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The trans-national dimensions of the émigré novel during the French Revolution

The French Revolution exerted a curiously harmonising effect on novelistic production as writers across Europe, especially in those countries immediately bordering France, found inspiration in its events and social ramifications. In particular, the dispersal of émigrés across the continent provided writers with a common series of plot devices through which to explore notions of identity and the interplay of politics and sensibility. Émigrés themselves such as Sénac de Meilhan and Mme Souza wrote novels about emigration, drawing on their personal experiences, but English, German and Swiss writers who witnessed emigration also used it as a device to structure their novels.

Despite the fact that these texts by their nature deal with the crossing of national frontiers and the fact that they were often translated and circulated across cultures, the study of the émigré novel as a genre has, until now, largely been conducted along national lines with the result that the trans-national nature of the development of the genre has not been recognised. It has been customary for literary specialists of the period to distinguish between those novels written by those with direct personal experience of emigration and those written by mere observers, with the result that important contributions to the genre by some of the leading writers of the period in Britain, Switzerland and Germany have not been considered alongside productions by French writers. As a result, the context in which the émigré novel developed as a genre has remained rather vague. The émigré novel by definition engages in an exploration of what happens when two or more cultures, countries, and languages meet when the émigré is forced to leave France and take refuge in another land. The texts explore how cultural expectations and differences can be managed

when national frontiers are crossed and it is my contention that similarly we can only truly understand the development of the émigré novel when we look at the ways in which it is formed through interaction, adaptation, translation across nations and languages.

This article will explore how closely writers of different nationalities were linked by a common approach and how shared plot devices and themes lead to a homogenisation of the émigré novel as subgenre of the sentimental novel. In revealing the interconnections between French, German, Swiss and English émigré novels written and published during the Revolutionary decade, the article aims to highlight the genre's trans-national dimension. To do so it will examine key common themes: the use of the Revolution as a structuring device, questions of verisimilitude and fictionality in the face of these political events, recourse to theatricalization and/or to the pastoral as means of treating or avoiding political reality and the use of illustrations in the published texts. This will provide a fresh insight into the cultural contexts and values at the heart of the creation of a genre that is by definition intercultural.

Although the first French émigrés began leaving France in July 1789, the main wave of emigration coincided with the period of the Terror.¹ Unsurprisingly, the use of emigration as a structuring device in novels follows a similar pattern. There are some early novels which treat the theme, most notably the Swiss writer Louis-Auguste Liomin's *La Bergère d'Aranville* (1792), where an aristocratic brother and

¹ Terror became the means of government on 5 September 1793. Its end is traditionally marked by the death of Robespierre (28 July 1794), though the Thermidorian reaction or "white Terror" backlash against the regime extends the period of violence into 1795. See David Andress, *The Terror. Civil War in the French Revolution* (London, Little, Brown, 2005). For a recent discussion of historians' disagreements around the start and end dates of the Terror, see Paul R. Hanson, *Contesting the French Revolution* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

his sister are helped by a peasant family to escape France through the Pyrenees.² The novel ends optimistically with a double marriage as the nobleman marries his virtuous rescuer and his sister marries the girl's brother. It is not, however, until 1793/94 that we see a flurry of émigré novels across Europe. This trend for novels about émigrés is set initially by writers observing emigration rather than experiencing it first-hand. It is predominantly in the countries surrounding France, precisely those countries seeing the biggest influx of French refugees, that the émigré novel first flourishes. Only later is there a second wave of novels written by those who have actually experienced emigration themselves. In these, the emphasis is placed less on the flight from France and more on day-to-day realities of life in emigration. The earliest of these novels by real émigrés were published in the second half of the Revolutionary decade, but many would only be published at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³

To illustrate how the émigré novel develops as a trans-national literary form, I will be taking a restricted number of novels written almost concurrently during 1793 and 1794 at a time when the Revolution in France was at its most radical. The texts are Isabelle de Charrière's *Les lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d'émigrés* (1793), Therese Huber's adaptation thereof, *Briefe aus den Papieren einiger Emigrirten* (1794), August Lafontaine's *Klara Du Plessis und Klairant* (1794), and Charlotte Smith's *The Banished Man* (1794). Written by some of the most successful writers of the period, they were quickly translated, and so reached well beyond their national borders. This allows us to see how, right from the outset, the émigré novel

² Louis-Auguste Liomin, *La Bergère d'Aranville* (Neufchâtel: Fauche-Borel, 1792).

³ See for instance, Mme de Genlis, *Les Petits Émigrés* (Paris: Onfroy, 1798), Mme de Souza, *Eugénie et Mathilde, ou mémoires de la famille du Comte de Revel* (Paris: F. Schoell, 1811). For more on early émigré novels see Malcolm Cook, "The Émigré novel" in *The French Émigrés in Europe and the struggle against Revolution 1789-1814*, ed. Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave, 1999), 151-64. For more on Mme de Souza, see Kirsty Carpenter, *The Novels of Madame de Souza in social and political perspective* (Bern: Lang, 2007).

was a European phenomenon. As the texts are not well known, I will first present them before going on to analyse their thematic convergence.

The Dutch writer Isabelle de Charrière, living in Switzerland, and in regular contact with a number of émigrés, wrote *Les lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d'émigrés* in 1793, publishing it a year later. A polyphonic epistolary novel, it charts the love letters of Germaine and Alphonse and their interaction with the exile communities of London and Switzerland. It also offers a view of life back in France for both the nobility and pro-Revolutionaries as Germaine is in contact with family members still in France and Alphonse has kept in touch with a childhood friend turned Jacobin. The novel was translated and a continuation added by a German writer, Therese Huber, herself an émigrée, in 1794 under the title *Briefe aus den Papieren einiger Emigrirten*.⁴ Although Madame de Charrière had left her novel with loose ends still to tie (partly as a political gesture), Therese ensures that we find out what happens to all of the characters. She engineers the marriage of the two lovers to offer a vision of a new family model, and reveals a greater optimism in the purpose of Revolution than her Swiss mentor. It was the beginning of an illustrious literary career for Therese, who would write a series of successful novels well into the nineteenth century.

Using emigration as a theme also launched another highly successful literary career in Germany for August Lafontaine when he published his first epistolary émigré novel, *Klara Du Plessis und Klairant* in 1794.⁵ The noble Klara is forced to leave France by her father but she continues to write to her beloved Klairant who

⁴ The novel appears in her husband's periodical, *Friedenspräliminarien*, ed. Ludwig Ferdinand Huber (Berlin: Voss, 1794-96; repr. Bibliothek der deutschen Literatur Mikrofiche-Gesamtausgabe nach den Angaben des Taschengoedeke, Munich: Saur, 1994), vol VI.

⁵ For more on the novel see my article "Claire du Plessis d'Auguste Lafontaine ou Histoire d'un roman d'émigration allemand", in *Destins romanesques de l'émigration*, ed. Claire Jaquier, Florence Lotterie and Catriona Seth (Paris: Desjonquères, 2007), 53-66.

represents the Third Estate. He offers a perspective on the Revolution from inside France while she details the émigré circles of Koblenz. Clairant is initially an enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution but becomes disillusioned with the Republican direction it is taking and, in the end, he also leaves France to be briefly reunited with Klara before the Revolution separates them once more. The novel was translated into both French and English two years later.⁶ For the translator of the French edition, success is sure to come since the novel deals with

Des faits tirés de la scène la plus étonnante qu’ait jamais produit le génie des siècles, la peinture touchante d’un amour pur et vertueux, des descriptions animées, des ressorts variés, une diction simple et pleine d’images, voilà bien des titres pour plaire à une nation sensible et délicate. [n.p.]

Reviewers concur. The *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des lettres* for instance reports that the novel “a eu le plus grand succès en Allemagne, et doit en avoir autant en France, parce qu’elle intéresse par la simplicité du fonds, par l’à-propos des circonstances, par le développement d’une passion qui absorbe et dévore tous les autres”.⁷ It was precisely the mixture of contemporary events and sentiment that made it attractive as a novel and Lafontaine would become one of the most widely translated authors in French at the turn of the century as publishers looked to capitalise on his popularity by offering numerous works of his in translation.

The émigré novel also attracted writers at the height of their literary careers such as Charlotte Smith, the English novelist who had enjoyed considerable success with her poetry and her sentimental novels in the late 1780s. In 1794 she published *The Banished Man*, which was translated into German a year later and into French by

⁶ *Claire du Plessis et Clairant, ou histoire de deux amans émigrés*, traduite par Charles Frédéric Cramer (Paris: de l’imprimerie du traducteur, s.d. [1796]); *Clara Duplessis and Clairant: the history of a family of French emigrants. Translated from the German. In three volumes* (London: Longman, 1797).

⁷ *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des lettres*, 3^e année (1797), IV, 70-82 (70).

the end of the decade, although it was not published in France until 1803, delayed by the untimely death of the translator.⁸ The exile of Smith's noble protagonist, d'Alonville, takes him through Germany before he follows an acquaintance to England, where he falls in love. The death of the King prompts him to return to France where he is captured and brought before his brother, Du Bosse, who sits on the Revolutionary tribunal. Du Bosse allows d'Alonville to escape in the hope that he can convert him to the Revolution. Fearful of the new direction the Revolution was taking, however, he decides to ask d'Alonville to take his jewels and money to London where he intends to join him. Betrayed by his colleagues, Du Bosse is guillotined before he can make good his escape, although d'Alonville makes it safely to Britain and a reunion with his beloved. The plot is far-fetched but Smith felt she could get away with it when the events of the Revolution are themselves "more improbable than the wildest fiction of a disordered imagination".⁹

Isabelle de Charrière, Therese Huber, Charlotte Smith and August Lafontaine were all politically engaged writers who had initially supported the Revolution before their enthusiasm was called into question by the radicalisation of the Revolution. One of the ways in which they worked through their increasingly problematic relationship with the Revolution was by writing émigré novels. By contrast, émigré novels written by those who experienced emigration first hand are characterised by a more hostile stance towards the cause of their misfortune and are predominantly counter-revolutionary in political tone and outlook. Despite this, a number of common elements can be found to link the novels of these English, German, and Swiss writers

⁸ Charlotte Turner Smith, *The Banished Man* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1794); *Der Verbannte. Ein Roman aus der Englischen der Charl. Smith* (Hamburg: Bachmann & Gundermann, 1795); *Le Proscrit par Charlotte Smith, auteur d'Emmeline, d'Ethelinde, de Célestine, de Montalbert, des Promenades champêtres, etc, etc, traduit de l'anglais sur la seconde édition par feu L.-Antoine Marquand* (Paris: Le Normant, An XI- 1803).

⁹ Charlotte Turner Smith, *The Banished Man* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1794), II, 6. Consulted 19/08/09 via *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*.

to those written by the French émigrés themselves. To illustrate this, I will be examining the text that for a long time was seen (in France at least) as instigating the émigré novel as a genre, Sénac de Meilhan's *L'Émigré*. It was written in 1794, and therefore at the same time as the novels listed above were appearing, but not published until 1797.

Sénac shares with Charlotte Smith an awareness of how the rules of novel writing have been altered by the momentous daily events in France but unlike the novels by Isabelle de Charrière, August Lafontaine and Charlotte Smith, Sénac's text was neither enthusiastically received by the European literary press nor translated into other languages. It disappeared without a trace until rehabilitated in the twentieth century. It has been heralded as the embodiment of the genre by modern critics: "*L'Émigré* n'est pas l'histoire anecdotique de quelques individus, c'est le panorama emblématique de l'émigration", but claims for its uniqueness have to be nuanced when the text is placed alongside contemporary German and British émigré novels such as those by Lafontaine and Smith.¹⁰ The plot concerns the marquis de Saint Alban, an émigré taken in by the German comtesse de Loewenstein and her family when he is injured fighting against the Revolutionaries. The timely death of her husband legitimises their love for each other but Saint Alban is ordered to return to the émigré army and take command of a battalion of émigrés. Captured by the Revolutionary forces, he commits suicide rather than face the guillotine. The sentimental is firmly and tragically entwined with the political events of the Revolution and Sénac's personal distaste for the Revolution comes across clearly in the course of the novel.

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¹⁰ Michel Delon, preface to *L'Émigré*, 11.

One very obvious link between these five texts is the focus on the development of the protagonists' love for each other against the backdrop of Revolution. These émigré novels belong firmly in the sentimental tradition. The use of contemporary political events as a catalyst for the complications to the sentimental plot in fact reduced the differences between the sentimental traditions in France, Germany and Britain. The sentimental novel of the second half of the eighteenth century had developed national particularities with the British novel, for instance, focusing on the sentimental heroine's efforts to remain chaste (with Richardson's *Clarissa* as model) whereas the French tradition concentrated more on the separation of lovers through parental opposition or the injustices of society. The Revolution provided a new focus in the political fallout from the momentous events taking place in France and the emergence of emigration as a theme resulted in a blurring of the national distinctions as novelists used the same plot devices, historical events and scenery as the protagonists cross from one country to another in search of refuge. The forced displacement of protagonists opened the sentimental novel to a wider sphere of action and made it more genuinely European, at a time when war made actual travel more difficult.

An examination of these selected novels from 1794 will enable us to see how there is a merging of sentimental tropes in the émigré novels of Germany, Switzerland, Britain and France. The Revolution marks a swansong for the epistolary novel as the dispersal of friends and families across a war-torn Europe provides a perfect backdrop to fictional correspondence. The epistolary form is itself, of course, a means of recreating a lost society torn apart and dispersed by the Revolution. Isabelle de Charrière's *Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d'émigrés* begins in conventional sentimental fashion with two lovers separated by circumstances beyond

their control. “Errants et malheureux”,¹¹ Alphonse and Germaine have been forced apart by the Revolution and by Germaine’s father who disapproves of Alphonse’s refusal to join Condé’s émigré army. Alphonse cannot bring himself to fight against his country, marking him as a “good” émigré rather than an intransigent supporter of the Ancien Régime like Germaine’s father. The traditional sentimental forcing apart of the young couple is given new impetus through the political dimension to their involuntary separation. Similarly, in Lafontaine’s *Klara du Plessis und Klairant*, Klara is forced into emigration by her father; then the decrees of the National Assembly outlawing émigrés render the separation permanent as Klara cannot return to France and Klairant is unable to leave. Once the monarchy has fallen on 10 August 1792, however, he no longer has to decide between his love and loyalty to his country and leaves France to find Klara.¹²

The private sentimental plot is moved firmly into the public domain by the Revolution, but the coding so familiar to readers of the sentimental genre remains firmly in place. The sentimental heroes are always clearly portrayed as “good” émigrés, forced to leave their homeland by the authority of someone else, but determined to integrate into the new country in which they find themselves. For example, Germaine sets about learning English in Madame de Charrière’s novel and Klara learns German in Lafontaine’s. “Bad” émigrés are equally clearly signalled: they are invariably proud and haughty, frivolous and superficial. Madame de Charrière’s portrayal of London émigrés and Lafontaine’s representation of the émigrés in Koblenz were at least partly drawn from life. We know that a number of the French exiles whom Madame de Charrière met in Switzerland “l’avaient irritée

¹¹ Isabelle de Charrière, *Romans, Contes et Nouvelles I: 1763-1797*, ed. Patrice Thompson and Dennis Wood, *Œuvres complètes*, VIII, ed Jean-Daniel Candaux and others (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1980).

¹² *Klara du Plessis und Klairant, Geschichte zweier Liebenden*, 3e édition (Berlin: Voss, 1801).

par leur morgue, leur frivolité, leur incompréhension de la situation”,¹³ while Lafontaine was praised in the press for the veracity of his pen portraits, further highlighting the extent to which the public and the private, reality and fiction are intermingled bring new life to the sentimental tradition.¹⁴

The politicization of the sentimental novel

It has long been accepted that the Revolution led to a politicisation of the novel at the end of the eighteenth century. The plot summaries of the novels given above make that clear. Harro Zimmermann, for one, has concluded that there is barely an event of the period that does not find itself incorporated into the many novels written in Germany in the 1790s.¹⁵ In Britain, the novel also became a weapon against the danger that Revolutionary France was deemed to present. Matthew Grenby has identified over fifty novels in the 1790s which explicitly looked to combat French radicalism.¹⁶ The use of émigrés as protagonists in German and British fiction allowed writers to express their disapproval of the turn of events in France. Readers were encouraged to feel sympathy for lovers or families (though usually the former in keeping with the traditional focus of the sentimental novel) separated by the events of the Revolution and often facing economic difficulties in exile. The novels are made up of a potent mixture of sensibility, current affairs and social realism that reinforced

¹³ Raymon Trousson, *Isabelle de Charrière. Un destin de femme au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1994), 253.

¹⁴ One critic thought he could recognise individuals of his acquaintance. See the *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 20 (1795), 225-28 (226).

¹⁵ Harro Zimmermann, “Die Emigranten der französischen Revolution in der deutschen Erzählliteratur und Publizistik um 1800”, in *Francia. Forschungen zur west-europäischen Geschichte*, 13 (Sigmaringen, 1985), 305-53. See also Gonthier-Louis Fink, “La littérature allemande face à la Révolution française (1789-1800). Littérature et politique, libertés et contraintes”, in *Deutschland und die französische Revolution*, ed. Jürgen Voss, *Beihefte der Francia* 12 (Munich, 1983), 249-300.

¹⁶ Matthew Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

the conservative standpoint of the readership and governments of those countries surrounding and threatened by the new French Republic.

The perambulations of the plot of the émigré novel of 1794 are closely linked to the political events of the Revolution, providing the sentimental novel with a new focus and significance. The Revolution serves as more than simple backdrop; it is a structuring device to mark the stages in the relationship between the separated lovers. In Lafontaine's *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* it is the fall of the Bastille, the storming of the Tuileries on 10 August 1792 and the fall of Verdun (2 September 1792) that mark the stages in Klara and Klairant's relationship. In Charlotte Smith's *The Banished Man*, it is the death of Louis XVI (21 January 1793) that accelerates the development of the plot as it is the execution of the King that prompts d'Alonville's return to France and his embroilment in the Terror.

The epistolary format is particularly suited to conveying a variety of perspectives on events since correspondence between acquaintances in different countries allows authors to reflect varying opinions on the Revolution by their characters. In fact, these novels of 1794 do much to encourage a break down of the rigid class distinctions that the binary anti-aristocratic logic of the Terror had created. The noble Klara's love for the commoner Klairant is the most obvious example, but Isabelle de Charrière's Alphonse remains in contact with his childhood friend Fonbrune despite the latter's Jacobin sympathies. It is entirely in keeping with the tenets of sensibility that birth should not stand in the way of friendship: as Alphonse says, "la diversité d'opinion est-elle considérable quand les cœurs sont également honnêtes et les esprits également droits?" (*Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d'émigrés*, 438). The sentimental novel had always implied that exponents of sensibility were offering an alternative social order by emphasising nobility of the

heart rather than birth but in the Revolutionary context this becomes even more important as the characters are able to transcend political difference and thereby reject the extremist ideology of both the ultra monarchists and the Jacobins.

It is no coincidence that novels about émigrés started to appear across Europe while the Terror was at its height. The contrast between the noble victims of fanaticism and the self-serving ambitious Revolutionaries allowed British and German writers to denounce the excesses of the Revolution. It is perhaps a little more surprising that these texts were then translated and published in France, but these émigré novels only begin to appear in French from 1795 onwards and so form part of a broader reaction against political extremism under the Directory. Madame de Charrière had problems finding a publisher for her early émigré novel, knowing that “pas un jacobin n’en seroit content mais on n’y ménage pas les émigrés ni en général l’aristocratie”.¹⁷ The translations often bear the marks of the translator’s political stance. Therese Huber’s German translation of Mme de Charrière’s novel for instance reflects her more obvious pro-revolutionary and pro-democracy stance. It also adapts the novel to fit better with the burgeoning German émigré novel tradition, emphasising the sentimental, increasing the emotional intensity, and blaming the “wrong turn” the Revolution had taken on the egotism and small-minded ambition of a handful of individuals.¹⁸

The French translator of Charlotte Smith’s *The Banished Man*, Louis-Antoine Marquand, also effects changes in the text, some subtle, some blatant, to reinforce his Republican standpoint and minimise Smith’s apparent regrets about the course of the

¹⁷ Isabelle de Charrière, *Correspondance IV: avril 1793-décembre 1794, Œuvres complètes*, IV, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux and others (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1982), letter 1204, November 1793.

¹⁸ For more on how Therese Huber alters Mme de Charrière’s intentions in her translation and how her standpoint is shared by August Lafontaine, see my article “Adapting the Revolution: Therese Huber and Isabelle de Charrière’s *Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d’émigrés*”, in *Translators, Interpreters, Mediators: Women Writers 1700-1900*, ed. Gillian Dow, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 99-110.

Revolution. Where Smith uses the word “gentleman” to refer to the hero, Marquand always translates this as “honnête homme” to emphasise the nobility of d’Alonville’s heart rather than his lineage. He reduces the praise of Marie-Antoinette found in the English original and adds footnotes defending French Revolutionary practice when he feels Smith is unfairly criticising the advantages the Revolution had brought. He even changes an entire scene to reconcile better his political views and those of the original novel. In *The Banished Man*, Charlotte Smith opposes the “good” aristocrat d’Alonville (the émigré) and his brother, Dubosse, who has betrayed his lineage by throwing himself wholeheartedly into the Revolution. He is portrayed as a fanatical monster who tries to persuade his brother to embrace the Revolutionary cause. In Marquand’s translation, however, the scene is rewritten to show a repentant brother who wishes to make amends for his initial support of the Revolution by helping d’Alonville escape the Revolutionary tribunal’s clutches. The alteration of the plot allows Marquand to place the blame for the Terror on a handful of misguided individuals and to retain the Republican high ground whereas Smith’s portrayal of the diabolical Dubosse brings her text closer to the British anti-Jacobin tradition.¹⁹

It can be seen that the émigré novel is doubly politicized since plots are firmly tied to the political events of the Revolution and authors’ own political standpoints are inextricably tied up in the narrative. The latter is particularly evident when the texts are translated as the mismatch between the opinions of the translator and of the author are often highlighted for the reader’s benefit. Despite the fact that real events provide the narrative framework for all these émigré novels, and they are praise for their social and political realism, they all call into question the notion of verisimilitude

¹⁹ For more on how the translation alters the original novel, see my article “Charlotte Smith’s *The Banished Man* in French Translation; or The Politics of Novel Writing during the Revolution”, in *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism*, ed. Jacqueline Labbe, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 129-43.

through a deliberate recourse to the theatrical. In the context of 1794 this is in itself a political statement and it is worth exploring further the apparent contradictions between artificiality and verisimilitude in our featured novels.

Theatricalization and the romancical

The links between politics and theatre during the Revolution are now well documented.²⁰ The parallels extend to émigré novels which are constructed in such a way as to emphasise the theatricality of political life at the time. This is a particular feature of the novels of 1794 that disappears from later émigré novels where the emphasis is much more on verisimilitude.²¹ Instead, Smith, Huber, Lafontaine, and even Sénac de Meilhan render their novels deliberately dramatic. Theatricalization works on a number of levels within the texts. On a linguistic level, the authors have frequent recourse to the vocabulary of the theatre, referring to scenes, tableaux, and drama. This is in part due to the extraordinary events of the Revolution propelling the plots. As the translator of Lafontaine's *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* into French, Karl-Friedrich Cramer, reminds us in his introduction, the novels are based on "faits tirés de la scène la plus étonnante".²² The notion of the theatrical is also extended to the plots themselves. It is the performance of a play that precipitates the separation of Klara and Klairant in Lafontaine's novel; the couple take advantage of Klara's father's absence at the Assemblée des notables to have Klairant play the lead role opposite his beloved. It is this performance which leads to their secret love for each

²⁰ See for instance Paul Friedland, *Political Actors: representative bodies and theatricality in the age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), and Susan Maslan, *Revolutionary Acts: Theater, democracy and the French Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2005).

²¹ See Stéphanie Genand's introduction to *Romans de l'émigration (1797-1803)* (Paris: Champion, 2008), 29.

²² August Lafontaine, *Claire du Plessis et Clairant, ou histoire de deux amans émigrés*, traduite par Charles Frédéric Cramer (Paris: de l'imprimerie du traducteur, s.d.[1796]), n.p.

other becoming obvious to the audience. Both Charlotte Smith and Sénac de Meilhan introduce their protagonists by presenting the reader with a highly dramatic scene. Smith writes that “a very affecting scene presented itself” when describing how D’Alonville and his dying father are found outside the castle at Rosenheim while Sénac uses the phrase “tableau” to describe how the countess de Loewenstein first came across her wounded émigré, the Marquis de Saint Alban.

The use of theatrical vocabulary and imagery is supplemented by a number of references to novels, novelistic devices and discussions surrounding plausibility as the émigré novel writers explored the boundaries of fiction and reality that the Revolution had called into question. As Sénac de Meilhan famously wrote in the Préface to *L’Émigré*, “Tout est vraisemblable, et tout est romanesque dans la révolution de la France”.²³ He is, of course, echoing Charlotte Smith’s earlier reminder to her readers that the events of the Revolution are “more improbable than the wildest fiction of a disordered imagination”.²⁴ These reminders of the impact of the Revolution on fiction are played out time and again in the novels of 1794. The Comtesse de Loewenstein repeatedly refers to Saint Alban as if he were a knight errant in *L’Émigré*; d’Alonville in Charlotte Smith’s *The Banished Man* is granted exceptional heroism, risking his life three times in the first half of the novel, and is similarly likened to the courtly tradition and to Don Quixote, which of course reinforces the sense of artifice. Klairant, in *Klara du Plessis*, despite being a commoner, is also portrayed as a knight errant and all three novels knowingly play with the tradition of the chivalric tale. This is not primarily as a political, counter-revolutionary gesture but to heighten the sense of artifice and drama. De Meilhan is explicit in his exploitation of novelistic clichés; as he points out “les Français dispersés sur toute la Terre présente une variété infinie

²³ Sénac de Meilhan, *L’Émigré*, ed. by Michel Delon (Paris: Folio, 2004), 33.

²⁴ *The Banished Man*, II, 6.

de scènes touchantes, trop souvent tragique et dont plusieurs sont romanesques” (108). The deliberate use of cliché and the explicitly self-aware and often tongue-in-cheek references to the improbability of the plot, of coincidence and of staging reflect the authors’ attempts to revise notions of verisimilitude at a time when the Revolution made it seem as though nothing were impossible. The larger-than-life protagonists and their heroic behaviour are part of this reassessment of the role of fiction at a time of crisis.

The deliberately artificial and theatrical presentation of the heroes of Charlotte Smith and Sénac de Meilhan’s novels is increased when they are considered side-by-side. The parallels between the opening scenes are surprisingly strong, to the extent that one wonders if Sénac had already read or had heard of Smith’s novel when he was composing his own. Interestingly, the opening *tableaux* are also chosen as subject matter for the frontispiece to the first volume of *L’Émigré* and of the translation of *The Banished Man, Le Proscrit*.²⁵ Both novels open with the setting of a German castle, laden with Gothic potential in the case of Smith, and chivalric splendour in the case of Sénac. The life of the inhabitants of the castle has already been indirectly disrupted by Revolution but the arrival of wounded émigrés completely changes the situation. In Smith’s novel, Madame d’Alberg hears the cries of the wounded de Fayolles and his son d’Alonville outside the castle windows as they look for protection from the storm, having escaped from a skirmish with the Revolutionaries. Taken in by the generous Madame d’Alberg and her mother, the Baroness of Rosenheim, their aid comes too late to save the father, but d’Alonville is able to repay some of the generosity with a series of good deeds for the two women.

²⁵ *Le Proscrit par Charlotte Smith, auteur d’Emmeline, d’Ethelinde, de Célestine, de Montalbert, des Promenades champêtres, etc, etc, traduit de l’anglais sur la seconde édition par feu L.-Antoine Marquand* (Paris: Le Normant, An XI- 1803).

Sénac de Meilhan opens *L'Émigré* with a remarkably similar plot device. Out walking, the comtesse de Loewenstein, her mother and her uncle find “un jeune homme en uniforme rouge brodé d’or, qui était évanoui au pied d’un arbre” (37), wounded after he had been left hopelessly outnumbered in an encounter with Revolutionaries the day before. In both novels, the absent husband allows the young wife to take centre stage and be attracted to the suffering hero, even if the romance is not subsequently pursued in *The Banished Man*. The fact that each novel opens with a wounded émigré is a clear signal to the reader that the émigré is a figure of pity as well as valour.

The illustrations for the frontispieces of the French texts highlight the central significance of the wounded émigré. Du Pré’s illustration for *L'Émigré* [illustration 1], engraved by Salomon Benet, shows the wounded Saint Alban under a tree supported by his servant and a peasant, with a carter bringing a hatful of water to help revive him. The uniform and sword instantly mark out the protagonist as noble; the concern of the villagers and servant indicate the hero as being someone worthy of sympathy rather than approbation. In *Le Proscrit*, François Huot draws de Fayolles in a mirror-image pose to Du Pré’s illustration for *L'Émigré* [illustration 2], only with his son’s rather than a servant’s arms around him, but similar concern shown from the castle servants as from the peasant in the illustration for *L'Émigré*, and with Madame d’Alberg stretching out her arms to help as a parallel to the gesture by the carter in the Du Pré drawing. These two frontispieces are as remarkably close as the original descriptions; the very visual tableaux created by the two authors proving an irresistible draw for the commissioned illustrators.

Despite the conventions of sentimental fiction and the deliberate use of the dramatic, the theatrical and the chivalric, the novels were often praised for their

realism and their representation of the Revolution. Both the critic in the *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* and A. W. Schlegel in the *Jenaische Literaturzeitung* praised Lafontaine's *Klara du Plessis* for its use of contemporary events and its realism.²⁶ The *Magasin encyclopédique* praised the translation of the novel for its verisimilitude, in contrast to "ces nombreuses productions éphémères qui n'amuse même pas l'oisiveté, dont les invraisemblances accumulées détruisent tout l'intérêt qu'on a cru y répandre, dont les incidens mal amenés persuadent presque que les auteurs ont commencé à écrire sans dessin, et n'ont eu que les observations de leur imagination pour guide".²⁷ Schlegel also had praise for the accuracy of the German translation of Smith's *The Banished Man, Der Verbannte* (1795) while the *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung* found Mme de Charrière's *Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d'émigrés*, read in Therese Huber's German adaptation, excellent in its reflections on the Revolution.²⁸ We can see from these reviews how the émigré novel is at the forefront of the renewal of the sentimental code in its emphasis on realism.

The tension between the political realities and the implausible plots so apparent to modern readers rarely features in reviews of the period even though it is visible not only in the novels themselves but also in the illustrations. The protagonists shake off the disadvantages of emigration to reassert their heroism, generosity and nobility while the background to each illustration anchors the characters in a realistic setting. Much is made of foliage in the illustrations, with trees often strong focal points in the composition of each scene, reminding us of the significance of the natural world and the pastoral as themes in the novels.

²⁶ *Neue Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 20 (1795), pp. 225-28 (p. 226); A. W. Schlegel, Recension der jenaischen Literaturzeitung, 1797, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XI, 110.

²⁷ *Magasin encyclopédique*, IV (1797), 70.

²⁸ *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, 372, 25 November 1794.

Malcolm Cook has provided a useful definition of the pastoral during the period as “a picture of an idyllic world in a real framework”,²⁹ a notion which chimes well with the intermingling of realism and implausibility in the émigré novel. The pastoral is a theme to be found in all of these émigré novels from 1794. Even when a novel ends in tragedy, the lovers are able to have a period of idyllic peace and happiness in a rural setting before the realities of the Revolution re-impose themselves. The Revolutionary decade saw a revival of the pastoral as a literary device, especially in France. One of the earliest novels published by an *émigrée*, Mme de Souza’s *Adèle de Senanges* (1794) exemplifies the use of the pastoral, as the characters retreat to a country estate. Adèle finds peace on an island symbolically situated at the heart of the estate, so that she is doubly distanced from society.³⁰ The withdrawal from society in order to recreate paradise away from politics is found in all the texts I have been focussing on. Klara and Klairant have a brief interval of happiness hidden in a forest far away from her parents before the outside world and the Revolution precipitate the final tragedy; D’Alonville in *The Banished Man* finds rest and love in his idyllic countryside retreat in England, as does Germaine in Mme de Charrière’s *Lettres trouvées dans des porte-feuilles d’émigrés*, even if the unfinished nature of the latter precludes the security of a happy ending. The translator of Lafontaine’s novel, Karl-Friedrich Cramer, who was himself an exile who had left Germany to take refuge in Paris, says in his preface that he believes that it is the pastoral nature of the text that will make it successful in France.

In many ways the recourse to the pastoral reflects a psychological response to the Revolution, which explains its prevalence throughout the Revolutionary decade.

²⁹ Malcolm Cook, *Politics in the Fiction of the Revolution 1789-1794, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth-Century*, 201 (1982), 233-340 (290).

³⁰ *Adèle de Senange* in *Romans de femmes du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. by Raymond Trousson (Paris: Laffont, 1996).

For those forced to leave France, the pastoral serves as an escape from the uncertainties of the new order, a refuge and a place to take stock. Psychologists working with trauma victims have identified retreat as one of the first stages in the response to the traumatic event as victims turn inwards as a way of coping with what has happened to them and this approach has been extended to include literary responses to traumatic events by a number of critics.³¹ We can see the émigré novel as providing not only the archetype of Revolutionary suffering³² but also a form of refuge, with the pastoral idyll at the heart of each text. The retreat into an Edenic and restricted countryside existence allows the émigrés the space to recreate the social bonds and restore the trust broken by the Revolution. As Klairant says to Klara in Lafontaine's novel, "un tilleul, une colline, une chaumière, des hommes droits et simples à qui nous puissions faire du bien, voilà tout ce qu'il nous faut".³³

The quiet and regulated life our émigrés lead in the countryside offers the perfect space in which they can come to terms with how their lives have been turned upside down. Critics have often dismissed the literature of the Revolution as simply a form of escapism, but Judith Herman has shown that the absence of reference to a trauma is not an escape from reality but a response to it.³⁴ The narration of the traumatic event begins with numbing or denial as it has yet to be truly witnessed and the pastoral interludes in these émigré novels, written at the height of the Terror, are

³¹ For more on trauma and literature see Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed experience: trauma, narrative and history* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history* (London, Routledge, 1992).

³² For more on this see Stéphanie Genand's introduction to *Romans de l'émigration*, 18.

³³ *Claire du Plessis et Clairant, ou histoire de deux amans émigrés*, traduite par Charles Frédéric Cramer (Paris: de l'imprimerie du traducteur, s.d. [1796], II, 157).

³⁴ See Judith Lewis Herman, *Trauma and Recovery. From domestic abuse to political terror* (London: Pandora, 1994), 42 and passim.

used to reflect this period of silence and set up conditions propitious to the gradual reintegration of the traumatised into society.³⁵

The fact that for Klara, Klairant, Saint Alban and the Comtesse de Loewenstein there can be no happy ending, that the Revolution intervenes once more in their lives and this time destroys them, reflects the pessimism of writers and émigrés across Europe as the Revolution reaches its most fanatical stage. Later émigré novels would move beyond this initial response to the collective trauma of emigration and begin to bear witness to the experience. The symbolic function of the pastoral is seen most obviously in Lafontaine's novel where the development of the lovers' relationship is carefully mapped onto the chronology of the Revolution. The brief moment of happiness in their rural retreat coincides with the trial and death of the King, although no explicit mention is made of these external events. The regicide passes without comment, a silence reinforced by the emptiness of Klara and Klairant's forest refuge. The pastoral interlude in *The Banished Man* is also interrupted by the death of the King, announced in a letter read in company. The failure of the pastoral experiment, which proves itself incapable of resisting the intrusion of political reality, is a reminder that in 1794 there seemed little way out of the spiral of Revolutionary violence and extremism.

Gestes admirables

Although there was a paper shortage during the Revolution in France itself, great effort is made to provide frontispiece illustrations for émigré novels. Booksellers were hoping to attract readers by offering them, since it was more lucrative to sell illustrated novels. The images were not simply decorative, however. They reinforce

³⁵ For more on literary responses to the trauma of the Revolution, see my forthcoming monograph on the subject.

the moral and political messages of the novels and rely on universal gestures meant to be understood clearly and unambiguously. Even the illustrator's choice of images "à l'anglaise" for the frontispieces to the volumes of *Le Proscrit* does not prevent the composition, choice of scene and gesture from being instantly recognisable and coded. The inter pictorial links between the illustrations within each novel and, more specifically, between novels reinforce the intertextual links and show the extent to which the creation of the émigré novel as a genre was a collective affair of European inspiration.

As the first thing the reader would see, the illustration selected for the opening of a novel is a clear signal of intent. It serves as a translation of a verbal language into a visual one and the interaction of the two forms, their convergences and differences tell us much about the values inherent in the sentimental novel.³⁶ The decision to include frontispieces in émigré novels is therefore a significant one which merits further examination. On opening *Le Proscrit* or *L'Émigré* there can be no doubt that the wounded nobleman is to be an object of pity in the text to follow. The topos of the émigré worthy of sympathy, of "le plus touchant intérêt", to use one of Sénac's phrases (preface, 32) is, of course, the central idea underpinning both Charlotte Smith's and Sénac de Meilhan's novels and its importance is highlighted in the choice of scene for the volume 1 frontispiece [illustrations 1 & 2]. The prominent position of trees, especially in the illustration for *L'Émigré*, are a reminder of the stability of the old order, and the death of the father in Sénac's text serves as reference to the death of Louis XVI, father figure for the royalist émigrés. The illustrations serve to reinforce

³⁶ For more on the illustrated book as a field of research, see Christina Ionescu, "Introduction: A theoretical framework for the study of eighteenth-century word and image interaction", in *Word and Image in the long eighteenth century: an interdisciplinary dialogue*, ed. Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 1-21.

the overarching purpose of each novel, an idea reinforced by the subsequent illustrations to later volumes.

Those undertaking the illustrations for these émigré novels are closely attuned to the political sympathies of the authors. Wilhelm Jury's 1797 illustrations for the new, improved edition ("Neue, verbesserte Auflage mit Kupfern") of *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* in 1798 reinforces the idea that the initial focus of the novel is on the three Orders in France, with a family scene as frontispiece to volume 1 showing Klara with her brother and parents and Klairant's uncle, Prior of the Abbé de Châtillon, representing the first two Estates and Klairant in the background indicating the, as yet, minor role of the Third Estate [illustration 3]. The next illustration has Klairant centre stage with his arm around Klara and the peasants of her father's estate celebrating their announced union [illustration 4]. Klara's parents, off to one side, and symbolically outside the gates of the Château they will soon leave, signal their disapproval through body language and facial expression. The image sums up the initial enthusiasm for the Revolution felt by Lafontaine and many of his contemporaries, with the proposed marriage between Klairant and Klara representing the union of the Orders in France. The three hats we see in the air are perhaps also symbolic of this naïve optimism that the union of the three Orders is possible, although the intrusion of the pitchfork serves to remind us of the violence and precarity of the Revolutionary situation.

Illustrations representing scenes from the Revolution are scarce in these émigré novels, despite the fact that it is the Revolution driving the plot. This is principally because book illustration during the Revolution was marked by "an

unwillingness to take risk”,³⁷ with the consequence that the illustrations focus on the sentimental elements of the plot rather than the political. Huot’s illustration of d’Alonville in front of the Revolutionary tribunal, frontispiece to volume 3 of *Le Proscrit*, Marquand’s translation of Charlotte Smith’s *The Banished Man*, is, therefore, highly unusual in this respect [illustration 5]. The choice of subject matter again reveals a perceptive reading of the political implications of the novel, suggesting that it was perhaps the editor (B...y de G...E) who selected the scenes for illustration rather than Huot himself. For both Smith and Marquand, the Terror, in this instance represented by the Revolutionary Tribunal, is the cause of the Revolution going wrong. The frontispiece serves as a reminder of how the Revolution has been betrayed in the author’s and translator’s eyes, as well as reinforcing d’Alonville’s tragic heroism. He stands bare-headed before the tribunal as they look down upon him from the other side of the altar rail. The fact that in addition to the three sans-culottes sitting in judgement, d’Alonville finds himself facing his brother and the corrupt priest Heurtoufen is a further reminder of how corrupt, irreligious and self-serving the Revolution had become by this stage in Smith’s view.

This example of an explicitly political image of a victim in front of the Revolutionary tribunal is unusual because the majority of the illustrations in these novels focus on the private. In this respect, the illustrations are less innovative than the novels themselves where it is the interplay between the public and the private that leads to a renewal of the sentimental genre. By contrast, the engravings reproduced as frontispieces for the final volumes revolve around the union of the lovers, reducing the scope of the novel from a Europe-wide exploration of love, duty and conflict against the backdrop of Revolution to the basic premise of the sentimental novel: that

³⁷ Antony Griffiths, *The Pannizi Lectures 2003: Prints for Books. Book illustration in France 1760-1800* (London: The British Library 2004), 141.

at the end the hero will be united with his woman. This final image offers a notion of stability that the novels themselves do not always reinforce; the illustrations prefer to close on the reassuring image of happiness and reunion and not on death or separation.³⁸ In this instance, the illustrations are modifying the significance of the text rather than amplifying the author's intentions.³⁹ The final illustration for Lafontaine's *Klara du Plessis* shows Klairant on one knee embracing Klara, although the presence of her parents in the background serves as indication, for those who know how to read the coded message, that all will not end well [illustration 6]. At the end of the novel, Klara will die and Klairant disappear (with a suggestion that he might commit suicide): the brief union of the lovers quickly forgotten in the tragic demise of the heroine. Similarly the final illustration for *L'Émigré* shows Saint Alban on bended knee before the Comtesse de Loewenstein [illustration 7]. Her mother and uncle are in the background and the smile on the uncle's face makes it clear that they approve of the relationship, in contrast to Klara's father in the final illustration in the Lafontaine volume. The Comtesse's mourning clothes, however, serve a dual purpose: they advance the plot as it makes her available to the marquis but they also signal the conclusion of the novel, which ends with the deaths of the marquis and the Comtesse, the marquis by his own hand to avoid the guillotine, and the Comtesse out of grief at his death. Curiously, when an émigré novel does end happily, as is the case with *Le Proscrit*, the final illustration, while still containing the image of the lovers united, does not make that the central focus of the engraving [illustration 8]. Huot's

³⁸ We have already noted Antony Griffith's reflection that there was a reluctance to take risks during the Revolution with regard to book illustration.

³⁹ For more on the ways in which illustrations extend, amplify or modify the texts they accompany, see the introduction to David Adams, *Book illustration, taxes and propaganda: the Fermiers généraux edition of La Fontaine's Contes et nouvelles en vers of 1762* (SVEC 2006:11) and Renata Schellenberg, "Conclusion: words and images, texts and pictures", in *Word and Image in the long eighteenth century: an interdisciplinary dialogue*, ed. Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 338-60.

drawing concentrates on the death of the dastardly Brymore, who is expiring after his duel with d'Alonville in the foreground, lying in a mirror-image pose to d'Alonville's dying father in the first illustration, while d'Alonville and Angelina embrace under the beneficent gaze of Angelina's mother Mrs Denzil in the background.

Given that the illustrations were playing on the traditional focus of the sentimental novel, that is to say the love interest first and foremost, it is no surprise that the shared heritage of visual imagery leads to similar scenes being chosen for the final illustration to each novel. More curious perhaps is the illustrators' choice to include family members in these scenes. Klara and Klairant embrace under the gaze of her parents, d'Alonville and Angelina in front of her mother, Saint-Alban is at the Comtesse de Loewenstein's knees while her uncle and mother look on from the doorway. The intrusion of family members into the private shared intimacy of the reuniting of the couple is a reflection of the way in which the social had intruded on the private during the Revolution. It also indicates the importance of the family to relationships in a post-Revolutionary age and heralds the way for the restriction of the female to the domestic sphere in France under Napoleon, a development begun during the Terror when women were systematically removed from the public sphere.

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The émigré novel is a variant on the sentimental novel but one which brings new elements to the genre in its intermingling of politics and the private lives of its protagonists. This reflects the redrawing of the boundaries between public and private that took place as a result of the social upheaval caused by the Revolution. The events that unfolded in France were an irresistible draw for both readers and writers as the fashion for émigré tales spread across Europe. One of the reasons that the genre was so successful was its suppleness, something that allowed it not only to cross national

borders but also political leanings. With a careful juxtaposition of implausible, clichéd and romantic plot elements and the political reality of the period, authors were able to offer an interpretation of the Revolution appropriate to their national audience. So Therese Huber in *Briefe aus den Papieren einiger Emigrirten* adapts Madame de Charrière's novel to reflect her own pro-democratic views while suggesting that the Revolution's faults can be ascribed to pride and personal ambition, a view shared by August Lafontaine in his novel *Klara du Plessis und Klairant*. This suggests there is a "German" view of where things had gone wrong. Charlotte Smith uses the Terror to highlight the superiority of the British political system in *The Banished Man*, an attitude that her translator, Marquand, consistently attempted to tone down for his French, Republican readership. All, however, shared a representation of the Revolutionary fanatic as Other, the Other which allowed the writers to redefine their own notions of patriotism while depicting the émigré as victim. For it is on the hero that the focus remains. The émigré may start the novels injured, ill, alone or lost but his natural superiority as man of feeling and hero soon reasserts itself as he embarks on a dizzying series of rescues, escapades and adventures. As Stéphanie Genand points out, the focus on the male émigré reverses the traditional Enlightenment focus on the suffering heroine in sentimental fiction: "le roman d'émigration, en privilégiant la souffrance des hommes, s'inscrit contre une tendance profonde de la littérature des Lumières: plus qu'un nouveau personnage, c'est une nouvelle sensibilité dont il jette les fondements".⁴⁰

While later émigré novels focus on the financial difficulties of emigration and paint a less chivalric existence, these novels from the Terror concentrate instead on "gestes admirables". After all, when everyday life provided "les rencontres les plus

⁴⁰ Stéphanie Genand. *Romans d'émigration*, 18.

extraordinaires, les plus étonnantes circonstances”, when “les plus déplorables situations deviennent des événements communs, et surpassent ce que les auteurs de roman peuvent imaginer”⁴¹ novelists had little choice but to focus on the tragic, the heroic and the deliberately theatrical. In so doing they created a literary vogue that reflected the uncertainties and challenges of the momentous period in which they were writing and one which serves as a useful indicator of the circulation of ideas and images at a time when writers were reassessing notions of verisimilitude, and when the daily events of the Revolution were often stranger than fiction.

⁴¹ Sénac de Meilhan, préface, *L'Émigré*, p. 33.

Key to illustrations

Illustration 1: Sénac de Meilhan, *L'Émigré* (Brunswick: Fauche, 1797), frontispiece to Volume 1. Bibliothèque et Archives du Québec (843.59/Se 55 b)

Illustration 2: Charlotte Smith, *Le Proscrit* (Paris: Le Normant, An XI- 1803), frontispiece to Volume 1. Reproduced by permission of Special Collections, University of Birmingham.

Illustration 3: August Lafontaine, *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* (Berlin 1798) frontispiece to Volume 1. ©The British Library Board (12548.bb.21)

Illustration 4: August Lafontaine, *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* (Berlin 1798) Plate opposite p. 160. ©The British Library Board (12548.bb.21)

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Illustration 6: August Lafontaine, *Klara du Plessis und Klairant* (Berlin 1798) Plate opposite p. 488. ©The British Library Board (12548.bb.21)

Illustration 7: Sénac de Meilhan, *L'Émigré* (Brunswick: Fauche, 1797), frontispiece to Volume 4. Bibliothèque et Archives du Québec (843.59/Se 55 b)

Illustration 8: Charlotte Smith, *Le Proscrit* (Paris: Le Normant, An XI- 1803), frontispiece to Volume 4 BnF – L & A – Y2-68650. BnF-DRE-Utilisation réglementée.