

Original citation:

Astbury, Katherine. (2006) Une chaumière et un cœur simple : pastoral fiction and the art of persuasion 1790–92. Nottingham French Studies, Volume 45 (Number 1). pp. 5–19.

Permanent WRAP url:

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/62063>

Copyright and reuse:

The Warwick Research Archive Portal (WRAP) makes this work of researchers of the University of Warwick available open access under the following conditions. Copyright © and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable the material made available in WRAP has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full items can be used for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge. Provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

Publisher's statement:

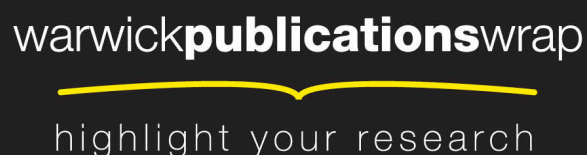
This article has been accepted for publication by Edinburgh University Press in Nottingham French Studies.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2006.002>

A note on versions:

The version presented here may differ from the published version or, version of record, if you wish to cite this item you are advised to consult the publisher's version. Please see the 'permanent WRAP url' above for details on accessing the published version and note that access may require a subscription.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: publications@warwick.ac.uk



<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/>

Une chaumière et un cœur simple. Pastoral fiction and the art of persuasion 1790-92ⁱ

[pre-print version of 'Une chaumière et un cœur simple. Pastoral fiction and the art of persuasion 1790-92' in *Revolutionary Culture: Continuity and Change*, ed. by Mark Darlow, Nottingham French Studies 45 (1), special issue Spring 2006, pp. 5-19.]

*

A virtuous but penniless nobleman incurs his uncle's wrath by marrying without his consent and has to make a living by farming to survive; his avaricious cousin tries to do him out of his uncle's inheritance but is foiled by a good *curé*. (Marmontel, *La Veillée*)

*

A *philosophe* in search of the key to happiness finds a couple living in isolation in the depths of a forest and they provide a practical demonstration of how it is to be found. (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *La Chaumière indienne*)

*

A young girl is made pregnant by an Englishman. Forced to leave the humble paternal home, she works disguised as a boy until she comes across her seducer and they marry, thus restoring her good name. (Florian, *Claudine, nouvelle savoyarde*)

*

These are three plot formats that hold few surprises for anyone who is familiar with the sentimental fiction of the second half of the eighteenth century. Happiness is found away from the corruption of town, the innocent *paysanne* represents the lost purity of a more innocent age, *sensibilité* has replaced birth as the standard of merit, virtue is rewarded. Variations of these themes were played out endlessly in the years leading up to the Revolution, especially in the moral tales that were published in the periodical press, often by amateur writers. But these three plots are not drawn from fiction of the Ancien Régime. There were published in 1790, 1791, and 1792 respectively, thus making them fiction of the Revolution.ⁱⁱ And they were not written by amateur writers but three of the most successful *hommes de lettres* not just of the pre-revolutionary period but of the Revolution itself: Marmontel, Bernardin de Saint Pierre and Florian. In fact they are some of the 'biggest

names' to have been publishing during the Revolutionary decade, instantly recognisable to contemporary readers if largely forgotten today. Marmontel, *secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie française*, had enjoyed phenomenal success with both his *contes moraux* of the 1750s and 1760s and his philosophical novels, *Bélisaire* and *Les Incas*. Bernardin's *Paul et Virginie* had taken the literary world by storm when it appeared as part of his *Etudes de la nature* in 1788. Florian's fables, *nouvelles* and his pastoral novel, *Estelle*, had revived all three genres in turn during the 1780s.

The plots of these three tales, the curé's contribution to *La Veillée* (Marmontel), *La Chaumière Indienne* (Bernardin de Saint Pierre) and *Claudine, nouvelle savoyarde* (Florian) may surprise. They appear to have nothing to do with the Revolution at all. Henri Coulet for one believes that Marmontel's *Nouveaux Contes moraux* 'ne contiennent rien qui se rapporte aux événements révolutionnaires'.ⁱⁱⁱ Furthermore, these three eminent writers were not alone in producing fiction seemingly removed from the social and political reality of the early years of the Revolution. In fact a substantial proportion of the fiction published in the first years of Revolution had no evident connection with the events taking place in France. Faced with this phenomenon, most studies of literature of the Revolution ignore or play down these 'nonpolitical' texts, approach them somewhat apologetically or take them out of context.^{iv} Studies of the literature of the Revolution have always preferred to concentrate on the obviously political novels.^v And yet Marmontel's *Nouveaux Contes moraux*, Bernardin's *La Chaumière indienne* and Florian's *Nouvelles Nouvelles* run to more editions than any other fictional works during the early phases of the Revolution up to September 1792.^{vi}

The conscious decision here to avoid overtly political texts in order to concentrate on sentimental fiction may seem at odds with this article's focus on the art of persuasion. The pamphlets which sprung up in their thousands, the radical or counter-revolutionary novel would appear more obviously intent on propaganda and politics than these more traditional literary forms, but the number of works written on non-revolutionary-related topics is substantial enough to warrant further examination. After all, it is generally accepted that fiction at the time was influential in changing attitudes and acted as a mirror of these attitudes,^{vii} and there were so many authors producing apparently nonpolitical prose in the early years of the Revolution that determining why will provide fresh insight into the role of

the writer at a time of social and political upheaval. By showing the largely neglected, idyllic prose of 1790-92 in a new light, I will demonstrate that it is not as far removed from current events as it may at first appear but instead an essential element in a wider process of regenerating and politicising the nation.^{viii}

Establishing a corpus

Malcolm Cook has firmly linked what he calls ‘the pastoral myth’ to the time of the Republic when writers such as Blanchard, Ducray-Duminil and Dulaurent were writing idyllic pastorals in which ‘the language of the Republic is overwhelming’.^{ix} Lise Andriès also dates the apogee of pastorals and ‘la vague sentimentale’ to An II.^x But rural scenes, *bons vieillards* and a simple style are not just to be found from September 1792, they abound much earlier, long before the pastoral’s potential for Republican propaganda is fulfilled.^{xi} The early pastorals of 1790 and 1791 appear to have nothing to do with the Revolution and yet are, from the number of re-editions, clearly what people were reading. They might be taken as evidence of denial of the Revolution were it not for the fact that they were written by both keen supporters of the Revolution and by those who embraced it less enthusiastically. Their popularity alone deserves more attention but a further advantage of examining fiction without explicit political references or innovative methods to convey them is that it allows us to gauge more effectively the impact of the Revolution on the literary world. By comparing forms and publishing outlets in existence before and during the Revolution, such as the moral tale or the literary journal, in contrast to the more radical revolutionary journals, pamphlets or overt propaganda, we gain insight into a side of the Revolution that is usually ignored. For instance, the *Mercure de France*, the state journal with exclusive *privilèges* under the Ancien Régime, remains one of the most widely distributed periodicals of the first years of the Revolution^{xii} and yet no study of its literary section from 1789 onwards has been carried out.^{xiii} This is despite the fact that its reputation was enhanced in late 1789 when Panckoucke attempted to revitalise it by appointing Marmontel, de la Harpe and Chamfort as literary editors. Marmontel’s primary role was quickly established: he would provide monthly *contes* at a time when political events were reducing significantly the proportion of the journal devoted to literary matters. At a time when few were continuing the literary tradition, the *partie littéraire* of the *Mercure de France* and Marmontel’s *contes* in particular, which continued through until the spring of

1793, stand out as significant productions. The *contes* were reprinted in the *Esprit des Journaux* and the *Journal Encyclopédique*, thus making Marmontel a high-profile figure in the literary world of the Revolution.

Despite the phenomenal success of *Paul et Virginie* and the critical attention it has received, there is no modern general study of Bernardin de Saint Pierre's works.^{xiv} A writer full of humanitarian ideas with an eye for local colour and the wonders of nature, Bernardin remained true to the political ideas of the *philosophes* while imparting explicitly Christian messages. *La Chaumière indienne* was enthusiastically reviewed in the *Mercure de France* when it was published in 1791. The review (19 February 1791) is 434 lines in length, which is far more column space than any other fictional work reviewed in the *Mercure* that year. *La Chaumière indienne*, following on from *Paul et Virginie*, allows us to see how a writer renowned for his depiction of nature, virtue, and simplicity responds to the Revolution. Similarly, Florian, whose first series of *nouvelles* was published in 1784, is another established Ancien Régime writer who has attracted little critical attention but who provides a point of comparison between the old regime and the new. In addition, works such as Bronner's *Idylles* (1789; reviewed in the *Mercure* on 30 January 1790), Berquin's *Bibliothèque des villages* (1790), Jauffret's *Les Charmes de l'enfance* (1791) and Kératry's *Contes et Idylles* (1791), reveal that, regardless of writers' political stances,^{xv} one of the most characteristic tones for fiction of the constitutional monarchy phase of the Revolution was the idyllic and pastoral. Did they choose the pastoral as a form which would allow them to please readers of all political leanings, since in the absence of politics readers could interpret them as they chose, or simply because it was uncontroversial? If writers from across the political spectrum were using the same form, we need to ask why this was the case.

Fiction as a continuation of the Ancien Régime?

Are writers just continuing the themes, the forms, the concerns that occupied them during the Ancien Régime? Angus Martin has used Marmontel's *La Veillée* (published in instalments between January and September 1789) as proof of the 'stability' (read 'stagnation') of the moral and thematic concerns of the *Mercure* storytellers from 1760s through to the early Revolution.^{xvi} Dietmar Riege has suggested continuity can be found on

a much wider scale than just in the tales of the *Mercure*.^{xvii} Malcolm Cook has suggested that ‘the numerous *contes moraux* and *histoires morales* belonged to a tradition of literature which the Revolution does not interrupt’.^{xviii} But is there really a seamless continuation of tradition? Are writers really merely exploiting existing conventions?

If the tales of Marmontel, Bernardin and Florian are examined in context – something critics rarely attempt – it can be seen that there are distinct shifts after 1789 in tone, theme, and intention. Florian provides the most useful comparisons because of the number of tales he wrote (6 published *Nouvelles* in 1784, 6 *Nouvelles Nouvelles* written in 1791 and published in 1792).^{xix} The most obvious difference between the two collections is in tone. Just as Beaumarchais wrote comedy in the 1780s and a *drame* in 1792 (*La Mère coupable*), so Florian’s original *nouvelles* were light-hearted and largely tongue-in-cheek. The new are more serious. It is a shift also evident in Marmontel, picked up on by Coulet and usually taken as an indication of the inferiority of the *contes* of the revolutionary years.^{xx} Florian’s first *nouvelles* included two chivalric tales (the dominant form of the 1780s), and two where the nature of justice features prominently. In *Pierre*, the protagonist is almost executed for wounding his officer until the officer and the Minister intervene. Similarly in *Celestine*, don Pedre, who has killed a thief, is saved from prison by the intervention of the governor. Fathers abusing their authority is a standard topos of the Ancien Régime sentimental tale and Florian’s 1780s *nouvelles* are no exception but those in positions of power are able to use their influence to go over fathers’ heads in order to ensure a happy ending. [no need to refer to Hunt here I think as I bring her in later] There are country settings (but they remain background) and much emphasis on nature, virtue, and happiness being found in the heart rather than in fame or fortune, an old enlightened theme. Florian’s letters to his uncle show that the prevailing taste was not yet for the pastoral; his chivalric *nouvelles* of damsels in distress and jousts were far more successful than his pastoral *Estelle* (only during the Revolution did the vogue for the pastoral really take off).^{xxi}

The *Nouvelles Nouvelles* show a different set of concerns from the original six tales. The obstacle to marriage/happiness is now not a father abusing his authority but a moral dilemma (*Selmours*), or forces outside the family (war in *Selico*). ‘La justice naturelle’ is the focus rather than the law and there is a clear emphasis on ‘piété filiale’ (*Selico*, *Claudine*, *Camiré*) and on moderation. The countryside is no longer simply a

backdrop but integral to a happy life. 'La vertu, le travail, l'amitié' are the principal sources of solace after the storm (*Zulbar*).^{xxiii} In Bernardin's *La Chaumière indienne*, the *philosophe* also finds this to be true when he learns about the life of the pariah after taking refuge in his *cabane* from a similar storm.

Not only does Florian adopt a different tone and set of thematic concerns for the *Nouvelles Nouvelles*, he also adapts the narrative style, making much more use of the first-person narrative. Only *Pierre* of the original *nouvelles* uses the form but all of the *Nouvelles Nouvelles* either contain first person narratives or at the very least a personal connection with the story being recounted. Marmontel too adopts the first person narrative for many of his *Nouveaux Contes moraux*, including *La Veillée*, *Les Déjeuners du village* and *La Leçon du malheur*. A respectable, honest, and virtuous narrator is more likely to gain the trust of the reader and so will increase the effectiveness of the tale. A renewed emphasis on filial love, on friendship, and avoidance of excess are to be found in Marmontel and Florian's tales and they both introduce the *bon curé* (Marmontel in *La Veillée*, Florian in *Camiré*) as a model of virtuous, humane, generous behaviour. Given the political climate, it may seem odd to introduce such a figure; but it is clear that he is offered as a figure whose virtue is for general emulation rather than as a *plaidoyer* for the Catholic Church. The shifts in emphasis, tone, narrative may be subtle, but they are unmistakable when the tales are read in context.

Another example of a shift is the move from an emphasis on an 'âme droit', a standard feature of Ancien Régime sentimental fiction,^{xxiii} towards a 'cœur simple' advocated by writers of the Revolutionary period. *La Chaumière indienne* is set up in fact to demonstrate the importance of the 'cœur simple'. Whereas Paul was not able to accept his misfortune in *Paul et Virginie*, the pariah and his wife have found happiness despite the circumstances by trusting in their 'cœur simple'. It is not surprising that a stage version of *Paul et Virginie* during the Revolution chose to provide a happy ending which was in better keeping with the new concept of morality and which shared the optimism of many of the pastoral tales of the same time.^{xxiv} Martin, Godenne and Coulet, who have all played down these shifts to stress instead what they see as unity and continuity from the old regime to the new, miss the essence of these works of 1790 and 1791.^{xxv} Marmontel, Bernardin and Florian did not simply carry on perpetuating Ancien Régime traditions but gave them a new twist. Rousseau's continuing influence can be perceived, as can Gessner's, especially in

Florian's case, but these earlier trends are combined with a new neo-classical emphasis on simplicity, even austerity, to provide fiction that is unmistakably of the Revolutionary decade.

Fiction as escapism?

It is clear then that the writers of the early 1790s were not thematically stagnated. The charge of escapism is perhaps less easily refuted. The only way that Krief, who looked at the political novel of the Revolution, can explain the popularity of writers such as Florian, Marmontel and Bernardin is to assume that readers must have wanted evasion and reassurance, an opportunity to forget reality.^{xxvi} Coulet, in taking the date of publication for the date of composition, says that Florian's response to the Revolution in his *Nouvelles* 'équivaux à une fuite'.^{xxvii} Do tales of young lovers overcoming obstacles, acts of *bienfaisance*, countryside idylls, although clearly with eighteenth-century settings, not convey a sort of timelessness because of their conventionality? Florian alone sometimes gave a sense of precise time (*Claudine* opens with the first person narrator at Ferney in July 1788). Marmontel is much more typical: 'un soir ...' (*Le Franc Breton*), 'un jour ...' (*Les Déjeuners du village*).^{xxviii} A vague past prevents the tales from being anchored to the Revolution, although this is usually a recent past and only very occasionally a distant Antiquity. Marmontel himself talks in his *Mémoires* about how the *contes* were nothing more than 'songes': 'tant que mon imagination put me distraire par d'amusantes rêveries, je fis de nouveaux *Contes*, moins enjoués que ceux que j'avais faits dans les plus beaux jours de ma vie et les riants loisirs de la prospérité, mais un peu plus philosophiques et d'un ton qui convenait mieux aux bienséances de mon âge et aux circonstances du temps'.^{xxix} Marmontel's *Le Franc Breton* (published October-November 1790 in the *Mercure de France*) will serve to explore the notion of escapism. The plot is implausible, there are few intrusions from the 'real' world and the characters are models of virtue, increasing the impression of fiction merely as distraction from the Revolution.

Plémer, 'riche négociant de Nantes' (*OC*, V, 66), helps the young Montalde who has fallen ill and is in dire financial straits as a result of his honesty. Montalde considers his benefactor to be 'un de ces enchanteurs des *Mille et une nuits* qui consolent les malheureux' (p. 69). Plémer pays his medical costs and then offers him friendship and a place in his

business: 'il y a longtemps que je cherche un homme qui chez moi, à la tête de mon commerce, soit un autre moi-même; et il ne tient qu'à vous d'être cet homme-là' (p. 95). Montalde continues to feel to be in some sort of dream or enchantment (p. 96) and of course he falls in love with Plémer's daughter: part of the pleasure of the plot for the reader lies in expecting that and in wondering how the tale will be resolved. Montalde tries to combat his love and is prepared to leave but then saves his benefactor's life and discovers that Plémer had always intended him to be his son-in-law. With no clear indication of when the tale is set (though d'Alembert appears in the tale so it has to be before 1783), the happy conclusion to the love story and the fact that there are no clouds on the horizon, this may seem escapist but in fact it contains much that is relevant for the readers of 1790.

We should not take too seriously Marmontel's claim to have been writing *bagatelles* to help him forget the Revolution; that statement was written in 1795 or 1796 at a time when Marmontel was trying to play down his political stance in 1789 and 1790 and to revise his role in the Revolution in order to suggest unwavering opposition from the start. In fact, in 1790 Marmontel can be aligned with a number of moderates who believed that a moral regeneration of the nation needed to take place before the political one could be completed. It was generally considered that writers had a more important role to play than ever in influencing moral behaviour and fiction was particularly useful in the dissemination of ideas since it was read by 'toutes les classes de lecteurs' (*Mercure de France*, 25 July 1789, p. 163). If writers could combine 'de l'intérêt, de l'agrément, de la fraîcheur, des idées morales, des situations attachantes, de la vérité, de la légèreté, un goût exquis' (28 August 1790, p. 142), then they could not just contribute effectively to political discussion but also shape it. Marmontel had made his position clear in agreeing sufficiently with the reviewer of *Point de constitution sans mœurs* for the *Mercure* to put his name to the article.^{xxx}: 'les mœurs sont la base nécessaire de l'édifice de la liberté, puisqu'un peuple qui n'en a pas est l'esclave de tous les genres de séduction' is the strident message of the review (27 November 1790, p. 132).

Marmontel's *contes* become a practical demonstration of the behaviour required of the new citizens of France. The generous benefactor in *Le Franc Breton* is a *négociant*, thus moving away from the representations of enlightened seigneurs he had offered in his first tale, *La Veillée*. Plémer is characterised firstly by being an *homme simple*, because, as

we have already seen, this has become a defining trait for characters of the 1790s. Members of the nobility are portrayed in a highly unflattering light in Montalde's description of his previous life and his contact with them has made him cynical and unused to selfless generosity. Plémer asks him 'sommes-nous donc si loin de l'état de la nature, que l'homme ne soit plus l'ami de l'homme?' (p. 71), the question just as relevant to Marmontel's contemporaries as it is to Montalde. Friendship is thus elevated to be a key factor in Montalde's recovery. The generosity and kindness of the Plémer family lead him to rediscover his calm and a sense of order. His acceptance into a household which is a model of simplicity and moderation is in contrast to his former lifestyle, which was characterised by artificiality, injustice and excess. Plémer represents a new model of the *honnête homme* and therefore of the good citizen. A review of Veiss's *Principes philosophiques, politiques et moraux* in the *Mercure* of 17 October 1789 (p. 56) makes this link explicit, as does a *pièce fugitive* by Collin d'Harleville, published a week before the first instalment of *Le Franc Breton*, which reinforces the fundamental idea behind Marmontel's *conte*: 'on est bon Citoyen quand on est bon Ami' (25 September 1790, p. 126). Their ideas on the course of the Revolution were subsequently to diverge dramatically of course but their similarity here proves that Marmontel was reflecting ideas that were widespread at the time. Mme Plémer and Gabrielle personify 'une noblesse naturelle' and 'une dignité simple' (p. 97),^{xxx} Montalde the 'douceur inaltérable' (p. 98) that all should adopt in difficult circumstances. Thus a plot which appears to have nothing to do with the Revolution is in fact offering readers models of behaviour appropriate to the new social and political circumstances, despite the clear pre-1789 setting of the tale. This is not an image of a golden age society that never existed, it is instead the key to the regeneration of the nation. Marmontel hoped that this ascendancy of virtue would prove irresistible and if readers removed by the touching tales of *bienfaisance*, they would be more inclined to emulate his examples.

Fiction as nostalgia for the Ancien Régime?

Despite his attempt to broaden the social base of the characters, Marmontel has been accused – by me amongst others – of writing not just escapist fiction but one which is nostalgic for the Ancien Régime.^{xxxii} His use of evidently noble characters in *La Veillée*, his emphasis on the generous *seigneur*, the appearance of old friends and acquaintances

(d'Alembert in *Le Franc Breton*, Voltaire in *L'Erreur d'un bon père*, the comte de Creutz in *Les Solitaires de Murcie*) have left him open to accusations that he is merely someone who, like the *Vieille* of *Les Déjeuners*, 'aimait à conter les histoires du temps passé' (O.C. V, 248). But is he deliberately recreating a world and a way of living that are now lost? Rather than seeing the noble family surrounded by devoted vassals in *La Veillée* as a refusal by Marmontel to embrace the new political order, it should instead be considered a contemporary message about the importance of unity if the regeneration of France is to be completed swiftly and without further bloodshed. Images of society in union are commonplace in late 1789 and 1790. These images of society as one revolve around a pastoral representation of the family unit working together on the land, which is always abundant and peaceful. This image recurs regardless of the political leanings of the author. The anti-aristocratic Camus-Daras's 'vénérable vieillard' resembles those found for instance in the more moderate Berquin's *Bibliothèque des villages*.^{xxxiii} Yet the pastoral is usually seen as nostalgia for a golden age of natural simplicity and of honesty and such tales have often been linked to the counterrevolution in the sense that they look back to a previous era, thus implicitly rejecting or negating the gains of the new. In fact, most of these pastoral tales of 1790 and 1791 are turned quite definitely towards the present and future and are utopian rather than nostalgic.

It is well-known that periods of rapid change and instability generate utopia.^{xxxiv} Berquin, in offering images of family life in the countryside in his *Bibliothèque des villages*, is providing models of behaviour for the new society being created by the Revolution. Happiness comes from having a loving family and from the esteem of the community (*L'Heureux Ménage*). *Paysans* who work together are more prosperous than those who work alone (*Le Paysan bienfaiteur de son pays*), and it is 'la probité, les lumières, la modération et le courage, qui conduisent à la véritable gloire et au vrai bonheur' (*L'Honneur*, O.C. IX, 239). The aim of these images of social unity was to not hide from reality, not to take refuge in a past that never existed, but to offer hope for the future. *Delphire ou la bienfaisance*, published in the *Année littéraire* at the end of 1789 (VII.iii, pp. 73-90) similarly demonstrates how much more happiness is to be had from helping one's neighbour, a message which revolutionary rhetoric and imagery only strengthen. As Camus-Daras eulogises in *Le Songe*: 'tous ont promis de ne faire qu'une seule et même famille; tous se

sont juré une fraternité réciproque'.^{xxxv} In 1790 and even 1791, there was still much optimism that the Revolution would soon be over and that France would be a better place as a result. Bernardin issues an 'Invitation à la concorde'. The family unit becomes a structure on which to project a model for social well-being, and in true utopian fashion, it is much easier to do this in the countryside than in the town.

Lynn Hunt has of course examined the role of the family romance of the Revolution where representations of good father figures 'fatally undermined absolutist royal authority'.^{xxxvi} For her, it is the absence of the father that characterises the novel on the eve of the Revolution (p. 34). In this reading of the importance of the family novel, *Paul et Virginie* epitomises a fatherless utopian society, the children representing innocence, emotion, and simplicity in a natural setting. If we look at the large quantity of apparently nonpolitical fiction of 1790 and 1791, we find a dramatic return of the father figure, with the image of the venerable *vieillard* surrounded by his family members a predominant one. Hunt suggests that 'the old proponents of the good father figure in sentiment fiction' such as Marmontel have a vision of the world where 'fathers [and kings?] still have time to repent and win back their sons' (p. 48). The father figure thus becomes an allegorical reference to the King. If we apply this reading to Marmontel's *La Veillée*, M. de Verval's generosity to Firmin and his family in financial difficulty and their love and loyalty to the Verval family in return would represent the social pact between an enlightened King and his virtuous subjects.

The idyllic, idealised representation of the family, of life in a small community, surrounded by a benevolent natural world and protected by a benevolent God/King/father is not necessarily primarily a nostalgic, nor in the political context a counterrevolutionary one since at this stage the majority of the country are working towards or hoping for a constitutional monarchy. The idealisation brings these tales closer to utopia than contemporary reality and in so doing makes them political because they are looking to work upon what Baczko has labelled 'l'imagination sociale'.^{xxxvii} It becomes easy to see these pastoral tales as allegorical. The torrent that sweeps away Tircis's house in *Delphire ou la bienfaisance* (*Année littéraire*, 1789, VII, 73-90) leads to a greater closeness between friends as Delphire and Mirtile help Tircis out of his misfortune. Is this a metaphor for a new fraternal France after the events of spring and summer of 1789? An allegorical reading of *La*

Chaumière indienne is supported by Bernardin's preface which highlights the need for allegory 'pour ménager la faiblesse de l'entendement humain, peu fait en général pour supporter l'éclat immédiat de la vérité' (*Mercur de France*, 19 February 1791, p. 109). Does then the storm the *philosophe* is faced with before he finds the pariah's *chaumière* and thus the secret to happiness represent the Revolution? In all cases of storms as plot devices in the pastoral tales of 1790 and 1791, the destruction caused by or the danger of the storm leads to more positive social relations than before. This optimism is mirrored in political life. When Marmontel, Berquin and Bernardin's tales were published and Florian's were being written, there was considerable optimism that the constitutional monarchy was the way forward. The pastoral idyll represents an attempt to adapt both fiction and the role of the writer to the changed political situation. It becomes a model for the reconfiguration of shared values in a new social order.

Representations of the chaumière

The common link between most of these 'nonpolitical' tales is the *chaumière*. A traditional pastoral feature, it rises to new prominence during the Revolution and its use takes on new significance. Critics of the time were well aware that the Revolution was giving not just 'un nouveau caractère aux productions de tous les genres, même à celles qui ne sembloient être que futiles'^{xxxviii} but also renewed importance to the role of the writer. The revival of the *chaumière*, most obviously in Bernardin's *Chaumière indienne*, but also in Berquin and even in Marmontel, who shows not just *paysans* but also noble families left only with 'des débris d'une fortune ruinée' (O.C. IV, 299) living in humble dwellings, provides the setting for images of a modest and simple yet happy life in the countryside. Hard work is rewarded by nature. This is drawing upon the established literary tradition of the Rousseauistic 'return to nature' but in the new social and political context the *chaumière* can be seen as a metaphor for the nation. Lhéreté has shown how the *paysan* can be equated with the child, both of them representing naïveté, innocence and new beginning.^{xxxix} Her analysis of the *paysan-enfant* can be aligned with what Lynn Hunt has said about the increase in representation of children as autonomous beings.^{xl} The *paysans* in their *chaumière* represent a microcosm of the new state, a haven for travellers, a place of hope and happiness. Its symbolic significance would explain why the fictional representation is so far removed from

reality. As the anonymous writer of a pamphlet from 1790 points out, ‘La chaumière, à ce nom toute âme sensible s’attendrit, des larmes sont prêtes de couler de tous les yeux’ (p. 3) but the reality is very different from its fictional representation.^{xli} Peasants’ lives are marked in real life by ‘la misère, les besoins, les travaux et les fatigues du jour’ (p. 3) and he sees no joy but ‘la tristesse, empreinte sur ces visages blêmes et décharnés par la faim’ (p. 4).

The inhabitants of the *chaumières* in fiction are often shown sharing meals, they are always clean, modest, virtuous, and *sensible*, their homes spotless and a haven for visitors, while in fact the upheaval of the Revolution had done little to alleviate the very acute sufferings of the poor and the countryside. It was not that writers were unaware of the contradictions between their tales of the real world as Malcolm Cook has suggested.^{xlii} They were not aiming to reproduce reality but create a model that the new France could aspire to. The representation of a happy life in a *chaumière* usually included references to food, clothing (Berquin, *La Parure*), work, and recreation, all the mundane needs in fact that Rees identifies as belonging to the realm of utopia.^{xliii} But these images are not just sanitised versions of county life to comfort middle class town-dwellers. The same images are to be found in tales aimed at the comfortably off (such as, subscribers to the *Mercure*), tales written for *paysans* (Berquin) and Revolutionary texts (*Le Songe*). 1790 represents a brief period of unity when authors were reflecting a shared need for stability and fiction was being written to be read by all.

L’asyle

Underpinning the desire for unity is the prevalent *chaumière* image. Recent work on trauma makes the choice of rural scenes and this emphasis on the *chaumière* evident. Far from being a refusal to engage in any way with the Revolution, tales about *chaumières* are in fact an essential first stage in adjusting to the changes the Revolution has brought about. There is little doubt that the events of 1789 can be considered a traumatic event as understood by psychologists. The work of Cathy Caruth has shown that a traumatic event cannot be assimilated or experienced fully at the time.^{xliv} There is often an avoidance of stimuli recalling the event. The countryside settings and happy families allow writers of the Revolution to write on a subject removed from the events they have witnessed. Caruth has argued that, in trauma, ‘the greatest confrontation with reality may occur as an absolute

numbing to it' (p. 6) which would again support a reading of the *chaumière* not as refusal to engage with the Revolution but as a direct reaction to it. Those who have worked on the notion of collective trauma can also offer useful insights into the number of tales with *chaumière* settings. The *chaumière* and its family represent virtue, antique simplicity, honesty, and calm tranquillity. Kai Erikson has shown that collective trauma damages the bonds attaching people together as social fault lines are forced open.^{xlv} As the tissues holding society together are torn or damaged, so there is a need to withdraw into a protective envelope (p. 186). Berquin makes an analogy between the family and the human body which supports this idea of damaged tissues:

La famille, dans cet état, ressemble au corps humain. Les parens en sont la tête, les enfans et les serviteurs en sont les membres. Tous les membres de notre corps ont leur place et leur destination particulière. Quelques-uns sont plus utiles, mais aucun n'est superflu. Chacun sert aux autres, et aucun ne leur est nuisible. Tous contribuent au bien-être général. (*L'Heureux Ménage*, pp. 6-7).

An attack on or injury to one part of the (social) body, affects the others. Erikson's work has demonstrated that after damage, the traumatised need a protected space to retreat into because they are more likely to perceive the world as a place of unrelenting danger (which may go some way to explaining *La grande peur* of the summer of 1789). The *chaumière* therefore becomes a safe haven, a contained, identifiable, protective space in which writers and readers can find something tangible to hold on to. The first stage in recovery from trauma is the need to establish safety; only once this is achieved can an individual – and society – go on to reconstruct the trauma story.

Judith Herman has looked in detail at the process of recovering from a traumatic event and has highlighted the need for a sense of trust and order to be restored.^{xlvi} Berquin was well aware of this:

Sans ordre, aucune société ne peut subsister long-temps. Cet ordre est établi par les loix qui veulent que chacun respecte les droits de tous les autres, et remplisse envers eux tous les devoirs dont il est chargé. [...] Plus la société est tranquille et heureuse, plus chacun de ceux qui la composent goûte en particulier de repos et de félicité. (*Aux habitants de la campagne, Bibliothèque des villages*, IX, 2)

Life in the *chaumière*, with its regular tasks and meal times and evenings spent telling stories or listening to readings, provides a model for rebuilding family life and for restoring communal bonds not just between family members but also neighbours and strangers. Its use in fiction provides a form of communal therapy whereby those reading the tales can regain a sense of order and kinship.

The social bonds and individual relationships that need to be reformed following a traumatic event can be acted out in fiction. The *chaumière* tale offers a safe demonstration of how *sensibilité* and *bienfaisance* can begin to rebuild the family unit and society. By focusing on small families in untroubled locations, writers can reach out to readers across France and reduce the sense of isolation, powerlessness and fear. The idealised image of the *chaumière* is a safe one and using it as the focus of tales of misfortune allows writers to show how to rebuild and extend the bonds of social behaviour in revolutionary society. Plots that revolve around safety, small family units, or a life regulated by companionship, give a sense of solidarity but also sense of continuity, as that too is a way of making sense of the changes in order to assimilate them and understand them. Interestingly, psychologists working on trauma have identified displays of generosity towards the traumatised person as one of the ways in which a sense of connection with the wider world is restored.^{xlvii}

Although acts of *bienfaisance* were a standard plot device of the *roman sentimental* of the Ancien Régime, the *chaumière* tales of 1790 and 1791 make a great deal of the act of generosity, not just amongst *paysans* but also between members of the nobility and those of the lower classes.

The pastoral tale of *paysans* (or unfortunate nobleman) finding happy and peaceful existence in the *chaumière* allows the French public to come to terms with the Revolution by creating a sense of community based on trust and *sensibilité*. By merging past, present, and future so that the *chaumière* is neither nostalgic nor reflecting reality, writers are able to give a sense of the nation possessing a coherent identity, one linked by respect for each other, family love, a sense of duty and a belief in virtue. In establishing a fictional world of order and trust, writers are engaged not just in producing works that result directly from the Revolution, despite appearances to the contrary, but also in shaping the future of the Brave New World that lies ahead.

Pastoral fiction is being used as part of the wider attempt by literary figures for further their vision of the new France. In the sense that these works of printed to propagate a consistent vision of society and morality they can be seen not just as political but also as propaganda. The modern sense of propaganda as primarily an ‘action exercée sur l’opinion pour l’amener à avoir certaines idées politiques et sociales’^{xlvi} was a meaning developed only in 1790 and was not sufficiently established to make it into the 1798 *Dictionnaire de l’académie française*, which gave *propagande* simply as an institution for the propagation of the Catholic faith. If we look at *Propagation (figurément)*, the examples of *propagation des lumières, de la philosophie, le progrès qu’elles font dans un grand nombre d’esprits* are offered. This fits neatly with the aims of our pastoral writers. The pastoral writers of 1790-1791 attempt to diffuse philosophic ideas throughout the population and their unity of purpose in this early phase of the Revolution can be seen when Berquin and Marmontel’s publications in 1790 are compared. Berquin, who threw himself enthusiastically into the Revolution, advertised his *Bibliothèque des villages* in the *Mercure* of 28 August 1790 (pp. 150-55). Designed to inculcate respect for law and order and love of the new nation, the volumes were to teach the lower classes how to become citizens. This was to be achieved in two ways. The first was to inspire in them a belief in moderation and the horror of excess; the second was to spread Enlightenment, the volumes’ purpose being ‘d’éclaircir les esprits, d’adoucir les mœurs, d’inspirer le goût de la paix, de l’ordre et de la justice, de faire naître la fraternité, la bienfaisance et le patriotisme, et détendre ainsi l’empire de toutes les vertus’ (p. 257). Aiming specifically at the newest class of readers, through the intermediary of the village *curé*, Berquin’s purpose is clearly to influence behaviour in true Enlightenment tradition. Although directing his prose more specifically at the provincial social elite, Marmontel’s new moral tales in the *Mercure* of 1790, as we have seen, also try to inspire virtue, *bienfaisance* and moderation.

The tales of 1790 and 1791 are far more than a simple consolation for misfortune and certainly not a refusal to engage with Revolution directly. Read out of context they may appear to be cut off from reality, a throwback to golden age that never existed except in pastoral tradition, but in fact they are most definitely tied up with Revolution, not just as models for the regeneration of society but also as a reaction to the dramatic events themselves. As the Revolution progresses, these utopian visions move from what Baczkó

has called *images-guides* to *idées-forces* (p. 9). The pastoral moves from being a metaphor for the regeneration of France to becoming a medium for overt political messages. Propaganda and pedagogy become inseparable; these tales date from one of the most intensive periods of debate on *l'instruction publique*. The writers appeal directly to the readers' sense of republican duty: 'souvenez-vous toujours que si le premier devoir d'un Républicain est d'aimer sa patrie, le second est d'honorer ses père et mère'.^{xlix} The settings provide the clearest indication of this shift. Dulaurent's *Discours* to the Section des Tuileries and Ducray Duminil's tales in the *Codicile sentimental* are quite firmly located in the present day.¹ In *L'Hospitalité ou le bonheur du vieux père* for instance the son is off to fight for the Republic. The *cocarde tricolore*, the *bonnet rouge*, *arbres de la liberté*, the *tambour* are all physical indications of the impact of the Revolution. The *peuple* are the focus of the tales to the almost complete exclusion of the other classes (with the exception of a few 'baddies' from the nobility). The ebullient politicising of Ducray and Dulaurent could not appeal to as wide a readership as the gentler characters of Berquin or Florian and the fragmentation of the reading public that characterised the nineteenth century has its seeds in the Republican idyll.

The *chaumière* in these Republican tales is more a point of departure or a place to return to than the centre of the new social order. Those who had sought in the *chaumière* a sanctuary and a means for regenerating France found themselves overtaken by events. Both sets of writers may have believed in progress and in the moral potential of fiction but the forms of government they advocated irrevocably separated them. Berquin's early enthusiasm for the Revolution was never tested as he died in 1791; Florian was arrested under the Terror and this led to his death in 1794. Marmontel gradually withdrew from depicting utopian *chaumière* scenes as the excesses of the Revolution became too much for him. He took refuge in 'souvenirs du coin du feu', the last instalment of which appeared in the *Mercure* in May 1793. He escaped the Terror only because he had retreated to live out his own pastoral tale surrounded by his wife and children in the countryside. Bernardin too tried to find his own *Arcadie* by withdrawing from public life and marrying his editor's daughter, thirty-six years younger than him. These authors, who had tried to repair the initial damage to the social fabric and who had established a fictional safe haven where readers could recover from the traumatic upheaval of society were quite simply no longer matching

the tone of the state and were cast out of the Republican myth. That myth became so tightly bound to the concept of French identity that even now there remains little work on the moderates of the Revolutionary period. Only when the myth is questioned can the place of writers like Berquin, Marmontel, Florian and Bernardin be re-established in the literary history of the Revolution.

University of Warwick

Katherine Astbury

ⁱ Research for this article was made possible through a grant from the British Academy.

ⁱⁱ Florian's tale was written in 1791 but not published until the following year. See *J.P. de Florian, Lettres au marquis A. de Florian 1779-1793*, edited by Alfred Dupont (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), Lettre CXXXVIII, 29 janvier 1791.

ⁱⁱⁱ Henri Coulet (ed.), *Nouvelles du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), p. 1499.

^{iv} See for instance Henri Coulet, 'Structures de deux contes moraux: Baculard d'Arnaud et Marmontel' in *Dilemmes du roman: Essays in honor of Georges May*, edited by Catherine Lafarge, Stanford French and Italian studies 65 (Saratoga: Anmi Libri, 1989), pp. 189-203 which compares Baculard's *Liebman* (1775) and Marmontel's *Leçon du malheur* (1791) without considering the changes the Revolution might have brought about. Similarly, Roseann Runte makes a number of interesting points in her 'La Chaumière indienne: counterpart and complement to *Paul et Virginie*' (*Modern Language Review*, 75(4), 774-80) but does not refer to the Revolution at all.

^v See for instance Huguette Krief, 'Révolution et fiction romanesque: les thèmes politiques dans le roman de 1789 à 1799', 3 vols, unpublished doctoral thesis (Université Aix-Marseille I, 1986-87).

^{vi} The *Bibliographie du genre romanesque français 1750-1800*, edited by Vivienne Mylne, Angus Martin and Richard Frautschi (London: Mansell, 1977) lists seven editions of *La Chaumière indienne* in 1791 and 1792, seven editions of *Nouvelles Nouvelles* in 1792 and 1793 and three editions of Marmontel's tales in addition to their original publication in the *Mercure de France* and reprints in the *Journal encyclopédique* and the *Esprit des journaux*.

^{vii} See for instance Lynn Hunt's *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), p. 21.

^{viii} The focus of this article is primarily short fiction. There are novels of the period but it is a form less well suited to the Revolutionary era, partly because of speed which the situation was changing and partly because of a lack of paper (see Malcolm Cook, 'Politics in the Fiction of the French Revolution 1789-94', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 201 (1982), pp. 233-340 (pp. 237-9). Works of short fiction are therefore generally considered to be more representative of the period.

^{ix} Malcolm Cook, 'Politics in the Fiction of the French Revolution', p. 290; *Fictional France. Social Reality in the French Novel 1775-1800* (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1993), p. 91.

^x Lise Andriès, 'Almanachs et littérature révolutionnaire' in *Robespierre & Co. Atti della ricerca sulla letteratura francese della Rivoluzione diretta da Ruggero Campagnoli. Seconda seminario internazionale Bagni di Lucca 5-8 novembre 1986* (Bologna: Editrice Clueb, 1987), pp. 45-68 (p. 54).

^{xi} I am using here Malcolm Cook's useful definition of the pastoral as 'the picture of an idyllic world in a real framework', 'Politics in the Fiction of the French Revolution', p. 290.

^{xii} In early 1789, the *Mercure* had 15,000 subscribers, which may have meant as many as 90,000 readers. See Suzanne Tucoc-Chala, *Charles-Joseph Panckoucke et la librairie française 1736-1798* (Pau and Paris: Maurimpouey and Touzot, 1977), p. 245 and p. 223. Delisle de Sales suggests there may even have been as

many as ten readers for every copy printed. See his *Essai sur le journalisme depuis 1735 jusqu'à l'an 1800* (Paris, 1811; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), p. 105.

^{xiii} Mallet du Pan and Panckoucke, political editor and publisher respectively have been studied. See footnote xii on Panckoucke and Frances Acomb, *Mallet du Pan: a career in political journalism* (Durham, N.C : Duke University Press, 1973). For initial studies on the literary section of the *Mercure* redressing the balance, see my 'Leçons du malheur': Jean Marmontel and the French Revolution', forthcoming, and my 'La critique littéraire du *Mercure* face à la Révolution' in *Critique, critiques*, ed. Malcolm Cook (Bern: Lang, 2005 forthcoming).

^{xiv} Malcolm Cook has, however, just completed a critical biography: *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: A Life of Culture* (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming 2006)

^{xv} Berquin and Bernardin welcomed the Revolution, Marmontel has always been considered counterrevolutionary from the outset and Florian just wanted to keep out of the way, as his letters show, c.f. op. cit. in footnote ii.

^{xvi} Martin, 'Short fiction in the *Mercure de France* 1760-1789', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 201 (1982), 221-31 (p. 231).

^{xvii} '«Est-il donc vrai qu'on ne lit plus de romans?» Die französische Narrativik der Revolution (1789-1799): zwischen Tradition und Innovation', in *Literatur der französischen Revolution: Eine Einführung*, edited by Henning Krauß (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1988), pp. 114-41 (p. 132).

^{xviii} Cook, 'Politics in the fiction of the French Revolution', p. 237.

^{xix} Letters from Florian to his uncle date the composition of the *Nouvelles Nouvelles*. The first, *Claudine*, was completed by 29th January 1791 (letter CXXXVIII), 3 more were written by 30th April 1791 (letter CXL). The time of publication greatly affected public perception of the message of a work during the Revolution and it is therefore necessary to consider both the creation of the work and its publication as having two very different effects, not least because the readership in mind when writing would have been rather different by publication.

^{xx} *Nouvelles du XVIIIe siècle*, p. 1500: 'le ton galant et presque libertin qu'on trouvait dans quelques contes de la première série [1755-1765] [...] est en effet absent de cette nouvelle série'.

^{xxi} See letters LVII (15 octobre 1784): 'les nouvelles se vendent à merveille' and XCVIII (12 janvier 1788): 'Estelle réussit assez bien dans le monde'.

^{xxii} Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian, *Nouvelles*, edited by René Godenne (Paris: Didier, 1974), p. 228.

^{xxiii} See for instance Baculard d'Arnaud's *Fanny* ('âme droit') and *Clary* ('esprit droit'), in *Les Epreuves du sentiment* (Paris: Le Jay, 1773), accessible via Gallica.bnf.fr.

^{xxiv} Kreutzer & Favières, *Paul et Virginie, comédie en 3 actes et en prose* (performed at the Comédie Italienne 15 January 1791). See Mark Darlow, 'Apprendre aux hommes à mourir: The theatrical adaptations of *Paul et Virginie*', *European Studies* 17 (2001) Special issue: Morality and Justice: the Challenge of European Theatre, edited by Edward Batley and David Bradby, 129-42.

^{xxv} Martin, 'Short fiction in the *Mercure*', Coulet (ed), *Nouvelles du XVIIIe siècle*, Godenne (ed), Florian, *Nouvelles*. Godenne for instance makes no distinction between the 1784 *contes* and those of the Revolution in his analysis of themes.

^{xxvi} 'Révolution et fiction romanesque', II, 856.

^{xxvii} 'Quelques aspects du roman antirévolutionnaire sous la Révolution', *Revue de l'université d'Ottawa / University of Ottawa Quarterly* 54 (1984), 27-47 (p. 29).

^{xxviii} Marmontel, *Œuvres complètes*, 19 vols (Paris: Verdière, 1818-20), V, 66 and 248. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

^{xxix} *Mémoires*, 20e livre, in *Œuvres complètes* [Henceforward O.C.] , II, 430.

^{xxx} Quoique j'adopte les principes et sur-tout les sentimens qui sont répandus dans cet extrait ; par cette raison même qu'il est l'ouvrage d'un excellent esprit et d'une ame honnête et sensible, en le donnant je me ferois scrupule de laisser croire qu'il est de moi. M.....

^{xxxi} Much has been written about the way in which the Revolution places women firmly in the private sphere. See for instance, *Les Femmes et la Révolution française II: L'individu et le social: apparitions et représentations*, edited by Marie-France Brive (Presses universitaires de Mireil, 1990). Tales such as Marmontel's *Le Franc Breton* and Bernardin's *La Chaumière indienne* show that this process was underway from very early on.

^{xxxii} I take this opportunity to revise my earlier claim in *The Moral Tale in France and Germany 1750-1789* (SVEC 2002:7) that they are 'largely a throwback to a bygone age', p.177.

-
- ^{xxxiii} Camus-Daras, *Le Songe* (1790) in Coulet (ed), *Nouvelles du XVIIIe siècle*, p. 1088. Berquin, *Bibliothèque des villages* (1790) in *Œuvres complètes de Berquin* vols IX and X (Paris: Renouard, An XI–1803).
- ^{xxxiv} Christine Rees, *Utopian Imagination and Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (London and New York: Longman, 1996), p. 7.
- ^{xxxv} Coulet (ed), *Nouvelles du XVIIIe siècle*, p. 1097.
- ^{xxxvi} *Family Romance*, p. 25.
- ^{xxxvii} Bronislaw Baczko, *Lumières de l'utopie* (Paris: Payot, 1978), p. 31.
- ^{xxxviii} Prospectus for the *Journal général de commerce, de politique et de littérature* (January 1790).
- ^{xxxix} Annie Lhéret, 'Morale du peuple et morale pour le peuple dans la littérature enfantine' in *Popular Traditions and Learned Culture in France from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Marc Bertrand (Saratoga: Anma Libri, 1985), pp. 115-32 (p. 118).
- ^{xl} *Family Romance*, p. 27.
- ^{xli} Pamphlet in the British Library, Anon., *La Chaumière* (n.p. 1790), shelfmark R.199.(19.).
- ^{xlii} *Fictional France*, p. 86.
- ^{xliii} *Utopian Imagination*, p. 8.
- ^{xliv} Caruth (ed), *Trauma and Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 'Trauma Experience. Introduction', pp. 3-12 (p. 4).
- ^{xliv} Erikson, 'Notes on Trauma and Community' in Caruth (ed), pp. 183-99.
- ^{xlvi} Judith Lewis Herman, *Trauma and Recovery. From domestic abuse to political terror* (London: Pandora, 1994), p. 46.
- ^{xlvi} Herman, *Trauma and recovery*, p. 214.
- ^{xlvi} *Le Nouveau Petit Robert*, (Paris :Dictionnaires Le Robert , 2003).
- ^{xlix} Dulaurent, *La Bonne Mère*, discours prononcé dans la section des Tuileries, à la Fête de la Raison, le 20 frimaire, l'an 2 de la République (Paris, [n. pub.] An II), p. 20.
- ^l Dulaurent's discours, *Le Bon Père, La Bonne Mère, Le Bon Fils* and *Le Bon Vieillard*, were delivered and published in An II. Ducray-Duminil, *Codicile sentimental et moral, ou Recueil de discours, contes, anecdotes, idylles, romances et poésies fugitives*, 2 vols (Paris: Le Prieur, An II). Ducray's idylls appeared in the *Esprit des journaux* from mid-1793.