 162pp. B.N. Enfer 53. [This copy is a late  
Nineteenth Century reprint that claims, 'Sur l'imprimé de Londres,  
1794.' ]

Marie-Antoinette dans l'Embarras, ou Correspondance de La Fayette avec  
Le Roi, La Reine, La Tour du Pin, et Saint-Priest. s.l.n.d. in 8°,  
48pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (18). [Also in the B.N. Enfer 701.]

Mémoires d'une Jeune Fille écrits par elle-même. Histoire Véritable.  
Bruxelles et Paris (Déter de Maisonneuve), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in  
12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7819-7820. [Another copy in the B.N. Rés. 1761-1762.]

La Monnaie Française, ou les Nuits de la Duchesse de Polignac et  
les Aventures Mystérieuses de la Princesse de Hé... et de la ...  
Ouvrage fort utile à tous les jeunes qui voudront faire un cours de  
libertinage. Tribaldis ( - ), 1790 in 12°, 78pp. B.M. P.C. 30.a.  
29. (1). [Also in the B.N. Enfer 708.]

La Monarchie Infernale, ou Les Etats-Généraux chez l'Pluton. Ouvrage en faveur du peuple et dans lequel le Clergé et la Noblesse trouveront à réfléchir, par un citoyen ami de la vérité. Cerberopolis (-), 1789 in 8°, 17pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6856.

Mylord, ou les Bamboches d'un Gentleman. Lausanne (Chez Quakerman), Cette présente année in 8°, 109pp. B.N. Enfer 68. [This Nineteenth Century reprint claims, 'imprimé sur la copie de Cologne, 1789.' Also in the B.M. P.C. 26.a.20.]

Nitona Franka et le Sultan Patapouf, ou l'Histoire de la Révolution Française à l'ordre du jour. Traduction Libre. Paris (Cercle Social), An V<sup>e</sup> de la Liberté in 12°, 122pp. B.N. Lb<sup>32</sup>468. [Announcing the work on the 30.7.1792, the Chronique de Paris points out: "l'ouvrage sera composé de 16 volumes; confirmed by the Feuille No. 3181. This particular volume is quite complete in itself and concludes with the King's recognition of the legality of the 'Assemblée Nitonienne'.]

Nouveau Conte Arabe. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>944.

Nouveau Décret du Manège - Foutez! L'Assemblée Nationale l'a ainsi décidé, suivi du grand détail concernant les dévots et les dévotes qui ont été fouettés par les dames de la Halle de Paris. Neufchâtel (Presses de la Société), 1872 in 12°. B.M. P.C. 27.b.52. (8). [This edition claims to be 'Réimprimé sur les éditions uniques et introuvables aujourd'hui.']

Nouvelle Assemblée des Notables cocus du Royaume en présence des favoris de leurs épouses. Paris (De l'Imprimerie de Sylphe), An 1<sup>er</sup> de la Liberté in 8°, 63pp. B.M. R.662. (8).

La Nouvelle Epiphanie, ou la Liberté adorée des Mages. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4072. [An allegory with all keys given in notes at the foot of each page, probably 1789/1790.]

Les Nouvelles Liaisons Dangereuses. See Le Danger des Circonstances. by NOUGARET, J-B. in Section One.

Une Nuit de Babylone. Kehl et Paris (Volland), 1789 in 18, 111pp. B.N. 8°Y<sup>2</sup>4911.

Le Pantin des Boulevards, ou Bordels de Thalis, confessions paillardes  
Paris ( - ), 1791, 2 vols. in 12°. B.M. P.C. 15.b.5.

Le Pariside, ou les Amours d'un Jeune Patriote et d'une Belle  
Aristocrate; poème héroï-comique-politique, en prose national. Paris  
(Maradan), 1790 in 8°, 130pp. B.N. Y<sup>57717</sup>. [Announced in the  
Chronique de Paris of 7.7.1790. The B.N. has a second copy, Lb<sup>39</sup>2757]

Philo - Histoire Politico-Philosophique par MM. L...I., Grenadier non  
soldé de la Garde Nationale Parisienne, L....T de Patriophile.  
Paris (Girardin), 1790 in 8°, 78pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8980.

Précis Historique des Causes qui ont amené la Révolution présente dans  
L'Empire de la Cochinchine, par un observateur impartial, petit neveu  
de l'Arretin. Wimbleton ( - ), 1791 in 8°, 146pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>300.  
[This is not a licentious work of the kind normally found in conjunction  
with the name 'Arretin' (sic), but a transparent allegory of  
France.]

Le Rat du Châtelet. s.l. 1790 in 8°, 51pp. B.N. Lf<sup>54</sup>36.

Le Règne du Prince Trop-Bon dans le Royaume des Fols. Conte Oriental,  
ou plutôt Histoire Occidentale, publiée par la Toujours Comtesse de ...  
et dédiée à MM. les rédacteurs du journal intitulé, 'L'Ami du Roi',  
sous la direction de M. Montjoye. Se trouve à Coblenz, à Worms, à  
Tournay, Aix-la-Chapelle, et à Paris (Au bureau de l'Ami du Roi), s.d.  
in 8°, 64pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5704. [This defence of the King proved to  
be most popular. The B.N. has a second edition, Lb<sup>39</sup>5704A, and a  
third edition, Lb<sup>39</sup>5704B. It was reviewed in the Correspondance  
Littéraire of June 1792, p.157. See Section Five.]

Les Religieux et Religieuses Laborieux, ou les Fruits de la Liberté.  
Opuscule Patriotique, dédié aux nones /sic 7 élargies depuis la  
régénération. Paris ( - ), 1790 in 18, 38pp. B.M. P.C. 30.a.23.

Le Rendez-Vous de Mme Elisabeth, soeur du Roi, avec l'abbé de St.  
Martin, aumônier de la Garde Nationale dans le Jardin des Tuilleries.  
Londres (De l'Imprimerie particulière de Lord C\*\*), 1875 in 12°, 24pp.  
B.M. P.C. 30.g.42. [This reprint claims, 'Réimprimé textuellement  
sur l'édition originale et rarissime de 1790.' Also in B.N. Enfer 761]

Le Retour de Babou à Persépolis, ou La Suite du Monde comme Il Va.  
Concordopolis ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 30pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1805A. [This is the  
 second edition, 'revue, corrigée, et augmentée', of a work that  
 appeared in the same year with the same title. The first edition is  
 in the B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1805. It has only 20pp.]

Le Roi Trompé et Détrompé, ou les Bonnes Leçons, Histoire Indienne,  
traduite d'un manuscrit arabe et trouvé au sac de la Bastille, dans  
la chambre du prisonnier au manque de fer. Paris (Palais-Royal), 1790  
 in 8°, 42pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8316.

Rosa ou les Châteaux en Espagne d'une jeune Anglaise, traduit de  
l'Anglois. Paris (Letellier), 1790, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>63555-  
 63556. Vol.2 only. [Possibly a genuine translation, although the  
 original has not been traced. The B.N. does not possess the first  
 volume. The second volume does have the rarity value of an 'Approba-  
 tion' signed on the 1st June 1789 by the Chevalier de Gaigne.]

Le Royaume de Naudelit, ou la France ressuscitée par les Etats-Génér-  
-aux, par un Solitaire. s.l. 1789 in 8°, 94pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>1746.

Les Soirées Amoureuses du Général Mottier et de la belle Antoinette.  
Persépolis ( - ), 1790 in 8°, 32pp. B.N. 1450.e.13.

Le Songe d'un Habitant de Scioto, publié par lui-même. Paris ( - ),  
 1790 in 8°, 47pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>8257.

Le Suédois à Paris. Paris (Palais-Royal), 1792 in 8°, 14pp.  
 B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5717.

Tacomet Ressuscité, voyageant à Paris et en Province. Paris (Bordier),  
 1790 in 8°, 56pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>4370.

Les Trois Mois, ou le Partage du Gâteau. Se trouve par-tout, 1790 in  
 8°, 20pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2804.

Les Veillées de la Bonne Mère Gérard, traduites du bas-breton, par un  
des Amis de la Constitution à Bernai. Paris (Froullé), 1792 in 18,  
 199pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5726.

La Vie de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche. Paris (Chez l'auteur et ailleurs, avec permission de la Liberté), 1791, 3 tomes en 1 vol. in 18. B.N. Enfer 790-792.

Le Viol, par l'Abbé Maurie, s.l. [=? Paris] (De la 6<sup>e</sup> Imprimerie de la Liberté), s.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>3834.

Voyage du Diable et de la Folie, ou Causes des Révoltes de France, Brabant, Liège, et autres. Imprimé dans la Lune, 1793 in 8°, 112pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>2948.

Les Zégris, nouvelle espagnole. In Esprit des Journaux, Janvier, 1789, pp. 202-218.

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#### COLLECTIONS.

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This brief section includes two collections whose presence should be indicated even though, for the most part, they contain only works that had been published elsewhere earlier.

Le Cabinet des Fées, ou Collection choisie des contes de fées et autres contes merveilleux. Amsterdam et Paris (rue de l'Hôtel Serpente), 1785-1789, 41 vols. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>8564-8604.

Voyages Imaginaires, songes, visions, et romans cabalistiques. Amsterdam et Paris (Garnier), 1787-1789, 36 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>9263-9298.

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SECTION THREE.

Prose fiction of the years surrounding 1789-1794, including works wrongly classified by previous bibliographers, translations, and foreign ( i.e. non- French) fiction of the years 1789-1794. These works are classified first by author, then when unknown, by title.

ANDRE, J-F. L'Amour, ou Jemina Gunnar, Nouvelles par une Jeune Dame.  
Traduction Libre de l'Anglois, Paris (Letellier), 1789, 3 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>14097-14099. [A literal translation of the anonymous The Ring, a Novel in a series of letters by a Young Lady, London ( - ), 1784, 3 vols. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>62940-62942. Monglond was not aware of the translation.]

ANDRE, J-F. Entretiens de Zerbès, roi de Lydie, et de son ministre sur la situation des affaires de son royaume. Berne (Société Typographique), 1788 in 8°, 99pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6656.

ANDRE, J-F. Le Tartare à Paris. Paris (Maradan), 1788 in 8°, 158pp. B.N. Z17243. [Another copy in the B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>906, has a number of pagination errors between pp. 65-80.]

ARGENS, Marquis d'. Lectures Amusantes, ou les Délassemens de l'Esprit avec un Discours sur les Nouvelles. La Haye ( - ), 1739, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7779-7780. [Monglond, no doubt following the B.N. Cat. gives 1789 as the date of publication.]

ARNAUD, F-T. Baculard d'. Nouvelles Historiques. Paris (Delalain), 1774, 3 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>14500-14502. [See especially the 'Préface' for a discussion of the novel form.]

BARTHELEMY, Abbé J-J. Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce. Paris (De Bure l'ainé), 1789, 7 vols. in 8°. B.N. J11334-11340.  
 [This work, which first appeared in 1788, borrows fictional methods for classical instruction.]

BEAUVARNAIS, Fanny de. L'Abaillard Supposé ou le Sentiment à l'Epreuve Amsterdam et Paris (Gueffier), 1780 in 8°, 191pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>12618.

[The play that Yorick, the hero of Gorjy's Nouveau Voyage Sentimental (See GORJY, J-C. in this section) sees has this title and the same characters as the earlier novel.]

BELIARD, F. Zélauskin, Histoire Américaine, ou les Aventures de la Marquise de P<sup>re</sup>, Avec un Discours pour la Défense des Romans, par M. B<sup>re</sup>, Paris (Mérigot père), 1765, 4 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7432-7435.

BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE. Paul et Virginie, Paris (Garnier Flammarion) 1966, 189pp. [According to the 'Chronologie', p.8, the novel appeared in Tome 4 of the Etudes de la Nature of 1788.]

BERANGER, J-P. Les Amans Républicains, ou Lettres de Nicias et de Cynire, Genève et Paris ( - ), 1782, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>13646-13647. [The pagination is erratic, pp. 104-240 of Vol. 2.]

BRICAIRE DE LA DIXMERIE, Nicolas. Les Dangers d'un Premier Choix, ou Lettres de Laure & Emilie, La Haye et Paris (Delalain jeune), 1785, 3 parties en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>46287-46289.

BRICAIRE DE LA DIXMERIE, Nicolas. Toni et Clairette, précédé par un Discours sur l'Origine, les Progrès, et le Genre des Romans, Paris (Didot l'aîné), 1773, 4 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7413-7416.

CASANOVA DE SEINGALT, Jacques. Jeannebonni ou Histoire d'Edouard et d'Elisabeth, Spoleto (Claudio-Argentieri), 1928, 5 vols. in 8°. [Appeared in 1788.]

CHARRIERE, Isabelle, Agnès de. Bien-Né, conte. In Observations et Conjectures Politiques, s.l. 1788 in 8°, pp. 35-46. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6666.

CHARRIERE, Isabelle, Agnès de. Caliste, ou Continuation des Lettres Ecrites de Lausanne, Genève et Paris (Prault), 1787 in 8°, 147pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>48986.

CHARRIERE, Isabelle, Agnès de. Lettres de Mistriss Henley publiées par son amie, Genève et Paris (Buisson), 1785 in 12°, 360pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>50910-50911. [See CONSTANT DE REBECQUE, Samuel. Le Mari Sentimental in this section.]

CHARNIERE, Isabelle, Agnès de. Lettres Ecrites de Lausanne, ed. Ph. Godet, Genève (A. Jullien), 1907, 230pp. B.N. 8° Y<sup>2</sup>56553. [First appeared in 1785.]

CHODERLOS DE LACLOS, Pierre. Oeuvres Complètes, Paris (Gallimard - Pléiade), 1943 in 16, 943pp.

COLLEVILLE, Anne-Hyacinthe de. Lettres du Chevalier de Saint-Alme et de Mlle de Melcourt, Amsterdam et Paris (Delormel), 1781 in 12°, 242pp B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7347. [The B.N. also has a copy, 8° R43052, bound in the same volume as PUYSEGUR, F-J. Histoire de Mme de Bellerive. See PUYSEGUR in this section.]

CONSTANT DE REBECQUE, Samuel. Le Mari Sentimental, ou le Mariage comme il y en a quelques-uns, Genève et Paris (Buisson), 1785 in 12°, 360pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>50910-50911. [The Mari Sentimental takes up pp. 1-232 of this volume, Mme de Charrière's Lettres de Mistress Henley pp. 233-302, and an anonymous Justification de M. Henley adressée à l'amie de sa femme pp.303-360. The three works form a kind of unity: Le Mari tells the story of an unhappy marriage and lays the blame on the wife, the Lettres de Mistress Henley picks up the threads of the previous novel and shows the wife's point of view, while the Justification, supposedly written by the husband himself, replies to the accusations of the Lettres.]

DAUBENTON, Marguerite de. Zélie dans le Désert, Londres et Paris (Belin, Desenne, Royer), 1787, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>25954-25955. [First appeared in 1786.]

DIDEROT, Denis. Oeuvres Romanesques, ed. H. Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1962, 906pp.

DORAT, C-F. Contes et Nouvelles, Paris (L. Lefilleul), 1882 in 16, 149pp. B.N. 8° Y<sup>2</sup>102. [See especially the 'Réflexions sur le Conte' which precedes the 'contes'. First appeared in 1765.]

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Lolotte et Fanfan, ou les Aventures de deux enfants abandonnés dans une île déserte, Charles Town et se trouve à Paris (Maradan), 1788, 4 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7224-7227.

DULAURE, J-A. Le Retour de Mon Pauvre Oncle, ou Relation de son Voyage dans la Lune, Ballomanipolis et Paris (Lejay), 1783 in 8°, 59pp. B.N. V<sup>e</sup>1848.

FENELON, François de Salignac de la Mothe. Les Aventures de Télémaque, la Chefs d'Oeuvres Littéraires de Fénelon, Paris (Lefèvre), 1839 in 8°, pp.215-524. [First appeared in 1699.]

FLORIAN, J-P., Claris de. Estelle, roman pastoral, Paris (De l'Imprimerie de Monsieur, chez Debure aîné et Bailly), 1788 in 8°, 236pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>36111. [Includes pp.1-30, the 'Essai sur la Pastorale.' ]

FLORIAN, J-P., Claris de. Galatée, Pastorale imitée de Cervantès. Londres (Baylis), 1787 in 12°, 145pp. Bodleian. Vet.A5.f.1811. [First appeared in 1783.]

FLORIAN, J-P., Claris de. Gonzalve de Cordoue, ou Grenade reconquise par M. de Florian, avec un Précis Historique sur les Maures, Paris (Didot l'aîné), 1791, 2 vols. in 12°. Warwick University Library, Special Collections. [The 'Précis Historique' takes up pp. 1-240 of the first volume.]

FLORIAN, J-P., Claris de. Guillaume Tell, ou la Suisse Libre, Londres (Librairie Romantique), 1829 in 12°, 74pp. Bodleian. 29.99. [Written in 1794, published posthumously in 1810.]

FLORIAN, J-P., Claris de. Numa Pompilius, Paris (Didot l'aîné), 1786, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. Bodleian. Douce F. 24.

GALLAND, Antoine. Les Mille et une Nuits, Paris (Garnier), 1941, 3 vols. [Galland translated the 'contes' from 1704-1715.]

GENLIS, Stéphanie, Félicité, Mme de. Les Veillées du Château, ou Cours de Morale à l'Usage des Enfants, Paris (Impr. de Lambert et Baudouin), 1784, 3 vols. in 8°. B.N. R21764-21766. [First appeared in 1782.]

GOETHE, Johann, Wolfgang. Les Souffrances du Jeune Werther, traduit par B.S.D.S. [= Baron S. de Seckendorf.] Erlangen (W. Walther), 1776 in 8°, 214pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>39196. [First appeared in German in 1774.]

GOODRICK, H. Lindor and Adelmaide. A Moral Tale in which are exhibited the effects of the late French Revolution on the Peasantry of France. By the author of 'Observations on Dr. Price's Revolutionary Sermon. London (Stockdale), 1791 in 12°, 358pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>49288.

[A literal translation appeared in France in the following year - Lindor et Adélaïde. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1792 in 12°, 283pp. (should read 203pp.) ]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Blangay, par l'auteur du Nouveau Voyage Sentimental. Paris (Louis), 1792, 2 vols. in 18. Arsenal. 8° N.F. 4878.

[Also in Vols. 3-4 of the Oeuvres. See Section One. First appeared in 1788.]

GORJY, Jean-Claude. Nouveau Voyage Sentimental. In Oeuvres. Vols. 1-2.

[First appeared in 1784.]

GOUGES, Olympe de. (Pseud. of Marie Gouze.) Mémoire de Mme de Valmont sur l'Ingratitude et la Cruauté de la Famille de Flaucourt envers la sienne, dont les sieurs de Flaucourt ont reçu tant de services. In Oeuvres de Mme de Gouges, Paris (Chez l'auteur et Cailleau), 1788, in 3 vols. in 8°, Vol. 2, pp. 1-136. B.N. Z29358.

HAUDART. Vie et Amours d'un Pauvre Diable, Genève et Paris (Hilaire), 1788, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>76234-76235.

LANGLES, Louis-Mathieu. Fables et Contes Indiens nouvellement traduits avec un Discours Préliminaire et des Notes sur la Religion, La Littérature, Les Mœurs etc. des Hindous, Paris (Royez), 1790 in 12°, 187pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>8554. [These stories appear to be genuine translations.]

LE BASTIER, Ch.-B. Dorbeuil et Céline de Valras, leurs amours et leurs malheurs pendant la tyrannie de Robespierre, Paris (Le Bastier), An III, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>47858-47859.

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Les Amants François à Londres, ou les Délices de l'Angleterre. Londres et Paris (Duchesne), 1780 in 12°, 100pp. B.N. 8° N 119.

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. L'Aventurier François, ou Mémoires de Grégoire Merveil. Londres et Paris (Quillau), 1782, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7260-7261. [The success of this novel led to the publication of the following sequels: Suite de l'Aventurier François. Londres et Paris (Quillau), 1783, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7262-7263. The Seconde Suite de l'Aventurier François, Londres et Paris (Quillau), 4 tomes en 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7264-7267. (Lacks Tome 2), and finally the Dernière Suite de l'Aventurier François, Londres et Paris (Quillau), 1788, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7268-7269.]

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Philosophe Parvenu, ou Lettres et Pièces Originales, contenant les Aventures d'Eugène Sans-Pair, Londres et Paris (L'Auteur), 1787, 6 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>58878-58883.

LESUIRE, Robert-Martin. Le Secret d'être Heureux, ou Mémoires d'un Philosophe qui cherche le Bonheur. Paris (Louis), 1797, 2 vols. in 16. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>68000. [Lacks Vol. 1.]

LOAISEL DE TREOGATE, Joseph-Marie. Ainsi finissent les Grandes Passions ou les Dernières Amours du Chevalier de \*\*\*, Paris (Poingot), 1788, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>49384-49385.

LOAISEL DE TREOGATE, Joseph-Marie. Dolbreuse, ou l'Homme du Siècle ramené par le sentiment et par la raison. Histoire Philosophique. Amsterdam et Paris (Belin), 1783, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°.

LUCHET, J-P.L., Marquis de. Mémoires de Mme la Duchesse de Morsheim, ou Suite des Mémoires du Vicomte de Barjac, par l'auteur des Liaisons Dangereuses, s.l. 1787, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>52545-52546. [A false attribution to Laclos. The first edition of this novel appeared in Dublin in 1786.]

LUCHET, J-P.L., Marquis de. Olinde, par l'auteur des Mémoires du Vicomte de Barjac, s.l. 1784, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°, 256pp. [Both parts numbered consecutively.] B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>57141.

LUCHET, J-P.L., Marquis de. Une Seule Faute, ou les Mémoires d'une Demoiselle de qualité. Bruxelles et Paris (Buisson), 1788, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>72220-72221.

LUCHET, J-P.L., Marquis de. Le Vicomte de Barjac, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de ce Siècle. Londres ( - ), 1784, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 12°, 217pp. [Both parts numbered consecutively.] B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>73025-73026.

MARAT, Jean-Paul. Un Roman de Coeur, Les Aventures du Jeune Comte de Potowsky; publié pour la première fois par le Bibliophile Jacob. Paris (Chlendowski), 1848, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>50614-50615.

MARCHANT, François. Le Roman sans Titre, Histoire Véritable, ou ce qu'il s'en faut, par un philosophe du Palais-Royal. Paris (Maradan), 1788, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>7963-7964.

MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. Apologues Modernes à l'Usage du Dauphin, Premières Leçons du fils ainé d'un Roi. Bruxelles ( - ), 1788 in 8°, 118pp. B.N. 8° Y<sup>2</sup>7552.

MARMONTEL, Jean-François. Bélisaire. Paris (De l'Imprimerie Stéréo-typé de Laurens ainé), 1818 in 12°, 218pp. [The novel first appeared in 1767. This copy ex meiss.]

MAYER, Charles, Joseph de. Les Amours du Chevalier Bayard avec Mme de Randan, et autres romans de M. de Mayer. Paris (Leroy), 1787, 2 vols. in 12°. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>52115-52116.

MERARD DE SAINT-JUST, Mme A.J.F., née d'Ormoy. Histoire de la Baronne d'Alvigny, par Mad. D.M.S.T.N.A.J.F.D.O. Paris (Maradan), 1788 in 12°, 192pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>42188. [The B.N. has another copy of the same edition, Y<sup>2</sup>42189. The same novel appeared in 1793 with the title: Les Dangers de la Passion du Jeu.] [

MERARD DE SAINT-JUST, Mme A.J.F., née d'Ormoy. Rosine et Colette, ou il n'est de bonheur que dans l'égalité des conditions. In Journal Littéraire de Nancy. XIV, 1784, pp. 241-292. B.N. 8° Lo<sup>9</sup>90 bis.

MERCIER, Louis-Sébastien. L'an Deux Mille quatre Cent quarante, rêve s'il en fut jamais. Londres (-), 1771 in 8°, 416pp. B.N. 8°Lb<sup>3</sup>38.

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. les Délassemens d'un Philosophe. Almanach dédié à la Convention Nationale. Paris (Favre-Libraire), An III de la République in 18, 116pp. B.N. Lc<sup>22</sup>377.  
[A mixture of drama, poetry, and fictional prose.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Gérard de Velsen. Nouvelle Historique. Paris (Louis), 1795 in 12, 176pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>52888.

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. La Morale du Deuxième Âge, ou Idylles morales tirées des jeux de l'enfance. Paris (Chez l'Auteur - Imprimeur-Libraire), III<sup>e</sup> Année Républicaine in 32, 72pp. B.N. R18391.

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Les Nuits de la Conciergerie, Rêveries mélancoliques et poétiques d'un proscrit. Fragments échappés au vandalisme. Paris (Girouard), An III in 16, 140pp. Taylor. N.S. 105. G. 40. [Also two copies in the B.N. 8°Lb<sup>41</sup>2103, and Z Beuchot 1612.]

MOUNIER, Jean-Joseph. Adolphe, ou Principes élémentaires de politique et résultats de la plus cruelle des expériences. Londres (--), s.d. in 8°, 108pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>4430. [A dated edition appeared in the year 1795, also published in London, B.N. \*E2806.]

PERREAU, Jean, André. Mirmim, ou le Sage à la Cour. Histoire Egyptienne. Neufchâtel (Imprimerie de la Société Typographique), 1782 in 8°, 148pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>58278. [The same novel reappeared in London in 1789 with the title: Le Bon Politique, ou le Sage à la Cour. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>58277.]

PERREAU, Jean, André. Le Roi Voyageur, ou Examen des Abus de l'Administration de la Lydie. Londres (T.P. Cadell), 1784 in 8°, 215pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>58279.

PIGAULT-LEBRUN. (Pseud. of Guillaume Pigaule de l'Espinoy.) L'Enfant du Carnaval, Histoire Remarquable, et surtout véritable. Rome (A l'imprimerie du Saint-Père), 1796, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°.

B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>32660-32661. [Monglond, quoting Quérard, gives 1792 as the date of publication. This seems highly unlikely. We read, Vol.2, p.204/205 : 'il (le peuple) adora Robespierre / et le chargea d'impré-cations au moment de sa mort.' Later, in Vol.2, p.235, we read: 'un gouvernement doux et sage devait succéder bientôt aux fureurs de l'anarchie.' The novel must have been published post Thermidor An II, i.e. post July 1794.]

PUYSEGUR, François-Jacques, Marquis de. Histoire de Mme de Bellerive, ou Principes sur l'Amour et sur l'Amitié. Paris (Le Jay), 1782 in 12°, 232pp. B.N. 8°R43052. [Bound in the same volume as Colleville's Lettres du Chevalier de Saint-Alme et de Mlle de Melcourt. See COLLEVILLE, A-H de. in this section.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. L'Anti-Justine, ou les Délices de l'Amour, par Restif de la Bretonne. Nouvelle édition sans suppressions conforme à celle originale de 1798. Bruxelles ( - ), 1864 in 8°, 260pp. B.N. Enfer 496.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Contemporaines. Strasbourg (Editions les Yeux Ouverts), 1962, 3 vols. in 16. [This edition contains 18 unabridged 'contes' in facsimile, + 'extraits' du Journal de Neufchâtel of October 1781.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Dangers de la Ville. La Haie [sic] ( - ), 1785, 4 vols. in 12°. Arsenal.8°B22417 (1-4). [This title page stuck over a title page that reads: La Paysane Pervertie, ou les Dangers de la Ville. Histoire d'Ursule R\*\*, sœur d'Edmond, le Paysan, mise au jour d'après les véritables lettres des Personages. Imprimé à La Haie, chez la dame Vve. Duchêne, libraire, en la rue Saint-Jacques, au Temple du Goût. 1784. The novel first appeared in 1784.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. L'Instituteur d'un Prince Royal, tiré d'un ouvrage irlandais intitulé Oribœuf et Oribelle. See RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Veillées du Marais. in this section.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Monsieur Nicolas, Paris (Pauvert), 1959, 6 vols. [First appeared 1794-1797.]

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. La Paysane Perverte. See Les Dangers de la Ville in this section.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. Les Veillées du Marais; ou Histoire du Grand Prince Oribéau, roi de Monmonie, au Pays d'Evinland; et de la vertueuse Princesse Oribelle de Langénie: tirée des Anciennes Annales Irlandaises et récemment traduite / sic 7 en français par Nichols Donneraill du Comté de Korké, descendant de l'auteur. Waterford, Capitale de Monmonie, (-), 1785, 2 vols. in 12°. B.M. Tab.605.c.32. [According to Rives-Child, the novel was reprinted in 1792 with the title: L'Instituteur d'un Prince Royal, tiré d'un ouvrage irlandais intitulé Oribéau et Oribelle.] 7

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, Nicolas. La Vie de Mon Père, Paris (Hachette - Collection du Flambeau), 1963, 188pp. [First edition dated 1779.]

ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques. Les Confessions, Paris (Garnier Flammarion), 1968, 2 vols. [Published in 1782 and 1789.]

ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques. Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse, ed. R. Pomeau, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1960, 829pp. [First appeared in 1761.]

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Dialogue entre un Prêtre et un Moribond. In O.C. Tome 14, pp.53-64. [See Section One for full bibliographical details. The work was written in 1782.]

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. Histoire Secrète d'Isabelle de Bavière. Paris (Pauvert), 1968, 437pp. B.N. 16° Lb<sup>25</sup> 81A. [Written 1764-65.]

SADE, Donatien, Alphonse, François, Marquis de. La Philosophie dans le Boudoir, ou les Instituteurs Immoraux. Dialogues destinés à l'éducation des jeunes demoiselles. In O.C. Tome 3. [First appeared in 1795.]

SAVARY, Claude. Les Amours d'Anas Eloujoud et de Guardi. Conte Arabe. Bagdad et Paris ( - ), 1789 in 16. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 13793. [Appears to be a genuine translation.]

SAVIN. See Facéties Agréables, in Anonymous Fiction at the end of this section.

SENAC DE MEILHAN, Gabriel. L'Emigré. In Romanciers du Dix-Huitième Siècle, ed. Etienne, Paris (Gallimard Pléiade), 1965, Vol.2, pp.1545-1912. [First appeared in 1797.]

SENANCOUR, E.J.B.P.I., Pivert de. Aldomen, ou le Bonheur dans l'Obscurité, ed. Monglond, Paris (Les Presses Françaises), 1925, 92pp. [First appeared in 1795.]

SOUZA, Mme de, formerly Mme de Flahaut. Mlle de Tournon. In Oeuvres Complètes, Paris (A. Eymery), 1821-1822, Vol.6. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 69559. [Monglond gives 1792 as the date of the first edition, but no other reference can be found to justify this early dating.]

VILLETERQUE, A-L de. Zéna, ou la Jalousie et le Bonheur, Rêve Sentimental. Londres et Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1786 in 12°, 150Opp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup> 9372. [The B.N. has a second copy, Y<sup>2</sup> 878. Monglond (wrongly) thought that the novel first appeared in 1792.]

VOLTAIRE. Romans et Contes, ed. H. Bénac, Paris (Classiques Garnier), 1960, 675pp.

WAGNER, J-L. Voyage et Aventure d'un Exilé en Sibérie. Berne ( - ), 1794 in 8°. B.M. 1049.e.34. [Monglond gives the author French status. The B.M. says that the novel is translated from the German. This would appear to be confirmed by the work in the B.N. Mémoires de M. Wagner sur la Russie, la Sibérie, et le Royaume de Casan, traduits de l'allemand, Berne (E. Haller), 1790, 2 parties en 1 vol. in 8°, 254pp. M18106.]

WILLIAMS, Helen, Maria. Letters written in France in the Summer 1790 to a friend in England: containing various anecdotes relative to the French Revolution; and Memoirs of M. and Mme Du F\*\*\*, London (T.Cadell) 1796 in 12°, 223pp. B.N. 8° Le Senne 12483. [The fifth edition; it was translated into French in 1791, the year after the first London edition. The B.N. has a copy, 8° Le Senne 10919.]

ANONYMOUS FICTION.

L'Amant Généreux, Londres et Paris (Guillot), 1788 in 12°, 136pp.  
B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>13623.

Artamon et Susanne, histoire traduite de l'Anglais par L.S.I.B.V.D.P.  
Berlin et Paris (Maradan), 1789, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 12°. B.N.  
Y<sup>2</sup>11728-11729. [Appears in fact to be a translation of a translation  
of Louis-Sébastien Mercier's Jezennemours of 1776, later called  
Histoire d'une Jeune Luthérienne. (In 1785).]

Contes Saugrenus, See MARECHAL, Pierre-Sylvain. in Section One.  
A different work with the same title appeared in 1799, s.l. The B.M.  
has a copy, P.C. 30.d.15. In quarto, it has 87pp.

Les Dangere d'un Amour Illicite, ou le Mariage mal assorti. Histoire  
Véritable, Londres et Paris (Gattey), 1788, 2 vols. in 12°.  
B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>25551-25552. [The novel was reprinted in the following year.  
The B.N. has a copy, Y<sup>2</sup>25553-25554.]

Facéties Amérables, ou Recueil de Contes Historiques, par W.G.M.  
Paris (Chambon), 1794, 2 tomes en 1 vol. in 8°. Arsenal. 8°N.F.4874.  
[Dr. Mylne has pointed out that this is the same work as Savin's  
Mes Soirées, ou le Manuel Amusant of 1775. B.M. 1080.d.31. The  
collection first appeared in 1771 with the title: Le Manuel Amusant.  
The work has been at the binders since at least 1971, but the B.M.  
kindly supplied a list of the 'contes' in Mes Soirées that confirms  
Dr. Mylne's suggestion.]

Lucinde, ou les Amours Traversés, histoire presque véritable, Londres  
et Paris (Monoro), 1788 in 12°, 150pp. B.N. Y<sup>2</sup>49802.

La Morale des Sens, ou l'Homme du Siècle, rédigé par M. de M., Londres  
( - ), 1781 in 12°, 240pp. B.N. R44383. [The B.N. has a copy in the  
Enfer, No. 38, printed in Brussels in 1882. Monglond gives the date  
of the first edition as 1791 and notes: 'Malgré la cote de la B.N.,  
c'est un roman.' Barbier gives 1792 as the date of the first edition,  
but the copy in the B.N. is quite clearly dated 1781.]

Les Politiques du Galetas, s.l. 1788 in 8°, 28pp. B.M. F.R. 9 (8).

SECTION FOUR. Works other than prose fiction, classified first by author, then, when anonymous, by title.

AILLAUD, Abbé Pierre Toussaint. Tableau Politique, Moral et Littéraire de la France depuis le règne de Louis le Grand jusqu'en 1815. Paris (Aillaud et Le Pelicier), s.d. in 8°, 96pp. B.N. 239740. [The date 1815 is given on the binding of this copy. Michaud gives 1823 as the date of the first edition.]

AUGER, Abbé Anthanase. Catéchisme du Citoyen Français composé de l'Esprit et de la Lettre de la nouvelle Constitution. Paris (Crapart), 1791 in 24, 94pp. B.N. Le<sup>3</sup> 231.

AUGER, Abbé Anthanase. Moyens d'Assurer la Révolution, d'en tirer le plus grand parti pour le bonheur et la prospérité de la France. Paris (Garnéry), An 1<sup>er</sup> de la Liberté in 8°, 56pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 7790.

AUGER, Abbé Anthanase. Sur les Gouvernemens en général, et en particulier sur celui qui nous convient. Paris (Cercle Social), s.d. in 8° pièce, 19pp. B.N. E5852.

BALLANCHE, P-S., fils. Du Sentiment considéré dans ses rapports avec la Littérature et les Arts. Lyon (Imprimerie de Ballanche et Barret), 1801 in 8°, 348pp. B.N. 8° R7485.

BARANTE, A-G., Prosper Bruguière, Baron de. De la Littérature Française pendant le Dix-Huitième Siècle. Paris (Colin), 1809 in 8°, 267pp. B.N. Z28397.

BARBEU DE BOURG, Jacques. Petit Code de la Raison Humaine, ou Exposition succincte de ce que la Raison dicte à tous les hommes pour éclairer leur conduite et assurer leur bonheur. s.l. 1789 in 12°, 144pp. B.N. R12074.

BARERE DE VIEUZAC, Bertrand. De la Pensée du Gouvernement Républicain. En France ( - ), 1797 in 8°, 180pp. Arsenal. 8° N.F. 82057.

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PELTIER, J-G. Domine, salvum fac regem. Sur les Bords du Gange ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 31pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 2473.

PELTIER, J-G. Pange Lingua, suite du Domine salvum fac regem. Sur les Bords du Gange ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 22pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 2576.

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ROBESPIERRE, Maximilien. Discours et Rapports de Robespierre. ed. Charles Vellay, Paris (Charpentier et Fasquelle - L'Elite de la Révolution), 1908, 430pp.

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YOUNG, Arthur. Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789. Bury St. Edmunds (W. Richardson), 1792 in 4°. B.N. 88954.

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A tous les Artistes et autres Citoyens. Paris (Imprimerie du Point Central), 1792 in 8°, 7pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>11746.

Adresse des Ouvriers-Imprimeurs de l'Imprimerie Nationale Exécutive du Louvre à la Convention Nationale. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 2pp. B.N. Vp8299.

Les Amours de Charlot et Toinette, pièce dérobée à V... Paris ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 8pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7.(5). [A satire in verse attacking the Queen (Toinette), Artois (Charlot), and supposedly taken from Versailles (V...)]

L'Aristocratie du Libraire Gattey punie par le peuple. Paris (Girard), 1790 in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>3440.

L'Avoué Clairvoyant, ou la Vérité Reconnue, s.l. (Au Temple de la Vérité), 1790 in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>3394.

Les Bordels de Paris, avec les noms, demeures, et prix. Paris ( - ), 1790 in 8°, 24pp. B.M. P.C. 30.f.33. [A project of law to introduce a bill into the Assembly that would place brothels under government jurisdiction.]

Le Boudoir de Mme la Duchesse de Polignac et rapport des scènes les plus curieuses. Paris ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 8pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (21). [Lacks the title page, place and date given at the end. The B.M. has a second copy of this vicious attack on the Duchesse de Polignac, P.C. 21.a.7. (3).]

Le Bréviaire du Républicain, ou les Loisirs d'un Sans-Culotte. Avec des Hymnes et des Chansons nouvelles et républiques, Paris (Laurens jeune), An II in 16, 50pp. B.M. 1193.h.31.

C'est ce qui manquait à la Collection - Ode à la Reine, s.l. 1789 in 8°, 8pp. B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (12). [An attack in verse on the Queen.]

La Chaumièrre. s.l. 1790 in 8°, 11pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>2910. [A pamphlet written in defence of the aristocracy and the nobility.]

Le Code du Républicain Villageois. Paris (Masson - Libraire), s.d. in 18, 64pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>3179.

Comité Provisoire. Hôtel de Ville de Paris. Au sujet de Colportage d'imprimés sans nom d'imprimeur. Paris (Prault - Imprimeur du Roi), 31 Juillet, 1789 in 8°, 2pp. B.N. Lb<sup>40</sup>8. [An act passed to restrict the liberty of the press until a bill had been passed by the entire Assembly. Any distributor of a work not bearing the name of the printer was liable to arrest.]

Les Costumes Théâtraux, ou Scènes Sécrètes des Foires, Petit Muséum de Contes, un peu plus que gaillardes, orné de couplets amoureuses, dédiés aux jeunes gens des deux sexes qui se destinent aux Théâtres [sic]. Enrichis de dix gravures. Hélio-Foutropolis (De l'Imprimerie de Crispinaille, à la Matricule), 1793 in 18, 108pp. B.N. Enfer 624. [Only five of the ten engravings remain.]

De la Liberté du Culte, avec cette épigraphe: Ne fais point à autrui ce que tu ne voudrois pas qu'on te fît à toi-même. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), Octobre 1791 in 8°, 56pp. B.N. Lb 7137.

De la République et de la Monarchie, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 108pp. B.M. R. 195. (18).

Les Derniers Soupirs de la Garce en Pleurs, adressés à la ci-devant Noblesse, et dédiés à la triste, sèche et délaissée Désullian, Libraire au Palais-Royal, en qualité de Garce au premier chef. Branlinos (Chez toutes les putains du Palais-Royal, la demoiselle Désullian, le Rédacteur de ses idées, dans tous les Bordels comme il faut, et particulièrement chez les Religieuses de l'Ave-Maria), L'An de la bienheureuse Fouterie, 5790, in 8°, 15pp. B.N. Enfer 629. [Also in the B.M. P.C. 30.d.28.]

Des Gouvernemens, En France ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 40pp. B.N. Lb 396930.

Détail de la Mort de Louvet, s.l.n.d. in 8°, 4pp. B.N. Lb 42416. [An obituary notice written just after the author's death in 1797.]

L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences et des arts et des métiers, publié par M. Diderot..., et d'Alembert. Paris ( - ), 1751, 17 vols. in folio de texte, 11 vols. de planches, 4 vols. de supplément, 1 vol. de supplément planches, 2 vols. de tables. Arsenal. Usuel.

Essai de Morale et de Politique, s.l. 1791 in 8°, 41pp. B.N. Rz2988.

Essai sur les Rapports du Roman et du Genre Dramatique. In Esprit des Journaux. Juin 1794, pp.178-194.

La France, ce qu'elle a été, ce qu'elle est, et ce qu'elle sera, ou Lettres d'un Français à une dame polonoise. s.l. 1790 in 8°, 99pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 2902.

Les Fureurs Utérines de Marie-Antoinette, femme de Louis XVI. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 12pp. B.N. Enfer 653. [An attack in verse.]

L'Influence de la Révolution sur le Théâtre Français. Paris (Debray), 1790 in 8°, 36pp. B.N. Y 9615.

Instruction Politique à l'usage des bons citoyens et des sujets fidèles. s.l. 1793 in 8°, 157pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 3460.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau - Aristocrate. Paris (Marchands de Nouveautés), 1790 in 8°, 109pp. B.N. F.374. (1).

Lettres de M\*\*\*\* à M. le Chevalier de \*\*\*\*, ou Observations sur les ouvrages de Mme la Comtesse de G\*\*\*, et en général sur l'état actuel de la littérature. Bruxelles et Paris (M. Lambert et F.J. Baudouin), 1782 in 8°. B.N. 253546. [Comprises two letters to a supposed friend in America in defence of Mme de Genlis.]

Lettres de M.L.C. à M.L.M. sur le Divorce. Paris (Du Pont), 1791 in 8°, 56pp. B.N. Rz2997. [Possibly by Louvet de Couvray whose novel, Emilia de Varmont, ou le Divorce Nécessaire et les Amours du Curé Sevin.. appeared in the same year. Louvet's lover was unable to marry him because of an arranged marriage that had failed.]

Le Livre du Républicain dédié aux amis de la vertu. Paris (Chemin), An II in 12°, 120pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 3845.

Le Manuel du Républicain. Paris (Imprimerie Nationale Exécutive du Louvre), An II in 18, 115pp. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup> 3372.

Mémoire présenté à l'Assemblée Nationale en présence des citoyens de la République des Lettres; pour le Corps de Libraires et Imprimeurs de l'Université. Paris (Grange), 1790 in 8°, 16pp. B.N. Q9433.

Le Nouvel Abeillard, ou Lettres progres à l'institution de la Jeunesse.  
s.l. 1789 in 8°, 74pp. B.N. R22953.

Les Offrandes à Priape, ou le Boudoir des Grisettes. Contes Nouveaux  
et Gaillards. Concilium ( - ), 1794 in 18, 108pp. B.M. P.C. 29.b.39.  
[Licitious poems. Also in the B.N. Enfer 725.]

Ordonnance de la Police concernant les entrées des amateurs chez les  
Républicaines du Palais de l'Égalité, suivie de l'Ode à Priape.  
Gratte-mon-Con (Chez Henri Branle-Motte), An 1<sup>er</sup> de la République in  
8°, 36pp. B.M. P.C. 31.b.22. [A list of regulations for prostitutes,  
with a number of obscene engravings.]

La Paillarde Ecclésiastique ou les R<sup>ee</sup> des C<sup>ee</sup>. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp.  
B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6847. [Same work as Les Roup<sup>ee</sup> des Calotines. s.l.n.d. in  
8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>6846., with one small addition. The conclusion  
notes, p.8. : 'La suite des Roup... ecclésiastiques au premier jour.'  
Also in the B.M. P.C. 21.a.7. (11).]

Les Petits Bougres au Manège, ou Réponse de M<sup>ee</sup>. Enculons (et se  
trouve au Palais-Royal, Tuilleries [sic] et Luxembourg, chez Pierre  
Pousse-Fort), L'An second du R<sup>e</sup>ve de la Liberté in 18, 35pp.  
B.N. Enfer 746.

Les Plaisirs de 1793 - Satire. Paris (Pain), 1793 in 8°, 8pp.  
B.N. Y<sup>ee</sup>30199. [A lament in verse on the lack of freedom.]

Le Porte-Feuille du Bonhomme, ou Petit Dictionnaire très utile pour  
l'intelligence des affaires présentes. Londres ( - ), 1791 in 12°,  
132pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>9645.

Portrait du Vrai Patriote. Béthune (Chez le Citoyen Costenoble), An II  
in folio, 1p. B.N. Lb<sup>41</sup>4025.

Le Retour du Bonheur. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup>5158. [Written  
just after the King's flight to Varennes in 1791. His return is  
supposed to herald the return of happiness.]

Les Mourrs des Calotins. See La Paillarde Ecclésiastique in this Section.

Les Simples. Histoire Véritable, Allégorique, et Remarquable. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 2pp. B.N. Y<sup>55472</sup> (4290). [A satire in verse on the state of France in 1789.]

La Vérité découverte par l'utilité des arts. Ouvrage utile aux artistes, aux curieux, et aux amis de l'ordre et de la paix. Paris (Blanchon), 1792 in 8°, 31pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 10673.

Les Vérolés de l'Assemblée Nationale. s.l.n.d. in 8°, 8pp. B.N. P.C. 21.a.7. (10).

Les Vertus Républicaines des Martyrs de la Liberté, ou Litaniess des sans-Culottes qui ont été récitées sur la Montagne de la Liberté le 20 prairial, An II de la République Française une et indivisible. s.l.n.d. in folio, 1p. B.N. Fol. Lb<sup>41</sup> 3911.

Les Vices Découverts, ou Avis à mes concitoyens sur quelques objets importants relatifs à l'état présent des affaires. En France ( - ), 1789 in 8°, 36pp. B.N. Lb<sup>39</sup> 1195.

SECTION FIVE.PERIODICALS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Not specifically bibliographical. (Dates given are those consulted.)

L'Année Littéraire. 1789-1790. Genève (Slatkine Reprints), 1966,  
B.N. Folio Z1718 (1789) and Z1718 (1790).

annonces, Affiches, et Avis Divers. See Journal Général de France.

Chronique de Paris. Août 1789-Août 1793. B.N. 4° Lo<sup>2</sup> 218 (1-8).

Correspondance Littéraire, Philosophique et Critique, ed. Grimm,  
Diderot, Raynal, et Meister. Paris (Garnier Frères), 1877-1882, 16  
vols. in 8°. B.N. Usuel.

La Décombe Philosophique, Littéraire, et Politique. Paris, Floréal  
An II - Fructidor An VIII. B.N. 223188-23213.

L'Esprit des Journaux. Paris, Janvier 1789 - Fructidor An VIII.  
B.N. 248204-48327. [One volume by month.]

Journal Général de France. Paris, 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 1789 - 10 Août 1792.  
B.N. 4° Lo<sup>2</sup> 69. (I-VII). [Also known as the annonces, Affiches, et  
Avis Divers, and as the Petites Affiches,] ]

Le Mercure de France. Paris, 1789-An VII. [Became Le Mercure  
Français. on 7.1.1792, often known simply as the Mercure. Available  
on microfilm in the B.N.] ]

Le Moniteur Universel. Mai 1789-Novembre 1799. [Available as 'Usuel'  
in the B.N.] ]

Petites Affiches. See Journal Général de France.

Le Spectateur du Nord. ed. Rivarol. Paris, 1797. B.N. 261062.

Le Vrai Citoyen. ed. Perreau. Avril 1791-Mai 1791. B.N. 8° Lo<sup>2</sup> 576.  
[The B.N. has Nos. 1,2,3,4,5, and 7 only.] ]

SECTION SIX.

Modern (i.e., Nineteenth and Twentieth Century) critical works and histories of the period.

ALBERT, Maurice. La Littérature Française sous la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration, 1789-1830. Paris (Lecène, Oudin et Cie.), 1891 in 18, 358pp. B.N. 8° Z13278.

ARGENS, Louis. "Le Roman de Faublas et les Influences Contemporaines." Rubriques Nouvelles. Vol.V, Avril 1913, pp.634-640, and Vol.V, Juillet 1913, pp.72-75.

AVEZOU, Robert. "Un pré-romantique dauphinois. L'Abbé J-B. Pollin de la Tronche." Procès-Verbaux de la Société Dauphinoise d'Ethnologie et d'Archéologie. Janvier-Mars 1957, pp. 156-159.

BARBER, Giles. "French Royal Decrees concerning the book-trade, 1700-1789." Australian Journal of French Studies. No. 3, 1966, pp. 312-330.

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SECTION SEVEN.

A Bibliography of Bibliographies. Classified first by the name of the author, then, when anonymous, by title. No mention is made in the bibliography of the catalogues of the two major libraries consulted during the course of this research: The Bibliothèque Nationale, and The British Museum. It goes without saying that both catalogues have been used consistently.

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Année Littéraire. See section five.

Annonces de Bibliographie Moderne, ou Catalogue Raisonné et Analytique des Livres Nouveaux. Paris (Lavilllette), 1790, 2 vols. in 8°. B.N. Q3548-3549. [Abbreviated in references as Annonces.]

Le Bulletin du Bibliophile. See especially, 15<sup>e</sup> Série, 1862, p. 1422, for an article on Les Noeuds Enchantés by Fanny de Beauharnais. See section one.

Cabinet Bibliographique, ou Bureau Général d'Adresses pour la Recherche de toutes sortes de livres. Paris (Jorry), 1790 in 8°, 12pp. B.N. Q9432.

Chronique de Paris. See section five.

Le Courrier de la Librairie, ou le Négociateur des Editions. Lyon (-), 1793. B.N. Q4962. [An isolated example of this one-sheet form of announcement.]

L'Esprit des Journaux. See section five.

Feuille de Correspondance du Libraire. Paris (Aubry et Couret), 1791-1792. [The B.N. has 3 vols. in the Salle des Catalogues. Abbreviated in references as the Feuille.]

Le Journal de la Librairie, ou Catalogue des Livres Nouveaux. Paris (Philippe Denys Pierres), 1782-1789. [The B.N. collection in the Salle des Catalogues concludes with the 1788 volume.]

Journal Général de France. See section five.

Nouveautés Politiques et Littéraires, par l'auteur de la Feuille de Correspondance du Libraire. s.l. 7.1.1793. - 16.12.1793. [There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles which has not been seen. The Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon has an incomplete collection, finishing on the 1.7.1793, shelf-mark, Histoire 7775. The author is probably Aubry.]

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SECTION EIGHT.

Works presumed to be prose fiction that have not been traced in European libraries. (1789-1794)

Novels whose authors are known.

COLLEVILLE, G. Meselle, ou les Amans des Bords de l'Arno, s.l. 1794 in 8°. [Monglond gives 1794. The novel was reviewed in Grimod's L'Alambic. Vol.1, p.5. Grimod gives the date of publication as 1801, Paris (Maradan) in 18, 154pp.]

DUCRAY-DUMINIL, François-Guillaume. Codicille Sentimental et Moral, ou Recueil de discours, contes, anecdotes, idylles, romances, et poésies fugitives. s.l. 1793, 2 vols. in 12°.

FONTETTE DE SOMMERY, Mlle. Le Rosier et le Brouillard. Paris (Caill-eau), 1791 in 8°. [Quérard and Cioranescu.]

GOUGES, Olympe de. (pseud. of Marie Gouze.) Les Trois Urnes, ou le Salut de la Patrie. s.l. 1793 in 8°. [According to Quérard and Michaud, this was the brochure that led to the author's arrest.]

GRAINVILLE, Jean-Baptiste. La Fatalité, roman poétique. Paris ( - ), 1791 in 12°. [Monglond states that this novel is a reprint of the earlier Ismaëls et Tarcis, ou la Colère de Vénus, of 1785. This would seem highly unlikely. The Feuille announces the work, No. 855, saying: 'la scène est en Arcadie et présente un tableau allégorique des premiers jours de la Révolution. ]

LANGLE, Fleuriot, J.Ch., Marquis de. Scirées Villageoises, s.l. 1791 in 12°. [Monglond.]

KERATRY, Auguste-Hilarion de. Contes et Idylles, Paris ( - ), 1791 in 12°. [Announced in the Feuille No. 1067, and reviewed in the Mercure on the 8.10.1791.]

L'AULNAYE, F.H.S. de. L'Habit Gris, ou le juste milieu, roman philosophique, s.l. 1791, 2 vols. in 12°. [Monglond. Quérard gives the author's name as Delaulney and notes that the novel was printed in Germany.]

L'AULNAYE, F.H.S. de. N... A... ou la Conspiration de tous les siècles. Upsal ( - ), 1791 in 8°. [Monglond and Quérard.]

L'ABLEE, J. Valcour et Pauline, ou l'Homme du Jour, s.l. 1792 in 12°. [Monglond.]

LEMIERRE D'ARGY. Les Heureux Modèles, ou l'Ecole du Bonheur, Roman traduit de l'Anglais. Paris (Debray), 1791, 2 vols. in 18. [Known both to Monglond and Quérard, the former pointing out that it is undoubtedly a 'traduction supposée', the novel was reviewed in the Mercure on the 15.1.1791.]

LORY DE NARP, Mme. Les Victimes de l'Amour et de l'Inconstance, ou Lettres de Mme de Blainville. Paris (Laurent jeune), 1792, 2 vols. in 12°. [Monglond.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Azoline, ou la Rose d'Amour, nouvelle turque, suivie des Albigeoisens. Paris ( - ), 1791 in 8°. [Announced in the Feuille No. 854, and known to Monglond and Cioranescu.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. L'Isoitisme, poème en prose. Paris, s.d. in 32. [Known both to Barbier and Quérard, and announced in the Esprit des Journaux of May 1793, p. 414. It appeared in the same volume as L-S.Mercier's La Sympathie.]

MERCIER DE COMPIEGNE, Claude, François, Xavier. Trois Nouvelles, ou Les Loisirs d'un Rentier. Paris (Girouard), 1792 in 18. [Announced in the Feuille No. 2770, and known to Quérard.]

MILLON, Ch. Charlotte Belmont. Amsterdam ( - ), 1789 in 8°. [Known to Quérard, Barbier, and Monglond.]

NESMOND, Mme la Comtesse de. Contes en l'air par Mme la Comtesse de N. Paris (Royer), 1789 in 16, 282pp. [Known to Monglond and to Barbier, who lists the three 'contes' contained in the collection: Histoire du Prince Mignon et de la Princesse Mignonette; Histoire de la Princesse Brindebourg; and Histoire de Tannin de Ronsant et de Jacob de Faussebourg. Fontium and Krauss note a copy in East Germany.]

PELLEPORE, Anne-Gédéon-La Fitte, Marquis de. Les Bohémiens. Paris (Lavillette), 1790, 2 vols. in 12°. [Announced in the Feuille No. 3273, and the Annonces Vol.2, p. 340. Quérard notes that the novel was highly praised and equally rare: 'un admirable, un abominable livre.' Also referred to in the Bulletin du Bibliophile of 1851, p. 408.]

RUTLIDGE, James, dit Jean-Jacques. Mémoires de Julie de M. [Known to Quérard and Monglond, but not mentioned by Las Vergnas in his study of the author.]

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#### ANONYMOUS FICTION.

Adèle et Sophie, ou Lettres de deux jeunes amies, recueillies par Mlle S. Paris ( - ), 1790. [Monglond.]

Aventures et Voyages d'un Jeune Militaire François. Mayence ( - ), 1793, 4 vols. in 8°. [Monglond.]

Les Délassemens du Père Girard, ou la Poule de Henri IV mise au pot en 1792, jeu national. Strasbourg et Paris ( - ), 1792. [Is this a novel? The work is announced in Laveaux's Journal d'Instruction Civique of 1793. See section four.]

Emérance, ou l'Orgueil vaincu par la Raison. Paris ( - ), 1789 in 12°. [Monglond.]

Julien, ou les Délices du Libertinage. s.l. 1790 in 12°. [Gay is the only reference, noting that the novel is very rare. Dr. Mylne suggests that this may be a re-edition.]

Le Magicien Républicain, ou Oracles des Événemens dont l'Europe, et particulièrement la France sera le théâtre en 1793. Paris ( - ), 1793. [Is this a novel? Announced in the Nouveautés Politiques et Littéraires on 21.1.1793.]

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