

**RE-DEFINING IDYLIC LOVE:  
GEORGE SAND'S *INDIANA* AS A RIGHTING  
OF BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE'S *PAUL ET  
VIRGINIE***

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“Les hommes naissent asiatiques, européens, français, anglais; ils sont cultivateurs, marchands, soldats; mais dans tout pays les femmes naissent, vivent, et meurent femme....Ainsi les femmes n'appartiennent qu'au genre humain. Elles le rappellent sans cesse à l'humanité par leurs sentiments naturels et même par leurs passions” (Bernardin, *Paul* 58).

With this illustrative statement, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre defined women's roles in society in what he perceived to be a positive framework based upon natural law as understood in late eighteenth-century France. This understanding of gender roles formed the deep structure for his most influential, idyllic romance *Paul et Virginie*. Quickly hailed as a classic, the novel would become the prototype for a generation of novel writers, including Flaubert whose *Emma Bovary* would become poisoned by the unrealistic love expectation found in *Paul et Virginie*, and by the lack of personal definition for women endemic in the society and confirmed by the novel's subtext. Flaubert would even name Mme. Aubain's children Paul and Virginie as an ironic twist in his 1876 short story *Un cœur simple*.

For George Sand, the condition of woman as expressed by Bernardin was untenable. *Indiana*, her first independent novel, written under her new pen name, is a deliberate rewrite of *Paul et Virginie*. Not only does she compare her heroine with Virginie intratextually, Sand sets her novel on the Île Bourbon, about 400 miles east of Madagascar and southeast of l'Île Maurice, the place occupied by Paul and Virginie. She also borrowed many scenic details from Bernardin.

However, *Indiana* is mostly a re-righting of woman and her place in society. In her preface of 1832, George

Sand explained the genesis of her main character: “Indiana, si vous voulez expliquer tout dans ce livre, c’est un type; c’est la femme, l’être faible chargé de représenter *les passions* comprimées, ou, si vous l’aimez mieux, supprimées par *les lois*; c’est la volonté aux prises avec la nécessité; c’est l’amour heurtant son front aveugle à tous les obstacles de la civilisation” (Sand, “Preface” 4) Her novel remedies some of the excesses expressed by Bernardin about women, while advancing the notion of women as distinct individuals burdened by the weight of societal laws and prejudices. This essay examines Sand’s feminist perspective in light of prevailing social theories about women and the negative side of seemingly idyllic love.

Before we begin our excursus, we must examine the threads that link Bernardin, Sand, and Flaubert, for in this weave we will expose some interesting facts about *Indiana* heretofore undisclosed. In a letter dated April 3, 1876, *Un cœur simple* is cast as Flaubert’s own ironic interpretation of *Paul et Virginie*.<sup>1</sup> It was written “à l’intention exclusive” of Sand (Gevrey, 269), a potent reminder of the importance that Bernardin’s text played for both writers. Flaubert’s dedication to Sand demonstrates that he understood that she had also done a significant rewriting of *Paul and Virginie*. Though he does not mention *Indiana*, the textual traces among all three novels mark *Indiana* as the text in question.

Bernardin’s story is centered on the shipwreck of the *Saint-Géran*. As Françoise Gevrey points out, Bernardin named the fictional captain of his *Saint-Géran* “le capitaine Aubin,” the name that Flaubert will use as the source for the patronymic Aubain for his own Paul and Virginie in *Un cœur simple*. However, Gevrey and others do not make the connection that the real captain of the *Saint-Géran* was named Delamarre,<sup>2</sup> Sand’s patronym for Indiana Delmare.<sup>3</sup> With regard to the name, Indiana, it is important to remember that the early editions of *Paul et Virginie* were often followed by *Arcadie* and *La chaumière indienne*. According to James Vest, Sand had originally titled the work *Noémi*, which he mistakenly interprets as a reference to the

biblical Naomi, Ruth's mother-in-law, rather than as a feminized form of Noé, the father of a postdiluvian human race, with the potential of re-establishing another Edenic society. Sand's proposed title suggests a matriarchal rather than a patriarchal bloodline, a paradigm shift deeply rooted in her own psychological search for the ideal mother. The choice of Indiana over Noémi serves as an intertextual marker pointing once more to Bernardin (this time to *La chaumière indienne*), in the same manner that Flaubert's choice of the name Félicité for his heroine in *Un cœur simple* is a direct reference to Bernardin's mistress, Félicité Didot, with whom he had two children named (what else?) Paul and Virginie. Moreover, the last words of *Indiana* are a direct reference to *La chaumière indienne*: "...souvenez-vous de notre chaumière indienne."

Sand's idealized utopian life at the end of *Indiana* is also tied to Bernardin's little known work *Arcadie*. A reference to the Grecian idyll of innocence and happiness, Arcadia also had a special meaning for the Illuminists of the eighteenth century, of which Bernardin was a member: "On sait par exemple qu'il s'est battu pendant trente ans avec une obstination d'illuminé pour tenter d'imposer aux milieux scientifiques son étrange théorie des marées expliquées par la fonte alternatives des glaces polaires" (Racault, 419). Arcadia was a code word for the secret societies of the eighteenth century and stood for the purported location in southern France where the Knights Templar (Cathars and Albigeois, also known as *Les Purs* and *Les Invisibles*), under the leadership of Jacques de Molay, had buried their treasures, including the Grail, before being burned at the stake by the order of Philippe le Bel. Panofsky analyzes at length Nicolas Poussin's *Et in Arcadia ego*, which was widely believed by cabalists to hold a secret meaning about the location of that secret burial place. Bernardin's motivation to write a piece entitled *Arcadia* lies in the esoteric secret societies of the Illuminists of which he would become a part. Bernardin had served in the Seven Years' War in 1760 under the Illuminist Comte de Saint-Germain, a

believer in esotericism who pretended to have lived for several centuries. In his work *Les illuminés*, Nerval recounts the story of Saint-Germain and Cagliostro:<sup>4</sup>

Ces deux personnages ont été les plus célèbres cabalistes de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le premier [Saint-Germain], qui parut à la cour de Louis XV et y jouit d'un certain crédit, grâce à la protection de Mme de Pompadour....s'occupait surtout de l'alchimie, mais ne négligeait pas les diverses parties de la science. Il montra à Louis XV le sort de ses enfants dans un miroir magique, et ce roi recula de terreur en voyant l'image du dauphin lui apparaître décapitée.

Saint-Germain et Cagliostro s'étaient rencontrés en Allemagne dans le Holstein, et ce fut, dit-on, le premier qui initia l'autre et lui donna les grades mystiques. À l'époque où il fut initié, il remarqua lui-même le célèbre miroir qui servait pour l'évocation des âmes.

Le comte de Saint-Germain prétendait avoir gardé le souvenir d'une foule d'existences antérieures, et racontait ses diverses aventures depuis le commencement du monde....

Cagliostro, après avoir été initié par le comte de Saint-Germain, se rendit à Saint-Pétersbourg, où il obtint de grands succès. (Nerval, II: 1175-76)

Bernardin would follow the same path as Cagliostro after his initiation, spending 1762-63 in Holland and then Russia, where he found a patron in Catherine II, herself an enthusiast of the Illuminists. In 1764 he spent time in Poland as a secret agent. All of these events, strangely enough, are linked to the life and thinking of Sand.

With her novel *Indiana*, Aurore Dupin signed her name for the first time as George Sand. It has often been said by critics, and myself, that Sand had shortened the name of her co-author on *Rose et Blanche*, Jules Sandeau. I propose that the name Sand was adopted in memory of an Illuminist, Karl Sand:

J'ai gardé, moi, celui de l'assassin de Kotzebue qui avait passé par la tête de Delatouche et qui commença ma réputation en Allemagne, au point que je reçus des lettres de ce pays où l'on me pria d'établir ma parenté avec Karl Sand, comme une chance de succès de plus. Malgré la vénération de la jeunesse allemande pour le jeune fanatique dont la mort fut si belle, j'avoue que je n'eusse pas songé à choisir pour pseudonyme ce symbole du poignard de l'illuminisme. (*O.A.*, II: 139)

George Sand was the great-great-grand-daughter of Frédéric Auguste de Saxe, later Auguste II, king of Poland. Her desire to re-establish her Germanic and thus royal roots may have played a part in her choice. Her affinity for Germany, and particularly for its secret Illuminist societies, would be fully revealed in *Consuelo, la Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843). Her predilection for Poland would be declared in her associations with Polish Illuminists whom she met in the salon of Marie d'Agoult and Franz Liszt in 1835, in particular the poet Mickiewicz,<sup>5</sup> a believer in the doctrine of "le Verbe nouveau"<sup>6</sup> as expounded by Joseph de Maistre and Emmanuel Swedenborg. Mickiewicz is listed in Nerval's *Almanach Cabalistique* as a "prophète rouge,"<sup>7</sup> along with Lamennais (whom Sand admired), Buchez, Proudhon, Considérant, and Pierre Leroux who would greatly influence Sand's societal ideals and who would assist her in defining a republican ideal of the androgyne. For

Sand, Lamennais and Leroux are “deux des plus grandes intelligences de notre siècle” (*O.A.*, II: 349). For Nerval, they are part of a cabalistic renewal of Illuminism in nineteenth-century France:

La race des *illuminés* n'est pas éteinte. Toutefois, le sol de France lui a toujours été moins favorable que celui de l'Allemagne. Mais il est des pays où le mysticisme est encore, pour ainsi dire, à l'état incandescent. L'émigration polonaise nous a dotés de toute une série de prophètes et d'apôtres qui se sont fait parmi nous de nombreux partisans et ont exercé une influence considérable sur le mouvement d'idées qui a trouvé son explosion en février.

Au premier rang il faut placer le poète Mickiewitz, dont le livre des *Pélerins polonais* fut toute une révélation. (Nerval, II: 1221)

Bernardin's passage through Poland, then, is not the result of hapless wanderings, but of a very deliberate plan to gain some further esoteric learning which he would later presumably share with his friend Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Sand's affiliation with the Polish circle (and Chopin in particular<sup>8</sup>) is at once a filiation with her Polish roots and a quest for life's deeper meanings through esoteric doctrines, a journey she had begun by the time of *Indiana*. Since her grandfather Dupin de Franceuil was, along with Bernardin, an *intime* of Rousseau (*O.A.*, I: 39) who had composed the *récitatifs* for Rousseau's *Le devin du village* (*O. A.*, I: 92), it may be that Sand's literary connection with both authors was suffused with Illuminist tendencies from the start.

Sand's rewriting of *Paul et Virginie* must be understood in light of a utopian genre which arose in the late seventeenth century in France and which would come to full flower in the eighteenth century. In his expansive article on

the subject,<sup>9</sup> Jean-Michel Racault traces the genre from Thomas More's *Utopia* to Bernardin's novel. In More's title, Racault finds an ambiguity which serves to distinguish Bernardin's text from Sand's rewriting:

L'*Utopie*, tel est, on le sait, le titre de l'ouvrage publié en 1516 par Thomas More (titre complet: *De optima reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia*). C'est aussi le nom de l'île imaginaire dotée d'institutions sociales idéales qui s'y trouve décrite par le narrateur du livre, Raphaël Hythloday. Le terme a été forgé par More à partir du grec. Mais rien ne permet de déterminer si le u- initial transcrit le préfix négatif ou- plutôt que le préfixe mélioratif eu-, et il semble bien que More joue très délibérément sur cette ambiguïté. D'où une possible ambivalence étymologique: l'utopie peut être aussi bien ou-topos, le 'non lieu,' le pays de nulle part, qu'eu-topos, le 'lieu où tout est bien,' la cité idéale. (422)

The first meaning of utopia points to its alterity, to its negativity. Its existence is presumably more imaginary than real, more of an intellectual mind game than a possibility. An example of this might be Swift's kingdom of horses in *Gulliver's Travels*. The second meaning of utopia is more positivist and marks an attempt to define, demonstrate, and serve as evidence for an ideal *polis* where social, political, and economic equality exist.

"Or, j'ai besoin d'idéal" (*O.A.*, II: 130). Though Naomi Schor associates Sand with idealism, the problem of definition remains. What exactly does Sand mean by "idéal"? Does she understand the word etymologically (as specter, as vision)? If so, is there a conjunction in her thinking between "idéal" as vision, as specter, and Pierre Leroux's universalist ideal as described by Nerval?

La rectitude des idées sur le socialisme dépend, en effet, d'une bonne solution de ces trois questions [1° d'où vient l'homme? 2° Qu'est-ce qu'une société humaine? 3° Quelles sont les conditions de la sociabilité?]. Voici sa réponse: L'homme procède d'une humanité créée permanente. Ce que nous voyons de lui n'est que comme le simulacre de l'existence. L'être sensible, intelligent, ne meurt pas, sa personnalité ne fait que cesser d'apparaître. Après avoir servi à peupler le vide pendant quelque temps, elle apparaît de nouveau, et, sans conserver le souvenir d'une apparition antérieure, apporte cependant le fruit des connaissances qu'elle a pu acquérir sous ses diverses formes.

L'homme sous l'apparence d'un corps, est une *triplicité*. Il est *sensation, sentiment, connaissance*.

Une société humaine est une communion qui a pour loi: l'égalité, la propriété, la solidarité.

Ainsi la base fondamentale des croyances que Pierre Leroux veut opposer au christianisme est une humanité *créée, permanente, perfectible*. Sa conséquence est une âme qui se perfectionne par une succession de réapparitions dans le monde terrestre. (Nerval, *Œuvres* II: 1226-227)

We shall return to this quotation when we discuss the problematic ending to *Indiana*. But for now, let us examine what Sand meant by "*idéal*." Perhaps the best definition she offers is to be found in her discussion of *amour idéal* and *amitié idéale*. For Sand, it is at the conjunction of both sentiments that the *idéal* is to be found:

—l'amour idéal résumerait tous les plus

divins sentiments que nous pouvons concevoir, et pourtant il n'ôterait rien à l'amitié idéale. L'amour sera toujours de l'égoïsme à deux, parce qu'il porte avec lui des satisfactions infinies. L'amitié est plus désintéressée, elle partage toutes les peines et non tous les plaisirs. Elle a moins de racines dans la réalité, dans les intérêts, dans les enivrements de la vie. Aussi est-elle plus rare, même à un état très imparfait, que l'amour à quelque état qu'on le prenne. (O.A., II: 130)

If love plays a role in *Indiana*, it is to show the failure of romantic love and certainly that of married love. Indiana Delmare is married to a violent, taciturn man who will beat her in a fit of jealousy and anger. In her unhappiness, she falls in love with Raymon, an egotistical suitor who, unbeknown to Indiana, is also having a torrid liaison with Indiana's "milk-sister" Noun.<sup>10</sup> While Bernardin exults sentimental love between Paul and Virginie, Sand finds sentimental love to be deceptive.

This is not to suggest that love is impossible in Sandian fiction. However, Sand's ideal love is far removed from Bernardin's irreality. Paul and Virginie, reared together by two benevolent mothers and symbolically linked by their mothers' milk (and what would become the symbol of French republicanism), share a youthful friendship which will turn into passion at the time of Virginie's coming of age. Bernardin's utopia is based upon a matriarchal "petite société" where the role of the ideal mother is capital, reminiscent of Julie at Clarens. All of that is threatened by Virginie's sexuality, her difference. Bernardin's utopia admits the maternal but not the feminine, and though fathers and lovers are not part of this utopia, Paul's own sexual awakening is not as destructive as Virginie's. Equality between the sexes is not possible in Bernardin's "petite société." Nor does Bernardin's utopia include social and

economic equality. The colonial economy of slavery on the island is mirrored in the “petite société.” Neither Mme de la Tour nor Marguerite ever emancipates her slave, and Paul’s vision of his future includes a fortune amassed as a slaveholder. Societal levels also never disappear. Mme de la Tour continues to maintain the same societal class divisions even though she is “outre-mer.” Her decision to send Virginie back to France is as much a response to her snobbishness as it is a desire to solidify Virginie’s economic future through a promised inheritance. Bernardin’s utopia, then, is based solely on the maternal, on two perfect mothers who rear two perfectly behaved children. His “petite société” is not based upon the principles of political, social, or gender equality. Rather, the influence of Rousseau’s ideas of maternity and education are reflected in the upbringing of Paul and Virginie. Though Bernardin’s novel features women prominently, his own ideas about women prevented him from infusing his utopia with true gender equality.

Having adopted the politics of Pierre Leroux, Sand found Bernardin’s system for women stifling. For Bernardin’s renewal of the cult of the “great mother,” Sand substitutes that of the extraordinary, ideal Woman, who seeks equality with her male peers. In sharp contrast to the idea of the couple found in the dual-named titles of the eighteenth century, such as Sade’s *Aline et Valcourt* and the Abbé Prévost’s *Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*, Sand’s novel bears only the name of the woman, and only her given name which is all that society will allow as truly her own. To the notion of nursing milk mothers in *Paul et Virginie*, Sand opposes the milk sisters, Indiana and Noun, in order to reinforce the idea of sisterhood among women of different races, social levels, and economic levels. And if Bernardin “whitewashes” slavery in his novel, Sand makes it a metaphor for all of the societal ills that plague women. We must recall that it was Sand who wrote the preface to the translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, where she compared marriage to slavery. She also makes the same connection in

## 74 - Idyllic Love

*Histoire de ma vie* when she describes the legal circumstances leading to her permanent separation from her husband:

Mais ceci n'est rien encore, et l'homme est investi de bien d'autres droits. Il peut déshonorer sa femme, la *faire mettre en prison* et la condamner ensuite à rentrer sous sa dépendance, à subir son pardon et ses caresses! S'il lui épargne ce dernier outrage, le pire de tous, il peut lui faire une vie de fiel et d'amertume, lui reprocher sa faute à toutes les heures de sa vie, la tenir éternellement sous l'humiliation de la servitude, sous la terreur des menaces. (*O.A.*, II: 380)

For Sand, marriage did not belong in utopia. It was not the idyllic state hoped for by Paul and Virginie. Rather, it was a legal contrivance which submitted women to a variety of social ills and constant degradations.

If romantic love and marriage do not represent the "ideal," then "amitié" between a man and a woman, as defined by Sand, holds the potential for the ideal state. In marked contrast to Bernardin, Sand's vision of utopia is attainable, but only by those who subscribe to the principles of "parfaite amitié." Sand's version of "parfaite amitié" is not a reworking of Amyot's "parfaicte amie" and the aesthetic of courtly love. Instead, it reflects Sand's version of the Platonic androgyne, where genders are fused to create a perfect oneness:

....ne vous croyez pas dispensé d'avoir *un ami*, un ami parfait, c'est-à-dire une personne que vous aimiez assez pour vouloir être parfait vous-même envers elle, une personne qui vous soit sacrée et pour qui vous soyez également sacré. Le grand but que nous devons tous poursuivre, c'est de tuer en nous

le grand mal qui nous ronge, la personnalité. Vous verrez bientôt que quand on a réussi à devenir excellent pour quelqu'un on ne tarde pas à être meilleur pour tout le monde, et si vous cherchez l'amour idéal, vous sentirez que l'amitié idéale prépare admirablement le cœur à en recevoir le bienfait. (*O. A.*, II: 131)

If Virginia's nascent sexuality is the snake in Bernardin's garden, it is Ralph's sexuality that smolders in *Indiana*. Ralph first discovers sexual passion while reading *Paul et Virginie* to the young Indiana. While she only understands the idyllic nature of the text, Ralph reads between the lines and uncovers the passion of the couple reared together. It is a situation that is too close to his own with Indiana:

Ce livre fit tout mon tourment, tandis qu'il faisait votre joie. Vous vous plaisiez à m'entendre lire l'attachement du chien fidèle, la beauté des cocotiers et les chants du nègre Domingue. Moi, je relisais seul les sentiments de Paul et de son amie, les impétueux soupçons de l'un, les secrètes souffrances de l'autre. Oh! Que je les comprends bien, ces premières inquiétudes de l'adolescence, qui cherche dans son cœur l'explication des mystères de la vie, et qui s'empare avec enthousiasme du premier objet d'amour qui s'offre à lui! (292)

Ralph, Indiana's cousin, will sublimate his passion by becoming her "father": "j'étais heureux, j'étais père" (293). Yet, Indiana is more than a passionate attraction: "Je comptais sur vous: vous étiez la compagne de ma vie, le rêve de ma jeunesse...." (295). Ralph enters into a loveless marriage with his dead brother's fiancée who loathes him. With her, he will have a son who will die in infancy. The

## 76 - Idyllic Love

death of his wife leaves Ralph a widower, presumably ready to wed Indiana, but, by then, Indiana has married Colonel Delmare.

Ralph's confession of his abiding love for Indiana takes place shortly before their planned execution of a suicide pact. In a sharp reversal of Bernardin's ending, Sand's lovers choose to die, for death is the gatekeeper to that other world where "parfaite amitié" is possible: "C'est moi maintenant qui suis ton frère, ton époux, ton amant pour l'éternité" (302). Ralph's confession is an epiphany for Indiana: Ralph is revealed to her for the first time as her true love. Their first kiss is a passionate kiss, whereupon Ralph carries Indiana to the edge of the precipice.

The traditional reading of the novel's final chapter determines that Ralph and Indiana are saved at the last moment from death because Ralph experiences a dizzy spell and the lovers are unable to complete their pact. But is there another possible reading of Sand's ending, one grounded in her idealism and in Pierre Leroux's notion of *perfectibilité*? If we recall Nerval's observations about Leroux's utopian system "Sa conséquence est une âme qui se perfectionne par une succession de réapparitions dans le monde terrestre," then the ending is open to an entirely new reading. Ralph and Indiana have found refuge in a place called *le Brûlé de Saint-Paul*, a place described by Sand in supernatural terms: "De ces rencontres fortuites sont résultés des jeux bizarres, des impressions hiéroglyphiques, des caractères mystérieux, qui semblent jetés là comme le seing d'un être surnaturel, écrit en lettres cabalistiques" (306). Ralph and Indiana have themselves become phantom-like creatures (we must recall once more the etymological meaning of "idéal" as specter, as vision) who seem to exist only for themselves. Those on the island are unsure about their physical existence: "Depuis près d'un an que le navire *la Nahandove* avait ramené M. Brown et sa compagne à la colonie, on n'avait pas vu trois fois sir Ralph à la ville; et, quant à madame Delmare, sa retraite avait été si absolue, que son existence était encore une chose problématique pour beaucoup d'habitants" (307).

Ralph himself is rather unsure about how he and Indiana were saved from death, attributing it to a dizzy spell. This ambiguity offers an alternative reading, a hermetic one, based upon Sand's definition of idealism reflecting the theories of Pierre Leroux. If perfection is a state to be attained through successive reappearitions, then the Ralph and Indiana at the end of the story are more perfect than the Ralph and Indiana on the edge of the precipice. They have crossed over to the other side of death, where they have reached a state of "parfaite amitié" in their own "petite société," one based upon the principles of gender equality. Sand's state of utopia rejects the negativity of *Paul et Virginie* and replaces it with a positivist vision attainable by anyone willing to achieve the blended nature of "parfaite amitié." This is a theme that Sand will echo in *Consuelo* where she makes full use of the hermetic tradition. Unlike her predecessor Virginie, Indiana achieves a level of serenity and independence. She lives freely as Ralph's "compagne" outside the strictures of marriage. What Sand offers her readers is a glimpse into her version of an egalitarian society, a society in which the vindicated rights of a woman are an essential foundation. Sand's rewriting of *Paul et Virginie*, then, inaugurates a type of feminist narrative where the heroine is able to achieve an ideal state, a state defined by gender equality.

## Notes

1. We cannot forget that Emma Bovary has been “poisoned” in adolescence by reading novels such as *Paul et Virginie*. Bernardin’s novel seems to have haunted Flaubert during his entire literary career.

2. George Sand would have had access to the depositions following the maritime disaster which were published in 1822 by the Baron Milius in his *Annales Maritime et Coloniales*. In 1823 Lemontey had also published *Étude littéraire sur la partie historique du roman de Paul et Virginie, accompagnée de pièces officielles relatives au naufrage du vaisseau le Saint-Géran* (Paris: A. André, 1823 [cf. *Œuvres de Lemontey* (Paris: Sautet): V, 349-376]), another possible source for Sand’s application of the name Delmare.

3. This disclosure should put to rest some of the less-than-satisfying explanations for Indiana’s last name. For instance, James M. Vest in “Fluid Nomenclature, Imagery, and Themes in George Sand’s *Indiana*” has a difficult time resolving the presence of this name associated with a landlubber in the novel: “It may be inferred from his name and his nature that Colonel Delmare is a member of an old seafaring family who has turned his back on the sea. The fact that he shows no affinity for water accentuates the basic incompatibility between Indiana and her husband.... Indiana, daughter of the tropical seas, is unhappily linked in marriage to this landlubber Delmare who has few ties with her favored element” (*South Atlantic* 44). Françoise Massardier-Kenney, though she argues against Vest’s association of fluids and women, repeats Vest’s erroneous reading of the name Delmare: “Notons que ce sont les noms associés aux personnages masculins qui sont liés à l’eau: que ce soit ‘Bellerive,’ le nom de la propriété de Ralph, ou le transparent patronyme ‘Delmare’” [*Nineteenth Century* 68]. What can be said more appropriately is that the name

Delmare gives the *impression* of being transparent, whereas it is in reality a textual link to *Paul et Virginie*.

4. He is mentioned as well in Sand's 1839 preface to *Lélia*, along with Goethe, Chateaubriand, and Byron.

5. A new reading of Rimbaud's "Alchimie du Verbe" should be done with a cabalistic subtext functioning throughout the reading.

6. According to Nerval, the term "prophète rouge" refers to a belief proclaimed by "la nouvelle religion slave" (1223) that Satan was the apostle of the people: "Il est donc clair pour nos lecteurs que Lucifer, le Diable rouge, est le même que les anciens appelaient *démogorgon*, nom dans lequel on peut retrouver encore la racine *dêmos*, peuple" (II: 1219). At a banquet on 17 January 1841, the "elect" gathered to celebrate the coming of the new jubilee which would be marked by the revealing of "un homme de génie," according to Joseph de Maistre: "L'apparition de cet homme ne saurait être éloignée et peut-être existe-t-il déjà. Celui-là sera fameux et mettra fin au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle qui existe toujours, car les siècles intellectuels ne se règlent pas sur le calendriers comme les siècles proprement dits" (cited by Nerval, 1223). These "elect" were together to recreate the Last Supper. According to Nerval, a speaker proclaimed that "la lumière du Christ qui a dû luire sur le monde pendant *mille ans et plus*, mais qui, par cette expression même du Sauveur, ne peut atteindre à l'an deux mille, serait aujourd'hui éteinte et aurait rendu nécessaire la venue d'un *septième* envoyé. Les deux mille années lunaires ne devant pas tarder à s'accomplir, *c'est à la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (1850)* qu'est réservée cette grâce d'un jubilee bi-millénaire où le ciel, sollicité par les âmes élues, doit pour ainsi dire descendre sur la terre en collones lumineuses propres à dissiper les ténèbres épaisses des derniers temps" (Nerval, 1223-24). It is interesting to speculate as to the impact the beliefs of intellectuals had on the acceptance of utopian socialism from 1830-1848, in the

## 80 - Idyllic Love

widespread popularity of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1848) and in the Revolution of 1848 in France. We know that Sand was profoundly distressed and disappointed in the failure of this revolution and that she feared for her own safety. Thereafter, she retreated to Nohan. We can further speculate on the esoteric meaning of the color red as a revolutionary color. Is it associated in the minds of some leaders with the "diable rouge" and the coming of the people's millenium? Are the increasingly found references in French literature to the devil (we can add to the list Sand's own *La mare au diable*) and to hell to be understood as allusions to this coming millenium of "the people"? Jules Michelet, at the end of *La sorcière* (1862), associates the scientific advances of modernity with Satan and envisions a future where fraternity reigns: "L'humanité entière a, pour la première fois, de minute en minute, la conscience d'elle-même, une communion d'âmes!... O divine magie!... Si Satan fait cela, il faut lui rendre hommage, dire qu'il pourrait bien être un des aspects de Dieu" (Michelet, *Sorcière* 306). Let us not forget that Rimbaud's "Voyelles" from *Une saison en enfer*, repeated in "Alchimie du Verbe" declare the "I rouge." Suzanne Bernard, in her notes to the Garnier edition of 1960, refers to an occultist interpretation of the color red propounded by Éliphas Levi whose work was known by George Sand: "la vie rayonnante va toujours du noir au rouge, en passant par le blanc; et la vie absorbée redescend du rouge au noir, en traversant le même milieu" (406). It is interesting to note here that the name of Sand's heroine Indiana begins with the vowel "I rouge" and ends with the "A noir."

7. Sand's first extended reference to Chopin in *Histoire de ma vie* is also a rather curious reference to her belief in metempsychosis: "Il est une autre âme, non moins belle et pure dans son essence, non moins malade et troublée dans ce monde, que je retrouve avec autant de placidité dans mes entretiens avec les morts, et dans mon attente de ce monde meilleur où nous devons nous reconnaître tous au rayon

d'une lumière plus vive et plus divine que celle de la terre"  
(*O.A.*, II: 416).

8. "*Paul et Virginie* et l'utopie: de la 'petite société' au mythe collectif." *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 242 (1986): 419-471.

9. I have explored the nature of the "doubling" of Indiana and Noun in "A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in the novels of George Sand."

10. A new reading of Rimbaud's "Alchimie du Verbe" should be done with a cabalistic subtext functioning throughout the reading.

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