

French émigrés in the London book trade to 1850

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This paper arose out of a previous investigation on a related topic: an invitation to contribute a chapter on ‘French-language publishing in London to 1900’ for a book published by the British Library entitled *Foreign-language Printing in London 1500–1900*.¹ In this chapter I documented the extent of French-language publishing in London, a significant minor component of the London market in books during this period: ‘French books are by far the most numerous (after English and Latin) for the period up to 1800 ... French books represented one out of every ninety editions printed in London in this period (perhaps 2,500 to 3,000 editions in total, with a further 1,000 in Law French)’.² Books in French were produced by both native and expatriate printers and booksellers for a number of markets, for example official publications for purposes of propaganda or diplomacy, religious texts for the French-speaking Huguenot congregations in the capital and, later, religious texts for Catholic émigré groups following the French Revolution, literary texts for export, often clandestine, to France, often claiming to be printed in Paris (false imprints), scientific works aimed at a wider European distribution, catalogues of foreign-produced books for the English retail market.

The focus of this present paper is not on material printed in the French language but on the activity of French-born printers and booksellers in the London book trade, whether they published in French, in English, or in Latin, and also on the location of their premises in the London area, particularly with regard to their situation outside the City proper.

The general outline of the role of foreign printers in the early history of the English book trade is well known. An Act of 1484 exempted foreign scribes, printers and bookbinders from the attempt to regulate the number of aliens who could be denizenized and therefore work legally in Britain.³ This statute was repealed in 1534 in an attempt to stimulate the growth of the native book trade.

The presence of French craftsmen and tradesmen in the early years of printing is also well documented, for example the French printer Richard Pynson, who worked in London from c. 1490 to c. 1529 and was King’s Printer from 1506, or Nicolas Lecomte, stationer (bookseller and bookbinder), 1494–1498, who had his books printed in Paris where he seems to have been one of the University’s official booksellers.⁴ E.J. Worman used the Huguenot Society’s

¹ *Foreign-language Printing in London 1500–1900*, edited by Barry Taylor, The British Library, Boston Spa & London, 2002. vii, 273 pp. ISBN 0 7123 1128 9.

² D.J. Shaw, ‘French-language publishing in London to 1900’. In: *Foreign-language Printing in London 1500–1900*, pp. 101–122, p. 101.

³ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, volume III, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, Cambridge University Press, 1999. ISBN 0 521 573467, p. 63, 145; E.G. Duff, *A Century of the English book trade*, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1905, reprint 1948, Introduction, p. xi–xxx.

⁴ Duff, *Century*, p. 126–127, p.90; P. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens depuis l’introduction de l’imprimerie à Paris jusqu’à la fin du seizième siècle*, Paris, Minard, 1965, p. 254.

archives to record names of French workmen in the English book trade, some obscure, some famous:⁵

- Philippe Cuttier, a French journeyman working for Thomas Purfoot, was admitted to the Stationers Company in 1559. He became denizened and worked in London for about 25 years from c.1551 to c.1576.
- Pierre Dupuys arrived in England about 1566, became a member of the Stationers' Company in 1571, became a denizen, and had other members of his family joining him to work in London.
- Jean de Planche, bookbinder, admitted to the Stationers' Company in 1567 and denizened in 1570, was one of the leading producers of decorated bindings of his day.⁶
- Thomas Vautrollier, French refugee bookseller, bookbinder and printer, worked in the Blackfriars area of London from 1562 to 1587 and also had a shop in Edinburgh between 1580 and 1586.⁷ He received letters of denization in 1562 and became a member of the Stationers Company two years later. His wife was also French and he was known for his active support of the French Protestant churches in London.

Julian Roberts has recently given a picture of the work of the 'alien' members of the London book trade who practised the specialised field of the importation of foreign books, known in Stationers' Company jargon as the 'Latin trade'.⁸ I would like to look in more detail at the work of two groups of aliens, firstly the Huguenots and others working in London in the period following the revocation of the Edit de Nantes, and later the refugees of the French Revolutionary period. Both of these groups tended to locate their premises outside the City proper, first of all in the area just beyond the Temple Bar, and later shifting further and further westward as time went on.

Recent works on the history of the Huguenots in Britain give only a very little space to the activities of those engaged in the book trade. For example, Robin Gwynn gives just a page or so to some of the major foreign figures in the Elizabethan book trade and mentions a few later figures such as the Fourdrinier family of paper-makers.⁹ A much more substantial contribution has been made by Katherine Swift in an important article on a group of French families who came to London as a result of the persecutions surrounding the Revocation of the Edit de Nantes in 1685.¹⁰ Her article traces a number of families who were engaged in the book trade in France before fleeing to England. For example, the Vaillant and Ribotteau families from Saumur who came over in 1685 and set up in the area around the Savoy, obtaining in 1687 letters of denization which enabled them to trade more freely; or Jean Cailloué, from a family of Protestant booksellers and printers in Rouen, who was denizened in 1685. CERL's Hand

⁵ E.J. Worman, *Alien members of the book-trade during the Tudor period*. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1906.

⁶ Mirjam M. Foot, 'Bookbinding' in: *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. IV, 1557–1695, ed. John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, Cambridge University Press, 2002. xxvi, 891p.: p. 625.

⁷ STC, vol. 3, p.173.

⁸ Julian Roberts, 'The Latin trade', in: *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. IV, 141–173, esp. 141 and 168–9.

⁹ Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot heritage: the history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, London, 1985, p.76.

¹⁰ Katherine Swift, "'The French-Booksellers in the Strand": Huguenots in the London book trade, 1685–1730', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxv, 1990, pp. 123–139. This article draws on much fuller documentation in her Oxford DPhil. thesis.

Press Book database shows 21 items published in Rouen by Cailloué before the Revocation.¹¹ Another such refugee was Pierre de Varennes, a nephew of one member of the Cailloué family. The Varennes had been booksellers in Paris and Charenton for several generations and had also fled their country for religious reasons.

Katherine Swift's article shows that 'a whole group of . . . French refugee booksellers who arrived in England in the late 1680s and 1690s all set up on the Strand in a clearly defined area around the Savoy' and that 'there was also an earlier colony of French booksellers slightly further west at the bottom of St Martin's Lane . . . but this group seems to have had no links with the newer group now forming on the Strand'.¹² She suggests that the earlier group may have been Catholic whereas 'the Strand group . . . was a tightly-knit community with strong links with Saumur and Rouen, bound by ties of family, trade and the Protestant religion'.¹³ Swift gives an excellent analysis of the complex of reasons why the area around the Strand was favoured by the Huguenot booksellers.¹⁴ Perhaps the major reason was the presence of the French Church in the old Savoy Palace ruins, with a concentration of French residents in Covent Garden and newer refugees in the Soho area, all of whom provided a potential market for their French-language wares. Another reason was the commercial opportunities offered by the presence of the three 'exchanges' built along the Strand on land formerly occupied by the great aristocratic houses of the previous century and which provided shopping facilities: the New Exchange, the Exeter Exchange and the Middle or Salisbury Exchange. A further reason was that the city of Westminster (beyond the Temple Bar) was outside the effective control of the Stationers' Company (though technically within it from 1684).¹⁵

I shall not attempt to repeat the detailed biographical and topographical work done by Katherine Swift (though I would like to recommend it for its careful documentation of the activity of the Huguenot booksellers of the Strand). I shall instead select a few individuals from the periods around 1700 and around 1800 and look at their output and some of their trade links, especially the extent to which they had integrated themselves into the wider London book trade.

Two examples of the earlier group in the St Martin's area are Jean de Beaulieu who worked in the 1680s in Duke's Court, St Martin's Lane, and later had moved to premises 'vis à vis l'Eglise de St Martin in the Fields', and a Monsieur Boyer, also trading in Duke's Court. Neither of them is recorded in the *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*; only Beaulieu appears in imprints,¹⁶ in which he is described as a 'marchand-libraire', suggesting a business

¹¹ The Hand Press Book database is available in the libraries of members of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL, see web pages at www.cerl.org). It aims to document the European printed heritage from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. The activity of the Cailloué family in Rouen at the time of the religious troubles of the Révocation is documented in Jean-Dominique Mellot, *L'édition rouennaise et ses marchés (vers 1600 – vers 1730): dynamisme provincial et centralisme parisien*. Paris: Ecole des chartes, pp. 275–86.

¹² Swift, 'French-Booksellers', p. 124–125.

¹³ Swift, 'French-Booksellers', p. 126.

¹⁴ Swift, 'French-booksellers', pp. 128–135.

¹⁵ Swift, 'French-booksellers', pp. 126–127.

¹⁶ A search for 'Boyer' in the ESTC file finds the imprint for Wing E610 (Nathanael Ellison, *The magistrates obligation to punish vice*, London : printed by W. B. for Richard Randell, bookseller in Newcastle upon Tyne: and sold by Luke Meredith, at the Star in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1700) where the initials W.B. have been expanded to W[illiam] B[oyer] but this would seem to be an error for W[illiam] B[owyer]. The initials are not expanded by

of some substance, with trading relations with partners in the Netherlands and Germany. His output is in both French and English and includes both Catholic and Protestant writers of a fairly scholarly sort. The ESTC file has four entries for Jean de Beaulieu: two editions of works by the Catholic controversialist Richard Simon, published in 1684 ‘A Frankfort, chez Frederic Arnaud; M DC.LXXXIV. Et à Londres, chez Jean de Beaulieu, Marchand-Libraire, devant l'Eglise de St. Martin’ (Wing S3801A and S3801B); in the same year he was a co-publisher with two English colleagues of a translation of a work by Boileau (Wing B3464A); and he produced an edition in the following year of an epitaph in French for Charles II (Wing B4085A). To these can be added another foreign-printed edition, this time by a Protestant controversialist:

Jacques Abbadie, *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne*, A Rotterdam, chez Reinier Leers; et à Londres, chez Jean de Beaulieu, 1684; Wing A57.¹⁷

The Hand Press Book database¹⁸ records this same partnership with Renier Leers of Rotterdam for an edition of Nicolas Malebranche, *Traité de la nature de la grace* (1684; not in Wing) and an edition of Richard Simon’s *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, printed in Rotterdam by Leers (1685; not in Wing).¹⁹ There is also an undated catalogue of de Beaulieu’s shop stock, issued by his widow:

Catalogue de livres Latins, François, Italiens, & Espagnols, en toutes sortes de facultés, que defunt Jean de Beaulieu, Marchand libraire vis à vis l'eglise de St. Martin in the Fields, a ramassé & fait venir des Païs Etrangers, pendant plusieurs années Lesquels la Veuve dudit Beaulieu a dessein de vendre en détail ..., *A Londres: Pour la Veuve de Beaulieu, [c.1699]*. 8°: pp.58. Wing B1569; John Rylands University Library of Manchester; British Library.

To turn now to the Huguenots, the Varennes family can be traced as publishers on both sides of the channel. Consultation of CERL’s Thesaurus²⁰ gives a summary of their career in France:

- Olivier de Varennes, father, working in Paris 1598–1662?
- Olivier de Varennes, son, working in Paris and Charenton 1632–1677
- the widow of Olivier II, working in Paris and Charenton 1677–1687 (then emigrated to London with her son, Pierre)

A search on the Hand Press Book database reveals further detail:

Olivier de Varennes the elder is recorded in French imprints from 1604. He (and later his son of the same name) printed material in a number of subject areas: lots of medical texts and other academic works, especially for the Faculty of Medicine; Huguenot documents for national synods (published in Charenton, a town where Huguenots were tolerated under the Edit de Nantes); some anti-catholic works co-published in Geneva (published by Olivier de Varennes

Wing.

¹⁷ STCN (Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands, consulted via the HPB database) lists two variant issues: with de Beaulieu’s name (the British Library copy, Wing A57); and with Leer’s name alone (Leiden University Library copy); the second imprint with only the Rotterdam address is not eligible for entry in Wing

¹⁸ ESTC and HPB files checked August 2003.

¹⁹ Both of these books are recorded from copies in the library of Magdalen College Oxford.

²⁰ The CERL Thesaurus (www.cerl.org/Thesaurus/thesaurus.htm) provides assisted searching for imprint place names, imprint personal names and authors’ names for the Hand Press Book database. The imprint names index in many cases offers links to bio-bibliographical information about book-trade personnel.

the younger in 1664); literary and antiquarian texts; and, very interestingly in view of the impending flight to England, translations from English and other English-related works.

Following their move to London, the Varennes family continued to work in the book trade. Their careers in London have left almost no trace in the Printers' Dictionaries of Plomer & Co.:²¹ there exists simply one reference from a snuff advert in *The Post Man* for 1711 to a Mr 'Varens' at Seneca's Head near Somerset House.²² However, a search on the ESTC database restores their visibility. We find London imprints in the area around the Strand for the following family members:

- Pierre de Varennes, the Elder, 1694–1722
- Matthieu de Varennes, 1723–1725
- Pierre de Varennes, the Younger, 1694–1722

The following selection shows some of their addresses, some of their collaborators, and the subject matter of some of their publications.

Le Ragois, Claude. Instruction sur l'histoire de France, et sur La Romaine. Par demandes, & par reponses. Avec une explication des 109. fables des metamorphoses d'Ovide. Par Mr. Le Ragois, precepteur de monseigneur le duc du Maine. Dedié à ****. *A Londres: chez Pierre de Varennes, marchand libraire dans Catherine Street, au lion noir, M. DC. XCIV. [1694].* 12°. Wing L1117A.

Procez criminel fait aux nommes Robert Charnock. A Londres, se vendent chez Jean Cailloué, Pierre de Varenne, la Veuve Péan & la Veufve Maret 1696. 4°. Wing P3630A.

Bullord, John. Bibliopolii Littleburiani pars prima; exhibens ss. patres aliosque scriptores theologicos, tam veteris quam recentioris [*sic*] ecclesiæ Græcos & latinos. Adjiciuntur libri Gallici, Italici, Hispanici. Quorum auctio fiet Londini apud Tom's Coffee-house, juxta Ludgate, in vico vulgò dicto Ludgate-Hill, die 30. Martii, anno 1696. Per Jo. Bullord. [*London*]: *Catalogues are distributed gratis at Mr. Castles, next Scotland-Yard. At Mr. Varennes, at Seneca's Head near Exeter-Change in the Strand. At Mr. R. Parkers, at the Unicorn on the Piazza of the Royal Exchange. At Mr. Nott's in the Pall-Mall. And at the place of sale, [1696].* 4°. Wing L2554.

Church of England. La liturgie ou formulaire des prieres publiques, de l'administration des sacremens, ... selon l'usage de l'église anglicane: avec les Pseaumes ... *Londres: chez Pierre de Varenne & David Mortier, 1703.* 12°. Possibly printed in the Netherlands. Further editions in 1705, 1706.

Of particular note, are the 1694 address in the area around the Strand; the editions shared with other Huguenot booksellers (Jean Cailloué, the widows Péan and Maret) as well as with English booksellers; his participation in the issue of book auction catalogues; and the publication of a Book of Common Prayer in French (possibly indicating a protestant immigrant who is already taking some steps to integration in the contemporary Anglican world of the capital. Widow Péan's husband, René Péan, is recorded as working in Saumur between 1662 and 1683.²³

The younger Pierre de Varennes seems to have resumed an interesting area of specialization practiced in France by his grandfather or great-grandfather: medical books, in this case works on venereal diseases, sometimes issued in several editions:

²¹ H.R. Plomer *et al.*, *Dictionaries of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1557–1775*. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1977 (original publication 1910, 1907, 1922, 1932).

²² Plomer, *Dictionaries*, 1668 to 1725, p. 297.

²³ *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle*, t. I par L. Desgraves, Baden-Baden, Editions Valentin Koerner, 1978, p. 141 ff.

Marten, John. A true and succinct account of the venereal disease; from the mildest clap ... to the most radicated pox that can be, ... By John Marten, ... To which is added, an appendix ... The fourth edition corrected, and enlarg'd. *London: printed for, and sold by S. Crouch, J. Knapton, P. Varenne, J. Isted, and at the Bell in the Poultry, 1706.* 8°. At least three further editions were published by Varennes.

Marten, John. The attila of the gout, being a peculiar account of that distemper, in which the vanity of all that hitherto has been writ and practis'd to remove it, and an infallible method to cure it are demonstrated, with ample testimonies of patients cured. By John Marten, ... *London: printed for the author, and sold by N. Crouch; M. Atkins; P. Varenne; and C. King, booksellers, 1713.* 8°.

Onania, or the heinous sin of self-pollution, and all its frightful consequences, in both sexes, considered. ... The third edition, corrected. *London: printed by E. R. and sold by P. Varenne, [1722?].* 8°. At least three subsequent editions were published by Varennes.

As is the case with many foreign booksellers, the Varennes tried to make use of their native languages, participating in the publication of a French grammar in English, sold by a group of English and alien booksellers, and English translations of French works, suggesting that connections were maintained with the homeland.

Malard, Michel. The true French grammar, with a French rudiment, containing all that is necessary to the speedy and perfect learning of the French tongue, ... By Michael Malard, ... *London: printed for J. Brown; and sold by R. Mount, W. Henchclif and J. Walthoe, A. Bettesworth, J. Moétiens, P. Lameure, and P. Varenne, J. Stagg, and J. Graves, 1716.* 8°. R.C. Alston, *Bibliography of the English language*, vol. 12, part one: *The French language*. Otley, printed for the Author, 1985. no. 221.

Huet, Pierre-Daniel. The weakness of human understanding. By the late Mr. Huet, ... Translated from the French, by Edw. Combe, ... *London: printed for Matthew de Varenne, 1725.* 8°.

Henri Ribotteau, son of the Jean Ribotteau who fled from Saumur, also has an almost invisible entry in Plomer's *Dictionary* for activity in 1702 (his father, who worked in Saumur from 1654 to 1676, does not figure in Plomer as working in London although he must have been at least resident there). ESTC again provides evidence for an account of Henri Ribotteau's full publishing career, which lasted from 1695 to 1719 trading from addresses in the Strand. Books with his name in the imprint suggest a marked Protestant bias, both Anglican (a French translation of Archbishop Tenison's official funeral sermon for Queen Mary) and Calvinist (sermon for the French church in the Savoy), and an interest in contemporary news of conversions and repressions in France; but frivolity is not neglected, in the form of a French play text for the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, in 1719.

Tenison, Thomas. Oraison funebre de tres haute & tres puissante Princesse Marie, reine d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, de France, & d'Irlande. Prononcée le jour de ses funerailles par Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Canterbury. Traduite en François par L.D. *A Londres: se vend chez la Veufue Marat & Henry Ribotteau Marchands libraires, dans Salisbury-Exchange dans le Strand, 1695.* 4°.

Renoult, Jean-Baptiste. Motifs qui ont engagé Mr. Renoult, cy devant prestre & predicateur dans la grande province des Cordeliers de France, a se separer de l'Eglise Romaine. Pour se ranger dans la Reformée. *A Londres: chez la veufue Marret & Henry Ribotteau dans le Strand, en Salsbury buildings, 1696.* 8°.

Dubourdieu, Jean-Armand. L'orgueil de Nebucadnetzar abbatu de la main de Dieu: ... Ou sermon ... prononcé dans l'Eglise françoise de la Savoye, ... le 31 Decembre, 1706. Avec une ample preface ... Seconde edition reveue [*sic*] & corrigéé. Par Jean Armand D... *Londres: chés Henry Ribotteau, 1707.* 12°.

Bion, Jean François. Relation des tourments qu'on fait souffrir aux Protestants qui sont sur les galeres de France. Faite par Jean Bion, ... *Londres: chés Henry Ribotteau, 1708.* 8°.

Procopé-Couteau, Michel Coltelli. Arlequin balourd, comedie italienne, en cinq actes, comme elle a été representée sur le Theatre Roial de Hay-Market, ... *Londres: chez Henry Ribotteau, 1719.* 8°.

Several generations of the Vaillant family were active in the London book trade for over a century between their flight from Saumur in 1685 and 1802. They are an example of a family which quickly started to become integrated into the host society.

- François Vaillant, 1686–1704?, bookseller to the Académie de Saumur, left France in 1685 with his family, denized in 1687, traded in the Strand opposite the French Church of the Savoy.²⁴
- Paul I Vaillant, 1705–1738, son of François, also worked in the Strand opposite the Savoy Chapel.
- Isaac Vaillant, 1705–1750, brother of Paul, worked in Rotterdam and The Hague for the early part of his career.
- Paul II Vaillant, son of Paul I Vaillant, succeeded his uncle Isaac, 1750–1802 and became a prominent member of the Stationers’ Company as well as Sheriff of London. He continued to trade from the family address in the Strand.²⁵

Paul I Vaillant was the first member of the family to be brought up in England, albeit within the French protestant community. A selection of books associated with his premises in the Strand in the first half of the century includes material in the following categories:²⁶

- Book auction catalogue (1710):

[**Hooke, Jacob**]. *Bibliotheca Bernardiana: or, a catalogue of the library of the late Charles Bernard, ... to be sold by auction on Thursday the 22d of March, 1710-11. At the Black-Boy Coffee-House in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Ludgate-Street.... [London, 1711].* Vaillant is listed as one of a number of booksellers in London, Oxford and Cambridge who stock the catalogue; his address is given as ‘over against Bedford-house in the Strand’.
- Gardening (1721)

Agricola, Georg Andreas. *A philosophical treatise of husbandry and gardening: being a new method of cultivating and increasing all sorts of trees, shrubs, and flowers. ... By G.A. Agricola, ... Translated from the High-Dutch, ... The whole revised ... by Richard Bradley, ... London: printed for P. Vaillant, and W. Mears and F. Clay, 1721. 4°.*
- Classical text: one of three London distributors for the University Press in Cambridge (1721)

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Libri de divinatione et de fato. Recensuit, & suis animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisius ... Accedunt integræ notæ Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, et Fulv. Ursini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi commentario in librum de fato. Cantabrigiæ: typis academicis. Sumptibus Cornelii Crownfield. Prostant apud Jacobum Knapton, Rob. Knaplock, & Paullum Vaillant, bibliopolas Londinenses, 1721. 8°.*
- French Book of Common Prayer (with Isaac Vaillant, 1739)

La Liturgie, ou Formulaire des Prières publiques, selon l’usage de l’Eglise Anglicane. *A Londres, chez P. & J. Vaillant, 1739.* Vaillant’s address given as ‘Vis à vis la rue de Southampton dans le Strand’ (opposite Southampton Street in the Strand).
- Classical text: London agent for a group of Parisian booksellers (1740)

²⁴ Swift, ‘French-booksellers’, p. 123–124. Plomer gives an entry for Paul I Vaillant which confuses the dates of Paul and his father François.

²⁵ Plomer, *Dictionaries, 1726–1775*, p. 250.

²⁶ This selection was made from items surviving in Canterbury Cathedral Library, in order to provide illustrations for the original talk.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Opera. Cum delectu commentariorum. ... *Parisiis: apud Joan. Bapt. Coignard, Hipp. Lud. Guerin, Joan. Desaint, & Jac. Guerin. Et Londini, apud Paulum Vaillant, 1740-42.* 9v., 4°.

- Classical scholarship: published in London ('on the bank of the Thames') but printed in Utrecht by Willem Jan Reers, who mainly printed official publications in Dutch; a new edition of a work originally published in 1706.

Maittaire, Michael. Græcæ linguæ dialecti, in scholæ regiæ Westmonasteriensis usum, recognitæ opera Mich. Maittaire. Ppæfationem [*sic*] & appendicem ex Apollonii Dyscoli fragmento inedito addidit J.F. Reitzius. *Londini: apud Paulum Vaillant ad Littus Tamesinum, 1742.* [Colophon:] *Trajecti ad Rhenum, typis Gulielmi Joannis Reers.* 8°.²⁷

- Social action: issued by Paul II Vaillant, also obtainable through 'the Pamphlet shops' (1758)

Hanway, Jonas. Letter V. to Robert Dingley, Esq; being a proposal for the relief and employment of friendless girls and repenting prostitutes. By Mr. Hanway. *London: M.DCC.LVIII. Sold by R. and J. Dodsley, by Paul Vaillant, James Waugh, and the pamphlet shops, [1758].* 4°.

Katherine Swift's article suggests that the Huguenot booksellers in the Strand had largely died out by the 1720s. By this time, 'a new and unrelated group of French booksellers was forming ... in the Haymarket and Leicester Fields, following the general population trend westwards'.²⁸ We have already met Henri Ribotteau publishing a play text for the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket in 1719. Another figure of this second generation of immigration is Abel Rocayrol, who was active from at least 1720 to 1744 and published extensively in English as well as in French. He is entered in Plomer as 'A. Racayrol, bookseller in Green Street, Leicester Fields, 1728–1730, dealer in French literature',²⁹ having previously worked in Covent Garden and St Martin's Lane. His output is mainly in English, but with some French language aspects (grammars, guidebooks) and to some extent it favours the leisure reading of the day (songs, tourism, geography, history). His co-publishers are mainly (but not entirely) English; French collaborators include R. Dunoyer, M. Chastel, J.-P. Coderc, and Mr Prévot.

A New accurate map of the English Plantations in America and of the Louisiana and River Mississipi. *London sold by R. Dunoyer in the Strand & A. Rocayrol in St. Martins Lane, [1720].* From *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. 19, 1720.³⁰

Boyer, Abel. The history of the life & reign of Queen Anne. Illustrated with all the medals struck in this reign, ... and other useful ... cuts. To which is added, an appendix, ... By Mr. A. Boyer. *London: printed by J. Roberts; and sold by William Taylor; William and John Innys; John Osborne; Samuel Harding, and Abel Rocayrol, 1722.* 2°.

Pote, Joseph. Le guide des etrangers: ou le compagnon necessaire & instructif à l'etranger & au naturel du pays, en faisant le tour des villes de Londres & de Westminstre. ... *Londres: au depend de J. Pote; & se vend chez J. Batley; A. Rocayrol; J. Penn; & F. Cogan, 1730.* 8°.

Palaiet, Jean. A new royal French grammar, containing ... plain rules to attain to the thorough ... understanding ... of the French tongue ... A table of terminations ... fables by Mr. de Fenelon ... By ... John Palaiet. *London: printed by E. Howlatt, and sold by M. Chastel, A. Rocayrol, J. P. Coderc, J. Brindley, and J. Jackson, 1730.* 8°. Alston no. 234. A further edition in 1738.

²⁷ The Utrecht colophon from the Canterbury Cathedral copy is not recorded in the ESTC entry.

²⁸ Swift, 'French-booksellers', p. 136.

²⁹ Plomer, *Dictionaries, 1726–1775*, p.206.

³⁰ Barbara B. McCorkle, compiler. *New England in Early Printed Maps, 1513 to 1800: An Illustrated Carto-Bibliography.* Providence: The John Carter Brown Library, 2001, no. 720.3

Tandon, J. E. A new French grammar, teaching to read, speak, and understand the French tongue. ... By I. E. Tandon, ... *London: printed by E. Howlatt; and sold by Mr. A. Rocayrol; Mr. Du Noyer, and Mr. Prevost, 1733.* 8°. Not in Alston (no. 255 is second edition).

Recueil de trois cent chansons Françaises: parfaitement choisies, sur toutes sortes de sujets. *Londres: imprimez par G. Smith; et se vend chez A. Rocayrol, 1737.* 8°.

One of Rocayrol's contemporaries (and an occasional collaborator, as in the *New accurate map*, 1720, above) is Pierre Dunoyer, who has an entry in Plomer, which lists his address as the Erasmus Head in the Strand from 1728–1755, where Daniel Mortier had worked earlier.³¹ In fact Dunoyer is found as early as 1709 and would seem to be an exception to Katharine Swift's suggested Huguenot decline and westward migration from the Strand. He too published in both English and French, for both the Church of England and for the French Reformed Church of La Patente in Soho, the principal church of the community at this later date. He acted as an agent for sale of auction catalogues and was a publisher of serious French literary classics, forming alliances with both English and French colleagues in the London book trade. Later in his career, he seems to have established a cross-Channel link with book trade colleagues in Paris and Amsterdam, possibly having books printed in Paris.

Motteux, Peter Anthony. A collection of prints and drawings, &c. of the late Right Honourable John Ld. Sommers, to be sold by auction on Monday the sixth of May, 1717 at Mr. Motteux's auction-room in the Little Piazza in Covent-Garden. *London: printed for J. Tonson: where catalogues may be had; and of Mr. Cowper, Mr. Smith, Mr. Vaillant and Mr. Dunoyer, Mr. Bateman, Mr. Round; and at the place of sale, 1717.* 8°.

Yver, Jean. La veritable cause des maux de leglise, ou, sermon prononce dans l'Eglise Francoise de la Patente en Soho, le 11. Octobre 1721. ... Par J. Yver, ... *Londres: par J. Delage; en se vend par P. Dunoyer, et M. Chastel, 1721.* 8°.

Church of England. Liturgie ou formulaire des prieres publiques selon l'usage de l'Eglise Anglicane: Nouvelle edition, corrigée d'un grand nombre de fautes qui sont dans les editions precedentes. *Londres: chez P. Dunoyer, les freres Vaillant, Nicols Prevost, et M. de Varenne, 1722.* 8°.

Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas. Oeuvres poétiques de Nicolas Boileau Despréaux. Avec les éclaircissemens historiques de l'édition in folio, abregés. *Londres: chez J. Brotherton; & P. Dunoyer, 1730.* 8°.

Arnoux, Claude, professeur. The art of teaching French without the help of any grammar. By Claudius Arnoux, ... *London: printed for the author, and sold at his house; as likewise by Messieurs Prevost, Du-Noyer, Willock, Brindley, Nourse, and Roycarol, 1732.* 8°. Alston, no. 249.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the printers and publishers of French origin had been more or less completely integrated, as was noted in the case of Paul II Vaillant and his status within the Stationers' Company. By that time, there was another category of French émigré to be found in London: the refugee from the French Revolution, now catholic rather than protestant. Publishers responded by producing printed materials for these aristocratic and political refugees and for the French catholic congregations which had been licensed to worship in London. This group of booksellers also tended to locate themselves further West than the protestant group in the Strand.

One such publisher is Philippe Le Boussonnier, calling himself 'l'Imprimerie française', working in Soho between 1796 and 1800, firstly in Wardour Street (1797) and later in Holles Street (1799).³² Le Boussonnier printed predominantly in French, using outlets via other

³¹ Swift, 'French-booksellers', p. 125.

³² William B. Todd, *A Directory of printers and others in allied trades, London and vicinity, 1800–1840*, London, Printing Historical Society, 1972, p.117, records Le Boussonnier's registration of his press under the Seditious

French booksellers ‘chez les libraires françois’; he produced Catholic material, but scholarly rather than devotional.

Brard, J. Observations succinctes sur l’écrit de M. Malouet daté du 20 décembre 1796, intitulé Examen de cette question ... &c. &c par M. Brard. *Londres: Impr. Française, chez P. Le Boussonnier: Se vend chez A. Dulau, [1797?].* 8°.

Pseaumes de David. Traduction nouvelle, avec des notes tirées des Pères & des meilleurs interprètes, pour l’éclaircissement des endroits difficiles, par un ecclésiastique du diocèse d’Avranches. Seconde édition, revue, corrigée & augmentée. *A Londres. De l’imprimerie de Ph. Le Boussonnier & Co., 1798.* 8°.

Gouvêa, Alexandre de. Relation de l’établissement du christianisme dans le royaume de Corée, rédigée, en latin, par Monseigneur de Govea évêque de Pekin, et adressée le 15 août 1797 à Monseigneur de St. Martin évêque de Caradre, et vicaire apostolique ... *A Londres: De l’imprimerie de Ph. Le Boussonnier & Co., ... et se trouve chez les libraires François [sic], 1800.* 8°

Blanchard, Pierre. Précis historique de la vie et du pontificat de Pie 6. par M. Blanchard, Bachelier de Sorbonne et Cure de Saint-Hippolyte, Diocèse de Lisieux. 2. ed. *A Londres: de l’Imprimerie de Ph. Le Boussonnier et Co. n. 5 Holles Street, Soho Square. [1800].*

The firm of A. Dulau & Cie. was established in London during the Revolutionary period and survived through and beyond the nineteenth century (from 1795 until the Second World War in London, and in the post-war period for a short time in Oxford) producing material in other foreign languages as well as French. Dulau and his partners must be assumed to have been refugees from France or possibly Belgium: many of their early publications are directly linked to polemics against the Revolutionary régime, in favour of the monarchical system of the Ancien Régime, and in support of catholic refugees in England. Dulau’s shop premises were in the Soho area: first of all in 107 Wardour Street (1797) and later at 37 Soho Square (1800–1843).³³ The following examples show material sold by the firm of Dulau in London during the last decade of the eighteenth century in French on topics related to the Revolution. Several items were printed by the firm of T. Baylis (located in Hatton Garden) but others were printed or sold by fellow expatriates. Dulau, Baylis and Deboffe (whose shop was in Piccadilly) are frequently found together in imprints in the period 1796–1804, often with Boosey (Old Bond Street) and Debrett (Piccadilly).³⁴

Exposé des motifs qui ont déterminé le clergé de France à fuir la persecution, et à se retirer en pays étrangers. *A Londres: De l’imprimerie de J. P. Coghlan; et se vend [sic] E. Booker; Keating; A. Dulau; et Lonchamp, [1795].* 12°.

Burke, Edmund. Deux lettres adressées à un membre du parlement actuel, sur les propositions de paix avec le Directoire régicide de France. Par le très-hon Edmund Burke. Traduites en français par M. Peltier. *Londres: De l’imprimerie de Baylis. Imprimé par M. Peltier. Se trouve chez lui, chez Dulau & Co.; Debrett; & les marchands de nouveautés, Publié le 7 novembre, 1796.* 8°

M. S. D. L. M. Eloge funèbre de Louis seize, roi de France et de Navarre. Avec une ode sur sa mort. Par M. S. D. L. M. *A Londres: De l’imprimerie de A. Paris ... et se vend chez A. Dulau & Co. ... & J. de Boffe, 1796.* 8°

Tableau des révolutions des états. Ouvrage principalement écrit pour prémunir la jeunesse contre le délire des systèmes modernes en religion, en morale et en législation. *A Londres De l’imprimerie de Baylis ... et se trouve chez l’auteur ... & chez A. Dulau & Co., 1796.* 12°.

Societies Act of 1799.

³³ Philip A.H. Brown, *London publishers and printers, c.1800–1870.* London, British Library, 1982.

³⁴ Addresses from Brown, *London Publishers*; and Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades, 1775–1800.* Folkestone: Dawson, 1977.

Malouet, Pierre-Victor. Examen de cette question: quel sera pour les colonies de l'Amérique le résultat de la Révolution française, de la guerre qui en est la suite, & de la paix qui doit la terminer? Par M. Malouet, député de la colonie de St. Doming... *A Londres: De l'imprimerie de Baylis ... et se trouve chez J. Deboffe & Dulau & Co., 1797.* 8°.

The two Tables attempt to show aspects of the output of the Dulau firm displayed chronologically.³⁵ Table 1 shows Dulau's output from 1795 to 1800 from the ESTC database analysed by language. For the ESTC period Dulau's material is predominantly in French, with increasing amounts of English and Italian, and some Latin. Interpretation of these figures can be a little misleading, as some of the English texts are grammars of French, Latin, Italian, Spanish or German, and there are also French works on English grammar and pronunciation. Table 2 shows the same data analysed into rough subject categories. Political material remains a constant, with literary, religious and also historical works soon helping to increase the size of Dulau's business. These categories are rather loose: much of the religious output also has a political context: it is very noticeably Catholic in content, whereas the earlier Huguenot booksellers often produced Anglican material as well as texts for their own church in exile. The literary texts too often reflect the social and political positions of the French community in exile in London: the classic literary texts of the Ancien Régime and its court or else contemporary works written in exile. A search on CERL's Hand Press Book database and on the COPAC database for titles in the nineteenth century³⁶ shows that the firm of Dulau & Co. continued to sell a wide range of titles in the same subject areas, with a strong bias towards foreign language texts, sometimes produced in conjunction with a colleague abroad, especially in Brussels or Paris. The firm of Dulau continued as a scholarly and academic bookseller until the mid-twentieth century.

The Young Ladies' assistant in writing French letters: or, Manuel épistolaire a l'usage des demoiselles anglaises, carefully revised, corrected, much improved and enriched with notes by N. Lambert. Eighth edition. *London: Dulau and Co., 1841.*

Monge, Gaspard. Géométrie descriptive par G. Monge ; suivie d'une théorie des ombres et de la perspective, extraite des papiers de l'auteur, par M. Brisson. Septième édition. *Paris: Bachelier ; Londres: Dulau et Cie, 1847.*

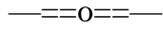
Plato. Platonis opera omnia. Vol. 5. sect. 1: Continens Lachetem, Charmidem, Alcibiadem utrumque. Recensuit et commentariis illustravit Godofredus Stallbaum. Editio secunda, multo auctior et emendatior. *Gothae: Sumptibus Hennings ; Londini: Dulau, [c.1845].*

Deutsches Balladenbuch mit Holzschnitten nach Zeichnungen von Adolf Ehrhardt, Theobald von Oer ... 2. Auflag. *Leipzig; London: G. Wigand: Dulau & Comp., 1858.*

In conclusion, one could suggest that the presence of foreign workmen was a necessity in the early period, in order to help start up the English printing industry. By the time of the main French influx (the late seventeenth century), the refugees were partly welcomed for religious reasons, but were partly marginalised as aliens working along the Strand outside the geographic limits of the City and its trade guilds, until a later generation achieved a higher degree of integration which could put some of them at the very centre of the book trade. The Revolutionary period saw a further influx of skilled tradesmen, with a new specific market of fellow expatriates to serve, settled further westward than the Huguenot community had been and no longer restricted by the Stationers' Company monopolies. In each of these periods we see alien booksellers not only supplying the needs of their fellow immigrants but also providing the community at large with a wider range of linguistic and academic works.

³⁵ This tabular approach can give a misleading picture, as some texts will be small pamphlets while others are multi-volume works; some of them may also have had unusually small or unusually large print runs.

³⁶ It must be remembered that these databases record what has been submitted by their contributing libraries; they do not have the same breadth of coverage as the ESTC project.



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FOOTNOTES