Notes

1 The Painful Birth of the Romantic Heroine

1. Other texts mentioned here figure in *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), which contains a fuller list of all Staël's known works, not forgetting the superb *Correspondance générale*. Staël offers bitter counsel. She states that if *bonheur* is to be denied them, "il vaut mieux renfermer les femmes comme esclaves . . . que de les lancer au milieu du monde" (*DA* IV 372). Staël's term for women's fame – *un deuil éclatant du bonheur* – was brewing by 1796: "[L]es femmes doivent penser que, pour la gloire même, il faut renoncer au bonheur." She adds, "[C]e n'est pas en renonçant au sort que la société leur a fixé, que les femmes peuvent échapper au malheur" (*IP* 191, 210). Lastly, as 1793 made explicit, the Revolutionary *zoon politikon* of our title was male, and predicated upon privatized female "helots."
2. Jacques Domenech, "L'Eloge de Rousseau prétexte à l'hagiographie de Necker chez Madame de Staël," *Etudes Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 3 (1989), 69–83.
3 Compare Chapters 3 and 4.
4. John Cleary, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau, and Mary Wollstonecraft," *Romance Notes* 21 (1980/1981), 329–331; and Madelyn Gutwirth, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau, and the Woman Question," *Modern Language Review* (1970), 100–109. An odd footnote is Staël's debate on whether monarchies or republics can better use women leaders: In 1800, she claims that they offer ridicule and hatred respectively (*DL* 325). But elsewhere Staël is more pointed: Reviewing in 1788 Rousseau's desire to "empêcher les femmes de se mêler des affaires publiques," she suggests that in a republic, "cet usage est préférable," while in a monarchy, women perhaps conserve "plus de sentiments d'indépendance et de fierté que les hommes" (*LR* 46). In 1811, Staël says the reverse: In monarchies, one feels "une sorte d'éloignement" for women who mess with public affairs; "[I]l semble qu'elles deviennent les rivales des hommes . . .; mais dans une république, la politique étant le premier intérêt de tous les hommes, ils ne seraient point associés du fond de l'âme avec les femmes qui ne partageraient pas cet intérêt" (*Aspasie* 702). By amazing coincidence, Staël's change of heart echoes who was in

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power. On this subject, see Susan Tenenbaum, "Montesquieu and Mme de Staël: The Woman as a Factor in Political Analysis," *Political Theory* 1/1 (February 1973), 92–103.

5. Compare Staël's near-identical phrase in 1796: "La nature et la société ont déshérité la moitié de l'espèce humaine" (*IP* 207). An appeal here to men against women "rivals" has special reason to be her work: "Ne faites pas des rivaux des compagnes de votre vie: laissez, laissez dans ce monde subsister une union qu'aucun intérêt, qu'aucune rivalité ne puisse rompre." Surely any man among men would instead have said *laissons*? Also, this repeated term, *rivalry*, while hardly a man's choice, is crucial to Staël's worldview from 1796 to 1814: "[F]audrait-il devenir leurs rivaux?"; "rivaux parmi les femmes"; "rivalité avec les hommes" (*IP* 210; *DL* 332; *DA* IV 369). In the new 1814 preface to her work on Rousseau, Staël imagines verdicts on female talent: "[N]ous voulons que cet esprit ne leur inspire pas le désir . . . d'entrer en rivalité avec les hommes" (*LR* 39–40). Another parallel stresses women's free choice, with some irony: The *Rapport* says of ex-nuns, "[E]lles prendront envers la Société des engagements d'autant plus sacrés, qu'ils seront plus libres," and Staël's review of Sophie says that wives "contribueraient peut-être autant au bonheur de leur époux, si elles se bornaient à leur destinée *par choix plutôt que par faiblesse*" (*LR* 69). *Incapacité* is a later revision of *faiblesse*.
6. On these *hommes de plus*, note Staël's old dream, shared by Sand, of being a man – saying of her heroine in 1786, "[C]e n'était plus une femme; c'était un poète"; imagining a woman who "s'élèverait par sa pensée au sort des hommes les plus célèbres"; noting that "Aspasie influait sur la nation entière," or that her mother "fut élevée . . . comme pourrait l'être un homme" (*Mirza* in *RMD* 164; *IP* 190; *Aspasie* 708; Louis-Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* [. . .], 45 vols (Paris: Desplaces and Michaud, 1854–1865) [*Biographie Michaud*], 31, s.v. "Madame Necker"). The *Rapport* itself twice mentions female *gloire*. On Staël's realism amid these dreams, compare her remark in 1796, *Corinne* in nuce: "[L]es avantages d'un caractère élevé . . . détachent à la longue tout ce qui leur serait inférieur." With equal simplicity, she adds that "les hommes sont maîtres de l'opinion" (*IP* 208, 210).
7. Compare Staël's reflections on domestic peace, printed but never released in 1795. Staël had always liked the scene where Emile carries Sophie. She shows us bad women, like Cleopatra in 1813 who "ne sut pas placer sa gloire dans celle de l'objet de son choix; elle ne cessa de se préférer à ce qu'elle aimait"; or Adélaïde in 1786, who "n'aurait pu vivre sans Théodore, mais . . . pouvait s'amuser sans lui" (*Cléopâtre* 748; *Adélaïde et Théodore* in *RMD* 187). Facing them are good women like the queen, whose only early concern was to "accomplir quelques actes de bienfaisance ou de générosité"; or Zulma, who remarks of her beloved, "[C]'est au bruit de sa gloire que j'apprenais mon bonheur"; or indeed her mother, "entourée d'un grand nombre d'hommes d'esprit . . . qu'elle faisait valoir par l'admiration qu'elle montrait pour leur esprit et leur talent" (*Reine* 36; *Zulma* in *RMD* 116; "Madame

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Necker," *Biographie Michaud*). Mother also shares the queen's requisite penchant for *bienfaisance* and hospices; codes of female behavior were no less strict on paper. Staël thus remarks on the dangers run by "cette puissance inconnue qu'on appelle une femme" – above all, that "on l'accuserait de toutes les actions de ses amis" (*DL* 332–333). The simple solution was to state repeatedly and to all comers that one had had no public role whatsoever.

8. Thus, Burkhardt Steinwachs, *Epochenbewußtsein und Kunsterfahrung* [. . .] (Munich: Fink, 1986), 62–86. Which other Staël texts are epoch-making? Poulet begins his history of modern criticism, *La Conscience critique*, with Staël's letters on Rousseau; all quote *De l'Allemagne* at the birth of Romantic theory. G. E. Gwynne claims that with her *Considérations*, "la Révolution entre pour ainsi dire dans l'histoire," in *Madame de Staël et la Révolution française: Politique, philosophie, littérature* (Paris: Nizet, 1969), 299. I make a case for *Corinne ou l'Italie* below. Five texts? Enough, surely, for any author.
9. Simone Balayé, "Pour une lecture politique de *De l'Allemagne* de Madame de Staël," in *Stendhal: L'écrivain, la société et le pouvoir* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1984), 129–143; "*Delphine*, roman des Lumières: Pour une lecture politique," in *Le Siècle de Voltaire, hommage à René Pomeau* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1987), I 37–46; "Pour une lecture politique de *Corinne*," in *Il Gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia* (Pisa: Pacini, 1988), 7–16. Also, John Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism: Truth and Propaganda in Staël's "De l'Allemagne"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
10. See Madelyn Gutwirth, "Woman as Mediatrix: From Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Germaine de Staël," in *Woman as Mediatrix: Essays on Nineteenth-Century European Women Writers*, ed. Avriel Goldberger (Westport: Greenwood Press 1987), 13–29. Simone Balayé points out that Corinne never writes politics – what Staël failed to do – in "Comment peut-on être Madame de Staël? Une femme dans l'institution littéraire," *Romantisme* 77 (1992), 21.
11. Georges Poulet, *La Conscience critique* (Paris: Corti, 1971).
12. On the Revolution, see Candice Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990), and Madelyn Gutwirth, *Twilight of the Goddesses: Representations of Women in the French Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993). On women's raw deal in contract theory and liberal economics, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); also, in this book, Chapter 16. Finally, a complement to this whole argument is in Enzo Caramaschi, *Voltaire, Madame de Staël, Balzac* (Padova: Liviana, 1977), 137–198.

2 Revolution and the Private Sphere

1. For Staël's revolutionary activity, see Gwynne, *Staël et la Révolution française*; also, in this book, Chapters 3 and 4. For the three texts under discussion, we

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have no manuscript. As to the story of their publication, see John Isbell and Simone Balayé, *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), *Madame de Staël: Ecrits retrouvés*. The texts we are discussing are now available in one volume: *Madame de Staël: Ecrits de jeunesse*, ed. John Isbell, presented by Simone Balayé (Paris: Desjonquères, 1997). The chapter's endnotes cite the *editio princeps* of these texts.

2. Some Romantic themes in the text: Edmund Burke's sublime, the refusal of imitation, enthusiasm, a personal criticism, a modern hero. Staël will return to that last item in *De l'Allemagne* and in *Corinne*, in which a woman genius gives voice to a silent nation, like Rousseau, Goethe, Ossian, or Necker; her judgments on *Julie*, on *Emile* will return in the *Essai sur les fictions*, the *Recueil de morceaux détachés*, and *Delphine*. Lastly, she already attributes the usefulness of art to its *effect*, like Immanuel Kant or Friedrich Schiller. *CSt* 42 (1991) contains two useful articles on this work, by Lucia Omacini and Simone Balayé and by Monika Bosse, who notes the influence of Denis Diderot's *Eloge de Richardson* and of the *éloge* in general (37, 41). One more curious detail: Staël praises her father but does not mention her mother, who precisely in 1788 founded the Charité maternelle in imitation of *Emile* and with great success; Marilyn Yalom, *Blood Sisters* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 31–32. Madelyn Gutwirth reminds me that Madame Necker wanted to nurse her daughter, who in her turn did not nurse her children.
3. La Briche: Staël, *CG* I.i 148; *Emile* 179–80. Robert de Luppé, *Madame de Staël et J.-B.-A. Suard* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 35. In summary: Before winter 1786, close friends could read letters II and VI; we know little as to letters I and V; letter III was revised after childbirth on July 31, 1787; letter IV, revisited after May 27, 1787, is augmented a year later, in August or September 1788. Staël had originally written two letters on *Emile*, whence these "seven" letters and a faulty numbering in A, which has no letter IV, and in Meister's review; Friedrich Melchior von Grimm, Henri Meister *et al.*, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*, ed. Maurice Tourneux (Paris: Garnier, 1881), XV 375–382. Our proof as to the true *editio princeps*, A, also dates it: In January 1789, Meister had the edition in hand, and the author sent it to Rosenstein.
4. William G. Merhab, *Lettres sur le caractère et les ouvrages de J.-J. Rousseau: A History and Collated Text of the First Published Work of Mme de Staël*, unpublished PhD thesis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1942); F.-C. Lonchamp, *L'Œuvre imprimé de Madame de Staël* (Geneva: Cailler, 1949). The two 141-page texts found by M. Candaux are located in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, and in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève with the call number Su. 2630; we follow the latter, which he communicated to us.
5. Rosenstein: *CG* I.ii 273. Vassy: *Correspondance complète de J.-J. Rousseau*, ed. R. A. Leigh, 51 vols (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1965–90), XLVI 16–23; *CG* I.ii 275–276. Press: Merhab, *Lettres* 84–87, which makes use of the *Plainte et défense de Thérèse Levasseur*. Antoine Joseph de

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Barruel-Beauvert, *Vie de J.-J. Rousseau, précédée de quelques lettres relatives au même sujet* (London and Paris: Chez tous les marchands de nouveautés, 1789), 82–88, *échange*; 415 n. 2, Vassy. His long extracts from the *Lettres* do not mention the new preface; Merhab, *Lettres* 24–25, 30–45.

6. Prault: Leigh, *Rousseau* XLVI 28. Leigh found another Staël letter, 288–289, to Guillaume Olivier de Corancez, who corroborated the suicide thesis. Créqui: *CG* I.ii 275 n. 3. See Merhab, *Lettres* 117–118 (letter of Pierre Moultou), 126–139 (epigrams), and appendix (text of the *Remerciements*). I also found the *Remerciements* in the British Library, R407 (18), with the *Réponse à la réponse*, which gives the verse epigram, along with the *Réponse*, which lacks it (BL 11805.cc.34 [4–6]): "Armande a pour esprit tout ce qu'elle a pu lire, / Armande a pour vertu le mépris des appas; / Elle craint le railleur que sans cesse elle inspire, / Elle évite l'amant qui ne la cherche pas. / Puisqu'elle n'a point l'art de cacher son visage, / Et qu'elle a la fureur de montrer son esprit, / Il faut la défier de cesser d'être sage / Et d'entendre ce qu'elle dit." The two brochures of Madame de Charrière appear with commentary in her *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jean-Daniel Candaux *et al.* (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1979–1981).
7. Meister, *Correspondance littéraire*, July 1778, XIII 131–133. On Moultou: Merhab, *Lettres* 101–103, 111–116. Alexis François examines the place of Coindet in the *Lettres* and his return to Ermenonville; *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau* 14 (1922), vii–xxxix, xxiv.
8. Staël transforms (51), "Ah! qu'on voit avec peine," into a new paragraph: *Un vide cruel dans l'esprit et dans le cœur succèdent à*; she replaces (18), "et leur cœur . . . s'empare sans cesse de leur pensée, et ne la laisse pas," with *trop souvent occupée . . ., leur pensée ne peut*; and (57), "il s'y verrait au moins, et ses yeux restés ouverts," with *les lumières qu'il aurait acquises*; and she cuts (140), "que l'éloquence s'arme pour lui, qu'à son tour elle le serve." Four revisions concern her father. She replaces two long passages: (82), "Toi-même . . . Oui, Rousseau," with *N'importe, Rousseau lui-même m'approuverait; il*; and (91–2), "je crois . . . qui la justifierait toujours," with *J'attends ce que la France va bientôt ordonner d'elle*; and she cuts (92), "je ne vous demande pas ce sentiment aveugle dont j'ai fait ma lumière; mais," along with "celui qui part de l'extrémité des maux, en ayant pour but la perfection des biens."
9. Staël cuts entire passages: (35), "le hasard . . . une âme tendre"; (65–6), "Jouis donc . . . impatient de suivre"; (69), "Pourquoi . . . l'ombre pour le corps?"; (114), "mais pourrais-je . . . toutes ses opinions?" She replaces (64), "oui, ma fille . . . jours de bonheur," with *il faut assurer des jours de bonheur à l'enfance*; (82), "prévenir . . . sa destinée," with *le rendre indépendant par son âme de toutes les circonstances extérieures*; (110), "tous ceux . . . au-dehors de nous," with *tout ce qui tient à la connaissance du monde*; and (138), "et je suis restée plongée dans la profondeur de la rêverie!" with *mais sans pouvoir m'arracher au souvenir qu'elle rappelait*. Lastly, she adds notes: (81), after "ce livre," *De l'importance des opinions religieuses, par M. Necker*; (93), after "sans l'avoir passé," *Cette prière (hélas! inutile) a été publié six mois avant l'ouverture des*

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Etats-Généraux, en 1789; (94), after "citoyen comme toi," *M. Necker, alors ministre de France* – and the English edition of 1814 (O) adds the word *premier*.

10. Passage: Merhab, *Lettres* 170–173 and Champcenetz, *Réponse* 13–14.
11. Lonchamp, *L'Œuvre imprimé*, *"Zulma"*: 21–1b (8°, viii-24 pp.: viii/A [1-16], B [17-24]. This is not a pirate edition, because the author offered it); 22–2; 28–2; "*Recueil*": 27–1 (8°, i-203 pp.: i/A-M, N [193-203]). As for the *editio princeps* of *Zulma*, see Simone Balayé, *Madame de Staël et l'Europe* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1966), item 149. Variants: In *Zulma*, the author transforms (4), "un arc . . . périr," into *c'est en face de cet arbre . . .; et l'arc, instrument de leur supplice . . . branches*; she adds after (1), "l'un de leurs vieillards," *que j'avais connu jadis dans l'une de ses courses à Lima*"; she replaces (18), "je parcourus . . . morales," with *j'éprouvai dans un instant toutes les sensations opposées*; and she cuts (10), "le *chaos du* désespoir"; (22), *Fallait-il qu'il vécût, l'exemple de la perfidie et de l'ingratitude?*; and (24), *reprit alors Zulma, allons*. The word *chaos* keeps for Staël its theological meaning; and among other suppressions, let us note that of the ferocious "Fallait-il qu'il vécût," which nailed the seducer to the post. In the *Recueil*, she transforms (38), "un mauvais tableau . . . qu'il," into *une mauvaise copie d'un tableau . . . qu'elle*; (57), "il fallait . . . pitié n'eût," into *il fallait que nulle trace d'homme, nul souvenir d'une seule impression de pitié, nulle mobilité dans l'esprit même n'eussent*; she adds nine paragraphs to her *Epître*, seven to the end of *Pauline*; after (17), "l'Esprit des religions," *par M. Benjamin Constant*; (39), "l'utilité des fictions," *que j'ai appelé naturelles*; (157), "s'entretint souvent d'elle," *avec*; (193), "et de terreur impossible," *à décrire*; she corrects (26) "ton" to "*don* de plaisanter," and (51), "Calef William," to *Caleb Williams*: Goethe translating reproduces that typo which makes of Godwin's novel an Arab tale. On *Zulma*, compare Monika Bosse, "*Zulma* ou l'esthétique de la Révolution, à la lumière de l'*Essai sur les fictions*," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et la Révolution française*, ed. Etienne Hofmann and Anne-Lise Delacrétaz (Paris: Touzot, 1988), 141–161.
12. *CG* II.ii 529, 659. Albertine Necker de Saussure, *Notice*; Staël, *OC* I liv–lv.
13. See my critical edition: Comte de Guibert, *Zulmé morceau traduit du grec*, *CSt* 47 (1996), 1–15. This text presenting the young Staël as a priestess of Apollo had a lasting influence on Staël's self-imaginings. Mirza, still a Persian man in the work of Joseph Addison and Montesquieu, suddenly becomes a woman tied to Africa with Olympe de Gouges, Staël, and Joseph Patrat, whose comedy *Mirza, ou le préjugé et l'amitié* condemns duels for honor in 1797. Olympe de Gouges's *drame indien*, *Zamore et Mirza, ou l'heureux naufrage*, read in the Théâtre-Français in 1785, was performed in 1789 under the title *L'Esclavage des Noirs*; see her *Théâtre politique*, ed. Gisela Thiele-Knobloch (Paris: Côté-Femmes, 1991). B. d'Andlau, *La Jeunesse de Madame de Staël* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 108–109, gives details on Boufflers and reproduces a "chanson nègre" by the young author featuring the characters in *Mirza*. A letter from the author to Gustav III of Sweden refers to the

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upcoming departure of Boufflers and the details that he "m'a contés de cette traite des nègres"; *CG* I.i 141, 11.XI.1786. Edward Seeber prepares a list of coincidences between the *Oroonoko* of Aphra Behn (1688); the *Ziméo* of Saint-Lambert (1769), a tale that saw seven editions in six years and inspired Du Pont de Nemours; and the *Mirza* of Madame de Staël, down to the comparison of the Black hero with the Belvedere Apollo; "*Oroonoko* in France in the XVIIIth Century," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* (December 1936), 953–959.

14. M. de Staël: *CG* I.i 179–180; Clermont-Tonnerre: I.ii 355; Toul: II.i 225. Madame de Genlis, who produced a *Zuma ou la découverte du quinquina* in 1817, found fame in 1782 with *Adèle et Théodore, ou, Lettres sur l'éducation*. Staël answers it somewhat, and a translator attributed it to her: Madame de Staël, *The History of Cecilia, the Beautiful Nun: From Adelaide and Theodore, or Letters on Education* (Philadelphia: Stewart & Cochran, 1792). Lastly, Staël declaimed the *Adélaïde du Guesclin* of Voltaire in England in 1793: Martine de Rougemont, "Pour un répertoire des rôles et des représentations de Madame de Staël," *CSt* 19 (1974), 79–92, 82.
15. Emile Dard, *Le Comte de Narbonne, 1755–1813* (Paris: Plon, 1943), 68. Three weeks: *CG* I.ii 367 n. 6. Former mistresses had deceived and ruined Théodore, as Madame de Coigny and Mademoiselle Contat had Narbonne; *Lettres de Mme de Staël à Narbonne*, ed. Georges Solovieff (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 85 n. 2, 425.
16. *CG* III.i 143–144; II.ii, 516. Four months: Staël, "Douce image de Norbury," *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 17–19, 18.
17. April 29: *CG* II.ii 632. Duel: *Lettres de Madame de Staël à Ribbing*, ed. Simone Balayé (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 50. On March 10, 1795, like her Pauline, Staël explains the passions of her heart to Ribbing: "[L]a première naissait du besoin d'aimer; la seconde est un choix"; *CG* III.i 271. Corinne will repeat this idea to Oswald. On this thesis of later reworking, see the *CG* II.i xv–xvi.
18. The first name Zulma does not evoke a tradition as Mirza does, whence the importance of Zulmé. Staël's *avertissement* responds to the *Mémoires* of General Dumouriez, who names her "de la plus impertinente manière du monde"; letter to her husband, 29.III.1794, quoted in Monika Bosse, "*Zulma* ou l'esthétique de la Révolution," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 141–161, 142. Madame de Genlis, Staël's enemy, republished *Zulma* without consulting her in the *Nouvelle bibliothèque des romans* of Maradan in 1802. Barbarian: *CG* II.i 259; 278, success; 268–271, cynicism; 251, reproaches of her mother. It was nevertheless M. Necker and not his wife who in 1794, as his daughter sought her freedom, published the *Réflexions sur le divorce* that his wife had written earlier. *Epître* in manuscript: *CG* III.i 226. On Ferdinand, see Solovieff, *Narbonne* 65 n. 8, and 387, 404, 418, where she speaks again of the journey to Saint-Domingue; and 437, on Schaffhausen.

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19. Friends' novels: Pierre Kohler, *Mme de Staël et la Suisse* (Lausanne: Payot, 1916), 176. The *Essai* appears in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, 22 vols (Berlin: Ausbau-Verlag, 1965–1978), XXII 7–32 and notes, 319–324: *Versuch über die Dichtungen*. Schiller published it in *Die Horen* following his own *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*; the juxtaposition is food for thought. Some themes of Staël's: first, a new genre classification; the moral effect of art determined by its influence on the heart, as in Schiller; imagination preferred to reason; the problem of classical mythology; Diderot's unity of interest; the refusal of creation ex nihilo, the geometric precision of abstraction preferred to the marvelous and metaphor, two debts in sum to the tradition of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac from which the author will later liberate herself; the birth of the statistical method in art, taken from Adam Smith; progressive revelation, as in the work of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and the social context of literary production. There are good articles on the *Essai*, among them Arnaldo Pizzorusso, "Madame de Staël et l'*Essai sur les fictions*," in *Madame de Staël et l'Europe: Colloque de Coppet* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), 273–288, and Anne Freadman, "Le genre humain (a Classification)," *Australian Journal for French Studies*, 23/3 (1986), 309–374.
20. Meister: *CG* III.i 248; 279, Ribbing; 219, divorce.

3 Madame de Staël, Minister for War?

1. An aristocratic journal cited in *CG* II.ii 310. The same journal speaks on January 25 of the "lettres et rapports qu'elle *dicte* à ce cher amant" (*ibid.*); contemporaries visibly believed in the part Staël took in this ministry.
2. Letter of December 7, to Axel von Fersen, in *Lettres de Marie-Antoinette* [. . .], ed. M. de La Rochèterie and the marquis de Beaucourt (Paris: Picard et fils, 1895–1896), II 344–345.
3. *CG* II.i 124.
4. Ramond and Rouyer speak to the Assemblée on March 10, 1792; Barnave appears in the *CG* II.ii 343.
5. *Signes* 259. See also *CG* II.ii 312–313.
6. *Déclaration de M. Louis de Narbonne* (1793), cited in Staël, *Lettres à Narbonne,* ed. Georges Solovieff (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 505. Staël only arrives in England on January 20, the eve of the king's death, but an entire correspondence has visibly disappeared.
7. Staël wrote in 1790 of the "amis inquiets de la liberté" in her *Eloge* of the strategist Guibert (*OC* II 256). This forty-page panegyric sketches out several of this chapter's themes: the links between king and nation, army and assembly, the intrigues of the two mediocre extremes against this center that represents the general will. Narbonne offers other echoes of Guibert, which deserve study.
8. For Constant's echoes, compare Chapter 4.

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9. Villemain in Georges Lefebvre and Jean Poperen, "Etudes sur le ministère de Narbonne," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* (1947), 1–36, 193–217, 292–321, 8.
10. About this constitution, Staël writes to the comte de Gouvernet on December 12 that "nous la changerons après, mais il faut d'abord qu'elle triomphe" (*CG* I.ii 524). Like her father, she wanted it more English. Another shared detail: Narbonne like Necker proposes to the king to limit his civil list to guarantee himself the credits he might want (Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 305). Finally, an ambitious person must "tromper ceux dont il espère par de l'exagération . . . Pour être donc ambitieux dans une révolution, il faut marcher toujours en avant de l'impulsion donnée" (*IP* 174, 180).
11. *Signes* 560. Compare her *Simple extrait du livre de M. Necker* [. . .], dated May 10, 1791: "[J]e suis comme tant d'hommes honnêtes et foibles, qui apprendroient qu'ils sont les plus forts, s'ils osoient seulement se nommer"; Simone Balayé and Marie-Laure Chastang, "Un ouvrage inconnu de Madame de Staël sur M. Necker," *CSt* 12 (1971), 22–54, 42.
12. For this bellicist legend, see Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 12–17 and 25. Compare Staël writing to Gouvernet on November 7, 1791, in *CG* I.ii 516: Narbonne "était approuvé par le parti démocrate lui-même, tour de génie *de ma façon*." According to Jasinski, Staël and Narbonne pay court to the Girondins after the end of 1791; they won over Nicolas de Condorcet and Claude Fauchet, never Jacques Pierre Brissot (*CG* I.ii 486–488; II.ii 315–317, 344–345, 349–352). On the war, see the following note.
13. Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve in Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 307. Jasinski has demolished the myth of a "bellicist" couple (*CG* II.ii 316–320): She shows that Narbonne on the contrary resists a drive toward war that was already very much in evidence. Compare Staël to Gouvernet on December 12, 1791, in *CG* I.ii 523–524: "On frémit du précipice dans lequel on va se jeter. On commence la guerre sans argent et sans officiers." Staël intervenes personally against this war by promoting the idea of offering the command of the French army to the Duke of Brunswick, and the missions of Talleyrand and Louis-Philippe de Ségur to London and Berlin (*CG* II.ii 323–324). After mid-February and the failure of their attempts, Narbonne at last accepts this misfortune, says Jasinski, as "'peut-être la seule ombre d'espérance' *pour dissiper la méfiance et sauver le régime*" (318).
14. Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 25–26.
15. Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 306, spittle; 292–293, council; 313, Narbonne.
16. *CG* II.ii 331.
17. Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 292–293. Here we follow the analysis of Jasinski in *CG* II.ii 328–333 and 339–340; this brief article, however, seems to me not very Staëlian. Jasinski underlines in Narbonne's plan precisely that "dessein ample et précis" that Lefebvre denies him, and which indeed raises

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him "au rang d'homme d'état" (334), because a firm center and a prime minister go together at Coppet – another echo of the English model.

18. Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 311–315 and *CG* II.ii 328–330.
19. These extracts and their analysis follow *CG* II.ii 334–340 and Lefebvre and Poperen, "Etudes" 16–21, which, as it happens, exonerate Narbonne of accusations of arms deals: "Rien ne nous permet de supposer que Narbonne se soit laissé corrompre" (206).
20. We quote the speeches of Narbonne from the *Archives parlementaires*, 1re série (available online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k49524b/f397.image), according to their date. For the complete list of these speeches, consult the *Table alphabétique et analytique* [. . .], vols 35–54, s.v. "Ministre de la Guerre" and "Narbonne." The *Mémoire au Roi* appears in vol. 54, 581–583 (December 1792). Staël's friend Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours offered the French the minister's best speeches. They can be found at the Bibliothèque nationale, along with his speech of December 1791 to the officers of the Metz garrison: Metz, J.-B. Collignon, 1791 (Lb^{39}.5669), and his letter to the Assemblée of April 12, 1792: Paris, Du Pont (Lb^{39}.5867). The British Library has the *Déclaration* of Narbonne in the king's trial: Londres, chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1793, cited by Georges Solovieff in Staël, *Lettres à Narbonne*.

4 The Social Contract for Staël and Constant, or Does Liberty Have a Sex?

1. Isabelle de Charrière, *Correspondance*, ed. J.-D. Candaux, in *Œuvres complètes* (Amsterdam: van Oorschot, 1979–1984), IV 590; Constant, *Force* 31, 119.
2. See Stephen Holmes, *Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 9–10. Constant notes the anarchy that threatens the negative liberty of William Godwin or Thomas Paine, as his translation of Godwin in about 1798 indicates, but he also rejects simple-minded interventionism, in his *Commentaire sur l'ouvrage de Filangieri* (1822–1824) and in his later attacks on Charles Dunoyer and the Saint-Simonians. He thus separates fairly early from Necker. On the Protestant sources of this thought, see the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, and in this book, Chapter 16. H. Lüthy, *La Banque protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révolution*, 2 vols (Paris: SEVPEN, 1961), lays out the Old Regime conflict between Protestant bankers and financiers: Law and Necker, London, Amsterdam, and Geneva, and the Catholic ban on usury all reinforce the visible ties between Protestantism and credit at the time.
3. Benjamin Constant, *Ecrits et discours politiques*, ed. O. Pozzo di Borgo (Paris: Pauvert, 1964), II 118–122.
4. *CG* III.ii 204. Three studies by Béatrice Jasinski illuminate Constant's political action before 1802: *L'Engagement de Benjamin Constant: Amour et*

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politique (1794–1796) (Paris: Minard, 1971), 174–175, 195–204; "Constant et le Cercle constitutionnel," in *Benjamin Constant et la Révolution française, 1789–1799* (Geneva: Droz, 1989), 119–140; "Benjamin Constant tribun," in *Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël et le Groupe de Coppet*, ed. Etienne Hofmann (Oxford and Lausanne: Institut Benjamin Constant, 1982), 63–88.

5. Étienne Hofmann, *Les "Principes de politique" de Benjamin Constant* [. . .], 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1980), I 170; Stephen Holmes, *Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 34. See Staël, *CA* 112, 159–160, 169–170, 201–202, 243–244, and 371–390 for direct foreshadowings of Constant.
6. Compare the remarks of David Hume in Holmes, *Liberalism* 29.
7. Hofmann, *PP* 419–421, 426–428, 432, and 438–440 on Mably. In 1819, Constant adds that slavery freed citizens for public life. Let us recall that he fought at some length, like all the Groupe de Coppet, for the abolition of the slave trade.
8. Isbell, *Birth* 135–136.
9. Benjamin Constant, *Adolphe* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1965), 108.
10. Wives could not independently buy or sell objects of value, nor settle a debt, nor receive a payment, nor accept nor refuse an inheritance. Any contract signed by a spouse without the husband's permission was void; independently, she could neither testify nor begin a court proceeding. A 1789 pamphlet suggests that wives' condition is worse than that of slaves, because they themselves pay the price of their purchase. See Candice Proctor, *Women, Equality and the French Revolution* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990), 34, 76–78, 91–92, 105, 140, 170–173, and Olwen Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 26, 50, 99, 171 n. 26.
11. Susan Tenenbaum, "Liberal Heroines: Mme de Staël on the 'Woman Question' and the Modern State," *Annales BC* 5 (1985), 37–52, 38. Similarly, between the passions and the interests, two principles that put any modern state in danger, only delicate sentiments permit a sufficient buffer; Biancamaria Fontana, "Madame de Staël, le gouvernement des passions et la Révolution française," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 175–181, 178–181.
12. People have often attributed to Necker, the pretext to all this polemic in his daughter's writing, the transformation of the public sphere in France with his *Compte rendu au Roi* of 1781: See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 69. This famous study underlines the scope of the problems raised by our two authors; see in particular pages 3–4, 28, 55–58, 74–75, and 85–87.
13. *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, ed. Jean Tulard (Paris: Fayard, 1989), s.v. "Finances publiques" [Michel Bruguière]: "Bonaparte a donc échoué, faute d'avoir créé un véritable crédit public."

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14. *Encyclopédie*, s.v. "CRÉDIT, (Morale)." See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 108–111, 179–181, and, in this book, Chapter 16.
15. *Corinne ou l'Italie*, Corinne and Dante; *DA* II 136, Tasso; *CG* VI 452, *commis de barrière*.
16. On Plato, see George Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (London: Harrap, 1948), 70–86.
17. This passage recalls Staël but above all Sismondi: See Norman King, "Chevalerie et liberté," in *Sismondi européen: Actes du colloque international tenu à Geneve en 1973* (Paris and Geneva: Slatkine, 1976), 241–260, 244.
18. Plato, *Ion*, in *The Works of Plato*, tr. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Tudor, n. d.), IV 286–290.
19. November 23, 1808; "Lettres de Benjamin Constant à Prosper de Barante," ed. le baron de Barante, *Revue des deux mondes* (July 15 and August 1, 1906), 241–272 and 559–567, 269. An offhand remark of June 12, 1812, offers a last contrast in the universe of our two authors: "les troubadours que j'ai toujours détestés," says Constant (*ibid.*, 555). In fact, Constant "n'a jamais dit qu'en France la liberté est ancienne et la tyrannie moderne"; Stephen Holmes, "Constant and Tocqueville: An Unexplored Relationship," *Annales BC* 12 (1991), 29–41, 33. Alexis de Tocqueville simply and literally repeats Staël and Sismondi: Compare Chapter 14.

5 When the Light of Reason Fails

1. On Staël's contemporary press reception, see Simone Balayé, "Mme de Staël et la presse révolutionnaire," *CSt* 53 (2002), 23–52. Staël's passions text is understudied, but compare Laurence Vanoflen, "Finir la Révolution par le raisonnement: *De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations*," *CSt* 52 (2001), 111–128; Marie-Laure Giroud Swiderski, "Entre morale et politique: *De l'influence des passions* de Madame de Staël," in *Figures du sentiment: morale, politique et esthétique à l'époque moderne*, ed. Syliane Malinowki-Charles (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003), 65–76; Biancamaria Fontana, "Madame de Staël, le gouvernement des passions et la Révolution française," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 175–181; and Arlette Michel, "*De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations*: Rhétorique, poétique et philosophie de la Révolution," in *ibid.*, 183–193. On *bonheur*, see Kristin Anders, "Les visions du bonheur dans une société moderne chez Madame de Staël," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et le monde moderne*, ed. Francoise Tilkin (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 289–304.
2. Staël, *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine* (1793), *Réflexions sur la paix* (1794), *Réflexions sur la paix intérieure* (1795), *Recueil de morceaux détachés* (1795). In her avant-propos, Staël presents *Zulma, fragment d'un ouvrage* (1794) as taken from her manuscript *De l'influence des passions* – the chapter on love.

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3. Benjamin Constant, *De la force du gouvernement actuel de la France et de la nécessité de s'y rallier* (1796), *Des réactions politiques* (1797), *Des effets de la Terreur* (1797). Legendre's attack is in *CG* III.ii 43. Staël was the object of a French arrest warrant from April 22, 1796; *CG* III.ii 189.
4. On September 24, 1792, Staël tells Narbonne, "[J]'écris un traité sur l'influence des passions sur le bonheur"; *CG* II.i 28–29. She learns of Ribbing's infidelity in mid-March 1796; *CG* III.ii 157. On January 3, 1796, she tells François de Pange that she will follow his advice about *étude* (*ibid.*, 107), adding on March 19 that he sees *bonheur* in peace, she in "une grande passion mêlée d'événements tumultueux" (*ibid.*, 162–163). She notes that his type of *bonheur* was her goal, but her life has been broken: "[I]l me faut ou recommencer la carrière de la passion ou débuter par ce qui lui succède. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est du bonheur." Pange died on July 15, 1796, Madame Necker on May 6, 1794. Charlotte Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 61–63. Robert Mauzi, *L'Idée du bonheur dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIII^e siècle*, revised edition (Paris: Colin, 1965), 9, notes fifty-odd treatises on happiness, 1700–1800: "Le résultat fut pitoyable: des lieux communs d'inspiration épicurienne ou stoïcienne, des vestiges plus ou moins honteux . . . de morale chrétienne . . . des slogans bourgeois . . . Rien de sincère, rien de neuf, rien de chaleureux."
5. Michel, "*De l'influence des passions*," 184. Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1989). P.-J.-G. Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* (1802; Paris: Baillière, 1844), 51.
6. Mauzi, *Bonheur* 16–19. Staël's library catalogue, presented by Simone Balayé, is in *CSt* 22–24 (1977–1978), Jean Dusaulx in *CSt* 22 (1977), 67. *CG* III.ii 148: letter to Conod, requesting Cureau de La Chambre, *Charactères des passions*, and Adam Smith, *Théorie des sentiments moraux*. Anthony Levi, *French Moralists: The Theory of the Passions 1585 to 1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 10, 20, lists Aristotle's eleven passions in the *Nicomachean Ethics* – "appetite, anger, fear, confidence, envy, joy, friendly feeling, hatred, longing, emulation, pity, and in general the feelings that are accompanied by pleasure or pain" – and the eleven (like Staël) of St. Thomas Aquinas, namely the concupiscible – *amor*, *odium*, *desiderium*, *fuga*, *delectatio*, *dolor* (*tristitia*) – and the irascible: *spes*, *desperatio*, *timor*, *audacia*, *ira*. René Descartes, *Les Passions de l'âme*, ed. Pascale d'Arcy (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1996), 141, lists just six primitive passions: "l'admiration, l'amour, la haine, le désir, la joie et la tristesse," while 149–150 notes that passions for glory, money, wine, women, and our children all partake of love. Descartes adds a medical description of each (159). Hume: Richard Norman, *The Moral Philosophers: An Introduction to Ethics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 76–81, notes how Hume's building virtue on sympathy breaks with Plato's and Aristotle's egoist perspective. Shaftesbury and paroxysm: Mauzi, *Bonheur* 439–440. Humboldt and Goethe in Corrado Rosso, "Madame de

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Staël e il trattato *De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur*," *RLMC* 20 (June–September 1967), 186–201, 189, which remarks that Humboldt preferred this text to *De la littérature*, while in 1805, Stendhal thought it her best work.

7. Julien Offray de La Mettrie, *Traité de l'âme*, in *Œuvres philosophiques* (London: Jean Nourse, 1751), 85–208, 140. Claude Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (1758; Verviers: Gérard, 1973), 257, 278. During 1796, *CG* III.ii lists sixteen letters to Adrien de Mun.
8. Smith: see below. Unknown letter: *Le Salon de Madame Helvétius* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1894), 176–177; cf. A Guillois, *La Marquise de Condorcet* (Paris: Ollendorf, 1897). 3,000 copies: Nicolas de Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain,* ed. Alain Pons (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 11. They were ordered on April 3, 1795. Condorcet: Elisabeth and Robert Badinter, *Condorcet (1743–1794): Un intellectuel en politique*, revised edition (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 63, he and Turgot detesting Necker; 129–133, 1775 events; 183, Bailly; 317–319, Robespierre. Guibert's reply to Condorcet is in the *Mélanges extraits des manuscrits de Madame Necker* (Paris: Charles Pougens, 1798), III 23. Staël has kind words for Condorcet, finally, in *CRF* 305 (Godechot). *Géométrie*: Sergio Moravia, *Il pensiero degli Idéologues: Scienza e filosofia in Francia (1780–1815)* (Florence: Nuova Italia, 1974), 725, citing Staël's *Réflexions sur la paix intérieure* (1795). Bernoulli: Rosso, "Trattato" 194. Novelty: Sergio Moravia, *Il tramonto dell'illuminismo: Filosofia e politica nella società francese (1770–1810)* (Bari: Laterza, 1968), 289.
9. Unique, *liquidation*: Mauzi, *Bonheur* 9, 455. Collection: *Opuscules philosophiques et littéraires, la plupart posthumes ou inédits*, ed. J.-B. Suard (Paris: Chenet, 1796): *Réflexions sur le bonheur*, Antoine-Léonard Thomas; *Entretien d'un philosophe avec la Maréchale*, Diderot; *Du bonheur des sots*, Necker; *Le Bonhomme*; *Le Vrai Philosophe*, César Chesneau Dumarsais; *La Femme*, Ferdinando Galiani; *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*, Diderot; in Madame du Châtelet, *Discours sur le bonheur*, ed. Robert Mauzi (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1961), cxix–cxx. I cite from Madame du Châtelet, *Réflexions sur le bonheur*, in Louis Andrieux, *Une grande dame sous le règne du bien-aimé* (Paris: Andrieux, n.d.), 70–92. Hochet: *Lettres inédites de Madame la Marquise du Chastelet* (Paris: Xhrouet, 1806) and *CG* VI 50n.
10. Jacques Necker, *Le Bonheur des sots*, in *Manuscrits de M. Necker publiés par sa fille* (Geneva: Paschoud, 1804), 84–101, 84, *heureux*; 96, *enfans*. Roederer compares Necker, Constant, and Thomas in the *Journal de Paris*, June 11, 1796; *CG* III.ii 218, to Roederer, July 17, 1796.
11. *Moniteur*: Benjamin Constant, *De la force du gouvernement actuel* [. . .], *Des réactions politiques*, *Des effets de la terreur*, ed. Philippe Raynaud (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 179; France reprints the pamphlet on July 1, 1796. Garat: *DL* 383. Augustin Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme* (1798–1799); Joseph de Maistre, *Considérations sur la France* (1796). Staël devotes a long, unflattering footnote to Bentham in *DA* IV 294–295. Negative liberty: See Chapter 4. Rosso, "Trattato"; Biancamaria

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Fontana, "Madame de Staël, le gouvernement des passions et la Révolution française," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 175–181.

12. Hogsett, *Existence* 61–63. "*EFFETS / DU GOUVERNEMENT / SUR L'AGRICULTURE / EN ITALIE, / AVEC UNE NOTICE DE SES DIFFÉRENS / GOUVERNEMENS. / Traduit de l'Anglais par M^me^ DE RIVAROL. / PRÉCÉDÉS d'un mot sur les Femmes, la / République Française et les Mœurs; / SUIVIS d'une Lettre d'un Auteur célèbre / sur L'INFLUENCE DES PASSIONS, de / M^me^ DE STAËL. / Et d'une Réponse adressée à cet Auteur. / A PARIS, / Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés / An V*." This pamphlet contains a royalist extract by Antoine de Rivarol from the Hamburg *Spectateur du Nord*. References: 46, *Europe*; 47–48, *rien*, Necker; 49, *droit*.

6 Imaginary Europe

1. Staël's full MS title was *Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution et des principes qui doivent fonder la République en France*. By 1800, the Republic was dead and the manuscript unpublishable, but Staël had already seen by September 1798 that she needed to shift gears. *De la littérature* was the result. Lucia Omacini traces this story in the seventy-page introduction to her edition of *Des circonstances actuelles* (*CA* xvii–lxxxvii), while Axel Blaeschke in his *DL* edition reproduces Staël's extracts from that manuscript.
2. *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, ed. Jean Tulard (Paris: Fayard, 1989), s.v. "18 brumaire." Chateaubriand, oddly, complains in his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* that Staël had "évité mon nom dans un ouvrage sur la *Littérature*" (*Mot* I 418). Benjamin Constant remarks that Chateaubriand in 1802 had "pillé les idées de l'ouvrage sur la *Littérature*," which Blaeschke finds unlikely (*DL* xcvii). I find it less so.
3. John Claiborne Isbell, *The People's Voice: A Romantic Civilization, 1776–1848* (Bloomington: Lilly Library, 1996). On this topic, see also Isbell, *An Outline of Romanticism in the West* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2022).
4. Compare François Rosset, "Le Groupe de Coppet: Pratique et critique de l'engagement," in *Formes de l'engagement littéraire (XV^e^–XXI^e^ siècles)*, ed. Jean Kaempfer, Sonya Florey, and Jérôme Meizoz (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2006), 46–57.
5. Coppet echoes: Charles-Victor de Bonstetten, *L'Homme du midi et l'homme du nord* (1824); Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi, *Histoire des républiques italiennes au moyen âge* (1807–1818). Compare Michel Brix, "L'Image du Nord chez Madame de Staël et la formation du romantisme français," in *L'Image du Nord chez Stendhal et les Romantiques*, ed. Kajsa Andersson (Örebro: Örebro University Press, 2004), I 185–198. Compare also Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs* (1756); Paul Henri Mallet, *Introduction à l'histoire du Dannemarc* [. . .] (1755); Jean-François Marmontel, *Eléments de littérature* (1787); Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des*

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lois (1748); Nicolas de Caritat de Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795); Jean François de La Harpe, *Lycée ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne* (1798–1804); François-René de Chateaubriand, *Le Génie du christianisme* (1802).

6. Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, *Tableau philosophique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1751). Staël explicitly points to Turgot when stating in her second edition's preface that perfectibility has been the system of "tous les philosophes éclairés depuis cinquante ans" (*DL* 8–9). On perfectibility, compare Ernst Behler, "La Doctrine de Coppet d'une perfectibilité infinie et la Révolution française," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 255–274; also Florence Lotterie, "L'Année 1800: Perfectibilité, progrès et révolution dans *De la littérature* de Madame de Staël," *Romantisme* 108 (2000), 9–22. Lotterie's PhD thesis was focused on this topic. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (1805–1831); August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über schöne Kunst und Literatur* (1801–1804); Friedrich Schlegel, *Geschichte der europäischen Literatur* (1803–1804), *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur* (1815). But *De l'Allemagne*'s chapter on German historians focuses instead on Staël's Swiss friend Jean de Müller. Humboldt in *Wilhelm von Humboldts Tagebücher*, ed. Albert Leitzmann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1922), I 625: "Sie ist mit einem Werk über die Schicksale der Literatur im nächsten Jahrhundert beschäftigt." On Bonald, see *DL* c–cii. Chateaubriand explains in his letter to Fontanes, "Mme de Staël donne à la philosophie ce que j'attribue à la religion" (*GC* 1266), a position he elaborates at length in 1802. Compare Novalis, *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1799). Friedrich Schlegel converted to Catholicism in 1808 and became an apologist for Austria. Sismondi's views on medieval liberty govern his *Histoire des républiques italiennes au moyen âge* (1807–1818). Italian Romantics: Silvio Pellico was imprisoned by Metternich's Austria, while Ugo Foscolo and Giovanni Berchet went into exile.
7. Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867–1894) offers a vision of history from at least the fifteenth century. Condorcet, *Mémoire sur le calcul des probabilités* (1781–1784). Free peoples: "La poésie du nord convient beaucoup plus que celle du midi à l'esprit d'un peuple libre" (*DL* 180). Women: Joanna Kitchin, "La littérature et les femmes selon l'ouvrage *De la littérature* de Madame de Staël," in Hofmann, *Constant, Staël et Coppet*, 401–425.
8. Staël's and Condorcet's relations – those of two linked late-Enlightenment thinkers and revolutionary actors – remain neglected. Pierre H. Dubé, *Bibliographie de la critique sur Madame de Staël, 1789–1994* (Paris and Geneva: Droz, 1998), lists just one article, on Staël's debts: Charles Beaudry, "Mme de Staël, disciple de Condorcet," *Revue de l'université Laval* 3 (May 1949), 808–813. Staël's *CG* at I.ii 485–487 and II.ii 316, 343–345 outlines common action in the Législative, while IV.i 264–265 notes the jab in *De l'influence des passions* at "un homme diversement célèbre" (*IP* 221) and Staël's small atonement for this in 1800. Her *Considérations* add a last tribute to the man: See *CRF* 305.

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9. Thus, Sismondi: "J'ai surtout voulu montrer partout l'influence réciproque de l'histoire politique et religieuse des peuples sur leur littérature, et de leur littérature sur leur caractère"; in *De la littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, 3rd edition (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1829), I i–ii. For Prosper de Barante, literature is "l'expression de la société, ainsi que l'ont définie d'excellents esprits"; *Tableau de la littérature française au dix-huitième siècle*, 5th edition (Paris: Dufey et Vezard, 1832), 37. Benjamin Constant states, "Comme tout dans la nature, elle est à la fois effet et cause . . . Les écrivains supérieurs d'un siècle n'influent pas sur ce siècle, comme on le croit, en lui donnant leurs propres opinions, mais en lui présentant les siennes fortement et clairement exprimées"; *Esquisse d'un essai sur la littérature du 18e siècle*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Delbouille, 43 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), III.i 527–528. Staël opens *De la littérature* in encyclopedic fashion: "Je comprends dans cet ouvrage, sous la dénomination de littérature, la poésie, l'éloquence, l'histoire et la philosophie, ou l'étude de l'homme moral" (*DL* 45). I doubt Bonald shaped her thought.
10. Lisbon to Moscow: Staël publishes an 1813 article on Luis Vaz de Camoëns in the *Biographie Michaud* (*CSt* 46 [1994–1995], 101–102), while she describes Russia and Moscow in her *Dix années d'exil* (*DxA* 250–313, 519–522). *Muraille de la Chine*: compare *Corinne* 172. On *translatio*, see Isbell, *Birth* 156–161.
11. On Staël and the experience of exile, see Simone Balayé, "Absence, exil, voyage," in *Madame de Staël et l'Europe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), 227–241. Jean-Paul Sermain, "*Corinne* et la question de la langue française," in *CSt* 69 (2019), 31–46, 45, notes that "Staël convertit l'exil en espace de création."
12. Genlis: Staël to C. G. Brinkman, April 27, 1800, in *CG* IV.i 267.
13. Ludwig van Beethoven: A copy of his score bears the deleted, handwritten subtitle *Intitolata Bonaparte* (Titled Bonaparte). See Carl Dalhaus, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Approaches to His Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 23–25.
14. Thomas Jefferson, Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

7 Suicide, Meaning, and Power in the *Querelle* of *Delphine*

1. [Louis Reybaud], *Jérôme Paturot à la recherche d'une position sociale*, 2 vols, 3rd edition (Paris: Paulin, 1848), I 162: "Suicide de Paturot, philosophe incompris." My plot résumé echoes Madelyn Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist: The Emergence of the Artist as Woman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 103–104.
2. Bernadotte: Staël, *CG* IV.ii 484–485.
3. England and the US still refuse suicide as a right. Ethical debate yields to sociomedical discourse after 1900, with Durkheim's claim in 1897 that suicide is sociogenic and Freud's argument that suicides are pathological events, lying outside the domain of ethics. M. Pabst Battin, *Ethical Issues in*

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Suicide (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995), 187, hanging; 90, felony, 1789; 34–36, Augustine; 56–58, 77–78, Aquinas, Rousseau, Aristotle; 82–84, Plato; 92–95, Kant; 29–40, Bible, Talmud; 35–37, Donne; 22, self-murder; 49–52, Hume; 106–111, Utilitarians; 10–12, Durkheim. Aquinas: *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967–1989), XIII 782–783. Calvinism: *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Scribner's, 1917–1927), XII 23–24. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. S. M. Jackson, 12 vols (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1908), XI 132, calls suicide "far more frequent among Protestants than among Roman Catholics."

4. *Lettres sur Rousseau*, *Zulma*, *Recueil de morceaux détachés*. Kant: Battin, *Ethical Issues* 92.
5. Guilt: Gutwirth, *Emergence*: "The poison Delphine takes is her final violence, a punishment . . . of the inadequate beloved"; personal attacks and public repression "have visibly done their work upon this woman's spirit" (149–150). Also Freud in Battin, *Ethical Issues* 91. "Make death proud": Shakespeare, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, IV.xiii. Work: Jean Starobinski, "Suicide et mélancolie chez Mme de Staël," *Preuves* 190 (December 1966), 41–48; Jean-Albert Bédé, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau, et le suicide," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1966), 52–70. Margaret Higonnet, "Suicide as Self-Construction," 69–81, and Gita May, "Staël and the Fascination of Suicide: The Eighteenth-Century Background," 168–176, both in *Germaine de Staël: Crossing the Borders*, ed. Madelyn Gutwirth, Avriel Goldberger, and Karyna Szmurlo (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991). The collection *Delphine, roman dangereux?*, in *CSt* 56 (2005), 9–112, seems tangential to this discussion.
6. Tribunat, Jordan, Necker: Staël, *CG* IV.ii 460–461, 482–486, 523–524, 554–555. Genlis "m'avait écrit il y a six ans une lettre de grande admiration sur *Zulma*." Now Maradan and "je crois même" Genlis have pirated it for the *Nouvelle bibliothèque des romans*; Staël to Claude Hochet, June 28, 1802, in *CG* IV.ii 518–519. *Catalogue de la librairie Incidences à Paris* 3 (1933), 326, contract with Maradan, 15 Floréal an X [May 5, 1802]: "1p. ¾ in-fol, timbré, signé Necker, Staël de Holstein: 'Mme de Staël cède et vend à M. Maradan le droit de faire une édition in-12 en 4 volumes, tirée à 3.000 exemplaires. Cette cession est faite moyennant la somme de 3.000 francs.' L'article 2 stipule que l'édition que Mme de Staël va publier par Paschoud à Genève ne pourra être tirée qu'à 1.500 exemplaires et ne pourra pas être vendue en France. L'article 4 mentionne que Madame de Staël restera et demeurera propriétaire de son ouvrage sans cependant autoriser aucune édition tant à Genève qu'à Paris avant l'entier écoulement de l'édition de Paris. Un reçu ajouté au contrat établit que l'impression de l'ouvrage a été achevée le 24 ventôse an XI [March 15, 1803: second edition]." François-René de Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Béatrix d'Andlau *et al.*, 9 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1977–), to Staël on Necker, September 12, 1802 (I 161); December 12, 1802, "Votre livre" (I 177); January 8, 1803, "Je n'aime point Léonce" (I 178). Staël to Charles

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de Villers, November 16, 1802: "Plus que jamais"; *CG* IV.ii 577. Necker's publishing with Pougens: Staël to Jacques Necker, February 10–29, 1804, in *CG* V.i 228 (noting Goethe's plan to review *Delphine*), 255.

7. Dates: *Delphine* I 57. Print runs: contract, see previous note. Epistolary novel: Madelyn Gutwirth, "La *Delphine* de Madame de Staël: Femme, Révolution et mode épistolaire," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 151–165, 159.
8. Sop: see Introduction.
9. *Delphine* in the press: *Journal de Paris* (Alexandre-Louis de Villeterque): December 23, 1802. *Journal des Débats* (Charles-Marie de Féletz): December 27. *Publiciste* (Hochet): December 31. *Mercure de France* (Fiévée): January 1, 1803 (*CSt* 26–27, 104–117). *Journal des Débats* (Michaud [l'Admireur]): January 4–9. *Citoyen français* (Constant): January 16. *Décade philosophique* (Ginguené): January 20/February 19 (*CSt* 26–27, 137–150). Grimm and Meister, *Correspondance littéraire*, 1802/XXIV, 1803/IV, 1805/XX (*CSt* 26 [1978], 124–132). *Journal des Débats* (Hyacinthe de Gaston): February 12, "Delphine convertie," an imaginary parody from Geneva. Roederer, press list: Simone Balayé, "*Delphine* et la presse sous le Consulat," in *Madame de Staël: Écrire, lutter, vivre* (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 231–243, 236. Fontanes, Fiévée: Simone Balayé, "Un émissaire de Bonaparte, Fiévée critique de Madame de Staël et de *Delphine*," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 99–106, 102–103, disclaimers, Bonaparte; 105–107, "bavarde," "bacchante," Genlis; 113, "c'est son métier"; 115, eating poison, *confesseur femelle*, blasphemy, "patrie"; 116, false and corrupt. Shared remarks: "égoïsme": Fiévée 107, Jean Baptiste Radet, *Colombine philosophe soi-disant, comédie en un acte et en prose* (Paris: Masson, 1803) [Théâtre du Vaudeville, 17 prairial an XI] [*Radet*], 14; translating her book: Fiévée 115, Madame de Genlis, *La femme philosophe, Nouvelle imitée de l'anglais* (Paris: Maradan, 1803) [*Genlis*], 149–150 (page numbers have been provided parenthetically in the text), *Radet* 22; women readers: Fiévée 107, "[D]es femmes croient faire honneur à leur sensibilité, en vantant un pareil ouvrage!" *Radet* 6, "Je conçois l'effet de ce livre sur l'esprit d'une jeune personne qui a le malheur de l'admirer." Girl abandoned, Fiévée 155; heroine's daughter, *Genlis* 237; heroine's father, *Radet* 41. Florence Lotterie, "Un aspect de la réception de *Delphine*: La figure polémique de la 'femme philosophe,'" *CSt* 57 (2006), 119–138, has extended analysis of Genlis's text and some of Radet's.
10. Staël mentions Genlis to Joseph Bonaparte, March 27, 1803, in *CG* IV.ii 603. Anna Nikliborc, "Histoire d'une animosité littéraire: Mme de Genlis contre Mme de Staël," *Acta universitatis wratislaviensis* 59 (1968): 87, 90–91, pairing, attacks on Genlis, Michaud; 93, *Genlis*, "depuis." Charles Lloyd, *Edmund Oliver*, 2 vols (Bristol: Joseph Cottle, 1798). Norman King, "Sismondi, Madame de Staël et *Delphine*: Les débuts d'une intimité," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 33–76, 55: Miss Dunant.
11. Protests: Staël to Madame Récamier on her friend Dupaty, April 30, 1803; to Claude Hochet on Dupaty, May 20, in *CG* IV.ii 617, 624. A footnote reviews staging and *Publiciste*, but ties this cabal to Dupaty, not Radet.

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It seems in fact that Staël brought down both vaudevilles. Necker as Pantalon, "ancien procureur et politique bel esprit": "[J]e n'ai encore vu de profond en lui que son amour-propre" (*Radet* 3, 34). English opium, substitution: *Radet* 31–32, *Genlis* 232–239. *De l'influence des passions*, "que l'amour jette comme par torrent dans la vie" (*IP* 201): *Radet* 12, *Genlis* 173. M. N. S. Guillon, Bishop of Morocco, *Entretiens sur le suicide, ou courage philosophique opposé au courage religieux, et Réfutation des principes de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, de Montesquieu, de Madame de Staël, etc., en faveur du Suicide* (Paris: Veuve Nyon, an X): "'S'abandonner au chagrin sans résister, se tuer pour s'y soustraire, c'est abandonner le champ de bataille, avant d'avoir vaincu.' Le premier consul Bonaparte, ordre du 22 Floréal." His Staël passage, 11–26, may be a stop-press addition: "Quant à la partie politique, elle est empruntée d'un livre intitulé *Political Justice*, par l'Anglais Godwin" (11). *Journal général de la littérature française: Delphinette ou le mépris de l'opinion*, 3 vols (J. Dubois, 1804), 5 francs, "tronquée": [Madame de Saint H.], *Remarques sur quelques ouvrages modernes, précédées de l'analyse de Delphine*, de Mme de Staël-Holstein (Milan: J.-P. Giegler, 1805). Elisabeth Brun, *Delphine, ou la langue sans frein* (Paris: Gaume frères, 1838); Paul Foucher, *Delphine, ou Heureux après moi; Drame-vaudeville en deux actes* (Paris: Mifliez, 1840). "détestée": Augustin Legrand, *Delphine, ou L'enfant gâté* (Paris: A. Legrand, 1823), 22. Editions of *Delphine*, 1802–1904: two Paschoud, 1802–1803; three Maradan, 1802–1803, 1803 (not reset); seven Nicolle, three in 1809 (*D* I 73), four in 1818–1819; one Colburn, 1814; one pirate copy, Paris 1817. *Bibliographie de la France*: one Treuttel et Würtz, 1820, 18 francs; nine Charpentier, 3F50, preface by Charles Augustin Sainte -Beuve: 1839, 1842–1844, 1851–1857, 1862–1869, 1875, 1881; six Didot, 3 francs: 1854 [*Union Catalog*: 1856, 860–1865, 1872, 187]; four Garnier, 3 francs, 1868–1869, 1871 [*Union Catalog*: 1877]. Total: 34. Spanish: *Delfina; ó, La opinion*, tr. Angel Caamaño (Burdeos: Beaume, 1828). English: *Delphine* (London: Mawman, 1803 and Lackington, Allen & Co., 1805; also Philadelphia: Cary & Hart, 1836). German: Berlin, Himburgische Buchhandlung, 1803, and Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1847.

12. Marilyn Butler and Christina Colvin, "Maria Edgeworth and *Delphine*," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 77–91, 80: letter, December 16, 1802; Maradan's *Delphine* advertises Mary Wollstonecraft's *Wrongs of Women*; 86–87: *Leonora*. Ginguené: Jeanne Carriat, "Ginguené, critique de *Delphine*," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 135–150, 135–137. Ginguené cites Paolo and Francesca on *Delphine*'s heroes, "comme emportés . . . par une espèce d'ouragan qui les emporte vers la fin la plus déplorable" (138–139). Léonce revolts him; Staël could easily change the defects in her ending (150). Norman King, "Une lettre du marquis de Chauvelin à Madame de Staël sur *Delphine*," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 93–98, December 28: *Delphine* offers an asylum to noble ideals, "contre l'oubli passager qui les menace" (97). It rivals *Héloïse* as she rivals Voltaire (98). Robert C. Whitford, "Madame de Staël's Literary Reputation in England," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* IV/i

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(1918), 476–480: *Edinburgh Review*, April 1803; *Critical*, May 1903. Mrs. M. Byron, *Anti-Delphine* (London: Mawman, 1806). [Lewis Goldsmith Stewarton], *The Female Revolutionary Plutarch*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1806), I 175–230. *Suites funestes*: "All the arguments in favor of suicide in Rousseau's Julia, in Goethe's Werter [*sic*], and particularly in Madame Staël's Delphine, are here repeated" (I 223); "Delphine is the offspring of Benjamin Constant as well as of Madame de Staël" (I 229). Margaret Anne Doody, "Never Mind the Neighbours" (review of *Delphine*, tr. Avriel Goldberger), *London Review of Books*, March 25, 1996, 2–3. Saxony: Staël, *CG* IV.ii 603. Alexandre de Tilly in the *Freimüthige*, February and December 1803; Staël to Claude Hochet, February 6, 1804 (*CG* V.i 223 n. 1). Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche: Goethes Gespräche Erster Teil* (Zürich: Artemis, 1949), 335, on *Delphine*: "[E]inige Darstellungen . . . hätten ihn beinahe außer sich gesetzt und wäre das Ganze diesen gleich, so müßte die ganze Welt davor auf den Knien liegen" [H. Voß, February 12/20, 1804]. *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Körner*, ed. K. L. Berghahn (Munich: Winkler, 1973), March 28, 1803, on *Delphine*: "Eine gewiße Tiefe, einen Ernst und eine Wahrheit des Gefühls . . . kann man der Staël nicht absprechen, und anstatt der Poesie besitzt sie wenigstens eine eindringende Beredsamkeit . . . wenn nur der Held kein solcher Jammerkerl wäre und das Ganze nicht die Ausführung eines magern Begriffes wäre, der lächerlich genug noch an der Hausthüre geschrieben steht." Alfred Götze, "Aus dem Briefwechsel der Frau von Staël," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* (July 1968), 285–288, 285: Achim von Arnim to Staël, May 13, 1803: "Ich will eine Warnung bekannt machen in meinem Vaterlande, Paris nicht aus der *Delphine* kennen zu lernen." [Wilhelm von Schütz], *Lacrimas, ein Schauspiel*, ed. A. W. Schlegel (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1803). Helmut Sembdner, *Schütz-Lacrimas* [. . .] (Berlin: Schmidt, 1974), 21, 30, notes the manuscript circulating in 1801, and Schlegel's distance from Schütz by 1806. Maria Fehling, ed., *Briefe an Cotta: Das Zeitalter Goethes und Napoleons 1794–1815* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1925), 42, Charlotte von Schiller, 1807: "Die *Corinna* habe ich nun gelesen . . . es läßt einem nicht diesen ergreifenden Eindruck als *Delphine* zurück." Compare *Dorothea Schlegel an deren Söhne: Briefwechsel*, ed. J. M. Raich, 2 vols (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1881), I 141, Dorothea to Caroline Paulus, October 16, 1804: "Der *Delphine* nach zu urteilen, gehört sie zu den Eitelsten der Eiteln."

13. Simone Balayé, "Rosalie et Charles de Constant lecteurs de *Delphine*," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 5–21: 8, "Jamais"; 11–12, new ending (December 25); 18, "dénouement," Léonce; 21, Genlis's niece (April 20, 1803). Charles writes from London, "On en parle ici comme partout . . . *Delphine* est plus approuvé ici qu'en France" (19). Léonce: Norman King, "Une lectrice lausannoise de *Delphine*, Constance Cazenove d'Arlens," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 23–32, 31. Paul Gautier, *Mathieu de Montmorency et Madame de Staël* (Paris: Plon, 1908), 163, letter to Joseph Marie de Gérando and

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Madame Necker de Saussure: "[J]e donnerais bien des choses . . . pour que l'ouvrage n'eût pas paru." Jeanne Carriat, "*Delphine* lue par Meister," *CSt* 26–27 (1979), 1 21–133: 129, "trop terrible." Meister later publishes Madame de Vandeul, Diderot's daughter: 131, "odieux," "on ne lit que *Delphine*." Stendhal, *Œuvres intimes*, ed. V. Del Litto (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), February 3–5, 1805: "[J]e me suis senti presque entièrement dans le personnage de Delphine . . . Ce livre est le manuel des jeunes femmes entrant dans le monde" (I 198–202). Stendhal dislikes Léonce. King's "Sismondi, Mme de Staël et *Delphine*" cites Madame Sismondi on the ending (54). Sismondi read all 1,500 pages aloud to her (35).

14. On February 10, 1803, Bonaparte orders French borders closed to Staël; she returns on September 16, and on October 3 he repeats the exile order. Staël, *CG* IV.ii, to Claude Hochet, January 13, 1803: 585, "résultat moral"; to Dominique Audibert, February 2: 591, "je n'ai pas"; to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, March 7: 595, preface; to Joseph Bonaparte, March 7: 603, Fiévée, Genlis; to Claude François Maradan, March 7 and 25: 597, 601, threats and promises; to Madame Pastoret, March 31: 605, *but moral* text; to Hochet, May 10, on a fourth edition, also noting two English translations and three German: 621. The comte d'Haussonville, *Madame de Staël et M. Necker* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1925), 227–244: March 18, 1803, "c'est moins," 233; Charles-François Lebrun to Jacques Necker, April 6, 1803, 241. Maradan's third edition: *Delphine* I 65, 69–70; 64 n. 40 believes the *but moral* text first published in 1820 not 1805, but see Carriat, "*Delphine* lue par Meister" 133.
15. *Madame de Staël, Charles de Villers, Benjamin Constant, Correspondance*, ed. Kurt Kloocke (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1993), 45–46, Charles de Villers to Staël, May 4, 1803: "C'est vous." Kloocke notes two German manuscript *recueils de pensées* extracted from *Delphine*, the second in 1827 (48). Staël replies on June 3, 1803: "[C]herchez dans votre tète un autre obstacle dans un autre tems [*sic*] qui présente aussi bien l'amour aux prises avec l'opinion" (51–53). Villers replies on June 24, concluding, "Je vous supplie de ne répondre à aucune critique dans la Préface de votre nouvelle édition" (55–56). Villers had published *La Philosophie de Kant* in 1801. "Je suis": G. C. L. Sismondi, *Epistolario*, ed. Carlo Pellegrini, 5 vols (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1933), I 20–21, to Staël [May] 1803. "Faute": Balayé, "Rosalie et Charles de Constant" 21: October 8, 1803.
16. Benjamin Constant, *Recueil d'articles, 1795–1817*, ed. Ephraïm Harpaz (Geneva: Droz, 1978), 59–61. "Corinne," "*but moral*": Albertine Necker de Saussure, *Notice sur le caractère et les écrits de Mme de Staël*, in Staël, *OC* III 16–18. Albertine adds that Staël refused "ruses de métier" to make her moral clearer; she prefers the new ending, despite the "farouche et cruelle beauté" of the original (18). Schiller: see n. 12. His word "Hausthüre" evidently refers to Staël's epigraph.
17. "Suicide": Necker de Saussure, *Notice* 17, 26. Insists: Staël, *DxA* 136. "Défi," publication: Staël to Lord John Campbell, September 9, 1803, in *CG* V.i. 13.

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Sismondi, *Epistolario*, to Staël, September 3, 1803: "nouvelle à imprimer" (I 27–28); on December 18, Sismondi tells Staël he is reading *Delphine* for the fifth time. "Je n'ai pas besoin," nation, suicide: *Manuscrits de Mr. Necker, publiés par sa fille* (Geneva: Paschoud, 1804), *Suites funestes d'une seule faute*, 225, 291, 347. In Freudian terms, Necker's contrast of mother and daughter is striking: "Clara saute à son col, lui prodigue des caresses, et pourtant le triomphe de l'amour reste en entier à Elise . . . Elise sans regarder personne, les yeux couverts d'un mouchoir . . . [dit] on peut me faire mourir" (287–290). *Suites funestes*: Staël to Jacques Necker, July 25, 1803, in *CG* IV.ii 660.

18. "Un ouvrage," "*Delphine*": Balayé, "*Delphine* et la presse," 241. "Art pour l'art": Benjamin Constant, *Œuvres*, ed. Alfred Roulin (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), 232: *Journal*, February 11, 1804. In 1796, Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* argues that pure beauty itself elevates the soul, drawing on Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* of 1790 and its concept of "interesseloses Wohlegefallen" or "disinterested pleasure." Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

8 My Father, Myself

1. On Staël's complex relationship with her father, compare Jean-Denis Bredin's *Une singulière famille: Jacques Necker, Suzanne Necker et Germaine de Staël* (Paris: Fayard, 1999). See also Margaret Cohen, "Melancholia, Mania, and the Reproduction of the Dead Father," in *The Novel's Seductions: Staël's "Corinne" in Critical Inquiry*, ed. Karyna Szmurlo (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1999), 95–113, focused on *Corinne ou l'Italie*, and François Rosset, "Madame de Staël et les paradoxes de l'autobiographie dans les *Dix années d'exil*," *CSt* 48 (1997), 53–68, focused on Staël's *Dix années d'exil*. Lastly, Necker may loom behind the exiled father in Staël's two-act *Isore et Henri* (1808–c. 1810).
2. Charlotte Hogsett, "Generative Factors in Considerations on the French Revolution," in Gutwirth, Goldberger, and Szmurlo, *Staël: Crossing the Borders*, 34–41, 39–40.

9 Italy, or Corinne

1. Balayé, *CV* 97–98 cites a letter to Hochet: "J'ai vu l'autre jour une pièce allemande qui m'a donné l'idée d'un roman que je crois charmant." Borghese: Balayé, *CV* 184.
2. *Conseil*: Sismondi, *Epistolario* I 110. Staël, *Corinne ou l'Italie*, ed. Simone Balayé (Paris: Folio, 1985), 603. See Georges Poulet, "*Corinne* et *Adolphe*: Deux romans conjugués," *RHLF* (July–August 1978), 580–596. *Corinne*

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page numbers cited in the text are from *Corinne ou l'Italie*, ed. Simone Balayé (Paris: Champion, 2000).

3. *Corinne* xvi–xviii. Corinne and Lady Hamilton share public performance (improvisation and *attitudes*), the tarantella, the Britain–Italy divide, a dark past, the pursuit of the beloved in England, a love for Vesuvius, carping jealousy, abandon, and death. Horatio Nelson and Oswald Nelvil share Britain, a wound, people's praise, a military career, the navy, and the saving of an Italian port (Naples and Ancona). Staël suddenly mentions the French invasion just as *Corinne* ends: "[M]ais déjà Rome et Florence étaient occupés par les Français" (538). *Hommage*: Sismondi, *Epistolario* I 155, to Madame d'Albany, June 25, 1807. *Se distingue*: Balayé, *Ecrire, lutter, vivre* 245–278, 251. To François Gaudot, December 20, 1808, in *CG* VI 572. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, December 1818, 278.
4. The *Corinne drames* figure in the Bibliothèque nationale's MS and print catalogues; the verse *drame* was performed at the Théâtre-Français, September 23, 1830. Honoré de Balzac, *La Peau de chagrin* (Paris: Libraires de France, 1956), 30. Mrs. A. E. Johnson, *Clarence and Corinne; or, God's Way* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). *National Union Catalog*, s.v. "Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine de." Jane Taylor, "To Mad. de Staël" (1822); Felicia Hemans, "Corinne at the Capitol" (1830). Letitia Landon's works rarely reproduce her *Corinne* iambics; compare her "The Improvisatrice." *A History of Private Life*, IV: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. M. Perrot, tr. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap, 1990), 283, notes a Corinne tableau vivant created by Gérard at Madame de Duras's salon. Stendhal praises Gérard's new *Corinne* at the Salon of 1824: Stendhal, *Du romantisme dans les arts* (Paris: Hermann, 1966), 131–134, from the *Journal de Paris*, September 9, 1824. Recent work is inspired by Simone Balayé and Madelyn Gutwirth in particular. In France, the novel was republished in 1979; a fine translation in 1987, by Avriel Goldberger, reopened *Corinne* to English-speaking readers, and critics are at work assessing *Corinne*'s impact on British and American literature and art. A flurry of *Corinne* collections appeared in 1999: a special issue of the journal *Romantisme*; Simone Balayé, ed., *L'Eclat et le silence*: *"Corinne ou l'Italie" de Madame de Staël* (Paris: Champion, 1999); Jean-Pierre Perchellet, ed., *Un deuil éclatant de bonheur, "Corinne ou l'Italie," Madame de Staël* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1999). Paola Villani, "Au-delà du grand tour: *Corinne* ou le 'méridionisme' staëlien," *CSt* 69 (2019), 47–60, also has a useful Italian bibliography for *Corinne*.
5. Charlotte Hogsett, "A Topography of the Soul," in *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 94–131.
6. Isaiah Berlin, "Two Kinds of Liberty," in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 118–172. Also compare Chapter 4.
7. Marie-Claire Vallois, *Fictions féminines: Mme de Staël et les voix de la sibylle* (Stanford: Anma Libri, 1987), 113, suggests the term *femme-pays*.

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8. Charlotte Hogsett, "Masculine Writing/Feminine Writing," in *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël*, 55–66.
9. Fuller and Leopardi: Ellen Moers, "Performing Heroinism: The Myth of Corinne," in *Literary Women: The Great Writers* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 173–210; and compare Chapter 15.
10. Three powers: Isbell, *Birth* 100. "Wo ich bin, ist Deutschland": Thomas Mann to the press, February 1, 1938, the day of his arrival in the US.
11. Compare Thomas Campion, *When to Her Lute Corinna Sings* (c. 1613); Vallois, *Fictions féminines*; Joan DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho, 1546–1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). The *Chansonnier des Grâces* of 1806 has a Euterpe who resembles Gérard's *Corinne*, and *Corinne*'s manuscripts contain Staël's verse translation of John Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*; *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 37–40.
12. Jean Starobinski, "Suicide et mélancolie chez Mme de Staël," in *Staël et l'Europe*, 242–252. This article had two elegant replies: Madelyn Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, Novelist: The Emergence of the Artist as Woman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 265, and Margaret Higonnet, "Suicide as Self-Construction," in Gutwirth, Goldberger, and Szmurlo, *Staël: Crossing the Borders*, 69–81. Also *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 42–48: "Bonstetten, *Recherches sur la Nature & les loix de l'Imagination*."
13. Balayé, *Ecrire, lutter, vivre* 91–136. A century later, *Corinne ou l'Italie* was still filed as a travel book in the Bibliothèque nationale: See Balayé, *CV* 16 n. 8. Set pieces: Roger Paulin made this point in conversation.
14. Compare Margaret Waller, *The Male Malady: Fictions of Impotence in the Male Romantic Novel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993).
15. I owe answers one and two to Madelyn Gutwirth and Susan Tenenbaum respectively.
16. Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*, ed. Pierre Martino, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1925), I 74.

10 Interlude

1. Rougemont, "Pour un répertoire des rôles."
2. Staël yielded to Narbonne late in 1788 (*CG* II.i IX), matching Rosamonde's three years of devotion. Compare Emile Dard, *Un confident de l'Empereur: Le comte de Narbonne, 1755–1813* (Paris: Plon, 1944), 54–69. Narbonne in 1790, writes Dard, thought civil war inevitable.

11 Napoleon Pulps His Enemies

1. The full police dossier on *De l'Allemagne*'s pulping is in Simone Balayé, "Madame de Staël et le gouvernement impérial en 1810, le dossier de la suppression de *De l'Allemagne*," *CSt* 19 (1974), 3–77. There is much misinformation on the subject, spread by Napoleon and Staël alike. Troops

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began guarding the printer's from September 25, breaking plates and forms and removing printed sheets for pulping on October 11 (22, 54–55). On the number printed, compare Mame's note of October 16, 1810: "Les deux premiers volumes complets ont été imprimés à 5.000 exemplaires. Les cinq premières feuilles du troisième volume ont été imprimées au même nombre. Les feuilles suivantes jusques et y compris la feuille 18 n'ont été imprimées qu'à 2.000 exemplaires" (56). On the *mauvaise copie* Staël handed over, see pp. 32, 40–41.

2. Napoleon's police deduced in 1810 that Staël reached Geneva with one copy each of I and II and three of III, while Portalis had I–III (Balayé, "Dossier" 58, 66–68). In fact, she had proofs both complete (Broglie) and incomplete (Coppet, with four of I, one of III) and the edition itself (Vienna). Antoine-Athanase de Laborie likely had a full set, despite Nicolle's claim; he read chapters on conversation and enthusiasm (53). At least two *brouillons* reached Germany, the Constant–Villers–Goethe and the Mendelssohn–Varnhagen texts (72–73). In 1812, Friedrich von Gentz and Philipp Albert Stapfer, both in Staël's circle, published German extracts; in 1940, Baroness Alexandrine de Rothschild had a complete proof with MS corrections for volumes I–II (Ian Allan Henning, *L'Allemagne de Madame de Staël et la polémique romantique: Première fortune de l'ouvrage en France et en Allemagne (1814–1830)* [1929; facsimile of the first edition, Paris: Slatkine, 1975], 28–30; *Liste des biens spoliés par les Allemands*, #11834). The 1934 Escoffier catalogue, #196, has a set bought by Mrs. Ronald Davis, with I–II from 1810 while III dates from 1814: There seems no reason to replace a complete 1810 volume III, but every reason to do so if it contained 240 of roughly 414 pages, like the 1810 *edition* itself (compare *RHLF* [1914], 477–478). Lonchamp, *L'Œuvre imprimé* #90–91, is very useful with the following cautions. His description is based on the Vienna edition: But II in Vienna has 393 pp., then one leaf for contents. Coppet has *three* MSS of *De l'Allemagne*, described in 1958 (I ii–iv). His "12mo edition" is a fiction. Vienna is *incomplete*. Coppet proofs I describe later.
3. Maurice Masson, "L'Edition originale du livre *De l'Allemagne*," *RHLF* (1907), 729–730.
4. Balayé, "Dossier" 3–8, reviews this famous summer. All 1810 *De l'Allemagne* texts share printer, publisher, and format; proofs have running titles but no titles or half-titles except *BN* (I xxxiii). *BN* has gatherings 1–23, 353 pp.; 1–25, 393 pp.; and 1–26, 414 pp.: in all, one "fewer" page than Vienna, since their III p. 240 is identical. Coppet *A/A'* share gatherings 1–22 8vo (pp. 1–344), and a "23" of one printed leaf, pp. 345–6, followed by a blank one. *B'* has gatherings 11–12 twice and lacks 1 and 23, leaving pp. 17–344. *B* contains two "17"s, pp. 257–272, and a four-leaf gathering that reprints the corrected pp. 251–256 as pp. "257–262." After p. 262's nine lines, the last unfinished, stands a blank leaf. This is surely a carton, not a fragment of a later print run. *C* has gatherings 1–26 and a "27" of one printed leaf, recto p. 417 and verso blank. 16 lacks a verso for its final recto, p. 255. Page 256,

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with the MS number *17* at its foot, is printed on a separate recto, followed by a blank leaf. Gathering 17 follows, pp. 257–272. 24 contains pp. 353–366 and a blank leaf; 25, though normal, retains this numbering, starting at p. 369. This volume is thus two pages shorter than it appears. *A* and *B* also list compositors' hours and names (often matching 1958, I iii): *B*'s 22 gatherings required 172.5 hours, stretching from 3 to 13, while *A* took just 19.5 hours for the 12 gatherings being reset.

5. *A'* and *B* alike contain the phrase "une 2de épreuve" at the head of most gatherings, in the hand of Staël and of her copyist, respectively. But finding the same phrase on two distinct print runs suggests that it is a request, not a statement. Nicolle later declared, "Il est à ma connaissance que M. Mame a envoyé à Mme de Staël trois épreuves complètes de son ouvrage; il lui a fait cet envoi à fur et à mesure que les feuilles étaient imprimées;" in Balayé, "Dossier" 58. Are these then three print runs? Compare his cropped remark on *BN* volume III, p. 285: "3eme ép[reuve]" – evidently a statement this time – and his verbal distinction between these *épreuves* and his own "exemplaire imprimé complet de l'ouvrage."
6. Balayé, "Dossier" 20, Napoleon's famous disclaimer; 25, 37, his involvement; 72, Portalis. John Murray was not stereotyping in 1813; Nicolle was stereotyping in 1810, as 1810's title page – "à la librairie stéréotype" – indicates. England ran about twenty years behind France here, 1800–1820. But since stereotype plates only become economical after about 2,000 copies, it seems most unlikely that Mame would make up plates for *De l'Allemagne*'s successive proofs. He would keep the book in forms until he had a more or less definitive text. Nicolle's letter of September 2 (I xxvii) states that Portalis has passed volume II, "et qu'il n'y aura point un seul changement" – a promise poorly kept. Its plates could thus be prepared at once. Volume I's stereotype plates probably awaited cartons for the censors' changes. Volume III is special: Nicolle foolhardily had Mame begin printing before the censors' reports for this volume came in on September 26, 1810, and Mame had printed 2,000 sheets of pp. 1–240 by September 25, when printing ceased (Balayé, "Dossier" 22, 27, 56). Since none of this volume had reached the censors before September 15, Mame – if he waited even that long – must have prepared its plates almost immediately thereafter. The police bulletin for October 14/15 notes that "les planches et formes ont été rompues le 11 chez l'imprimeur" (p. 55) – the book's last pages were still in forms, though volume III had existed in more or less final form since September 4, the date inked in black on its frontispiece.
7. Balayé, "Dossier" 24–26.
8. On *De l'Allemagne*, 1808–1810, see Isbell, *Birth* 222–223, and Nicolle's letter accepting the book on February 8, 1810 (I xxv). The police bulletin of September 23/24 states that at 2 p.m. "today" arrived from Blois "trois feuilles d'impression corrigées par Mme de Staël," containing volume III, chapters 8–10 (Balayé, "Dossier" 19–20). What are these chapters? *BN*'s volume III has two parts: 1–368, printed September 4 and registered the

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15th; and 369–414, printed September 20 with no reception date. The latter has three gatherings, part IV, chapters 9–12. Evidently Staël and Portalis each received a copy of this printing – the final run? Mame could in fact reprint these pages between 2 p.m. on the 23rd and the arrival of the troops on the 25th; twelve gatherings of *A* took 19.5 hours. Mame and Nicolle also, as it happened, shared an inner courtyard, though off different streets (58). Nicolle, meanwhile, transcribed Staël's revisions for Portalis between September 23–25, since he initials each page as matching her final revisions. He evidently worked on old proof sheets while new ones printed, since *BN* contains neither clean sheets nor Staël's handwriting: Mame thus used a different copy-text, perhaps Broglie, since Nicolle's *BN* text was leaving for the censors. It seems likely that the typeface for these last forty pages is identical in Broglie and in *BN*, and still more likely for the earlier pages, with no such time pressure. Yet there are difficulties here unresolvable until the Broglie text is properly collated, and the château has been closed to visitors since the death of Louis de Broglie. My four pages on its variants will wait.

9. Compare the censor Jean-Joachim Pellenc's distortion of Staël's Austria chapters in Balayé, "Dossier" 28.
10. Jean Mistler, *Madame de Staël et Maurice O'Donnell, 1805–1818; d'après des lettres inédites* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1926), 239.
11. *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906, 1934), IX 422.
12. We are unlikely to learn more of the Vienna text's deposition than is argued by the comtesse de Pange in *Auguste-Guillaume Schlegel et Mme de Staël* (Paris: Albert, 1938), 290–296, about *le brûlé* and A. W. Schlegel's mystery journey east from Coppet in 1811. He wrote to Staël in October 1811. "[J]e la conjure de ne pas penser à prendre avec elle ce que j'ai déposé chez Frédéric" (325). She took the Broglie text instead. Masson, "Edition originale" 730, suggests that Friedrich offered it to the university "en 1827, quand il y vint faire ses conférences sur la 'Philosophie de la vie.'" The Vienna title pages have a note in Friedrich's hand stating that this is indeed the lost 1810 edition, cited in Lonchamp, *L'Œuvre imprimé* 58. Post-Lonchamp research has here confused edition and proofs.
13. On Staël's use of German philosophy and of Kant in particular, see Isbell, *Birth* 108–164.
14. The Vienna text ignores two additions Portalis had suggested: "[J'observe que ce mot très connu a été dit par une femme d'esprit il y a 25 ans. Il porte uniquement sur les amusements dont Paris abonde, et comme je les regrette plus que personne c'est pour cela que je tiens à les vanter]"; "[Le prince Ferdinand m'a montré une amitié sérieuse et soutenue. Je suis depuis six ans en correspondance avec sa sœur, ne pas le nommer me ferait une peine que je ne puis exprimer. Les Français rendent toujours justice à la bravoure de leurs ennemis, comment ne serait-il pas permis d'accorder ce témoignage à un courageux guerrier qui n'est plus?]" (I xxix). Nicolle's companion letter called this praise of Prince Louis the phrase "qui *déplaira* le plus," and Schlegel

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reports to Louis Chicoilet de Corbigny Staël's readiness to cut her ending (Balayé, "Dossier" 41–42). Contrast her airy claim to Charles de Villers on October 21, 1810: "[L]es mouchards de la police demandaient s'il n'y avait pas un chapitre contre l'acceptation des places" (55). Balayé gives the censors' fascinating report, pp. 27–30: Where Pellenc sees bad politics in volume I, Gigault de La Salle sees bad prose in the other two – which may explain the text's eventual lopsided censorship.

15. If the censors are pen-pushers, Napoleon and the duc de Rovigo are soldiers, as their complaints reveal. Napoleon tells Rovigo on September 28, "faites supprimer le passage relatif au duc de Brunswick [*for Prince Louis?*], et les trois quarts des passages où elle exalte l'Angleterre. Cette malheureuse exaltation nous a déjà fait assez de mal" (Balayé, "Dossier" 37–38). Rovigo, furious, asks her son Auguste on October 3 whether they have "fait dix-huit années la guerre en Allemagne" so that a famous writer like Staël might ignore their existence (45). Finally, there is some support for Martin's Attila claim: on October 11, the police suggest that Laborie's readings from proof included "notamment un chapitre sur Attila," and the play is mentioned again on November 28 (53, 63). Martin's text is usually regarded as a pirate edition, but it was published at 12, rue de Seine, which was Nicolle's own address. Did Staël encourage Nicolle? Her friend the Duke of Wellington calls Napoleon "Attila" in his first speech to the Parisians (*Journal des Débats*, April 1814). Compare Lonchamp, *L'Œuvre imprimé* 70, and Henning, *L'Allemagne de Madame de Staël* 30–31.
16. Compare A. W. Schlegel to Staël, June 21, 1813: "Les nouvelles d'Hambourg sont affligeantes – la ville a été frappée d'une contribution de 48 millions de francs . . . [L]e premier terme n'ayant pas pu être payé, 34 notables et pères de famille ont été conduits en France comme ôtages"; Pange, *Schlegel et Staël* 423.

12 The Napoleon Apocalypse

1. [A. W. Schlegel], *Sur le système continental et sur ses rapports avec la Suède* (London: Schulze & Dean, 1813), 48. Page numbers alone in the text refer to the *Dix années d'exil*; Bible quotations in English follow the King James Authorized Version.
2. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition, s.v. "Apocalyptic Literature."
3. *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, ed. Jean Tulard (Paris: Fayard, 1989), with twenty-six thematic religion entries. Georges Lefebvre, *Napoléon* (Paris: PUF, 1969), 503. *Prophetic Mirror*: Jean Tulard, *L'Anti-Napoléon: La légende noire de l'Empereur* (Paris: Julliard, 1965), 245. John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I*, 2 vols (New York: Scribner & Welford, 1884), I 12–13, *Bonaparte the Emperor*, handbill listing seven crowns; I 9–10, *A Prophecy*; I 11, *The Corsican's Downfall*, by a Royal Arch Mason; II 173–178, *Buonapartiana* [Paris], Balzac. Tulard, *Anti-Napoléon* 12, *Lamuel ou le livre*

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du Seigneur; 57, Abbé David; 254, *Apothéose de Napoleone*; 13–16, Whately [1819], J. B. Pérès, [Wendel] Wurtz.

4. A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature 1795–1821*, 2 vols (London: John Lane, 1911), I 217, Rowlandson, *Consular Family*, June 8, 1804; I 230, Cruikshank, *Alexander and Bonaparte*; I 296, Cruikshank, *Apollyon*, October 7, 1808; I 332, Cruikshank, *Trip-Hell Alliance*, March 3, 1811; I 342, Ackermann publishes *The Devil's Darling*, March 2, 1814, without Matthew 3:17, a caption noted in Tulard, *Anti-Napoléon* 291–292. Broadley, *Napoleon* I 187, *Corpse-Head.* Ashton, *English Caricature* II 223, *Corsican's last trip*, anon., April 16, 1815; II 254, *Boney's Meditations*. Broadley, *Napoleon* I 369, *Prometheus.* Frank Paul Bowman, "Napoleon as a Christ Figure," in *French Romanticism: Intertextual and Interdisciplinary Readings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 34–60, 58–59. Frank Bowman kindly pointed me to Tulard's study. Narbonne: Joseph Fouché, *Memoirs of Fouché* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892), 350.
5. "*Napoleons Dröm / eller / Enghiens Skugga / i / Moskwa, / af / Madame STAËL VON HOLSTEIN. / Öfversättning ifrån Tyskan.* / STOCKHOLM 1813, / HOS STRINNHOLM OCH HAEGGSTRÖM.," 13 pp. I owe this pamphlet to the scholarship of Sheilagh Riordan, the authority in this field, who mentions Baron H. F. K. von Stein, or Carl Gustaf von Brinkman with Staël's help, as possible authors. It is absent in my outline for Staël's complete works in *CSt* 46 (1994–1995). See Sheilagh Riordan, *Capturing the North: Mme de Staël's 1812–13 Exile in Sweden*, unpublished PhD thesis (College Park: University of Maryland, 1996). Broadley, *Napoleon* I 148–151, Gillray, *Political Dreamings*, November 9, 1801, and Starke, *Napoleons Traum*. Auguste Viatte, *Les Sources occultes du romantisme: Illuminisme, Théosophie 1770–1820*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1928), II 76; Joseph de Maistre, *Du Pape*, in *Œuvres complètes*, 14 vols (Lyon: Vitte, 1884), II 297–298. Francis Ley, *Madame de Krüdener 1764–1824: Romantisme et Sainte-Alliance* (Paris: Champion, 1994), 293, queen and Bernadotte, 1815; 219, mystics and Eylau; 285–286, British and Foreign Bible Society. Viatte, *Sources occultes* II 199, "ce genre de millénarisme"; II 117, Divonne, "réédification du temple"; II 84–85, Johann Kaspar Lavater to Charles de Bade, December 29, 1792: "puissance des ténèbres," and Barruel, Maistre, Cazotte, Jung Stilling; II 246–247, Lavater to Marc-Marie de Bombelles, January 16, 1794: "[L]'Antéchrist est le plus grand despote."
6. Viatte, *Sources occultes* II 76, Joseph de Maistre to comte de Vallaise, October 1815. Ley, *Krüdener* 337, Staël to Madame Gérando, October 27, 1815. Viatte, *Sources occultes* II 107, Elzéar de Sabran, *Le Repentir* (see *CSt* 46 [1995], 73–78); II 127, Staël to Tsar Alexander, June 2, 1816, "*rationalisme* volontaire."
7. *DxA* 17, 26–29, dating (Stockholm, September 24, 1812–June 8, 1813). Staël's latest reference, and our latest date, is a ceremony on April 28, 1813, in Staël's mementos (414). The *DxA* manuscripts review the years 1797–1805, 1797–1804, and 1810–1812; pages 348–391 are "manuscrits

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déguisés" probably written between November 1810 and February 11, 1811 (20). Constant sent proof pages of his *Conquête* to Staël and Schlegel alike: John Isbell and Jason Thomas, "Benjamin Constant et Lafayette à Bloomington, Indiana: Six textes inédits," *Annales BC* 21 (1998), 75–91, 81. A. W. Schlegel, *Mémoire sur l'état de l'Allemagne*, in Norman King, "Madame de Staël et la chute de Napoléon," in *Staël et l'Europe*, 63–79, 67. King cites Staël to Sismondi, May 17, 1812. Schlegel, *Système continental* vii, 55, "esprit de conquêtes"; 40–6, Spain's *gouffre*; 64, "l'Arche au milieu du déluge." Paul Gautier, *Madame de Staël et Napoléon* (Paris: Plon, 1903), 333–334, lists Staël–Schlegel parallels. He notes Staël calling England "l'arche . . . dans ce déluge" to Lord John Campbell, October 9, 1812, and telling James Galiffe, "Il ne faudrait pas parler de moi." *L'Ambigu*, June 30, 1813, in *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 68–69, 105. Pange, *Schlegel et Staël*, 401–402 – noting the pamphlet's anonymous publication in Hamburg, February 1813, and five letters attesting Schlegel's authorship – rightly, I believe, argues for Staël's collaboration at most.

8. Viatte, *Sources occultes* II 198, Freemason tsar. Book of Daniel: Ernest John Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie de Krüdener* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 151. Ley, *Krüdener* 288–290, first meeting, daughter's journal, tsar "pas convaincu." La Harpe, Maistre, Golitsyn: Remi Forycki, "Madame de Staël et la Russie d'Alexandre 1er," in Kloocke, *Coppet et l'Europe*, 83–95, 91. Ley, *Krüdener* 219, Talleyrand and Metternich; 268, rulers kneel. Tulard, *Anti-Napoléon* 172–174, Spanish Catéchisme civil. Ley, *Krüdener* 197, daughter's journal, 1807: "*maudire Bonaparte*"; 285, Mademoiselle de Krüdener, Catéchisme impérial; 208–9, Jung Stilling, "précurseur de l'Antéchrist"; 286, Madame de Krüdener, other angel; 317, Capefigue. Viatte, *Sources occultes* II 199, Krüdener and the "élu du Seigneur." Knapton, *Lady* 151: tsar's essay for his sister; 165, Krüdener's early letter, Daniel 11:30; Metternich rewrites, but Alexander proclaims original text. Knapton suggests on p. 183 that a *Journal de Paris* reply to Louis de Bonald defending Krüdener, May 30, 1817, may be by Benjamin Constant. Viatte, *Sources occultes* 202, Metternich, "mélange d'idées." An anonymous Swedish memoir remarks that in Russia and Sweden, Staël began preaching a "sorte de croisade contre Napoléon et son activité à cet égard devait nécessairement avoir une grande influence"; Sheilagh Riordan with Simone Balayé, "Un manuscrit inédit sur le séjour de Madame de Staël à Stockholm," *CSt* 48 (1997), 69–102, 98.
9. Xerxes: *DxA* 59 n. 2, *CRF* 430; Richard III: *DxA* 372–391. Staël's coded autobiography here in terms of Shakespeare follows her autobiography in terms of Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, *DxA* 348–372, with Napoleon as Elizabeth: two Romantic dramatists. The term "célibataire" is an ironic bow to François-René de Chateaubriand, as Balayé explains: *DxA* 48 n. 4. There are scattered mentions of Staël's views here in the critical corpus. Thus, Laetitia Saintes, "Des *Considérations* à *Dix années d'exil*, le passé recomposé," *CSt* 69 (2019), 247–259, notes that "[l]'explication

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providentielle de Napoléon propre à *Dix années d'exil* est absente des *Considérations*" (251). Saintes also cites Staël hoping to be "utile à la délivrance du monde" – letter to Carl Gustaf von Brinkman, December 7, 1812, in *CG* VIII 143–145.

10. *Politics* I.ii 29, in *Great Books, Aristotle: II* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1952), 446. Simone Balayé has a note on the *idéophobe* story, *DxA* 101 n. 3. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: Beck, 1982), 47 (I, l. 1338).
11. *DxA* 25, Staël to Dmitri Pavlovitch von Taticheff, March 15, 1814. Simone Balayé, "La retraite de Russie vue par Albertine de Staël," in *Studi in onore di Mario Matucci* (Pisa: Pacini, 1993), 113–133, 113, dating; 122, "feux de l'enfer"; 127, *Dix années* echoes (notes 9, 16–17, 28, 30–31 – "Hennissements" – 54, 59, 72–73, 76, 78); 118, peasant's hand; 122, "manger les cadavres." On Staël's self-staging in the *Dix années*, compare François Rosset, "Madame de Staël à la fenêtre des Tuileries: Intimité et histoire dans *Dix années d'exil*," in *Le Moi et l'histoire: 1789–1848*, ed. Damien Zanone (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2005), 70–87.
12. "Vie de mon père": *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 104, Staël to Charles de Lacretelle, December 7, 1810; compare item 117, and *DxA* 17, 20. Prosper de Barante is dismissed in December but awaits Guillaume Capelle's arrival, February 11, 1811. That will not date our manuscript, but Staël's two December letters have every chance of referring to what we now call the *Dix années* coded manuscripts, 348–391. No *Considérations* manuscripts are known from before 1813.
13. Vallois, *Fictions féminines* 15 does argue for a Staël topos: clear male voice, insane female, citing *Mirza*, *Zulma*, and *Corinne*. But who narrates *Corinne*? Paul Harvey, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937), s.v. "Sibylline Books," "Delphic Oracle."
14. Simone Balayé, "Destins de femmes dans *Delphine*," in *Ecrire, lutter, vivre*, 61–76, 75. Gutwirth, *Madame de Staël, novelist*; Hogsett, *The Literary Existence of Germaine de Staël*; Anne Amend, *Zwischen Implosion und Explosion: Zur Dynamik der Melancholie im Werk der Germaine de Staël* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1991).
15. Morton D. Paley, "*The Last Man*: Apocalypse Without Millennium," in *The Other Mary Shelley: Beyond Frankenstein*, ed. Audrey Fisch, Anne Mellor, and Esther Schor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 107–123. Georges Poulet, "Espérance et souvenir dans l'expérience et la pensée de Mme de Staël," in *Madame de Staël et l'Europe: Colloque de Coppet* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), 211–226, 215, whose title repeats Staël's lovely phrase. Claude Reichler, "Idylle et identité chez Mme de Staël," *Annales BC* 20 (1997), 41–55, 47, Interlaken; 51, "Le mythe s'est emparé de la durée." *Corinne*'s monastery is strangely close in affect to the one Reichler analyses in *Dix années d'exil*, as does François Rosset in "Madame de Staël et les paradoxes de l'autobiographie dans les *Dix années d'exil*," *CSt* 48 (1997), 53–68. In Reichler's splendid study, the curious phrases he reviews are not in fact

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Staël's but her publisher Nicolle's. For Staël's original, uncensored words (in italics), with gloss, compare Chapter 11: "Des ténèbres profondes … et *l'ombre de Berthold brillait encore au milieu de la nuit comme un beau souvenir à travers l'obscurité du présent et de l'avenir*" (*DA* I 288); "rendent l'avenir présent. *C'est un seul moment qu'une histoire toujours la même, et toutes les époques semblent encore présentes, quand nul événement, nulle vicissitude, nul changement ne servent à compter les années*" (*DA* I 294). Schaffhausen: When the tourist observes these Swiss falls, he loses track of time, he contemplates both movement and eternity, "une direction toujours la même, une impulsion toujours aveugle; son âme s'engourdit à force de sentir"; *Lettres sur Rousseau*, 1798 preface, in *LR* 37.

16. Staël "is busy with a work on the destinies of literature in the next century": Humboldt, *Tagebücher* I 625 (September 1798).
17. This review of Constant follows Ernst Behler, "La Doctrine de Coppet d'une perfectibilité infinie et la Révolution française," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 255–274, 264–265. Isbell, *Birth* 30, four eras (*DA* I 76–77); 178, "Je crois le mysticisme …," to Madame de Gérando, September 1815, with sections on Staël's world history and her links with Europe's mystics.
18. Compare Chapters 13 and 14.
19. "Bonaparte l'avait persécutée de manière à ce qu'on dît qu'en Europe il fallait compter trois puissances: l'Angleterre, la Russie et Madame de Staël." *Mémoires de Madame de Chastenay*, ed. Alphonse Roserot, 2 vols (Paris: 1896), II 445 [1813].
20. "Je marche en avant et je regarde en arrière"; to M. de Staël, September 6, 1786, in *CG* I.i 117. Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare* I 78. Gérard de Nerval, *Sylvie*, in *Œuvres*, ed. H. Lemaître (Paris: Garnier, 1966), 589–626, 591: "cette tour d'ivoire des poètes, où nous montions toujours plus haut pour nous isoler de la foule." Jerome J. McGann, *The Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983).
21. Margot Irvine, "Problèmes de genre(s): Le récit de vocation et le récit de voyage au féminin dans les *Souvenirs* d'Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun," in *Itinéraires du XIX^e siècle*, ed. Paul Perron, Roland Le Huenen, and Stéphane Vachon (Toronto: Centre d'Etudes romantiques, 1996), 75. Fiction's mirror: Compare Chapter 1. Rosset, "Paradoxes" 54–55. Exceptional: Isbell, *Birth* 96. Compare also Marie-Christine Lot, "De *Dix années d'exil* aux *Considérations*: La traversée des genres," *CSt* 58 (2007), 69–81, reviewing Staël's generic passage from memoir to historiography between those two texts, and noting that exile means hearsay when Staël is discussing French events – a challenge elegantly met.

13 Romantic Spain and National Resistance

1. Gordon K. Thomas, "Allies and Guerrillas: The Peninsular Campaigns of Wordsworth and Byron," *The Wordsworth Circle* 14 (Winter 1983), 56–61, brilliantly retraces what this campaign represents to a Romantic liberal. Page

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numbers alone cite John Rocca, *Mémoires sur la guerre des Français en Espagne* (1814; Paris and Geneva: Cherbuliez, 1887). See Albert Jean Michel Rocca, *Œuvres: Mémoires sur la guerre des Français en Espagne (1814), La Campagne de Walcheren (1817), Le Mal du pays (1817–1818, inédit)*, ed. Stéphanie Genand with the collaboration of Aline Hodroge (Paris: Champion, 2017).

2. Camoëns: Pange, *Schlegel et Staël* 585–600. Rocca uses the new term *guérilla* (241). Catéchisme: John Isbell with Simone Balayé, "Madame de Staël: Ecrits retrouvés," *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 5–79, 68. Staël had noted this opposition since Narbonne in 1791; it is therefore useful, she claims, to show nations how to lead a popular *guerrilla* war. Wellington: "Madame de Staëls Brev til kronprins Carl Johann, 1812–1816," ed. Torvald Höjer, *Historiske Tidskrift* 2 (1960), 157–176, 174. On the success of Rocca, *The National Union Catalog* records six French editions (Paris, 1814–1817; London, 1815; Geneva, 1886–1887, 1890); versions in English (tr. Maria Graham, London: John Murray, 1815–1816, Philadelphia, 1816, 1820–1823; and by A., London, 1826); in Spanish (Madrid 1816, and tr. A. S. Ruiz, 1908); in German (1908; plus six journal reviews and translations that Staël mentions; *CSt* 46 [1994–1995], 71); and, lastly, the Italian translation that Ludovico di Breme reviews in the *Biblioteca italiana* – November 1816, 333–345. The *Biblioteca* is famous, the *Edinburgh Review* more so; a review of Rocca appears in it in October 1815, 63–86. Graham's translation has recently been reprinted: *In the Peninsula with a French Hussar* (London: Leventhal, 1990).
3. "Je l'aimerai tellement qu'elle finira par m'épouser"; Kohler, *Staël et la Suisse* 594. Kohler quotes Byron against Sismondi and Madame de Boigne, 596–597, and proposes the start, the ending, and pages 35–36 of Rocca's text as the work of Staël. See comtesse Jean de Pange, "Un manuscrit inédit de Jean Rocca, second mari de Mme de Staël," in *Mélanges Baldensperger*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1930), II 163–173, 164–167, and on *Le Mal du pays*, her *Le Dernier Amour de Madame de Staël* (Geneva: La Palatine, 1944), 19–21, 34, 37, 227–228 – but the manuscript lacks Staël's hand. Madame de Pange seems also to indicate a fourth Rocca text, with a portrait of Napoleon in Staël's manner (*Dernier Amour* 166). As to the memoir of Walcheren, a letter dated September 9, 1815, reveals John Murray's lack of interest and suggests Staël's role: "Nous y renonçons très facilement *M. Rocca et moi*, l'écrit étant trop court pour être payé." *RHLF* (1937), 296–297; my italics.
4. "Lettres de Mme de Staël à John Rocca," ed. E. Chapuisat, *Bibliothèque universelle et Revue de Genève* (1929), 263–265, 425, 581–582, 587. Other Staël echoes: "airs nationaux" and guitar (38, 239; cf. *DA* III 334B); "des hommes qui venaient du Nord, où tout se passe en silence" (55); people seen as *volcanoes* (58); an army "fumant sans cesse pour endormir la vie" (86); "cette terreur de l'inconnu qui agit si fortement sur les peuples à imagination" (170); "des obstacles sans nombre qui naissant de l'esprit national seulement, se renouvelaient et se multipliaient à l'infini sous nos pas suivant les circonstances" (192) – my favorite echo, transforming as it does a praise of

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Romantic art that returns often in Staël's writing; the citizen's obligation to shed blood for his country (242); and another theme dear to Staël, "ces exilés volontaires qui s'étaient abandonnés à la Providence, pour sauver leur patrie" (255). The text speaks of "soldats de la patrie" and of "guerre nationale" (67, 138), describing the war as a "croisade religieuse" for the Spanish (68). *De l'Allemagne* quotes Schlegel on religion and war, gravity and imagination mixing in Spain: The passage was several pages longer in manuscript (*DA* III 333–340), speaking of the Spanish mixture "de l'imagination orientale avec cette énergie guerrière." *Morceaux de bravoure* in Rocca: 24, 52, 316, 321–322n, 326–327. Staël prefaces: *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 69–73.

5. Hasard: "Lettres de Staël à Rocca" 584; Stafford: "Lettres de Staël à Rocca" 574; Devonshire: Victor de Pange, *Le plus beau de toutes les fêtes* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1980), 108–109.
6. Troupes: *CRF* 411–412; *boulevart*: *DA* I 11–12, III 338B; *gouvernements à ressort*: cf. *DxA* 161; writers: *DA* I 42, 200; clergy: *DA* V 41; *condamner l'Espagne*: *DL* 164–166; synthesis: *DA* III 334B, where Staël reuses the word *nationalité*. On *De l'Allemagne* parallels, see Isbell, *Birth* 27–36, 168–176; and on Spanish debates at Coppet, compare Chapter 14. Schlegel gives his conferences in Catholic Vienna; Sismondi answers from Calvinist Geneva.
7. Army: *CRF* 407–412, *DxA* 115; *une seule main*: *DA* I 220–226, *CRF* 408, and compare Isbell, *Birth* 92–100.
8. Public cause: *CRF* 433, 454; compare Chapter 16.
9. For an excellent analysis of Spain's role in France, see Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Paintings and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972; revised edition, Madrid: Taurus, 1988).

14 A. W. Schlegel, Staël, and Sismondi in 1814

1. Margherita Chiostri, *Un viaggio d'altri tempi* (Pescia: Necciari, 1983), 92. Sismondi is still speaking of Schlegel in September 1811: "[D]epuis que j'ai vécu près de lui mon esprit a toujours été tendu à le combattre," in Norman King and Jean-Daniel Candaux, "La Correspondance de Benjamin Constant et de Sismondi (1801–1830)," *Annales BC* 1 (1980), 81–171, 134.
2. Staël, *Corinne* 172.
3. Editions cited: Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi, *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, 4 vols, 2nd edition (Paris: Treuttel and Würtz, 1819) [Sismondi]; August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 2 vols, in *Kritische Schriften und Briefe*, ed. E. Lohner (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966). The French translation of Schlegel, reworked against the author's wishes, is difficult to find, like the three German editions, 1809–1846. I cite the 1966 text, which follows the third edition, revised and expanded. An asterisk (*) refers to volume II here, and the English is my own. A critical edition of the rather different original is underway: August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*

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[1809–1811], ed. Stefan Knödler (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2018–), I. Collation of the three editions remains to be done.

4. The *Bibliographie de l'Empire français* dates the three French publications as follows: Sismondi, March 7–June 4, 1813; Schlegel, December 10, 1813; Staël, May 21, 1814. Schlegel publishes his first and second parts in 1809–1811. He is still revising in 1844 for a third edition. Josef Körner, *Die Botschaft der deutschen Romantik an Europa* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1929), 109–112, gives a table of Schlegel's considerable borrowings from his earlier works. Two other monographs are Isbell, *Birth*, and Carlo Pellegrini, *Il Sismondi e la Storia delle letterature dell'Europa meridionale* (Geneva: Olschki, 1926). Let us add Henning, *L'Allemagne de Madame de Staël*, Georges Solovieff, *L'Allemagne et Madame de Staël* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1990), and Edmond Eggli and Pierre Martino, *Le Débat romantique en France, 1813–1816* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933). My title quotes an attack in the *Nain jaune*, December 20, 1814, which associates with the allied armies these three foreign authors, commissioned by them to extirpate French civilization. Readers discuss and discuss again these texts for a good ten years, marinating thus in their ideas.
5. "die Theorie der dramatischen Kunst mit ihrer Geschichte zu verbinden." Körner, *Botschaft* 3, speaks of synthesis, and 58–66 reproduces two letters from the translator in which she explains her numerous changes: "[C]et ouvrage n'aurait point passé sans ce qu'on appelle un correctif." She may have used a translation begun by Adelbert von Chamisso and Helmina von Chézy in 1810. Barante, Staël, and her son Auguste collaborated on it – Madame Necker de Saussure notes "les 80 pages de ma cousine" (64), part of which subsists at Coppet, and "un long passage sur cette même ironie où il me semblait qu'elle ne vous avait point compris." See Pange, *Schlegel et Staël* 273–276. Josef Körner, *Krisenjahre der Frühromantik*, 3 vols, 2nd edition (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1969), II 278, 207–220.
6. "hat die erschöpfte und versunkene alte Welt wiedergeboren"; "[D]ie Poesie der Alten war die des Besitzes, die unsrige ist die der Sehnsucht"; "Die Vorliebe für das eine oder das andere wollen wir niemanden abstreiten." Goethe thus associates tastes, and he speaks also of cathedrals. Friedrich Schlegel, *Gespräch über die Poesie*, ed. Hans Eichner (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), 335, speaks of the *sentimental* to explain how Romantic poetry differs from the ancients: It is unconcerned with the difference between "Schein und Wahrheit, von Spiel und Ernst . . . Die romantische Poesie . . . ruht ganz auf historischem Grunde." He does not, however, wish one to think "daß mir das Romantische und das Moderne völlig gleich gelte"; he finds the Romantic "bei den ältern Modernen, bei Shakespeare, Cervantes, in der italiänischen Poesie, in jenem Zeitalter der Ritter, der Liebe und der Märchen, aus welchem die Sache und das Wort selbst herstammt." Staël describes the word *Romantic* as a new German term "pour désigner la poésie dont les chants des troubadours ont été l'origine, celle qui est née de la chevalerie et du christianisme"; she also notes the comparison sculpture/painting, without

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attribution. Classicism is thus not "synonyme de perfection," it is merely a stage in "la marche de l'esprit humain, passant . . . de la nature à la divinité" (*DA* II 127–129). The opinions of Sismondi are fundamentally ambiguous; his remarks on Nicolas Boileau contain four instances of *mais* in thirty lines (IV 534). He says first that "le nom de romantique a été emprunté de celui de la langue romane, qui était née du mélange du latin avec l'ancien allemand." This explains why he speaks of the South, but he adds without liaison that "la poésie de presque toutes les nations modernes" is Romantic (II 156). After a long silence, he returns to the fray by opposing true Spanish theater to Romantic poetics, "qui a été développée seulement de nos jours par les Allemands" (III 368). Finally, his long analysis (III 469–494) begins by saying that the terms *classic* and *Romantic* "ne présentent pas peut-être de sens bien déterminé." In the middle of this analysis, he also uses the word *romanesque* as an insult (III 494); at II 355, he applies it to French theater. We have seen that Schlegel too, who has been called the apostle of Romanticism, had no liking for the expression. Staël alone uses it with pleasure.

7. "die Wurzel des menschlichen Daseins."
8. *De l'Allemagne* speaks of the partiality of the Schlegel brothers (*DA* III 342–346). For Sismondi, see the epigraph of this chapter and also *DA* IV 418–419.
9. "die Begriffe zu entwickeln, wonach der Kunstwert der dramatischen Hervorbringungen verschiedener Zeitalter und Völker zu schätzen ist"; "Meisterstück theatralischer Malerei." Schlegel admits this inadequacy; Körner, *Botschaft* 42–43.
10. "das gelesenste Buch des romantischen Schrifttums," "den Gesamterwerb romantischen Denkens und Forschens." Körner, *Botschaft* 47, 80, 2.
11. "[S]ind die Schlachten des menschlichen Geistes durch nur wenige genialische Helden gewonnen worden"; "umgekehrte Idealität."
12. "einen umgekehrten Metastasio"; "mehr wie Handlungen des Mannes als wie Werke des Dichters"; "In Italien sind von jeher die Versuche zu einem romantischen Drama ohne Wirkung verschollen." Staël, *Corinne* 168–169. Her book VII titled "La Littérature italienne" naturally foreshadows a great number of 1814 discussions – Schlegel in particular echoes it. "Il y avait deux nations hors de mode en Europe," she writes in 1808, "les Italiens et les Allemands. J'ai entrepris de leur rendre la réputation de sincérité et d'esprit"; Kohler, *Staël et la Suisse* 485. Many other Coppet guests have their place here, as a less succinct study might show. It would falsify the texts to forget for instance Don Pedro de Souza, to whom Sismondi owes Portuguese details, or John Rocca (compare Chapter 13). In 1824, Bonstetten publishes *L'Homme du midi et l'homme du Nord ou l'influence du climat*, a reply perhaps to Sismondi, who barely mentions it.
13. "einem unsäglichen Wüste von Geschmacklosigkeit und Barbarei"; "eine von dem Willen des Menschen abhängige Tätigkeit"; "die Idee der sittlichen Freiheit, kraft welcher allein der Mensch als der letzte Urheber seiner Entschlüsse betrachtet wird"; "die sämtlichen Neueren."

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14. "gegen die Regeln der Kunst . . . gegen die Regeln der Natur"; "säsze aber gerade an einem übel gewählten Platze, um Augenzeuge davon zu sein"; "eine wache Träumerei, der man sich freiwillig hingibt." Körner, *Botschaft* 70.
15. "ein durchaus liebenswürdiger Dichter"; "[D]as französische Trauerspiel hätte nazional und wahrhaft romantisch werden können"; "[N]ichts ist verschiedener als der französische und der spanische Nazionalcharakter"; "den Abgott des letztverwichenen Zeitalters"; "mit der feindseligsten Parteilichkeit"; "mißverstandnen Grundsätzen der Täuschung und der Natürlichkeit."
16. "letzte Gipfel der romantischen Poesie."
17. Martine de Rougemont, "Hellénique ou romantique: Les enjeux du drame sous l'Empire," *CSt* 37 (1985–1986), 53–64. People also said "romantique ou germanique," and Staël says "romantique ou chevaleresque" (*DA* II 134). A. W. Schlegel in the *Deux Phèdres* says that history serves as destiny in modern theater, which must therefore be social. He distinguishes three systems that are considerably less clear in his Vienna courses: in Sophocles, morality and fate; in Calderón, religion and providence; and in Shakespeare, philosophy and doubt. French theater has no system.
18. "Der Anblick eines nächtlichen Brandes kann . . . entzücken; aber wenn das Haus des Nachbars brennt . . ."; "Man hat in ähnlichen Epochen der neueren Geschichte dieselbe Erscheinung bemerkt"; "[S]ie waren die eiserne Notwendigkeit der anderen Völker; die allgemeinen Zerstörer, um sich zuletzt einsam mitten in einem einförmig gehörchenden Welt aus den Ruinen das Mausoleum ihrer eigenen Würde und Freiheit aufzutürmen."
19. Körner, *Botschaft*, details the plagiarisms in the famous *Préface de Cromwell* and indicates the influence of Schlegel on Stendhal, Coleridge, Manzoni, Edgar Allan Poe, Søren Kierkegaard, and Alexander Pushkin (100, 59, 70–74). James Mackintosh of the *Edinburgh Review* writes to Schlegel, "I know no book so generally read . . . You are become our National Critic." The *Nibelungenlied* in Körner, *Krisenjahre* I 577, July 25, 1808.
20. See my article on *Faust*, "The First French *Faust: De l'Allemagne's Faust* Chapter, 1810/1814," *French Studies* 45 (1991), 417–434.
21. On the United States, see Kurt Müller-Vollmer, "Staël's *Germany* and the Beginnings of an American National Literature," in Gutwirth, Goldberger, and Szmurlo, *Staël: Crossing the Borders*, 141–158.
22. We can retrace Sismondi's course – whose manuscript subsists in Pescia – in the epic Staël speaks of after this date: *Richard, Cœur de Lion*. She wants it in prose, she says to Claude Charles Fauriel on March 30, 1811, in a letter at the Institut, because alexandrines "conviennent plutôt à l'imitation des anciens" – a Sismondian theme, even if Staël indicates the *Martyrs* of 1809. Sismondi returns to the *Républiques* in 1813. Körner, *Krisenjahre* II 227.
23. For a fine analysis of this tableau, see the articles of Henri Duranton and of Norman King, "Le Moyen Age à Coppet," to which I owe a good deal, in *Le Groupe de Coppet: Actes du deuxième Colloque de Coppet*, ed. Simone Balayé and Jean-Daniel Candaux (Geneva and Paris: Slatkine and Champion, 1977), 349–373 and 375–399.

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24. On August 26, 1811, Sismondi confides to Schlegel that he speaks "superficiellement" of the troubadours, who receive three lessons out of forty; Körner, *Krisenjahre* II 227. He would like to consult Schlegel's famous library, under lock and key at Coppet during his absence. On September 10, Sismondi writes again to say of "nos premiers romans français" that "l'histoire de l'esprit humain et de toute littérature moderne semble attachée à celle des fictions chevaleresques." He speaks also of facts that come "à l'appui de la supposition de votre frère que tous les romans de chevalerie nous sont venus des Normands," but confesses, "Je ne puis encore arrêter dans ma tête quelle a été l'influence des Normands et quelle celle des Arabes" (II 230–231); the text bears that mark. King, "Moyen Age" 376, 384–385, 388 n. 110 (Chamisso). Paul Usteri and Eugène Ritter, eds, *Lettres inédites de Mme de Staël à Henri Meister* (Paris: Hachette, 1903), 198. Pange, *Schlegel et Staël* 220, to Elisa de Recke; 304, to Staël. Kurt Wais, "Le Problème de l'unité du 'groupe de Coppet,'" in *Staël et l'Europe*, 343–360, 346.
25. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* IV/278 (December 1818). King, "Chevalerie et liberté" 248.
26. William Roscoe, MP. Staël cites him in *Corinne*, 590, and the *Epistolario* reproduces three letters that Sismondi sends him, 1824–1826. The last one contains some "compliments à la famille Wedgood [Wedgewood]" (III 41, July 22, 1826), food for thought. In fact, Sismondi stays with his son Thomas Roscoe, English translator of the course; the second English edition, I 6, reproduces an interesting letter of Sismondi's on their controversy, June 19, 1825, which has escaped Sismondians. The English publisher indicates an entire correspondence, and the text gives several proofs of this connection: I 428, 539, II 277. Browning reports taking from this translation the idea of his *Sordello*, and James Mackintosh, William Hazlitt, and Thomas Babington Macaulay, among others, were marked by it – fuel for research.
27. Rodrigue Villeneuve, "*De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*: Le lecteur Sismondi," in *Sismondi européen*, 275–286, 277.
28. For Sismondi and Italian Romanticism, see Pellegrini, *Storia* 109–162.
29. Sismondi to Elisa de Recke, June 10, 1813, in his *Epistolario* I 419.
30. Frank Bowman, "Sismondi et la religion," in *Sismondi européen*, 131–152, 147.
31. Simone Balayé, "Un historien devant la littérature," in *Sismondi européen*, 261–274, 272.
32. Sismondi sees in Juan Andrés, Friedrich Bouterwek, and Claude-François-Xavier Millot a "res nullius" where it is permitted to borrow. In 1812, he speaks of "l'ouvrage ... auquel je travaille depuis quelques années" (Pellegrini, *Storia* 44, 56, 95). Bonstetten writes to Friederike Brun on April 13, 1811, that Sismondi wants to give a course the following winter "in der deutschen Literatur"! But his debts to Coppet are different. Schlegel speaks to Staël of plagiarism: "Je vous prie de ne pas aigrir [Sismondi] par votre zèle à réclamer notre propriété. Je suis habitué à ce qu'on prenne mes idées sans me citer" (Pange, *Schlegel et Staël* 345). Barante remarked himself

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on the "points de conformité avec M. Schlegel" in a study Sismondi had "entreprise pour le combattre"; Giovanni Gherardini, who translates Schlegel, refutes him with Sismondi (Chetana Nagavajara, *August Wilhelm Schlegel in Frankreich: Sein Anteil an der französischen Literaturkritik 1807–1835* [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1966], 67; Pellegrini, *Storia* 91). Sismondi does not combat Staël, whom he will name the person to whom he owes the most (King, "Chevalerie et liberté" 245). He borrows in passing two Staëlian images: rhyme, "un appel au souvenir et à l'espérance," and the sea, image of infinity (I 118, IV 428). Jean Rudolf von Salis, *Sismondi, 1773–1842: La vie et l'œuvre d'un cosmopolite philosophe* (Paris: Champion, 1932), 198–203.

33. The *Bibliothèque universelle*, which has ties to Coppet, insists in 1817 on a classical Sismondi (V 281). I detect there the hand of Sismondi, who has little liking for Alphonse de Lamartine or Chateaubriand. He attends the Battle of *Hernani* in 1830 and describes the play as "bien mauvais" (Pellegrini, *Storia* 4, 110–114, 23).
34. Villeneuve, "Lecteur Sismondi." *Epistolario*, Sismondi to Elisa de Recke, June 10, 1813 (I 418–421). Pellegrini, *Storia* 126.

15 The Italian Romantics and Madame de Staël

1. *DA* I 12; *Mémoires* [. . .] *laissés par le Prince de Metternich*, ed. Richard de Metternich, 8 vols, 4th edition (Paris: Plon, 1883–1886), VII 415.
2. On Staël and Italy, see Dina Lanfredini, "Madame de Staël e i suoi amici italiani," *Rivista di letterature moderne* (June–December 1946), 189–211, 395–412; (September 1947), 281–299; (October 1951), 441–456; Geneviève Gennari, *Le Premier Voyage de Madame de Staël en Italie* (Paris: Boivin, 1947); Staël's *CG* and *CV*; also Simone Balayé, "Les Livres des Italiens et les livres sur l'Italie, dans la bibliothèque de Madame de Staël," *CSt* 10 (1970), 58–64; Carlo Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il Gruppo di Coppet*, 2nd edition (Bologna: Pàtron, 1974). Staël met, among others, Madame d'Albany, widow of the last Stuart and mistress of Alfieri; Giuseppe Alborghetti, Bartolomeo Benincasa, Luigi Bossi; Caraccioli, Giuseppe Capecelatro, Francesco Cicognara; and Francesco Melzi, Vincenzo Monti, Pietro Moscati, Ippolito Pindemonte, and Alessandro Verri. Staël's remark to Gaudot, December 20, 1808, is in *CG* VI 572. Gennari, *Voyage* 245 cites Byron. Lanfredini, "Amici" (1946) 191 and 401–402 review the press, 410–411 and (1947) 285 review Bertolotti.
3. Staël, *CV* 412, *dix ans*; 416, *esclaves*; 421, *fureur*.
4. As T. M. Pratt notes, the second text is much bolder: "Madame de Staël and the Italian Articles of 1816," *Comparative Literature Studies* (Winter 1985), 444–454, 446; 452 presents Northern models as an antidote to indolence. On Staël's censorship, see comtesse Jean de Pange, "Quelques remarques sur l'article de Madame de Staël intitulé: 'De l'esprit des traductions,'" *RLMC* (September 1967), 215–225, and Angiola Ferraris, *Ludovico di Breme: Le*

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avventure dell'utopia [*di Breme*] (Florence: Olschki, 1981), 102. Staël's impact is so great that her neoclassical opponents reproduce her terms. Londonio writes, "Ogni nazione . . . ha pure un carattere diverso," "L'imitazione è la tomba del genio," and argues that theater "per essere utile deve assolutamente essere nazionale"; Gherardini's notes to Schlegel remark, "Ciascuna nazione ha il suo genio particolare": *Discussioni e polemiche sul romanticismo*, ed. Egidio Bellorini, 2 vols (Bari, Laterza: Loescher, 1943), I 70–71, 202.

5. Carlo Cordié, "Le note dell'abate Carlo Mengoni alla prima traduzione italiana di '*Corinne*' (1808)," *RLMC* (September–December 1967), 279–295; Gennari, *Voyage* 208, which also notes that Sismondi finally adds Foscolo's name to the third edition of *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe* – as a translator! *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Ugo Foscolo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1952–), XV 281–282, *Delphine*: "[I]l libro è per se stesso di poco conto, e son certo che ti noierà"; XV 498–499, *Corinne*: "Le donne non devono scrivere se non quando sono innamorate davvero"; XVIII 107–108, Sismondi in 1815, and 228, *De l'Allemagne*: "cercando la strada da un punto ignoto per arrivare a un punto ancora più ignoto . . . a quanto intendo, perchè io non l'ho letto"; Aretinos: V 362–364, 368–375, XI.ii 8–9 n. 1, 331; *Learned Ladies* (1821): XI.ii 209–10. Foscolo is still attacking *Corinne* in 1821: XXI 339–340 n. 3.
6. Foscolo, *Opere* XIX 385–387, 524–525, Magiotti; 35n, Foscolo's portrait; 481, Coppet; XI.ii 490, *Essay*; XIII.ii 156–157, defense: "Non vi andai, nè risposi . . . Molta celebrità mia la trovai qui." Founding a public opinion to limit absolute power: This theme of Alfieri, Staël, and Foscolo determines Italian Romantic thought, though Staël supplants Foscolo, even usurping his Alfierian exile model, as the polemic continues: Enzo Bottasso, "La rottura fra Breme e Foscolo: L'imprevista conseguenza d'un giudizio troppo sbrigativo sulla polemica romantica," in *Ludovico di Breme e il programma dei romantici italiani* [*Ludovico di Breme*] (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1984), 83–104; also Ludovico di Breme, *Osservazioni sul "Giaurro."* Giacomo Leopardi, *Discorso sulla poesia romantica*, ed. Michele dell'Aquila (Fasano: Schena, 1989), 48–59. Ironically, the author of the *Discorsi sulla servitù d'Italia* was almost too close to his hated rival and resented the Romantics' praise of her. Foscolo undervalued the Romantic nationalists and felt that he had already answered many questions they raised. In 1817, Stendhal echoes their rejection of him: Leopardi, *Discorso* 54.
7. On Leopardi, see Sofia Ravasi, *Leopardi e Madame de Staël* (Milan: Tip. sociale, 1910); Nicolas Serban, *Leopardi et la France* (Paris: Champion, 1913); Gilbert Moget, "En marge du bi-centenaire de Madame de Staël: 'Classiques' et 'Romantiques' à Milan en 1816," *La Pensée* (February 1967), 40–66; Maria G. Salvatores, "Madame de Staël e Leopardi," *Studi e testi* (December 1970), 171–183; Sergio Sacchi, "Leopardi, Madame de Staël e l'originalità," and Arnaud Tripet, "Esquisse d'une genèse léopardienne: Leopardi, lecteur de Madame de Staël," both in *Il Gruppo di Coppet e l'Italia*, ed. Mario Matucci (Pisa: Pacini, 1988), 307–316 and 41–52;

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R. Damiani, "Leopardi e Madame de Staël," *Lettere italiane* XLV/4 (1993), 538–561. Four more articles on the topic appear in Paola Villani, "Au-delà du grand tour: *Corinne* ou le 'méridionisme' staëlien," *CSt* 69 (2019), 47–60, 48 n. 7. Leopardi's *Lettera*, July 18, 1816, is in fact his second letter to the *Biblioteca*, and he writes again on November 17: Giacomo Leopardi, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Walter Binni, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1969), I 879–882, I 1012: "mosso ad ira non tanto dalle opinioni della Dama quanto dalla miseria de' suoi nemici." *Canzoni*: Tripet, *Esquisse* 44–47. On *Corinne* versus *Delphine*, see Carlo Muscetta, "L'ultimo canto di Saffo," *La rassegna della letteratura italiana* (May–August 1959), 195; also Leopardi, *Opere* I 56–57, ll. 46–47: "Arcano è tutto, / Fuor che il nostro dolor," and I 1426. Serban, *Leopardi*, compendiously reviews Leopardi's Staël references; see also Salvatores, *Staël et Leopardi* 171, Sansone; 179, Montesquieu. The *Zibaldone* is in Leopardi, *Opere* II 46: "una solennissima condanna degli orrori e dell'eccessivo terribile tanto caro ai romantici"; II 50: "Bellissima condanna del sistema romantico"; II 483, 812, on philosophy; April 30, 1820: "[I]l suo stile ha molto della pastosità dell'antico a confronto dell'aridità moderna"; November 22, 1820: "[N]on ho trovato mai oscuri, o almeno inintelligibili, gli scritti della Staël, che tutti danno per oscurissimi."

8. Roberto Bizocchi, *La "Biblioteca italiana" e la cultura della Restaurazione (1816–1825)* (Milan: Angeli, 1979), 9–15, 18–19, structures; 47, Bossi. Gennari, *Voyage* 36, 53, on Staël's friends; Staël perhaps knew Acerbi from 1805. On Acerbi's *Proemi* in 1817–1818, see Bizocchi, *Restaurazione* 78–80; 1819 in Bellorini, *Discussioni* II 3–4, "I romantici italiani sono pochi e poco autorevoli e son messi in ridicolo dai romantici stranieri." On lost texts, see *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), and Lanfredini, "Amici" (1947) 282 on Melzi; 283 cites Staël to Giuseppe Acerbi, "[L]'Italie spirituelle est toute entière pour moi où vous êtes tous." Monti approves publication of the Staël–Leoni text in March 1816: *Epistolario di Vincenzo Monti*, ed. Alfonso Bertoldi, IV: *1812–1817* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1929), 284–285. Bizocchi, *Restaurazione* 45–46, describes Brocchi's Leoni review. Simone Balayé in *CSt* 14 (1972), 68–70, presents a Staël letter to Leoni, September 17, 1816, which remarks, "On m'a encor [*sic*] envoyé des brochures de Milan pour et contre le très simple article que j'ai mis dans la *Bibliothèque italienne*. Il ne faut pas grand'chose pour faire du bruit dans le silence." Odin's horn: *CV* 430; comtesse Jean de Pange, "Albertine de Staël en Italie, 1815," *Rivista di letterature moderne* (March 1948), 20–31, 20, suggests that Staël may have dictated the 1815 *carnet*. Moget, "Marge" 14 calls Staël a dupe of Austria.
9. Mario Fubini, *Romanticismo italiano* (Bari: Laterza, 1953), 61, 64–66: "L'opera postuma della Staël m'è piaciuta moltissima." Giordani's *Un Italiano risponde al discorso della Staël* is in Bellorini, *Discussioni* I 16–24, attribution in Michele Barbi, "Giordani o Gherardini contro madama di Staël?" in *Scritti vari di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier* (Turin: Bocca, 1912), 175–185. On imitation, see Staël in Isbell, *Birth* 156–159. On Giordani's complex relationship to Romanticism and Risorgimento,

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emblematic of a certain classical tradition, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Classicismo e illuminismo nell'Ottocento italiano* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1969).

10. *Il Conciliatore: Foglio scientifico-letterario*, ed. Vittore Branca, 2 vols (Florence: Le Monnier, 1965), xiv–xxiii, reviews Monti's role. On 1825 debates, see Bizocchi, *Restaurazione* 18–19. Silvio Pellico on Monti in *Le mie prigioni: Lettere milanesi 1815–1821*, ed. Mario Stefanoni (Novara: Istituto geografico, 1968), 404, May 1819: "[L]o veneravamo come l'ombra d'un gran poeta." On censorship, Breme's fury, and Rocca, see Roberto Bizocchi, "Ludovico di Breme e la 'Biblioteca italiana,'" *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* (1976), 156–184, 169–171, 179–183; also Ferraris, *di Breme* 118 n. 299.
11. "Borsieri, Breme ed io siamo stretti della più intima amicizia"; Pellico, *Prigioni* 340. Borsieri's *Proemio* is in *Manifesti romantici*, ed. Carlo Calcaterra, rev. Mario Scotti (Turin: Unione tipografico, 1979): 392–393, slaves and Napoleon; 398: "chiamava Italia unita l'Italia legata"; 399, imitation; 408: "una quasi invisibile catena d'intelligenza e di idee congiunge la moltitudine che impara col genio che crea"; 410, danger and synthesis. *Avventure letterarie di un giorno*, Bellorini, *Discussioni* I 175, repeats this chain image; 121, USA and list; 115, 141, Calepio and Breme; 152–173, novels and farce. William Spaggiari, who dates Borsieri's *Proemio*, posits Staël's hand in it: "Ludovico di Breme e Pietro Borsieri," in *Ludovico di Breme*, 105–120, 109, 112–113. The *Avventure*, 119, also cites *De l'Allemagne*'s Great Wall of China image, echoed in Giuseppe Pecchio's polemical article, "Dialogo fra un Chinese e un Europeo," in Branca, *Conciliatore* (1965), I 193–196; Pellico presents the Germans commenting, "[I]l Chinese siamo noi," hence perhaps his talk of *Chinesi* when reviewing André Chénier, II 402. Borsieri sent Staël the *Avventure* on September 11, 1816: *Avventure letterarie di un giorno e altri scritti*, ed. G. Alessandrini (Roma: Ateneo, 1967), 19. He echoes Staël again in Branca, *Conciliatore* (1965): Reviewing Sismondi, he argues that the commerce of ideas "perhaps alone" enriches both parties equally, and praising Jean de Müller, he quotes *De l'Allemagne*'s review (I 224, II 526–527). For Staël topoi, see Isbell, *Birth*.
12. Pellico, *Prigioni* 350, Napoleon; 368, Kant; 373: "le vere dottrine evangeliche quelle cioè della filosofia nutrita dallo spirito della carità Socratica"; 380, *cotterie*; 398, truth; 433–437, religion; 489, *Considérations*. Branca, *Conciliatore* (1965) I 113n cites Staël's value for Europe; reviewing Byron's *Corsair*, Pellico cites her in discussing translation, II 491–492.
13. Ferraris, *di Breme* 40 n. 85, and 82–83, 1814 and perfectibility; 115 n. 292, La Scala; 147–150, Breme's 1818 *Considérations* review. On the *Romitorio*, Marco Cerruti, "Ludovico di Breme intorno al 1814," in *Ludovico di Breme* 77–79. Ludovico di Breme, *Lettere*, ed. Piero Camporesi (Turin : Einaudi, 1966), 227, May 16, 1814, on "l'homme de son siècle" ; 243, "serva Italia" ; 386, Berchet as a "nouveau converti," October 30, 1816. Breme condemns the use of myth as unnatural, infantilizing, and isolationist, a disaster for Italy. Following Alfieri, Staël, and Sismondi, his *Discorso* calls Dante, Francesco Petrarca, Torquato Tasso, and Ludovico Ariosto, not the

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humanists, Italy's true models: Ferraris, *di Breme* 109–110, 193; Lionello Sozzi, "Alfieri, Coppet e l'indipendenza delle lettere," in Matucci, *Coppet e l'Italia*, 317–338, argues for Staël's real debts to Alfieri here, and Sismondi echoes her. Stendhal remembers Breme as an "ami fou" of Staël's and reviews their fight when he said her *Considérations* were full of errors; Stendhal, "Souvenirs sur Lord Byron," in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Martineau, 77 vols (Paris : Le Divan, 1927–1947), III : *Mélanges de littérature* (1933), 259–267, 260–261. See Lanfredini, "Amici" (1947) 291–299 for the *Bersagliere* and 1816. *Conciliatore* editors: Federico Confalonieri and Count Porro fund it, while Breme, Berchet, Borsieri, and Pellico edit. Italy's Romantic nationalists see Staël as a symbol of free circulation, argues Moget, "Marge" 13. Breme's European and Genevan focus, and Sismondi's talk of his "religion douce, philosophique, éclairée," also suggest Protestant influence on him: Angiola Ferraris, "La formazione intellettuale di Ludovico di Breme," in *Ludovico di Breme*, 151–152. Branca, *Conciliatore* (1965) I 322–326 reviews Cellérier, as does *De l'Allemagne*. *CSt* 46 (1994–1995) shows Staël's hand in Rocca's text, which Breme likely knew of.

14. *Sul "Cacciatore feroce" e sulla "Eleonora" di G. A. Bürger: Lettera semiseria del Grisostomo*, in Giovanni Berchet, *Opere*, ed. Egidio Bellorini (Bari: Laterza, 1912), II; Isbell, *Birth* 202, *deus*. Bürger and Byron's *Giaour* shape repeated Italian rejections of "gothic" Romanticism, 1816–1818.
15. Visconti in Bellorini, *Discussioni* I; his arguments also echo Samuel Johnson's preface to Shakespeare. Visconti's *Conciliatore* review, November 19, 1818, echoes Breme's review of September 24. On Schiller, compare Isbell, *Birth* 60–61, and Chapter 14.
16. Alessando Manzoni, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mario Martelli, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), II 1490: "uno dei più splendidi intelletti che si sieno in ogni tempo occupati nella contemplazione dell'uomo … [C]ome non ha ella forzato quei ragionatori che credevano di riposare alle mete del raziocinio, a levarsi, a ripigliare il cammino"; 1652, sources; 1693–1699, 1711, *Chauvet*; 1719, 1724–1725, *Lettera*; 1347, 1369–1370, 1490–1493, *morale*; 1436–1440, 1448–1454 attack Bentham.
17. Pellico, *Prigioni* 405, May 1819: "*[R]omantico* fu riconosciuto per sinonimo di *liberale*." His letter adds (407), "il voto dei Sismondi, dei Benjamin Constant, dei duca di Broglio, … ecco il nostro premio" – three Coppet names. Botta in Fubini, *Romanticismo* 18: "Io gli chiamo traditori della patria e traditori sono." On two Italies, and European scope, see Fubini, *Romanticismo* 12–14, 18, 28. Lanfredini, "Amici" (1947) 284 explains Sismondi's and Schlegel's lesser impact; 287 cites Metternich, and Lanfredini, "Amici" (1951), 450–455, is very good on continued debts to Staël beyond 1830, reviewing Giovan Pietro Vieusseux, Giuseppe Montani, Tullio Dandolo [*sic*], Niccolò Tommaseo, and Giuseppe Mazzini, and showing Andrea Maffei, 450, using "passi interi presi dall'*Allemagne* che l'autore dell'articolo lascia creder suoi." To invert our perspective, I find no Staël mention of Foscolo, Leopardi, Pellico, Berchet, Visconti, or Manzoni,

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though it seems certain that she heard each name and met Pellico. She admired Monti, was cordial to Acerbi, praised Breme and Borsieri in June 1817, and honored Giordani with the July letter. Breme and Monti she knew intimately. Other friends – Confalonieri – lie outside our present scope.

16 Inventing the French Revolution

1. *CRF* 35–39. Staël's son Auguste and son-in-law Broglie censored this outspoken text, perhaps in the interests of their political careers. Quotations here update the Godechot edition according to the uncensored text, now published as *Œuvres complètes* III-2: *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*, ed. Lucia Omacini, Stefania Tesser, and Nelly Jaquenod (Paris: Champion, 2017). See Gwynne, *Staël et la Révolution française* 299; Marina Valensise, *François Guizot et la culture politique de son temps* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 16–23; and François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution française* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988). Is Staël's text a *histoire philosophique*? Does she move from people to ideas? Can she apply Nicolas de Condorcet's statistical method to her data? There is some debate on Staël's vision of history here that is not our topic.
2. Frank P. Bowman, "La Polémique sur les *Considérations sur la Révolution française*," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 225–241. Also Norman King, "Sismondi critique des *Considérations*," *CSt* 17 (1973), 59–77. Constant, *Œuvres* 874–884. Compare Aurelian Craiutu, "Madame de Staël's *Considérations* and the Post-Revolutionary French Liberals," *Storia del pensiero politico* 3 (2018), 430–439, and Stéphanie Tribouillard, "Une croisade contre 'le talent du mal': Les contre-révolutionnaires lecteurs des *Considérations*," *CSt* 53 (2002), 53–68. Tribouillard is the author of a monograph on Staël's reception in France after 1817: *Le Tombeau de Madame de Staël: Les discours de la postérité staëlienne en France, 1817–1850* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2007). On the *Edinburgh Review*'s claim that Staël's book is fragmented – a common charge – contrast Lucia Omacini, "L'Angleterre dans les *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*," *CSt* 69 (2019), 79–91, 81: in Staël's history, "rien n'est superflu, ni hétérogène."
3. Alain Laquièze, "Les Constitutions dans les *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*," *CSt* 69 (2019), 261–275, 266–268, notes that Staël's Whig vision of history is based in myth, as already in Montesquieu's 1748 *De l'esprit des lois*. In reality, the British Crown no longer corrected Parliament after 1714. Staël surely knew this, but chooses propaganda, as she had in *De l'Allemagne*. Separation of powers was more evident in 1817–1818 in the United States, but that model was less available for Staël's praise. The myth survives among Staël's liberal heirs, regretting Louis XVIII's *octroi* of the Charte in 1814 and welcoming Louis-Philippe, *Roi des Français*, in 1830. They believed like Staël in a royal contract with the

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nation. Maurizio Griffo, "Aux origines de l'historiographie libérale, les *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*," *CSt* 69 (2019), 93–105, 99, notes Staël's remark that England has a good constitution and the French "devaient s'en tenir à l'imiter" – not a remark designed to please the French, but in keeping with Staël's praise of translation throughout her career.

4. Remarks on the topic of credit in the *Considérations* are uncommon among scholars. Compare Omacini, "Angleterre," who notes that "les difficultés de crédit finissent par mettre les rois dans la dépendance des peuples" (85).
5. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 2 vols, 5th edition (Paris: Bossange et Masson, 1811). De Pinto: P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 16. Robert D. Harris, *Necker: Reform Statesman of the Ancien Régime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 68–69, cites Panchaud and Dufresne de Saint Léon in reviewing this French controversy. John Lough, *The Philosophes and Post-Revolutionary France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 85–97.
6. Staël's *De l'Allemagne* ends by saying that a France without enthusiasm would leave only "la trace des torrents de sable, terribles comme les flots, arides comme le desert!" (*DA* V 230) – likely another anecdote from Alexander von Humboldt. J. F. Bosher, *French Finances 1770–1795: From Business to Bureaucracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). Eugene Nelson White, "Was There a Solution to the Ancien Regime's Financial Dilemma?" *The Journal of Economic History* 49/3 (September 1989), 545–568. See also Michael Bordo and Eugene White, *British and French Finance during the Napoleonic Wars* (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1990).
7. Lüthy, *La Banque protestante en France*. On Necker's *légende noire*, see Harris, *Necker* viii, 2, 198–206, 221–224. See also *CSt* 55 (2004), devoted to Necker. Laquièze, "Constitutions" 272 n. 28, observes that twentieth-century historians have followed Necker "sans le citer," adding that the *Considérations* for their part never name Benjamin Constant, though he appears often (273–275).
8. *Dictionnaire Napoléon*, ed. J. Tulard (Paris: Fayard, 1989). Michel Bruguière, *Pour une renaissance de l'histoire financière: XVIII^e–XX^e siècles* (Paris: Ministère des Finances, 1991).
9. *Histoire économique et sociale de la France*, III.i, ed. Albert Soboul (Paris: PUF, 1971), 24–29, *assignats*; 342–346, commerce; 347–364, credit, up to Napoleon III; also *État, finances et économie pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: Ministère des Finances 1991), 209–227, the *monts-de-piété*; 229–50, credit, listing tracts on public credit by Emmanuel-Étienne Duvillard, Étienne Clavière, and Jacques-Pierre Brissot, 1787–1788; 275–279, Mirabeau's use of *assignats* to remove Necker. Compare *CRF* 198 on government incompetence. James Riley kindly removed many errors from my economics here.

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10. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). Spencer: *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Samia Spencer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). On the dark side of contract theory, see Pateman, *Sexual Contract*. Laura Broccardo, "Staël historienne de la Révolution française ou le récit historique à échelle humaine," *CSt* 69 (2019), 213–227, cogently argues that Staël turns with Bonaparte's rise to "Anecdotes particulières" because "l'histoire commune ne peut plus s'écrire" (220).
11. Sir Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in *Political Philosophy*, ed. A. Quinton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 141–152. Benjamin Constant, *De la liberté des Anciens comparée à celle des Modernes*, in *Benjamin Constant polémiste*, ed. O. Pozzo di Borgo (Paris: Pauvert, 1965).
12. Steinwachs, *Epochenbewußtsein*. George Sabine, *History of Political Theory* (London: Harrap, 1948). Compare Susan Tenenbaum, "The Politics of History: Liberal and Conservative Perspectives on the French Revolution," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 93–104: "Restoration liberals assessed their survival as a political force in terms of their ability to legitimate the Revolution to which they were the acknowledged heirs" (94). Tenenbaum shows Staël deftly standing conservative (Burkean) calls for continuity on their head. Griffo, "Origines" 97, notes Staël arguing rather like Sismondi that "les Français n'ont pas moins lutté que les Anglais pour obtenir la liberté légale."
13. Jean Starobinski, "Eloquence et liberté," *Revue suisse d'histoire* 26 (1976), shows *philosophes* and Jacobins putting eloquence and liberty in symbiosis; rhetoric proves freedom, and slavery kills language. Staël thus regrets not writing in English: "Le français comme le chinois deviendra la langue de l'étiquette" (*CG* VI 247, to Etienne Dumont, 1807). There is some superb work on Staël's philosophy of speech, such as Frank Bowman, "Communication and Power in Germaine de Staël: Transparency and Obstacle," in Gutwirth, Goldberger, and Szmurlo, *Staël: Crossing the Borders*, 55–68. Bowman quotes Mendoce (Mendax) in *Delphine* as a lying flatterer, and notes Staël's attacks on abuses of language from 1789 on, notably Napoleon's *tyrannie bavarde* (57–58). Madelyn Gutwirth, "Du silence de Corinne et sa parole," in Hofmann, *Constant, Staël et Coppet*, 427–430, reviews Staël's nexus of divine national eloquence, fundamental to Corinne. See *CRF* 245–247 on wealth. Maria Gaetana Salvatores, "Montesquieu e Madame de Staël," in *Intorno a Montesquieu: Saggi a cura di Corrado Rosso* (Pisa: Goliardica, 1970), 115–169, 143–144, shows Staël in 1799 using Aristotle's democracy–tyranny link to call for a property franchise. Staël was indeed afraid of *démocratie*, like Guizot, Sismondi, Constant, or Aristotle, and like them she calls it *tyrannie*: Yet she was equally close to General La Fayette, that enemy of Guizot's *monarchies censitaires*. She died too early for us to judge her choice.
14. *Delphine* I 90. Michel Delon, "La Métaphore théâtrale dans les *Considérations sur la Révolution française*," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la*

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Révolution, 163–173, reviews the Damiens case, and theater as a "lieu de narcissisme des élites" (170–172). Delon argues that Staël's theater crowds encapsulate public opinion and are its only conduit before 1789. On George III, see *CRF* 533–535 and 546, with Staël more institutional anthropologist than ever: The French nation's "institutions politiques ont été si mauvaises, qu'elles ont altéré toutes ses bonnes qualités naturelles." On Staël and Sismondi in 1814, compare Chapter 14. On the nation's force and corruption, see *CRF* 82 – "Cela devait être ainsi" – and 127, 168, 201.

15. See *CRF* 402, 421, 565 on "le pouvoir qui corrompt presque tous les hommes," a key Actonian idea here. *CRF* 329 on Bonaparte removing the busts of Brutus and Cassius follows Tacitus, *Annals* III.76 on Caesar, as does *CRF* 396, Bonaparte prompting his Senate to appeal for Empire. Staël calls his etiquette *orientale*, 426; at 430, she calls him Xerxes, as in Herodotus.
16. *CRF* 277 divides *amis de la liberté* from Jacobins, and 574 calls them, bizarrely, "les frères en religion du peuple anglais"! This suggests a private code.
17. *CRF* 266, 275, 317, 332, 418–419; 350 on the lies repeated about 1789, 376 on the Catéchisme impérial. Staël's adversaries use words "pour cacher leur pensée" (469), echoing a quip by Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, and she again echoes Talleyrand's *boutades* at 498: "Si c'était un crime de rappeler Bonaparte, c'était une niaiserie de vouloir masquer un tel home en roi constitutionnel" – as her partner Constant did in 1815. Aurelio Principato, "La Tradition rhétorique et la crise révolutionnaire: L'attitude de Madame de Staël," in Hofmann and Delacrétaz, *Coppet et la Révolution*, 107–120, 115, gives electricity examples from Necker, Constant, and Staël (*CRF* 178, 213, 502). He is excellent on the organic nexus linking nation and inspired speaker. See also Principato's "La Transmission des idées: Considérations sur l'éloquence révolutionnaire chez Germaine de Staël et Benjamin Constant," in *Argumentation et discours politique: Antiquité grecque et latine, Révolution française, Monde contemporain*, ed. Simone Bonnafous, Pierre Chiron, Dominique Ducard, and Carlos Lévy (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 49–58. Plato discusses rhapsodes in his *Ion*; Staël naively admits her own faith in electric speech at *CRF* 343 and 460.
18. Bentham's "greatest happiness" phrase was in Beccaria. On Staël's breadth, see Isbell, *Birth*, and compare Isbell, *People's Voice*, an exhibition catalog reviewing Romantic movements in the West.
19. *Corinne* discusses Dante, as *De l'Allemagne* II.xi does Tasso. Staël mentions the *commis de barrière* in her *Journal sur l'Allemagne*. On the Moses parallel, see Isbell, *Birth* 69–70; the book reviews Staël's work on nationalism.
20. Simone Balayé, "Comment peut-on être Madame de Staël? Une femme dans l'institution littéraire," *Romantisme* 77 (1992), 15–23. Béatrice Jasinski, "Madame de Staël, l'Angleterre de 1813–1814 et les *Considérations sur la Révolution française*," *RHLF* (1966), 12–24.
21. *De Staël–Du Pont Letters* [. . .], ed. J. Marshall (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); see Staël's *Correspondance générale* for Necker's

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two-million-franc loan, and its Le Ray letters for her New York investments. Staël's American holdings are discussed over several years of the correspondence. For the loan, see Othenin d'Haussonville, "La Liquidation du 'dépôt' de Necker, 1778–1815," *CSt* 55 (2004), 153–206..

22. Hogsett, "Generative Factors in the *Considerations on the French Revolution*," studies Staël's complex view of how revolutionary speech and writing parallel male and female discourse. A dutiful daughter, Staël yields her text to her father's words; indeed, she repeatedly edited men friends to give them voice. Yet Hogsett stresses how editing inflects: Necker acts here in the past conditional, lacking the simple perfect of strong acts carried out; and Hogsett suggests that we may read Staël herself into that lacuna, rewriting France's history for the future (38–41). Stefania Tesser, "L'Inscription du moi dans le discours politique: Les *Considérations sur la Révolution française*," *CSt* 43 (1991–1992), 29–44, 36–37, remarks how Staël's female narrator neatly overturns "le role précaire qu'elle joue dans une société où l'homme seul peut écrire l'histoire" to furnish a new instrument of eloquent persuasion. Her woman's emotion becomes the seal of truth, as on her father's virtue: "[Q]uelle plus grande garantie peut-on offrir . . .?" (*CRF* 389). George Poulet in *Conscience* stresses this Romantic *cogito critique*. Compare Etienne Dumont's journal, January 18, 1802, cited in Kohler, *Staël et la Suisse* 281. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address needs no credit. *CRF* 575 talks of "[t]ous les noms qu'on prodigue aux nations, quand elles veulent des droits et ne savent pas s'en mettre en possession." There was plenty of that after Waterloo. Finally, I want to thank Madelyn Gutwirth and Karyna Szmurlo for advancing my thought on Staël's woman's discourse here.

17 Voices Lost?

1. The survey "Le Groupe de Coppet face à l'esclavage" fills *CSt* 64 (2014), 7–92.
2. Necker, 1773–1784: Alfred Berchtold, "Sismondi et le Groupe de Coppet face à l'esclavage et au colonialisme," in *Sismondi européen*, 169–198, 171–172. Jean Vidalenc, "La Traite des nègres en France au début de la Révolution française," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* (1957), 56–69, 57, state payments; 59, ships; 58–64, *Rapport fait au Roi*; 65–69, total grants, payments suspended. Compare Sue Peabody, "*There Are No Slaves in France": The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). Victor de Pange, *Madame de Staël and her English Correspondents*, unpublished PhD thesis (Oxford: Oxford University, 1955), 177, argues that Wilberforce had Clarkson contact the Neckers, who invited him to dinner; Pange notes that Madame Necker joined the Amis des Noirs, and cites Thomas Clarkson to Auguste de Staël, July 28, 1822 (Broglie Papers). Compare *The Life of William Wilberforce*, by his sons, 5 vols (London: John Murray, 1838) [*Wilberforce*], I 229–230:

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Clarkson leaves for Paris on August 7, 1789; as "strenuous advocates of the Abolition," "the financial dexterity of Necker, the eloquence and policy of Mirabeau, the popularity of Lafayette … were engaged with Brissot, Villeneuve, Condorcet, and Claviers [*sic*]." The Amis des Noirs address Necker on June 6, 1789: Henri Grange, *Les Idées de Necker* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974), 146. *Paul et Virginie*: Comte d'Haussonville, *Le Salon de Madame Necker* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1900), I 195.

3. *Mirza*'s date: John Isbell and Simone Balayé, "Les Œuvres complètes de Mme de Staël," *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 79–114, 88. Violence, focus: Doris Kadish, "The Black Terror: Women's Responses to Slave Revolts in Haiti," *The French Review* 68/4 (March 1995), 672. Françoise Massardier-Kenney, "Staël, Translation, and Race," in *Translating Slavery: Gender and Race in French Women's Writing, 1783–1823*, ed. Doris Y. Kadish and Françoise Massardier-Kenney (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1994), 135–145, 136, inclusive racially; 141–142, Switzer's unfounded comparisons with *Bug Jargal*, author and addressee as women, Mirza's first song, patronizing questions, the *tu* of fraternity, redemption. Jean Starobinski, "Eloquence et liberté," *Revue suisse d'histoire* XXVI (1976), 549–66. Prosper Mérimée, *Tamango* (1829), in *Mosaïque* (Paris: Fournier, 1833); Charles de Rémusat, *L'Habitation de Saint-Domingue ou l'insurrection* (1825; Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1977), a watershed Romantic drama.
4. Staël to Gustave III, November 11, 1786, in *CG* I.i 141, on Boufflers's idea to engage "les nègres des côtes d'Afrique à cultiver librement dans leur pays cette denrée, qui est la cause de tous leurs malheurs." Béatrice d'Andlau, *La Jeunesse de Madame de Staël* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 108–109, has details on Boufflers and a *chanson nègre* featuring the characters of *Mirza*. Edward D. Seeber, "*Oroonoko* in France in the XVIIIth Century," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* (December 1936), 953–959, lists six parallels between *Oroonoko* (1688), *Ziméo* (1769), and *Mirza* (1786) (957–958). Compare Edward D. Seeber's *Anti-Slavery Opinion in France During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937). Apollo: Jean François de Saint-Lambert, *Ziméo*, ed. Mercer Cook and Guichard Paris (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1936), 7. Joseph Patrat, *Mirza, ou le préjugé de l'amitié* (1797), and George Sand, "Le Poème de Myrza," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1, 1835. Isabelle Naginski showed me Mirza's etymology, "prince" in Persian, and that combining this title with Sand's simultaneous *Lettres d'un voyageur* produces Staël's full title, a delicate homage typical of Sand. Olympe de Gouges, *Théâtre politique*, ed. Gisela Thiele-Knobloch (Paris: Côté-Femmes, 1970); Léon-François Hoffmann, *Le Nègre romantique, personnage littéraire et obsession collective* (Paris: Payot, 1973), 108, notes Gouges's shift from India to Africa, and reviews *Ziméo* and *Mirza*.
5. "Les affaires de mon commerce m'avoient conduit à la Jamaïque … ce climat brülant et humide" (Saint-Lambert, *Ziméo* 1). *Pauline*'s redating: compare Chapter 2. Fortune: Staël to Louis de Narbonne, September 26, 1792, in *CG*

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II.i 31. Girondins and planters, 1791: Berchtold, "Sismondi et l'esclavage" 173. Slaver marriage: *Pauline* 198, *Delphine* I 287. Avriel Goldberger reminded me in conversation that Delphine's first husband is not a trader but an abusive slave owner. Comtesse Jean de Pange, "Madame de Staël et les nègres," *Revue de France* 5 (October 1934), 425–443, 432–434, notes that Staël puts cypresses on the Orinoco, and branches on palm trees, and that Africans and Americans share names, feelings, and poisoned arrows. As she remarks, François de Pange writes two long letters to Staël calling Zulma too masculine (433; Coppet Papers). See also Simone Balayé, "De la liberté selon Madame de Staël," *Revue des sciences morales et politiques* 144/3 (1989), 337–350.

6. Dominique Desanti, "Flora Tristan," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara Melzer and Leslie Rabine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 273–287, 277–278. Talleyrand, *Rapport sur l'instruction publique*, *CSt* 46 (1995), 12–17. Aristotle "n'imagine pas que l'esclavage puisse être un objet de discussion" (*DL* 85). Mrs. A. E. Johnson, *Clarence and Corinne; or, God's Way* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
7. 1802: Jean Martin, "Esclavage," in *Dictionnaire Napoléon*. Constitution: Staël to Joseph Bonaparte, April 18, 1801, in *CG* IV.ii 365–366. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Le Génie du christianisme*, 2 vols (Paris: Flammarion, 1948), II 149–150. Toussaint, Pélage: Staël to Jacques Necker, September 27, 1803, in *CG* V.i 23–27. "Grâce": Madame de Pange, "Staël et les nègres" 437. At Chaumont in 1810, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Montmorency, and Madame Récamier participate in a freed slave's baptism and Staël, finishing *De l'Allemagne*, seems uninvolved (438); Staël's text talks of spiritual slavery, saying of Thomas Hobbes, "Il fut athée et esclave, et rien n'est plus conséquent" (*DA* IV 37).
8. *Wilberforce*, February 8, 1814, cites Samuel Romilly on Staël's wish, concluding, "This is mere vanity" (IV 159). Dinner, "almost asked" (IV 161–162). February 23, refuses dinner; March 4, debates and bets. March 18, dines with Staël, her children, Harrowby, the Lansdowns, Mackintosh (IV 163–164). Converser (IV 167). March 25, Freemason Hall (IV 158); and Victor de Pange, *Staël*, 177, noting the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dukes of York and Sussex, Harrowby, and Mackintosh. Victor de Pange, *Staël* 441–449, publishes four Wilberforce letters to Staël in 1814 from the Broglie papers: February 22, March 5, September 8, October 11. The February letter lists his enclosures: a 1798 work on Christianity, the 1807 Yorkshire letter, an 1813 pamphlet on India promoting religious instruction. The March letter proposes Harrowby and Mackintosh for dinner. Staël writes to him in pursuit on February 27: "[I]l me semble que l'amour et la vertu renferment tout et encor plus l'amour"; Jean-Daniel Candaux, "Revue des autographes du Groupe de Coppet vendus en 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974 et 1975," *CSt* 20 (1976), 27–70, 68.
9. "Faites dire": Staël to Mary Berry, May 25, 1814; *Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, ed. Theresa Lewis (London: Longmans,

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Green and Co., 1866), III 24. Five years: Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, *Articles additionnels*, in Martin, "Esclavage." Tsar: Staël to William Wilberforce, June 3, 1814; Candaux, "Autographes," 68, here completed from the MS in private hands: "ce 3 juin / rue de Grenelle St / Germain n° 105 / Je désire, my dear Sir, pour le bien de / la bonne cause que vous demandiez un / rendez-vous à l'emp[ereur] de Russie. C'est / une âme généreuse vraiment je [lacéré] / et je l'ai vu rougir à l'idée [de la] / traite des nègres. Parlez-lui, / il vous entendra et il en vaudra mieux / quand il vous aura parlé. / Mille hommages. / N. de Staël H. [Adresse au verso:] [M]r Wilberforce M.P." Castlereagh, Macaulay, Wellington: *Wilberforce* IV 210–211. My own *Appel aux souverains*, 7 pp., from the Library Company of Philadelphia and printed by Ellerton & Henderson in London, has some minor variants from the *Œuvres complètes* text, cited by paragraph: 1, "dont [ordinairement] on ne voit guères"; 2, "préservés *de tous les genres de maux* sans que"; 9, "comment *seroit-on cru* [se dire] Chrétien." A second, private copy appears in Balayé, *Staël et l'Europe* n° 467. Staël bibliography remains faulty; this chapter revises my claims in *CSt* 46 (1994–1995), 107–108, redating the *Appel*'s writing and publication to April 11–May 29, 1814, dates of Napoleon's abdication and the Treaty of Paris. Robespierre: Berchtold, "Sismondi et l'esclavage" 175.

10. "Bien loin": Staël to Jean Bernadotte, August 20, 1814; Torvald Höjer, "Madame de Staëls Brev till kronprins Carl Johann, 1812–1816," *Historiske Tidskrift* 2 (1960), 157–176, 172. *Wilberforce* IV 212–213: Wilhelm von Humboldt to William Wilberforce, August 30 (indifference); Wilberforce reply, September 16 (select society, new pamphlet); Humboldt reply, September 28 ("cet établissement," Jacobinism). Mistrust, women: Kadish, "Black Terror," 669–670. Drudgery: Wilberforce to Staël, September 8, in Victor de Pange, *Staël* 446. Berchtold, "Sismondi et l'esclavage," 181–182, reviews Sismondi, *De l'intérêt de la France*, with quotations. Expanded reprint, *Nouvelles réflexions sur la traite*, November 1814; third edition, 1814. "Votre brochure": Staël to Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi, October 6, 1814; Carlo Pellegrini, *Madame de Staël e il gruppo cosmopolito di Coppet* (Bologna: Patròn, 1974), 171.
11. French press: Thomas Babington Macaulay to William Wilberforce, citing Staël and Wellington, October 8, 1814, in *Wilberforce* IV 212. Good cause: Wilberforce to Staël, October 11, 1814, in Victor de Pange, *Staël* 447–449, 187 (closed press). *Wilberforce* IV 215: mid-October, Wilhelm von Humboldt to Wilberforce, "[A]ucun libraire à Paris n'imprimera la brochure à ses frais"; I. Villiers to Wilberforce, February 15, 1815, citing Sismondi; Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi to Wilberforce, undated, on Albertine. Albertine had translated part of the Yorkshire letter, says a note, and Macaulay gave her the pen (IV 217).
12. *Wilberforce*: to Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi, whose "pamphlet is an admirable one," October 20, 1814 (IV 217–18); to Thomas Babington Macaulay, October 25, on Chateaubriand (IV 213). Albertine to Sismondi, October 26,

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1814, in Pellegrini, *Gruppo* 211. Hoffmann, *Nègre romantique* 188, suggests Clarkson's *Cri des Africains* in 1821 as France's first slave ship diagram – a rare lapse in this excellent survey, which also misses Patrat's *Mirza* and Rémusat's *L'Habitation de Saint-Domingue*. "Troupes": Hoffmann, *Nègre romantique* 133. *Wilberforce* IV 216–217: Staël to William Wilberforce, November 4; Saint-Domingue project; Wellington's Niger news, November 15. *The Cambridge Modern History*, ed. Lord Acton, 13 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), IX: *Napoleon*, 580, argues that at the Congress of Vienna, Britain favors abolition, Spain and Portugal prevent it. Staël and the French *négrophile* renaissance: Edith Lucas, *La Littérature antiesclavagiste au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Boccard, 1930), 15, and Gaston-Martin, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans les colonies françaises* (Paris: PUF, 1948), 261, cited in Berchtold, "Sismondi et l'esclavage" 192.

13. *Wilberforce*: sends on a letter from Jean-Charles-Léonard Sismondi, January 27, 1815 (IV 238); Sismondi to William Wilberforce, March 3, 1815 (IV 212); "Sismondi called for an hour or two in the evening, and showed himself a man of rare talents," April 19, 1819 (V 17). "Oublié": Staël to Sismondi, June 12, 1815; Pellegrini, *Gruppo* 173.
14. Staël to Thomas Jefferson, January 6, 1816; Gilbert Chinard, "La Correspondance de Madame de Staël avec Jefferson," *Revue de littérature comparée* 2 (1922), 621–640, 636. "Liberté et religion": Staël to Madame Gérando, September 27, 1815; *Lettres inédites et souvenirs biographiques de Mme Récamier et de Mme de Staël*, ed. Baron de Gérando (Paris: V^e Renouard, 1868), 44. *Wilberforce* V 108, 1821: on *Dix années*, "full of deep and yet witty remarks," and Toussaint. "Fort bien": Kohler, *Staël et la Suisse* 623, to a Russian lady, citing the manuscript memoirs of Jean-Louis Mallet.
15. Wilberforce, *Correspondence*, ed. by his sons, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1840), II 410. Hannah More: Duke University MSS, Wilberforce Papers, March 21, 1814.
16. Hoffmann, *Nègre romantique* 150. Victor de Pange, *Staël*: Auguste to his sister Albertine, undated (189, Coppet Papers). Walter Scott: William Wilberforce to Auguste, July 20, 1822 (191, Broglie Papers). Hope: Wilberforce to Victor de Broglie, August 18, 1830 (192). Shelves (193). Broglie contains three Wilberforce letters to Auguste: May 21, 1822, invitation to breakfast for Auguste and Victor; November 5, 1823, regrets not seeing Auguste; April 25, 1827, recommendation letter. Coppet holds four more, making seven: July 22, 1824, June 19, 1826, January 2 and May 31, 1827. Coppet: biography of Auguste written by a Mr. Sims. Albertine probably gave this to Auguste's widow (450). *Wilberforce*, June 28, 1822: Macaulay cites Auguste on Wilberforce's speech; he "thought it of the highest importance to have it well translated into French" (V 130). March 1823: With Wilberforce's *Appeal* published, Auguste writes "to express the unqualified admiration" he feels (V 168). Husband's efforts: Albertine to Wilberforce, October 3, 1821; *Lettres de la duchesse de Broglie, 1814–1838*, ed. her son (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1896), 91–95. Speeches, visit to England;

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see John Claiborne Isbell, "Présence de Coppet et romantisme libéral en France, 1822–1827," in *Le Groupe de Coppet et le monde moderne*, ed. Françoise Tilkin (Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1998), 395–418. Martinicans: Berchtold, "Sismondi et l'esclavage" 177; Broglie commissions, 179.

17. Attacks on Wilberforce after 1819: See Joan Baum's *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: Slavery and the English Romantic Poets* (North Haven, CT: Archon, 1994), 100, with caricatures at 56 and 146. Where male Romantics hedged, Moira Ferguson, *Subject to Others: British Women Writers and Colonial Slavery* (New York: Routledge, 1992), shows women writers' direct engagement. For France, compare Arlette Gautier, "Le Rôle des femmes dans l'abolition de l'esclavage," in *Les Femmes et la Révolution française*, ed. Marie-France Brive, 3 vols (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1990), II 153–161.

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