French Publications in Philadelphia in the Age of the French Revolution:
A Bibliographical Essay

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The rapprochement between the American colonies and France in the mid-1770s and the ensuing French military involvement on behalf of the struggling states established a climate of goodwill in America towards France and laid a path for increased acceptance of things French. In Philadelphia, as in New York and Boston, the new openness fostered a greater availability of French publications and texts related to France. Not until the 1790s, however, with an impetus from revolutionary France and her West-Indian colonies did a French book market flourish in Philadelphia. It consisted of French-language and translated items, with some local publications and many more imports from Europe. One aspect of this book market, namely the locally published French-language titles, is the subject of this article. It will assess the quantities, genres, and generic distribution of the publications. In addition, it will examine the character and changing nature of the materials and their connection to the larger historical context. This article will also show that the distribution of genres and quantities of texts reveal fluctuations in public taste and readership, and that publication trends reflect political factors in the late 1700s and the situation of the Francophone refugee population temporarily settled in Philadelphia.

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In the early 1790s, Philadelphia had become a center for French émigrés fleeing the revolutionary upheavals in France. By the second half of 1793, the city also attracted large numbers of destitute French-speaking refugees from the West Indies who had managed to escape from the violence provoked by widespread slave uprisings in the French colony of Saint Domingo. The new immigrants congregated in the lower sections of Philadelphia, near the Delaware River, where inexpensive housing was available. They came together in shops, inns, or simply the streets, lending the area a Gallic flavor. Refugees opened schools of all sorts as well as cafes, boarding-houses, and outdoor
restaurants which offered exotic wines and foods. Many who had brought with them previously acquired skills continued to practice their crafts, and they advertised their products in both French and Anglo-American gazettes. Among them were writers, journalists, printers, and publishers. Upon their arrival in America, literary minded emigrés immediately set out to work on projects, whether in process or brand new. Thus, in Philadelphia three publishers and printers from Saint Domingo—Gatereau, Pierre Parent, and Tanguy de la Boissière—published eight French-language and bilingual newspapers. Twenty-six refugee and émigré writers and publishers produced two-thirds of the other publications. In addition, at least eight Frenchmen and no fewer than six Anglo-Americans offered French books for sale. Claudius Raguet, Moreau de Saint-Méry, and Parent listed almost exclusively French titles, while Decombaz, a former clerk for Saint-Méry, advertised the sale of practical manuals and bilingual readers as well as French and English grammars and dictionaries. De la Grange, a refugee lawyer from Cap François, imported the latest titles from France and ran a subscription library of fifteen hundred volumes. Bookbinder Daniell Grasset, philosopher Volney, and young teacher Gouin Dufief dealt in books as an avocation. The French press and booktrade in Philadelphia were remarkably vibrant.

Consider the publications. One hundred ten French-language items are known to have been published in Philadelphia during the 1790s. They vary greatly in format and in genre, including eight weekly, bi- or tri-weekly gazettes—two of them in a bilingual edition—seven single-sheet broadsides, some twenty short and medium length pamphlets and twice as many full-length books, sixteen separately published and one collection of songs, as well as a medley of catalogues, poems, funeral speeches, and advertisements. Twenty-two of them appeared in a bilingual format.

An output of one hundred ten items represents a considerable increase over the level of publication in the previous decades. Until the early 1770s, only one, or possibly two, French-language items had been printed in Philadelphia, namely Thomas Ball, A French School Book (Franklin and Meridith, 1730), of which no copy has been located, and a Traité et convention pour les malades (Dunlap, 1759). With the French participation in the War of Independence, the number of French titles increased dramatically to between twenty and thirty for each of the next two decades. The quantity cannot be determined precisely because of difficulties in distinguishing authentic from fictitious Philadelphia imprints.
In the 1790s the increase in publications was substantial. An analysis of the output for the decade indicates the following annual distribution: 1790—2; 1791—1; 1792—2; 1793—14; 1794—29; 1795—19; 1796—23; 1797—14; 1798—7; 1799—3; 1800—9. The tabulation points to an unmistakable increase in French titles published between 1793 and 1797. Indeed, the number of publications during this five-year period is four times greater than the output from 1790 to 1792 and from 1798 to 1800. After 1800, the rate of production declined to thirty-four items for the period 1800–1809 and thirty-one for 1810–1819. The surge of titles in the 1790s was the result of a concurrence of events and circumstances: the presence in Philadelphia of a large, but impoverished, French-speaking readership torn by political divisions and the availability of French and Anglo-American publisher-printers capable of producing French texts and eager to take advantage of a potentially promising market.

Specifically, Philadelphia’s French-language imprints owed their existence to an historical accident: the turmoil of the French Revolution which temporarily cast out Saint Domingan refugees and French émigrés to the New World. The works originated in circumstances of an international political nature which affected the lives of authors, publishers, printers, and potential readers. For example, in 1790, a French-language broadside advertised the Pennsylvania law giving foreigners the legal right to buy and hold lands in the Commonwealth because its authors wished to entice wealthy French citizens to invest in Pennsylvania lands. The dismal economic situation in Europe and the West Indies and the hope for improved relations between France and the United States prompted publication of materials dealing with international trade, including the bilingual newspaper *Le Niveau de l’Europe*. Revolutionary upheavals in, and the flight from, Saint Domingo brought forth the remaining gazettes as well as position papers and reports about the situation on the island. The yellow fever epidemic of 1793 induced Drs. Deveze and Nassy to publish two reports in part to counter the accusation that the refugees were guilty of bringing the fever to Philadelphia. Finally, the presence of a large French-speaking population in Philadelphia occasioned the publishing of language-learning manuals, translations, and bilingual works.

Even texts with no obvious link to the political situation as to their subject matter owed their publication in Philadelphia to the international situation and to the particular fate of the refugee population. For example, Moreau de Saint-Méry’s historical studies of Saint Domingo, which were the results of extended previous research, appeared in Philadelphia only because the author reached safety in America and his manuscripts miraculously succeeded in following him to Philadelphia. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt’s informative study
of Philadelphia prisons saw the light in the city because this émigré filled his long days by gathering information on social questions while Saint-Méry and other friends persuaded him to have the study published locally.18

Because French-language publications followed the course of revolutionary history as it affected the French refugees, two separate periods are discernible, each with works of essentially different inspiration and intent. During the first part, between 1793 and 1796, the bulk of French materials published in Philadelphia was concerned with political matters and, to a lesser extent, the teaching of English to French natives. The explosive situation in Saint Domingo had unleashed passions which the refugees carried to America. The French gazettes of those years bear witness to the opposing political sentiments of the refugees. Despite the initial pronouncements to the contrary, the editors took sides on most political issues of the day, espousing either a pro- or an anti-republican ideology. From 1793 through 1796, several authors brought to market works with an explicit political, if not polemical, intent. They were the French Ministers and their cohorts in Philadelphia who attempted to whip up republican enthusiasm and spread French influence in North America, as well as refugees who felt victimized by the revolutionary developments. Among the more than twenty political items we find, on the one hand, publications like the French Ministers' addresses and official correspondence. Edmond Charles Genêt, Les Français libres à leurs frères les Canadiens (1793) and his Liberté. Égalité. Les Français libres à leurs frères de la Louisiane (1793), and the Notes adressées par le citoyen Adet, ministre plénipotentiaire de la République française près les États-Unis d'Amérique, au Secrétaire d'État des États-Unis (1794) reveal the aggressive policies pursued by the French Ministers. Their official duty was to convince the United States, by whatever means necessary, to desist from neutrality and support France in her effort to regain control over Saint Domingo, her former colony, now beleaguered by the British navy. On the other hand, political pamphlets include accusations and protests against the French government's policies in the West Indies, such as Protestations des colons patriotes de Saint-Domingue réfugiés à Philadelphie (Parent, 1794), G.H.V. Collot, Réponse aux inculpations que Hugues a voulu faire resulter de la publication d'une de mes lettres (1795), or J. Marie de Bordes, Défense des colons de Saint-Domingue (Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1796). This last work appears to have been quite popular among Saint Domingan colonists, for Saint-Méry had no copies left to speak of in June 1798, when he liquidated his entire stock before returning to France.19 How many the publisher had printed, though, is not clear, but probably fewer than one thousand, since he went to press with only 120 subscriptions.20

The politically-motivated publications also include minutes of political
celebrations and meetings held by refugees in Philadelphia and reports on
meetings in Paris, as well as the French Constitution of 1795 published by
both Bache and Parent. Three more works recorded events that had occurred
in France and the colonies, interpreting them for their refugee audience starved
for reliable news: G.H.V. Collot, Précis des événements qui se sont passés à la
Guadeloupe (Bradford, 1795), his Précis de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue
(Parent, 1795), and John Moore, Journal durant un séjour en France (Carey,
1794). The translator of Moore's Journal, de la Grange, wished to make
available to the Francophone community this informed and impartial account
of the tragic events which had taken place between August and December
1792, for he much admired its author, an Englishman friendly to the French
nation. Meanwhile, the original English version had found approval with
American readers, seven editions having appeared in the early 1790s, three of
them in Pennsylvania.

The publisher of Moore's French edition, Mathew Carey, usually an astute
business man, wished to tap the French readership the translator addressed in
the preface. Carey's letterbooks trace, if not the press runs, then at least the
popularity of the respective French and English editions of this work: between
October 11, 1794 and September 21, 1795 Carey shipped out 39 copies of the
English edition, while he sold only two of the French translations. The French
edition found few buyers, so Carey sought to exchange remaining copies for
more desirable items. The data, therefore, suggest that the French refugee
community did not buy up de la Grange's translation as the publisher and
translator had hoped.

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Even the songs published during 1793–1796 reflect the controversial
political concerns of the times. Six out of thirteen songs express republican
patriotism and enthusiasm. They are the Marseillaise in three editions (Carr,
1793; 1794; Willig, 1796), La Carmagnole (1794), Marche patriotique (H. & P.
Rice, 1793), and Pierre Gaveaux, Le Réveil du peuple. Gaveaux celebrated the fall
of Robespierre and displayed the words “Vive la république” surrounding two
tri-color flags and a pole topped with a citizen's cap. Copies of the songs were
thought useful for the rallies and marches planned in Philadelphia to commem-
orate republican victories in France and Europe. In all likelihood, they were also
used by Anglo-Americans, especially the Marseillaise and Le Réveil du peuple,
which were published in bilingual format. Two more songs, A son Altesse Royale
Madame Elizabeth de France, soeur du Roi (H. & P. Rice, 1794) and Ronde chantée à
la Reine par Monseigneur le Dauphin (H. & P. Rice, 1794), express royalist
sentiments which appealed to many French émigrés. The remaining five songs are of a sentimental nature.  

The gazettes were deeply embroiled in sharp political debates. All, except 

**Le Niveau de l’Europe**, addressed themselves primarily to the political questions related to the French Revolution. Most appeared merely for a few months, only one, the **Courrier français** (Apr. 1794–Jan. 1798), being continuously published over a period of four years. They were nevertheless significant, since they added considerably to the political turmoil among the refugees, and since their combined publication provided Philadelphia with the equivalent of two French-language papers during parts of 1793, 1794, and 1795.

Even though many publications during 1793–1796 dealt with political and revolutionary matters, not all of them did. Anglo-American publishers seized every chance to satisfy a perceived or imagined trend in the market. For example, four different textbooks for learning English appeared between 1792 and 1795, one with two editions: Pierre Louis Siret, *Eléments de la langue anglaise* (Bradford, 1792 and 1794), *La Nomenclature anglaise* (Bradford, 1794), V.J. Peyton, *Les Eléments de la langue anglaise* (Bertram for Carey, 1794), and William Cobbett, *Le Tuteur anglais* (Bradford, 1795). Clearly, the Anglo-American publishers believed that the numerous refugees who settled in Philadelphia between 1792 and 1796 needed to learn the rudiments of the English language. Mathew Carey wrote that he had “every reason to believe [his English grammar would] be very saleable” as he ran subscription ads for Peyton’s *Eléments de la langue anglaise*. In this case the letterbooks record the great popularity of the work when compared even to the English edition of Moore’s *Journal* previously mentioned. Indeed, from June 30 to December 18, 1794, Carey sold 236 *Eléments* to ten different booksellers who bought from as few as twelve to as many as forty copies. Nevertheless, they were not moving fast enough in his opinion, since in January and again in September 1795, he was willing to exchange fifty copies for more desirable items.

If some Anglo-American publishers tapped the market of French-speaking refugees learning English, others supplied the teachers among them with the textbooks they needed to teach French to Americans. The presence of the refugees with many teachers and numerous willing Anglo-American students stimulated the publication of textbooks for learning French. Antoine Pyron du Martre, *Models of Letters in French and English* (Bradford, 1795), and J.P. Perrin’s bilingual *The Elements of the French Tongue* (Bradford, 1794) are examples of this genre. So is Perrin’s *Grammar of the French Tongue* (Young for Carey, 1794). Several of these language manuals were reprints of editions previously published in Philadelphia or in Europe—London, Paris, Bruxelles, the Hague, and Rouen. In December of 1793, after the great influx of Saint
Domingans, Carey had written of the scarcity of French manuals. According to him, no dictionaries or grammars were available in the city, other than six and twelve, respectively, in his store, which were all gone by August of 1794. Whether Carey’s edition of Perrin’s grammar sold well is unclear because the evidence is subject to interpretation. On the one hand Carey did not advertise the publication of this grammar when he repeatedly listed Peyton’s *Eléments* and Moore’s *Journal d’un séjour en France,* a fact which may or may not suggest that the book was moving rapidly. On the other hand, in January 1795, Carey was willing to exchange Perrin’s grammar for other items. However, he did not pursue the question of exchange any further, and in March 1795, he notified his binder to provide him with fifty more copies of the grammar. So it seems that in Philadelphia Perrin’s grammar was selling moderately well. The numbers, though, are uncertain.

Anglo-American publishers brought out not only grammars, but also several works of fiction geared to either young or adult students, both French-native and English-speaking. Charles Cist, for example, saw an opportunity to publish copies of his 1784 edition of Louis Chambaud’s reader, *Fables choisies à l’usage des enfans et des autres personnes qui commencent à apprendre la langue française.* In 1793, at the height of refugee immigration, he brought out a second edition of the *Fables.* It must have sold well since in 1796 Cist came out with a third edition. How that one sold is not known. In 1791, Cist had also published the popular *Aventures de Télémaque* by Fénélon, a work which appeared on virtually every extant booklist of the period and probably sold well. French teachers as far away as Pittsburgh were having their pupils read and translate *Télémaque.* A third work of fiction was the result of a collaboration between a refugee and the Anglo-American publisher James Rivington. *Voyages de Cyrus* (1796), published in a bilingual edition, is a “literal” retranslation of an English translation of Andrew Michael Ramsay’s original *Voyages de Cyrus.* De la Grange, the same Saint Domingan lawyer who translated J. Moore’s *Journal . . . en France,* produced the bilingual edition of Ramsay’s work, whose philosophical, moral, and poetic content he cherished. In the preface de la Grange explained that, in contrast to “free” translations which confuse the learner with their fanciful rendition, his more “literal,” yet idiomatic, translation of a translation would speed up the acquisition of both French and English by showing more clearly the peculiarities of each language. Translator and publisher, naturally, were concerned about the moral value and practicality of their product.

During the first years of the decade, Philadelphia publishers and refugee authors also brought out six publications with a scientific intent. This group of works represented a major effort on the part of Franco-American professionals,
all six being authored by refugees and four of them produced by refugee and émigré publishers. Typically, the publications owed their lives to specific local conditions and the peculiar situation of the refugee authors. For example, two bilingual medical reports, with French and English on opposite pages, were a response to the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 and the authors' involvement in helping the victims. They are Jean Devèze, *Recherches et observations sur les causes et les effets de la maladie épidémique qui a règné à Philadelphie* (Parent, 1794) and David Nassy, *Observations sur la cause, la nature et le traitement de la maladie épidémique qui règne à Philadelphie* (Parker for Carey, 1793). Time being of essence for this topical item, Nassy's work was rushed to the printer and apparently type-set by someone insufficiently familiar with the French language, hence the long list of *errata* that rectified the French version. In their studies Devèze and Nassy presented successful experiments and methods devised for curing the stricken during the epidemic. They advocated that doctors work with nature rather than oppose her as was the custom with the local medical establishment.

Other "scientific" items also reflected pragmatic aspirations on the part of author and publisher. Jean-Pierre Blanchard's report on an aerial balloon flight taken in early 1793, *Journal de ma quarante-cinquième ascension, la première faite en Amérique, le 9 janvier, 1793* (Cist, 1793), capitalized on public interest raised with the help of newspaper advertisements, flight paraphernalia exhibited in Philadelphia, and President George Washington's endorsement of Blanchard's undertaking. An anonymous pamphlet (probably written by refugee General George Henri Victor Collot) on the much neglected art and science of horse breeding, outlined methods of improving the quality of that field in the United States, *Essai sur la manière d'améliorer l'éducation des chevaux en Amérique* (Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1795). The catalogue, prepared by the French refugee naturalist A.M.F.J. Palisot de Beauvois at the behest and in the pay of Anglo-American collector, C.W. Peale, *Catalogue raisonné du museum de Mr. C.W. Peale* (Parent, 1796), provided a "scientific" description true to Linneus of a large collection of items in a newly opened museum of natural history. Moreau de Saint-Méry's up-to-date analytic-descriptive compilation of basic scientific notions drawn from various sources, *Idée générale ou abrégé des sciences et des arts à l'usage de la jeunesse* (Imprimé par l'Editeur, 1796), targeted three different audiences—Francophone children, Anglo-American students of French, and people wishing to refresh their memories. The publication of the dictionary was clearly a wise decision, since within two years, Saint-Méry had sold seven hundred out of one thousand printed copies and possibly as many in English translation. His *Idée générale* was later to be adopted as a program of education in both American and Saint Domingan schools.
During the years 1793–1796, French and Anglo-American publishers also produced religious works which reflected the spiritual needs of the refugee community. Moreau de Saint-Méry, for instance, printed a Latin and French prayer book, *De Nouvelles Etrennes spirituelles à l'usage de Rome* (1796), to provide the Catholic refugees with sufficient numbers of French prayer books. They sold well, for only 150 copies were left in June 1798. The press runs, however, are unknown. Another religious item, *Service funèbre de Louis XVI* (1794), came out anonymously, revealing its royalist sympathies in its intention to commemorate the death of the late king. Even though no copy of the funeral service is extant, it apparently did appear in print since it aroused the ire of radical refugee colonists who took the opportunity to publish their answer, *Protestations des colons patriotes de Saint-Domingue réfugiés à Philadelphie contre un écrit intitulé Service funèbre de Louis XVI &c imprimé et rendu public* (Parent, 1794). A final religious piece is an Englishman’s profession of faith, translated by an anonymous French refugee and published by Charles Cist, i.e. Thomas Colley, *Salutation d'amour angélique* (1796). With this work the translator wished to convey to his friends, the refugee families who were “much saddened by their physical and moral sufferings,” a message of Christian love and mercy in which the translator himself had found comfort and courage.38

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Several refugee authors and publishers successfully published a handful of historical works which trace important concerns of the Francophone community. One example is *Histoire succinte de la fièvre maligne qui a régné dernièrement à Philadelphie* (Parent, 1794), an anonymous translation of Mathew Carey’s report on the dismal conditions prevailing in Philadelphia ravaged by an epidemic of yellow fever. It made public a list of the deceased, drawing comparisons with the plague of London and Marseille. Two works by refugee economist, André J. Larocque, and historian-journalist, Tanguy de la Boissière, addressed contemporary problems of international commerce and finance. The Anglo-American publisher Bradford, who had produced English textbooks for French people, brought out *Suite de l'article intitulé Economie politique* (1794), an article in which Larocque considered possibilities of increased commerce and investments, in particular in lands, between France and the United States. Tanguy de la Boissière, *Mémoire sur la situation commerciale de la France avec les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique depuis l'année 1775 jusque et y compris 1795* (1796), saw only one hundred copies printed for the French legation. This meticulous study of the trade relations between the two countries, providing numerous tables and charts, was suppressed by the French authorities. They feared it might promote American interests.39
A portrait of Moreau de Saint-Méry, a former President of Paris electors, who escaped the revolutionary violence in France and took refuge in Philadelphia.

Moreau de Saint-Méry also produced two historical works which he expected to be popular among the homesick Saint Domingan refugees. They are Danse. Article extrait d'un ouvrage de M.L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry (1796), a description and record of dances which he had observed and studied while living in Saint Domingo, and Description topographique et politique de la partie espagnole de l'Isle Saint-Domingue (2 vols., 1796), an excellent study of the people, climate,
economy, and political administration of the Spanish colony, complete with plates, illustrations, and a new map of the island. It is not known how many copies of the Danse Saint-Méry printed nor how they sold. The Description . . . de la partie espagnole, however, found acclaim with both French refugees and Anglo-Americans since the author was able to publish it with the financial backing of more than one hundred subscribers, 248 copies going to thirty-four prominent Americans and 179 copies to seventy influential refugees. Yet, had not one American subscribed to two hundred copies and one Frenchman to one hundred, Saint-Méry could not have gone to press with this work. By summer 1798, he had nonetheless sold all but three hundred copies of the original one thousand printed. In the case of this work, the French version did better in the market than its English translation, of which five hundred copies remained.

Finally, during the earlier 1790s republican sympathizers brought forth miscellaneous publications which reflected more mundane needs and activities of the French republican community. They include three advertisements, one of which announces the performance of two automatons—an aristocrat and a sans-culotte—doing summersaults and other tricks, the aristocrat refusing to dance to the republican songs La Carmagnole and Ça Ira. Further works are three French almanacs, Calendrier républicain (Bache, 1795–96, 1796–97, 1797–98), which kept the public informed with summaries and dates of French victories, lists of French departments and European countries with population, as well as valuable information on American roads and distances between cities, the U.S. monetary system and banking rules, the value of American exports, and the arrival and departure of mail. The first almanac was quite popular since, according to an ad in the Aurora, the 1795–96 version was selling so well that the printer brought out a second edition.

Two more items, the previously mentioned catalogues of French books (Raguet, 1790, and Saint-Méry, 1795), each with several hundred items ranging from dictionaries to historical studies and sentimental novels, attest to the large number and the wide range of French books available in Philadelphia during the early 1790s. The two catalogues, together with the numerous lists of French books found in Francophone and American gazettes as well as the Anglo-American booksellers' catalogues, point to a greatly expanded French booktrade. How many titles sold, who bought them, or which ones were popular remain problematic. Some ads hint that at the beginning and the end of the decade the market was very slow. Indeed, both Raguet, in 1790, and Moreau de Saint-Méry, in 1797 and 1798, were willing to sell their stock at a big discount.

Overall, the French-language texts published from 1792 to 1796 are surprisingly varied even though the majority were politically motivated.
Indeed, besides political pamphlets one finds language textbooks and readers, historical, economic, religious, and scientific works, as well as songs, catalogues, and calendars. A classification by subject, however, reveals an overriding interest in contemporary political matters and a considerable attention to English-learning manuals. The subject matters reflect the needs and concerns of the refugee community and the business acumen of Francophone and Anglo-American publishers.

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In contrast, from 1797 to 1800, a change in publication habits and a shift in inspiration and intent are evident. The items, whose numbers amounted to thirty-three as compared to ninety for the preceding years, presented the few remaining political matters in a different light. Of the six publications of a political nature, only three related directly to revolutions in Saint Domingo and Europe. All three were conservative and anti-republican in spirit. Chronologically, the first text is Rochambeau, Réponse du général Rochambeau (1797), published by Parent. It is closest in thrust to previous protest and justification pieces brought out by the refugee printer-publisher. D'Ivernois, Réflexions sur la guerre, came from a newcomer in the area of Francophone publishing, Francis King. The piece was quite topical, pointing out that the late wars in Europe saved the continent from the far greater evil of widespread revolution. The third item published by Bradford, La Neuville, Le Dernier cri de Saint-Domingue, is a nostalgic look back at the colony in better days, the author pleading with the French authorities to bring it back to its rightful owners, the French colonists.

The Courrier français, the one surviving gazette, shifted its emphasis from extremist republicanism concerned with French affairs and republican victories in Europe toward the American scene and the effects of the American government’s decisions upon French and colonial affairs. It took up the defense of less radical and divisive policies, espousing the view that France, the mother country, had been badly treated at the hands of the American government. By thus dampening its former revolutionary stance, the gazette became a rallying point for French refugee opinion of many political shades. This development reflected the realities of the evolving political and social situation. The extreme republicanism in France had run its course so that conservative bourgeois interests now dominated the French political scene. Emigrés, including Démeunier, Talleyrand, Omer Talon, de la Colombe, etc., gradually returned home, while Saint Domingan refugees were steadily being repatriated with the help of American funds liquidating U.S. war debts to the French nation. Fewer expatriates were now populating the streets of lower Philadelphia.
Such people as remained were experiencing changes; some were slowly getting used to the idea that republicanism was a force to stay and that accommodation was imperative. Already in early 1796, Gatereau, the “royalist” editor of the Courrier de la France et des Colonies, expressed such a progressive editorial position after a recent trip to Saint Domingo. “The revolution is over, and the people want a republican form of government; hence, we must graciously submit to the popular will.”

This evolution toward accommodating republicanism the French ministers encouraged with their less openly aggressive celebrations of French republican victories. The days of triumphant celebrations were ending, for political and cultural developments in America demanded that the Ministers, and Franco-Americans in general, pay increasing attention to France's diminished status in the international arena. Ratification of Jay’s Treaty with England (1795) annulled the policy of neutrality hitherto espoused by the Federalist government and, consequently, hurt the interests of France in her struggle with England.

Meanwhile, anti-French sentiments were gaining strength within Federalist and other conservative ranks. In fact, negative feelings towards France intensified when members of the clergy condemned the French Revolution as the epitome of irreligiosity and the source of all evil.

Naturally, the French Ministers and exiled Franco-Americans were deeply frustrated by, and angered at, American anti-French sentiments and behavior, particularly when such behavior appeared to be giving an edge to England in international politics and economics. The long years of exile and the realities of France’s weakened international position had awakened strong feelings of loyalty for the homeland and diffused the previous internecine dissensions. Refugee journalist and author Tanguy de la Boissière and émigré publisher Moreau de Saint-Méry expressed dearly held convictions and capitalized on the feelings of the times when they published Observations sur la dépêche écrite le 16 janvier, par M. Pickering... à M. Pinkney (1797) at a time of rapidly deteriorating Franco-American relations. Tanguy had taken up his pen to write an answer to Secretary Pickering, showing the latter’s ill-willed and ill-founded attacks on France and the French. Others expressed a similar point of view. The Courrier français, for instance, exposed Anglo-American bias in portraying the French as immoral thugs during the period 1796–98. Two more political pamphlets dealt with the prejudiced American foreign policy which gave official U.S. approval to British commercial and naval supremacy to the detriment of French and Spanish interests.

Other than a few items dealing with political matters, the bulk of publications between 1797 and 1800 reflect different concerns. They include two last works of history and travel from the press of Moreau de Saint-Méry,
DESCRIPTION
TOPOGRAPHIQUE ET POLITIQUE
DE LA
PARTIE ESPAGNOLE
DE L'ISLE
SAINT-DOMINGUE;

Avec des Observations générales sur le Climat, la Population, les Productions, le Caractère & les Mœurs des Habitants de cette Colonie, & un Tableau raisonné des différentes parties de son Administration;

Accompagnée d'une nouvelle Carte de la totalité de l'Isle.

Par M. L. E. MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY,
Membre de la Société Philosophe de Philadelphie.

TOME PREMIER.

PHILADELPHIE,
Imprimé & se trouve chez L'AUTEUR, Imprimeur-Libraire,
au coin de Front & de Walnut streets, No 84.

1796.

Saint-Méry's Description . . . de la Partie Espagnole de . . . Saint-Domingue, published and printed by the author, marked a high point of French-language publishing in Philadelphia: it found acclaim with both American and refugee readers.
meant to shore up his failing finances, *Description topographique... de la partie française de l'Isle Saint-Domingue* (1797 and 1798) and Van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'ambassade de la compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'empereur de la Chine, dans les années 1794 et 1795* (1797 and 1798). Publication of *Description... de la partie française* was delayed from 1796 to 1797 because Saint-Méry could not raise enough funds by subscription, Anglo-Americans having subscribed to only six copies in contrast to 248 for his *Description... de la partie espagnole.*\(^5\) By January 1797, Saint-Méry learned that he would be able to print his work on French Saint-Domingo after all: he had just received a letter from Talleyrand confirming that he could draw on Cadignan for one thousand dollars. This sum would suffice to cover the cost of printing when supplemented by the proceeds of two hundred subscriptions. Luckily, Saint-Méry gathered 113 subscribers for a total of 591 subscriptions, one colonist, Dartis, having ordered four hundred copies. In the end, as with his work on Spanish Saint Domingo, three hundred out of one thousand printed copies remained unsold. One comfort was that his *Description... de la partie française* had already been translated and was selling in Dutch markets.\(^5\) As for Van Braam's work, copies had also been sent to Europe. One shipment, however, was seized by French privateers, a loss for both author and printer.\(^5\)

Philadelphia publishers continued to put out special language-learning manuals geared to the teaching of French to Americans in spite of the great number of such books being imported by the booksellers.\(^3\) Ormrod put out a grammar developed locally, Anthelme Gay, *New French Pronouncing Spelling-Book, or, Prosodical Grammar* (1797), for which the author had obtained the approval of Dr. Johnson, the President of Columbia College, and of Mr. Marcellin, the French teacher at the same institution. Gay's method consisted in teaching students to read and pronounce simple sounds and words, gradually building up to complex phrases and sentences; thus, he hoped, students would more easily learn to pronounce "that polite and useful language."\(^5\) Decombaz, a French bookseller formerly of Cap Francois and now specializing in the sale of language-learning books, brought out a bilingual edition of Fenelon's *Télémaque* (1797), prepared by Nancrede, a master of French connected with Harvard University. How many copies Decombaz had ordered is not known at present, and whether he was able to sell any at the advertised price of $2.25 is unclear, for he went bankrupt soon after the publication of *Télémaque.*\(^5\)

A few other miscellaneous items provide a glimpse into the actual life of the remaining refugee community. For example, an ad for a drug printed by Parent, *Sel spécifique et universel du docteur Giraud pour les maladies vénériennes* (1797), recalls numerous advertisements in the gazettes for magic potions. The ad did not promise any cures directly, but rather implied efficacy by its use of
the name of an assumed authority. Three lists of members of French masonic lodges—two of them printed by Parent, one being the last extant item from the refugee printer's press, Tableau des membres qui composent la A.L. francoise de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1798)—reveal that the benevolent associations organized by earlier refugees did not disintegrate by the turn of the century but continued to provide a focus for social and civic life for the remaining expatriates.56

As for the songs published during this latter period, all came from the presses of Anglo-American printers, and none expressed republican or patriotic feelings. R. Chateaudun, Six Romances Nouvelles (Carr, [1799]), the separate editions of his bilingual Romance avec accompagnement (Carr, 1799) and Paul au tombeau de Virginie (Willig, 1800), as well as La Marmotte, (Trisobio, [1797]) were all of a sentimental nature. The mood of the music and words was elegiac and melancholy, related to and reflecting the Zeitgeist equally perceptible in refugee letters or the oratory of masonic lodges of the period.

* * *

The end of the decade witnessed several examples of masonic oratory. They were the work of Simon Chaudron, an early exile from Saint Domingo who got away with his family and possessions and eventually turned public orator for the remaining community. Chaudron published three odes, “Ode sur la conquête de l’Italie,” “Ode sur l’assassinat des Députés français à Rastadt” (Ormrod, [1799]), and “Ode aux Français” (Blocquerst, n.d.) in which he celebrated French victories but urged forgiveness of enemies in order to encourage a benevolent French domination. With the passing of George Washington and several prominent French Masons, Chaudron composed eulogies to mourn and celebrate the dead who had distinguished themselves in the service of their compatriots: Oraison funèbre du Frère George Washington (Ormrod, 1800), Oraison funèbre de frère Gaspard Shultess, prononcée le sept décembre 1800 (Bradford, 1800), and Oraison funèbre du frère George M. de la Grange, Oncle, prononcée le 18 Novembre, 1798 (Ormrod, 1800), the last of which reminisced about the hardships, but also the courage and moral strength of two former refugee editors and publishers, Tanguy de la Boissiere and Decombaz. Except for the “Ode aux Français” which came from a refugee press, probably the same one that briefly continued the printing of the Courrier français in 1798, all of Chaudron’s works were produced by Anglo-American publishers.

The fact that Chaudron’s imaginative works came from Anglo-American presses points to an important aspect of the Francophone publishing business, namely the departure from Philadelphia of the major French refugee figures by the late 1790s. The most active people of the trade—Decombaz, Gatereau,
Moreau de Saint Méry, Parent, Tanguy de la Boissière—all moved or passed away. Similar demographic shifts affected the whole of the refugee community, resulting in a decrease of items published as well as changes of subject matter. From 1795 on, the French population was gradually eroding, as Saint Domingan refugees prepared for repatriation. The Federalist administration encouraged departure of refugees and recommended the use of relief funds to help Saint Domingans return home. For example, in April 1794, President Washington signed passports for the departure of various ships taking passengers to Saint Domingo. That the French population was gradually thinning out is further supported by caterers advertising specially prepared and packaged foods for trips overseas as well as by the numerous sales of stores and shops and the steady turnover of merchants advertising in the gazettes.

The repatriation gained momentum when the French government relaxed its punitive policies against émigrés. By 1802, most well known émigrés had returned to France. Anti-French hysteria in America, occasioned by the XYZ Affair of 1798, further contributed to the departure of many refugees. Congress having declared all treaties with France null and void, passed the Alien and Sedition acts which gave President John Adams the power to expel dissident foreigners. Many French people no longer felt secure and, as “anti-French sentiments deepened by the day” large numbers left American ports in the summer of 1798.

Francophone publishers and public were thus gradually dwindling. At the same time Americans, as seen previously, were no longer interested in subscribing to important refugee publications. Whether the reason was anti-French sentiment, the economic depression of 1796–97, or a renewed yellow fever epidemic which dispersed the population, Saint-Méry’s increasing financial difficulties were in part due to growing disinterest on the part of the Anglo-American public. More than one bookseller bewailed that fact. Saint-Méry wrote to departed friends in France about his financial mishaps while Dufief complained to Governor Kemble of New York that an important collection of French books, whose sale had been entrusted to him, could not at present sell for anywhere near what it was worth; he suggested that from a financial viewpoint it was better to ship the books back to Europe.

In spite of such problems French publications continued to appear, albeit at a slower pace than during the mid-decade. The few items of this late period, notably those of Chaudron and the lists of members of French masonic lodges, testify to the presence of a small community of French-speaking people who were inspired to promote understanding and respect between the motherland and their adopted country. An increasing number of remaining Francophones thus turned their energies to the task of assimilation.
During the period of greatest output, the French press was inextricably intertwined with the refugees' existence in Philadelphia, even though it was not exclusively the product of that community. Except for songs, grammars, language learning books, and calendars, which were produced without Franco-American participation, French-language publications were authored, compiled, translated, or printed by refugees. Hence, members of the French community produced an important majority of the French imprints. Two refugee printers dominated the field, bringing forth more items from their presses than anyone of their American colleagues engaged in printing French items. Pierre Parent produced many, but not solely, works with a radical bent, such as political pamphlets and the Courrier français. From mid-1793 through 1795, he was involved with the publication of three gazettes and of at least fourteen other books and pamphlets, in addition to English translations of French works. After 1795 his output declined, and his press brought forth only seven or eight French items from 1796 to mid-1798. By May 1, 1798, Parent had withdrawn from the publication of the Courrier français and was unable to keep his promise to continue his printing of French and English books. The gazette was continued by Allain, Blocquerst, and Wilson until early June, and by Allain and Blocquerst alone till July 3, 1798, when it ceased publication.

The other important French publisher was Moreau de Saint-Méry. From 1795 until shortly before his return to France in the summer of 1798, he produced a total of seventeen French publications, including two gazettes and several of his own works published by subscription, as well as those of his friends. As with Parent, the passing years brought financial difficulties. The depression of 1796–97, the spreading of anti-French propaganda, and the shrinking of the French community slowed down business measurably. He moved to a cheaper place of work and residence and got rid of many of his belongings, including his stock of books which he offered at half price, in order to effect his return to France.

Altogether, then, Philadelphia's production of French-language publications was dependent on the fortunes of the refugee community. Because of this link, the output of French items surged markedly, cresting between 1793 and 1797, when the refugee population reached its peak. Like the community from which it arose, the French-language press evolved according to outside developments. The overriding political concerns and republican extremism which had characterized the earlier years gave way to a generally more conciliatory approach; hence, the later years saw the publication of proportionately fewer political items. Likewise, as refugees returned home and immigrants had learned to function sufficiently well in English, the flow of language books addressing a Francophone audience in need of learning English slowed.
DES PRISONS DE PHILADELPHIE.

PAR UN EUROPÉEN.

PHILADELPHIE.

Imprimé & se trouve chez MOREAU DE St-MÉRY, Imprimeur-Libraire, au coin de Front & de Walnut streets, No. 84.

JANVIER 1796.

Saint-Méry's press produced works by sundry émigré authors. Des Prisons de Philadelphie was a study by a well-known gentleman scientist, farmer, and politician, the duke François Alexandre Frédéric La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt.
Beyond the political motivation of a large part of this press, a few works attest to the involvement of Anglo-American publishers and to the pragmatic motives of both authors and publishers, whether French refugee or Anglo-American. They apparently hoped that such items as accounts of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, language manuals, and bilingual editions of various works would earn welcome profits. Bilingual works and handbooks for learning French are evidence that publishers wished to tap the market of Anglo-American students willing to learn French from ever present teachers. French textbooks also suggest a connection between local imprints and imports from Europe. Indeed, over the decade Anglo-American booksellers advertised and listed an increasing number of French grammars, dictionaries, and readers in the gazettes and their catalogues.  

The question of popularity, from the standpoint of sales, can be answered for at least a few items. We have seen for example that during the early years of refugee activity one important French publication, Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Description ... de la partie espagnole de l'Isle de Saint-Domingue*, received the support of both Anglo-American and Francophone subscribers, but a few years later American sponsorship was no longer forthcoming. We have also seen that among Saint-Méry's publications a topical item like the prayer book, *Nouvelles Etrennes*, which affected the French community directly, sold better than the author's historical works on Saint-Domingo. Likewise, manuals for learning English and French were more popular than even such a contemporaneous text as Moore's *Journal durant un séjour en France* which the publisher and translator had deemed interesting and informative. Evidence from Carey's Letterbooks and the gazettes suggest that items which fulfilled a need or were immediately useful were more popular than less pragmatic works. As for the political materials, it is not known how they sold; however, if the life span of the gazettes is any indication, the political pamphlets may have met with limited success.

* * *

In the final analysis, some of Philadelphia's French-language publications are more a testimony to the spirit of enterprise and the level of activity of numerous refugees than to the publishers' success. Against all odds the refugee publishers attempted to keep the Francophone community informed and reach a wider public through bilingual publications and translations. Journalists and writers set pen to paper and, together with the refugee printers, produced much of the output. They persisted for months or years in the face of an increasingly precarious market, forced in the end to give up their efforts by adverse circumstances. The imprints published without involvement of refugee writers, publishers, or printers nevertheless testify to French activity. They would not
have appeared in Philadelphia, had it not been for the refugee community, either in the function of learners of English or teachers of French. Philadelphia's French publications produced during the last decade of the Eighteenth Century were clearly influenced by the French Revolution. The upheavals in France and Saint Domingo influenced that city's French press both directly and indirectly by affecting the content, the producers, and the consumers.

Notes

4. The list, arranged by first date of publication, reads as follows:
   2. *Journal politique et littéraire*, March 1793. (no copy extant)
5. Better known authors include French Ministers Edmond Charles Genêt and Pierre Auguste Adet; a former governor of Guadaloupe, George Henri Victor Collot; the aeronaut who had first crossed the English Channel by balloon, Jean Pierre Blanchard; a businessman from Saint Domingo, Simon Chaudron; two doctors from the West Indies, Jean Devêze and David Nassy; a former Counsellor at law in the Supreme Court at Cap-François, J.E.G.M de la Grange; an honorary member of the Académie des Sciences and President of the National Assembly, duc François Alexandre Frédéric La Roche foucauld Liancourt; a former President of Paris electors, member of the National Assembly and the Constituent Assembly, Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry; the French naturalist and botanist Ambroise Marie François Joseph Palisot de Beauvois. See L. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* (Paris, 1854–65).
7. *Courrier français*, June 29, 1796, and May 29, 1797.
8. *Courrier français*, July 27, 1795; Oct. 9, 1797; and Jan. 6, 1798.


13. In chronological order the bilingual items read as follows: David Nassy, *Observations sur la cause, la nature et le traitement de la maladie épidémique qui règne à Philadelphie* (Parker for Carey, 1793); Claude J. Rouget de Lisle, *The Marseilles Hymn in French and English* (Carr, [1793] and [1794]); Jean Devèze, *Recherches et observations sur les causes et les effets de la maladie épidémique qui a régné à Philadelphie* (Parent, 1794); André Jean de Larocque, *Suite de Particle intitulé Economie politique* (Bradford, 1794); *L'Etoile Amuiricaine* (Parent, 1794); *Niveau de l'Europe* (Woodward, 1794–1796); Jean Baptiste Perrin, *Les Eléments de la conversation. Anglais et Français* (Bradford, 1794); Antoine Pyron, *Models of letters, in French and English* (Bradford, 1795); Pierre Gaveaux, *Le Réveil du peuple* (Carr, [1796]); *Notes addressées par le Citoyen Adet, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République Française près les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, au Secrétaire d'Etat des Etats-Unis* (Bache, 1796); *Pauvre Jaque* [sic] (Carr, [1796]); Andrew M. Ramsay, *Les Voyages de Cyrus*, traduit par J.E.G.M. de la Grange, (Ormrod et Conrad, 1796); Claude J. Rouget de Lisle, *Marche des Marseillois* (Willig, [1796]); *Notes from N. Fréret ... to the author* in *Voyages de Cyrus* (Ormrod et Conrad, 1796); Renault et Verger, *Prospectus d'un tableau alégorique, ou Le Triomphe de la Liberté* ([1797]); Fénélon, *The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses* (for Decombaz, 1797); P.R. Wouves,
Tableau syllabique et sténographique (1797); Des Barreaux, Poem and translation in Henry Pepper, Juvenile Essays; or a Collection of Poems (Folwell, [1798]); R. Chateaudun, Romance avec accompagnement, "O toi! dont la pénible enfance" (Carr, 1799 and [1799]); Prussia. Traité d'amitié et de commerce entre Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, et les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique (1800). From this count are excluded messages from the U.S. President to Congress, which included French official messages and their translation.

14. In a chronological distribution, the items add up to over one hundred ten because some had more than one edition and the gazettes appeared in several years.


16. Pennsylvanie, Acte donnant pouvoir aux anbains d'acbeter et possèder des Biens-réels dans la République de Pennsylvanie (Bache, [1790]).

17. Jean Devèze, Recherches and David Nassy, Observation.


19. Courrier Français, June 12, 1798.


21. Procès verbal de la célébration de la fête du 25 thermidor (Parent, 1794); Fête civique célébrée par les patriotes français, américains et hollandais (Parent, 1795); Procès verbal de la fête qui a eu lieu le 2 pluviôse (Parent, 1795); Procès verbaux de l'Assemblée tenue par les colons réfugiés à Philadelphie (Parent, 1795); Précis du compte rendu à la convention nationale, par le général N.X. Ricard. De sa conduite publique depuis son départ de France (Parent, 1795).

22. Constitution de la République Française proposée par la convention nationale et acceptée par le peuple français (Parent, 1795); Constitution de la République Française, proposée au peuple français, par la Convention Nationale (B.F. Bache, 1795).


24. Carey to W.P. Blake, Oct. 11, 1794; Carey to Thomas Allen, Oct. 22, 1794; Carey to James Remington, Dec. 18, 1794, Carey to Lea and Wilson, Dec. 19, 1794; Carey to George Keatinger, Nov. 5, Dec. 31, 1794, Jan. 14, 1795; Carey to A. Blanvelt, Sept. 21 1795, Mathew Carey's Letterbooks, HSP.


26. Gluck, J'ai perdu mon Euridice [sic] (Young, 1793); Vous l'ordonné je me serai connio [sic] (1795); Par sa légère [sic] (Trisobio, 1796); Paurore Jaque [sic] (Carr, 1796); Pour bien juger une maîtresse (Trisobio, 1796).

27. Childs, French Refugee, chapt. 6.

28. American Star, Feb. 20, 1794; Carey to Joseph Seymour, Feb. 19, 1794; Carey to Rice, June 30, 1794; Carey to Berry, Rogers, and Berry, July 22, 1794; Carey to Thomas Allen, July 25, 1794; Carey to John West, Aug. 7, 1794; Carey to E. Larkin, Oct. 11, 1794; Carey to W.P. Blake, Oct. 11, 1794; Carey to Charles Smith, Oct. 31, 1794; Carey to S. Campbell, Nov. 22, 1794; Carey to J. Rivington, Dec 18, 1794; Carey to J. Fellows, Dec. 18, 1794, Carey Letterbooks, HSP. The press runs are not known, for the microfilm of Carey's business papers does not contain relevant financial or other transactions between Carey and Berriman, the actual printer of Peyton's Éléments.

29. Carey to George Keatinger, Jan. 14, 1795, and Carey to Abraham Blanvelt, September 21, 1795, Carey Letterbooks, HSP.

30. For schools advertised in the gazettes, see Courrier français, Oct. 1795, May 1796, May, Sept., Nov. 1797, Jan. 1798; Aurora, Jan. 2, 4, 6, Dec. 4, 1797; Aug. 1, Nov. 12, 1798; Apr. 7, Oct. 24, 28, 1799; Jones, "Importation of French Books," 157. For Anglo-American families receiving private lessons, see de la Grange to Nicholson, Dec. 22, 1798, John Nicholson Papers Papers, General Correspondence, Pennsylvania History and Mu-

31. Carey to Rev. Molyneux, Dec. 11, 1793, and Aug. 18, 1794, Carey Letterbooks, HSP.


33. Carey to Lea and Wilson, March 9, 1795, Carey Letterbooks, HSP.

34. Format and collation indicate that the later editions are copies of the 1784 edition; the non-aligned signatures, however, suggest that the 1793 and 1796 editions are separate editions and no mere reissues with a new title page.

35. H.M. Brackenridge, Recollections of Persons and Places in the West (Pittsburgh, 1834), 43.

36. See the “Avertissement.”

37. Courrier français, June 12, 1798.

38. My own translation from the foreword by the anonymous translator.


40. A list of subscribers is given at the beginning of volume I.

41. Courrier français, June 12, 1798; Aurora, June and July, 1798.

42. Spectacle nouveaux, (sic) par Messrs l'Egalité. Le nouveaux spectacle donné par le citoyen Sansculotte et Mr. l'Aristocrate . . . [1795] Broadside.

43. Aurora, Apr. 25, 1795, and subsequent days.

44. Federal Gazette, Sept. 14, 1790; Courrier français, Nov. 1797; June 1798; General Advertiser, July 1798.

45. Donatien Marie Joseph Rochambeau, Réponse du général Rochambeau (Parent, 1797); J. La Neuville, Le Dernier cri de Saint-Domingue (Bradford, 1800); Sir Francis d'Ivernois, Réflexions sur la guerre (King, 1798).

46. Courrier, Jan. 31, 1796.


48. Howard M. Jones, America and French Culture (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927), 393.

49. Martinez de Yrujo Tacon Casa Yrujo, Lettres de Verus (pseudonym) adressées au “native American” (Bache, 1797); U.S. Department of State, Correspondance qui dévoile la trahison du Sénateur américain W. Blount; les intrigues du ministre anglais Liston; et l'étrange neutralité observée par le secrétaire des Etats-Unis Timothy Pickering, écyer (Parent, 1797).


51. The list of subscribers is given at the beginning of volume II; Talleyrand to Saint-Méry, Aug. 31, 1796, Saint-Méry, Voyage, 226.


53. Fourteen different items were advertised in addition to the locally published manuals. They were grammars by Chambaud, Gautier, Mary, Porney, Praval, and Rogissard; pronunciation guides by Chambaud, Dusalis, Perrin, and Pierce; plus exercises, themes, and vocabulary by Chambaud, and a spelling book by Pierce.

54. Preface of Gay's work.


56. Tableau des membres qui composent la A.L. française de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (Parent, 1798); Tableau des FF. qui composent la R.L. de S.J. de J. sous le titre distinctif de Loge française l'Aménité (Parent, 1797); and Extrait des registres de la loge française l'Aménité, no. 73, séante à Philadelphie (Jacques Carey, 1800).
58. Saint-Méry, *Voyage*, 263.
60. See Dufief to Governor Kemble of New York, Philadelphia, Dec. 11, 1798, Gratz Collection, HSP. Saint-Méry, *Voyage*, 255, 265; *Courrier français*, May, Nov. 21, 1797; June 12, 16, and 18, 1798.
61. Parent's French publications are: *Testament de mort d'Oge* (1793); Carey, *Histoire ... de la fièvre maligne* (1794); *Courrier français* (1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798); Devèze, *Recherches* (1794); *L'Etoile américaine* (1794); *Journal des révolutions* (1794); *Procès verbal de la célébration de la fête du 25 thermidor* (1794); *Protestations des colons patriotes de Saint-Domingue réfugiés à Philadelphie* (1794); *Fête civique célébrée par les patriotes français, américains et hollandais* (1795); *Constitution de la République Française proposée par la convention nationale acceptée par le peuple français* (1795); *Précis de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue, depuis la fin de 1789, jusqu'au 18 juin 1794* (1795); *Procès verbal de la fête qui a eu lieu le 2 pluviôse* (1795); *Procès verbaux de l'Assemblée tenue pas les colons réfugiés à Philadelphie* (1795); N.X. Ricard, *Précis du compte rendu à la convention nationale, par le général N.X. Ricard. De sa conduite publique depuis son départ de France* (1795); Palisot de Beauvois, *Catalogue raisonné du muséum* (1796); John James Giraud, *Sel spécifique et universel du docteur Giraud pour les maladies vénériennes* (1797); *Correspondance qui dévoile la trahison du sénateur Américain W. Blount* (1797); *Tableau de membres qui composent la A.L. française de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, sous le titre distinctif, La Parfaite Union* (1798). As Childs (*French Refugee*) noted, Parent probably put out many other political pamphlets.
63. *Courrier français*, Nov. 21, 1797; June 12, 16, and 28, 1798.