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French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe

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Counter-Revolutionary Transfers? Émigré
Literature and the Subject of the French
Emigration in British Private Libraries
(1790s–1830)

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All translations were carried out by the author.

In the endnotes, the catalogues of private libraries are referred to using the name of the book owner followed by the date at which the catalogue was published. A list of all catalogues used for this study and their short names is provided as an appendix.

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Do refugees participate in the renewal of literary, social and political cultures in their host countries? While hundreds of thousands of individuals crossed France's borders in the 1790s to find a haven outside their motherland, one might infer from the relative lack of scholarship on contemporary cultural exchanges that the presence of these migrants had no lasting impact on their host societies.¹ Studies on relations between the community of French migrants and their European and North American hosts have traditionally privileged topics of top-level diplomacy, military strategy and hard political propaganda over *longue durée* questions surrounding soft power and the slow effect of daily encounters on the evolution of cultural habits and political practices in refugee and host communities.² Examining the incidence and influence of the literature of and on emigration in host communities' libraries, this chapter aims to sketch a methodology to analyse how the shared experience of emigration by displaced populations and host communities could have shaped post-revolutionary European cultures, politics and societies.

Descriptions of social gatherings in counter-revolutionary *Salons* between the migrant community and its British hosts in the last years of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the next one often contain ancillary clues regarding the shared development of counter-revolutionary cultures. One such clue appears, for instance, in Frances Williams-Wynn's diary, as she wrote on 9 January 1807:

This morning I have been very much interested by an account given us of some of the horrors of the Revolution by the Duke de Sirent. He read to us a history of the last moments of Louis XVI., written by Abbé Edgeworth, at the request of the brothers of that unfortunate Monarch. In the history there was little that we did not know before from Cléry's and other publications: but every particular became doubly interesting – first, from being so authenticated, but still more from the extreme emotion of the reader.³

A few sentences later, she adds, 'At these words the poor old man's voice faltered, and his eyes filled as he looked towards Lady B'. This scene brings out two aspects of the reception of literature by French exiles in their host countries. First, it places books penned by (political) migrants who left revolutionary France to find a haven abroad in the homes of British individuals.⁴ Second, this entry shows emigrant and British readers discussing texts by famous émigrés together. Abigail Williams recently reminds us in *The Social Life of Books* that we need to think of books as 'texts with

audiences rather than readers, text that were [...] better heard than seen'.⁵ The image of silent and solitary readers does not adequately portray how books, and for the purpose of this discussion books by émigrés and books on emigration, were enjoyed and received by late eighteenth-century reading communities.

The scene described in this anecdote might have taken place in the library of a country estate. In categorical terms, private libraries were very ambiguous spaces throughout the eighteenth century. As the diarist suggests, they were intimate spaces where one could cry away one's trauma while simultaneously displaying one's personal politics. Hence, private libraries were also public forums. This intricate relation between intimacy and publicity is, in my opinion, key to understanding the connection between French counter-revolutionary migrants and their host society. Many years ago, Deena Goodman discussed how in the Habermasian theory the authentic public sphere originates from the private realm.⁶ According to her, Habermas' 'literate public sphere' in fact referred to the informal gathering of private readers engaging in social and political debates.⁷ Using Goodman's interpretation, this chapter aims to lay the foundation for a larger historical and literary reflection on a public dialogue between those who fled their homeland in response to the Revolution/the advance of the Republican armies and their host societies. It seeks to conceptualise the transnational aspects of counter-revolutionary memories of the French Revolution by looking at the context in which books by émigrés and publications on emigration were received in London from the mid-1790s to the early nineteenth century.

The results presented here are based on the transcription and analysis of 43 printed catalogues published between 1795 and 1830 listing the contents of private libraries intended for sale.⁸ This bottom-up approach allows us to shift the research perspective away from studying a political and literary microcosm made up of the most vocal émigrés. Instead, it focuses on retracing how emigrant ideas and ideas on emigration penetrated the homes and minds of the host society. Pragmatically, this empirical investigation into catalogues of private libraries firstly allows the identification and quantification of a set of titles by members of the French emigrant community, as well as titles related to the emigration. This helps in highlighting trends showing the popularity of some titles and authors amongst British book owners. Further scrutiny into these book lists brings to the fore the presence of many actors involved in the transfer of ideas generated by the emigrant population into a British cultural context.

Finally, this chapter argues that titles by French emigrants need to be thought of as a constitutive part of a much larger nexus of texts produced after 1789 in order to comprehend the reception and transnational evolution of exilic counter-revolutionary ideas and practices from the 1790s onwards.

1 DEFINING THE LITERATURE OF EMIGRATION

The overarching question of what an émigré book is and what makes someone an émigré relates indirectly to that of the definition of a heuristic category clumsily coined literature of emigration. The expression could first refer to any book written by a person identified as an émigré. But, as Mary Ashburn Miller and Kelly Summers have successfully demonstrated in this volume, how one is (legally) identified is not necessarily how one self-identifies. Then, the question of the owner's intent matters: was a book purchased because of its author's affiliation with the émigré community? This is impossible to say. For simplicity's sake, books by the prolific novelist and educationalist Madame de Genlis printed before the outbreak of the Revolution were not included in this corpus since the date and reason behind their acquisition remained unexplained; however, her work produced whilst in emigration as well as new editions of her pre-1789 works were classified under this heuristic category literature of emigration. This method finds that only 109 of approximately 4500 copies of post-1789 publications recorded in the catalogues were authored or edited by people having left France or the continent in response to the Revolution or the Empire. This corresponds to 73 individual titles.⁹ Arguably, the total number of copies of books by émigrés and exiles represents a very small percentage of all post-1789 books in these libraries (2.5% to be precise). Nonetheless, about 50% of the private libraries studied contained one or more such titles.¹⁰ A 'broad-church' definition of literature of emigration would include any work on the subject of emigration and, an even looser one all works with references to émigré characters or books mentioning emigration. In 2011, Katherine Astbury judiciously argued that scholars needed to break away from a research 'conducted along national lines, with the results that the trans-national nature of the development of the [émigré novel] had not been recognised'.¹¹ This was certainly embraced by Clare Siviter's study on Franco-German theatrical exchanges.¹² One can only wonder if, following in Astbury's and Siviter's footsteps, it would be equally relevant to discuss about a transnational

nature of the literature of emigration. While studies on novels and theatre can hardly be extrapolated to examine every literary genre adopted by emigrant writers, thinking about the reception of books by émigrés and on emigration from a transnational viewpoint is, as we will see later, crucial.

The study of private library catalogues demonstrates in various ways the caveats of an intransigent definition of the literature of emigration. This category is first contested by the system of classification adopted by booksellers: none of the 41 catalogues studied for this chapter includes a category 'French refugee/emigrant books' or headings mentioning emigration.¹³ Books by French émigrés were at best classified under the heading 'French Books'; they were mostly mixed in with other books and listed alphabetically under their author's name. Out of the thousands of catalogues published at the time, only one (to my knowledge) auction catalogue—for the household belongings of an anonymous London Lady—advertised on its title page a 'Collection of French Books, relative to the French Revolution'.¹⁴ The collection, certainly not this lady's personal library, was, furthermore, not itemised: all books were collectively described under lot 104 as 'a valuable collection of French books, containing the whole that has been published relating to the Revolution in France, which will be sold in lots, consisting of 1200 articles'.

On the whole, the best-selling exiled author was Madame de Genlis with 11 different titles and copies of her work present in seven different libraries.¹⁵ This is not unexpected as the governess of the Orléans children was already an established author in Europe before the outbreak of the French Revolution. The second most successful author was Antoine-François Bertrand de Moleville with seven copies of books in five different libraries.¹⁶ Six copies of the works by both Dumouriez and Madame de Staël were tracked in four libraries; this corpus also included four copies each of Lally-Tollendal, Mallet du Pan, Calonne, Dellié and Peltier.¹⁷ Three copies of books by the Marquis de Bouillé and Jacques Necker were also described.¹⁸ Working from the bottom-up also allows for the identification of forgotten books, and therefore the enlargement of the corpus of texts by émigrés and on emigration currently studied. Several texts by émigrés were published anonymously and have only been identified through careful bibliographical comparison. *Augusta, un roman* published in French by London bookseller Dulau in 1798, and held in two libraries, was identified as *Augusta, ou Tableau comparatif des moeurs Françaises et des moeurs anglaises, avec des notes très instructives. Par un émigré*, a work published in Paris by Ducauroy in the An IX (1800–1801).¹⁹ Years

later, the authorship of the text was attributed by French journal *La France Littéraire* to returned émigré and legitimist writer Pierre-Salomon Vacquier-Limon.²⁰ Determining the authorship of a couple of works, however, is more challenging: one clergyman owned a copy of *Les Deux Tartuffes ou Cordélie*, an anonymous epistolary novel allegedly written by a French émigré(e?), published in three volumes by Rivington in 1802.²¹ The work was reviewed in the *British Critic* as a 'horrible' tale of betrayal and incest amongst émigrés, using 'Clarissa for [his] model' and the author deemed 'too well acquainted with human nature, at least as it is present constituted', hence reinforcing the possibility of an émigré authorship.²²

The political heterogeneity of these titles and the variety of their genres invites us to question the identification and definition of the literature of emigration category simply based on the departure of authors from France or their embracing of various counter-revolutionary principles. The scholarly consensus nowadays is that novels, plays and poetry by French revolutionaries and émigrés automatically assume a political status.²³ This correlation creates an implicit expectation that emigrant writers wrote exclusively about counter-revolutionary politics and their experiences of exile. Furthermore, such a categorisation might be restrictive in its analytical capacities as it mainly depends on a framework of exile, trauma and politics. Finally, the assumption of an organic relation between the writer's biography and his/her work's intent is particularly questionable when it comes to genres other than fiction: is it reasonable to look for an implicit political statement in a scientific text penned by an émigré? A nobleman exiled in the English capital, Jacques-Louis de Bournon, wrote a *Tyrinés Compiet de la Chaux Carbonatée et de l'Arragonite* which he published in London in 1808.²⁴ Seemingly, this is not a counter-revolutionary text. However, in his *Dissours préliminaire*, Bournon evoked the reason for his emigration:

La révolution qui a couvert la France de sang, de cendres et de larmes, et a fait depuis éprouver les mêmes maux à tout le continent, a commencé ses ravages. Il m'a fallu abandonner patrie, fortune et amis, et devenir simple habitant du monde, totalement indifférent aux nouveaux êtres que j'allais y rencontrer, et n'ayant auprès d'eux, pour toute recommandation, que celle si discréditée du malheur.²⁵

[The Revolution that covered France in blood, ashes and tears, and has since made the entire continent experience the same evils, has started its ravages. I had to abandon fatherland, wealth and friends, and become a simple

inhabitant of the world, totally indifferent to the new beings I would meet there, and having for them the sole and discredited recommendation of misfortune].

In this case the text is not political but the paratext clearly is. New editions of old works are likewise problematic. In 1793 an anonymous French speaker re-edited Besdel's *Abregé des Causes Célèbres et Intéressantes*.²⁶ This work had previously been published in London in 1777. Famously inspiring Charlotte Smith's *The Romance of Real Life*.²⁷ The 1793 Bath edition contained a preface entitled 'Réflexions tirées des Circonstances Présentes' (Reflections upon the Present Circumstances).²⁸ This preface read as a programmatic political essay in favour of emigration. Presenting himself as a 'Français & Français réfugié en Angleterre' (Frenchman & Frenchman refugee in England) the editor urged British citizens to welcome distressed emigrants and called for the military involvement of the British government on French territory. Here again a text produced in a pre-revolutionary context took on a counter-revolutionary dimension because of its paratext. A new question follows related this time to the status of a text that was written before the emigration or the exile of its author but was re-edited by the latter when he found a haven outside France. The poem *Les Jardins* by Jacques Delille was first published in 1782.²⁹ Delille left France in 1795 and reached London in 1799. The text of the 1801 London edition of *Les Jardins* presents many dissimilarities with earlier editions. In this revised edition Fernand Baldensperger identified references to Delille's emigration modified descriptions of gardens and allusions to British patrons the poet visited during his exile. He also saw alterations influenced by the poet's reading of English literature produced in the 1790s.³⁰ Despite being written by the same person two different manifestations of a unique work might belong to different categories: one should be classified as a book by an émigré/exile and the other should not.

Books by French émigrés aside, the French emigration or particular émigré individuals were mentioned in at least 78 copies of books by British authors, with references in the main texts, in prefaces or in footnotes.³¹ Émigrés were of course characters in novels and poems as attested by the single copy in this corpus of Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants*.³² Most of the time émigré writers were simply quoted: William Burdon in his *Materials for Thinking* and Jonathan Boucher in his *Views of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution* discussed their appreciation

of writings by émigrés such as Lally-Tollendal, Mallet du Pan, Malouet or Moleville.³³ Quoting Madame de Genlis was a commonplace in late eighteenth-century writing, especially in education treatises. In this sample, however, she is mostly referred to for her pre-revolutionary works and not her work produced during the emigration even though her *Peris Emigrés* famously served as a model for several anglophone pedagogical books.³⁴ The governmental effort to relieve the émigrés in London or in Westminster was also the subject of many debates in these books: Thomas James Matthias's anger at Pitt's government for 'maintaining emigrant Catholic priests' in his very successful *Pursuit of Literature* was rebutted in another best-seller by George Chalmers, the *Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers* [sic] in which the antiquarian denounced thrice the 'uncharitableness' of Matthias towards those in need.³⁵ At least 11 books by émigrés were advertised in other books—hence, Lally-Tollendal's *Defence* was quite randomly advertised in medicinal treatises.³⁶ This list of books mentioning emigration or émigrés is fairly eclectic; in these, emigration is mostly an incidental subject. In his *Moderst Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain*, the Scottish theologian Alexander Geddes stated, 'I put here the French Emigrants out of the question. They are only birds of passage'.³⁷ He is not wrong as a diachronic study of this corpus reveals that the majority of these British books mentioning emigration were published between 1793 and 1801, roughly between the arrival *en masse* of French refugees in the British Isles and the treaty of Amiens when most returned to France.

A restrictive definition of the heuristic category literature of emigration, including works by authors who have only been identified as émigrés, proves unsuccessful, as it creates unnecessary boundaries. Despite its limitations in size, this sample emphasises the political diversity of the emigration, with books by both legitimists and constitutionalists, by individuals who had adhered to revolutionary principles before leaving France in the early 1790s and by others who were exiled in the 1800s by Napoléon. It also highlights the various responses from the British host society. This list finally demonstrates the diversity of the genres invested by French authors in exile since it includes novels, poetry, plays, memoirs, political essays, dictionaries and grammar books, scientific texts as well as journals. A broader definition of literature of emigration including works with references to the phenomenon seems disingenuous as the presence of references on the emigration and that of minor works by French emigrants in private libraries remains incidental. Yet, while these

works had little influence individually, viewed collectively, it is worth considering their impact on the community of readers in Britain.

2 IDENTIFYING VEHICLES FOR THE TRANSFER OF EXILIC AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

Catalogues of private libraries do not simply point out to titles, authors and dates. They contain details drawing attention to various individuals participating, willingly or not, in the circulation and penetration of ideas developed before and after their exile in the emigrant's host countries. Michel Espagne labelled these individuals 'véhicules du transfert' (vehicles for transfers); Joep Leerssen identified these 'human actors' as 'the carriers, enunciators and disseminators of notions, ideas and attitudes'; the 'relay stations in a spreading cultural movement'.³⁸ Sales catalogues of private libraries hint at several agents of transfers, often indirectly revealing the names of publishers, booksellers and translators involved in the trade of books by émigrés. Of course, the books listed in these catalogues are also directly associated with the name of one or several owners, unlike the items listed in book stock catalogues or catalogues of lending libraries. As we will see in the final part of this chapter, these owners should be themselves perceived as participants in the transfers of ideas.

In this particular sample, the identification of vehicles for cultural transfers from the émigré/exiled communities to their hosts was facilitated by the relative completeness of the bibliographical information ascribed to books listed in the catalogues. More often than not, catalogue compilers included either a year or a place of publication, the name of a publisher or that of a translator, the format of an edition as well as the number of volumes in which they appeared. Combining two or more of these factual data frequently permitted the identification of an edition or a range of potential matches to the item described. However, as the dataset is enlarged and catalogues without bibliographical details are added to the corpus, the identification of particular manifestations of works by émigrés will be more complicated (and sometimes clearly impossible).

Who published the émigrés and where could one buy books written by the French political exiles? The information provided in catalogues confirms that London was the trading epicentre of émigré books in Britain. All the books published in the British Isles in this particular sample were printed in London apart from a single edition from Bath. Some books by

émigrés and on emigration in these libraries had been imported from Hamburg: after all, the emigration was a transnational phenomenon. In his study of *French Exile Journalism*, Simon Burrows reminds us that Hamburg was the 'largest centre for emigration in Germany and a hub for the continental distribution of émigré literature and journals'.³⁹ In fact, four out of five of the infamous *Mémoires du Général Dumouriez écrits par lui-même* in our private libraries had been imported from the German Hanseatic city, where it was first published in 1794.⁴⁰ Other books were brought in from Paris, mainly after Napoleon's 1802 *Amnésie Générale*. These were all authored by returned émigrés.

Famous publishers are sometimes mentioned in sales catalogues; but works by émigrés and on emigration were not collectibles. Therefore, not a single publisher for their work was named in these catalogues. However, further bibliographical research revealed that London publishers traditionally specialising in francophone literature did not have a complete monopoly on the publication of émigré works, whether these were in French or translated into English. The list of names henceforth created corresponded to those extracted from classified advertisements for books by émigrés published in major London newspapers with a national coverage.⁴¹ These complementary sources revealed a large network of traders involved in the circulation and diffusion of books by counter-revolutionary exiles. This group included at least 50 booksellers, bookseller-publishers and print-sellers, as well as some stationers. Booksellers de Boffe, Dulau, Thomas Boosey, L'Homme, Conchy and Debrét, all involved in the francophone book trade, topped the list in terms of their involvement. But the presence of several other generalist establishments in this list allows us to hypothesise the wider appeal of books by émigrés.

Significantly, all had set shop in London: the English capital was already a major publishing centre for the French book trade before the arrival *en masse* of French emigrants in the autumn of 1792. Throughout the eighteenth century, many titles were printed in Grub Street to escape the French State's censorship and then smuggled to the continent.⁴² London's centrality in the trade of books by emigrants could henceforth be perceived in continuity with the place it occupied in the francophone book trade before 1789. However, with the increasing number of exiled Frenchmen and women in the British Isles, it is likely that the readership for French books published in London changed. The presence of a francophone community opened up a new local market; it might also have led to the birth of a new England-wide market for French texts (which could

perhaps even be scaled to the entire British Isles).⁴³ Indeed, while London was the British epicentre of the émigré book trade, the ownership and readership of émigré books was not limited to the English capital city. Four of the libraries which contained émigré books in our sample were constituted and kept in northern England in large cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, York and Warrington.

While publishers, booksellers and librarians in London and beyond had a financial (rather than political) incentive to act as agents for the transfers of émigré and counter-revolutionary ideas, the involvement of translators in the trade of books by émigrés is more ambivalent. Twenty individual titles (28 copies) in this sample were authored by emigrants and later anglicised. As per the tradition of the time, translators' names rarely appeared on the title page of the edited works; neither did the translator write or sign a preface. This is mostly the case for novels and volumes of poetry, especially when works were translated by women: a 1794 (reprinted in 1796) English translation of Genlis' *Adelaide et Theodore* was undertaken by 'some Ladies, who, through misfortunes, too common at this times, are reduced from ease and opulence, to the necessity of applying, to the support of life, those accomplishment which were given them in their youth, for the amusement and embellishment of it'.⁴⁴

Remarkably, five out of the seven works for which the translator is identifiable point to a single man: Robert Charles Dallas.⁴⁵ Taking into account the works in this corpus but not the complete list of his translations, Dallas had been in charge of the English rendering of Mallet du Pan's *Mercure Britannique*, Bertrand de Moleville's *Annales* and his *Mémoires particuliers pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XVI*, Clery's *Journal pendant la Captivité de Louis XVI* and Weber's *Mémoires de Marie-Antoinette*.⁴⁶ A catalogue form 1812 even misidentified him as the author of a book by Moleville.⁴⁷ Today, Dallas is chiefly remembered for his private relation to the Romantic bard Byron.⁴⁸ In the 1790s, however, he was involved in a public fight against Jacobinism. In the preface to an edition of his personal works, he declared that his oeuvre was composed 'in the defense of society and reason against Jacobinism and confusion; for [he] had previously fought in the armour of the celebrated Mallet du Pan, whose *Mercure Britannique* [he] gave periodically to the public in English, concurrent with the publication of the original'.⁴⁹

Dallas' case, though extreme, is not unique. In her work on the transnational dimension of the émigré novel, Astbury noted that 'translations often bore the mark of the translator's political stance'.⁵⁰ The same can be

said of many works by émigrés in translation: the conservative political commentator John Gifford was accused of 'transgressing the limits of prudence and propriety' by a reviewer from the *Critical Review* with regard to his rendition of Lally-Tollendal's *Defence of the French Emigrants*. On the contrary, a second reviewer praised the 'judicious' translator for 'giv[ing] his own estimate of the newest French constitution'.⁵¹ Dallas and Gifford were not only translators of émigré works; they were also fierce anti-Jacobins and expressed these views in several works. Putting one's name on the translation of an openly counter-revolutionary text is not an insignificant act; it can be clearly construed as a political gesture. The political or aesthetic 'intention' of a title by an émigré may therefore be changed and renewed by their translator. To impose a strict division between their own works and their translations is to forget the primal subjectivity of the act of translating.

3 LITERATURE OF EMIGRATION AND THE FASHIONING OF A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY READER

The role of publishers, booksellers and translators as agents of transfers is fairly obvious; that of book owners less so. A significant pitfall when using catalogues of private libraries is that they do not indicate if a book was actually read, and who, besides the individual named on the title page, had access to it. First, the named owner might not be the reader: in an article about book collecting in the eighteenth century, David Allan states, 'At the same time the nature of heritable property ordinarily descending under primogeniture also meant that documentary records tended by default to ascribe ownership to men even where female family members might in practice have been the most frequent users, even the original acquirers, of certain books'.⁵² Second, we can only infer from a small number of primary sources and previous studies on reading cultures that émigré books and journals must have had multiple readers.

Let's consider Mallet du Pan's thrice-monthly publication, the *Mercure Britannique*. It was held in three of the private libraries studied.⁵³ French exiled journals were notorious for being shared, with émigrés clubbing together to afford the expense of a single annual subscription.⁵⁴ Jeremy Black suggested that on average 10 to 20 Englishmen and women read each copy of a newspaper in the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ It is therefore highly likely, though unprovable, that these three copies had multiple readers. In

fact, private libraries often functioned as informal libraries: one émigré, Gauthier de Brecy, even worked as a private librarian for a London gentleman.⁵⁶ In his memoirs, he stated that he was free to lend books to his fellow exiles. Furthermore, and as mentioned in the introduction, books were read aloud in front of audiences made of relatives and acquaintances. Most of the titles by émigrés gathered for this chapter were published in portable formats such as the octavo or the duodecimo, both perfectly suitable for public readings. Private owners of books might not have always consciously assumed the role of vehicles for transfers, but through their reading and lending practices have participated in the circulation of ideas developed in émigré circles.

Alongside the questions of the readership comes that of the owner's intent, introduced in the early paragraphs of this chapter: why would a British person possess a book by an émigré? Individual purchases can be linked to tastes and interests. For instance, the owner of the aforementioned scientific *Traité de la chaleur et de l'arragonite* by Bournon seems to have sustained an interest in physics and chemistry. A Mr. Jones from Chelsea (or perhaps his relatives) owned the majority of novels by émigrés in this sample: the collection advertised for sale demonstrated a private appreciation of fiction. In this sample, however, the possession of books by émigrés is most certainly related to owners' private political leanings. The library owners, or at least the individuals named on the title pages of the catalogues studied in this chapter, were mostly wealthy upper middle-class men or members of the British gentry. Their socio-economic background certainly explains the overwhelming presence of conservative and anti-Jacobin books in their libraries.

Together, these catalogues contained at least 450 copies of books in or translated from French and printed after 1789. Of these, more than a quarter expressed counter-revolutionary views formed by political migrants or royalists who remained in France. By contrast, only 10% of the copies of books in these libraries promoted revolutionary views or Bonapartist ones. Furthermore, the first results from this sample seem to indicate a correlation between the ownership of books by émigrés and that of books by British counter-revolutionary and conservative thinkers. The 21 libraries containing books by émigrés were about 95% likely to also contain books tending towards a conservative viewpoint; the 26 libraries containing books authored by British conservative writers were about 75% likely to contain a book by an émigré. In fact, only one library that did not demonstrate conservative tendencies contained an émigré book. At least 181

copies of books in these libraries were by prominent anti-Jacobin thinkers and adversaries of Napoléon. By contrast, these libraries contained only 24 copies of books by British radical politicians and religious dissidents, such as Fox, Priestley or Mackintosh. There was not a single copy of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*. Yet, 16 copies of works on the revolution by Edmund Burke belonged to 12 library owners. William St Clair has previously suggested that, in 1794, Paine's controversial opus was removed from subscription libraries, allowing for Burke's triumph.⁵⁷ Collaborators of the anti-Jacobin newspaper and writers of anti-Jacobin novels were overwhelmingly represented, with many books by William Gifford, George Ellis, John Gifford, Isaac d'Israeli, Samuel Egerton Brydges and Hannah More.⁵⁸ The ultra-conservative *Anti-Jacobin* and the *Anti-Jacobin Reviews* were read by at least six book owners, with two catalogues indicating long-term subscriptions to the latter. All but one of these six owners also possessed books by émigrés.

As a matter of fact, the ownership of anti-Jacobin and émigré literature brings us once again to that of the relation between public and private life. The study of private literary interest must be complemented by that of (posthumous) processes of self-fashioning. In all likelihood, the inclusion and description of items in private libraries and later in catalogues was moderated by the library owners themselves, or, had they already died, their heirs and executors. With the largest wave of emigration in the autumn of 1792, charity towards the French emigrants was promoted as a national characteristic in the British Isles. Advertising the possession of works by émigrés could therefore be associated with a charitable public persona. It is, however, more likely that the overwhelming presence in these libraries of books by émigrés, counter-revolutionary thinkers and conservative ones was related to a choice to distance oneself publicly from radical politics. Stephen Colclough interpreted the removal of radical and politically sensitive books from upper middle-class subscription libraries as a political declaration: 'Although [members of book clubs and reading societies] met in the domestic space of the home, they thought of themselves as publicly accountable for their actions'.⁵⁹ It is not impossible that the owners of these private libraries owned more revolutionary titles in their collections. They might not have wanted to be remembered as radical readers.

* * *

In conclusion, at the most basic level, the systematic analysis of British private library catalogues can reveal which émigré titles and authors were most likely to be found in the homes of British men and women contemporary to the Revolution. As a preliminary to a larger study on post-revolutionary European memories, this small sample already highlights various problems that arise when attempting to define what is the literature of emigration. Questioning the diversity of the texts and authors present in catalogues is fundamental to furthering our understanding of the many political, social and cultural forms taken by the emigration. Moreover, the transnational network of writers, publishers, sellers, translators, reviewers, owners and readers identified through catalogues highlights the deceptiveness and artificiality of the separation of books by émigrés and books by others.

Furthermore, and from the perspective of reception studies, these examples demonstrate how crucial it is to examine book lists in detail in order to comprehend the extent to which émigré political discourses infiltrated the British private realm and participated in shaping individual and collective memories of the Revolution and emigration in their host environment. In his seminal *Transfers: Cultural Franco-Alliances*, Michel Espagne declared: 'Lorsqu'un livre, une théorie, une tendance esthétique franchissent la frontière entre deux espaces culturels [...] leur signification liée au contexte, se modifie par là même' (when a book, a theory, an aesthetic tendency crosses the border between two cultural spaces [...]) their significance in relation to the context is henceforth modified).⁶⁰ Books and their meanings are not static, and when inserted within a collection, albeit a collection of books from a different culture, they take on new meanings. Both the study of the transnational circulation and European reception of books by French émigrés and francophone counter-revolutionary exiles can offer new perspectives on the construction and definition of a transnational counter-revolutionary identity in the 1790s and early nineteenth century. It allows for an appreciation of how references to French anti-revolutionary cultures permeated the private sphere through émigré books, and in the long term, influenced the host's collective memory of the French Revolution and the Emigration. Indeed, long after the émigrés returned to France, they continued to exert an influence on their British hosts through the texts they had left behind.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SHORT NAME REFERENCES
AND CORRESPONDING CATALOGUE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
DETAILS

References	Short title
Anonymous 1796	<i>A Catalogue of a most capital and valuable library of books [...] by a gentleman, retiring into the country [...]</i> (London: Christie, 1796).
Anonymous 1803	<i>A Catalogue of a Small Collection of Books [...] which will be sold [...] on Friday, February 11, 1803 [...]</i> (London: Mr. King, 1803)
Baldwin 1796	<i>Catalogue of books, being the remaining part of the library of the late Richard Baldwin, Esq. [...]</i> (Dublin: James Vallance, 1796).
Bankes 1803	<i>A Catalogue of the valuable library [...] of Mr. Henry Bankes [...]</i> (London: Leigh and Sotheby, 1803).
Baxter 1812	<i>A Catalogue of a valuable Library selected [...] by the late Sirjoford Squire Baxter, esq. [...]</i> (London: King & Lochée, 1812)
Beloes 1803	<i>A Catalogue of a small collection of books, including a very choice and valuable selection of English poetry [...]</i> (London: King, 1803).
Bryan 1828	<i>A Catalogue of the valuable library of the late Burges Bryan, Esq [...]</i> (London: Sotheby, Strand)
Burrell 1796	<i>A catalogue of the town-library of the late Sir William Burrell: Bart. L.L.D. Fellow of the Antiquary Society, Deceased [...]</i> (London: 1796).
Carr 1807	<i>Library of books, & furniture. A catalogue of the library of John Carr, L.L.D. deceased [...]</i> (London: Barker, 1807).
Coleman 1795	<i>A Catalogue of the [...] Library of Books of the Rev. Dr. Coleman [...]</i> (London: Christie, 1795)
Dutens 1802	<i>A Catalogue of an elegant and choice selection from the library of the Rev. L. Dutens [...]</i> (London: Leigh, Sotheby, & son, 1802)
Fazakerley 1801	<i>A Catalogue of the genuine and extensive library of a gentleman, lately deceased, (removed from his residence at Windsor, for convenience of sale) [...]</i> (London: King and Lochée, 1801).
Garrick 1823	<i>A Catalogue of the library [...] of David Garrick, Esq. [...] with the modern works added thereto by Mrs Garrick [...]</i> (London: Saunders, 1823)
Gaubert 1800	<i>A catalogue of the choice collection of prints, drawings, books, books of prints [...] late the property of W. Gaubert, Esq. late of Turinham-Green, deceased [...]</i> (London: King, 1800).
Geddes 1804	<i>A Catalogue of the [...] library of the late Alexander Geddes D.D. [...]</i> (London: Leigh, Sotheby, & son, 1804)
Green 1800	<i>A Catalogue of the neat household furniture [...] of Mr. Robert Green, dead [...]</i> (London: Griffith & co, 1800)
Hinton_	<i>A catalogue of books, prints, and portraits, late the property of Mr Henry Hinton, [...] together with the portion of the library of another gentleman [...]</i> (London: King, 1816).
Anonymous 1816	
Anonymous 1799	<i>Masters</i> 1799
Pickard 1802	<i>Pickard</i> 1802
Piozzi 1816	<i>Piozzi</i> 1816
Radford 1815	<i>Radford</i> 1815
Richards 1812	<i>Richards</i> 1812
Rison 1803	<i>Rison</i> 1803
Roberts 1828	<i>Roberts</i> 1828
Robinson 0000	<i>Robinson</i> 0000
Smyth 1797	<i>Smyth</i> 1797
Stretell 1820	<i>Stretell</i> 1820
Sumner_	<i>Sumner_</i>
Anonymous 1814	<i>Anonymous</i> 1814
Taylor 1818	<i>Taylor</i> 1818
Topham 1804	<i>Topham</i> 1804
Trevelyan 1818	<i>Trevelyan</i> 1818
Usher_Clarendon_	<i>Usher_Clarendon_</i>
Anonymous 1796	<i>Anonymous</i> 1796
Walcott 1800	<i>Walcott</i> 1800
Anonymous 1803	<i>Jones</i> 1803 <i>A Catalogue [...] part the property of Mr. Jones of Chelsea, deceased [...]</i> (London: King, 1803)
Martin 1799	<i>A catalogue of the [...] collection of books, prints, books of prints [...] The property of the late David Martin, esquire, portrait painter to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales [...]</i> (Edinburgh: C. Elliot and William Bruce, 1799).
Masters 1799	<i>Bibliotheca Masterstane [...]</i> (London: Arrowsmith and Bowley, 1798)
Pickard 1802	<i>A Catalogue (part the second) containing the Library of Books [...] the property of Leonard Pickard, Esq. of York [...]</i> (London: King, 1802)
Piozzi 1816	<i>Sresham Park, Surrey. A catalogue of the [...] household furniture [...] also, the extensive and well-selected library [...] the genuine property of Mrs. Piozzi [...]</i> (London: Squibb, 1816).
Radford 1815	<i>A Catalogue [...] late the property of George Radford</i> (London: King Jun, 1815)
Richards 1812	<i>A Catalogue of the Valuable Library late the property of Thomas Bryan Richards [...]</i> (London: King & Lochée, 1812)
Rison 1803	<i>A Catalogue of the entire and curious library and manuscripts of the late Joseph Rison, Esq, of Gray's Inn [...]</i> (London: Leigh, Sotheby and Son, 1803).
Roberts 1828	<i>Catalogue of the Valuable Library of Edward Walpole Roberts [...]</i> (London: Sotheby, 1828)
Robinson 0000	<i>A Catalogue of the Valuable and well-chosen Library [...] of T.H. Robinson [...]</i> (Manchester: Winstanley, unk.)
Smyth 1797	<i>A catalogue of the curious and valuable library of George Smyth. Esq. [...]</i> (London: Leigh and Sotheby, 1797)
Stretell 1820	<i>A Catalogue of the curious and valuable library of Amos Stretell, Esq. [...]</i> (London: Evans, 1820)
Sumner_	<i>A Catalogue of the Library of the late Revd. Dr. Sumner [...] to which are added the books of an architect [...]</i> (London: Evans, 1814)
Anonymous 1814	<i>A Catalogue of the [...] library of the late Rev. T.G. Taylor [...]</i> (Ipswich: 1818).
Taylor 1818	<i>A Catalogue of the entire and valuable Library and Manuscripts of the late John Topham [...]</i> (London: Leigh, Sotheby, and Son, 1804)
Topham 1804	<i>Catalogue of the entire Law Library of Raleigh Trevelyan. [...]</i> (Newcastle: Emerson Charney, 1818).
Trevelyan 1818	<i>Catalogue of books, prints, and books of print being the libraries of the Late Rev. Doctor Usher, F.T.C.D.: Mr. Clarendon, and another gentleman [...]</i> (Dublin: James Vallance, 1796).
Usher_Clarendon_	<i>A catalogue of the books and manuscripts, of the Late Mrs. Walcott. [...]</i> (Dublin: James Vallance, 1800)
Anonymous 1796	
Walcott 1800	

References	Short title
Watson 1800	<i>A catalogue of the elegant household furnishings, and a variety of valuable effects, of James Watson, Esq. deceased</i> [...]. (London: Willcock, 1800).
Watson 1829	<i>Catalogue of the valuable library</i> [...] of the late Holland Watson [...] (Liverpool: Branch & Son, 1829)
Wilkes 1802	<i>A Catalogue of the very valuable library of the late John Wilkes, Esq. M.P.</i> [...] (London: Leigh, Sotheby, & son, 1802)
Windham 1811	<i>A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of the late Joseph Windham, Esq.</i> [...] (London: Leigh and Sotheby, 1811)

NOTES

1. Studies on similar questions have been undertaken for other refugee communities exiled in the British Isles, starting with the long-term cultural influence of the Huguenot population on British society. In *Refugees in an Age of Genocide* (pp. 416–17), Tony Kushner and Katherine Knox discuss how ‘some of the gains of [refugees] presence are measurable, including the creation of jobs and new enterprises as well as the development of intellectual and cultural life’. The researchers insisted on the manner in which ‘energy and innovation’ brought by refugee groups participated in the ‘revitalisation of the] British Society at a national and local level’.
2. The same can probably be said of studies on refugees in general, in which demographics and politics often take centre stage. In their introduction to a special issue of *Immigrants and Minorities* (pp. 122–151), Stefan Manz and Panikos Panayi attempted for the first time to demonstrate the importance of studying the cultural impact of refugees in Britain since the seventeenth century.
3. Wynne Williams, *Diary*, p. 30.
4. The text read in this meeting is likely to have been an early and manuscript version of *Dernières nouvelles de Louis XVI, roi de France*, a pamphlet written sometime in the early 1800s. The earliest recorded publications of this text date from the 1810s. Cléry’s text is probably his *Journal de ce qui s’est passé à la Tour du Temple, pendant la captivité de Louis XVI, roi de France*, first published in 1798.
5. Williams, *The Social Life of Books*, pp. 3–4.
6. Goodman, ‘Public Sphere and Private Life’, p. 5.
7. Idem, p. 6.
8. My research on books by émigrés is still in its early stages and the number of catalogues examined should grow exponentially.
For a discussion on the advantages and pitfalls of using catalogues of private libraries as a source, see Helwi Blom, Rindert Jagersma and Juliette Reboul, ‘Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source for the History of Reading’, in Jonathan Rose and Mary Hammond, *Edinburgh History of Reading* (Edinburgh: EUP, 2019).
The start date roughly corresponds to the moment in the history of the French emigration when some émigrés decided to settle in their host territory. Furthermore, it has been assumed that the presence of books by émigrés in British libraries would be insignificant in earlier years as the movement only started around 1792. The cut-off date corresponds to the chronological limits of the project in which I am involved, MEDIANTE (see mediate18.nl)
9. So far, I have only been able to identify half of the 4500 titles in my sample and the numbers and percentages I will now present are very conservative.
10. The number of books by émigrés in a library is not related to the total number of books. One of the smallest libraries (26 items) contained two books written by émigrés: *Green 1800*, p. 9, items 20 and 24.
11. Astbury, ‘The trans-national dimensions of the Émigré novel’. In this, she argues that the émigré novel should be studied as a transnational genre that functioned around a ‘common series of plot devices through which to explore notions of identity and the interplay of politics and sensibility’. According to her, the émigré novel is not a text by an émigré but a novel about emigration obeying certain aesthetic criteria: Sophie Cottin, Isabelle de Charrière, Charlotte Smith and Auguste Delafontaine should therefore be considered as authors of émigré novels since they made emigration their subjects.
12. See Chap. 8 in this volume.
13. While the term émigré is used today as a collective to define the ensemble of the population that left France, the individuals and the community of migrants were mostly referred to in contemporary British documents as refugee or emigrant.
14. *Catalogue of the [...] Furniture of a Lady* [...].
15. The distribution of books by Madame de Genlis in the libraries studied was as such:
Alphonisime: Bryan 1828, p. 19, item 612.
Le Siège de la Rochelle: Garrick 1823, p. 31, item 945.
Les Chevaliers du Cygne: Geddes 1804, p. 17, item 514.
Rash Vows, or the Effects of Enthusiasm: Jones 1803, p. 5, item 106.

- Toung Exiles: Jones 1803*, p. 10, item 310.
Duubs of La Vallière: Sretzell 1820, p. 23, items 631 and 640.
Duc de Lauzun: Sretzell 1820, p. 23, item 639.
Le Mari Corrupteur: Sretzell 1820, p. 23, item 641.
Adelaide et Théodore: Watson 1829, p. 11, item 293.
Lecours d'une Gouvernante et de ses élèves: Wilkes 1802, p. 45, item 1260.
16. *Annals of the French Revolution: Baxter 1812*, p. 49, item 1068; *Roberts 1828*, p. 6, item 126. *Private Memoirs of Louis XVI: Baxter 1812*, p. 49, item 1064; *Garrick 1823*, p. 21, item: 622; *Green 1800*, p. 9, item 20; *Roberts 1828*, p. 17, item 472; *Wilkes 1802*, p. 5, item: 143.
17. Charles-Francois Dumouriez's *Memoirs* (in French or in English): *Banks 1803*, p. 11, item 301; *Anonymous 1803*, p. 3, item 28; *Wilkes 1802*, p. 17, item 488, and p. 48, item 1357; *Windham 1811*, p. 24, items 654 and 655. Germaine de Stael, *Corinne: Garrick 1823*, p. 20, item 566; *Sretzell 1820*, p. 49, item 1361; *Robinson 0000*, p. 42, item 570. *De l'Allemagne: Sretzell 1820*, p. 16, item 459. *Lettres sur les Ouvrages et le Caractère de J.J. Rousseau: Dutens 1802*, p. 3, item 68. *Zahna: Sretzell 1820*, p. 16, item 1813.
- Lally-Tollental; *Comte de Strafford: Dutens 1802*, p. 4, item 103; *Sretzell 1820*, p. 28, item 801; *Windham 1811*, p. 41, item 1154. *Défense des Émigrés Français: Wilkes 1802*, p. 26, item 737.
- Mallet du Pan: *Mercurie Britannique: Garrick 1823*, p. 24, item 721; *Summer Anonymous 1814*, p. 2, item 34; *Baxter 1812*, p. 48, item 1047. *Des dangers qui menacent l'Europe: Anonymous 1803*, p. 3, item 28.
- Calonne: *Etat de la France: Baxter 1812*, p. 27, item 616; *Coleman 1795*, p. 5, item 34; *Garrick 1823*, p. 13, item 390; *Wilkes 1802*, p. 9, item 268.
- Dellile: *Les Javins: Bryan 1828*, p. 10, item 252; *Geddes 1804*, p. 5, items 115 and 116; *Dutens 1802*, p. 6, item 140.
- Peltier: *Derniers Tableaux de Paris: Masters 1799*, p. 4, item 37; *Wilkes 1802*, p. 34, item 990; *Windham 1811*, p. 54, item 1521. *Tableau de l'Europe: Windham 1811*, p. 54, item 1521*
18. Boullie: *Memoirs relating to the French Revolution: Baxter 1812*, p. 22, item 504; *Roberts 1828*, p. 4, item 57; *Wilkes 1802*, p. 8, item 232.
- Necker; *Administration de Paris: Wilkes 1802*, p. 33, item 951. *Pouvoir Exécutf: Wilkes 1802*, p. 33, item 950; *Topham 1804*, p. 13, item 430.
19. *Sretzell 1820*: p. 2, item 17; *Green 1800*, p. 9, item 24.
20. Quérard, *France Littéraire*, v.10, p. 49.
21. *Anonymous 1803*: p. 3, item 31. A copy held in the British Library (RB.23.b.6429[2]) includes a manuscript note identifying the book collector as the Rvd Mr. Beloës.

22. *British Critic*, p. 77. I have not been able to locate a single copy of this book.
23. For a discussion on the political status of émigré fictions, Asbury, *Tramma*, p. 2. In her introduction, she adopts the statement by Malcolm Cook that 'Surely, it cannot be denied, in spite of the reticence of critics in this respect, that such novels, appearing when they do, assume a revolutionary status; and must be considered in the context of their political environment?'
24. *Bryan 1828*, p. 20, item 653.
25. Bournon, *Traité complet de la Chaux Carbonatée et de l'Arragonnise*, vol. I, p. vi.
26. *Topham 1804*, p. 8, item 217; *Roberts 1828*, p. 4, item 46.
27. Smith, *Romance of Real Life*.
28. Besdel, *Abregé des causes célèbres et intéressantes*, p. v-xii.
29. On the status of Dellile as an émigré, see Baldensperger, 'L'Émigration de Jacques Dellile? The 1801 edition was in *Dutens 1802*, p. 6, item 140, and *Geddes 1804*, p. 5, items 115 and 116.
30. Baldensperger, pp. 91-92.
31. Based on distant reading, this list cannot currently include books that clearly emulated emigration novels or others that were strongly influenced by exiled counter-revolutionary discourses.
32. The use of the subject of the French emigration by non-émigré writers was poorly represented in this sample: books by writers such as Fanny Burney, Isabelle de Charrière or Sophie Cottin, to cite only a few, were not listed in these catalogues. This might be explained by the small size of the sample and the relative social heterogeneity of library owners mostly male and middle class.
33. Burdon, *Materials for thinking*, p. 375; Boucher, *Vieus of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution*, p. 111.
34. Genlis's English emulators are studied in Resel, 'Educating against Revolution?'
35. Matthias, *Pursuits of Literature*, part I, pp. 21-23; 27; 52; Chalmers, *Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers*, pp. 519; 554; 583.
36. Willich, *Lectures on diet and regimen*, p. 672: 'Books printed for T.N. Longman'.
37. Geddes, *Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain addressed to all moderate protestants*, p. xi.
38. See, for instance, Espagne, *Transferts culturels and Leerssen*, 'Nationalism and the cultivation of culture? While Michel Espagne thinks that 'la diversité des personnalités enrégistrées empêche les études sérielles' (the diversity of the recorded personalities prevents serial studies), the method used in this study demonstrated that a serial approach to the question of cultural

- transfers can participate, revealing the vehicles of transfers in a fairly efficient and rapid way.
39. Burrows, *French Exile Journalism*, p. 62.
 40. The fourth copy cannot be categorically identified as such since the place of publication is missing. It is probably the edition from Hamburg.
 41. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain*, pp. 155–163. See also appendix.
 42. See Eisenstein, *Grub Street abroad*.
 43. This is particularly visible in the increase in the number of English translations of émigré books in the mid-1790s and the rapidity of their publication. See Reboul, p. 160.
 44. *Maxson* 1829, p. 11, item 293—the edition actually catalogued for sale has not been identified due to a lack of details offered by the catalogue compiler.
 45. The two other translators were Robert Clifford (*Roberts* 1828, p. 4 item 35—*Barnuel's (Abbé) History of Jacobinism*, 4 vols., 1797) and John Fenwick (*Barnes* 1803, p. 11 item 301—*Tenwick's Memoirs of Dumourier* 1764 [i.e. 1794]).
 46. Respectively, *Baxter* 1812, p. 48, item 1047 and *Summer* Anonymous 1814, p. 2, item 34. *Baxter* 1812, p. 49, item 1068, and *Roberts* 1828, p. 6, item 126. *Green* 1800, p. 9, item 20; *Wilkes* 1802, p. 5, item 143; *Baxter* 1812, p. 49, item 1064; *Garrick* 1823, p. 21, item 622, and *Roberts* 1828, p. 17, item 472. *Garrick* 1823, p. 15, item 548. *Raford* 1815, p. 10, item 246.
 47. *Roberts* 1828, p. 6, item 126.
 48. ONDB: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7038> (accessed on 02/04/2018)
 49. Dallas, *Miscellaneous Works and Novels*, vol. 1, 'Preface', p. xvi.
 50. Astbury, 'The trans-national dimensions of the Émigré novel', p. 811.
 51. See Reboul, p. 158.
 52. Allan, 'Book-Collecting and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', pp. 76.
 53. Launched in September 1798, this successful series of political essays ran until March 1800.
 54. Burrows, 'Cultural politics of exile', p. 158; see also his *French Exile Journalism*, p. 75
 55. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*.
 56. Gauthier de Brécy, *Mémoires véridiques et ingénues de la vie privée, morale et politique d'un homme de bien*, pp. 274–276.
 57. Saint Clair, p. 257; see also Colclough, p. 108.
 58. See Grenby, 'The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Fiction, British Conservatism and the Revolution in France'. A large number of Anti-Jacobin novels

identified by Grenby were listed in these libraries, including *The Minister*, Robert Bisset, *Douglas or the Highlanders*; Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Arthur Fitz-Albini*; Mary Charlton, *The Parisian*; Elizabeth Helme, *The Farmer of Inglewood Forest*; Charles Lloyd, *Edmund Oliver*; S. Pearson, *The Madallion*; Mary Robinson, *The Natural Daughters*; Charlotte Smith, *Marchmont*; Thomas Skinner Surr, *George Barnwell*.

59. Colclough, p. 121.
60. Espagne, pp. 28–29.

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CHAPTER 7

The Trauma of the Emigration in the Novels of Three Women Émigrées in London

Laure Philip

*ces romans m'ont fait du mal, ils ont été remuer au fond de mon âme
un vieux reste de vie qui ne servira qu'à souffrir.
[These novels have hurt me, they stirred up, at the bottom of my soul, the
last old remnants of life that will only bring more suffering.]*

This chapter argues that one of the defining characteristics of the literature authored by French female émigrées of the Revolution is that it creatively comes to terms with the trauma of the emigration. Voicing a traumatic past through fiction is not reserved for women writers; men, too, productively used exile as a literary motif in their fiction works, and this formed a constitutive part of the literary landscape and novelistic leitmotifs of the nineteenth century.¹ However, on the one hand, the relationship between biography and novelistic creation has seldom worked in women's favour, and, on the other hand, not much research has wholeheartedly addressed the literary production from the circumstantial viewpoint of the female

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