The Utility of Sentiment: Sentimentalism and Women Writers in Early Nineteenth-Century France

By

Anne C. Hajek

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Anne C. Vila, Profesor, French
Florence Vatan, Professor, French
Martine Debaisieux, Professor, French
Richard Goodkin, Professor, French
Stefania Buccini, Professor, Italian

Abstract

Through a series of case studies, this dissertation explores select novels and short stories by Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, Fanny Tercy, Gabrielle Paban, Sophie Doin, and George Sand. These authors simultaneously embraced and transformed sentimentalism, effectively reinvigorating the genre between 1800 and 1850. To frame my textual analyses, I review in Chapter 1 the most prominent eighteenth-century discourses regarding gender and the *femme auteur* along with the conventions of fictional sentimentalism established by famous novels like Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748) and Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). In subsequent chapters, I show how each of the main authors in my corpus adapted those conventions to create new, hybrid permutations of sentimental narrative. In Chapter 2, I examine Genlis's efforts to combine sentimental fiction with history: in such works as *Les Parvenus* (1819) she blended well-known events and individual lived experiences, identifying important social changes and suggesting strategies to help nineteenth-century French readers adapt accordingly. Next, I examine the short fiction of Tercy, who infused sentimentalism with elements drawn from English gothicism, and used literature to draw attention to and preserve the endangered cultural heritage of her native region. Chapter 4 examines the use of sentimental narrative in abolitionist fiction by Paban, author of *Le Nègre et La Créole* (1825) and Doin, who wrote *La Famille noire* (1825). Both of these writers deployed sentimentalism to emphasize the fundamental humanity of racially marked protagonists and argue for an end to slavery and the slave trade. The last chapter approaches Sand as both a recipient of sentimental tradition and a literary innovator: in *Indiana* (1832), *Nanon* (1872), and *Consuelo* (1842-1843), Sand synthesized multiple strains of hybrid sentimentalism into her own, uniquely complex brand of fiction, joining the efforts of Genlis, Tercy, Paban, and Doin to effect change in the minds of their readers and in the world around them. I conclude by pointing to additional paths of inquiry related to the gender and gendering of sentimental authors.

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Introduction

Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis (1746-1830), Fanny Tercy (1793-1831), Sophie Doin (1800-1846), and Gabrielle Paban (1793-18**), published during the early years of the nineteenth century, when romanticism was taking root in the French literary tradition. However, they did not produce romantic or even pre-romantic texts. Rather, their works grew out of the eighteenth-century tradition of sentimentalism. Texts associated with this generic categorization have earned the label primarily because they privilege emotion and consciously seek to elicit a sympathetic emotional response in the reader.[1] As a mode of writing, sentimentalism developed, was popularized, and achieved a degree of codification in France during the late 1700s. It flourished and achieved popular success well into the nineteenth century until ceding its place to emerging aesthetics like romanticism and realism**.** Despite its prevalence as a literary form during the early nineteenth century, sentimentalism is often more closely linked to descriptions of eighteenth-century literary history than to its nineteenth-century counterpart. Indeed, simplistic descriptions of nineteenth-century literary history ignore it completely.[2]

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[1] Sand has been studied as a romantic, idealist and sentimental writer. I will approach her in light of the influences of sentimentalism on her literary works.

[2] This tendency is especially prominent in stream-lined twentieth-century presentations of French literary history. For instance, G. Lanson and P. Tuffrau's *Manuel illustré d'histoire de la littérature française* (Paris: Classiques Hachette, 1953) ignores sentimentalism as a mode of writing, popular during both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It lists pre-romanticism, romanticism, naturalism, and symbolism as the prominent categories. Similarly, the *Collection littéraire Lagarde et Michard* (Bordas) makes no mention of sentimentalism, though

In short, nineteenth-century sentimentalism has been largely overshadowed by works which are today commonly classified as pre-romantic, romantic, or realist. For much of the twentieth century, so much attention was paid to the great romantic and realist writers of the period that their sentimental counterparts suffered a certain scholarly neglect. In the past few decades, however, the sentimental novel, especially as produced by women writers, has experienced a resurgence of critical interest. Scholars focused on literary history during the Victorian period have proven particularly keen to rehabilitate the sentimental works of British and American women authors.[3] Scholarship concerning French women writers of the early nineteenth century is a growing field, though it "lags considerably behind study of British women writers of the same period."[4] This project, *The Utility of Sentiment,* is designed to join with the efforts of other scholars (including Simone Balayé, Margaret Cohen, Ellen Constans, Doris Kadish, Brigitte Louichon, Christine Planté, Martine Reid, and Judith Still, to name but a

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romanticism, realism, naturalism, and idealism are all featured topics in the volume devoted to the nineteenth-century. Even in the eighteenth-century tome, sentimentalism is notably replaced by literature qualified as *sensible*, on the one hand, and authors described as *pré-romantiques*, on the other. See André Lagarde and Laurent Michard's *XIX^e Siècle: Les grands auteurs français, Anthologie et histoire littéraire* and *XVIII^e Siècle: Les grands auteurs français du programme, Anthologie et histoire littéraire* (Paris: Bordas, 1993). Even late-nineteenth-century descriptions of French literature (like Georges Pellissier, *The Literary Movement in France during the Nineteenth Century* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897)) overlook sentimentalism in favor, again, of idealism, romanticism, naturalism, and realism. Pellissier, however, also adds classicism and pseudo-classicism to his list of identifiable literary categories of the nineteenth-century in France.

[3] Elizabeth Maddock Dillon notes that, in general: "In the past two decades, a burgeoning field of scholarship has focused on reevaluating sentimental writing, addressing in particular [...] the "cultural work" of women's sentimental writing." Dillon, "Sentimental Aesthetics," *American Literature* 76, no. 3 (2004): 495-523, citation 496.

[4] See Judith Still's evaluation of the somewhat lagging progress of scholarship concerning French women authors of the early nineteenth century in "Genlis's *Mademoiselle de Clermont*: A Textual and Intertextual Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 37, no. 3 (2000): 331-347.

few of the scholars whose work has been seminal to this project) to correct this imbalance and enrich our understanding of sentimental fiction as produced by continental French women authors between 1800 and 1850.[5]

By the early nineteenth century, sentimentalism had evolved in such a way as to have abandoned some of its founding principles. Conventional sentimental novels, written in the vein of Richardson (*Clarissa*, 1748 and *Pamela*, 1740) and Rousseau (*La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 1761) privilege emotions like love and sympathy, are set in a vague contemporary present, and take place in familiar yet not overly specific western European locations. As writers, Genlis, Tercy, Paban and Doin manipulate sentimental conventions. Without abandoning the core framework, they alter the traditional temporal and spatial locations, expand the range of emotions to which they appeal, and add emphasis to the open expression of political and social agendas. By taking a new approach to the role of history in the novel, they open sentimentalism to a variety of precise historical settings, from Revolutionary Paris to medieval castles in Franche Comté. They turn to increasingly popular genres of literature like the English Gothic novel for inspiration and privilege emotions not typically accentuated by conventional sentimentalism, like terror and pleasurable fear. Along with this expansion of setting and broadening of the affective base of sentimental narrative, they also boldly bring social and political matters to the fore in their fictions, speaking to issues such as the changing social fabric of France, the evils of slavery and the slave trade, and the oppressed status of women along with members of the lower classes and individuals of non-European race and ethnicity. In short, they create new subgenres of sentimental narrative, hybrid and unconventional texts, wherein the portrayal of and appeal to

[5] The ways in which each of these scholars influence this study will be central to the first chapter, wherein I more deeply describe sentimentalism and delve into the various ways in which it has been approached and studied.

sentiment, deep feeling or emotion, takes on an increasingly utilitarian or pragmatic function: through their texts, these authors overtly aspired to effect change in the minds of readers and in the world around them.

As demonstrated by the writers at the heart of this study, nineteenth-century women authors in particular sought to reinvigorate and repurpose sentimentalism. Conventional sentimentalism as developed during the eighteenth century had always been inherently didactic, seeking to convey moral and ethical lessons to the reader. This characteristic didacticism was expressly linked to the concept of literary utility: sentimental writing manifests an intention to be morally and socially *useful* to the reader. While conventional sentimental authors focused their efforts on teaching readers lessons of a moral nature, authors like those of this study evidence an expanding concept of literary utility. Genlis, Tercy, Paban, Doin, and Sand expand the focus of their didacticism, and in doing so, demonstrate an evolving conception of literary utility. Without decentralizing moral and ethical lessons, they find new ways of making sentimentalism useful. Their sentimental narratives certainly teach moral and social lessons; however, beyond that, they aim to deepen readers' understanding of national history, regional specificity and identity, and social and political inequalities and injustice. Through fiction, then, these authors endeavored to help readers better understand and function in the society of their day so as to improve society as a whole. Given these aspirations, it becomes evident that the concept of literary utility must necessarily expand beyond moral didacticism to encompass historical, cultural, and political education.

This emphasis on the practical utility of literature likely arose, at least in part, as a result of some of the scathing critiques aimed at the *femme auteur* that will be examined in the first chapter of this thesis. Seeking to avoid criticism, women authors were drawn to sentimentalism,

a mode that, for reasons explored in greater depth below, was deemed more socially acceptable for women writers. Working within this mode, they were able to push arbitrary boundaries. They transformed sentimentalism, endowing it with an even greater emphasis on practical usefulness in domains such as education and politics. They addressed issues of gender, class and race that were generally absent from traditional sentimental fiction, while also advocating specific social and moral as well as educational and political reforms. Expansion into these areas permitted them to act as innovators in the development of new permutations of sentimentalism.

The works of the five women authors at the core of this study represent a broad spectrum of new sentimental themes, tones, and styles. As a group, these authors bring to light new varieties of sentimentalism that addressed the practical issues confronting French society in the early decades of the nineteenth century. All of them, Genlis, Tercy, Paban, Doin, and even George Sand, simultaneously draw upon and modify the sentimental tradition. They also resist their period's negative perceptions about women writers by persistently underscoring the usefulness of their fictional works.

I approach these women and their works as a series of case studies. Because they are almost all minor authors, I begin each chapter with a short biographical section examing the author's life, surveying her works, and mentioning scholarship available on either. I then demonstrate the ways in which each author conforms to received notions of sentimentalism while simultaneously transforming sentimental fiction by hybridizing it, blending it with other styles or genres of writing. The criteria I use to do so are enumerated in the first chapter of this project.

Chapter summary

To set the stage for in-depth analyses of the five principal authors in my corpus, I devote my first chapter to an overview of the most prominent eighteenth-century discourses regarding gender and the construction of gender norms that ascribed particular social roles to women. In this chapter, I also investigate women writers' reactions to these discourses and sketch the ways in which sentimentalism allowed them to surmount or circumvent gender-based prejudices. I outline the history and evolution of sentimentalism as a mode of writing that appealed particularly to women writers because it enabled them to embark on fruitful and somewhat socially sanctioned literary careers despite the persistence of the almost universally condemned image of the public figure of the *femme auteur*.[6] I show how Madame de Staël, in particular, was an inspiration to many women writers. As a woman engaging in a successful literary career, Staël's personal example doubtless offered hopt to women aspiring to similar paths. She first appeared on the literary scene, as an author in her own right, by publishing *Lettres sur les ouvrages et le caractère de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1788). She went on to publish prolifically, writing critical and philosophical essages as well as works of fiction, both long and short. Through her works, she introduced certain currents into French literature at the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, like attention to more "Northern" literatures (*De l'Allemagne*, 1813) and neoclassicism, rediscovery of the classics which prompted a change in the way in which people experienced emotions – including those inspired by art (*Corinne*, 1807). Like many European thinkers of her time, she expressed a tragic worldview, triggered by the events of

[6] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centures, sentimentalism flourished, not just in the novel but also in theater (the drame, the comédie larmoyante), in the visual arts, in art criticism (especially Diderot's), and arguably even science. William Reddy argues that during the nineteenth century sentimentalism became more restrained, guarded, and inward-turning in its expressions of emotion. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, U.K./New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

the Revolution, the Napoleonic campaigns, and the general uending of society. In *De la littérature* (1800), she defended women's ability and right to engage in literary persuits. She was, in short, a beacon of hope for women authors. In her writings and by her own example, she encouraged women to persue literary activity, regardless of the social risk attached. I also turn to Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, whose *De l'Influence des femmes sur la littérature française comme protectrices des lettres et comme auteurs ou précis de l'histoire des femmes françaises les plus célèbres* (1811) explicitly addresses and opposes gender norms and stereotypes against the *femme auteur* while articulating a justification for women's participation in literary production, specifically within the domain of the sentimental novel.

In my second chapter, I consider Genlis as a pioneer in historical sentimental fiction. In many of her fictional works she demonstrates reliance upon the sentimental conception of the novel; however, she was not content to present herself as a purely sentimental writer and nothing more. Instead, she constructed her vision of the author as socially useful, invested not only in the moral development of her readers but also in other aspects of their education including history, philosophy and theology.[7] She imbues each of her novels with a distincly pedagogical goal: "J'ose croire que mes romans sont *des traités de morale*, ainsi je me flatte que l'on voudra bien leur pardonner de n'être pas tout à fait aussi frivoles que tant d'autres."[8] For Genlis, the novel is not simply an amusing distraction; it also serves a didactic purpose by giving the reader, regardless of class, an understanding of the useful functions of virtue and work as perceived through a historical lens. Especially in works like *Les Parvenus, ou les aventures de Julien*

[7] Genlis's involvement with these subjects is greatly critiqued by an anonymous critic in the *Journal des débats*'s review of *Les Parvenus*. "Variétés. Les Parvenus, ou les Aventures de Julien Delmours, écrites par lui-même, par Mme la comtesse de Genlis," *Journal des débats Politiques et Littéraires*, Mar. 14, 1819, 3-4.

[8] Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, *Les Mères rivales* (Paris: Maradan, 1819), vi.

Delmours, écrites par lui-même (1819), Genlis uses sentimental fiction to convey her understanding of the post-revolutionary social order and to suggest ways in which her readers can succeed within it. She occupies a complex role as a sentimental author, acting as fictional creator, pedagogue, and historian. Her commitment to recording history as she experienced it is one of the lesser studied aspects of Genlis's literary career. Yet, in this text in particular, it is one of the most interesting, because her depiction of revolutionary history includes not only a description of great leaders and events that typically occupy the pages of historical texts but also an account of ordinary individuals from a variety of social backgrounds: noble, bourgeois, merchant, and even members of religious orders. Always conscious of the effects of history, she critiques and offers suggestions to improve the society around her.

In my third chapter, I examine the ways in which Fanny Tercy adds new emotional, geographical, and historical dimension to sentimental fiction while maintaining an emphasis on morality and sympathy. *Le Juif et La Sorcière* (1833), *La Blanche Iselle* (1833), and *La Dame d'Oliferne* (1829) will be central to this chapter because each of these works provides particular insight into Tercy's transformation of sentimentalism. In them, Tercy's authorial voice is often bifurcated, initially presented through the figure of an omniscient narrator and then transformed into that of an erudite scholar in an appended section of "notes" or "notes et éclaircissemens." A relatively obscure author, even in her own time, Tercy alters conventional sentimentalism to serve her own purposes. She certainly emphasizes the genre's traditional depiction of misfortune and simultaneous appeal to sympathetic feeling, but she also brings to the fore darker sentiments like anger, jealousy, and especially fear. She also typically situates her stories in the distant past and lends her physical settings a slightly ominous atmosphere. This combination of negative

emotion and foreboding setting give her works a distinctly gothic flavor.[9] Within this frame, she seeks to recapture the history of her native region, Franche Comté, the physical area in which she routinely chooses to situate her stories. By framing her tales as local myths and legends, often recounted by venerable old women of the region, she revives local oral traditions and preserves a cultural heritage that she perceives as being at risk of disappearing in an ever-modernizing France. Her blend of gothicism and sentimentalism thus becomes a useful tool for the preservation of the past. It also serves as a means of displaying scholarship: through her lengthy notes, Tercy demonstrates her own extensive knowledge of works by scholars from the region of Franche Comté. She brings to light the works of both contemporary and past scholars from Franche Comté with a similar commitment to preserving regional lore. In this way, Tercy uses a sentimental framework to call for the valorization of regional traditions and to participate in the preservation and study of folklore as a scholarly pursuit.

The fourth chapter deals with explicitly politicized forms of sentimental literature adopted by Gabrielle Paban and Sophie Doin. In her introduction to *Le Nègre et La Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D**** (1825), Paban explains that her goal in publishing the text is to make public Eulalie's thoughts and feelings and, through them, "to touch hearts," or to elicit the reader's sympathy and pity for her titular characters: Zambo, *le Nègre*, born in Africa, and Eulalie, *la Créole*, the daughter of French colonists on Saint-Domingue (8-9). Regardless of race, both characters prove to earn the reader's sympathy. Together, they enable Paban to show the system of slavery in its most negative light and to establish "l'inhumanité de ce cruel commerce qu'on appelle *la traite des nègres*" (225) and subsequently increase public opinion "contre

[9] For more information on Gothic tales/romance, see Robert D. Mayo, "Gothic Romance in the Magazines," *PMLA* 65, no. 5 (1950): 762-789.

l'injustice du système d'esclavage" (229).[10] Similarly, in *La Famille noire* (1825), Doin pleads for "la sainte cause de l'humanité" (6).[11] Like Paban, she seeks to touch the hearts of her readers, hoping that the emotions that arise as a result of witnessing great suffering will result in tears as well as concrete actions aimed at ending the slave system: "les larmes versées sur des héros imaginaires, exciteront peut-être les accens énergiques qui viendront mettre un terme à des souffrances trop réelles" (6). In short, she uses the inspiration of deep feeling as a social tool. By displaying the all-too-real horrors of slavery and the slave trade, Doin means to elicit such outrage that her readers will feel not only sympathy for those who suffer under the yoke of colonial slavery but also a moral obligation to oppose the institution:

> Rendre populaire la connaissance des malheurs inouïs qui, depuis plusieurs siècles, pèsent sur les malheureux Africains, c'est avancer l'aurore de leur régénération sur la terre ; c'est en portant dans tous les rangs l'horreur pour la traite qui les arrache à leur patrie, et pour l'esclavage dans lequel ils gémissent aux colonies, qu'on rendra vraiment efficace l'indignation qui doit soulever tout être pensant contre cet usage homicide. (5)

Both Paban and Doin champion the abolitionist cause by complying with earlier examples of anti-slavery sentimentalism by eighteenth-century authors like Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793). They clearly demonstrate the basic shared humanity of their characters across racial and cultural

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[10] All citations of Paban's novel are taken from the Autrement Mêmes edition. Gabrielle Paban, *Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D****, presented by Marshall Olds (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008). The text was initially accessed in microfiche form through the Corvey Collection: Gabrielle de P, *Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D**** (Paris: Boulland, 1825).

[11] All citations of Doin's *nouvelles* are taken from the Autrement Mêmes edition. Sophie Doin, *La Famille noire, suivie de trois nouvelles blanches et noires,* edited by Doris Kadish (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002). Publication information for the nineteenth-century editions of Doin's works are likewise provided in the bibliography for this project.

lines and present racially marked characters as worthy of sympathy.[12] They use sentimentalism's emphasis on the portrayal of misfortune to produce such a strong sympathetic response in readers as to push them to political action against slavery and the slave trade.[13] However, whereas earlier anti-slavery advocates promoted reforms within the colonial system, nineteenth-century authors like Paban and Doin prove more inclined to articulate a call for the immediate abolition of both the trade and the institution.

The fifth and final chapter approaches the works of George Sand as growing out of the sentimental tradition. Though Sand is not typically considered a sentimentalist, works like her 1842 preface to *Indiana* (1832) underscore the arguably sentimental aspects of her writing:

> Ceux qui m'ont lu sans prévention comprennent que j'ai écrit *Indiana* avec le sentiment non raisonné, il est vrai, mais profond et légitime, de l'injustice et de la barbarie des lois que régissent encore l'existence de la femme dans le mariage, dans la famille et la société. Je n'avais point à faire un traité de jurisprudence, mais à guerroyer contre l'opinion ; car c'est elle qui retarde ou prépare les améliorations sociales. (20)

Sand's intent is fundamentally sentimental in nature: to inspire in her reader a sympathetic, emotional reaction to injustice and the suffering it causes, specifically among women. Her intent resonates with that of the women writers explored in my preceding chapters, who themselves participate in a long tradition of women writers. Sand has already been described as an innovator in the domain of "social" sentimentalism. Margaret Cohen, for instance, makes a

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[12] The actual identity of Gabrielle de Paban is still unclear and may forever remain a subject of speculation. See Marshall Olds, Introduction to *Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D****, by Gabrielle Paban, vii-xxxiv.

[13] Determining a precise readership for these novels is problematic and remains an area worthy of additional research. As authors, both Paban and Doin typically address their audience in gender-neutral terms, likely targeting both male and female readers.

compelling case for Sand as a writer who "perfects the codes of the sentimental social novel, breaks them, and exploits their aesthetic contradictions in elegant and socially incisive fashion."[14] Cohen, however, focuses primarily on a single aspect of Sand's social engagement: her critique of the social condition of women. Drawing on the examples of Genlis, Tercy, Paban and Doin, I will make a case for a more expansive way of reading this canonical author. First, close readings of passages from *Indiana* (1832) and *Nanon* (1872) will reveal Sand's utilization of elements of conventional sentimentalism. Then, close readings of *Consuelo* (1842-43), taken as a group, attest to the presence of a variety of strains of sentimentalism. Like Genlis, Sand uses sentimentalism as a means of writing her own version of historical events. She also uses elements of gothic fiction, like Tercy, and speaks out against oppression like Doin and Paban. She adapts contemporary sentimentalism, blending together political and social engagement with historicity and gothicism. By approaching Sand as a recipient of an already transformed tradition of sentimentalism, I hope to add new dimension to our understandings of her as a writer and to the influence of sentimentalism in the development of the romantic and realist modes of writing.

The conclusion to this project begins by reviewing the ways in which sentimentalism proved 'useful' to the women writers of my study. I also consider what can be learned about these authors and their approach to sentimentalism by examining lists of the works each author produced during her lifetime. For the reader's information, I provide these lists, in addition to succinct summaries of the primary texts by each author, in Appendices 1-5, following the bibliography. In the second and third sections, I reflect on areas for future research. First, I address the question of the significance of an author's gendered identity. All of the authors in

[14] See Cohen's third chapter, "The Heart and the Code: George Sand and the Sentimental Social Novel," in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 119-162.

this study published under a clearly gendered name. All of them achieved a certain degree of commercial success, if not lasting renown, during their life time. Not all of them, however, chose a gendered name that matched their biological sex or social identity. The most obvious example of this phenomenon is George Sand who, though a woman, published under a male-gendered name. Gabrielle Paban, however, offers us the opportunity to discuss the inverse operation as there is speculation that her name was assumed by a man (Collin de Plancy) who was known for adopting and publishing under female pen names.

Male Writers in the Sentimentalist Vein

Women authors were not alone in trying to adapt received notions of sentimentalism for their contemporary audiences. Although male sentimental writers are largely absent from my analysis, they are certainly not inconsequential.[15] Samuel Richardson, for instance was credited (by Diderot and others) for developing the quintessential model for sentimental fiction; and Rousseau had a massive influence on the development of sentimentalism in France. However, many later, nineteenth-century male sentimentalists seem to have been overlooked in histories of the sentimental genre; and, interestingly, the women authors of my study point to a wealth of minor male authors whose works have not yet been thoroughly explored. Like their female counterparts, these male writers of sentimentalism have been long buried in the annals of literary history. They have, moroever, been doubly marginalized: they have not received the kind of critical attention granted to the still-popular great male writers of the century (like Hugo, Balzac, Flaubert, and Zola); nor have they benefited greatly from the ever-growing movement to shed light on minor authors of the period, many of whom happen to be women discovered as a result

[15] Denby examines three male sentimental writers in *Sentimental Narrative in France*: Baculard d'Arnaud (1718-1805), Jean-Claude Gorjy (1753-95), and François Vernes (1765-1834).

of feminism's desire to uncover the forgotten history of women. In brief, minor male authors are often persistently left out of the discussion. However, like the works of the minor women authors studied here, their writings were part of the discourse of their time. Their work circulated in salons like that of Charles Nodier (a figure closely tied to Tercy); it was also bought and sold in the literary market place, thereby influencing its readers as well as other writers, male and female, great and mediocre.

Evidence of the influence of minor male authors is clearly visible in almost all of the works examined in this dissertation project. Each woman author I have studied revealed the various sources she consulted while creating her fiction. Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, for instance, pointed to well-known authors like Jean François de la Harpe, alluding to his literary criticism, and to Louis-Sébastien Mercier, specifically referencing his *Tableau de Paris* (1781). She also cited and openly criticized some of the most well-respected philosophers of her time, including Jean d'Alembert, Denis Diderot, Voltaire, Claude Adrien Helvétius, and most often Rousseau. However, not all the names that pepper Genlis's texts are familiar to the modern-day reader. For example, early in *Les Parvenus*, Genlis's narrator Julien alluded to trends or "usages" in the writing of biography by authors of his time, "auteurs modernes" (1:4); Genlis then intervened in a footnote to cite Dominique Joseph Garat as a precise example of the trend. The work in question, Garat's *Précis historique de la vie de M. de Bonnard* (1787), thus provided a model for what is expected at the outset of a biographical text, even a fictional one like *Les Parvenus*. She also referenced autobiographical works like Philippe de Courcillon de Dangeau's *Journal* (1684-1720) to lend credence to her historical descriptions (1:246). By citing authors like Garat and Dangeau, Genlis granted them a place in the literary history of their time.

Tercy also referenced numerous male authors who engaged in literary and academic study of the region of Franche Comté. These included Renaissance scholars like Gollut as well as members of her contemporary inner circle like Charles Nodier. Gabrielle Paban and, to a lesser extent, Sophie Doin likewise infused their fiction with ideas drawn from the writings of other authors whose works were key in the development of nineteenth-century abolitionist thought. Like Genlis and Tercy, they also cited many such writers directly. Paban, especially, turned to other authors in the notes that follow Eulalie's memoirs. Some of these works are well-known today, like the Abbé Grégoire's *De la littérature des nègres* (1808) which Paban used to underscore the idea of moral, intellectual and emotional equality between the races. However, Paban also mentioned lesser known authors as well; in fact, she quoted directly nearly ten pages from *Soirées d'hiver, ou entretiens d'un père avec ses enfants sur le génie, les mœurs et l'industrie des divers peuples de la terre* (1832), a work by an obscure French-German historian, Georges Bernard Depping. She also quoted a French newspaper article that she used as inspiration for a particular scene in her novel, an episode that underscored the heartless and cruel actions of slave traders and was meant to inspire horror in any sensible soul. By quoting Depping and obscure news articles in her postface to *Le Nègre et la Créole*, Paban not only lent credence to her tale, she also made the abolitionist intent of her fiction unmistakable.

In short, many of the sources to whom these women writers referred fall into the category of minor male authors of the nineteenth century. By referencing them, Genlis, Tercy, Paban, Doin, and Sand encourage us to embark on something of an archaeological quest. They enable us to uncover yet another neglected corpus made up of men and women authors of the period, scholars and *littérateurs* alike, who influenced the fictional production of their time.

Chapter 1

Gender Discourses, the *Femme Auteur*, and Sentimentalism

In early nineteenth-century France, women authors suffered from a particularly negative image. Authors like Constance de Salm gave voice to their concerns:

Qu'une femme auteur est à plaindre !
Juste ciel ! Le triste métier !
Qu'elle se fasse aimer ou craindre,
Chacun sait la déprécier…
Tout ce qu'elle ose se permettre,
En mal on sait l'interpréter.

"Boutade sur les femmes auteurs"

Constance de Salm (1798)[16]

Salm's "Boutade" depicts her as feeling like a victim of unjust criticism, judged for transgressions that she did not perceive as such, her words twisted and her intentions misinterpreted.[17] Writing near the turn of the century, Salm was not alone in her distress. Other

[16] Taken from Geneviève Fraisse, *Muse de la raison: Démocratie et exclusion des femmes en France* (Éditions Gallimard, 1995), 182.

[17] The poem is a direct response to criticism leveled at women writers by the poet Ponce-Denis Écouchard-Lebrun. In his *Ode aux belles qui veulent devenir poètes*, he gives voice to many of

women writers also keenly felt society's resistance to their participation in the domain of writing. Regardless, women persisted in taking up the pen and choosing to write.[18] In order to do so, they developed and deployed a variety of strategies to mitigate negative reactions against them. To understand the ways in which women justified their participation in literary careers, one must first grasp the broad lines of the opposition they faced.

Nineteenth-century disparagement of women writers grew out of Enlightenment-era discussions of gender and women's place in French society.[19] Especially during the second half

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the most common arguments against women writers. For example, in the first stanza, he insists that women were made to please and to love, not to write:

> Souveraines de l'Art de plaire,
> Les Dieux vous firent pour aimer :
> L'Amour verrait avec colère
> Une nuit perdue à rimer. (368)

Addressing women directly, Lebrun tells them their nights should be spent making love, not poetry. Indeed, he depicts riming or writing poetry, and by extension all female literary activity, as a maddening and fruitless transgression of the role for which women were created by the divine architect of humanity. He ends his poem demanding that women resign themselves to an inspirational role and refrain entirely from the act of writing:

> Rassurez les Grâces confuses ;
> Ne trahissez point vos Appas :
> Voulez-vous ressembler aux Muses,
> Inspirez, mais n'écrivez pas. (369)

Écouchard-Lebrun, *Oeuvres* (Paris: Gabriel Warée, 1811), 368-369.

[18] One later-nineteenth-century literary scholar, Jullien Adolphe, remarked upon the growing numbers of women publishing during the early nineteenth century. In an article devoted to the relationship between Romanticism and the world of print publication, he observes, "Les femmes auteurs, poètes ou romanciers, ont de tout temps été nombreuses en France, mais surtout à cette époque d'ébullition littéraire." Adolphe, "Le Romantisme et l'éditeur Renduel," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 133 (1896): 611.

[19] In fact, such debates had begun centuries prior to the Enlightenment. Several scholars have treated this subject. See, for example, Linda Timmerans, *L'Accès des femmes à la culture (1578-1715)* (Paris: Champion, 1993); Erica Harth, *Cartesian Women: Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Julie Hayes, "Sex and Gender, Feeling and Thinking: Imagining Women as Intellectuals," in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment*, ed. Daniel Brewer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 91-104.

of the eighteenth century, the distribution of gender roles occupied a great deal of philosophical attention. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), Voltaire's article "Femme" in the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), Antoine-Léonard Thomas's *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles* (1772), and Nicolas Edme Restif de la Bretonne's *Gynographes* (1777) are just a few pertinent examples of influential works devoted to the question of women's place in society. Each of these works presents a different point of view regarding women and their place in society. Taken as a group, they are useful for broadly outlining eighteenth-century gender discourses.

Though each of these texts approaches the subject differently, they collectively evidence a growing insistence on women's "natural" or biologically-determined reproductive function. Such increased emphasis on women's capacity to bear children was often accompanied by the suggestion that they be confined to the domestic realm so as to focus their energies solely on performing the integral roles of wife and mother. Authors making such arguments systematically excluded women from non-domestic activities, including literary pursuits. At the same time, however, other authors resisted generally reductive notions of women's social functions and roles and articulated a defense, though somewhat limited, of women's active participation in activities such as writing.

In his famous treatise on education, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (1762), Rousseau describes a system for instruction based on clearly defined social roles for men and women. His intent is to construct a portrait of what men and women *should* be in an ideal society, viewing them as social, moral, and sexual complements of one another.[20] In his system, women participate in

[20] All citations are drawn from Rousseau, *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1910).

society chiefly through the roles of wife and mother, roles assigned to them by virtue of their biological difference from men. For Rousseau, women must manage the home, overseeing the private sphere, in order for men to be productive citizens, ruling in the public sphere.[21] Rousseau delves most deeply into the subject of female education in the fifth book of the *Emile,* where he turns his gaze away from Emile and toward his life partner, Sophie. He begins by defining woman as opposed to man and by focusing on her physical attributes and resultant moral disposition. For him, men ought to be active and strong while women should be passive and weak: "l'un doit être actif et fort, l'autre passif et foible" (410). His base argument is founded on physical characteristics (strength or lack thereof) that give rise to sexually differentiated personality traits (an active or passive character). Apart from difference in strength, from Rousseau's point of view, men and woman are physically quite similar, the only difference being in the "sexe": "En tout ce qui ne tient pas au sexe la femme est homme : elle a les mêmes organes, les mêmes besoins, les mêmes facultés ; la machine est construite de la même manière, les pièces en sont les mêmes, le jeu de l'une est celui de l'autre, la figure est semblable, et, sous quelque rapport qu'on les considère, ils ne diffèrent entre eux que du plus au moins" (410). Given that Rousseau perceives men and women as so similar, having the same organs, needs and faculties, for example, he seems to initially place the sexes on an equal playing field. However, for Rousseau, the physical difference of sexual organs necessitates a social division of roles, a sort of indispensable institutional inequality based on biological construction and function. These roles are also determined by distinct moral qualities that arise from an individual's physical sex.

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[21] Catherine Larrère, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau on women and citizenship," *History of European Ideas* 37 (2011), 218-222.

In Rousseau's description of "Sophie, or Woman," he contends that the ideal woman must have "tout ce qui convient à la constitution de son espèce et de son sexe pour remplir sa place dans l'ordre physique et moral" (409). Woman's role in what he refers to as both the physical and the moral order is determined by the traits with which she is endowed by virtue of being simultaneously human and female. Her physical body is different in key ways from that of her male counterpart. This causes her to fulfill a different biological role and to manifest a different set of moral characteristics. The biological makeup and function of her corporeal body in combination with its resultant character traits determines her roles and place in society, again necessarily different from the roles and place of her male counterpart.

Rousseau posits that woman is physically weak, *faible,* compared to a man. She must, therefore, learn to please men in order to gain protection. This accomplished, she must then fulfill her biological function of producing offspring and then embark upon her social (and biologically-determined) role of raising and nurturing children. He explains women's roles relative to men as follows: "Leur plaire, leur être utiles, se faire aimer et honorer d'eux, les élever jeunes, les soigner grands, les consoler, leur rendre la vie agréable et douce: voilà les devoirs des femmes dans tous les temps, et ce qu'on doit leur apprendre dès leur enfance" (419). In short, a woman's entire life cycle revolves around men: as a child, she must be raised to be a good wife and a good mother, always confining herself and her attention to the domestic sphere: "Sa dignité est d'être ignorée; sa gloire est dans l'estime de son mari; ses plaisirs sont dans le bonheur de sa famille" (476). For her own good, a woman must avoid public renown in order to remain in her husband's good graces and find pleasure by ensuring the happiness of her family. To guarantee such results, the manner of a woman's upbringing, her education, is of the utmost importance.

Rousseau begins his discussion of appropriate female education by questioning woman's intellectual capacity. His questions proceed as follows: "Les femmes sont-elles capables d'un solide raisonnement ? Importe-t-il qu'elles le cultivent ? Le cultiveront-elles avec succès ? Cette culture est-elle utile aux fonctions qui leur sont imposées ? Est-elle compatible avec la simplicité qui leur convient ?" (442-443). To paraphrase, Rousseau asks whether women have a firm capacity for reasoning and whether they should or even can successfully cultivate it. He wonders if such cultivation will interfere with a woman's ability or desire to carry out their duties in obscurity as demanded of them by society. He responds to this line of inquiry at length.

First attacking the question of reason, Rousseau concludes that women are indeed endowed with reasoning faculties; however, theirs is not the same as a man's reason. Woman's reason is purely practical (434), and thus "La recherche des vérités abstraites et spéculatives, des principes, des axiomes dans les sciences, tout ce qui tend à généraliser les idées, n'est point du ressort des femmes, leurs études doivent se rapporter toutes à la pratique…quant aux ouvrages de génie, ils passent leur portée" (448). Because Rousseau views women as incapable of grasping abstract and speculative truths or even broad generalizations, he disapproves of their engagement in rigorous intellectual work. Like physical labor, philosophy and science ought to be left to men, while women study more practical knowledge. Moreover, according to Rousseau, works of genius remain firmly outside a woman's grasp. Indeed, the attempt at achieving such a thing would not be "suitable" to her nature.

Shifting toward a commentary on the present and real state of women, Rousseau describes his own personal preferences concerning women: "j'aimerois encore cent fois mieux une fille simple et grossièrement élevée, qu'une fille savante et bel esprit qui viendroit établir dans ma maison un tribunal de littérature dont elle se feroit la présidente" (476). He favors

simple women, even if poorly raised, to any woman who would consider herself as "savante" or possessing a "bel esprit." He views the latter kind of woman with disdain, implying that she makes a home into something unpleasant, something it is not, in this case a tribunal over which she presides. Such women would not make good complements for men and therefore have no place in Rousseau's ideal social order. He declares: "Une femme bel esprit est le fléau de son mari, de ses enfants, de ses amis, de ses valets, de tout le monde" (476). He criticizes women who seek to demonstrate their own knowledge and spirit and thereby offers an implicit critique of eighteenth-century salon culture.

The eighteenth-century salon and women's role within it have been well-studied.[22] Rousseau's highly negative perceptions of the salon, made most explicit in his *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles* (1757), led him to point an accusing finger at well-known women who manifested what he viewed as pretensions to genius, like the seventeenth-century courtesan Anne [Ninon] de l'Enclos, who was known for her participation in salon culture, her letters, and her sexual escapades.[23] In the *Émile,* Rousseau depicts women like the infamous Ninon as

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[22] See, for example: Faith Beasley, *Salons, History, and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006); Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005). Lilti critiques the over-intellectualized account of salon culture proposed by scholars like Dena Goodman and Daniel Gordon in earlier books.

[23] Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis offers a scathing critique of l'Enclos, also known as Ninon. Genlis blames the scandalous Ninon for the destruction of morals in France and the popularization of what she routinely refers to as the "false philosophy" of *philosophes* like Voltaire:

> Ninon, par son esprit, sa dépravation et ses liaisons, eut la plus funeste influence sur les mœurs. Ce fut chez elle que Voltaire reçut ses premiers principes ; ce fut chez elle que se forma cette secte d'épicuriens, dont les dogmes effrayèrent plus d'une fois Louis XIV, portèrent ensuite la corruption dans la cour du régent, et firent enfin la base de la philosophie du dix-huitième siècle. Ainsi, par un enchaînement fort naturel, une courtisanne fut le premier chef d'une prétendue philosophie qui ne tendoit qu'à détruire les mœurs, la religion, et toutes les autorités légitimes.

ridiculous and justly criticized for leaving behind her assigned roles and trying to occupy a position for which she is not suited: "Au dehors elle est toujours ridicule et très justement critiquée, parce qu'on ne peut manquer de l'être aussitôt qu'on sort de son état et qu'on n'est point fait pour celui qu'on veut prendre" (476). He continues in a mocking tone, "De la sublime élévation de son beau génie, elle dédaigne tous ses devoirs de femme, et commence toujours par se faire homme" (476). Rousseau derides women in French society who do not conform to his model. He paints them as ignoring their womanly duties and trying to become men. Such women, who abandon their naturally ascribed sex, become hermaphrodites of a sort, ridiculous monsters, neither wholly woman nor man, without a place in the social order.[24]

Rousseau also accuses women authors of laying claim to work that is not their own: "Toutes ces femmes à grands talents n'en imposent jamais qu'aux sots. On sait toujours quel est l'artiste ou l'ami qui tient la plume ou le pinceau quand elles travaillent ; on sait quel est le discret homme de lettres qui leur dicte en secret leurs oracles. Toute cette charlanterie est indigne d'une honnête femme" (476). In other words, even if a woman seems to demonstrate talent in a published text, she is obviously not the one responsible for the work's content; rather, she is dictating the words and thoughts of a "discreet man of letters" and is thus doubly culpable, proving herself to be an indecent woman in two ways: she has not only implicitly abandoned her domestic roles and duties, she has engaged herself in a dishonest quest for her own celebrity.

In sum, Rousseau's insistence upon physical difference as a determining factor in the appropriate distribution of gender roles leads him to dissuade women from participating in

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Genlis, *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française, comme protectrices des lettres et comme auteurs: ou précis de l'histoire des femmes françaises les plus célèbres*, (Paris: Maradan, 1811), 138.

[24] Rousseau was not alone in this perception of women as scholars and authors. For insightful discussions of other arguments against women writers, see Geneviève Fraisse, *Muse de la raison*.

activities outside the realm of home and family. Women writers receive an especially biting critique: a woman who diverts her attention to a task like writing risks shirking her duties in the domestic realm, necessary duties that make it possible for men to participate fully in the public sphere.[25] Rousseau's theories about woman's nature served as a cornerstone for later arguments regarding the place of women in society, they frequently resurfaced as women continued to engage in literary careers and were subsequently critiqued and questioned.

Later thinkers like Restif de la Bretonne also published works encouraging women's restriction to domestic roles. Bretonne's *Gynographes* (1777) announces such a plan clearly through its subtitle: *Idées de deux honnêtes-femmes sur un projet de règlement proposé à toute l'Europe, pour mettre les FEMMES à leur place, & opérer le bonheur des deux sexes* (original emphasis). His idea is to develop a plan to put European women (back) into an appropriate position in society in order to ensure the happiness of individuals of both sexes. The implication is that, over time, women have stepped outside of their place and that this deviation has led to the discontent of both sexes, in France and throughout Europe.

Restif de la Bretonne opens his text with a brief explanatory preface meant to illuminate the meaning of his chosen title: *Gynographes*, a neologism derived from the Greek word "Gynê," and which he takes to convey the meaning of "Écrivains sur les femmes" (ii). Moreover, he uses this foray into etymology to lay the groundwork for what follows. He examines both Greek and Latin words for "la *Femme,*" contending that: "c'est dans la Grammaire des Anciens qu'on doit

[25] For further reading on the implications of Rousseau's arguments regarding women, as presented in *Emile* and other works, see, for example: Mary Seidman Trouille, *Sexual Politics in the Enlightenment: Women Writers Read Rousseau* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997); Judith Still, "From the Philosophy of Man to the Fiction of Woman: Rousseau's *Emile*," *Romance Studies* 9.2 (June 1991): 75-87; Madelyn Gutwirth, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau, and the Woman Question," *PMLA* 86.1 (1971): 100-109.

chercher leurs véritables idées sur les points les plus importants de la physique & de la morale" (ii). For him, the Greek and Latin names for "woman" are based upon the physical and moral qualities that a woman innately possesses, and has possessed, presumably, since the dawn of time. These qualities, in turn, define her place in the social order. He arrives at conclusions similar to those of Rousseau:

> Les Grecs ont plusieurs mots pour designer la Femme, *Gynê*, *Thêlia*, *Aikòs*, &c : le 1, signifie Qui produit, & a sa racine dans le mot *Gê*, la terre ; la Femme ressemble à la terre; celle-ci est fécondée par le soleil, & l'autre par le mâle; le 2 mot vient du verbe Germer; le 3 a un sens moral, il signifie Honteuse, Timide, Qui se cache. Il y a encore *Akoitis*, Épouse ou Concubine.
>
> Les Latins dissent *Mulier*, Molle, Faible ; *Fœmina*, Productrice ; *Uxor*, Unie, Conjointe ; *Virgo*, Destinée à l'homme. (ii)

By way of spurious grammar and etymology, Restif manages to link women insistently to their reproductive function, a function that can only be fulfilled through a relationship with men: women's destiny is to be mates of men and mothers of children. Restif also grants women the moral qualities of shame and timidity along with softness and weakness; these result in a hidden or purely domestic, not public, existence.

Following his brief foray into linguistics, Restif interjects a short letter to virtuous women, "L'Éditeur aux femmes vertueuses" (iii). In it, he claims to quote the well-known and respected Montesquieu, "L'illustre Auteur de l'Esprit-des-Lois" (iii), in order to lend strength to his own arguments. He manipulates a portion of the fifth chapter of the nineteenth book of *De L'esprit des Lois* in which Montesquieu says, "On y pourrait contenir les femmes, faire des lois pour corriger leurs mœurs et borner leur luxe… " Restif chooses to end his citation at this point,

but Montesquieu continues: "mais qui sait si on n'y perdroit pas un certain goût qui seroit la source des richesses de la nation, et une politesse qui attire chez elle les étrangers ?" In short, Montesquieu does not necessarily advocate for laws that would *contain* women, rather this example falls under the purview of the title granted this chapter: "Combien il faut être attentif à ne point changer l'esprit général d'une nation." Montesquieu seems to caution against the project of "réforme" that Restif undertakes with fervor, but Restif flies in the face of caution. His proposed reforms aim to control women in such a way as to correct what he sees as their tendency toward corrupt morals and overindulgence in luxury. His entire plan hinges on their restriction to the private or domestic realm and their involvement in limited and closely monitored occupations and amusements that ensure their continued confinement.

Restif de la Bretonne articulates a firm belief that women should concentrate their efforts on completing "useful" activities within the home. When not doing this, they should participate in only a limited number of amusing pastimes. He strongly discourages women from reading, writing, or engaging in any sort of scholarly or artistic endeavor: "Pour opérer parfaitement la réforme que voudraient procurer les *Gynographes*, il faudrait que l'écriture et même la lecture fussent interdites à toutes les Femmes; ce serait le moyen de resserrer leurs idées, et de les circonscrire dans les soins utiles du ménage."[26] Reading and writing run contrary to Restif's plan for women because both activities allow and even encourage women to exercise too much freedom of thought, which will inevitably distract them from their "useful" domestic functions.

Thus, like Rousseau, Restif de la Bretonne explicitly forbids women to engage in writing. It is neither an approved occupation (like governing the household or doing "useful" needlework), nor a sanctioned amusement (such as *tranquil* games, singing, dancing and playing

[26] Cited in Fraisse, *Muse de la raison*, 54.

instruments). In short, it is incompatible with women's biological functions and social roles. Paradoxically, however, after arguing for the restriction of women to domestic roles and duties, Restif appends a list of "noms des femmes célèbres" to *Gynographes* wherein he not only lists but praises certain women writers for both their literary skill and their embodiment of feminine virtue and grace.[27] Clearly, Restif himself experienced difficulty in relegating *all* women to the domestic life he himself prescribed for them. Like Rousseau, he must admit to the presence of exceptional women in French society; however, Restif does not cast these exceptions as "monstrous." Rather, he expresses his admiration of their ability to go beyond generally prescribed gender roles. Other eighteenth-century philosophers also express admiration for exceptional women and set about explaining *how* such exceptions come about and *why* they are laudable.

The article "Femme" in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* also explores both the physical and moral attributes of women and their resulting social roles. Unlike Rousseau, who sees few differences between male and female bodies aside from those directly connected to the sexual reproductive system, Voltaire recognizes a rather lengthy list of other differences between the sexes. He opens his essay with the following description of the female constitution:

> En général elle est bien moins forte que l'homme, moins grande, moins capable de longs travaux ; son sang est aqueux, sa chair moins compacte, ses cheveux plus longs, ses membres plus arrondis, les bras moins musculeux, la bouche plus petite, les fesses plus relevées, les hanches plus écartées, le ventre plus large. Ces caractères distinguent les

[27] The list is long, including more than 750 women, 203 having gained their notoriety through writing.

> femmes dans toute la terre, chez toutes les espèces, depuis la Laponie jusqu'à la côte de Guinée, en Amérique comme à la Chine. (375)[28]

Voltaire emphasizes women's physical traits, contrasting them with contrary male characteristics and concluding that these differences are universally evident and undeniable.

Once the basic physical differences between the sexes are established, Voltaire turns his attention to woman's "natural" function, a product of her physically-based reproductive capabilities: she is designed to conceive, bear, and raise children. From his point of view, woman's weak physical constitution and her primary role as child bearer/nurturer combine to govern her social role and her moral character, and here he speaks at some length:

> Le physique gouverne toujours le moral. Les femmes étant plus faibles de corps que nous ; ayant plus d'adresse dans leurs doigts, beaucoup plus souples que les nôtres ; ne pouvant guère travailler aux ouvrages pénibles de la maçonnerie, de la charpente, de la métallurgie, de la charrue ; étant nécessairement chargées des petits travaux plus légers de l'intérieur de la maison, et surtout du soin des enfants ; menant une vie plus sédentaire ; elles doivent avoir plus de douceur dans le caractère que la race masculine ; elles doivent moins connaître les grands crimes et cela est si vrai, que dans tous les pays policés il y a toujours cinquante hommes au moins exécutés à mort contre une seule femme. (378)

In other words, woman's physical characteristics give rise to her biological functions which, in turn, define her role in society and influence her moral character. Her weakness generally confines her to sedentary, domestic work in the home, which has the happy result of leading her

[28] All citations for Voltaire's article "Femme" have been taken from the 1789 edition of his *Dictionnaire Philosophique,* vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Ray, 1789), 375-381.

to have a softer moral character while preventing her from engaging in crimes, or at least in the "grands crimes" (378) committed by men.

From Voltaire's point of view, it is hardly surprising that women are governed or controlled by men: "Il n'est pas étonnant qu'en tout pays l'homme se soit rendu maître de la femme, tout étant fondé sur la force" (379). Man's superior strength sanctions his dominant social role as does his potential to possess superior mental faculties or "esprit": "Il a d'ordinaire beaucoup de supériorité par celle du corps et même de l'esprit" (379). Although Voltaire does not specify the origins of man's superior mind, he seems to ground mental capacity in physical constitution, strength of body leads to strength of mind. Thus, women are disadvantaged, physically and intellectually, when compared to men, even though they seem to have a certain moral superiority over men. The result is a necessary reduction of women's functions to the domestic roles of wives and mothers. For Voltaire, although exceptional women can become quite learned, "très savantes" (379), they will never rise to the intellectual level of men: "il n'y en a jamais eu d'inventrices" (380). Woman's reason will allow her to understand and gain knowledge but never to go beyond that to discover or even articulate anything new; she will never invent.

To this point, Voltaire's arguments seem to echo those of Rousseau; however, Voltaire does not react entirely negatively to the idea of exceptional women who seek to go beyond their reproductive role and socially prescribed domestic duties. Rather, Voltaire valorizes women's efforts in domains such as politics. He insists that women like "Isabelle en Castille, Élisabeth en Angleterre, Marie-Thérèse en Hongrie," proved to be great rulers in hereditary monarchies across Europe, just not in France where the *loi salique* excludes them from official rule. He also demonstrates women's possession of courage and valor, giving several examples of "des femmes

à qui la nature donna un courage et des forces extraordinaires" (377). Interestingly, he sees neither of these kinds of exceptional women as monstrous or unnatural as might Rousseau; rather, he insists that it is nature that endowed these women with exceptional and laudable qualities and refers to his article "*Amazones*" for further reading.

In this article, Voltaire concludes that the Amazons of legend are nothing more than "une fiction poëtique" (193), a mythical creation of ancient authors.[29] Nonetheless, he insists that history has documented many cases of women who demonstrated great courage and physical strength, even in battle. He begins by focusing on Eastern women but devotes the last several pages of his essay to the exceptional demonstrations of courage documented among European women. He gives several well-known examples including Marguerite d'Anjou, the Comtesse de Montfort, Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne Hachette, and Mademoiselle de la Charte, all of whom he praises for their bravery in combat. He insists that these are just a few examples and that all nations are familiar with these kinds of heroines: "Il n'est presque point de nation qui ne se glorifie d'avoir de pareilles heroïnes; le nombre n'en est pas grand; la nature semble avoir donné aux femmes une autre destination" (193). Voltaire insists that women such as these *glorify* the nation for whom they fight; however, their examples are rare enough that they cannot form a rule, and he concludes that women are generally destined to perform other roles in society, presumably those related to childbearing and nurturing within the confines of marriage and domesticity. Even Voltaire's examples of exceptional women depend upon this fundamentally domestic social role for women. In all of the cases cited above, exceptional women demonstrated exceptional courage in battle explicitly because they sought to defend and protect or even seek vengeance for their husbands and children: "les épouses secourussent & vengeassent leurs maris, & les mères

[29] All citations of Voltaire's article "Amazones" have been taken from his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Marc Michel Rey, 1789), 188-193.

leurs enfans dans les batailles" (188). If these women had not been wives and mothers, clearly inscribed within domesticity, they would have had no reason to demonstrate exceptional bravery or strength.

Voltaire does not address the issue of women writers in either article explored above; however, his *Eloge historique de Madame la Marquise du Châtelet* (1752) sheds light on the subject. In this text, the recently deceased Madame du Châtelet receives almost unqualified praise for her translation and scholarly explanation of Newton's doctrines in *Principes mathématiques de la philosophie naturelle*.[30] Voltaire lauds Châtelet as an exceptional scholar and a gifted writer who was capable not only of explaining Newton's theories but also of enriching them with her own commentaries (415). In this, Châtelet was exceptional, not only among women but also when compared to male scholars. However, after praising Châtelet's work, he says of her: "Jamais femme ne fut si savante qu'elle, et jamais personne ne mérita moins qu'on dit d'elle : C'est une femme savante" (417). Châtelet, as a woman, was laudable for her knowledge only because she did not embody the negative figure of a *femme savante*. Rather, she maintained the reputation of "une personne ordinaire" (417). She did not flaunt her knowledge in public: "[o]n ne la vit point rassembler de ces cercles où il se fait une guerre d'esprit, où l'on établit une espèce de tribunal, où l'on juge son siècle par lequel en récompense on est jugé très sévèrement. Elle a vécu long-temps dans des sociétés où l'on ignorait ce qu'elle était, et elle ne prenait pas garde à cette ignorance" (417). Instead of seeking to demonstrate her knowledge publicly or even in a small circle, she let her learning and knowledge remain secret. She rigorously cultivated her mind but did not let this interfere with her ability to fulfill all her

[30] All citations of this *Eloge* are taken from the *Œuvres de Voltaire avec préfaces, avertissements, notes, etc.*, vol. 29, edited by Beuchot (Paris: Lefèvre, 1830), 411-421.

social duties and more: “elle trouva du temps non seulement pour remplir tous les devoirs de la société, mais pour en rechercher avec avidité tous les amusements” (418).

Thus, like Rousseau, Voltaire offered his reader a critique of *salon* culture and women’s role within it. For both thinkers, women’s active participation in salon culture was unsavory as it exposed them to criticism and ridicule and interfered with their ability to fulfill their natural social roles within the home. Nonetheless, unlike Rousseau, Voltaire could not bring himself to confine women strictly to the roles and functions prescribed by their biological function. Instead, he found a way to reconcile women’s fulfillment of their sexually-determined roles and functions with a possibility of going beyond them. In the case of Châtelet, for instance, because she avoided the kind of fame earned from participation in salon culture, the worldly public mostly knew her as a woman who fulfilled her domestic and social duties, and her scholarly accomplishments were all the more notable for it after her death.

It would seem, then, that for Voltaire, women were, in certain cases, *capable* of greatness in thought and writing, but it was simply not seemly for them to show it publicly. For Voltaire, as for Rousseau, celebrity was undesirable for women. To attain true glory, “cette gloire véritable” (416-417), they needed remain largely unknown as thinkers or writers, but well-known for their participation in gender-appropriate social and domestic activities. It seems reasonable, then, to interpret Voltaire’s view of exceptional women as follows: first and foremost, women must fulfill their duties *as women*, according to socially acceptable divisions of gender roles; if they chose to go beyond those responsibilites, they were free to do so, so long as it did not interfere with their requisite functions.

Not all eighteenth-century thinkers limited women in this way. For example, in his *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles* (1772), Antoine-Léonard Thomas breaks with the line of reasoning that confined women to certain roles or activities based upon their sex and the biological function is fulfills.[31] Rather, like Voltaire, he seeks to offer an objective "recueil d'observations & de faits" drawn from examples of women throughout history (10). He traces the origins of French debates on gender to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when writers embraced a panegyric tradition that lauded the virtues and accomplishments of exceptional women. That tradition served as a catalyst for the beginning of a long discussion of gender and its implications for social roles and functions:

> Le même esprit qui dans cette époque créa tant de panégyriques de femmes, fit naître une foule de livres sur le mérite des femmes en général. On éleva l'importante question de l'égalité ou de la prééminence des sexes. Et pendant cent cinquante ans on vit une espèce de conspiration d'Écrivains pour assurer la supériorité des femmes. (86)

Texts such as Corneille Agrippa's *De l'excellence des femmes audessus des hommes* (1509) and later Marie de Gournay's *Egalité des hommes et des femmes* (1622) are but two examples of the many works from this period that promoted women's capacity to equal or surpass men in various ways.[32] Many authors, both women and men, participated in the lively debate.

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[31] All citations of Thomas are taken from the edition published in Amsterdam, 1772.

[32] Thomas cites other such works, including: Lucrece Marinelle, *La noblesse & l'excellence des femmes avec les défauts & les imperfections des hommes*; *De l'égalité des deux sexes, discours philosophique & moral où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des préjugés* (1673); *La femme meilleure que l'homme, paradoxe par Jacques del Pozzo* (1650); and *Les Dames Illustres, où par bonnes & fortes raisons, il se prouve que le sexe féminin surpasse en toute sorte de genre le sexe masculin* (1665). For further reading on these and others, see Thomas, *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles* (Amsterdam, 1772), 80-93. Such works, and many more, are also briefly discussed in the appendix "Noms des femmes célèbres"

Thus, for Thomas, the sixteenth century was of great importance in the history of women: "Le seizième siècle qui avait vu naître & s'agiter cette question, fut peut-être l'époque la plus brillante pour les femmes" (135). However, as history advanced and times changed, the tendency to write works praising exceptional women declined. By the late eighteenth century, women had lost a great deal of favor in literature: "J'observerai seulement que dans ce siècle, il y a moins d'éloges de femmes que jamais" (176). Thomas, however, does not necessarily mourn the passing of such a fad. First, he explains that, although many Renaissance women were worthy of praise for their virtues as for their achievements (academic and otherwise), the arguments of panegyrists were not always reasonable. Moreover, he seems to believe that women in general became less worthy of praise due to social developments during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. For Thomas, the French developed a corrupting "goût de société" (136) which evolved into an even stronger "esprit de société" (168). For women, the results were regrettable: seeking to please became their only goal. He supports this argument by emphasizing the difference between learned women of the Renaissance and women writers of his own time:

> Il me semble que dans le seizième siècle, les femmes s'instruisaient par enthousiasme pour les connaissances mêmes. C'était en elles un goût profond, qui tenait à l'esprit du temps, & se nourrissait jusques dans la solitude. Dans celui-ci, c'est moins un goût réel, qu'une coquetterie d'esprit ; & comme sur tous les objets, un luxe, plus de représentation que de richesse. (174)

Thomas firmly believes that the celebrated women of the Renaissance deserved their fame because their love of knowledge was true and sincere. For women of his own time, knowledge

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following Restif de la Bretonne, *Gynographes* (La haie: Gosse et Pinet, Humblot, 1777), 523-567.

had been repurposed into ornament; display of it was superficial at best, nothing more than *coquetterie* or *parure*. As a result, fewer women engaged in the activity of writing: "Ce n'est pas que dans ce siècle, il n'y ait des femmes qui aient écrit, & qui écrivent encore avec distinction; elles sont connues: mais leur nombre diminue tous les jours; & il y en a infiniment moins qu'il n'y en eût à la renaissance des lettres, & sous Louis XIV même" (175). Interestingly, Thomas does not seem to question women's ability to write. Rather, he tells us that they have been writing for centuries and that they are still writing, even gaining distinction through the occupation. He claims, however, that fewer women are writing during his century than during earlier centuries. On this point, Thomas is mistaken or dishonest: as twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars have pointed out, women were publishing in large numbers by the end of the eighteenth century.[33]

Compared to contemporaries like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Restif de la Bretonne, Thomas seems the most favorably disposed to the idea of women as writers. Still, Thomas's perception of women writers is not entirely positive: he, too, puts certain limits on the success of women writers. For example, while Thomas believed that women could have "esprit", he agreed with Voltaire that theirs was not that of a man. We should recall, however, that Voltaire labels a woman's "esprit" as typically inferior to a man's. For Thomas, it is not quite so simple. He sees "esprit" not as one large monolithic category but rather as clearly divisible into four different types: "l'esprit philosophique qui médite, l'esprit de mémoire qui rassemble, l'esprit d'imagination qui crée, l'esprit politique ou moral qui gouverne" (94). Like Rousseau, Thomas maintains that women are generally incapable of exercising the cool-headed reason that would

[33] Other scholars have remarked upon this fact. See, for example: Brigitte Louichon, *Romancières sentimentales: 1789-1825* (Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2009); Martine Reid, *Des Femmes en littérature* (Paris: Belin, 2010), 5-21; and Reid, *George Sand* (Paris: Gallimard Folio Biographies, 2013), 9-13.

allow them to discover the great philosophical truths; thus they are typically lacking in "esprit philosophique" (96). Similarly, they lack true imaginative reason: a woman's imagination, Thomas maintains, is both "vive et légère" but not strong enough to allow for artistic or literary creation: "Peut-être leur imagination, quoique vive, ressemble-t-elle au miroir qui réfléchit tout, mais ne crée rien" (98). Women writers, then, are capable of recreating that which they have seen, but remain unable to arrive at innovation or creation of something new. This is not always the case, however, provided a woman knows how to use her strengths: for example, her connection to emotion, which Thomas regards as a woman's greatest asset. According to him, writers such as Madame de la Fayette used this to their advantage: they were able to perceive and effectively reproduce all emotion, even down to the slightest nuance. La Fayette herself seems to have been able to arrive at innovation: "C'est elle, qui la première, a mis dans les romans, les sentiments à la place des aventures, & des hommes aimables au lieu des héros. Elle fit dans son genre, ce que Racine fit dans le sien" (157). Because La Fayette replaced adventure with emotion and heros with "lovable men," she managed to make something new.

For Thomas, women are indeed capable of being writers, and he does not critique them overly much for attempting to enter such a career. He praises without hesitation women of the distant past who have become writers, but he is harder on the women writers of his own time. Nonetheless, Thomas seems to believe it possible to improve the condition of women writers. According to the conclusion of his essay, there are still great possibilities for a woman writer if: "en cultivant la philosophie & les lettres, [elle] les aimerait pour elles mêmes, non pour une réputation vaine & frivole" (182). Thomas attributes the degeneration of women's writing after the Renaissance to their growing desire to distinguish themselves and gain a frivolous and vain reputation for "esprit" or even "génie." In other words, so long as the desire for recognition is

abandoned and knowledge is pursued for its own sake, women writers can once again rise to the level of their Renaissance predecessors and become good writers, worthy of the world's praise. Consequently, Thomas, unlike Restif de la Bretonne and Voltaire, seems to wholly refuse Rousseau's prescribed limitation of women to domestic functions within the home; rather, he grants them both the ability and the right to write.

Even with supporters like Thomas, however, negative perceptions of the *femme auteur* often won out. Thus, during both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women writers were occasionally cast as admirable or exceptional, but in large part they were held in contempt, depicted as inappropriately transgressive, even vile and hermaphroditic. Such a persistently negative image had very real consequences for women writers: they were loudly criticized and often ridiculed.[34] Regardless, women continued to write and circulate their works. In fact, by the early nineteenth century, women were publishing in record numbers.[35] Some chose to directly confront the widespread prejudices against them, while others developed subtler strategies to mitigate criticism and succeed in their chosen career paths. One such strategy related to the mode of writing within which they chose to write.

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[34] Sylvain Maréchal, for instance, virulently denounced women writers of poetry in his *Projet d'une loi portant défense d'apprendre à lire aux femmes* (Paris, 1801). Of them, he says: "A *woman poet* is a little moral and literary monstrosity just as a *woman sovereign* is a political monstrosity." Genvième Fraisse translated by and cited in Anne Vila, "'Ambiguous Beings,' Marginality, Melancholy, and the Femme Savante," in *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment*, eds. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 65.

[35] Reid, *Des femmes en littérature*, 29.

Germaine de Staël, a well-known woman writer born in 1766, made a particularly compelling case for women writers, specifically within the bounds of sentimentalism.[36] Throughout *De la littérature*, Staël examines contemporary gender stereotypes and the resulting ideas on appropriate gender roles, focusing particularly on their very real consequences for women writers, "des femmes qui cultivent les lettres," also described as "des femmes qui aspirent à la célébrité littéraire" (295) or who seek recognition as an "auteur" (297). Staël depicts the *femme auteur* as an object of pity and as a victim of unjust social constraints. When considering the most common arguments made against women authors of her time, she acquiesces to the notion championed by Rousseau and Restif de la Bretonne that women belong "naturally" to the domestic sphere: "Certainement il vaut beaucoup mieux, en général, que les femmes se consacrent uniquement aux vertus domestiques" (295). In the brief text, Staël concedes the importance of domestic virtue in women. However, she does not see womanly duties within the home and family as wholly incompatible with the occupation of writing. She refuses to allow the common gender stereotypes to dictate whether women can or should participate in activities such as writing. Rather, she gives voice to a firm belief in the possibility that women could not only engage in writing but also distinguish themselves as authors. She sympathizes with women authors and lends her support to their literary endeavors.

For Staël, a woman's path to authorship is inherently difficult. She characterizes the cultivation of letters as a departure from woman's typical social role, a "mouvement pour sortir de sa place" (295). From her point of view, society insists that women have no reason to write.

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[36] Staël's essay "Des Femmes qui cultivent les lettres," part of *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800), is the standard source for Staël's views on the relationship between women and writing. See David Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 213. All direct citations from Staël, *De la littérature* are taken from the 1800 edition, 294-306.

If they engage in such an activity, they are harshly judged: "Ce que vous êtes forcé de faire par votre état, par votre position, trouve mille approbateurs; ce que vous inventez sans nécessité, sans obligation, est d'avance jugé sévérement" (295). Women who maintain a focus solely on domesticity are little criticized; however, those who seek to go beyond what is expected of them by society find themselves in very different circumstances.

Staël deplores the overwhelmingly negative social and emotional repercussions of accepted ideas on gender and gender roles, but she also sees the possibility of change. Borrowing from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumière indienne* (1791), Staël offers her readers an epigraph that underscores these aspects of her perceptions of women authors: "Le malheur est comme la montagne noire de Bember, aux extrémités du royaume brûlant de Lahor. Tant que vous la montez, vous ne voyez devant vous que de stériles rochers; mais quand vous êtes au sommet, le ciel est sur votre tête, et à vos pieds le royaume de Chachemire" (294). Certain aspects of this tale resonate with Staël's observations of the condition of the *femme auteur* in early nineteenth-century France: take for example, the figure of the pariah, which she evokes in her discussion of women writers. In literal terms, a *pariah* is a member of India's lowest caste, shunned and ostracized, forced to live alone, outside of civilization as a result of cultural stigmas based not on reason, but on superstition. Staël likens the suffering and isolation of the pariah in *La Chaumière indienne* to that of women authors. Like the pariah, women writers are born as they are: they do not necessarily choose to be gifted with an *esprit supérieur*, but possessing it, they cannot deny or change it; they can merely accept the unjust consequences of their reality. This is also a prominent theme in Staël's *Corinne, ou l'Italie* wherein the eponymous heroine, a textual embodiment of the *femme auteur*, cannot find acceptance within society. Ultimately, Staël presents the condition of women writers in France as one of unjust suffering that results

from cultural prejudices, superstitions, and false notions. By writing, a woman abandons the anonymity of her domesticity and enters the public sphere. There, she comes into direct competition with men, to whom the domains of knowledge and writing have traditionally belonged. This incites feelings of jealousy among male writers, "ceux que l'ambition amène sur la même route" (296), and opens the woman up to criticism from society at large. As she has abandoned her feminine virtue of modesty, she risks being viewed as seeking recognition and glory and has little protection from "les hasards des jugemens du public" (297). Surrounded by critics, women writers, like the pariah, find themselves rejected by society, ridiculed, hated, and even feared.

Staël expresses hope that the transition to a republican form of government might open avenues for women to advance further, with fewer sanctions upon literary careers. It seems to her that in a republic, one of the primary goals is to advance knowledge and, in such a system, women to take up writing literature to allow men to devote themselves to high philosophy: "[p]eut-être seroit-il naturel que ... la littérature proprement dite devint le partage des femmes, et que les hommes se consacrassent uniquement à la haute philosophie" (296). She is, however, disappointed with the reality of France's transition from monarchy to democracy and observes that rather than encouraging the cultivation of knowledge and writing among women, the men of the French republic have been determined to relegate women to a state of mediocrity: "depuis la révolution, les hommes ont pensé qu'il était politiquement et moralement utile de réduire les femmes à la plus absurde médiocrité" (298). This "absurd mediocrity" is reflected above all by the limited educational opportunities open to women. She is, however, hopeful: "Il arrivera, je le crois, une époque quelconque, dans laquelle des législateurs philosophes donneront une attention sérieuse à l'éducation que les femmes doivent recevoir" (294). She advocates educational

opportunities for women and insists that formal instruction aimed at developing women's reasoning skills is necessary to the progress of a nation: "Éclairer, instruire, perfectionner les femmes commes les hommes, les nations comme les individus, c'est encore le meilleur secret pour tous les buts raisonnables, pour toutes les relations sociales et politiques auxquelles on veut assurer un fondement durable" (301). In short, both men and women require education or instruction in order to become enlightened, perfected, and capable of ensuring the foundation of social and political institutions that can withstand the test of time. Moreover, the education of women is important on both intellectual and affective levels: "Il est utile aux lumières et au bonheur de la société que les femmes développent avec soin leur esprit et leur raison" (301). Female education is not only useful in founding "durable" societies, it also plays a role in ensuring the "happy" existence of all members of such societies.

Despite this defense of women's education, Staël is careful not to overturn too many cultural assumptions. She insists that, even with the benefits of education, "superior women" or women who can successfully become good writers are few and far between, a "danger très rare" (300). She assures her readers that there is but a "très petit nombre de femmes que la nature dévoueroit au tourment d'une importune supériorité" (302). The rarity of "superior" minds among women becomes a defense for their education: because the average woman won't be able to use education to rise above the "destinée de son sexe" (300), there is no harm in generally educating women.

Superiority for both men and women was viewed as inherently problematic by many enlightenment-era thinkers, especially Rousseau. For Staël, however, it is particularly harmful to women, leading to an *affreuse destinée*. Exceptional women, however, face even greater obstacles because their transgressions seem even more significant: "s'éloignant encore plus du

chemin frayé, doit étonner, et par conséquent importuner davantage" (302). Whereas a man's discomfort might be mitigated and his exceptionality may prove useful ("utiles" (302)), superior women are not so lucky; they are outcasts, criticized and shunned.

Thus, Staël returns to the thesis advanced by some in her day that women should not be actively encouraged to "cultivate letters" or become writers. She maintains that a woman can be easily turned from literary aspirations once shown the repercussions of writerly celebrity which can turn the whole of society against her (302). In a republic, as in a monarchy, women writers are viewed as trying to rise above their natural destiny in order to achieve that which is reserved for men. Society harshly judges and even rejects these women, and as a result, they lose their chance at happiness and find themselves alone in the world: "[L]'opinion semble dégager les hommes de tous les devoirs envers une femme à laquelle un esprit supérieur seroit reconnu: on peut être ingrat, perfide, méchant envers elle, sans que l'opinion se charge de la venger. *N'est-elle pas une femme extraordinaire ?* Tout est dit alors; on l'abandonne à ses propres forces, on la laisse se débattre avec la douleur" (305). Not only are women writers isolated from society, they are also treated poorly and suffer as a result. For Staël, the root cause of this situation is not that women who deviate from their prescribed social roles are "monstrous," as Rousseau would have it. Rather, it is the result of injustice: men regard the woman author as an object of curiosity and even envy, and because they don't know how to judge her, they refuse to protect her (305). She suffers alone and, like the pariah, is worthy of pity rather than scorn: "elle promène sa singulière existence, comme les Parias de l'Inde, entre toutes les classes dont elle ne peut être, toutes les classes qui la considèrent comme devant exister par elle seule, objet de curiosité, peut-être de l'envie, et ne méritant en effet que la pitié" (305-306).

Staël's essay on women writers paints a bleak picture indeed for women writers of her time; they are destined to suffer as a result of their literary engagement. However, she offers a more hopeful position in one of her letters, "Du style de Rousseau, et de ses premiers discours sur les sciences, l'inégalité des conditions, et le danger des spectacles" (1788). In this text, Staël defends women authors by exploring her belief in their natural ability of observation and their *sensibilité*, or ability to feel emotion. Echoing the eighteenth-century discourses that describe women as capable of fine observation and define them as creatures of feeling rather than reason, Staël represents them as capable of writing about emotions: "elles sauraient du moins exprimer ce qu'elles éprouvent; et [...] ces sentiments tout-puissants, qui les font vivre et mourir, porteraient peut-être plus avant l'émotion dans le cœur des lecteurs, que tous les transports nés de l'imagination exaltée des poètes."[37] She insists that although women might not be able to speak to or write about issues that do not figure in the type of education generally offered to them, they are still capable of writing about what they observe and feel. They are, furthermore, capable of recording these observations and emotions in such a way as to inspire emotion in their readers.

By insisting on the link between women, observation, and emotion or sentiment, Staël argues for increased acceptance of women who engage in modes of writing like sentimentalism. In "Des ouvrages d'imagination," the chapter following "Des femmes qui cultivent les lettres," Staël explicitly defends women as writers of novels in the following terms:

> Les femmes de nos jours, soit en France, soit en Angleterre, ont excellé dans le genre des romans, parce que les femmes étudient avec soin, et caractérisent avec sagacité les mouvements de l'âme ; d'ailleurs on n'a consacré jusqu'à présent les romans qu'à

[37] Staël quoted in Simone Balayé, *Madame de Staël: Écrire, lutter, vivre* (Genève, 1994), 16.

> peindre l'amour, et les femmes seules en connaissent toutes les nuances délicates. Parmi les romans français nouveaux, dont les femmes sont les auteurs, on doit citer *Caliste, Claire d'Albe, Adèle de Senanges*, et en particulier les ouvrages de Mme de Genlis ; le tableau de situations et l'observation des sentiments lui méritent une première place parmi les bons écrivains. (360)[38]

Staël insists that women's natural talent for observation, in combination with their natural *sensibilité,* enables them to excel as writers of novels, especially "sentimental" novels.[39]

Sentimentalism: Convention and Adaptation

The sentimental literary genre is recognized as having developed during the Enlightenment and proliferated in the early nineteenth century. As an eighteenth-century phenomenon, it was linked closely to Enlightenment theories of morality, language and social theories of equality and democracy.[40] It is likewise linked to the concept of sensibility, a characteristic highly valued by many eighteenth-century, Enlightenment-era French thinkers. For them, "Sensibility was the intuitive capacity for immediate moral and aesthetic responsiveness to others, and particularly to the suffering of others. Humanity, pity, and tenderness were among its privileged terms, and to possess *un cœur sensible* was to believe to be the precondition of morality."[41] When translated into a set of aesthetic conventions and literary

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[38] The three works Staël references here are *Caliste* (1787) by Isabelle de Charrière, *Claire d'Albe* (1798) by Sophie Cottin, and *Adèle de Senanges* (1794) by Adélaïde de Souza.

[39] Reid, *Des Femmes en littérature*, 38-39.

[40] See again Denby's description of sentimentalism in *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760-1820*.

[41] Citation from Cecilia Feilla, *The Sentimental Theater of the French Revolution: Performing Virtue* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2013), 12. In the domain of eighteenth-century

practices, sensibility became sentimentalism, a mode of writing that sought to move readers through the representation of sentiment or feeling. More specifically, it sought to evoke a sympathetic readerly response to moral and virtuous characters who encountered misfortune.

Sentimentalism flourished throughout much of Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the French context, Diderot's *Eloge de Richardson* was crucial to defining the traits of what would become the sentimental tradition in French novel writing. In it, he sings the praises of Samuel Richardson's novels *Clarissa* and *Pamela*. Diderot admires these texts because they privilege affective experience and appeal to the sympathies of sensitive readers, creating a community of sympathetic beings who, once presented with the suffering of fictional characters, learn moral lessons that transfer to the real world and enable them to react to one another based on a shared sense of their basic humanity.

Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is an example of Richardson's model for the sentimental novel translated into French. Like Richardson's template, Rousseau's novel is set in a non-descript present and presented as a collection of letters that exhibit the fundamental characteristics of sentimentalism: emphasis on emotional experiences, especially suffering and romantic love, that appeal to the reader's sympathy while teaching poignant moral lessons and aiming to create a community of sensitive readers.[42]

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studies, sensibility is a common object of study. See, for instance, David Denby: "Sensibility" in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, eds. A.C. Kors, R.L. Emerson, L. Hunt, A.J. La Vopa, J. Le Brun, J.D. Popkin, C. Bradley Thompson, R. Whelan, G.S. Wood, (New York, 2003); Anne Vila, "Sensibilité" in the *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, vol. 4 (Oxford University Press, 2014), 278-84.

[42] See Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* bonds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) for more on sentimentalism and sympathy and their role in the construction of community.

Fleshing out a more detailed definition or description of conventional sentimentalism has proven difficult. Many scholars use Diderot's *Eloge* as a point of departure from which to propose all theoretical analyses of the sentimental novel.[43] The resulting descriptions, however, vary according to the authors and works cited as representative.[44] This variation in scholarly approaches to sentimentalism is, in itself, important. When read not as conflicting accounts but as complements of one another, these descriptions show that sentimentalism as an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary phenomenon is a complex and variable object of study. The commonalities that can be gleaned from these diverse approaches point to core conventions which tie together the texts grouped beneath a wide-reaching generic umbrella that is rather imprecisely labeled as sentimentalism.

This label groups together the works of a vast number of authors, writing at different times, out of different contexts, about different subjects. Elements like setting and characters vary widely. However, certain narrative, thematic, and stylistic features related to 1) textual

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[43] Such is the case for Denby's *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France,* and Cohen's *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*. See also the essays collected in *Métamorphoses du roman sentimental: XIX^e^-XXI^e^ siècle*, ed. Fabienne Bercegol and Helmut Meter (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015). In the French literary tradition, Sylvia Lorusso cites Rousseau as creating a new kind of sentimentalism in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, see "De quelques constantes du roman sentimental féminin au début du XIX^e^ siècle," *Les Lettres Romanes* 63, no. 3-4 (2009), 181-192.

[44] Scholars commonly trace the history of sentimentalism in the French tradition to the influence of Richardson's novel *Clarissa*. Diderot's *Eloge de Richardson* is often the starting point for enumerating the qualities of a French text seeking to imitate Richardson's masterpiece. Likewise, Rousseau's *Héloïse* is commonly accepted as the quintessential French sentimental novel. Denby, Cohen, and Constans all agree on these points. Cohen, for her part, holds up Cottin's *Claire d'Albe* as a touchstone for the tradition of the sentimental novel as authored by women writers.

purpose, 2) plot progression and central conflict, and 3) preferred literary devices remain constant. [45]

For the purposes of this study, a fictional text can be considered sentimental if it meets three primary criteria:

1. The text has a dual purpose related to pleasure and utility.[46]
2. The fictional plot progresses from an initial state of peace and harmony through a period of misfortune that prompts the protagonist to reconcile two equally important but seemingly mutually exclusive imperatives.[47]
3. The text of the novel itself is characterized by a variety of narrative and stylistic features commonly observed in readily recognizable sentimental texts like

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[45] My outline of the essential characteristics of sentimental fiction draws heavily upon the work of other scholars, most notably Cohen's *The Sentimental Education of the Novel* and Denby's *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760-1820*. Neither of the systems elaborated by these authors fully fits the works of my corpus or the needs of this study. Therefore, rather than adopt just one of the theories developed by these individual researchers, I have synthesized the most salient elements of their work into my own description, which also takes into accounts elements drawn from the work of scholars like Louichon, *Romancières sentimentales 1789-1825*; Lorusso, "De quelques constantes du roman sentimental féminin au début du XIX[e] siècle;" and Ellen Constans, *Parlez-moi d'amour: Le roman sentimental. Des romans grecs aux collections de l'an 2000* (Limoges: PULIM Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 1999). Both Lorusso and Constans, however, limit the scope of sentimental narrative to that of the love story. For my purposes, sentiment, as foregrounded by the authors of this study, encompasses a wider variety of emotional reactions, from love to fear. Authors depict these emotions, soliciting readerly responses grounded in sympathy. See David Marshall's work on the role of sympathy in the novel: *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy: Marivaux, Diderot, Rousseau, and Mary Shelley* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[46] Cohen describes this duality of purpose as seeking to simultaneously entertain and instruct the reader in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 62-63.

[47] In the opening to "Towards a model of the sentimental text," Denby establishes the sentimental dependence upon a plot progression motivated by misfortune or *malheur*. *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France*, 71-75. The idea of conflicting imperatives, which I view as necessarily linked to sentimental misfortune, is drawn from Cohen's discussion of what she terms a "double bind." We return to this concept below.

Richarson's *Clarissa* (1748), Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), and Sophie Cottin's *Claire d'Albe* (1799).

In short, Sentimental texts possess a clear didactic purpose, are organized around a central inherently emotional and therefore largely internal conflict, and routinely deploy a battery of tried and true rhetorical devices and strategies that intensify readers' affective responses to the fictional struggles of sensitive protagonists.

If we synthesize the work of Denby and Cohen, sentimental fiction, a vehicle for entertainment, often masquerading as a true story, is marked by an overtly didactic purpose according to which the author (via the narrator) aims to improve society by refining the moral sensibilities of the reader. The reader witnesses the sentimental journey of the protagonist, relates to it in a sympathetic way, and translates this reaction into a real world reaction that enables him/her to live a better, happier life as a more compassionate member of society. Thus, the creation of a community of like minds is a direct result of the didactic nature of the text. Often, the protagonist narrates his or her own sentimental journey, allowing the reader access to a first-hand analysis of his or her heart and mind, including emotional and rational reactions to the suffering or *malheur* that has disrupted his or her former happiness.

Doubtless, didacticism and pedagogy are at the heart of sentimental fiction that exhibits a clear purpose related to the moral education of characters.[48] This central purpose explains why women were drawn to the genre as writers. As one scholar explains: "La rédaction d'ouvrages pédagogiques semble encore le seul type d'écriture qu'une femme de la bonne société puisse

[48] As mentioned earlier, Cohen discusses the didactic nature of sentimental fiction in the first chapter of *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, though she does not describe this nature as potentially appealing to or providing a justification for women authors in particular. Cohen, "To Interest, To Instruct," in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 62-63.

justifier à l'époque, elle peut arguer qu'il s'agit d'une démarche utilitaire et dans la droite ligne de ses fonctions maternelles et donc éviter les accusations de bel esprit frivole."[49] The pedagogical nature of the sentimental novel provided a legitimate justification for women wishing to establish themselves as writers. In short, by emphasizing utility - the didactic and socially useful nature of sentimental fiction - women writers could cast their literary productions as an extension of their biologically determined motherly function and thereby justify their participation in literary careers.[50]

Sentimental authors, whether male or female, typically used two distinct approaches to articulate didactic objectives: either they issued a clear statement of intent in the authorial voice as part of a notice or preface, or they illustrated their intent through the actions and assertions of a narrator and/or individual characters throughout the body of the text. In quintessential examples of didactic sentimentalism like *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, a character establishes him or herself as a tutor or mentor invested in perfecting the moral education of another character who occupies the role or student. In novels like Genlis's *Adèle et Théodore* (1782), which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, a protagonist occupies the role of the mother, a de facto instructor, and involves herself in even the most minute aspects of a child's education to ensure his or her appropriate moral development. Either way, discreet episodes of the fiction

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[49] Sandrine Aragon, "Un Discours féministe? Les Représentations de lectrices dans les romans pédagogiques de Louise d'Epinay, Caroline de Genlis et Isabelle de Charrière," *Women in French Studies* 10 (2002), 144-152.

[50] Christine Planté also clearly adopts this premise: "c'est toujours le *pour* qui l'emporte, détournant l'attention de l'acte même de l'écriture, ce qui le rend du même coup possible pour la femme, et acceptable pour l'équilibre social, parce que sa nature subversive paraît désamorcée." She even goes so far as to claim that women were encouraged to write, as women, "pour répandre les idées justes." Planté, *La Petite Soeur de Balzac* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 175, 182.

are accompanied by overt lessons, internalized by fictional characters and real-world readers (also learners) alike.

The plots of sentimental stories are relatively straightforward so as not to distract overmuch from the centrality of sentimental struggles and the author's moralizing program.[51] They may twist and turn, but never do so unexpectedly. Rather, the action progresses in such a way that the reader suffers few surprises. Sometimes, the outcome is blatantly announced, as for instance, when the title itself specifies the eventual outcome or the challenges facing the tale's protagonist. This trend was established by the earliest models of sentimentalism. Richardson himself used the technique, as in *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*. More often the sentimental narrator drops a trail of breadcrumbs, from time to time leaving subtle cues that can be read as signs pointing to the pre-destined outcome of the narrative.

In a conventional sentimental account, action builds tension through a period of misfortune and culminates in either a thoroughly tragic finale or the realization of tranquility and security.[52] The requisite period of misfortune is prompted by an initial conflict wherein the protagonist recognizes his or her subjectivity to two equally important yet seemingly mutually exclusive, seemingly irreconcilable imperatives; he or she is the victim of a "double bind," faced

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[51] Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 48-50. Cohen refers to this tendency as the writer's use of a "light touch" and the necessity that "all should be clear" to the reader. She suggests that these tendencies stem from the conventions of classic tragedy. Cohen posits that most sentimental novels end tragically in deference to these roots. However, the sentimental novels of my corpus end happily as often as they end tragically; some even present uncomfortably ambiguous endings that soften their otherwise glaring moral didacticism.

[52] Denby theorized the centrality of misfortune, or m*alheur,* to the sentimental novel. See, in particular, his second chapter which contains a discussion of suffering as a structuring factor in sentimental fiction, "Towards a Model of the Sentimental Text," *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France,* 71-94.

with inherently contradictory duties.[53] The paradigmatic sentimental plot is characterized by this "double bind" which "catches its protagonists between two moral imperatives, each valid in its own right, but which meet in a situation of mutual contradiction."[54] Typically, this character must reconcile his or her own individual desires as they fly in the face of social norms and obligations. This tension creates struggle, misfortune or *malheur*. Sentimental fiction, then, generates its narrative from a drawn out conflict between love and duty, emotion and reason, or personal freedom and collective welfare. Physical suffering, in this context, is not necessary, though it can serve as an externalization of the suffering character's internal state. Conventionally, the tale's resolution of its core conflict takes two forms: harmonious resolution of the conflict is brought about by the protagonist's marriage or death.

Sentimental narration exhibits a variety of unmistakable narrative and stylistic features. It is marked by an absence of detail. Places, things, and even characters are only rarely described in depth. This scant style of description is only abandoned during moments of heightened emotion, when key lessons are brought to the fore. At times like this, digression into a detailed analysis of a character's emotional reactions might take center stage, or a description of a character's physical appearance may draw out his or her idealized essence and present the reader with an ethically-driven paragon of virtue and an exemplum for emulation. In particularly touching scenes, sentimental narrators might offer descriptions of the physical gestures and spatial positioning of characters to create a striking visual tableau in which feeling is literally embodied by the participants. Beyond that, sentimental writers deploy a variety of rhetorical techniques

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[53] The double bind has a long history in French literature. It is, for instance, present in plots like that of Madame de LaFayette's *Princesse de Clèves* (1678).

[54] The double bind is highlighted by Cohen in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 34-48, citation 34.

that appeal to emotion, like hyperbole, emphatic diction, forceful interjections rife with strong feeling, and suggestive silences, punctuated correspondingly by exclamation points and ellipses.[55]

For readers accustomed to the realist, detail-rich aesthetic of many of the best known mid-to-late nineteenth-century novels, one of the most unsettling characteristics of sentimental literature is the predominant lack of meticulous textual descriptions. According to sentimental convention, an over-abundance of material detail distracts readers from the progression of the central conflict. By minimizing external material specifics, sentimental narrative underscores the primacy of interiorized struggles.

As we have seen, typically, characters in sentimental novels are not granted a wealth of physical attributes. Rather, they are morally or ethically idealized and statements pertaining to appearance remain somewhat vague. When a sentimental narrator digresses into physical descriptions, it is for particular reasons. Most often, the details serve to reveal the sentimental existence of a character.[56] One common sentimental technique for exposing inner feelings is to break a character's body into pieces, describing each individually. When combined, these parts point to a single conclusion related to the sentimental state of the individual being described. Physical descriptions may also contribute to the construction of a sentimental blazon. Conventionally, a blazon interrupts the action of the narrative to detail the physical appearance of a character at a moment when that character is desired by another. Though the blazon emphasizes material appearance, it is used to underscore the importance of moral attributes. It

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[55] See, again, the first chapter of Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* 53-58; 63-67.

[56] Cohen observes these phenomena as well: she describes sentimental novels as needing "few details, few manners, few portraits" and examines the "sentimental blazon" as the exception to this rule. *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* 50-60.

highlights characters' moral goodness, unwarranted suffering, and selfless sacrifice, thus serving to elicit the readers' sympathy.

The body is not the only important signifier of sentiment. Objects described in the text also carry great meaning and offer insight into the emotional state of an individual to whom the object is linked. One of the most obvious objects endowed with emotional meaning is the teardrop.[57] It is also the most constantly present of these objects. Any good sentimental object is bound to have multiple scenes involving tears that are shed as a result of deep feeling. In truth, the teardrop can be a sign of many emotions: sadness, relief, fear, anger, joy. Other commonly deployed and easily read symbols of sentiment include: flowers, plants, rings and jewelry. At times, symbolism is foregone and characters simply expound, at some length, upon the inner workings of their hearts, clearly articulating the nature of particularly strong emotional reactions. In other moments, the physical positioning of two or more characters' bodies may be described to create a visual representation of shared deep feeling, a tableau offered up for the readers' admiration.

Perhaps the most obvious textual element of sentimental writing is its frequent discussion and depiction of emotions and emotional reactions. Narrators and characters alike make use of rhetorical devices like hyperbole to deliberately exaggerate and thereby emphasize and justify strong emotional reactions. A woman that excites the passions is likely the most beautiful and/or the most virtuous woman in the room. At times feeling is so great as to thoroughly defy description, and speakers (characters or narrators) expressly admit they lack the words to express the intensity of a given feeling by saying something like "il est impossible de décrire une pareille scène." Sometimes characters are so overwhelmed that they simply faint from an inability to

[57] For more on the history of tears, see Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes, XVIII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles* (Paris: Éditions Rivages, 1986).

process an emotional reaction. At other times, narrators and characters alike rely on the rhetorical technique of aposiopesis. They merely pause meaningfully, faithfully transcribing the lack of speech by inserting an ellipsis […], three small dots that can carry great, though unarticulated meaning.[58]

By the turn of the nineteenth-century, these core elements of conventional sentimentalism had been in use for decades and featured in countless fictions. The authors I study in my four upcoming chapters all approached these conventions as a point of departure, but they took it upon themselves to improve upon the model. By combining elements of conventional sentimentalism with features of other modes of writing like history, gothicism, or political discourse, they created less conventional, hybrid texts. Their adaptations helped sentimentalism maintain its relevance in a changing literary landscape.

[58] Cohen writes at some length about ellipses, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* 57-58. She subsequently addresses common grammatical and rhetorical traits briefly, 65.

Chapter 2

Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis: History in the Sentimental Novel

Stéphanie-Félicité Ducrest was born on January 21, 1746. She became *comtesse* de Genlis upon her marriage to Charles-Alexis Brûlart in 1763.[59] Although she began composing verse and writing prose at a very young age, she did not begin publishing her works until she was over the age of thirty and firmly established both as a wife and mother, and as tutor to the children of the Duc d'Orléans.[60] Prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, Genlis had published only a handful of works. These included four pedagogically oriented texts: two collections of

[59] Several biographies have been written over the course of the past two centuries that present and study Genlis in great depth. As neither a detailed account of Genlis's life nor a complete analysis of her works is central to the development of my arguments, I would refer any reader seeking further information to the bibliography that follows. For a concise biography, see especially: Machteld DePoortere, "Succinct biography of two women authors," in *The Philosophical and Literary Ideas of Mme de Staël and Mme de Genlis* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 9-17; Louichon, *Romancières sentimentales (1789-1825)*, 312-313; Bonnie Arden Robb, "Discovering Motherhood: From Burgundy to Bellechasse," in *Motherhood in the Margins* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 23-39.

[60] In *Motherhood in the Margins*, Arden Robb traces the beginnings of Genlis's obsession with writing to her early childhood when she dabbled in the composition of short poems. Later, as a young woman, she worked seriously to compose *Réflexions d'une mère de vingt ans* in 1765, just prior to the birth of her first child. This work, however, was not published during her lifetime. Genlis seems to have sincerely believed in the necessity of postponing publication of her written works in order to comply with what she viewed as a codified series of conditions governing women's participation in the domain of writing. She articulates her views on this subject most clearly in her preface to *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française* (1811), a text to which we will return later in this chapter. She also explores the issue in other works like her nouvelle *La femme auteur* (1825).

theatrical works, *Théâtre à l'usage des jeunes personnes, ou théâtre d'éducation* (1779-1780) and *Théâtre de la Société* (1781); her first novel, a thinly veiled treatise on education, *Adèle et Théodore ou Lettres sur l'éducation* (1782); and a collection of overtly didactic short stories, *Les Veillées du château ou Cours de morale à l'usage des enfants, par l'auteur d'Adèle et Théodore* (1784).

Though her theatrical works were relatively well-received, *Adèle et Théodore*, modeled significantly upon Rousseau's *Emile*, met with considerable criticism. One contemporary reviewer explained:

> Quelques-uns reprochaient à madame de Genlis d'avoir dénigré impitoyablement les femmes de sa société… Certaines personnes s'offensèrent de plusieurs passages sur les rois, les reines et les courtisans. D'autres lui firent un crime impardonnable des mordantes allusions contre les philosophes et les encyclopédistes répandues à chaque page du roman d'*Adèle et Théodore.*[61]

Genlis's treatise earned her criticism for two very different reasons. On the one hand, she was censured for her unfavorable treatment of people from the highest levels of society; on the other, she was castigated for denigrating the most respected philosophers of the eighteenth-century. Regardless, *Adèle et Théodore*, in combination with her earlier dramatic efforts, earned Genlis a certain success and firmly established her both as a moralist and a pedagogue.[62] Her strained

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[61] Frédéric Godefroy, *Histoire de la littérature française,* vol. 3 (Paris: Gaume frères et J. Duprey, 1863), 275-276.

[62] See Judith Still, "Genlis's *Mademoiselle de Clermont,* A Textual and Intertextual Reading," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 37, no. 3 (2000): 331-347. See also Mary Trouille, "Toward a New Appreciation of Mme de Genlis: The Influence of Les Battuécas on George Sand's Political and Social Thought," *The French Review* 71, no. 4 (1998): 565-576. Still speaks of Genlis as "producing about 140 works," (Still, 575) whereas Trouille mentions her "more than 140 published volumes" (Trouille, 331). It is unclear as to how these scholars arrived at such

relationship with contemporary critics, however, proved to be enduring, an almost invariable reaction to her frank expression of her own views, chief among them her ceaseless defense of Catholicism and monarchy, her overt criticism of the *philosophes*, and her exaggeratedly negative portrayals of corrupt and immoral members of the highest tiers of society.[63]

While these aspects of Genlis's writing would remain constant throughout her career, the quantity and form of her literary production changed dramatically as a result of the outbreak and aftermath of the French Revolution. As was generally the case for French citizens, the social and political events of this time ushered sweeping changes into Genlis's personal life and chosen profession. In the 1790s, she abandoned her post as *gouverneur* for the Orléans family, lost her husband to the guillotine, and eventually left her native France for an extended period, passing through England, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland as an *émigrée*. She did not return to her native France until 1800.[64]

During her emigration, Genlis began, for the first time, to live off the proceeds of her writing. As a result, her literary production increased dramatically. She wrote almost ceaselessly and published at least one or two volumes a year from 1793 to 1800.[65] Although she

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tallies and whether individual texts (such as *contes, nouvelles*) are counted individually or as part of larger "works" or "volumes."

[63] For a more detailed exploration of Genlis's criticisms of the *philosophes* see the chapter "Philosophy and Religion" in De Poortere, *The Philosophical and Literary Ideas of Mme de Staël and Mme de Genlis*, translated by John Lavash (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 89-116. For further reading on the long-term effects of these views, see Arden Robb, *Motherhood in the Margins*, 17.

[64] For more details on these and other events of Genlis's life, the timeline appended to Martine Reid's republication of Genlis's *nouvelle* "La Femme auteur" is most useful (Paris: Gallimard Folio, 2007),103-106.

[65] For a selective list of Genlis's publications by date, see Appendix 1. The list is followed by a relatively concise summary of *Les Parvenus.*

did not completely abandon the purely pedagogical discourse that she favored from 1789 to 1793, during her years abroad, Genlis opted increasingly for the novel, which was more popular and lucrative.[66] Even after returning to France, Genlis continued to publish in much the same way as she had during her emigration. The novels she produced during and after the Revolution were often sentimental and, in many of them, Genlis's interest in the historical past is clearly visible. Some of these works fall squarely into the sentimental subgenre of the "historical" novel, while others prove to be more unorthodox in their fictional applications of history.

As a literary form, the novel has a long and complex relationship with history. In the seventeenth century, novels with a historical base grew in popularity. Until 1660, the heroic novel used history only superficially. These texts, often simply referred to as *romans*, privileged settings in ancient Greek or Roman times. Within them, history provided an interesting backdrop but was otherwise of little import. Authors used history to supply their plots with recognizable names of important people and significant events (like military battles or noteworthy marriages between noble families) but made no attempt to integrate the events of

[66] In addition to writing fiction prolifically, Genlis was also an avid student of literary history and published a significant number of non-fictional texts. She published works of pedagogy as well as social and literary criticism. See for example: *Discours sur la suppression des couvents de religieuses et sur l'éducation publique des femmes* (1790) ; *Discours sur l'éducation du peuple* (1791) ; *Discours sur le luxe et sur l'hospitalité, considérés sous leurs rapports avec les mœurs et l'éducation nationale*. (1791) ; contributions to the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque universelle des romans, dans laquelle on donne l'analyse raisonnée des romans anciens et modernes, français ou traduits dans notre langue, avec des anecdotes et des notices historiques et critiques, concernant les auteurs et leurs ouvrages ; ainsi que les mœurs, les usages de temps, les circonstances particulières et relatives, et les personnages connus, déguisés ou emblématiques* (1798-1805) ; *La Botanique historique et littéraire* (1810) ; *Les Annales de la vertu, ou Histoire universelle, iconographique et littéraire, à l'usage des Artistes et des jeunes littérateurs, et pour servir à l'éducation de la jeunesse* (1811) ; *Observations critiques pour servir à l'histoire de la littérature du 19ème siècle* (1811) ; *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des étiquettes de la cour* (1819).

history into the fiction. Later, however, conventions changed and authors began to use history as a much more integral element in their fictions. Novelists began to refer to their works as *historique*. They rigorously researched their chosen periods in order to go beyond superficial usage of historical elements. Using general or official history as a point of departure, they then filled in the gaps with imaginative stories presented as particular history, or an insider's interiorized perspective of historical events. Novelists cast themselves as *historiens* and described their fictions as relating the "secret motivations of history" and exploring aspects of history that were generally deemed unworthy of or unnecessary to the official historical record.[67] In these novels, authors privileged recent or contemporary French history or situated their stories around the Valois Court of the sixteenth century. The most adept authors even claimed that their fictions were "true" historical accounts, and the public responded eagerly, lending the genre great popularity, especially in the last third of the seventeenth century. Women authors were particularly active in popularizing this form of the historical novel. Madeleine de Scudéry and Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, in particular, achieved lasting renown for their contributions to the genre.

These women were pioneers of a sort, transforming history by changing readers' perceptions of what should be included in it. Writers like Scudéry and Lafayette, in particular, participated in the establishment of the tradition of the historical novel, developing it as an

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[67] Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (Rutgers University Press, 1990), 35. Beasley's first chapter, "Perspectives on History," is particularly useful in understanding the seventeenth-century phenomenon described as the "historical novel." Beasley uses the works of three authors that figure more or less prominently in Genlis's *De l'influence des femmes*: Lafayette's *La Princesse de Clèves* and *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre,* Villedieu's *Les Désordres de l'amour,* and Montpensier's *Mémoires*. She examines these texts as seventeenth-century models of women writers' engagement with history.

alternative to both the heroic novel and conventional history. Conventional erudite historians like the royally sanctioned Paul Pellisson-Fontanier (1624-1693) focused only on "great" and "public" events, generally limited to "royal acts of leadership and military deeds that were publicly known" (Beasley, 16). Rather than focusing on this type of "general history" (*histoire générale*), historical novelists actively involved themselves in the pursuit of "particular history" (*histoire particulière*) and sought "to reveal the details and reasoning that underlie the public matters of general history, the motives and passions that determine officially recorded events,… [including] actions that are excluded from the general record" (Beasley, 29). They shifted the focus of their works away from the great and public actions of the male elite, to the particular experiences and emotions of individuals behind the scenes, including women, offering the reader what Beasley calls an "interiorized historical perspective" (Beasley, 41). In short, they wrote to fill in historical gaps by focusing on the emotions and relationships that were at their root. This emphasis on feeling enabled the seventeenth-century tradition to blend with sentimentalism, and thus the genre prospered through the eighteenth century.

By the early nineteenth century, the historical novel was evolving along two distinct paths. On the one hand, in its most sentimental form, it had almost completely lost the emphasis on "particular" history with which some of its seventeenth-century pioneers tried to imbue it. Rather, it had come to serve as a guide of ethical conduct in which historical events served primarily as background, adding to the work's *vraisemblance* but playing no significant role in the narrative.[68] In them, history certainly serves as an interesting and believable setting; however, the plot remains fundamentally sentimental, and the primary goal of the work is to

[68] Maurice Samuels, *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 151-162.

analyze emotions, passions, and affairs of the heart. The material world is only minimally described so as to ensure sustained focus on sentiment and the quest for virtue and morality. Moreover, the past is often idealized. Thus, rather than teaching historical lessons, these novels offer up well-known historical figures as exempla and encourage readers to internalize moral and ethical lessons. On the other hand, authors began to take a more nuanced approach to history, following the example set forth by Englishman Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), whose historical fiction spawned a new literary trend according to which history was presented in fiction as spectacle, full of material detail and local color but lacking in moralizing lessons.[69]

Genlis, herself a scholar and critic, was well-read and thoroughly familiar with both the French and British literary traditions related to the use of history in the novel. She clarifies her views on the French tradition in *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française* (1819). In this work, she describes the literary contributions of nearly fifty seventeenth-century women, at least fifteen of which she claims to have had significant influence on literary history. She pronounces the seventeenth century to be the pinnacle of French literature, "un siècle où l'on a tant aimé la littérature, tant honoré les littérateurs."[70] She admires, in particular, the simple style

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[69] See Samuels's description of both traditions of the historical novel in France throughout *The Spectacular Past*.

[70] Genlis, *De l'Influence des femmes sur la littérature française comme protectrices des lettres et comme auteurs ou précis de l'histoire des femmes françaises les plus célèbres*. (Paris: Maradan, 1811), 114. Throughout this work, Genlis examines a wide variety of women who wrote or protected French letters. Her 37-page essay "Réflexions préliminaires sur les femmes" is particularly interesting. Like the larger work in which the essay appears, the "Réflexions" seek to expose women's prominent place in literary history. Genlis explicitly and irrevocably condemns widely accepted notions of appropriate gender roles that deny women access to careers as writers. She is particularly dismissive of arguments, often made by philosophes like Voltaire and Rousseau, which insist upon women's relative lack of reason or intellectual inferiority and consequent inability to engage in literary careers. Other critics have explored Genlis's strained relationships with these philosophers. See, for example: Trouille, "Toward a New Appreciation of Mme de Genlis," 574; Still, "Genlis's *Mademoiselle de Clermont*: A Textual and Intertextual Reading," 335.

of certain authors of the time, whose works were imbued with virtue and morality aimed at both entertaining and instructing readers (112). She offers the highest of praise for the *Lettres* of Madame de Sévigné: " nul ouvrage ne contient autant d'anecdotes intéressantes, et ne transporte mieux au temps que retracent les récits de madame de Sévigné: car on croit avoir entendu ou vu tout ce qu'elle raconte, on connoît tout ce qu'elle a peint. Tous ses lecteurs sont admis dans sa société la plus intime" (139-140). Genlis is impressed by the historical accuracy of Sévigné's account which effectively transports readers back to the time in which she writes. Conversely, she is openly critical of the way in which some other seventeenth-century authors dealt with history in the context of the heroic novel:

> On ne faisoit, dans ce temps, que des romans historiques ; on n'aimoit alors que des sujets héroïques : de grands noms et de grands faits consacrés par l'histoire, intéressoient dadvantage que de pures fictions : mais on ne trouve, dans aucun de ces ouvrages, la peinture des mœurs des siècles antiques qu'ils prétendent retracer, et moins encore des héros qu'ils représentent. Mademoiselle de Scudérie, n'eut même pas l'intention de les peindre ; elle avoit sous les yeux d'autres modèles aussi nobles, qu'elle a préférés : elle a fait dans ces romans le portrait du grand Condé et de plusieurs autres personnages illustres de ce temps. (99)

Though she approves of Scudéry's moral didacticism, Genlis laments her use of history as mere backdrop. For instance, she takes issue with Scudéry's approach to history in the novel *Clélie*, wherein Roman antiquity is used as a setting, but the events that play out obviously relate to the conquests of much more modern historical figures: Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé and his sixteenth-century contemporaries. Instead, like Sir Walter Scott, Genlis stresses the necessity of

accurately depicting the mores of historical periods. Unlike Scott, though, she maintains a commitment to the overt moral and social utility of her fiction.

Over time, Genlis perfected her own version of the historical novel. For her, such a novel ought to be more than just a sentimental plot thrust into an antique frame. In her preface to *Les Chevaliers du Cygne* (1795), she fleshed out her thoughts on avoiding what she saw as shortcomings in other purportedly historical novels. Returning to her most common criticism, she begins:

> Une douzaine de noms pris dans l'histoire et deux ou trois faits connus de tout le monde forment tout le fond de chacun de ces ouvrages. J'ai tâché d'éviter ces défauts ; il ne falloit pour cela que du travail et non du génie ; et j'ai placé à la fin de chaque volume des notes historiques, afin que les inventions de l'auteur ne fussent pas confondues avec les évévenemens qui appartiennent à l'histoire. J'ai relu avec soin tout ce qui pouvoit avoir rapport au temps dont je parle, j'ai mis en action tous les usages les plus brillans et les plus intéressans de l'ancienne Chevalerie, et je crois avoir peint avec vérité les deux hommes les plus fameux de ce siècle : Charlemagne, et le Calife Aaron.[71]

Genlis insists that her system is simple and merely requires a bit of hard work and diligence as opposed to exceptional genius. She proposes to document her text by inserting historical notes so that her own invention will not be confused with historical fact.[72] She also relies upon

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[71] Genlis, Preface to *Les Chevaliers du Cygne, ou la Cour de Charlemagne* (Paris: Pierre François Fauche, 1795), xi.

[72] In this practice, Genlis is not particularly innovative. The technique was commonly used and appears in every text in this study. The insertion of footnotes into a given text serves a variety of goals, chief among them lending authenticity to the fictional account and bolstering the author's reputation as a learned individual. For women writers, like Genlis and the others discussed in this study, footnotes may have conferred greater legitimacy on their literary productions or may have been inserted as the result of a desire to transform the frivolous novel into a more "serious"

extensive research, reading everything she can find that will enrich her understanding of the customs and people of the time period in question, in this case the reign of Charlemagne.

By the 1810's Genlis was well known for her construction of sentimental historical novels using this system. In them, she consistently documents her historical research and draws attention to the areas in which fiction and history intersect. She writes about well-known historical figures and, much like her seventeenth-century predecessors, imaginatively fills in the particular gaps left in more generalized accounts. In her preface to one such novel, *Jeanne de France* (1816), she explains why she continues to interject history into her fictions: "On doit chercher ces grands personnages dans l'histoire ; car cette perfection a besoin d'une telle autorité et d'un nom imposant et révéré pour n'être pas rejetée comme une pure chimère." [73] The exceptional morality and virtue of famous historical figures adds to the believability of the fiction.[74] This credibility helps readers to more easily identify with and subsequently emulate the virtuous characters at the heart of an essentially sentimental account.[75]

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literary genre. Margaret Cohen speaks to the realist tendency to depict sentimental works as frivolous in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* 13, 55, 84, 120, and 224.

[73] Genlis, *Jeanne de France* (Paris : Maradan, 1816), iix-ix. Cited in Maurice Samuels's *The Spectacular Past*, 158.

[74] In this, Genlis is likely borrowing from the tradition of the *roman héroïque*, which manifests a similar convention.

[75] In taking this stance, Genlis expresses an aesthetic viewpoint contrary to that of Germaine de Staël who disdained the blending of fiction and history and favored "les fictions où tout est à la fois inventé et imité; où rien n'est vrai, mais où tout est vraisemblable." Arden Robb argues that Staël opposed the blending of history and fiction because it reduces history to base love stories and thereby deprives it of both its moral authority and its verisimilitude. Genlis, on the otherhand, sees merit in drawing freely upon the lives and actions of well-known historical figures, using their "noms illustres" to bolster her fiction's moral authority and verisimilitude while simultaneously attracting the attention of readers who cannot help but be interested in the lives and actions of celebrated individuals that feature in the work. Arden Robb, *Motherhood in the Margins*, 189-190.

In 1819, Genlis adapted her tried and true approach to history in the novel in order to deal explicitly with recent history rather than events of a far-off time. *Les Parvenus, ou les Aventures de Julien Delmours, écrites par lui-même* (1819) is one of the most compelling examples of Genlis's innovative application of history in a novel.[76] This three-volume novel is a significant departure from conventional forms of both the sentimental novel, which is set in a vague contemporary present and makes little to no use of well-known events or details drawn from the experiences of famous people, as well as its historical subgenre, which is typically set in a far off past but also typically makes little use of historical detail. In it, Genlis draws the readers' attention to historical facts, "des faits historiques" (I:v), related to the period of the French Revolution. Rather than focusing on the broad outlines of general or official history, she focuses on more obscure or particular elements which are unknown or "presque tous ignorés" (I:v). She creates a fictionalized interior perspective of the events of the era, depicting it from the point of view of an average French citizen. Doing so, Genlis fleshes out her own model for contemporary historical fiction. One of Genlis's most innovative novels, *Les Parvenus* was well-enough received to merit the publication of at least four editions in the early nineteenth century but has subsequently received relatively little critical examination.[77]

The novel is written as the fictional memoirs of its titular character, Julien Delmours, who is born in 1767, the son of a Parisian confectioner. Julien is expected to one day take over

[76] As the 1819 edition was not readily available for consultation, all citations of this text are drawn from the 1824 edition published by Lecointe et Durey in Paris. All volumes of the edition can be consulted via the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's Gallica.

[77] See the title page of the 1824 edition of *Les Parvenus*, which claims to be the fourth edition. Subsequent editions might exist. The text was also published in English as *The New Aera: The Adventures of Julien Delmours: Related by Himself* (London: Colburn, 1819).

the family storefront; however, when he is five years old, the Marquise d'Inglar takes notice of him and asks his father to send him to her home. Over the next decade, Julien grows closer to the d'Inglar family. He observes them and forms relationships with the d'Inglar children, Eusèbe, the eldest son, and Edélie, his sister. Eusèbe becomes so attached to Julien that he takes the young man under his wing and makes arrangements for his education in subjects like history and Latin. Julien's education begins to distinguish him from other members of the social group into which he was born. He becomes Eusèbe's confidant and secretary, and when Eusèbe is appointed as a plenipotentiary minister, Julien accompanies him to his post in Sweden. While they are in Stockholm, the first revolutionary tremors are felt in France. Julien receives word of them in letters from home. He returns to France in 1791 and observes first-hand the social upheaval there. During the Terror, in 1794, he flees France, going first to Hamburg and then to London, living as an *émigré*. While abroad, he observes English society and customs and meets many fellow emigrants. He marries one, a wealthy French woman, and in 1800 returns with her to France where he becomes a legislator. He ends his account in 1819, thrilled with the reestablishment of the French monarchy and proudly declaring himself a patriot.

Julien's story spans the entirety of the Revolution of 1789, an event that transformed French social and political structures and consequently altered the lives of individuals of all class backgrounds. The narrator witnesses first-hand the dramatic transformation of French society over the course of the last several decades of the eighteenth century and is keen to record all the events he sees unfurl around him.[78]

At first glance, the fictional memoir of Julien Delmours seems to be a relatively standard example of sentimental writing from the early nineteenth century. It certainly abides by many of

[78] For a more detailed plot summary, see Appendix 1.

the codes Margaret Cohen identifies as central to sentimental fiction. [79] For instance, it is characterized by descriptive restraint and depends heavily upon quintessentially sentimental narrative techniques like emphatic diction and both the *blazon* and the *tableau,* which highlight characters' moral goodness, suffering, and sacrifice in order to stimulate readers' sympathy.[80] The narration typically pays little attention to material detail except when emotions run high. Characters are often described in typically sentimental hyperbolic fashion as "le plus vertueux" or "le plus raisonnable" or "le plus beau." Moreover, Genlis's protagonist Julien endures a very common manifestation of the double bind: like Claire d'Albe, he suffers and struggles as a result of forbidden love. In short, he falls in love with a woman whose social class is above his own and must find a way to reconcile his amorous longing with the demands of the society around him which initially forbids, and later frowns upon, unequal marriage, or *mésalliance*. Throughout the novel, Julien attempts to improve his social status in order to realize his romantic desires while diminishing or potentially eliminating the threat of *mésalliance,* thereby preserving social order.

Julien's account generally offers little in the way of material detail. In this way, Genlis bows to the sentimental code of descriptive restraint. She also complies with sentimental convention by deviating from this code in order to underscore the ways in which her characters embody moral goodness, depict their emotional states of being, and elicit a sympathetic reaction

[79] During the analyses that follow, I draw heavily upon the sentimental codes identified and outlined in Cohen's work *The Sentimental Education of the novel.* These include the notions of the "double bind," the "blazon," the "light touch," and "tableau," among others. I describe each as they pertain to this project in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, 45-53.

[80] The appeal to readerly sympathy plays a key role in Denby's analysis of sentimental narrative in *Sentimental Narrative and the French Social Order*. It is also a key element in Marshall, *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy*, a work that discusses British and French appeals to sympathy in a variety of eighteenth-century works.

in the reader. Alongside this recourse to convention, however, Genlis sows the seeds for something new. Ingeniously, she does so by playing up one of the conventions at the very heart of sentimentalism: its usefulness as an educational tool.

In prefacing *Les Parvenus*, Genlis explains: "Cet ouvrage, sous les formes que j'ai tâché de varier et de rendre amusantes, offre aux jeunes gens de toutes les classes des faits historiques, des tableaux frappans et des fictions dont le but principal est de leur faire sentir l'utilité de la vertu et de l'amour du travail" (1:v). Not surprisingly, then, Genlis underscores the didactic nature of her text. Like many novelists of the time, she articulates a useful and practical purpose related to the moral education of readers, teaching them, for instance, the usefulness of virtue, *vertu*. However, Genlis complicates this didactic focus, lending it additional pedagogical depth by emphasizing the utility of historical fact, *des faits historiques,* within this framework. Genlis also lends the text additional philosophical and theological emphasis. For her, such objectives are not unique to *Les Parvenus*; rather they surface in many of her works. As we will see below, the eruption of such issues in her novels is not always well-received. Upon publication of *Les Parvenus, i*t earned her significant criticism. We will return to the reception of *Les Parvenus* below.[81]

Through this form of expanded didacticism, Genlis aims to guide readers to what she proposes as appropriate models of behavior for members of French society, rich or poor, in the aftermath of the Revolution. On the one hand, Genlis makes her point in patently sentimental fashion: through the creation of striking scenes that evoke deep feeling and thereby result in the learning of a useful social lesson. Conversely, she defies sentimental convention by frequently

[81] One anonymous critic in the *Journal des débats*'s review of *Les Parvenus*, offers a rather scathing review of the novel's approach to history, given its preoccupation with religion, philosophy, and historical fact. "Variétés," *Journal des débats,* March 14, 1819, 3-4.

interrupting the essentially sentimental storyline and digressing, sometimes at great length, to embellish her tale with historical facts or even recount entire episodes based around the experiences of individuals who lived through the period and witnessed its events, both large and small. She promises to make as much use of fact as of fiction when describing people, places, and things, and she remains true to her word.

Living in the recent historical past, the characters of *Les Parvenus* are not famous individuals. By breaking with convention in this manner, Genlis needs to find a new way of making her tale credible so that her cast of characters is still able to function effectively as paragons of virtue and examples for emulation. Thus, in addition to providing an interesting backdrop, historical events play a more active role in the tale to lend the storyline authenticity and authority, which is typically embodied in the well-known figures at the heart of the standard historical novel.

Presented as the memoirs of a humble young man, *Les Parvenus* undoubtedly brings a personal or private twist to history. As in any memoir, Julien recounts his private observations, feelings, and reactions to historical events. He positions himself as a sort of unbiased historian, insisting first that he is "curieux, [un] observateur sincère et sensible" (2) and later referring to himself as a "narrateur fidèle" (3). As such, it is evident that Julien views his role as that of both story-teller and chronicler. He calls himself an "historien" (3), explaining his interpretation of the role as follows: "j'ai peint sans exagération et sans ménagement tout ce que j'ai vu de remarquable" (3). He speaks of events he lives through and witnesses first-hand, describes rumors circulating around him, and recounts notable incidents observed by his acquaintances, friends, and other individuals. He clearly views himself as a discerning individual capable not

only of relating events to his reader but also of discerning which of these events occupies an important place in history.

Through Julien's observations and the many selected experiences he chooses to recount, Genlis writes not just the story of one young man's life but also the history of a new social group, *les parvenus.* The sixth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française,* published in 1835, defines the *parvenu* as: "Un homme qui, né dans un état très-obscur, a fait une grande fortune, est arrivé aux emplois, aux honneurs."[82] Genlis's *Parvenus* largely fit this description; they are in generally individuals like Julien who manage to enhance their social condition in spite of modest origins. However, Genlis also includes in this group noble-born individuals who manage to maintain elevated social status throughout the course of the Revolution. Thus, Julien's friend and mentor, the nobleman Eusèbe d'Inglar is also a *parvenu* in that he is able to *parvenir* and maintain his social status throughout the text: by the end of the novel he is happily married, with children, content for the remainder of his life, just as he deserves (3:257). Genlis's *Parvenus,* like Julien and Eusèbe, achieve enduring success through their innate sensibility and a deep, personal commitment to morality and virtue. These individuals are constructed as exemplars: they are reasonable, work hard, act virtuously, and are worthy of the elevated social status they have achieved by the end of the novel.

Not all of Genlis's *parvenus* are as successful as Julien and Eusèbe. In fact, some of them end up falling out of the category completely. These individuals are corrupt and contemptible and succeed only temporarily. One such character, Mathilde, is initially cast as a sentimental figure of pity, an *orpheline* "sans fortune et sans appui" (1:56), but emerges as a cautionary figure of the failed *parvenus*. Mathilde unabashedly uses marriage to improve her social status…

[82] "Parvenu" in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française,* 6th edition, 1835.

on several occasions. She succeeds, several times, first by wedding Julien's uncle, then by marrying a prince who is forced to leave her during the Emigration, and finally by attaching herself to a *commissaire*, Ledru, who helps her to survive the Terror. Eventually, however, her luck runs out. She makes one final bid for successful advancement, but her limitless ambition and rejection of virtue ultimately result in a reversal of fortunes. At the end of the novel, she falls from favor and is forced to live the remainder of her life alone, with a meager pension, in the provinces, far away from the social climate of the Parisian salons in which she had once experienced such great success. The *comte Joseph de Velmas* follows a similar trajectory. From the beginning of the novel, he lacks dedication to virtue and consistently demonstrates an "extrême étourderie" and "des passions vives" which announce "un avenir orageux" (1:17). Initially, he encounters some success and manages to marry Édélie d'Inglar. With the outbreak of the Revolution, however, Joseph loses his title and becomes known simply as the *citoyen Velmas* (2:204). Eventually, because he does not change his ways or see the benefit of virtue and hard work, he loses not only his title but also his life. His home is invaded and he is murdered by brigands and assassins. Through examples such as his, Genlis depicts the demise of privileges associated with the *Ancien Régime* and the rise of a new post-revolutionary hierarchy based on merit rather than birth. Characters like Mathilde and Joseph de Velmas fit a more conventional construction of the *parvenu* as an untrustworthy and purely self-serving type of individual.[83]

As we have seen, Julien first hears of the Revolution while residing abroad. While living in Sweden, he receives letters containing "la nouvelle des premiers troubles de la France"

[83] As is true today, the term *parvenu* carried a pejorative connotation in its common usage. For additional insight on the social construct of the *parvenu*, a figure that rises to a higher social position too quickly, typically lacks education, and is mistrusted, especially by members of the bourgeoisie, see: Laurent Coste, *Les bourgeoisies en France du XVI^e^ au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle* (Armand Colin: 2013); Christophe Genin, "Le kitsch: une histoire de parvenus," in *Actes Sémiotiques* (January 17, 2007), http://epublications.unilim.fr/revues/as/3268.

(2:149). Initially, whispers of early "troubles révolutionnaires" are not described in any detail, but Julien mentions a letter that successfully predicts "et la révolution, et une grande partie de ses excès" (2:151). Julien describes the earliest stages of the Revolution in broad terms. He is forced to admit: "on sait mal tout ce qui se passe à la distance où j'étais" (2:157). To improve his understanding of revolutionary events, Julien can only turn to the written and oral reports offered to him by friends and family living in France. He includes several examples of first-hand accounts of the period drawn from letters drafted by his noble adopted family. At first, these accounts cast the Revolution as "l'heureuse réforme des abus les plus révoltans" (2:158). Soon, however, this generous interpretation changes. A striking letter from Édélie d'Inglar, Julien's childhood friend turned love interest, explains:

> La société se dissout : on ne cause plus, on discute avec emportement, on se hait, on se brouille, on se calomnie, on fuit, on court en foule à Coblentz. Le comte Joseph est toujours passionné pour la révolution : moi je me repens d'en avoir attendu de grandes choses pour le bien public : ma mère a des maux de nerfs ; mon père est profondément affligé ; mademoiselle de Versec a perdu tout son sang-froid depuis les décrets contra la noblesse, elle croit répondre à tout, en répétant que *la noblesse sera toujours la noblesse*. Octavie toujours calme, douce, indulgente, se tait sur la politique, prie Dieu en silence pour la France et pour le roi. Je ne connais ses opinions que par les sages mesures qu'elle conseille à son mari et à sa belle-soeur. Pour moi, je me livre à une mélancolie que je suis tentée de prendre pour de la sagesse. Je suis inquiète du sort de mon frère et du vôtre, car vous n'êtes jamais séparés dans mon cœur!... Je vois un nuage affreux s'étendre sur l'avenir ; et quand je pourrais en percer l'épaisseur, je ne sais si j'aurais le courage de le vouloir!... Adieu! ne comptons plus que sur la protection du juge suprême, sur *les biens*

> *que nous portons avec nous*, sur la force de notre caractère, et sur les ressources que nous avons en nous-mêmes. (2:158-9)

Édélie reacts with deep feeling to the turmoil of the early days of the Revolution. She sees the very fabric of her society falling apart, torn amongst a variety of views on the ways in which society should function. It has taken its toll on her loved ones: her mother's nerves are shot and her father is distressed. Her husband stands firm in his Revolutionary vigor while she begins to feel disappointed at how few positive changes the Revolution has brought. Above all, she worries for the people she loves, especially her brother and Julien, both living outside of France and unable to themselves witness or form a first-hand opinion on the unfurling of revolutionary events.

The content of Edélie's first letter is not based on any historical sources that Genlis chooses to highlight. Later, however, Julien includes written accounts of the period which are undeniably treated as historical documents. In one case, for instance, Edélie's first-hand account is described in a footnote as "la copie la plus exacte, et même la plus littérale, à l'exception de deux ou trois phrases ajoutées par l'auteur" (3:6), of an original document still in the author's possession. In combination, these fictional accounts represent an attempt to explore the interior reactions of a variety of individuals to great historical events.

Julien's "transcription" of other characters' experiences adds additional depth and individuality to the story of the Revolution's extensive effects. Julien diligently copies down the remarks of his closest friends and associates, from noble, bourgeois, and proletariat backgrounds, presenting them as personal correspondence. These letters generally express a deep emotional reaction to the struggles that result from various phases of the Revolution. Through a variety of individual experiences, Genlis adds her own twist to the construction of Revolutionary history.

Rather than focusing purely on the well-known *grandes lignes* of formal and official history, she offers more personalized accounts. She documents the reactions of nobles, writers, philosophers and scholars, and others, shedding light on the lived experiences of these and other individuals, including doctors, laborers, servants, actresses, and even hairdressers. Her essentially sentimental narrative is multi-faceted and complex.

Alongside her focus on emotional reactions to events of the time, Genlis also embeds significant details related to the historical progression of events, complicating what would otherwise be conventional exposition and analysis of a given character's sentimental state. As Genlis portrays characters living through the Emigration, losing family members and friends to the guillotine, or finding themselves imprisoned during the Terror, she is careful to draw attention to the points at which her fiction intersects with history. In short, when she recounts a historical fact, she draws attention to it.

Genlis deploys a variety of strategies to draw attention to historical elements in her fiction. One of the simplest strategies she uses to insist upon the temporal and social location of her fiction is to draws the reader's attention to precise turns of phrase unique to the time and place in which her characters exist. To do this, she draws the reader's eye to certain words by using an italicized font. For example, when describing a young shop girl, Genlis precisely names the articles of clothing she wears: "elle avait des *coques* de rubans et des *barbes* retroussées sur son bonnet rond garni du *mignonnette*, et un mantelet bordé de dentelle noire" (1:24, original emphasis). In another scene, this same girl, now married speaks of her husband as "un *sac à vin*, un débauché, un *brûle maison*; qu'elle en était lasse *comme de vieille morue*; que ses enfans, méchans *comme des ânes*, tenaient de leur père; que sa fille était une petite *drôlesse* qui lui donnait déjà bien *du fil à retordre*" (3:34) By drawing attention to these particular speech patters

through the use of italics, Genlis lends her text a certain local color that underscores the historical authenticity of her fictional recreation of the revolutionary period.

Another strategy employed by Genlis requires significant more labor on her part: she meticulously documents the historical facts through liberal use of footnotes. She cites erudite historical texts, alludes to biographical and autobiographical sources, and draws on her own personal experience. The three volumes of *Les Parvenus* contain a combined total of 133 notes of varying lengths, many of them relating to historical events referenced in the fictional text. Genlis's use of footnotes, however, is not consistent. She uses a mix of narrative and authorial voices in these citations.

The title of the novel grants Julien the role of fictional author, and at times, footnotes are clearly written in his voice. However, many notes cannot be credited to Julien because they simply do not fit with the logic of the fictional text. In these notes, Genlis intervenes to speak as herself, occupying the position of the *auteur*. For example, in one note the brother of the author is mentioned: "L'auteur de cet ouvrage a été presque témoin d'un exemple terrible et pathétique de cette impétueuse violence de sentimens. Lorsqu'après l'émigration, son frère rentra à Paris, il y retrouva un ancien valet de chambre qui se livra à de tels transports en le revoyant, qu'il tomba mort à ses pieds!..." (3:80). Interestingly, this footnote not only serves to add to the historical verisimilitude of Genlis's fiction by offering a purportedly credible example of one individual's lived experience of the time period, it also functions to underscore the plausibility of what could be seen as an over-the-top sentimental reaction (death by excessive feeling). The "auteur" writing this footnote cannot be Julien, who has no brother, only a sister; thus the reader can only ascribe the note to Genlis, who indeed does have a brother.

Only a few notes can clearly be attributed to the fictional narrator and purported author of the text. This is the case, for example, at the beginning of the novel when Julien attaches a footnote to the portion of his text that describes his childhood, explaining why he passes quickly over his infancy to focus on events that happened after he had been weaned:

> M. l'ex-sénateur Garat a fait un éloge de feu M. Bonnard ; cet éloge, qui est imprimé, commence ainsi: *M. Bonnard eut trois nourrices*. Voilà un début qui tout de suite annonce de grandes destinées, car il n'est pas commun d'avoir eu *trois nourrices*. Pour moi, qui n'en ai eu qu'une, je passe légèrement sur cette époque de ma vie pour arriver à mon sévrage [sic]. (1:4)

Here, the footnote is obviously part of the fiction and the "je" takes the voice of the fictional narrator.

In other places in the novel, a different narrative voice intervenes to lend its support to statements about the narrator and his story. For example, early in the novel, when Julien claims to be "si maladroit et si étourdi que je brise tout" (1:131) the reader encounters a footnote that insists, "Ce trait est vrai" (1:131). Similarly when we read of Edelie's experiences while imprisoned at the outset of the novel's third volume: "Edélie avait proposé à ses compagnons d'infortune de tirer de l'eau d'un puits place près de l'égoût, et de jeter tous les jours dans le ruisseau infect qui coulait dans la cour une grande quantité de seaux d'eau; que chacun s'était mis à l'ouvrage, et qu'Edélie, malgré sa délicatesse physique, se distinguait dans ce genre d'activité" (3:2), a simple footnote: "Ce détail est vrai" (3:2). Both notes add a sense of verisimilitude to the fiction. This unidentified voice emerges frequently throughout the novel, emphasizing the accuracy of myriad descriptions and details. It never explains or elaborates on elements of the fiction itself but does occasionally try to anchor the fiction firmly in historical

fact. In fact, twenty-two notes point out that the information in the designated sentence is "historique." A vast majority of these refer to prominent figures of the Revolution, like Marat and Robespierre. Genlis makes use of these well-known individuals of the revolutionary past, offering them up to the reader as counter-examples to the fictional core cast. In cases such as these, Genlis is not specific as to her sources, most likely because the information contained therein is easily recognized and accepted as part of history.

Many scenes in the second and third volumes of the novel are drawn from the pages of history, and some of these depict in surprising detail violent events that took place during the Revolution and Terror. For instance, Genlis dwells for some time on Marat's death and funeral (2:250-252). She begins the episode by categorically stating her, and thus Julien's, hatred of this revolutionary icon and approval of his death: "l'assassinat de ce monstre fut l'une des plus courageuses actions que le faux héroïsme ait jamais produites, et le crime le plus graciable qui ait été commis durant la révolution" (2:250). Genlis likewise expends considerable effort writing an entire chapter dedicated to the "Chute de Robespierre" (3:59-76), peppering it with insistence upon its historical accuracy. She begins with the dawn of the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) and recounts the events of the day, down to the bloodshot nature of Robespierre's eyes - "Le blanc de ses yeux […] était devenu couleur de sang" (3:63) - and even including a violent and bloody episode that preceded Robespierre's arrest: "Un gendarme, nommé Charles Méda, l'aperçoit et lui tire un coup de pistolet qui lui fracasse la mâchoire inférieure et le couvre de sang" (3:65). Though Genlis neglects to highlight a particular source for this statement, it is indeed drawn from history, or at least historical myth, as Charles-André Merda (1773-1812), whom Genlis calls Méda, is often credited in historical accounts with drawing his pistol on Robespierre and shattering his jaw. Such grotesque detail is, to say the least, rare in

conventional sentimental novels, but occurs repeatedly in Genlis's fictionalized account of the Revolution. Her account of Robespierre's trial after his arrest is likewise rather brutal. In this, she seems to conform to conventions established by other historians of her time, like Claude François Beaulieu, who also underscores the centrality of gruesome violence during the period.[84] Including them in her fictional narrative serves to underscore the historical accuracy of the fiction while simultaneously upholding Genlis's interpretation of the Revolution as excessive. It also furthers Genlis's didactic agenda, wherein the opposition of vice and virtue is central: virtuous conduct is rewarded whereas immorality is punished, at times severely.

At other times, Genlis is more careful to point out where she finds inspiration for historically-based episodes. Her sources fall into two distinct categories: first-hand experience and second-hand written sources. The notes from the second group are drawn from a wide variety of sources. She cites by name a text by Domonique-Joseph Garat in Julien's very first footnote (1:4), the memoirs of Madame d'Épinay (1:75) and Dangeau (1:246), Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* (1:151), the *Dictionnaire historique de MM. Chaudon et de Landine* (2:271, 273, 293, 298, 300 ; 3:70-71), the *Almanach national de l'an III de la république une et indivisible* (2:198, 241, 242, 296), the *calendrier républicain* (2 :215), the *Moniteur* (2:218, 213),

[84] Beaulieu's account of Robespierre's fall and demise is full of gruesome details, though the specifics of his account differ in key ways from Genlis's reconstruction of the sequence of events. In particular, Beaulieu makes no mention of Merda and credits Robespierre with shattering his own jaw by attempting to shoot himself and end his own suffering. See Beaulieu, *Essais historiques sur les causes et les effets de la révolution de France, avec des notes sur quelques événemens et quelques institutions*, vol. 5 (Paris: Maradan, 1803), 500-502. Genlis may not have been familiar with Beaulieu's scholarship; however, she was clearly familiar with the works of other historians of her own time and like them recounts violent acts as part of her representation of history.

the *Histoire des Prisons* (3:67), Saint-Méard's *Mon agonie de trente-six heures* (3:86) and the *Voyages* in Italy and Spain written by the Englishman Swinburne (3:191).[85]

Through notes from both groups, Genlis is true to the promise she makes in her preface to "mettre en scène des personnages de tous les états" (1:iii) or represent people from all walks of life. She even spends a significant amount of time sympathetically describing the experiences of French religious figures during the Revolution. For example, she underscores the unjust plight of Catholic priests and their flock on numerous occasions. First, through Julien, she explains the dangers in France that compel many priests to flee the country, then she depicts these emigrated "ecclésiastiques" as virtuous because "ils donnent l'exemple des moeurs et des vertus les plus pures ; ils font respecter aux étrangers, au protestans même, la religion catholique" (2:193). Next, she offers her readers several examples of good works performed by such individuals, even when faced with persecution or even death for maintaining their faith. One particularly striking

[85] For reference, Genlis is likely alluding to the following texts: Dominique-Joseph Garat, *Précis historique de la vie de M. de Bonnard* (Paris: Imprimerie de Monsieur, 1787); the *Mémoires et correspondance de Madame d'Épinay* (Paris: Volland le Jeune, 1818). In 1817, Genlis herself published a four-volume abridged version of Phillippe de Coucillon Dangeau's memoirs, *Abrégé des mémoires ou journal du marquis de Dangeau*. Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* was first published in 1781. The *Dictionnaire historique* to which Genlis refers could be any of several new edition of the work published between 1804 and 1812. At some point she was asked to collaborate on this probject by writing an essay on women in literature (but eventually withdrew); she describes the process in *Observations critiques pour sevir à l'histoire de la littérature du 19ème siècle, ou Réponse de Mme de Genlis à M. T. et Nl., etc. sur les critiques de son dernier ouvrage intitulé De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française, comme protectrices des lettres et comme auteurs* (Paris: Maradan, 1811), 69-71. The *Moniteur* was founded in 1789. The *Histoire des prisons de Paris et des départemens; contenant des mémoires rares et précieux. Le tout pour server à l'Histoire de la Révolution Française: notamment à la tyrannie de Robespierre, et de ses agens et complices* by P.J.E. Nougaret appeared in 1797. Jourgniac Saint-Méard's *Mon agonie de trente-six heures, ou Récit de ce qui m'est arrivé, de ce que j'ai vu et entendu pendant ma détention dans la prison de l'Abbaye St.-Germain, depuis le 22 août jusqu'au 4 septembre* (Paris: Desennes, 1792) and Henry Swinburne's *Voyages dans les deux Siciles de M. Henri Swinburne dans les années 1777, 1778, 1779, &1780, traduits de l'anglais par Mademoiselle de Keralio* (Paris: Théophile Barrois le jeune, 1785) are available online via Google Books along with many of the aforementioned texts.

example is that of a priest who "quitta la France en 1791, passa en Angleterre, où il se consacra gratuitement à la double direction *des âmes* et de la santé de tous les émigrés qui recoururent à lui" (3:139-140).

Another strategy, more difficult to identify, than italicized text or footnoted elements, is the seamless integration of Genlis's own personal experiences, observations, and opinions. Occasionally, Genlis clearly integrates some of her own lived experiences into the novel, ascribing them to characters in the text. For example, at one point Julien's sister Casilde gives harp concerts in order to earn money to offset the financial needs of Eusèbe d'Inglar. Through these performances, she earns not only money but also admiration and social prestige. In fact, her talents capture the attention of Tiburce, "un jeune monsieur très-vif et très joli" (3:127), who composes a poem in praise of her:

> Grandeur d'âme, beauté, candeur et bienfaisance,
> Modestie et talent, nobles présens des cieux !.....
> Ah ! que pourrait donner de mieux
> La fortune, le rang, les titres, la naissance ? (3:126)

Casilde eventually marries this young man to become, *madame la duchesse de Palmis*. Of course, public performances by a young, talented girl is fraught with risk; however, by endowing it with charitable motives, the siblings manage to avoid such dangers. Genlis's personal experience is quite different. She recalls going into the homes of certain acquaintances and having to perform harp recitals to earn money when she and her mother fell upon financial difficulties. These recitals enabled her, along with her mother, to gain access to social circles which otherwise would have remained closed to them. As an adult, Genlis reflects back upon this moment in her youth and expresses a feeling of discomfort in recollecting how she was

offered to the public under such circumstances.[86] In this particular fiction, she rewrites her own experience so as to render it wholly positive, socially acceptable, and perhaps even laudable.

Genlis likewise inserts herself into her historical fiction in the interpretation she offers of the events of the Revolution. The most striking example of this is found in Édélie's letter regarding the outbreak of the Revolution (2:158). As we saw earlier, in this letter Édélie shows herself to be disappointed in the violent progression of the Revolution. In her own *Mémoires*, Genlis paints a very similar picture, though even more negatively tinted, speaking of "plusieurs années d'une anarchie sanglante" followed by "le règne des scélérats insensés qui voulurent anéantir la religion et par conséquent la morale."[87] By setting this novel during her own lifetime, Genlis is able to use her own memory as a legitimate historical resource. Her emphasis on her own individualized, personal experiences enables her to better document the private lives of her characters (male and female, rich and working class) and believably fill in the gaps in history. Genlis, a monarchist at heart, describes the Revolution primarily as a trauma through which she lived. Her fictional characters suffer it in much the same way.

Some of Genlis's techniques for integrating historical facts into her fiction and underscoring their importance was at times poorly received in the press. Her all-too-raw representation of past events, particularly those of a violent or unsavory nature, like the death of Robespierre explored above, violated critical expectations of the novel. One anonymous critic writing for the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* explains his reaction as follows:

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[86] Robb, *Motherhood in the Margins*, 29-30.

[87] Genlis, *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis (en un volume)*, in *Des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France pendante le 18^{e} et le 19^{e} siècle*, ed. François Barrière, vol. 15 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1878), 382.

> Mme de Genlis raconte trop de scènes de la révolution, et des scènes les plus ignobles […] Je l'avoue, je n'aime point que la révolution qui souille notre histoire fasse irruption dans nos romans. Le frivole roman n'est pas destiné à en faire justice ; c'est au pinceau grave et sévère de la Muse de l'histoire qu'il faut en laisser le soin. […] c'est de fictions que vit un roman : il faut que son auteur crée, invente, imagine ; et trop souvent, dans son second volume, Mme de Genlis se borne à raconter les actions odieuses et les propos odieux de Robespierre, de Marat, de Danton, de la commune de Paris ; et ce n'était point dans *les Aventures de Julien Delmours* que je comptais trouver tout cela.[88]

This critic's response to the unique blend of history and fiction in *Les Parvenus* demonstrates just how blatantly Genlis transgresses the conventions of the early-nineteenth-century sentimental novel and reaches beyond the bounds that commonly circumscribe women writers. She commits transgressions of both gender and genre. She writes about subjects and promotes ideas outside of that which was commonly deemed acceptable for a women writer. Furthermore, by focusing so intently on describing the events of the Revolution, Genlis crosses the line between "frivolous" fiction and "severe" history. For the reviewer cited above, her historical focus devalues the literary creation: she relies so heavily on research and historical fact that she neglects to use her own imagination to create fiction. This same critic also disparages Genlis's writing for abandoning the novel's traditional focus on nobles and aristocrats and opting instead to descend into a bourgeois milieu. She should not descend "dans les boutiques des épiciers et des bouchers" as she cannot possibly have any true understanding of these locations. He furthermore criticizes her for describing the language, habits and customs of the lower classes for the same reason.

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[88] "Variétés," 3-4.

However, this position does not express the only critical view of Genlis's novel. A slightly later critic, Frédéric Godefroy, writing in 1863, views the text as historically valuable for its description of French society both before and after 1789. In his *Histoire de la littérature française depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, études et modèles de style*, Godfroy establishes *Les Parvenus* as one of Genlis's key texts, citing its introduction as containing an accurate summary of Genlis's talents.[89] He also examines *Les Parvenus* for its literary merits. Quoting George Sand, Godefroy refers to *Les Parvenus* as an example of Genlis's literary talent, even in old age: "Son imagination est restée fraiche sous les glaces de l'âge, et, dans les détails, elle est véritablement artiste et poëte" (279). He calls *Les Parvenus* one of Genlis's later works "comme méritant encore d'être lus" (279). What he lauds most in this novel is its historical accuracy: "Ce qui peut rendre encore intéressant aujourd'hui ce roman, ce sont les détails exacts et d'une vérité tout historique qu'on y trouve en grand nombre sur la société française avant 89, sur la Révolution et sur l'Émigration" (280). Godefroy, unlike Genlis's aforementioned anonymous critic, appreciates the intrusion of historical facts, even unsavory and violent ones, in *Les Parvenus*. This difference of critical opinions points to the existence of ongoing debate regarding appropriate content and structure of the nineteenth-century novel. For her part, Genlis sided with those like Godefroy who saw no harm in fiction being used as a vehicle for history. In writing *Les Parvenus,* Genlis knew that she was writing for a democratized and increasingly literate public.[90] Her focus on the "classes du peuple" allowed her to demonstrate her own

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[89] Godefroy, *Histoire de la littérature française depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, études et modèles de style*, vol. 3, 274-283.

[90] For a discussion of the relationship between literacy rates and democratization, see Martyn Lyons, "The Rise of Literacy in the Early Modern West, c. 1600 – c. 1800" in *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 88-104. Later in the same work, in "The Reading Fever, 1750-1830," Lyons speaks to other factors,

understanding of changes in the audience for her literary work. In *Les Parvenus*, Genlis clearly recognizes that the societal changes brought about by the Revolution transformed the potential audience for whom she was writing. She acknowledges bourgeois and popular elements of society had taken on more important social roles and thus devotes considerable attention to the lower and middle classes.[91] At the same time, her treatment of the lower classes is somewhat patronizing, and she spends a great deal of time defending the aristocracy and individuals supporting the monarchy and Catholicism. She demonstrates that it is the moral values and merits of the old aristocracy that had been adopted by the new *parvenus* in a way that redeemed them from the excesses of the Revolution.[92] For Genlis, the only truly successful *Parvenus* are those who adopt the aristocratic values of the *ancien régime*. In this way, *Les Parvenus* is a conservative text that espouses an ideology aimed at more or less maintaining the existing social order.

Genlis likely wrote and published *Les Parvenus* in 1819 for a variety of reasons. She may have hoped to prove her continued relevance as a writer and educator or to use her experiential knowledge of the Revolutionary period to convey to others of her time her own understanding of the variety of ways in which society had changed and thereby educate her readers in strategies for adapting to and navigating the new social order. Both of these possible objectives point to an

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social and technological, that also contributed to the changing nature of the reading public in France.

[91] By doing so, she distinguishes herself from what Lyons refers as the "conservative elites" who "wanted to restrict popular literacy." Lyons, *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World,* 101.

[92] Jennifer Birkett reads novels like *Les Parvenus* as bids for authority, Genlis's way of reintegrating "her suspect aristocratic past into the republican France of the present." Birkett, "Madame de Genlis: The New Men and the Old Eve," *French Studies* 42 (1988): 150-64, citation 152.

underlying goal: proving her worth as a writer and ensuring the survival of her own literary memory not just as an eighteenth-century author, remaining attached to the value system of the *ancien régime*, but also as a nineteenth-century author, who understands how the world has changed in the aftermath of revolutionary events and has adjusted her writing style accordingly.

Despite Genlis's best efforts to ensure the survival of her literary work by demonstrating an acute consciousness of changing social structures, the novel fell into critical disregard. Scholars have offered a variety of explanations for Genlis's descent. Bonnie Arden Robb, for example, explains that "the didactic and moralizing author was to be frequently marginalized. The ideology found in her works led to dismissive judgments from contemporaries who evaluated not only the works, but Genlis herself, in their appraisals."[93] Many nineteenth-century critics certainly took issue with Genlis's conservative, Catholic, pro-monarchy views as well as her consistent abhorrence of the views of Voltaire and his fellow *philosophes*. Judith Still explains Genlis's fate more simply, saying that "unfortunately the processes of canon formation were against her."[94] In *Des femmes en littérature,* Martine Reid illuminates the means by which women like Genlis fell from grace and disappeared from the canon. She hypothesizes a systematic erasure of women's literary contributions to the canon, arguing that during the mid- to late-nineteenth century male critics capitalized on widely-accepted ideas of gender to progressively marginalize and eventually erase the works of women authors like Genlis from literary history. Margaret Cohen, for her part, argues that the sentimental novel as produced by women like Genlis was displaced and overshadowed by a realist reappropriation of its codes; as

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[93] Arden Robb, *Motherhood in the Margins,* 16.

[94] Still, "Genlis's *Mademoiselle de Clermont*," 346.

a result, many successful women writers like Genlis fell into obscurity.[95] Similarly, for Maurice Samuels, works like Genlis's historical novels were forgotten due to "the male displacement of a prior female tradition of the historical novel" (154). Doubtless, each of these explanations has its merit. However, as didacticism continued to flourish throughout the nineteenth century, as in the works of authors like Victor Hugo, the gender issues highlighted by Reid and Cohen seems to provide the most plausible reason for her eventual erasure.

As a writer, Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis remains important because, as Arnold Rowbotham puts it, "her writings present, by their number and variety, a valuable picture of what conservative writers (particularly women writers) were saying in the period between 1760 and 1830."[96] *Les Parvenus* in particular merits increased attention among Genlis's works. In it, Genlis records her understanding of the "new, emerging social order."[97] She explores new types of characters, like the *parvenus*, that appear in French literature as in French society as a direct result of the social and political changes brought about by the Revolution. This text marks a moment in Genlis's literary career that mirrors the history of French literature: both were forced to adapt to a growing and changing readership throughout the nineteenth century. No longer was reading reserved for members of the social elite: the printing industry was expanding, books were more readily available, cheaper to produce and purchase, and increasing levels of literacy among the lower classes was expanding readership.

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[95] Cohen, "Reconstructing the Literary Field," *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 3-25. In this introductory chapter, Cohen offers a good overview of her argument for realist writers' "hostile takeover" of the novel and the results of this reappropriation of literary codes on women writers as a group and sentimentalism as a literary genre.

[96] Arnold Rowbotham, "Madame de Genlis and Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *Modern Language Quarterly* 3 (1942), 363.

[97] Malcolm Cook, "Writing for Charity, Mme de Genlis and *Thérésina*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 17, no. 3 (2005), 550.

Throughout Julien's tale, Genlis examines and engages with the underpinnings, events, and aftermath of the Revolution. She weaves a variety of historical sources into her fiction, from erudite historical accounts to first-hand autobiographical narratives, and creates her own unique vision of the past, at once grandiose and personal, combining well-known versions of events with the portrayal of individual lived experiences of the past on a smaller scale. In doing so, she blends the traditional moral lessons of sentimentalism with a more practical historical didacticism all her own, aimed at helping readers understand and navigate the changing world in which they live. While her representation of history is far from unbiased, it offers modern readers an interesting approach to the Revolution. It also demonstrates the utility of sentimental fiction to a woman writer seeking to demonstrate her continued viability as an author. Though often depreciated aesthetically as a literary form by both nineteenth- and twentieth-century critics, sentimentalism as it is used in works like *Les Parvenus* occupies an important role as part of the literary-historical record not just because it was highly popular but also because, in it, authors of fiction can accomplish other tasks, including that of drawing attention to parts of history that might not surface in other conventional accounts.

Chapter 3

Fanny Tercy: Gothically-Influenced Sentimental Short Fiction

Fanny Tercy is perhaps the most obscure author included in this study. Her particular brand of sentimentalism, which I will refer to as gothically-influenced sentimentalism, provided her a means of exposing both her pride in her native region and her erudition in matters of the local traditions connected to it. To approach Tercy's works, I will briefly explore what little is known of her life and give a short overview of her career as a writer and the body of works she produced. Then, I will situate Tercy's works by giving overviews of the tradition of the gothic novel in England and its transposition into a distinctly French tradition. Next, I will turn to three of Tercy's works, *La Blanche Iselle* (1833), *La Dame d'Oliferne* (1829), and *Le Juif et La Sorcière* (1833).[98] These *nouvelles* provide particularly keen insights into the unique ways Tercy sought to effect her own particular transformation and repurposing of sentimental conventions. They are testaments to the idea that Tercy, familiar with sentimental conventions and willing to abide by them in many ways, was unafraid to mold sentimentalism to fit her own objectives. In them, Tercy maintains an emphasis on moral didacticism yet unabashedly experiments with the sentimental mode by adding and emphasizing unconventional elements, many drawn from the tradition of the gothic novel. Her transformation of sentimentalism, however, involves more than

[98] I have summarized each of these tales in the body of this chapter; however, concise plot summaries for each also feature in Appendix 2.

a simple blending of two modes of writing. It also depends heavily upon ideas drawn from the budding field of what today would be called folklore studies. In the last pages of the chapter, I will describe Tercy's relationship to the not-yet institutionalized study of folklore and her project of cultural preservation and valorization.

Françoise-Cécile Messageot was born in approximately 1782.[99] She was raised in Lons-le-Saunier, in the region of Franche-Comté. Her origins ultimately played a central role in her writing. She married François-Anne Tercy (1775-1841), known for both his poetry and his political involvement.[100] The couple moved to Paris to further their literary careers. They lived with Fanny's half-sister, Désirée, and her husband, Charles Nodier. This living situation proved most beneficial for the Tercys. In particular, it made Fanny a fixture in Nodier's salon at the Arsenal. There she frequently encountered and conversed with other writers, many of whom represent the most influential literary minds of the time: Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, and Alexandre Dumas, to name just a few.[101] Her association with these individuals, especially Nodier, influenced her literary production in key ways.

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[99] Not all biographical dictionaries ascribe a birthdate to Fanny Tercy. One dates her birth to 1781 - *Warner's Dictionary of Authors Ancient and Modern*, ed. Charles Dudley Warner, Hamilton Write Mabie, Lucia Gilbert Runkle, and George Henry Warner, (Ohio: Werner Company, 1910), 519. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France's catalog, however, dates Fanny Tercy life from 1782 to 1831.

[100] François Tercy was also born in Lons-le-Saunier. He is featured in François-Xavier Feller, *Biographie universelle ou Dictionnaire historique des hommes qui se font fait un nom par leur génie, leurs talents, leurs vertus, leurs erreurs ou leurs crimes*, vol. 8 (Paris: J. LeRoux Joubey, et Ce., 1850), 98. According to this account, François served as "secrétaire général de intendance des provinces Illyriennes" and as "Sous-Préfet" at Craimbourg. He wrote and published several collections of poetry between 1810 and 1841, the year of his death. His wife, Fanny, is also mentioned in the article as an "auteur de *romans* et de *nouvelles* irréprochables de style et de moralité."

[101] Vincent Laisney describes the salon in great depth in *L'Arsenal romantique: Le salon de Charles Nodier (1824-1834)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002). Fanny Tercy is discussed therein

With Nodier's help and protection, Fanny earned a certain reputation as a writer, largely through publishing a variety of short fiction, which she labeled as both *contes* and *nouvelles,* for both adult and child readers.[102] The eleven works she published over the course of her twenty-year career, however, "ne rencontrèrent qu'insuccès" according to Nodier.[103] When her husband died, Fanny found that living off the limited proceeds of her own writing was quite difficult. She continued to reside in Paris for some time; however, the financial burden soon became untenable. At one point her miserable income was lost in a shipwreck, leaving her family, particularly her brother-in-law, feeling keen financial pressure: "Les malheureux cent écus de Fanny ont disparu dans le même naufrage, et l'augmentation de ses besoins n'ajoute pas à mon aisance."[104] Eventually, Tercy retired to the family home at Quintiny in the Jura. Aside from these very few facts, little is known about Tercy's existence as an individual.

Fanny Tercy began publishing in 1816. Her first publication, offered to the public more or less anonymously, contained two nouvelles: "Cécile de Renneville" and "Marie Bolden, ou la

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with some frequency, especially in chapters 2 and 5 which are devoted to Nodier's commitment to the creation of a community of writers from Franche Comté ("La Colonie franc-comtoise," 483-503) and his encouragement and protection of women writers ("L'Écrit féminin," 551-597).

[102] Désiré Monnier, *Les Jurassiens recommandables par des bienfaits, des vertus, des services plus ou moins utiles, et par des succès obtenus dans la pratique des arts et des sciences, pour servir à la statistique morale du Jura et à l'histoire des arts en Franche-Comté* (Lons-Le-Saunier, 1828), 449. According to Robert Fonville's account of Monnier's life, he was well-acquainted with Fanny Tercy (she was an "amie d'enfance). Fonville, *Désiré Monnier* (Paris: 1974), 138.

[103] See Charles Nodier, *Correspondance de jeunesse*, vol. 2 *(1810-1813),* ed. Jacques-Rémi Dahan (Geneva, Switzerland: Droz, 1995), 610.

[104] Charles Nodier, *Correspondance Inédite de Charles Nodier (1796-1844),* ed. A. Estignard (Paris: Librairie du *Moniteur Universel*, 1876), 267.

Folle de Cayeux," both of which were signed simply *Mme de T.*[105] Her next *nouvelle*, published as a stand-alone-work under the same abbreviated nom de plume, was a slightly longer fictional text (186 pages), *Louise de Sénancourt*, reviewed by Nodier himself in the *Journal des débats* on April 19, 1817.[106] Tercy's third publication, a two-volume novel (278 pages in total) entitled *Isaure et Montigny* (1818), appeared under the name *Madame Tercy*, presumably because the author had achieved a certain degree of success with her first works and finally felt compelled or able to expose her true identity in direct connection with her previous literary works.[107] By finally exposing its author, *Isaure et Montigny* clearly represents Tercy's definitive entry into the literary world as a writer.[108]

Throughout her literary career, Fanny Tercy maintained an emphasis on both morality and feeling, using the framework provided by conventional sentimentalism as a point of departure for most of her writing. Because of her commitment to moral didacticism, she was known as one of the "moralistes du Jura."[109] It is likely that Tercy, like Genlis, emphasized the moral utility of her works to escape some of the criticisms often leveled at women writers.

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[105] Both works were published by one "Mme de T." For speculation on why a woman author might mask her identity and family name in this way, see the Introduction to this dissertation. The slippery presence of the *particule* also bears examination, though it lies outside the limits of this paper.

[106] See footnote 212 in Laisney, *L'Arsenal romantique,* 557.

[107] On the title page of *Isaure et Montigny*, the author claims her previous works by describing herself as: "Auteur des Deux nouvelles Françaises Marie Bolden et Cécile de Renneville, et de Louise de Sénancourt." Many scholars have proposed reasons for keeping an author's identity hidden, especially if the author is a female. See, for instance, Reid, *Des Femmes en littérature*.

[108] *Isaure et Montigny* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, 1818), is Tercy's only attempt at constructing a lengthy novel. It is also unique among Tercy's fictions in that it is the most traditionally sentimental. It has no gothic elements and is equally devoid of Tercy's typical regional focus.

[109] Monnier, *Les Jurassiens recommandables*, 449.

Indeed, critical accounts of Tercy's work, like those published in biblio-biographical dictionaries of the early nineteenth century are persistently positive, though none too lengthy. One critic, for example, describes her as an author "de *romans* et de *nouvelles* irréprochables de style et de moralité."[110]

Her early works are especially conformist, but later fictions deviate increasingly from the sentimental norm, which supports the idea that Tercy may have used sentimental fiction as a gateway genre. Because it appealed to readers of the time, it guaranteed a way to gain some measure of success as a writer. Once established as a sentimental writer, and having garnered a certain readership, Tercy expanded into less traditional forms of sentimentalism. In them, she displays a persistent desire to depict the Jura, her native region, in a variety of historical contexts. She recounts legends associated with various towns, medieval ruins, and natural landmarks in Franche Comté, adding new geographical and historical dimension to her sentimentalism. She even supports her texts with appended notes detailing the historical sources on which she relies in constructing her fiction. One could call her an early folklorist, though she certainly would not have referred to herself in such a way (the study of what is now termed folklore was but a budding discipline at the time). Her brand of gothically-influenced sentimentalism thus has a clear purpose: she uses it to disseminate regional tales and publicize the works of other writers from Franche-Comté with similar interests. Her obvious "amour du sol natal," otherwise described as a "vif sentiment de patriotisme franc-comtois," prompted a certain amount of critical praise, in particular from members of the *Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon* who welcomed and applauded Tercy's project of regional valorization, which used

[110] Feller, *Biographie universelle*, vol. 8, 98.

"nos traditions locales" in order to craft a shared regional history and identity for Franche Comté as Walter Scott (1771-1832) did for Scotland.[111]

The Gothic novel appeared on the literary scene in late eighteenth-century Europe and reached the peak of its popularity in the early years of the nineteenth century.[112] Both eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors of sentimental fiction rather routinely looked to this increasingly popular mode of writing to enhance their fictions by adding "the occasional macabre *frisson.*"[113] Following the Revolution and continuing into the 1820s-30s, gothically- influenced sentimentalism experienced a distinct rise in popularity among French readers. Writers therefore continued to exploit some of the most easily recognizable characteristics of the genre, breathing new life into what otherwise may have seemed a stale and exhausted mode of writing.[114] Though such texts were popular and published in large numbers, few examples of them have survived the machinations of canon formation. They have been largely forgotten or at the very least marginalized as popular literature. Even so, these works and their authors remain critical to

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[111] See the description of Tercy's literary contributions in *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon* (Besançon: Dodivers, 1862 and 1866), 26, 32. Through his historical fiction, which is described in greater detail in the first chapter of this dissertation, Walter Scott is often credited with creating a distinctly Scottish heritage that served to unite Scots and gave them a sense of pride in their shared cultural heritage. Maurice Samuels describes Scott's use of historical fiction as "a tool for the production of a new national identity." Samuels, *The Spectacular Past*, 152.

[112] Jerrold E. Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture" in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-20.

[113] Terry Hale, "French and German Gothic: The Beginnings" also in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, 65-66.

[114] E.J. Clery, "The Genesis of 'Gothic' Fiction" in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, 21-39. Clery refers to "generic exhaustion" of the sentimental novel as one of the factors that stimulated growth of the Gothic.

a comprehensive understanding of the literary production of the early nineteenth century. Fanny Tercy's short stories provide particularly interesting examples of nineteenth-century uses of conventional elements gothically-influenced sentimentalism. In writing them, she pushed the boundaries of sentimentalism in order to pursue an additional agenda related to the retrieval and preservation of local tales and the stimulation of regional pride.

The English author Horace Walpole is often credited with bringing what is now commonly referred to as "gothic," "terror," or "horror" fiction into vogue in the late eighteenth century.[115] In 1764, he published *The Castle of Otranto*, later subtitled *A Gothic Story*.[116] A variety of novels sprung up imitating Walpole's fiction, and the trend spread from England throughout Europe and grew in popularity well into the nineteenth century. Authors across Europe looked to Walpole's rather short self-published novel as a model for fiction that sought to elicit a reaction of pleasurable fear in readers.[117]

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[115] All of these are modern terms of convenience that facilitate critical discussion of such literature. As will become clear, even at the time of its codification and growing popularity, the genre proved difficult to define and describe. It therefore bore multiple and shifting labels. See Daniel Hall, Introduction to *French and German Gothic Fiction in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 13-43.

[116] The subtitle was added sometime after publication of the first. The Third Edition (London: William Bathoe, 1777) bears the subtitle. It is unclear whether author or editor added this descriptor. Regardless, modern critics using *The Castle of Otranto* as a model for a developing mode of writing quickly adopted "Gothic" as a term for grouping together texts written in a similar terror mode.

[117] Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture," 1, 3. Hogle characterizes these readers as coming from a middle class background and often being women. He describes Gothic literature as being written "particularly for a female readership" (1) and for middle-class readers (3). Such a description of the Gothic novel's readership is consistent with presumptions often made about the typical reader of the sentimental novel.

Arguably, the roots of gothic literature can be traced into the depths of literary history; however, the mode achieved some degree of generic codification in the eighteenth century.[118] It grew largely out of sentimentalism, moving "into deeper and more emotionally complex situations."[119] Rather than merely eliciting a sympathetic, moral response, Gothic writers aimed also to produce a strong emotional reaction in readers. They emphasized emotions typically absent or muted in conventional sentimental narratives, keeping the reader in a state of suspense and increasingly trying "to shock, alarm and otherwise rouse" them.[120] As a literary form, it has often been denigrated, brushed off as "popular" and deemed to be "lacking in literary value."[121]

The component elements and stock paraphernalia of gothic literature are almost limitless, and so the genre is notoriously unstable. Even so, certain elements can be teased out as essential to it. Setting and atmosphere, for example, are crucial. A Gothic tale must take place in an antiquated or seemingly antiquated space, such an old house, an ancient castle, or a timeworn monastery or cloister. Generally speaking, there can be little light or at least there must be locations of deep shadow in this space: gloom and the resultant difficulty of visual perception help develop and maintain tension, creating the base for an atmosphere of suspense and inspiring a sense of anxiety and even fear in the reader. Within this space, there are most often other hidden spaces that conceal any number of secrets: isolated towers, feudal ruins, subterranean

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[118] See *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*. Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture", 1-20 and Robert Miles, "The 1790s: The Effulgence of Gothic," 41-62, for example, both describe in some detail the most common traits of Gothic fiction.

[119] Robert Hume, "Gothic versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel" in *PMLA* 84, no. 2 (1969): 282-290.

[120] Ibid., 284.

[121] FWJ Hemmings, *Culture and Society in France, 1789-1848* (Leicester University Press: 1987), 89.

passages, secret chambers, trap doors with creaky hinges, winding walkways, dark and dismal crypts, hidden caves, and so on.

The setting is embellished by no shortage of easily recognizable trappings, often described as stock paraphernalia: ghosts (specters, apparitions, phantoms, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, etc.), statues that seem to come to life, monsters, skeletons, prophecies, violent brigands, vengeful tyrants (fathers, lords, debauched monks, or other men who occupy positions of power), and exotically named individuals (Manfredi or Wolfenbach, for example) capable of bloodshed, treachery, mayhem, and much more. The story that takes place amongst these accoutrements can be inordinately complex or strangely simple. What is always necessary is that a corrupt villain assaults a relatively blameless victim who will suffer and die at his hands or be saved by a selfless, valiant, and virtuous hero.

Another English writer, Ann Radcliffe, is also considered a pioneer of the gothic novel, though she wrote later than Walpole. She even earned the nickname "Mother Radcliffe" because "to a very real extent 1790s Gothic writing happened within her shadow" (Miles, 45). In novels like *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) she modified Walpole's original gothic model in significant ways.

Walpole and his followers often created gothic fiction according to a "horror" model. In it, the reader witnesses abhorrent violence inflicted upon a character; in the most extreme cases, such violence leads to the character's physical or psychological dissolution.[122] Radcliffe and her adherents used strategies of terror rather than horror. With these, the reader is kept in a state of anxious suspense due to unseen threats to the life, safety or sanity of the novel's fictional characters. For Radcliffe, terror fiction is far superior: "Terror and horror are so far opposite,

[122] Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture," 3.

that the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a high degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them."[123] Radcliffe's strategies of terror sought to access the sublime and thereby benefit her reader. She routinely avoided intrusions of the supernatural into her novel, opting for what one might call "sublimated terror": mysterious figures or unexplainable events might surface, but in the end all is explained reasonably and rationally. Radcliffe also maintained a focus on traditional moral values in her terror fiction. Her literary approach to the gothic novel proved particularly influential to French authors, especially those writing in the sentimental mode, which likewise emphasized moral didacticism.

Later in the eighteenth century, works by English authors like Walpole and Radcliffe were translated into French.[124] Initially, such publications were seen as little more than a joke or "plaisanterie," especially by literary critics.[125] Gradually, however, they gained popularity among French readers, and soon demand gave rise to increased production and publication. Initially, French writers adopted Radcliffe's model over Walpole's with some frequency. However, in the aftermath of the extreme violence of the Revolution and Terror, both brutal horror and more moderate terror novels became increasingly popular.

By most accounts, when compared to England and Germany, France was rather late in taking up the Gothic torch with gusto.[126] The genre didn't begin to truly flourish in France until

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[123] Radcliffe cited in Steven Bruhm, *Gothic Bodies: The Politics of Pain in Romantic Fiction* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1990), 37.

[124] Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* didn't undergo translation into French until the end of the eighteenth century. Robert Virolle, "Madame de Genlis, Mercier de Compiègne: Gothique anglais ou gothique allemand?" *Europe* 62, no.659 (1984): 29.

[125] Daniel Hall, *French and German Gothic Fiction in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 50.

[126] Virolle, "Madame de Genlis, Mercier de Compiègne: Gothique anglais ou gothique alemand?," 29.

well into the early nineteenth century. Regardless, eighteenth-century French literary history abounds in texts that possess gothic traits. Authors like the Abbé Prévost and Baculard d'Arnaud, for instance, presented to French readers significant examples of *romans noirs* or *sombres* which certainly possess a variety of Gothic elements.[127] After the Revolution of 1789, the number of gothically-influenced French writers increased dramatically. By the early-to-mid nineteenth century, gothic features had been absorbed into the works of many well-known authors, included Charles Nodier, Victor Hugo, and Honoré de Balzac.[128] French writers, however, did not merely adopt English styles of gothic fiction. Rather, they developed their own techniques and conventions regarding the appeal to pleasurable fear in novels.

Today, many French authors of works of Gothic fiction are marginalized or known only to scholars in the field. None have been integrated into the standard literary canon (if one can speak of such a thing). One author who has defied this norm is the Marquis de Sade, who was and still is well-known for frequently adapting many quintessentially Gothic devices to his own agenda. He saw the use of fear, terror and horror in literature and articulated his views on the issue in his *Idée sur les romans* (1799).[129]

In this text, Sade does not speak of the "gothic novel"; rather he refers to "ces romans nouveaux, dont le sortilège et la fantasmagorie composent à peu près tout le mérite" (31). He places Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) at the top of his list as "supérieur, sous tous les rapports" (32). Radcliffe, whose name he misspells as *Radgliffe*, is described as having a "brillante imagination"

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[127] Hale, "French and German Gothic: The Beginnings," 63-84.

[128] Nodier is known to have been particularly drawn to gothicism. These are central to what Nodier calls the *roman frénétique* which will be discussed at greater length below.

[129] All citations have been drawn from Octave Uzanne's edition of *Idée sur les romans* (Paris: Librairie ancienne et moderne, Edouard Rouveyre, 1878).

that pushes her "aux bizarres élans" (32). While not offering high words of praise for these works, he insists that the "genre, quoiqu'on en puisse dire, n'est assurément pas sans mérite" (32). For Sade, the literature of fear created by authors like Lewis and Radcliffe is a natural and even necessary side effect of the revolutionary violence currently convulsing Europe: "le fruit indispensable des secousses révolutionnaires dont l'Europe entière se ressentait" (32). In short, for readers who have witnessed so much violence and suffering, the conventional sentimental novel has become rather boring, "monotone à lire" (32). The only way for writers to interest readers is to go to extremes, even so far as to "appeler l'enfer à son secours" (33).

Like Sade, French writers of Tercy's time and before did not themselves use the adjective "gothic" or its French equivalent "*gothique*" to describe their works. When applied to writing, the adjective *gothique* usually denoted a font rather than a literary style. The adjective was more easily applied to architecture, especially that of churches and castles. When applied more broadly or figuratively, it carried a clearly negative connotation as indicated by the definition given in the *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-1807) de l'abbé Féraud:

> Au *prop*. Il ne se dit qu'avec *Architectûre* et *Écritûre*. Architectûre *gothique*, différente des cinq ordres d'Architectûre, et attribuée aux Goths. Écritûre *Gothique*, écritûre anciène, dont on a aussi attribué les caractères aux Goths. Au *figuré*, il se dit par mépris de ce qui est hors de mode.

As it turns out, being *hors de mode*, out of style, was one of the kinder implications of the word which just as often also denoted "l'ignorance" and "la barbarie."[130]

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[130] "Gothique" in l'Abbé Féraud's *Dictionnaire Critique, de la langue française* (1787-1807). The sixth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, published from 1832-1835, contains similar definitions of the adjective that likewise indicate it was not used as a term that described a fictional mode or style.

French literature that drew on the generic conventions of English Gothicism was more aptly described as "sombre," "noir," or "frénétique." In general fictions described as either *sombre* or *noir* used a handful of Gothic tropes to inspire a sense of tension or fear in the reader; however, like Radcliffe's novels, while they may go so far as to inspire terror, they avoid true horror.[131] Works that were considered "sombre" seem to have been obviously constructed from a sentimental base and exhibit relatively few traits drawn directly from the English Gothic. Texts described as "noir," however, seem to have been somehow darker, drawing more heavily upon English Gothic sources and attaching less directly to the sentimental tradition. The distinction between the two appellations, however, is unclear, and often the terms seem to have been used interchangeably. Some works, like those of French authors like Baculard d'Arnaud, are even described by nineteenth-century critics as simultaneously sentimental, *sombre,* and *noir*. Novels that were considered "frénétique," a term coined by Charles Nodier, were perhaps the least sentimental in nature, clearly linked to early French manifestations of romanticism. These are illustrated by a variety of Nodier's works, especially *Smarra ou les démons de la nuit* (1821) and *Infernaliana* (1822).[132] Today, scholars use each of these terms – *noir, sombre, frénétique* - in a variety of critical frameworks to describe various veins of French literature that appeal in multiple ways to fear in the reader. For the purposes of this study, in which authors remodel and repurpose received notions of sentimentalism, I have chosen to describe works by authors like Genlis and Tercy simply as gothically-influenced.

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[131] See, for example, Martine Nuel, "Baculard d'Arnaud ou le témoignage d'un auteur sur sa condition," in *Le pauvre diable: destins de l'homme de lettres au XVIIIe siècle: Colloque international Saint-Étienne les 15, 16, et 17 septembre 2005*, ed. Henri Duranton (Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), 264.

[132] Anthony Glinoer, "Du monstre au surhomme. Le Roman frénétique de la Restauration," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 34, no. 3-4 (2006): 223-234. See also Appendix 2b, which lists Nodier's self-proclaimed frenetic works.

Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis was instrumental in the establishment of a distinctly French tradition of gothically-influenced sentimentalism. Her "L'Histoire de la Duchesse de C***" (1782), a cautionary anecdotal tale included in the educational treatise *Adèle et Théodore*, is not entirely unlike Radcliffe's brand of terror fiction. To summarize it briefly, a wealthy young Italian heiress marries a man she does not love. Soon after they are married, he begins to unjustly suspect her of adultery. Though she maintains her innocence, he heartlessly imprisons her in a dungeon under his castle. He simulates her death by using a wax figure that he publicly buries in her place. She suffers her fate for nine years until her husband, on his deathbed, confesses his deception to a friend who promptly frees the duchess from her prison and returns her to her family.

Genlis herself did not claim to be doing anything innovative in writing "L'Histoire de la Duchesse de C***." In her memoirs, she explains that stories of imprisoned women "could be found in a thousand works of fiction, and that this story, unusual as it was, would make a very ordinary novel."[133] It is precisely this perceived lack of originality which may make "L'Histoire de la Duchesse de C***" a good model for our exploration of early nineteenth-century gothically-influenced sentimental fiction in France, as the author herself claimed to have constructed the tale to conform to already established conventions. It is all the more significant because of its striking success as a literary text. It was republished on multiple occasions, in French and other languages, both as part of *Adèle et Théodore* and as a stand-alone story. Due to its popularity, it may well have served as a very real model for authors like Fanny Tercy who would have been familiar with Genlis's work and may even have sought to emulate it.

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[133] Quoted in Trouille, Introduction to *Histoire de la Duchesse de C****, trans. Mary Trouille (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2010), 3.

Mary Trouille characterizes *L'Histoire de la Duchesse de C**** as "a complex blend of the sentimental and Gothic genres."[134] True to its sentimental base, the story is preoccupied with sentiment or emotion, especially love and sympathy, though it also brings anxiety and fear to the foreground. Genlis herself explains that the story's most important feature is its description of "the ideas and feelings one might experience in the course of nine years spent in a dungeon."[135] Moreover, the tale aims to entertain readers while simultaneously offering useful moral lessons.[136] It is set in a vague recent past/present, and its narration is characterized by hyperbolic language, use of emotionally-charged punctuation (especially ellipses of variable length [....] and exclamation marks [!]) and descriptive restraint that is broken only to allow for description of significant people, places and things and key tableaus.[137]

The story of the Duchess takes place in Italy. The setting is characterized by an often shadowy, fear-inducing, old castle with subterranean passageways, hidden doors, and prisons. Rather than the large cast of characters favored by Richardson's conventionally sentimental imitators, works like Genlis's novella feature only a small core cast of morally polarized

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[134] Trouille, Introduction to *Histoire de la Duchesse de C****, 7. Although Trouille draws attention to the fact that this tale was written by a female author and also an example of "female" Gothic, she does not attempt to describe the genre as written by male authors. For the purposes of this study, I have chosen not to hypothesize a clear distinction between male-authored and female-authored fiction. However, differences in textual composition stemming from the author's sex might well exist and might be significant. Though this discussion is beyond the scope of my study, I believe such a discussion would be a fruitful topic for future study.

[135] Ibid., 3.

[136] This is clearly illustrated by the characters of the framing story, *Adèle et Théodore*, who discuss at some length the story and its moral lessons. Genlis intends *Adèle et Théodore* to serve as a sort of education manual. She openly writes it for mothers teaching their daughters meaningful life lessons.

[137] These and other characteristic elements of sentimentalism are examined at length throughout Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*.

characters. Such a small cast allows the author to concentrate on glorifying the protagonist, typically a virtuous heroine, while simultaneously vilifying the antagonist, often a jealous and merciless husband who feels compelled to imprison or even kill his young wife, wrongly suspected of being unfaithful.[138]

The intersection of male love and irrational jealousy is often key to the story line of a gothically-influenced sentimental novel and is typically central in what's commonly called the "marital gothic," where the plot centers on the unjust imprisonment of a woman at the hands of her husband. The blending of love and jealously causes the husband to lose all sense of compassion. In the end, he must suffer when his crimes are brought to light. If his victim survives him, though she may recover her freedom, she is left scarred for life, incapable of true reintegration into society. For her the ending is neither distinctly happy nor tragic. She survives and is reunited with her family but cannot ever recapture the life or love she once knew. Such endings are ambiguous and render interpretation of many similar gothically-influenced sentimental texts of the period difficult.

Following the lead of authors like Genlis, Fanny Tercy incorporated elements of gothicism into her sentimental fiction. *La Blanche Iselle* was first published in a collection of *Six Nouvelles* in 1821.[139] Some years later, Tercy revised the short story and republished it in a

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[138] Trouille, Introduction to *Histoire de la Duchesse de C****, 7. Trouille calls this kind of tale "marital Gothic" because it depends upon a husband who "under the sway of jealousy or avarice, suddenly turns into a monster, his home into a prison, and the couple's marriage into a waking monster." She credits Michelle Masse with coining the term. See Masse, *In the Name of Love: Women, Masochism, and the Gothic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[139] In this first version, it was subtitled as *La Blanche Iselle, ou Le Fantôme du Château de Valfin* (1821). The subtitle would disappear in the later publication of the text. In fact, many aspects of the tale are modified for republication. For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen

definitive version as part of her *Nouvelles chroniques francomtoises* (1833) which showcased *Le Juif et la Sorcière* and breathed new life into *Iselle.* This latter version is, in some ways, less conventionally gothic, but it better demonstrates my hypothesis regarding Tercy's commitment to the recovery of regional tales and her desire to raise awareness of certain key social issues related to power discrepancies and gender roles. *La Dame d'Oliferne*, unlike the other two, was presented to the public as a stand-alone *nouvelle* in 1829. Each of these tales is set in Franche Comté and puts gothically-influenced sentimentalism to use as part of Tercy's larger project to draw attention to the local legends of her native region. In these short stories, Tercy uses the trappings of the gothic novel not just to add tension to her tale and elicit a titillating fearful reaction in readers but also to garner additional sympathy for her protagonists and underscore the undeserved nature of their suffering.

La Blanche Iselle draws heavily upon the conventions of the "marital" gothic. In it, a feudal lord, Raoul, abducts a beautiful young peasant woman, Iselle, taking her away from her husband on the very evening of their wedding day, angered that "on eût ainsi disposé sans son aveu de la plus belle fille de ses terres" (154). The story is bursting with easily recognizable elements drawn from conventional sentimentalism, like they hyperbolic language cited above regarding the beauty of the protagonist. Its tone is morally didactic, and the plot progression depends upon the protagonist Iselle going through a period of *malheur* or suffering which is ultimately resolved only at the story's end. The narration follows the convention of descriptive restraint, limiting physical descriptions of characters and paying very little attention to the description of setting beyond what is necessary at the outset of the tale to establish an atmosphere conducive to maintaining tension and sowing the seeds of fear.

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to deal primarily with the secondary version of the text published in 1833. All citations or *La Blanche Iselle* are drawn from this edition.

Early in the tale, Raoul takes Iselle to his castle, where he sets about seducing her. She resists his advances for a time but eventually submits to his desire and allows him to ask the Pope to dissolve her first marriage. Shortly thereafter, she abandons her virtue and "en attendant que le chevalier pût obtenir le titre d'époux, il en obtint les droits" (156). Raoul's demeanor changes and he becomes a "maître dédaigneux" (156). Iselle soon finds herself pregnant, and Raoul commits to marrying her if she provides him with a male heir. Their son is born and a "triste mariage" (158) celebrated.

Iselle gains nothing but suffering from this union. Her husband comes to hate her, his servants likewise despise her, and she finds herself isolated from everything, even deprived of raising her own son. Soon Raoul's eye seizes upon new prey: a "châtelaine des environs, une belle et riche dame" (159). From this moment forward, Iselle's presence in his life becomes more than an inconvenience, and he seeks to divorce her, a request that the Pope will not grant, having already annulled Iselle's first marriage. Raoul begins to wish his wife dead and soon contrives a plan to be rid of her once and for all: he enlists one of his lackeys to take her away from the castle and presumably kill her. Raoul, of course, explains his wife's disappearance by claiming that she retired to a convent where she became ill and died. In true gothic style, Iselle returns from the grave to torment her oppressor who eventually relinquishes his plans to remarry and flees to a far-off land, never to return. His abandoned castle quickly fell to ruins and only bits of it remain as a reminder of his sad fate.

In *La Blanche Iselle*, Tercy manipulates one of the most common elements of Gothic fiction, the ghost or apparition, playing with readers' expectations. The presence of a ghost in the tale at various uncertain and undeniable. In describing Iselle's last moments in the castle, Tercy shifts her focus to the individual meant to escort Iselle from the castle:

> Ainsi, que ne dut-on pas imaginer, en voyant la malheureuse Iselle partir, accompagnée seulement de ce guide, pour un voyage dont la durée et le but n'étaient pas connus...? Au bout de quelques jours, l'esclave revint seul. On ignore quels détails il donna à son maître dans la longue conférence qu'ils eurent ensemble à son retour ; mais personne n'ajouta foi aux explications du sire Raoul sur la disparition de sa femme. (162-163)

The reader knows only that Iselle left with a ferocious looking thug and did not return. Thus, though her death is doubtless inferred from the passage, it is plausible that Iselle did not, in fact, meet a violent end at the hands of the manservant that escorts her from Raoul's estates. A savvy nineteenth-century reader, familiar with the conventions of Gothic novels like those of Ann Radcliffe, may have inferred from this passage a possible "reasonable" explanation of the phantom's appearance near the end of the story: Iselle may not have been killed by Raoul's thug; rather, she bided her time and returned to the castle after a suitable delay to take advantage of the widespread rumors of her death and masquerade as the ghost of herself.

Having established the possibility of a reasonable explanation, however, Tercy, resists imposing it. Rather, she renders the appearance of the ghost of Iselle more "real" by insisting on her "bras décharnés," her "lèvres livides" (166), and her "voix faible et confuse, toute semblable au souffle du vent dans les roseaux d'un étang" (167). In this way, Tercy defies the conventions of a typical Radcliffian novel, ultimately refusing to offer a clear, purely rational explanation for a seemingly supernatural occurrence.[140]

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[140] In the English tradition, explained supernatural events are the exception, not the norm. It has been hypothesized that French readers demanded more "reasonable" explanations. Judith Clark Schaneman, "Rewriting *Adèle et Théodore*: Intertextual Connections between Madame de Genlis and Ann Radcliffe," *Comparative Literature Studies* 38, no. 1 (2001): 31-45.

Although significantly longer and more complex than *La Blanche Iselle*, the story of *la Dame d'Oliferne* is also an example of sentimentally-grounded marital gothic fiction set in Franche Comté. The narration is characterized largely by descriptive restraint and bears other markers of sentimentalism like hyperbole and overly-dramatic punctuation, including ellipses signifying emotionally-charge silence and copious exclamation points. In this tale, a young peasant woman, Isoline, is raised above her station by marrying a local noble man, Olivier, who is enamored of her extraordinary beauty. The central conflict at hand is one typical of the sentimental novel: Isoline's union with Olivier defies social norms, and Olivier struggles with the implications of his choice when he meets the Dame d'Arlay, a noblewoman who offers him the wealth and riches of a more socially appropriate marriage. Olivier is seduced by la dame d'Arlay and, at her insistence, sends his wife away and orders his servants to effectively imprison her in their castle. While he is under the thrall of la dame d'Arlay, his young wife suffers. She laments her husband's absence and the loss of his love for her. One day, she is taken off guard by the arrival of a handsome young knight, Robert de Vaudrey, who falls madly in love with Isoline and pleads for her affection. After a period of trying to resist the young man, Isoline gives in, breaking her marriage vows first in spirit, then in body. She lives happily for a short time with her new lover, but is all the while conscious of her sin and eventually encourages him to leave her behind and forget their amorous relationship. When her husband finally returns to her, he discovers her infidelity. However, she is quick to point out his hypocrisy and points an accusing finger at his own hurtful misbehavior with the chatelaine. This does not mitigate Olivier's jealousy, and he goes well beyond the bounds of reason, mercilessly killing his rival and threatening to end his wife's life in similar fashion. Fearing for her life, and knowing herself guilty of sin, Isoline retires to a convent, where she dies. Olivier, finding himself alone, repents

and attempts to cleanse his soul, though he can never undo his wrongs. His castle passes into new hands and subsequently falls to ruin.

La Dame d'Oliferne proves to be most innovative in its construction of characters. The female protagonist, unlike most gothic victims who are typically paragons of virtue, is not free of blame. Moreover, she recognizes that her own infidelity is a serious transgression and accepts the necessity of punishment, even death at the hands of her husband: "l'oubli des devoirs les plus sacrés ne saura être puni trop sévèrement" (61). Later, she insists: "la plus affreuse mort, le supplice le plus cruel, je les accepte!" (91). Notice how Isoline's speech is marked by sentimental hyperbole, firmly anchoring her in the text as a figure worthy of sympathy. Isoline's husband, though jealous, is not the thoroughly despicable, heartless, and utterly unchangeable villain of a typical gothic novel. Rather, he finds himself torn: "Mille sentimens divers se succédoient dans son âme; il passoit tout-à-tour de l'indignation à la pitié, de la fureur à la tendresse" (102). Olivier's reactions vary from one end of the emotional spectrum to another. He is torn between extremes, suffering from his own version of a quintessential sentimental bind: on the one hand he loves his wife and feels badly for mistreating her; on the other he feels indignation and fury at having been poorly used by his own wife. His attention divided in this way, Olivier cannot resolve to end his wife's life. Instead, he sends her to a convent. She goes willingly, and later he experiences even deeper conflicting emotions for his wife: "Il se reprochoit tour à tour, et de ne l'avoir pas retenue pour lui faire expier à chaque instant sa faute et les tourmens qu'il enduroit, ou bien de n'avoir pas cherché à l'attendrir par la peinture de son amour et de ses regrets… " (122-123). Olivier's ability to feel a variety of emotions separates him from other gothic villains who prove unable to move beyond jealousy and rage. In short, instead of creating characters who are clearly either victim or villain, embodying either virtue or

vice, Tercy invents complex emotional beings. She justifies her fictionalization of them, insisting: “quel autre que celui qui forma de ses mains notre cœur pourroit en expliquer les contradictions et en sonder tous les replis?” (117). Tercy’s characters, like true human beings, sometimes act in illogical ways. Their reactions are linked to feeling, to sentiment, to the core of their being, a heart formed by divine hands.

Tercy’s *Le Juif et la Sorcière* also illustrates an essentially sentimental plot infused with elements of gothicism. This longer work is the tale of Brigitte, a young woman found abandoned as an infant in front of the church of Saint-Anatole in Salins. She grows to be a character possessing all the characteristics of a conventional sentimental protagonist: beautiful and virtuous in equal measure. A poor, slightly disreputable, local woman called Magui agrees to raise Brigitte when she is first found. Magui and her adopted daughter, paragons of sentimental pity, live as best they can, given their limited means. When the infant Brigitte becomes ill, Magui cannot afford to seek treatment for her. As the adoptive mother is on the brink of giving up hope, a miracle occurs, though Tercy calls it “un événement assez étrange” (10): a mysterious stranger arrives at the door with a gift for the child. By his dress and physiognomy, he is clearly a Jew. He leaves Magui with a generous sum of money, a note “écrit dans une langue étrangère” (17), and a golden bracelet. These gifts prove to be sufficient to keep Brigitte well cared for. The stranger advises Magui to hide his gifts from the eyes of her neighbors who, as Christians, “pourraient témoigner à ce sujet une curiosité qu’il serait dangereux de satisfaire” (17-18). As Brigitte matures, her perfection and inexplicable financial well-being make her the object of scorn and jealousy among others in the community. Worse yet, Magui pays a local clerk to teach the girl to read and write. Eventually, Magui again runs short on funds and must pawn the

bracelet she had received from the mysterious stranger. Remembering his warning, she approaches a local Jewish creditor with her request. Brigitte accompanies her and while at Nathan's home, meets his son Elie, a handsome, well-educated doctor. Brigitte falls instantly in love with the young man. She seeks out a local witch-woman and buys a love potion from her, hoping one day to marry Elie. When the queen, Marguerite, expels the Jews from France, Brigitte does all she can to help Elie and his father escape. She is imprisoned for her efforts and, while being interrogated, recalls the witch she consulted and admits to having "recouru aux mauvais esprits pour parvenir à ses fins" (79). She is sentenced to burn alive for her crimes. Elie returns to be sure Brigitte is safe after having helped his family flee. He visits Magui, who tells him of her daughter's imprisonment. She also reveals the circumstances of Brigitte's birth to the young man, even showing him the mysterious stranger's note. This cryptic document reveals to Élie that Brigitte is the illegitimate child of a Christian mother and a Jewish father. He at once sees Brigitte as one of his own people and begins to feel tenderly for her. He cannot, however, find a way to free her, though he does manage to bribe her jailer in order to visit her and give her a bottle of poison so she can end her life before being tied to a stake. She drinks the contents of the vial, is found dead in her cell, and her corpse is publicly burned as that of a witch. Magui lives only a short while after the death of her adopted daughter, and Elie forgets Brigitte and marries a Jewess from Vesoul.

Tercy's innovation in blending gothicism with sentimentalism in *Le Juif et la Sorcière* lies principally in her inversion of artifacts assigned both sentimental and gothic signification. For instance, she takes a rather mundane trope, the act of reading and writing, and endows it with mystery, making it into a non-traditional stimulant of terror. Magui hires a tutor to teach her adopted daughter to read and write. When villagers find traces of Brigitte's attempts to record

things for herself in writing, they view writing through a lens of suspicion. Brigitte's letters are not easily decipherable signs that communicate an easily understood message, they are: "ces images imparfaites furent réputées des caractères magiques connus seulement de Satan et de ses esprits" (78).

At the same time, however, Tercy also creates of a distinctly non-gothic version of the typically gothic confined space. She uses a forest cave, the kind of setting typically reserved for bandits or outlaws up to no good. In a conventionally gothic account, caves, grottos, and caverns are places of darkness that conceal danger, criminals, and illicit acts. Tercy's presentation of the cave, however, is quite different: Brigitte "voulait être sainte, se retire comme eux dans la solitude: et déjà elle avait découvert, aux environs de la ville, une caverne d'un accès difficile, qu'elle se plaisait à décorer comme une cellule, et où elle passait de longues heures" (25). In short, Brigitte's cave is a place of solitude, meditation, piety, and refuge. Even so, for others in the community, Brigitte's attraction to such solitary locations is part and parcel of her commerce with the Devil. According to their logic, she needed to be alone to commune with him.

With these two techniques, Tercy would seem to be making an intra-textual comment on the trappings of gothically-influenced literature. Its signature paraphernalia do not by their own nature evoke terror. Rather, it is the context in which they are interpreted that endows them with the ability to stimulate a strong reaction in the observer. An observer's lack of understanding or improper interpretation of signs leads unnecessarily to the experience of terror. Such reactions have terrible consequences in Tercy's novel: an innocent young woman is condemned to die. Clearly, Tercy's gothically-influenced sentimentalism functions on multiple levels as a warning to readers.

All three of the tales discussed above speak to social issues of their time. To a certain degree, this is characteristic of the conventional gothic novel. For instance, anxiety about changing power structures of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is commonplace in many gothic tales.[141] Thus, statements like: "Hélas ! Quel Malheur que les hommes soient tout puissans, quand ils n'écoutent pas la voix de la justice !" (*La Blanche Iselle*, 162) are not entirely surprising. Rather, they serve to underscore a rather common theme in gothically-influenced sentimentalism: deep concern regarding women's subservient place in the world and their unjust oppression at the hands of husbands. In *La Dame d'Oliferne*, Tercy's female protagonist even goes so far as to confront her husband. Understanding her own errors and accepting their consequences, she also sees clearly her husband's transgressions and draws them to his attention to mitigate the violence of his response to her wrongs: "Oui, dit-elle, je suis coupable, et ma vie vous appartient; mais vous, Olivier, êtes-vous sans reproche?" (94).

However, one of Tercy's texts delves into a less conventional area of criticism: namely, *Le Juif et la Sorcière*, which raises questions about Jews, a group of people in France who had long known discrimination and oppression. The titular characters, Élie (le Juif) and Brigitte (la Sorcière) are both of Jewish heritage. More than any other factor, it is this heritage that leads to the tragic ending of the tale. In broaching this subject, Tercy shows herself to be overtly engaged with the political concerns of her own time. Indeed, her collection of short stories were published in 1833, not long after Louis Philippe ratified a motion to grant Judaism a status equal to Catholicism and Protestantism in regards to public financial support for its religious leaders and places of worship , effectively incorporating practitioners of the religion into the French

[141] Modern critics have examined this trend in French gothic literature. For example, Annie Le Brun, *Châteaux de la subversion* (Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert et Éditions Garnier Frères, 1982).

nation.[142] Manifesting such consciousness of contemporary concerns and discussions was, again, not necessarily new within the confines of the gothic novel which often describes "present concerns, including prejudice."[143] Typically, Gothic authors strip the far-off past of all but its most superficial traits. Tercy, by contrast, goes to great pains to document the historical Jewish presence in Franche Comté and derives her story from what she knows of this history. Such dedicated work renders her critique of society that much stronger.

Though committed to a variety of social projects, Tercy's ultimate project was related to a scholarly or erudite pursuit involving the collection of local lore. This concern serves as a second thread of commonality which ties together most of the works in her corpus. To be clear, Tercy was not a folklorist. In fact, the study of "folklore," the beliefs, customs, traditions, stories and myths of a people, was no more than a budding scholarly discipline in the nineteenth century.[144] The study of folklore, including orally-transmitted *traditions populaires* associated with peasant populations, began later in France than in much of Europe: the *Académie Celtique*,

[142] "le 13 novembre 1830, le ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes, président du Conseil d'Etat, Mérilhou, franc-maçon et affilié aux carbonari, apporta sur le bureau de la Chambre des députés, au nom du gouvernement, un projet de loi tendant à établir qu'à partir du 1er janvier 1831, les ministres du culte israélite recevraient un traitement, payable par le Trésor." Paul Emil Marie Joseph Denais-Darnays, *Les Juifs en France, avant et depuis Révolution: comment ils ont conquis l'égalité* (Paris: Bloud, 1907), 53.

[143] Hogle, "Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture," 16.

[144] Folklore scholars define their field in a variety of ways, and definitions of the domain are constantly shifting. For the purposes of this chapter, I have defined folklore in the broadest of terms, to include (but certainly not limited to) orally-transmitted stories related to the history and cultural role of places and monuments of regional importance.

founded in 1804, was France's first folklore society, devoted to uncovering popular traditions; similar institutions had been founded in Britain and Germany half a century earlier.[145]

Many of Tercy's deviations from conventional approaches to writing sentimental or gothic literature might be explained by her proximity to Charles Nodier. His direct influence may well be evident in Tercy's emphasis on regionalism and in her persistent desire to highlight and draw upon oral tales that clearly stem from what today would be considered folkloric sources. Nodier, himself a member of the *Académie Celtique*, is known to have "introduced his younger compatriots to the *conte fantastique,* Gothicism, vampirism, mysticism, and the importance of dreams as part of literary creation."[146] It is in the use of such sources that Tercy most clearly demonstrates her deviation not just from standard sentimentalism but also from gothically-influenced French sentimentalism.

We have limited records of Tercy's participation in Nodier's intellectual circle. However, those which we do have paint Tercy as an active participant and contributor to discussions who was considered an author in her own right. She is remembered by one other participant in the salon as having an "esprit étincelant [qui] ressemblait à un feu d'artifice."[147] Her writing set her apart from the two other women who were often present at the Sunday gatherings, Nodier's wife and daughter. Fanny's "pratique de la littérature lui confère une aura particulière : Le monde littéraire connaît ses jolies productions et la considère à part entière

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[145] For a description of the history of folklore studies in France, see Harry Senn, "Folklore Beginnings in France, the Académie Celtique: 1804-1813" *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 18, no. 1 (1981): 23-33. See also Nicole Belmont, "L'Académie celtique et George Sand. Les débuts des recherches folkloriques en France" *Romantisme* 9 (1975): 29-38 and *Aux sources de l'ethnologie française: l'Académie celtique* (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S, 1995).

[146] See Matthew Loving, "Charles Nodier: The Romantic Librarian" in *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 38, no. 2 (2003): 166-181, citation at 181.

[147] Auguste Jal cited in Laisney, *L'Arsenal romantique*, 557.

comme une femme de lettres."[148] Tercy, then, was not a tangential fixture in the salon but occupied an active and productive role.

Nodier himself believed in the existence of "un génie proprement franc-comtois.[149]" Tercy was one of a rather large group of individuals who participated in what has been called Nodier's "colonie franc-comtoise," a group of authors in various genres who shared a connection to the region of Franche Comté. Tercy's participation in this group may well have been the single-most important factor in guiding her authorial evolution away from conventional sentimental fiction. We see evidence of the influence of Nodier's *colonie* in many of Tercy's works and especially in the extra-textual notes like those she appends to *La Dame d'Oliferne*, *La Blanche Isele,* and *Le Juif et la sorcière.*

Tercy's interest in local tales bears witness to her desire to serve as a champion for the region of Franche Comté. Through precise geographical situation, each of Tercy's *nouvelles* highlights particular regional stories. In *La Blanche Iselle*, itself recounted as an oral tale related by a female storyteller, Tercy articulates her reasons for writing:

> La plupart des collines et des montagnes, dont le pays est coupé, sont couronnées par les débris de quelques vieux manoirs auxquels se rattachent toujours des traditions plus ou moins merveilleuses. Malheureusement, la mémoire s'en perd chaque jour davantage ; et l'on ne rencontre que bien rarement, aujourd'hui, des vieillards *instruits* qui, à propose de la noire tourelle, du grand portail encore debout, content de belles histoires comme celle

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., 503. According to Laisney, the term was coined in Michel Salomon, *Charles Nodier et le groupe romantique* (Perin, 1908), 204. Laisney uses it as a chapter title in *L'Arsenal romantique,* 483-503.

> que je vais vous conter, et que j'ai apprise d'une bonne femme, fort réputée dans le pays pour son érudition. (151-152)

Tercy's *nouvelle*, though a literary creation, is meant to act as an instrument for collection and preservation of oral tradition, protecting the lore associated with ancient structures scattered across the region that pay testament to the long history of Franche Comté.

Tercy often embeds stories in her *nouvelles,* depicting them as pieces of local lore circulating in the geographical region of her tales. These narratives necessarily add to the complexity of the *récit*. Admittedly, such embedded stories are quite common in sentimental fiction, but they are often cautionary tales that shed light on some particular episode in the text. Tercy's embedded tale, however, serves a dual purpose. Take, for instance, the embedded tale in *La Blanche Iselle*, the story of "la cloche de Saint-Saturnin" (164-165), a local legend according to which a prior who once refused to "sonner l'agonie" of a poor vassal was, after his death, condemned to provide this service for anyone in the region who died. At night, when the church is deserted, the prior rises from his grave and rings the bell to announce the death of an individual "dans l'étendue des terres de Présilly" (165); his duty done, he returns to his tomb. The night of Iselle's disappearance, the bell rings and servants in her husband's castle assume it to be a sign of her demise. Tercy's embedded tale is positioned in the text in order to explain assumptions made by characters regarding the protagonist's disappearance. However, it also serves an additional purpose for Tercy in that it allows her to amplify the story's emphasis on and revelation of the traditional lore of Franche Comté. Whereas the tale focuses primarily on explaining the oral traditions attached to the ruins of a single castle, the embedded story allows Tercy to expound upon a local tradition connected to another ancient monument, the ruins of the church of Saint Saturnin.

As in *La Blanche Iselle*, *La Dame d'Oliferne* contains both a primary and an embedded story linked to the lore of Franche Comté. In fact, it contains several embedded stories. One of these, the tale of Isoline's mother, is a standardly sentimental cautionary tale. Another tale, though, fulfills much the same purpose as the embedded local legend of Saint Saturnin explored above. In *La Dame d'Oliferne,* however, the tale is linked not to architectural ruins but to distinctive local geographical features, the peaks of three mountains on the horizon near the Château d'Oliferne called popularly *Les Trois Dames*. Isoline is asked how the peaks came to acquire their name:

> Vous l'ignorez ? répondit Isoline en rougissant ; cette histoire est cependant bien connue. Trois dames d'Oliferne (5) ont été précipitées du haut de ce rocher dans la rivière qui coule à ses pieds, enfermées dans des tonnes hérissées de fer. –Quel horrible supplice ! s'écria le page ; et que crime avoit pu le mériter ? –L'infidélité à la foi conjugale ; c'est encore aujourd'hui la peine qu'encourroit une dame de cette maison qui commettroit la même faute. (60-61)

Perhaps more than any other single element in *La Dame d'Oliferne,* this tale anchors the text firmly in the genre of gothically-influenced sentimentalism. The tale serves as a warning against the dangers of infidelity. Given that she is herself a *dame d'Oliferne*, this violent cautionary tale prefigures the end to which the main female character could come if she continues down her chosen path. Interestingly, however, Tercy chooses to defy the expectations she has constructed by including this tale in her narrative -- Isoline does not die at her husband's hands for her crime of infidelity.

Tercy explicitly expresses a wish to valorize her region and its lore in her extra-textual notes and essays. In these, she describes regionally specific oral traditions that she sees herself as

preserving. She takes care to reference her sources in endnotes that are signaled by parenthetical numbers which periodically surface in her fiction: see, for example, the (5) featured in the quote above. *La Dame d'Oliferne* is peppered with such notes, six in total. These notes are appended to the text, and each one is one to six pages in length.

Combined, these notes are clear evidence of Tercy's project to preserve the past of Franche Comté in her writing. Through the various notes, she fleshes out the geographical situation and physical appearance of Oliferne castle, located in the Jura near Lons-le-Saunier where Tercy herself was born. More importantly, she describes in detail the oral traditions connected to these ruins. Her documentation draws on far more than just her own memory or imagination. Rather, she quotes at some length the *Voyage pittoresque et romantique dans l'ancienne France,* by Isidore Séverin Justin Taylor (1789-1879), a work that recounts in even greater detail the oral tradition surrounding the *dames d'Oliferne*:

> [T]rois jeunes dames rivales de grâces et de beautés furent livrées par le tyran d'Oliferne au supplice de Régulus. Un tonneau hérissé de clous aigus les roula du haut des rochers dans les eaux de l'Ain, si belles, si pures, si semblables au ciel qu'elles réfléchissent. Long-temps la machine horrible flotta sur le fleuve en laissant échapper des gémissements qui n'avoient jamais frappé les rivages, et qui redoubloient quand les recidens [sic] du courant la poussaient sur des roches. Enfin elle s'abima, et ce ne fut que long-temps après que, brisée par les eaux furieuses, elle ouvrit un passage à trois spectres sanglans qui s'arrêtèrent sur les rochers opposés au château, s'y assirent avec gravité, et y établirent leur demeure éternelle. (136-137)

The account continues at length, not only explaining the lore behind the name of three peaks near Oliferne but also illuminating the character of the reputedly "cruel baron" who governed the

castle and so brutally killed his wives and describing his final divine punishment. Other notes in this section describe less important locations and physical structures mentioned in Isoline's tale, like the court and castle at Arlay. In these sections, too, Tercy quotes a series of authorities including the Baron Taylor (134-139), Désiré Monnier (140-141; 150-151), and the Annuaire du Jura (145-146).[150]

Tercy relies upon a variety of sources to document her fictional creations. In her notes accompanying *Le Juif et la Sorcière*, Tercy quotes Renaissance-era scholars from Franche Comté, including Henry Boguet, Loys Gollut, Dunod de Chanage, and Lequinio, all of whom Tercy obviously holds in high regard.[151] By referencing these individuals and using their works to support her own view of her region's unique past, Tercy may have intended to contribute to the development of a regional consciousness. This may reflect a further link between Tercy and various authors who frequented Nodier's salon. At least two of the sources she cites in her notes were known associates or even close friends of Charles Nodier: Baron Isidore Taylor and Désiré Monnier. Taylor, in particular, published a *Voyage pittoresque* with Nodier. The resultant text and the images contained within attest to a kind of "conscience patrimoiniale" that is likewise

[150] For nineteenth-century descriptions of Baron Isidore Taylor (1789-1879) and his literary/scholarly works, see the *Dictionnaire général de biographie contemporaine française et étrangère* (Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, 1878), 1084-1085. Similarly, on Désiré Monnier (1788-1867) see Alfred Dantès, *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique* (Paris: Aug. Boyer, 1875), 704.

[151] Paul Delsalle of the Université de Franche Comté has recently written on Loys Gollut, shedding light on his role as a sixteenth-century scholar: http://www.franche-bourgogne.fr/medias/files/patrie-gollut.pdf.

visible in Tercy's narrative fiction and depends upon the collection and preservation of regionally specific oral traditions.[152]

Tercy is just one of many authors to voice concerns for the loss of regional or local knowledge that today would be described as folklore. Such knowledge became increasingly valued in post-Revolutionary France due to heightened consciousness of the rapid evolution of French society. This led to growing concern for the loss of particular local or regional identities.[153] From the early nineteenth century forward, many individuals sought to counter this potential loss by embracing and valorizing rural, regional and folk traditions. By dedicating so many of her later works to the preservation of regional stories, Tercy participates in a similar project, though her novellas are far from flawless receptacles for preserving regional traditions: her sourcing is at times difficult to establish, and she clearly takes certain liberties with tradition when inserting it into her fictions. This hardly comes as a surprise because, as a writer, her work is filtered through her own imagination before finding its final expression on the written page.[154] Moreover, as an adult she may have remembered hearing tales about local monuments during her childhood; however, there is no evidence that she herself went in search of first-hand accounts of local stories. Such a project was left to others in her social circle, including her brother-in-law Nodier and others, like Monnier and Taylor, who participated in the intellectual circle of which

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[152] In 2015, the images of Taylor's *Voyage pittoresque* were the subject of an exhibit in Paris: http://voyagespittoresques.paris.fr/.

[153] Shanny Peer, *France on Display: Peasants, Provincials, and Folklore in the 1937 Paris World's Fair* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 13.

[154] As Belmont argues regarding George Sand, it is inappropriate to call her a folklorist: "Elle ne pouvait l'être puisqu'elle était écrivain et que ses observations sur le vif repassaient nécessairement par le filtre de son imagination et de ses sentiments avant de trouver leur expression." Belmont, "l'Académie celtique et George Sand," 29-38. The same is true of Tercy and her work.

he was a focal point. Even so, her work has value. She approached literature not just as entertainment but as a means of preserving regional cultural memory.

Fanny Tercy was an innovator of gothically-influenced sentimentalism. While maintaining a commitment to entertain and morally educate her readers, she went beyond the typical moral and ethical applications of sentimentalism, seeking to recapture the past and thereby offer her readers the possibility of rediscovering it and preserving it for future generations. She worked to establish herself as a serious writer, regional scholar, and authority on Franche Comté. By endowing her works with a specific and unwavering regional focus, she expanded her reader's knowledge of Franche Comté and its history. In doing so, she recreated a sort of regional mythology and in it preserved what she viewed as an endangered cultural heritage. She displayed the colorful past of her native region while simultaneously exhibiting her own research into that past. Tercy's sentimentalism was a particular blend all her own, deployed as a means of unveiling local legends, highlighting regional history, and even bringing to the fore the efforts of past and present scholars from the region. In doing so, she conferred upon Franche-Comté a sense of intellectual and literary relevance, worthy of the attention of even the Parisian elite. Though the impact of her works is difficult to judge today, her unwavering commitment to the recovery and examination of regional stories may have been part of a broader discourse that paved the way for the first stages of what the romantic era would call the "discovery of the people."[155] For Fanny Tercy, as for the other authors in this study, sentimentalism had multiple uses. Through it, she could teach her readers moral lessons while drawing attention to regional traditions and showcasing her own erudition along with that of individuals in her inner circle, like Charles Nodier, Désiré Monnier, and Isidor Taylor.

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[155] David Hopkin, "Identity in a Divided Province: The Folklorists of Lorraine, 1860-1960," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (2002): 639-82.

Chapter 4

Gabrielle Paban and Sophie Doin: Sentimentalism and Slavery

Emphasizing political and social issues like slavery transformed conventional sentimentalism. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers like Aphra Behn, Jean-François de Saint-Lambert, Olympe de Gouges, Germaine de Staël, and Bernardin de Saint Pierre experimented with the expression of anti-slavery or even abolitionist perspectives in sentimental fiction. Their works exposed and condemned problems inherent in the system of slavery and sometimes offer solutions for their resolution. During the nineteenth century, well-known writers like Victor Hugo again took up the issue of slavery in their fiction. Other lesser-known authors of the nineteenth-century also contributed to the discourse. One such author, Claire de Duras, has recently received a significant amount of critical attention; as a result, her short novel *Ourika* finds itself read increasingly often in college classrooms at both undergraduate and graduate levels.

Many other authors joined Hugo Duras in denouncing the atrocities of the slave trade. The vast majority of them remain under-read and under-studied; however, scholars like Doris Kadish and Roger Little have begun to bring these forgotten women to the fore in discussions of early-nineteenth-century abolitionist fiction. Recently, Kadish and Little have condemned the tendency to look to a few, famous or canonical writers, like Duras or Hugo, to describe

nineteenth-century perspectives on race. They encourage us instead to seek out minor authors so as to reconstruct the broadest possible range of attitudes toward slavery, race, and colonialism.[156] Kadish's work on Sophie Doin has been invaluable in the construction of this chapter, which delves deeper into the abolitionist works of Doin by studying it alongside the work of an even more marginalized author, Gabrielle de Paban.

Paban and Doin, like all writers whose works are broadly described as "sentimental," seek to appeal to the refined moral sensibilities of French readers of their time. In their fictional accounts of slavery in the French colonies, they present the suffering of enslaved characters of African ancestry and portray these individuals as sensitive souls with an obvious capacity for deep feeling. These two authors draw heavily upon conventions drawn from a blend of sentimentalism and abolitionism which had existed for some time in the French literary context. However, they also each go beyond the somewhat restrained calls to political action made by their predecessors and thereby modify sentimental fiction in key ways.

Gabrielle Paban was born on February 22, 1793 in Lyon and began publishing in 1819. She is credited with nine works, mostly fictional prose, all published under the pen name of Gabrielle de P.[157] Little more is known about her life. Far more is known about one of her cousins: Jacques-Auguste-Simon Collin, later Collin de Plancy, who was born around the same time as Paban. Plancy became a man of letters, an author, a bookseller and a printer. He published profusely, at times under various pseudonyms, often claiming to have had a merely

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[156] Doris Kadish, "Haiti and Abolitionism in 1825: The Example of Sophie Doin," *Yale French Studies* 107 (2005), 108-130; Roger Little, "From Taboo to Totem: Black Man, White Woman, in Caroline Auguste Fischer and Sophie Doin," *Modern Language Review* 93, no. 4 (1998), 948-960.

[157] For a complete list of these works, see Appendix 3, which also includes a concise summary of *Le Nègre et la Créole*.

editorial role. At least two works published under the name Gabrielle de P. are attributed, at least in part, to Collin de Plancy: *Démoniana* and *Histoire de fantômes et démons*.[158] We simply do not know if the Gabrielle Paban that historically existed was indeed the author of any of the various works attributed to her. This may forever remain a subject of speculation.[159]

Sophie Doin was born Sophie Elisabeth Mamy in Paris in 1800 and died in 1846.[160] She married Guillaume Tell Doin in 1820. The couple had three children. Sophie's existence as a writer is not questionable like Paban's; however, Doin surfaces much more rarely in the biblio-biographical dictionaries of her time. Most of what we know about her we learn from her own writings: she did not just write fiction; she also engaged in a significant amount of non-fictional writing, much of it autobiographical in nature.[161] For example, her *Cri de mère* (1843), *Avis au public* (1843), and *Simple mémoire* (1842) are extremely personal texts that allow modern

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[158] *Démoniana, ou nouveau Choix d'anecdotes surprenantes, de nouvelles prodigieuses, d'aventures bizarres, sur les revenants, les spectres, les fantômes, les démons, les loup-garous, les visions, etc. ; ouvrage propre à rassurer les imaginations timorées contre les frayeurs superstitieuses* (1820) ; *Histoire des fantômes et des démons qui se sont montrés parmi les hommes, ou Choix d'anecdotes et de contes, de faits merveilleux, de traits bizarres, d'aventures extraordinaires sur les revenants, les fantômes, les lutins, les démons, les spectres, les vampires et les apparitions diverses, etc.* (1819). Plancy was well known for his publication of very similarly themed works including the *Dictionnaire infernal, ou Bibliothèque universelle sur les êtres, les personnages, les livres, les faits et les choses qui tiennent aux apparitions, à la magie, au commerce de l'enfer, aux divinations, aux sciences secrètes, aux grimoires, aux prodiges, aux erreurs et aux préjugé, aux traditions et aux contes populaires, aux superstitions diverses, et généralement à toutes les croyances merveilleuses, surprènantes* [sic], *mystérieuses et surnaturelles* (1818 and 1825), the *Réalité de la magie, et des apparitions, ou le Contre-Poison du Dictionnaire infernal* (1819), or the *Le Diable peint par lui-même* (1819) to name just a few of his earlier works – he published similar texts through the 1860s.

[159] The Conclusion of this thesis will provide a more detailed discussion of the problematic status of the author. See also Olds, Preface to *Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D**** by Gabrielle Paban, vii-xxxiv.

[160] For further information on Doin, see Kadish, Introduction to *La Famille noire* by Sophie Doin, x-xiv.

[161] For a list of Doin's published works, fictional and otherwise, refer to Appendix 4. The appendix also includes concise summaries of the four texts by Doin treated in this chapter.

readers access to Doin's tumultuous existence during the first third of the nineteenth century. She also wrote a variety of short fictional works, published individually, like *La Famille noire* (1825), in collections like *Nouvelles blanches et noires* (1828), or in the journal *Le Christianisme*.[162]

Early nineteenth-century authors like Paban and Doin inherited and intensified discourses on the issues of race and slavery which featured prominently in Enlightenment-era discussions of humanity and sensibility. Especially after the publication of *Les Droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789), these discussions took on new meaning and importance. During the Restoration period (1814-1830) in particular, women authors proved especially eager to contribute to the growing body of abolitionist literature, often by writing sentimental fiction in the form of novels and short stories.

This chapter aims to examine in some detail several such works of fiction that fell into disregard shortly after their publication: Gabrielle de Paban's *Le Nègre et la Créole* (1825) and Sophie Doin's *La Famille Noire* (1825) and two of her *Nouvelle blanches et noires* (1828). Renewed discussion of authors and works like these offers modern scholars the opportunity to better understand sentimental modes of writing and their potential applications in early nineteenth-century France. In order to understand the ways in which these authors modify received notions of abolitionist sentimentalism, it will first be necessary to explore the context out of which their fiction springs. A brief overview of the history of anti-slavery movements in France along with the literary and philosophical literary productions that accompanied the movements will prove useful.

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[162] She edited this journal from 1836 to 1838. Kadish, *Fathers, Daughters, and Slaves: Women Writers and French Colonial Slavery* (Liverpool University Press, 2012), 136.

Anti-Slavery Efforts in France

By the eighteenth century, slavery was already an integral part of French economic expansion and growth. However, as its abuses came to light, it became increasingly difficult to justify the institution of colonial slavery, especially as politicians, religious leaders, authors, and members of the general public increasingly questioned the system's compatibility with the growing cult of liberty in France.[163] Abolitionist movements arose in three consecutive waves to combat abuses inherent in a system dependent upon the bondage and forced servitude of vast numbers of individuals. [164] Such movements moreover aimed to reconcile issues of race with the Revolutionary values of liberty, equality and fraternity. The first wave of abolitionism took place near the end of the eighteenth century, in the years leading up to and immediately following the Revolution of 1789. It was quelled by Napoleon's rise to power. The second surge arose in the 1810s and 20s, after Napoleon's fall, and was punctuated by the repeated repressions (and subsequent reinstatements) of the slave trade in 1818, 1827, and 1831. The third and final push to abolish slavery took place in the 1840s and culminated in abolition of slavery in both France and the French colonies in 1848. Whereas this final movement toward abolition falls outside the purview of this thesis, the first two are of great importance.

Organized anti-slavery efforts began later in France and its colonies than in British or North American contexts. In North America, the Society of Friends first protested slavery in

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[163] Sue Peabody, *"There Are No Slaves in France": The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 71.

[164] I refer here to the abolitionist movements in modern (as compared to pre-modern) France. The earliest discussions of the necessity to abolish slavery in France took place in the 14th century. In 1315, Louis X established the rule that no person in France could be a slave. In this early context, however, the slaves in question were generally of European extraction. Later abolitionist movements referred almost exclusively to the necessity of ending enslavement of non-white individuals, primarily of African origin. See Peabody's discussion of this distinction in her Introduction to *"There Are No Slaves in France."*

Pennsylvania as early as 1688, just after the *Code Noir* was developed to provide a legal framework for slavery in the French Caribbean (1685). Not quite a century later, in 1775, the Quakers of Pennsylvania established the first American Abolition Society. In France, protests of slavery began later, and it wasn't until 1788 that efforts culminated in the establishment of the *Société des amis des noirs* in Paris.[165] On the American side of the equation, the Quaker Abolition Society initially sought the "Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage," but quickly became more aggressive in explicitly pursuing the "abolition of slavery." The French *Société*, on the other hand, consistently articulated a more gradual approach to abolition, aiming to first abolish the slave trade, with the ultimate goal of ending the institution of slavery as a natural result of eliminating the trade in human flesh. French anti-slavery efforts were countered by those of a rival association, the *Club Massiac*, whose interests were closely tied to those of plantation owners and thus depended on the perpetuation of institutionalized slavery.[166]

With the end of the First Republic and the installation of Napoleon's regime in 1804, abolitionist efforts were temporarily silenced. However, after Napoleon's rule, French abolitionists again sought to draw public attention to the sad fate of people of color in France and especially in French colonies. Many events led to increasing public interest in the movement: in 1814, the Congress of Vienna abolished the slave trade; in 1815, the *Méduse* sunk and caused a scandal, renewing public attention on the dangers of the slave trade; in 1821, the *Société de la*

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[165] The French abolitionist movement started later and was more disorganized than its British and American counterparts. Lamin Sanneh, "Christianity in Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 411-432; Michael Heffernan, "France and the wider world," in *Short Oxford History of France: Revolutionary France, 1788-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 178-197.

[166] Robert Forster, "The French Revolution, People of Color, and Slavery" in *The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), 89-104.

morale chrétienne formed to advocate abolition; in 1823, the *Académie française* proposed abolition of the slave trade as a subject for one of its writing competitions; and in 1825, Charles X officially recognized Haiti as an independent nation.[167] The progress of abolitionist groups was largely dependent upon print media, and the sentimental novel was increasingly used as a tool for circulating the abolitionist message as broadly as possible, reaching not just learned elites but also members of other classes.

Each wave of abolitionist movements in France was accompanied by an increase in print efforts to denounce colonial slavery by appealing to readerly sensibility in sentimental narrative forms. Some eighteenth-century theorists define the French concept of *sensibilité* as an essential characteristic of humanity, a higher faculty held to differentiate the human race from animals. In the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1751-1772), for example, the Chevalier de Jaucourt defines "sensibilité" as that which enables a person to be emotionally moved or touched: "[la] disposition tendre et délicate de l'âme, qui la rend facile à être émue, à être touchée."[168] This, however, is just the *moral* definition of the term: Jaucourt's entry is preceded by a medical article that grounds the property in the physical body.[169] According to this entry, sensibility is also organic in nature. It is not just a moral quality of the

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[167] Kadish, "Haiti and Abolitionism in 1825: The Example of Sophie Doin," 108.

[168] Jaucourt, "Sensibilité," *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, vol. 15, 52. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2016 Edition), ed. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe. http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/.

[169] Fouquet, "Sensibilité, Sentiment," *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, vol. 15, 38-52. Anne Vila discusses both the moral and physical properties of sensibility in her book *Enlightenment and Pathology: Sensibility in the Literature and Medecine in Eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998). See in particular the Introduction, 1-3, and Chapter 3, 49-50.

soul or "âme"; it is also associated with physical feelings associated with the emotions and passions. Ann Jessie Van Sant attempts to succinctly describe it as: "an organic sensitivity dependent on brain and nerves and underlying a) a delicate moral and aesthetic perception; b) acuteness of feeling, both emotional and physical; and c) susceptibility to delicate passional [sic] arousal."[170] Thus, sensibility, being based in the physical body, has physical, moral, ethical and emotional effects. It determines an individual's capacity to perceive and to feel both morally and physically. On the one hand, it is "natural" or innate: an individual is born with a certain physical capacity for or predisposition toward sensibility. On the other hand, sensibility can also be acquired socially: the society in which an individual lives can develop or restrict development of an individual's sensible faculties.

Extraordinary sensibility is praiseworthy, so long as it is controlled or stabilized. If taken too far or left unfettered, sensibility ceases to be a refined value and becomes a danger, causing mental illness (like melancholia) and leading to serious physical side effects, even death.[171] Sentimental literature is full of examples of controlled sensibility as well as warnings against unfettered feeling. Controlled sensibility leads to a healthy ability to sympathize with others and it, therefore, associated with more, virtuous, or humane values. Descriptions of this kind of sensibility served to underscore a person's understanding of human nature and behavior. When

[170] Ann Jessie Van Sant quoted in Jane Rendall, "Feminizing the Enlightenment: The Problem of Sensibility" in *The Enlightenment World* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 253.

[171] Fouquet, for example, attributes melancholia and other disorders to sensibility. See, for example, Eliane Martin-Hague's concise discussion of the link between *sensibilité, tempérament*, and *mélancolie* in "Médecine et politique dans la philosophie de Diderot," in *Nouvelles sciences, modèles techniques et pensée politique de Bacon à Condorcet* (Champ Vallon, collection milieux, 1998), 115.

sensibility was described as extreme or uncontrolled, it suggested disorder and provided writers with a means of suggesting moral or social reforms.

Enlightenment thinkers hypothesized that sensibility determined physical and moral character in terms that were distinct for each sex. It also varied according to class and was especially prominent as a factor held to unite members of the refined upper classes. Thus, sensibility could divide and separate human beings from one another, but it could also unite them as being whose faculties surpassed those of any other member of the animal kingdom.[172] By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the issue of race or cultural origin began to erupt into conversations regarding sensibility.[173] Possession of sensibility was thereafter used by humanitarian groups to call for a united concept of humanity, regardless of skin color or class. Abolitionist groups, in particular, used sensibility to combat the institution of slavery and achieve humanitarian reform. Such efforts took off first in Great Britain and quickly spread across the Channel to France, where the language of sensibility was employed from the 1789s onward in philosophical and literary campaigns against slavery and the slave trade.

Calls for equality among men required "a certain widely shared 'interior feeling,'" or a community of like-minded or like-feeling individuals.[174] To rid the world of slavery, many people had to be persuaded to feel the injustice of the practice. In order to inspire such feelings,

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[172] Anne Vila, "Sex and Sensibility: Pierre Roussel's Système physique et moral de la femme," *Representations* 52 (1995), 80. She further develops the idea in her chapter on "Moral Anthropology" in *Enlightenment and Pathology: Sensibility in the Literature and Medicine in Eighteenth-century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1998), 225-257.

[173] For more information on "sensibility," see Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire* or Jane Rendall, "Feminizing the Enlightenment: The Problem of Sensibility" in *The Enlightenment World*, 253-269.

[174] Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007), 27.

abolitionists drew readily upon the notion of *sensibilité*. They appealed to readers' sensibility in order to establish a sympathetic link between otherwise very different individuals (Hunt, 27). Consequently, sentimental narrative fit the needs of abolitionists to a tee. Characterized by repeated representations of sensibility and almost constant use of language replete with sentiment or emotion, sentimental writing depicts characters as naturally draw to others by virtue of some feeling, most often pity or sympathy.[175]

The act of reading sentimental fiction was one way to cultivate one's own sensibility and moral goodness.[176] Furthermore, by reading about black characters' suffering through their contact with various forms of enslavement and slave trade practices, white French readers may have been able to expand their perceptions of their own shared humanity to include individuals of different races, not just different social classes. Thus, as Lynn Hunt argues, sentimental fiction helped shape the minds and opinions of readers, convincing them that and individual's "humanity" had nothing to do with his or her race, and, therefore, slavery was in no way justifiable.[177] Put another way, sentimentalism favors the abolitionist cause because it can show that what is essential to humanity transcends the barriers traditionally established by social

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[175] Anne Vila, "Beyond Sympathy: Vapors, Melancholia, and the Pathologies of Sensibility in Tissot and Rousseau," *Yale French Studies* 92 (1997): 88. See also Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France, 1760-1820*. According to Denby's argument, present through his exploration of the links between sentimental narrative and the French social order, although later viewed with distaste, sentimental literature was well-respected at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Drawing upon eighteenth-century opinions on sentiment and sensibility, an appreciation of "sentimental literature" was a good thing as it demonstrated an individual's refinement. Later, however, the term depreciated, and anything "sentimental" was eventually stigmatized, viewed as suspect, unauthentic or contrived**.**

[176] June Howard, "What is Sentimentality?" *American Literary History* 11, no. 1 (1999): 63-81.

[177] Hunt even goes so far as to hypothesize that the act of reading physically rewired French readers' brains. See her Introduction to *Inventing Human Rights*, 15-34.

hierarchies. This process typically revolves around a particular version of the classic double-bind, identified by Margaret Cohen, according to which a character finds him- or herself at odds with the society around them and is forced to choose between two equally valid imperatives: serving the best interests of the self or conforming to the demands of the society in which the individual exists.[178] We will return to the importance of this idea below.

By placing socially marginalized or excluded individuals at the center of a sentimental plot and foregrounding their feelings, socially engaged, abolitionist, or anti-slavery authors celebrate the human complexity of individuals who may have previously been denied such depth of character based on arbitrary factors like their class or race.[179] Whereas even the earliest sentimental texts encouraged readers to empathize across social boundaries related to class, later texts sought to persuade the reader to identify with individuals of different races, thereby creating a sense of racial equality and necessitating an emotional and intellectual transition toward abolitionism. They instructed readers in new ways of empathizing, in order to make them more willing to consider granting equal rights to marginal or disenfranchised groups like blacks.

During the mid-to-late eighteenth century, abolitionist discourses became prominent in French print culture.[180] Montesquieu's "Livre XV" of *De l'esprit des lois* (1748), for example, disparages the institution of slavery and the practice of the slave trade. Montequieu's irony effectively drives home the point that even the most seemingly reasonable arguments in favor of

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[178] See Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel.*

[179] See Doris Kadish, "'Sarah' and Antislavery," *L'Esprit Créateur* 47, no. 4 (2007): 95.

[180] French critics of slavery were particularly active during the 1770s and 1780s. See Madeleine Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture* (Cornell University Press, 2010) for a discussion of the lack of philosophical interest in the subject prior to this period.

slavery destroy themselves; he also appeals to the readers' emotions, hoping to inspire mercy and pity for the slaves. Similarly, the *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772) contains several articles in which thinkers like Jaucourt ("Esclavage" and "Traite des nègres"), Boucher d'Argis ("Esclave"), and Diderot ("Humanité" and "Humaine espèce") express unmistakably critical view of the institution of slavery and its negative impact on individuals and societies.[181] Sensibility occupies an important place in these discussions. In these texts, various authors insist that black individuals possess "sentiment" and "sensibilité" and are therefore members of the human race and above being forced into slavery and treated as unthinking and unfeeling beasts of burden.

Many other philosophers of the eighteenth century appeal to the sensibility of their readers in order to argue against the institution of slavery and the perpetuation of the slave trade. For example, Condorcet, under the meaningful nom de plume « Schwartz, » attempted to sway French public opinion in opposition to slavery and the slave trade by publishing his "Réflexions sur l'esclave des nègres" (1784). Likewise, the Abbé Raynal, the Abbé Grégoire, Vincent Ogé, and various members of the Société des amis des noirs published numerous works condemning slavery and sometimes even advocating in favor of equal rights for men of all races.[182] Philosophers, however, were not alone in speaking out against slavery and the slave trade: writers of fiction also joined in the discussion. As will become clear, eighteenth-century

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[181] All articles available on-line via the ARTFL project.

[182] Abbé Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique et politique, des établissemens et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1773); Abbé Grégoire, *L'Esclavage des nègres aboli ou moyens d'améliorer leur sort* (Paris : Chez Froullé, 1789); *Mémoire en faveur des gens de couleur ou sang-mêlés de St.-Domingue, et des autres Iles françoises de l'Amérique, adressé à l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris: Chez Bellin, 1789). Lynn Hunt provides translation of excerpts of these and other Revolutionary-era texts relating to the status of free blacks and slaves in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), 101-118. In these texts, women writers go largely unmentioned.

fictional portrayals of slaves, slavery, and the slave trade differ from those of their philosophical counterparts.

As mentioned earlier, British anti-slavery efforts began earlier than their French equivalents. It is, therefore, not surprising that one of the first abolitionist texts to influence French readers was imported from Great Britiain. Aphra Behn (1640-1689) published *Oronooko: or, The Royal Slave. A True Story* in 1688. In 1745, it was translated into French as *Oronoko, traduit de l'anglois* by Pierre-Antoine de la Place. It proved to be a lasting success. It was republished as a novel several times and even converted into a play for the stage.[183] When published in its initial French translation, the translator adapted it for a French audience, giving it "un habit Français" (p. viii) rather than restricting himself to a scrupulous, literal translation of Behn's original text. The translation is distinctly sentimental in nature.

Oronoko begins with a portrait of African society, focusing in particular on the economic rapport established between Africa and Europe. Oronoko is the son of a king; his lover Imoinda is sold into slavery by his powerful father. A short time later, Oronoko himself is kidnapped by Spanish traders and sold into slavery. In New World Surinam, he is reunited with and marries Imoinda, but she is desired by a rich white colonist, and the two are once again separated. Oronoko becomes a revolutionary leader, but his revolt fails. He becomes angry and vengeful, but in the end justice wins out, and he is again reunited with Imoinda and their recently-born

[183] In 1769, the published edition of *Oronoko* contained erotic engravings. In 1751, it was performed as written by du Bocage (*Dictionnaire portative historique et littéraire des théatres, contenant l'origine des différens théatres de Paris* by M. de Léris (Paris: Chez C.A. Jombert, 1763). Later, in 1768, Laus de Boissy wrote another version of Behn's story for the stage *Oronoko, ou le Prince règne*. Both of these texts can be accessed via the Bibliothèque Nationale Française's *Gallica*. There are doubtless many other versions, but it is beyond the purview of this paper to execute a detailed study of the theatrical manifestations of Behn's text.

child. The three are granted their freedom by the colonial governor and sent back to Africa where Oronoko's father abdicates his throne, leaving leadership of the country to his son.

The principal characters in *Oronoko* are individuals of feeling and the text is one of the first to treat blacks in a positive light, making it part of the avant-garde of the antislavery movement in both the British and the French contexts. The French adaptation of Behn's text, however, does not offer a comprehensive critique of slavery or the slave trade; rather, because parts of it were revised and edited to suit French readers, it is made to seem as though some individuals are rightfully enslaved.

When translated into French in 1748 (just three years after Richardson's publication of *Clarissa*, the sentimental novel par excellence), *Oronoko* provides something of a model for later French novelists dealing with slavery. The novel observes many French sentimental conventions; however, the novel's focus on slavery requires certain modifications. For example, like other conventional works of French sentimentalism, *Oronoko*'s plot hinges on a double bind, which is to say the main character is torn between serving the self and serving the society in which he or she exists. Usually the choices split along two axes: on the one hand, the protagonist feels required to do as society bids him/her; on the other hand, he or she feels compelled to follow his or her heart, heeding an inner calling that serves his or her own best interests but may be at odds with social constraints.[184] In the model for abolitionist sentimentalism provided by the translation of Behn's *Oronoko*, a new kind of double bind is created because the protagonist exists as two individuals in two distinctly different worlds. The main character is born Oronoko, an African prince, but becomes César when enslaved. Slavery adds another layer to his identity.

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[184] Cohen describes this version of the double bind by calling it a conflict between the *coeur* and the *code*. See her chapter on Sand's socially engaged fiction in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 119-162.

He is at once both Oronoko and César and as such experiences more of a triple, rather than double, bind. He must choose between what is best for him as an individual and what two different social structures demand of him. As a slave he is under pressure to act according to the newly imposed structure of a white colonial regime; as African royalty, he is expected to take up a position of leadership in a slave resistance movement. Both of these demands potentially conflict with his own personal desire to pursue his love interest, Imoinda.

The additional stresses that accost racially-marked characters like Oronoko lead to another necessary modification of conventional sentimentalism. Typical sentimental protagonists are idealized and ethically driven. This holds true for Oronoko and many other main characters in abolitionist fiction. However, because these individuals are pushed to even greater extremes, they more often choose to react with a desire for vengeance and even an inclination for violence, two traits that are usually associated with antagonistic characters in conventional sentimentalism. However, rather than reflecting negatively on the individual, vengeful and violent actions taken by characters like Oronoko are often explained away by narrators as an inevitable result of the institution of slavery which distorts and deforms even the most upright and moral of individuals.

To offer a final example of *Oronoko*'s departure from the sentimental norm, let us look at the role of the female protagonist. In many sentimental novels, the central and privileged character is female, and the plot revolves around the determination of this woman's destiny. In *Oronoko*, it is as much a question of Oronoko's destiny as of Imoinda's. Indeed, this seems to be the norm in abolitionist sentimentalism. Male protagonists are as common as female. This could be because the uprooted, disenfranchised, oppressed black subject in the colonies occupies an equally unfortunate position as a female character in the conventional sentimental novel's

vaguely European setting; both genders have the possibility of facing equal amounts of terrible suffering and appealing to the sympathies of sensitive readers.[185]

French authors like Jean-François de Saint-Lambert (1716-1803) write works of fiction that call the attention of French readers to the evils of slavery and follow the model for abolitionist sentimentalism set forth by *Oronoko*.[186] Saint-Lambert's short fiction *Ziméo* (1769) is a particularly good example. It is narrated by George Filmer, an Englishman, and takes place in Jamaica. Ziméo, a slave who flees his British owner, is shown to be a man of feeling whose unjust suffering pushed him to seek vengeance on the race that took from him his tutor, his wife, and his unborn son. Once he has again found these beloved individuals, his lust for vengeance subsides. Although it lacks a comprehensive critique of slavery, the text takes care to establish the fundamental humanity of black individuals based on their *sensibilité* or capacity for feeling.

Saint-Lambert's short story is like a French version of *Oronoko*.[187] The two texts display significant similarities, but they are also distinctly different. Not only does Saint-Lambert choose to limit the role of the female protagonist (unlike Behn, he doesn't give her the opportunity to speak for herself at length), he also takes a different stance on slavery as an institution. Saint-Lambert clearly advocates for reform, but not necessarily abolition, of both. He demonstrates the existence of two different forms of slavery: one profitable but abusive (slaves are overworked and treated as animals), the other economically viable and humanely

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[185] See, for example, *Indiana* (1832), wherein George Sand openly equates woman's place in the institution of marriage to slavery.

[186] For alternative or more-detailed readings of *Ziméo*, see Christopher Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, MaD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); and Dobie, *Trading Places: Colonization and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century French Culture*.

[187] In G. Touchard-LaFosse, *Chroniques de l'œil-de-bœuf*, Lambert's novel is viewed as an obvious imitation of *Oronoko* (7th Series, Paris: Georges Barba, 1864), 28.

justifiable (slaves work reasonable hours and, after ten years of diligent labor and good behavior, are granted freedom). At the end of Ziméo's story, the now-slaves desire to remain enslaved so as to maintain contact with their virtuous masters (who practice slavery in the second of the two ways discussed above). Later writers would go even further than Saint-Lambert to denounce slavery and the slave trade.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814) also depicted slavery in his fiction. In 1788, he published his best-known novel, *Paul et Virginie*. Several slaves appear in the novel, most notably Marie, Domingue, and an unnamed pitiful runaway. Although these slaves are portrayed positively, the institution of slavery is not actively denounced: Virginie returns the runaway to her abusive master, and Marie and Domingue remain dutiful slaves to their respective mistresses until their deaths. These slaves are often portrayed as imitating the emotional reactions of the novel's white characters. However, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre also wrote a less-famous play, published posthumously, *Empsaël et Zoraïde, ou les Blancs esclaves des Noirs à Maroc,* in which slaves and the institution of slavery figure as primary figures in the fiction. [188] In this play, Saint-Pierre makes a clear argument against slavery. He also repeatedly underscores the fundamental humanity of black characters and makes an obvious case for racial equality.[189] The play's French characters, especially the female protagonist Zoraïde, demonstrate great sensibility

[188] In his discussion of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's play, Little points out that many other works were published during this time period that featured black characters. Some were even daring, libertine texts that have as yet received little critical notice. See for example, *Le Diable au corps* (1786) and *Hortense ou la jolie courtisane* (1796) by Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur (1757-1810). While discussion of these works is beyond the scope of this study, they are valuable literary artifacts, especially in so far as they contain interesting manifestations of abolitionist or pro-slavery discourses of their time.

[189] Both this and the next work discussed in my thesis (*Zamore et Mirza* by Olympe de Gouges) are works of theatre, not narrative prose sentimental fiction. Generic conventions might account for certain differences between these works and others discussed here; however, both are, in my opinion, examples of "sentimental" fiction and therefore worthy of inclusion in this discussion.

from the outset; however, the titular character, Empsaël, a former slave, is initially a brute, unsophisticated and unfeeling. His sensibility is shaped and developed as the play unfolds, with the help of civilizing Frenchness: his French wife Zoraïde helps him learn to control his feelings and cultivate his sympathy. As a complex, evolving character, neither wholly evil nor good, Empsaël represents a significant step toward effective literary humanization of black characters. Problematically, though, Saint-Pierre's text implies that European influence is a necessary element in the process of African humanization and civilization.

French women writers played an important role in the development of abolitionist sentimental fiction. Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793), for example, published the dramatic piece *Zamore et Mirza, ou l'Heureux Naufrage* (1788). Its postscript, "Réflexions sur les hommes nègres," leaves little doubt as to Gouge's opposition to slavery. The play itself, however, offers more ambiguous interpretations. For example, the play takes place in "les Indes," not in the Carribean colonies where slavery was a key element in economic profits, and the slaves are "indiens" not explicitly *noir* or part of the Atlantic slave trade system. Due to this setting, Gouges's critique of the institution of slavery is displaced and does not specifically target French manifestations of the system. Furthermore, although offered freedom, as in Saint-Pierre's play discussed above, both Zamore and Mirza willingly choose to remain slaves at the end of the play, thereby calling into doubt the supposedly comprehensive evil of the institution of slavery.

In 1792, Gouges reworked the play, giving it a new subtitle, "*ou l'Esclavage des Noirs*," and thereby endowing it with clearer abolitionist intent.[190] In both versions of the play, Gouges

[190] The second, revised version is set more ambiguously, not specifically in the East Indies. The characters of this version are described as being of African origin, although still labeled initially as "*indien*." Even with these modifications, any strong anti-slavery message communicated in Gouge's meta-text is complicated by the conclusion of the play which results in the indefinite

certainly meant to inspire French readers to feel pity for the plight of the enslaved characters she depicted, but more importantly, she also demonstrated that such characters were capable of *feeling*. By endowing them with *sensibilité* that is akin to that which is demonstrated by the enlightened French characters they encounter, Gouges strengthens her argument against slavery, even if this critique is somewhat tempered within the context of the fiction by the continued enslavement of her protagonists. As Gouges herself explains, she did not seek to incite revolt by publishing this fiction, rather she meant to criticize the cruel realities of slavery and advocate systemic reform and eventual abolition in such a way as to ensure the continued economic viability of colonial enterprises.

As I hope to have made clear in my discussion of *Oronoko, Ziméo, Empsaël and Zoraïde,* and *Zamore et Mirza*, economic preoccupations play a significant role in sentimental fiction that deals with race and slavery. All of the authors describe the economic profitability of New World colonies, and all of them admit that slavery played a significant role in achieving such success. When these works advocate for abolition of slavery and the slave trade, they are careful to find solutions that will not harm or endanger these economic successes. Thus, Saint-Lambert advocates a certain form of slavery and Gouges is hesitant to abolish slavery all at once.

Whether written by men or women, both philosophical and literary descriptions of slavery in anti-slavery texts of the eighteenth-century focus on showing that the potential economic benefits of slavery are mediated by a myriad of negative social and moral consequences for both white and black individuals. Whereas philosophical accounts tended to focus on the *physical suffering* of black individuals, usually slaves, in order to produce a sympathetic response in French readers, fictional portrayals of race were far more apt to

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delay in freedom for her fictional protagonists and their evident contentment with such a situation.

demonstrate the sentiments, affective experiences, and sensibility of black characters while simultaneously appealing to the readers' sympathy.

From 1799 to 1815, abolitionist and anti-slavery literature experienced a significant decline as a result of repressive Napoleonic government policies. During the Restoration period (1815-1830), however, anti-slavery texts again proliferated, most likely due to the reduction in censorship. The 1820s, in particular, were a fruitful period for writers opposed to slavery.[191] For instance, a young Victor Hugo (1802-1885) published the first version of his short story *Bug Jargal*, inspired by the events of the slave revolts in the colonies, in 1820. This initial edition clearly demonstrates the author's opposition to slavery and the slave trade. However, as republished in 1826, it is considerably modified and obviously less expressive of Hugo's personal political views. In this later, less sentimental version, slavery is not forcefully questioned within the colonial context. Furthermore, although the title character, a black slave, is shown to be a man of feeling, he is also depicted as inferior to the French narrator, d'Auverney, and not necessarily representative of other members of his race who are at times just as villainized as Bug Jargal is exalted.[192]

Bug Jargal is quite different from the works of the nineteenth-century women writers examined in this study. Perhaps authorial gender has something to do with the difference. It is possible that, as a male author, Hugo focused more on depicting the perpetration of violence and gruesome acts than would have been seemly for a woman author of the time. It is also possible

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[191] In 1823, for example, the Académie française recognized the public's growing interest in matters related to slavery and proposed the abolition of the slave trade as a subject for its competition. The prize was won by Victor Chauvet for a poem entitled "Néali, histoire africaine."

[192] Timothy Raser, "Victor Hugo's Politics and Aesthetics of Race in *Bug Jargal*," *Romantic Review* 89, No. 3 (1998), 307-320.

that nineteenth-century norms allowed male authors to write more freely, pursuing a particular literary aesthetic, with or without a moral or political agenda, whereas women authors were forced to take a moral, and sometimes political, stand on issues like slavery in order to justify their boldness in transgressing gender norms by taking up the pen. As Christine Planté puts it, "writing about moral and social issues was acceptable for women at the time. Such writing deflected attention away from the act of writing itself and enabled women to exercise moral agency in ways that were not threatening to the hegemonic control that male writers possessed."[193] For whatever reason, women authors were active participants in the debates on race and slavery that raged during the 1810s and 1820s. They were especially vocal through literary print media, most notably, perhaps, as authors of sentimental novels and short stories.

Today, Claire de Duras (1779-1828) has acquired a degree of renown for her short story *Ourika*, published during the Restoration period. During her own time, she was a relatively well-known woman author as evidenced by her appearance in biographical and bibliographical reviews of the early nineteenth-century. *Ourika* and another novel, *Edouard* (1825), receive considerable attention in Eusèbe Girault de Saint-Forgeau's *Revue des romans* (1839) and in René Kerviler's *Répertoire general de bio-bibliographie bretonne* (1808). Although she and her works fell into disregard by the mid-nineteenth century, today she is recognized for important literary contributions.

Duras's political attitudes toward slavery and the slave trade take center stage in *Ourika*. This short story is initially framed by the narration of a white male figure, but eventually Ourika's tale is recounted in her own voice. She is one of the first black female narrators in French literature. In fact, to my knowledge, only the imported Imoinda (in Aphra Behn's

[193] Cited in Kadish, "'Sarah' and Antislavery," 95.

Oronoko) precedes her. Whereas Imoinda concentrates on relating a series of actions, Ourika focuses on explaining her own mental, emotional, or psychological state. Without questions the latter *narratrice* possesses greater emotional and psychological depth. Her first-person narrative requires the reader, presumably white, to place him- or herself in the position of a character that is not just marginalized in society, but completely without an ascribed place. Such proximity between the narrator and reader can only serve to ease the establishment of an affective rapport between the two. As Ourika feels, so does the reader; her existence as a sympathetic being is incontestable.[194]

Little in Ourika's story points directly to a call for abolition, and there are few statements that explicitly paint the institution in a negative light. While Ourika often says she was "saved" from slavery, only once is the institution described as a whole as full of vice (44). Although there may be some resonance between Ourika's bond with Mme de B. and the relationship between a mistress and a slave, Ourika is not a slave. She does not even occupy the place of a servant. In fact, once she becomes bitterly conscious of the fact that Charles, Mme de B.'s grandson, is oblivious to her affections and will marry another woman, Ourika envisions the life of a slave in an almost glorified way: as a slave, she would have been able to find love, marry, have children and feel like part of a community (38). This happy day dream is contradicted by other descriptions of colonial slaves as "une race proscrite" and "une race de barbares et d'assassins" (20). That they are rebelling against the injustices of enslavement is never made clear, and the system of slavery is not excessively questioned. Thus, *Ourika* turns out to be

[194] I envision Ourika's relationship with the reader in much the same was as Lynn Hunt explains Pamela's relationship with the reader: "No narrator, indeed no quotation marks, stand between us and Pamela herself. We cannot help but identify with Pamela." Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, 43.

complicit with colonial insistence that slavery was unquestionably necessary to the economic functioning of the system. This stance is perhaps not all that surprising given Duras's own colonial background and Creole inheritance.[195] However, it does place the novella firmly within the eighteenth-century tradition of the anti-slavery sentimental narrative.

Like the narratives of Gouges, Saint-Lambert, and others of the eighteenth century, *Ourika* is not lacking in humanitarian aims. In fact, Duras goes considerably beyond the examples of her predecessors. By endowing a racially marked individual like Ourika with reason and emotion and demonstrating the presence of both through the character's own words, Duras humanizes black people in ways that had not been adopted by most abolitionists of her time. *Ourika* intensifies the effort evident in Gouge's and Hugo's works to demonstrate the capacity for feeling in black characters. In fact, Ourika's sensibility goes beyond extraordinary and becomes excessive and therefore dangerous. Her feelings must be managed, but because they are treated too late, they lead to Ourika's tragic death. As her doctor explains: "Je la rassurai, je lui donnai des espérances de guérison prochaine, mais en prononçant ces paroles consolantes, en lui promettant la vie, je ne sais quel triste pressentiment m'avertissait qu'il était trop tard et que la mort avait marqué sa victime" (5).

New Perspectives on Race: Gabrielle Paban's *Le Nègre et la Créole*

Paban's *Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D***,* first published in 1825, offers a particularly interesting account of French and colonial ideas of race by depicting a mind in conflict, torn between incompatible notions. The work had been more or less forgotten until

[195] Heather Brady, "Recovering Claire de Duras's Creole Inheritance: Race and Gender in the Exile Correspondence of Her Saint-Domingue Family," *L'Esprit Créateur* 47, no. 4 (2007), 44-56. Brady's discussion of the "Bonds of Affection between Mistress and Slave" is especially pertinent to the discussion of *Ourika* here.

republished in 2008 as part of the Autrement Mêmes collection, a series designed to offer readers texts that represent neglected post-colonial discourses concerning people of color or individuals otherwise labeled as "other."[196] *Le Nègre et la Créole* is presented as the memoirs of a young creole woman, Eulalie D***. Given the popularity of fictional memoirs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, authors of anti-slavery or abolitionist sentimental fiction commonly used this form or some other version of a first-person narrative. Indeed, as we have already seen both *Oronoko* and later *Ourika* are presented as the first-hand accounts. Paban clearly draws upon both of these texts, in addition to others, in her construction of *Le Nègre et la Créole*, but she never mentions *Oronoko*. She does, however, refer directly to Duras's *Ourika* in her introduction to Eulalie's memoirs, citing it as her motivation for publishing her own work:

> C'est la publication de la touchante histoire d'Ourika qui me décide à mettre au jour les aventures d'Eulalie D***: le sort de cette jeune créole semble fait pour contraster avec celui de l'intéressante négresse ; et pourtant leurs malheurs ont entre eux un point de ressemblance bien frappant, puisqu'ils sont dus à la même cause, c'est-à-dire à leur déplacement dans l'ordre social. (3)

The contrast to which Paban refers is, in fact, more of an inversion. Paban's narrator is a young white woman, born to a colonial family established on Saint-Domingue and subsequently raised among a tribe of Africans in Bénin. The story's secondary characters Maky and Zambo, Eulalie's surrogate mother and adopted brother, are both former slaves to Eulalie's father.

Paban's fiction, published in the early-nineteenth century, is clearly an example of sentimental abolitionist fiction. Echoing David Denby's general formula of sentimental fiction,

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[196] As mentioned in a previous note, Sophie Doin's works *La Famille noire* and three of her short stories were republished as part of the same collection in 2002, presented by Doris Kadish.

her "text, read and wept over, is to be the site of a community of like minds drawn together by their common reaction to a common scene."[197] Many of the authors discussed above, like Paban, injected the issue of slavery into a fundamentally sentimental formula in order to evoke deep feelings of sympathy and compassion for racially marked individuals forced into slavery. They consciously appealed to the refined moral sensibilities of contemporary French readers by portraying the fictional misfortunes and suffering of enslaved and oppressed racially-marked characters, usually of African origin. Moreover, they highlighted the fundamental humanity of these characters along with their capacity for deep feeling and their status as sensitive souls.[198] Such depictions were meant to produce a chain reaction whereby the reader, witness to the slaves' suffering, would sympathize with black characters, recognize their undeniable humanity, and finally come to accept their essential human equality with white Europeans.

To summarize the text quickly: it is written as a fictional memoir. Its author, Eulalie, is born (around 1786) to a wealthy family of plantation owners in the French colony of Saint-Domingue. She is the youngest of three children and the only daughter. Her mother dies when she is very young, having ordered her slave, Maky, to watch over her daughter. Maky is from the kingdom of Bénin. She and her infant son, Zambo (who is the titular *Nègre*), were sold into slavery and purchased by Eulalie's father. Maky loves Eulalie like a daughter, and Zambo is like a brother to his young mistress. In 1791, the slaves of Saint-Domingue rebel. During the chaos that ensues, Eulalie is separated from her family. Maky rescues her young charge but cannot

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[197] Denby, *Sentimental Narrative and the Social Order in France*, 80.

[198] These depictions served to champion the abolitionist cause through demonstration of the basic shared humanity of individuals across racial and cultural lines. The work done by authors such as Paban was not small. Rather, they "played a major role in focusing attention on colonial black subjects, with the aim of effecting change in consciousness and in society. Mary Jane Cowles, "The Subjectivity of the Colonial Subject from Olympe de Gouges to Mme de Duras," *L'Esprit Créateur* 47, no. 4 (2007), 29.

reunite her with her parents. Instead, she takes Eulalie and Zambo with her into a camp of former slaves that have decided to return to Africa. They board a vessel and sail to the coast of Guinée and from there make their way to Bénin, where Maky is reunited with Orombo, her husband and Zambo's father, after nine years of separation. Oromobo allows Eulalie to live with his family. Eulalie observes the world around her and is faced with the task of trying to integrate into a new society, a task made difficult by her difference in physical appearance. As she matures, her whiteness becomes more and more of a problem. She refuses her suitors, believing marriage with a black man to be against the laws of nature. However, an African king learns of Eulalie and demands to marry her. Rather than submit to his command, Eulalie appeals to Maky and Zambo. The three flee their village. They do not get far, however, as they are captured by slavers. Maky and Zambo are again chained as slaves, and Eulalie once again finds herself amongst Europeans. On the journey back to the colonies, Eulalie is separated from her adoptive family. She periodically sees both and is distressed to see Zambo beaten for acts of rebellion. When the ship docks in Puerto Rico in 1805, Eulalie meets a priest named Félix, who becomes her tutor and protector. He reunites her with Maky, but discovers Zambo has fallen ill or perhaps died of his wounds. Inconsolable, Maky dies. Félix continues his search for Eulalie's family. He believes them to have returned to France and takes Eulalie there. They arrive in Paris in 1808 and Eulalie stays in a boarding school until Félix finds her brothers. One brother refuses to recognize her, the other takes her in. They move to Martinique together where Eulalie hears rumors of a rebel slave matching Zambo's description. She sees him executed for his crimes and recognizes him to be her adoptive brother. She becomes delirious and dies shortly thereafter.

Eulalie writes as a sort of proto-anthropologist who lives among the members of an African tribe in Bénin and describes their way of life and culture in some detail. In doing so, she

makes a series of conjectures about the ways in which Africans think and psychologically structure the world around them. Influenced by her own first-hand observations of forced labor in the colonies and everyday life in Africa, she arrives at a firm belief in the fundamental humanity of African people. She wants desperately to translate this belief into an acceptance of human equality regardless of race; however, she cannot completely escape her own deeply ingrained beliefs in both French cultural superiority and African racial inferiority. Her mind struggles at length with these conflicting notions, and her memoirs document her intellectual progress away from received notions and toward a deeper acceptance of the idea of human equality.

Eulalie is three times an outsider: she is at once and yet never completely French, Créole, and African. She is born in Saint-Domingue and raised in the country of Bénin. Her biological mother is French, her birth father is a colonist, and her adopted mother and family are African. She often feels out of place in the world and ultimately finds it impossible to fully integrate herself into any one of these societies. There is always some aspect of her identity (her racial difference, her unique life experiences, her opinions regarding racial equality) that stands in the way of complete and comfortable integration and acceptance. She is, perhaps, the ultimate "stranger," a commonplace figure in French novels since the eighteenth century.[199] As such, she is able to offer insight into each of these cultures and some of their views on race. More importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, her memoirs are a fictional exploration of the ways in which a mind influenced by such diverse experiences perceives of and reacts to issues of

[199] In texts like Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) and Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747), for example, a foreigner or cultural outsider becomes "a figure of ambiguity to critique society." Sylvie Romanowski, *Through Strangers' Eyes: Fictional Foreigners in Old Regime France* (Purdue University Press, 2005), 186.

race. Her perceptions are complex and her reactions often ambiguous as she attempts to arrive at understanding of racial difference and its meaning in her world.

In Bénin, Eulalie becomes a participant-observer of African culture. In writing her memoirs, she undertakes a project similar to the work of an early version of an ethnographer or anthropologist. She records what she saw and experienced, documenting African culture, while also describing how her she herself was transformed by her circumstances.[200] Living in Bénin and immersed in African culture, Eulalie begins to separate herself from her Creole past: "Là, je perdis tout souvenir de ma famille et de mon pays; et, suivant l'insouciante facilité de mon âge, je m'accoutumai bientôt à vivre sous le ciel brûlant de l'Afrique, et à connaître des usages qui me devinrent aussi naturels qu'aux habitants de ces climats" (22). She forgets her family and her earliest home, adapts to a new climate, and becomes accustomed to a new, distinctly African way of life.

The initial chapter recounting Eulalie's life in Africa focuses heavily on describing the physical setting (especially climate), economic and governmental structures, language and music, and social and even religious practices, including war and polygamous marriage. She presents African society as primitive, a culture wherein "la civilisation n'a point fait encore de progrès sensibles" (27). Eulalie, however, insists that she only recognized the relatively crude and unsophisticated nature of African culture upon later reflection. When she was transported into Africa as a young child, "Aucun de ces usages ne me semblait bizarre, car je n'avais point de souvenir d'autres qui fussent différents" (32). As an adult looking back, she defends African culture, insisting, "J'ai remarqué chez les gens les plus raisonnables des idées singulières, sur les

[200] Paban herself likely did not travel to Africa to witness first-hand the culture she writes about. Instead, she utilized written accounts to construct the fictional memoirs of Eulalie. She documents these sources in a lengthy section of *Notes* appended to the novel. We will return to a discussion of these sources in the Conclusion to this thesis.

pays que j'ai habités. On se figure trop vulgairement les peuples de l'Afrique comme des hordes errantes, n'ayant ni lois ni usages suivis, se nourrissant de fruits sauvages et dormant à l'ombre des rochers ou dans des sables déserts." (207). The Africans she describes do not lead an animal existence; rather, they are socially organized and demonstrate a wide range of complex emotional reactions. One goal of Eulalie's account, then, is to provide documentation to the European reader which will correct over-simplified views of African cultures and their participants.

Eulalie is not, however, altogether unbiased. No matter how hard she tries, she cannot fully escape racial stereotypes and prejudices inculcated in her when she was a child. For example, she speaks of the African face as "repoussante" (24), echoing longstanding opinions like those expressed by Formey in his article "Nègre" in the Encyclopédie.[201] Moreover, she refers to their supposedly natural indolence: "Les naturels de Bénin, comme tous les peuples noirs, ont l'esprit indolent et paresseux" (25). This echoes many of the "racial stereotypes [that] became entrenched in public discourse in France during the second half of the eighteenth century."[202] Even while articulating these essentialist and prejudiced views, Eulalie maintains that she sees the black people with whom she was raised as her equals: "tous les enfants de Dieu étaient mes égaux" (13). Still, as she grows older, she increasingly explores the ways in which she is different from the people around her.

Initially, she remarks her relative weakness or "faiblesse" (29) which seems to be accompanied by an overall personality difference, a "tempérament plus délicat" (29). Her

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[201] Formey describes Africa's "habitants noirs" as having "des nez larges & plats de grosses lèvres, & de la laine au lieu de cheveux." He later refers to these traits as a "laideur" that persists among all African peoples, though variations in darkness of skin color occur. Formey, *Encyclopédie, dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 11:76-79.

[202] Peabody, *"There are no Slaves in France,"* 68.

dissimilarity seems to develop out of both physical and emotional differences. An episode that clearly illustrates this takes place when she is ten years old. She attends a king's formal funeral ceremony and describes it at length, initially maintaining a relatively unbiased tone. However, near the conclusion of the ceremony, she witnesses something shocking:

> Je vis bientôt avec étonnement descendre dans la même fosse deux des plus belles et des plus jeunes femmes du roi, magnifiquement parées, quelques-uns de ses officiers et plusieurs de ses esclaves. Lorsqu'ils se furent tous placés autour de leur maître, on se mit de toutes parts à rejeter dans la fosse la terre qui avait été retirée sur les bords ; cette terre tomba sur le roi mort et sur ses compagnons vivants, les couvrit bientôt sans qu'ils poussassent un seul gémissement, les déroba à la vue, et s'amoncela en si grande quantité qu'elle forma une éminence sur laquelle on éleva à l'instant même une espèce de monument qui servit à désigner la place du tombeau. (35-36)

Eulalie's reaction to this spectacle is a turning point in her life. At first, she is stupefied and watches "sans pouvoir comprendre" (36). Then, she feels "une terreur que je n'osais témoigner" (36). She becomes paralyzed: "je n'entendis plus ce qu'on me disait, je devins muette, je ne pouvais détourner ma vue" (36). When her faculties return, she begins to ask questions of other spectators, trying to understand why such horrors are happening. She finds none of the responses to her questions satisfying. Moreover, she notices that she is alone in reacting strongly to what she sees: "Mes jeunes compagnons n'avaient témoigné ni étonnement ni effroi de ces cruelles scènes" (36). At the end the journal entry, it dawns on her: "Je commençais à sentir que le sang africain ne circulait pas dans mes veines" (37). In the very next entry, she explains her growing sense of difference: "J'étais née avec des idées que le manque total d'éducation

n'étouffa point. Une Française m'avait donné la vie, et rien ne pouvait éteindre cette délicatesse de sentiment innée en moi" (41).

In short, Eulalie begins here to associate herself with her biological mother, whom she refers to consistently as French. In her mind, her mother becomes the embodiment of French ideals, chief amongst them sensibility and delicacy. Once she chooses to adopt this identity, her place in African society begins to change and, as is evident above, eventually becomes untenable. Her brother Zambo also develops many of the "French" traits of Eulalie. Like her, he begins to react negatively to certain customs: "l'humanité nous inspirait l'aversion de certains usages, et sans savoir qu'il pût en exister d'autres, nous gémissions" (41).

Soon other African villagers begin to question Eulalie's place in their community. Rising tensions come to a head as a result of Eulalie's racial difference and the ascription of meaning to it. Eulalie for some time had been aware that locals referred to her as "*le bon petit démon*" (29). Eventually, she begins to explore the rationale behind such an appellation. She attempts to explain African views on racial difference by explaining the fundamental principles of religion in Bénin:

> Dieu fit, en créant le monde, des hommes noirs à son image et d'autres hommes imparfaits qui restèrent blancs. Les noirs étaient ses créatures favorites et les objets de sa complaisance. Lorsqu'il eut achevé l'ouvrage de la création, il fit venir devant lui les noirs et les blancs, et leur dit : Voici des biens de deux espèces ; de l'or d'un côté, et de l'autre le talent de lire et d'écrire : choisissez. Le diable, qui était blanc, voulut nuire aux nègres. Il leur inspira de prendre l'or, et conseilla aux créatures de sa couleur de prendre les connaissances. C'est ce qui eut lieu. Les nègres se jetèrent avidement sur les richesses. Dieu fut fâché de voir que ses créatures favorites eussent fait un aussi mauvais

> choix, et pour les punir, il donna aux blancs la supériorité en ce monde ; mais dans l'autre les noirs doivent être les premiers. (30-31)

Eulalie gives no source for this myth-like tale, nor does Paban. Neither ventures to give any detailed analysis or explanation of it either. The excerpt, however, is full of interesting ideas. For one, it associates greed not with Europeans and their colonial impulses but with the native peoples of Africa. It also provides a framework that describes the black race as a divine favorite, a race created in God's image, whereas the white race is flawed and incomplete, "[des] hommes imparfaits qui restèrent blancs." However, it also describes the black race as losing its place of favor due to the sin of avarice, inspired initially by a white devil. Thus, the myth describes in simplistic terms how Africans may have been subjected to the will of Europeans, perhaps justifying black slavery as a manifestation of the mythical power of the white race. In the context of the surrounding novel, the primary purpose of this myth, likely an invention of Paban's own imagination, is to explain both the roots of the power differential that exists between races and the reasons why the subjugated black race has not acted to overturn the system. Though white people on earth enjoy a position of superiority over their black counterparts, in the afterlife the black race will regain its position of favor with God. In the meantime, the myth justifies, in a peculiar way, the existence of slavery. In Paban's fictional world, members of the black race have been hesitant to rebel against the evils of slavery, believing it to be part of a divine punishment for the sins of their predecessors. The tale also provides Paban a way of positioning her titular character in a unique position. Eulalie is at once a pitiful victim and a creature of power.

Maky, Eulalie's adopted mother, underscores her belief in her adopted daughter's special place in the world: "les nègres ne peuvent se défendre d'aimer beaucoup et même vénérer les

femmes blanches" (33). One hopeful suitor further illuminates Eulalie's potential place of power and privilege in African society, telling her that: "les femmes de ta couleur sont dédaigneuses et fières, mais qu'elles savent se faire aimer bien plus que les nôtres. Elles commandent aux blancs eux-mêmes" (56). Such an explanation again underscores what is undoubtedly a persistent leitmotif in *Le Nègre et la Créole*: an unconcealed belief in the natural position of power occupied by members of the white race. In this, Paban follows the example of many enlightenment-era authors who regularly asserted white primacy and, according to Andrew Curran "assumed and explained the historical inevitability of European superiority."[203]

Indeed, in the fictional context of Eulalie's memoirs, Gabrielle de Paban seems to espouse an opinion that later authors also articulate. Claude Nordey, for example, describes black male desire to possess a white woman as an attempt "to elevate himself to the white man's level."[204] An elder in the tribe confirms this interpretation, telling Eulalie bluntly: "Tu as trop de pouvoir […] Il faut que tu deviennes, comme les autres femmes, dépendante de la volonté d'un homme, ou que tu t'éloignes de nous" (63). Eulalie is then faced with a decision, become something of a slave herself, bound to obey the "volontés des hommes" (45) to "recevoir de la part des hommes que des traitements durs et humiliants" (48) or leave Maky and Zambo. Eulalie chooses to leave, explaining: "Malgré la douleur que me causait mon départ, l'idée de rester à ce prix m'était cent fois plus odieuse. […] jamais je n'appartiendrai à un noir, je le jure par le Dieu de mes semblables ; c'est lui que me préservera de ce qui me fait horreur" (70).

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[203] Curran, "Anthropology," *The Cambridge Companion to the French Enlightenment*, ed. Daniel Brewer, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 29-45, citation 41. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139108959.

[204] *L'Homme de Couleur* (1939) quoted in Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, translated by Charles L. Markmann (Grove Press Inc, 1967; London: Pluto Press, 1986), 81. Online: http://monoskop.org/File:Fanon_Frantz_Black_Skin_White_Masks_1986.pdf

Not only does Eulalie find the idea of interracial marriage *odious*, a true *horror*, she also finds it contrary to nature itself. However, wanting to find a place for herself in the community she has learned to call her own, she eventually consents to marry her adopted brother, Zambo. Under these conditions, the elders are willing to allow her to remain in the community. However, obstacle after obstacle arises to impede the marriage and Eulalie falls victim to her earlier doubts regarding its appropriateness. First, she makes a religious objection, insisting that "il me semblait que le Dieu que j'avais appelé paraissait s'opposer à ce mariage" (103). Then, a *manitou* presents himself as an unlikely ally when he blames Eulalie and Zambo's approaching nuptials for the arrival of a lunar eclipse, clearly a bad omen, a sign of the gods' anger: "C'est cet homme, c'est cette femme qui sont cause de la colère du grand esprit. Il a maudit leur mariage; ils veulent le braver et ils attirent sur Bénin sa malveillance" (131). He calls the union of a black man and a white woman "un sacrilège horrible" (131) and threatens both of their lives. Eulalie prays to "le Dieu des chrétiens, Dieu des blancs" (131) to save her, and the moon reappears. Believing the eclipse to have been ended by this prayer, Eulalie and Zambo are spared. News of the feat spreads across the land, and a local king, Irroubo, demands Eulalie in marriage. To save her from being forced into this marriage, effectively sold into slavery to become "l'esclave d'un despote" (136), Maky and Zambo offer to help Eulalie flee Bénin and leave Africa. The ensuing journey brings Eulalie back into contact with members of her own race and opens her eyes and mind to conflicting European and colonial ways of thinking about racial difference.

Shortly after leaving Bénin, Eulalie, Maky and Zambo are kidnapped by black slavers and sold to English slavers en route to Puerto Rico. Eulalie is appalled at the slavers' ideas regarding racial difference and the ways in which they justify mistreatment of their unfortunate passengers. Eulalie, however, is not amongst the abused, for her appearance immediately

distinguishes her from the other captives. She is separated from them and, again acting as an observer, becomes even more aware of the barbarity of the slave trade: "ce que je voyais chaque jour, me faisait connaître l'horrible situation des malheureux nègres" (163). She describes the sailors' heartless mistreatment of their human cargo in detail, at one point even describing the brutal murder of an infant child, ripped from the arms of its mother (165). In the face of such unfeeling brutality, Eulalie feels deeply for her fellow travelers: "Ces horreurs révoltaient mon âme" (166). Seeing her anxiety, the ship's surgeon tries to explain to the young woman that the slaves aren't really human or worthy of her alarm. Eulalie explains his point of view: "Des nègres ne lui paraissant point des êtres raisonnables, il trouvait absurde que l'on s'en occupât lorsqu'on n'avait nul besoin de leurs services. Pour lui, son devoir était de les empêcher de mourir et de tâcher de leur conserver la santé. Hors de cela, il ne devait rien avoir de commun avec eux" (167). Eulalie sees that the slavers around her ignore the fundamental humanity of their captives. Instead they treat the soon-to-be slaves as cargo, valuable enough to be kept alive, but not really human. Eulalie, however, cannot identify with this point of view. Simply put, she cannot understand why she is treated any differently from anyone else on the ship, "Je ne comprenais pas cette différence, établie entre moi et mes malheureux compagnons: mon esprit ne la sentait nullement" (167). Having established an emotional rapport with her "malheureux compagnons," Eulalie feels sympathy for them, identifies with them, and remains confused by her own preferential treatment.

When the slave ship docks in Puerto Rico in 1805, Eulalie embarks on yet another voyage. She meets Père Félix R***, a man whose views on race and slavery contrast starkly with those of the sailors. His life experiences in some ways mirror Eulalie's: he, too, had spent time in Africa, grown to know and appreciate its people, and developed an acute aversion to the

system of slavery: “Il avait visité dans leur propre pays ces peuples malheureux que les enfants de l’Europe regardent comme leurs esclaves nés: son projet était d’adoucir leur misère et de faire entendre, s’il était possible, la voix de l’humanité au cœur de leurs maîtres” (193). He articulates a belief in racial equality grounded in Christianity, telling Eulalie that God “ne met point de différence entre les blancs et les noirs qui sont tous ses enfants chéris” (191) and affirming beliefs that Eulalie already holds dear. He furthermore echoes anti-slavery advocates like the Abbé Grégoire and comes to represent the enlightened and compassionate European who recognizes “l’inconvenance et l’inhumanité de ce cruel commerce qu’on appelle *la traite des nègres*” (225). The compassionate priest is thus an ideal abolitionist. He is also a figure of general moral goodness. He takes Eulalie under his wing, cares for her, and little by little facilitates her reentry into the white world.

Félix first helps Eulalie find refuge in the convent of Saint Claire where he oversees her education and becomes her confidant. She tells him everything, “l’histoire de ma famille, le nom de mon père et les détails de nos malheurs” (195). He makes inquiries on her behalf, discovers that her family members successfully escaped the violence of the slave revolts and have since established themselves in France. He urges Eulalie to seek them out and even helps make her way to Europe.

In 1808, Eulalie arrives in Paris and takes up residence in a convent while Félix seeks out whatever members of her family might remain. She is there a full year before he finds them. Only the youngest son, Henri, responds in her favor. He recognizes her as his sister and, in 1814, takes her with him to Martinique, back to the colonial world of their childhood. Eulalie has now come full circle, but not in any triumphant sort of homecoming. Even in her birthplace, Eulalie fails to find a true home. Instead, her life experiences and her ideas of racial equality

become a barrier between her and other colonists. She becomes overtly critical of the colonial mindset which, according to her, represses natural French sympathy and ignores core values like liberty and equality. From Martinique, she writes "la pitié que m'inspirent les malheureux noirs, élèvent contre moi des préventions défavorables. Ici, comme à Porto Rico, ou chez les créoles réfugiés à Paris, cette compassion sera toujours regardée comme une faiblesse, et si la source en était entièrement connue, on la jugerait criminelle" (214). Eulalie calls the "source" of her deep compassion for slaves "criminal." Here she can only be referring to her relationship with Zambo. It is with this statement that Eulalie finally admits to feeling more than fraternal love for her "brother." Brotherly love would not have been judged so harshly, but amorous love, and certainly a commitment to marry him, would have resulted in more than just a few raised eye brows.

Paban's criticism of colonial racial prejudice is biting. Through Eulalie, she insists that colonists "ne connaissent nullement les mœurs intérieures des nègres." (207) Colonial ignorance has for centuries justified the existence of the slave trade system. When Africans are perceived as "des hordes errantes" (207), it is easy for colonists to tell themselves that the subjugated position of slaves in the colonies is somehow kinder than their natural state of existence. However, slavery does nothing to improve the standard of living of its victims. Rather, it demeans them: "L'esclavage dégrade trop ces malheureux pour ne pas leur ôter toute idée de raisonnement, et ne pas les rendre stupides aux yeux de leurs maîtres" (207). It makes them appear to be less than human. Maintenance of the slave system serves to reinforce prejudice and make recognition of racial equality impossible. Colonial prejudice encourages an array of abhorrent practices that inevitably result in violent revolts, like those carried out in 1791 on

Saint-Domingue.[205] Despite these revolts: "la loi et les usages des colonies ne sont point changés. *Le Code noir* y est encore observé et suivi dans toutes ses parties" (226). Eulalie worries that colonial unwillingness to evolve will end badly. In short, she fears another violent uprising like the one she lived through as a child: "en vérité, je crois que l'on dort ici sur un volcan prêt à s'allumer. Comment l'expérience n'a-t-elle point changé la manière de voir des créoles, ni apporté la moindre nuance dans leurs mœurs ? je ne pouvais le croire, j'en suis certaine maintenant. Ils pensent et agissent toujours de même. Quel sera un jour le fruit de cette obstination ?" (215).

Eulalie's adopted brother Zambo turns out to be a prime example of the fruit of colonial stubbornness. Enslaved a second time, he becomes "un nègre digne de Saint-Domingue" (189), "un chef redoutable" (217), maybe even "un Dessalines ou un Toussaint Louverture" (217). Enraged by the injustices of slavery, he escapes bondage and leads his fellow slaves in revolt. His project, however, is unsuccessful, and he is captured and put to death for his efforts. Eulalie, present at his execution, recognizes her adopted brother and upon witnessing his brutal death falls into a stupor from which she will not recover.

Paban offers no easy solutions to the problem of slavery. Rather, she presents readers with a complex, dissatisfying reality. Eulalie's own mind constantly struggles with reconciling her thoughts on fundamental human equality with her ideas of racial difference. She reflects constantly on questions of race and humanity, and her character embodies the process of a mind

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[205] At the outset of the novel, Paban descibes the roots of the revolts thus:

> [L]es nègres de Saint-Domingue virent s'élever, au milieu de leur classe dégradée, des hommes qui se sentirent que la nature les avait doués des mêmes facultés que les blancs ; ils conçurent le projet de sortir d'esclavage et vinrent à bout de l'exécuter. Les nègres, révoltés avec autant d'audace que de bonheur, vengèrent sur les blancs les outrages faits à eux et à leurs pères. (Original emphasis, 15)

As in the abolitionist literature of Sophie Doin, blame for the violent rebellion of slaves in colonial properties falls squarely upon the shoulders of abusive white colonists and slave owners.

coming to grips with the problem of slavery and recognizing that for it to end, prejudices have to be eliminated. Throughout her memoirs, she highlights deep-seated prejudices that ultimately stand in the way of both the abolition of slavery and the ultimate realization of the Revolutionary ideals of liberty, fraternity, and equality. Through Eulalie, Paban calls for change in the minds of her readers and underscores the importance of spreading that change beyond the borders of continental France into colonial territories where racial prejudice is even more deeply ingrained and serves to uphold the slave system. This system, however, is not sustainable; it incites violent revolt and must be ended.

The foremost change Paban advocates is a change in colonial attitudes. False notions of racial difference and inequality must also be done away with. However, the process will not be easy as "les préjugés et l'erreur cèdent difficilement à la raison" (229). Even so, Paban clearly views progress toward the abolition of slavery as inevitable: "une conviction trop forte s'élève depuis longtemps au sein de la société, contre l'injustice du système d'esclavage" (229). Transformation must begin in the minds of colonists themselves. Only when the colonists recognize this inevitability will the colonies find peace and a chance to move forward in the world. Paban hoped to persuade reasonable readers to recognize the necessity of ending inhumane practices like slavery and the slave trade and perhaps even compel them to political action with that goal. Though not extraordinarily successful on its own, the novel was clearly part of a growing anti-slavery discourse and as such contributed to raising the French public's awareness of the evils of the slave system and thereby gaining support for a movement to abolish it. The depiction of family structures plays an important role in Paban's literary project. Unlike Ourika's benefactress who thinks of the child she was given as "like" a daughter, Maky adopts Eulalie. The two women and Zambo consider themselves to be part of the same family, not just

like family. Thus, the love of Maky and Zambo for Eulalie, which crosses racial lines, is of the utmost importance: it demonstrates their mutual equality and underscores their shared sensibilities and basic humanity. Zambo and Eulalie develop an especially close relationship based on shared feelings (41). Eulalie, while comfortable with a close familial relationship to Zambo, refuses to acknowledge the possibility that her feelings for him, or any other member of his race, could evolve into something more than fraternal love. Like Ourika, though for different reasons, Eulalie views such feelings as blameworthy and struggles against them. Zambo, on the other hand, does not understand Eulalie's attempts to suppress amorous feelings for him. Nonetheless, he is aware of Eulalie's feelings and does his best to respect them. Thus, he and his mother prove to possess an equal or greater capacity for sympathy than Ourika's French benefactors.

Eulalie's inability to understand or control her own emotions leads her to follow a path much like Ourika's which leads first to a convent, and then to solitary death. Although she cannot completely deny what she feels for Zambo, she doesn't understand it and, in the end, simply cannot accept the legitimacy of intimate or amorous feelings across racial lines. She slowly wastes away in solitude, obsessed with her own suffering. Zambo's free expression of his love for Eulalie and disregard for the need to regulate that passion results in similarly unhappy consequences. As we have seen, he is brutally executed for his crimes, and it is witnessing his death that seals Eulalie's sad fate. Such an ending may be designed to underscore the culpability of Eulalie's deep feelings for Zambo, or perhaps it represents a call for change in French perceptions of racial difference and miscegenation. It could also be read as a critique of the system of slavery which is responsible for perverting Zambo's sensibility and driving him to violence. The very ambiguity of the ending, however, makes Paban's text a more conservative

political effort than that put forth by Sophie Doin in her *Nouvelles blanches et noires.* Thus, Eulalie's story occupies a middle-ground somewhere between Duras's conservatism and the kind of liberalism evident in Sophie Doin's more militant abolitionism.[206]

Toward an Ideal: Sophie Doin's *La Famille noire* and *Les Nouvelles blanches et noires*

Sophie Mamy Doin (1800-1846) was born to a wealthy, bourgeois family and was early drawn to the charitable message of Protestant Christianity. Her experiences in a post-revolutionary world combined with factors linked to her religion and social class to make her a writer distinctly different from Gabrielle Paban. Even so, certain similarities between the two are obvious. Like Paban, Doin was not an exceptionally well-known or prolific writer, and she was not an overly prominent figure in the abolitionist movement. However, whereas Gabrielle Paban wrote only one lengthy work devoted to the exploration of issues or race, Sophie Doin repeatedly attacked the institution of slavery and social inequalities based on race. She wrote and published on her own and, as mentioned previously, through the journal *Le Christianisme*.[207]

In many of these works she calls overtly for abolition of the slave trade. Moreover, she advocates true and open recognition of the equality of all individuals regardless of race. She viewed her role as an author with great seriousness, believing it to be her duty to raise public awareness of the evils of slavery and make discussions of abolition easily accessible to ordinary

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[206] Paban's unwillingness to articulate extreme political views can be explained by analyzing the kind of author she seems to have been. Based on her publications, it is obvious that Paban wrote mostly to earn money by speaking to fad issues that interested readers. If this was indeed the case, it would explain why she did not take a more militant stand like Doin. Rather, she seems to have been profiting off the success of *Ourika* much like many other French authors, artists and actors of her time. She is not the only opportunistic abolitionist: Miller sees Olympe de Gouges in a similar light in his *The French Atlantic Triangle*, 111-112.

[207] She edited this journal from 1836 to 1838. Kadish, *Fathers, Daughters, and Slaves*, 136.

people: “il est necessaire de les éclairer tous : tel a été le but de mes efforts ; aucun ouvrage encore n’a fait connaître, à la masse de la nation, la véritable position des nègres; je le fais ici.”[208] Doin is specific about the breadth of her desired audience. She seeks to reach all classes and extend the reach of the abolitionist movement from an essentially elitist base to include all common people of both sexes.

Doin typically offers her readers an image, not of the complex reality of race relations, but of a utopian and idealized world in which slavery is ended and members of both black and white races not only verbally accept one another as equals but actively embody the ideal through interracial marriage. Though her works, like those of the other authors in this study, had fallen into disregard, recently, she has gained a certain amount of recognition among critics for her articulation of what are arguably some of the most extreme views on abolition and race articulated in nineteenth-century fiction.[209]

Her first publication, *La Famille noire, ou la Traite et l’esclavage* (1825), and two of the six short stories included in *Cornélie, nouvelle grecque, suivie de six nouvelles* (1826) are particularly interesting examples of Doin’s abolitionist writings. In each of these three texts, Doin seeks to instill in her readers “a feeling of horror for the slave trade” by presenting them with the suffering and misfortunes of African characters who are presented as “feeling, thinking human being endowed with the same moral and intellectual capacities as whites.”[210]

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[208] Kadish, *La Famille noire,* 6.

[209] Doris Kadish has been particularly active in this discussion. Several of her works have already been referenced and I will continue to refer to them below.

[210] Kadish, “Haiti and Abolitionism in 1825,” 108-130.

In her literary works, Doin is not concerned with the status of black people in France or even in Africa, but rather focuses on their exploitation and future existence in New World colonial contexts. The entirety of both *Noire et Blanc* and *Blanche et Noir* and two-thirds of *La Famille noire* take place in the western hemisphere. Doin envisions the new world as a place of great opportunity. Haiti, in particular, takes on acute symbolism, becoming a beacon of hope for the creation of a new, completely egalitarian society or a utopian culture. In the most extreme of Doin's texts, this new world even accepts interracial marriage.

In *La Famille noire,* a young African, Phénor, is kidnapped, enslaved, and transported to the New World. On his voyage to the colonies on a slave ship, he falls in love with another recently enslaved individual, Néala. They are initially sold to the same plantation owner and intend to be united in marriage, but their owner conceives "une passion brutale" (49) for Néala. When she resists his advances, he rapes her and chains Phénor to a tree to prevent him from intervening on her behalf. To protect themselves from this powerful man, they ask local missionaries to sanctify their marriage. Shortly thereafter, Néala bears Phénor a son. In a new twist of despotic caprice, the planter sells Néala and her son to a friend. Consumed by despair, Phénor decides his only remaining choice is death. He attempts to kill his master, hoping to die or, more precisely, to force his captors into action: "forcer ces persécuteurs à se défaire de lui" (54). But his plan is unsuccessful, and he is punished brutally.

A French missionary, Merville, witnesses Phénor's suffering. Desiring to see an end to the brutality of the slave system, Merville offers to buy Phénor. The planter agrees, and Merville takes Phénor away. He heals Phénor's physical body, converts him to Christianity, and helps him to find his wife and son, with the hopes of installing the whole family on the newly independent island nation of Haïti. They successfully locate Néala. Tragically, though, when

she tries to run to Phénor, her new master hits her over the head to prevent her escape, killing her. Phénor dies of despair holding his dead wife. Merville buys the child that remains of Néala and Phénor's union, takes him to Saint-Domingue, and raises and educates him there. Eventually, Merville feels compelled to return to France to defend "les droits des noirs" and to join in the abolitionist cause with "tant d'hommes respectables qui poursuivent de leur indignation un commerce infâme, un criminal esclavage" (67). He leaves his young charge in Haiti and charges him with a serious mission: "Toi, mon fils, suis ta noble carrière, honore toujours la république qui t'adopta, et la race dont tu es né, par tes vertus, tes talens, ta sagesse ; sois heureux ! mes plus tendres vœux te suivront pas à pas, et t'environneront sans cesse" (67-68). Merville encourages the young man's active participation in the political life of his adopted country, Haiti, but he promises to watch over the progress of man and country from afar. In short, he must leave so that the story's hero, a nameless black man, can assume his responsibilities as an independent leader and set about forging a future for the small country.

In a way, Merville claims Haitian success as a French accomplishment: he gives "l'enfant de l'Afrique," Phénor's unnamed son, "les trésors de l'éducation la plus suivie, la plus distinguée" (67), thereby ensuring that he is well-equipped to support the growth of Haiti as a society that will become "un phare immortel de salut et de liberté" (68). The growth of Haiti into a beacon of liberty paves a path toward not only reform but complete abolition of the slave system. In Doin's text, it also necessitates French withdrawal from the colonies, as symbolized by the departure of Merville. Adding this additional requirement is evidence of an extreme political position, requiring not just change but reparations that would potentially harm France's position as a presence in the colonial world. Such an interpretation could make Doin a

representative of some of the most extreme calls for change, advocating not only abolition of slavery and the slave trade but also French abandonment of its profitable colonial possessions.

In the *Nouvelles blanches et noires,* however, Doin continues to advocate abolition, but changes the outcome of her scenarios. Marriage, already presented as an ideal in *La Famille noire,* takes on new importance. Though in *La Famille noire* it failed to save Néala and Phénor from the evils of their persecutors, in the *Nouvelles blanches et noires,* it reaches new levels of success and plays a pivotal role in idealized and utopian endings.

In "Noire et Blanc," Doin begins by depicting the horrors of the slave rebellion on Saint-Domingue. She paints the situation bleakly, speaking of "[d]es tourbillons de flamme" and describes human blood that "bouillonnait dans les rues" (97). She describes the suffering of colonists at first with pity, but then she squarely lays the blame for the violence at their feet:

> Orgueilleux colons, blancs insensés, que d'horreurs vous avez fait naître ! que de crimes vous avez causés ! car vous seuls, oui, vous seuls avez amené ces désastres sanglans, ces guerres dévorantes qui vous ont à la fin anéantis. Sans votre affreux despotisme, votre basse envie, votre féroce avidité vos exécrables vengeances, Saint-Domingue serait demeuré paisible, l'esclave malheureux serait mort esclave. Mais vous l'avez voulu, vous avez enseigné la guerre ; vous avez mis dans sa bouche ce mot : Vengeance, et la colonie tout entière a retenti contre vous de ce mot de ralliement : Vengeance ! vengeance !... (98)

Here, Doin denounces the violence and abuse inherent within the system. In the next paragraph, she condemns the entirety of the system as reliant upon crime, including "le vol, le rapt, le meurtre, la trahison" (98). In short, she depicts slavery as an essentially offensive system dependent upon all sorts of wrong-doing and fundamentally opposed to the precepts of

Christianity which proclaims: “Tous les hommes sont frères” (98) and thereby champions racial equality rather than dividing mankind into two categories, “une espèce d’hommes pour être esclave et victime d’une autre espèce d’hommes” (98). Indeed, the protagonists of Doin’s novella interact in order to demonstrate this fundamental human equality.

The titular *Noire*, a slave woman called Nelzi, witnesses the outbreak of the slave revolt. She is immediately struck with worry for her sickly white master, her *Blanc* counterpart, Charles de Méricourt, who is bedridden. He is first described to the reader from Nelzi’s point of view: “O mon maître! Dit-elle, vous verrai-je massacré à mes yeux ? Mon pauvre jeune maître ! Faible, blessé, presque sans connaissance, comment pourrez-vous vous arracher de ce lit où vous êtes mourant ?” (99). Witnessing slave revolts that invert traditional power structures, Nelzi perceives her master not as a powerful figure of colonial power but as more of a sentimental victim. Feeling pity for him, like many a sentimental hero, is compelled to try to save him. Risking her own life, she succeeds in transporting him to a boat bound for America. She joins him in the journey to care for him and becomes his “ange protecteur” and his “amie” (99).

Nelzi is slow to internalize the implications of her actions on their relationship. She continues to call him, “mon cher maître,” granting him his previous position of power. Charles, however, corrects her saying, “Je ne suis pas ton maître, Nelzi ; tu ne m’appartiens pas, tu n’appartiens qu’à toi” (100). With these words, he raises Nelzi above her former status as slave. Even so, he does not grant her status as his equal. Rather, he takes on the role of “père” (100), maintaining for himself a certain power advantage, but one that is subject to an emotional proximity that was previously absent from their rapport. The duo moves to New York City, where Charles accepts a “modeste emploi” (100) and Nelzi keeps house and becomes more of a sisterly figure, “Charles la traitait comme une sœur,” moving yet another step closer to being

Charles's equal. The process of accepting racial equality, however, proves to proceed rather slowly.

First, Charles must undo much of the past. He questions himself, wondering if "les blancs n'avaient pas eu quelque raison valable pour traiter la race noire comme une race brute" (101). He looks to his relationship with Nelzi to find the answer:

> Alors il regardait Nelzi, il remarquait ce feu qui jaillissait de ses regards, cet éclair d'une vive intelligence, cette expression d'un profond sentiment ; il expliquait à Nelzi les phénomènes de la nature, les merveilles des arts, les consolations de la vertu, les charmes de l'amitié, et Nelzi comprenait tout, sentait tout, et répondait avec cette éloquence de l'âme, avec ce pur enthousiasme, garans d'un esprit élevé, d'un noble cœur, d'une sensibilité profonde. (101)

Nelzi demonstrates all the qualities that are prized as human. She is intelligent, capable of learning, and most importantly gifted with a superior mind and a capacity for deep feeling. He asks a question to which he finds no answer: "En quoi donc cet être intéressant est-il inférieur aux êtres de mon espèce?" (101). Nelzi's essence is, in short, no different from that of a European, though her physical appearance is not ideal, "n'a point été favorisé" (101), from a European point of view. Even so, Charles sees in her her own particular beauty: her eyes and smile are expressive, her teeth admirable, her voice sweet, her skin lustrous (101). Such minute observations not only sway Charles to adopt an abolitionist political view, they also lay the groundwork for a further change in Charles and Nelzi's relationship. They become lovers and live happily as husband and wife in all but name. Their happiness, however, is soon put to the test.

Charles receives a letter from an aunt, Madame Darbois, recalling him to France in order to access a sizeable inheritance. He is thrilled with the opportunity for several reasons. First, he is excited to return to his homeland and leave the colonial world behind. He is also pleased at the prospect of receiving an inheritance in this process so as to improve his lot in life and Nelzi's. Finally, he feels gifted with an opportunity to do good in the world. He is inspired at the thought of being able to participate in the anti-slavery movement in France and, like the paternal figure Merville in *La Famille noire*, sees returning to France as the only truly effective way to combat the slave trade. Unlike Merville, however, he does not plan to return alone. Rather, he takes Nelzi with him, giving her an important role in his abolitionist project: "tu m'aideras à combattre les préjugés de mes compatriotes envers tes frères outragés" (104). Charles sees Nelzi, a kind and virtuous black woman who can speak from first-hand experience of the horrors of the slave trade, as an effective tool for convincing others to abandon the kinds of prejudice that allow the slave system to continue functioning.

What Charles finds, in France, however, disrupts his plans and distracts him from his project of garnering anti-slavery support. He is caught up in family politics which unexpectedly require him to marry his cousin, Mme Darbois's daughter, in order to receive his inheritance. Nelzi soon flees the Darbois residence, feeling abandoned by her lover. She does not, however, escape her role as an anti-slavery advocate. Rather, as Charles predicted, Nelzi proves capable of garnering pity for enslaved Africans and support for the anti-slavery movement. Through a series of unfortunate events, she meets Madame Senneterre, a compassionate philanthropist. Nelzi recounts her tale in detail. Upon hearing it, Mme Senneterre reacts much as Charles did to Nelzi's fundamental humanity: "Qu'on dise donc que les nègres ne sentent pas comme nous? N'est-ce pas l'expression d'une âme de feu ? Pauvres nègres ! Pauvre enfant ; je t'aime, oui,

j'aime ce qui souffre, J'aime ce qui aime !" (107). Nelzi thus sways Senneterre and her entourage toward a belief in racial equality. She also gains the sympathy of a new friend who intercedes on her behalf. Sennetterre contrives to find a job for Charles so that he will no longer be dependent upon the inheritance offered him by Madame Darbois but contingent upon his marriage to a woman he does not love. Chales is overjoyed at this proposition, and the reunion of the two lovers stirs deep feelings among onlookers. One announces: "Voilà bien l'amour, et l'amour sans reproche […] blanc ou noir, oh! Qu'il est joli, cet amour, là" (110). Ultimately, then, it is deep feeling, love between a man and a woman, that demonstrates racial equality. It also establishes unity among a group of like-minded individuals who rejoice together at a final and surprising return to order.

A similar story, "Blanche et noir," accomplishes much the same thing as "Noire et Blanc," though it inverts the gender roles, this time placing a white woman, Pauline, and a black man, Domingo, in the roles of the story's protagonists. The tale begins just after the Haitian revolution, with the image of Domingo who, "prosterné dans la poussière, posa ses lèvres sur cette terre qui venait d'être pour ainsi dire affranchie" (85). Domingo, born a slave, was orphaned at age six and taken in by a compassionate colonial woman, Madame de Hauteville, who puts him to work in her house. His is to be a servant to the Hauteville's daughter, Pauline. Domingo and Pauline grow up together. He even receives a certain education at her side, learning to read and write. He is given more than most members of his race: "C'était beaucoup pour un nègre" (86). His education brings both delight and distress to the young man:

> [I]l goûta vivement les charmes de l'étude, refusé à presque tous ses pareils, et le plaisir d'acquérir des lumières. Mais en s'éclairant il porta ses regards sur les noirs abrutis, sur ses frères infortunés ; bientôt il frémit en contemplant la dégradation de l'espèce, et les

> funestes effets d'un pouvoir sanguinaire. Cette espèce de philosophie naturelle était bien dangereuse à cette époque, où l'orgueil d'une caste voulait tout écraser. (86-87)

Domingo enjoys his studies, but this intellectual work and privileged position also make him aware of the misfortune and misery heaped upon his enslaved brothers. His education leads him to a kind of philosophical contemplation that will prove dangerous later in the story.

For her part, Pauline is the spitting image of sentimental perfection. She is innocent and virtuous. Her parents plan to marry her off to gain power and position. They choose a young man by the name of Léopold whose parents live in France. He is charming and well-educated and eager to earn Pauline's love. The young couple's courtship, however, is impeded by social unrest and eventually revolution, "L'orage se formait aux Antilles; chaque jour les nuages s'amoncelaient, le trouble et l'agitation pénétraient partout" (88). Domingo is part of the turbulence: "La culture de la pensée agrandit l'âme, étend les dispositions naturelles, développe les sentimens; Domigo, élevé par le cercle de ses occupations et les connaissances qu'il avait acquises au-dessus du sort commun des esclaves, Domingo osait penser, et sentait se développer en lui toutes les sensations de l'homme libre" (89). Not only does Domingo begin to think for himself and thirst for his own freedom, he also seeks to spread his ideas among others of his race, "les tirer de l'abutissement où la douleur les avait plongés" (89). Ironically, his white masters had given him the tools to become an agent of change. When he realizes that he loves Pauline but that she will never be his, he flees the Hauteville's home and joins the rebels. Sometime later, Domingo is among a group of rebels that attack the Hauteville plantation. He takes pity on his former masters and tries to save even the father from the violence. His compassion earns him new status, even in the eyes of M. de Hauteville who pleads with

Domingo to save Pauline and dies telling his would-be rescuer, “Va, tu méritais d’être blanc” (93).

Domingo successfully saves both Pauline and her fiancé Leopold. In a surprising twist of fate, Pauline is struck so deeply by Domingo’s compassionate action that she refuses to leave the island with Leopold, who returns to France, and instead stays with Domingo, insisting “je ne quitterai pas ces lieux où tant de cruels souvenirs me ramèneraient sans cesse. Qu’irais-je faire dans d’autres climats ? L’honneur de Domingo sera mon protecteur dans ces contrées, je veux y mourir” (94). Domingo accepts his role as protector but laments being unworthy to marry the daughter of his former owner. Pauline removes these barriers with a brief speech: “Domingo, vous avez adouci les derniers momens de mon père, vous avez sauvé la vie de celui qu’il nomma son fils; vous vous êtes élevé au-dessus des préjugés, je saurai vous imiter ; mais je veux fuir ces scènes de carnage : qu’une forêt soit notre refuge, qu’elle nous cache à tout l’univers ; consentez à vivre pour moi seule, et je suis à vous” (94). Domingo’s compassionate actions toward the Hauteville family are able to defy customs established as a result of racial prejudice. He becomes Pauline’s husband and they live out their lives together:

> [O]n trouva, par hazard, au fond d’une épaisse forêt, une chaumière adroitement construite. Un homme noir et une femme blanche l’habitaient ; ils y vivaient de chasse et de fruits sauvages ; on admira l’amour et les mœurs douces des époux, mais les nègres étaient mécontens qu’une femme blanche fut l’objet du culte d’un noir ; il fallut pourtant respecter celle que ce noir adorait. “C’est dommage, disait-on en soupirant, elle méritait d’être noire.” (94)

By the end of the tale, the typical colonial power hierarchy has been destroyed and rather than Domingo being worthy of being white, it is Pauline who is elevated beyond the status granted other members of her race.

In "Noire et Blanc" and "Blanche et Noir," interracial marriage plays an integral role. Doin's presentation of such marriages is in and of itself unconventional as of this sort were relatively rare in literature of the period. Typically, they were avoided due to widespread anxiety over the possible negative implications of miscegenation.[211] Doin, however, goes against the grain, depicting two different types of interracial marriage that both support her fictional pleas for racial equality. In "Noire et Blanc," a black woman Nelzi marries a white man, her former master Charles; in "Blanche et noir," a white woman, Pauline, marries a black man, Domingo, a former slave to Pauline's own family. This latter pairing in particular was viewed at the time as especially alarming and dangerous as attested by the enforcement of colonial laws explicitly prohibiting this kind of union.[212] In general, writers of fiction were hesitant to depict interracial marriages. Those who chose to broach the subject were often distinctly less positive in portrayals of interracial marriage. In Victor Hugo's *Bug Jargal*, for example, the idea of marriage between the titular protagonist, an exceptional black man, and the female lead, a virtuous white woman, Marie, remains utterly forbidden. While Doin defies the norm in her presentation of interracial marraiges, her characters remain separate from mainstream French and colonial societies and choose to live in remote locations. This deliberate choice to isolate the newly formed couples indicates that Doin well understood the difficulty French readers would have in accepting such relationships.

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[211] Little discusses the taboo of interracial marriage at length in "From Taboo to Totem," 948-960.

[212] Ibid., 948.

Doin's black protagonists, however, are able to demonstrate their fundamental equality to their white counterparts, regardless of entrenched ideas based in racial prejudice. Her essentially sentimental plots conclude with the marriage of two protagonists and the subsequent establishment of social order. Accordin to Roger Little, Doin "take[s] an unconventional step forward towards a recognition of a common humanity beneath surface appearances."[213] He goes on to explain that Doin uses these marriages as a sort of totem, if not a realistic solution to dissolving racial disharmonies.

The interracial composition of Doin's marriages is a striking deviation from the sentimental norm which rarely includes protagonists of a racially marked nature. Doin presents her black characters as sentimental ideals, capable of deep feeling and therefore equal to their white counterparts. Her stories neutralize race as a condition of difference that can prevent marriage, just as in other sentimental stories class becomes an unimportant factor in preventing the union of two individuals. She thus uses sentimental narrative as a means of firmly establishing the shared humanity and true equality of all and leveling artificial social hierarchies based on class and race. The joining of individuals of two different racial backgrounds in marriage, then, symbolizes an absolute acceptance of the idea of racial equality. Recognition of this equality results not only in a happy ending for her main characters but also in a wider spread termination of both violence and slavery as a system of oppression in the characters' chosen environment.

Abolitionist sentimental fiction, like historical and gothically-influenced sentimental fiction, is a hybrid mode of writing. It is constructed to both comply with and depart from the

[213] Ibid., 957.

literary conventions that change over time. Gabrielle Paban and Sophie Doin both use an essentially sentimental style of writing to portray the misfortunes and resultant suffering of racially-marked characters. By emphasizing sensibility and shared human feeling, these narratives prove to be convenient and effective vehicles for denouncing the atrocities perpetuated by the reality of slavery and for advocating various degrees of social and political change. In short, though Gabrielle Paban and Sophie Doin take distinctly different approaches to the abolitionist cause, they both ultimately succeed in using sentimental literature to demonstrate the basic shared humanity of their protagonists, white or black. Scholars have contended that, whereas abolitionist literature flourished in the eighteenth century, similarly "benevolent anti-slavery writings" were few and far between at the beginning of the next century because early nineteenth-century authors were largely hesitant "to challenge long-standing and powerful ethnographic beliefs regarding non-Europeans."[214] However, Paban and Doin break with this tradition and participate in a resurgence of abolitionism. As their works were not quickly reprinted in multiple editions, it is reasonable to conclude that they were not inordinately successful at the time of their publication. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that by depicting slavery in a negative light in their fiction, they contributed to raising public awareness of the realities of slavery and, in this way, they met with some success. One contemporary reviewer certainly finds merit in Doin's project: "Le récit des aventures, des malheurs, des vertus de *la famille Noire* excite à la fois dans l'âme du lecteur une pitié profonde et une vive indignation. Certains passages le font frémir, quand il pense que ce livre, loin d'être un roman, ne contient qu'une histoire scrupuleusement fidèle." This same individual lauds Doin, saying her work

[214] Curran, "Anthropology," 41.

"obtiendra le suffrage de tous les cœurs généreux."[215] In short, Sophie Doin elicited a sympathetic response in readers that pushes them to experience such deep feelings of moral sympathy and compassion that they may be compelled to act by engaging in social or political movements calling for the abolition of both slavery and the slave trade. Gabrielle de Paban's goals were similar. For these two women, then, sentimental fiction is not just a tool for the moral edification of readers; it is also a means to advocate for and perhaps even effect actual changes in society. Together with other activists of their time they both may even have succeeded in swaying readers toward taking action and working toward abolishing the system in 1848.[216]

[215] *Revue encyclopédique, ou Analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans les sciences, les arts industriels, la littérature et les beaux-arts; par une reunion de membres de l'Institut et d'autres hommes de lettres*, vol. 28 (Paris: Bureau central de la Revue encyclopéique, 1825), 274-275.

[216] Sophie Doin did not live to see the fruits of these labors as she died in 1846. Paban's date of death is unclear; it is not mentioned in bibliographical dictionaries from which much of the information about her is drawn.

Chapter 5

George Sand: Synthesizing Sentimentalisms

Unlike the women studied in earlier chapters, George Sand is not typically read as a sentimentalist. Indeed, it would be inaccurate to attempt to classify her works as strictly sentimental. Even so, one can discern the persistent presence of sentimentalism's conventions in many of her fictional works. In *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* Margaret Cohen describes George Sand as an innovator in the creation of the "sentimental social novel." Cohen classifies Sand's fiction as "sentimental" because it consistently appeals to a variety of the core codes of sentimentalism; and she calls it "social" in the sense that it endeavors to be useful to readers by overtly aiming to effect a desire for social change within them.[217] Indeed, Sand infuses many of her works with elements drawn from the tradition of sentimentalism, and across the entire spectrum of her works, she remains firmly committed to a socially-engaged agenda aimed at demonstrating and arguing for equality across the human experience. Cohen makes a compelling case for describing several of Sand's works as sentimental social novels. However, Cohen only minimally discusses sentimentalism's tendency to blend with other genres and to become increasingly hybridized over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[217] See especially Cohen's chapter on Sand, "The Heart and the Code: George Sand and the Sentimental Social Novel," in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 119-162.

As I have demonstrated in preceding chapters, a variety of nineteenth-century authors combined sentimentalism with traits drawn from other literary traditions. Genlis, Tercy, Paban and Doin blended sentimentalism to created historically-influenced sentimental novels, gothically-influenced sentimental novels, as well as sentimental social novels. What is most interesting to me about George Sand's engagement with sentimentalism is that it reflects the richness of the sentimental tradition as it developed through time. I will show that Sand does far more than simply blend the social novel with elements of conventional sentimentalism. Certainly, Sand's project grows out of this trend toward hybridization, but Sand proves to be even less tied to convention. Rather than choosing just two literary strains for inspiration, she pulls together threads of each of the hybrid genres I explored in earlier chapters of this dissertation. Her work is a complex and nuanced synthesis of literary tradition, and this makes her connection to sentimentalism less obvious. Even so, within the context of her idealistic social fiction, Sand blends together already hybrid forms of sentimentalisms. Her fictions make use of conventional sentimental codes while being historically grounded, gothically-influenced, and committed to exposing and preserving local legends and regional history. She thus draws upon elements of both conventional and hybridized sentimentalism. She takes from both what she will, and discards what does not serve her needs, creating something new and very difficult to classify.

I will make my case by analyzing three novels in particular: *Indiana* (1832), *Nanon* (1872), and *Consuelo* (1842-1843), the first and last novels of her literary career. Read in parallel, these works highlight persistent sentimentalist features in Sand's fiction. In combination, the two novels demonstrate the ways in which the author repeatedly uses elements of conventional sentimentalism. *Consuelo* showcases her skill as an innovator and synthesizer of

sentimentalisms: here, Sand makes use of literary conventions drawn from across a broad spectrum of sentimental subgenres and combines multiple strains in a single, astoundingly complex text, infused with elements drawn from historical, gothic, regional, and socially-engaged sentimental traditions. In the process, Sand creates a kind of fiction that effectively transcends generic categorization.

The Author and Her Works

The author commonly known today as George Sand was born Amandine-Aurore-Lucile Dupin July 1, 1804.[218] She became known as George Sand when she decided to devote her life to writing and adopted a pen name to that end.[219] Aurore's metamorphosis into George was not undertaken haphazardly. As a woman, Aurore had experienced the difficulties of being a woman in society for herself. In her memoirs, she laments the inevitable attention drawn by feminine attire. Contrarily, she observed the freedom with which men are able to move about in the world. When she exchanged her petticoats for masculine attire, "une *redingote-guerite* en gros drap gris, pantalon et gilet pareils," she found remarkable freedom: "Je voltigeais d'un bout de Paris à l'autre. […] Je courrais par tous les temps, je revenais à toutes les heures."[220] Aurore exalted in

[218] Maurice Dupin and Sophie-Victoire Delaborde. Her father died in 1808 and, after that, her mother relinquished her into the care of her paternal grandmother whose influence shaped her life in unmistakable ways. While Sand's father was from an affluent family, her mother was from a family of much more modest means. This dual background shaped Sand as a writer and is reflected in many of her works.

[219] The persona of George Sand was not just an author. In many ways, George Sand replaced Aurore Dupin both on and off the printed page. Many of her biographers reference this identity change and explore it in depth. See aforementioned biographical works.

[220] Cited in Reid's biography of the author, *George Sand*, 23.

the freedom of wearing men's clothing.[221] Just as dressing as a man allowed her greater independence in society, publishing as a man granted her freedom as a writer.

Aurore began her literary career as a columnist for the *Figaro.* She tried at first to establish a career for herself in her own name, but in 1831 she met with a novelist by the name of Kératry who told her, "Women […] ought not to write" and furthermore insisted, "don't make books, make children."[222] Well aware of the obstacles facing the *femme auteur*, Aurore took necessary precautions to ensure, to the best of her ability, her viability in a domain traditionally dominated by men. [223]

One of the ways she did so was by adopting a masculine pen name. The adoption of a male pseudonym was not common practice for women writers of the time. The women studied in earlier chapters used their own names and made no effort to hide their sex. George Sand, however, chose a different approach for a series of carefully considered reasons. Not only did she hide her identity behind a pen name, she chose an alias that also hid her sex, at least to a point. Writing as "George," Sand always employed masculinized authorial and narrative voices, speaking from the point of view of "l'auteur" or "l'écrivain" and even using masculine formulas following use of the first-person pronoun "je."

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[221] For more on Sand's response to crossdressing, see Belinda Jack, "Becoming Sand" in *George Sand: A Woman's Life Writ Large* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 162-164.

[222] Cited in Jack, *George Sand*, 166.

[223] The consequences of crossdressing for women are a recurrent them in Sand's novels. For instance, Consuelo, who will be an object of study below, undergoes a period of transition during which time she dresses as a boy. During this time, she is traveling by foot with only one male companion, a young composer named Haydn. Consuelo adopts menswear to gain anonymity on the road and to protect herself from the dangers facing women. However, Consuelo is unable to truly mask her femininity when singing, which is to say, when engaging in her chosen profession. Likewise, Sand herself was unable to fully mask her biological sex behind a masculine pen name.

Other scholars have explored the reasons for Sand's choice of pen name: perhaps it offered her greater independence or spared her the negative repercussions faced by *femmes auteurs*; maybe she meant to maximize sales potential for her works by staying as close to the name she and Jules Sandeau had published under, J. Sand; perhaps she planned all along to allow her biological sex to be discovered, thereby making a name for herself, earning and thereby selling her work in greater volume with greater ease; or maybe, as Sand insists in her autobiography, the name was meant to demonstrate her provincial heritage, a play on the *berrichon* words *george*, which means farmer, or *georgeon*, which means "devil;" or maybe it was a way to capitalize on the current popularity of English authors; perhaps it was chosen for all of these reasons collectively.[224] There is perhaps no definitive explanation for the choice. For my purposes, Sand's motivation in choosing her pen name is only of interest in so far as how it may have affected her appeal to and use of sentimentalism. In the Conclusion, I will return to this question.

Like her chosen pseudonym, the life and works of George Sand have been the subject of numerous scholarly works and a good deal of popular criticism.[225] Sand was both well-known and influential as a writer during her own lifetime. However, for much of the early twentieth century, her literary works were largely disregarded, if not systematically "omitted from the reformulated French literary canon after 1914."[226] One explanation for Sand's persistent

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[224] Reid gives a particularly interesting account of the many factors that influenced Sand's choice in *George Sand*, 15-30. Jules Sandeau was collaborated with Sand in the publication of one of her earliest works, *Rose et Blanche* (1831), published under the pseudonym J. Sand. He was also her lover.

[225] It should suffice to direct the reader's attention to Sand's autobiography (*Histoire de ma vie*, 1854-1855) and to more recent biographical texts like those written by Reid, Jack, Lewis, and Harlan, among others, many of whom feature in the bibliography for this project.

[226] See Elizabeth Harlan, *George Sand* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), xi.

exclusion from the list of great classical French writers, as it was constructed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is the difficulty with which her texts can be identified generically. Many of her novels were initially classed as idealist novels. However, when the "Roman idéaliste" disappeared from the list of common generic categorizations, Sand's novels likewise fell from grace as they could not be easily absorbed into categories represented by other, more enduring critical labels.[227] During the late twentieth century feminist scholars in the United States and France successfully rehabilitated George Sand, calling for her works to be once again read alongside and included amongst those of the French literary greats of the nineteenth century. Since that time, countless editions of Sand's novels have been republished, in their original French and in new English translations, with and without critical annotations.

Recently, scholars have made great strides in analyzing Sand's works, from the better-known pastoral novels to her more obscure texts. Few, however, have noted the debt that these texts owe to the sentimental traditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[228] And while some scholars have examined the influence of the gothic novel or the historical novel on her works, they do not delve into the fundamental link between nineteenth-century sentimentalism and these other popular genres.[229]

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[227] Naomi Schor, *George Sand and Idealism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). In the introduction to this text, Schor defines the *idealist* novel in opposition to the realist novel. She identifies other idealists of the period, including Larmartine, Hugo, Dostoyevski, and Schiller. The works of these writers, however, more easily found a place in other generic categories like "pre-romanticism" or "romanticism."

[228] Cohen, in particular, examines Sand in light of her relationship to sentimentalism, specifically social sentimentalism, in *The Sentimental Education of the Novel.*

[229] See, for example, the essays collected in *Lectures de Consuelo La Comtesse de Rudolstadt de George Sand* (Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2004). Joëlle Prungnaud's exploration of the role of the gothic in "Demeures gothiques," 119-132, Sarah Mombert's reflections on *Consuelo* as a historical novel in "*Consuelo,* « logogriphe » du roman historique," 133-144, and Damien

George Sand and Sentimental Convention: *Indiana* and *Nanon*

In earlier chapters, I established a specific set of criteria for exposing the sentimental nature of a text, using (like critics such as David Denby) the common features shared by unquestionably sentimental works like *Clarissa* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse.* To summarize, a fictional text can be considered sentimental if it meets three primary conditions related to 1) authorial intent and textual purpose, 2) internal conflict and plot progression, and 3) recurring appeal to narrative, thematic, and stylistic conventions related to eliciting a sympathetic emotional response. Applying these criteria to *Indiana* and *Nanon* will illustrate two very different ways in which Sand manipulates the constituent elements of sentimentalism.

Like her more conventionally sentimental counterparts, George Sand is often quite clear in endowing her writing with instructional purpose. Take, for example, her preface to *Indiana* (1842), where she explains:

> Ceux qui m'ont lu sans prévention comprennent que j'ai écrit *Indiana* avec le sentiment non raisonné, il est vrai, mais profond et légitime, de l'injustice et de la barbarie des lois qui régissent encore l'existence de la femme dans le mariage, dans la famille et la société. Je n'avais point à faire un traité de jurisprudence, mais à guerroyer contre l'opinion ; car c'est elle qui retarde ou prépare les améliorations sociales.[230]

Sand admits that her work arises out of deep emotion or feeling, *sentiment,* not reason. Even so, she underscores the legitimacy of emotion as a source for her fiction. In writing it, her intent is

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Zanone's consideration of Sand's use of autobiographical memoirs in "Mémoire de Memoires: le chapitre LXXXVII de *Consuelo* et les *Mémoires de la margrave de Bayreuth,*" 145-166 proved particularly useful for the purposes of this chapter.

[230] George Sand, *Indiana* (Gallimard, Folio Classique, 1984), 46-47.

to re-educate readers, to inspire in them a sympathetic, sentimental reaction to injustice and the suffering it causes. She aims to improve society by offering a lesson of sorts to her readers. She aims to change hearts and minds, fighting against widespread, barbaric beliefs about the place of women in marriage, family, and society in general. She sees her task of a writer in quintessentially sentimental terms: "Penché sur les victimes, et mêlant ses larmes aux leurs, se faisant leur interprète auprès de ses lecteurs" (44). Sand identifies victims of oppression, sympathizes with them, and shares this sympathy with the reader. She compares her task to that of a lawyer and insists that it is far from easy: "C'est une tâche qui a sa gravité sous une apparence frivole, et qu'il est assez difficile de maintenir dans sa véritable voie, troublé qu'on est à chaque pas par ceux qui vous veulent trop sérieux dans la forme, et par ceux qui vous veulent trop léger dans le fond" (44). Sand admits that her chosen form, the novel, is most often seen as inherently frivolous. She may also point to criticisms leveled at her as a result of her gender: as a woman, she is dealing with issues that, for some critics, are too serious, a violation of expectations for the form. Finding balance between entertainment, that which tends to be *frivole* or *trop léger*, and instruction, coming off as *trop sérieux,* is difficult, but Sand undertakes the challenge just the same. Casting her task as that of a lawyer rather than a teacher is significant. While it doesn't negate her didactic intent, it does lend gravity to it.

Sand does not provide a similar statement of authorial intent for *Nanon.* Rather, she begins that work, a fictionalized autobiography, with an episode that centers on learning a life lesson cast in particularly sentimental terms.[231] Nanon's uncle buys her a sheep and instructs her

[231] *Nanon* is written from the first person point of view Nanette Surgeon. It is a memoir of sorts; she calls it "l'histoire de ma jeunesse" (1). She begins by recounting her earliest memories and ends with the death of her cherished huband. A third-person narrator then takes up the pen to recount the last moments of Nanon's life, which supposedly ended in 1864, the year Sand published her novel. See Sand, *Nanon* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1878).

to take good care of it. If she does, he explains, the animal will earn the family money and Nanon will gain a sense of pride in her accomplishments as do other productive youth in her village. Nanon, of course, immediately strives to learn new duties as a shepherd. These mundane tasks, however, have little to do with the broader sentimental lesson that Nanon takes away from the experience. She learns this lesson not from her uncle, but from another authority figure, la Mariotte, a neighbor who functions as something of a mother-figure to Nanon. La Mariotte explains to Nanon the complex economy into which she has entered as a result of taking on the responsibility of caring for a sheep. The sheep itself is of little value; however, Nanon can learn to harvest its wool and make it into yarn. She can then learn to knit the wool into socks which will benefit her family. Here is where the lesson takes a decidedly sentimental turn: the socks will be a gift for her uncle, who has pitifully bare legs, even in winter: "je gage que tu seras fière de pouvoir faire des bas au père Jean qui va les jambes quasi nues, pauvre cher homme, jusqu'au milieu de l'hiver, tant ses chausses sont mal rapiécées" (4). The true value of Nanon's future work is to help her adoptive father to find a better life, "sortir de peine" (5). La Mariotte paints Jean as sentimental figure, a victim of misfortune "qui a augmenté sa misère en te prenant à sa charge" (5). He, like the laudable sentimental hero, has willingly accepted *misère*, suffering (at least financial deprivation) to help his orphaned niece by welcoming her into his already poor household. Nanon's role, then, is to become a figure who eases pain and helps others escape from suffering. When her uncle's apparent misery is made clear to her, Nanon quickly embraces her new position, learns to care for her sheep and her uncle, and promptly becomes a sentimental exemplum, worthy of imitation. She is "très-touchée" by la Mariotte's explanation and seeks out additional opportunities to ease her father's discomfort, often by taking on additional responsibilities in his household.

In these instances, Sand does not offer her readers an explicit statement of purpose; however, the instructive nature of the narrative becomes evident through the actions and statements of key characters who serve as authority figures. These people serve as teachers whose educational projects are successful. They encourage other characters to adopt moral patterns of behavior for the good of others in the novel. The codes of conduct they advocate are quickly and effectively embraced by the target student. In *Nanon,* for instance, the role of the teacher shifts from one character to another. Through the varied didactic efforts of a variety of individuals, lessons are learned all around, by Nanon, by her fellow characters, and by the reader. In deciphering the text, the reader has no choice but to view the world through Nanon's eyes, occupy her place in the novel, and internalize the same lessons.[232]

The sentimental double bind features frequently in Sand's novel. For Indiana, the double bind is indeed both evident and central to the plot's progression. From the beginning of the novel, Sand's eponymous heroine prepares for catastrophe, "l'approche d'une grande phase de ma destinée" (60). Her apprehension is well-founded: once she meets Raymon de Ramière, Indiana suffers a crisis, realizing that she must choose between diligently carrying out the socially-prescribed duties of a wife in an inequitable and unhappy marriage or finding some shred of personal happiness and romantic love in a transgressive amorous liaison.

In *Nanon*, Emilien, Nanon, and, Louise are each faced with seemingly irresoluble struggles which pit the realization of personal desires against demands of the society in which they live. Emilien's conflict revolves around a common theme in sentimental literature, the *droit*

[232] See Arden Robb on the role of the mother as an educator in "Mother/Educator: *Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'éducation,*" in *Motherhood in the Margins*, 59-75. See also Aragon on the role of the *préceptrice* in pedagogical novels, "Un Discours feministe?," 144.

d'aînesse.[233] A second son, Emilien stands to inherit nothing from his family. Instead, he is sent off to a monastery, expected to take holy orders and renounce all possibility for inheritance. This course of action is described as a firm family tradition that carries the authority of law: "dans cette famille de Fanqueville, tous les cadets avaient été dans les ordres. Cétait une loi à laquelle on n'avait jamais manqué et qui se transmettait de père en fils" (27). Emilien, however, resists the role thrust on him by his family. He explains to Nanon that he does not want to become a monk because he does not see their usefulness: "Les moines, vois-tu, ça a pu servir dans les temps anciens ; mais, du jour où ils ont été riches et tranquilles, ils n'ont plus compté pour rien devant Dieu et devant les hommes" (47-48). He has no other choice, however, as he has no way of ensuring his own survival outside the monastery. He must, therefore, accept his assigned position but he remains internally conflicted, longing for a different existence. With the coming of the Revolution of 1789, Emilien's family flees France, effectively abandoning him. He is then no longer subject to the laws of his family, his double bind naturally dissipates, and he is left to pursue the desires of his own heart as he sees fit.

The course Emilien wishes to pursue is to marry Nanon, a poor peasant. When she realizes his intentions, Nanon finds herself faced with a double bind. She loves him deeply but hesitates to accept his proposal. Looking back on her emotional reactions, she explains her conflict to Emilien: "J'ai hésité, je vous le confesse. […] moi, j'avais encore, il faut croire, des idées de paysan à peine affranchi du servage. Je craignais de vous faire descendre dans l'estime des autres et peut-être un jour dans la vôtre propre. J'ai bien souffert, car, pendant des mois entiers, je me suis persuadé que je devais renoncer à vous" (336). Nanon is, however, able to

[233] P.M. Jones, "Social Structure and Organization" in *Politics and Rural Society: The Southern Massif Central (c. 1750-1880)* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) for a discussion of the ways in which nobles outside of Paris typically dealt with issues of inheritance and the *droit d'ainesse*.

overcome her objections and find happiness in a union with Emilien thanks to the fact that barriers of class have become more fluid after the Revolution – an event that, as the narrator puts it, brought about "la reconciliation du tiers état avec la noblesse" (348).

Louise, Emilien's sister, finds herself less capable of easily dismissing her version of the double bind. Like her brother, she falls in love with an individual of lower social status. She knows that the union is, according to pre-revolutionary notions, improper and ought to be rejected: "je ne dois pas épouser l'ennemi de ma race" (319). Though she loves Costejoux, she is ashamed of her feelings because they fly in the face of convention. Abandoned by her family when they flee France, Louise finder herself destitute. She marries the upstart Costejoux to gain access to a more comfortable life, but cannot overcome her classism. The couple ultimately cannot reconcile their philosophical differences: "ils avaient chacun une religion, elle le prêtre et le roi, lui la République et Jean-Jacques Rousseau" (350-351). They find no joy in the alliance, and Louise eventually dies, unable to survive in a world that has evolved away from the tenets of class she held most dear.

Sand's manipulation of the double-bind is striking. For her, there is no one over-arching impossible situation. Therefore, a single coherent sentimental double bind is not central to her plots' progression. Rather, there are many possible permutations driven by considerations like class and gender. Thus, the convention still plays a pivotal role in her narration in that multiple characters suffer their own individual brand of the quintessentially sentimental conflict.

In the construction of a sentimental narrative, authors frequently deploy a variety of narrative, thematic, and stylistic features. These textual elements share a common goal: to elicit a sympathetic emotional response in the reader. The most common of these include: descriptive restraint, or narration marked by an absence of detail; abandonment of descriptive restraint when

specific details are described to add depth to a character's emotional state; character descriptions and sentimental blazons that describe idealized characters as paragons of virtue and exempla for emulation; analyses of feeling, or direct citations (written or spoken) of characters in which they reveal the sentiments which vie for precedence in their hearts; clear foreshadowing of the dénouement; a variety of rhetorical techniques like hyperbole, emphatic diction, forceful interjections rife with strong feeling, and suggestive silences following aposiopesis, punctuated correspondingly by exclamation points and ellipses; and verbal tableaux, or descriptions of the physical gestures and spatial positioning of characters at meaningful or emotionally climactic moments in the text. Elements of conventional sentimentalism abound in Sand's work, though she often brings her own touch to bear upon them.

George Sand does not seem to have taken naturally to the "light touch" characteristic of sentimental novelists like Genlis or Tercy. Rather, she seems to have fought against it. This is most easily evidenced by variants in published versions of her novels. For instance, following the tragic suicide of Noun in *Indiana*, she initially penned a lengthy justification for the ending of the Première Partie. In the definitive edition, however, Sand makes a conscious decision to opt for textual brevity, saying simply: "Deux mois se sont écoulés" (120). In her notes for a critical edition of *Indiana*, Béatrice Didier draws attention to this and a variety of other textual suppressions which make the novel more compliant with the sentimental norm of descriptive restraint.[234]

Though Sand bends to the sentimental call to downplay physical and material exactitude, she gives in to her penchant for detailed description when offering a meticulous representation of the inner workings or sentimental development of her characters. Often, she subtly alters the

[234] Didier does not relate these suppressions to sentimentalism in any way. However, the relationship merits continued exploration.

sentimental tendency. Conventionally, only the central figures merit such a digression, whereas peripheral characters remain sentimentally flat. Sand limits her diegesis to depictions of Consuelo's internal, emotional states, but she extends the benefits of these depictions to include not just protagonists but also more marginal characters as well. She adds details as necessary to render these emotional reactions understandable, even reasonable -- thereby allowing readers to sympathize with characters that would otherwise be rather detestable. In one case, for instance, her narrator openly admits to having held back key pieces of information from the reader because: "cela était hors des événements que nous avions à vous conter."[235] At that critical moment in the text, however, the information is necessary and must be exposed to the reader. What is interesting is that the missing information relates to the seducer, Raymon de Ramière. Whereas conventional sentimentalists offer little emotional or psychological depth to characters like Raymon, who are typically cast as one-dimensional villains, Sand grants both protagonists and their counterparts emotional complexity, illustrating the sentimental fluctuations that drive almost all of her central characters. As a result, Sandian protagonists are not thoroughly idealized; they are flawed to the same extent that antagonists are granted limited virtues.

Just as Sand conforms to the sentimental convention of descriptive restraint, she also conforms to the trademark sentimental tendency to describe the setting and objects surrounding her protagonists in a way that underscores their potentially hidden inner qualities and emotional fluctuations. In justifying her detailed presentation of Emilien, for instance, Nanon insists that all the recounted details serve "pour faire connaître son caractère et sa situation" (26). Nothing is

[235] Sand, *Indiana*, 128.

mentioned haphazardly. Indeed, highlighted physical traits usually correspond to the emotional state of the character.[236]

Near the beginning of *Indiana,* character descriptions also expose otherwise hidden feelings. A striking example takes place when Raymon de Ramière is introduced to the readers. In this scene, Noun's interior state manifests itself physically, through the tense way she holds her body; even her hands, eyes, and cheeks betray her: "Noun, qui se tenait debout derrière le malade, les mains tordues, les yeux hagards, les joues livides, et dans l'immobilité du désespoir, de la terreur et de l'égarement" (69-70). Without her saying a word, these embodied signs convey meaning and are easily interpreted both by Sand's reader and by characters within the text. From them, Noun's culpable relationship with *le malade* (Raymon) becomes obvious. She is fearful not only for the life of her lover but also that her shameful secret will be uncovered.

In general, the sentimental novel requires that physical beauty accompany moral goodness, but authors like Genlis frequently disregarded this convention in order to further disempower physical appearances.[237] George Sand frequently uses a similar technique, though she applies it not to a handful of idealized protagonists but to a broad array of her characters, even those who suffer morally ambiguous dispositions. We have already seen that even despicable characters like Raymon de Ramière have enough redeeming qualities to avoid being pigeonholed as one-dimensional villains. Likewise, Indiana is flawed enough to avoid being cast as a figure of sentimental exemplum yet her conduct is not so thoroughly wicked as to serve as a

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[236] Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel,* 48-50.

[237] In the preface to *Jeanne de France* (Vienne: Schrämel, 1816), Genlis states that her goal is to oppose internal moral beauty and external physical beauty ("opposer la beauté morale à la beauté physique" (9)), the latter of which can hide all manner of sins (there can be, she writes, "tant de désordres cachés sous de belles apparences" (17). Her heroine, Jeanne is far from physically perfect, but she is supremely sensitive and morally virtuous and all the more admirable for it.

cautionary tale. The physical depictions of both individuals are down-played, though it is safe to say that both are granted pleasing and displeasing physical traits.

Sand also deploys physical descriptions to construct sentimental blazons for her characters. For example, in *Nanon*, when the protagonist is initially falling in love with Emilien, the young novice is described in limited detail. He is "le plus joli du monde" and has "des yeux si clairs et un visage si doux, que jamais sa figure n'a fait déplaisir ou repugnance à personne" (25).[238] But his physical appearance matters less than the character that lies beneath the façade. Emilien's external appearance reflects his inner character, and he is immediately valued for it. In *Indiana*, Sand uses the concept of the blazon but repurposes it. More often than illustrating a moral ideal, it demonstrates moral flaws. For example, when Raymon desires Indiana but is approached by Noun, he observes the creole servant and creates something of a mirrored and distorted blazon:

> Elle l'entourait de ses bras frais et bruns, elle le couvrait de ses longs cheveux ; ses grands yeux noirs lui jetaient une langueur brûlante, et cette ardeur du sang, cette volupté tout orientale qui sait triompher de tous les efforts de la volonté, de toutes les délicatesses de la pensée […] Raymon ne voyait […] que la robe d'Indiana. S'il baisait ses cheveux noirs, il croyait baiser les cheveux noirs d'Indiana. C'était Indiana qu'il voyait dans le nuage du punch que la main de Noun venait d'allumer ; c'était elle qui l'appelait et qui lui souriait derrière ces blancs rideaux de mousseline ; ce fut elle encore qu'il rêva sur cette couche modeste et sans tache, lorsque, succombant sous l'amour et le vin, il y entraîna sa créole échevelée. (104-105)

[238] This description also appeals to the sentimental code of hyperbole, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

The description of Noun's arms, hair, and eyes emphasizes Noun, and through her Indiana, as a desirable sexual object but in no way contributes to the depiction of either as a moral being. Its place in the text, then, is not to highlight the protagonist's goodness or virtue but to underscore Raymon's depravity or moral corruption.

Sand deploys several of the most conventional signifiers of sentiment. She frequently uses tears, plants and flowers in a sentimental way. Nanon, for instance, gathers "quelques feuilles du saule" (113) during a moment of sadness. The leaves of a weeping willow reinforce the intensity of her melancholic internal state. They appear repeatedly throughout the text to this end.[239] Likewise, in the introductory description of Indiana, Sand offers readers the image of a flower which through the device of simile is linked to the eponymous heroine and sheds light on her emotions. The young, pale, and sad wife of Colonel Delmare is compared to a fresh bloom held in a restrictive gothic vase: "semblable à une fleur née d'hier qu'on fait éclore dans un vase gothique, vous eussiez plaint la femme du colonel Delmar" (50). The vase, symbolically restrictive, representative of Indiana's aging husband and his rigid ideas, confines her and inhibits her ability to blossom, leaving her not exactly wilted, but melancholy and not as full of life as she might have otherwise been. The comparison serves not only to illustrate Indiana's stunted emotional state but also elicits a sympathetic reaction from the reader, garnering pity for the protagonist.

As is common in conventionally sentimental texts, George Sand occasionally provides explicit insight into her characters' interior states, verbally describing their feelings. At times the narrator gives voice to the explanation. In rarer circumstances, individual characters themselves speak at length about how they feel. In *Nanon*, Sand offers characters who speak

[239] See, for instance, the scene which opens Chapter 27 of *Indiana* in a cemetery, 333-334.

openly and honestly about their feelings with some frequency. At the moment when Nanon overcomes her internal conflict, for instance, she lays her heart open to Emilien and to her reader: “Ce que j’ai aimé en vous, ce n’est pas un ouvrier plus ou moins diligent; c’est le grand cœur et le grand esprit que vous avez. C’est la bonté et la raison. C’est votre amitié qui est aussi sûre et aussi fidèle que la vérité (336). Nanon sincerely means every word of her declaration of love and the analysis she presents of her heart is authentic. Not all of Sand’s characters are so straightforward.

In *Indiana*, Sand frequently deploys the technique of the analysis of the heart through the character of Raymon. As a seducer, however, Raymon uses the technique to deceitful rather than honest ends. He repeatedly constructs untruthful descriptions of his feelings to persuade Indiana and Noun to surrender to his seductions. He knows what words to use to convey the sentiment of love and enable him to succeed in his seduction. He articulates feelings formulaically, using words that he doesn’t really mean. Though this is tongue-in-cheek sentimentalism, Sand demonstrates her thorough understanding and mastery of this sentimental technique.

George Sand also demonstrates her mastery of the sentimental practice of repeatedly offering readers cues, ranging from subtle to blatant, as to what the future may hold for her protagonists. Early in *Indiana*’s narrative, for instance, she grants her protagonist a beloved pet, an affectionate griffon. The faithful hunting dog serves as a sentimental symbol that offers the reader additional insight into what the future holds for Indiana. Passages pertaining to the animal are heavy with sentimental suggestion. For instance, the dog is first seen with her head resting contentedly on Sir Ralph’s lap: “La seule figure heureuse et caressante de ce groupe, c’était celle d’un beau chien de chasse de la grande espèce des griffons, qui avait allongé sa tête sur les genoux de l’homme assis” (51). Sand’s description of the pet animal points to a clear conclusion:

Ralph, the as yet unnamed seated man, serves as Indiana's protector; he is her only chance for happiness. The animal's name, Ophélia, bodes ill for her owner. On one hand, it sheds light on Indiana's own troubled state of mind; and it also signals that the titular protagonist risks meeting a cruel fate, likely drowning, as is the case for her Shakespearian namesake. Later, Colonel Delmare threatens the griffon who cowers behind her mistress. Indiana herself mirrors the oppressed and fearful behavior of the dog, shrinking before the aggression of her husband. Subsequently, Indiana gives credence to the dark forewarning offered by her aptly named pet. She describes herself as a person approaching a pivotal moment in life. And she fears it: "je ne sais quelle catastrophe se prépare autour de nous. Il y a ici un danger qui pèse sur quelqu'un… sur moi, sans doute… mais… tenez, Ralph, je me sens émue comme à l'approche d'une grande phase de ma destinée… J'ai peur, ajouta-t-elle en frissonnant, je me sens mal" (59-60). Pausing frequently to underline the gravity of her feelings, Indiana finishes her speech and becomes pale as death; the reader thus witnesses the physical change along with Raymon and can infer that whatever challenges face this protagonist, her very existence is in danger. True to sentimental form, all this foreshadowing plays out: first in the actual drowning death of another stand-in for Indiana, her servant Noun, and again in the case of Indiana herself at the end of the novel. Ralph and Indiana find themselves *en face du suicide*, and accepting their shared fate : "Alors Ralph prit sa fiancée dans ses bras, et l'emporta pour la précipiter avec lui dans le torrent…" (330). Holding his fragile fiancé, Ralph leaps into a river and the final chapter of *Indiana* ends, all signs pointing to a watery death for both.

The sentimental dependence upon foreshadowing also plays a significant role in *Nanon.* From the beginning, Nanon announces that she writes her tale for a specific reason. She announces this at the outset of the novel: "Mon but n'est pas d'intéresser à ma personne ; il est

de conserver pour mes enfants et petits-enfants le souvenir cher et sacré de celui qui fut mon époux" (1). It is clear that Nanon structures her tale around two important events: she meets a man and she marries him. Her intention is to preserve his memory, not to record her own life. Because she is more concerned with honoring his life, she makes short work of introducing him. Indeed, Emilien appears at the end of the very first chapter. He is instantly a sympathetic character. He appears to be laughing jovially (14). His timely appearance and sympathetic presentation are clear signs that he is the dear and sacred spouse whose memory Nanon sets out to preserve. Nanon and Emilien grow to know and love one another, eventually getting married and successfully establishing themselves as members of the new order in Revolutionary provincial France.

Additionally, George Sand frequently uses conventional methods for transcribing spontaneous and deeply felt emotional moments. For instance, the speech patterns used at the moment of the Indiana's seduction mark the scene as quintessentially sentimental. It contains both hyperbole and pauses pregnant with meaning:

> —Indiana, lui dit-il, vous pleurez… Pourquoi pleurez-vous ?... Je veux le savoir.
>
> Elle tressaillit de s'entendre appeler par son nom ; mais il y eut encore du bonheur dans la surprise que lui causa cette audace.
>
> --Pourquoi le demandez-vous ? lui dit-elle. Je ne dois pas vous le dire…
>
> --Eh bien, moi, je le sais, Indiana. Je sais toute votre histoire, toute votre vie. Rien de ce qui vous concerne ne m'est indifférent. J'ai voulu tout connaître de vous, et je n'ai rien appris que ne m'eût révélé un instant passé chez vous, lorsqu'on m'apporta tout sanglant, tout brisé à vos pieds, et que votre mari s'irrita de vous voir, si belle et si bonne, me faire un appui de vos bras moelleux, un baume de votre douce haleine. Lui, jaloux !

> oh ! je le conçois bien ; à sa place, je le serais, Indiana ; ou plutôt à sa place, je me tuerais ; car, être votre époux, madame, vous posséder, vous tenir dans ses bras, et ne pas vous mériter, n'avoir pas votre cœur, c'est être le plus misérable ou le plus lâche des hommes. (93)

The dialogue of this passage begins haltingly, with both characters struggling to put what they feel into words, the text marked correspondingly with ellipses. When the dam breaks and Raymon begins his declaration of passion for Indiana, he does so in extreme terms. He claims his passion has allowed him to gain insight into every aspect of Indiana's life. As his speech becomes more impassioned, he begins to use forceful interjections; the text is marked correspondingly with exclamation points. He then returns to the technique of hyperbole, describing the man who possesses but does not deserve Indiana as the most miserable and cowardly of men. Over several pages, the scene continues to grow in sentimental fervor until Indiana feels so deeply she begins to cry, eventually, she can stand no more, "elle pâlit, et, portant la main à son cœur, elle perdit connaissance" (97). The exchange is so full of emotion and so grounded in sentimentality that when Indiana faints, Raymon assumes she is overcome with emotion and will soon awaken with no ill effects. However, in a twist of realism, Indiana faints not from excess of feeling but from illness, which overcomes her faculties (97). In this way, Sand plays down the inherent sentimentality of the scene.

At other times, Sand plays up sentimentality through yet another technique central to conventional sentimentalism, the tableau, according to which characters are described in physical relation to one another at moments of intense emotion. One of the most detailed tableaux in *Indiana* occurs when Raymon first approaches Indiana following the death of Noun. The movement of the scene progresses through the dialogue which is peppered with diegetic

explanations of the placement of the characters with respect to one another. The meticulous tableau is infused with small details that hint at the inner workings of the characters in it. First, Raymon seizes Indiana's hand and kneels "se mettant à genoux près d'elle sur un des coussins du divan qui venait de tomber" (145). The holding of a hand while in a kneeling posture is easily recognized as one of pleading and submission; however, as Raymon conveniently pads his knee with a cushion that fell off the couch, his contrition and apparent subservience are immediately suspect – kneeling and contrition are not meant to be comfortable. Next, Indiana removes her hand and Raymon strives to recapture it and presumably Indiana's confidence. Indiana looks at him with tears in her eyes; he pales, thinking she has discovered his heartless seduction of her servant, Noun. But Indiana is unaware of his transgressions and instead takes pity on his obvious suffering and allows him to once again catch her hand, which he raises to his lips, covering it with tears and kisses, external signifiers of his supposedly deeply felt contrition and love.

In *Nanon,* Sand deploys the technique of the tableau in more overtly conventional fashion. For example, when the two protagonists, Nanon and Emilien, recognize their mutual love, Sand's narrator describes the quintessential tableau of two characters holding one another and crying together. It is a representation of spontaneous recognition of deep shared feeling:

> Il se jeta sur une chaise pleurant de grosses larmes. J'étais toute bouleversée de le voir comme cela. Il n'avait jamais pleuré devant personne, peut-être n'avait-il jamais pleuré du tout. Je me pris à pleurer aussi et à l'embrasser, ce qui ne m'était jamais venu à l'idée. Il me rendit mes caresses et me serra contre son cœur, pleurant toujours, et nous ne songions pas à nous étonner de nous tant aimer l'un l'autre. Cela nous semblait si naturel d'avoir du chagrin ensemble. (128)

Embracing one another, Emilien holding Nanon to his heart in symbolic representation of his strong feeling for her, shared tears representative of sentiment that simply cannot be contained: all the signs point to the authentic expression of feeling.

In *Indiana*, then, as in *Nanon*, Sand frequently appeals to quintessential sentimental conventions. Her texts manifest didactic intent; her characters are ethically driven and frequently faced with an internal conflict characterized by a double-bind; and she strategically deploys sentimental narrative techniques like descriptive restraint, the blazon, and the *tableau*.

Synthesizing Sentimentalisms in *Consuelo*

Like Genlis, Tercy, Paban, and Doin, George Sand experimented with a variety of permutations of sentimentalism by combining it with other modes of writing. She was not, however, content to follow in the footsteps of those who came before her. Rather, she went to great pains to surpass their examples, putting her own distinctive mark on each of the source modes of writing on which she drew. As demonstrated by *Consuelo,* (published serially from 1842 to 1843 in *La Revue Indépendante*), Sand even found a way to synthesize several of them into a single novel that, by virtue of its extreme complexity, defies generic categorization.[240]

Consuelo is the story of a young girl raised in eighteenth-century Venice. She is remarkable for the quality of her voice, which earns her a place in the *scuole* at the Church of the *Mendicanti*, where she refines her art under the guidance of choirmaster and composer Nicola

[240] All citations for this text come from the Folio classique 2004 edition of *Consuelo*. The single tome is divided into two parts, representing the two volumes into which *Consuelo* was divided for an earlier publication. In this edition, renumbering of pages begins with Chapter LIII. In parenthetical citations, the roman numeral 'I' is used to indicate that the cited material comes from the first half of this edition, which includes introductuory materials, Sand's *Notice*, Chapters I through LII, and a section of *Choix de variantes* (I-LXXXI and 1 – 402). In citations from the second half of the 2004 edition, the roman numeral 'II' precedes paginations (1-572).

Porpora. She is the most gifted of Porpora's students. Her mother is ill, and before the sickly woman dies, Consuelo promises her to marry Anzoleto, another poor singer, who has taken on the role of Consuelo's protector. Through the efforts of Anzoleto and Porpora, Consuelo begins a career as an opera singer. She is an instant success. Anzoleto also desires notoriety as a singer, but he is not exceptionally talented and achieves remarkably less success. He initiates an amorous liaison with Consuelo's rival, la Corilla, hoping to use this connection to further his own career. Porpora learns of this illicit relationship and brings it to Consuelo's attention. Hurt by Anzoleto's actions, Consuelo renounces her former fiancé and flees Venice. Porpora arranges for her to begin working in Bohemia as a companion and music tutor to the young baroness Amélie in the Château des Géants near Reisenburg, deep in the Carpathian Mountains. The Rudolstadt family is renowned for their eccentricities. Albert, heir to the family fortune, is assumed to be mad, tortured by visions of past lives. Consuelo's singing, however, offers Albert some consolation. As he and Consuelo fall in love, his illness seems to disappear. However, Consuelo refuses his marriage proposal as she has become increasingly conscious of and worried by the social gap between them. One day, her former fiancé Anzoleto arives at the castle. Rather than explain her past to the Rudolstadts, Consuelo decides to flee to Austria. In Vienna, she reunites with Porpora who counsels her against wedding Albert and advises her to devote herself completely to her art. However, when Consuelo receives a letter from Albert, she responds to him by confessing her passion and expressing her desire to find a way to marry him. Porpora intercepts this letter and burns it. Awaiting a response that can never come, Consuelo continues performing in Vienna until Porpora receives a letter inviting him to Berlin along with his protégée. The pair accept the engagement, but during their journey Consuelo hears that Albert has fallen deathly ill. She returns to Reisenburg and finds Albert on his deathbed. His last wish is

to marry Consuelo and leave his entire fortune to her. She marries him just before he is pronounced dead. She thus becomes the Comtesse de Rudolstadt, though she rejects the title and the worldly riches that accompany it.

In key ways, *Consuelo* conforms to sentimental convention. This is most noticeable in its lack of realistic description. As Cellier and Guichard remark: "Les paysages sont assez factices. On ne voit guère Venise ni la Bohême, qui sont décrites dans les termes les plus vagues, ce qui se conçoit pour la Bohême, qu'elle [Sand] ne connaissait pas, mais ce qui étonne pour Venise" (I:XIII). Throughout the novel, Sand refuses to comply with the realist practice of offering nuanced descriptions of physical settings, even when it comes to locations like Venice, a city where she spent significant time and with which she would have been more than familiar enough to draft a convincingly detailed physical description. In limiting her depiction of the material aspect of physical locations, Sand manifests a commitment to the sentimental convention of descriptive restraint. She does so for a practical reason: such restraint, so characteristic of sentimentalism, allows the author to focus her creative energy and readers' attention on the progression of the storyline, specifically on Consuelo's internal, emotional and psychological journey toward her destiny as an artist and healer/consoler of humanity.

With its focus on an *intrigue d'amour,* the first twenty-one chapters of *Consuelo*, referenced collectively as the *Conte Vénitien*, represent the most conventional portion of the novel.[241] From the outset, Consuelo is cast as a sympathetic sentimental figure, "une admirable

[241] Sand's emphasis on the role of music in her heroine's life is unique. Exploration of this sort of hybridity, however, lies outside the scope of the current study. This portion of the novel can indeed be considered independently of the others. Sand originally intended to write only this portion, which she called a *conte* and which others term a *nouvelle musicale.* However, as the serial publication of her story gained popularity, she expanded the scope of her project. See Cellier and Guichet's introductory remarks to *Consuelo*, especially iv-vii, and the explanatory note added at the end of the 21st chapter, I:160.

créature, à laquelle on ne pourrait reprocher que d'être trop parfaite" (I:XIV). She is first presented in Venice as a young girl whose plain, even ugly exterior conceals a well of virtue and astonishing musical talent. A student under one of the most reputable of composers, Nicola Porpora, she quickly distinguishes herself from other students. She is captivating and pitiable, a poor child "qui faisait plaisir et pitié à voir" (I:14). Her appearance also elicits a compassionate reaction from those who meet her. She is homely in a particularly sympathetic way: "ingénue, insouciante, qui prend son parti, qui n'évite et ne provoque aucun jugement, et qui gagne le cœur en choquant les yeux" (I:15). She is not, however, merely an object of pity. Like all sentimental heroines, she is admirable for her virtues. She is instinctively moral, relentlessly selfless and considerate, a hard worker and critical of no one. She is the epitome of "[l]a piété filiale et le dévoûement tranquille" (I:52). Consuelo has no vanity and suffers no illusions or aspirations of grandeur. She is fundamentally a conventional paragon of sentimental virtue. However, as is true of any sentimental heroine, in spite of her merits, Consuelo must endure *malheur*, a period of suffering that arises through no fault of her own.

Consuelo's suffering begins with the recognition of her creative exceptionality. She is a figure of budding artistic genius, and her blissful anonymity in Venice cannot withstand the exceptionality of her talent. Thus, the earliest chapters of Consuelo's life set the heroine on a course toward celebrity. She is destined for greatness and cannot forever hide in the shadows. Consuelo's genius, a less common source of *malheur* for female protagonists of conventional nineteenth-century sentimental novels, is inherently sentimental for several reasons.[242]

[242] Typically, in early nineteenth-century examples of sentimentalism written by women authors, suffering arises from emotional *sensibilité* or exceptional moral virtue as opposed to artistic or creative genius. Genius, however, is a source of suffering for male characters in the eighteenth-century sentimental tradition as established by Rousseau in *la Nouvelle Héloïse.* It is likewise the

First, Sand uses artistic exceptionality to transform her heroine into an even more sympathetic figure. Unlike many sentimental heroines, Consuelo is not beautiful. Whereas female beauty in conventional sentimentalism can often be read as a signifier of virtue, Sand chooses to take a different path. As Consuelo ages, she grows not in beauty but in talent, and her musical skills serve as a physical manifestation of her inner goodness and morality. Only when Consuelo is singing is her true nature apparent, and at such times she is the epitome of beauty. However, since her beauty is not always visible, her musical genius often serves as a source of additional suffering. As one character explains, "le talent sans la beauté n'est parfois qu'un malheur, une lutte, un supplice pour une femme" (I:21). As she matures, her struggles are increasingly linked to her exceptionality, her perfect combination of virtue and talent. Her character develops as something like a striking combination of Bernardin de Saint Pierre's Virginie (though having escaped death) and Germaine de Staël's Corinne (though able to survive the end of her period of Italian celebrity).[243]

Second, Consuelo's talent is expressly linked to sensibility and the evocation of emotion in herself and in others. Her corresponding role in the world around her is also linked to deep feeling. As one character explains: "Il t'est réservé de faire entendre au monde ce que le monde n'a jamais entendu, et de lui faire sentir ce que nul homme n'a jamais senti" (I:75). Consuelo's genius is not just musical, it is also sentimental: it lies in her ability to use music to trigger

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source of suffering for Madame de Staël's *Corinne*. It also features prominently in the romantic tradition, as in several of Balzac's fictions.

[243] Sand overtly references Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (I:25) and alludes to Corinne throughout the novel, beginning with the name chosen for Consuelo's rival, La Corilla. In *Corinne, ou l'Italie*, Book XIV Chapter IV, Staël notes: "Il ne faut pas confondre le nom de Corinne avec celui de la Corilla, improvisatrice italienne, dont tout le monde a entendu parler" (see Cellier and Guichard's note 2, 18). The opposition of Consuelo and Corilla/Corinne merits further exploration though it lies outside the scope of the current project.

exceptional feeling in her audience, who often manifest their internal emotional reaction with the most common sentimental signifier: tears.[244]

Third, Consuelo's genius is central to her first confrontation with a double bind. Consuelo promises to marry Anzoleto (I:24), her childhood friend and protector, who is, like Consuelo herself, in training to become a singer, though he possesses significantly less talent and no innate genius. Her mother, from her deathbed, forces her to vow to carry through with her plans and never to leave him (I:54-55). However, Consuelo's teacher and mentor Porpora instructs her otherwise; as an artist, he insists, she must give herself wholly to her art (I:140). The double bind only dissipates when Anzoleto's infidelity becomes known to Consuelo, unmasking his immorality and making marriage an impossibility.

Once exposed to the public gaze, Consuelo's rise to fame is sudden. She appears on stage in Venice and earns instant success. Her triumph, however, is riddled with danger. Corruption is all around her, and her virtue is constantly at risk. Her fiancé Anzoleto betrays her by involving himself in an amorous liaison with another woman, and she also begins to feel ill at ease on the stage, nervous in the spotlight, fearing her own growing celebrity and the changeable nature of public opinion. Two episodes in the last chapter set in Venice demonstrate Consuelo's inner sentimental struggle. During what is to be her last performance in Venitian theatre: "elle sentit l'horreur de cette vie d'artiste, enchaînée aux exigences du public, condamnée à étouffer ses sentiments et à refouler ses émotions pour obéir aux sentiments et flatter les émotions d'autrui" (I:149). Consuelo's sensitive soul simply cannot support the public's demands for inauthentic, counterfeit emotions. Her physical appearance reveals her internal state. Returning to her dressing room, she is depicted textually in a way that sheds light on her distressed

[244] This happens for the first time in Chapter II (I:16) but recurs with some frequency during the initial *conte* and throughout the remainder of the novel.

emotional state: "à demi-vêtue, les cheveux en désordre, pâle comme un spectre", anyone can see that she is "bien souffrante" (I:149). She finishes the evening performance, returns to her dressing room, and faints away, symbolically dying and thereby taking the first step toward leaving the theatre behind for good.

Later that night, she meets her traitorous former fiancé. Pushed to extreme emotional suffering, Consuelo throws herself to her knees in a "movement énergique" (a classically sentimental gesture) and begins weeping bitterly, clutching a dear object, her mother's blanket and death shroud, "la couverture qui avait servi de linceul à la zingara" (I:152), a sentimental symbol of the promise she made to her dying mother to marry Anzoleto, the man who has betrayed her. Consuelo resolves to break her promise, she releases her grip on the blanket, stands, and with firmness pushes Anzoleto away, her words echoing the significance of the gesture: "Hors de chez moi, hors de mon cœur, hors de mon souvenir! A tout jamais, adieu! adieu!" (I:152). With these words, Consuelo cuts her final meaningful tie to Italy. She is next seen travelling in Bohemia, where she seeks to recapture her former obscurity, far from the cultured Venetian world.

The second phase of Consuelo's existence represents a dramatic departure from what comes before it in the novel. In it Sand's historical focus shifts from the cultural history of Italian opera to the history of Bohemia prior to its conquest by the Hapsburgs. *Consuelo*, perhaps more than any other of Sand's novels, is a meticulously researched piece of fiction.[245] In it, Sand often

[245] From *Indiana*, set during the early 1800s, to *Nanon*, set during the upheavals of the late eighteenth century, Sand's novels typically take place in clearly identified historical periods. In order to achieve this, she carefully investigates the historical periods during which her novels take place.

blends fiction with fact and, in doing so, modifies sentimental convention.[246] She uses the novel to expose her own historical erudition, to recount episodes from her own life, and to rewrite or enhance historical accounts of particular individuals who often feature only as minor figures in conventional accounts. In this, she mirrors tendencies visible in the ways in which writers like Tercy and Genlis use history in sentimental fiction. However, in *Consuelo,* Sand outpaces her predecessors by expanding her use of history to embrace multiple geographical locations as well as music, religion, class, and other factors.

A variety of scholars have remarked upon the prominent role of history in *Consuelo.* For example, both Léon Cellier and Léon Guichard, authors of a preface to a twentieth-century reedition of *Consuelo,* point to a plethora of historical sources that inform Sand's novel. They marvel at the depth and breadth of Sand's task: "quelle somme de lectures vint nourrir ce roman, et quel travail soutenu elle dut fournir pendant deux ans."[247] Their reconstructed bibliography of primary sources on which Sand drew is extensive, including encyclopedia, memoirs, biographies, histories, geographies, and travelogues by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors like F.J. Fétis, Jacques Lenfant, Pierre Leroux, and the Margrave de Bareith.[248]

Sand herself announces her interest in history and her commitment to rewriting it in the *Notice*: "Je sentais là un beau sujet, des types puissants, une époque et des pays semés d'accidents historiques, dont le côté intime était précieux à explorer" (I:5). The eighteenth

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[246] As Simone Vierne puts it: "George Sand mêle sans cesse dans ce roman les faits historiques et la fiction." Vierne, *George Sand, La Femme qui écrivait la nuit* (Paris: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2004), 53.

[247] See the introductory presentation of "*Consuelo* et *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*" preceding *Consuelo* (Éditions Gallimard Folio Classique, 2004), I:XI.

[248] Cellier and Guichard, "Principales sources écrites de *Consuelo* et de *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* citées dans les notes" in *Consuelo,* I:LXXXIII-LXXXVII.

century provided her with plenty of interesting material, but she is most intensely drawn to the particular, to the intimate, personal side of history. Many of her characters are based on real-world individuals, both those she knew personally and those she had discovered in the pages of historical and biographical texts. Her fiction is a means of unveiling their inner existence, the thoughts and emotions behind their actions.

In the first twenty chapters of the novel, Sand firmly anchors her fiction in music history. Throughout the text, a variety of well-known singers and composers enrich the storyline. These range from world-renowned masters, whose names even today are easily recognizable, to now-obscure individuals. They include: Nicola Porpora, Consuelo's teacher and mentor; Joseph Haydn, her traveling companion and friend; La Corilla, her rival; and others. The protagonist's character is itself based on a close friend of George Sand, Pauline Viardot (née Garcia), a well-known mezzo-soprano. The two shared a lengthy correspondence from which Sand draws a great deal of creative inspiration. Indeed, she takes many aspects of Paulina's letters and grafts them into *Consuelo*.[249] Like Pauline, Consuelo has Spanish heritage and her physical appearance is often described as less than beautiful, though her singing voice is mesmerizing in its ability to convey and inspire deep emotion; both are also gifted singers and composers who find themselves at odds with their contemporaries, though Consuelo is able to overcome her rivals in ways Pauline was not.[250] By grounding the character of Consuelo so firmly in the experiences of Pauline, Sand effectively re-writes her friend's history for the reading public.

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[249] These letters have been preserved and are available for further consultation, though detailed exploration is outside the limits of this project. Thérèse Marix-Spire, *Correspondance inédite de George Sand et Pauline Garcia* (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1959).

[250] Cellier and Guichard both document references to Pauline's life and relationship with Sand in their notes. In reference to the examples above, see notes: on Pauline's origin (I:13), on her lack

Later in the novel, another historical source, the auto-biographical memoirs of the Margrave de Bereith, comes to play a significant role.[251] By infusing the novel with details drawn from a famous memoir, Sand adds convincingly to the historicity of her account. But history serves yet another role for Sand. It also enables her to recount some of her own personal experiences. Thus, Consuelo periodically embodies the author herself. The presence of Sand's past and memories in her fiction is no secret: scholars like Simone Vierne have remarked, "Elle y mêle aussi ses propres souvenirs."[252] In *Consuelo*, Sand's past is visible in many details, beginning with the construction of Consuelo's mother: "Comme pour faire de Consuelo une autre elle-même […], George lui a donné sa propre mère, la plébéienne, qu'elle n'a jamais reniée" (Cellier and Guichard, I:XIV). Thus, some of Consuelo's most fundamental struggles relate to those Sand herself suffered as a woman of talent born to a woman of plebian origins but destined for something more.

By relying on her own personal experiences, relating details acquired through correspondence with Pauline, and appealing to autobiographical sources like the *Mémoires* of the Margrave de Bereith, Sand participates in the use of historically-based fiction to fill in the gaps of "general" history with more particularized individual experiences, often including a strong emotional component. Like women authors who served as pioneers in the construction of the historical sentimental novel, Sand shifts her readers' focus away from the great events of

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of beauty (I:15), on her ability to channel strong emotions (I:16), on composition (I:45), on rivals (I:125).

[251] The role of these memoirs has been examined at some length by Damien Zanone in his chapter "Mémoire de Memoires: le chapitre LXXXVII de *Consuelo* et les *Mémoires* de la margrave de Bayreuth," in *Lectures de Consuelo*, 145-166.

[252] Vierne, *George Sand, La femme qui écrivait la nuit*, 53.

conventional history toward more specific circumstances and their very real effects upon individual human experiences and emotional reactions. She offers not just one "interiorized historical perspective" but many.[253]

During the second part of *Consuelo*, Sand's historical focus shifts as she relocates the center of action to a new setting in Bohemia. This gives her a perfect opportunity to introduce a new cast of characters and switch directions in her narration, drawing increasingly upon elements of gothically-influenced sentimentalism. Even prior to writing *Consuelo,* Sand had played with gothically-influenced episodes in her first novel, *Indiana*, like the appearance of Noun as a phantom.[254] In *Indiana*, seemingly gothic elements are eventually explained away rationally and come to represent misinterpretations of a troubled mind – Raymon and Indiana both believe for brief moments that they see the ghost of Noun because they both feel guilt over her demise. She follows the same trend toward rational explanation of the seemingly supernatural in *Consuelo,* however, her appeal to gothic tropes is stronger, though not so systematic as to allow the novel as a whole to be squarely classified as gothic.[255]

As is typical of gothically-influenced sentimentalism, Sand establishes a particularly striking atmosphere in this second phase of Consuelo's novelistic existence. She does so by breaking with the convention of descriptive restraint and engaging in uncharacteristically detailed description of places, emphasizing their darkness, the presence of the unknown, and the

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[253] See Beasley, *Revising Memory* as explored in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[254] This occurs on several occasions in the novel *Indiana*, 83, 86, 126, 175-177, 181-181 provide examples of scenes in which Raymon struggles with his role in the death of Noun. On 221, Indiana believes she has seen her deceased servant.

[255] For a variety of critical approaches to the gothic in Sand's *Consuelo,* see Héquet and Planté's collection of papers on *Lectures de Consuelo*. See also Marilyn Mallia, "'L'ingénieuse et féconde' George Sand: le remaniement gothique de *Consuelo* (1842) dans *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843)," *French Bulletin* 34, no. 126 (2013): 3-7.

emergence of a wide assortment of stock paraphernalia, including old castles full of long shadowed corridors, deep subterranean caves and passages, hidden trap doors, confining cells, skeletons, tools of torture, and more. This gothic shift happens abruptly, at the outset of the 23rd chapter, when Consuelo arrives in Bohemia and meets her new employers. One of her new hosts describes Bohemia as "l'épouvante de l'Europe," a "pays sauvage" whose history is full of "meurtres, incendies, pestes, bûchers, destructions, églises profanées, moines et religieux mutilés, pendus, jetés dans la poix bouillantes [...] villes détruites, pays désolés, trahisons, mensonges, cruautés, hussites jetés par milliers dans les mines, comblant des abîmes de leurs cadavres, et jonchant la terre de leurs ossements et de ceux de leurs ennemis" (I:183-184).

Consuelo enters her new home, the Château des Géants, where "un mystère étrange régnait" (I:162), on a night when terrible storms forebode terrible events. The castle is riddled with "les corridors, les trappes, les escaliers en spirale, les ténèbres et les souterrains" that would be typical "stock paraphernalia" of English gothic novels like those of Ann Radcliffe (I:252-253).[256] The inhabitants of the castle, described initially as "une tanière de loups, tous plus insociables et plus sauvages les uns que les autres" (I:163), are as disconcerting as the place itself: the Chanoinesse Weceslawa is cursed with a hunched back, a "sexagénaire affligé d'une bosse énorme et d'une maigreur effrayante" (I:164) with a "figure anguleuse" (I:178); her brother, the Count Christian is solemn and menacing: "son extérieur avait quelque chose d'effrayant et de solennel" (I:165) so that upon first view he ressembles "un châtelain du moyen âge" (I:175); his son, Albert, "pâle et morne" (I:164), "vêtu de noir de la tête aux pieds" seems to be "un habitant de l'autre monde" (I:195), frequently suffers "de longs accès de sommeil," and at

[256] Joëlle Prungnaud demonstrates how the architecture of the Château de Géants in particular participates in the creation of gothic atmosphere in *Consuelo*. Prungnaud, "Demeures gothiques" in *Lectures de Consuelo*, 119-132.

times believes himself to be historical actors like "Wrastislaw, fils de Withold" (I:211) or Jean Ziska and who knows "combien d'autres morts […] il soutenait avoir été ses propres apparitions dans la vie du passé" (I:212). All of these details taken together establish a dark and ominous environment that would be ideal for the unfurling of a gothic plot.

The setting and its occupants take an immediate toll on the protagonist. As tension builds, superstitious ideas awaken in Consuelo. Albert's strange story keeps her awake at night, and "la nuit sombre, pluvieuse, et pleine de gémissements, contribuait aussi à l'agiter de sentiments superstitieux" (I:253-254). However, even as the protagonist begins to see herself almost as a character in a Gothic novel, the narrator intervenes to make it clear that this is not the case. At the outset of the 34th chapter, Sand's narrator points out:

> Si l'ingénieuse et féconde Anne Radcliffe se fût trouvée à la place du candide et maladroit narrateur de cette très véridique histoire, elle n'eût pas laissé échapper une si bonne occasion de vous promener, madame la lectrice, à travers les ténèbres et les souterrains pendant une demi-douzaine de beaux et attachants volumes, pour vous révéler, seulement au septième, tous les arcanes de son œuvre savante. Mais la lectrice esprit fort que nous avons charge de divertir ne prendrait peut-être pas aussi bien, au temps où nous sommes, l'innocent stratagème du romancier. D'ailleurs, comme il serait fort difficile de lui en faire accroire, nous lui dirons, aussi vite que nous le pourrons, le mot de toutes nos énigmes. (I:252-253)

In short, though all the trappings of gothicism are glaringly present, the novel is not in fact a gothic novel. Rather than following the system of Radcliffe wherein a mystery captivates the reader until the very end of the novel when it is reasonably explained and all enigma dissipates, Sand allows the protagonist, and therefore the reader, to quickly discover the truth of

what surrounds her. The lesson is repeated relentlessly: Beware of appearances; things are not what they seem. Interestingly, Sand appeals here to a reader who is specifically gendered as female. This seems to be done somewhat tongue-in-cheek, as a way of distancing herself from the typical gothic novel read by uneducated women in search of simple diversion. She reminds this kind of reader to be wary of that which seems supernatural and encourages instead a constant return to logic and reason.[257]

Albert, described first as "pale et morne" (I:164), "son extérieur avait quelque chose d'effrayant et de solennel" (I:165), exclaims that the weather is terrible: "Quel temps affreux" (I:165). At the time, the weather is nothing of the sort, "[u]n calme profond régnait au dehors comme au dedans" (I:165). The inaccurate exclamation serves as an initial signal that the young nobleman is not entirely normal. The other family members react with surprise and uneasy looks that reveal an emotional reaction: "et alors on eût pu lire sur tous les visages une anxiété profonde, une sollicitude douloureuse et tendre" (I:165). Such reactions suggest that Albert may be victim of an unfortunate mental affliction, some sort of madness. The portrayal of mental illness or lunacy is relatively common as a gothic device and anchors the text more firmly in Sand's newly adopted yet constantly resisted subgenre. However, Albert is not easily pigeon-holed as a gothic trope. He provokes more than just unease or fear, *anxiété*, in those around him. Even this emotion is *profonde* in a particular way: it also evokes sympathy and pity, *une sollicitude douloureuse et tendre*. Moreover, Albert's insanity is not entirely unreasonable. A short while after his exclamation, "un coup de vent terrible ébranla les vitraux des immenses croisées, rugit à plusieurs reprises en battant comme d'un fouet les eaux du fossé, et se perdit dans les hauteurs de la montagne avec un gémissement si aigu et si plaintif que tous les visages

[257] Claire Barel-Moisan, "Narrateur et narrataire dans *Consuelo*" in *Lectures de Consuelo*, 44.

en pâlirent, à l'exception de celui d'Albert, qui sourit encore" (I:166). The confirmation of Albert's predictions turns his former folly into ominous prophecy, again a stock feature of gothicism. However, if read as a sentimental sign, it also lends him a sense of legitimacy by transforming him into an exceptionally sensitive soul. He becomes something of a clairvoyant, gifted with the intuitive ability to feel that which escapes the ordinary senses of people. The legitimacy of his predictions established, Albert's next prophecy is much more meaningful: "Il y a en ce moment, dit-il une âme que l'orage pousse vers nous" (I:166). Thus is the arrival of Consuelo heralded. The storm itself must be interpreted in light of this second prophecy.

Within the logic of the text, the storm possesses complex meaning. On a superficial level, the apparently violent tempest bodes ill for the Rudolstadt family. It signifies the disruption and chaos that this new soul, Consuelo, will bring into their lives. This is the easiest reading of the event. However, it is also the least accurate. Like many appearances in Sand's novel, this one is also deceiving. The disturbance caused by Consuelo is only superficial. In fact, in the long term Consuelo will prove worthy of the meaning of her name (she absolutely must!) and bring peace to the family through her emotional attachment to Albert. The storm therefore holds a deeper though less obvious signification and is most appropriately read as a physical manifestation of the emotional turmoil the protagonist is suffering, suffering which sentimentally links Consuelo to the newest protagonist, Albert.

To explain: recall that early in the novel, Consuelo is ascribed the ability to make people feel deeply; this is an effect of her musical genius. She is supremely emotive. Having recently fled Italy, mourning the loss of her former fiancé, Consuelo's emotions are naturally in turmoil. The fact that Albert can feel her approaching the manor before the others do establishes an instant sentimental rapport between the two characters. They are two exceptionally sensible

figures, both possessing a capacity for feeling that surpasses that of other people. From this moment, their eventual encounter with one another is inevitable, and their recognition of each other as similarly sensitive souls is fated. In short, the scene subtly announces the likelihood of their future together – only several hundred pages of novelistic peripeteia stand in the way.

A veteran reader of sentimentalism would have noted from the beginning of the novel that Anzoleto, the young singer initially betrothed to Consuelo, was not a suitable amorous companion for such an extraordinary heroine. He was too unlike her, too unvirtuous and mundane. In Bohemia, the plot turns and points to a new and more appropriate sentimental pairing: Consuelo and Albert. This is at once more acceptable and less feasible. It is yet another version of the sentimental double bind. Albert and Consuelo are perfect for one another on an emotional level. Socially, however, their match is improper: she is a poor orphan with no means, and he is a nobleman destined to marry someone of his own social station. Much of the action of later parts of the novel relates to the resolution of this rather traditional manifestation of the sentimental double bind.

Thus, despite Sand's appeal to obvious gothic tropes, she tempers their narrative effect through an intriguing recourse to sentimentalism. She flirts with the gothic novel but does not adopt it as a model.[258] She shifts the narrative away from the gothic model of "thrill seeking" aesthetic intensity and back to the calmer, more moralizing aesthetic of the sentimental. She goes out of her way to prevent her reader from experiencing emotions like fear, terror and horror, except in fleeting terms.

For instance, when Sand describes the Rudolstadt family home as a "vieux manoir très vaste" (I:161), she notes that what appears from afar as a typically gothic "antique forteresse" is

[258] Barel-Moisan, "Narrateur et narrataire en *Consuelo,*" 44.

not at all what one would expect. Instead of being a harsh and frightening place, it is "décorée à l'intérieur, dans le goût, déjà suranné à cette époque, mais toujours somptueux et noble, de Louis XIV. L'architecture féodale avait subi aussi d'heureuses modifications dans les parties de l'édifice occupées par les seigneurs de Rudolstadt, maîtres de ce riche domaine" (I:161). She uses this incongruous description of place to shed light on the individual characters connected to it. Much like the castle in which they live, the Rudolstadts are more than what they seem. They all suffer exterior traits that would be familiar to readers of gothic literature. However, these external peculiarities conflict with the personalities of the individuals to whom they are ascribed. We have already seen that Albert is not entirely the madman that he seems. Similarly, the Chanoinesse Wenceslawa de Rudolstadt who initially appears as a grotesque figure possesses a character at odds with her appearance; she is not at all monstrous but "la plus causeuse de la famille" (I :164), a kind-hearted woman, "la meilleure des femmes" (I :178).

Even the one character who might appear to be a gothic heroine finds herself thwarted. Amélie, the Count Albert's young cousin and fiancé, is "blonde, un peu haute en couleur, vive et bien faite" (I :165). She expressly calls herself a prisoner, "une perle enfermée dans ma triste famille comme dans une huître dont cet affreux château de Géants est l'écaille" (I :165). The narrator, however, casts doubt on the veracity of such an assertion, referring to Amélie as a "pétulant oiseau" (I:165), less of a victim and more of a sulky child. In describing Amélie in this way, Sand modifies the classically gothic trope of the imprisoned woman. Whereas typically, a gothic heroine finds herself "fearfully trapped between contradictory pressures and impulses" (Jerrold, 9), unjustly held prisoner by her husband, and locked away from society, unable to escape on her own, Sand's imprisoned female characters are not restricted to the traditional choice between marriage and death. Rather, they have more flexible futures in front of them.

They discover that they are only captive as long as they allow themselves to be kept. Both Amélie and Consuelo use their intelligence to extricate themselves from their unhappy situations. Once the fear and illusion are seen through, danger disappears and even female characters can access their own inner source of power. Thus, fear proves to be fleeting, inspired only briefly by the stock paraphernalia of a conventional gothic novel. It is not enduring: its function is to challenge Consuelo to put her intelligence and reason to the test, which allows her to uncover the truth and find new hope for the future. Consuelo's primary task throughout this part of the novel is to push past her fear, make rational observations, gather this data, and put discreet pieces of seemingly disconnected information together in order to construct an accurate interpretation of the world around her.

Often, these interpretations relate directly to the sentimental nature of the people around her as for example when she stumbles upon the Count Christian praying in a small chapel. Initially, she sees what she assumes to be a sculpture, "une statue blanchâtre, agenouillée vis-à-vis de l'autel" (I:252). However, the statue moves, and Consuelo stumbles back, irrationally frightened until she regains her *sang-froid* and recognizes the reality beneath the illusion. She sees not a statue but the elderly Count Christian saying his prayers. When she makes sense of the situation, her interpretation of the scene changes: "Un peu honteuse de sa frayeur, Consuelo resta enchaînée à sa place par le respect, et par la crainte de troubler une si fervente prière. Rien n'était plus solennel et plus touchant à voir que ce vieillard prosterné sur la pierre, offrant son cœur à Dieu au lever de l'aube, et plongé dans une sorte de ravissement céleste qui semblait fermer ses sens à toute perception du monde physique" (I:253). Fear transforms into shame, and Consuelo feels herself sympathetically moved by what she sees.

Here, Christian provides an interesting image of an individual who, through religious prayer, withdraws from the physical realm. He is so deeply occupied by his prayer that his physical senses fail him. He provides Sand with a prime moment for reshaping a sentimental blazon. She constructs Christian in opposition to Albert, highlighting the defects of the former to underscore the talents and gifts of the latter. Sand depicts his hair, facial features, and clothing:

> autour de sa nuque une demi-couronne de cheveux argentés; et son vaste front, dépouillé jusqu'au sommet du crâne, avait le luisant jaunâtre des vieux marbres. Revêtu d'une robe de chambre de laine blanche à l'ancienne mode, qui ressemblait un peu à un froc de moine, et qui formait sur ses membres amaigris de gros plis raides et lourds, il avait tout l'air d'une statue de tombeau. (I:253)

Christian is not vilified or mocked but depicted as worthy of respect. He is constructed in the image of a statue, a remnant of times past and outdated religious practices, out of place and ineffectual in the world around him. He is cold and almost lifeless, the opposite of his son Albert who is full of warmth, intelligence, and zeal. Christian is but one example of Sand's continued reliance upon sentimental elements like the blazon. She repeatedly deploys recognizable sentimental features like this to bring the focus of her fiction back to the inner feelings and struggles of her protagonists.

Sand also uses the sentiments and struggles of her characters to reflect more broadly upon society. In *Consuelo,* the character of Albert is deeply connected to the experiences of the peasants of his region. Believing himself to be the reincarnation of several important figures from Bohemian history, Albert remembers a number of past lives. He embodies, in a very literal way, centuries of popular tradition. His memories are a source of history for the Bohemian people whose past has been suppressed by the tyranny of the Habsburg Empire. The peasant lore

he shares with Consuelo provides Sand a means for exploring the history of oppression and proposing a solution to it.

During two subterranean journeys, Consuelo is introduced to the Schreckenstein, Albert's hidden underground refuge. The secret caverns initially appear to be yet another appeal to English gothicism. However, they are much more than that. They are a physical representation of Albert's soul. Just as past lives are buried within Albert, the Bohemian past is buried under the Schreckenstein. Thus, Consuelo's journey into the caves is a journey of discovery, a descent into historical memory, at once personal and social, specific to Albert yet shared with all his countrymen.[259] In this place of darkness and shadow, Albert unveils his memories of his past lives to Consuelo. Significantly, much of his historical memory is contained in the form of ancient peasant hymns. Singing them, he becomes an emblem of the collective past and as such reveals the historical struggles of his people. The story of Jean Ziska, one of Albert's former incarnations, is at the core of this historical account, a historically marginalized viewpoint. Ziska is a historical figure, a hero to Protestant and Slavic peasants for his resistance to the oppression of Germanic and Catholic rulers, whom Sand presents as a figure or popular myth and legend. His feats of heroism are described in a sequence of peasant songs sung by Albert. As Consuelo comes to understand and sympathize with the tales related through these popular hymns, Sand's text endorses the cause of revolutionaries like Ziska who sought to end oppression by whatever means necessary while lamenting the violence and bloodshed that accompanied social progress toward true class equality.

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[259] Kari Lokke, "'Children of Liberty': Idealist Historiography in Staël, Shelley, and Sand," *PMLA* 118, no. 3 (2003), 513-518.

This moving scene also valorizes knowledge that is transmitted orally and may not be retained outside of the popular conscious.[260] Consuelo's assimilation of this kind of knowledge, her carefully constructed process of gathering and internalizing information attests to Sand's brand of literary didacticism. Consuelo's travels, especially her journey underground into Albert's refuge, teach her about how the world is and how it should be. Through her education, Consuelo is increasingly linked to *le peuple,* feeling ever more drawn to sympathize with their plight and adapting her views accordingly.

One particularly didactic scene takes place in a cave beneath the Schreckenstein. Consuelo finds herself drawn to the cave, an "étrange sanctuaire" (II:7), by music, produced by Albert on a violin. Like Consuelo's, Albert's musical gift is expressly connected to his ability to evoke strong emotional reactions in listeners. When Consuelo hears him play, she recognizes in his performance "un sentiment si pur et si large, qu'elle oublia toutes ses angoisses pour approcher doucement du lieu où il se trouvait, attirée et comme charmée par une puissance magnétique" (II:7). She is drawn to him through feeling, specifically compassionate and consoling feeling which eases any doubts she has and prompts her to follow him into the caves. By establishing a sympathetic emotional base for their interaction, Albert sets the stage for an effective teaching moment. He becomes a "guide mystérieux" (II:8) who initiates her into a system of knowledge that has been suppressed by dominant religious beliefs and for whom Consuelo feels "une sympathie indéfinissable" (II:8).

[260] Sand was a member of the *Académie celtique,* which spurred the development of folklore studies in France. Peasant lore interested Sand immensely and was a common feature in her novels, especially those described by scholars and critics as "pastoral" or *champêtres*. She also wrote a collection of *Légendes rustiques* in which she gathers a variety of tales from her native region of Berry.

Throughout this episode, Consuelo periodically experiences irrational fear. She is, after all, surrounded by many trappings of gothic horror: a cave "sombre, grandiose, et terrible" (II:7) that contains a disturbing altar, "formé d'ossements et de cranes humains" (II:8). The experience of this emotion serves a clear purpose: it leads her on a sentimental journey. Consuelo recognizes her emotion as a response to stimuli and interrogates the causes of her reaction. As she comes to understand the true meaning of the symbols around her, the cave is transformed: "ses cyprès, ses rochers terribles, et son autel lugubre, lui parut à la lueur mouvante des torches, une sorte d'Élysée magique où se promenaient d'augustes et solennelles apparitions" (II:21). She transcends her terror and, in doing so, achieves spiritual insight while also experiencing ecstasy.

Consuelo deepens her understanding by questioning Albert at length and Albert, acting as teacher, patiently explains how the dogmatic traditions of conventional Christianity have served to oppress the poor and the weak. He insists that true religion does otherwise: "ma sœur chérie, reconnaissez donc dans votre cœur, auquel je m'adresse (sans vouloir fatiguer votre esprit de raisonnements philosophiques), que l'égalité est sainte, que c'est la volonté du père des hommes, et que le devoir des hommes est de chercher à l'établir entre eux" (II:15). The core element of this religion is equality, a social principle. Albert's rhetoric in this scene is strikingly sentimental. He appeals to Consuelo's heart, rather than her mind and, in the end, wins both.

To conclude, close reading of works like *Nanon, Indiana,* and *Consuelo* show that George Sand made strategic use of sentimental conventions. She appealed to elements of the sentimental tradition while also echoing earlier nineteenth-century women writers who blended the familiar sentimental mode with other forms of writing. In *Consuelo,* Sand deployed the widest range of conventions of hybrid sentimental narratives as constructed by Genlis, Tercy,

Paban, and Doin. Like Genlis, Sand offered readers a depiction that diverged from that proposed by prominent historians. She wrote the hidden history of a marginalized group of individuals, Bohemians, whose story had been overshadowed by that of the victorious conquerors, the Hapsburg Emperors. Like Tercy, she gave her fiction a gothic flavor, especially during moments when the long-forgotten past and legends of Bohemia take center stage. Her novel *Consuelo* was saturated with research into such characters and their role in history and collective memory. Finally, like Paban and Doin, she lamented the effects of oppression and championed the interests of subjugated and persecuted individuals. In *Consuelo,* Sand synthesized a multiplicity of sentimental subgenres into a single, astoundingly complex text, infused with elements drawn from historical, gothic, regional, and socially-engaged sentimental traditions.

Sand used her fiction, and the sentiments it depicted, to articulate an entire system of beliefs that was both deeply personal and directly tied to the cause of social equality. That cause was a thread that tied together much of Sand's fiction; it was central to *Consuelo* and also clearly visible in both *Nanon* and *Indiana*. She championed the cause of misunderstood and suppressed religious minorities, like the Hussites in *Consuelo*. She promoted social changes that would benefit women, as in *Indiana,* and called for reforms to benefit other disenfranchised groups, like peasants in *Nanon*. Indeed, throughout her collected works, Sand routinely highlighted and opposed unjust oppression in the lives of oppressed, subjugated, or persecuted individuals. However, for Sand the domain of socially-engaged fiction was broad and multi-layered, and she found ways to infuse it with elements drawn from other modes of writing, like other female sentimentalists who came before her.

Conclusion

Let us return one final time to the question that lies at the heart of this dissertation: what is the utility of sentiment, in literary terms? Ultimately, sentimentalism was itself a tool for the authors I have considered. They used it to shed light on the past and present, while offering readers strategies for living with the realities of their world and even devising ways to improve both the individual and the world in which he or she lived. Moreover, sentimentalism gave them ways to express and publish their own opinions and to draw attention to subjects that might otherwise have been ignored. The first chapter of this study summarized the cultural discourses that, from the eighteenth century on, limited women's participation in the writing of literature; it also demonstrated the particular ways in which sentimentalism suited the needs of women writers seeking to embark upon literary careers by mitigating some of the negative repercussions of such a choice. In her essay *De la littérature* (1788), for example, Germaine de Staël articulated a justification for women writers' natural ability of observation and their *sensibilité*, or ability to feel emotion. By asserting the importance of emotion or sentiment, Staël argued for increased acceptance of women authors, whom she depicted as particularly skilled at writing about emotions in such a way as to inspire feeling in their readers. The following three chapters uncovered hybrid permutations of sentimentalism in the fictional works of Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis, Fanny Tercy, Gabrielle Paban, and Sophie Doin. The fourth and final chapter approached George Sand not as a strictly sentimental writer herself, but as an author who,

familiar with the literature of her time, drew upon the kinds of non-conformist sentimentalism produced by authors like Genlis, Tercy, Paban, and Doin.

The central text examined in my second chapter, Genlis's *Les Parvenus, ou les aventures de Julien Delmours, écrites par lui-même* (1819), merits increased attention in her body of work precisely because of its unique approach to blending history and sentimentalism. In it, Genlis recorded her understanding of a new social order, emerging in France in the wake of the Revolution. She wove historical sources into her fiction, from erudite accounts to less formal autobiographical narratives, creating her own unique interpretation of the past, at once grandiose and personal, melding well-known events with individual lived experiences. In doing so, she complicated the traditional moral focus of sentimentalism by adding a practical historical didacticism aimed at identifying social and cultural changes and teaching readers to take these into consideration to change their lot in life. Through this expanded concept of the utility of sentimental fiction, Genlis taught moral lessons, offered instruction on the historical past, and even demonstrated her continued relevance as an author. While her portrayal of historical events was slanted by her Royalist political convictions, it offers today's scholars an interesting approach to the Revolution.

Fanny Tercy's gothically-influenced sentimentalism, examined in Chapter 3, was a particular blend all her own: she deployed it as a means of unveiling local legends, highlighting regional history, and even bringing to the fore the efforts of past and present scholars from her native region. While reflecting the sentimental tendency to entertain while also edifying readers, Tercy went beyond the conventional moral and ethical aims of sentimentalism, seeking to offer her readers the possibility of rediscovering the richness of the legends of Franche Comté. By endowing her works with a precise regional focus, she recreated a sort of regional mythology and

in it preserved what she viewed as an endangered cultural heritage. Tercy thus put sentimentalism to multiple uses: it served to teach readers moral lessons while drawing attention to regional traditions and showcasing her own erudition along with that of individuals in her inner circle, like Charles Nodier, Désiré Monnier, and Isidor Taylor.

In the fourth chapter, I showed how Gabrielle Paban and Sophie Doin took two different approaches to blending sentimentalism with social engagement. Drawing upon a tradition of socially-engaged sentimentalism established by authors like Claire de Duras, Paban and Doin found ways to delve more deeply into the abolitionist cause. Both writers used sentimentalism as a means of depicting the inner lives and fundamental humanity of racially marked characters: they sought to elicit a sympathetic response in readers to the unjust suffering of enslaved individuals. Through these feelings, both authors aimed to compel readers to action and called for a final end to both slavery and the slave trade. Along with other activists of their time, they participated in slowly moving toward abolition in 1848. For them, sentimentalism was not just a tool for the moral edification of readers; it was also a tool for effecting real, concrete political change.

In my final chapter, I showed how George Sand deployed many of the conventional elements of sentimentalism in her novels. I focused my analysis on *Indiana* (1832), *Nanon* (1872), and *Consuelo* (1842-43). In *Consuelo,* in particular, George Sand tied together aspects of each of the hybrid forms of sentimentalism constructed by Genlis, Tercy, Paban, and Doin. History took a prominent place as she recounted the history of Bohemia and its subjugation by the Hapsburg Empire. Like Genlis, she offered readers a depiction of historical events that was not necessarily echoed by prominent historical accounts. She wrote the hidden history of a marginalized group of individuals, Bohemians, whose story had been overshadowed by that of

their victorious conquerors. Like Tercy, Sand periodically lent her fiction a gothic flavor which surfaced most strongly in episodes wherein the long-forgotten past and local legends related to it took center stage. Like Paban and Doin, she lamented the effects of slavery and oppression. She did not, however, depict the reality of slavery. Rather, she highlighted the unjust oppression of other subjugated and persecuted individuals, including misunderstood religious and ethnic minorities. She advocated a broad spectrum of social concerns within fiction writing, including social changes that would benefit women, disenfranchised peasants, and suppressed religious groups. She used her fiction as a means of articulating a system of beliefs that upheld the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

I have argued that these women authors enhanced sentimentalism by infusing it with elements drawn from other disciplines, modes of writing, and social movements -- and by expanding the spectrum of emotions or sentiments featured in their fictions. All of them endowed their particular brands of sentimentalism with increasingly utilitarian or pragmatic function, going beyond the kind of moral and social utility emphasized in works like Richardson's *Clarissa* or Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. In addition to moral and social lessons, they sought to educate readers on the historical past, provincial traditions, and social causes like abolitionism. The utility of sentimentalism, then, shifted according to the writers who employed the mode: it allowed Genlis to talk freely about history, whereas Tercy used it to unveil regional lore, Paban and Doin to fight for social justice, and Sand to do all of these things and more.

To be fair, Sand was far from alone in experimenting with a variety of permutations of sentimentalism. For the reader's information, I have appended a list of works published by each of the women writers examined in my thesis. When one peruses these lists, one sees that the

titles chosen provide subtle clues to the style of literature each author produced. The lists also show that each of these women worked diligently to expand her skills across a spectrum of writing styles, making use of her signature sentimentalism in ever new ways. Genlis, for instance, best known for her moralizing didactic tales, also made use of the historical past in more conventionally sentimental works like *Les Chevaliers du Cygne, ou la Cour de Charlemagne, conte historique et moral* (1795), *Mademoiselle de la Fayette, ou le Siècle de Louis XIII* (1813), and *Jeanne de France* (1816), and in more unconventional works like *Les Parvenus* (1819) and *Les Petits Émigrés* (1798). She also produced gothically-influenced sentimentalism, like the "Histoire de la Duchesse C***." Likewise, Gabrielle Paban wrote more than just abolitionist sentimentalism: she also published collections of a more convention sentimental nature like *Les Amis de collége* [sic], *ou Quinze jours de vacances; recueil choisi d'historiettes propres à instruire la jeunesse en l'amusant* (1819) and even produced gothically-influenced stories like the *Histoire des fantômes et démons qui se sont montrés parmi les hommes* (1819) and *Démoniana, ou nouveau Choix d'anecdotes surprenantes, de nouvelles prodigieuses, d'aventures bizarres, sur les revenants, les spectres, les fantômes, les démons, les loups-garous* [sic], *les visions, etc.; ouvrage propre à rassurer les imaginations timorées contre les frayeurs superstitieuses* (1820). Sentimentalism, it is clear, was put to a variety of uses by each author studied here.

Let us now turn briefly to a few unanswered questions about nineteenth-century literary sentimentalism that surfaced while researching this project. One path of questioning regards authorial identity and the relationship between the biological sex of early ninteenth- century French sentimental writers and the gender they adopted as authors. The interplay between the two was not examined at any length in the body of this project, but remains a subject of great

interest. Another line of inquiry is related to further expanding our knowledge of the landscape of early nineteenth-century literature through the study of another group of minor authors: minor male authors, who figured among them authorities cited by the writers in my corpus.

Masking Identity, Gender Bending, and Sentimentalism

The literary history of early nineteenth-century France is peppered with biblio-biographical dictionaries that expose the "true identities" of authors, male and female alike. It takes but a brief glance into a work like Georges D'Heillly's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes* to see that the adoption of pen names was quite a common practice.[261] D'Heilly calls it "fort à la mode chez nous, dans la tribu des lettres" (22). According to D'Heilly, French literature was filled to the brim with works published under names that in some way masked the identity of the author. Works like this reveal that the options for entirely or partially masking an authorial identity are more or less limitless. Authors could conceal part of all of their true identity by using a combination of title and an abbreviated name. Both Fanny Tercy and Gabrielle Paban took this course, publishing as *Madame de T**** and *Gabrielle de P****, respectively. Alternatively, women could use their maiden names in place of their legal married names. Men could replace their legal surnames with that of other family members, borrowing, for instance, maiden names from wives and mothers. These procedures, however, provided little true identity protection. To mask themselves more effectively, both men and women were known to modify the names by which they were associated through family ties, changing them just enough to disguise themselves: Elisabeth Canard thus became *Elisabeth Celnart*, for instance. Most often, when

[261] George D'Heilly, *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes* (Paris: Rouquette, 1868). Only 128 pages long, D'Heilly's text is one of the shorter dictionaries of this sort published at the time.

authors adopted these methods of identity masking, they still broadcast their biological sex. This was largely true even when an author opted for a completely invented pen name. Authors chose pen names for many reasons. Some did it to make a political point, like Hippolyte Castille who wrote as *Job le Socialiste*, probably to express political opinions more freely. Others chose names to capitalize on their implications. A novelist like Paul Féval, for instance, may have chosen his pen name, *Sir Francis Trolopp*, to add a certain English air to his works and benefit from the popularity of such works at the time. Other names were invented for reasons more difficult to discern: Jenny Bastide, for example, writes as *Adèle de Thalaris*, *Thalaris Dufourquet*, and *Camille de Bodin*. The last of these is perhaps the most interesting as it may represent a gender neutral choice, masking not only the identity of the author but also potentially that individual's biological sex.[262] This kind of identity masking is the most extreme and the least common.

Most often, authors tended to publish under pseudonyms that complied with the gendered identities they lived with in day-to-day life, identities based around unshifting sexual dichotomies. Nonetheless, publishing as a member of the opposite sex did occur, though there are only a handful of examples represented in D'Heilly's *Dictionnaire*. Even so, such subterfuge may have occurred frequently enough to indicate that French readers would not been excessively shocked by an author taking such an approach to publication.

For women, the desire to exercise a degree of authorial anonymity was linked to widespread prejudices against the *femme auteur*. Even though women authors tried to mitigate negative reactions to their work by framing themselves as pedagogues or moral guides, they often remained figures of ridicule. One need merely look at a handful of Honoré Daumier's

[262] D'Heilly, "Bastide," *Dictionnaire de pseudonyumes*, 10.

caricatured depictions of the *bas bleu* to see the ridicule and scorn heaped upon women who chose to enter the male-dominated domain of literature.[263] Georges D'Heilly's *Dictionnaire de pseudonymes* shows that many women authors chose to disavow their sex in various ways. For instance, he told his readers that Henriette Reybaud (known as Mme Charles Reybaud) published as *H. Arnaud* in order to "ne pas indiquer au public le sexe de l'auteur" (96). D'Heilly, however, did not speculate as to why it would be advantageous to hide one's gender.

Modern scholars, however, have written at length about the purpose of pen names. In an essay on Stendhal, Jean Starobinski calls the pseudonym "une rupture avec les origines familiales ou sociales : c'est une rupture avec les autres" that also "permet [à l'auteur] de se révolter contre une identité imposée du dehors."[264] In short, a pen name frees an author from expectations attached to his or her given name, including the imposing weight of a socially ascribed identity. Pen names also allowed nineteenth-century authors to avoid criticism: Ralph Schoolcraft contends that the literary pseudonym Stendhal used in his youth served "as a buffer to shield the young writer from criticism" and allowed the writer "to test the waters without venturing too much, to profit from success yet cut losses in the event of failure." [265] As we have seen, there were a plethora of paths that could be taken to accomplish such a feat: an author could adopt a pseudo-anonymous or totally made up pen-name to hide his or her identity less or more completely.

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[263] Cohen, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, 176-77; Fraisse, *Muse de la raison* (cited in Cohen) for analyses of such cartoons.

[264] Jean Starobinski, "Stendhal Pseudonyme," in *L'Oeil vivant* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 195.

[265] Ralph Schoolcraft, "For Whom the Beyle Tolls: Stendhal and Pseudonymous Authorship," *PMLA* 119, no. 2 (2004): 247-64, citation at 249.

The examples of pseudo-anonymity in D'Heilly's dictionary are too numerous to count. The invented pen name, disconnected from actual identity is rarer, though several examples stand out, chief among them Amantine-Aurore-Lucille Dupin, *George Sand*. Dominique Laporte argues that George Sand rejected the label of *femme auteur* and refused the sentimental novel in its entirety in order to opt for a socially useful mode of writing that was less focused on eighteenth-century models of sensibility.[266] That thesis needs to be nuanced. It is true that, in her correspondence with Charlotte Marliani, George Sand publicly maligned "les petits romans" by women that targeted readers easily classed as either "belles dames" or "femmes de chambre" (Laporte, 248). She wanted her novels to be more than just light entertainment. However, Sand also drew upon the very tradition she disdained. She cited, for instance, Madame de Genlis's *Battuecas* as one of the earliest influences on the development of her social conscience. Arguments such as Laporte's spring from a reductive view of the "sentimental novel" as a purely entertaining kind of novel concerned only with love stories and aimed at an uneducated female readership.

As we have seen through each chapter of this dissertation, the reality of "sentimental literature" covers a much broader territory. Nineteenth-century French women writers combined sentimentalism with other varieties of fictional writing, like the historical novel, the gothic novel, and the social novel. Although their works tended to privilege plots centered on love stories, authors of "sentimental literature" also had loftier aims related to improving readers' ability to function in the society of their day and bettering that society as a whole. Without making sentimentalism unrecognizable, these authors adapted it to their own needs and breathed new life

[266] Dominique Laporte, "'Ne m'appelez donc jamais *femme auteur'*: Déconstruction et refus du roman sentimental chez George Sand," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 29, no. 3-4 (2001): 247-255.

into an aging genre. They raised awareness of and called for change regarding contemporary social and political issues like the evolution of traditional class structures; they likewise expressed concerns about the losses suffered as a result of growing calls for the homogenization of French culture and suppression of regional differences.

Moreover, even though Sand was highly critical of and wished to distinguish herself from the maligned *femmes auteurs* of the sentimental tradition, she nodded in their direction quite often and clearly owed her predecessors much. However, the fact remains that Sand did everything in her power to write not as a woman but as a man. She even chose to publish under a male name, unlike all the other writers in this study who, even when publishing pseudo-anonymously (as *Madame de T**** or *Gabrielle de P****, for instance) embrace a clearly feminized authorial persona.

Sand's choice to adopt a masculine pen name is an interesting one, and she was unparalleled in her commitment to her self-constructed authorial identity. Her staunchness of purpose started something a vogue: by becoming "George Sand" and taking up the name of an English man rather than a French woman, Aurore Dupin constructed for herself a very particular identity that both opened doors and raised eyebrows.[267] Sand's success spurred a rash of other "George's," notably in England – take George Elliot, for example. Her decision to publish not as a woman but as a man doubtlessly sprang from a firm desire to distinguish herself from the oft-derided masses of *femme auteurs*. Dominique Laporte views this choice as a willful transgression: "elle transgresse, sinon menace l'ordre établi."[268] Laporte views Sand as

[267] Many of George Sand's biographers attempt to explain the reasons behind this name choice. For example, Reid, "Devenir Sand" in *George Sand*, 92-113; Jack, "Becoming Sand" in *George Sand*, 159-172; Harlan, "George Sand is Born" in *George Sand*, 141-148.

[268] Laporte, "'Ne m'appelez donc jamais *femme auteur*,'" 247.

positioning herself carefully as an author: "elle s'affirme comme l'égale de ses confrères sous un pseudonyme masculin"(247). In other words, Sand adopted a male name in order to ensure that she would be viewed as equal to her male counterparts and judged by similar standards rather than being perceived and assessed as a *woman* author. Sand's blatant rejection of her own femininity won her a degree of celebrity: it elicited a broad spectrum of reactions, shocking, pleasing, angering and irritating her contemporaries.

Charles Nodier, for instance, was harshly critical of Sand, especially her adoption of a masculine authorial persona.[269] Nodier severely criticized Sand's "*posture* littéraire," that is, her complete refusal of femininity: he issued "une condamnation radicale de l'attitude de George Sand, accusée de vouloir rivaliser avec les hommes dans leur approche réaliste et matérialiste du monde" (Laisney, 565). In a very real way, Nodier opposed the idea of "égalité" between the sexes as writers. He believed that a woman's writing should above all be "women's" writing: "un livre de femme devrait donc être avant tout un livre de femme" (Nodier cited in Laisney, 577). Paradoxically, he claimed to take this stance in order to valorize the qualities that distinguish women as writers. He even pointed to their superiority in certain domains, notably that of *sensibilité*: "les femmes sont propres à briller dans un grand nombre de genres littéraires" and goes on to say "il en est certains dans lesquels les hommes doués de l'esprit le plus vif et le plus délicat ne les égaleront jamais" (577). Laisney shows that Nodier granted women the ability to write well, better than men, in genres like sentimentalism, wherein matters of *sensibilité* were key. Nodier granted women a place in literature, but he clearly believed there was and should be

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[269] Sand, likewise, did not much care for Nodier. In short, the two shared what Vincent Laisney calls "une antipathie fondamentale." Laisney discusses the two writers' hostile rapport in a subsection entitled "George and Charles" in his chapter on "L'Écrit féminin" in *L'Arsenal romantique*, 565.

something fundamentally different about literary works produced by women and those produced by their male counterparts. He showed himself to be "franchement opposé à l'indifférenciation sexuelle en littérature, spécialement à la masculinisation des femmes auteurs, qu'il considère comme déviante et contre-nature, et absolument sans profit pour les intéressés" (577). Sand, however, spoke as a man, taking a male narrative voice. Nodier explained his opposition to this procedure: "le grand écrivain dont je parle a pris un nom d'homme, et *IL* a fait merveille; car il n'y a plus rien de la femme dans les inspirations actuelles de son génie" (Nodier cited in Laisnel, 577, original emphasis). In short, for Laisnel, Sand was of no interest to Nodier because she "s'est dépouillée de sa féminité," and had instead made herself into an "*homme* de lettres" (577).

While he was outspoken in his criticism of Sand's gender bending, Nodier remained silent about the inverse operation, the act of a male author publishing as a woman. This tactic, however, was used with some frequency. Just as pseudonyms could mask a woman's femininity, they could also mask a man's masculinity: some men falsely presented their work as that of a woman. Again, Georges D'Heilly's dictionary is a useful resource for seeing this operation in action: Paul Mahalin wrote at *Mary Mercier*, Horace-Napoléon Riasson as *Mlle Marguerite* and *la comtesse du C…*, and Paul Ristelheuber as *Éléonor Pommadin*.

Though the name does not feature in D'Heilly's dictionary, *Gabrielle de P****, a name I have attributed to Gabrielle Paban, may also have been a pen name adopted by a male writer. Though Paban existed, she may not have been a writer. Rather, *Gabrielle de P**** may have been no more than a feminine *nom de plume* for Collin de Plancy, a relative of Gabrielle Paban. In his preface to *Le Nègre et la Créole*, Marshall Olds explains that Collin wrote "sous plus d'une vingtaine de pseudonymes, dont des noms féminins, et parfois aussi en collaboration avec

d'autre écrivains."[270] In short, Collin had a reputation for publishing prolifically, under a variety of pen names, many of them female, some of them borrowed from women he knew or was related to, perhaps including Gabrielle Paban.

We have already see that women's reasons for hiding their true identities were often linked to negotiating cultural expectations of gender norms.[271] The idea of a man hiding his identity behind a woman's name also relates to gender discourses prominent at the time. In the eighteenth century, Restif de la Bretonne's *Gynographes* implied that all women writers were dependent upon a man. This author, and others who adopted a similar view, also argued that women's writing was inherently less properly literary, less often capable of true *génie*, almost inevitably mediocre at best. It is possible that male writers took full advantage of these assumptions. A man could publish a sub-par work under a woman's name, escape a certain amount of criticism and yet still monetarily benefit from it. He could also avoid being himself linked to the work and reserve his better, higher quality writing for publication in his own name. If, by some miracle, the work turned out to be a success, he could always unveil his true identity later.

In the preceding chapters, my arguments have focused on the ways in which women authors were innovative as writers of sentimental fiction. The case of Gabrielle Paban, however, raises an important question: what if Gabrielle was truly Collin? What if "she" was really "he"? How would this change the utility of sentiment, as I have described it? Moreover, what about all the other "he's" who wrote sentimental fiction in the early nineteenth century? Was their approach to sentimentalism different from that of the women authors studied here? These are

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[270] Olds, "Préface," *Le Nègre et la Creole* by Gabrielle Paban, viii.

[271] Reid, *Des femmes en littérature;* Fraisse, *Muse de la raison*.

questions that merit further study. Investigation of them will doubtless lead to a deeper, more thorough understanding and appreciation for the history and literary history to which these women and myriad other authors contributed.

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Appendices 1 – 5

1: Chronological List of Works by Stéphanie-Félicité de Genlis

(***summaries of texts in boldface feature below***)

1765	*Réflexions d'une mère de vingt ans* (unpublished)
1768	*L'Heureuse Famille, conte morale*
1779-1780	*Théâtre à l'usage des jeunes personnes, ou Théâtre d'éducation*
1781	*Théâtre de la société*
1782	***Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'éducation***
1784	*Les Veillées du château ou Cours de morale à l'usage des enfants, par l'auteur d'Adèle et Théodore*
1789	*Lettre adressée à Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans sur l'enseignement de ses enfans proposé... par Madame de Sillery*
1790	*Discours sur l'éducation de M. le Dauphin et sur l'adoption, par Mme de Brulart, ci-devant Mme de Sillery, gouvernante des enfants de la maison d'Orléans*
1790	*Discours sur la suppression des couvents de religieuses et sur l'éducation publique des femmes*
1791	*Discours sur l'éducation publique du peuple*
1791	*Discours sur le luxe et sur l'hospitalité, considérés sous leurs rapports avec les mœurs et l'éducation nationale*

1791 *Nouveau Théâtre sentimental, à l'usage de la jeunesse*

1792 *Leçons d'une gouvernante à ses élèves, ou Fragments d'un journal, qui a été fait pour l'éducation des enfants de Monsieur d'Orléans*

1793 *Œuvres*

1795 *Les Chevaliers du cygne, ou la Cour de Charlemagne, conte historique et moral, pour servir de suite aux "Veillés du château" et dont tous les traits qui peuvent faire allusion à la Révolution française, sont tirés de l'histoire, par Madame de Genlis, auteur du "Théâtre d'éducation," d'Adèle et Théodore," Etc.*

1796 *Épître à l'asile que j'aurai, suivi de deux fables, du chant d'un jeune sauvage, de l'épître à Henriette Sercey, et des réflexions d'un ami des talents et des arts*

1796 *Précis de la conduite de Mme de Genlis, depuis la Révolution. Suivi d'une lettre à M. de Chartres et de réflexions sur la critique*

1797 *Discours sur l'éducation et sur différents sujets*

1797 *Leçons d'une gouvernante et journal d'éducation*

1798 *Le Libraire, comédie en 1 acte*

1798 *Les Petits émigrés ou correspondance de quelques enfans, ouvrage fait pour servir à l'éducation de la jeunesse, par Madame de Genlis*

1798 *Les Vœux téméraires, ou l'Enthousiasme, par Mme de Genlis, auteur du "Théâtre de l'éducation," d'Adèle et Théodore," &c&c&c.*

1798 *Réflexions d'un ami des talents et des arts*

1798-1805 *Nouvelle Bibliothèque universelle des romans, dans laquelle on donne l'analyse raisonnée des romans anciens et modernes, française ou traduits dans notre langue, avec des anecdotes et des notices historiques et critiques, concernant les*

auteurs et leurs ouvrages ; ainsi que les mœurs, les usages de temps, les circonstances particulières et relatives, et les personnages connus, déguisés ou emblématiques

1799 *Le Petit La Bruyère*

1799 *Manuel du voyageur, ou recueil de dialogues, de lettres, etc., suivi d'un itinéraire raisonné à l'usage des français en Allemagne et des allemands en France, par Mme de Genlis, avec la traduction allemande par S.-H. Catel. Pour servir de suite... aux "exercices de renonciation, de grammaire et de construction*

1799 *Modèles de conversation et de lettre avec traduction allemande par Catel*

1799 *Herbier moral, ou recueil des fables nouvelles et autres poésies fugitives*

1800 *Catéchisme de morale*

1800 *Correspondance de Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d'Orléans*

1800 *Les Mères rivales ou la Calomnie*

1800 *Nouvelle méthode d'enseignement pour la première enfance, contenant une nouvelle méthode d'instructions et de lectures morales pour les enfans*

1802 *La Philosophie chrétienne, ou Extraits tirés des ouvrages de Mme de Genlis, terminés par plusieurs chapitres nouveaux*

1802 *La Maison rustique, pour servir à l'éducation de la jeunesse, ou Retour en France d'une famille émigrée ; Ouvrage où l'on trouve toutes les instructions nécessaires pour bâtir une maison de campagne*

1802 *Les Annales de la vertu*

1802 *Mademoiselle de Clermont*

1802 *Nouveaux Contes moraux et nouvelles historiques*

1802 *Nouveaux Romans* : *Le Jupon vert, l'Amant dérouté, le Bonhomme, les Préventions d'une femme, les Pâtres des Pyrenées*

1802 *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe*

1804 *Discours moraux sur divers sujets, et particulièrement sur l'éducation. Projet d'une école rurale*

1804 *La Duchesse de la Vallière*

1804 *L'Épouse impertinente par air, suivie de Dialogue entre Deux hommes de lettres, Le Mari corrupteur, La Femme philosophe*

1804 *Souvenirs de Félicie L****

1805 *Les Monumens religieux, ou Description critique et détaillée des monumens religieux, tableaux, statues, etc*

1806 *Alphonsine, ou la Tendresse maternelle*

1806 *Esprit de Mme de Genlis, ou Portraits, caractères, maximes et pensées, extraits de tous ses ouvrages publiés jusqu'à ce jour*

1806 *Madame de Maintenon*

1808 *Bélisaire*

1808 *Le Siège de La Rochelle, ou le Malheur et la conscience*

1809 *Alphonse, ou le Fils naturel*

1810 *Arabesques mythologiques, ou Les Attributs de Toutes les Divinités de la fable*.

1810 *La Botanique historique et littéraire*

1811 *De l'influence des femmes sur la littérature française comme protectrices des lettres et comme auteurs; ou Précis de l'histoire des femmes françaises les plus célèbres*

1811 *Les Annales de la vertu, ou Histoire universelle, iconographique et littéraire, à l'usage des Artistes et des jeunes littérateurs, et pour servir à l'éducation de la jeunesse*

1811 *Observations critiques pour servir à l'histoire de la littérature du 19ème siècle, ou Réponse de Mme de Genlis à M. T et NI, etc, sur les critiques*

1812 *Les Bergères de Madian, ou, la Jeunesse de Moïse. Poème en prose en six chants*

1813 *La Feuille des gens du monde, ou le Journal imaginaire*

1813 *Mademoiselle de la Fayette, ou le Siècle de Louis XIII*

1814 *Manuel de la jeune femme guide complet de la maitresse de maison*

1816 *Contes moraux*. Nouvelle édition

1816 *Histoire de Henri le Grand*

1816 *Jeanne de France, nouvelle historique*

1816 *Les Battuécas*

1816 *Vie Penitente de Madame de La Vallière*

1817 *Abrégé des Mémoires du Marquis de Dangeau, suivi de l'Abrégé de l'histoire de la Régence*

1817 *Inès de Castro* (in *Les Tableaux de M. le comte de Forbin*)

1818 *Dictionnaire critique et raisonné des étiquettes de la cour : Des usages du monde, des amusemens, des modes, des mœurs, etc. des François, depuis la mort de Louis XIII jusqu'à nos jours, ou l'Esprit des étiquettes et des usages anciens comparés aux modernes*

1818 *Voyages poetiques d'Eugène et d'Antonine*

1819 *Le Comte de Corke, surnommé le grand, ou Séduction sans artifice*

1819 ***Les Parvenus, ou les Aventures de Julien Delmours***

1820 *Emile, ou l'Education, nouvelle édition à l'usage de la jeunesse avec des retranchements, des notes et une préface*

1820 *Histoire des deux Indes*. (unpublished)

1820 *Petrarch et Laure*

1821 *Palmyre et Flaminie, ou le Secret*.

1823 *Mémoires de Mme la Mise de Bonchamps sur la Vendée*

1824 *De l'emploi du temps*

1825 *Mémoires*

1825 *Mémoires inédits sur le XVIIIe siècle et la Révolution française depuis 1756 à nos jours*

1825 *Nouveaux Contes moraux et nouvelles historiques*. "La Femme philosophe, nouvelle imitée de l'anglais"

1828 *Le Dernier voyage de Nelgis, ou Mémoires d'un vieillard*

1828 *Les Soupers de la Marche de Luxembourg*

1832 *Athénaïs, ou le Château de Coppet en 1807*

1886 *Paméla, ou l'Heureuse Adoption; Zuma ou la Découverte du quinquina*

"L'Histoire de la Duchesse de C*,"**

featured in *Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'éducation* (1782)

An unnamed wealthy young Italian heiress marries a man she does not love. The couple live together in a castle near Naples. Soon after they are married, she gives birth to a daughter. Her husband begins to unjustly suspect her of adultery. Though she maintains her innocence, he heartlessly imprisons her in a dungeon under his castle. He simulates her death by using a wax figure that he publicly buries in her place. She suffers her fate for nine years until her husband, on his deathbed, confesses his deception to a friend who promptly frees the duchess from her prison and returns her to her parents and reunites her with her now ten-year-old daughter. The duchess experiences great difficulty reentering the world. Eventually, she withdraws from society, choosing to live humbly in a secluded country home.

***Les Parvenus, ou les Aventures de Julien Delmours, écrites par lui-mème* (1819)**

Les Parvenus, ou les aventures de Julien Delmours, écrites par lui-même is a four-volume novel, presented as the memoirs of a Frenchman who lives through the entirety of the French Revolution. The novel documents the social rise of its protagonist and narrator. Through his travels and life experiences, Julien Delmours encounters individuals from all levels of society. In his memoirs, he takes care to describe them all, from high ranking members of court to individuals working in small Parisian shops. He begins his memoirs talkin about his birth and describing the first phases of his education.

Julien is born to a family of Parisian confectioners in 1767. He is expected to one day take over the family store. However, when five-year-old Julien is participating in Mardi Gras festivities in his neighborhood, a wealthy noblewoman, the Marquise d'Inglar, notices him. She contacts his father and asks him to send Julien to her home; she is in need of a child matching his description to play the role of *Amour* in a performance she plans to stage at a family party. Julien plays his role to perfection and is invited back to the d'Inglar residence for future performances. Over the next decade, he observes the family and forms relationships with the d'Inglar children, Eusèbe, the eldest son, and Edélie, his sister. Eusèbe becomes so attached to Julien that he requests that Julien stay with him for a while. Eusèbe becomes Julien's teacher until his own tutor remarks young Julien's desire to learn and likewise takes the young man under his wing, giving him lessons even after he has returned home to his parents. Julien's education begins to distinguish him from other members of the social group into which he was born.

While Julien is an adolescent, his father dies and his mother remarries. His step-father, formerly an apprentice in his father's shop, treats him intolerably and Julien is forced to leave his home. His uncle Bénigme Delmours, a jeweler, takes him in and teaches him a new trade. Bénigme also hires Julien a tutor so that the young man can continue studying Latin and history. Meanwhile, Julien's mother becomes pregnant and births a daughter named Casilde. One day, Julien is offered the opportunity to accompany one of his acquaintances on a journey to Switzerland. He is to record, in writing, all his observations of the voyage. He leaves his uncle's home and sets out to make his own way in the world. Upon his return to France, Julien again encounters Eusèbe who offers him a place in his household. Julien accepts. He is at once Eusèbe's friend and secretary.

When Eusèbe is appointed as a plenipotentiary minister, Julien accompanies him to his post in Sweden. While they are in Stockholm, the first revolutionary tremors are felt in France. Julien receives word of them in letters from home. They return to France in 1791, and Julien begins to chronicle the revolutionary events he witnesses or is told about and carefully documents all the changes he perceives in French society. During the Terror, in 1794, he flees France. He goes first to Hamburg and then to London, living as an *émigré*. While abroad, he meets many other fellow emigrants and describes them thoroughly in his memoirs. He also observes English society and customs and records his remarks. He marries a wealthy French woman he meets while abroad, and in 1800 returns with her to France where he becomes a legislator. He ends his account in 1819, thrilled with the reestablishment of the French monarchy and proudly declaring himself a patriot.

2: Chronological List of Works by Fanny Tercy

(***summaries of texts in boldface feature below***)

1816 *Deux Nouvelles françaises* (Marie Bolden, ou la Folle de Cayeux; Cecile de Renneville)

1817 *Louise de Sénancourt*

1818 *Isaure et Montigny*

1821 *Six Nouvelles* (**La Blanche Iselle, ou Le Fantôme du Château de Valfin** republished as "La Blanche Iselle" 1833)

1821 *L'Hermite du mont Saint-Valentine, ou Histoire des amours de la dame de Martigues et de Ch. Roger de Parthenay*

1824 *Petits Contes à mes enfants de cinq à six ans, ou nouvelle Manière familière de leur apprendre à lire, et de les instruire el les amusant.*

1829 ***La Dame d'Oliferne, nouvelle***

1831 *La Tour de Dramelay, chroniques franc-comtoises*

1833 ***Le Juif et la Sorcière, nouvelles chroniques franc-comtoises***

1834 *Historiettes et conversations morales*

La Blanche Iselle

La Blanche Iselle takes place in the Franche-Comté of the 16th or 17th century. Tercy wrote it in two versions, the first published in 1821, the second in 1833. In it, an old peasant woman recounts one of the local legends attached to a set of medieval ruins. A local, Raoul, is traveling with his entourage when he comes across a small wedding celebration. The newly-wed

couple welcome Raoul to share in their celebration. Upon seeing the beauty of the young bride, Iselle, Raoul becomes angry that the couple hadn't sought his approval prior to concluding their marriage. The jealous lord forbids the couple to live together and then takes Iselle hostage. Once Raoul has Iselle firmly under his control in his castle, his tactics change. He begins trying to seduce the young woman, telling her he loves her and wants her rule at his side. He promises to marry her if she gives him a son and heir. Iselle cannot long resist his advances. She allows him to ask the pope for a dissolution of her previous marriage. Before marrying Raoul, however, she grants him all the rights of a husband. Having obtained what he initially desired, Raoul's conduct toward Iselle changes. He becomes cold and callous. Iselle, however, is pregnant and soon gives birth to a son. Raoul, making true on his earlier promise, marries Iselle. He grants her the title of wife and mother to his heir, but he takes her son away from her, insisting the child be raised away from her influence. He confines Iselle to the castle, locking her away from the world and allowing her to see her son only rarely. Even the servants begin to treat her poorly. Iselle suffers her sad fate willingly, secure in the knowledge that her son is being well cared for and raised as a noble lord and grateful for even the short moments during which she gets to see him. Raoul, however, comes to see his marriage to Iselle as an inconvenience and decides to try to annul it, but the pope refuses his request. Furious, Raoul imprisons Iselle in an obscure location and forbids her access to her son. Impatient for her to die and release him from the marriage, he hires a man to take her away. Everyone assumes Iselle to be dead, though Raoul claims to have sent her to a convent where one of his relatives serves as abbess. Shortly thereafter, the abbess sends word that Iselle is dead. Raoul begins taking the necessary steps to contract a new marriage and one day leaves to meet his betrothed. Meanwhile, Iselle's infant son becomes deathly ill. While Raoul is absent, servants watching over the child swear to see his

dead mother visit him. Upon his return, Raoul is furious at these statements and decides to watch over his son himself. That night, he locks his servants out of his quarters and puts the infant to bed. His servants, unable to see what happens in their lord's bedroom, hear the voice of Iselle chastising Raoul for his infidelity and prophesizing that he will soon join her in death. Raoul screams and the servants force their way into his room. They find him unconscious on the floor. The next day, he announces that he will not go through with his plans to remarry. He then leaves for a far-off land and never returns. Iselle's son dies from his illness, and the castle in which all this took place falls into ruin.

La Dame d'Oliferne, nouvelle

La Dame d'Oliferne takes place in the far-off past (likely the 14th century) in the castle then situated at the summit of a mountain in the Jura, not far from Lons-le-Saunier. The story opens as Olivier, seigneur d'Oliferne, prepares to take his young wife to the court at Arlay. At court, the beautiful and virtuous Isoline attracts the jealous gaze of the dame d'Arlay, a wealthy widow who has her eye on Isoline's husband. She seduces Olivier who sends his wife back to Oliferne. Isoline is deeply hurt by her husband's infidelity, which she sees as an indication of his loss of love for her. She despairs when she hears the rumor that her husband is seeking an annulment of their marriage. A short time later, a young knight named Robert de Vaudrey visits the château d'Oliferne on his way to Arlay. Isoline plays the welcoming hostess. Over the course of his stay, the two fall in love. Isoline resists her impulses initially but gives in to the young knight's advances. Robert eventually continues his journey. In his absence, Isoline is full of regret and shame and begins to fear for her future. She remembers the local legend of the

Three Dames d'Oliferne who were mercilessly put to death for their infidelity. Olivier learns of his wife's affair and challenges Robert to a duel. Olivier returns home to his wife, having dispatched her lover. He confronts her about her infidelity. Initially, he intends to kill her for her transgressions but then decides to let her live out the rest of her days in a convent. Isoline retires from public life. Olivier regrets his own infidelity, pities his wife, but cannot relinquish his anger at her betrayal. One day, he disappears. From that day forward, villagers claim to see his shade roaming the countryside. Isoline dies after just a few years in the convent. A single monk prays by her side and cries as she takes her leave of the world. The castle passes to a new lord but begins to fall into ruin.

Le Juif et la Sorcière, nouvelles chroniques franc-comtoises

Le Juif et la Sorcière is set in Franche-Comté in 1371. Magui, a poor peasant woman who lives alone on the outskirts of Salins, finds a new-born infant abandoned on her doorstep. She takes in the baby girl without question, has her baptized at the local church, names her Brigitte, and decides to raise her as her own. Magui tries to give her adopted daughter the best life possible, though her means are meager. She sacrifices and saves as much as she can to see that the child is fed, clothed, and cared for. Though she works diligently, she cannot afford to care for the child. Magui despairs when Brigitte falls ill and she cannot consult a doctor or pay for his services. However, before all hope is lost, a mysterious stranger arrives at her humble cabin and offers her a bag of silver, a golden bracelet, and a letter (written in Hebrew) as recompense for her generosity in adopting a child in need. He suggests that Magui use the silver to help her satisfy Brigitte's needs as she grows. He tells her the bracelet can also be sold in a time of need,

and the note will procure her the services of a Jewish money lender but should only be used as a last resort. He then offers Magui a mysterious medication to treat Brigitte's illness and takes his leave. Magui is fearful to use the offered remedy but sees the suffering of her charge and takes the risk. Brigitte returns to full health, and Magui resolves to use the funds she was given to care for the child. At first, she uses them sparingly, but eventually begins to spend them freely upon the child. She even goes so far as to hire the girl a tutor to teach her to read, a skill that few children in the area ever acquire. Brigitte becomes the envy of other village girls, for she is beautiful, intelligent, and virtuous. Eventually, Magui runs out of silver and pawns the bracelet, taking it to a Jewish money lender named Nathan. Brigitte then meets Nathan's son, Élie and falls in love with him, though he does not reciprocate her feelings. Because he is a Jew and she a baptized Christian, her love is forbidden, but she does not care. She becomes obsessed with him and even goes to see a local woman known for making talismans and potions to seek her aid in securing Élie's love. Then, Élie is accused of sorcery and Brigitte resolves to help him flee Salins with his family. She succeeds in this quest but is detained upon her return and questioned by the authorities. She finds herself accused of sorcery and imprisoned, awaiting execution for her crimes. Élie learns of her plight and returns to Magui's humble home. Magui explains the situation and reveals the circumstances of Brigitte's birth to the young man, even showing him the mysterious stranger's note. This cryptic document reveals to Élie that Brigitte is the illegitimate child of a Christian mother and a Jewish father. He at once sees Brigitte as one of his own people and begins to feel tenderly for her. He cannot, however, find a way to save her life, so instead he sneaks into the jail where she is being held and offers her an elixir with which to painlessly end her life so as to avoid the inevitable agony of being burned alive as a witch. She

takes it, and her body is burned on the pyre prepared for her. Magui dies a short while later. Élie emigrates to an unnamed foreign land and marries a wealthy Jewess.

2b: Chronological List of *Frenetic* Works by Charles Nodier[272]

1802	*Les Proscrits*
1803	*Le Peintre de Saltzbourg*
1803	*Les Méditations du Cloître*
1806	*Les Tristes, ou Mélanges tirés des Tablettes d'un suicide*
1818	*Jean Sbogar* [1820, 2nd ed. (corrigée et augmentée) ; 1832, 3rd ed. (corrigée et augmentée)]
1819	*Thérèse Aubert*
1820	*Adèle*
1821	*Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Ecosse*
1821	*Smarra ou les démons de la nuit*
1821	*Beriram ou le château de Saint-Aldobrand,* tragédie en cinq actes. Trad. Librement de l'anglais du Rév. R.C. Maturin par MM. Taylor et Ch. Nodier
1822	*Trilby ou le lutin d'Argail*
1822	*Infernalia*
1823	Article on *Han d'Islande* in *la Quotidienne* (18 mars)
1830	*Histoire du roi de Bohème et de ses sept châteaux*
1831	*Souvenirs, épisodes et portraits pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution et de l'Empire*

[272] Adapted from Reginald William Hartland's *Walter Scott et le roman "frénétique"* (Slatkine Reprints, 1928), 259.

1831 *Le Bibliomane*

1831 *Polichinelle*

1831 *Clémentine*

1831 *M. de la Mettrie ou les Superstitions*, in the *Revue de Paris*

Séraphine, see above

Hélène Gillet, see above

La Fée aux Miettes

Des Types en littérature

1832 *Du fantastique en littérature*

Le Grimoire

Le Songe d'Or

Mademoiselle de Marsan

Souvenirs de Jeunesse

Jean-François les Bas-bleus

1833 *Trésor des Fèves et Fleur des Pois*

Baptiste Montauban ou l'Idiot

La Combe de l'Homme Mort

Hurlubleu

Charlotte Corday. Souvenirs de la Révolution

Léviathan-le-long

1836 *Voyage pittoresque et industriel dans le Paraguay-Roux*, in *Revue de Paris*

1836 *Paul ou la Ressemblance*, in *Revue de Paris*

1837 *Le Génie Bonhomme*

1837 *Inès de las Sierras,* in *Revue de Paris*

1837 *La Légende de soeur Bétrix,* in *Revue de Paris*

1838 *Les Quatre Talismans*

1838 *La Neuvaine de la Chandeleur,* in *Revue de Paris*

1839 *Lydie ou la Résurrection,* in *Revue de Paris*

1842-3 *Les Marionnettes,* in *Revue de Paris*

1844 *Fanciscus Columna*

3: Chronological List of Works Attributed to Gabrielle Paban

(***summaries of texts in boldface feature below***)

1819 *Les Amis de collége [sic], ou Quinze jours de vacances ; recueil choisi d'historiettes propres à instruire la jeunesse en l'amusant.* Paris, Locard et Davi. (Reprinted in 1820, 1825, and 1835)

1819 *Biographie des enfants célèbres, ou Histoire abrégée des jeunes héros, des jeunes poètes, des jeunes savants, des jeunes artistes, des jeunes filles célèbres, des jeunes saints, des jeunes martyrs, et généralement de tous les personnages qui se sont illustrés, avant l'âge de vingt ans, par leurs vertus, leur bravoure, leurs écrits, leur génie précoce, etc., etc., dans tous les temps et chez tous les peuples du monde.* (1825)

1819 *Calendrier des dames, ou les Saintes et les Femmes célèbres pour tous les jours de l'année ; dédié aux dames françaises.*

1819 *Histoire des fantômes et démons qui se sont montrés parmi les hommes, ou Choix d'anecdotes et de contes, de faits merveilleux, de traits bizarres, et d'aventures extraordinaires sur les revenants, les lutins, les démons, les spectres, les vampires et les apparitions diverses, etc.*

1819 *Les Soirées de la jeune Lodoïska, ou Récréations anecdotiques et morales des jeunes demoiselles.* (1821, 1827, and 1835)

1820 *Année des dames, ou petite Biographie des femmes célèbres, pour tous les*

jours de l'année.

1820 *Démoniana, ou nouveau Choix d'anecdotes surprenantes, de nouvelles prodigieuses, d'aventures bizarres, sure les revenants, les spectres, les fantômes, les démons, les loups-garous [sic], les visions, etc. ; ouvrage propre à rassurer les imaginations timorées contre les frayeurs superstitieuses.*

1821 *Almanach des femmes célèbres par leurs talents, leur courage ou leurs vertus.* (1822)

1825 ***Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D****

Le Nègre et la Créole, ou Mémoires d'Eulalie D* **(1825)**

Eulalie is born (around 1786) in to a wealthy family of plantation owners in the French colony of Saint-Domingue. She is the youngest of three children and the only daughter. Her mother dies when she is very young and orders her slave Maky to watch over her daughter. Maky is from the kingdom of Bénin. She and her infant son, Zambo, were sold into slavery and purchased by Eulalie's father. Maky loves Eulalie like a daughter; Zambo is like a brother to his young mistress. In 1791, as a result of the slave rebellion on Saint-Domingue, Eulalie is separated from her family. Maky finds and rescues her young charge but cannot reunite her with her parents. Instead, Maky takes Eulalie and Zambo with her into a camp of former slaves that have decided to return to Africa. They board a vessel and sail to the coast of Guinée and from there make their way to Bénin where Maky is reunited with her husband, Zambo's father, Orombo, after nine years of separation. Oromobo allows Eulalie to live with his family. Eulalie observes the world around her and is faced with the task of trying to integrate into a new society, a task made difficult by her difference in physical appearance. As she matures, her whiteness

becomes more and more of a problem. She refuses her suitors, believing marriage with a black man to be against the laws of nature. However, an African king learns of Eulalie and demands to marry her. Rather than submit to his command, Eulalie appeals to Maky and Zambo. The three flee their village. They do not get far, however, as they are captured by slavers. Maky and Zambo are again chained as slaves, and Eulalie once again finds herself amongst Europeans. On the journey back to the colonies, Eulalie is separated from her adoptive family. She periodically sees both and is saddened to see Zambo beaten for acts of rebellion. When the ship docks in Porto Rico in 1805, Eulalie meets a priest named Félix, who becomes her tutor and protector. He reunites her with Maky, but discovers Zambo has fallen ill or perhaps died of his wounds. Inconsolable, Maky dies. Félix continues his search for Eulalie's family. He believes them to have returned to France and takes Eulalie there. They arrive in Paris in 1808 and Eulalie stays in a boarding school until Félix finds her brothers. One brother refuses to recognize her, the other takes her in. They move to Martinique together where Eulalie hears rumors of a rebel slave matching Zambo's description. She sees him executed for his crimes and recognizes him to be her adoptive brother. She becomes delirious and dies shortly thereafter.

4: Chronological List of Works by Sophie Doin

(***summaries of texts in boldface feature below***)

1825	***La Famille noire, ou la Traite et l'esclavage***
1826	*Cornélie, nouvelle grecque, suivie de six nouvelles*
1828	***Nouvelles blanches et noires***
1829	*Poésies sérieuses et chansons*
1831	*Cinq chansons*
1831	*Poésies*
1832-1833	*Théâtre*
1835	*Projet de journal*
1835	*Quelques Pensées d'une femme sincèrement dévouée à la royauté de juillet*
1836-1838	*Le Christianisme, journal populaire*
1842	*Avis au public*
1842	*Simple Mémoire*
1845	*Ma Semaine*

La Famille noire, ou la Traite et l'esclavage **(1825)**

In Africa, after the Haitian Revolution, a young African named Phénor watches his brother Taï, his friend Ismeni, and his siter Thorée dragged off into slavery. He laments their sad fate and is angered at the greed of both white slavers who use any means at their disposal to capture and sell African men, women, and children into slavery. He is likewise enraged at other Africans who, desiring European goods and riches, declare war on their neighbors and heartlessly sell the individuals they take captive into a life of forced servitude. His father is killed in one such battle, from which Phénor barely manages to escape with his mother. The pair are pursued as fugitives and eventually captured, bound, and forced to walk with other captives toward an awaiting slave ship. Phénor continues to plead with his captors for his mother's life. Having heard his pleas, a young African woman, Néala, offers to take the place of Phénor's mother. The vile merchants seize Néala but do not release Phénor's mother. Shortly thereafter, the old woman can go no further. Her merciless captors beat her to death, and Phénor and Néala continue their trek to the slave ship. The *négrier* takes them overseas, in abhorrent conditions, to the colonies. Phénor and Néala are sold to the same planter and fall in love during their captivity. Their owner ardently desires Néala and rapes her. Phénor hears her cries but is restrained by the planter's men. Néala returns to Phénor and takes refuge in his cabin. Later, missionaries arrive and offer to perform marriage ceremonies. Hoping such a formality will serve them well, Néala and Phénor accept the proposal. Soon after, Néala gives birth to a son. But the family is not secure. Néala and her son are sold to another planter. Phénor can do nothing to prevent the sale. Separated from his wife and son, he loses all desire to live, begins to shirk his duties, and finds himself cruelly beaten by his master. While he is healing from his wounds, he meets a French missionary named Merville who sympathizes with the plight of

slaves and believes in the necessity of abolishing slavery and the slave trade. Merville buys Phénor from his master, frees him, takes him to a new home, heals him, and cultivates a friendship with him. He also educates Phénor in the true tenets of Christianity and offers to help him find his wife, Néala, and free her. They succeed in this quest, but as Phénor takes Néala in his arms for the first time since their separation, her new master begins to beat her. His brutality ends her life. Phénor can take no more; still embracing his wife, he kisses her one final time and breathes his last breath. Merville harshly criticizes the barbarous plantation owner then arranges to buy Néala's son, now an orphan. He takes the young man away from the plantation and raises him in Haïti, giving him the best education possible. When the child is grown, Merville prepares to return to France, certain that he has given his young charge all the tools necessary to contribute to the future of Haïti, so the budding nation can continue as an immortal beacon of liberty.

"Le Négrier" featured in *Nouvelles blanches et noires* (1828)

In the early 1800s, Léon, recently orphaned at age 20, receives a large inheritance and decides to invest his money in some sort of business conducted out of the port city of Nantes. He decides that the surest return on his money will come from the slave trade. He leaves on a slave ship bound for the coast of Africa. He sees African people loaded onto the ship, treated as machines or beasts. They are transported as any other cargo, piled atop one another, incapable of moving, and suffering immensely. When the ship encounters a storm, sailors throw thirty slaves overboard to lighten the load, without a thought to the loss of human life. Later, the boat puts down anchor and Léon sets out to meet with other slave merchants. One of them has a daughter,

Laure, with whom Léon falls in love. Laure, however, refuses to marry anyone who participates in the slave trade. She convinces him to abandon his chosen career and marry her instead. The couple explain their decision to her father who, at first angry, accepts their resolution.

"Noire et Blanc" featured in *Nouvelles blanches et noires* (1828)

During the Haitian revolution, Nelzi, a slave woman, drags her wounded master, Charles de Méricourt, toward a vessel of colonists leaving the island of Saint-Domigue. The officers on board insist that Nelzi accompany her master. The couple are transported to New York, where Charles finds a modest job. He and Nelzi live together. Charles initially treats her as a sister but, as he grows to know her, begins to fall in love with her. Nelzi likewise develops romantic feelings for Charles who swears he will always love her and take care of her. One day, the couple receives a letter from Mme Darbois, Charles's aunt who lives in France. The message informs Charles that he has been named as heir to a fortune, provided that he marry Mme Darbois's daughter. Charles and Nelzi immediately book passage to Europe. Charles is welcomed into his family. Nelzi is an object of great curiosity. They are housed separately. Charles is torn between marrying Mlle Darbois to receive his promised fortune or making good on his vow to love Nelzi and make her happy. Nelzi comes to believe that Charles has abandoned her and she runs away. She encounters the young and beautiful Eugénie de Senneterre to whom she recounts all of her trials and tribulations. Eugénie takes Nelzi in and offers to find Charles a position that will enable him to refuse the inheritance offered him contingent upon his marriage to Mlle Darbois. When Charles hears of this arrangement, he accepts it. He explains everything

to Mme Darbois and her daughter then seeks out Nelzi and asks for her forgiveness. She grants it, and Eugénie marvels at the beauty of the couple's love for one another.

"Blanche et Noir" featured in *Nouvelles blanches et noires* (1828)

At age 6, Domingo, born a slave on Saint-Domingue, loses his parents to the brutal mistreatments of their master. He is purchased from this owner and taken in by Madame de Hauteville, a kind and compassionate colonial woman, who raises the young orphan alongside her own daughter, Pauline. Domingo receives an education alongside his young mistress. Through it, he comes to understand the horrors of the slave system. When Pauline is twelve, she is betrothed to Léopold, the son of her father's childhood friend, whose family still lives in France. Meanwhile, rebellion is fermenting amongst the slaves. Domingo himself feels drawn to the movement. Upon hearing the news of Pauline's engagement, Domingo flees his masters and joins a group of rebels. Madame de Hauteville dies shortly thereafter. Later, when the rebels attack, burn, and pillage the Hauteville estate, Domingo tries to save the lives of his former masters. He rescues Pauline and Léopold, but M. de Hauteville perishes in the violence. He leads the couple to a place on the coast where other colonists are boarding vessels and preparing to leave the island. Léopold returns to France, but Pauline chooses to stay with Domingo. The two make a life together at the heart of a thick forest on the island.

5: Chronological List of Works by George Sand[273]

(***summaries of texts in boldface feature below***)

1831 *La Prima Donna* (nouvelle) (signed J. Sand)

1834 *La Fille d'Albano* (nouvelle) (signed J. Sand)

1834 *Rose et Blanche ou la Commédienne et la Religieuse* (signed J. Sand)

1832 *Indiana* (signed G. Sand)

1832 *Melchior* (nouvelle)

1832 *La Marquise* (nouvelle)

1832 *Valentine*

1832 *La Reine Mab* (poème en vers)

1832 *Le Toast*

1833 *Cora* (nouvelle)

1833 *Une vieille histoire* (nouvelle)

1833 *Aldo le rimeur* (nouvelle)

1833 *Métella* (nouvelle)

1833 *Lélia*

1834 *Le Secrétaire intime* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

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[273] This list is adapted from the *Repères chronologiques* provided by Martine Reid in her biography of the writer *George Sand*, 335-347. Sand's brochures, articles, prefaces, book reviews, and some letters, do not figure in the list. Publication dates generally represent the first appearance of the work. Many were published serially in a variety of periodicals. I have specified these details as pertinent. Theatrical works are listed according to the year in which the piece was initially performed.

1834 *Jacques* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

1834 *Léone Léoni* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

1834 *Garnier* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

1834 *Lettres d'un voyageur* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

1835 *André* (published serially in *Revue des Deux Mondes*)

1836 *Simon*

1836 *Poème de Myrza*

1836 *Mattéa*

1836 *Le Dieu inconu*

1837 *Mauprat*

1837 *Maîtres mosaïstes*

1837 *Lettres à Marcie* (published in *Le Monde*)

1838 *La Dernière Aldini*

1838 *L'Uscoque*

1838 *Spiridion*

1838 *L'Orco* (nouvelle)

1839 *Gabriel* (published in *Revue des deux mondes*)

1839 *Pauline* (published in *Revue des deux mondes*)

1839 *Les Sept Cordes de la lyre* (published in *Revue des deux mondes*)

1840 *Cosima* (theater)

1841 *Un hiver au midi de l'Europe* (letters)

1841 *Mouny-Robin*

1842-1843 ***Consuelo*** (Revue indépendante)

1843 *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (Revue indépendante)

1843 *Kourroglou*

1843 *Jean Ziska*

1843 *Carl*

1844 *Jeanne*

1845 *Le Meunier d'Angibault*

1845 *Le Péché de monsieur Antoine*

1845 *Isidora*

1845 *Teverino*

1846 *La Mare au Diable*

1846 *Lucrezia Florani*

1847 *Piccinino*

1848 *Le Roi attend* (theater)

1848 *François le Champi*

1848 *La Petite Faette*

1849 *François le Champi* (theatrical adaptation)

1850 *Histoire du véritable Gribouille*

1851 *Œuvres illustrées*

1851 *Château des Désertes*

1851 *Claudie* (theater)

1851 *Molière* (theater)

1851 *Le Mariage de Victorine* (theater)

1852 *Vacances de Pandolfe* (theater)

1852 *Démon du foyer* (theater)

1852 *Mont-Revêche*

1853 *Pressoir* (theater)

1853 *Mauprat* (theatrical adaptation)

1853 *La Filleule*

1853 *Les Maîtres Sonneurs*

1854 *Flaminio* (theater)

1854 *Adriani*

1854-1855 *Histoire de ma vie* (in *La Presse* – 138 feuilletons, 20 volumes)

1855 *Maître Favilla* (theater)

1855 *Diable aux champs*

1856 *Lucie* (theater)

1856 *Françoise* (theater)

1856 *Comme il vous plaira* (theatrical adaptation)

1856 *Claudie* (theater)

1856 *Évenor*

1856 *Leucippe*

1857 *La Daniella*

1857 *Les Dames vertes*

1857 *Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré*

1858 *L'Homme de neige* (Revue des Deux Mondes)

1858 *Narcisse*

1858 *Légendes rustiques*

1859 *Elle et Lui*

1859 *Marguerite de Saint-Gemme* (theater)

1859 *Flavie*

1859 *Jean de la Roche*

1859 *Constance Verrier*

1860 *La Ville noire*

1860 *Marque de Villemer*

1861 *Valvèdre*

1861 *La Famile de Germandre*

1862 *Beaux Messieurs de Bois-Doré* (theatrical adaptation)

1862 *Tamaris*

1862 *Antonia*

1862 *Autour de la table* (collection of articles)

1862 *Souvenirs et impressions littéraires* (collection of articles)

1863 *Mademoiselle La Quintinie*

1864 *Marquis de Villemer* (theatrical adaptation)

1864 *Drac* (theater)

1864 *Le Théâtre de Nohant* (collection of theatrical works)

1864 *Laure*

1864 *La Confession d'une jeune fille*

1865 *Monsieur Sylvestre*

1865 *La Coupe* (nouvelle)

1866 *Don Juan de village* (theater)

1866 *Lys du Japon* (theatrical adaptation of *Antonia*)

1866 *Dernier amour*

1866 *Promenades autour d'un village*

1867 *Cadio*

1868 *Mademoiselle Merquem*

1869 *Pierre qui roule*

1869 *Lupo Liverani*

1870 *L'Autre* (theater)

1870 *Malgrétout*

1870 *Césarine Dietrich*

1871 *Francia*

1871 *Journal d'un voyaeur pendant la guerre*

1872 *Nanon*

1872 *Un bienfaitn'est jamais perdu*

1873 *Impressions et souvenirs*

1873 *Contes d'une grand-mère*

1874 *Ma sœur Jeanne*

1875 *Flmarande*

1875 *Marianne Chevreuse*

1875 *La Tour de Percemont*

1876 *AlbineFiori* (unfinished novel)

Consuelo (1842)

Consuelo, the daughter of a Spanish woman, is raised in eighteenth-century Venice. She is noticed for the quality of her voice and educated in the art of singing by Master Porpora, choirmaster for the *scuole* at the Church of the *Mendicanti*. She is the most gifted of Porpora's students. Her mother is ill, and Consuelo does what she can to earn money to care for her. Despite her best efforts, her mother is not long for the world. Before the sickly woman dies, Consuelo promises her to marry Anzoleto, another poor singer, who has taken on the role of Consuelo's protector. Anzoleto and Porpora help Consuelo to begin a career as an opera singer. Consuelo is an instant success. Anzoleto also desires notoriety as a singer, but he is not exceptionally talented and finds less success. He enters into an amorous liaison with Consuelo's rival, la Corilla, hoping to use this connection to further his own career. Porpora learns of this illicit relationship and brings it to Consuelo's attention. Hurt by Anzoleto's actions, Consuelo renounces her former fiancé, flees Venice, and vows never to perform on stage again.

Porpora arranges for Consuelo to find employment in Bohemia. She is to serve as a companion and music tutor to a young baroness named Amélie who lives with the family of her betrothed, Albert de Rudolstadt, in the Château de Géants near Reisenburg, deep in the Carpathian Mountains. The Rudolstadt family is renowned for their eccentricities. Albert is often assumed to be crazy, tortured by visions of past lives. Consuelo's singing, however, offers Albert some consolation. As he falls in love with her, his illness seems to disappear. The family is immensely grateful. Consuelo begins to recognize that she, too, loves Albert. Having grown

close to one another, Albert asks her to marry him. However, Consuelo cannot accept; she has become increasingly conscious of and worried by the social gap between them.

One day, her former fiancé Anzoleto shows up at the castle. Rather than explain her past to the Rudolstadts, Consuelo decides to flee. She journeys toward Austria, meeting the composer Haydn on the way. In Vienna, she reunites with Porpora and tells him of her time in Bohemia. He counsels her against wedding Albert and advises her devote herself completely to the art of singing once again. She prepares to once again enter the public gaze. Her performances are initially well received. She eventually performs before the empress, Marie-Thérèse. While there, she receives a love letter from Albert and responds to him, confessing her passion for him and expressing her desire to find a way to marry him. Porpora, however, intercepts this letter and burns it. Awaiting a response that can never come, Consuelo continues performing in Vienna until Porpora receives a letter inviting him to Berlin along with his protégée. The pair accept the engagement and journey toward Germany. Traveling through Moravia, they stop at the Château de Roswald and again in Prague, where Consuelo hears that Albert has fallen deathly ill. Consuelo resolves to return to Reisenburg. She finds Albert on his deathbed, and the doctor explains to her that Albert's passion for her is the cause of his demise. His last wish is to marry Consuelo and leave his entire fortune to her. She marries him just before he is pronounced dead and becomes the Comtesse de Rudolstadt, though she rejects the title and the worldly riches that accompany it.