

**FRENCH EMIGRATION IN GREAT-BRITAIN IN RESPONSE TO THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION:**

MEMORIES, INTEGRATIONS, CULTURAL TRANSFERS

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his/her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

From 1789 onwards, thousands of Frenchmen and women left France in response to the political, social, economical and cultural changes following the outbreak of the Revolution. A large number came to the British Isles. This dissertation focuses on the interrelation and interpenetration between the migrants and their host, confronted by circumstances to cohabit. Insofar as French and British populations were concerned, it questions the extent to which displacement, exchanges, and diverse interpretations of the exile defined the limits of each community. This thesis argues that evolving relations between the two groups pragmatically defined the political and social categories of *émigré* and refugee. Useful to the British State and the loyalist community, the French emigrant/refugee became a subject of propaganda against radicalism; forced to survive in a foreign environment, the emigrant group anticipated the expectations of its host by creating a public persona based on shared experiences of trauma. This discursive unity hid a financially, socially, politically and culturally divided population. As exile went on and the relations between London and Paris fluctuated, the limits of the emigrant public persona shrunk, to recentre around a core ultra-royalist group. This attempt at a *histoire croisée* of emigration in the British Isles combines traditional sources (contemporary and retrospective ego-documents, journalistic accounts, political publications) and innovative ones (classified adverts, passports, returns of the Aliens) to recreate the landscape of French and British encounters at a crucial moment in their history. Indeed, this dissertation aimed to open up a space for a research on emigrant-British cultural transfers by unearthing the situations, individuals and locations fundamental in the importation and reinterpretation of cultural objects in their own culture.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I: HISTORY AND MEMORIES	14
CHAPTER 1 – ÉMIGRÉS OR REFUGEES?	15
<i>Overview</i>	18
<i>From nation-centric perspectives to the internationalisation of emigration</i>	25
<i>Towards a transnational history of emigration</i>	39
CHAPTER 2 – REMINISCING THE HOST	53
<i>Challenging memory</i>	56
<i>Emigrant didacticism</i>	60
<i>Leaving a Patrie, returning in a Nation</i>	79
PART II: THE PRAGMATICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE	88
CHAPTER 3 – BRITONS: FORGING THE FRENCH EMIGRANT	89
<i>An alienating legislation</i>	91
<i>Naming the alien</i>	108
<i>Representing refuge</i>	113
CHAPTER 4 – EMIGRANT GEOGRAPHIES	124
<i>Emergency, resignation, discovery</i>	126
<i>London as the location for innovation and creation</i>	140
CHAPTER 5 – CHARITY, INEQUALITY, IDENTITY	143
<i>A Code of unequal relationship</i>	153
<i>The Generous Nation?</i>	162
<i>Lobbying for Ancien Régime distinctions</i>	171
CHAPTER 6 – SELLING TRAUMA	179
<i>The relocation of the Parisian aristocratic market in London</i>	183
<i>Nobility, Anonymity, Usurpation of Identity</i>	194
<i>Victimisation</i>	206
PART III: WAYS OF BELONGING AND WAYS OF BEING	213
CHAPTER 7 – THE LANGUAGES OF EMIGRATION	214
<i>Linguistic strategies</i>	219
<i>Translations, Translators and transfers</i>	226
<i>The emigrant reader, spectator and writer</i>	238
CHAPTER 8 – THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE EMIGRANT WORLD	248
<i>Despair, repatriation and isolation</i>	252
<i>Familial regeneration and dynastic strategies</i>	260
<i>Were naturalisations the sign of a rupture with emigration?</i>	273
CONCLUSION	280
Appendices	284
Bibliography	292

List of Figures

Figure 1 : Repartition of the emigrant advertisers according to trade advertised (1789-1800)	190
Figure 2: Methods of identification used by male and female emigrant advertisers between July 1789 and December 1800.....	203
Figure 3 : Classified adverts published per year between 1789 and 1800	207
Figure 4 : Classified adverts published per month between January 1792 and December 1794.....	207

List of Images

Image 1 : James Gillray, <i>The Dagger Scene or the Plot discovered</i> (London : H.Humphrey, 30 December 1792), British Museum	97
Image 2 : Anonymous etching, <i>The dagger drawing orator</i> (December 1792), British Museum.....	97
Image 3: James Gillray, <i>Search-Noght ; or State Watchmen, mistaking honest-men for conspirators</i> (London : H.Humphrey, 20 March 1798), British Museum.....	99
Image 4: Isaac Cruikshank, <i>Salus in Fuga : La France se purge petit à petit</i> (London: S. W. Fores, 29 July 1790), Bibliothèque nationale de France (Bnf).....	114
Image 5 : Thomas Rowlandson, <i>The Concert</i> (London : S.W. Forbes, 1792), Christie's	116
Image 6 : Thomas Rowlandson, <i>A French Family</i> (London : S.W.Forbes, 1792), Bnf.....	117
Image 7: Isaac Cruikshank, <i>Emigrant Clergy Reading the late decree, that all who returns shall be put to death</i> (London : S. W. Fores, 1792), British Museum	119
Image 8 : <i>The Importation of French priests, or the blessings of liberty</i> (London : J.Stratford, 1792), British Museum	119
Image 9 : <i>Sturdy beggars collecting for the émigrant French clergy</i> (London : William Holland, October 1792), British Museum	164
Image 10 : Isaac Cruickshank, <i>A General Fast in Consequence of the War</i> (London : 14 January 1794), British Museum	169
Image 11 : Thomas Rowlandson, <i>A French dentist shewing a specimen of his artificial Teeth and False Palate</i> (London : Thomas Tegg, 1811), British Museum.....	185
Image 12 : James Gillray, <i>The Man of Feeling, in search of Indispensables – a scene at the little French milleners</i> (London: Hannah Humphrey, 12 February 1800), British Museum.	192
Image 13 : James Gillray, <i>Britannia in French stays or re-form at the expense of the Constitution</i> (London :Hannah Humphrey, 2 January 1793), British Museum	193
Image 14 : James Gillray, <i>French Taylor fitting John Bull with a Jean de Bry</i> (London : Hannah Humphrey, 8 November 1799), British Museum	193

List of Tables

Table 1 : Names used by British subjects to refer to the French emigrant population, between 1789 and 1800.	110
Table 2 : Reported dates when French emigrant tenants moved into their dwellings, by July and September 1798.	133
Table 3 : Dispersion of the French population in London in 1796 and 1798.....	142
Table 4: Disciplines proposed by French emigrant advertisers	200
Table 5: Number of classified advert published per newspaper	202
Table 6 : Books published in London and imported to England in classified adverts.....	232

Abbreviations

(1) Primary Sources

a. Archives

BAA	Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives
BL	British Library
CCA	Cheshire and Chester Archives
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MLF	Museum and Library of Freemasonry
NA	National Archives
SAS	Southampton Archives Services
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office

b. Newspapers

BWM	Bell's Weekly Messenger
DWR	Diary or Woodfall's Register
EM	Evening Mail
GEP	General Evening Post
LC	London Chronicle
LEP	Lloyd's Evening Post
LP or NLEP	London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post
MC	Morning Chronicle
MH	Morning Herald
MP	Morning Post
MP&DA	Morning Post and Daily Advertiser
MP&FW	Morning Post and Fashionable World
MP&G	Morning Post and Gazetteer
MS	Morning Star
MT	Mirror of the times
OBNW	Oracle Bell's New World
O&DA	Oracle and Daily Advertiser
O&PA	Oracle and Public Advertiser
PA	Public Advertiser
SJC or BEP	Saint James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post
TB	True Briton
WEP	Whitehall Evening Post

(2) Secondary Sources

a. Journals

AHRF	Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française
FHS	French Historical Studies
JRF	Journal of Refugee Studies

a. Editions

CUP	Cambridge University Press
EUP	Exeter University Press
OUP	Oxford University Press
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
PUR	Presses Universitaires de Rennes
RHS	Royal Historical Society

Unless stated, translations in this PhD were carried out by the author.

INTRODUCTION

The year 1798 was coming to an end. In the Welbeck street house of a London baker, a French Comtesse was brought to bed with triplets – a substantial, and most likely irresponsible, addition to a destitute household of fourteen.¹ Having recently arrived penniless from Germany, the new mother relied upon the benevolence of both the British aristocracy and local shopkeepers to survive throughout her pregnancy. In Wiltshire, the Chevalier Henry Roquemont ‘sacrificed to the hymeneal altar’ of the daughter of a local gentleman, Miss Charlotte Freeman of Appleshaw.² At Falkirk, in Scotland, Captain Borthwick from the 71st Foot regiment wedded an ‘Emigrant lady of the ci-devant Nobility of France’.³ In the same cold months of winter, an English Duke paid regular nocturnal visits to a beautiful French *émigrée* piquing the curiosity of many young London heiresses, whilst a gang of French pickpockets, led by bewigged ‘French emigrant’ Lordonier, made a living by pinching banknotes from wandering British gentlemen.⁴ A French emigrant cook brought his English employer to court for unpaid wages whereas an underage English maid and her father sued the Comte de Carrière from Lisle Street for illegal employment and ill treatment.⁵ On the literary scene, Maria Wild, an aspiring romantic bard, sent a painfully long and sentimental poem on exile, *The Emigrant*, to be published in the *Evening Mail*; and it was at this time that Lucy Peacock first published her best seller *The Little Emigrants*, a propagandist children tale on British charitable efforts.⁶ For better or for worse, in joy and in sorrow, established and wretched, lawfully and socially, at home, in the workplace, in the bedroom or in the

¹ *GEP*, 17-20 November 1798; *SJC or BEP*, 1-4 December 1798; *BWM*, 2 December 1798; *MH*, 2 December 1798. St.Domingue heiress Amable de la Toison de Rocheblanche (1767-1801) married naval officer Gustave, Comte de Sparre (1750-1813) in 1787. She and her husband died in exile in London.

² *WEP*, 20-23 October 1798; *MP&G*, 23 October 1798. Roquemont, later styled Rockmont of Appleshaw, died in exile in 1807 (NA, PROB 11/1466/252).

³ *MP&G*, 27 November 1798. The bride was named Madame d’Alian.

⁴ *Courier & Evening Gazette*, 11 March 1799; *WEP*, 7-9 March 1799 and *O&DA*, 9 March 1799.

⁵ *O&DA*, 11 December 1798; *LP or NLEP*, 22-25 March 1799.

⁶ *EM*, 2-4 January 1799. LC, 12-14 February 1799.

street, the histories of the British hosts and the French emigrants from the Revolution are closely intertwined. However, in 1798, nine years after the beginning of the Revolution and despite daily reminders of their presence in the British Isles, the identity of these emigrants still challenged the British political and public sphere. In the midst of a heated debate on Britain's policies regarding the treatment of foreigners, William Windham, secretary at war in Pitt's government rose from his seat in the House of Lords. He then proceeded to remind his fellow politicians that 'it was a very common error to call all foreigners Frenchmen, and all Frenchmen emigrants'.⁷

'We seek him here, we seek him there' – to its British host, the French emigrant remained as 'damned' and 'elusive' a character as Baroness Orczy's 1905 hero, the *Scarlet Pimpernel*, was to her fictional French Jacobins.⁸ A reactionary caricature of the French Revolution, the novel embodied all the counter-revolutionary leitmotifs on emigration and on Great Britain as a host country. Set during the 1793 *Terreur*, this novel staged a bloodthirsty French mob, dulled by its adoration for the Guillotine and tricked by a charitable and witty contender, who was a native of Great Britain. Epitome of the British altruistic character, Sir Percy Blakeney, disguised as *the Scarlet Pimpernel*, had made it his duty to save unfortunate French noblemen and chiefly their despairing widows and orphans from the terrorist First Republic. He would then bring them to a safe haven in London. In fact, French and British nineteenth and twentieth century literature on the Revolution strongly contributed to further the durable myth of a noble, devout, and counter-revolutionary *émigré*; these characteristics being meliorative or pejorative depending on the author's political affiliation. Also observed in Orczy's novel, the antagonisms and attractions between revolutionary France and Great Britain have, ever since the Revolution, been a permanent major feature of

⁷ *WEP*, 19-21 April 1798.

⁸ Baroness Orczy, *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (London: Greening, 1907).

scholarly and fictional discourse on Franco-British relations in the last decade of the eighteenth century. An unsuspected consequence of these discourses was the underestimation of the importance of emigrant-British relations and of the exchanges that took place between the French emigrants and their host society. Indeed, the impact the French Revolution had on the British Isles has been extensively studied in political and social modern historiography as well as in literary criticism.⁹ Furthermore, the presence of Britons in Paris during the Revolution has been the subject of several theses and articles.¹⁰ Despite a large amount of individual biographies, the stay of the French emigrant population in the British Isles between 1789 and 1814 and its interactions with the host society remains a comparatively understudied field in rigorous historical research.¹¹

This observation is merely based on the reflection of a gap in historical research and, to a lesser extent, literary criticism in analysing archives and documents that were produced in Great Britain by and for the average emigrant between 1789 and 1815.

⁹ General studies, see: H.T Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the French Revolution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989); Colin Jones (ed.), *Britain and Revolutionary France: Conflict, Subversion, Propaganda* (Exeter: EUP, 1983); Mark Philp (ed.), *The French Revolution and British popular politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991); Jennifer Mori, *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution, 1785-1820* (London: Routledge, 2000); Gregory Claeys, *The French Revolution debate in Britain: the origins of Modern Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Clive Emsley, *Britain and the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2000). On the revolutionary wars: J.E Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford: OUP, 1997); Emma Vincent MacLeod, *A War of Ideas: British attitudes towards the War against revolutionary France, 1792-1802* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1998). Literary critics: Matthew O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel. British conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001); Ian Hampsher-Monk, *The Impact of the French Revolution: Texts from Britain in the 1790s* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).

¹⁰ Paul Gerbod, 'Visiteurs et Résidents britanniques dans le Paris révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1799', in Michel Vovelle (ed.), *Paris et la Révolution* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989), pp.335-51; Marc Belissa and Sophie Wahnich, "Les crimes des Anglais: Trahir le Droit", *AHRF*, 47 (1995), 233-48; David Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières: John Oswald and the British in Paris, 1790-1793* (Columbia, Miss.: University of Columbia Press, 1986); Simon MacDonald, 'British Communities in late eighteenth-century Paris' (unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 2011).

¹¹ The three most recent general monographs on French Emigration in Great Britain are Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789-1802* (London: Macmillan, 1999); Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792-1814* (London: RHS, 2000); Dominic A. Bellenger, *The French Exiled clergy in the British Isles after 1789* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986). The first chapter of Elisabeth Sparrow's *Secret Services: British Agents in France, 1792-1815* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999) assessed the influence of the French nobility in London in the early 1790s in creating the British Alien Office.

Moving away from the study of politically and socially biased sources and *a posteriori* accounts written by returned emigrant elites, this thesis aspires to challenge a common sweeping interpretation of emigration in the British Isles as simply an exiled communitarian process and a wasteland in term of cultural exchanges and productions.¹² At this early stage in the scholarly research into emigrant-British interaction, it is still too soon to conclude along with certain historians, that emigrants had almost exclusively been the vehicles for transfers towards France.¹³ The French aesthetics of ‘*Spleen*’ or Romanticism brought back from Britain by melancholic repatriated emigrants could be the visible sign of a more complex and entangled history. Twenty-five years of emigrant-British cohabitation had not simply transformed the emigrant ideals: this thesis argues it played a significant yet subtle role in all aspects of emigrant lives, and to an extent British ones.

The primary ambition of this exploration of emigration in Britain is to interrogate the British roots of *émigré* discourse on the French nation using the methodology of cultural transfers.¹⁴ In the context of emigrant-British transfers, this methodology allows the analysis of the exportation by emigrants of ideas generated in Great Britain, in order to understand the appropriation and consecutive transformation of these same ideas within their new *émigré*, anti-revolutionary as well as counter-revolutionary cultural frames. Vice-versa, it allows to understand the peripheral yet fundamental role played by these migrants in furthering a British sense of national cohesion in the era of the French Revolution. The foreign roots of the imagination of a nation are often hidden and buried away by retrospective collective memories (as

¹² In this thesis, I chose the expression ‘emigration in’ rather than ‘emigration to’ as I explicitly refer to the group and not the collective displacement.

¹³ Karine Rance ‘L’Historiographie de l’Emigration’, ed. by Philippe Bourdin, *Les Noblesses françaises dans l’Europe de la Révolution* (Rennes: PUR, 2010), pp.355-368 (p.361).

¹⁴ Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999).

simplified tales of exiled communitarianism) in the search of a unifying truth.¹⁵ Hence, this theoretical project required a strong empirical ground, based on the examination of sources contemporary to the emigration. As an unexpected twist, the contemporary sources highlighted an even more complicated process, with transnational crossings between the emigrants and British society in several domains, ideological and practical.¹⁶ Despite their everydayness and apparent banality, these crossings were actually creators of meaning. The research on cultural transfers was consequently extended to include a research on emigrant-British *histoire croisée*.¹⁷ Hence, two additional key objectives were added to the primary concern on emigrant-British cultural transfers: the reconsideration of traditional sources used in the history of emigration in Great Britain in the light of new sources and innovative research angles, as well as the creation of a levelled typology of emigrant relationships with their home and host countries.

This research has sought to further a thorough examination of emigration in Great Britain by adding to traditional sources many contemporary documents produced by emigrant and British individuals, and often disregarded in scholarship for their little political or literary credentials. Previous research on emigration in Great Britain have mainly concentrated on émigrés' public discourse and self-narratives, documents produced by the financial and intellectual elites of emigration as well as by the British elites, charities and government. Adding to these, this thesis also exploits British

¹⁵ The sociological research on 21st century immigration and refugeedom has phrased similar concerns as Michel Espagne's. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller were concerned that the 'denial of role of immigrants in nation building has been crucial to the creation of myths of national homogeneity' in *The Age of Migration*, 3rd edn, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁶ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman, 'Beyond comparison: histoire croisée and the challenge of reflexivity', *History and theory* 45, (2006) 30-50.

¹⁷ The European *histoire croisée*, along with the postcolonial approaches of 'connected' and 'shared history' belong to the family of relational and transnational histories in response to the limitation of national comparison. However, it mainly focuses on the meaning, acceptance as well as contestations generated at the intercrossing between two nationally identified spaces. See also, Robert W. Strayer (ed), *The Making of the Modern World. Connected Histories, divergent Paths, 1500 to the Present* (New York: St Martin press, 1989).

provincial record offices where several overlooked archives remained, mostly in the southern port cities of England but also in Birmingham, Sheffield and as far north as Chester. Much care has been taken to methodically include overlooked printed sources. For example, classified adverts' sections of newspapers that were previously used as anecdotes in a desultory manner have been analysed in a systematic manner.¹⁸ 'Islets of foreign memory'¹⁹ in the British world, many emigrant sources and sources on emigration are still unknowingly held within British national or county archives and libraries; when used, they are rarely connected to narrate the history of emigration. Yet, they 'connect' both the French memory and the British memory of the phenomenon. This research then endeavoured to understand the diverse models of integration and interpenetration between the two groups – integration emanating from the British State, civil society or chosen by groups of individuals. Sources used in this research were always examined in terms of relation, interaction and circulation between the emigrant and British cultures.²⁰ This allowed the assessment of resistance or comprehension within the emigrant groups when faced with difference, as well as of the consecutive alteration or persistence in their cultural behaviour.

The overall focus on collective memories, cultural transfers and entangled relations, coupled with the transnational scope of this study, dictate that traditional geographical limits (France and Britain as national spaces) and conventional chronological restrictions (July 1789 to November 1815) be exceeded.²¹ Setting the narration between the first departures from France following the decision of the King's brothers to emigrate on 15 or 16 July 1789 and the Bourbon second Restoration of

¹⁸ Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees*, pp. 26-27; Claude Gamblin, *L'Immigration française en Grande-Bretagne* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), pp.106-107.

¹⁹ Espagne, p.94.

²⁰ Werner and Zimmerman, pp.37-38.

²¹ Etienne François, 'Les vertus du bilatéral', *Vingtième siècle. Revue d'Histoire*, 71 (2001), 91-96. In this article, Etienne François invites the researcher on cultural transfers to consider the methodology as relative and a mere mean or step towards a European shared experience.

November 1815 would confine emigration within the strict boundaries of its existence as an intrinsically French political phenomenon.²² These limits would ignore altogether the significant pre-revolutionary Franco-British relations, the evolving British reactions to the Revolution and the long-term impacts of the emigrant-British cohabitation on both societies. Instead, emigration must be understood in this particular research as a historical moment when the possibility for cultural exchanges and transfers increased due to the cohabitation of culturally differentiated groups. In the *Making of the Modern Refugees*, Peter Gatrell argued that ‘refugees went into exile as persons enmeshed in relationships’.²³ What is right for the twentieth-century refugee also applies to the eighteenth century emigrant.²⁴ Along with contemporary reactions to the Revolution in France, pre-revolutionary Anglophilia, Gallomania and their phobic counterparts certainly played a determinant role in both emigrant and host’s behaviours towards the other.²⁵ The British refuge of the Huguenots, the French exile of the Jacobite court and several private journeys throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century had already contributed to the creation of a system of transnational influence;²⁶ to a certain extent,

²² In some theories, emigration predated the French Revolution – Calonne, ex-finance minister to Louis XVI, is sometimes considered as the first *émigré*, when he left France to find a shelter in London in August 1787. Although he expressed his anti-government position early, his counter-revolutionary discourse however dates from after July 1789.

²³ Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), p.288.

²⁴ The often-debated use of the word refugee applied to the French emigration context is discussed in Chapter 1, and throughout this PhD.

²⁵ The literature on Franco-British relationship in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is immense – the debate usually opposes Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) or Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1987) claims of an increasingly anti-French sentiment amongst the lower social classes of Britain to Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000) theory of an emulative Gallomania spreading from the British upper classes to the rest of the population. More recently, this debate shifted towards the question of Franco-English/Irish/Scottish cultural transfers within the Republic of Letters. The Voltaire Foundation published two major volumes: *Intellectual Journeys: the translation of ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland*, ed. by Lise Andries and others (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013) and *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth century*, ed. by Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, Edmond Dziembowski (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010).

²⁶ On the Huguenots, see: Bernard Cottret, *Terres d’exil: l’Angleterre et ses réfugiés (XVI^e-XVII^e siècle)* (Paris: Aubier, 1985); Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001). Very little work has been undertaken on the Jacobite communities in France: Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile. The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge:

patriotism and cosmopolitanism belong together in the Salons of the European Republic of Letters.²⁷ The production of a new and transformed identity, influenced by the sojourn in the host country, continued past the homecoming and the reintegration of the emigrants in post-revolution France.²⁸ In Great Britain, the presence of the French emigrant population somehow furthered the long-term cultural identification of a British charitable and Christian character as opposed to the Revolutionary Terror. An apparent rupture when considered as a political phenomenon in national historiographies, emigration could however be interpreted as a new branching in the transnational history of Franco-British relationships. The history of emigration cannot be reduced to Chateaubriand's short-term identification of a "lost generation", condemned to survive in a un-'renewed' and profoundly French *ancien régime* world;²⁹ in the *moyenne* and *longue durées*, the history of emigration is also the history of many creations, bifurcations and metamorphoses.

Thanks to the richness and diversity of all sources, the response to these key objectives revolves around three structural parts – the first of these ('History and Memories') demonstrates the construction of collective memories on emigration along with the nineteenth and twentieth century reinterpretations of the emigrant-British co-existence. The second part ('The Pragmatics of everyday life') interrogates the evolution of the diverse forms of emigrant integration – inclusive, mixed or exclusive –

CUP, 2004); Patrick Clarke de Dromantin, *Les Réfugiés Jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2005).

²⁷ *Cosmopolitismes, Patriotismes: Europe et Amériques, 1773-1802*, ed. by Marc Belissa and Bernard Cottret (Rennes: Les Perséides, 2005); Edmond Dziembowski, *Un nouveau Patriotisme français, 1750-1770: la France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998).

²⁸ *Le Moi, L'Histoire – 1789-1848*, ed. by Damien Zanone (Grenoble: ELLUG, 2005); Natalie Petiteau, *Ecrire la Mémoire. Les Mémorialistes de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012).

²⁹ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Essai Historique, Politique et Moral sur les Révolutions anciennes et modernes, considérées dans leurs rapports avec la Révolution Française* (Londres: chez Colburn, 1814), pp.427-428; See also Jean-Claude Berchet, 'Les Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe: Une autobiographie symbolique', in *Le Moi*, ed by Zanone (2005), pp.46-47.

and the interpenetration between emigrant and British cultures. Having been transformed over many years while being sheltered in a foreign country, the underlying question of the conditions for return and reintegration of emigrants in a metamorphosed France is finally exposed through the examination of cultural transfers and the diverse emigrant interpretations of their social, ethical, religious and political transformation during their stay in Great Britain ('Ways of belonging and ways of being').

Gathered under Part I, the two opening chapters of this thesis offer an overview of the theoretical frame and sources used in deconstructing competing collective memories on emigration in Great Britain: how does one write traumatic history? How does one remember a traumatic phenomenon? How did a political migrant become the decontextualised allegory of refugeedom? The modern concept of trauma certainly is anachronistic to emigration, but psychologists, sociologists and now historians would argue that it represents a 'timeless category'.³⁰ In *Les Ombres de l'Histoire*, Michelle Perrot reminds the historian that 'each change constitutes a trauma' and henceforth participate to 'transform the mores, habits, values and dreams of a population'.³¹ And what a change displacement was to those parties who, willingly or not, experienced emigration and the Revolution! To escape all partisan traps, it is necessary to adopt a rigorous methodology on population displacement and the creation of identity, adapted to the particular context of retrospective discussions on French emigration.³² The first chapter, 'Émigrés or Refugees?', retraces and questions the legendary and historiographic transformations of the *émigré* figure in the past two centuries before

³⁰ Ronen Steinberg, 'Trauma before trauma. Imagining the effects of the Terror in post-revolutionary France', in *Experiencing the French Revolution*, ed. by David Andress, (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), pp.177-201 (p.179). Patrice Higonnet, 'Terror, Trauma and the 'Young Marx' explanation of Jacobin politics', *Past and Present*, 191 (2006), 121-64.

³¹ Michelle Perrot, *Les Ombres de l'Histoire* (Paris: Flammarion, 2001), p.306. It is important to emphasise that, in the chosen definition, trauma does not always equate victimhood.

³² The theoretical frame of this study borrows to modern immigration and refugee studies. While the legal and humanitarian definitions of what constitutes refugeedom are incomparable, I retrospectively found many structural similarities between the situation of French emigrant population between 1789 and 1815 and the trajectory of modern displaced populations.

proposing new research angles and sources. Indeed, the dominance of national memories in the debate is furthermore complicated by the existence of rival revolutionary and counter-revolutionary memories within both the French and British national frames. The second chapter, ‘Reminiscing the host’, interrogates traditional uses of self-narratives in describing the interactions between French emigrants and the British host society. Returned *émigrés* attempted to assert their moral and political integrity in *mémoires* and *souvenirs* written between the late 1790s and 1850. These offer a biased, anachronistic, and reconstructed vision of antagonistic relations between the migrants and their host country to better project their adherence to France as a *Patrie* and a Nation. And yet, this chapter argues, they are essential in the history of emigration as they allow seizing emigrants’ retrospective preoccupations in comparison to contemporary documents.

Examined in the second part, the richness of empirical sources contemporary to emigration offers a privileged anchorage onto the meaningful creations resulting from the encounter of the displaced population and its host, and both groups’ imaginations of themselves and the others. The role of the social and cultural historian is not limited to factual descriptions – his aim is to ‘understand how a population represents itself, and constantly produces sense and intelligibility’.³³ Similarly, the role of the historian interested in displacement is to understand how a displaced population represents itself with regards to its home and host countries, and how the migrant population and its host simultaneously produce and manipulate both ‘sense and intelligibility’ in their confrontation. Hence, the third chapter, ‘Britons: Forging the French Emigrant’, deals with the British legislative definition of emigration, along with the definition by public British discourse of what constitutes a French Emigrant (this discourse being radical or

³³ Arlette Farge, *Le Gout de l’archive* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p.123.

loyalist, popular, middle-class as well as established). It seeks to understand the evolving definition of ‘alien’ and ‘refugee’ as political, social and humanitarian categories in an increasingly loyalist British context. The following chapter, ‘Emigrant Geographies’ interrogates the French diverse strategies (defined as emergency, resignation and dispersal) with regards to their relationship to the host environment. The sociology of immigration argues that migrant dispersal is ‘concomitant with the processes of community formation’, ‘the re-energizing and re-imagining of communities’.³⁴ We argue that the particularity of the emigrant dispersal in Great Britain not only allowed the formation of a distinguishable and increasingly isolated *émigré* communitarianism, but also the creation of diverse mixed communities and, sometimes, the assimilation of many emigrant outsiders within the larger British community. Moving to the economic and financial relationship between the emigrants and their hosts, the fifth chapter, ‘Charity, Inequality, Identity’, looks into the British relief politics following the large French influx of September 1792, and their role in continuing and reinforcing the *ancien régime* ideal of aristocratic distinction. It consequently interrogates the British public and governmental motives behind the relief. While Christian charity was presented to the general public as a fundamental trait of the British character, to what extent was this generosity actually related to an underlying Burkean notion of natural order amongst the (mostly English) propertied? The relief was insufficient to those who were not aristocrats; it was furthermore refused to many political and social outsiders. The sixth chapter, ‘Selling Trauma’ examines the emigrants’ professionalization, and in particular their rhetorical strategies in classified adverts. Beyond the study of emigrant-British commercial transactions and French promotional culture, the systematic analysis of classified adverts enables on the one

³⁴ Maggie O’Neill, *Asylum, Migration and community* (Bristol: Policy, 2010), p.5.

hand to seize the preoccupations of identity within the displaced group; on the other hand, it allows understanding the expectations of the British readership regarding the emigrant population.

The last part of this thesis considers the hopes and deceptions encountered by the emigrants in Britain, and their long-term impact on individual identities and the cohesion of the group in public and private discourse. Beyond the traditional examination of *émigré* warfare politics, it interrogates the complex formation of individual daily politics in response to the political development in late 1790s and 1800s France, Great Britain and Europe, through personal development and familial life. As specialist in the counter-revolution Jean-Clément Martin puts it, one duty of all historians is to ‘interrogate networks to understand what lies under the surface of politics and what will last’.³⁵ Chapter 7, ‘The Languages of emigration’, deals with the linguistic and literary aspects of emigrant-British relationships – association, assimilation or reaction are studied through the learning of a new language, the modification of reading habits amongst the emigrants and their publishing practices. Comparative studies and literature have already emphasised the necessity for French emigrants to invent a new literary and aesthetical language when confronted with fundamental ethical choices.³⁶ This chapter mainly emphasises the role of writers, translators, booksellers and libraries in the circulation, adoption or rejection of the diverse French exiled opinions within certain British circles, and vice-versa. The eighth and last chapter of this thesis, ‘The Disenchantment of the Emigrant World’, deals with the emigrants’ confrontation with the harsh reality of exile and the ethical strategies put in place to survive and thrive in the host environment, as individuals and as members of

³⁵ Jean-Clément-Martin, ‘Introduction’, in *La Révolution à l’oeuvre: perspectives actuelles dans l’histoire de la Révolution française*, ed. by Jean-Clément Martin (Rennes: PUR, 2005), p.10-11.

³⁶ Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des Idées dans l’Emigration française* (Paris: Plon, 1924). Malcolm Cook, ‘The Émigré novel’, *The French Émigrés in Europe and the Struggle against Revolution, 1789-1814*, ed. by Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp.151-164.

a decaying French exiled community. It interrogates the solutions chosen by individuals, influenced by the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary politics, familial decisions and collective decisions.

PART I: HISTORY AND MEMORIES

CHAPTER 1 – ÉMIGRÉS OR REFUGEES?

‘Refugee’, ‘*Émigré*’, ‘Exile’, ‘Counter-Revolutionary’, ‘Displaced’ or ‘Emigrant’: the very vocabulary chosen to describe French migrant groups and individuals often reflected the describer’s political position on emigration.³⁷ In turn, this vocabulary reveals the influence of national traditions and historiographies on the describer’s understanding of the French Revolution.³⁸ In the modern English-speaking academic world, the migrant groups that left France during the Revolution are often referred to and thought of as ‘refugees’.³⁹ Yet, in the absence of any legal definition of refugeedom, this modern and essentialist conception can only bear a moral (and too often moralising) bias. It represents despairing individuals and groups as ‘traumatized objects of intervention’ and in the simplified terms of ‘helplessness and loss’.⁴⁰ The representations related to the word ‘refugee’ somehow incriminate the situation migrants had to flee – in this case, the French Revolution and in particular the violence related to the Jacobin institutional *Terreur*. Despite possessing its own entry as a common noun in English dictionaries as ‘emigrant of any nationality, especially a political exile’, the word *Émigré* is often used in italics or capitalised in British and

³⁷ Far from being exhaustive, this list overlooks the revolutionary terminology – and in particular that used by journalists and speechmakers (*fugitifs*, *aristocrates*). Cf. Stéphanie Genand, ‘L’infâme derrière des ci-devants. Le cul aristocrate et la contre-révolution’, *AHRF*, 361 (2010), 145-156.

³⁸ A more neutral perspective was adopted in Allan Potofsky, ‘The “Non-Aligned Status” of French Emigrés and Refugees in Philadelphia, 1793-1798’, *Transatlantica*, 2 (2006); See also Potovsky, ‘Emigrés et réfugiés de la Révolution française aux Etats-Unis’, in *Réfugiés/exilés aux Etats-Unis*, ed. by Catherine Collomp and Mario Menendez (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 2003) pp. 33-50.

³⁹ Carpenter, *Refugees*; Kimberley Berryman, ‘Great Britain and the French Refugees, 1789-1802: the administrative response’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Australian National University, 1980); Philip Mansel, ‘Courts in Exile: Bourbons, Bonapartes and Orléans in London, from George III to Edward VII’, in *A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity*, ed. by Debra Kelly and Martin Cornick (London: IHR Publications, 2013). In this chapter, Mansel refers to the families d’Artois and Bourbons as ‘Royal Refugees’, a title with a double meaning as ‘refugees’ can refer to their situation with regards to France or, in a negative sense, to their financial situation: fleeing from debts in London, d’Artois had to take refuge in Scotland, in the sanctuary of Holyrood.

⁴⁰ Peter Gatrell, p.8; Prem Kumar Rajaram, ‘Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee’, *JRF*, 15 (2002), 247-264 (p.248). See also Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, *L’Empire du traumatisme: Enquête sur la condition de victime* (Paris: Flammarion, 2011).

American history and literary criticism.⁴¹ Transcribed as a foreign reality or as a proper noun, these typographic uses supply French *Émigrés* with a legendary status. In fact, this usage is somewhat reminiscent of *Refuge* to describe the entire Huguenot population, when the English language seized and adopted a French word to describe a French migrant group.⁴² On the contrary, the word ‘émigré’, used in French historiography, appears as a common noun or an adjective.⁴³ To a certain extent, this definition disregards the relationship with the country of destination to privilege the evolving dialectic between counter-revolutionary migrants and revolutionary figures.⁴⁴ A teleological figure, the ‘émigré/refugee’ still unconsciously serves the purpose of national histories – the history of French emigration in Great Britain often appears as a sub-history of the French Revolution in France or as a chapter in the history of the European response to the Revolution in the United Kingdom. In both academic contexts, emigration in Great Britain, in its military and ideological forms, has also often been studied as a chapter in the history of the French and British Counter-Revolution.⁴⁵

As it serves national histories, the examination of emigration obeys cultural academic traditions proper to continental Europe or English-speaking countries. In a 2009 article on the evolutions of research on the French Revolution since the

⁴¹ ‘Émigré’, *Oxford English Dictionary online* [accessed 23 February 2014].

⁴² ‘Refugee’, *Oxford English Dictionary online* [accessed 23 February 2014]. Jennifer Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in revolutionary France, 1789-1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p.106. She has also argued that the term *Refugié*, used in the French context of the Thermidorian reaction of 1796-1797 ‘echoed the term of *religionnaire fugitif*, used to describe Protestants who had left France for religious reasons’.

⁴³ ‘Émigré’, *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française en ligne* [accessed 23 February 2014].

⁴⁴ Jean Vidalenc, *Les émigrés français, 1789-1825* (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1969); Karine Rance, ‘Mémoires de nobles émigrés dans les pays germaniques pendant la Révolution Française’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris I, 2001).

⁴⁵ Jacques Godechot, *La Contre-Révolution. Doctrine et Action, 1789-1804* (Paris: PUF, 1961); *La Contre-Révolution en Europe, 18^{ème}-19^{ème} siècles. Réalités politiques et sociales, résonances culturelles et idéologiques*, ed. by Jean-Clément Martin (Rennes: PUR, 2001); D.M.G Sutherland, *France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (London: Fontana Press, 1985); *Les Résistances à la Révolution*, ed. by François Lebrun and Roger Dupuy (Paris: Imago, 1985). Despite the usual discussion on Edmond Burke (here by François Furet’s ‘Burke ou la fin d’une seule histoire de l’Europe’), this edition of forty-eight articles failed to present the resistance to the Revolution in Great Britain.

celebrations of the 1989 bicentenary, Colin Jones rightly deplored the lack of exchanges between historians from different intellectual cultures, opposing the French heirs to the socio-economic inquiries of the *Annales* to the English-written tradition of Cultural Studies.⁴⁶ A similar observation holds when it comes to the history of emigration. English-speaking historians often insist on the emotional, literary and artistic dimensions of emigration with subjects related to charities or romantic literature;⁴⁷ French historians (together with the German historiography) have mainly focused on its social and economical facets with research on the noble and ecclesiastic classes in emigration, the repossession of *émigré* lands and properties by the State or the 1825 *Milliards des émigrés*, when the Bourbons regime restored its aristocratic partisans into their unsold properties.⁴⁸

Refugee, *émigré* and counter-revolutionary refer to three different intentions related to emigration: refugee (and even sometimes immigrant) should be only used when adopting the perspective of the host society and *émigré* when the perspective derives from the French dialectic between revolution/anti-revolution. Counter-revolutionary should only be used when referring to the military and ideological dimensions of emigration – anti-revolutionary is a more appropriate adjective to describe the political heterogeneity of the group's projects. Adopting a neutral position, the group will be often referred to as 'emigrant', 'exiled' or 'displaced'. The word 'exiled' has been used in three historiographical contexts. Since the Revolution, 'exile' has been referring to the refractory clergy facing deportation after protesting against the

⁴⁶ Colin Jones, 'Twenty years after', *FHS*, 32 (2009), 279-687.

⁴⁷ For example, Margery Weiner, *The French Exiles* (London: Murray, 1960); Kirsty Carpenter, *The Novels of Madame De Souza in Social and Political Perspective* (Oxford: P. Lang, 2007); Alan Davidson, 'The Iconography of an *Émigré* Musician: Henri-Pierre Danloux's 1795 Portrait of Jan Ladislav Dussek', *Early Music*, 37 (2009), 175-186.

⁴⁸ Bernard Bodinier and Eric Teyssier, *L'Événement le plus important de la Révolution. La Vente des biens nationaux* (Paris: CTHS, 2000).

mandatory 1790 clerical oath to the French Constitution.⁴⁹ ‘Exile’ has also been used in lieu of emigration to describe an heterogeneous migrant group.⁵⁰ Finally, ‘exile’ has been an umbrella term covering the nexus of lay emigrants, clerical exiles and francophone individuals in London working together against the revolutionary and imperial governments.⁵¹ Like ‘exile’, ‘emigrant’ and ‘displaced’ seem devoid of prejudices on the migrants’ and host’s political projects, consigning emigration to the actual displacement of the French population. The adoption of a neutral terminology rid of all prejudices allows the alliance and examination of traditional and new research angles. With this technical and linguistic grounds sets, this chapter now endeavours to describe as concisely and as accurately as possible the evolution of the historiography on emigration in Great Britain. Starting with current empirical knowledge, it then moves onto the slippery road of summarising and questioning two hundred years of revolutionary, anti-revolutionary, counter-revolutionary, and finally academic discourses on a controversial population displacement. Collective memories of the French presence in Great Britain during the Revolution have drastically evolved in the two centuries since the last emigrants returned to France. Coupled with the European interests for transnational academic subjects and collaborations, the passage from partisan and national memories on emigration to the academic and rigorous discourse on this subject in the past fifteen to twenty years reflects, as will be discussed below, a profound modification in the choice of sources, research angle and methodology.

Overview

The history of the French emigration in Great Britain largely depends on the French revolutionary and European counter-revolutionary contexts. The evolution of the

⁴⁹ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*; Bernard Kroger, *Des Franzosische Exilklerus im Furstbistum Munster, 1794-1802* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005).

⁵⁰ Roger Dupuy, *La Noblesse entre l'Exil et la Mort* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1988).

⁵¹ Burrows, *Exile Journalism*.

French political, social, and cultural systems in the 1790s and 1800s drove an estimate of 150,000 French individuals (i.e. 1% of the French population in 1789) to search for a haven in Europe, North America and in a few occasions as far as Siberia, India and Indochina.⁵² Most historians agree that emigration started in the aftermath of the fall of the Bastille, when the Comte d'Artois – brother to Louis XVI – left France. The princely family of Condé followed shortly after. Although departures were incessant, different 'waves' of exodus, motivated by politics or fear, come out: departures were mostly voluntary until 1792 and forced or life-saving between September 1792 and late July 1794. Migration trends reversed after Thermidor, and several emigrants returned to France, also in waves, during the Directory, the Empire and until the final return of the Bourbons in 1814-15. The constant comings and goings of emigrants, as well as the loss of several British administrative sources on French emigrants, make it difficult to assess the incidence of emigration to the British Isles.⁵³ While originally a destination of second choice for the majority of emigrants, most sources show however that Great Britain had become the first choice destination after the summer 1792. Kirsty Carpenter believes that, on average, 12,500 emigrants stayed in England per year – with as many as 20-25,000 at the highpoint of 1792.⁵⁴ Dominic Aidan Bellenger's exceptional contribution to the research on clerical emigration to Great Britain shows that by September 1792, 2,500 exiled clergymen and women were living in England and in Jersey.⁵⁵ By December of the same year, that number had risen to almost 7,400 with approximately 3,000 living in England and 3,400 in Jersey. In 1800, 5,621 French clerics were settled in the British Isles but by 1815, this number had dropped to 350.

⁵² Donald Greer, *The Incidence of Emigration during the French Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1951); John Dunne, 'Quantifier l'émigration des nobles pendant la Révolution française: problèmes et perspectives', in *La Contre-Révolution*, ed. by Martin, pp.133-141.

⁵³ The mass of documents produced by the British administration named *Alien Office* were lost when this British spying agency became part of the British Foreign Office.

⁵⁴ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.40.

⁵⁵ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp.3-4.

Subtracting the 1,000 who died in exile, the remainder returned to France following the *Concordat*. I will not risk proposing another estimation regarding the lay population: any definite number would precisely defeat the purpose of a research focused on demystifying both contemporary and retrospective identifications and definitions of what a French emigrant was. Instead, I would like to focus on the political and sociological heterogeneity of the displaced, highlighted by the recent historiography.

The first emigrants to Great Britain chose the country more as a touristic destination than a political haven - many cautious aristocrats left France after the general alarm instigated by the peasant rebellions, or *Grande Peur*, of July and August 1789. They initiated a phenomenon that came to be known as *émigration à la mode* [fashionable emigration] or *émigration joyeuse* [merry emigration].⁵⁶ The name certainly stressed the expectation of an imminent return. Hence, the noble French emigrant in Bath or Tunbridge Wells in 1789-early 1792 was probably a regular eighteenth-century consumer of water therapy;⁵⁷ the emigrant in London was almost certainly discovering the constitutional and liberal magnificence of the British capital, awaiting in tranquillity for pacification to return home. Meanwhile, in July 1790, the French National Assembly adopted the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*, a bill subordinating the Catholic Church to the French State, and by November 1790, all clergymen and women were compelled into taking an oath to the French Constitution. As a consequence, several non-juring clergymen and nuns left France. They did not come yet to England. The first measures taken by the *Assemblée Constituyente* against noble and clerical departures focused around the financial and mercantile consequences

⁵⁶ Vidalenc, p.65. The expression of a fashionable emigration is also found in a few pamphlets produced in France and describes the gatherings of French noblemen and officers, led by fashionable aristocratic women in neighbouring countries.

⁵⁷ Charles Robert, *Les émigrés bretons réfugiés à Bath en Angleterre sous la Révolution* (Plihon and Hervé, 1898); Léon Dubreuil, 'Révolutionnaires de Basse-Bretagne: Joseph le Normand de Kergré, Commissaire du Roi', *Annales de Bretagne*, 32 (1917), 353-392 (pp.379-380).

of emigration: French authorities feared these merry emigrants would transport, spend, hide or invest their fortunes in foreign countries. Emigration only became a crime in French legislation after the King's attempted flight, like a '*vulgaire émigré*' [low class émigré], on 20 June 1791.⁵⁸ However, in the respite following his return to Paris, an amnesty of two months was proposed to the *émigrés* on 13 September 1791 because Louis XVI had finally accepted the Constitution. Ratified to appease the social and political situation in France, the royal agreement to the Constitution actually reinforced the gap between the French monarch and the military and counter-revolutionary nobilities. An unplanned consequence, it intensified the emigration process: countless officers and ideologues subsequently left their home to gather, arms in hand, along the eastern Rhineland. As war broke out in continental Europe in April 1792, Great Britain remained neutral, rejoicing at seeing its principal military and economic challenger weakened. It was not then allied to the *émigré Armées des Princes* and *de Condé*.

Constitutional Great Britain did not become a haven of first choice for emigrants before September 1792. Unlike the *émigrants à la mode*, new migrants 'of fear' were taking a shelter from the new Republic inaugurated by the *Massacres de Septembre* when the Parisian mob murdered about 1300 prisoners, all presumed counter-revolutionaries. Many amongst the *Normand* and *Breton* refractory clergy and anti-revolutionary population then exiled themselves in the British Channel Islands and in the English mainland.⁵⁹ They were not alone in choosing Albion as a shelter. Other migrants, already out of France, were fleeing the belligerent ravages from continental Europe where the counter-revolutionary were being defeated. The British response to the 1792-1794 emigration was charitable, legal and military. In an unprecedented and

⁵⁸ Mona Ozouf, *Varennes. La mort de la royauté* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p.409.

⁵⁹ François Xavier Plasse, *Le Clergé français réfugié en Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie Catholique, 1886); Alphonse Martin, *Le Clergé Normand avant, pendant et après l'exil en Angleterre* (Evreux: Imprimerie de l'Eure, 1892). Greer (*Incidence of Emigration*) coined the term 'geographical incidence' to describe the totality of emigrants taking a shelter in a region or country neighbouring their regional homes.

unique movement, the British civil society created charities to help the impoverished cleric and lay French populations.⁶⁰ In preparation for war, Pitt's government observed a tight control of the foreign population in Britain thanks to a paraphernalia of administrative organisations, offices and laws amongst which the January 1793 *Aliens Act*. By February 1793, Great Britain entered the first counter-Revolutionary coalition; it was finally left standing alone against France by 1797. While the Revolutionary armies progressively encroached on their eastern neighbours between 1792 and 1797, an increasing number of emigrants found a haven in Great Britain. Amongst these were many defeated soldiers who rallied in England in the months before 1794 and later in 1795 for what they hope, every single time and rather foolishly, would be a last coup against the Republican armies. Mostly constitutionalist at first, the political structure of emigration in Great Britain gradually included aristocratic and ultra-royalist fringes. The political structure of the emigrant populations in Great Britain was furthermore renewed to the rhythm of measures taken by the Jacobin Republic: a few *monarchiens*, some Republican generals, a few *Girondins*, *Federalistes* and other revolutionary moderates who had progressively been declared national enemies in France escaped to Great Britain – in many ways, it was the only European power that seemed to have at some point shared their democratic ideals and where they would not be imprisoned.⁶¹

Politically heterogeneous, the French population displaced in Britain was also sociologically diverse. If it was mainly noble in the early years of the French Revolution, the years 1792-1794 witnessed the displacement from France of many middle class individuals, artisans and peasants. Many craftsmen and artists also suffered from a deep economic crisis and the loss of their usual clientele: many came to London where the demand for French goods had been high throughout the seventeenth and

⁶⁰ Kirsty Carpenter, 'Les émigrés à Londres, 1792-1797', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris I, 1993).

⁶¹ Jean-Pierre Bois, *Dumouriez, héros et proscrit* (Paris: Perrin, 2005); Hugues Marquis, 'Le Général François Jarry au service de l'Angleterre (1793-1806)', *AHRC*, 356 (2009), 93-118.

eighteenth century. Throughout the period, Great Britain certainly hosted a proportionally higher percentage of French noblemen, women and clerics than the rest of continental Europe.⁶² This for a simple reason – Great Britain constantly remained unoccupied by Revolutionary and Imperial France, hence attractive to the core of the political dissidents but an unlikely first choice for most lower class transborder emigrants of fear. Hence and as will be discussed throughout this research, the British memory of the phenomenon might have wrongfully been distorted by the predominance of the First and Second estates on its soil.

After the declaration of war of April 1792, *émigrés* had essentially been perceived as one of the many enemies of the French nation. Yet, the definition of the term nation endured a continuous restriction after 23 October 1792, when French legislators attempted to identify rules for keeping or acquiring the French nationality.⁶³ The new Republic, reinforced by its military victories, banished in perpetuity those who, by leaving the national soil, had metaphorically become aliens to the French nation. The *émigrés* were finally legally identified as enemies of the State by the laws voted between 28 March and 5 April 1793: all *émigrés* lost their French citizenship; their domains and possessions became national properties. Following the end of the *Terreur* in late July 1794 and the weakening of the Jacobin movement, the consecutive conservative Thermidorian reaction critically harmed emigration, already split in its motives. Just as departures from France were correlative to the diverse attempts to

⁶² Donald Greer's 1951 division of emigration (pp.132-138) as *c.*16,400 noblemen and women (17%), *c.*24,600 clergymen and women (25%) and *c.*49,700 professional men and women (51%) corresponds to emigration from France and does not examine the partition in host countries. Many historians however remarked that some eastern and southern departments weighed heavily in the peasant and proletarian emigrant population. A regular situation in refugee behaviour, transborder populations are prone to flee beyond the state frontier in case of a civil conflict. Excluding these outliers, the First and Second Estate represent 63% of the French emigrant population (35% of migrants being clergymen and 27% being noblemen).

⁶³ Mike Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: the treatment of foreigners, 1789-1799* (Oxford: OUP, 2000); Sophie Wahnich, *L'Impossible citoyen: l'étranger dans le discours de la Révolution française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997); Marc Belissa, *Fraternité Universelle et Intérêt national (1793-1795): les Cosmopolitiques du droit des gens* (Paris: Kimé, 1998).

identify the nation, departures from Britain to France related to a less restrictive rhetoric on national affiliation to France following *Thermidor*.⁶⁴ Despite the non-abolition of the most restrictive laws against emigration and before the general amnesty of 1802, the fugitives of 1792-1793 were no longer frightened of repercussions and many of those who had emigrated by fear returned immediately. Throughout the period 1795 to 1815, and particularly during the Napoleonic Empire, many political *émigrés* from 1789-1792 accepted by default the new French order and abandoned the Bourbon's cause despite the organisation of a counter-revolutionary European coalition.⁶⁵ Legitimate chiefs of the French counter-revolution, Louis XVI's brothers and family were held responsible for the failures of emigration. Furthermore, the 1801 *Concordat* between Paris and the Vatican, coupled to the 1802 peace Treaty of Amiens between France and the United Kingdom, outdated the Catholic and military preoccupations of emigration despite some resistance by London-based French bishops and the ultra-royalist Bourbon court.⁶⁶ By 1802, only 1000 emigrants had not been amnestied – even if the number of French still living abroad as a consequence from the Revolution was much higher. In the meantime, several other individual emigrants made their way to Great Britain. For those whom the revolutionary and then Imperial victories had pushed towards the edge of Europe, Britain became a hub and a gateway to France. Some like Louis-Philippe and his brothers, who had fled to the United-States of America and returned to Europe in 1800, were waiting for the right moment to return to France; Napoléon had exiled others, like Madame de Stael.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Heuer, pp.99-119. Emmanuel de Waresquiel, 'Joseph Fouché et la question de l'amnestie des émigrés (1799-1802)', *AHRF*, 372 (2013), pp.105-120.

⁶⁵ Martin, 'Introduction', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. by Martin, pp.7-8.

⁶⁶ Bellenger, 'The Ideology of Isolation', in *Exiled Clergy*, pp.112-125; Burrows, 'The Challenge of Bonaparte', *Exile Journalism*, pp.179-221.

⁶⁷ Munro Price, *The Perilous Crown: France between Revolution, 1814-1848* (London: Macmillan, 2007); Michel Winock, *Madame de Stael* (Paris: Pluriel, 2012).

From nation-centric perspectives to the internationalisation of emigration

The stark contrast between fictional French emigration in Great Britain and the latest research on the incidental, political and social importance of the phenomenon raises questions about the construction of mythic structural images, and their influence on historiography. To paraphrase Eric Hobsbawm writing on the historiography of the French Revolution, ‘part of the History of [emigration] is what the nineteenth century made of it’.⁶⁸ The development of historical knowledge is related to the collective memory of groups; remembrance is not a purely individual process: it is also a social phenomenon.⁶⁹ The construction of French and British collective memories on emigration started simultaneously with the Revolution. Therefore, each understanding of emigration in the British Isles is complicated by the interdependences between the diverse familial memories, political memories, socio-economic memories and the national memories established by the French and British states, through strategic mediums such as national education, national celebrations and commemorations.⁷⁰

Foreign in Britain and alienated from France, the documentation of their stay in Great Britain by French emigrants lingered for a long time within non-official and un-national zones. In France, anti-emigration revolutionary policies worked in tandem with the reunion of archives in national and departmental centres.⁷¹ By virtue of the decrees voted between 9 and 12 February and 30 of March 1792, *émigrés*’ and refractory priest’s papers in France were seized and confiscated, and given to archival centres. Instrumental to the discourse justifying the necessity of a Revolution, these papers

⁶⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *Echoes of the Marseillaise: Two centuries looking back on the French Revolution* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p.xi.

⁶⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).

⁷⁰ Stephen Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution. The Historians’ Feud, France 1789/1989* (N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Hobsbawm, *Echoes*. See also catalogues of exhibitions such as Jane Troughton, *French Connections: An Exhibition to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution focusing on the many émigrés who settled in Richmond Upon Thames During the Revolutionary years* (London: London borough of Richmond Upon Thames, Community Services Department, 1989).

⁷¹ Sophie-Anne Leterrier, ‘L’Histoire en Révolution’, *AHRF*, 320, (2000), 65-75.

(feudal titles, acquisition of properties and estates, household spending, private correspondence of noblemen, clergymen and grand bourgeois from the seventeenth and eighteenth century) reflected pre-revolutionary inequalities and discrimination in favour of privileged classes. Shaming the *émigrés*, the national and regional archives preserved at first the sole memory of those who had legislated on emigration. A pro-Jacobin and republican tradition shaped the image of the aristocratic traitor to the nation.⁷² The *émigré* had sinned when he fled France and battled against his motherland with the aid of foreign nations. Until some *émigré* papers became national properties via gifts in late nineteenth and twentieth century, this anti-aristocratic view of emigration remained predominant in French archives.⁷³ Consequently and for a long time, the relation to the host country remained irrelevant. Additionally, after their return to France, emigrant archival sources on the host countries were often inherited by families reluctant to divulge their role in emigration.⁷⁴

With the exception of self-narratives, most manuscript sources on emigrant-British relations by involved parties were produced outside the French national frontiers. In the United Kingdom, these sources were not at first kept in official locations or available in places open to the public. Many private correspondences and other documents were kept in familial British archives. The mass of documents produced by the British administration stayed hidden for a long time since the British governmental organisation in charge of emigrants also functioned as a spying agency. Hence, the British collective memory on the French emigrants took after personal

⁷² Antoine de Baecque (ed.), *La Caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988).

⁷³ The Fonds Bourbon-Condé in Chantilly retains many papers about the military and political objectives of Emigration; it only became a French national property by the end of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ In the French National Archives, CARAN, the consultation of some archives on Emigration, such as the microfilms on the family Rohan-Chabot (Fonds Lafayette) is ruled by certain restrictions. Hidden away for half a century by Lafayette's heir, René de Chambrun, the Rohan-Chabot papers only emerged in the 1990s. Chambrun was godson to Pétain and son in law to the infamous Pierre Laval: the memory of emigration got mixed up with the history of French collaboration in WWII.

memories, available fictions, propagandist and historical essays as well as pamphlets printed during the emigrant-British co-presence on the British soil. Often printed in London, and available in both languages, 1790s/1800s counter-revolutionary French and British literature delighted in the staging of noblemen thrown into the torments of exile, poverty and even beggary in the midst of foreign countries and societies.⁷⁵ In the early 1800s, the representations of emigration in the British imaginary mirrored the British obsession for the Revolution –⁷⁶ obsession resulting from the ambient cultural and political emulative conservatism and anti-Jacobinism of members of the British establishment.⁷⁷ The combined availability and lack of foreign and emigrant sources in both countries contributed to rule out from within the narration of French and British national narratives the chapters on the emigrant-British exchanges during the Revolution. French official sources emphasised the political and social impact emigration had on France as a nation; British unofficial sources fed a social commentary on British altruistic features, elevated to the rank of national characteristics. In the first context, the French emigrant naturally became *émigré*; in the second one, he necessarily was thought of as a refugee – eighteenth-century second-rate counterpart to the Protestant Huguenot. Coherent and cohesive in each national imagination, these sources made all foreign and contradictory sources on emigration obsolete.

With the Restoration and until the late nineteenth century, conservative memories on the Revolution remained predominant in both France and Great Britain. French historian Jean-Clément Martin insist upon the importance of the Counter-

⁷⁵ On French emigrant literature, see: Cook; *Romans de l'Emigration*, ed. Stéphanie Genand (Paris: H.Champion, 2008). On British literature, see Grenby.

⁷⁶ Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution, 1789-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p.37.

⁷⁷ Kevin Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution: literary conservatism in Britain, 1790-1832* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

revolution in ‘staining’ nineteenth-century political, social and cultural lives – probably to the same extent as revolutionary movements, despite the latter winning the battle of memory by the end of the century.⁷⁸ In an attempt to rebuild stable regimes after 1815, the European Monarchies, and France in particular, searched for some type of historical and narrative intelligibility to explain the Revolution. In this context, the ideological conflict between counter-revolutionary and revolutionary memories on emigration in Great Britain was furthermore complicated by the love-hate relationship between the two nations and the simultaneous British influence on French constitutional politics.⁷⁹ In France, the emigrants’ memory of the host country crystallised around three main collective memories, with three different opinions on Britain as a host country.⁸⁰ While the ultra-royalist/legitimist and Bonapartist camps held a political grudge against the British monarchy, the constitutional faction looked upon London, considered as a political ally and a model.

As part of its political, social and economical programme, the restored Bourbon monarchy – in its chartist form at the beginning and its later ultracist form – developed an anti-British ideology, in which the then-host country became one of the influential instigators of the French Revolution. The imperial and economic tensions between the French restored monarchy and London furthermore biased the Legimitist opinion of Great Britain, whose military presence in France between 1815 and 1818 was resented by many as an invasion.⁸¹ Partisans of the Bourbon monarchy who had lived in Britain had then to publicly dissociate themselves from their hosts even if their relationships

⁷⁸ Martin, *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, p.8.

⁷⁹ Pierre Rosanvallon, *La Monarchie Impossible* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), pp.7-8; *La dignité de roi. Regards sur la royauté au premier XIXème siècle* ed. by Becquet and Bettina Frederking (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

⁸⁰ René Rémond, *Les Droites aujourd’hui* (Paris: Audibert, 2005); Bertrand Goujon, *Monarchies postrévolutionnaires, 1814-1848* (Paris: Seuil, 2012).

⁸¹ François Mongin de Montrol, *Histoire de l’Emigration* (Paris: Ponthieu, 1827), pp.314-316. Robert and Isabelle Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy: the French and the British from the Sun King to the present* (London: Pimlico, 2007), pp.307-330; Thomas D. Veve, *The Duke of Wellington and the British Army of Occupation in France, 1815-1818* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

had not been bad. By 1825, Histories of and self-narratives on emigration flourished in the context of the controversial law on the *Milliard des émigrés* as re-established emigrants justified their demands for compensation.⁸² The legitimist part of this literary corpus was based on a strong ideological rationality: although the denunciation of plots started at least in 1789 (and maybe earlier for historians Darrin MacMahon and Didier Masseau), counter-revolutionary theoreticians developed a coherent discourse which was used as a collective frame to express all oppositions to the Revolution in the nineteenth century.⁸³ This corpus identified an *émigré*-type (aristocratic, religious, ultra-royalist and reactionary) suggesting that *émigrés* had become a collective being. This reactionary theoretical system partly blamed the British constitutional influence, the Protestant religion and the influential freemason network of undifferentiated Scottish and English lodges (all allied to the much despised philosophers and sans-culottes) for the fall of the *ancien régime*. In contrast, aristocratic rule and the association of the Roman Catholic Church were key beliefs in legitimist theories championed by Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre, and vulgarised by many royal and sanctifying commemorations.⁸⁴ On the long term, this political vision drifted towards a moral vision of the relationship between the two countries – in 1838, legitimist journalist Alfred de Nettement published an article in the *Revue de Bruxelles*, in which he praised the

⁸² See Chapter 2. Vincent Viénot de Vaublanc, *L'Émigration* (Paris: 1825). See also André Gain, *La Restauration et les biens des émigrés* (Nancy: Société d'Impressions typographiques, 1929).

⁸³ Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L'Europe des Francs-Maçons* (Paris: Belin, 2002), p.172. On eighteenth-century and early nineteenth century, counter-revolutionary thoughts, see the groundbreaking studies by Darrin MacMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment* (Oxford: OUP, 2001) and Didier Masseau, *Les Ennemis des Philosophes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000).

⁸⁴ On Joseph de Maistre's philosophy, the most recent scholarship is: Carolina Armenteros and Richard Lebrun, *Joseph de Maistre and the legacy of Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011). On Louis de Bonald, see: David Klinck, *The French counterrevolutionary theorist, Louis de Bonald (1754-1840)* (New York: P.Lang, 1996). See also, *Blancs et Contre-Révolutionnaires en Europe. Espaces, réseaux, cultures et mémoires (fin XVIII^e-début XX^e siècles)*, ed. by Bruno Dumons and Hilaire Multon (France: Ecole Française de Rome, 2011) and Emmanuel Fureix, *La France des Larmes: deuils politiques à l'âge romantique. 1814-1840* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon, 2009).

beneficial aspects of emigration in England, controversially arguing that it allowed the renewal of Catholicism in the Protestant isle.⁸⁵

Overwhelmed with simplifying revanchist displays in legitimist narratives on emigration, pre-1830 liberal historians insisted in their discourse on the segregated existence of two political emigrations. On the one side were the legitimists who had fought in Coblenz for the upholding of *ancien régime* and aristocratic values: for Mongin de Montrol, the adoption of the *Milliard* would be a calamity, as this aristocratic emigration was responsible for ‘thirty years of war outside and the anarchy and Terror inside’.⁸⁶ They themselves stood on the other side: despite their efforts to build a modern and reformed French state (looking upon England as a model), many constitutional monarchists and moderate revolutionaries had been forced to depart to London or Switzerland by the radicalisation of the revolutionary state. Amongst many, Adolphe Thiers voiced this alternative memory. In his 1823-1827 *Histoire de la Révolution*, he opposed the aristocratic and ‘presumptuous’ *émigré* – whose threatening behaviour from Germany led to war – to the ‘*émigré* of freedom’ who took a shelter from the revolutionary wars and the *Terreur*, and presumably took refuge in England.⁸⁷ In its ‘epic [memory] of the French middle class’, the liberal opposition to the Bourbon presented itself as the true upholder of liberties in France.⁸⁸ Yet, in the fierce battle for the political and cultural domination of France, legitimist authorities silenced the anglophile and constitutionalist memory of the Revolution, and by extension their memory of emigration and Great Britain as a host country. Liberal memoir writers insisted that they always refused, even in emigration, to mingle with the legitimist

⁸⁵ Alfred Nettement, ‘Progrès du Catholicisme en Angleterre’, *Revue de Bruxelles* (1839), 119-153.

⁸⁶ Mongin de Montrol, pp.314-315.

⁸⁷ Adolphe Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution* (Paris: Lecointe et Durey, 1823-1827). Thiers’ sources on Emigration in Great Britain were mainly self-narratives by military officers and administrators – Bouillé, Bertrand de Moleville and Dumouriez.

⁸⁸ Marcel Gauchet, ‘Les lettres sur l’histoire de France d’Augustin Thierry’, in *Les Lieux de Mémoires* ed. by Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), II, 1, pp.147-216.

crowd; they insisted that they were emigrants and not *émigrés*. In disapproval of the *Terreur Blanche* and the repressive politics of a reactionary government against ex-revolutionaries, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans chose a second exile in England where he stayed for eighteen months from 18 August 1815.⁸⁹ Guizot, anglophile and leader of the liberal and royalist *Doctrinaires* was dismissed from his chair in History in the Sorbonne in 1822 where he was philosophising about the theory of representative government and English liberties.⁹⁰ The Revolution of 1830 in France and the advent of the bourgeois monarchy continued to modify the memorial landscape on emigration and Britain as a host country. Eager to differentiate his flight from France to the Bourbons' political exile, Louis-Philippe reminded the French citizens of his participation in the 1792 victory of Jemmapes against the counter-revolutionary Austrian armies before leaving to America and then England. Now minister, Guizot related the failure of the Bourbon Restoration to the incapacity of the ultra-royalists from Coblenz to understand the profound modification that France had undergone in 1789. Making his the 1796 catchphrase from the Chevalier de Panat, he claimed that the Bourbons partisans had 'neither learned' from their experience in emigration 'nor forgotten' – hence playing a fundamental role in radicalising the Revolution.⁹¹

To avoid falling in similar traps as the Bourbons, the new anglophile state elites faced a strong contradiction when strategically forced to present a patriotic image of their government in order to achieve national reconciliation.⁹² During the July Monarchy, the Franco-British dialogue climaxed with the Entente Cordiale of 1841-

⁸⁹ Price, pp.109 and 119.

⁹⁰ Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, p.16-17.; 18-19.

⁹¹ François Guizot, 'Chapitre 1: La France avant la Restauration', in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1858-1867); on the ultra-royalist nobility's reaction see Ralph Gibson, 'The French Nobility in the nineteenth century', in *Elites in France*, ed. by Philip Cerny (London: Frances Pinter, 1981). For the catchphrase, 'Lettre from the Chevalier de Panat to Mallet du Pan', 1796, in *Mémoires et correspondance de Mallet du Pan* (1851), II, p.196.

⁹² Tombs, pp.132-134.

1846 but aroused national discontent among the oppositions. Despite proclaiming itself the ‘sole legitimate heir of all the proud memories of France’, the constitutionalist (yet increasingly conservative) memory failed to appease the nationalist claims emerging from its left.⁹³ Making their own the Jacobin and Imperial discourses on the foreigner and Britain, Bonapartist and Republican voices rejected emigration as a whole, and thought of England as a national nemesis.⁹⁴ France had lost its hegemony over Britain with the Restoration and the July Monarchy. For some, this loss had begun in emigration. Profoundly Anglophobe, Republican historian Michelet considered the coalition between Pitt and the emigration in Jersey and in England (assimilated to the nobility and the clergy) as a threat to the Republic.⁹⁵ Assimilated to Coblenz, emigration was regarded altogether responsible for the war and guilty of anti-French conjurations;⁹⁶ by welcoming the *émigrés*, London had become an intriguing enemy.⁹⁷ Historian Etienne Cabet rejected the Orleanist reading of a dual emigration: anglophile and constitutionalist *émigrés* were as guilty of treason towards France as the ultras – perhaps more guilty because of their hypocritical and intriguing ventures in revolutionary ranks until September 1792.⁹⁸ From the end of the July Monarchy, emigration was thought of as both a class and a national problem – and all emigrants assimilated to a reactionary nobility and clergy.

Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, the portrayal and characterisation of the emigrant figure took a different turn, as emigration had been absent from the national

⁹³ Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p.816.

⁹⁴ *La France et l'Angleterre au XIX^{ème} siècle: échanges, représentations, comparaisons*, ed. by Sylvie Aprile and Fabrice Bensimon (Paris: Creaphis, 2006).

⁹⁵ Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (Paris: Pléiade, 1939), T.II, pp.606-612; *Les Femmes de la Révolution* (Paris: Delahaye, 1855), p.133.

⁹⁶ Pierre-François Tissot, *Histoire complète de la Révolution française* (Paris: Baudouin, 1835).

⁹⁷ Tissot, IV, p.126; Paulin de Champrobert, *Le Comte d'Artois et l'Emigration* (Paris: Victor Magin, 1837).

⁹⁸ Etienne Cabet, *Histoire populaire de la Révolution française de 1789 à 1830*, Vol.II (Paris: Pagnerre, 1839-1840).

agenda since 1815. In 1837, Carlyle published his ‘great poem’, *The French Revolution*.⁹⁹ Convinced that the behaviours of a nation are framed by religious and philosophical beliefs, he unadventurously attributed the outbreak of the French Revolution to the decay of the French aristocracy and its loss of religious faith. First assimilating the emigrants to ‘French seigneurs’ who had lost their hunting privileges or the ‘highest seigneurs’, Carlyle gave historical corroboration to the notion that emigration had been aristocratic, unconstitutional and reactionary.¹⁰⁰ For this, he used the same memorial sources as his French liberal predecessors. To this first emigration, he substituted a second one: ‘the highflyers have gone first, now the lower flyers; and ever the lower will go, down to the crawlers’.¹⁰¹ Carlyle’s subject was certainly not the relationship between France, the emigration and Great Britain. And yet, through his literary genius and his substantial influence on all English-speaking writings on the Revolution, he was a stumbling block on the transformation of the French emigrant figure in post-1840s British fiction. Coincidental with the end of the Romantic era that had coined the figure of the despairing and wandering French emigrant, Great-Britain was ‘confronted to its own eruption of social forces from below’ with the late 1830s/1840s Chartist movement.¹⁰² Many British commentators (conservative as well as Chartist) were hence envisaging a revolt of the labouring poor in their own country similar to the one that had happened in France in the end of the 1780s.¹⁰³ Building up on previous anti-Jacobin discourse, this new counter-revolutionary fear gave way to fantasies on the 1793-1794 *Terreur* and the poor refugees in England.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896-1899).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p.158. Borrowed from Thiers or Mignet, the idea of a Revolution in two phases was widespread in 1830s England.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Vol.I, p.222.

¹⁰² Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution*, p.152; Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, p.21.

¹⁰³ Fabrice Bensimon, ‘L’Echo de la Révolution française dans la Grande-bretagne du XIXe siècle’, *AHRF*, 342 (2005), 211-237; Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, p.22.

¹⁰⁴ Pamela Pilbeam, *Madame Tussaud and the History of Waxworks* (London: Hambleton, 2003).

In 1859, Charles Dickens published *A Tale of Two Cities*. Dickens affirmed he had read Carlyle's volumes 'five hundred times' and carried them with him during the composition of the novel.¹⁰⁵ The history of French aristocratic emigrant Darnay, his love with the young Lucie Manette and the generous British Sidney Carton, who heroically sacrificed his life on the altar of the Guillotine, was significant in the construction of British conservative understanding of the Revolution and the Terreur, as the popularity of the novel extended until the twenty-first century and often served as a reference point for Franco-British relations.¹⁰⁶ Thackeray had taken a different stand in 1847-48 when he published his satirical novel *Vanity Fair*. Anti-hero *par excellence*, his main character, Becky Sharp, presented herself in the early pages of the novel as the daughter of a French woman, from the noble and illustrious *Gascogne* family of the *Entrechats*.¹⁰⁷ Throughout her childhood in the 1790s, the young orphan passed for the heiress of a French aristocrat impoverished by the Revolution in France. Reaching adulthood, her friends discovered the terrible truth: she was the daughter of a common French opera singer. Whether her mother had or not reached England in response to the French Revolution bore little importance. As she dared stepping out of the place nature had given her, Becky allegorically embodied both the impostor and the French enemy in times of war. Dickens (more than Thackeray) unconditionally transformed the aristocratic emigrant into the symbolic and innocent victim of all revolutions, revolts and anarchical movements in the English-speaking world that only a pacific (English) establishment could fight.

Dickens's *Tales of Two Cities* encountered little success in France. From the second half of the nineteenth century, and while the legend of the French emigrant was

¹⁰⁵ Charles Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

¹⁰⁶ *Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities and the French Revolution*, ed. by Colin Jones, Josephine McDonagh, and John Mee (Basingstoke and N.Y: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ The name, from the Ballet terminology, refers to the condition of Becky's mother as a stage artist.

perpetuated across the Channel, many French historians and critics from all sides challenged the now prevailing dual opposition between republican and royalist memories. After 1870, Legitimists and constitutional monarchists unified their voices to fight a common Republican enemy, whose programme was based on the rejection of the Monarchy and a strong anticlericalism. In this battle of memory, there was no space for a third party like Great Britain. While the *République des Professeurs* reinvented the historical profession by imposing a positivist and critical reading of primary sources, this epistemological revolution scarcely touched the royalist scholars.¹⁰⁸ Confusing History and stories, self-involved royalists and descendants of *émigrés* proudly published, transformed and re-edited military *émigré* testimonies coupled with programmatic prefaces. Their so-called histories celebrated counter-revolutionary heroes and the military emigration – sore victims of the Revolution, the Empire and the Allied Powers.¹⁰⁹ Henri Forneron based his lyrical *Histoire générale des émigrés* on the sole examination of post-revolution narratives, without engaging with sources contemporary to the Revolution.¹¹⁰ Lacking in subtlety, this vision of emigration at the time of the Revolution became a decontextualised reflection of late nineteenth-century Royalism vs Republicanism. Only the royalist historian Ernest Daudet attempted to understand the particular relationship between emigration and its host countries. Daudet's *Emigration* is a history of the military Counter-Revolution with an Anglophobic bias: the chapter on Quiberon opens on a letter by Artois complaining about England's double agenda. Despite several contestable arguments and his

¹⁰⁸ *Les Courants historiques en France, 19^{ème}-20^{ème} siècle*, ed. by François Dosse, Christian Delacroix and Patrick Garcia (Paris: Armand Colin 2002), pp.54-55.

¹⁰⁹ René Bittard des Portes, *L'Exil et la Guerre. Les Émigrés à la cocarde noire en Angleterre, dans les Provinces belges, en Hollande, à Quiberon* (Paris: E.Paul, 1908); Régis L'Estourbillon de la Garnache, *Les Familles françaises à Jersey Pendant la Révolution* (Nantes: V.Forest et E.Grimaud, 1886). Joseph Turquan, *Les femmes de l'Emigration, 1789-1815* (Paris: Emile Paul, 1912). See also Plasse.

¹¹⁰ Henri Forneron, *Histoire générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: Plon, 1890), Vol.I, p.vi.

unquestioned use of self-narratives in his *Histoire de l'Émigration pendant la Révolution française*, Daudet was the first French historian to use contemporary sources kept outside France.¹¹¹ He referred in particular to sources kept in the British Library.¹¹²

It was only by the beginning of the twentieth century that the influence of the host country in shaping an emigrant identity was finally questioned and sources renewed.¹¹³ The principal evolutions in the study of emigration came from literary studies. In 1906, Paul Hazard published an article on the *émigré* publishers of the journal the *Spectateur du Nord*.¹¹⁴ This study on the intellectual relations between France and Germany between 1797 and 1802 influenced his friend and fellow pioneer in comparative studies: Fernand Baldensperger wrote a vast study on the transformation of ideas during the emigration.¹¹⁵ He theorised the introduction of a renewed romantic sensibility in Restoration France following the return of the emigrants by critically examining their religious beliefs as well as their political and philosophical attitudes. The structure of his opus not only took into account the different contexts in the host countries; it allowed the research to step out of the political sphere to enter the cultural and literary spheres. The influence of English thoughts and in particular Burke's on French counter-revolutionary thoughts for Baldensperger was evident in the 'explicative doctrine', and the *Reflections* would be used as a *bréviaire* [prayer book] by returned migrants.

The twentieth century renewal of sources and methodologies developed in parallel with the popularisation of new media. From its earliest days in France and in

¹¹¹ Ernest Daudet, *Histoire de l'Émigration pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1904-1907).

¹¹² These sources are referred to as 'Communications reçues d'Angleterre' in the preface of the first volume.

¹¹³ Christian de Parrel, *Les Papiers de Calonne. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Contre-Révolution* (Cavaillon: Mistral, 1932); Marc Bouloiseau, *Le séquestre et la vente des biens des émigrés dans le district de Rouen (1792-an X)*, (Paris: Novathèse, 1937).

¹¹⁴ Paul Hazard, 'Le Spectateur du Nord', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 13 (1906), 26-50.

¹¹⁵ Baldensperger.

Great Britain, the cinema took over the popular topic of the Revolution, and by extension the one of the French emigration in London.¹¹⁶ Throughout the twentieth century, the cinematographic career of Dickens' and Orczy's characters in British and American movies popularised a vision of an *ancien régime* decayed nobility, turned into a victim in 1793. Amongst these many movies, a 1941 propagandist version of the Scarlet Pimpernel starring Leslie Howard, *Pimpernel Smith*, transfigured the emigrant victim of Revolutionary France into the innocent victim of Nazi Germany.¹¹⁷ In lieu of saving noblewomen from the Guillotine, Horatio Smith, a British archeologist, rescued innocent anti-Nazi democrats from concentration camps.¹¹⁸ In the 1960s, anti-apartheid Nelson Mandela was even nicknamed the 'Black Pimpernel' in reference to the fictional hero. This 'palimpsestic memory' of emigration created and/or reinforced in the English-speaking popular culture the unfounded refugee-status of the French emigrant confronted to a totalitarian regime.¹¹⁹ Through translations, this take on emigration was also popularised in France.

While post-1950 popular cinema built the stereotype of the heroic victim of the Revolution and charitable Great Britain, French and British historiographies tended to forget the emigrants. With the new *longue durée* trend, 'emigration' became an epiphenomenon in both academic cultures. The monopoly of the narration of emigration was once again left to partisan non-academics and descendants of the emigrant.¹²⁰ The enrolling of French officers in British armies has been of particular interest in traditional military history: the Vicomte Grouvel, in an attempt to rehabilitate the

¹¹⁶ Pascal Dupuy, 'La diffusion des stereotypes révolutionnaires dans la littérature et le cinéma anglo-saxon (1789-1898)', *AHRF*, 305 (1996), 511-528.

¹¹⁷ *Pimpernel Smith*, dir. by Leslie Howard (British National Films, 1941).

¹¹⁸ Karine Rance had also observed a similar phenomenon in a 1940s edition of the Comte de Neuilly's *Mémoires*, in which Emigration is compared to the French *Resistance* fight against the German invader.

¹¹⁹ The expression 'palimpsestic memory' is borrowed from Max Silverman, *Palimpsestic Memory. The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone fiction and film* (Berghahn Books, 2013).

¹²⁰ Duc de Castries, *Les Hommes de l'Emigration, 1789-1814* (Paris: Tallandier, 1979); *La vie quotidienne des émigrés* (Paris: Hachette, 1966); Gislain de Diesbach, *Histoire de l'Emigration, 1789-1814* (Paris: Grasset, 1975).

reputation of the armed emigration, explained in many details how the British government raised *émigré* troops between 1792 and 1794 or how *émigrés* integrated the armies of York.¹²¹ In the rare academic studies on emigration, British archives were still overlooked. When, in 1951, American sociologist Donald Greer challenged the stereotype of the *émigré*-aristocrat with his statistical analysis, he only examined French departmental archives. In 1961, 1963 and 1967, Marc Bouloiseau established a guide to the foreign sources relative to French emigration and the counter-revolution.¹²² Despite hundreds of pages devoted to the archives in the USSR, Bouloiseau only wrote half a page on the British sources then held in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office. All concerned the military emigration and the counter-revolution.¹²³ In 1963, Jean Vidalenc published a picturesque examination of emigration, *Les Émigrés français*, a non-partisan synthesis on the revolutionary legislations on emigration, the migratory waves and lives of *émigrés* with political foreign sources he had found copies of the British Public Record Office and Daudet archives.¹²⁴ However, sporadic academic studies on emigration and biographies of *émigrés* in Great Britain continued to appear. In the 1960s and 70s, Baldensperger's student, Hélène Maspero-Clerc devoted her career to Jean-Gabriel Peltier's exiled journalism in London.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Robert François de Grouvel, *Les Corps de troupe de l'émigration française*, T.1: Services de la Grande-Bretagne et des Pays-Bas (Paris: Editions de la Sabretache, 1957). In a similar tradition and worthy of note, see Jean Pinasseau, *L'Émigration militaire. Campagne de 1792. Armée royale* (Paris: Picard, 1971). In Britain, John Sherwig, in his analysis of the British military and diplomatic subsidies in response to the French Revolution, did not analyse in details the financial aid given by the British government to the French royalists: *Guineas and Gunpowder: British Foreign Aid in the Wars with France* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp.137-138; 140.

¹²² Marc Bouloiseau, 'Sources de l'histoire de l'émigration et de la Contre-Révolution dans les archives étrangères', *Bulletin d'Histoire économique et Sociale de la Révolution Française* (1963). Mademoiselle Robinet created her immense general indexation of about 100,000 *émigrés* at the same time (Paris, CARAN, BB¹62-96 (1792-1807)).

¹²³ Bouloiseau, 'Sources', p.41.

¹²⁴ Vidalenc, p.457.

¹²⁵ Hélène Maspero-Clerc, *Un Journaliste contre-révolutionnaire: Jean-Gabriel Peltier* (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes, 1973).

Towards a transnational history of emigration

The 1989 celebrations of the bicentenary of the French Revolution allowed the development of several new research angles. The ‘historians’ feud’ divided then the profession between the French institutionalised republican conception of a popular revolution and the revisionist upholders of a bourgeois revolution, and a skidding-off course in 1793.¹²⁶ While leader of the republican conception and chair of the History of the French Revolution in la Sorbonne, Michel Vovelle, led the celebrations in France, François Furet, followed by numerous English-speaking scholars, organised their resistance. Concerned with sterile politically driven debates for two centuries, the entire scholarship on emigration finally benefited from the challenge, with the worldwide apparition of new historiographical trends furthering the analysis of emigration: (1) the use of new sources; (2) a better analysis on the European counter-revolution and the role played by emigration; (3) a detailed sociological analysis of the nobilities and clergies in Revolution; (4) a new focus on emigrant-Host countries’ relations.

For the history of the French emigration in Great Britain, this meant that new sources would be used. Vovelle supervised several students on the subject, amongst whom was Kirsty Carpenter.¹²⁷ Analysing in detail the charitable public British response to emigration in the archives from the Refugee committees kept in the British national archives, she drew a sociological portrait of the geographical and financial organisation of emigration in London. In 1992, Simon Burrows finished a PhD on French counter-revolutionary journalism in London using the then overlooked *émigré* journals kept in Cambridge, Oxford and London.¹²⁸ Throughout a series of article and books, he proceeded to reveal a semi-autarkic world in London composed of important

¹²⁶ Kaplan. Antoine de Baecque (ed), *Pour ou Contre la Révolution* (Paris: Bayard, 2001).

¹²⁷ Carpenter, ‘Émigrés’.

¹²⁸ Simon Burrows, ‘The French Exile Press in London, 1789-1814 (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992).

editors Peltier, Montlosier, l'Abbé Calonne, and many *émigré* contributors, all involved in the London book trade but infatuated with France and their French identity. In France, England and in the USA, studies of *émigré* literature and literature on emigration became significant at postgraduate levels, especially in faculties of French and English literature. Emigration literature was examined with sources from the migrants;¹²⁹ it was also examined through sources written and printed in Britain by British poets from the Romantic Movement.¹³⁰ These studies revealed the multifaceted role played by British authors (Hannah More, Coleridge, Burney, Wordsworth, etc.) in shaping in Britain an idealised image of the French emigrant. With new sources, the historiography of emigration in Great Britain also benefited from a renewed interest for religious, noble and military leaders of the emigration and the counter-revolution thanks to the work of Court historian Philip Mansel.¹³¹ It also allowed the journeys and works of Parisian and provincial emigrants with a lesser political importance to resurface.¹³² Though an immense majority and despite the calls from many scholars, the different components of the Third Estate have rarely been analysed until today.¹³³

The renewal of sources and subjects on emigration was accompanied by the reassessment of the role of emigration in the European Counter-revolution. For Jean-Clément Martin, the Counter-revolution was never uniquely identified; it was the totality of 'shades' resulting from the precipitation of such personality to side or be

¹²⁹ Besides Cook, Genand and Zanone, Henri Rossi and François Jacob (eds.), *Mémorialistes de l'Exil: émigrer, écrire, survivre* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003).

¹³⁰ Michael Wiley, *Romantic Migrations: local, national and transnational dispositions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Adriana Craciun, *British women writers and the French Revolution: citizens of the world* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Toby Benis, *Romantic diasporas: French émigrés, British convicts, and Jews* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

¹³¹ Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (London: Blond & Briggs, 1981); see also his 'From Coblenz to Hartwell: The Émigré Government and the European Powers, 1791-1814' and Lord Mackenzie Stuart, 'French Émigrés in Edinburgh', in Carpenter and Mansel (eds), pp.1-27 and 108-123.

¹³² On minor emigrants to England: Juliette Reboul, 'La branche Jarnac de la famille Rohan-Chabot' (unpublished master thesis, université Blaise Pascal, 2010), Cyril Triolaire, 'Les reflets théâtraux d'une emigration plurielle. L'itinéraire militaire et culturel du jeune baron de Gaujal', in Bourdin, pp.459-476.

¹³³ Karine Audran, 'L'accusation d'émigration des négociants malouins: une justification abusive de la politique terroriste à Saint Malo', *AHRF*, 345 (2006), 31-53.

forced to side against the French government as the Revolution went along.¹³⁴ In British scholarship, the debate on the British responses to the French Revolution shifted from the Burke/Paine controversy to the study of radical and loyalist popular expressions.¹³⁵ In this, emigration and its influence remained a footnote. United by the end of 1792 in the fight against the French Republic, Edmund Burke, William Pitt or the loyalist crowd's positions on the situation across the Channel were never at once similar. Traditionally considered as fundamental in shaping the British debate on the French Revolution, Burke, who associated with many noble French emigrants, really defended aristocratic governments in general and the French *noblesse* and clergy in particular.¹³⁶ Jennifer Mori hinted at how Pitt refused to help the émigrés until 1792, and despite optimistic hopes for revolutionary France, was forced to resort to 'ideological war'.¹³⁷ Studies on the British governmental and military responses to the Revolution and Empire somewhat eclipsed the importance of *émigrés* in the British counter-revolutionary debate to concentrate on the role played by the British state, its national elite and popular classes in fighting against France.¹³⁸ Two published volumes differ from this trend. Studying the émigré press in London, Simon Burrows successfully

¹³⁴ Jean-Clément Martin, 'Introduction', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, pp.1-11. For a discussion on opponents to the French Revolution, see Jean-Clément Martin, *Contre-Révolution, Révolution et Nation en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1998) and his *Dictionnaire de la Contre-Révolution* (Paris: Perrin, 2011). Although French governmental assemblies considered both groups as anti-revolutionary at some point, the French constitutionalist and anglophile *monarchiens* never shared the political and social views of the ultra-royalists who left France in 1789. See: Robert Griffiths, *Le Centre Perdu: Malouet et les monarchiens dans la Révolution française* (Grenoble: 1983).

¹³⁵ Robert Dozier, *For king, constitution, and country: the English loyalists and the French Revolution* (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Ian Christie, *Stress and stability in late eighteenth century Britain: Reflections on the British avoidance of Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); H.T. Dickinson, 'Popular Conservatism and Militant Loyalism, 1789-1815', in *Britain and the French Revolution*, ed. By Dickinson, pp.103-126.

¹³⁶ Amanda Goodrich, *Debating England's aristocracy in the 1790s: pamphlets, polemics and political ideas* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp.29-55. Colin Lucas, 'Edmund Burke and the *Émigrés*', in *The French Revolution and the creation of modern political culture*, ed. by François Furet and Mona Ozouf (Oxford: Pergamon, 1989), III, pp.101-114; Nigel Aston, 'Burke, Boisgelin and the Politics of the *Émigré* Bishops', in Carpenter and Mansel, pp.184-195.

¹³⁷ Jennifer Mori, *William Pitt and the French Revolution, 1785-1802* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997).

¹³⁸ Marc Bélissa, 'Les Stratégies de la Contre-Révolution', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, pp.163-174; Michael Wagner, 'Lutte contre la Révolution, impérialisme et balance des pouvoirs: les elites britanniques et la guerre contre la Révolution française, in the same volume, pp.175-182.

examined the subventions of the *émigré* journals by the British government and its use as an instrument of propaganda after 1803.¹³⁹ Elisabeth Sparrow successfully demonstrated the lobbying and ‘considerable influence’ of the French emigrant nobles in London over ‘the British government’s foreign policy’ in creating a spying agency.¹⁴⁰

A large-scale focus on emigrant-host countries’ relations started in 1997, with a conference organised by Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel on emigration in Europe, from London to Hungary, and Lisbon to Prussia.¹⁴¹ But, the major methodological breakthroughs in the history of emigrant-host rapport came from the collaboration between German and French scholars.¹⁴² The first conclusions drawn from the recent scholarly focus on transnationalism and emigrant-German cultural transfers seem to crush all hopes to find transfers between the migrants and their host society. Indeed, all researches converge in demonstrating the crystallisation of *émigré* ideals around French and aristocratic values. The relationships between French emigrants and their German host cities were often poor: the Catholic emigrants were mainly confronted to Protestant States; French military officers struggled to find employment in times of peace and were rejected as economically undesirable by the host societies. For Christian Henke, Coblenz became the political centre of emigration between 1792 and 1794, as well as the imaginary symbol of French counter-revolutionary identity, allowing little space for foreign influence in their cultural development.¹⁴³ The behaviour of the 5000 French officers in Coblenz, a town of 8,500 inhabitants, in November 1791 reflected the luxurious life-style of the French Princes, who claim the superiority of their own

¹³⁹ Burrows, *Exile Journalism*, pp.179-221.

¹⁴⁰ Sparrow, *Secret Services*, p.3.

¹⁴¹ *French Emigres*, Carpenter and Mansel.

¹⁴² Matthias Middell, ‘La Révolution Française et l’Allemagne: du paradigme comparatiste à la recherche des transferts culturels’, *AHRF*, 137, (1999), 427-454.

¹⁴³ Christian Henke, *Koblentz: Symbol für die Gegenrevolution* (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2000).

administrative and judiciary structures over Coblenz' legitimate ones.¹⁴⁴ Studying self-narratives from returned noble emigrants who were in Coblenz, Karine Rance demonstrated that the *émigrés*' refusal to integrate to retain their intrinsic French qualities was later perceived as a weakness and a cause for the counter-revolutionary armies' failure.¹⁴⁵ For Thomas Hopel and Peter Veddeler, Westphalia, Saxony and Prussia's policies did not allow the emigrants' to integrate and made impossible any transfer – in Prussia, concerns for the welfare of the state prevented the settlement of many *émigrés* to the territory.¹⁴⁶ Although the research on emigrant-British transfers is still in its early stages, the first conclusions sketched by Simon Burrows on the question are not dissimilar. As part of their anti-revolutionary programme, *émigré* journals developed an exclusive cultural politics.¹⁴⁷ They affirmed the aesthetical superiority of *ancien régime* French arts over revolutionary culture as well as the British cultural productions.

Yet, these five scholars examined specific cases of cross-national exchanges and relationships by only contemplating the noble and intellectual fringes of emigration as well as the host countries' elites and administration's response to the problems of emigration. The proven sociological and ideological heterogeneity of emigration, as well as the heterogeneity of the host contexts, undoubtedly permitted the existence of multiple and multiform relationships between the emigrant individuals, their host societies, and the members of these host societies. While there is no doubt in the relevance and utility of the methodological framework and the choice of sources analysed to determine noble and maybe clerical emigrant-German transfers, the overall

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Hopel, 'L'Attitude des rois de Prusse à l'égard des émigrés français durant la Révolution', in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*, (Jan-Mar 2001), 21-34.

¹⁴⁵ Karine Rance, 'Mémoires de nobles émigrés dans les pays germaniques pendant la Révolution française' (unpublished PhD thesis, dir. Etienne François, Paris I, 2001).

¹⁴⁶ Hopel.

¹⁴⁷ Simon Burrows, 'The Cultural politics of Exile', *Journal of European Studies*, 29, (1999), 157-177.

contexts are not comparable. The German kingdoms and Great Britain have historically had different relationships with France, differences furthermore amplified by their reactions to the French Revolution throughout the period. Never invaded or formally defeated by the revolutionary and Imperial armies, Great Britain spent two decades at war with France. The constitutional identity of Great Britain, the openness of its elites, and its unique consumer revolution in the eighteenth century would have had a different effect on emigrant-British relationships. Hence, what is true about emigrant-host transfers in a German context might not be observed in any other context.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, the current use of the term transfer should be questioned. In Rance and Burrows' work, transfers are thought of in terms of addition and positive creation.¹⁴⁹ For example, the emigrants returning from Germany or Great Britain adopted Romanticism. Hence the history of emigration in Germany is understood as the 'history of the failure of the process of cultural transfers'.¹⁵⁰ In November 2014, in Grenoble, will be held a *Journée d'Etude on Emigration, exil politique et Innovation*. It aims to discuss transnational transfers, the economic, technological, artistic, political or administrative innovations as well as the existence of an exiled 'third space' in the context of European migration – a space where there was no 'duplication' of the home culture and 'fusion' with the host culture.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, transfer is rarely thought of in terms of a negative reaction. Could the identification of the *émigré* movement as an ultra-royalist and Catholic movement by some emigrants, undoubtedly related to the traumatism of exile, also be partly due to a reaction to and a rejection of the British host

¹⁴⁸ Hence, a recently published study by François Furstenberg, *When the United States spoke French: Five Refugees who shaped a Nation* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014) endeavours to understand the role played in shaping the new northern Republic by Talleyrand, Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Noailles, Moreau and Volney.

¹⁴⁹ Simon Burrows, 'The Courier de l'Europe as an agent of cultural transfer (1776-1791), in *Cultural Transfers*, Thomson, Dziembowski and Burrows (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2010), pp.189-202.

¹⁵⁰ Middell, p.8.

¹⁵¹ Simon Sarlin, <exil.hypotheses.org.226>. See also Homi Bhabha, *The Location of culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

society defined as constitutionalist and Protestant? The methodology of cultural transfers borrows its vocabulary from the Freudian moment in psychoanalysis. Freud theorised the existence of a positive and a negative transfer.¹⁵² The negative transfer is perceived as a resisting force. In its classical acceptation, the negative transfer results in aggressive, violent and hateful behaviours and actions towards the therapist.¹⁵³ By analogy, could the returned emigrants' aggressive, violent and hateful behaviours towards their host societies after repatriation be analysed as a case of negative transfers?

Hinting at the existence of emigrant-British interinfluences, Kirsty Carpenter highlights different examples of exchanges between the emigrants and the British host society. She refers in particular to one hundred naturalisations, the presence of British pupils in French taught schools and the bi-national social circles in which some emigrants evolved. Like many comparative analyses on emigrant-British relationship between 1789 and 1815, and despite these remarkable examples, Carpenter's study tends to respect excessively the integrity and identity of both national cultures, taking for granted the emigrant and Georgian British identifications as national groups. These identifications are in fact both the *sine qua non* conditions for the development of cultural transfers, and the result of the emigrant-host society cohabitation. Indeed, the methodology of cultural transfers argues that a transfer is only possible when a group has identified itself as a nation.¹⁵⁴ For Ernst Gellner or Anne-Marie Thiesse, a nation is 'fabricated';¹⁵⁵ Benedict Anderson defines a nation as an "imagined political community".¹⁵⁶ However, all agree that a nation is essentially limited (or integrated):

¹⁵² 'Sur la dynamique du transfert', in *Sigmund Freud, La technique psychanalytique*, ed. by Christophe Dejourn (Paris: PUF, 2010).

¹⁵³ Jean Courmut, 'Le transfert négatif: acceptions diverses plus ou moins pessimistes', in *Revue Française de Psychoanalyse*, 64 (2000), 361-366.

¹⁵⁴ Espagne, pp.35-49.

¹⁵⁵ Ernst Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp.5-7, pp.53-62; Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

¹⁵⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p.6.

beyond the borders of the nation ('fabricated' or 'imagined' by the French emigrants and by the British host society) lies a foreign national community.

Can we speak about 'integration' in a refugee/emigration context, when we assume that the migrant's original objective is to return home? The sociological concept of integration is a much-debated term.¹⁵⁷ One must first break off with the common and prejudiced acceptance of integration as the adaptation and assimilation of migrants to conform to their host society, as opposed to the absence of integration.¹⁵⁸ The self-inflicted cultural exclusion professed by some emigrants in self-narratives is in itself a form of autarkic integration, closed to the host society. By contrast, the choice by some emigrants to socialize with the host society, as well as their curiosity for the British culture, is not necessarily an attempt to assimilate within the British society. Assimilation is a concept forged in relation to interethnic interactions while integration is a concept of general sociology regarding the individual's social and sociable situation with regards to a larger group. Knowing that the emigrants intended to return to France when they left the motherland and hence did not assimilate as a group to the British host society should be logical in the context of a national conflict. Yet, several biographical examinations highlight the existence of fluctuations in the migrants' intention to settle in Britain or return to France, and notably the questions related to the dual loyalty of emigrants working for the British army during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.¹⁵⁹ Of a stronger interest to this thesis are the questions of the emigrants' heterogeneous and fluctuant strategies of integration – inclusive and exclusive of the host society and of the French revolution – and how these strategies influenced the formation of emigrant and *émigré* identities; how the British society and government,

¹⁵⁷ Jenny Phillimore and Lisa Goodson, 'Making a Place in the Global City: The Relevance of Indicators of Integration', in *JRF*, 21, 2008, p.308.

¹⁵⁸ Beate Collet, 'Pour l'étude des *modes d'intégration* entre participation citoyenne et références culturelles', in *Revue Européenne des sciences sociales*, XLIV-135, (2006), 93-107.

¹⁵⁹ Marquis.

faced with the overwhelming French presence, phrased its modalities of integration? Rather than politician, integration is a political concept related to the concept of national association.

Some scholars define integration as a socially inclusive approach emanating from the state and the society in the direction of or against ethnic minorities.¹⁶⁰ The implementation by the British government of the Alien Office in charge of the surveillance of the emigrants, followed by the installation of the *Alien Acts*, in January 1793 highlights the mediating role of the British state in segregating the French migrants from the British citizens.¹⁶¹ The same British government played an instrumental role in the economic integration of French emigrants in Great Britain when taking charge of emigrant allowances.¹⁶² Other scholars define integration as a strategy chosen by the migrants to experience the host society or to adopt marginalising strategies from this host society.¹⁶³ French emigrants' choice of housing and employment, their inclination to meet members of the host society or to live in culturally autarkic communities, their decision to remain ignorant or learn the English language and get acquainted with the British culture indicate different modalities of integration. Once these modalities examined, they will provide with a frame for a research on emigrant-British cultural transfers, as typologies drawn from this frame and organized around heterogeneous ideological, generational, familial and social integrations will be of the utmost importance. Some groups and individuals might be more inclined to be vehicles of transfers than others.

¹⁶⁰ A. Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Ideal Citizenship in France and in Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Gérard Noiriel, *Réfugiés et sans-papiers. La République face au droit d'asile* (Paris: Hachette, 2006).

¹⁶¹ Elizabeth Sparrow, 'The Alien Office', *The Historical Journal*, 33, (1990), 361-384.

¹⁶² Kimberley Berryman, 'Great Britain and the French Refugees, 1789-1802: the administrative response (unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1980).

¹⁶³ J.W. Berry 'Acculturation and Psychological adaptation: An Overview', in *Journeys in Cross-Cultural Psychology*, ed. by Bouvi et al. (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1994); A.Ager and A. Strang, *Indicators or Integration: Final Report*. (London: Home Office, 2004).

This research's preoccupations are interdisciplinary – however, it remains primarily a historical study, based on a strong and meticulous examination of the relations, exchanges, interpenetrations and transfers between the French emigrants and the British society in the context of European contestations to the French Revolution. Confronted to the necessity of creating a corpus of primary sources coherent with the research angle, I first proceeded to the elimination of some archival centres and sources. The records of French *émigrés*, and in particular the *Treasury Record of the French Refugees Relief Committee* (T93) in the British National archives had already been analysed by Kirsty Carpenter in her PhD. Despite their relation to Emigration, the Home Office Records (HO 69), Privy Council papers (PC 1), Foreign Office papers (PO 95) and War Office letters (WO 1) were all eliminated because of their primarily political and military content. However, the letters kept in HO 42 have been essential for the study of the implementation of the 1793 Aliens Act.¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, and for time-related reasons, I also had to eliminate sources kept in France.¹⁶⁵ This choice led me to visit archives, record offices and libraries scattered inbetween the southern coast of England, London, the Midlands, Yorkshire and Cheshire. Southampton possessed a collection of post-1793 administrative sources; so did Winchester, where William Wickham's correspondence with emigrants was mixed with passports, memorandums as well as other emigrant and British memorabilia on the French presence in the region.¹⁶⁶ The diaries of John Grainger, provincial gentleman established in Chichester, revealed that between 1793 and his death in 1797, he received hundreds of neighbourly visits by local emigrants particularly fond of his warm or intoxicating brews; in the same

¹⁶⁴ London, National Archives (NA), *Home Office, Domestic Correspondence, George III*, HO 42/24; 27 and 28.

¹⁶⁵ With the exception of Paris, Archives Nationales (CARAN), *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/54-63 visited in 2009-2010.

¹⁶⁶ Winchester, Hampshire Record Office (HRO), *Wickham family*, 38M49/1 and 38M49/8/125; *French émigrés letters*, 109A02/1-2.

archives the Goodwood papers underlined the amicable relationships between Artois, his courtisans and Lord Gordon.¹⁶⁷ Sheffield's Record Office possessed copies of Edmund Burke's correspondence with the French aristocratic Committee in London and the Bishop St Pol de Léon. In Birmingham and in Chester, I found much information on the relationships between the emigrants and their British catholic counterparts. Finally, in the London Metropolitan Archives, I spent much time absorbing the information contained in administrative manuscripts by the overseers of the poors, Foundling Hospital, baptism and burial parish record offices as well as notarial archives. Despite being limited to sources kept in England, this research also concerned Ireland, Wales and Scotland. The West Sussex Record Office in Chichester now holds several letters written by emigrants in Scotland.¹⁶⁸ A handful of letters written and received in Dublin by a young female emigrant are now in Lewes in the East Sussex Record Office.¹⁶⁹ Finally, a major financial and time-saving relief, the effort of digitization of eighteenth-century sources by State institutions in France (Gallica) and the United Kingdom (ECCO, Burney Collection online), as well as free private initiatives (Gutenberg Project and Google Books) allowed me to consult several major and minor printed pamphlets, speeches and newspapers.

In this research, 'the cast of supporting characters about whom we know nothing' is regarded as equally important as the leaders of Emigration and the counter-revolution.¹⁷⁰ Cultural, noble and political histories of Emigration in Great Britain too often concentrated on institutionalized cultural productions and biographies of kings,

¹⁶⁷ Chichester, West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172

¹⁶⁸ WSRO, *Grainger Family Archives*, Add Mss 30726- 30728 and *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172.

¹⁶⁹ Lewes, East Sussex Record Office (ESRO), *Archive of the Stapley, Wood and Davidson families of Hickstead Place*, HIC/1048-1059a (HIC/1059b was a memorandum written by Fanny Krumpholz's children).

¹⁷⁰ Emma Vincent Macleod, 'British Attitudes to the French Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 50, 3 (2007), pp.689-709 (p.709).

aristocrats, artists and intellectuals. Separating the ‘established’ from the ‘outsiders’, a reductionist approach towards cultural questions hides the heterogeneity of émigré cultures and individual destinies.¹⁷¹ In this research, emigrant lives are not simply used as illustrations, but highlight the heterogeneity of the French emigration in Great Britain and the British response to the Revolution. The inclusion in a social group, based on social, geographical and inherited differentiation, impacts on the emigrant or British individual’s decisions and representations.¹⁷² It is actually in the relationship between the established (British as well as aristocratic emigrants) and the outsiders (the emigrant group as a collective entity and individuals of lower distinction and of different political opinions) that this study aims to understand how the French emigrant became the culturally identified *émigré*-refugee. According to sociological theory, the more the emigrant was elevated in *émigré* society, the more he would try to distinguish himself from the revolutionary, the emigrant of lower economical and social standing, and the Briton, through various social fields – political discourse, language, etiquette, tastes, etc.¹⁷³ This differentiation would have been reinforced by the constant acquisition of cultural competences, through reading and education. Taking into account Louis XVIII and the anonymous emigrant advertiser, Burke and the emigrant landlady, the master and the domestic, actually allows the creation of a typology of French and British responses to Emigration relative to the age, sex, importance in the movement, political choices as well as the migrant’s financial and cultural situation.

Ego-documents (private correspondences, diaries and notes) and signed documents often provided privileged pieces of information on emigrants’ experiences of

¹⁷¹ Norbert Elias, *The Established and the Outsiders* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008).

¹⁷² Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1979).

¹⁷³ ‘Titres et quartiers de noblesse culturelle’, in Bourdieu, *Distinction*, pp.9-106.

exile, their reception by the host society and the social circles the writer evolved in.¹⁷⁴ Though several of these documents have been published and used by biographers, these personal narratives have never given rise to a serial analysis on material life, encounters or cultural exchanges. On the contrary, one of the largest difficulty encountered in choosing the sources was the creation of a coherent corpus of retrospective self-narratives that was consistent with the latest results on the sociology of emigration, taking into account the age, gender and financial situations of the authors. The inevitable failure of this task – due to the non-existence of self-narratives written by the lowest in emigration – however revealed an important stumbling block in the construction of French collective memories on Emigration. In contrast, much credit was given to anonymous sources. They created another challenge. Thanks to computerized text mining, I gathered a coherent corpus of 600 classified adverts written by and for emigrants between 1789 and 1798. Classified adverts gathered in this research form a highly heterogeneous corpus, in size, format and content. Yet, these sources were not signed and hence their authentication hardly possible: each classified advert found was criticized after being mined. For example, the English word *emigrant* could signify both the French emigrant in London or the British migrant to North America. In the absence of contextual information linking the migration of the author to the Revolution, classified adverts simply containing *emigrant* were rejected. Also rejected were the adverts containing *French* or a family name impossible to relate to the Emigration in response to the French Revolution. British sources from the public sphere such as newspaper articles, Grub street caricatures and pro- and anti-Emigration pamphlets, were mainly analysed in a qualitative manner. A systematic analysis of foreigners' addresses lists produced by the administration following the Aliens Act, found in

¹⁷⁴ On ego-documents and Emigration, see Stéphane Gomis, 'Les Ecrits du "for privé" du clergé émigré, *AHRF*, 355 (2009), 183-204.

classified adverts as well as in a series of private documents, give the opportunity to interrogate the settlement of émigrés in Great Britain.¹⁷⁵ The contribution of modern techniques of geographic information systems, thanks to its capacity to model geographic data, was considerable in the understanding of group identification.¹⁷⁶

Before proceeding onto the examination of how the British and emigrant population forged and created the *émigré* persona in the 1790s and 1800s, we first need to completely eliminate all prejudices retrospectively constructed. For that, we need to understand how the returned emigrants narrated their relationships with the host country in self-narratives and to which extent this narration was an act of imagination.

¹⁷⁵ London, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), *Middlesex Sessions of Peace*, MR/A, MR/R/RH and *Westminster Sessions of the Peace*, WR/A and WR/R.

¹⁷⁶ 'Emigrant addresses in London, 1789-1815' and 'French exiled book trade', in <www.juliettereboul.com>

CHAPTER 2 – REMINISCING THE HOST

« On ne passe pas dix ou douze ans dans une terre, quelque étrangère qu'elle soit, sans y pousser de profondes racines ; quand on la quitte, il y a de profonds déchirements ».

[One does not spend ten or twelve years in a land, as foreign as it is, without growing deep roots there; departure feels like a deep heartbreak]

Joseph Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans*¹⁷⁷

The prolific writer of autobiographical narratives, Vicomte Walsh, published his *Souvenirs* in 1845. Walsh was the descendant of an Irish Jacobite family who had settled in France in 1685 and had been exceptionally active during the Jacobite rising in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Since its arrival in France, the family had made its way up to the country's military nobility and amassed great wealth in the West Indies. In 1790, after his father left Angers to join the counter-revolutionary armies across the borders, this eight-year-old boy followed the rest of his family to Liège, in the Netherlands, where he and his brother attended to the English Jesuit College.¹⁷⁹ The progress of the republican armies pushed the Walsh family and the Jesuit College towards the British shores after January 1793.¹⁸⁰ Growing into an adult in exile, Walsh stayed in Great Britain until early September 1802 when he returned to a pacified France.¹⁸¹ A fervent advocate of the legitimist theories after the Restoration of 1815, Joseph Alexis Walsh had been the editor in chief of *l'Echo de la Jeune France*, self-styled 'Journal des progrès par le Christianisme' [Journal of improvements by

¹⁷⁷ Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans* (Paris: Bureau de la Mode, 1845), p.45.

¹⁷⁸ Richard Hayes, 'Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France: Part XXI', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 36 (1947), 343-349.

¹⁷⁹ Walsh, p.13.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.24.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.389.

Christianism], following the 1830 Revolution.¹⁸² This legitimist press organ targeted a young-adult audience in favour of a revised legitimist royalism, against the exiled Charles X and his ultra-monarchist descendants.

At the time of the publication of his *Souvenirs*, nationalist and legitimist propaganda widely considered the United Kingdom as the natural enemy of France – annihilating by its words the *émigré* and British alliance against common republican and imperial enemies in the years 1793-1815.¹⁸³ This propaganda certainly impacted on the narration of sometimes up to twenty-five years of relatively peaceful cohabitation between exiled Frenchmen and the British host society during Emigration. Despite his legitimist allegiance and his unabashed patriotism, Walsh recognised the importance and benefits of the asylum offered by the British government and civil society to the then despairing exiled Frenchmen. The position adopted in the writing of the *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans* is furthermore unusual in times of growing nationalism as Walsh's perception of the return and repatriation of emigrants is the one of a second and heart-breaking uprooting. As an ex-emigrant and a Jacobite, he felt condemned by his status that he had to survive in a constant transitional state between two nations that shared in his heart the positions of home and host countries.

As historians, how should we use self-narratives written after the experience of emigration to understand the intricate relationship between the emigrants, British civil society and authorities, and revolutionised France? How can we bring to light the interactions and interrelations between emigrant and British cultures, when returned emigrants, the host society, and later, historians of the French Revolution, conspicuously underlined and displayed identity differences in their narratives and

¹⁸² For more information on the legitimist press in Restoration France, see Jeremy Popkin, 'Conservatisme, Journalisme et Opinion Publique sous la Restauration: le paradoxe du succès de Joseph Fievé', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, Martin, pp.193-204.

¹⁸³ Philippe Darriulat, "L'Affaire Pritchard, un paroxysme de l'Anglophobie française?", in Aprile and Bensimon, (Paris: Creaphis, 2006), pp.226 and 228.

scholarship? Until 2001, the autobiographical genre had been used as an unambiguous and under-contextualised primary source in studies on emigration – too often used to describe emigrant lives between 1789 and 1815 without questioning the ambiguities of this primary source.¹⁸⁴ Our current understanding of the emigrants' everyday life in the British Isles is mainly based on the constancy and similarity of examples drawn from a limited and somewhat homogeneous compilation of self-narratives, sorted under the umbrella terms “émigré *memoirs*” or “*mémoires d'Emigration*”. These terms are often misleadingly used to describe a few passages or chapters in a longer and more complicated text, encompassing pre-revolutionary stories and tales of returned emigrants in Restoration France and under the July Monarchy. The fact remains that the use of these particular examples structured and preserved the French aristocratic identity of Emigration. By simplifying the description of the emigrant and host groups via a national characterisation, they assured a certain cohesion and continuity within the observed group in the eyes of the common reader. This reading, based on the impermeability of national identities, undermines the diversity of experiences of Emigration and the role of cohabitation between French and British individuals in reshaping their identities. Therefore, the historian using self-narratives as a primary source must unavoidably interrogate the impact of the writing context as well as the publishing context on the narration.

After describing the methodology used to analyse self-narratives, this chapter will examine the retrospective narrative construction of a discourse on emigrant-host relationships in returned emigrant self-narratives. It argues that the predominant anti-British discourse in self-narratives mixes the experience of emigration to a borrowed eighteenth-century patriotic or cosmopolitan discourse as well as problems that are

¹⁸⁴ Rance, ‘Mémoires de nobles émigrés’.

inherent to the first half of the nineteenth century. It will then demonstrate and underline the retrospective construction of a historical-national consciousness within the returned emigrants.

Challenging memory

In contrast to the aforementioned identification process, Karine Rance proposed a strict methodology based on the emigrant self-narratives' three temporalities: (1) the event of emigration; (2) the writing process within its genesis context; (3) the publishing context.¹⁸⁵ Emigration writing is based on the traumatic experience defined by a forced relocation – relocation that is at once geographical, social, economical, intellectual and ethical in the case of French émigré writers.¹⁸⁶ As an act of remembrance, self-narratives deal with this particular past. But, when the time to write comes, this same past has become 'illusionary' as well as anachronistic, and the author 'amnesic'.¹⁸⁷ Madame de la Tour du Pin mentioned that she had little method, and that now, aged fifty, her memories were strongly diminished.¹⁸⁸ Discussing the relevance of the title *Souvenirs* over *Mémoires*, Arnault insisted in his preface on the partiality and subjectivity of the act of remembrance; instead of a history of himself and others, he deemed to present the reader with "what he remembered of himself and of others".¹⁸⁹ He suggested the use of the English word 'Reminiscence' would be better than the

¹⁸⁵ Defined in Karine Rance, 'Mémoires de Nobles français émigrés en Allemagne pendant la Révolution française: vision retrospective d'une expérience', *Genèses*, 30 (1998), 5-29. More recently, Natalie Petiteau published *Écrire la Mémoire* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012), in which she used a similar method to examine a broader corpus of retrospective narratives by Revolutionaries, Bonapartists and Counter-revolutionaries.

¹⁸⁶ Jacob and Rossi, p.9.

¹⁸⁷ Halbwachs; Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'illusion biographique', in *Raisons pratiques* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1994); Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte Autobiographique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).

¹⁸⁸ *Mémoires de la Marquise de la Tour du Pin: Journal d'une femme de Cinquante ans*, ed. by Christiane de Liedekerke Beaufort (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), p.10.

¹⁸⁹ Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un Séxagénaire* (Paris: Dufey, 1833), p.vi.

French *Mémoires*.¹⁹⁰ Bouillé went even further by affirming that the history of emigration was ‘dégénérée en commérage’ [degenerated into a gossip].¹⁹¹ The amnesia is furthermore increased when the past was as traumatic as was displacement, refuge and uprooting.¹⁹² Writing her diary in 1843, the Comtesse de Boigne affirmed that “Parfois, il m’a fallu piocher contre ma douleur sans pouvoir la soulever [I sometimes had to pickaxe against my sufferings, as I was unable to lift them]”.¹⁹³

Describing their experience of emigration, authors of self-narratives were still the same individuals, *Idem* (the invariable same), but yet different or *Ipsé* (the variable same).¹⁹⁴ While writing, they remembered their participation in emigration, but everything happening between the experience and the writing process had been contributing to the formation of a new individual: constantly experiencing novelty, the authors had built a different individuality. Since their return to France, emigrants’ personal situations, as well as the structures influencing their behaviours and thoughts, had been the subjects of radical changes – and so had their relationship with their then British friends, benefactors and allies. Hence, the remembering process was inevitably biased by the context of its genesis. As seen in the precedent chapter, the collective memory on emigration was the subject of a propagandist battle between politicians of all sides between 1789 and the late 1860s. All the self-narratives considered in this chapter – with the exception of that of the Comte de Jarnac who died in Emigration in

¹⁹⁰ The same suggestion was made by historian Philip Dwyer, ‘Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars’, *FHS*, 33 (2010), 231-258.

¹⁹¹ *Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps, par le Marquis de Bouillé*, ed. by P.L de Kermaingant (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1906-1911), p.2.

¹⁹² Paul Ricoeur, *La Mémoire, l’Histoire, L’Oubli* (Paris: Seuil, 2000). As a methodological comparison, see *Contested Pasts: The Politics of memory*, ed. by Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003), and in particular the second part of the volume ‘Remembering suffering: trauma and history’.

¹⁹³ *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d’Osmond. Récit d’une tante*, ed. by Jean-Claude Berchet, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, 1999), I, p.10.

¹⁹⁴ Karine Rance, ‘Identité Narrative et Ipséité’, in *Identité, Appartenance et Revendication Identitaire*, ed. by Marc Belissa (Paris: Nolin, 2005), pp.385-393. See also Paul Ricoeur, *Soi-même comme un autre* (Paris: Seuil, 1996).

1812 – were written after their authors returned to France.¹⁹⁵ Hence, some individuals from the eldest generation of authors considered in this chapter wrote in the 1790s, and the youngest generation wrote around 1850. The time which elapsed between the event and the writing process modified the perception of the event, as personal and collective relationships with the British culture during the emigration were now seen in light of the international relations between the Empire, the Restoration, the July Monarchy in France, and the late-Georgian/early-Victorian monarchy in Great Britain. Political outsiders from the moment they left France to their triumphant return in 1815, the emigrants had been subjected to the good will of their allies. Following the Restoration of the Monarchy and the Congress of Vienna, this same group had become a socially dominant group in France and, consequently, was free to emancipate itself from the British and European monarchies' yoke. Memoir writers hence reinvented their own public *émigré*/emigrant persona.

Paying attention to the composition context must be accompanied by a similar awareness of the publishing context in the absence of an original manuscript.¹⁹⁶ The anthropologist and specialist of social productions of nationalist memory in traumatic situations, Liisa Malkki, insisted that 'rather than be silent or apologetic about the editing process, a theoretically principled ethnography must be self-conscious and explicit about the motives and justifications for its editing strategies'.¹⁹⁷ Publishing modifies the status of self-narratives by offering to a large public a private manuscript at first destined to close family and friends. Furthermore, publishers and editors often feel

¹⁹⁵ CARAN, *Fonds Rohan-Chabot*, 729MI/54, *Mémoires de Charles-Rosalie de Rohan-Chabot*.

¹⁹⁶ As self-narratives are not the subject of this research, I did not look for the original manuscripts. I came across the single unpublished manuscript of recollections used in this research during a two years master degree. When it was possible, I chose the newest edition of a self-narrative – and in particular those published in the collection 'Le Temps retrouvé', by the *Mercure de France* which editorial choices are both critical and scientifically argued. In the absence of a modern re-edition, I chose volumes published during the lifetime of the author, as it is expected that they would have had a certain control on their publication.

¹⁹⁷ Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p.57.

authorized arbitrarily to modify manuscripts or first editions in the light of changing political and literary fashion; some first editions are even posthumous and have been published more than sixty years after the death of their authors.

In 1825, the Comtesse de Genlis wrote her *Mémoires inédits sur le Dix-Huitième siècle et la Révolution française depuis 1756 jusqu'à nos jours*.¹⁹⁸ Ladvocat, the Comtesse's publisher, already had some expertise in publishing *mémoires*: for commercial reasons, he allegedly pushed her to add several comments and extracts of different authors to her manuscript.¹⁹⁹ According to her niece, Georgette Ducrest, the *Mémoires* were initially 160 pages. Ladvocat's edition added up to 10 volumes, each containing between 350 and 420 pages.²⁰⁰ The unscrupulous publisher used a similar method for Ducrest's *Mémoires de l'Impératrice Joséphine*, adding to it apocryphal letters wrongly attributed to Bonaparte's divorcee.²⁰¹ Moreover, the example of Madame de Genlis gives evidence that some self-narratives undertook several lives, independent from their authors. In 1855, under the Second Empire, Georgette Ducrest published a new edition of her aunt's narrative at Gustave Barba, a publishing house that sold illustrated best sellers.²⁰² At that time, Ducrest was ruined as her husband, the harpist Bochsa, had fled to London after a corruption scandal. To pay off her debts, she extracted the 160 pages of Ladvocat's text she considered original – hence admitting she did not consult her aunt's original manuscript. She also changed the title to *Mémoires de Mme de Genlis sur la Cour, la Ville et les Salons de Paris*. While the title under which Ladvocat published Genlis in 1825 set up the book as a reflection on the

¹⁹⁸ Félicité de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits sur le Dix-Huitième siècle et la Révolution française depuis 1756 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1825).

¹⁹⁹ Georgette Ducrest, 'Avant propos', in *Mémoires de Mme de Genlis sur la Cour, la Ville et les Salons de Paris*, ed. by Georgette Ducrest (Paris: G.Barba, 1855).

²⁰⁰ Volume 9 and 10 are a collection of text written by Genlis.

²⁰¹ *Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine par Georgette Ducrest*, ed. by Christophe Pincemaille (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), pp.27-28.

²⁰² *Genlis*, ed. by Ducrest (Paris: G.Barba, 1855).

self in front of History, this new title gave way to gossip about the elite of a recent past. Finally, Ducrest and her aunt did not share similar political views. Although returned to France in August 1800, Genlis presented herself as a constitutional monarchist and dissociated herself from the imperial social life;²⁰³ her niece had supported Bonaparte in 1800 before offering her services to the restored monarchy.²⁰⁴ Two years after this edition, in 1857, the firm Firmin-Didot Frère published a 450-page *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis (en un volume)*, edited by Jean-François Barrière. Historian of the French Revolution and like Madame de Genlis a moderate royalist, Barrière had been forced to retire from his administrative career after the Revolution of 1848.²⁰⁵ More recently, Didier Masseur, specialist of eighteenth-century French literature, justified the extraction of only six volumes from Ladvoat's text as well as the creation of chapters by citing the need to facilitate the modern reader's experience of the text.²⁰⁶

Emigrant didacticism

Despite these precautions, these retrospective memories should not be considered as either 'true' or 'false', but studied for what they are: retrospectively constructed memories on Emigration with a purpose to explain and justify the position of the writers at a crucial historical moment. One of the most obvious characteristics in these self-narratives is their didacticism whether they are examined in their quality of a single literary object or as an intertextual corpus. This didacticism first appears in inventories and repetitions, variations on these repetitions, long lists (of names, places, situations) as well as borrowings, references and quotations. All participate collectively and individually to create an order, a 'fundamental cosmological sense'.²⁰⁷ To understand the evolution of identity discourse and the discourse on emigrant-British

²⁰³ *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, ed. by Didier Masseur (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), p.396.

²⁰⁴ *Ducrest*, ed. by Pincemaille p.51.

²⁰⁵ *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, ed. Jean-François Barrière (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1857).

²⁰⁶ *Genlis*, ed. Didier Masseur, pp.37-38.

²⁰⁷ Malkki, p.55.

interactions in emigrants' self-narratives requires both synchronic and diachronic readings of *Mémoires* and *Souvenirs*.²⁰⁸ Grouped thematically, the extracts relating to emigration in Great Britain highlight the existence of feelings of differentiation and victimisation (rarely admiration) as well as the discursive construction of an *émigré*-type. However, this synchronic analysis conceals the narration of a diachronic evolution of the relations between the diverse emigrant political communities and the British society when extracts are arranged chronologically.

The narration of emigration in Great Britain was at first erudite – the precise narration of a military journey for some, the relation of a decade-long travel for others. In both, the approach towards describing Great Britain mobilised commonplaces: like travel literature, these self-narratives were exemplary of a practice ‘valued for its literary and philosophical dimensions’.²⁰⁹ Hence, the empirical experience of Great Britain was rationalised through conscious and unconscious references to eighteenth-century cultural, literary, philosophical and even scientific productions.²¹⁰ This inherited discourse was in part a creation of cosmopolitan pre-revolutionary salons frequented by the eldest generation of the *émigré* writers and French travellers.²¹¹ Young adults in the 1770s, the authors had also witnessed the birth of a patriotic vocabulary based on national consciousness after the Seven Years War.²¹² The aforementioned references allowed them to ‘understand or refuse differences’.²¹³ The examination of national stereotypes, their acceptance or critique, stresses the returned emigrants’ capacity to understand the world: most differences between the two supposedly national characters took the shape of simple and uncommented remarks, embedded in the body of the text,

²⁰⁸ Appendix, ‘Memoir writers’ and ‘Memoir publishers’.

²⁰⁹ Daniel Roche, *Les circulations dans l'Europe Moderne* (Paris: Fayard, 2011), p.19.

²¹⁰ Roche, *Circulations*, p.29.

²¹¹ Belissa and Cottret.

²¹² Dziembowski, pp.59-110.

²¹³ Roche, *Circulations*, p.37.

and directly inherited from eighteenth-century patriotic prejudices. The Marquise de La Tour du Pin and Théodore de Lameth, who praised England as the land of liberty, fled France “very badly dressed” – the first was disguised as an English lady and the second as a British commoner.²¹⁴ Walsh narrated an anecdote in which the dancer Didelot, playing at the Opera, affirmed “in a patriotic movement” he would let only a French tailor stitch his costumes.²¹⁵ Another commonplace, British female ugliness was alluded to in Tilly’s and Vigée-Lebrun, both acquainted with French standards of classical female beauty: the former as a libertine and the latter as Marie-Antoinette’s and Versailles’ official portraitist.²¹⁶

A few names given to qualify British individuals were purposefully attacking British social behaviours and cultural habits. Against the usual “English roastbeef”, ex-emigrant writers favoured allusions to the insularity of the host society – hinting at the absence of continental (and in particular French) manners in Britain.²¹⁷ Others, such as Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun, commented on the “Gothic behaviour” of the aristocracy of the host society. In the late 1790s, the painter was in Bath with her friend Madame de Beaurepaire.²¹⁸ She described herself as the victim of two old English provincial noblewomen who treated her with *une morgue gothique* [gothic arrogance] and *du mépris* [disdain]. Vigée-Lebrun’s rejection of the Gothic is altogether an aesthetic position, as an artist trained in classical portraiture, and a determined affirmation of her French identity. In 1790s Britain, the Gothic genre was heavily used as a “hostile symbol of all things French: Catholicism, fashion and enthusiasm”.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.213; *Mémoires de Théodore de Lameth*, ed. by Eugène Welvert (Paris: Fontemoing & Cie, 1913), p.220.

²¹⁵ Walsh, pp.125-126.

²¹⁶ *Mémoires du Comte Alexandre de Tilly*, ed. by Christian Melchior-Bonnet (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986), p.269; Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs* (Paris: Fournier, 1835-1837), III, p.201.

²¹⁷ Arnault, p.398.

²¹⁸ Vigée-Lebrun, III, p.227.

²¹⁹ Angela Wright, *Britain, France and the Gothic, 1764-1820* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), p.69.

Sometimes, this vocabulary mutated into an ethnological discourse on the French and the Briton. The most common method used by French authors was the opposition through comparisons. Hence, many insisted on the difference between French happiness and British gloominess. Walsh mocked the English aristocracy, spending its wealth on tea and *spleen* [melancholy], who “du sein de leur opulence et de leur *comfortable home* se prenaient souvent à nous porter envie [within their wealthy environment and comfortable home, would often find themselves envying us]” when hearing about *émigrés*’ pleasant evenings in London.²²⁰ Alexandre de Tilly chose the stylistic device of antithesis to describe his host, in a twelve-pages pseudo-scientific passage entitled a ‘lesson in antithesis’.²²¹ He furthermore aimed to demonstrate by logic the superiority of the French over the British:

Rien ne démontre à mon gré, si mathématiquement, la supériorité incontestable des Français, que l’injustice de nos voisins, à qui nous avons eu l’orgueil noble et impolitique de donner sans cesse toute espèce de louanges, celles-mêmes qu’ils méritent le moins.

[In my opinion, nothing demonstrates more mathematically the indisputable superiority of the French than the injustice of our neighbours to whom we had the noble and impolitic pride to give ceaselessly all kinds of praises – even those they deserve the least].

The tone used in self-narratives was usually self-consciously rationalising. The hyperbole was hence rarely used to describe the host. Despite an extremely informative tone throughout his narrative, Théodore de Lameth’s first portrayal of London was grandiose; its judiciary system worth tonal emphasis: ‘Quel respect pour les formes! Quels soins en faveur des accusés! Quel désir dans les organes de la loi de ne trouver que des innocents dans les prévenus!’ [Such respect for the forms! Such care in favour of the accused! Such desire in the organs of the law to consider the defendants as

²²⁰ Walsh, p.63-64.

²²¹ Tilly, ed. by Melchior-Bonnet, pp.270; 272.

innocents!]²²² It remains quite unclear whether this description emanated from an idealistic Revolutionary or the persecuted exile from the Terreur. Close to the General Lafayette and member of the moderate *Feuillants*, Lameth had been involved in projects to save Louis XVI. Having denounced the September massacres, he took refuge in London between October 1792 and January 1793, when he returned to France in a last attempt to save the King.

In spite of this discourse, Lameth was the only one amongst the authors in this corpus who was threatened with a trial. He described the situation - Mrs Stuart, his landlady, was abused by her husband.²²³ Lameth ran to rescue her: as a Frenchman, he could not bear seeing a defenceless woman being strangled. This anecdote was used as a rhetorical device to introduce a lesson on English jurisprudence.²²⁴ In fact, direct conflicts between the emigrants and the British population were rarely mentioned in retrospective self-narratives. When stated, they ranged between inhospitality and xenophobic reactions. The Marquis de Bouillé, famous for his Anglophobia, reproached his English acquaintances for not repaying the hospitality they received while at his father's home in France when his father and himself had to take refuge in London.²²⁵ The dramatist Arnault pointed out the daily insults the emigrants had to tolerate from the British people.²²⁶ British inhospitality and rudeness had been a common stereotype before the French Revolution, when young aristocrats would visit the continent and some French Salons as part of their *Grand Tour*.²²⁷ However, all emigrants did not share this prejudice – Horace Walpole warmly welcomed his old friend Rohan-Chabot

²²² *Lameth*, ed. by Welvert, p.229.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.228.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.228-230.

²²⁵ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.104.

²²⁶ Arnault, p.394.

²²⁷ Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), pp.228-229.

de Jarnac and his son at Strawberry Hill;²²⁸ the d’Osmond family spent several happy days in the household of Sir John Legard in Yorkshire;²²⁹ Madame de Stael often met during her first stay in England with her mother’s friend, the British historian of the Roman Empire, Edward Gibbon.²³⁰ The cosmopolitan Rohan-Chabot and d’Osmond families, as well as Stael, were moderate in politics and affirmed their Anglophilia before and after the Revolution; Bouillé and Arnault took side with an Anglophobic ultra-royalism after the Restoration.

Descriptions of xenophobic violence were rare in French self-narratives. In the remembered anecdotes, violent behaviour always originated from the British and was at all times attributed to an anonymous mob. The dramatist Arnault narrated in a colourful scene how a drunken Englishman attacked him on the carriage back to Dover.²³¹ Exhibiting with national pride a rack of mutton, the Englishman attempted to force Arnault to admit the superiority of British meat over French frogs. Obtaining no answer, the man violently forced the returning emigrant “out of the confession required by his patriotism”. This picaresque commonplace, probably the product of Arnault’s imagination, is not dissimilar to 1779 Gillray’s print entitled *Politeness*, where a stereotypical beef-eating Englishman verbally assaults a French frog-eater.²³² On another occasion, a British theatre porter mimicked the French king *à la lanterne* in front of the dramatist.²³³ British memoir writers have also referred to British violence towards the French emigrants – the courtesan Harriette Wilson narrated how, one day in the early 1800s, she and her emigrant friends were attacked in a theatre in Portsmouth: “all the sailors in the gallery began hissing and pelting us with oranges; [...] we were

²²⁸ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57.

²²⁹ *Boigne*, ed. by Berchet, I, pp.127-133.

²³⁰ Winock, pp.84-85.

²³¹ Arnault, p.398.

²³² UK, British Museum, James Gillray, *Politeness* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 1779).

²³³ Arnault, p.394.

followed by a whole gang of tars, on our way to the inn. They called us Mounseers, German moustache rascal and bloody Frenchmen”.²³⁴ In this particular case, they were not attacked because they were French but because they spoke a foreign language and wore foreign clothes.²³⁵

All old prejudices were not recycled in emigrant self-narratives, and returned writers invented their own commonplaces. Violence against emigrants mostly originated from an anonymous mob. The English mob described by returned emigrants differs from the pre-revolutionary description of English crowds. Hence, in pre-revolutionary texts that compare France and Great Britain, the population of London had been contrasted with the Parisian one by anglophile travellers – Jean Jacques Rutledge in *Le Babillard* – as well as authors of best sellers – Louis-Sébastien Mercier in his notorious *Tableau de Paris*.²³⁶ Both took interest in what they called the English *Plebeian*, a political being opposed to the mob. For them, while the Parisian people formed an ignorant mass, the Londoners were moderate and their patriotism enlightened. However, post-Emigration self-narratives modified this perspective. The returned emigrants’ view of the London mob reflected their own prejudices about the French revolutionary horde: massive, anonymous, violent and bloodthirsty. The trauma of the Revolution had shaped the emigrant’s view of all popular gatherings. Although not directed at emigrants, boxing is a *leitmotiv* in ex-emigrant’s literature. For Vigée-Lebrun, boxing was a “horrid sight”; she compared it to historical times of “barbarism and extermination”.²³⁷ As a comparison, Louis Simond – a Franco-American traveller in England in 1811 – and Auguste Defauconpret – a translator who fled debts in France

²³⁴ Harriette Wilson, *Memoirs of herself and others* (London:T.Douglas, 1825), p.399.

²³⁵ Eagles, p.17: ‘French was employed as a collective term for anyone of foreign nationhood’.

²³⁶ Raymonde Monnier, ‘Tableaux croisés chez Mercier et Rutledge : le peuple de Paris et le plebeien anglais’, in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*, 339 (Jan-Mar 2005), 1-16.

²³⁷ Vigée-Lebrun, p.128.

in 1815 – both praised the nobility of the sport as well as its egalitarian status.²³⁸ Between the lines of the superimposed British and French mob's portrayal emerged an underlying portrait of the emigrant, and his ethos. In the mirror of self-narratives, the mob appeared as an antagonistic reflection of the self.

In contrast, French writers always presented themselves as beyond suspicion of intolerance or wrongdoings. Portraying an isolated, misunderstood and suffering self underlined the dignity and heroism of the emigrants. Many moderate and constitutional royalist returned emigrants took great care to distantiate themselves from those royalists *émigrés* and courtisans, who behaved in a manner considered shameful at a time when home was in the midst of a political and social crisis; they thus demonstrated their own probity and good character. Madame de Boigne certainly felt humiliated when Madame de Léon and her friends wasted their savings in expensive parties or mixed with some vulgar *filles* under the mortified eye of the British bourgeoisie or when the rich Madame de Vigné used coarse language with an Englishman.²³⁹ She could rest easily: the behaviour of a minority did not affect the character beyond reproach that emigrants had built in Britain.²⁴⁰ Madame de La Tour du Pin preferred leaving London and the *émigrés* (read the Legitimist aristocrats) to later meet with French nobles from lower ranks and lesser political influence. The didactic and moralising tone used by emigrant writers differs from other narratives from travellers in England because of the necessity for returned emigrants to justify their actions to future generations. Just like they presented themselves as the victims of providence, wrong choices and the sans-culottes, the emigrants emphasised their status as the victims in their host countries of the decaying French leadership. The emigrants convinced themselves and aimed to

²³⁸ Louis Simond, *Voyage d'un Français en Angleterre dans les années 1810-1811* (Paris: Treuttel and Wurtz, 1816), p.169; Auguste Defauconpret, *Quinze Jours à Londres à la fin de 1815* (Paris: Emery, 1817), pp.134-135.

²³⁹ *Boigne*, ed. Berchet (1999), I, p.141, p.151.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.142.

convince their readers they had done nothing wrong: ‘acting honourably, defending one’s honour, is doubtless in all circumstances a mode of behaviour closely associated with what psychologists call *denial*, a process of self-deception aimed at blocking painful feelings from consciousness’.²⁴¹

Old and new commonplaces were often reinforced by a comprehensive and logical narrative structure, underlining the evolution of the relations between the emigrant and the British communities. Series of heavily moral stories about the author or the emigrant group explored, explained and emphasised the boundaries between a righteous self and the others (revolutionary, British and depending on the authors’ political affiliation, ultra-royalist or constitutional royalist). Just like French classical tragedies, five main acts on Franco-British cohabitation stand out by reading emigrants’ self-narratives. Usually presented in their chronological order, these moments are based on both an individual journey and a collective understanding of the chronology linked to episodes of the French counter-revolution and the Revolution. First, authors exposed their decision to choose Britain as a shelter; they then described their arrival on the British shores as well as their first encounter with the English population – customs officers and villagers in the South of England. The third moment illustrated a relatively peaceful settlement, usually in an urbanised area (between the arrival and the years 1794-1795) where the emigrants would live from their work and British allowances; the peaceful cohabitation was however threatened by the counter-revolutionary defeat of Quiberon in summer 1795, and climaxed with the crystallisation of tensions between the emigrant community and the British government. In the denouement, these emigrant

²⁴¹ William Reddy, *The Invisible Code. Honor and sentiment in Post-revolutionary France, 1814-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p.13.

stories always ended with a more or less optimistic repatriation to France or to another host country.

Traditionally, scholarship on migration and refuge has highlighted two main factors contributing to this choice: the links between the emigrant and the host country (geographical and familial factors) as well as the political, social and financial pull factors attracting the emigrants to this particular place.²⁴² Self-narratives do not single out a factor or set of factors determining the choice of Great Britain by emigrants: it attracted a highly heterogeneous crowd – heterogeneous its its political preferences, its social and cultural situations as well as its connections with the British society. Some came to England to further a literary career, publish a counter-revolutionary volume or continue the military counter-revolutionary fight under the British flag. Others chose London because of their moderate and constitutional political convictions. Some just wanted to join a family who was already living or exiled in England. This is the case of Jacobite descendants La Tour du Pin, Boigne or to a lesser extent Walsh. Others, like Gauthier de Brechy, came to England to take advantage of a financial windfall: having participated in the rebellion in Toulon, he was entitled to a pension from the British state. The majority of authors who were officers in the *ancien régime* armies first joined the *Armée des Princes* or *de Condé* in 1791-1792 before making their way to the British shores. Only Rohan-Chabot de Jarnac joined them in 1792 after a sojourn in Ireland from October 1789.²⁴³ In this particular case, the migratory project exposed in his letters and in his memoirs differ. To what extent can we affirm that the reasons given in memoirs to take shelter in Britain are genuine and not the product of memories built during the Emigration and afterwards as a way to justify their choices? Madame de

²⁴² See Tetty Havinga and Anita Bocker, 'Country of asylum by chance or by choice? Asylum seekers in Belgium, Netherlands and the UK', in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25 (1999), 43-61.

²⁴³ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/53, Proposition de creation d'un regiment de cavalerie au sein d'une armée chrétienne (4 March 1794).

Genlis never used the word Emigration to describe her sojourn in Great Britain; she preferred the vocable of *voyage*. Often writing in the early years of the Restoration, all military memoir writers took great precaution in affirming they did not flee; they chose consciously to cross the frontier, in obedience to their code of honour and seeking military laurels and regal recognition.²⁴⁴ However, they did not all chose to protect the absolute monarchy – some who had applauded the first years of the Revolution found themselves entangled in an anti-revolutionary fight. With four other military authors, the Comte de Jarnac abandoned the counter-revolutionary fight around 1793 because the royalist armies were too reactionary and did not correspond to his constitutionalist positions. Chateaubriand famously left the army and retrospectively affirmed that he understood the counter-revolutionary fight was doomed. Seven others, amongst them Louis Gabriel de Villeneuve, Contades and Marcillac, arrived in the British Isles after a long journey in Eastern Europe, when the *Armée de Condé* was integrated within the British army in 1795.

Self-narratives also highlight a large spectrum of relationship towards British culture before the Revolution. A correlation between liberal politics and exile to Great Britain seems to exist in civilian self-narratives. The preconceived image the migrant has from a country affects but does not determine the choice of a shelter: it would be a caricature to affirm that while ultra-royalists went to fight in Germany or took refuge in Austria, all Anglophile constitutional monarchists and *monarchiens* took shelter in the British Isles. It is however a fact that all *monarchien* and moderate memoir writers who took shelter in England clarify in lengthy passages the pre-revolutionary amicable, philosophical and intellectual relationship they had with their British peers. Describing a cancelled attempt to take shelter in England, Madame de Genlis, guardian to the

²⁴⁴ Rance, ‘Mémoires de nobles émigrés’.

children of the d'Orléans family, spoke about her “particular taste” for this country;²⁴⁵ but Lameth, attracted by “le spectacle de la liberté d’un grand peuple, de la liberté individuelle écrite au front du moindre citoyen [the spectacle of the freedom of a great race, of individual freedom carved in the forehead of each and every citizen]”, certainly wrote the most eulogistic plea for his haven.²⁴⁶ The most reactionary of the writers were also acquainted with the British culture; their words on British political culture were less dithyrambic. A refractory clergyman, the abbé de Fabry decided to travel to London from Saint Omer around September 1791.²⁴⁷ He admitted “knowing the English language and literature” and had translated in French “the volume of Mr. Burke” – presumably the 1790 *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. For personal reasons, he finally decided against a trip to Britain and went to Ypres. Presented as a choice, the explanations given in civilian *memoirs* for reaching Britain, or avoiding it, suffer from too many biases to be truthful. They are extremely stylised, and the writers usually insist on minor factors in the determination of their shelter country. They furthermore leave little place to chance, in spite of the urgency to find a shelter in times of violent repression against the Counter-revolution.

Once decided to take shelter in Great Britain, emigrants had to land on the isles. Often arriving after an ominous storm (many lost their lives in the Channel), the arrivals described their first encounter with Britain as an upsetting experience. The Gauthier de Brécy family were unusual in being welcomed with a gift of sugar, tea and Champagne.²⁴⁸ The encounter with British customs officers and small town populations represent the first conflict between a British mob and French noble emigrants, at present

²⁴⁵ *Genlis*, ed. by Masseur, p.99.

²⁴⁶ *Lameth*, ed. by Welvert, p.22.

²⁴⁷ *Mémoires de mon Émigration par l'Abbé de Fabry*, ed. by Ernest d'Hauterive (Paris: Champion, 1933).

²⁴⁸ Gauthier de Brécy, *Mémoires véridiques et Ingénues de la vie privée, morale et politique d'un homme de bien* (Paris: imprimerie Giraudet, 1834), p.278.

described in self-narratives as refugees. Self-narratives emphasised the administrative and sometimes financial battles fought by emigrants when confronted for the first time with British customs officers; on 7 January 1793, the British Parliament voted the *Alien Acts*, installing a new type of surveillance and management of immigrant populations. Praised in the 1770s by French traveller Jean-Pierre Grosley and in the 1780s by La Rochefoucault who, referring to his crossing the border, considered ‘it would be impossible for anyone to receive and look after strangers better than the English generally do’, the British customs were now a burden on 1790s displaced populations.²⁴⁹ National immigration policies played an important role in the identification of migrants as a minority community: remembered as an additional humiliation, the British policy on migrants was no stranger in shaping the *émigré* and refugee identities. The *Aliens Act* is not *per se* a commonplace in emigrants’ self-narratives. Rarely named, it was however referred to in several anecdotes where both customs officers and local populations appear guilty of persecuting the impoverished displaced population.

In 1797, the Marquise de la Tour du Pin was shocked by the rude behaviour of customs officers at first, but:

À la vue de mon passeport, que je présentai au bureau chargé de les vérifier – *Alien Office* – on me demanda si j’étais sujette du roi d’Angleterre, et sur ma réponse affirmative, on me dit que je devais me réclamer de quelqu’un de connu en Angleterre. Ayant nommé sans hésiter mes trois oncles: Lord Dillon, Lord Kenmare et Sir William Jerningham, le ton et la manière des employés changèrent aussitôt.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Pierre-Jean Grosley, ‘Londres’ (Lausanne, 1774), in ed. Jacques Gury, *Le Voyage Outre-Manche – Anthologie de voyageurs français* (Paris: Bouquin, 1999), pp.67-70; Norman Scarfe, *Innocent Espionnage: The La Rochefoucauld Brothers’ Tour of England in 1785* (London: Boydell Press, 1995), p.207.

²⁵⁰ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.316.

[When they saw my passport that I presented to the office in charge of verifying them – Alien Office – I was asked if I was a subject of the King of England. And, on my positive answer, I was told I should claim kinship to someone famous in England. Naming without hesitation my three uncles – Lord Dillon, Lord Kenmare and Sir William Jerningham – the tone and manner of the employees suddenly changed]

The General d'Andigné was not lucky enough to be of British descent. After wandering for two days in the snowy streets of Harwich, he reported in his *Mémoires* that:

Un commissaire augmentait encore notre embarras en prétendant ne pouvoir nous laisser partir sans une autorisation. Il nous la faisait attendre deux ou trois jours, et nous la délivrait ensuite pour un schilling. Cette contribution, légère en apparence, devenait onéreuse, vue qu'elle nous faisait prolonger notre séjour à Harwich, dont les habitants nous rançonnèrent impitoyablement. Ces tracasseries, je dois le dire, étaient contraires à l'esprit du gouvernement. Elles cessèrent aussitôt qu'il en eût connaissance.²⁵¹

[An officer increased our embarrassment claiming he could not let us leave without authorisation. He made us wait for another two to three days, and then delivered it to us for a shilling. This contribution, apparently small, would become expensive, since it was making our stay in Harwich longer. The inhabitants blackmailed us without any pity. I must admit that these issues were contrary to the spirit of the government. It stopped as soon as the authorities heard about it]

Local populations were often accused of exploiting the situation with the complicity of unprincipled customs officers. Arnault reported that he had to pay the British smugglers who brought him to England from France a high price to insure their fidelity.²⁵² In his accusation, D'Andigné however spares the British government from being associated with these thieves – acting *bona fide*, the government put an end to the scheme as soon as it uncovered it. This comment as well as the relative silence on the *Alien Acts* by

²⁵¹ *Mémoires du Général d'Andigné*, ed. by E. Biré (Paris: Plon, 1900), p.101.

²⁵² Arnault, p.374.

emigrants could be the sign of the emigrants' acceptance of Pitt's policies in response to terrorist France. The authority of the *Alien Acts* was double-edged: painful for an impoverished displaced Frenchman, it also facilitated the dismissal of revolutionary spies. Similarly, Bouillé praised the British government for chasing "the bandits of all countries who had principally arrived from France" – but blamed the authorities for confiscating his father's sword.²⁵³ Conflicting with the image of a charitable nation proposed in British collective memory, memoir writers presented themselves in these stories as persecuted and wounded by an uncharitable British character.

The first troubles overcome, most emigrants set off to London. This is when the discourse on the host in self-narratives became highly politicised: in all self-narratives, every emigrant reaching Great Britain after September 1792 was described as indigent. In lengthy passages, allegorical cases of women and children on the verge of death highlighted the distress of the entire population. Many hoped to receive financial help from the British relief Committee to French refugees. While the French Revolutionaries were always held responsible for this misery, some affirmed that Great Britain found an interest in being hospitable and generous to the then despaired emigrants.²⁵⁴ The *émigré schilling* – the name given to the average allowance received from government by an adult emigrant per day – generated a shift amongst returned emigrants. It remains unclear whether this debate took place during the Emigration or whether it was a political creation of the Empire and then the Restoration due to the difficulty for returned emigrants to admit they received a financial help from their main military and economic opponent.

Those who rallied to the Empire as well as the ones who returned to France after 1814 mostly ignored the topic – or intentionally forgot it. Others pretended they had

²⁵³ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, III, p.103.

²⁵⁴ According to Walsh, p.50.

rejected British charity and pitied the émigrés who were forced to ‘beg the enemy of their fatherland’ to survive.²⁵⁵ Georgette Ducrest, the author of this comment, was probably less than five years old during her parents’ stay in London. Admitting that her first memories dated from after 1794, she could not possibly have remembered the *émigré schilling*, not even mentioning the experience of shame related to receiving charity. She then dwelled on this apocryphal judgement by giving a historical justification to those who accepted the British help. Giving asylum in Britain to the French displaced by the Revolution was only a reciprocal and fair payment for the asylum given by the French monarchy to the Jacobites following the Glorious Revolution: ‘George III repaid James II debt, in the name of the Nation and Royalty’. With this sweeping statement, she transformed history. Wilfully ignoring British politics, Ducrest regarded James’ Jacobites and George’s Hanoverians as similar because they were British. Bouillé denounced British charity as a governmental plot, intended “to compensate the individuals for the evil deeds targeting the complete body of the nation” – probably in reference to the concomitant beginning of the war with revolutionary France.²⁵⁶ Arnault called in freedom to explain the departure of plenty to the continent: a boat was filled with French passengers who ‘allaient chercher sur le continent une hospitalité moins couteuse que l’hospitalité anglaise [went to the continent in search of a hospitality less costly than the English one]’.²⁵⁷ Having read most Bonapartist and legitimist writers published before 1845, Walsh felt entitled to affirm that memoir writers collectively invented a lie. He personally praised England for being charitable towards those whom the French Revolution had persecuted, dispossessed and proscribed.²⁵⁸ The lies about receiving British charity were certainly

²⁵⁵ Ducrest, ed. by Pincemaille, p.37.

²⁵⁶ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.104.

²⁵⁷ Arnault, p.399.

²⁵⁸ Walsh, p.50.

based on a political agenda and the returned emigrants quest for national respectability, but the pride of men and women who went from riches to rags and back to riches should not be underestimated. Admitting to having received help from any foreign counterpart, and in particular France's main financial, military and imperial competitor in the nineteenth-century, would put an end to the emigrant's myth of the aristocratic social dominance by downgrading them to a similar level to the poorest in their countries. This admission would also be an acknowledgment of their subordination to their post-revolution main competitor.

In self-narratives, emigration was only a component of the Anti-Revolution – and it was naturally that the emigrant-British relative peace of 1792-1793 was threatened by the First Coalition's consecutive defeats against the Republican armies. The defeat of the French and British regiments in Quiberon eclipsed all other stories of emigrant-British collaborations, pre- and post- 1795, whether in Ireland, Germany, Flanders, Spain, Portugal or in the East Indies. In 1795, Pitt's government, Puisaye, and the Comte d'Artois launched a naval expedition to conquer Brittany and join the internal counter-revolution of royalist Chouans in Vendée against the republican armies.²⁵⁹ Seven of the writers in this group reached Great Britain in-between the end of 1793 and 1794 to participate in the recapture of France from its Western shores; most of the civilians had lost a family member or close friends during the repression.

Self-narratives offered two readings of the defeat in Quiberon. The first one regarded the *émigré* regiments as ultimately responsible for the failure: the Comte de Jarnac and Madame de Boigne condemned the aristocratic émigrés for their inability to overcome their prejudices against the Vendée popular insurrection.²⁶⁰ The second one accused the British government of having plotted against peace in France. Many blamed

²⁵⁹ Roger Dupuy, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Hachette, 1997) ; Jean-Clément Martin, *La Guerre Civile, entre histoire et mémoire* (Nantes: Ouest Éditions, 1995).

²⁶⁰ *Boigne*, ed. by Berchet, I, pp.144-148.

the British government for conducting a “Machiavellian plot” to set aflame a civil war in France, when, following the fall of the *Terreur*, the country had been somewhat pacified.²⁶¹ Pitt’s manipulative behaviour was opposed to military Lord Moira’s noble conduct that inspired respect. Bouillé enraged:

Le gouvernement anglais, heureux d’avoir en sa main une occasion aussi favorable pour satisfaire sa haine aussi bien que son intérêt contre la France, se prêtait avec autant de largesse que d’empressement à entretenir et à féconder ces germes de divisions intestines.²⁶²

[The British government, happy to have in hand such a favourable occasion to satisfy its hatred as well as in anti-french interests, maintained and fertilised with much generosity and eagerness these sprouts of internal struggle.]

He then proceeded to compare the flight of the *émigrés* to the legend of El Cid, the Spanish national hero. Returning from a long exile imposed by his fellow countrymen, El Cid inflicted major defeats on the Almoravide dynasty. The nature of France in Bouillé’s discourse remains obscure. It can describe either the entire French population or the Counter-revolutionaries who considered themselves as the true France. Marcillac also accused Britain of trying to stir up a civil war in France,²⁶³ the Anglophobic tone is set on the front page of Montgaillard’s *Mémoires* published in 1804, with a reference to ‘intrigues of England’s agents’.²⁶⁴ The theme of a civil war appeared also in Walsh who portrayed the sadness of soldiers on the move, “gone to fight against Frenchmen”, against “fellow countrymen”.²⁶⁵ In this narrow-minded and national-centric understanding of the Revolution, Great Britain was dispossessed of its quality of host to

²⁶¹ *Andigné*, ed. by Biré, pp.105-113; *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.442.

²⁶² *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.399.

²⁶³ Louis de Marcillac, *Souvenirs de l’Émigration à l’Usage de l’époque actuelle* (Paris: Baudouin Frères, 1825), pp.91-92.

²⁶⁴ Jean-Gabriel Rocques de Montgaillard, *Mémoires Secrets de J.M.G de Montgaillard, Pendant les années de son Émigration: Contenant de Nouvelles Informations sur le Caractère des Princes Français et sur les Intrigues de Agents de l’Angleterre* (Paris: 1804).

²⁶⁵ Walsh, p.70.

become an interested and uninvited third party in a French fight. It was reinstated in its place as France's natural and deceitful enemy.

Quiberon hence became the symbol for the irreconcilability between the French emigrants, the French leaders of the Counter-Revolution, and the British host. In most self-narratives, it heralds the emigrants' departure from Britain, exasperated either by the failure of the French leaders or the duplicity of their host. The return to France is often presented as a short passage when the emigrant leaves London for Dover. The authors or the editors often highlighted it as a rupture between two chapters. Among other reasons for departure, the British fascination for the French Revolution and *Directoire* was resented as a political abandonment. Bouillé was infuriated (once again) by the inconsiderateness of the British public, in particular the honours made to Tallien upon his arrival, 'un homme dont le nom seul rappelle l'époque la plus funeste et la plus honteuse des Annales de cette guerre et de celles de l'Angleterre [a man whose name reminds the most macabre and shameful age in the annals of this war and those of England]'.²⁶⁶ Amongst those remaining or arriving in London after Quiberon, Madame de Stael and the duc d'Orléans, who were both in bad odour with the core of the emigration in London, still praised Great Britain in their writings.²⁶⁷ For the defeated counter-revolutionaries, those royalists who remained in England were often considered as corrupted and bribed.²⁶⁸

Poverty, military defeats and the length of the exile were presented, simultaneously with the British government and population, as factors increasing the marginalisation of the emigrant population. However, most bitter arguments used to justify the process of national identification were built retrospectively. Psychoanalysis

²⁶⁶ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, pp.443; 459.

²⁶⁷ Germaine de Stael, *Dix Années d'exil*, ed. by Madame Necker de Saussure (Paris: Garnier, 1906); Louis-Philippe, *Mémoires de Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans* (Paris: Plon, 1973).

²⁶⁸ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.438.

demonstrates that the traumatism of exile and failed relocation re-activates age-old prejudices and phantasms about the alien – Britain as the natural enemy.²⁶⁹ In some way, Great Britain was imagined as the allegory of all that was not France. Retrospectively, the attitude of the host country explained the failure; it represented the disenchantment of those who had failed to realise their political projects and the deceived hope to build a nation to their image. The style and arguments used by the defeated Frenchmen differed from previously known travel literature: description of Britain and British attitudes towards the French were not based on the past journey, they were not even an evaluation of this British attitudes to the migrants. Descriptions of emigrant-host relationships were envisaged as a subversive didactic reinterpretation of the writers' past in fundamentally moral terms. In self-narratives, Emigration was transformed in an elaborate 'mythico-history' in which all hiccups were eliminated.²⁷⁰

Leaving a Patrie, returning in a Nation

Reflexively, the *émigré*-figure was emerging out of this discourse, as that which the British were not. In their quest for respectability, the malaise of returned French emigrants was retrospectively translated by an obsession with their homeland. Their narration transformed the home, France, in a mythical location. In this sense, emigrants' self-narratives could be compared to a modern *Odysseus*: emigrants themselves would certainly not turn their back to being compared to Ulysses' and his crew in their own legends. By opposition, the experience of the host country related to an inner suffering, linked to the separation from this mythical location.²⁷¹ Great Britain had become the polar opposite of the revered home country: exaggerations, lies, omissions, all contributed to create a stark contrast between the home as a horizon of expectation and

²⁶⁹ Ségolène Payan, 'Du déplacement au sentiment d'exil', *Recherches en Psychanalyse*, 9 (2010), p.171-182 (p.173).

²⁷⁰ Malkki, p.54.

²⁷¹ Payan, p.177-178.

a foreign country that could not live up to the emigrants' hopes. Having ignored the 'home' to concentrate on the 'host', the definition of the relationship between the French community and their host remains incomplete without a study of the returned *émigré* imagined community and their re-insertion in nineteenth-century France. Indeed, the analysis of stereotyped discourses on the British community as well as the chronological reconstruction of evolving relationships between the refugee and the host groups minimized the importance of post-revolutionary ideologies on identity discourse. If such a thing exists, emigrant ideology could be compared to a tree, with its *ancien régime*, anti-enlightened and enlightened roots, its political branches and its socio-economic, cultural and intellectual ramifications. While the trunk of the tree leans towards home, the branches however, diverge from this general direction to follow their own progression. Some of them are even intertwined with trees from different species, revolutionary and foreign. Yet, the directions and definitions of home strongly depended on circumstances.

In self-narratives, home is alternatively referred to as Nation or *Patrie*. Historians have been occupied for decades with attempts to define the two notions, and their evolution from the eighteenth century until nowadays. Here is not the place for a general exegesis of them and their two derivatives, patriotism and nationalism. It is however important to replace the definitions of Nation and *Patrie* by returned emigrants within their original context. The revolutionary and napoleonic uses of the two terms have been thoroughly studied. By 1789, both *Patrie* and Nation had taken a central and lasting place in French political culture – according to historian David Bell, the first one relating to an emotional attachment to territory and political loyalty, the second one as

‘a group of people sharing certain important binding qualities’.²⁷² The French Revolution modified this perspective as the nation was then assimilated to the State and the sovereign people.²⁷³ To this democratic and revolutionary concept of nation was then substituted during the Empire the deterritorialised notion of a *Grande Nation*. Were these uses of Nation and *Patrie* fundamentally different to those found in self-narratives? To what extent were the emigrant uses of the two notions enmeshed in oppositional cultural and political practices? Were these uses remnants of *ancien régime* and aristocratic definitions, seen by Jay Smith as a reactionary ‘hierarchical patriotism’, or had they been renewed during and by the emigration?²⁷⁴

Political fashion somewhat dictated the quantitative and semantic use of each term. The changes in both *Patrie* and *Nation* are complicated by the necessity for a writer or a publisher to obey certain social, political and literary trends. When the author returned to France before the Restoration, *Nation* was more widely used than *Patrie*. The Comte de Montgaillard was the only exception to this rule as he used *Patrie* at least thirty-nine times and referred to *Nation* only twelve times. His stay in Great-Britain had lasted only six weeks after August 1792, and he had been involved as a spy agent in the early years of the French Republic before returning in Emigration in the late months of 1794. He was however refused shelter in Great Britain as an ex-collaborator of Robespierre. The rejection of the term *Patrie* in the first self-narratives on Emigration was strongly related to a war of words. Since the Maupeou crisis, *Patrie*, *Patriotisme* and *Patriote* all belonged to the revolutionary lexical field. In the early years of the Revolution, the so-called *Patriotes* were sitting amongst the Jacobins in the French

²⁷² David Bell, *The Cult of the nation in France: Inventing nationalism* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2001), p.21.

²⁷³ Eric Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), p.23.

²⁷⁴ Jay M. Smith, *Nobility reimaged. The patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

Assembly, against the aristocratic *Noirs* and the constitutionalist *Monarchiens*.²⁷⁵ On the contrary, Nation was strongly linked to the elites of the *Ancien Regime* reintegrated after 1804 in the Napoleonic system.²⁷⁶ Rejecting the *Grande Nation*, the authors who published under Louis XVIII and Charles X's reign preferred the one of *Patrie*. It is only after the 1830 Revolution that the use of Nation became predominant in self-narratives, as the Orléans régime attempted to create cohesion between a people divided in factions. Yet, as we will see, the definition of Nation in later self-narratives became increasingly blurred. Often, the authors made little attempt to define an extremely volatile word.

In many cases, both words seem interchangeable. However, when the memoir writer refers to *Patrie*, it was usually understood as the territorial reality of France, the country where one was born and raised as opposed to foreign lands. The scope of the *Patrie* might be limited to the local and regional environment where the emigrant's family originated. This traditional acceptance of *Patrie* was complemented by a traditional definition of Nation, equivalent to any other foreign people: the British public was very often identified as the British nation.²⁷⁷ Following the enlightened debate between Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism, the love found in the *Patrie* is contrasted in Marcillac with the “humiliations, spite, jealousy and privations” experienced by emigrants in foreign countries.²⁷⁸ The homeland was then celebrated as the repository of patriotic values. From *Patrie* to family, there was just one step. The constitutionalist abbé Lambert associated the *Patrie* with a beloved mother in his self-

²⁷⁵ Andigné, pp.162-164.

²⁷⁶ Roger Dupuy, ‘Les Résistances à la Révolution’, in *Recherches sur la Révolution: un bilan des travaux scientifiques du bicentenaire* (Paris: 1991).

²⁷⁷ Tilly, ed. by Melchior-Bonnet, pp.233-234; *Souvenirs du Général Comte Mathieu Dumas*, ed. Christian Dumas (Paris: Gosselin, 1839), pp.576-577.

²⁷⁸ Louis-Gabriel de Villeneuve, *Mémoires sur l'Expédition de Quiberon: Précédé de l'Emigration de 1791, et sur les Trois Campagnes de 1792, 1793, 1794* (Paris: Le Normant, 1819), pp.32-33.

narratives written in the early years of the Restoration.²⁷⁹ In 1825, Marcillac associated the localised *Patrie* with personal wealth and family, as well as the notion of “bonheur de la vie”.²⁸⁰ In Montgaillard, the *Patrie* is either *heureuse* or *malheureuse*.²⁸¹ Following the enlightened and voltairian traditions, it was also the place where one could be happy.²⁸² *Malheureux* was the adjective used by many to describe the separation from the *Patrie*: the 1819 edition of Villeneuve ended with the narration of how the soldier met in London with the exiled royal family, “moaning over the lost fatherland”.²⁸³ Bouillé assimilated his nostalgia to the *maladie du pays*.²⁸⁴ In Restoration memoirs, the *Patrie* was ill. In Lambert, a maternal and beloved *Patrie* was beset by a *maladie grave*.²⁸⁵ Fabry declared having howled over the *maux* oppressing his *Patrie*.²⁸⁶ Contades also referred to *maux* that tore apart his unhappy *Patrie*.²⁸⁷ The notion of a *Patrie* to cure and regenerate however had traditionally belonged to the Enlightenment and the Revolution – the emigrant aristocrats being assimilated to a national cancer. The association *patrie*/Illness in Restoration self-narratives were more likely to be linked to the recent publications of de Maistre and Bonald. In Andigné, the *Patrie* and its traditional and historical institutions had been blown away by the *esprit révolutionnaire*: only Providence knew the term of it.²⁸⁸

Further divergence between a legitimist and a constitutionalist *Patrie* emerged in the 1820s, and especially after Charles X and his *ultra-montain* government’s reading

²⁷⁹ *Mémoires de famille de l’Abbé Lambert, Dernier Confesseur du Duc de Penthièvre, Aumonier de la Duchesse d’Orléans, sur la Révolution et l’Emigration, 1791-1799*, ed. by Gaston de Beauséjour (Paris, A.Picard et Fils, 1894), p.159.

²⁸⁰ Marcillac, p.22.

²⁸¹ Montgaillard, pp.40 and 164.

²⁸² Michel Vovelle, ‘Entre cosmopolitisme et xénophobie: patrie, nation, république universelle dans les idéologies de la Révolution française’, in *Nations and Nationalisms: France, Britain, Ireland and the Eighteenth Century Context*, ed. Michael O’Dea and Kevin Whelan (Voltaire Foundation, 1995), p.13.

²⁸³ Villeneuve, p.196.

²⁸⁴ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.459.

²⁸⁵ Lambert, ed. by Beauséjour, p.159.

²⁸⁶ Fabry, ed. by d’Hauterive, p.75.

²⁸⁷ *Souvenirs du comte de Contades, Pair de France: Coblenz et Quiberon*, ed. by Gérard de Contades (Paris: E.Dentu, 1885), p.75.

²⁸⁸ Andigné, ed. by Biré, p.82.

of the *Charte* directly collided with the liberal take on it. In legitimist self-narratives, *Patrie* took a reactionary, Catholic and aristocratic turn: patriotism was hence assimilated to the attachment to a territorial entity whose legitimate and historical rulers (God, the King, the aristocracy) possessed authority over the persons living in it. Their *Patrie* was defined by a vertical relationship between the leaders and the subjects. Legitimist writers such as Villeneuve and Bouillé directly associated *Patrie* with God and the Bourbons. Former Bonapartists who rallied to Louis-Philippe and constitutionalists would relate the filial love of the *Patrie* to a contract with the King, who remained the *primus inter pares*.²⁸⁹ Dumas declared being altogether attached to his *Patrie* and, independently, faithful to the King.

In the meantime, a romantic, deterritorialised and transnational notion of *Patrie* appeared. To Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Patrie* was the place where one felt one belonged; her published memoirs included a letter dated 1801 in which she declared having found amongst all her hosts (including Great Britain) ‘une nouvelle patrie’ [a new home].²⁹⁰ The *Patrie* was also removed from the terroir in Walsh’s definition – it was a ‘moral’ homeland, a place where one would share with his neighbours opinions, customs, feelings and common principles.²⁹¹ In this case, *Patrie* and Nation were very similar: the Catholic religion was the base of this *Patrie*-Nation. He hence considered he belonged to the same Nation as the Irish Catholics.

From the earliest narrations of emigration and as if untouched since 1789-summer 1792, the meaning of Nation spread from the natural association of people living in a same territory in the more conservative texts to the product of a political will (i.e. the people represented by Parliament) in constitutionalist ones. In legitimist

²⁸⁹ Grégoire Franconie, ‘Louis-Philippe et la sacralité royale après 1830’, in Becquet and Frederking, pp.97-114.

²⁹⁰ Vigée-Lebrun, pp.119-120.

²⁹¹ Walsh, p.47 (La religion, c’est la première, la plus grande des patries).

narrations, the Nation resembled the *ancien régime* aristocratic ideals. It was an ensemble of people, with its elites. In Gauthier de Brécy and in Andigné, the Nation, i.e. the ensemble of the population, was faithful and loving to its kings.²⁹² Contrarily to the revolutionary principles, it is divisible since Andigné considered himself as belonging to the ‘partie la plus saine de la nation’.²⁹³ Madame de Lage de Volude linked it to ‘honour, sacrifice and the King’.²⁹⁴ The relation between the sovereign and its subjects was considered as natural as opposed to the idea of a social contract proposed by their opponents. In this acceptation and unlike the revolutionary ideal of State = Nation = People, the Nation was separated from the government of the State. Hence, the use of ‘British Nation’ always referred to British public opinion in Bouillé and never to the State.²⁹⁵ On the contrary, the Orléanist Lamber insisted that Nation corresponded to the ‘peuple assemblé’, the people as a political force. In some cases, the returned emigrants’ Nation also borrowed from the revolutionary and Imperial vocabulary. In Genlis, Nation corresponds to both the ‘peuple armé’ and ‘coalisé’, armed and united to defend the *Patrie*. After a brief sojourn in England in 1793 and a brilliant career in Imperial France, Mathieu Dumas felt entitled to use both revolutionary and Napoleonic symbols and vocabulary.²⁹⁶ Montgaillard also referred to the *grande nation*.²⁹⁷

The association of Nation and shared beliefs and mores was present since the earliest memoirs. It however was intensified in the 1830s. It was in this context that the opposition to Great Britain took its sense. Like many of his fellow soldiers having worked under British pay against the Revolutionary armies, d’Andigné aimed to distance himself from Great Britain. He hence opposed French loyalty, seen as a

²⁹² Gauthier de Brécy, p.241.

²⁹³ *Andigné*, ed. by Biré, p.177 – chapter on the Chouans, as a ‘nation à part’ as opposed to the *patriotes*.

²⁹⁴ *Souvenirs d’Emigration de Madame la Marquise de Lage de Volude*, ed. by Baron de la Morinerie (Evreux: Herissey, 1869).

²⁹⁵ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, pp.420; 425; 472.

²⁹⁶ Dumas, T.III. p.562.

²⁹⁷ Montgaillard, p.1.

characteristic national feature, to the British devious and belligerent nature.²⁹⁸ Human characteristics and feelings, such as shame and hatred, often qualified the term in self-narratives. It possessed its own taste, ‘génie’ and ‘esprit’. If the Nation was gifted with feelings, one could have ‘le sentiment de la nation’.²⁹⁹ It was only towards the late 1850s that some legitimist visions were borderline with nationalist discourse.

The examination of returned emigrants’ self-narratives raises questions about the dynamics of emigrant identity construction and its impact on the narration of emigrant-British relationships during Emigration. In spite of the availability of anecdotes on the host society in self-narratives, the historian must be wary of the dangers of using them. The examination of these texts within their political contexts revealed that they were not writings on Emigration: they were positional writings, in favour of a certain idea of France, and, by correlation against everything that went against this idea. Self-narratives about one’s personal emigration in the nineteenth century were yet another stone in the sea of anti-revolutionary educational writings; they also perpetuated within the nineteenth century the differentiation between counter-revolutionary groups. The novelty in these didactic writings first emerges from the renewal of a political vocabulary on international political, social and cultural Franco-British relationships. While the prejudices on Great Britain and its inhabitants are consistent with eighteenth-century patriotic and cosmopolitan discourses, the more general opposition between a French national character and a British one certainly leans towards nineteenth century nationalism.³⁰⁰ The recollection of emigration and the host country at the beginning of the nineteenth century strengthened the imagination of collective identities – yet, and as will be argued in the second part of this PhD, these

²⁹⁸ *Andigné*, ed. by Biré, p.337.

²⁹⁹ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant.

³⁰⁰ Albert Soboul, ‘Problème national, Réalité sociale’, in *Patriotisme et Nationalisme en Europe à l’époque de la Révolution française et de Napoléon* (Paris: SER, 1973), p.54.

memories had paradoxically been influenced and transformed by the British reception of French emigrants in the years 1789-1815.

‘Honour is everything, there is nothing else in the world’ affirmed emigrant Tilly.³⁰¹ British and French memories, royalist and republican historians, conservative and liberal politicians, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary militants have searched to heroise their own past at the expense of the emigrant-figure. In all narrations of emigration, the eighteenth-century nobiliary concept of honour, and its correlative ‘imperative of concealment’, had not completely given way to the democratic concept of virtue, as the ‘imperative of truth-telling’.³⁰² Truth lies beyond the subjectivity of honour, and it is the duty of the archeologist-historian to dig under two hundred years of discursive, narrative and enunciative strategies to understand the pragmatics of everyday life in the context on the traumatic displacement of a part of the French population towards the British Isles.

³⁰¹ *Tilly*, ed. by Melchior-Bonnet, p.156-157.

³⁰² Reddy, p.7.

PART II: THE PRAGMATICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

CHAPTER 3 – BRITONS: FORGING THE FRENCH EMIGRANT

In 1795, a minor author of moral tales and poems, Thomas Bellamy, decided to publish at his own expense his complete works. He included *Anticipation of fancy*, a text he had written in June 1793.³⁰³ This tale of a Franco-British friendship evolving between the French *ancien régime* and Revolution had been dedicated ‘to the memory of the LA MOTTES! These unfortunate brothers were drowned in their attempt to escape (in an open boat and in a tempestuous night) from the unjust sentence of that murderer of his race, the remorseless ROBESPIERRE!’³⁰⁴ Homonyms to the Comte and Comtesse involved in the 1785 scam known as the Affair of the Diamond necklace, these de la Mottes were nevertheless described as the moral and ethical antithesis of the infamous couple. Pronounced by a fictional Frenchman and written by a Briton, the following eulogistic monologue participated in a broader exercise on defining Britishness and the British nation as a response to the Jacobin French Republic:

Did not England, that great and generous nation, when actuated by weak and coward fears, the poor emigrant from a bleeding country, was driven from land to land, when he had to seek in bitterness of heart a place to hide his head! – did not England afford him a shelter? England! Glorious isle of perfect freedom! On thee rests the light of heaven, and glory to the end of time!

On one hand, the ‘perfect freedom’ defined by British constitutionalism, the religious reference and the qualification as a generous shelter were opposed to the French Republic, seen as unfair, unreligious, and undignified. On the other, Britain, as a shelter, was opposed to the begging and victimised French emigrant – an emigrant who ought to be forever grateful and indebted to his generous host.

³⁰³ Thomas Bellamy, ‘Anticipation of fancy’, in *Miscellanies: in prose and verse*, 2 vols (London: for the author, 1795), II, p.115; A.H Bullen, ‘Thomas Bellamy’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University press, 2004.

³⁰⁴ Bellamy, p.113.

The position adopted by Bellamy in this text differs radically from that taken by returned emigrants in self-narratives when describing their arrival in Britain, the heaviness of the *Aliens Act* and the shame of not being treated according to their social status upon their arrival on British shores. To a certain extent, Bellamy's ode to the generous British Nation also challenges the returned emigrants claim that British generosity had been a political tactic from Pitt's government to subordinate emigrants' interests to those of London. Considering the reception of aristocratic *émigrés* in Switzerland and Germany, historian Marita Gilli asked two fundamental questions.³⁰⁵ As a displaced population, should the *émigré* group behave as an autarkic nation with its own rules or should they obey the laws voted by their host society? Were these foreigners 'individuals to honour', or the contagious 'carrier of a terrible gangrene' that could destroy the happy status quo of the host community? In a growingly conservative and loyalist British political environment, the reception of French emigrants evolved in two main directions between 1789 and the end of the 1790s. As many of his contemporaries', Bellamy's position was ambivalent regarding the status of the French displaced community. The French emigrant continued to epitomise the 'alien' – yet, from a Catholic, he became associated to a Jacobin threat, allied to the most despised and feared Leveller. For others, he became the 'refugee', fleeing a common revolutionary/Jacobin enemy. This chapter seeks to understand the transformations of the French emigrant figure in governmental discourse, as well as in the British public and private sphere. Beyond the construction of the categories of 'alien' and 'refugee', this chapter also interrogates how the legal definition and definition by a politically and socially exclusive construction of a French emigrant category influenced the way Britons perceived themselves as a Nation.

³⁰⁵ Marita Gilli, 'Images negatives de l'aristocrate émigré en Allemagne et en Suisse dans quelques oeuvres littéraires', in Bourdin, pp.559-594 (p.579).

An alienating legislation

The 7 January 1793 *Aliens Act* is often considered in legal scholarship as the first official immigrant registration system, as it defines the duties and rights of foreigners in England.³⁰⁶ Its novelty is questionable with regards to previous attempts to regulate immigration to Britain;³⁰⁷ so is the claim that it is an immigrant registration system *per se*, as it only accounts for foreigners arrived after January 1792 – i.e French emigrants and populations displaced by the continental wars and the fear of Jacobin repression. In fact, the 1793 *Aliens Act* cannot be read outside of the context of the fear of a revolutionary outbreak in Britain and the British preparations to enter the European conflict. It is part of an extensive paraphernalia surrounding the creation of an ‘alien’ administrative category.³⁰⁸ Sophie Wahnich and Michael Rapport have both studied the relationship between revolutionary France and foreign nationals present on French territory.³⁰⁹ While Rapport focuses on the contractual ideal of citizenship in the French Republic and the relationship between foreigners and the State, Wahnich examines the revolutionary rhetoric surrounding foreigners, and the increasing restriction in accessing the French citizenship. She demonstrates how French *émigrés* became a constitutive part of the foreign category.³¹⁰ Although naturalisation and denization policies were not modified in Great Britain, foreign figures indistinctively became potentially threatening characters, along with the radicals, levellers and religious dissenters. This chapter argues that in the name of an ideological war against Jacobin France and British radicalism, Pitt’s legal answer to emigration produced and regulated identities, and

³⁰⁶ NA, Regulators of the Aliens Act 1793:

<http://www.movinghere.org.uk/search/catalogue.asp?RecordID=77088&ResourceTypeID=2&sequence=1>

³⁰⁷ Cottret, Scouloudi, Gwynn. See mostly: Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen. The Controversy over immigration and population, 1660-1760* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1995).

³⁰⁸ Sparrow, *Secret Services*.

³⁰⁹ Michael Rapport, *Nationality*; Sophie Wahnich, *Impossible citoyen*.

³¹⁰ Wahnich, *Impossible Citoyen*, pp.217-234.

ensured the theoretical and practical demarcation between loyalism and radicalism within both the emigrant and British communities. The French in Britain became the collateral victims of a generalised politics of intimidation regarding radicalism. At first, the *Aliens Act* legal formulation did not directly target the French emigrant population.³¹¹ It did not differentiate between French and non-French foreigners; it also did not separate the counter-revolutionary from the revolutionary French. In the eyes of the British law, the French emigrant population was first and foremost a potential revolutionary menace.

In the autumn 1792, while thousands of emigrants fled the continent to find a shelter in Britain, the British loyalist response to the French Revolution had largely supplanted radical opinions.³¹² At first isolated in his denunciation of France's abolition of social distinctions, Edmund Burke had found an unexpected ally in popular conservatism. The author of elitist counter-revolutionary *Reflections upon the Revolution in France* shared with popular loyalist 'a mentality instinctively hostile to the concept of evolution, let alone revolution, in its modern progressive sense, and thoroughly self-conscious about its veneration of the past'.³¹³ Following the July 1791 Birmingham riots, a 'Church and King' nationwide movement emerged. It opposed the discourse of British dissenters and radicals, themselves symbolically considered as outsiders to the Nation because of their religious and political identities.³¹⁴ The popular faction praised parliamentary monarchy as the main guardian of revered British liberties and private economic prosperity. The French policies of nationalisation were on the

³¹¹ While the 1793 *Aliens Act* is named in many introductions to political and legal studies on refugees, immigration and the British State, it is often absent from the discussion on British national imagination. Robert and Isabelle Tombs barely mention it as the result of 'fear of republican agents' (p.213), while it is surprisingly absent from Linda Colley's study on xenophobia and Anti-French sentiments.

³¹² Dickinson, 'Popular conservatism and militant loyalism', in Philp, p.124; MacLeod, *War of ideas*, p.196.

³¹³ Paul Langford, *Public life and the propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p.v.

³¹⁴ David L.Wykes, 'The spirit of persecutors exemplified: the Priestley riots and the victims of the Church and King mobs', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* (1991), 3-16; 17-39.

contrary denounced as limitations to individual progress. William Pitt and his government encouraged the formation of the Loyalist Association movement, as the politicisation of the middle and lower classes would consolidate their own increasingly conservative programme.³¹⁵ The first legislative step towards domestic tranquillity and the elimination of radical societies was the passing of the *Westminster Police Bill* of 13 June 1792.³¹⁶ The popular fear of revolution reached its peak when, at the end of 1792, a swarm of migrants arrived in England through the ports of South and Southwest England. As the Duke of Brunswick's armies were advancing on Paris, many anticipated that panic would lead several Revolutionaries to England. Rumour had it that revolutionary agents, spies and even assassins were travelling amongst this crowd.³¹⁷ While Bow Street Police officers were ordered to 'carry out investigations in towns, on the main roads from the coast to London, Pitt fortified the tower of London, brought troops into the metropolis and called out a substantial part of the militia'.³¹⁸ As early as September 1792, Nepean, Dundas' under-secretary, sent threatening letters to Britons suspected of 'harbour[ing] French emigrants in [their] house[s]'.³¹⁹ The danger was probably over-estimated by the Parliament, who passed the *Aliens Act* on 7 January 1793 and the *Traitorous Correspondence Act* on 15 March 1793.³²⁰ At the same time, the Catholic Relief Act of 1793 was voted to permit Irishmen to vote, in order to keep Ireland loyal to Britain. This new Westminster Police provided the *Aliens Act* with some

³¹⁵ Michael Duffy, 'William Pitt and the origins of the Loyalist Association Movement of 1792', *The Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 943-962; Kevin Gilmartin, 'In the theatre of the Counter-Revolution: Loyalist Association and Conservative Opinion', *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (2003), 291-328.

³¹⁶ Conservative politician John Reeves, founder of the *Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers*, was named chief of this new Police force.

³¹⁷ Clive Emsley, 'The London 'insurrection' of December 1792: Fact, Fiction, or Fantasy?', *Journal of British Studies*, 17 (1978), 66-86; Elizabeth Wilkinson, 'The French Emigrés in England, 1789-1802: their reception and impact on English life' (unpublished B.Litt. thesis: University of Oxford, 1952), pp.358-60, 363-4. Wilkinson discusses the public expression of the need for such measures in the London press. .

³¹⁸ Clive Emsley, *British Society, and the French Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p.15.

³¹⁹ Kew, National Archives (NA), HO 42/21, in Dozier, pp.38-39.

³²⁰ Emsley, *British Society*, pp.15-16.

of the surveillance tools necessary for it to function; so did the Customs and Post Office. Created in parallel, the Alien office, ‘bastard baby with no provision for its future’ was installed at n°20 Crown Street.³²¹ Under the disguise of a civil administration regulating the dispersal of foreign populations in British soil, the Office served as a secret service agency dealing with the increasing surveillance workload.³²² It is however the meaningful and evolving relationship between the law, local administration and the French population that we are concerned about in this part. What were the central and local administrations’ reactions to the *Aliens Act*? What were the difficulties encountered at a local level? What were the cultural and societal consequences of a law proposing to further marginalise a displaced population on both parties at stake?

The *Aliens Act* contained forty-three clauses, relating to passports, weapons and administrative surveillance of the foreigners. Clauses 1 and 2 compelled masters of vessels to declare the names of all foreigners on their board upon their arrival on British ports.³²³ As a complement, all aliens reaching England after 10 January 1793 should fill in and sign a written declaration with their names, ranks, etc. In exchange, they would receive a legal certificate granting them leave to remain. In 1795, Mr. Ferrand, *capitaine de vaisseau, chevalier de l’ordre royal et militaire de Saint Louis*, made sure he was compliant with the law when he declared to the authorities at Southampton the name of all the passengers on board *Le Puissant*.³²⁴ Overzealous officer, he listed the names of all male, female and underage civilians along with those of his own naval personnel. Yet, clause 5 of the *Aliens Act* explicitly exempted foreign mariners to report their

³²¹ Sparrow, *Secret Services*, p.23.

³²² Sparrow, ‘The Alien Office’; Mori, *William Pitt*, p.92.

³²³ *Aliens Act*, clauses I and II, pp.31-32.

³²⁴ SAS, D/LY 28, January 1795: État des sommes qui ont été payees aux gens de Mer et passagers du dit vaisseau.

arrival.³²⁵ France and Britain were not at war when the Act passed; when *Le Puissant* berthed in Southampton in the midst of the armed conflict in January 1795, all its passengers and staff were regarded as a potential threat to British security. Coming from the continent, Monsieur Ferrand made sure to legalize the situation of men who were probably joining the emigrant regiments in preparation for the expedition of Quiberon. Officially registered by the British administration, they could proceed to join their regiments lawfully and equipped with a governmental *laissez-passer*. French naval military employees were later formally considered as a menace. While Ireland was threatened with internal insurrections and invasions, a privy council at Dublin castle in September 1796 led to a proclamation that no aliens (except naval merchants) would be allowed in Ireland without the Lord-Lieutenant permission.³²⁶

Foreign importations were essential to the eighteenth-century British economy: justified with financial rationales in 1793, the myriad of exceptions granted on the basis of foreigners' professions soon became a nightmare for the local administration and provincial governors in the South of England. With the Alien Office in London, the actual administrative control of foreign population was exercised at local level. Far away from the entry points and residence of the emigrants, the *Aliens Act* was generally accepted. The Home Secretary received letters from Norfolk and Bath confirming the local promulgation and due observance of the act.³²⁷ In a letter to a Lord – probably Pitt himself since this letter was part of a bundle addressed to him – a Briton ‘uncultivated in politics’, not far from the foot of Snowdon, congratulated the ministry on the passage of the Act.³²⁸ However, the counties in the South, more likely to receive arriving emigrant populations, found the act an administrative burden and the source of chaos.

³²⁵ Aliens Act, clause v, pp.33-34.

³²⁶ *Telegraph*, 8 September 1796.

³²⁷ NA, HO 42/24/118, 28 January 1793, fols 287-288 and HO42/28/95, 9 February 1794, fols 228-229

³²⁸ NA, HO 42/27/272. fols 812-814. Letter to my Lord (unidentified), 1793.

Governors of the Channel Islands and other isles were less enthusiastic about the act and the extra work it involved. In February 1794, Thomas Orde, Governor of the Isle of Wight, explained to the Home Secretary that Frenchmen claiming to belong to the expedition assembled by Lord Moira should have no obligation to hold a certificate or a passport.³²⁹ Despite Orde's view of facilitating the task of local administrators, this was in complete contradiction with London's politics of national security. Only a month earlier, two French Jacobins had attempted to infiltrate Moira's regiment at Cowes. As no one recognised them and in the absence of a certificate, the two 'French demoniacal democrats' managed to flee to Dover, where they were finally caught in possessions of forged British passports and 'the most convincing proofs of their having carried on a correspondence with the Jacobins in France'.³³⁰

Clauses 6 and 7 were also in complete contradiction with the accepted presence of foreign soldiers and regiments in Britain.³³¹ They made it illegal for foreigners to bring weapons onto British soil. On 22nd December 1792, while the details of the *Aliens Act* were debated in Parliament, James Gillray represented Edmund Burke dramatically throwing a dagger on the floor [Image 1 and 2]. The dagger, affirmed a pouting Burke, was one amongst three thousands found during a police raid in Birmingham. A second etching of the same event represented Burke menacing Fox with a dagger under the amused eyes of loyalist MPs and horrified ones of the Foxite party.

³²⁹ NA, HO 42/28/131, 20 Feb 1794, Folios 327-328.

³³⁰ *SJC or BEP*, 28-30 January 1794. The Chevaliers de Guienne and de Limerac (assumed names) were caught stealing amongst the Royalists' armies.

³³¹ *Aliens Act*, clause VI and VII, p.34.



Image 1 : James Gillray, *The Dagger Scene or the Plot discovered* (London : H.Humphrey, 30 December 1792), British Museum

Image 2 : Anonymous etching, *The dagger drawing orator* (December 1792), British Museum

This particular clause was mentioned in the marquis de Bouillé's *mémoires*: 'mon père fut obligé de déposer l'épée même qu'il avait reçu de commerce de Londres, lors de son voyage en Angleterre, après la guerre d'Amérique, et qui ne lui fut rendue que sur un ordre des ministres [My father was compelled to relinquish the same sword he had received as a gift in London, during his trip in England after the American war. It was given back on the order of the ministers]'.³³² Dramatist Beaumarchais is often considered as a victim of clauses 25 to 31, which stated that an 'alien caught smuggling such weaponry could be jailed or deported'.³³³ The celebrated author of the *Mariage de Figaro* illegally imported weapons in England but was imprisoned in London for debts. He then willingly chose to return to France.

It was also in the midst of a Birmingham affair relating to this particular clause that William Windham was forced to remind the government and the British public opinion that not every foreigner was a French emigrant and that the *Aliens Act* dealt primarily with French populations that had reached England in response to the

³³² Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, p.102.

³³³ PA, 24 October 1792; see also, *courier de l'Europe*, 11 December 1792 ; Beaumarchais, *Compte-rendu des neuf mois les plus pénibles de ma vie*. Aliens Act, clauses XXV and XXXI, p.45 and pp.49-50.

radicalisation of the French Revolution. In April 1798, Daniel Michaut, a Frenchman, was taken into custody after the Police found four hundred swords and sabres in his house.³³⁴ Michaut claimed that the arsenal was the property of his brother-in-law, a Birmingham weapon manufacturer contracted by the government. Despite being called a ‘French emigrant’ in newspaper, Michaut’s profession as a jeweller and watchmaker in Greek Street, Soho, suggests he probably was the descendant of a Huguenot. Gillray produced a new caricature on this event [Image 3]. Despite Michaut being released, this loyalist print clearly identified him as guilty of treason. The British state, represented by a redcoat soldier, turned a blind-eye to a trunk filled with swords, men in hiding and revolutionary symbols; as they smashed the door of this radical house open, two conscientious loyalist civilians worked towards the defending the English constitution. This minor news item reflects three modifications in the governmental and popular views on emigration: first, by the end of the 1790s, all foreigners arrived at any moment were referred to in the public sphere as emigrants; second, in the words of William Windham, ‘the Nobles, the Clergy and the rich proprietary of ancient France’ were ‘entitled to asylum and support’.³³⁵ Third, the government and the loyalist public sphere did not share the same opinions on the rights and duties of the French populations present in England.

³³⁴ *MT*, 14-21 April 1798. He appears under the name Mouchette in the *Express and Evening Courier*, 17-19 April 1798.

³³⁵ *MH*, 25 April 1798.



Image 3: James Gillray, *Search-Night ; or State Watchmen, mistaking honest-men for conspirators* (London : H.Humphrey, 20 March 1798), British Museum

The only really modern part in the 1793 *Aliens Acts* derives from clauses 8 to 11.³³⁶ These obliged aliens arrived after 1 January 1792 to carry a passport. Foreign domestics and servants of natural born subjects as well as alien merchants were exempted from these clauses. Passports were the first official documents in Great Britain systematising the recognition of individuals through a physical description usually by age and size. In the borough of Romsey, in Hampshire, an administrator stitched together three double sheets giving the name, description and residence of seventy-two Frenchmen.³³⁷ Each name was followed by the size of the individual. Aliens had to sign next to their physical description. Such rules were directly inspired from revolutionary laws – the duty for foreigners to carry a passport had been proclaimed in France in January 1792, as the limitations to parts of the territory

³³⁶ Aliens Act, clauses VIII to XI, pp.35-38.

³³⁷ HRO, *Romsey Borough Council*, 97M81/4/21, French refugees billeted in Romsey, 1794-1796.

allowed the limitation of rights given to foreigners.³³⁸ Since November 1792, the Jacobin Republic had drawn up lists of *émigrés*, which was exactly what the British government aimed to create with the *Aliens Act*.

Forcing foreigners to carry a passport allowed Pitt's administration to manage and control even the shortest journeys of foreign populations and individuals at a nationwide level, from one town to its neighbouring city. One hundred and seventy of these passports are kept in the Hampshire record office in Winchester.³³⁹ They were issued or received by Winchester's mayor as 'chief magistrate of a town under the *Aliens Act*'. Each passport stated the name, the occupation, date and place where the passport was signed and the place "passed unto". These particular sets of passports were all delivered to French priests, with the exception of two delivered to Jean de Gardera, a French officer, between 15 February 1793 and 5 May 1794. The vast majority of these passports – one hundred and ten - were signed in Winchester where the Kings Manor served as a house for the French exiled clergy. Only fifty-seven were delivered to French priests willing to come to Winchester. Cities where passports were delivered include Gosport (19), Portsmouth (9) and Southampton (19). Alongside these harbours, London, Westminster and the county of Middlesex only delivered nine passports. London was the first destination with sixty-two passports delivered. The southern ports attracted several French priests. Twelve asked for a passport to Dover, seventeen to Portsmouth or Gosport, four to Southampton and three to Jersey. It is very unlikely that *émigré* priests would attempt travelling back to France during the Terror. However, priests were likely to settle in the southern ports to fulfil their Christian duties and welcome the new Catholic emigrants. Other passports were delivered for short trips such as to Bishop Waltham (4) and Salisbury (8). If an emigrant failed to carry a passport he risked,

³³⁸ Wanish, *Impossible Citoyen*, p.42.

³³⁹ HRO, *Winchester City Archives: judicial records*, W/D3/328/1-162, passports issued or received by the mayor of Winchester as chief magistrate of the town under the *Aliens Act*.

according to clauses 12, 13 and 15 to 17, different sentences, from a fine, to imprisonment or even extradition. Despite all these precautions, the system was not without its failures; passports could easily be forged. In 1810, a circular from Whitehall informed the different London administrative offices that French prisoners of war were likely to steal passports from migrants to ‘extract by a Chemical process the Names and Descriptions of places and persons originally inserted in writing in the blanks in their own hand’.³⁴⁰ As a result, ‘all passports filled up in a French hand, whether they bear the seal of the Transport Office or not, are to be considered as Forgeries’.

Emigrants were furthermore hampered in their movements and settlement that the government could restrict, if necessary, the dwelling of aliens in certain parts of the British territory (clause 18).³⁴¹ And it did not take long before Pitt’s government took advantage of the law for the first time. A 4 February 1793 extension to the *Aliens Act* prevented foreigners from settling further than fifty miles away from Cornhill, in the city of London.³⁴² W. Fawkenor, a magistrate working at the Alien Office, reproduced the text.³⁴³ It stated that recent migrants should:

dwell and reside only within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality [City of London], or within the parishes of St. Mary le-Bone, Paddington, Pancras, and Saint Luke at Chelsea, in the county of Middlesex, or within such parts of the Kingdom as shall not be more than fifty miles from the standard in Cornhill and no less than ten miles distant from the sea coast, and also any of his majesty’s dock-yard.

The reason invoked by the authorities to justify such restrictions on one’s freedom of movement was once again ‘Public security’. The choice to limit the movements of foreigners in the British Isles allowed a centralised control of these potentially

³⁴⁰ LMA, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace*, MRA/80, Circular (December 1810).

³⁴¹ *Aliens Act*, clause XVIII, p.41.

³⁴² Claude Gamblin wrongly attributed this clause to the January text.

³⁴³ ‘At the Court at the Queen’s house, the 4th February 1793’, in *The political state of Europe for the year MDCCXCIII*, ed by Jeremiah Samuel Jordan, 3 vols (London: S.Jordan, 1793), III, p.219. See also, *London Gazette, Issue 13499*, pp.97-98.

threatening populations by both the London-based Alien Office and the newly created London Police. The choice to gather all foreigners in and around London is however peculiar in comparison to other nineteenth century European management of political exiles. For example, in 1830-1840s Anglophile Orleanist France, political exiles were prohibited from living in the metropolis as well as in the regions bordering their homeland.³⁴⁴ Further legislation on refugees demanded the dissemination of such political militants on the overall French territory. In 1796, the French in the Channel islands were repatriated towards the British mainland.³⁴⁵ In 1790s Britain, local administrators might have been too complaisant to foreigners as in 1798, the renewed *Aliens Act* reminded them to ‘shift their quarters from places distant from the sea, in conformity with the *Aliens Act*, passed for that purpose’.³⁴⁶ The act was denying the comfort of a steady home to those who had settled in the South of England. Forty-eight emigrants, all soldiers, asked for an exemption to stay in Romsey, a town north of Southampton, where they had been living since 1793.³⁴⁷ A few months before the end of Amiens Peace treaty, the access to the same parts of the country were once again restricted to foreigners.³⁴⁸

The *Aliens Act* did not simply tell foreigners where they should live; it controlled how they lived. The Alien office and the Police could count on local British populations to perform acts of domestic espionage. As historian John Barrell noticed, ‘private life itself [had become] the proper object of intrusive authority of the loyalist

³⁴⁴ Noiriel, *Réfugiés*, pp.53-4.

³⁴⁵ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.108.

³⁴⁶ *Sun*, 17 May 1798.

³⁴⁷ HRO, *Romsey Borough*, 97M81/4/22, État de M.M les officiers royalistes françois qui reclament apres du gouvernement des exemptions pour resider a Totton et Romsey Hunts ou ils sont depuis leurs arrivee en Angleterre.

³⁴⁸ Chester, Cheshire and Chester Archives (CCA), *Estate and personal papers of the Whitley family*, D3696/12/10, Copy royal proclamation relating to treatment of aliens, in English and in French (12 October 1803).

public and the state'.³⁴⁹ Landlords were required to give an account of the names and residence of those lodgers who had reached England after January 1792 (clauses 19 to 24). In 1796, French emigrants in London were required to confirm their addresses with the Alien Office.³⁵⁰ In March 1798, the *Aliens Act* was amended. On 6 July 1798, several newspapers reported:

The New Aliens act requires every housekeeper not being a publican, who shall have or receive any alien in his house, to give notice thereof within a given time to the overseer of the poor of the parish where he resides; but the supplementary act that passed at the close of the session having empowered his majesty by proclamation or order in council to extend and fix the time at which this provision of the Act is to take effect.³⁵¹

Following this change in the act, newspapers reported that the “numbers of foreigners who, in compliance with the late Act, have appeared at the different Police Offices is very great”.³⁵² In the meantime, loyalist newspapers called Britons to ‘make inquiries in their several neighbourhoods; if they could observe on the mysterious conduct of several foreigners, or listen to their conversation in coffee houses, public spaces’.³⁵³ Such populist calls had the potential to lead to xenophobic popular British reactions towards the French communities.

The *Aliens Act* allowed the government to control simultaneously the political and social attitudes of the newcomers – leading the government to be often accused of abusing the law. Throughout the years, conservative newspapers praised the consecutive acts as the only way to separate the good from the bad foreigner - the *London Packet* insisted that the Act would be ‘attended with beneficial effects, in discriminating

³⁴⁹ John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: invasions of privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), p.246.

³⁵⁰ LMA, *Middlesex Sessions: county administration*, MJR/Misc.5, List of aliens returned by housekeepers, list of aliens who made a declaration, list of departures (1796).

³⁵¹ *LP or NLEP*, 6 July 1798.

³⁵² *WEP*, 14 July 1798.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

between the innocent emigrants and concealed instruments of a foreign invasion'.³⁵⁴

Upon the passing of the law, on 11 January 1793, the *Lloyd's Evening Post* published the following:

The same day as it was generally understood that the Alien Bill would pass, the master of the Golden Cross conveyed no less than 400 Frenchmen to Dover [...]. They could not be men pursuing legal business or engaged in honest commercial pursuits; doubtless, they must have been emissaries in disguise, enemies of truth and integrity, and practising the most abominable means to their ends. The abode, if it be a fact, and it is positively asserted to be so, proves the Alien Bill to be a necessary measure.³⁵⁵

A few days earlier, the *Public Advertiser* rejoiced at 'the good effects of the *Aliens Act*', 'truly demonstrated by the swarm of suspicious Frenchmen with which the Dover coaches have been loaded downwards, ever since the salutary measure received the sanction of the legislature'.³⁵⁶ The usage of numbers in British and French propagandist discourse was performative: with 400 weapons found at Michaut's and 400 French revolutionaries at Dover, the repetition of this number in several articles was intriguing. The *Courier* also dismissed Foxites' accusations that Burke had forsaken the act by excusing '400 emigrants' who, despite landing in England armed, 'had no intention of starting an insurrection'.³⁵⁷ British historian John Dinwiddy wondered whether the Home office had not been feeding information to journalists to further its own propagandist motives.³⁵⁸ Indeed, saluting the *Aliens Act* from its adoption to 1814, many pro-government newspapers – and Burke's *True Briton* in particular – covered almost instantaneously and with many details the successful arrests of dangerous aliens and the outcome (often jail or deportation) of their trials.

³⁵⁴ *LP or NLEP*, 9 January 1793.

³⁵⁵ *LEP*, 11 January 1793. See also *PA*, 5 January 1793.

³⁵⁶ *PA*, 5 January 1793.

³⁵⁷ *Courier*, 3 January 1793.

³⁵⁸ John Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780-1850* (London: Hambledon, 1992), p.155.

Who was arrested? Dinwiddy cannot be faulted in his basic categorisation of three types of aliens susceptible to be threatened upon the Alien Act and the Treacherous Correspondence Act:³⁵⁹ some sustained objectionable political views, some were suspected to work as agents of the French government and others were simply regarded as socially undesirable. As France sent a few spies to England, Pitt's government arrested and deported a few revolutionary agents - in 1797, a boot-maker was arrested for 'making [for his French patron] a pair of boot with a cavity between the soles, covered with sheet lead, to prevent the wet getting in, for the inclosure of several letters'.³⁶⁰ Most of the time, threats of arrest and extradition were politically motivated. Despite his attempts to reinforce the French Monarchy after Varennes, *Feuillant* Alexandre de Lameth was hence ordered to leave Great Britain in May 1796 as he had been one of the early founders of the *Clubs des Jacobins*.³⁶¹ Antoine Cuenin was brought before Addington and sent to a house of correction for 'seditious and treasonable words' and so was the Chevalier Auguste des Islets.³⁶² Timothy Caswell petitioned for granting leave to remain to the Duc d'Aguillon, a republican General,

in view of the treatment by the Duke's father of his prisoners, including Caswell, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Generals Hyde and Mathew, after the debacle at St Cast, Brittany (1758) and also the circumstances of the Duke's emigration.³⁶³

The emigrants' fate in Great Britain depended on their previous relationship with the English establishment and their network. As Dumouriez's envoy in Belgium and republican General, the Comte de Valence, searched for a haven in England far from the

³⁵⁹ Dinwiddy, *Radicalism*, p.153.

³⁶⁰ *MT*, 30 December 1797.

³⁶¹ *LEP*, 2-4 May 1796. See also, *GEP*, 3-5 May 1796.

³⁶² *MT*, 7-14 July 1798.

³⁶³ NA, HO 42/24/19, 1793, Jan 5. Folios 42-42. Letter from Timothy Caswall of Davies Street, Berkeley Square (Mayfair, Westminster).

Jacobin, a French relative of his sent a letter to an MP in favour of Valence being granted leave to remain.³⁶⁴ Dumbing Valence down, he wrote:

Pour l'Angleterre, elle n'a rien à reprocher à Monsieur de Valence; certes, elle n'a rien à en craindre. Il n'y parlera pas revolution, et s'il en parlait, il en degouterait par le seul ennui de l'entendre. Il est très brave et très militaire. Voila ce qu'il y a à dire de mieux de son Coeur et de son esprit.

[England has nothing to reproach to M. de Valence; certainly, she has nothing to be concerned about on his account. He won't speak about revolution, and if he were to speak about it, he would repel his audience from the sole boredom of listening to him. He is very brave and very military. This is the best that could be said about his heart and spirit]

The Foxite group was accused by Edmund Burke of protecting radical Frenchmen in England, who, with no doubt, would be threatened with expulsion once the bill passed.³⁶⁵ During the winter 1792-1793 parliamentary debates, Fox and Sheridan had indeed led the charge against the *Aliens bill*, which they considered as a restriction of fundamental rights and liberties. Denigrating the suppression of the Habeas Corpus, the Marquess of Lansdowne feared that the bill 'would lay 8000 persons, refugees, to slavery in this country'.³⁶⁶

By the end of the 1790s, the *Aliens Act* was used as a common excuse to deport any undesirable and socially deviant foreign individual. Count Urboy and his wife were charged under the *Aliens Act* 'with obtaining money under false pretence, by pretending to tell fortune and foretelling future events'.³⁶⁷ Nicholas Renier was deported with four other French emigrants for two offenses – one of them being the use of hair powder without being licensed, the other being his alleged seditious discourse.³⁶⁸ Peter Dupont, was taken under custody and deported for the crimes of gambling as well as prostituting

³⁶⁴ CCA, *Stanley of Alderley Records*, DSA/33, Anonymous and undated letter.

³⁶⁵ TB, 5 January 1793.

³⁶⁶ MP, 3 January 1793; MC, 4 January 1793; MH, 5 January 1793; SJC or BEP, 20-22 December 1792.

³⁶⁷ LP or NLEP, 24 October 1800.

³⁶⁸ GEP, 2-23 January 1798.

his (British) wife.³⁶⁹ In November 1797, the Duke of Portland had indeed taken an order that ‘all foreigners, hereafter found in a gaming house, shall be immediately sent out of the Kingdom’.³⁷⁰ While hair powder was being taxed and gambling prohibited, the conservative *Saint James’ Chronicle* proposed that ‘gamesters of all descriptions’ should be obliged to ‘become emigrants’.³⁷¹ In fear of deportation rather than respect of the law, emigrants simply deserted gambling houses.

The tightening of border control had unforeseen consequences on the emigrants. The French *émigré* newspaper, *Courrier de Londres*, claimed that ‘this country, instead of being, as at present, a haven of freedom and protection, will become for the unfortunate émigrés a land of bondage that they will flee and hate’.³⁷² Radical politician Taylor, spoke against the *Aliens Act*, arguing that sending the French back to France was signing their death warrant.³⁷³ The perspective of being sent back to France where they would be subjected to anti-emigration laws participated in the marginalisation and alienation of French migrants. No doubt it was certainly a lot less violent than what the French emigrants had experienced in Germany, where towns proscribed Jews, tramps and *émigrés*.³⁷⁴ But the violence was nonetheless highly symbolical at a time when confinement, deportation or threats were the principal strategies with regards to social deviance. To a certain extent, the *Aliens Act* was psychologically traumatising. Such traumatized Frenchman was the Chevalier Charles de Blin, ‘a deranged Frenchman’ and ‘foreigner of some rank’ secured in St Luke’s hospital.³⁷⁵ De Blin was a transfer from prison. Having been an *aide de camp* to Dumouriez and reached England in 1793 with

³⁶⁹ *LEP*, 16-18 July 1798; *MP&G*, 16 July 1798. Although he was called French emigrant in all reports, Du Pon’s profession as a hairdresser might indicate that he had reached England before the Revolution.

³⁷⁰ *MP&G*, 29 November 1797.

³⁷¹ *SJC or BEP*, 28 November 1797.

³⁷² Quoted in Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.37.

³⁷³ *MH*, 5 January 1793.

³⁷⁴ *Andigné*, ed. by Biré, p.94.

³⁷⁵ LMA, *Middlesex sessions: County Administration*, MA/G/CBF/005 (23 pages) Report of the Commissioners on the state and management of the House of Correction Cold Bath Fields.

his family, he was considered dangerous by British authorities. Jailed under the provisions of the *Aliens Act* and unable to speak English, he had been denied the permission to communicate with the only other French inmate. In prison, de Blin ‘began to show the symptoms of insanity, and attempted to get over the wall which separates this yard from the female prisoners, throwing his money, linen, clothes and provisions over that wall’. Interviewed by a doctor, Therese de Blin, his wife, was convinced that prison had transformed him.

Naming the alien

The State’s response to the arrival of a large French population however misrepresents the diverse reactions of the British public and private sphere. French emigrants were not the only group to experience displacement. The British host society witnessed a change in the nature of its relation to its familiar and ancestral space challenged by the arrival of a new population and the French Revolution.³⁷⁶ This space, which the host society had grown to believe it had an essential and natural relationship to, became cultural. ‘Who are they? Who are they? Where do they come from? When will they go?’ cried an old English Lady, as she met several small groups of French emigrants during her usual Sunday visit to Hyde Park.³⁷⁷ Probably a reader of Edmund Burke, the journalist reporting the alleged incident then explained that the groups had ‘come to England (that region of bliss) for shelter’ as their country was ‘without a head, without a government’, and to the park ‘for air, exercise and health’. The following paragraphs are attempting to respond to the initial question – Who are they? Or rather, who are they to their British hosts?

The terms used in the British public and private sphere to name the French population displaced to the British Isles at the time of the Revolution reveal something

³⁷⁶ Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, ‘Beyond « Culture »: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference’, *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (1992), 6-23 (p.10).

³⁷⁷ *PA*, 19 September 1792.

of British attitudes to this foreign community. The following list of references to the French as a group as well as individuals provide us with some clue as to how they were considered [Table 1]. The list was drawn out of a sample of archival sources written by British individuals and sermons preached and then published by private British subjects and organisations, in favour or against the emigrants.³⁷⁸ Newspaper articles, laws, and fictional sources were not taken into account, either because they lacked spontaneity. Regardless of the political affiliation of the writer, the nouns used to describe the French groups can be classified in four groups: (1) names referring to the French who left their country; (2) names referring to the French as non-British citizens; (3) names referring to their religious situation; (4) names referring to their social status.

Names referring to the French who left their country	Emigrant (noun)	31
	Refugee (noun)	13
	Émigré (noun)	5
	Exile (noun)	2
	Emigrant (adj)	2
	Banished (adjective)	2
	Sufferer (noun)	2
	Victim (noun)	2
	Wanderer (noun)	2
	Asylum (noun)	1
	Person in distress	1
Names referring to French as non-British citizens	French/ Francais (adjective)	56
	Alien (noun)	14
	French/ Frenchman/ native of France (nouns)	11
	Foreigner (noun)	5
	Etranger/ stranger (noun)	3
	Foreign (adj)	1
Names referring to the French religious situation	Roman catholic (adjective)	7
	Romish	3
	clergy (adjective)	3
	Clergy (noun)	3
	Papist (noun)	2
	Popish	2
	Catholic body	1
	Christian (noun)	1
	Members of the church of Rome	1
	Catholic (adjective)	1
	Brethren (noun)	2
Names referring to the French social status	Priest (noun)	21
	Officers (noun)	11
	Noble/ of some rank (adj)	2

³⁷⁸ When a noun defining the emigrants appeared twice in documents produced by a single person, it was not counted again. However, when a noun appeared several times in an archive bundle produced by more than one individual, it was counted in every occasion.

	Gentilhomme/ Gentleman/ Lady (nouns)	2
	Nobleman (noun)	2
	Condean	1
	Planter (noun)	1

Table 1 : Names used by British subjects to refer to the French emigrant population, between 1789 and 1800.

The public sphere's response to French Emigration was extremely varied. Unquestionably, the noun emigrant and the adjective French dominate this list. *Émigré* is used only in five instances, and this happened mainly when the source was written in French. British historian Edward Gibbon first reportedly used it in 1792 – in newspapers, the word mainly described the counter-revolutionary armies and the Bourbon Princes in exile. Refugee is the second most used term to identify the newly arrived French population. Whereas the use of emigrant and *émigré* emphasises the motives behind the departure, the word refugee bore the idea that the displaced group was forced out of France's national boundaries. Lady Elisabeth Foster used it as early as 1789 in a letter to Lord Sheffield dated from 1 August 1789; Lord North also used it on 3 August 1789.³⁷⁹ At a time when refugeedom does not have a legal existence, it was also a way for British individuals to give themselves some moral and ethical ground. Exile was mainly, but not exclusively, used to refer to the clergy, as they were deported from France, after many refused to take the oath to the *Constitution civile du clergé*. Some words – banished, asylum, sufferer or victim – appear once or twice in this list. Along with refugee and exile, these words all belong to the lexical field of pity.

When referring to French as non-British citizens, the adjective French, as well as the nouns French or Frenchmen, was most commonly used. French obviously refers to a geographic reality. However, it takes on a different significance according to the noun it qualifies. If “French emigrant” is rather neutral, using French in front of a noble title or a clerical title enhances the plight of the group, its misery and losses. A correspondent

³⁷⁹ ESRO, *Correspondence Earl of Sheffield*, AMS5440/145 [Lady Elisabeth Foster], Spa, to Lord Sheffield (1 August 1789); AMS5440/147 [Frederick North], Tunbridge Wells, to Lord Sheffield (3 August 1789).

to Hester Pitt reported that her family had met ‘a great number of French people of rank and opulence (in their own country) here, who might put us to mind cou’d we forget in a moment of the extraordinary felicity of our own country’.³⁸⁰ The adjective was also used in wordplays – a open letter published in a September 1790 issue of the *Public Advertiser* stated that, in Plymouth, as Frenchmen were joining the Princes and Conde on the continent, ‘all the Counts and Marquises that had for some months past taken up residence here, have taken French leave of us’.³⁸¹ While historians of British nationalism and xenophobia have pointed the importance of religious division in the formation of the British Nation against Catholic France, the vocabulary regarding Catholicism was relatively but not completely devoid of Protestant sectarianism. The names referring to the religious situation of the emigrants could be split into two: the pejorative adjectives (romish, papist, popish) and the charitable ones (brethren, Christian).

The relationship between the individual voicing an opinion and his readership (congregation in the case of sermons) played an important role in the choice of a certain vocabulary. Private correspondences between established members of British society as well as sermons published by the occupiers of a sacerdotal position in the Anglican Church mainly refer to refugeedom, victimhood and the trauma of poverty. Documents written by members of the public for an administrative readership privileged terms directly borrowed from the *Aliens Act* as British landlords were to send officials a list of all their foreign tenants. In these, the term ‘alien’ is used nine times, foreigners three times and the French *étranger* twice. Seven such declarations were written in French - I imagine that these landlords, illiterate or unable to write the complex and long French names of some of their noble lodgers, trusted them sufficiently to fulfil this

³⁸⁰ *So dearly loved, so much admired: letters to Hester Pitt, 1744-1801*, ed. by Vere Birdwood (London: HMSO and Public Record Office, 1994), p.165.

³⁸¹ *PA*, 4 September 1790.

administrative duty. These lists were secondly remarkable as Frenchmen were classified according to their estates, regimental engagement or profession. Thirty-six landlords hence referred to the social situation of their tenants, as a way perhaps to justify the presence of such French individual in their house. If the landlords were asked by the *Aliens Act* to spy on their French tenants, the Alien Office might have also used the lists to control those British subjects associating with threatening Jacobins.

This analysis of nouns used to refer to the French displaced population in the British Isles does not take into account the diachronic evolution of such a vocabulary. While British radicalism still had good press in 1789 and until mid-1792, the subject of emigrants was highly political and mainly discussed in politically and socially established circles. On the one side, the radical vocabulary towards emigrant was particularly violent – in his *Observations [on Burke's] pamphlet on the subject of the French Revolution*, Benjamin Bousfield, MP for Cork, opposed the Huguenot 'refugees' as 'conscientious persons' to the emigrant in Britain: 'defaulters escaped from punishment', statesmen 'unfaithful to their trust', 'pensioners who plundered the people', 'titled prostitutes and monsters of every description'.³⁸² Revolutionary newspapers used the same vocabulary to describe the fleeing aristocrats. On the other hand, the conservative British aristocracy considered the emigrant situation as a reversed mirror of its own condition, protected by British liberties and constitutional traditions. In September 1792, as emigrants reached the British Isles en masse, the working and middling sorts were confronted to a new reality: the French were foreigners and Catholic; but they were at the same time poor, distressed and wretched. As France declared war on Britain in February 1793, and later after the first territorial threats, the ambient anxiety led to the redefinition of the emigrant figure in the public

³⁸² Benjamin Bousfield, *Observations on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's Pamphlet, on the subject of the French Revolution* (Dublin: P.Byrne, 1791).

sphere. The charitable voices calling out for help slowly faded away; in 1798, the re-enacted *Aliens Act* furthered the separation between the two communities. By 1800 and as many Frenchmen were returning to France, the vocabulary used by French emigrants became more neutral.

Representing refuge

The French emigrant community in London was not only identified through words, it was also put under close scrutiny by the host society. Throughout the period, the emigrant figure was analysed; his behaviours were reproduced, imitated, criticised or mocked in fiction and, a few times, in caricature. The image of the French in British caricature and popular comedy had been set and standardised before 1789.³⁸³ He appeared as a baboon, a dog barber, or an effeminate aristocrat or *parvenu*. The caricature of the French noble was as archetypal: ‘old and corrupt, last link maintaining alive all political and obsolete anachronisms but consistently a *bon viveur*’.³⁸⁴ Studying British caricatures on the French Emigration in terms of Francophilia or Francophobia would suggest the permanence of these two attitudes in 1790s Great Britain. Emigrant figures in famous caricaturists Isaac Cruickshank and Thomas Rowlandson’s art suggests on the contrary an evolution in these two caricaturists relationship with French characters. Very few caricatures on the French Emigration seem to have been produced in Britain, especially after September 1792.

In *Salus in Fuga* [Image 3-3], Charles Alexandre de Calonne, accompanied by the Comte de la Motte and his obese Comtesse are standing on the cliffs of Dover.³⁸⁵ Behind this group, a couple of aristocrats are heading to London, while a third one is bowing down to kiss the English soil. All smile and laugh. Calonne encourages the

³⁸³ Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the foreigner* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), pp.31-39; 200-224.

³⁸⁴ Pascal Dupuy, ‘La caricature face a la noblesse francaise sous la Revolution’, in Bourdin, pp.513-534 (pp.514-515).

³⁸⁵ Respectively 6th on the left, 4th and 5th on the left.

group to look towards France, referring to the emigrants as ‘the cowards and scoundrels [...] now all safe’. There, a reluctant Duc de Montmorency is pushed in a rowboat by his wife and daughter. A British smuggler, very John Bull-like, advises them grumpily not to ‘shit on his boat’. Reaching England, these emigrants refused to change their behaviour – their smiles reveal a profound misunderstanding of the French political situation as well as their fundamental propensity to mischief.



Image 4: Isaac Cruikshank, *Salus in Fuga: La France se purge petit à petit* (London: S. W. Fores, 29 July 1790), Bibliothèque nationale de France (Bnf)

Such an image resulted in the association of emigration with aristocracy in the mind of the window-shopper and the collector. These particular emigrants were regarded as the symbols of all the wrongdoings of *ancien regime* aristocrats. To the politically aware Briton, they would embody the failure of France’s absolute system as well as the success’s of British liberties. For art historian Pascal Dupuy, this caricature could also be read as a form of warning to the British aristocracy, at a time when the debate on luxury denounced fashion’s eccentricities.

Rowlandson’s scenes on emigration were more intimate. Unlike Gillray and Cruickshank, Rowlandson considered (according to Vic Gatrell) that ‘the moment when chaos descends is no time for pity, alarm, or moralising. Rather it catapults people into a betrayal of their unveneered and common humanity, and thus becomes a moment for

high comical observation'.³⁸⁶ Two of them were produced after September 1792.³⁸⁷ While they still associated emigration to aristocracy, they however produced a softer image of the French emigrant lot. They certainly contrasted with gruesome images of the cadaveric and cannibalised French nobility under the Republic. *The Concert* [Image 5] and a *French family* [Image 6] illustrate the daily life of French emigrants in their British houses.³⁸⁸ In *The Concert*, a small room is cramped with five persons playing music. One man plays the piano, another the double bass and one is standing in the middle of the room, singing. A woman, holding a baby on her lap, sits on the right side of the caricature. In *A French Family* five emigrants and their dogs are dancing to the sound of the violin of a sixth one, while their only bed has been pushed up the wall. In all these caricatures, men and women could easily be recognisable as French on account of their particular garb. Yet what used to be luxurious clothes of *ancien régime* aristocrats has been worn out to the point of resembling a beggar's tatter. Women are wearing shabby dresses *à la française*, full of holes and ragged. In *The Concert*, the pianist has even lost his precious and aristocratic *culotte*. Just like their clothes symbolises the decayed version of their ancient distinction, the decor surrounding these two groups is a poorer version of what it would have been before the Revolution. The French interiors are still dirty and untidy. The sole political dimension in this figure relies upon the sword hanging behind the singer, probably a reminder of his previous social position as an army officer. As in *A French Family*, mirrors were still figurative of the aristocratic vanity.³⁸⁹ These French noble emigrants are however not to be confused with non-noble

³⁸⁶ Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), p.45.

³⁸⁷ Claude Gamblin studied a third caricature by Rowlandson, *French Barracks*, as a representation of the emigrant regiments in England. However, the caricature had first been printed along with *English barracks* in 1786.

³⁸⁸ While the Bibliothèque nationale de France and traditional scholarship considers the two etchings to be representations of French émigrés in London, the Auction House Christie sold the two etchings (Sale 5039) in 2010 under the title 'A French family' and 'An Italian family' for the one entitled 'The Concert'.

³⁸⁹ Dupuy, in Bourdin, p.515.

French individuals in London. The dancers in *A French Family* do not compare with the deviant, overtly sexualised and defecating ones from Rowlandson's representation of *French dancers at a morning rehearsal*.³⁹⁰



Image 5 : Thomas Rowlandson, *The Concert* (London : S.W. Forbes, 1792), Christie's



³⁹⁰ British Museum, Thomas Rowlandson, *French dancers at a morning rehearsal* (unknown, 1790-1810).

Image 6 : Thomas Rowlandson, *A French Family* (London : S.W.Forbes, 1792), Bnf

These three caricatures present an ambivalent happy portrayal of emigration – are emigrants celebrating their safety, far away from the dangers of the French Jacobin Republic, or was happiness a sign of their unconsciousness and incapacity to reconsider their lifestyle as aristocrats? To the British viewer, were these joyful emigrants a symbol of the generosity of their country or a warning against the excesses of a vain and luxurious lifestyle? Once again, the portrayal of these emigrants mirrored the one of a British character. Describing foreign mores, Cruickshank and Rowlandson actually participated in reinforcing both a counter-revolutionary and a loyalist feeling in Britain.³⁹¹ While the behaviours of these aristocrats in the *ancien régime* led to the revolutionary outbreak, the French noblemen had found in Britain a constitutional haven. Opposed to the French Republic, the figure of the French aristocrat had become less of a controversial one to the extent that in 1796, when Cobb's musical farce *The Shepherdess of Cheapside* was first staged in London, the conservative *Sun* reviewed: 'The introduction of a French Emigrant on the stage, in times like the present, is grossly injudicious'.³⁹² To cut the controversy short, Cobb transformed his French aristocratic villain in the then less contentious character of a Jew money broker.³⁹³

Anglican bigotry played a lesser role in the identification of a separate foreign sphere. The arrival of thousands of priests certainly aroused many fears amidst Protestant Britain, but it seems that Roman Catholicism was considered as a lesser evil than French radicalism. Linda Colley has argued that Protestant identity was 'the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible'.³⁹⁴ Paul Langford, on the contrary, demonstrated how difficult it was to determine how divisive religion was by

³⁹¹ Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: satirical prints in the Age of George III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.142-183; David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), pp.207-211.

³⁹² *Sun*, 22 February 1796.

³⁹³ *Star*, 26 February 1796.

³⁹⁴ Colley, p.54.

the late eighteenth century: ‘it is arguable that it was political strife which exacerbated sectarian conflict, rather than vice-versa’.³⁹⁵ From the 1760s, the civil adoption of equality and tolerance allowed several legal and practical concessions to the establishment in Britain of Roman Catholics and other dissenters. Despite the 1780 Gordon riots in London that had proved the resistance of strong and popular Anglican patriotism, Catholicism in Britain was a lesser taboo since the Acts of Catholic emancipation of 1778 and 1782.³⁹⁶ Hence, Isaac Cruikshank’s *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late decree, that all who returns shall be put to death* was certainly not an attack on the French clergy [Image 7]. The print was published after the 23 October 1792 French decree, which stated that all emigrants should be tried and condemned to death. Like their aristocratic counterparts in post 1792 British caricature, the French clerical exiles in this caricature came across as impoverished. These priests were deprived of their traditional Catholic attributes – no golden cross, bishop mitres or extravagant behaviour allowed the viewer to identify them. This caricature is representative of a new discourse on Roman Catholicism in Great Britain around 1792. A second engraving, anonymous, furthers this idea [Image 8]. *The importation of French priests*, subtitled *the blessings of liberty*, was accompanied by a short caption dispelling common fears about the ‘starving Frenchmen’, who brought with them the ‘heresy of Rome’.

³⁹⁵ Langford, *Public life*, p.93.

³⁹⁶ George Rudé, ‘The Gordon Riots: A Study of the rioters and their victims’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1956), 93-114. Rudé’s class-based interpretation of the Gordon Riots has been challenged by solid evidence in revisionist Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). For him, the rise in popular anti-Catholic sentiments had little to do with religion, but was linked to politics and the growing tolerance in Hanoverian Britain towards the Jacobites.

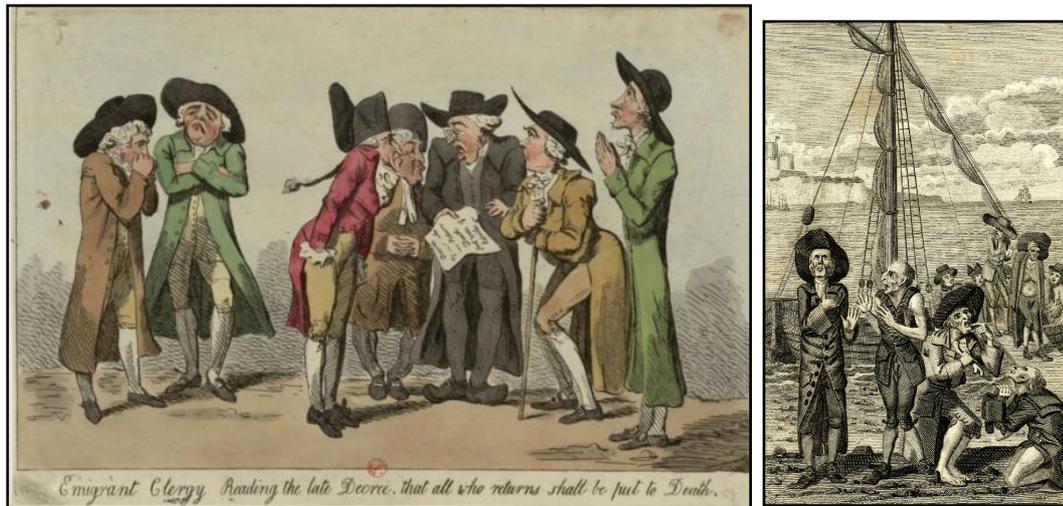


Image 7: Isaac Cruikshank, *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late decree, that all who returns shall be put to death* (London : S. W. Fores, 1792), British Museum

Image 8 : *The Importation of French priests, or the blessings of liberty* (London : J.Stratford, 1792), British Museum

The discourse of the established Anglican Church on Roman Catholicism is enlightening – despite ritual differences, Protestant and Catholic communities were viewed as one large Christian community. Once printed, the sermons of three English priests – the vicar of Blakewell, the rector of Droxford and the vicar of Hygh Wycombe – aimed to popularise this notion. In April 1793, William Robert Wake, vicar of Blackwell and chaplain to the Earl of Bristol, printed a *Sermon on occasion of soliciting relief for the emigrant French clergy*.³⁹⁷ His sermon resonated with patriotic pride, against revolutionary France. He opposed the ‘impious’ revolutionaries to the exiled priest, ‘sufferers for conscience sake’. The sermons started by opposing the Protestant faith to the Emigrant and exile’s faith. Yet, audience and readership were quickly reminded that the emigrants were ‘fellow Christians (however, in certain doctrines [they] may differ from us)’. The exiled priest suddenly became a ‘Brethren’ of the Protestant establishment. In a grand finale worthy of Edmund Burke, Wake argued that the French Revolution became anarchical when the revolutionaries expelled the ‘thrones

³⁹⁷ William Robert Wake, *Two Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St Michael, one on the Fast Day, the other one on occasion of soliciting relief for the emigrant French clergy* (Bath: W.Gye, 1793).

of the earthly sovereign' and 'the altar of God'. In May, James Chelsum, rector of Droxford and chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, published *The Duty of Relieving the French Refugee Clergy*.³⁹⁸ He used a vocabulary very similar to Wake's. The exiled priest ('distressed fellow creature') had left France for the 'love of Christ', because he refused to 'countenance the lawless proceedings of tyrannical and ferocious individuals'.³⁹⁹ The exiled priest ought to be praised for his 'exemplary and grateful conduct, and for [his] pious and Christian spirit of contentment and resignation'.⁴⁰⁰ Chelsum remained prudent – 'their god' was not the Anglican god.⁴⁰¹ While the Anglican religion was always referred to Christian, this assimilation of Catholicism to Christianity was not mentioned before the eleventh page of the sermon. A third sermon, from Reverend William Bell Williams, of High-Wycombe utilised similar techniques.⁴⁰²

Oecumenical Christianity was heralded as a counter-revolutionary necessity. The reference to a Christian community was therefore present in 1794-1795 emigrant military circles, probably taking after the Anglican discourse. The Comte de Jarnac and the General Gaston both proposed to Pitt the creation of French emigrant regiments under British pay. The General Gaston's army would be named 'Christian army'.⁴⁰³ Jarnac's regiment would also be Christian; its motto was decided as 'Religion, Kings and honour' and its battle flag would carry both the French and English coats of arms.⁴⁰⁴ However, the Anglican Church's discourse contained a patriotic element. In all three sermons, the Catholic emigrant and the exiled priest were defined by established

³⁹⁸ James Chelsum, *The Duty of Relieving the French Refugee Clergy stated and recommended. A Sermon* (Winchester: J.Robbins, 1793).

³⁹⁹ Ibid., p.8.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.11.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., p.7.

⁴⁰² William Bell Williams, *The Good Samaritan; or Charity to strangers recommended. A sermon preached for the French refugee clergy* (High Wycombe: Cave, 1793)

⁴⁰³ EM, 7 June 1793.

⁴⁰⁴ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/54, Proposition dated from 4 March 1794 to raise an emigrant cavalry regiment.

Anglican pastors as “brethren” – this was not necessarily new: George III, head of the Anglican Church, made the Catholic emancipation a touchstone of British loyalism,⁴⁰⁵ the vision of a Christian community, ‘tied together by attitude and acts of kindness, by brotherly feelings in Christ’s name’ had been common in Anglican charitable discourse throughout the eighteenth-century.⁴⁰⁶ As a matter of fact, the abolitionist movement used the same vocabulary in anti-slavery campaigns.⁴⁰⁷ In this, the reference to a Brethren Christian proudly emphasised the ‘moral stature’ accorded to the British nation when fighting slavery. Similarly, the use of ‘Brethren’ in the counter-revolutionary debate reinforced the moral stature of Britain as a nation against republican and terrorist France. Murray Pittock has argued that ‘British unity was conditionally achieved in the face of not so much of a Catholic, as a deist and revolutionary France’.⁴⁰⁸

If the Catholic and Protestant Christian belonged to the same family, the established Anglican discourse was unequivocal – Catholicism was fine, but Christianity defined by British Protestantism was the most virtuous of all. The Anglican Christian had learned ‘Christian liberality and Christian charity’, and henceforth he knew to ‘love’, ‘receive and cherish’ the ‘exiled and afflicted stranger’.⁴⁰⁹ These three conservative discourses placed Protestantism and British patriotism at the centre of the emigrant debate. Welcoming and helping the French emigrants was not only a Christian act – for these priests, it was first and foremost a defence of the British monarchy, head of the Anglican Church, and the Constitution against an apocalyptic anarchy.

⁴⁰⁵ Langford, *Public life*, p.83.

⁴⁰⁶ Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1989), p.22.

⁴⁰⁷ David Turley, *The culture of English antislavery* (London: Routledge: 1991), p.33.

⁴⁰⁸ Murray G.H.Pittock, *Inventing and resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p.173.

⁴⁰⁹ Chelsum, p.6.

Throughout the 1790s, the definition of emigration in Britain evolved – sometimes including non-French foreigners, sometimes excluding even part of the French migrant population in British territories. Yet, the definition of these inclusions and exclusions were always decided against political radicalism. As a result, the displaced French population was stigmatised by the established community via ‘powerful [legislative and discursive] weapons used by the later to maintain their identity, to assert their superiority’.⁴¹⁰ Being official, public or private, pronounced by established members of the community or individuals of a lesser social status, these ‘artefacts of men’s convictions, loyalties and solidarities’ participated in defining the British nation.⁴¹¹ To the Pittite government and the popular loyalists, the Briton was faithful to the Constitution, and prepared to renounce momentarily to his liberties. He was ready to accept intrusion in his home to protect the Nation against Levellers and French Revolutionaries. In contrast to the French Revolution, radical views increasingly became un-British. To the English establishment, the Briton was a charitable and generous individual ready to help a fellow Christian in distress despite ideological oppositions. The French revolutionary figure was unquestionably the counterpart to this identified British character. Neither British nor revolutionary, the French emigrant population in the British Isles lingered in an undefined in-between throughout the 1790s. At first, it suffered from both the ancient prejudices against France’s absolute monarchy and much opposition to revolutionary ideologies; then, while the emigrant became an object of charity and pity, the group was identified by the British population and governing elites to the sole noblemen and Catholic priests. As a result, every foreigner without these qualities became suspicious in the eye of the administration and population. Frenchmen and other aliens who had lived in Britain for years now found

⁴¹⁰ Elias, p.xviii.

⁴¹¹ Gellner, p.5-7.

themselves the objects of suspicion. The British discourse on French emigrants and the formation of national borders did not only help establish a loyalist Britishness, it also helped forming the many identity discourses and behaviours amongst French emigrants. It is to these discourses and behaviours that the discussion now turns.

CHAPTER 4 – EMIGRANT GEOGRAPHIES

In January 1797, a French emigrant priest was found frozen to death in the North Yorkshire moors, between Pickering and Whitby.⁴¹² After a coroner's inquest, the press was able to reveal that the body was the one of French vicar Jean-Jacques La Vieuville.⁴¹³ La Vieuville was one of 250 clergymen from the diocese of Evreux who had found a haven in Great Britain.⁴¹⁴ The solitary death of the 'wander[ing] Minister of God' in such hostile environment could certainly be used to illustrate the romantic notion of placelessness and solitude in exile.⁴¹⁵ Yet, one detail catches the historian's attention: amongst the different papers found on the corpse that allowed his identification, the coroner picked a passport. Approving La Vieuville's journey to Sheffield, it was signed by the authorities in Whitby. The South Yorkshire industrial town was never the location of a French emigrant settlement; and certainly not in 1797, as it was not listed as one of the lay emigrant centres in the British Relief lists after 1796.⁴¹⁶ It is hence very unlikely that La Vieuville set off to Sheffield to guide spiritually a group of his fellow countrymen. Why would then an emigrant priest attempt the dangerous journey from Whitby to Sheffield in the middle of winter? Historical scholarship on emigration has been concerned with the structures and demographics of *émigré* settlement in Great Britain, identifying gatherings and clusters of lay and clerical French exiles in Jersey, Guernsey, London, many southern provincial towns as well as a few northern industrial cities. To explain them, several factors have been acknowledged: the settlement was chosen by the migrants or imposed by the British state. The previous chapter showed how alien dispersal was contained by the

⁴¹² *BWM*, 8 January 1797.

⁴¹³ *TB*, 21 January 1797.

⁴¹⁴ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.255.

⁴¹⁵ Wordsworth, 'Exiled French Clergy', *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, 1822.

⁴¹⁶ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.191.

predicaments of British legislation; the existence of mansions bought or rented by British charities for the French clerical population has been previously underlined in scholarship.⁴¹⁷ Kirsty Carpenter demonstrated that the settlement was further set by emigrant familial, social, political and financial reasons.⁴¹⁸ However, the domination of the national scale and the importance of social structures in the historical debate on emigration led researchers to omit alternative geographical references and individual choices. Like La Vieuville, many clergymen appear to have been more inclined than lay emigrants to settle in remote places. In Yorkshire alone, a handful of French priests inhabited small towns like Hull or Wakefield, or villages like Wetherby.⁴¹⁹

This chapter first interrogates the relation between settlement and the migratory projects of the emigrants – it seeks to understand the evolution of emigrant mentalities from their original choice of coastal, insular and urban settlement near the Channel in the early 1790s, to the increasing interest for British provinces and colonies in the late 1790s and 1800s. Can we really affirm that emigrant groups in Great Britain all consider their stay as temporary and settled in consequence? This chapter then interrogates the notions of space and location in relation to community and neighbourhood, tracing the ‘sketch of a virtual history of the landscapes, surroundings and atmosphere’ in London, which unquestionably remained throughout the period the main emigrant centre in the British Isles.⁴²⁰ To what extent were the migrants integrated within their local community? This chapter finally aims to analyse the impact of the local environment and neighbourhood on creating as well as challenging a common emigrant identity. It seeks to understand whether the social *émigré* identity claimed by

⁴¹⁷ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp.75-79.

⁴¹⁸ As she uses the official Relief Committee lists to create her map of emigrant clusters in England, Kirsty Carpenter only localised those emigrants who had been recognised by the exiled French noble committee and the British government.

⁴¹⁹ *MP&FW*, 3 April 1797; *Hull Packet*, 1 December 1801.

⁴²⁰ Alain Corbin, *Le Monde retrouvé de Louis-François Pinagot* (Paris: Flammarion, 1998), p.9.

the writers of self-narratives pre-existed and determined the construction of French clusters or if the identification of shared ethics in emigrant circles originated after the creation of *émigré* centres in Great Britain. The first option denies any historicity to the location of the emigrant settlement – it is only considered according to the migrants' social and financial status during emigration, sometimes their political affiliation. The second option considers the influence of settlement in shaping particular geographies – in other words, how the host territory invested by the displaced and deterritorialised population 'may shape the social construction of "nationness" and history, identity and enmity'.⁴²¹

Emergency, resignation, discovery

'The history of displacement is by definition a history of place':⁴²² the lay and clerical emigrant settlements in England are well known and, collectively, all the sources found during this research, tend to reinforce the predominance of these colonies on emigrant geographies – in London and its suburbs obviously, but also the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, Edinburgh, Winchester for the clergy or Southampton for the *émigré* regiments.⁴²³ Kirsty Carpenter produced an accurate map of French emigrant centres in England, using the addresses given by the British relief lists for the year 1796.⁴²⁴ Yet, the current portrayal of emigrant geographies in the British Isles provides us with snapshots of the French dispersion, explained through structures and similarities inherent to the emigrant population. To simplify it, if emigrants settled together in a certain area, it is because they shared a common social, cultural and political

⁴²¹ In *Purity and Exile* (p.1), Malkki examined the influence of spaces (the refugee-camp or the town) in shaping refugee memory and a national mythology.

⁴²² Peter Gatrell, *Refugee*, p.289.

⁴²³ All the addresses found in emigrant correspondence and administrative documents reinforced Kirsty Carpenter and Jean Vidalenc's conclusions on *émigré* settlement in the British Isles.

⁴²⁴ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.191.

background.⁴²⁵ And yet, this chapter argues, these structures were evolving: the dispersion and displacements of the emigrant population progressed in relation to the migrants' projects; the relation to space and location of the counter-revolutionary *émigré*, the clerical exile, the civilian anti-revolutionary, the repatriate Jacobite and even the French traveller differed grandly from the time of the first arrivals in 1789. This research points out to three consecutive tendencies in the French relation to British space: the emergency-location, the resignation-location as the French *émigré* counter-revolution was failing and the location of discovery.⁴²⁶ Emigrants did not all experience the three tendencies; each tendency was related to individual or group migratory projects.

The location of the first emigrant centres in Great Britain was dictated by emergency – distance to the home region, ideological and military strategies, and the necessity to survive in a foreign environment all played an important part in the original dispersion of civilian and military migrants in the British Isles. The choice to reside at a short distance from home reflected the finite nature of projects behind emigration. Early 1790s documents reveal that southern ports and islands have been packed with such emigrants:

The streets of St Helier's town are almost as much crowded as those of London. Refugee, Bishop, Cordons rouges, Croix de Saint Louis, Curés, Capuchins, Monks of various orders and Ladies with painted cheeks, meet the eye in every part and exhibit the appearance of a French city.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ While Jean Vidalenc was the first to identify these structures (pp.233-234), Kirsty Carpenter studied in detail the socio-economic and political organisation of the emigration in London.

⁴²⁶ All three tendencies could be analogically related to Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (Chicago: CUP, 1960) as used by Malkki in her study of Hutu refugees (pp.6-7). The emergency-location would correspond to a failed 'rite of separation', the resignation-location to a 'rite of transition' and the space of discovery to the 'rite of incorporation' within a larger group, being either the British community or the identified *émigré* group.

⁴²⁷ *SJC or BEP*, 5 July 1791.

The distance between the British Channel islands and mainland France is so short that the two British islands have served as a traditional haven for all sorts of French migrants and other political asylum. Many of the migrants from the years 1792-93 were transborder migrants: thousands of Britons and Normans who had fled the revolutionary violence settled in the ports of South England and in the Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey.⁴²⁸

A mandatory passage for all migrants from or towards the continent, these hubs hosted a highly heterogeneous population – lay or clerical, civilian or military. In 1796, seven years after the first emigration and two years before emigrants were asked again to move 10 miles away from all shores, Southampton, Gosport, Brighton, Eastbourne, Dover, Sandwich and Ramsgate all possessed a large French lay and civilian emigrant community.⁴²⁹ These locations should allow a prompt departure from such migrants to France, would the home situation turn to their advantage. One typical example of emergency location is the one of the Bédée family – the name was written down in a list of 57 French noblemen’s addresses by a Southampton officer in accordance to the *Aliens Act*.⁴³⁰ ‘Madame Caroline de Bédée, a French Lady’ resided in Bugle Street. Her reported age, ‘28 years’ should allow dating the document around 1790, as she was born in 1762. Whether the administrator made a mistake or Caroline vainly lied, the document cannot be from 1790. In 1790, the *Aliens Act* was not implemented; the Bédées were still in Jersey, where Caroline was teaching French.⁴³¹ At the beginning of 1793, 500 priests resided in the ports and 2200 in Jersey; by the end of 1795, the French

⁴²⁸ This has been studied by Kirsty Carpenter, with the NA, *Bouillon Papers*, HO69, WO1, PC1, PC1. Furthermore, several memoirs attest for a French counter-revolutionary presence in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey.

⁴²⁹ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.191.

⁴³⁰ SAS, *Town’s Clerk Misc. Papers*, SC/TC BOX 4/14/7, Alphabetically indexed list of French émigrés with ages and addresses.

⁴³¹ Being cousins to Chateaubriand, the life of this Breton family has been fairly well documented. The Bédée’s were still in Jersey in 1793, before being chased to the English shores by the revolutionary progresses in Western France. They returned to France in 1804.

clerical population was more dispersed and ‘those on the mainland still lodged principally in the ports’.⁴³² They answered a religious emergency: they comforted the displaced populations on their way to Great Britain; they blessed the soldiers leaving to fight against the French Republic.

English ports were indeed significant strategic military places for *émigré* officers and regiments. As such, the occupation of ports by *émigré* regiments symbolised a military emergency like Coblenz had been in Germany or Turin in Italy. Southampton had become, since 1793, a haven for many officers and a ‘popular ground for *émigrés* regiments’.⁴³³ With the one of Bédée, twenty names on this list belong to French military officers and nine to French naval officers. Four others belong to relatives of naval officers – traditionally, women followed their husbands to the battlefield. Two similar lists exist for the town of Romsey, situated in the north of Southampton.⁴³⁴ The first one reported the name of seventy-one naval officers and mariners, and no civilian. The second one bore the name of forty-eight French royalist officers, without any civilians again. While some of the names overlap between the two Romsey lists, they do not with the Southampton one.

Is it fair to speak about emergency in the long term? Emergency refers to the project of the migrants, not to the time spent in a location. In addition, coupling the distance settlement/home country with the desire to return to France certainly shows no complete correlation between the two. Settling in a coastal hub (as opposed to joining one’s regiment in preparation for landing in France) was sometimes the expression of a simple attachment to France as a territory. Some considered that a longer distance from France, in unknown and uncolonised territories, would allow them to recreate an *ancien*

⁴³² Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.4. See also, SAS, SC/TC BOX 4/14/7.

⁴³³ John Olfield, “From Spa to Garnisson town: Southampton during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, 1793-1795”, in *Southampton: Gateway to the British Empire*, ed. by Miles Taylor (London: I.B.Tauris: 2007), pp.1-14.

⁴³⁴ HRO, *Romsey Borough*, 97M81/4/21 and 22.

regime community, without the constraints of living under the laws of a foreign government. The Comte de Puisaye and a group of forty men, all Quiberon veterans, proposed to the British government to establish a colony near Toronto in Canada.⁴³⁵ They aimed to recreate a perfect French counter-revolutionary society in this land of new possibilities. The extreme conditions of Upper-Canada cut this royalist utopia short, and all but one man returned to Europe. Location was sometimes thought of as secondary to political strategy. Indebted in London, the Comte d'Artois (future Charles X) sought refuge in Holyrood castle in Edinburgh in 1796 where a group of aristocratic and ultra-monarchist men and women followed him.⁴³⁶ Location was circumstantial in their ideological system, as they ultimately considered themselves to embody the true and moral France. They carried France with them.

These emergency locations offered little economic advantage to the civilian emigrant. Hence, many moved to London, but also in northern English towns like Manchester, Newcastle and Liverpool. About 200 priests found jobs in Scotland, and 300 in Ireland.⁴³⁷ Contrarily to these other places, London represents a different type of emergency location, liminal with a resignation-location. It was a city where one could continue the counter-revolutionary fight, survive and sometimes thrive. London also offered significant employment opportunities for impoverished emigrants. All the adverts published by French emigrants found during this research have been printed in London newspapers. The distribution of refugee reliefs was centralised in the British metropolis: many migrants moved there to make themselves known from the French authorities. London's own *Little France* since it had been colonised by the Huguenot

⁴³⁵ Maurice Hutt, *Chouannerie and counter-revolution: Puisaye, the princes, and the British government in the 1790s* (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp.269-323.

⁴³⁶ Mackenzie-Stuart.

⁴³⁷ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.4.

communities in the seventeenth century, Soho was a prime emergency location for emigrant arrivals. Most sources by emigrants and British individuals highlight the simultaneity of the arrival of emigrants in Britain and their exodus to Soho. The majority of classified adverts found had addresses in Soho. With its French speaking bookshops and its association to anti-revolutionary political prints, the area favoured the development of a politically driven *émigré* community. Therefore, when the Marquis de Bouillé's father arrived in London in September 1792, he aimed to take advantage of Soho's publishing industry to publish a pamphlet in the defence of Louis XVI.⁴³⁸

Soho was an epicentre, a mandatory stepping-stone before the emigrants' resettlement in London. This was particularly visible in the constant spreading of the French emigrant population – towards St Pancras, Somers town and Saint George's Fields for the poorest, Marylebone, Richmond and Hampstead for those who had managed to save part of their fortune and had rich English relatives.⁴³⁹ As the years were passing, and with the arrival of Artois in 1795, the Orléans Princes in the early 1800s and Louis XVIII around 1807, the emigration financial and political elites left the centre of London for its aristocratic western suburbs. The constitutional monarchists went to Twickenham, and Richmond hosted the legitimist and ultra-royalist populations.⁴⁴⁰ Following London's social geography, the emigrant elites adopted English aristocratic settlement practices in moving west whilst necessity forced the poorest in emigration to move towards the East end of London.

A second clue to emigrant resignation appears in their renting practices in London. Amongst such tenants was painter Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Upon her arrival in London in the 1800s after many years of exile, she first stayed in an emergency location, the hotel Brunet, in Leicester Square; she then tried to find a cheaper and

⁴³⁸ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.100.

⁴³⁹ Carpenter, *Refugees*, pp.62-99.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.62-86.

private apartment she could rent for a long period.⁴⁴¹ She clearly indicates weariness as the cause for her sedentarization in a humid and smokey apartment in Madox-street.⁴⁴² This statement raises two questions: the first one concerns the recurrences and reasons for the emigrant moves. Karine Rance compared the emigrants in Germany to the Huguenot population that rented places for ideological reasons, hence avoiding to take root in a foreign environment.⁴⁴³ Was it also the case in England? In England and in most urban centres, most properties were traditionally rented, ‘which undoubtedly encouraged remarkably high levels of mobility’.⁴⁴⁴ Would the emigrants follow such rules? The second question challenges the notion that emigrants simply rented in their host countries.

Following the amendments to the *Aliens Act* in 1798, landlords were required to report the names of their alien tenants – a close examination of Returns of aliens for the parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John the Evangelist in Westminster (31 presumed French emigrants), as well as the one of the City of Westminster and Saint Ann (137 presumed French emigrants), reveals heterogeneous renting practices [Table 2].⁴⁴⁵ In this sample of 168 emigrants, two-thirds of the lodgers effectively moved in within the two years preceding the returns of the aliens. In other words, a significant third of the emigrants stayed in the same house for longer than two years. Most of those who had moved into their dwellings between the years 1793 and 1795 were civilians – priests, families and professionals.

⁴⁴¹ Vigée-Lebrun, III, p.157.

⁴⁴² Ibid., pp.160-161.

⁴⁴³ Karine Rance, L’émigration française en Allemagne: une migration de maintien’, *Genèse*, 30 (1998), 5-29 (p.16).

⁴⁴⁴ Joyce M.Ellis, *The Georgian Town, 1680-1840* (London: Palgrave, 2001), p.109.

⁴⁴⁵ LMA, *Westminster Sessions of the Peace*, WR/A/004, Returns of Aliens residing within the Parishes of Saint Margaret and St John the Evangelist, Westminster, made to the overseers of the said Parishes to the 1st day of September 1798.

	City of Westminster and Saint Ann – July 1798	Parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John the Evangelist (Westminster) – September 1798
Same place rented since the years 1789-1792	0	7
1792-1793	5	8
1794-1796	8	33
1797	5	37
1798	13	55

Table 2 : Reported dates when French emigrant tenants moved into their dwellings, by July and September 1798.

The tenants who had moved in the year 1798 often declared themselves officers of the counter-revolutionary defeated armies. Modifications of address in civilian cases were often related to a change in financial or familial situation. Just like normal Londoners, ‘people traded up to larger premises when wages rose, rents fell or their families expended; they traded down again just as readily when these conditions were reversed’.⁴⁴⁶ A French emigrant, who had married a British woman, and had ‘three children ‘all born in London’ moved into a larger apartment after the birth of his last child.⁴⁴⁷ A newborn was also the reason invoked by the Marquise de La Tour du Pin for moving into a new house: after Edward’s birth, the family upgraded from a ground floor, two bedroom apartment, to a small house in Richmond.⁴⁴⁸ After he found a position as a librarian, Gauthier de Brécý moved out of his first apartment into a small ‘maison entière’, a house he and his family would occupy on their own.⁴⁴⁹ Other relocations mentioned in emigrant sources were circumstantial – the Comte de Jarnac was forced to move out of his house when his landlord sold the house he had been renting for a few years. In 1799, he wrote to his son:

⁴⁴⁶ Ellis, p.111.

⁴⁴⁷ LMA, *Middlesex Sessions of the Peace*, MR/A/001 (Copies of Notices relative to Aliens for the City and Liberty of Westminster, 1 July 1798) and MR/A/002 (Copies of Notices relative to Aliens for the parish of Saint Ann, 1 September 1798).

⁴⁴⁸ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.325.

⁴⁴⁹ Gauthier de Brécý, p.273.

J'ai payé 50 livres à Monsieur Toury et ne lui paierai le reste que quand je voudrais – il va vendre les meubles et la maison ensuite; mais il me laisse le maitre d'y rester tant que je voudrai sans payer – liberté dont je n'abuserai pas.⁴⁵⁰

[I paid £50 to Mr Toury, and will only pay the remainder when I want – he will sell the furnitures first, and then the house ; he allowed me to stay in as I please without paying a rent – a freedom I will not abuse]

Clearly, in Great Britain, civilian emigrants' moves cannot be categorised as ideological. Only the active military emigrant population was required to move in and out, according to new regimental orders and military campaigns.

The second noticeable behaviour in emigrant housing practices was the majorities' choice of renting over buying. Only two title deeds regarding houses in London prove the landed establishment of some French emigrant.⁴⁵¹ However, several emigrants took on insurance contracts to protect their houses. Fifty-two French emigrants' names appear in the Sun Fire Insurance archives for the years between 1792 and 1814.⁴⁵² As this list separates the owners and occupiers of a domicile, it appears that many emigrants would have owned an apartment in London. On top of the obvious financial reasons preventing many impoverished emigrants from buying properties in Great Britain, British law was such that it was difficult for foreigners to invest in real estates. There were three ways of obtaining land in Britain for an alien: first, one could choose to become a denizen (in which case he would not be able to pass on his property to his heir). Obtaining a certificate of denization or even naturalisation could be perceived by the rest of the migrant group as the sign of renouncement to fight the Revolution. The second was marriage to a brother-less heiress: the Chevalier Henri de

⁴⁵⁰ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/54, Comte de Jarnac to his son (23 February 1799).

⁴⁵¹ LMA, *Bedford (Duke of)*, E/BER/CG/T/V/P13/8, Abstracts of title of Elizabeth, Comtesse de Vandes to land and buildings in St James's Street; *Harben Miscellaneous Deeds*, HMD/X/023, Indenture of Lease Westing Possession from Maurice Rubichon sold to HRH Louis Henry Joseph de Bourbon Condé, 1811.

⁴⁵² LMA, *Records of Sun Fire Office*, MS 11936.

Roquemont chose this method. Jarnac, who had married an Irish woman before the Revolution, spent a few years from 1789 and many resources in a lengthy trial against his in-laws. The third solution was the use of trustees. Yet, these difficulties did not deter many Frenchmen from obtaining their piece of land in the British Isles under the alarmed eyes of some ‘old-fashioned Tories’, who sanctified the historical (sometimes considered as natural) relationship between the land and its established inhabitants.⁴⁵³ For this reason, the author of an anonymous memorandum (probably written around 1800) sought to disapprove the sedentarisation of the French emigrants.⁴⁵⁴ He wrote ‘these establishments are merely a temporary asylum for the ~~refugee~~–[sic] emigrant’, adding that they had made ‘various purchases of houses and situations’. He concluded his note: ‘Is it probable that they would do so if they meant to retire at the conclusion of the war? If these purchases can be made by means of Trustees, they can evade the act’. These purchases he mentioned were probably similar to King’s Manor in Winchester, that the British Relief Committee for the French refugees had bought and refurbished after a national campaign to lodge the ‘suffering French Clergy refugees in the British Dominions’.⁴⁵⁵ Taking emigration out of its political context and the general ethical understanding of the phenomenon, this author questioned the evolution of the emigrant projects when confronted with the failure of the counter-revolution – would emigration metamorphose into an immigration movement, or in the words of many Briton a ‘colonisation’?

Another sign of resignation in the relationship between emigrants and British geographies was the development of noble emigrant tourism in the British Isles after 1793 – tours of London, visits to Spa towns, excursions to fashionable destinations and

⁴⁵³ Langford, *Public life*, p.48.

⁴⁵⁴ HRO, *Mildway of Shawford, Twyford*, 46M72/F9B, Anonymous memorandum.

⁴⁵⁵ MC, 27 September 1792. See also HRO, *Knollys and Banbury Families*, 1M44/69/4 and *Winchester City Archives, judicial reports*, W/D3/328/1-162, *Passports issued or received by the Mayor as chief magistrate of the town under the Aliens Act*.

months-long sojourns in northern castles. The occasional presence of French emigrants in British touristic, fashionable and aristocratic centres could be the continuation of pre-revolutionary touristic French habits. During the early years of the French Revolution, departures from France and sojourns in English Spa towns had been excused for health reasons. In an article dated from December 1789, a journalist wrote: ‘Bath is very thin this winter. The reason is, perhaps, that it has been the general resort of the French refugee nobles. The ordinary frequenters of Bath do not think that any thing is to be got by them’.⁴⁵⁶ The spa towns of Bath, Epsom and Tunbridge Wells, where emigrant presence has been acknowledged until the early 1800s, were fashionable places in which the rich British aristocrats and the gentility would meet. Regular sojourn for the emigrant-friendly Prince of Wales, Brighton had also become a fashionable destination and an emigrant centre. Fifteen miles away from Brighton, John Grainger, from Bridge House in Cuckfield, received several dozens of anonymous French gentlemen and women between May 1793 and his death in 1797 – sometimes amounting to fifteen French visits a month.⁴⁵⁷

One possible reason for these journeys would be the adoption by emigrants of British sociable practices. The majority of the letters sent from the provinces written by emigrants during the entire period reveals that they had been invited by a British person to stay in their country-houses.⁴⁵⁸ Imitating a British craze, many emigrants went on summer excursions in the British countryside: in 1817, Gourbillon retrospectively spoke of an English ‘national itch’ that had infected him;⁴⁵⁹ Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun seized

⁴⁵⁶ *English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*, 31 Dec 1789/ 2 January 1790.

⁴⁵⁷ WSRO, *Grainger Family Archives*, Add Mss 30726-30728, Diaries of John Grainger for the years 1793 to 1797.

⁴⁵⁸ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172 – correspondence between Lord Adam Gordon and the Comte Descars (2 Septembre 1799), Comte de Vaudreuil (10 Septembre 1799), Comte d’Artois (26 Septembre 1799),

⁴⁵⁹ Gauthier de Brecy, p.285 (in Windsor and Eastliff), Walsh, pp.178-183 (Stock), Gourbillon, in Gury, pp.359-360 (Oxford, Birmingham, Liverpool).

every occasion to visit ‘beautiful English landscapes’.⁴⁶⁰ Chateaubriand even remembered acting as a *cicerone*.⁴⁶¹ Civilian self-narratives resemble travel recollections of the eighteenth century. Concerning the period between 1789-1795, emigrants’ routes rarely differentiated the one of previous travellers. They followed a well-established journey, from Dover to London, via Canterbury.⁴⁶² Following their famous predecessors, emigrants visited the Tower of London, Saint Paul’s cathedral and the poet’s corner in Westminster Abbey.⁴⁶³ Some visited Shakespeare’s birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon. It was only around the 1800s that the romantic excursion was developed. Émigrés visited natural sites – lakes and mountains – and picturesque ruins. Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun compared the British landscape to Switzerland. The romanticism of the emigrant also extended to British industrial landscapes: the most audacious amongst them visited Birmingham, Liverpool and Newcastle’s coalmines.⁴⁶⁴

While self-narratives allow us to identify the visited locations, the depiction of British landscape was however a mandatory requisite in travel literature. Reconstructed memory and the time elapsed played an important role in this portrayal. Many emigrants had read, experienced or discussed this foreign land.⁴⁶⁵ Hence, individual appreciations of the British landscape referred to the collective cultural constructions. Descriptions of British urban and rural landscapes resembled anthropological works in which emigrant authors dissociated themselves from the object they observed. Emigrants’ idea of English countryside was a bucolic one whose inhabitants were faceless and represented simple happiness.⁴⁶⁶ It reminded them of *Ancien Regime*

⁴⁶⁰ Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp.191-192.

⁴⁶¹ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*, ed. by Jean-Marie Roulin (Paris : Flammarion, 2007), p.106-110.

⁴⁶² Arnault, p.383.

⁴⁶³ Duc de Levis, in Gury, p.173; Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp.161-165.

⁴⁶⁴ La Tocnaye, in Gury, p.516, Simond, in Gury, p.547.

⁴⁶⁵ Alain Corbin, *L’Homme dans le paysage* (Paris : Gallimard, 2001).

⁴⁶⁶ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.330.

France. For a few, the health and simplicity of English peasants was evidence to the benefit for a nation to adopt a constitutional monarchy.⁴⁶⁷ In later *self-narratives*, the landscape was experienced through senses. As in the eighteenth century, the weather conditions struck most of the émigrés. Yet, clouds and humidity were always related in the studied *memoires* to an ambient melancholy. A single literary step transformed the physical landscape into a metaphysical and cultural landscape.

While some were despairing in ports and others settling in England while waiting for a change at home, some embraced their situations as migrants. From London, the centre, many emigrants left for the peripheries – suburban, English county peripheries, British Isles and colonies. Here, we are not concerned with the circumstantial presence of an important *émigré* aristocratic population in Edimburgh around the Comte d'Artois. We are not even concerned with the Comte de Puisaye's expedition to Canada. But we are concerned with another visitor to the North-American British colony, Louis-Ferdinand de Rohan-Chabot, son to the Comte de Jarnac. In 1808, he obtained the permission to escort the *North West Company* in its exploration of the Middle Ground in his quality of a British officer.⁴⁶⁸ We are also concerned with 'self-settlement' and the presence of La Vieuville in North Yorkshire, or in this particular case, Louis-Martin Delaistre, a French priest resident in the rural village of Ashley in Staffordshire, a few miles southwest from Stock-on-Trent.⁴⁶⁹ Studied in clusters, French emigration has been considered as an urban phenomenon. It however had a rural component. Accounts of emigrant presence in rural parts of England are scarce but nonetheless existent. Geographically and mentally separated from the French counter-

⁴⁶⁷ Walsh, pp.182-183 ; Simond, in Gury p.449 ; Bombelles, in Gury, p.431.

⁴⁶⁸ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/55, *Journal to the Upper Country*.

⁴⁶⁹ *Refugees: perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration*, ed. by Alastair Ager (London: Cassel, 1999), p.9.

revolutionary community, Delaistre's ostracisation led him to invest time and money in his host country.⁴⁷⁰ The former rector of Mont l'évêque settled in Ashley around 1794 as a spiritual guide for the local Catholic communities. He produced a will in the early 1800s, before his death in 1813.⁴⁷¹ This will testified to the complete integration and assimilation of Delaistre into the villager community; it also gives evidence of Delaistre's choice to avoid the *émigré* community in Britain. The only mention of his past stated that his unnamed French lawful heirs would inherit his French possessions. The four remaining pages of the will discussed his British possessions. During the nineteen years he spent in Ashley, Delaistre had acquired a large quantity of land: the 'encouragement [he] met in good generous England and [his] on exertion [had] enabled [him] to secure here a little property'. Upon his death, he would cede everything to Mary Cartledge, his local benefactor. Delaistre hoped to repay her 'for the money she [had] advanced to [him] at different times for the purchase of [his] land'. He also conceded 'two pieces of land, namely *The Master* and *Whetheybed*' situated in the parish of Ashley. In the 1800s, Delaistre was not only a happy landlord; he was also a wealthy farmer, owning 'cows, pigs, poultry, horse and cart'. By that date, Delaistre's identity, as an exiled and refugee clergyman who had fled the persecution of the clergy in France, had dissolved in his host environment. Delaistre furthermore cut off all links with the French bishops in exile – he preferred to refer to the British Catholic authorities. Indeed, the will was sent to the Catholic bishop of the Midland district and the only reserve Delaistre had on Mary's inheritance was that she was to 'keep free and open to the divine catholic service, [his] chapel' – probably Our Lady and St John.

These three metaphorical locations – emergency, resignation, and discovery – also corresponded to the evolution of emigrants' migratory projects. The emergency-

⁴⁷⁰ Delaistre's name appears in Bellenger's *Exiled Clergy* under the spelling Laistre.

⁴⁷¹ Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives (BAA), A62 and 63, Will of the Rev. Louis Martin de Laistre (6 December 1810).

location, whether close or distant from the French shores, indicated the wish of the emigrant to continue the counter-revolutionary fight. To a certain extent, these emergency locations, perceivable in clusters of migrants, could be compared to modern transborder refugee camps where the civilian, clerical and military French populations were ‘continually engaged in an impassionate construction and reconstruction of their history as ‘a people’.⁴⁷² The space of discovery allowed for the emigrant’s incorporation in the host society, and, the (almost) complete separation with the homeland. The resignation-location was a liminal and transitional place – still interested and involved in French politics, the emigrants would however adopt a British settlement policy. As will be argued now, this resignation-location was the place where they could experience and explore difference. As a ‘liminal space’ London permitted the collision of French and British communities, and in the process of interaction, the different French groups were allowed to renew, innovate and recreate their identity. London was a place of transition.

London as the location for innovation and creation

Did the emigrants survive as a marginalised group in London, or where they invested in their neighbourhood? Did some kind of *émigré* identity play a role in the French settlement, or on the contrary, did the presence of French emigrants help to renew London’s social, religious and architectural geography? Was the settlement of emigrants in London dictated by collective rules or was the existence of emigrant clusters in London simply circumstantial? The theoretical and rationalising format used by Jean Vidalenc and later Kirsty Carpenter to explain the underlying structures behind the emigrant settlement in London first conceals many variations in the individual choices of settlement and evolution of the migratory project. Individual sources tend to

⁴⁷² Malkki, p.3.

demonstrate that the settlement in London resulted from individual opportunity rather than a shared exilic experience. When the Marquise de La Tour du Pin left London for Richmond, she complained about the role played by the French *émigré* society in her wishing to leave the metropolis.⁴⁷³ She then moved to Richmond, where a similar population had settled. However, she mainly frequented her British relatives. In most self-narratives, British friends and relatives appear to have played a more important role in defining the emigrant settlement than the French population in London. Lady Jerningham helped her niece Madame de la Tour du Pin in finding a house. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun used Monsieur de Charmilly's British wife to find an apartment in London.⁴⁷⁴ In international migrations, friends and families often are sources of information regarding jobs and housing opportunities.⁴⁷⁵

The second problem in identifying clusters is the creation of invisible boundaries between socially heterogeneous French communities, and between the French and British communities. Self-narratives of emigrants who lived in London in the early 1790s implied that many emigrants would share a single apartment, or live in the same building, reinforcing historians' idea of a French chosen ostracism. Dictated by emergency circumstances, this situation was a rarity in late 1790s London. Once again, 1798 *returns of aliens* drawn together by the overseers of the poor challenge the notion of an emigrant clusterisation [Table 3].⁴⁷⁶ Together with the 1796 *returns by housekeepers* (different addresses and different names), they provide us with some clues.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.320.

⁴⁷⁴ Vigée-Lebrun, III, p.157-158.

⁴⁷⁵ Curtis S. Roseman, 'Migration as a Spatial and temporal process', *Annals of the Association of American geographers*, 61 (Sept. 1971), 589-598 (p.593).

⁴⁷⁶ LMA, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace*, MR/A/001: Returns of Aliens and *Middlesex Sessions: county administration*, MJR/MISC/5.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Emigrant addresses in London, 1789-1815, in <juliettere Boul.com>

Number of habitants/address	Recurrence
1	96
2	28
3	11
4	6
5	2
6	1
7	2
8	1
9	0
10	2

Table 3 : Dispersion of the French population in London in 1796 and 1798.

A large majority of the landlords in the two parishes rented to a single French emigrant. A few of them were living with another French emigrant, usually a relative: ‘Mr Mareschall, French nobleman from Normandy, Life guard in France’ and ‘Mr Mareschall, elder officer of Infantry’ had moved in together at Mr Charles Nicholls, n°3 Meardes Court, a small passage perpendicular to Dean Street in Soho.⁴⁷⁸ The Marquis and the Chevalier de Sarlabous resided both at n°37 Camomile Street, east of Bishopgate; Monsieur and Madame de Noircame lived in Chapel path, ‘second door from Bethel Chapel’, in St. Pancras.⁴⁷⁹ Buildings where more than two French emigrants resided were rare. A few families with children, but mostly priests and clerics, chose to move in together: James Francis Brunet, Peter John Baptiste Houvard, Jerome Francis Beuzeulin du Hameau and Charles Frederick Hersan (their names have been anglicised by the landlord), all French priests, resided in n°19 Porter Street, south of Seven Dials.⁴⁸⁰ Only a few particular landlords catered to more than five French emigrants. The French Breton Capitaine Paul de Gouvello, now ‘Captain to King George III’s service’, had been keeping a house in 18 Queen Street in Soho for five months in 1798. He lodged four French exiled priest, two French officers and two

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., MR/A/001.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., MJR/MISC/5.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., MR/A/001.

relatives.⁴⁸¹ As a landlord and a political emigrant, he might have felt his duty was to help his fellow exiles.

When mapping the 1796 and 1798 *returns of the Aliens*, it was furthermore difficult to identify the existence of many clusters, except for a concentration in Soho. Addresses with a single occupier were often scattered around London, with the exception of a few cases. The majority of emigrants residing in and around the City of London and in the East End were alone. Microenvironments created by emigrants residing in the same street, or same close-knitted area were quite rare: Pierre Navarre, Lewis Francis de la Mare and Nicolas Jean Saingevin respectively resided in number 4, 14 and 16 Baker's building in old Bethlehem.⁴⁸² According to this set of addresses, the concentration of French emigrants around Soho Square was exceptional, with the highest density of French emigrants in London. Its role as an emergency location and as a traditional area for French speaking migrants was underlined earlier in this chapter. In the approximate square between Oxford Street, Ruppert Street, Shaftesbury Street and Tottenham Court Road, the large majority of emigrants were living with at least a second emigrant. One house rarely hosted families or couples; unrelated men and women cohabited in these places.

With the exception of Soho, were there any location allowing the creation of a French sense of togetherness in areas where the emigrants were scattered? The existence of an important French public sphere played a crucial role. Self-narratives highlighted the existence of French *Salons*, catered by the aristocracy in emigration. The financial and social displaced elite would meet in private homes to assist to representations of French plays and readings of poems or philosophical volumes. The intellectual and political elite would generally meet in francophone libraries in the West

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² LMA, MJR/MISC/5.

end or in Soho.⁴⁸³ Emigrants living next to Saint Paul's could buy their books at Allen & West, Symonds or Rivington. Cadell & Davies, as well as John Matthews provided those from the Strand with French literature. In Bond Street alone, six booksellers and stationers advertised for French books. Another cluster of Francophone booksellers was on the square between Jermyn Street, St James's Street, Pall Mall and Leicester Square, where no less than thirteen shops were involved in the *émigré* book trade. Throughout the period, emigrants also met in hotels and coffee shops. After literature, religion was a second factor of integration for the emigrant group in London. The ceremonies were at first conducted in Catholic chapels in embassies or some Protestant churches transformed to receive a Catholic congregation. While many emigrants left France without any religious emotions, several returned to France with a regenerated faith. Lady Holland described the constitutionalist Madame de Genlis as a bigoted woman, who had grown convinced that 'Bourbon monarchy and Papal Catholicism' were 'indispensible to the salvation of mankind'.⁴⁸⁴ Religion became a political instrument against the secularisation of France.⁴⁸⁵

There are very few emigrant architectural vestiges in London – the burial grounds at Saint Pancras have been covered by new constructions in the twentieth century, the rare churches built have been taken down. Yet, the emigrant presence in England had a particular impact on the poorest areas in London: the parishes of Saint Pancras, Saint George's Fields and Somers town housed the poorest in emigration – widows of Quiberon, elderly and war wounded. Somers town was a particularly new part of London – and the emigrant group invested in this district under the leadership of the

⁴⁸³ Appendix, 'Mapping the Book trade'; see also, 'French exiled book trade', in <www.juliettere Boul.com>.

⁴⁸⁴ Lady Holland, p.110-111, 19 June 1800.

⁴⁸⁵ Arnaud Decroix, 'La formule Bon chrétien, fidèle sujet à l'épreuve des bouleversement révolutionnaires. Les lineaments de la politique d'alliance du trône et de l'autel au sein de la noblesse française émigrée (1789-1801), in Bourdin, pp.369-378 (p.371).

abbé Caron.⁴⁸⁶ The abbé arrived in London in 1796 from Jersey, where he worked to provide the poorest in emigration with a full set of social services near Tottenham at first, then in Somers Town. Until 1806, emigrants in Somers town worshipped in a chapel in Charlton Street. In 1808, the Abbé Carron built the Church of Saint Aloysius in Phoenix Road, next to Clarendon Square. He set up a hospital and several schools in the same area. Just like the help of the abbé Caron, the help given by the Relief committees to the emigrants was, as the next chapter will show, not based on a Christian notion of brotherhood, but on a ‘paternalistic’ and ‘conservative’ benevolence.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp.106-109.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.109.

CHAPTER 5 – CHARITY, INEQUALITY, IDENTITY

In October 1806, the Duchesse de Piennes wrote an emotional blackmail letter. The letter was probably addressed to PM Lord Grenville, but was eventually directed to William Wickham then in charge of the *Alien Office*.⁴⁸⁸ She urged them to double the £300 pension she was receiving from the British government (about the equivalent to a middle-income household).⁴⁸⁹ Britain was the only country throughout Europe to provide French emigrants with allowances. Without her annuity doubled she threatened to commit suicide – a common threat amongst emigrants and a genuine risk if one were to believe other letters as well as the numerous journalistic accounts of emigrant suicides in Europe.⁴⁹⁰ ‘Privée de tout ce qui est nécessaire, sans voiture, sans laquais [sic] [deprived of all necessary things, carriage-less and servant-less]’, she could not cope with large debts owed to her butcher, chemist and grocer – all ‘grossiers’ [ill-mannered] and ‘rudes’ [unkind]. She could barely afford to warm up her apartments in winter and her yearly rent alone represented a large third of her allowance (£120). More than fifteen years after the beginning of the Revolution, the Duchesse de Piennes was still living an *ancien régime* aristocratic life *à credit*.⁴⁹¹ ‘Wealth always led to nobility’ in France; yet living a noble life had been ‘dependant on wealth’.⁴⁹² In 1806, she had already been arrested over five times and thrown as many times in a sponging-house for debts.⁴⁹³ With £600 a year, she assured she could live in ‘comfort’ (an English word that had entered the French vocabulary during emigration according to the Duc de

⁴⁸⁸ HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/50, Letter from Madame Chauvigny de Piennes (8 October 1806).

⁴⁸⁹ Ian Christie, ‘Conservatism and stability in British society’, in ed. by Philp, pp.169-187 (p.181).

⁴⁹⁰ HRO, *Wickham of Binsted*, 38M49/8/125/51, Letter from the marquis Ruffo la Francy.

⁴⁹¹ Natacha Coquery, *L’Hotel aristocratique: le marché du luxe à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998).

⁴⁹² Daniel Roche, *La France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), p.365.

⁴⁹³ HRO, *Wickham of Binsted*, 38M49/8/125/50; James Clancy, *A Treatise on the rights, duties, liabilities of Husband and Wife* (London: Law Press, 1837), pp.57-58, 60 and 80.

Lévis).⁴⁹⁴ Although it may be nowadays difficult to take the Duchesse's arguments seriously, her claims fall within a counter-revolutionary conception of rights, in which the nobility, and furthermore the top of the noble hierarchy, justly deserved more than the rest of the emigrant population. All should not be equal in front of poverty: the family de Piennes, and their relatives the d'Aumont, had not renounced a society based on estates and privileges.⁴⁹⁵ The Duchesse's inability to reconsider her aristocratic consumerism was not exceptional amongst emigrants; yet this attitude seemed more common in the early years of emigration than in 1806. Speaking of a fellow Frenchman, the Archbishop of Aix wrote in 1793, 'he is more familiar with debts than debtors'.⁴⁹⁶ César de Figanière, a bankrupt veteran from Toulon, was outraged after being arrested and 'taken to a horrible prison without money and dying of hunger' in 1794; as a counter-revolutionary noble officer, he felt he 'did not deserve such excessive cruelty'.⁴⁹⁷ Were these behaviours and claims the signs that some emigrants had 'misunderstood' the irreversibility of the universal ideal of equality brought on by the French Revolution, as Pierre-André Bois concluded in 2002?⁴⁹⁸ To what extent was this ideal of inequality shared and encouraged by the emigrant community in England, its military and religious leaders, as well as the British society and government?

Having returned to Paris in 1815, the Duchesse created in 1816 the short-lived *Association de bienfaisance des dames françaises*, a charitable organisation raising funds amongst the French nobility to provide Catholic nuns with financial resources to

⁴⁹⁴ Duc de Lévis, in Gury, p.773. See also in the same volume, Bombelles, p.769 and 774.

⁴⁹⁵ Françoise Vinot, 'Louis-Alexandre Céléste, duc de Villequier puis d'Aumont: 23 ans d'Émigration à travers l'Europe (1791-1814), in Bourdin, pp.413-428 (p.427).

⁴⁹⁶ HRO, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (24 August 1793).

⁴⁹⁷ HRO, *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/2/42, César de la Figanière to Duke of Portland (23 September 1794).

⁴⁹⁸ Pierre-André Bois, 'Synthèse des travaux de l'atelier', in Daniel Schonpflug and Jurgen Voss (eds), *Révolutionnaires et Émigrés – Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland, 1789-1806* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), p.247.

help the Parisian poor.⁴⁹⁹ The Duchesse's philanthropic work echoed the relative impoverishment she had suffered from while in exile. Twenty-four years before the foundation of her *Association*, in March 1792, the Duchesse had married her long-term lover, a rich widower, the Duc de Piennes, future Duc d'Aumont. Close to d'Orléans and Necker, the anglophile Duc, his first wife and his mistress, had welcomed the 1789 Revolution. According to his father's correspondence, the Duc was in London in April 1791, where he and his mistress regularly met with the Prince of Wales.⁵⁰⁰ Finally married, the Duchesse stayed in London while her husband joined the Princes in Coblenz.⁵⁰¹ From then onwards, the financial condition of the de Piennes deteriorated. The Duc travelled to Spain to fight in the armies of Saint-Simon – and, ruined, left this country either in 1795 for his early biographers or 1797 according to more recent studies.⁵⁰² For the Duchesse d'Abrantès, the Duc went to Mittau in 1795 to join forces with Louis XVIII – but she could have mistaken him for his father who wasted his last financial resources on a doomed counter-revolutionary fight.⁵⁰³ Still in England, the Duchesse de Piennes was forced to co-rent with other bankrupt aristocrats in the town of Bedford.⁵⁰⁴ Several nineteenth-century essays on UK law and familial debts cited legal cases of indebtedness involving the Duchesse as examples in which both insolvent husband and wife were alien to Great-Britain.⁵⁰⁵ These essays reported that the Duc and Duchesse had been living in separate countries for about three years in 1806. While the Duchesse remained liable to her creditors in London, the Duc had by then gone to Sweden to create a counter-revolutionary *émigré* regiment named *Royal Suédois*, with

⁴⁹⁹ *Mémoires de la Duchesse d'Abrantès*, ed. by Louis d'Abrantès (Bruxelles: L.Haumann, 1831), p.119.

⁵⁰⁰ Vinot, p.414.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.416.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, p.421.

⁵⁰³ *Abrantès*, ed. by Abrantès, p.119.

⁵⁰⁴ *Souvenirs de la Princesse de Tarente, 1789-1792* ed. by Louis La Tremoille (Nantes: E.Grimaud, 1897), p.220.

⁵⁰⁵ Clancy.

the help of his friend Fersen.⁵⁰⁶ Still in London in 1810, the Duchesse probably returned to France around 1814/1815.⁵⁰⁷ With the Restoration, the then estranged couple recovered a few of their familial possessions after which the (divorced) Duchesse's charitable efforts commenced. Her 1816 venture illustrates the long-term impact of charities on emigrants. To what extent did receiving charities modify the self-representation amongst the French receptors of British reliefs? Did it have any long-term effect on how, once returned and re-established by the Restoration, ex-emigrants treated the French poor as well as foreign refugees?

The Duchesse's 1806 claim sounds furthermore anachronistic to the historian in that she wrote this letter more than a decade after the great British public outcry of late 1792. However, the uniqueness of this source originates from its author: the majority of known sources on emigrants' finances originated from public and associational British sources. Indeed, if the deluge of Frenchmen in British ports and in London had resulted in the loyalist January 1793 *Alien Act*, it had first set in motion a long-lived charitable effort and its propagandist baggage. Detailed descriptions of anonymous poverty after September 1792 were later a focus of nineteenth-century French and British self-narratives and novels on emigration in London. This literature often reported sordid images of half-naked children starving to death and narrated stirring descriptions of decrepit French officers wandering in the streets of the British metropolis, driven to madness by the loss of their social status.⁵⁰⁸ In an often-quoted passage from his *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* situated around 1793, Chateaubriand recalled sucking on

⁵⁰⁶ *Biographie Universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. by Joseph and Louis Michaud, (Paris: Michaud Frères, 1854), 56, p.569.

⁵⁰⁷ Philip Mansel, 'Un adversaire de longue haleine: Louis XVIII et la maison de Bourbon en 1810', in *1810: Le Tournant de l'Empire*, ed. by Thierry Lentz (Paris: Nouveau Monde Editions, 2010), pp.163-178 (p.163).

⁵⁰⁸ Wilson, p.22.

wet-linen, chewing herbs and bits of papers to calm a relentless sensation of hunger.⁵⁰⁹ Conservative French and British erudites and scholars under the influence of such texts have narrated and commented upon under-contextualised tales of poverty, Britain's charitable relief and its generous high-ranked nobility. The aristocratic ladies Buckingham, York, Devonshire and Salisbury have been praised for their generous efforts towards the French nobility; Lord Bridgewater, who welcomed in his parks a 'collection of monks [...] more picturesque than a flock of sheep or bucks' stood as the amusing illustration of a so-called British national eccentricity.⁵¹⁰ As a result of this under-contextualisation, British charity between 1792 and 1802 was often correlated to British anti-Jacobin imaginations of the *Terreur* and the first French Republic.

Historians have concentrated on patrician benevolence and membership of the relief committees; they however failed to relate aristocratic charities to a society of aristocratic spectacle as well as the continuation of old and creation of new domineering social relationships – between the English establishment and the poor, between natives and foreigners. Kirsty Carpenter's explanations for aristocratic motivations behind the emigrant relief feel rather unsatisfying on the long-term: 'the émigrés had the sympathy of the British elites behind them, which reinforced by their generally honourable behaviour, was sufficient to impress upon the government need to support them'.⁵¹¹ Henceforth, in her explanation, the organisation and continuance of the relief resulted from friendship rather than a Smithian inter-aristocratic solidarity. Far worse is French royalist historian De Diesbach's post-1945 explanation by national determinations of the uniqueness of the British charitable response to poverty in emigration.⁵¹² To him, British high society was richer, more imaginative and had more empathy for the poor

⁵⁰⁹ *Chateaubriand*, ed. by Roulin, pp.11-114.

⁵¹⁰ D'Haussonville, quoted in Gislain de Diesbach, *Histoire de l'Émigration, 1789-1814* (Paris: Perrin, 1984), p.288.

⁵¹¹ Carpenter, 'London: Capital of the Emigration', in Carpenter and Mansel, pp.43-67 (p.60).

⁵¹² Diesbach, pp.286-287.

and proud noble emigrants than the exclusive German aristocracy, which did not organise any financial help. As will be discussed in this chapter, many archives kept in county record offices conflict with the widespread pitiful view of poverty in emigration; many newspaper articles highlight the sociological and chronological inconsistencies in historical tales of a charitable British aristocracy. Indeed, 'love, kindness and natural affection' bore little weight in front of the political conservative necessity to promote civil order and maintain the historically inherited division of society in classes.⁵¹³ Only Dominic Bellenger rightfully related the emigrants' clerical relief to loyalist politics, its strong association with Portland Whigs, the significance of Protestant traditions of charity and the government's inclusive politics towards Catholics.⁵¹⁴ This chapter argues that British relief was not simply reliant on noble honourable pity, but inscribed in a deeply engrained and shared sense of political loyalism and social conservatism emanating from all social strata.

The history of the financial response to emigration breaks into three overlaying periods.⁵¹⁵ The first one was initiated by the great outcry of early September 1792 within the public sphere and the organisation of relief committees for the emigrant clergy and laity (Catholic before September 1792, then Protestant). As war was not declared, Pitt's government might have feared that official involvement would resonate as a declaration of war. These committees worked hand in hand with the Bishop St-Pol de Léon, an ex-officer of the dragoons turned clergyman. It was from his address in Nassau Street (the house of a Catholic lodger) that he undertook to distribute the reliefs. Following the initial public response and as war was raging, the committees were institutionalised by the British government that took over the relief between December

⁵¹³ Andrew, p.6.

⁵¹⁴ Dominic A. Bellenger, 'Fearless resting Place: the Exiled French Clergy in Great Britain, 1789-1815', in Carpenter and Mansel, pp.214-229 (p.217).

⁵¹⁵ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.43.

1793 and 1814. The budget allowed to French emigrants was hence restricted and dependent from the Exchequer, and the lists of lay and clerical recipients closed to newcomers in several occasions. Although not a charitable doing *per se*, the British government salaried a large number of French officers prevented by their profession from receiving any other type of allowance.⁵¹⁶ These subsidies could be considered as a soldier's pay for those who were momentarily out of work. At first a humanitarian project, the relief turned into a governmental administration. Finally, in the late 1790s, as the number of French in Great Britain had largely declined due to returns, the nature of the relief changed to turn into a counter-revolutionary allowance; by then, the amount received by emigrants had ceased to be equally distributed. This chapter first endeavours to discuss the implementation of an unequal and ambiguous relationship between British public donators and French receptors/debtors (whether the help came from organised charitable committees, governmental budgets allowed to the civilian emigrants and *émigré* regiments, or charitable institutions such as Burke's Penn School). This original asymmetrical rapport evolved into the stigmatisation and marginalisation of the French emigrant population, regarded as either intrinsically victimized or as parasitic. This chapter then highlights the multifaceted political intentions of the diverse lobbies and governmental groups involved in relieving the emigrant community and how their intentions conflicted – the British committee and government raising funds and controlling the yearly budgets allowed to the emigrants; the French committee in charge of distributing them and later the Princes in exile. It argues that the often-praised relief committees furthered and strengthened the French *ancien régime* inequalities and contributed to the petrification of counter-revolutionary and pro-aristocracy imaginary amongst those receiving the highest relief sums.

⁵¹⁶ HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/55-58. See also NA, H.O. and PRO. T.93.

A Code of unequal relationship

Unlike private and individual hospitality, public and later governmental hospitalities were at first based on a fundamental inequality: the British charitable response to poverty in emigration consigned the entire group to the unhistorical condition of poor. The early response to emigration could not take into account the complexity and historicity of the French emigrant population because of the suddenness of the problem. Throughout the early 1790s and until 1796 according to known sources, this action leaned upon the traditional structure of benevolent Protestant (and in this particular case also Catholic) individuals and charitable associations, as the issues raised by emigration were in many ways similar to the condition of the British poor.⁵¹⁷ Established landowners and propertied Englishmen, their wives and daughters created and funded several complementary relief committees to alleviate the sufferings of the French in accordance to traditional structures of benevolence.⁵¹⁸ For the Anglican episcopate helping the poor and the distressed was presented as a religious priority, regardless of the Catholic obedience of the refugees. An active contributor to the *Diary or Woodfall Register*, “Christianus” considered the relief to be a ‘moral emergency’ in an open letter from the early days of September 1792.⁵¹⁹ Indeed, Britain also needed to feed and lodge the destitute Frenchmen to contain the spread of epidemic diseases. Bad weather conditions and poor diet had killed many small children and, throughout the exile, 700 to 1000 exiled clergymen.⁵²⁰ On 19 September 1792, a journalist in the

⁵¹⁷ Sarah Lloyd, *Charity and Poverty in England, c.1680-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); *Chronicling Poverty: the voice and strategy of the English Poor, 1660-1840*, ed. by Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharp (London: Basingstoke, 1997).

⁵¹⁸ Donna Andrews, ‘Noblesse Oblige: female charity in an age of sentiment’, in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.275-301; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s daughter: women’s lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University press, 1998); Beth Tobin, *Superintending the Poor: Charitable ladies and paternal landlords in British fictions, 1770-1860* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁵¹⁹ *DWR*, 10 September 1792. “Christianus” is also the author of a eulogistic open letter on the Bishop St-Pol de Léon, published in *DWR*, 18 March 1793.

⁵²⁰ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.47.

Public Advertiser warned that ‘change of food and liquor often disturbs the interior part of man and woman’;⁵²¹ the *Oracle* from 10 December 1792 reported that ‘a society of refugee nuns [...] has felt severely ill affects of this pernicious dry [bread], to which their constitution was not habituated’.⁵²² In the same newspaper, an article satirised the situation: ‘distress and famine have worn them down so that they can be objects of envy only to a lecturer in anatomy’.⁵²³ Weakened by a poor diet, the emigrant population were likely to succumb to epidemics. Hence, in May 1793, whooping cough and measles had devastated the west London emigrant society.⁵²⁴

The emigrant early situation in London was worsened by French financial politics and the continuous depreciation of the revolutionary *assignat*. In September or October 1792, Arnault was probably one of the last French in London to receive pounds in exchange of a *lettre de crédit*: his banker, the descendant of a Huguenot refugee, probably took pity on a group of French migrants he often received and entertained at home.⁵²⁵ By the beginning of 1794, London bankers refused any such transfers: in a letter to her brother, Elizabeth Pattison informed him that she could not ‘at that time hear of any person who had engaged in so hazardous an undertaking as lending money to be repay’d on their return to France’.⁵²⁶ According to one emigrant, the British Parliament passed a bill preventing French money to be exchanged in England: to facilitate their anonymous passage across the borders, many emigrants had left France almost empty-handed, with nothing but bills of exchange for thousands of pounds in the hope that London bankers and European ones would accept to trade them for local

⁵²¹ *PA*, 19 September 1792.

⁵²² *Oracle*, 10 December 1792.

⁵²³ *PA*, 9 January 1793, quoted in Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.37.

⁵²⁴ HRO, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (20 May 1793).

⁵²⁵ Arnault, pp.384-385. His banker was probably Paul James Lecointe from Devonshire Square. See also Kew, National Archives, C13/10/20.

⁵²⁶ *Youth and Revolution in the 1790s: letters of William Pattinson, Thomas Amyot and Henry Crabb*, ed. by Penelope Corfield and Chris Evans (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), pp.53-54, Elisabeth Pattinson to William Pattison, (12 February 1794).

currencies. The Marquis Alexandre de Breteuil, Condean officer and veteran of the 1793 campaign by the Duke of York, was expecting between £8000 and £9000.⁵²⁷ His London bankers continuously refused him the transfer payment arguing that it fell under this Act. Hence, many amongst those who theoretically should not have been cases of charities were forced to apply for relief. If poverty in emigration was widespread, it was however not touching every French emigrant. All emigrants were not poor, but rich emigrants often favoured their families and relatives to their creditors when benevolently distributing their money.⁵²⁸

Three years after the great public outcry of September 1792, the situation was delicate for those vulnerable communities who, in migrating, had suffered the loss of their social and financial situation; living in squalid conditions, the poorest in the emigration were still in need of basic necessities such as food, clothes and a bed.⁵²⁹ Poverty, counter-revolutionary wars and defeats had created many orphan children: following the *émigré* defeat at Quiberon in the end of July 1795, many pregnant women found themselves widowed. In the first quarter of 1796, a tract informed the London population that ‘eighty lying-in women [are] shortly expected to be brought to bed, without the means of procuring medical assistance or even the necessaries of life, for themselves or their infants’.⁵³⁰ In August 1796, a French servant to the Chevalier de la Boijette, Julie, brought her child to the Foundling hospital. Neither she nor her master had the means to raise a bastard child.⁵³¹ In a sense, and from the viewpoint of the host,

⁵²⁷ HRO, *French Émigrés letters*, 109A02/2/27, Marquis de Breuilpont to a Duke (c.1793).

⁵²⁸ HRO, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (10 and 17 March 1793).

⁵²⁹ London, British Library (BL), *General Reference Collection*, 4532.h.3.(1.), ‘The Committee are extremely concerned...’

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ LMA, *Foundling Hospital*, A/FH/A/09/024/002/1, Depositions in French and translation, admission of child to Foundling Hospital (31 August 1796).

the pre-revolutionary *ancien régime* social distinctions had faded away before the commonality of poverty, hunger, illnesses and madness.

As a minority community receiving benevolence, the emigrants were also indebted to their host – an idea certainly reinforced by the humble and beseeching letters received by Burke, Portland, Grenville and Wickham.⁵³² The regulations and principles of specially created committees in charge of relieving the lay emigrants and clerical exiles furthered this original inequality by offering complete power over these populations to an increasingly anti-Jacobin British establishment. Although the most examined, the relief of French exiled clergymen by a group named the Wilmot Committee did not predate the urge for relieving the French lay population in Great Britain. On 11 September 1792, the *World* published an anonymous advertisement for a ‘Charitable meeting in favour of the unfortunate French exiles to be held at the *Star & Garter*, Pall Mall’, the following day at noon.⁵³³ The advertiser aimed to:

Raise a fund and form a Committee to appropriate its amount to the relief of the unfortunate women and children who have been obliged to fly from France, in consequence of the present calamitous situation of that country and take refuge in this.

The anonymous advertiser turned out to be zealous Pittite Sir George Thomas, MP for the constituency of Arundel on the west coast of Sussex.⁵³⁴ Following these meetings, he asked that ‘books be immediately opened’ and ‘the several bankers be requested to receive subscriptions’.⁵³⁵ However, the lay Committee lacked formal administration. The Wilmot Committee, in charge of clerical matters, was not only more organised but also shone from the patronage of famous counter-revolutionary thinker Edmond Burke. In mid September, the author of *The Case of the Suffering French Clergy Refugees in the*

⁵³² HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/1 and *French Émigrés letters*, 109A02/1-2; Sheffield.

⁵³³ *World*, 11 September 1792.

⁵³⁴ M.H. Port, ‘Thomas, Sir George, 3rd Bt. Of Dale Park, nr. Arundel, Sussex’, in *History of Parliament* <www.historyofparliamentonline.org>.

⁵³⁵ *MC*, 12 September 1792.

British Dominions wrote to a member of the Committee and his close friend, Rev. Walker King. In this letter, he prescribed ‘our statement ought to be published at length in the papers, particularly in the evening papers’ and insisted ‘in things of this kind proper advertising is everything’.⁵³⁶ The week preceding its first gathering, the meeting was in fact advertised everyday in at least four popular newspapers: the *Star*, the *Evening Mail*, the *Morning Chronicle* and the *World*.

The meeting was held on the 20th of September 1792 at the *Freemasons’ Tavern* in Great Queen Street. It is necessary here to pause and understand the political signification behind the locations of the relief Committees’ meetings, between the first one in September 1792 and the last ones in 1814. The *Star & Garter* and the *Freemasons’* were both replaced by the *Crown & Anchor* later in the month of September. These three places, and the *Crown & Anchor* in particular, were related to loyalist politics in both established and popular circles. From December 1792, the *Crown & Anchor* was also housing John Reeves’ original *Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republican and Levellers*.⁵³⁷ Attracting aristocratic clubs in the eighteenth century, the *Star & Garter* would become later in the early nineteenth century home to a Tory club. The location of such meetings in London also related early reliefs to masonry – a link certainly obvious in the name and address of the *Freemasons’*.⁵³⁸ In 1796, the Committee for the relief of the French refugees ran from an address adjacent to the Mother lodge of English Masonry, with an address in n°10 Queen Street.⁵³⁹ Besides, several French lodges created in London before 1789 were meeting in

⁵³⁶ *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. by Copeland, 10 vols. (Cambridge : CUP: 1970), VII, p.213 : Burke to Walker King (16 September 1792).

⁵³⁷ Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution*, p.19; Emsley, *British society*, p.16.

⁵³⁸ A difference with 1810s masonic practices, as sources indicate that masons were asked by the London mother lodge to refuse all invitations from the *émigré* communities.

⁵³⁹ BL, ‘The Committee...’

the *Crown & Anchor*.⁵⁴⁰ This early relation between Masonry and Charity is furthermore interesting in that the legitimist authors of self-narratives affirmed having rejected offers of the ‘*émigré* schilling’, denounced the relief as a British plot to undermine their fatherland, and held the masons partly responsible for the Revolution. However, this correlation is never implicitly made in self-narratives. The relationship between masonry and emigration seem to have downgraded after a few years, as some lodges were forbidden to respond positively to emigrant invitations in the 1810s.⁵⁴¹

The 21 September 1792 and the following days, the Wilmot Committee published its manifesto:⁵⁴²

At a MEETING of several Gentlemen to take into consideration the CASE OF
THE SUFFERING CLERGY OF FRANCE, REFUGEES IN ENGLAND,
JOHN WILMOT, Esq., M.P. in the Chair.

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY

That from the number and peculiar Distresses of the French Clergy,
Refugees in this country, their unhappy situation ought to be
recommended to the Charitable and Humane, and that the subscription
already begun, should be continued for that purpose.

The manifesto was followed by an incentive list of fifty-nine aristocratic and established politicians and manufacturers as well as a few ecclesiastic subscribers. Buckingham, Burke, Wilberforce and the Bishop of London all lent their names for the cause. The manifesto also detailed the sums subscribed by each individuals; it ended with a list of London bankers receiving subscriptions. In the following days, and throughout the month of October, the Wilmot Committee published several new lists of subscribers –

⁵⁴⁰ London, Museum and Library of Freemasonry (MLF), *Records related to the Building of the Freemasons' Hall and Tavern*, FMS MINS/1/4, Hall Committee Minute Book. The same document showed how the masons had allowed French emigrants' charitable concerts and benefits in the Hall.

⁵⁴¹ MLF, *Historical Correspondence*, Box 5 HC 5/D/1, Johan Arram to EH (24 June 1813) and EH to John Arram (28 June 1813).

⁵⁴² *EM*, 19-21 September 1792.

amongst whom were the Duke of Portland and Lord Sheffield.⁵⁴³ Although it was never Wilmot's intention to 'give the committee an ultra-political dimension', members of the Committee were often close to the anti-Jacobin politicians Burke or Portland.⁵⁴⁴ The dozens of advertisements placed by the two Committees in newspapers did not directly refer to politics; they however promoted the usage of the term 'refugee' to name the French emigrant in Great Britain. To demonstrate how apolitical the Committee was, historians often enjoy citing the case of radical politician Fox who contributed £10 to the relief of the emigrants.⁵⁴⁵ Yet, while Britain prepared for war against France, it became a patriotic act to participate in the relief. Editors of newspapers and authors of open letters did not abstain from commenting on the reliefs and the necessity to help the victims of the 'horrid massacres of the Clergy at Paris' or the 'tyranny of impetuous circumstances'.⁵⁴⁶ As for Wilberforce, hero of the anti-slavery movement, he allegedly subscribed 'so as to cancel his embarrassment at the National Convention awarding him honorary citizenship'.⁵⁴⁷ Yet, could we not consider his contribution as a logical humanitarian continuation of his anti-slavery fight?

The lists of subscribers made public by Thomas' and Wilmot's Committees were often similar; for a few months, the two committees complemented each other – however they merged into a *Committee for the Relief of the French Refugee Clergy and Laity* probably around December 1793, when the relief became a governmental project. In 1796, Wilmot was still chairman of the Committee, but Thomas' name had disappeared from the board of the Committee. Until they merged, the rules of each Committee remained strict, and fundamentally exclusive. French clergymen were

⁵⁴³ *MC*, 26 September 1792.

⁵⁴⁴ Bellenger, 'Fearless resting place', p.217.

⁵⁴⁵ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.36; Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.16. Fox had already opposed the *Aliens Act* which he considered a threat to British liberties.

⁵⁴⁶ *DWR*, 10 and 22 September 1792.

⁵⁴⁷ Weiner, p.64.

forbidden to apply for Thomas' relief unless they produced a certificate signed by Wilmot's.⁵⁴⁸ The Committee for the relief of the laity aimed at first to relieve solely women and children; it was only after, at the end of September 1792, that the Committee added old and infirm men to its list of beneficiaries.⁵⁴⁹ Indeed, public perception of poverty 'conventionally drew a distinction between the impotent poor and the able-bodied'.⁵⁵⁰ As soon as the relief became a governmental project, the *émigré* soldiers forced into retirement were allowed a small pension until being called to arms. The 1790s' allowance system invented by the Bishop St-Pol de Léon was adopted as the official one.⁵⁵¹ Rather egalitarian, it categorised the emigrant population according to administrative criteria rather than the sociological and historical ones based on aristocratic domination used when the Duchesse de Piennes wrote her letter. Men under 16 and over 50, disabled male and soldiers received £1-11s-6d per month plus some additional stipends; women and girls over 14 would receive the same lump sum. Children under 14 were given £1-2s-0d per month. This system allowed exceptional additional treatments for families, sick and elderly emigrants. The subscriptions gathered by the Committees were additionally used to lodge several emigrants, and in particular the emigrant clergy.⁵⁵²

While the distribution of reliefs conceived by St-Pol de Léon did not discriminate the emigrant mass from its aristocracy, the anti-Jacobin prejudices of the Committee members had an impact on French applications for the relief. George Thomas insisted that French exiles applying for assistance should be introduced by an established Briton as 'no-one will be deemed a proper object of notice who does not present to the

⁵⁴⁸ *MC*, 27 September 1792; *SJC or BEP*, 27 September 1792.

⁵⁴⁹ *PA*, 29 September 1792.

⁵⁵⁰ Chris Evans, *Debating the Revolution: Britain in the 1790s* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p.96.

⁵⁵¹ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.46.

⁵⁵² By the end of September 1792, the Wilmot Committee was looking to 'hire one or two mansion houses, in cheap counties' (*MC*, 27 September 1792; *World*, 27 September 1792). King's Manor, in Winchester, was one of them.

Committee, or cause to be presented to them by some respectable well-known person, a state of her or his case [...]'.⁵⁵³ This initial inequality allowed the influential and those with conservative connections to receive British assistance. It was then reinforced by the fact that 'such statement had to be indorsed by a Member of either house of Parliament, or by the mayor of any city or town, or by a Justice of the Peace acting in any division or district'.⁵⁵⁴ Henceforward indebted to a guarantor – an employer, a friend, a neighbour or an official – the French emigrant was further marginalised in the British society. An article in the *Public Advertiser* explained that discrimination was necessary in the distribution of the subscriptions, and 'there can be no harm in delaying the subscription till their conduct is apparent; over-haste may be productive of evil'.⁵⁵⁵ Suspected of Jacobinism and suspicious as French individuals, emigrants' public statements did not have the same value as the one of their hosts. Just as the *Aliens Act* resembled the French Republican legislation on foreigners, the anti-Jacobin relief committees instituted rules that resembled the Republican 'hospitality as a code of unequal relationship'.⁵⁵⁶ In the late 1790s, and furthermore after the peace Treaty of Amiens when the government had to justify the spending of public goods, the Wilmot Committee proposed that all French would have to 'state their principles' and be admitted by St-Pol de Léon.⁵⁵⁷ It was proposed that in accordance with the *Aliens Bill*, 'those who do not appear, or who do not give a satisfactory account for themselves, should be sent out of the Kingdom'. By then, the monthly allowance given to the emigrants corresponded as much to a relief from poverty in exile as it was a reward for their counter-revolutionary and anti-Napoleonic public stance.

⁵⁵³ *MC*, 27 September 1792; *SJC or BEP*, 27 September 1792.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ *PA*, 26 September 1792.

⁵⁵⁶ Wahnich, p.39.

⁵⁵⁷ *NA*, PRO T93 5, p.89, quoted in Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.19.

The Generous Nation?

Following the declaration of war and throughout the mid-1790s, the relief of the emigrant clergy and laity generated a shift amongst the British population. No known sources show that it was still a matter of discussion by the 1800s. The dispute related to the sums given annually to the emigrant populations, as well as the existence of a State budget destined to a foreign population. The duration of exile exasperated many members of the public, regularly swamped with demands to contribute to help the French emigrants. Many pointed out that the reliefs had been conceived as a temporary assistance, calculated for temporary needs – yet without rejecting the French emigrants. They considered that after a few years, it was time for them to earn their bread rather than beg it, following Bentham’s utilitarian prescriptions on paupers’ management. On the other hand, others worked tirelessly for their welfare: in 1796, the *Committee for the relief of the French refugee clergy and laity* asked for further public donations following the evacuation of Holland and Flanders.⁵⁵⁸ The Committee argued that the funds would be distributed to a population excluded from British governmental lists, which were by then closed to new beneficiaries. A second feature of discontentment was the fact that the reliefs were not directly distributed by the State, but through the mediation of the Bishop St-Pol de Léon. Opponent Thomas James Matthias believed he was ‘pretty accurate when [asserting] that the annual revenue of £200 000 passes through the hands of the Bishop’.⁵⁵⁹ However, to the upholders of this practice, the governmental *laissez-faire* in distributing the relief was respectful of the emigrant’s national integrity. A third argument denounced the responsibility of the French aristocracy and the Catholic Church in instigating the Revolution by their unfair and feudal behaviours. In March

⁵⁵⁸ BL, ‘The Committee...’

⁵⁵⁹ Thomas James Matthias, *A Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham chiefly on the subject of the numerous emigrant French priests and others of the Church of Rome, resident and maintained in England at the public expense, by a layman* (London: J.Owen, 1796), p.8.

1794, an article from the *Oracle and Public Advertiser* thought necessary to warn the relieved emigrants of the obligation they were in to ‘conduct themselves in such a manner as may make [the British people] approve’.⁵⁶⁰ A few days later, the author of an open letter in the same newspaper hoped that the ‘blind’, ‘ignorant’ and ‘superstitious’ French nobility, now the objects of British public benevolence, would learn a lesson observing ‘with what benevolence our nobility use their tenants’.⁵⁶¹

The arguments raised by both supporters and opponents of the relief related to a larger debate between patriotic and cosmopolitan ethics – complicated themselves by new national and European contexts. A dichotomy between cosmopolitan Francophile elites and patriotic masses emerges as too simplistic to explain the underlying reasons behind the shift. When the Comtesse de Sparre gave birth to her triplets in winter 1798, newspapers debated whether her most generous benefactor had been the wealthy Lady Shaftesbury who diligently sent some money after visiting the new mother, or the Comtesse’s landlord, an English baker to whom ‘she was obliged for his Humanity’ as he had sustained her throughout her whole pregnancy.⁵⁶² The several advertisements published in London newspapers as well as the main subscription book for the year 1793 certainly highlighted the importance of aristocratic donations, which were just over half of them.⁵⁶³ The aristocratic and clerical anti-Jacobin elites were named members of the committees, paid in large lump sums and influenced the voting of pro-emigrant legislation and budgets: yet, their public role was an inherited social behaviour. It was often mocked in caricatures [IMAGE 9]. Transformed in *Sturdy beggars*, George III and Queen Caroline walk through a crowd of reluctant English noblemen and clergymen with a box on which was written refugee relief. The elite’s best interest was in looking

⁵⁶⁰ *O&PA*, 4 March 1794.

⁵⁶¹ *O&PA*, 25 March 1794.

⁵⁶² *SJC or BEP*, 1-4 December 1798 and *BWM*, 2 December 1798.

⁵⁶³ NA, PRO T93 8.

protestant servant'.⁵⁶⁷ The East India Company raised £105 amongst its employees.⁵⁶⁸ This merchant-class generosity is confirmed by the analysis of middlemen used by French emigrants in classified adverts: local craftsmen and shopkeepers proved vital in emigrant economic integration.⁵⁶⁹ One grocer, one baker, a few apothecaries, shoemakers, haberdashers, mercers and owners of China shops lent their addresses to French advertisers. Several of the English middlemen also worked in the fashion industry, such as the glover Hill, the hairdresser Streaton, the tailor Lewis from Castle court and the watchmakers Baker and Goslin – they could have easily known, employed or used the services of the emigrants. Publicans from the Bank Coffee House, Hollylands, Jerusalem, New York's, Queens Head and Storey's Gate, hotel managers (Grenier and Mr. Cunningham) and a few landlords not only lent their addresses to job seeking migrants but also probably 'supplied information on job vacancies' and 'extended credit' for small purchases or unpaid rent.⁵⁷⁰

According to the Relief Committee, donations transcended social boundaries and were nationally accepted. Newspaper articles on the generosity of port populations in Portsmouth, Liverpool and Hull highlighted the importance of their financial contribution or the gift of gratuitous services. The relief also transcended spiritual boundaries: Protestant and Catholic Churches' registers in many villages demonstrate that donations came from the southern ports as well as the industrial midlands. In May 1793, the Anglican parishioners of Bramber, a farming village near Brighton, sent £2-2s-6d for the relief of the 'French clergy in the British dominions'.⁵⁷¹ In April 1793, Roman Catholic Robert Berkeley, from Spetchley, near Birmingham, wrote to Rvd. Joseph Berrington, confirming that 'according to your direction, we made a collection at our

⁵⁶⁷ *World*, 28 September 1792; *SJC or BEP*, 28 September 1792.

⁵⁶⁸ *DWR*, 10 August 1793; *World*, 31 October 1793.

⁵⁶⁹ Appendix, 'Middlemen in classified adverts'.

⁵⁷⁰ Ellis, p.113.

⁵⁷¹ *WSRO, Parish Registers*, Par/28/1/1/3, Register of Baptisms and Burials for the parish of Bramber.

chapel for the relief of the emigrant French Clergy' and raised the 'sum of £17-0s-10d for which I will send you a bill payable in London'.⁵⁷² Subscriptions were complemented by the sales of books and sermons on various subjects, from the matter of Inn and Alehouses to the death of Louis XVI.⁵⁷³ The Committees' reinforced their hegemony by showing that even Catholic French recipients of relief were not ungrateful: amongst the subscribers were a priest returning the help he 'had received then, and can now do without it', 'sundry ecclesiastic who had received assistance from this subscription' as well as a few French officers, ladies, clergymen and esquires.⁵⁷⁴

Charity towards the French came from a society 'marked by the collective norms of benevolence'.⁵⁷⁵ These norms were reinforced by self-congratulatory discourse, the uses of hyperboles and superlatives. Under the pen of the supporters of the Committees, Britain became 'a seat of benevolence'⁵⁷⁶, a 'happy isle, blessed with peace and benevolence'.⁵⁷⁷ The British charitable response was presented as historically and morally unprecedented. For John Trevor, a correspondent of Lord Sheffield, 'the English have done themselves immortal Honour by this truly generous and compassionate conduct'.⁵⁷⁸ This propagandist effort was strengthened by the public discourse emanating from French receptors of the reliefs. Hence, in an open letter in English published in the *World*, the Comte de Botherel, second to St-Pol de Léon in Jersey, wrote that '[French] family archives would relate it to the remotest ages, and gratitude to the British Nation would be one of the most sacred duties to be entailed to our latest

⁵⁷² BAA, *Report on the Archive of the Archbishop of Birmingham*, A323, Letter from Robert Berkeley to [Rev. Joseph Berrington] (24 April 1793).

⁵⁷³ *Gazeteer and New Daily advertiser*, 7 March 1793, 'Partridge on Inns and Alehouses'; *SJC or BEP*, 14 March 1793, 'A sermon occasioned by the death of the King of France', *Star*, 13 June 1793, 'Chelsum, rector of Droxford', *SJC or BEP*, 11 May 1793, 'James Scott, Trinity College', *PA*, 9 December 1793, 'Rvd William Binsham, Archdeacon of London'.

⁵⁷⁴ *World*, 28 September 1792; *MC*, 1 October 1792, *DWR*, 21 January 1793.

⁵⁷⁵ Noiriél, p.46.

⁵⁷⁶ *PA*, 19 September 1792.

⁵⁷⁷ *PA*, 24 September 1792.

⁵⁷⁸ ESRO, *Correspondence from the archives of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield*, AMS5440/202, [John Trevor] to Lord Sheffield (15 December 1792).

posterity'.⁵⁷⁹ More importantly, the Committee's propaganda turned Charity into a national characteristic, demonstrating Britain's unequalled moral superiority over European old monarchies and new republics. The British people were described as 'a generous people whose hearts have ever expanded to embrace and relieve the wants of others';⁵⁸⁰ charity was yet an 'additional proof of the unbounded generosity and true Christian Charity of the British nation'.⁵⁸¹ In addition to famous pamphlets by Hannah More or Fanny Burney, several poems and odes to the British charity were published in London newspapers.⁵⁸² In February 1794, an anonymous poem, *Ode to a pretty French Emigrant*, narrated the story of a young French girl imprisoned by a Revolutionary who, after escaping her gaoler, found love and freedom in the arms of a British lover – a metaphor for bountiful Britain.⁵⁸³ Many other poems published in newspapers transformed the emigrants into poor infants, finding in Britain an adoptive (and often generously breasted) mother.⁵⁸⁴ This munificent mother was reminiscent of Britannia, the figure of British Liberty. The British charitable effort was presented as a mean to create national cohesion by a social bond naturally including all Britons. While the charitable Briton was reassured in his righteousness, whoever refused to help was publicly shamed and casted out of the British, Christian and sometimes human genre. Hence, when in 1796 the Foxite Duke of Bedford refused to contribute to yet another fundraiser in favour of the emigrant priesthood, Burke's patriotic newspaper, *The True Briton*, attacked him as 'a man whose diffuse humanity is so much interested for the

⁵⁷⁹ *World*, 12 July 1793. There were also a few monuments built in London and in Winchester, and several pamphlets, books and prints printed.

⁵⁸⁰ *PA*, 24 September 1792.

⁵⁸¹ *Sun*, 3 May 1793.

⁵⁸² Hannah More, *Address in behalf of the French emigrant clergy* (London: 1793); Fanny Burney, *Brief reflections relative to the emigrant French clergy: earnestly submitted to the humane consideration of the ladies of Great Britain* (London: Cadell, 1793).

⁵⁸³ *SJC or BEP*, 6 February 1794.

⁵⁸⁴ *E.M.*, 2-4 January 1798 (Poem – the Emigrant, Maria Wilde).

happiness of all mankind that he cannot feel the least concerned for the miseries of any individual'.⁵⁸⁵

Unlike Bedford, opposition to the subscriptions did not emerge just from groups sharing the values of the French Revolution. As Britain prepared for war against France, some questioned the ethics and morality in helping a national enemy. In an article about the British elites and the preparation for war, Michael Wagner asked the following questions: 'who was the enemy against whom Britain was at war? Was it the French Convention or the French Nation?'⁵⁸⁶ The same interrogations applied to charity. Many wondered whether the relief was an invitation to many more French to migrate to England, possibly threaten public peace and shamelessly live off a British population impoverished by war against France.⁵⁸⁷ The argument with the strongest longevity related to the fear of the development of pauperism amongst British nationals. A 1794 caricature from Isaac Cruickshank, *A General Fast in Consequence of the War*, represented two dining families - one of them, fattened with a rich diet, 'fasting' in Lambeth, and the other one struggling to survive with the insufficient diet of the poor in Spitalfields [Image 10]. In Spitalfields, the poor father contemplates two posters – the one to his right, entitled *A list of subscribers for Emigrant Clergy*, is filled with names. The one to his left, *Subscriptions for families in distress in consequence of the war*, is left blank with the exception of one single line. This father was probably one of the many British weavers out of employment because of the war, as 'the funds arising from the ordinary parochial taxes no longer supports' them.⁵⁸⁸ The author of this last comment, N.R, was adamant that 'charity [ought] to begin at home'.

⁵⁸⁵ *TB*, 2 January 1796.

⁵⁸⁶ Michael Wagner, 'Lutter contre la Révolution, Impérialisme et balance des pouvoirs: les elites britanniques et la guerre contre la France révolutionnaire', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. by Martin, pp.175-182 (p.175).

⁵⁸⁷ *EM*, 21 December 1792.

⁵⁸⁸ *SJC or BEP*, 2 January 1794.



Image 10 : Isaac Cruikshank, *A General Fast in Consequence of the War* (London : 14 January 1794), British Museum

A few days before the appearance of this print and this open letter, in the *Morning Post* of 2 December 1793, a representative of the Wilmot Committee expressed his chagrin at the ‘harsh refusal’ he was receiving from the British population as many argued that ‘there are so many of our own poor distressed in every parish, that foreigners cannot hope that our feeling can continue dead to the sufferings of our own countrymen’.⁵⁸⁹ A more popular loyalist voice opposed charity given to foreigners. A similar rejection followed the 1795-6 crisis of subsistence. In a 1797 pamphlet entitled the *Gallante Show*, a narrator whose spelling and grammar are reminiscent of popular dialect, showed the emigrant as a parasitic creature, feeding off the British poor:

He now is fed, and cloth’d and free,
 In the blest land of liberty!
 Enough for him, from danger freed,
 Tho’ thousands thro’ him daily bleed.
 The Sirloin smokes upon his board,

⁵⁸⁹ *MP*, 2 December 1796.

With wines his cellar amply stor'd;
 While the abus'd --- *the British Poor!*
 Meet hardships they can scarce endure.
 Blush ! Britons, blush! Nor be it said,
 Yours paupers starve whilst these are fed!⁵⁹⁰

In times of economic scarcities and war with France, many found it difficult to relate to the difficulties of foreigners, related by their nationality to the enemy.

Opponents to the relief certainly abused of an historical opposition between two national characters, notwithstanding the specificities of the French political situation. Earlier arguments against the relief took after eighteenth century conceptions of what it meant to be French. One example was the recurrent use of the expression 'to take a French leave', coined during the Seven Years war.⁵⁹¹ One metaphorical anecdote, published in the *Public Advertiser*, illustrate this perfectly.⁵⁹² A British patient comes to a French emigrant Doctor. The latter asks for an advance payment, but does not perform any medical act. Embarrassed, the British patient asks that he would at least receive a prescription, to which the doctor answered: 'A French leave is my French prescription'. This anecdote was directly preceded by a poem written by O. :

Poor simple John, ever hasty and rash
 Resolves to supply these same Frenchmen with cost:
 The bounty they praise of this good-natured tool,
 But inwardly laugh at the silly fool.

With a few exceptions, the acceptance of the relief or its rejection was based on two distinct yet equally loyalist conceptions of Britain – one, patriotic, that opposed the French and another one that aimed to exert a sense of community, an 'autolegic energy', through shared charitable mores.⁵⁹³ The latter could be considered as an 'anglican

⁵⁹⁰ *La Curiosité or the Gallante Show* (London: J.Hamilton, 1797), pp.36-40.

⁵⁹¹ Dziembowski.

⁵⁹² *PA*, 15 December 1792.

⁵⁹³ Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution*, p.20.

loyalism' as it emerged from the high Church, and, as expressed by Burke in his *Reflections*, the conviction that all earthly politics and decisions were ordained by God. It borrowed its vocabulary from cosmopolitanism, hence apparently disrupting the national character of loyalism. But this cosmopolite philanthropy was implicitly used as a tool to enhance the gap between the universal yet theoretical reciprocity praised by the French Jacobins and the practical generosity of the British as a Nation. The French emigrant population became an instrument in Britain's identification as a heroic nation, nor for what they were but for what they represented: the 'refugee', the victim of a regime described and commonly thought of as oppressive. It has been argued that the doctrines of Burke and other conservative authors were popularised by mass readership. Yet, the second (and in appearance more popular) loyalist conception of the nation was based on the rejection of non-British born individuals – the rejection was not based on the acceptance of the Revolution but found its root on an inherited patriotic discourse renewed by the war. It aimed to manage and flatter popular expectations of public duties towards its own population.

Lobbying for Ancien Régime distinctions

The consequences of these two loyalist ideologies on the emigrant population were its marginalisation and the development of a sense of victimhood: elevated to the rank of refugee-victim by one group and further castigated by the other, the emigrant community was able to create a long lasting martyrology, particularly apparent in self-narratives. Despite the growing opposition to relief, the economic and subsistence crisis as well as the short-lived peace treaties between Britain and France, the Relief Committees and the yearly state budget granted to the French populations were preserved until 1814-1815. Prevailing lobbies had fundamental political and societal interests in maintaining the French emigrant community: charity and the distribution of

relief participate in a form of ‘elementary domination’.⁵⁹⁴ These interests were submitted to two main conflicting lobbies. The chief of these was the British government which certainly considered the financial control of the emigrants as beneficial for its own security and certainly favorable if the French Princes, now indebted to them, were ever to return victorious to France. Hence, it made sure to incorporate the relief of the emigrants within the *Alien Office*. Wickham’s role as the head of the *Alien Office* after November 1797 was to ‘take any proper means of being well informed of the descriptions and abode of all foreigners’.⁵⁹⁵ Incorporating charity to governmental administration allowed the creation of a double system of surveillance – a major role of the *Alien Office* was to spy on the emigrants and influence outcomes conforming to British interests. By relieving and consequently indebting them, it attempted to control their behaviour and force them into adopting conformist attitudes. The Relief Committees, choosing who was fit to receive the reliefs, and the overseers of the poor in charge of counting and spying on them on a daily basis, became useful tools to keep an official ‘British eye’ on the emigrant population.⁵⁹⁶ An influential consequence in the long-term was the generalisation in nineteenth century European politics of an close-knitted relation between public politics of benevolence and the creation of new police surveillance techniques.⁵⁹⁷ The second lobby was known as the French Committee. It was an association of French legitimist noble and religious leaders. Through St-Pol de Léon and other middlemen of a lesser stature, it attempted to sustain its hegemony over the French population. It is towards the French lobbying that this chapter now turns; first for their role in the creation of an *émigré* school in Beaconsfield and then for their role

⁵⁹⁴ Noiriel, p.45.

⁵⁹⁵ Sparrow, ‘Alien Office’, pp.372-373.

⁵⁹⁶ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.17.

⁵⁹⁷ Noiriel, p.50.

in re-establishing pre-revolutionary distinctions in the distribution of emigrant allowances.

The correspondence between Burke and St-Pol de Léon concerning the *Penn School* best illustrates the backlash between British fundings bodies, trustees of charities and French recipients of public benevolence.⁵⁹⁸ In April 1796, following the debacle of Quiberon, Edmund Burke opened a school for sons of emigrant officers employed under the British flag. At first, he financed the project and lent one of his properties in Beaconsfield to lodge the pupils; yet he was hoping to be reimbursed by the Treasury once the project would be taken over by the Government.⁵⁹⁹ The School had four trustees, all board members of the Wilmot committee: Burke, Buckingham, Portland and Grenville. It was working closely with St-Pol de Léon's French committee. As the principal trustee, Burke would have to respond to the British state and public as well as those French whose interests he served.⁶⁰⁰ The relationship between Burke and the French committee became tense upon the opening day as Burke's correspondence highlights a series of disputes and diplomatic incidents over the administration of the School: should administrative decisions be taken by those who were funding the School or by those whose cultural heritage was to be taught in the school? On 2 May 1796, Edmund Burke wrote to the Abbé Maraine, future head of the school.⁶⁰¹ The letter was a response to Maraine's use of the word 'contract' concerning the appointment of masters and the selection of the pupils – Burke refuted the legitimacy and legality of a term he considered 'highly fraudulent' in Education matters. Maraine's letter, Burke said, was questioning the 'ownership' of the School, and hence trespassing the basic rules of

⁵⁹⁸ For a discussion on education at Penn School, see Chapter 8.

⁵⁹⁹ *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. by Copeland, 10 vols. (Cambridge : CUP: 1970), IX, pp.20-21.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.4.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp.3-6.

hospitality. For Burke, the school belonged to the British government which was funding it, and not to those who were using the premises granted to them.

This original misunderstanding grew into a larger conflict when a few days later, Burke, expecting the first pupils to arrive at Penn, accused St-Pol de Léon of holding them up in retaliation for his letter to Maraine.⁶⁰² To his friend Walker King, he described a picaresque scene where two French gentlemen, one of them ‘with the cross of St Louis hanging to his buttonhole, and with the King of Great Britain military uniform on his back’ came to remind him of the purpose of his school – a strong symbol of the military emigrants’ ambivalent allegiance to the French monarchy and the British crown.⁶⁰³ A few days later, on 21 May, Burke threatened to resign from his position as a trustee.⁶⁰⁴ The next day, he learnt that the French Committee had once again trespassed their rights by accepting applicants without consulting him or any other trustees.⁶⁰⁵ He was furthermore infuriated that he was left with the only job to refuse unsuccessful applicants as St-Pol de Léon informed them that he was not in charge of any nominations. In a long rant to Buckingham, he declared: ‘the bishop de Léon tells the applicants that the selection is to be made by certain Lord commissioners’ – adding that St-Pol de Léon never mentioned their existence.⁶⁰⁶ Accusing Léon of playing a double game, Burke finally accepted the list chosen by the French Committee to cut short a never-ending argument. This example shows how in the interests of their own counter-revolutionary and aristocratic utopia the elites of emigration used British private and public resources to their own advantage. This was done regardless of the interests of the benefactors.

⁶⁰² Ibid., pp.9-11.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.13-14.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.14-16.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., p.18.

The second clue to how French aristocratic interests defined the reliefs appeared in the role of the French Committee in their distribution. If the Comtesse de Piennes felt entitled to ask for a larger lump sum in 1806, she knew the situation had precedents. Exceptions to the egalitarian rule defined by the Bishop the Léon in the early 1790s were plenty by the 1800s. Two amongst them need to be mentioned. The first one concerns charity towards French emigrants who were not present on British soil: a few French *émigrés* on the continent felt entitled 'to be placed on the Emigrant lists' from which they had previously been 'precluded'.⁶⁰⁷ After the counter-revolutionary militants in Toulon were granted an allowance in England around 1794, the French Committee lobbied Grenville into paying the pensions of French grand vicars on the Continent.⁶⁰⁸ They argued that the French Gallican clergy should be considered as an entity, and each individual member of this entity notwithstanding his location should be entitled to British help. Hence, around 1806, St Pol de Léon sent a memorandum in which he insisted that the elderly and sick Bishops of Boulogne and Nancy could not bear to travel to Britain from the Continent to claim their due pension. By October 1806, both the Bishops of Boulogne and of Nancy were allowed a first £10 with an additional £10 each.⁶⁰⁹ The second exception to the 1790s equalitarian rule bore more consequences on the overall identification of the emigrant group as the tenants of the *ancien régime*, and probably on the narrowing of the emigrant population in Britain: why would Monsieur de Barentin receive £100 while Melle Mélanie Parant, inscribed on the same list, would only received £4 for September and October 1806?⁶¹⁰ Gender certainly played a role, but it was not enough to explain the extreme discrepancies between the two. As the

⁶⁰⁷ HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/16, Note on the Bishop of Boulogne case (13 March 1806).

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/5, Note respecting the Grand Vicars and 125/11, Memoirs of the Count de la Chapelle in favour of the Bishops of Boulogne and Nancy.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/26, Indications générale et recapitulation approximative du montant additionnel des demandes faites au nom de monsieur le Comte de Lisle.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/61, List of persons paid under the special orders of the board of Treasury for the month of September and October 1806.

French Committee began to regularly petition for exceptional rises in individual allowances, the relief metamorphosed into a counter-revolutionary tool allowing the emigrants to reproduce *ancien regime* social distinctions in a foreign context.

Despite being granted by the British government, additional payments did not follow any administrative logic; they followed French aristocratic rules. Hence, a Comte or a Marquis having served in the British army would usually receive a treatment between £5 and £17, while a Baron or a Chevalier were only entitled to sums between £3 and £10 per month.⁶¹¹ Depending on his role in pre-revolutionary France, a magistrate would receive (without additional treatments) between £7 and £13 per month.⁶¹² Many years later, Bouillé considered the politics imposed of distinction by the French Committee as one of the failure of the leasers of Emigration:⁶¹³

Quoique la communauté d'infortune et d'exile eût du établir une sorte d'égalité entre eux [...] les classes étaient encore, au milieu de ce naufrage général, parfaitement distinctes et séparées.

[Sharing misfortune and exile should have established some sort of equality amongst them [...] classes were still perfectly distinct and separate in the midst of this general shipwreck]

Having obtained the relief after relentless lobbying, financial help then allowed the sole proclaimed elites of emigration to keep on their counter-revolutionary blindfold. The British relief reinforced the identification of an *émigré* population by the rejection of all non-titled and non-legitimist migrants. Their marginalisation was not related to the shame of accepting financial help from another country as they retrospectively explained it. Being indebted to their benefactors, they should obey their rule. This was at least what Edmund Burke thought. It was instead related to their incapacity to accept

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/55 to 58, État de la distribution des secours accordés aux Officiers de la marine (September 1806; November 1806) and aux Officiers généraux (September 1806; October 1806).

⁶¹² Ibid., 38M49/8/125/59-60, État de distribution de traitement des magistrats (September 1806; October 1806).

⁶¹³ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.342.

a gift with the conditions that their relationship with the benefactor would be asymmetrical. Louis XVIII referred to this situation in his 1806 will.⁶¹⁴ In the event of his death, he asked that his closest collaborators continue to receive a regular allowance from the British government. Yet, as a royal in a foreign country, he was faced with a dilemma. If the British government directly paid a pension to French subjects without the medium of his royal approval, his '*serviteurs*' would become indebted to a foreign nation; however, refusing the British interference in French affairs, would surely condemn his collaborators to poverty in exile. He came up with this solution – the last list sent to Grenville would determine how allowances should be distributed after his death. He concluded 'Cela ne gênera personne [...] et Charbonnier sera maitre chez soi [no one would be bothered [...] and a man's home will remain his castle]' as the allowance would neither become a strain on British economy nor a threat to France's or Britain's national integrity.

In France, the Revolution consistently 'decried the concept of charity, seeing the government's role as one of intervention' to help the members of the community in need.⁶¹⁵ In British established loyalist circles and for a period in popular loyalist circles, public charity towards impoverished aliens became by opposition a national ethic, a character to rave about. Charity and governmental relief towards the French emigrants had been considered by London as a mean to consolidate the English Constitution (read as an aristocratic constitution). On the long term and after the primary emergency, challenging the French social distinctions could indirectly call into question the very idea of an historical/ natural inequality between classes in Great Britain. As a consequence, the relief as practiced by the British government allowed the preservation

⁶¹⁴ HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/12, Copy of a note from Louis XVIII to Lord Grenville.

⁶¹⁵ Alan Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p.ix.

and identification of an *émigré* circle distinguished from the rest of the emigrant population in Great Britain. By allowing social distinction, the British government transformed the counter-revolutionary exile of the French *ancien régime* elite into a durable solution. Well-resourced French exiles were more likely to continue their political and ideological battle than the rest of the French exiled population to whom relief was either refused or turned out to be insufficient to survive. The next chapter endeavours to understand the alternative economical solutions available to the latter, and how those Frenchmen and women who had to work complied with the British expectations of what it meant to be a French emigrant.

CHAPTER 6 – SELLING TRAUMA

Sébastien Érard arrived in London by the end of the year 1792. There, he built a successful and celebrated transnational company. In Paris, this young harp and pianoforte manufacturer had been the protégé of the Duchesse de Villeroy, before working under the patronage of Louis XVI. In 1788, he created *Érard Frères* with the help of his brother Jean-Baptiste. The latter stayed in France throughout the 1790s. Two years after the debut of his British career, Sébastien had an address in 18 Great Marlborough Street. Érard's success rested upon a strict control of his inventions: by 17 October 1794, he registered in London his first patent for *Improvements in Pianofortes and Harps* (n°2016).⁶¹⁶ He took out five other patents in England between 1801 and 1814, amongst which a patent for a 'double action' harp (n°3332) often recognised as his best invention and the ancestor of the modern harp.⁶¹⁷ In 1798 and 1799, having learned about the existence of counterfeits infringing upon his first patent, Érard promised 100 guineas to 'whoever would bring information about the culprit', and upon the conviction of the criminal(s).⁶¹⁸ Sébastien probably returned to France for a short while in 1796 where the house *Érard Frères* registered for three patents. He finally repatriated to his homeland in 1814 to look after a bankrupt French business, while his nephew became the head of their London harp Empire.

Neither French nor British, Érard's transnational success had survived the Revolution and the Empire, and flourished in both countries where he counted many royals amongst his clients. By comparison, *Cousineau and son*, his rivals and protégés of Marie-Antoinette, never encountered the same success in London even if the music

⁶¹⁶ Jenny Nex, 'L'Introduction de la harpe à double mouvement à Londres, à travers les registres de la maison Erard', in *Erard et l'invention de la harpe moderne, 1811-2011* (Nice: Palais Lascaris, 2011), pp.16-23.

⁶¹⁷ Mike Baldwin, 'The inventor of the double action harp with fourchette: Érard vs Groll', *Fellowship of Makers and Restorers of Historical Musical Instruments Quarterly*, 79 (1995).

⁶¹⁸ *MC*, 2 March 1798; *Times*, 10 May 1799.

shop *Longman and Broderip* regularly imported his harps from France before his emigration. Cousineau advertised his presence in London at least twice in April 1792 and in January 1793.⁶¹⁹ However, he made little attempt to establish a London manufacture but instead proposed to ‘repair and make complete any harps of his manufactory’. At first glance, Érard’s entrepreneurial mind seems hardly representative of the general emigrant relationship towards work and industrial creation throughout exile and beyond. On the one hand, those memoir writers who acknowledged working in London went back to an idle life after the French Restoration; on the other, distinguished inventors, such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel whose father, Marc, was a French emigrant engineer, had little impact in post-revolutionary France’s industrialisation.⁶²⁰ Such case studies raise questions about the emigrant attitudes towards working in exile, in relation to both their social status and the financial and professional investment of individuals whose days in England were considered numbered.

Érard’s successful enterprise set the example of the relocation of the Parisian luxury market to London during the Revolution: he appears as both a political exile and an economic migrant. Having lost his aristocratic clientele because of emigration, he was forced by necessity to follow his patrons into exile and recreate a customer-base abroad. The London accounts for his harp manufacture reveal the extent of his Franco-British clientele, from the establishment of the shop in London in 1792 to the mid-nineteenth century.⁶²¹ In the early years, young and unidentifiable English ‘misses’ as well as aristocratic British names cohabited in his accounts: the harp n°115 was bought by the Duchess of Devonshire, n°148 by Lady Newborough, n°150 by Lady Warwick

⁶¹⁹ *MH*, 13 April 1792; *MC*, 12 January 1793.

⁶²⁰ R.A. Buchanan, *Brunel: the life and times of Isambard Kingdom Brunel* (London: Hambledon, 2002).

⁶²¹ London, Royal College of Music, *Érard (Maison Londres)*, *Registre des ventes de harpes* (vol.1).

and n°307 by the Duchess of Leeds.⁶²² His French clients were indistinctly immigrants and emigrants, professional and amateur musicians such as the Vicomte de Marin or the Chevalier de St-George who had both arrived in London around 1792.⁶²³ Madame Krumpholtz, renowned harpist, unfaithful wife and terrible stepmother to young emigrant Fanny, figured as his favourite ambassador. She introduced ‘into all the most fashionable circles [...] his new patent pedal harp’.⁶²⁴ She furthermore possessed several harps from his London manufacture.⁶²⁵ The demand for Érard’s harps was such that they were often sought for second-hand in advertisements for ‘handsome prices’.⁶²⁶

Erard’s business would probably not have thrived in any other European host country: Great Britain had experienced a unique consumer Revolution in the eighteenth century that had transformed the expectations of the British market.⁶²⁷ Aristocratic consumption of French goods emulated similar tastes within the middling sorts. In a society where *ancien régime* French products were tasted as luxurious necessities, the relationship between the emigrant-seller and his clients – British or French – provides a window into the expectations of both groups. The emigrant relationship towards work is better illustrated by the hundreds of classified adverts that appeared in the 1790s in the commercial columns of London newspapers. Of course, not all emigrants advertised in British newspapers – the practice was rarely used in France where products had been advertised through specialised fashion and trade journals.⁶²⁸ A handful of noble’s correspondence kept in archives includes demands for reference letters and thankful notes from emigrant individuals or their British friends. Henry Pelham wrote to Lord

⁶²² Ibid., pp.29,37,39,77.

⁶²³ *Ducrest*, ed. by Pincemaille, p.37.

⁶²⁴ *Star*, 11 May 1799. Although she mixed with *émigré* circles, she was not an emigrant. She had arrived in London with her lover a couple of years before the Revolution.

⁶²⁵ Royal College of Music, *Érard*, Registre, vol. 1, p.68.

⁶²⁶ *MH*, 11 May 1799; *MP&G*, 8 December 1800.

⁶²⁷ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H Plumb, *The birth of a consumer society: the commercialisation of eighteenth-century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983).

⁶²⁸ Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: gender, fashion and commercial culture in old regime France* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), p.27.

Sheffield to find an employment in the army for the Vicomte de Blangy and as a civilian for his servant Louis Ambroise Joron.⁶²⁹ The Baron de Breteuil, unfortunate successor of Necker for the few hours preceding the fall of the Bastille, begged his friend Lord Gordon to find a position in Scotland for a certain François Vallier, French priest and son to one of his stewards.⁶³⁰ This correspondence highlights the importance of pre-revolutionary aristocratic network; surely, being recommended by Lord Sheffield or Gordon was not accessible to everyone. Promotional culture can be deemed more spontaneous and ‘democratic’, as the advert mirrors the average French emigrant’s daily life and their struggle for survival. They allow the twenty-first century reader to appreciate the individual and collective strategies used by members of the emigrant community in London. French historian Arlette Farge accurately reminds us that ‘life in the workshop [...] should not be summarised to working condition’; she continues: ‘daily practices are the products of thoughts, strategies, as well as cultures made of denial, submission to dreams and refusal, rational and thoughtful choices, and mostly a need for legitimacy’.⁶³¹ Classified adverts by emigrants both strategise and legitimise the trauma of emigration – three such complementary strategies strike the eye. The first one was the narration of the disappearance of the *ancien régime* civilisation in France and the relocation of its remains to London. The second one related to the disappearance of the French nobility as a dominant cast; the third strategy unfolded the trauma related to refuge and loneliness in a host yet alien country. This chapter seeks to explore how traumas related to the experience of the French Revolution and displacement became selling arguments. To what extent was the exiles’ narration of a symbolical victimhood intertwined with British counter-revolutionary expectations? To

⁶²⁹ ESRO, *Correspondence from the archives of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield*, AMS5440/201, Henry Pelham to Lord Sheffield (1792).

⁶³⁰ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Baron de Breteuil to Adam Gordon (7 September 1796).

⁶³¹ Farge, pp.122-123.

what extent did the British 1790s debate on aristocracy, and the French nobility in particular, influence the expectations of British readers of classified adverts?

The relocation of the Parisian aristocratic market in London

Like Sébastien Érard, a quarter of the advertisers in the selected sample had been working in close contact with the Parisian nobility and the court in Versailles. They were either highly qualified workers who transferred their shops from Paris to London, artists or domestic servants. These populations have long been excluded from the *émigré* community by the noble memoir writers, and after them, many historians. The 1793 *Aliens Act* also excluded them from the emigrant community, as merchants and importers were granted privileges by the British legislator. The 1798 *Aliens Act* furthermore narrowed the perception of emigration to mainly the French nobility and clergy. While they did not belong to the French refugee community in British public opinion, 9% of the recipients of emigrant relief in 1799 were in fact artisans.⁶³² It is not difficult to believe that between 1792-1795 the number of French emigrant artisans in Britain was much higher. Many amongst those who left France after 1789 did not consider themselves as political refugees but as economic migrants – the case of Rose Bertin, *marchande de mode* to Marie-Antoinette is typical of the ambiguity of their status. Returned to France, she argued in front of the *Directoire* that her absence from France rested upon business and relentlessly tried to have her name removed from the French *émigré* lists. Her argument relied upon the knowledge that between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, a large number of continental artists and skilled craftsmen had been encouraged to immigrate to England, ‘fertilising the whole field of consumption with fresh ideas’.⁶³³ The study of promotional culture offers a fantastic

⁶³² Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.202.

⁶³³ Joan Thirsk, ‘Luxury Trades and Consumerism’ in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris*, ed. by Robert Fox and Anthony Turner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp.257-262 (p.257).

opportunity to reintegrate this marginalised population, not in the political *émigré* group, but as a part the emigrant group who left France in response to the Revolution.

Amongst those who publicised their arrival in London were several *marchandes de mode*, milliners, embroiderers, clothes and corset makers, perfumers as well as one or two retailers in the luxury trade – all occupying key positions in the divided world of textile and fashion.⁶³⁴ The French fashion industry had been threatened by the Terror, the depreciation of the *assignat* and the institution of maximum prices.⁶³⁵ The difficulty in classifying this population under the category emigrant resides in the fact that at first and until the war, they seem to be going in and out of England, and imported many of their products from Paris. However, they all had a fixed address in London. A few dentists and doctors followed their example: the emigrant Nicholas Dubois de Chemant published several lengthy advertisements for his patented false teeth manufactured by Wedgwood.⁶³⁶ Rowlandson represented Dubois du Chemant in 1811, grotesquely grimacing to exhibit his patented teeth to a toothless and enthusiastic admirer [Image 11]. Yet, the professional group that used to its best advantage advertising techniques was the French artistic community. Constantly advertising collective concerts, theatrical performances or ballets, the artistic community relocated in London put aside its differences as immigrants and political/economic refugee to form a coherent and cohesive group.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Kimberly Denise Chrisman, 'L'Emigration à la Mode: Clothing worn and produced by the French Emigré Community in England from the Revolution to the Restoration' (unpublished master thesis: London Courtauld Institute, 1997). Christie's online catalogue of sold items lists a few 1790s chairs as the creations of *émigré* craftsmen (Sales 6392, Lot 221; Sales 7900, Lot 554).

⁶³⁵ Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences: une histoire du vêtement, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard:1989), p.299.

⁶³⁶ *MC*, 19 June 1795.

⁶³⁷ *O&PA*, 19 November 1794 and *MC*, 13 January 1795– these adverts for example, announces 12 subscription concerts by French emigrants – however, the performing artists were mostly Italian and the directors had been in London for a few years before 1789.



Image 11 : Thomas Rowlandson, *A French dentist shewing a specimen of his artificial Teeth and False Palate* (London : Thomas Tegg, 1811), British Museum

Some domestic servants – valets, coach drivers, maids and cooks – were looking for solvent British employers, as the masters they had followed in emigration were often ruined; others were emancipating themselves by opening their own restaurants and taverns in London – Chateaubriand remembered with delight the nice and rich foods served in such places by those he trusted as faithful domestics.⁶³⁸ However, ancillary fidelity beyond exile was mostly a matter of fiction.⁶³⁹ Cissie Fairchilds made a strong case concerning the anti-revolutionary positions adopted by domestic servants – the new French legislation was ambivalent towards them, the shrunken ancillary job and emigration left many penniless.⁶⁴⁰ When rich emigrants left France, they rarely took along their full household. Unaccompanied, they had to employ servants and domestics

⁶³⁸ Chateaubriand, p.116.

⁶³⁹ *The Emigrant in London, a drama in five acts, by an emigrant* (London: for the author, 1795). On domestic loyalty, see: Sara C.Maza, *Servants and masters in eighteenth-century France: the uses of loyalty* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁶⁴⁰ Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants and their Masters in Old Régime France* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University press, 1984), pp.229-244.

often unknown to them. London newspapers sometimes reported cases of French noblemen being robbed out of their possessions by their valets; trials recorded in the Old Bailey's proceedings reveal the extent of crimes in French ancillary circles. In September 1793, Michael Anceaume, French secretary, was tried for the theft of gold ornaments belonging to his employer the Vicomte de Vaux.⁶⁴¹ In a rather cavalier manner, Anceaume revealed he received the jewels from his mistress, the Vicomte's daughter, as a token of her love. He was then acquitted. In 1798, John Passard, 'an emigrant' was arrested under the charge of robbing his employer, the Comte de Jarnac.⁶⁴² He allegedly stole money and valuables up to the sum of £1500. If de Vaux and Jarnac were named, the identity of the emigrant victim was often hidden in newspapers in case of robberies. In some other cases, noble emigrants used British legislation to avoid paying wages to their servants: in a letter to Mr Atkinson in Whitehall, the Comte de la Prade accused his valet, Joseph Sonnerat, of being a Jacobin - the man had had him arrested several times for refusing to reimburse his due wages.⁶⁴³ La Prade asked that the *Aliens Act* would be used on his domestic worker. However, and despite being often discursively associated to the sans-culotte movement, domestic servants had rarely been actively involved with revolutionary matters.⁶⁴⁴

Besides these advertisers, the largest number, identified as gentle and noble individuals in adverts, went without relevant professional qualifications. Threatened with *dérogance* (the loss of nobility) in a society 'underpinned with deep and persistent anti-commercial prejudices', *ancien régime* French noblemen could not undertake demeaning activities, such as shop-keeping, base professions or work with

⁶⁴¹ *The proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Reference number: t17930911-27: <www.oldbaileyonline.org>

⁶⁴² *LC*, 28-31 July 1798; *Star*, 30 July 1798.

⁶⁴³ HRO, *French Émigrés letters*, 109A02/2/29, Comte de la Prade to Mr Atkinson (12 January 1794).

⁶⁴⁴ In the *Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1959), George Rudé did not identify domestic servants as prominent leaders of revolutionary riots and sans-culottism.

their hands.⁶⁴⁵ In the early years of emigration and until 1796, it was not rare to read in newspapers that Sotheby's, Christie's and other London houses were auctioning French libraries, French wine and art collections. All were the properties of anonymous 'emigrant[s] of fashion'.⁶⁴⁶ Some advertisers admitted they had never worked because of their noble identity; others had always been employed as officers in the French armies. The latter were seeking out work out of necessity, to feed their wives and children.⁶⁴⁷ Indeed, for those who were not employed in the British armies or whose petitions to participate in French regiments had been refused, the compensative emolument distributed by the British government to French soldiers crippled and forced into retirement was barely enough to cover the needs of large families.⁶⁴⁸ These advertisers often turned private hobbies and noble education into professional skills.

Contemporaneous fiction and later self-narratives abound in stories of fashionable noble emigrants forced to work.⁶⁴⁹ Noblemen taught French and other disciplines to the children of the British nobility and high bourgeoisie; some worked as translators like Chateaubriand.⁶⁵⁰ Very few occupations were open to noble women, who often offered their services as governesses, teachers and companions. The position was lucrative as French female speakers, 'with the right graces and connections' might earn up to £100 a year; a non-resident male tutor would earn £84 a year, by teaching

⁶⁴⁵ William Doyle, *Aristocracy and its enemies in the age of revolution* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), p.17; Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La noblesse au XVIIIe siècle: de la féodalité aux Lumières* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 2000).

⁶⁴⁶ *Times*, 12 June 1792; *World*, 26 April 1794; *O&PA*, 13 January 1795; *MP&FW*, 16 February 1795; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 16 February 1796.

⁶⁴⁷ *Sun*, 18 September 1793: 'A French emigrant [...] who is prevented from joining the army by the necessity of providing support for his wife and children'.

⁶⁴⁸ HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/21-22, Comte de Lantilly (21 March and 10 Avril c.1806); 125/23, Comte de la Chapelle on behalf of Comtesse de Cossé Brissac (9 Arpil 1806).

⁶⁴⁹ For longer lists of employed French noblemen and women, see: Diesbach, Gamblin or Carpenter, *Refugees*.

⁶⁵⁰ Chateaubriand, pp.105-106.

one hour a day.⁶⁵¹ Some advertised themselves as musicians;⁶⁵² others, such as the Marquis de Lubersac, painted miniatures of the French royalty and other portraits commissioned by both British and French customers. Who could have ever imagined that the Comte de Faucigny-Lucinge, French officer and conservative deputy for the nobility in the *États Généraux*, would ever sign a letter ‘miniature painter, Panton Street, 22 Leicester Square’?⁶⁵³ Many embraced the career of craftsmen and worked in small workshops: the grandson of Feuquières worked as a shoemaker, Madame de Guéry and Monsieur de Raymond made ice creams.⁶⁵⁴ Many noblemen and women had experience in trade – some retailed wine and spirits like these two French gentlemen ‘selling Claret, Chateau Margot, Champagne’ in 1792.⁶⁵⁵ Before the Revolution, the Comte de Jarnac worked in association with Delamain, a local Cognac firm and remained in contact with them until his death in emigration.⁶⁵⁶ Arriving in England in 1790, Henri de Bourbel entered into a jewellery and coal trading partnership with a second emigrant Bernard de Senecé.⁶⁵⁷ The company went bankrupt when Senecé returned to France before 1802. From consumers of luxury goods, these emigrants metamorphosed into producers and retailers. The only employments hardly ever sought after in advertisements or mentioned in any other sources by members of this group were jobs in agriculture, horticulture and industry. Rare enough to be mentioned was this advertisement by a French emigrant interested in ‘agriculture, planting,

⁶⁵¹ Lawrence Stone, *The Family. Sex and Marriages in England, 1500-1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), p.384.

⁶⁵² *Ducrest*, ed. by Pincemaille, p.36.

⁶⁵³ This letter is quoted in Cougelat and Dampmartin, *Mémoires sur l’Emigration (1791-1800)* (Firmin-Didot: Paris, 1877), p.xviii.

⁶⁵⁴ Walsh, pp.121-122.

⁶⁵⁵ *PA*, 21 June 1792.

⁶⁵⁶ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac to his son (25 June 1811).

⁶⁵⁷ ESRO, *Archives of the Spence and de Bourbel families*, AMS/5214, Senecé’s lawyers to Bourbel (5 aout 1801).

horticulture’ who ‘would be glad to form a connection with a Gentleman who could engage him as a Superintendant in those branches of rural employment’.⁶⁵⁸

Classified adverts, self-narratives and other ego-documents provide us with a view on legal earned wages – minutes of trials reported in newspapers, and to a lesser extent open-letters to publishers, reveal the existence of an emigrant underworld. One key element in the history of the counter-revolution was the fabrication of fake *assignats* by *émigré* priests encouraged by the Alien Office.⁶⁵⁹ Little is known that the emigrant population used the fake *assignats* in London, along with counterfeit English currency. Joseph Gallet, a French Emigrant, committed suicide in prison after he was arrested for forging £1 bank notes.⁶⁶⁰ Bernard Huet, a veteran from Quiberon relieved by the government, was ‘indicted for feloniously forging and counterfeiting, on the 7th of November, a Bank-note for the payment of 30l. with intent to defraud the Governor and Company of the Bank of England’.⁶⁶¹ Huet was first condemned to death, but received pardon in May 1798 following the Parliamentary discussions on the *Aliens Act*.⁶⁶² Contraband and transnational networks remained a major problem: one French emigrant was arrested for the smuggling French gloves in England, ‘denying the thousands of individuals the reward of that industry produced by their own manufacture’.⁶⁶³ A few emigrant ladies certainly prostituted themselves – because of her profession, the *Morning Post and Gazeteer* denied Miss Courtois the right to pretend to the name of French Emigrant.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁸ *Times*, 8 November 1796.

⁶⁵⁹ Jean Bouchary, *Les Faux-monnayeurs sous la Révolution française* (Paris: M.Rivière et Cie, 1946), pp.64-70.

⁶⁶⁰ *LC*, 23-26 September 1797.

⁶⁶¹ *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Reference number: t17980214-70.

⁶⁶² *MT*, 5-12 May 1798.

⁶⁶³ *TB*, 15 November 1797.

⁶⁶⁴ *MP&G*, 12 December 1797.

The services and goods advertised by French emigrants after 1789 in London newspapers [Figure 1] are very similar to the ones recollected in self-narratives. They were neither original nor innovative compared to the services proposed in other host countries;⁶⁶⁵ neither are they really different from the ones proposed by French immigrants in pre-revolutionary London. These emigrant professions however differ from the one of the Huguenot community, who aimed at both a luxurious and cheap market, and produced both in quantity as well as in quality.⁶⁶⁶

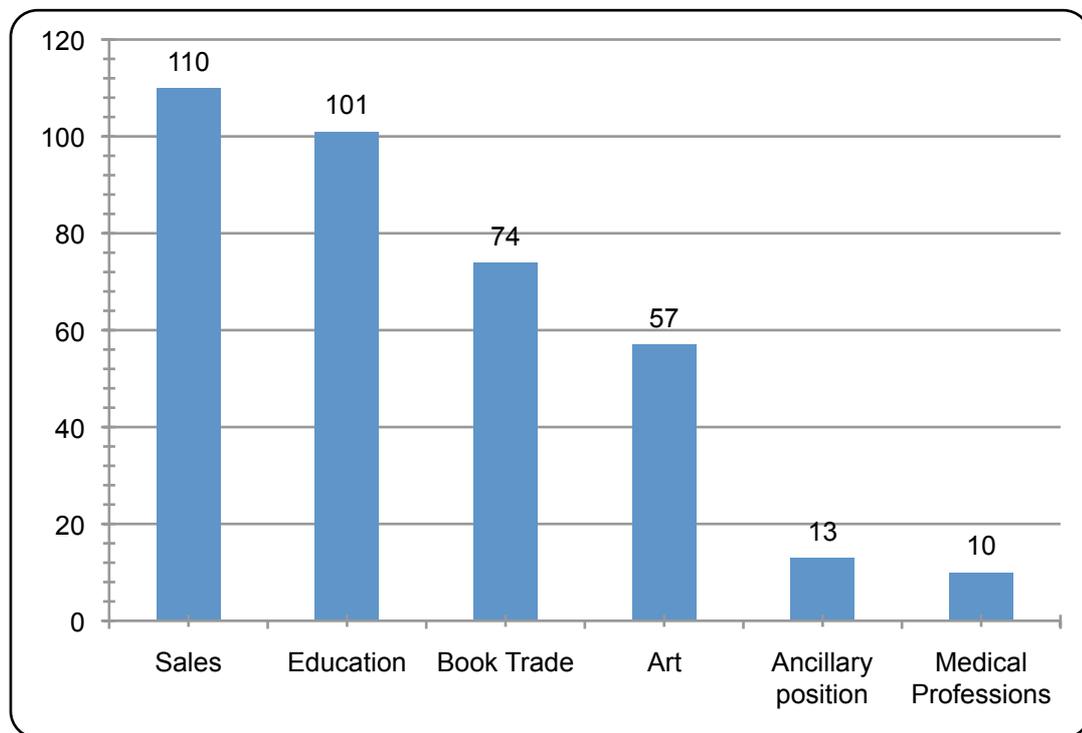


Figure 1: Distribution of the emigrant advertisers according to trade advertised (1789-1800)

The appearance of the French emigrants in an already competitive market received mixed criticism from the British community, especially in the months leading to the war. The first British economic interpretations of emigration were positive. Preceded with the enviable reputation of the Huguenots, French emigrants could prove beneficial to British economy. As early as September 1789, the author of an open letter

⁶⁶⁵ Amandine Fauchon, 'Réseaux familiaux et construction identitaire d'une noblesse d'épée: l'exemple de l'émigré Albert-François de Moré', in Bourdin, pp.397-411.

⁶⁶⁶ *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550-1800*, ed. by Irène Scouloudi (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

rejoiced at the prospect of the arrival of propertied Frenchmen, manufacturers and businessman in England, ‘where commerce and the arts are cultivated’.⁶⁶⁷ The reduction of imports from France and the manufacturing secrets carried by fleeing migrants to England could once again ‘play a profound part in [reversing] the English-French balance of trade’.⁶⁶⁸ Silk weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, often descendants of Huguenot families, regularly employed French emigrants.⁶⁶⁹ Mr. Dyde, manufacturer, begged ‘leave to observe that he has engaged and brought over several French embroiderers’.⁶⁷⁰ The emigrants certainly found many willing employers in London, who saw in them a profitable and cheap labour force. Indeed, one of the emigrant selling argument was that their ‘terms will be moderate, in consideration of the distressed situation of [their] native country’.⁶⁷¹

Months before the war, some concerned British subjects denounced those tradesmen in London, ‘particularly in the jewellery, confectionary and hair-dressing business, who have turned off their old workmen in order to take the refugee Frenchmen who work for inferior wages’.⁶⁷² French fashion workers were the subjects of criticism throughout the period. Some criticisms were remnants of the luxury debate, in which ‘French politeness was identified with effeminacy and servility and English politeness characterised by manliness and liberties’. The morality of professional women was disputed, as shown in 1800 Gillray’s *The Man of Feeling* [Image 12]. In French milliners’ shop *Le Magasin de Lancastre*, a kneeling porcine looking man forcefully attempts to reach under the skirts of a woman while holding the ankle of a second one. These women could be French milliners; they could also be noble

⁶⁶⁷ *SJC or BEP*, 26-29 September 1789.

⁶⁶⁸ Gwynn, pp.85-86.

⁶⁶⁹ *SJC or BEP*, 15 September 1792.

⁶⁷⁰ *Star*, 6 April 1793.

⁶⁷¹ *Sun*, 18 September 1793.

⁶⁷² *EM*, 26 September 1792.

emigrants, as the blossoming manufacture of straw-hats was ‘a feature of the emigration and [was] probably the best-known product of *émigré* labours in London’.⁶⁷³



Image 12 : James Gillray, *The Man of Feeling, in search of Indispensibles – a scene at the little French milliners* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 12 February 1800), British Museum.

Most criticisms however related to British political and economic stability in the era of Revolution. French workers in England were perceived as a radical menace [Image 13], forcing the loyal Britons into radical fetters. In a 1793 caricature, Thomas Paine, transformed into a French stay maker, restrained the movements of a female allegory of Great Britain into a revolutionary corset.⁶⁷⁴ In 1799, James Gillray struck again with the representation of a baboonish and cockaded French tailor fitting John Bull into the latest Parisian fashion [Image 14]. French fashion had been denounced throughout the eighteenth-century as the location of self-indulgence and superficiality; with the Revolution, French fashion and French male workers metamorphosed into the location of sans-cullotism and popular radicalism. On the other hand, the consumers of French

⁶⁷³ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.69.

⁶⁷⁴ In 1791, James Gillray had already represented Thomas Paine as an American tailor in *The Rights of Man* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 23 May 1791) (British Museum).

fashions were also involved in British politics: blinded by the luxuries of French mannerism, they could involuntarily adopt anti-constitutional positions.



Image 13 : James Gillray, *Britannia in French stays or re-form at the expense of the Constitution* (London :Hannah Humphrey, 2 January 1793), British Museum

Image 14 : James Gillray, *French Taylor fitting John Bull with a Jean de Bry* (London : Hannah Humphrey, 8 November 1799), British Museum

In times of war and recessions, some employers simply disputed the right for all French emigrants to work in Britain. It was suggested that French milliners should be repatriated as they were stealing British jobs.⁶⁷⁵ A few British advertisers specifically looked for Protestant French-speaking employees, native from Switzerland, Germany or the Netherlands,⁶⁷⁶ schools proposing French in their curriculum insisted that foreign teachers would be Protestant.⁶⁷⁷ Indeed, some employers found it morally and ethically difficult to resort to French Catholics, but had little choice in the matter: a correspondent to the Knollis family struggled to ‘bring [himself] up to the resolution’ of employing some emigrant priest in Winchester ‘comfortably accommodated in one house in this city, watching and praying for the hour to return home to their godly

⁶⁷⁵ *Times*, 15 and 21 February 1793.

⁶⁷⁶ *Star*, 5, 7 and 9 April 1792; *MH*, 6 and 9 April 1792.

⁶⁷⁷ *MH*, 12 July 1791 and 19 May 1792; *World*, 25 March 1790.

vacations'.⁶⁷⁸ Upon the arrival of migrants in September 1792, a few bills were suggested and discussed by MPs, yet not passed. An article in the *Times* suggested that 'British families should not be allowed to have French servants and urged the introduction of a bill putting a prohibitive tax on them'.⁶⁷⁹ Clive Emsley quotes a letter from Thomas Parker, suggesting that teachers should be required to subscribe to a declaration established by the law, and get a license for keeping a school.⁶⁸⁰ Such a law however had existed since 1791: 'Papists and persons possessing the Popish religion' had to sign an oath when opening a school or a chapel in England.⁶⁸¹ Between 1791 and 1811, in the county of Middlesex alone, a minimum of 14 priests or ministers, 6 schoolmasters and 66 other Catholic individuals took the oath.⁶⁸² The London Metropolitan archives still holds onto the ones from famous emigrant schoolmasters Letellier, Rouelle and Carron. The professionalization of French emigrants, their entrance in a competitive job market and a capitalist economy sparked many popular patriotic responses, situated between Loyalism, the defence of the British working class and sometimes xenophobia. And yet, most advertisements written by French emigrants were published only once (sometimes simultaneously in several newspapers), maybe twice in the span of a few weeks. This seems to indicate the French emigrants in London, Middlesex and Surrey, could find an employment relatively easily.

Nobility, Anonymity, Usurpation of Identity

Why then would a British employer prefer a French emigrant to a British employee or a French immigrant who had reached England before 1789? Part of the response lies in the advertisers' strategic use of symbols, and their capacity to

⁶⁷⁸ HRO, *Knollis and Banbury family*, 1M44/69/4, Letter from an anonymous correspondent.

⁶⁷⁹ Emsley, *British society*, p.20.

⁶⁸⁰ Parker to Nepean, 31 December 1792, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.20.

⁶⁸¹ LMA, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace*, MR/RH/001/09; 21 and 41-46.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, MR/R/H/1/57.

‘manipulate’ consumer tastes in fashion.⁶⁸³ The emigrant advertisers mainly presented themselves as the guardians of a French *art de vivre* that disappeared between 1789 and 1792, along with Versailles, the court society and the aristocratic system that had fascinated the British elites of the eighteenth century. Import of French goods to Britain was limited by the increasingly tense relationship between Paris and London, war and, in the early 1800s the continental blockade. When advertising, emigrants were proposing an alternative to importation – they proclaimed having brought Paris (or at least royalist, fashionable and aristocratic Paris) to London. This selling strategy was inscribed within the traditions of exchanges and cultural interactions between the two capital cities. Enticed by a persuasive commercial propaganda, the propertied and middle classes of London, Middlesex and Surrey continued to invest in French goods, while French emigrants catered to their urbane and polite lifestyle. Despite governmental attempts to regulate fashion and ‘Frenchisms’ through sumptuary laws, French fashions remained necessary to the accomplishment of a polite persona. When in 1795 Pitt attempted to impose a tax on Hair Powder, he received much criticism from unhappy consumers.

As ‘consumer behaviour was so rampant and the acceptance of commercial attitudes so pervasive’ in England, the newly displaced population encountered little problem in manipulating consumer demands: the British consumer did not need French goods; he needed French emigrant *nouveautés*.⁶⁸⁴ Such a selling argument relied upon a strict chronology. For it to function, the reader of classified adverts should associate the migration of the advertiser to an exile forced by revolutionary events. Throughout the period 1789 and 1800, French emigrant advertisers almost always referred to the date of

⁶⁸³ Eric Jones, ‘The Fashion manipulators: Consumer tastes and British Industries, 1666-1800, in *Business Enterprise and Economic Change*, ed. by Louis P. Cain and Paul J. Uselding (Kent: Ohio, 1973), pp.198-226.

⁶⁸⁴ McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, p.13.

their arrival in London. Skilled emigrants mainly used the catch-formula ‘recently arrived from Paris’ or a derivative. This reference is chosen by the milliners Mrs Desbouillons ‘lately arrived from Paris’, Mademoiselle Binet ‘from Paris’, and ‘just arrived at n°34 Golden Square’ and Mademoiselle Picot, from 22 Cavendish Street also ‘lately arrived from Paris’.⁶⁸⁵ ‘Messrs Roubaud and co., MANUFACTURERS of the best perfumery, LATELY ARRIVED from PARIS’ put a typographical emphasis on the recentness of his arrival.⁶⁸⁶ He could be Raybaud, perfumer from the Rue Saint Honoré who catered the aristocratic families Fleury and Kinsky until 1792.⁶⁸⁷ With the emigration, he became a grocer: in his shop, he was selling perfumes and ointments, as well as anchovies and macaroni.

Alone, these chronological references did not function as references to an exile forced by the French Revolution. Mentioning a recent departure was often associated with a noble French clientele and aristocratic consumption practices. Madame Desbouillons and Mademoiselle Binet address their advertisements to noble and rich London women, British counterparts to their Parisian clientele. The corset maker Mondelet certainly understood the importance of advertisement in London as he published five or six advertisements in several newspapers.⁶⁸⁸ In each of them, he claimed to have dressed many Versailles female courtiers. In the gathered sample of classified adverts, the argument of the royal patronage by Louis XVI or Marie-Antoinette was used three times – by comparison, and throughout the period, references to the Princes in exile and other leaders of the counter-revolution are non-existent. In the *Morning Herald* dated 7 November 1789, ‘Mrs. Mayer, Mantua-maker to the Queen

⁶⁸⁵ *MC*, 12 and 17 January 1793; *PA*, 10 February 1791.

⁶⁸⁶ *Times*, 8 June 1793.

⁶⁸⁷ Coquery, p.388.

⁶⁸⁸ *MP*, 29 March and 2 April 1791; *World*, 11 April 1791; *MH*, 15 February 1792.

of France' advertised her services for the first time.⁶⁸⁹ This advertisement appeared exactly a month after the King and Queen of France were forced to return to Paris from Versailles. In France and England, the event was still in everyone's mind. In the two other adverts, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette have already been executed. In March 1794, six months after the execution of Marie-Antoinette, a French physician sold the 'EAU de Cents Fleurs', a vegetable-based ointment that he pretended the late Queen of France used.⁶⁹⁰ Before the physician's departure from France, he had been 'in the habit of friendship with Monsieur Bouvard, first physician to Marie-Antoinette', from whom he inherited his recipe book after his death. On 1 February 1797, in the week following the fourth anniversary of Louis XVI's execution, a former courtier from Versailles boasted about the merits of an aphrodisiac recipe that he had received from the physician of the late King of France.⁶⁹¹ Responding to the clichés of a libertine nation, aphrodisiacs were quite common products in emigrant advertisements.⁶⁹² This particular one, the recipe of which would only cost a buyer £5, would 'restore diminished vigour after excessive pleasures'. The French emigrant population in London was not alone in playing the royal card: in January 1793, Archer, a British tailor from St James (furnisher to the Queen, the Prince of Wales and the Duchess of York) advertised in French the sales on mourning articles.⁶⁹³ By the end of October 1793, a British publisher commemorated the recently executed Queen of France by printing a portrait of the French deceased royal couple.⁶⁹⁴

Individuals selling services also utilised this commercial strategy based on the date of departure from France. Yet, instead of selling court attires, they sold an identity to the

⁶⁸⁹ *MH*, 7 November 1789.

⁶⁹⁰ *Star*, 7 March 1794.

⁶⁹¹ *MH*, 1 February 1797.

⁶⁹² *MC*, 15 November 1794.

⁶⁹³ *World*, 30 January 1793.

⁶⁹⁴ *World*, 25 November 1793.

British nobility and the increasingly affluent middle-classes. They regularly presented themselves as the true yet displaced elites of France. Classified adverts for private French tuition perfectly illustrate this phenomenon. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, knowledge of French was considered as fundamental in the art of conversation and politeness. British males would polish their education through on lengthy sojourn in France; female education required the importation of French governesses of good families. Yet, the radicalisation of the French Revolution, the declaration of war from February 1793 and the French defiance towards their British enemy held up the practice of the Grand Tour and prevented British young aristocrats and gentlemen from perfecting their education while frequenting enlightened Parisian *Salons* or more conservative aristocratic sociability. In his October 1789 declaration of neutrality, the Duke of Leeds was nonetheless ‘concerned about the safety of British tourists in France’.⁶⁹⁵ Seeing an opportunity as early as December 1789, Madame de la Chesnaye proposed a ‘French education’ in Chatham.⁶⁹⁶ As a French advertiser, she responded to a new demand, ‘as the present trouble in France must deter parents from sending their children there for education’. She further insisted that this education would not contradict the Protestant faith of her pupils – a fear expressed by Hannah More and several British conservative essayists throughout the 1790s. Michèle Cohen argues that, despite war and threats of radicalism, ‘far from declining, the fashion for learning French actually increased after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars’.⁶⁹⁷ She relates the increase in learning French to the presence of the French nobility in England – since spoken at Court, their French could not be defaulted.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁵ Mori, *Britain*, p.67.

⁶⁹⁶ *SJC or BEP*, 17 December 1789. As it was not developed in the ad, and despite her noble-sounding name, Madame de la Chesnaye might not have left France because of the Revolution.

⁶⁹⁷ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.99.

⁶⁹⁸ Cohen, p.71.

In fact, the study of advertisements clearly demonstrates that true courtiers and French teachers in London progressed in different circles. However, the myths around emigration allowed many French emigrants of a lesser nobility and French bourgeois to embody the values of *ancien régime* aristocrats. Emigrant advertisers prided themselves on their Parisian identity, their affiliation to famous academic institutions, and for those who did not belong to these circles, their military ethics. While the curriculum proposed in advertisements was extensive, French figured in almost every single advertisement [Table 4]. Two female advertisers prided themselves on their Parisian accents; a native of Paris boasted about his ability to speak French ‘with the utmost purity’.⁶⁹⁹ In 1796, ‘three emigrant ladies of good breeding’ probably settled in or around Richmond, offered to take in students.⁷⁰⁰ To a British employer frightened that their offspring would be taught by a servant, they were ‘morally reliable’ by birth.⁷⁰¹ In the *Times* dated 27 March 1794, an emigrant went as far as promising his future employers a ‘pronunciation quite free from all the defaults unavoidable for any person born or educated *en province*’.⁷⁰² The academic status of the advertiser, his affiliation to a Parisian university, and his post-1789 departure from France were sometimes presented as the tokens of his expertise, his morality and his opposition to the excesses of the Revolution. Amongst the advertisers were a ‘Public professor of Belles Lettres in Paris’, a ‘lecturer in Philosophy at the Royal College of Navarre in Paris’, a ‘Doctor and Professor of Law at the University of Paris’.⁷⁰³ For those amongst the potential British employers who were not convinced yet, the British acclaimed Relief Committee gave

⁶⁹⁹ *MC*, 30 January 1794 and 6 December 1794; *O&DA*, 20 February 1800.

⁷⁰⁰ *MP&FW*, 29 November 1796.

⁷⁰¹ Bridget Hill, *Women alone: spinsters in England, 1660-1850* (New haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2001) p.54. See also Cohen, p.71.

⁷⁰² *Times*, 27 May 1794.

⁷⁰³ *World*, 1 December 1789; *Oracle*, 29 September 1792; *TB*, 16 November 1793; *Daily Advertiser*, 15 November 1796.

its blessings to those teachers who would be recommended by the Abbé de Grand Clos, grand vicar to St-Pol de Léon.⁷⁰⁴

Discipline	% of the adverts proposing the mentioned discipline.
Languages (French + 1)	85
Mathematics	26
Geography	25
Music	22
History	13
Literature	7
Drawing-Painting	6
Young children	5
Housekeeping	5
Natural History	5
Military/ Navigation	4
Fencing	3
Dance	3
Physic	3
Botany	2
Law	2
Cosmography	2
Boarding School	1
Philosophy	1

Table 4: Disciplines proposed by French emigrant advertisers

However, in a majority of adverts, the emigrant advertiser looking for a teaching position could not underline his academic affiliation or his Parisian identity. Why would a British person employ someone without credibility? The response to this question is simple: the advertiser had to display a noble identity. A prank posted in December 1791 by an anti-aristocracy anonymous advertiser in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* played with the myths surrounding the French aristocracy: ‘a French refugee advertises blue veins and natural eyes-brows’. After August 1789, emigrant advertisers often used

⁷⁰⁴ *World*, 25 November 1793.

to their advantage the trauma of the symbolic disappearance of the French nobility as a dominant social class to convince a British employer or buyer. This disappearance profoundly shocked the loyalist elites in Great Britain, who without the shadow of a doubt, were familiar with Burke's defence of the aristocracy.⁷⁰⁵ When on 4 August 1789, the National Assembly abolished Nobility and its privileges, the debate on dominant classes became central in British political discourses and public opinion: more than 4000 pamphlets on the issues of reformation and revolution appeared in England between 1789 and 1802.⁷⁰⁶ This debate culminated at the autumn 1792, when the new French Republic confiscated *émigré* properties. The noble identity of emigration had by then infiltrated the mind of loyalist and anti-Jacobin proprietors to whom constitutional liberties and private properties were intrinsically guaranteed by the law.⁷⁰⁷

Did politics actually play a role in the emigrant's search for an employer [Table 5]? Emigrant advertisers seem to have privileged the commercial press – in this sample, 126 adverts were published in the *Morning Chronicle*, a commercial newspaper and organ to the reforming Whigs that had supported the French policies between 1789 and September 1792.⁷⁰⁸ Theodore de Lameth, and several other moderates, referred to the editor James Perry as a personal friend. The commercial *Oracle and Public Advertiser* (along with its predecessors *Bell's New World* and the *Public Advertiser*, as well as its successor *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*) published a few emigrant adverts. Yet, politics and the opposition to the French Revolution certainly influenced the relationship between emigrant jobseekers and their British employers. Together, ministerial newspapers the *Times* and the *True Briton* printed 69 classified adverts; pro-governmental loyalist newspapers *Sun* and *Star*, also printed 47 emigrant adverts.

⁷⁰⁵ Goodrich, p.5.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., p.14.

⁷⁰⁷ Mori, *Britain*, p.41.

⁷⁰⁸ Dozier, p.29.

Title of the newspaper	Number of articles published between July 1789 and December 1800
Morning Chronicle	126
World	61
Morning Herald	42
Times	42
Saint James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post	30
Star	27
True Briton	27
Oracle and Public Advertiser	25
Daily Advertiser	22
Diary and Woodfall's Register	21
Sun	20
Morning Post	>15 and <20
Gazetteer and New daily advertiser; London Chronicle; Morning Post and Daily Advertiser; Morning Post and Fashionable World; Oracle; Public Advertiser	>10 and <15
Argus; Bath Journal; Courier and Evening Gazette; E.Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor; Evening Mail; General Evening Post; Lloyd's Evening Post; London Evening Post; London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post; London Recorder or Sunday Gazette; Morning Star; Oracle and Daily Advertiser; Oracle Bell's New World; Telegraph; Whitehall Evening Post	>1 and <10

Table 5: Number of classified advert published per newspaper

Playing with the fears of loyalist Londoners, the emigrant advertisers used a strategy of ennoblement. This strategy took two shapes: first, many advertisements were published anonymously; second, many advertisers played on the ambiguity of French social titles translated into English. Only a third of the emigrants in this sample chose to reveal their names [Figure 2]. Those who did were mainly artists, musicians or artisans

whose reputation was national or international. Hence, to attract an audience, a fencing Master named J.Goddard, publicly challenged the chevalier St-George to a duel in the *Morning Chronicle* dated 22 March 1793.⁷⁰⁹ Emigrants who had received a patent for their inventions – Érard or Dubois de Chemant – used their names with a view of transparency. By opposition, two thirds of the emigrant advertisers chose to remain unidentified; 60% of the male advertisers and 67% of the female ones kept the secret on their identity.

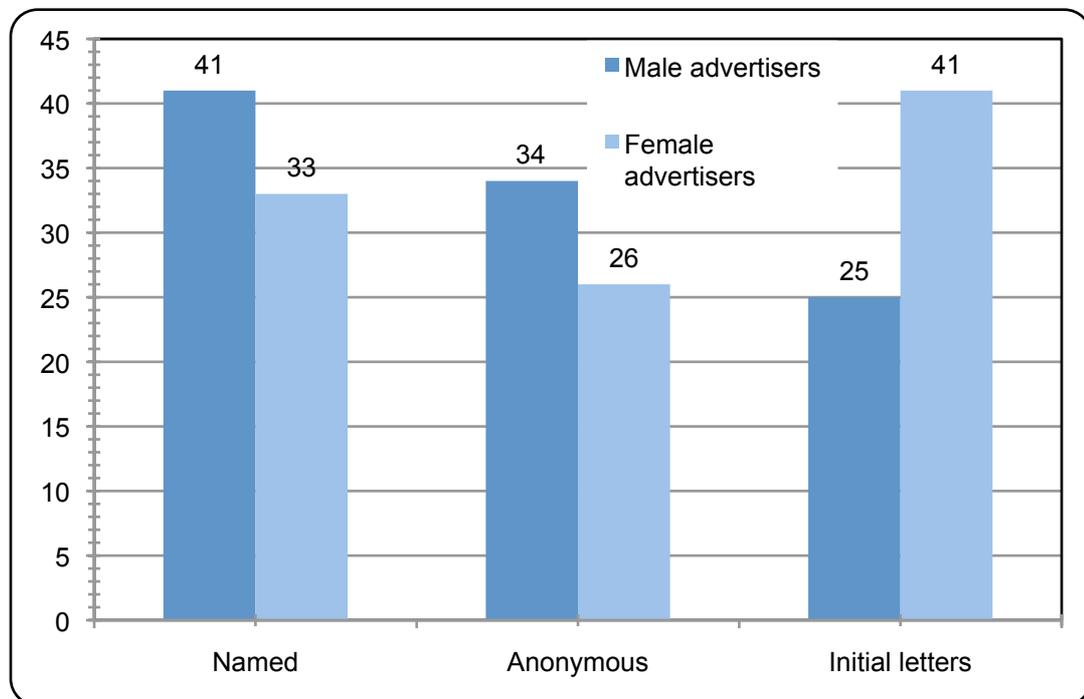


Figure 2: Methods of identification used by male and female emigrant advertisers between July 1789 and December 1800.

In total, half of these advertisements gave at least initial letters and an address. Hence, Madame M.C, a former employee from the manufactures in Lyon, was selling from her domicile in 211 Oxford Street her tambour embroidery.⁷¹⁰ The choice of using initial letters in lieu of a name was made by a third of the male advertisers. However, they usually went under A.B or X.Y.Z while women seem to have preferred the use of

⁷⁰⁹ *MC*, 22 March 1793.

⁷¹⁰ *MC*, 8 April 1793.

their own initial letters. The male preference for complete anonymity appears furthermore in the choice not to give any information allowing a reader to relate the advertiser to one particular individual. In no less than 98 advertisements, the advertisers did not mention their names, initial letters or their address; instead, they gave the name and address of a middleman. This middleman was always British: he was most probably a generous neighbour, relative or a Francophile individual – he might even have been the descendant of a Huguenot. The address given corresponded sometimes to a pub or a coffeehouse; it was some other times a local shop. On 18 September 1793, a ‘Gentleman of rank, and previous to his leaving France, of large fortune’ published an exclusive advert in the loyalist *Sun* newspaper.⁷¹¹ The advert targeted a ‘British gentleman of fashion and fortune’. The advertiser insisted upon each potential employer to first mention his interest to a named middleman. Such emigrant probably feared to lose his noble social status in front of the British elites and his peers in exile. As the aristocratic emigrant community in London was geographically and socially integrated, the information of an infamous *dérogance* amongst the elite of emigration would circulate rapidly. Non-identified and non-identifiable, some emigrants in London hence preserved their noble identity while working in exile. Some noble memoir writers insisted on a strict separation between the workspace and the sales space, hence avoiding French noblemen and women to be caught in the shameful act of performing menial work.⁷¹² However, the latest research on the economic survival of French noblemen in exile in different countries demonstrate that the idea of earning one’s living was not necessarily thought of as degrading by the nobility in emigration.⁷¹³ As noble military emigrant De Bourbel married in the English provincial gentry, he also

⁷¹¹ *Sun*, 18 September 1793.

⁷¹² Carpenter, *Refugees*, pp.68-69.

⁷¹³ Fauchon.

adopted their indiscriminate and open-minded behaviour towards work.⁷¹⁴ Far away from aristocratic circles and in provinces, where ‘gentry and professionals were often linked by blood and friendship to the supreme county families’, the noble *code of honneur* and the respect for one’s rank had little impact over one’s professional choice.⁷¹⁵

If anonymity protects, it also nourishes the British false representations of emigration as solely a noble process. Most of the noble advertisers still clearly referred to the French Estate system. 37% of the advertisers presented themselves as noble; only 9% as clergymen and women. More than a third remained difficult to place on the social ladder. If it was rather easy to recognise the wrong use of ‘Lady’ when used by working class women, the terms gentleman and gentlewoman were more complex, especially when they were used without further qualification. If the classified adverts were published in English for British employers and buyers, the advertiser was French. In English, the term gentleman described a member of the small nobility; if gentleman was the translation of the French *gentilhomme*, it could as well refer to a bourgeois – like Molière’s Monsieur Jourdain. The ambiguity inherent to such a title, coupled with the anonymity of the advert, could hide a name that was not noble enough. Hence, the advertiser increased the attractiveness of his advert in the eyes of the British readership. For what we know, the advertiser could as well be a British person, scamming his fellow countrymen by tugging their charitable heartstring. The situation was not unheard of: in 1795, the Wilmot Committee was compelled to inform its subscribers that a fake and malicious ‘advertisement has been inserted in some of the daily papers, and hand bills have been distributed requesting subscription for the relief’.⁷¹⁶ Emigrants Victoire de Combeste and Charles Gallimant also attempted to defraud the Duke of

⁷¹⁴ ESRO, *Archives of the Spence and de Bourbel families*, AMS5029-5133, Family correspondence.

⁷¹⁵ Vickery, p.32.

⁷¹⁶ *TB*, 17 January 1795 and *MC*, 17 January 1795.

Northumberland pretending to be a poor French General of his acquaintance.⁷¹⁷ In 1801, a French emigrant impostor, was taken to Bow Street charged with defrauding the English nobility of money, ‘by representing himself as a French Comte in the greatest distress, his wife and two children lying dead, and he having no money’ for their funeral expenses.⁷¹⁸ In *The Glass Blowers*, a fiction loosely based on her ancestors’ migration from France to England during the Revolution, the twentieth-century writer Daphne du Maurier, narrates how Robert Busson, ruined glass manufacturer from Vendée reached London during the Terror where he impersonated noble refugee du Maurier.⁷¹⁹ Anonymity in adverts as well as anonymity in a foreign land eased the usurpation of identity – a common practice in pre-1789 France.⁷²⁰

Victimisation

The last strategy used by emigrant advertisers was the one of victimisation. To what extent did the narration of traumas related to forced displacement and uprooting related to the radicalisation of the French Revolution flatter the expectations of a self-styled charitable British establishment? The ideal employer, as expected by emigrant advertiser would have been rather conservative and loyalist: the lot of aristocrats and noblemen thrown into the torments of exile should move him. However, if emigrant advertisers linked their condition as foreigners (and sometimes refugees) with the revolutionary and belligerent events in France and in continental Europe, the strategy of victimisation was the least used by emigrants. Before 1792 and after July 1794, the emigrant advertisers referred to ‘troubles’ and ‘disturbances’ in France.⁷²¹ The word

⁷¹⁷ *LC*, 28 November 1797.

⁷¹⁸ *MP&G*, 11 April 1801.

⁷¹⁹ Daphne du Maurier, *The glass-blowers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963).

⁷²⁰ Jacques Cuvillier, *Famille et patrimoine de la haute nobles française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Harmattan, 2005), p.17; Doyle, p.16.

⁷²¹ *World*, 28 January 1790; *SJC or BEP*, 21 February 1792; *Times*, 26 February 1800; *World*, 13 May 1790.

Revolution appeared a few times, but never regularly.⁷²² These references bear little detail on the journey of the advertisers or their political positions. However, the classified adverts appearing between these two dates are different by their number, their size and the precision of the details given by the advertisers [Figure 3].

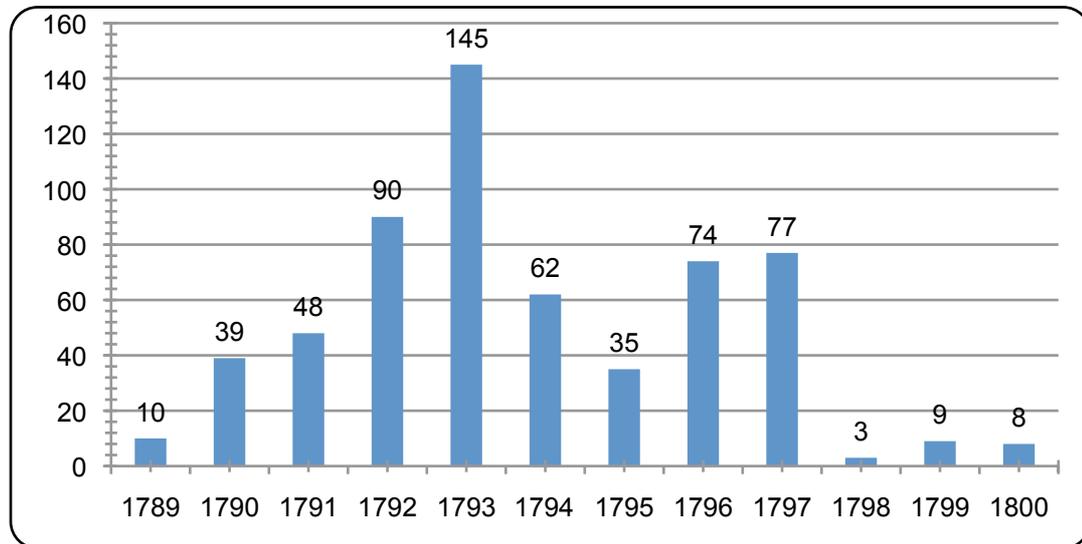


Figure 3 : Classified adverts published per year between 1789 and 1800

The amount of classified adverts doubled between 1791 and the last months of the year 1792, then tripled in 1793. This increase corresponded to the arrival in mass of emigrants in London after September 1792 [Figure 4].

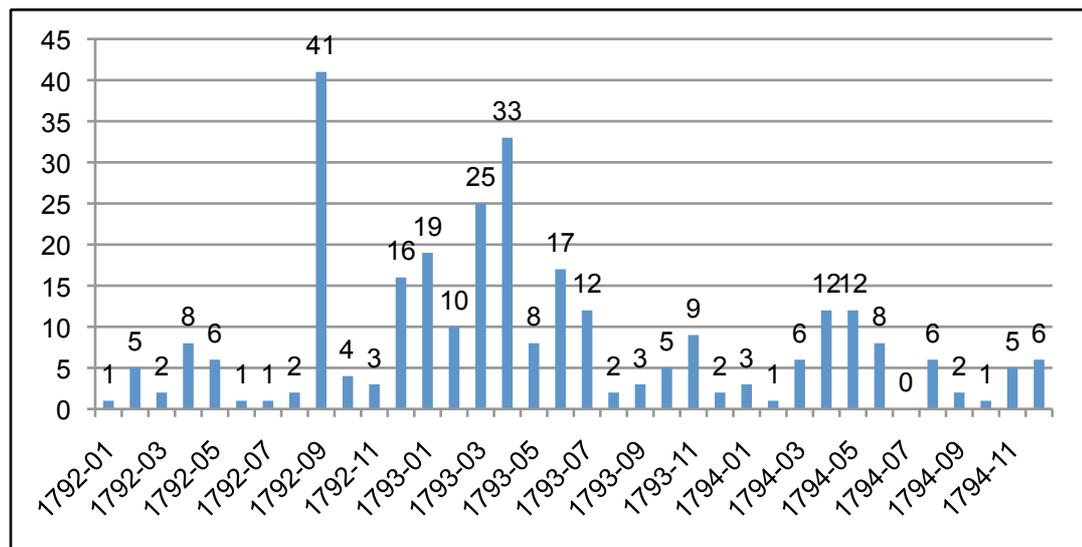


Figure 4 : Classified adverts published per month between January 1792 and December 1794

⁷²² *World*, 22 May 1790; *MP&DA*, 25 May 1791.

What is more surprising was the apparition of numerous biographical details in the texts of the adverts as well as the increase in the use of the lexical field related to refuge, poverty and loneliness. The charitable status of ‘refugee’ was seized by members of the displaced community, as a badge advertising their status. However, the average emigrant writing in London newspapers was neither the most destitute nor the most marginalised. A classified advert from a standard size in the commercial newspaper *Morning Chronicle* cost 3 shillings in 1789.⁷²³ For any supplementary line, the advertiser had to spend an extra 6 pence. The profile of the emigrant-type advertising does not correspond to the one constructed by the elites of emigration. A comparison between the addresses given in classified adverts and the ones of the Relief Committee revealed large sociological discrepancies.⁷²⁴ Only 3% of the advertisers gave addresses in the poorest areas of emigration against 20% for the relief committees. Half of the advertisers lived around Mayfair, Covent Garden or Soho; a quarter lived in the City or around Pall Mall. Hence, around three quarters of the emigrant advertisers were domiciled in middle-income areas. For these advertisers, the value of publicising their services was a return on their investment.

The first noticeable change after September 1792 was the reference to specific revolutionary events. In March 1793, a French Gentleman wrote about the confiscation of his properties by the French Republic.⁷²⁵ This was outrageous in a society where, from top to bottom, property was a pillar of living together; where the right to owning land was thought of, legislated in parliament, and codified through lengthy trials. For Paul Langford, the ‘propertied mind’ was a cultural habitus in the eighteenth-century: a

⁷²³ Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the eighteenth-century* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); R.B.Walker, ‘Advertising in London newspapers, 1650-1750’, in *Business History*, 15 (1987), 112-130.

⁷²⁴ Carpenter, ‘Les Émigrés à Londres’.

⁷²⁵ *MH*, 19 March 1793.

man humiliated by the destitution from his properties was a man enslaved.⁷²⁶ In November of the same year, Nicholas de Lattre affirmed having been ‘detained for nine months in the National Prisons of France for his loyalty’ before escaping to London.⁷²⁷

Yet most of the time, the advertiser played on the duality between his established status before his departure from France and his misery in exile. New terms, directly borrowed from the vocabulary of the Relief Committees, helped to market emigration: ‘refuge’, ‘exile’, ‘poor’ or ‘shelter’ reinforced the emigrant selling arguments. In other advertisements, the advertiser described his psychological distress by using the lexical field of the loss of his marks of identity, his condition as a foreigner and his incapacity to express his thoughts in English. An advertisement from February 1793 described an ‘unfortunate emigrant’, an ‘entire stranger in this city’, who was in a state of ‘absolute distress’.⁷²⁸ This second advert from February 1793 was even more striking by its caricature of the miseries of exile: a young provincial bride came out of France in search of her husband who had disappeared.⁷²⁹ It was implied he joined either the Condé or the Princes’ armies. Arrived in England, she was ‘in the state of the most complicated distress, ‘destitute of money and friends’ and ‘without change of apparel’ as her innkeeper in Dover retained her little possessions until receiving his fees. To complete a rather pathetic portrait, this woman who did not speak English was ‘upwards five months gone into pregnancy’. This text seemed to respond directly to the expectations of an anti-Jacobin readership, raising doubt on its authenticity. This advert almost resonates as a propaganda piece, a plea for an anti-Jacobin and counter-revolutionary common fight. The description of miseries and the atrocities of exile would be enough to justify the war and the envoy of British soldiers to fight against

⁷²⁶ Langford, *Public life*, p.60.

⁷²⁷ *TB*, 16 November 1793.

⁷²⁸ *MC*, 4 February 1793.

⁷²⁹ *MP*, 18 February 1793 ‘A CASE OF PECULIAR DISTRESS’

pitiless enemies. A positive response to this advert would be a declaration of allegiance to Great Britain, the King and the Church.

The use of the adverts allows the historian to recreate the portrait-type of the emigrant looking for a position in London – a portrait taking into account gender, familial as well as the social and financial situation of the advertiser before and during the emigration. Advertisements permit to reconsider a part of the emigrant community, which is often unknown to many – the one of the artists and artisans, who were altogether political migrants and economic refugees. Despite the apparent sociological heterogeneity amongst advertisers, the products and services sold certainly convey a strong social immobility because they were all related to aristocratic and luxurious consumption. Furthermore, the narration of the traumas related to emigration in classified adverts is not only the product of the French experience of exile. It results from individual and collective strategies that placed the British expectations at the core of the discourse. The adverts allow the comprehension of London imaginations of exile and the understanding of the collective representations of the French Revolution from the English side of the Channel. As part of their policy of social status quo, the employers and clients targeted by French advertisers were fashionable people, rich and Francophile. After 1792, these targets became anti-Jacobin and loyalists. Emigrant promotional discourse inevitably turned into a daily propaganda that influenced the imagination of both French and British communities. It participated in the formation of a collective emigrant identity around a shared noble status, the *ancien-régime* and anti-jacobinism. A second important conclusion to this chapter resides in the long-term impact of the emigrant professionalization. The French emigrant population did not play a part similar to the Huguenot role in ‘the transformation of English living conditions’,

with long-lasting effects.⁷³⁰ Twenty-five years do not compare with two centuries – the emigrant relationship to professionalization was mostly on the mode of the emergency. Yet, Michel Espagne argued that ‘the modifications that a group can bring to a host context are transmitted via their social activity, their profession’.⁷³¹ Precision in assessing the contribution of emigrant teachers and craftsmen in Britain is difficult, but an evaluation of what Britain offered to *émigré* theories and behaviours might be possible.

One was not by definition an emigrant, but rather became one at the whim of external circumstances. These four chapters on emigrant geographical and economic integrations in Great Britain highlight the promotion by many interested groups, both French and British, of social exclusivism. On the one hand, French emigrants in Britain were constantly thrown back to images of themselves defined by the host population. French emigrants had to conform to British anticipations of what an emigrant was at the risk of being expelled, jailed, loosing their allowances or staying unemployed; they hence became refugees, the distressed victim of the Jacobins, and beyond all noble. On the other hand, they also had to conform to the emigration leaders’ political projects in order to survive in the host country. Working closely with the French committee, the Alien Office and the British relief committees rewarded emigrants who conformed to immobilizing *ancien régime* ideals of aristocratic domination. The identification of emigration was hence narrowed down to noble, Catholic and legitimist individuals who had left France early enough. What were the cultural and political consequences of this social exclusivism on the group hence defined? How did French emigrants marginalized from this *émigré* core react and respond to being ostracized? Did they leave England,

⁷³⁰ Gwynn, p.93.

⁷³¹ Espagne, p.27.

maybe return to France when pro-*émigrés* legislation was discussed in French assemblies, or did they assimilate within the host country? Did the identification and isolation of a core group around *ancien régime* values contribute to a cultural backlash between the migrants and their hosts, or did this cultural precision allow for positive cultural transfers to happen?

PART III: WAYS OF BELONGING AND WAYS OF BEING

CHAPTER 7 – THE LANGUAGES OF EMIGRATION

In a letter to her father dated 22 February 1793, Fanny Burney reported that Madame de Stael had invited her to “study French and English together”.⁷³² On her father’s advice, Fanny first refused, yet finally accepted the francophone emigrant’s suggestion. Dr. Burney’s reluctance towards Stael was not exceptional in 1793. After a short stay in Switzerland following September 1792, Madame de Stael had reached Dover on 20 January 1793 – one day before Louis XVI was executed in Place de la Révolution. She had directly made her way to Juniper Hall in Mickleham (Surrey), where, not long ago, a party of constitutionalist emigrants had taken up residence under the amused yet wary eyes of the local gentry.⁷³³ Exiled away by the new French Republic for their *monarchien* ideals, the group had moreover been ostracized in their host country. The ultra-royalist emigrants gathered in London and Richmond, the apprehensive British liberal elites like Dr. Burney, and the Pittite government, all feared the group’s subversive early engagement with the Revolution. They marginalized Juniper Hall. Yet, these constitutionalist emigrants had a proven record of enlightened Anglophilia and actively sought the company of members of the British literary society, amongst which were Burney and her sister Susannah Phillips. Paradoxically, British elite groups first distrusted them in favour of the then more respectable ultra-royalist emigrants, who would later confess their hatred and disdain for the British host society and culture in literary and theoretical productions.⁷³⁴ Despite their initial forced remoteness, emigrants in Juniper Hall managed to create a small yet vibrant intercultural community. The linguistic ‘game’ (as historian Michel Winock

⁷³² Fanny Burney. *The Diary and Letters of Madame d’Arblay*, ed. by W.C.Ward, 3 vols (London : Warne & Co., 1892), III, p.53.

⁷³³ Burney, ed. by Ward, III, p.16.

⁷³⁴ Winock, pp.87-88.

recently styled it) mentioned by Burney finally took the shape of an epistolary exchange: the francophone essayist wrote in a rather ungrammatical English and the British novelist responded in a somewhat shaky French.⁷³⁵

Twenty-one years after Burney's letter to her father, in 1814, during her second exiled period in England, Germaine de Stael came to the remarkable conclusion that she 'had become European'.⁷³⁶ A Parisian at heart in the 1780s, the cosmopolite *salonnière*'s lengthy European exile had contributed to her redefining her cultural identity and national consciousness through social conversation and literary encounters. For French historian Daniel Roche, Stael's emigration "led to the freedom of thinking and writing, the defiance towards militarism and national exaltation, and the trust in exchanges that mobility creates between people".⁷³⁷ Seemingly anecdotal, Madame de Stael's passage from an early cultural and linguistic curiosity for the British host culture to a supra-national identity claim following her exile in several European countries could be the visible and extreme sign of a complicated, underlying and heterogeneous cultural transformation within emigrant groups between 1789 and 1815 while being in contact with a foreign culture. As a constitutional monarchist, she was prone to cosmopolitanism; as a *salonnière*, she fought against the shrinkage of her role in a male-dominated emigrant public sphere. Was Stael's interest for British high culture an exception due to her political ideals and perhaps her sex? Was it because she was a woman that she could publicly affirm her European identity in a milieu where the loyalty to one's *Patrie* or *Nation* was central to all discussions?

⁷³⁵ Winock, p.87.

⁷³⁶ Madame de Stael, Letter to Karoline von Berg, quoted in Angelica Goodden, *Madame de Stael, The dangerous exile* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), p.1.

⁷³⁷ Roche, *Circulations*, p.350.

Following their return to France, many proud authors of self-narratives have highlighted the existence of French-only professional groups and entertainment circles. Such groups were reportedly sometimes hijacked by English noblemen – perceptibly thrilled at the idea of spending an evening with such refined companionship.⁷³⁸ Emigrants looking for British company were belittled as oddities. Madame de Coigny, for example, was ‘beaucoup plus répandue dans le grand monde anglais que dans la société des émigrés français où elle recontra d’anciennes animosités [(She was) more popular in the English High Society than in the émigré society, where she was received with ancient animosities]’.⁷³⁹ Furthermore, the recent scholarship on the *émigré* print culture has convincingly demonstrated that in Great Britain and in Europe, emigrants involved in the book trade persistently maintained a public discourse on their relation to the lost territory disregarding the culture of their host territories.⁷⁴⁰ On the questions of public and private discourse in a diaspora context, the sociologist Nina Glick-Schiller differentiates between the discourse ‘of belonging’ and the ways of ‘being’.⁷⁴¹ In the emigrant’s case, the discourse ‘of belonging’ was displayed in public identity performances demonstrating the emigrant’s conscious association to a French and monarchic culture. On the contrary, the emigrant’s ways ‘of being’ refers to the transcultural daily social relations and practices, when the emigrants’ cultures were unconsciously and spontaneously modified by the contact with a British cultural object. In order to examine the interpenetrations between emigrant and British

⁷³⁸ Walsh, p.69.

⁷³⁹ Bouillé, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.345.

⁷⁴⁰ Elizabeth MacCartney, ‘A Paris of the Mind: French Émigré Fiction and the Exiled Republic of Letters: 1789-1815’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Katherine Astbury, *Narrative Responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Legenda, 2012).

⁷⁴¹ Nina Glick-Schiller, ‘The Centrality of Ethnography in the Study of Transnational Migration: Seeing the wetland Instead of the Swamp’, in *American Arrivals*, ed. by N.Foner (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2003), pp.99-128.

cultures, the public nation-centric discourse must be challenged by intercultural connections that remained, consciously or unconsciously, silenced and private.

Despite their political bias and expressed prejudices, many self-narratives drive the modern reader's attention towards numerous intercultural locations within both private and public spheres. These intercultural locations were first sociable. Emigrants and British would bump into each other and maybe converse in coffee houses and taverns, private homes and salons. Theatres were also often mentioned in both French and British primary sources. Yet, in spite of colourful, atmospheric and often prejudiced visions of emigrant-British encounters in such places, most sources reveal little about the actual exchanges taking place there. Intercultural locations were then places where a British public or a French audience would be in presence of an object typical of the other's culture. The visible and audible repetitive meeting with a foreign cultural object has potential repercussions on both groups' identity discourse and aesthetic affirmations.⁷⁴² Several galleries in London were allegedly created with paintings and sculptures sold at auctions by impoverished emigrants – hence supplying the already significant British elite's taste for continental art. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun met with Angelica Kaufmann, visited the workshops of West or Reynolds; as a painter she was fascinated by British landscapes.⁷⁴³ The clothing articles, millinery work and embroidery produced by the émigré communities participated in the modification of British fashion.⁷⁴⁴ Although purportedly deaf to the beauty of *ancien régime* music, British audiences were presented with the latest works of Cramer, Pleyel or Jarnowick who had all come to London from Paris around 1789-1792 and were actively involved in

⁷⁴² Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire: essai sur la relation du corps à l'esprit* (Paris: F.Alcan, 1908).

⁷⁴³ Vigée-Lebrun, II, pp.20 and 30 ; III, p.81.

⁷⁴⁴ Chrisman.

emigrant circles.⁷⁴⁵ Exchanges from British culture to the emigrant one occurred too. Chateaubriand and the Comte de Jarnac all adopted tea as a daily habit while reading or writing; Arnault would meet every evening for a cup of the warm beverage with fellow French emigrants.⁷⁴⁶ Common in Britain where its daily consumption was almost established as a patriotic act, the beverage had remained an ostentatious and luxurious drink in *ancien régime* France. Brillat-Savarin reminded us in his *Physiologie du Goût*, that emigrants brought back to France the “beafsteaks” and the “Welshrarebit”.⁷⁴⁷ The intercultural spaces certainly participated in the apparently insignificant modification of daily habits.

The conduct of a systematic study on such intercultural spaces as locations of transfer is difficult because of the multiplicity, heterogeneity and uniqueness of each example. Yet, literary and linguistic encounters in the public and private space are good examples of interconnected moments, visible in both contemporary and retrospective sources. The theory of cultural transfers state that ‘when a book, a theory, an aesthetic tendency crosses the borders between two cultural spaces, their signification, contextually related, is modified’.⁷⁴⁸ The examination of emigrant-British intercultural spaces should enable the researcher to deviate from examining ‘books’, ‘plays’ or ‘paintings’ as cultural objects, to recentre the focus on them and others as “carrier groups” and “vehicle of transfers”.⁷⁴⁹ These groups and vehicles can be as diverse as private individuals speaking French or English, authors, artists, translators, travellers, spectators and readers. Without falling into the identifying excesses of the categories assimilation, acculturation or rejection, this chapter

⁷⁴⁵ *Ducrest*, ed. by Pincemaille, p.38; Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp.200-201; Walsh, p.156.

⁷⁴⁶ Chateaubriand, p.111; Arnault, p.384; France, CARAN 729MI/57, Letters from the comte de Jarnac to his son.

⁷⁴⁷ Jean-Antoine Brillat-Savarin, *La Physiologie du gout*, (Paris: Teyssier, 1834), pp.169, 246 and 313-317.

⁷⁴⁸ *Espagne*, pp.28-29.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.27.

attempts to find a 'third space' where pre-revolutionary habits and the experience of otherness would gradually and subtly redefine culture in cohabiting French and British communities. It argues that the encounter between French emigrants and their hosts' cultures played a significant role in the definition of emigrants' and British cultural frames with regards to the Revolution in France. This chapter will first attempt to understand the strategies behind the use of the French and English languages in both public and private sphere. This study of languages will then evolve into the examination of the francophone booktrade in Great Britain. It seeks to examine the ways emigrant literary products 'crossed the border' to enter an English-speaking cultural space with a particular focus on translation and translators as carriers of transfers towards Britain. Finally, it will attempt to understand the impact of British counter-revolutionary and conservative literature on the emigrant experience, the creation of an *émigré* literary identity, and the renewal of conservative literary trends in nineteenth century *émigré* writing.

Linguistic strategies

Nowadays, language is often seen as one original condition of a national culture, and as such, an important landmark in national identification; it was not the case in eighteenth-century Europe when languages, and in particular their political vocabulary, were still evolving through borrowings and transfers.⁷⁵⁰ Additionally, language is regularly perceived as the first sign of integration in a new country in migrant situations. The knowledge of the host country's language was yet not necessary to survive in exile, especially at a time when established 'Europe spoke French'.⁷⁵¹ French was primarily used in emigrant social and professional gatherings. In his *Souvenirs*, Walsh presented a generational division when it came

⁷⁵⁰ Hobsbawm, *Nations*, pp.20-21.

⁷⁵¹ Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Fallois, 2001).

to the knowledge of English.⁷⁵² In emigrant workshops, the elder generation, monolingual, would undertake manual tasks while the bilingual youth sold the manufactured products to British warehouses. He complained ‘Les jeunes, j’étais alors dans cette catégorie, parlant mieux anglais que les vieux, étaient presque toujours chargés de la vente...Oh! C’était là le dur du métier [The youth (I was then part of this category) spoke better English than the elders. They were almost always in charge of selling...Oh! In this lied the difficulties in the profession!]’. Despite being written in English, several professional advertisements published in London newspapers revealed the incapacity of the advertisers to speak English; by contrast, many boarding schools and concerned British parents sought after non-English speaking tutors to educate their offspring.⁷⁵³ In both cases, the knowledge of English was not at the moment a necessity. Being part of a professional group, elder emigrants could survive without communicating directly to non-French speakers; the emigrant advertiser on the contrary was often new to the country and hence could later learn English. Besides, the second and sixth chapter of this PhD have highlighted how post-exile self-narratives and classified adverts exaggerated emigrants’ social marginalisation thanks to a powerful and influential rhetoric of victimisation. While the knowledge of English language was refuted in these purposeful sources, many other documents offer a more contrasted picture of emigrant linguistic practices.

Most documents exchanged between British officials at the Alien Office and private emigrants or *émigré* officials were written in French.⁷⁵⁴ Emigrants sent their financial claims to Wickham in their maternal language. In the early 1800, the

⁷⁵² Walsh, p.64.

⁷⁵³ Agnès Steuckardt, ‘L’anglicisme politique dans la seconde moitié du 18e siècle. De la glose d’accueil à l’occultation’, *Mots. Les langages du politique*, 86 (2006), 9-22.

⁷⁵⁴ HRO, *Whickham family*, 38M49/1 and 38M49/8/125.

Demoiselles de Sainte-Hermine sent him a letter and a petition in French.⁷⁵⁵ Having lost both their father and mother in emigration, the two girls were asking for their father's financial treatment to be directed to them. As an officer, the Marquis de Sainte-Hermine was receiving an annual compensation of 120 guineas. The two orphans argued that they furthermore had 'l'honneur d'appartenir à sa majesté britannique': they could pride themselves to belong to the British crown. Was the foreign language used in an official document not in complete opposition with the claim to be a subject of the English crown? This paradox climaxes in a letter from Régnier to Lord Grenville, dated 20 March 1806.⁷⁵⁶ The first line of the letter stated that Régnier had been naturalised as an English subject. Yet, he still corresponded with the administration of his new country in French. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Eric Hobsbawm provides us with a first clue. The 'ethnolinguistic criterion of nationality', this intrinsic correlation between language and citizenship, is a modern phenomenon that appeared in the contexts of the American and then French Revolutions.⁷⁵⁷

There were a few exceptions, and some decided to write in English to the Alien Office. On 3 March 1806, Bertrand de Moleville wrote in English to the Lords of the Treasury to receive an increased monthly allowance.⁷⁵⁸ The letter was written in the third person ('he' instead of 'I'). Yet many details in this argumentative letter indicate that the document was at least dictated by the late 'French Minister in the Navy and Colonies department'. The two first paragraphs clarified his personal and financial situation between his arrival in England in the month of October 1792 and the present day. The author then reminded the Treasury of Moleville's professional

⁷⁵⁵ HRO, *Wickham of Binsted*, 38M49/8/125/7-8, Memorial respecting the Demoiselles de Sainte Hermine and suite.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 38M49/8/125/17, Regnier to Lord Grenville (20 Mars 1806).

⁷⁵⁷ Hobsbawm, *Nations*, p.19.

⁷⁵⁸ HRO, *Wickham of Binsted*, 38M49/8/125/15, Bernard de Moleville (3 March 1806).

and contractual engagement besides the British government since May 1803. He also insisted on the reception of his *Histoire de la Révolution de France* in England and its influence on British public opinion. The second letter written in English to the Alien Office was by the Comte de Moustier.⁷⁵⁹ It was addressed to Grenville. Moustier had been *ministre plénipotentiaire* in England in 1783. Furthermore, the French Monarchy had officially sent him to England in several occasions since as early as 1772.⁷⁶⁰ This bundle of letters reveals a pattern in which private emigrant individuals wrote in French while individuals who were or had been involved with the British government in a professional capacity corresponded in English. It is difficult to conclude categorically with such a small sample of letters. Yet, the choice of using the French or English language in administrative correspondence might have been strategic. The use of French might have reinforced the private individuals' social status as a refugee in need of charitable help; writing in English, on the contrary, could have demonstrated and emphasised the correlation between the counter-revolutionary stand of the sender and the British government's war effort against the Republic at first and then the Empire. The strategy behind this choice also appeared during Bernard Huet's trial for forgery – while his landlord confirmed they had been conversing in English together, Huet affirmed he did not know the language when confronted to his judge.⁷⁶¹

Private and friendly emigrant-British encounters did not involve the same strategic thinking. The use of English or French was therefore relative to the authors' capacity to discuss in one language or the other. The generational differentiation made by Walsh was confirmed in many sources. Fanny Burney wrote in her diary: "Monsieur de Lally has just received by a private hand, a letter

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/66, Count de Moustier (December 1806).

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 38M49/8/125/67, Count de Moustier (8 December 1806).

⁷⁶¹ *BWM*, 7 January 1798.

from his daughter, now eleven years old (...) half in French, half in English, which language he has particularly ordered she may study".⁷⁶² The Marquise de la Tour du Pin affirmed that her son, seven-year-old Hubert, spoke and read French and English, and wrote under dictation in both languages.⁷⁶³ In their self-narratives, Genlis and Walsh provided two other cases of young emigrants learning English and both concluded their didactic stories on the necessity for the French youth to possess English as a second language.⁷⁶⁴ The correspondence between the Comte de Jarnac and his son offers a unique example of an intra-familial correspondence written in English and in French. While the letters from Louis-Guillaume (the son) have disappeared, the responses by the father, Charles-Rosalie, allow sometimes for a partial reconstruction of their discussion. On one particular occasion, Charles-Rosalie reproached to his son his failure to write endearing terms in French by replacing them with British equivalents. In this particular case, English came to replace French in private relations.

Whether the writer was French or British, the majority of correspondences carried on by adults and found during this research was written in French, or, more precisely, mostly in French. Indeed, the combination of French and English was not uncommon in emigrant-British epistolary relationships, especially in letters written in the second decade of emigration. The combination of the two languages ranged between the incidental use of English formulas at the beginning and the end of letter to the creation of a hybrid language in some cases. In his correspondence with the Highclere family maintained between 1793 and 1801, the archbishop of Aix only once used an entire formulation in English.⁷⁶⁵ In 1793, he ended a letter by

⁷⁶² Burney, T.6, p.90.

⁷⁶³ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.316.

⁷⁶⁴ *Genlis*, ed. by Masseur, p.328; Walsh, p.129.

⁷⁶⁵ HRO, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon, 1786-1800.

these emphatic words: “Je veux finir ma phrase par une forme anglaise – ever sincerely yours”. The archbishop always used English titles to address his correspondent. Yet, he clearly made little to no attempt to learn his host society’s language. Until 1800, he constantly used the French denomination of English places. Louis XVIII, his brother Artois and their entourage also continued to write mainly in French in their private correspondence. Yet, historian Margery Weiner’s rightfully noted that Louis XVIII’s last letters from England “are so full of English phrases and quotations that it is hard to decide if they were primarily written in English or in French”.⁷⁶⁶ Many ultra-royalist French emigrants have corresponded with Lord Adam Gordon by the end of the 1790s and until their repatriation around 1814.⁷⁶⁷ Most letters were written in French; a few in English.⁷⁶⁸ In different occasions, English sentences and words were used in place of French expressions. In a letter to Adam Gordon dated from Guilford, 26 September 1799, the Comte d’Artois combined French and English words in a same sentence: “Il faut que je vous parle moi-même de la constante amitié que vous avez gagné dans mon Coeur et que je (?) by your proper heart, that my good heart is always in good health and in good spirit”.⁷⁶⁹ The next sentence was mostly written in French – yet Artois had underlined the English adjective ‘comfortable’.⁷⁷⁰ Two letters from Rebourquill follow a similar pattern, where a French sentence was punctuated with British words. On 22 August 1800, Rebourquill used “improvements” in lieu of the French *amélioration* to describe the modifications brought to Gordon’s domain of Burn.⁷⁷¹

A second letter from Rebourquill to Lord Adam Gordon, dated from Edinburgh, 7

⁷⁶⁶ Weiner, p.97.

⁷⁶⁷ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, 1173 and 1174.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/1, Comte de Sérent to Lord Adam Gordon (6 March 1796).

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/10, Artois to Lord Adam Gordon (26 September 1799).

⁷⁷⁰ “N’oubliez jamais que cette dernière condition m’est nécessaire pour que je puisse me trouver comfortable quelque part”.

⁷⁷¹ WSRO *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172/22, Rebourquill to Lord Adam Gordon (5 August 1800).

October 1800, described a scene happening in a Scottish tribunal court.⁷⁷² Loosing the trial after three hours of deliberation, the accused, Sir John Wenderson, “serait censuré from the chair”. In these three examples, the English borrowing or replacement might have been used because the author could not think about an equivalent in his mother tongue, or because the described cultural situation did not have an equivalent in French. In some occasions, emigrants refused to translate some words, in fear of loosing their exact meaning.

In public communication, English was sometimes equivalent or even preferred to French. Some non-political works by French emigrants were indeed modified and written to suit a British readership. A few books have been published in bilingual editions, intended at both an emigrant and a British readership. This is the case of the theatre play *L’Emigrant à Londres*, known to the Anglophone readership as *The Emigrant in London* and the fictional diary *Journal d’un émigré français de quatorze*, translated as *Journal of a French Emigrant* (note in this case the translation from the political notion *émigré* into the socially-connected word emigrant).⁷⁷³ Both the fictional diary and the theatre play were published in 1795, and, to our knowledge, have always been published in bilingual editions. *L’Emigrant à Londres* contained a subscription list, clearly pointing at a majority of British subscribers. A second type of author preferred to get rid of the French to directly publish in English. Louis-Eustache Ude, French cook to Louis XVI and emigrant, wrote his cookbook directly in English.⁷⁷⁴ *The French Cook*, subtitled the *Art of Cookery*, aimed to introduce the art of cooking – described as a national

⁷⁷² Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/29, Rebourquill to Lord Adam Gordon (7 October 1800).

⁷⁷³ *The Emigrant in London: a bilingual edition; Journal d’un émigré français de quatorze ans/ Journal of a French Emigrant, fourteen years old: édition bilingue* (London: sold by Lewis and Fienes, and de Boffe, 1795).

⁷⁷⁴ Louis-Eustache Ude, *The French cook or the Art of Cookery developed in all its various branches* (London: for the author, 1813).

attribute – to the British Society. In Ude’s book, recipes were clearly modified to satisfy the British market: “I intend moreover to indicate the manner of making them, which I have contrived since I have been in England, from which I have derived expedition, economy, and I may be bold to affirm, great improvement in terms of savour”.⁷⁷⁵ The ingredients used depended on the British weather conditions, the prices of a product and the habitual tastes.

Translations, Translators and transfers

The use of English in the public sphere was a persuasive propaganda tool for emigrants willing to influence both British policy makers and public opinion. The examination of French counter-revolutionary publishing strategies coupled with the one of the accessibility of their ideology to a British readership offers a new perspective on the definition of an emigrant-British counter-revolutionary discourse in the 1790s and 1800s. It is unnecessary to evaluate again how France served as a unifying anchor in emigrant pamphlets, fictions, and journalism distributed amongst a community dispersed in several geographical, political and social locations.⁷⁷⁶ It would furthermore be presumptuous to pretend revolutionising the many studies linking the topic ‘emigration’ in British 1790s’ books, and in particular early romantic fiction and poetry, to the transformation of the British discourse on national identity and the creation of a charitable nation.⁷⁷⁷ The current research points out the influence of British radicalism, the dissociation with a radicalised French Revolution and the presence of impoverished refugees in London to explain the development of romantic literature on exile in early

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., p.iii.

⁷⁷⁶ Simon Burrows, *Exile Journalism*; MacCartney; Malcolm Cook, ‘The émigré novel’, in Carpenter and Mansel.

⁷⁷⁷ Wiley; Benis; Adriana Craciun, ‘Chap.4 – Citizens of the world: The Emigrés and the British Imagination’, in *British Women Writers and the French Revolution* (Houndsmill UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

nineteenth-century Britain. This research also singled out a few cases of familial connections (i.e. Burney's wedding with General d'Arblay or Charlotte Smith's daughter marrying an other emigrant). The interconnection between *émigré* literature (in its original language and in translation), British literature and the long-term British imagination of emigration and exile is as yet merely alluded to in current scholarship.⁷⁷⁸

The combination of the two themes could indeed prove a leap in the research on the *émigré* discursive roots of a modern British discourse on national identity. It would allow the researcher in cultural transfers to appreciate how references to French anti-revolutionary cultures developed within the British social sphere, literary space, and, on the long-term, collective memory on the French Revolution. It might also allow understanding how these literary images returned and were integrated within the later *émigré* identity discourse. For example, as Edmund Burke drafted his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, he most probably found inspiration for his descriptions of popular violence in counter-revolutionary volumes by Mounier, Lally-Tollendal or Calonne.⁷⁷⁹ In return, the Anglo-Irish philosopher influenced counter-revolutionary and conservative French visions of the Revolution, and in particular that of de Maistre who went even further in his praise for the association of the throne and altar.⁷⁸⁰

With the mass emigration of 1792-1793 and as *émigré* regiments were being defeated on the Continent, London became one of the European capitals of the counter-revolutionary book trade as well as a major hub in the emigrant book trade.

⁷⁷⁸ Katherine Astbury, 'The Trans-National Dimensions of the Emigré novel during the French Revolution', *Eighteenth Century Fiction*, 23(2011), 801-832.

⁷⁷⁹ Olivier Ritz, 'Metaphors of popular violence in the revolutionary debate in the wake of Edmund Burke', in *Representing violence in France, 1760-1820*, ed. by Thomas Wynne (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), pp.35-47.

⁷⁸⁰ Lucas, in Ozouf and Furet.

Saying that the enlightened *République des Lettres*, opposed to absolute monarchies and despotic regimes, became counter-revolutionary is by far an over-statement. As a matter of fact, the emigrant and French counter-revolutionary book trade did not emerge *ex nihilo* but rather developed within this the two-centuries' frame of francophone press traditions in London, linked on the one hand to the Huguenot refuge and on the other hand to the relative absence of freedom of press in French absolutism.⁷⁸¹ While emigration and the Revolution became primary concerns for the British government and societies, the *in situ* readership of the London francophone press increased. Was the composition of the readership also modified? Did an established and loyalist reader of francophone books replace the enlightened and cosmopolitan reader of the seventeenth and eighteenth century?⁷⁸²

Throughout the period, the London francophone book trade catered for various readerships: alongside traditional major book specialists, a plethora of large and small generalist booksellers retailed and sold *émigré* propaganda. Without distinction, at least thirty-four booksellers, bookseller-publishers and print sellers, as well as four stationers took part in the *émigré* book trade.⁷⁸³ Their names and addresses went beyond the traditional francophone book trade in London. Distribution in London came to be controlled in majority by two rather newly established francophone booksellers: De Boffe, from 7 Gerrard Street (and after

⁷⁸¹ Roger Chartier, *Les origines culturelles de la Révolution française* (Paris: Seuil, 1990); Simon Burrows, *Blackmail, Scandal and Revolution: London's French libellistes, 1758-1792* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); *A King's Ransom: The Life of Charles Theveneau de Morande, Blackmailer, Scandalmonger and Master-Spy* (London: Continuum, 2010).

⁷⁸² Elizabeth Eisenstein, *Grub Street abroad: aspects of the French cosmopolitan press from the age of Louis XIV to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); David Shaw, 'French émigrés in the London booktrade to 1850', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, *The London book trade: Topographies of print in the metropolis from the sixteenth century* (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2002), pp.127-143; Simon Burrows, *Exile Journalism*, p.9.

⁷⁸³ Appendix 'Mapping the Book Trade'; see also 'French exiled book trade', in < www.juliettereboul.com>.

1808, Nassau Street) and Dulau whose address remained 37 Soho Square.⁷⁸⁴ With their storefront in the geographical core of the emigrant settlement, the two bookseller-publishers established their businesses as the inevitable meeting points for the literary and political emigrant communities in London.⁷⁸⁵ Thomas Boosey, from Old Broad Street, near the Royal Exchange, was often recognised as the third main bookseller involved in the *émigré* book trade; L'Homme, Conchy, Debrett and the exiled Peltier also contributed as booksellers, but to a lesser extent, to the *émigré* book trade in London. In addition to these names, at least twenty-seven other retailers helped diffuse French counter-revolutionary ideologies in London. Most had no previous apparent links to francophone literature before the emigrants' presence on the British soil became a significant social phenomenon. Identified in the front pages of surviving volumes authored by emigrants, in classified adverts and thanks to a few ego-documents, these retailers apparently remained minor participants in the francophone counter-revolutionary book trade throughout the period. For instance, their names often appeared in classified adverts as the third or fourth within a list of bookshops where to find an emigrant or counter-revolutionary book – always after De Boffe, Dulau and Boosey. As non-specialists, they present a strong case in favour of emigrant-British cultural transfers: providing they sold part or all their stock, these minor retailers participated in the diffusion and expansion of counter-revolutionary ideals and emigrant stories outside the

⁷⁸⁴ Both houses' archives were destroyed during the Blitz according to historian Margery Weiner (p.114). However, some printed catalogues have been preserved (1) De Boffe: *New French Books, Just Imported by J. De Boffe, French Book-Seller, Gerrard Street, Soho, London* (London, 1792); *Catalogue des Livres François de J. De Boffe, Libraire, Gerrard-Street, Soho, a Londres* (Fevrier, 1794); *Catalogues of French Books Offered for Sale by J.C. De Boffe*, (London, 1794); *Catalogue Alphabétique d'une Partie des Livres Français qui se Trouvent Chez J.C. de Boffe*. (London, 1813); (2) Boosey: *Catalogues of Foreign Books on Sale by T. Boosey* (London, Apr. 1807; 1809; February 1814); (3) Dulau: *Catalogue des Livres d'Ecole, Ouvrages Élémentaires, Instructifs et Amusans pour la Jeunesse, Grammaires, Dictionnaires en François, Grec, Latin, Espagnol, Portuguis, Allemand, Arabe, etc. qui se trouvent chez B. Dulau Et Co.* (London: 1805; Jan. 1813); *Catalogue général, méthodique et raisonné des livres* (Londres, 1811).

⁷⁸⁵ See map created with Vincent Hirribarren on *émigré* journalists (vincenthirribarren.com) and map created on *émigré* book trade.

expected emigrant circles. They offered a French and counter-revolutionary product to a population to whom France and the French affairs were not a primary concern.

Contrarily to booksellers and a few patrons, translators and reviewers remained for the majority anonymous. With a few exceptions, their names and situations are still often unknown. Yet they participated in advertising and vulgarising French counter-revolutionary volumes in Great Britain. One known translator was conservative historian John Gifford. In 1797, he translated Lally-Tollendal's *Defence of the French Emigrants*, preceded by an introduction supporting the French counter-revolutionary fight. One reviewer of the translation accused Gifford of 'transgress[ing] the limits of prudence and propriety; [...] such violations of truth are never justifiable; and still less are they laudable'.⁷⁸⁶ Another one, on the contrary, praised the 'judicious' translator 'giv[ing] his own estimate of the *newest* French constitution'.⁷⁸⁷ Translators had hence the means to modify the original texts. Booksellers, translators and reviewers were active carrier of transfers. They systematically chose which aspects of the French counter-revolutionary culture to import in Britain. Consequently, they also decided on the ones to reject. By filtering the access of francophone counter-revolutionary and emigrant productions, they played a major role in the formation of British public opinion on emigration and the Revolution.

Coincidentally, advertisements published in London newspapers for *émigré* books or their English translations influenced the formation of a British interest for counter-revolutionary ideals, and consequently modified their perception of the Revolution. Bearing in mind that not all *émigré* volumes were advertised, a low

⁷⁸⁶ *The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature* (London: W.Simpkin and R.Marshall, 1798), p.429.

⁷⁸⁷ *British Catalogue, and Quaterly Theological Review* (London: F. and C. Rivington: 1798), vol.11, p.204.

estimate of 250 classified adverts concerning 131 single French authored non-fictional writings, in the original language or translated, were inserted in London newspapers between 1789 and 1800.⁷⁸⁸ Amongst these, 174 adverts concerned counter-revolutionary books and newspapers printed and published in London – the other classified adverts regarded the importation of counter-revolutionary volumes from continental Europe and revolutionary books and pamphlets from the French capital city. Similarly to the professional adverts, the book trade adverts were addressed to the British public, francophone or not – an inference correlated by a large proportion of translations amongst the volumes advertised. The anonymity of the advertisements regarding book trade casts doubt on their author's intentions. The question remains whether advertisements in Anglophone newspapers of certain counter-revolutionary books was motivated by the market's demand or by the author's wish to create a market for his ideas in Britain.

The British interest for *émigré* political literature fluctuated and probably depended on several variables, amongst which were the increasingly overwhelming presence of emigrants in Britain, the state of political and military relations between France and Great-Britain, and the British fascination for the French revolution [Table 6 – 1]. Between 1793 and 1795, the number of advertisements for French counter-revolutionary books printed in London increased, and settled at an average of 30 books advertised a year until 1797. In 1793/1794, very few imported books (revolutionary and counter-revolutionary) were advertised. From January 1795 and throughout the year, the number of imported books exploded. However, most importations were emigrant pamphlets, ego-documents, histories and political

⁷⁸⁸ The adverts were found in the Burney Collection via word-recognition software. The names mined corresponded to those of the four most important *émigré* booksellers and publishers: De Boffe, Boosey, Dulau and L'Homme.

comments from Europe. While classified adverts for imported books remained low until 1800, the number of advertised books printed in London decreased.

Year	Total	Published in London	Imported from France or the Continent
1793	14	14	0
1794	19	19	0
1795	77	29	48
1796	39	30	9
1797	34	31	3
1798	25	23	2
1799	15	6	9
1800	18	15	3

Table 6 : Books published in London and imported to England in classified adverts

A closer look at advertising trends reveals a chronological connection between the increased supply and demand for original and translated *émigré* ideology and the apparition of the themes of emigration and exile in British pamphlets and fictions. The emigrants' first years in Britain sparked little interest amongst the British readership and London literature traders. Between 1789 and 1792 and in this list, only four counter-revolutionary pamphlets published in London were advertised in British newspapers; in contrast, at least fourteen classified adverts for *émigré* pamphlets, seven of which for translations, had been inserted in London newspapers for the year 1793. By comparison, De Boffe's *Catalogue des livres François* for the year 1794 contained thirty-three francophone and *émigré* titles printed in London between the year 1789 and January 1794.⁷⁸⁹ This catalogue only included titles that De Boffe still retailed at the beginning of 1794, and not those that were sold out. Twenty-eight titles published between 1789 and 1792 remained in the Catalogue, while only four remained for the year 1793,

⁷⁸⁹ Joseph de Boffe, *Catalogue des livres François de J.de Boffe, libraire, Gerrard-Street, Soho, à Londres* (London: 1794).

potentially implying that others had been sold out.⁷⁹⁰ De Boffe's lack of remaining titles for 1793, as well as the new publicity given to translated *émigré* titles in British newspapers were coincident with a new questioning on the emigrant character in British literature. In 1793, while Hannah More published her *Address on Behalf of the French Emigrants*, Burney's *Brief Reflections relative to the Emigrant French Clergy* also proved a commercial success. Early British novels on emigration, as well as the several pamphlets or sermons printed this year, related emigration to factual events. Using the example of Charlotte Smith, Michael Wiley and Toby Benis agreed that in the early 1790s, the *émigré* character in British fiction was still geographically 'spatialised' and historically contextualised.⁷⁹¹ Indeed, geography and Nation – major themes in *émigré* printed productions – played an instrumental role Smith's early novels.

One explanation for the development of the emigrant character in British literature is that translations of *émigré* titles became increasingly numerous and rapid. In 1794, ten advertisements out of a minimum of nineteen were for translated *émigré* titles. For the first time since July 1789, just a few days separated the adverts for the original *émigré* publication from its translation. Advertised for its French version on the 28th July 1794 in London newspapers, the translation of Montgaillard's *Etat de la France au mois de Mai 1794* was marketed on the 7th August 1794.⁷⁹² Only five titles out of twenty-two were translated in 1795; however, the nature of several books printed in London and advertised presented little interest in translation and could be understood in the original language (lists of

⁷⁹⁰ *Collection of thirteen highly finished engravings respecting Louis XVI awful moment*, Dillon's *Exposition abrégée des principes et des évènements qui ont le plus influencés sur la Révolution française*, Pictet's *Lettre sur la position de France* and two volumes by Peltier - *Dernier Tableau de Paris ou récit historique de la Révolution du 10 Aout* and *Histoire de la Restauration de la Monarchie française, ou la campagne de 1793*.

⁷⁹¹ Wiley, p.16; Benis, p.298.

⁷⁹² Montgaillard's *Avant-Propos* was dated 15 June 1794.

victims from the Terror, Almanacs and Calendars). The amount of adverts for translated books then declined until 1800. While many French emigrants lost faith in their political leaders and returned to France, the counter-revolutionary publishing trade lost its interest for the British population: it was old news. Meanwhile, less British pamphlets on emigration were printed, and the emigrant character in British fiction became less 'spatialised', transforming into a metaphor for the exiled poet. By the end of the 1790s, the numerous defections in *émigré* ranks, combined with a wearying emigrant ideology, led to further dissociation between the counter-revolutionary and British definition of emigration. While emigration remained part of the political field in French memory, the British memory transformed the emigrant character in a metaphorical figure of all exiles and refugees.

Competing with the mesmerising creations of the Revolution, emigrants and loyalist translators involved in the book trade resorted to what Catriona Seth qualified as a "last resource weapon".⁷⁹³ The themes embraced in counter-revolutionary pamphlets advertised in London newspapers were clearly linked to a strategy of public victimisation, coupled with the demonization and denigration of the revolutionary common enemy and its culture. These themes were borrowed and rearranged in British pamphlets fiction. Indeed, 'transfers of literary, philosophical, and aesthetic models are often linked to processes of cultural legitimization'.⁷⁹⁴ The titles advertised in London newspapers between 1789 and 1800 can be broadly arranged within three categories: biographies, essays on war and essays on the emigrant-British relationship since 1789. All aimed to influence and transform the

⁷⁹³ Catriona Seth, 'La Plume ou l'épée. Reflexions sur quelques mémorialistes', in Bourdin, 443-458 (p. 458).

⁷⁹⁴ 'Introduction' in *Intellectual Journeys*, ed. by Andries, p.8.

British debate on the French Revolution, to create a pro-emigration sentiment in the host country.

Throughout the period, biographies advertised were tributes to counter-revolutionary martyrs and heroes, or blames on revolutionary enemies. Louis XVI's trial in November-December 1792 and death on January 21st 1793 was followed by six advertised publications, in French or translated, amongst which the *monarchien* Malouet's *Défense de Louis XVI contenant la discussion de toutes les charges connues à l'époque du 14 November 1792*, Lenoir's *Funeral panegyric of Louis the Sixteenth*, Lally-Tollendal's *Plaidoyer pour Louis XVI*. The dethroned royal couple was referred to frequently until 1800 especially following Cléry's publication of his *Journal du Temple*.⁷⁹⁵ In 1798, its translated version, *Journal of occurrences at the Temple during the confinement of Louis XVI, King of France* was advertised five times in a period of three months.⁷⁹⁶ Cléry became a reference amongst members of the British gentry: Frances Williams-Wynn wrote in her diary that the Duke de Sirent (Sérent?) "read us a history of the last moments of Louis XVI, written by Abbé Edgeworth, at the request of the brothers of that unfortunate monarch. In the history, there was little that we did not know from Cléry's and other publications."⁷⁹⁷ These titles allowed royalist emigrants to diffuse fantasmagoric projections in their host society: the reference to the beheaded king, with the 'same corporeal details used again and again' confirmed, for the French royalists and their British readership, 'the regression of the revolutionary man to the state of

⁷⁹⁵ MC, 08 August 1795, on *Aperçu general des événements politiques et militaires survenus depuis l'arrestation de S.M. Louis XVI jusqu'à la mort de Louis XVII*; MC, 30 Janvier 1798, *Eloge Historique de Louis XVI: du Fanatisme dans la langue révolutionnaire*; TB, 26 March 1796, *Eloge funèbre de Louis XVI avec une ode sur sa mort*; MC, 17 April 1797, *Eloge funèbre de Louis XVI*.

⁷⁹⁶ *Star*, 06 April 1798; *Sun*, 06 April 1798; *MC*, 10 April 1798; *Star*, 14 July 1798; *Sun*, 14 July 1798.

⁷⁹⁷ Frances Williams-Wynn, *Diary of a Lady of Quality*, ed. by A. Hayward (London: Longman, 1864) p.30 (Stowe, 9 January 1807).

barbarism'.⁷⁹⁸ British personas were not outdone: after his death in 1797, Burke, hero of the emigrant cause, was celebrated in the French exiled community, who reprinted and translated several speeches and essays of his. By advertising this, the *émigré* political lobby highlighted its admiration for the British counter-revolutionary fight and a strong connection with British politics, against the French Republic. At the time when emigrants were defecting the counter-revolutionary cause, it was even more necessary to find a political support in the host society.

As emigrants involved the London book trade magnified their heroes, they also castigated their enemies. It was particularly visible in publications advertised around 1798-1800: Robespierre, Philippe-Egalité and Bonaparte were lambasted in London *émigré* publications. Philippe-Égalité had been an ambitious traitor, 'thirsty with revenge' said Galart de Montjoie's *Conjuration du Duc d'Orléans*, the author of a book jointly sold: *Conjuration de Robespierre*.⁷⁹⁹ The book was printed in London in 1796 and reprinted in 1798. In emigrant and then British circles, the Terror was 'imputed to Robespierre alone', and became 'a strategic backdrop for a historiography anxious to preserve the sense of a coherent struggle for freedom'.⁸⁰⁰ The earlier case of General Dumouriez provides a good example. Throughout the period, he published a few volumes in London and abroad. Yet, British impressions on the ex-Republican General came from ultra-royalist sources. In October 1797, Lady Holland just finished reading Bouillé's *Memoirs related to the French Revolution*.⁸⁰¹ Her opinion on Dumouriez was then set: 'able as a negociator' and

⁷⁹⁸ Antoine de Baeque, *Glory and Terror: seven deaths under the French Revolution*, trans by C. Mandell (London: Routledge, 2001), p.69.

⁷⁹⁹ Galart de Montjoie *Histoire de la Conjuration du Duc d'Orléans*, p.iv.

⁸⁰⁰ Stéphanie Genand, 'Dreaming the Terror: the other stage of revolutionary violence', in *Representing Violence*, ed. by Wynne, p. 49-60 (p.50).

⁸⁰¹ Lady Holland's Journal, 14 October 1797, pp.152-153.

‘skilful general’, Bouillé still considered him ‘wicked’.⁸⁰² The British public’s familiarisation with the royalist emigrants’ heroes and persecutors influenced their vision of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary figures and events.

The other two categories advertised – the Franco-British wars and the Emigrant-British relationship – targeted, and sometimes were directly dedicated to, a British readership. The British role in the European war was a leitmotiv in advertised publications. D’Ivernois’ *Reflexions sur la guerre, adressées à Mr. Pitt* was advertised five times in a space of nine days in the end of May 1795, and then advertised as a translation in June of the same year under the title *Reflections on peace addressed to Mr. Pitt*. Five reproductions in translation were advertised throughout 1796. D’Ivernois urged for the military defeat of the financially weak French Republic in this response to Stael’s earlier address to Pitt.⁸⁰³ Barruel’s *Histoire du Clergé pendant la Révolution française* was advertised in its translated version as ‘a work dedicated to the English Nation’, on 10 February 1794. Both the French and the English version were preceded by a dedication, in which Barruel’s thanked the “British nation” for its generosity.⁸⁰⁴ The transnational aspect of the *émigré* counter-revolutionary fight was furthermore emphasised in several open letters and dedications: in addition to the letter from d’Ivernois to Pitt, the Swiss-born François-Pierre Pictet published an anti-revolutionary manifesto in London, translated as *A Letter to a foreign nobleman on the present situation of France with respects to the other states of Europe*; the colonialist Charmilly publicly apostrophised Bryan Edwards, MP and supporter of the slave trade, in his *Letter to*

⁸⁰² Marquis de Bouillé, *Memoirs relating to the French Revolution* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1797), pp.502-503.

⁸⁰³ Germaine de Stael, *Réflexions sur la Paix adressées à Mr Pitt et aux Français* (Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1795).

⁸⁰⁴ Abbé Barruel, *The History of the Clergy during the French Revolution. A work dedicated to the English nation* (Dublin: printed by. H.Fitzpatrick, 1794).

Bryan Edwards on his historical survey of the colony of St Domingo. Charmilly considered publishing in English a mandatory exercise as he explained it in the advertisement of this volume: “The present edition was undertaken at the request of several of my friends, who imagined that my object would be better attained than by the original one in the French Language, particularly as Mr. Edwards’ work is in English”.⁸⁰⁵ In order to get hold of the British public opinion’s attention, the *émigrés* had to communicate in English. By installing a direct dialogue with British politicians, and widening the participation to the entire British Nation, D’Ivernois, Charmilly and Barruel attempted to seduce the host society to help and finance emigration as a political and military counter-force to the Revolution.

Reinforcing victimisation, self-pity and the self-conscious cultural superiority of royalist and *ancien régime* France over the revolutionary one, the emigrant cultural productions in London participated in the justification and/or fortification of the anti-revolutionary fight. Translated in English and advertised in British newspapers, the emigrant ‘way of belonging’ became interconnected with the British society’s negative perception of the Revolution, its main characters and its events.

The emigrant reader, spectator and writer

While Britons were reading emigrant productions, some French emigrants in London were avid readers of British literature. The question of the influence British literature had on emigration is key in understanding the aesthetic and cultural transformations observed in emigrant groups in post-revolution France. Due to a shortage of sources, the emigrant reader is difficult to define. Books were expensive commodities for the average emigrant. In the eighteenth century, buying a novel

⁸⁰⁵ Colonel Venault de Charmilly, ‘Advertisement’, in *Anwer by the Way of a Letter to Bryan Edwards containing a refutation of his historical survey on the French colony of St.Domingo* (London: Baylis, 1797).

was equivalent to spending one or two week's supplies for the average European family.⁸⁰⁶ Subsequently, private libraries were rarely mentioned in emigrants' ego-documents. However, occasionally, advertisements were put in *émigré* journals from individuals wishing to sell or buy books.⁸⁰⁷ In January 1813, the Comte de Jarnac informed his son about his wish to purchase 'the fifty volumes of Voltaire, at a total price of five pounds' – corresponding approximately to five weeks of charitable allowances for the common emigrant.⁸⁰⁸ Most sources infer that emigrants borrowed books from their British friends and relatives, and returned them when finished.⁸⁰⁹ Gauthier de Brécý was employed as a librarian by Sir John Symmons for a period of five years.⁸¹⁰ His employer was a British gentleman to whom providing work to French émigrés was a way of fighting revolutionary threats. Gauthier de Brécý's principal task was to create a catalogue of all French and English books in Symmons library. He was furthermore allowed to loan books to the émigré community.⁸¹¹ Before returning to France, he made sure that all borrowed books were duly returned to their proprietor.

In lieu of a private library, some emigrants resorted to existing commercial libraries. Yet, the price of a subscription revealed rather prohibitive. The Marquise de la Tour du Pin wrote in her *Mémoires* that subscriptions were expensive in England, preventing many emigrants from taking advantages of them.⁸¹² However, proprietors of circulating libraries were relatively accommodating with these French individuals whose future was uncertain. The bookseller and publisher

⁸⁰⁶ Reinhard Wittmann, 'Une Révolution de la lecture à la fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle?', in *Histoire de la Lecture dans le monde occidental*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Paris: Seuil, 2001), pp.335-392.

⁸⁰⁷ Burrows, *Exile Journalism*, p.77.

⁸⁰⁸ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac to his son (27 January 1813).

⁸⁰⁹ *Boigne*, ed. by Berchet, I, pp.129-130; *Genlis*, ed. by Masseau, p.328.

⁸¹⁰ Gauthier de Brécý, pp.274-276.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.289.

⁸¹² *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.332.

Hookham inserted, in a translated version of a counter-revolutionary book, the following advert for his reading rooms, the *Literary Assembly*:

As many respectable foreigners, whose residence may not exceed three months, may wish, during that time, to see the Gazettes of their respective countries, they will also be admitted, for that period, by the introduction of a member, on paying One Guinea.⁸¹³

A normal subscription at Hookham was two Guineas per annum – emigrants were hence encouraged to spend half the amount paid by a British member of the *Literary Assembly* for only a quarter of Hookham's services. Targeting a British audience, this advert struck a few British charitable minds. Both the Marquise de la Tour du Pin and Madame de Genlis were given a subscription to a circulating library as a gift. During her sojourn in Bury, Genlis affirmed that M.Paradise, one of the directors of the British Museum, graciously sent her from London all the books she had been asking for. She omitted to mention whether she had to pay for these services.⁸¹⁴ Madame de La Tour du Pin received a year-long subscription to Hookham's library.⁸¹⁵ One day, she simply received a box with her name on it. Opening the parcel, she found ten volumes accompanied by a catalogue of 20 000 others, in English and in French. This was a gift from her friend Lydia White, whom she described as an eccentric Bluestocking.

The very few existing catalogues of emigrant libraries are of limited relevance in understanding the average emigrant's reading habits. After his death, Calonne's library was sold by auction in London on 27 July 1803.⁸¹⁶ The

⁸¹³ "Hookham's advertising section", in François-Pierre Pictet, *A Letter to a Foreign Nobleman, on the Present Situation of France, with Respects to the Other States of Europe* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1793), p.105.

⁸¹⁴ *Genlis*, ed. by Masseur, p.328

⁸¹⁵ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.332.

⁸¹⁶ *Catalogue of a Library of Books, the Property of Mons. De Calonne, Deceased, to be Sold by Auction, July 27, 1803* (London, 1803).

importance of Calonne in the transnational counter-revolution, his wealth and social position before and during emigration, make him an exception. French historian Cyril Triolaire examined one of the only known remaining reading diaries from an emigrant in Britain.⁸¹⁷ Marc Antoine François de Gaujal spent many years in England and in Ireland from 1796 until 1800. He conscientiously reported in his diary all his readings and all the theatre performances he had seen. Learning English from Pope and Thompson when planning his departure from the counter-revolutionary armies stationed in Germany, Gaujal considered that ‘pour voyager avec fruit chez un peuple, on doit parfaitement connaitre sa langue et son histoire [The knowledge of a people’s language and history allows for a fruitful trip]’.⁸¹⁸ For Triolaire, this literary diary is the symbol of a complex emigration, in which the emigrant hesitated between settling and integrating in his host country or returning to France. He also considered Gaujal’s reading practices as exceptional. Were they really? The most commonly cited authors in retrospective self-narratives were indeed Voltaire as well as the emigrant writers Delille and Chateaubriand. Yet, by considering Gaujal’s reading practices as exceptional when so little contemporary sources explaining in detail emigrant reading practices have been discovered, are we not victims of *émigré* cultural propaganda, during and after emigration, according to which French *ancien régime* culture was of a superior nature to the revolutionary and British ones?

Simon Burrows has noted that ‘British literature and drama were hardly mentioned in the *émigré* journals. In his only major article on Shakespeare, Peltier noted the standard criticisms of the dramatist’s poor taste, but recognised his

⁸¹⁷ Triolaire, p.460.

⁸¹⁸ Quoted in Triolaire, p.165 – FRANCE, AD Aveyron 17 J 29, Marc Antoine François de Gaujal, *Notes sur mon emigration*.

sublime genius.’⁸¹⁹ Shakespeare more than any other British dramatist was an inherited commonplace in French literature on British culture, and traditionally made its way into retrospective narratives on emigration. A Shakespearian play was a must-see, a required spectacle for all French travellers in London. To French emigrant children and adults, theatre was an educative tool to learn English. Madame de Genlis remembered that while in Bath she and her little *protégées* assisted several representations by a troupe of comedians, playing both tragedy and comedy.⁸²⁰ Her aim was to get acquainted with the English language – while tragedy was easy, comedy proved difficult to follow due to the importance of colloquialisms and proverbial sentences. The play writer Arnault recalled going to Drury Lane when Shakespeare was played.⁸²¹ Both brought the printed plays and followed the text “où nous lisons ce que notre oreille ne nous faisait pas comprendre”.⁸²² Genlis even boastfully commented that this method allowed her to master the English language in six weeks. Comments on the actors were not uncommon. The Comte de Jarnac had seen every single representation of Macbeth with actress Sarah Smyth: yet, his liking for Shakespeare equalled his penchant for the lead actress.⁸²³ Arnault commented on the nobility of John Kemble’s portrayal of Henry V, comparing him to rumours he had heard from the British public about the late David Garrick.⁸²⁴ Sarah Siddons was the best actress Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun had seen. Retrospective comments were very rarely critique about the plays, but rather about the combination of tragedy and comedy distasteful to the spectator of French classical theatre. Arnault compared his theatre to a “série de

⁸¹⁹ Burrows, “Cultural Politics of Exile”, p.168.

⁸²⁰ *Genlis*, ed. by Masseau, p.327.

⁸²¹ Arnault, pp.388-389.

⁸²² *Genlis*, ed. by Masseau, p.327, trans: “where we could read what our ears did not allow us to understand”.

⁸²³ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac to his son (8 June 1812).

⁸²⁴ Arnault, p.391.

bouffonneries”, a farce carried by a grave circumstance.⁸²⁵ At a production of Henry V, he was particularly shocked by a scene in which the French heiress Catherine was taught a few vulgar words in English by a lady-in-waiting.⁸²⁶ Arnault’s outrage when hearing the French monarchy mocked on a British stage can only be compared to his disapproval of the combination of tragedy and comedy in Shakespearian theatre.

The few titles gleaned during this research indicate that emigrants continued to read British philosophers, pre-revolutionary novels and a few contemporary bestsellers. The acknowledgment of reading (or not reading) British literature appears in self-narratives as a symbolic posture. Anglophile constitutional monarchists furthered their pre-revolutionary reading habits. Probably writing in the late 1790s, the Comte de Jarnac listed a few French and British titles aimed at the education of his adolescent son.⁸²⁷ Fielding, for example, was seen by Jarnac as a worthy guide in moral conduct. Jarnac and his son also spent several days at Strawberry Hill in the company of the Gothic novelist Horace Walpole. Burney claimed that Lally-Tollendal’s daughter sent him a letter in which she told him she had just learnt by heart his translation of Pope’s *Universal Prayer*.⁸²⁸ In her *Mémoires*, the Comtesse de Boigne remembered that when she was still the young Adèle d’Osmond, she spend several hours reading Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nation*.⁸²⁹ Finally, Chateaubriand regarded reading and learning about the English culture as a compulsory part of his studies – unfortunately, he did not give much information about the British authors and titles he had been reading while in

⁸²⁵ Ibid., pp.388-389.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., pp.390-391.

⁸²⁷ France, CARAN, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac: *Documents for the Education of my son*

⁸²⁸ Burney, T.6, p.90.

⁸²⁹ *Boigne*, ed. by Berchet, I, p.129.

exile.⁸³⁰ For constitutionalist parents and emigrant scholars, British literature was both used as an educative tool in moralising their children and as an introduction to understanding the host society.

The youth in the emigration favoured contemporary British literature. Walsh remembered exchanging books with the daughters of a protestant clergyman while sojourning on holiday in Stock.⁸³¹ He borrowed Matthew Lewis' *The Monk* and Ann Radcliff's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* in exchange for what he pretended had been a Catholic book. Both the *Monk* and *The Mysteries* were the first English novels he ever read. Gothic literature was a commonplace in French self-narratives and correspondence before the emigration – however, these two particular titles were considered as metaphors for the French Revolution. Radcliffe's novel was expressing the fears of the excesses of the Revolution.⁸³² Lewis's *The Monk* was harshly criticised by contemporaries for its intolerable anti-social and anti-religion discourse.⁸³³ This confession of a guilty literary pleasure (the first of many) induces an interrogation of Walsh's own literary techniques. He was indeed the only author of a self-narrative using characteristic features of Gothic literature to describe his host country. For example, Walsh's school had been displaced to a castle in Lancashire, which he described as bordering Scotland to fit his literary purposes.⁸³⁴ Charles I, 'cet autre royal décapité' [this other beheaded royalty], had slept in the castle, and the boys, mourning their king and country, would often visit his bedroom and cry in front of his red damask bed. In this text, the phantoms of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette had been superimposed to the ones of the Stuarts.

⁸³⁰ Chateaubriand, p.164.

⁸³¹ Walsh, p.179.

⁸³² Oriane Smith, *Romantic Women Writers, Revolution and Prophecy: Rebellious Daughters, 1786-1826* (Cambridge: CUP: 2013), p.130.

⁸³³ L. Andrew Cooper, *Gothic Realities: The Impact of Horror Fiction on Modern Culture* (London: McFarland, 2010), p.46.

⁸³⁴ Walsh, p.28.

The influence British literature had on the emigrant population seems more complex than the simple mimicking of Gothic features. Could we consider post-revolutionary literature as the long-term result of transfers? In his acclaimed pioneer study on the circulation of ideas in the French emigration in 1925, Fernand Baldensperger exposed the relationship between emigration, host countries and nineteenth-century romanticism. Yet, a literary categorisation was impossible when first analysing self-narratives. While the early ones borrowed features from pre-revolutionary and enlightened literature, they also contained passages that were highly romantic. On the other hand, the later ones, usually classified as part of the romantic literature, were filled with rationalising attempts.

In early literary productions, Romanticism and Gothicism have been rejected in favour of a renewed classicism. The rejection of the literary culture of the host country played a significant role in narrowing aesthetic canons in certain emigrant circles. Some even proposed a moral and aesthetical regeneration of France by the obedience to French classical canons. And yet, in order to be challenged and rejected, they need to have been known. While in emigration, an acquaintance of Gauthier de Brécy attempted to translate *Richard III* in French.⁸³⁵ Against all reason and betraying the original text according to Gauthier de Brécy, he adapted the play to fit within the French classical aesthetic canons. The poem *Les Héros de l'Emigration*, subtitled *L'Eloge de la Besace*, is a typical case of a counter-revolutionary poem falling into an identity backlash.⁸³⁶ Published anonymously after its author returned to France, this poem attempted to oppose French *ancien regime* aesthetic to the British Gothic trend. The affirmation of a French aesthetic identity first took place in its form: this poem took after the

⁸³⁵ Gauthier de Brécy, p.283.

⁸³⁶ *Les Héros de l'Emigration ou l'éloge de la besace* (Paris: Surogne, 1801).

Académie Française rhetorical art as it revolved around the six canonical parts of a discourse. It aimed to imitate ancient poets – the poet used a decasyllabic verse as well as several Homeric epithets in order to imitate Greek and Latin epic poetry. The title of the poem is an obvious reference to the cynic poet Crates (320BC) who praised poverty and stateless wandering in his poetry. He wrote in particular a parody of the *Odyssey*. The scene where Ulysses, disguised as a beggar entered his Palace in Ithaca is referred to in the title, as Crates's scene is set in Pera; Pera is the beggars' pouch in Greek (or *besace*). The content of the poem denounces the daily practices and transformation of the emigrants in Britain and the fatal influence British literature had on the French national character. In both the translation of the play and the poem, classicism was associated to an attachment to the fatherland. In this context, the English reference was instrumentalised in a French literary debate on classicism and modernity. The early emigrant debate between ultra-royalism and constitutionalism was displaced towards the relationship between French and foreign literatures. The most vocal amongst the emigrant groups normalized their strategies of representations, and participated to the marginalization of those who, like Germaine de Stael, were consciously involved in Franco-British exchanges. And yet, these same vocal groups have been unconsciously transformed by encounters with the British high culture – which allowed them to reject this very culture and affirm their own identity in contradiction.

Francophone publishing in London existed before emigration; the habit of reading foreign literature in a French cultural milieu was not the emigrant's prerogative. Financially established circles in Britain spoke French before the French Revolution. However, emigration marked a shift in the history of Franco-British cultural transfers because of the contemporary modified political context

that led to a modification of literary practices. The nature of the francophone books published, sold, advertised, translated and read in Great Britain was modified by the revolutionary debate. The predominance of emigrant literature in London certainly played a role in the long-term embodiment by the emigrants of the “enduring fascination for the Counter-Revolution and particularly for their part in it”.⁸³⁷ On the other hand, the French Revolution had an undeniable impact on both topics and styles in British literature, and by association its French readers. Reading British literature in view of their current situation and the loss of their cultural landmark, the emigrants came to redefine their own culture. Looking in details at transnational counter-revolutionary publications, transnational reading habits and the learning of the host society’s language, the frontiers between emigrant and British cultures are blurred in some places – rendering almost obsolete the insinuation by some émigré writers that they survived in a clear cultural autarky, where unshaken French and aristocratic values prevailed. The scale, length and motives of the emigrant stay in the British Isles did not only exacerbate cultural, literary and linguistic exchanges between the two groups. It had singular consequences on the definition of national belonging in both emigrant and British communities. While the counter-revolutionary book trade and its advertisements confirm the predominance of, for many, an heterogeneous “Paris of the mind” in emigrant public discourse, private discourse and behaviour might highlight diverse ways of being with regard to the home and host countries.

⁸³⁷ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.152.

CHAPTER 8 – THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE EMIGRANT WORLD

The opening scene of the 1795 *The Emigrant in London* showed a servant to a French nobleman, named La Jeunesse, waiting for his French employer in a public house. The thirsty valet accosted a waiter ‘with a broken English’.⁸³⁸

La Jeunesse: [...] Pray, Mr Waiter, are you an Englishman?

Waiter: Yes, Sir.

La Jeunesse: You are very happy; I would willingly change my certificate of baptism with you. At least when you are thirsty, you are at the fountainhead.

Do you charge anything for water here?

La Jeunesse’s discussion is traditional of the comic, ignorant, and dishonest French valet, conventional character in French classical comedy as well as ‘butt for the wit of their superior’.⁸³⁹ Yet, the apparently incidental sentence on exchanging one’s certificate of baptism reveals the uncertainties of national allegiance when faced with exile and misery. La Jeunesse’s master, a heroic French officer who participated in *émigré* military campaigns all around Europe, could not have pronounced this sentence. It would be un-noble, un-counterrevolutionary and hence un-French to trade a revered national identity for a drink. It would also be unmanly. In 1801, one *émigrée* character by emigrant novelist Charlotte de Bournon-Mallarme declared her wish to have been born a foreigner before the author praised Bonaparte.⁸⁴⁰ These sentences, pronounced in a public environment by a servant and a woman, hid a rather common question amongst emigrants – was the belief in a counter-revolutionary nation worth the sufferings of exile and poverty? In real circumstances, alcohol loosened many emigrant tongues – while some drunken Frenchmen reaffirmed their solidarity to Royalty and Bourbonism, others

⁸³⁸ *The Emigrant in London*, Act 1, Scene 1.

⁸³⁹ Fairchilds, p.230.

⁸⁴⁰ Charlotte de Bourbon-Mallarme, *Le Temps passé ou les malheurs de Mademoiselle de Mo...émigrée*, 2 vols (Paris: Maradan, 1801), p.40, quoted in Michel Delon, ‘Violence in the novels of Charlotte [de] Bournon-Mallarme’, in *Representing violence*, ed. by Wynne, pp.251-262.

recognised that their fidelity belonged first to their birth nation despite its current political regime. In March 1798, Antoine Cuenin, 'French emigrant', was sent to a London house of correction after 'uttering certain seditious and treasonable words [...]'; 'he wished success to the French and damnation to the English'.⁸⁴¹ British authorities could not accept a discourse, which, even so pronounced under the influence of alcohol, praised French General Hoche's attempted expedition to Ireland in the winter 1796-1797 and encouraged the territorial threat of a second Irish expedition by *Directoire's* General Humbert. In June 1802, a few months after the peace treaty of Amiens and Napoléon's striking off all but a thousand emigrants from official lists, intoxicated and armed with a pewter mug, M. de Membre, proud ex-guard of Louis XVI, beat the head of M.de Ste Victoire, ex-Mousquetaire.⁸⁴² If the fight broke for some trivial reason, the dining house where the assault happened was a renowned political forum in the French emigrant community according to reporting British journalists. A transformation in emigrant mentality lied beyond these amusing drunken anecdotes – the initial opposition between Revolution and Counter-Revolution was transforming into a question of national loyalty. In many emigrant minds, king and nation had ceased to form a single entity; monarchism had become a choice amongst many others.⁸⁴³ The question associated to the return ceased to be 'how' to become 'when'.

By the mid-1790s, the dauntless and irreproachable *émigrés* from 1789-1792 were no more; they had been replaced by anxious exiles, uncertain about their future as individuals and as a group. For most emigrants, emigration had never been thought of as a viable long-term solution. Refugee sociology distinguishes two

⁸⁴¹ *O&PA*, 9 March 1798.

⁸⁴² *E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor*, 13 June 1802; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June 1802.

⁸⁴³ Rance 'historiography', p.363.

categories of political exiles.⁸⁴⁴ The first one, known as ‘majority identified refugee’ survives and thrives from the conviction that its opposition to events in the home country is shared by the majority of their compatriots; the second category, marginalised, remains ‘ambivalent or embittered in their attitudes towards their former compatriots’. While the majority-identified refugees composed the core of voluntary migrants before 1792, they eventually became a minority within the emigrant population. The last chapter of this thesis deals with the metamorphosis of migrants’ identity and the decline of the already unsteady unity and cohesion of the French emigrant community in Great Britain. Karine Rance, proposed to study the long-term objectives of emigrants through the analytical concepts of ‘*rupture*’ and ‘*maintien*’, the disintegration of the relationship with the home country as opposed to the upholding of traditional home values in exile.⁸⁴⁵ In her study of noble emigration in Germany, she concluded that the German territories had never been thought of as ‘the location for the incarnation of their project’; on the contrary, the noble *émigrés* always considered it as the temporary location for refuge and survival until their final return to their homeland. The previous chapters of this thesis uncovered a large array of social, cultural and financial environments as well as political projects and diverse forms of migrant integration in Great Britain. The desire to integrate in British sociable networks, to learn English, the emigrant curiosity towards British culture and their investment in the local economy varied to such a degree and under too many circumstances to allow any definitive, permanent and unilateral conclusion on the objectives of these migrants.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁴ Egon F. Kunz, ‘Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory, *International migration Review*, 15 (1981), 42-51.

⁸⁴⁵ Karine Rance, ‘L’émigration française en Allemagne’, pp.5-8.

⁸⁴⁶ These were the four criteria chosen by Karine Rance to comply with the analytical concepts of *rupture* and *maintien*.

The research on socio-economic adaptations to life in exile is incomplete without an interrogation of psychological and familial adjustments to refugeedom. The realisation that exile was going to be longer than expected, and the ‘disenchantment’ regarding its outcome led emigrants to reconsider their approach to exile. The expression ‘disenchantment of the world’ refers to the dynamic loss of religious and magical beliefs in secularised modern societies.⁸⁴⁷ In the context of emigration, disenchantment can be used to describe the reassessment of the beliefs in the outcomes of the counter-revolutionary fight and the utopian recreation of an aristocratic *ancien régime* in France. This chapter firstly attempts to understand the several circumstances and structures leading to the choice of leaving the British asylum to return to France before 1815, hence disagreeing with the original objectives of a royalist Restoration. If the solution chosen by the majority of emigrants was to return to France, this decision was mostly taken at the individual level without the ascent of the community or the leaders of emigration. The second part of this chapter deals with the intimate, the psychological and emotional reaction to exile as well as its translation within the domestic sphere and strategies of integration. Desperation, pessimism and the loss of faith in the counter-revolution converted into diverse resolutions – spreading from an acute blindness when it came to the transformation of France into a modern society to the acceptance of exile and the transformation of the host country into a new home country. These solutions can be classified in three main categories: the intensification and radicalisation of counter-revolutionary objectives, the passive acceptance of the late eighteenth century changes and finally a rather pro-active dissociation from the French community and cultural heritage. Family, religion,

⁸⁴⁷ Marcel Gauchet, *Le désenchantement du monde. Une histoire politique de la Religion* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985).

education, the approach to death in exile as well as the emotional relation to the host and shelter should be understood as symbolic tools in shaping migrants' desired identity.

Despair, repatriation and isolation

From 1797, British newspapers gave weekly reports of successful social reintegration of returned migrants within the French society. By 1802, it was very common to read that packets and boats from several British ports were 'filled with emigrant passengers' and other comments on the scale of emigrant departures to France.⁸⁴⁸ Yet, the conditions of return before 1815 are rarely studied in historical scholarship.⁸⁴⁹ After the Terror, and throughout the French *Directoire* and *Consulat*, the emigrant's relationship to their home and host countries continued to evolve. This evolution related to changing and often unpredictable political and social contexts in France. In 1796-1797, several French apologists claimed that *émigrés* had been forced out of their country by violence; many legislators differentiated between men and women, 'political nonentities' who had not committed a political act by leaving France.⁸⁵⁰ Napoléon Bonaparte's role as a general and later as a Consul was essential in the normalisation of the relationship between the emigrants and the French state, as well as their reintegration within a society divided in several political parties.⁸⁵¹ A series of powerful gestures in social legislation and military victories against the European counter-revolution modified the conditions of repatriation of the French exiles.⁸⁵² However, the ratification of the 15 July 1801 *Concordat* with Pope Pius VII and the 26 April 1802 general

⁸⁴⁸ *MP&G*, 12 March 1801.

⁸⁴⁹ Kelly Summers (Thesis in preparation)

⁸⁵⁰ Heuer, p.108.

⁸⁵¹ Jen-Clément-Martin, 'Intro', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. by Martin, pp.13-14.

⁸⁵² Natalie Petiteau, 'La Contre-Révolution endiguée? Projets et réalisations sociales impériales', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. by Martin, pp.183-192 (p.184).

amnesty pardoning all but 1,000 intransigents seem to be a consequence rather than a cause of emigrant repatriation. The examination of French emigrant voluntary repatriation before the Bourbon Restoration revolves around both the reasons to return and the meaning of their repatriation.⁸⁵³ The majority of emigrants returned to France apparently accepted the Napoleonic regime by joining the imperial armies or in his administration – yet, as the Empire was crumbling, many immediately joined the First Bourbon Restoration of 6 April 1814. Could we infer from these prompt changes that pre-Amiens Peace treaty repatriations were not correlative to the acceptance of less radical French political regimes? Considering the meaning behind emigrant repatriation leads to a parallel consideration of the reasons for choosing to continue in exile. Was this the sign of constant support by the Bourbon in exile or of assimilation into the host country? The history of repatriation and continued exile is filled with opportunities, failures, fears, and disenchantment as well as legal, social and moral difficulties in the home and host country.

There was little distance between hope, resignation and despair when it came to returning to France, and none of these reasons were exclusive. The fall of the Terror and the coup of 18 Brumaire Year VIII were symbols of the pacification and normalisation of the conditions of repatriation of French emigrants; in the meantime, the Counter-Revolution was reaching a dead end, at the hand of ‘stubborn conservati[ve]’ political and religious leaders, refusing the moderation of any compromise and preferring to it a ‘politic of isolation’.⁸⁵⁴ The Princes failed to gather in one united front the diverse strands of counter-revolutionary ideologies;

⁸⁵³ Megan Bradley, ‘Back to basics: The Conditions of Just Refugee returns’, *JRF*, (2008) 285-304; ‘Rethinking refugeehood: statelessness, repatriation and refugee agency’, *Review of International Studies* 40 (2014), pp.101-123. James C. Hathaway, ‘The Meaning of Repatriation’, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 9 (1997), 551-558 – Although Hathaway used the same formula, his approach to repatriation is based on State legislation; Bradley considered the pragmatic conditions of repatriation. In her latest article, she insists on the importance of expanding theorising on refugees ‘to a broader conception of the refugee as a bearer of claims for the renegotiation of her relationship with her state’.

⁸⁵⁴ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp.112-113.

they repetitively engaged in military fiascos - the 1792 campaigns, Quiberon and on the Spanish front. While many *émigré* regiments were created under the British pay, this exiled military engagement has to be put into perspective: the financial incentive to enlist under British command for men who were refused the civilian relief certainly surpassed their political motivations.⁸⁵⁵ Furthermore, the influential *émigré* journalists in London ‘failed to create a public space in which the Bourbons and their adherents could discuss and develop a relevant political ideology, and effective policies for the Bourbon Restoration’.⁸⁵⁶ In addition to civilian and military returns, the 1801 *Concordat* divided the Catholic emigrant community, reduced to choose between Rome and the Bourbons – a situation bound to happen since 1796-1797 according to Bellenger. Hence, a majority of the London bishops refused the Pope’s demand to resign from their *ancien régime* bishopric.⁸⁵⁷ The rebellion led by Pierre-Louis Blanchard ended in a schism and the birth of a Gallican *Petite Église*. To them, the Concordat, was an ‘open attack on what they had come to regard as the sacred polity of the Throne-Altar Alliance’.⁸⁵⁸ As a result, the British Catholic clergy denounced and dissociated itself from the Blanchardist party.⁸⁵⁹ The radicalisation and gallicanisation of courtiers and bishops surrounding the Princes hence had a deterrent effect on the majority of exiles who could not recognise the original objectives of emigration in this new discourse.

British and most French exiled journalistic attitudes towards the repatriation of French emigrants to France were mostly optimistic, especially during the

⁸⁵⁵ Rance, ‘historiography’, p.360.

⁸⁵⁶ Burrows, *Exile Journalism*, p.230.

⁸⁵⁷ HRO, *Carnavon of Highclere papers*, 75M91/A6/38, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (2 December 1800). Birmingham.

⁸⁵⁸ Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p.112.

⁸⁵⁹ Many archives concerning the British Catholic reaction to Blanchardism are kept in the Birmingham archdiocesan archives.

Amiens treaty. A minority of voices rejoiced at the departure of ‘popish emigrants’⁸⁶⁰, some regretting that their departure was not more rapid. The *Albion and Evening Advertiser* complained that emigrants in England returned more slowly than in continental Europe ‘because the assistance they receive from the government places them above absolute indigence, by which those on the Continent suffer so severely’.⁸⁶¹ However, between 1800 and mid-1802, several optimistic rumours concerning Napoléon Bonaparte’s policy of forgiveness circulated in the United Kingdom – in the days preceding 14 July 1800, it was said that the First Consul would burn the *émigré* lists in a bonfire to celebrate the return to Peace and a unified French Nation;⁸⁶² in December 1801, a second rumour held that Bonaparte had allowed the return of the entire French emigrant nobility in France.⁸⁶³ Emigrant hopes were fed with numerous articles on repatriated famous emigrants and officers struck from the lists as individuals and reintegrated in the French elite circles. In some other cases, British journalists stirred hope narrating the stories of emigrants who, returned to France, were reinstated into their pre-revolution properties after a faithful servant had bought and taken care of them until the return of the *ancien régime* rightful owner.⁸⁶⁴ Exiled journalists, and especially constitutional monarchists, renegotiated their positions.⁸⁶⁵ Montlosier and the Abbé Calonne merged their newspapers in a single pro-bonapartist journal – ‘the *émigré* journalists thus contributed to both the intellectual and moral failure of Bourbonism and to the emotional and political triumph of Bonapartism’.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁰ *Lloyd’s Evening news*, 4-7 August 1797.

⁸⁶¹ *Albion and Evening Advertiser*, 13 September 1800.

⁸⁶² *WEP*, 10-12 July 1800.

⁸⁶³ *Hull Packet*, 1 December 1801.

⁸⁶⁴ *SJC or BEP*, 25-27 July 1797.

⁸⁶⁵ Burrows, *Exile Journalism*, p.183.

⁸⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.230.

It would be too simple to find a direct causal relationship between the apparent euphoric optimism for the Consul's policies and legislation and the scale of the repatriations. Many cases of repatriation were actually unsuccessful. Sometimes, the failure to reintegrate France took place even before the departure. The first pragmatic consideration to take into account was the cost of the return – while some were selling their British properties at auctions to afford the fees of the journey, others simply could not afford it. Besides, the *Aliens Act* gave the British Administration complete power on foreigners' movements within the country and on those who were trying to exit Great Britain. The same newspaper that complained about the slowness of returns explained that the Aliens Office only distributed 600 passports to France, including 80 for priests.⁸⁶⁷ In 1797, three adolescent deserters from an emigrant regiment in the York Hussars got caught trying to cross the Channel.⁸⁶⁸ Having failed to present a stamped passport to the British Authorities, they were consequently thrown in prison. In May 1800, a French emigrant was apprehended in Dover, trying to leave the country 'without permission to embark from this port'.⁸⁶⁹ These clandestine returns were treated as threats to British national security in a time of military conflict with France. Just like prisoners of war, these men were capable of bearing arms against their British hosts once returned to France. The next repatriation failure happened when reaching France, where the emigrants were not welcomed but were often objects of shame – such news being often reported by the conservative loyalist or governmental British newspapers. In 1797, a few returning emigrants turned around to the English shores after 'unsuccessful attempts to land in France'.⁸⁷⁰ Many

⁸⁶⁷ *Albion and Evening Advertiser*, 13 September 1800.

⁸⁶⁸ *WEP*, 31 Oct-1 Nov 1797.

⁸⁶⁹ *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 7-9 May 1800.

⁸⁷⁰ *TB*, 9 October 1797.

English captains testified that homecoming Frenchmen, and in particular clergymen, were ‘received with inhumanity by their countrymen’.⁸⁷¹ Many newspapers furthermore reported tales about emigrants returning from European destination arbitrarily executed upon arrival. These reports of declined and failed repatriation would help to reinforce the feeling of inadequacy amongst those who stayed in the host country.

The emigrants felt more inadequate in Britain as they lost the public sympathy of the fashionable British aristocracy and many politicians. With Edmund Burke’s death in 1797, the emigrant community lost its most fervent defender. The general loss of interest for charities seemed to confirm that reliefs had been a short-lived fashionable trend. In 1800, a witty British lady of fashion was teaching her male interlocutor the English etymology of the word emigrant, ‘a compound of three English words – a meagre rat’.⁸⁷² Lady Holland expressed her distaste for the Comte d’Artois, ‘a man of slender abilities with violent passions; before the Revolution he was weak and volatile; he is now weak and revengeful’; she preferred the ‘talented Bonaparte’.⁸⁷³ The same fashionable men and women who had help the French emigrants in 1792-1794 were now showing sympathies to non-emigrant French visitors and political migrants, who had left France after taking part in the regime of Terror. Although these new arrivals often had played minor roles in the Revolution, this new population embodied the nemesis of many emigrants. In 1797, a newspaper reported that a French emigrant lady fainted after seeing Pierry, one of the deputies at the national assembly who voted the death of Louis XVI and ‘caused [her] family to be massacred at Paris and [herself] to be

⁸⁷¹ *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 15 May 1802.

⁸⁷² *O&DA*, 10 October 1800.

⁸⁷³ *The Journal of Elisabeth, Lady Holland*, ed. by Earl of Ilchester (New York: Longmans, Green, 1908) pp.50-51 (1st March 1800).

thrown in prison'.⁸⁷⁴ Mary Frampton had reported a similar rumour in her private journal: as one of the members of the Directoire was seen in the Strand, a 'French lady whose father, mother and brother he had murdered' fainted.⁸⁷⁵ In 1798, the *Saint James's Chronicle* reported an anecdote in which a man intending to visit the conventional Joseph Niou in his house in George Street, Portman Square, accidentally knocked at 'the door of Count***, a French Emigrant'.⁸⁷⁶ Stunned, the latter shut the door in front of the intrusive visitor with the following words: 'Do I look like a regicide?' This situation was however condemned by the most conservative amongst the British newspapers who saw a strong injustice in it. While the Abbé Grégoire and Volney arrived in London, *Cobbett's Annual Register* blamed 'some, at least, of the great and the rich of this country' for encouraging their arrival while 'hundreds of the French emigrant loyalists are dying by the inches for want of sufficiency of food'.⁸⁷⁷ Following the cruel rules of fashion, emigration had been *à la mode* amongst the Gallomaniac English elites until a new French trend naturally replaced it.

The emigrant feeling of inadequacy was certainly worsened by an average low social integration in the host country – the complexity of learning a new language, the moral and ethical difficulty in adapting to a new culture coupled with the nostalgia for what they had lost in France were increased by the asymmetrical relationship they had with the host society. While in the early 1790s, hopes of a fast return home had discouraged French emigrants from integrating within the British society, they had become excluded by default by the end of the decade. Whether chosen or imposed, isolation in the host country led individuals to question their

⁸⁷⁴ *Lloyd's Evening*, 22 February 1797.

⁸⁷⁵ *Journal of Mary Frampton, widow of Charles Wollaston*, ed. by Harriot Georgiana Mundy (London: Sampson Low, 1885) (3 March 1797).

⁸⁷⁶ *SJC or BEP*, 13-15 September 1798.

⁸⁷⁷ *Cobbett's Annual Register*, 30 June 1802.

faith in the emigrant community and the *émigré* leaders. Without falling into the trap of a psychologising reading of inadequacy and exclusion in exile, it is however important to differentiate with psychiatrists the common acculturative stress from the ‘immigrant chronicle and multiple stress’ also known as Ulysses’ syndrome.⁸⁷⁸ The latter arises from four environmental factors, known as stressors: the fear related to the host state’s legislation on foreigners, extreme poverty in immigration, loneliness and the distance from one’s family and finally the impression of constant failure. In cases when both the repatriation and the settlement in the host country had become impossible, a few emigrants chose to commit suicide. Some left little indications about their choice: the Comte de Melfort’s suicide was only reported because the press mistook him for the British Duke of Melfort.⁸⁷⁹ Despite carrying in her pocket a letter narrating her sufferings related to emigration, the death of French female found drowned in the Thames was declared to be an accident.⁸⁸⁰ The British press took a particular interest in two cases, the first for its violence and the second because of its resemblance with popular moral tales. In both cases, the deceased were considered as mentally deranged or ‘melancholic’ by the examining coroners. In July 1800, sixty years old Captain B. Kellerie shot himself twice in the head in a public park, in front of young and impressionable children.⁸⁸¹ Kellerie, who ‘displayed the symptom of melancholy and occasionally symptoms of mental derangement’ had lost his two sons in the continental wars. The second case presents much similarity with Hogarth’s series of *A Harlot’s Progress*. In January 1810, Miss Paris voluntarily overdosed on opium.⁸⁸² The young woman, orphaned

⁸⁷⁸ Dr. Joseph Achotegui, ‘Emigrar en situación extrema: el Síndrome del inmigrante con estrés crónico y multiple’, *Norte de Salud Mental*, 21 (2004), 39-52.

⁸⁷⁹ *MC*, 8 August 1811.

⁸⁸⁰ *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 11 July 1801.

⁸⁸¹ *LEP*, 4-7 July 1800.

⁸⁸² *MP*, 8 January 1810.

‘daughter of a French emigrant of Rank’ left her boarding school to marry a British navy officer. She had then eloped from the marital home and lived from prostitution before being rescued by a religious hospital. In both cases, the emigrant protagonists felt compelled to suicide for they had little space to build a place for themselves in a host country.

Familial regeneration and dynastic strategies

Paradoxically and despite losing many of its members, the French community in London became increasingly organised in the late 1790s, with its institutionalised schools, churches and hospitals. By 1802, the expressions ‘French emigrant’, ‘refugee’ or the least used ‘*émigré*’ seem to have almost ceased to be used by British journalists, or by advertisers. This could be interpreted as the sign of a better integration of the French communities within the British society; on the other hand, the repatriation of the majority of emigrants to France meant that those who stayed were the most radically engaged against the new French authorities and the least likely to accept state modifications. Indeed, while the use of encompassing terms regarding exiles decreased, British journalists continued discussing the British whereabouts and political decisions of public *émigré* personas and titled French emigrants. To understand the significance of these emigrants’ choice to stay in the British Isles, one has to interrogate their lifestyle and the political and social strategies behind it. Familial, educational and religious politics can be used to understand the meaning of the continuation of exile. Were marriages and the birth of children in emigration the sign that French migrants had decided to settle in England? As everything else had failed, was the French aristocracy and nobility counting on heirs and heiresses to continue their counter-revolutionary fight? Was the second generation better off with a Gallic and Catholic education or should they

be instructed skills to adapt in their host county? Could and should the second generation of emigrants assimilate within the British society? These were all questions asked by the French emigrants and their host society.

It is difficult to find traces of both marriages and birth within the emigrant community in Great Britain as there was no civil registry in the United Kingdom before the 1830s. Church registers are not very helpful either as it was not before 1813 that standardised baptism as well as marriage records were introduced in the British parishes. Saint Pancras parish registers record the presence of many French emigrants in its burial grounds.⁸⁸³ In all likelihood, emigrants' births and marriages should also be recorded in the same registers. Despite the large presence of French sounding names in these registers, it was almost impossible to differentiate French immigrants and the descendants of Huguenots from the French exiles. At least one French priest recorded the new members in his Catholic community, the name of their parents and godparents. Louis Benjamin Robin had been in England for three years when he started in 1795 the first ever parochial register of Catholics in the Cheshire town of Macclesfield.⁸⁸⁴ Unsurprisingly, this provincial list did not include any French names. If marriages and birth are difficult to quantify, there were however reports of them in newspapers, private correspondence and later self-narratives. A second point to be made regards the possibility for emigrants to get married or have a child in exile. If scandalous love stories of French exiled clergymen made quite a stir in anti-popish newspapers, such cases were with no doubt only a handful. The gender imbalance in the emigrant community could have had an impact on migrants' marriages and demography. The majority of French emigrants registered in the lists of the Overseers of the Poor were men. They were

⁸⁸³ LMA, *Saint Pancras Parish Church, Euston Road, Camden.*

⁸⁸⁴ BAA, Macclesfield Alban catholic church.

not reported as the head of a household, as all members of foreign families were singled out in the official registers. These men were often described as officers. As such, they were statistically more likely to be in their forties or fifties.⁸⁸⁵ Hence, they probably had left their wives and children in France.⁸⁸⁶ Others could simply not afford to marry.

When reported, marriages were both endogamic (French-French) and exogamic (French-British); religion was rarely mentioned. While some endogamous unions were directly related to the hope of a rapid repatriation to France, the overall emigrant thinking behind both endogamic and exogamic marriages related to finances and social distinction. There were of course a few love marriages and cases of elopement. Most endogamous marriages and cases of pregnancy before 1795 were connected to hopes of an imminent return. Then, men getting married or about to become father were soldiers engaged in the *émigré* regiments. On 26 December 1793, the Comte de Fauchecourt married Madame de Saint Germain, a widow.⁸⁸⁷ The day following the wedding, Fauchecourt left London to join Moira's army in Southampton, where the British general was contemplating an attack on St. Malo. Memoir writer Walsh reported that Sombreuil, commander of the expedition of Quiberon, delayed his wedding to Mademoiselle de La Blache with the following words: 'Ici, vous n'épouseriez qu'un émigré, là-bas, ce sera un victorieux'.⁸⁸⁸ If the comment of Sombreuil, hero of the counter-revolutionary martyrology, is probably apocryphal, it is however reminiscent of a propagandist discourse already mentioned in this thesis, this time contemporary to emigration. By the end of the year 1795, the British Relief Committee had asked

⁸⁸⁵ Pinasseau's work shows that the medium age for emigrant officers in 1791 is 47,4 years.

⁸⁸⁶ Heuer, p.99.

⁸⁸⁷ *PA*, 20 January 1794.

⁸⁸⁸ Walsh, p.69.

subscriptions to help eighty French women lying in after their husbands left for Quiberon. While his wife was pregnant, Bouillé sent her back to France ‘afin que, du moins, l’enfant à qui elle allait donner le jour, ne fut point en naissant, marqué du sceau de l’émigration’.⁸⁸⁹ These stories are emblematic on many levels. Like in the British armies, the *émigré* soldier ‘focused on his patriotic duties, while his wife [...] submits to her own national sacrifice by parting from him’.⁸⁹⁰ For militaries, the transmission of honour was related to the territory.

Throughout the period 1793-1814, finances were the most important and strategic motivation in emigrant marriages. One married to reinforce his personal social situation or her family’s position. Amongst the French emigrant community, ‘*Creole*’ women were sought after – the rich planters of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Saint-Domingue had somehow managed to save their colonial fortunes thanks to the invasion of the three islands (or part of them) by the British navy. Mademoiselle de Kersaint hence married the Marquis de Duras, in a ceremony administered by no less than the archbishop of Aix in November 1797.⁸⁹¹ Betsy de la Touche married Edward Fitzjames.⁸⁹² The engagement of Mademoiselle de Sérent was however almost broken off when her brother, the Vicomte de Serrant, told Bouillé that the British-dominated part of Saint-Domingue could be evacuated.⁸⁹³ Like *Creole* women, British brides were sought after for their dowry. In 1797, a Miss Fagnani, daughter of the Marquis, was to be married to a ‘French Emigrant, not in the most affluent circumstance’.⁸⁹⁴ She was receiving a rent of

⁸⁸⁹ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.473.

⁸⁹⁰ Jeannine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the long eighteenth century* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p.2.

⁸⁹¹ *SJC or BEP*, 28 Novembre 1797.

⁸⁹² *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.317.

⁸⁹³ *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p.312.

⁸⁹⁴ *TB*, 15 April 1797.

£10,000 by George Selwyn.⁸⁹⁵ In 1798, the chevalier Henry Roquemont, an emigrant French officer, married Miss Freeman of Appleshave, who was endowed with £25,000.⁸⁹⁶ In 1806, in Oxford, the ‘chevalier Dustervalm’, a French Emigrant, married Miss Parry, who was the heiress of a fortune of £20,000.⁸⁹⁷ Monsieur de Charmilly allegedly used his British wife’s fortune to entertain the emigrant community in London.⁸⁹⁸ Young female emigrants were also introduced in rich British families. Fanny Krumpholz’s friend, Juliette Gros, summarised the situation: ‘il vaut mieux ma chère que tu trouves l’aisance en te mariant que d’être obligée de supprimer la coquetterie et les dépenses [it would be better, my dear, to find material comfort through marriage than to give up elegance and consumption]’.⁸⁹⁹ In 1798, the marriage between Adèle d’Osmond and *East India Company* veteran de Boigne was the talk of the town.⁹⁰⁰ In a society where social distinction and appearance ruled elite sociability, marriages functioned as a vector of financial and social integration within the highest circles. The financial benefits of emigrant women with marrying Englishmen were double in the late 1790s: from a French legal point of view ‘if recognised as a foreigner’ and not as an *émigrée* after their marriage, they might inherit their ‘parents’ properties in France’.⁹⁰¹

The English viewpoint on marrying within the French emigrant community was slightly different. Following eighteenth century commonplaces, French sexual and adulterous mores were still denounced as perverted in the 1790s. The young Countess Granville complained about Artois’s courtiers’ attitudes: ‘Puysegur is a little too *dévoué aux dames* [...]. Lord help them! Their only *héros de roman* are

⁸⁹⁵ *Gentleman’s magazine*, Vol.69, p.183.

⁸⁹⁶ *WEP*, 20-23 October 1798.

⁸⁹⁷ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 13 Octobre 1806.

⁸⁹⁸ Walsh, p.156.

⁸⁹⁹ ESRO, *Archives of the Stapley, Wood and Davidson families*, HIC1056, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (13 July 1799).

⁹⁰⁰ *LEP*, 15-18 June 1798.

⁹⁰¹ Heuer, pp. 111-112 and 114.

the Baron de Roll and the Duc de Castries'.⁹⁰² Yet a few days later, she had to hide from the Baron who had 'been following [her] all over the house to prove that the Baronne and he are not in love with each other'.⁹⁰³ Newspapers reported legal cases were French husbands prostituted their wives, teachers eloped with gentle families' daughters or seduced then abandoned pregnant young English girls. The fiercest attacks targeted the Catholic clergy, especially after the success of Mathew Lewis' 1796 *The Monk*. In 1804, Louis Darnley, French emigrant priest in London was 'capitally convicted for an unnatural crime'.⁹⁰⁴ The priest's homosexuality however did not lead to such an uproar as the pregnancy of an emigrant in the Yorkshire town of Wetherby, where the impregnated woman had long impersonated a French emigrant priest.⁹⁰⁵ The deceit was unveiled as she was brought to bed with a child. The *Morning Post and Fashionable World* sarcastically reminded its readers that 'the French clergy are prohibited from marrying by their religion';⁹⁰⁶ the *True Briton* thought it funny to conclude the news saying 'this will finish our Protestant Divines with an additional argument against celibacy of the Catholic Clergy'.⁹⁰⁷

However, British mentalities concerning mixed marriages appear to have been transformed by the 1810s. Emigrant in-laws were certainly still not considered as marrying material in the English, Irish and Scottish aristocracy, as, in the words of Paul Langford, 'a propertied upbringing promoted an undue apprehension of the risks of an injudicious union'.⁹⁰⁸ It was one thing to pity the dispossessed French refugee and another to marry someone who did not legally own the lands they pretended to. When in 1809 Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot married his

⁹⁰² *Letters of Harriet, countess Granville, 1810-1845*, ed. by F. Leveson-Gower, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, 1894), I, 6 October 1811.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 11 October 1811.

⁹⁰⁴ *LEP*, 13-16 April 1804.

⁹⁰⁵ *GEP*, 1/4 April 1797

⁹⁰⁶ *MP&FW*, 3 April 1797.

⁹⁰⁷ *TB*, 3 April 1797.

⁹⁰⁸ Langford, *Public life*, p.3.

childhood friend Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Leinster, the bride's family perceived it as 'bad marriage', something to be 'reconciled to'.⁹⁰⁹ Yet, it was not considered as a disgrace in less opulent and provincial families, as well as non-titled families: they brought a name into the union. Mixed marriages have been a common theme in British 1810s moral comedies. A comic opera by Anacreon Moore, *M.P. or the Blue-Stockings*, staged, in a sub-plot, the story of emigrant mother and son de Rosier in an unknown spa town.⁹¹⁰ Threatened with denunciation and deportation by a fraudulent British provincial gentleman, Monsieur de Rosier was in love with young Miss Hartington. In the final scene, her father blessed the wedding of the two young people, as de Rosier was allowed to stay in England: 'you love each other and I rejoice'. In 1813, Thomas Morton's *Education*, shown in Covent Garden, dealt with the story of Count Villars and his daughter Rosine, both married to English provincial subjects.⁹¹¹ As a Frenchman, Villars was first rejected by his second wife's family and their village, as 'the marriage almost broke the [father's and main landlord of the village] heart'. By the end of the play, Rosine becomes the sole heiress to her English family's fortune, and marries Vincent Templeton, her long-time British lover.

Increasingly accepted in both communities, mixed families were however not signifiers of a rupture in male emigration project. These marriages were not a sign and vector of integration within parts of the British society. Marriages were in fact considered as opportunities to firstly maintain a social status despite exile and secondly build strong roots in the British Isles in case exile would be endless. A mixed marriage was part of a political system of dynastic planning. In January

⁹⁰⁹ *Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, p.355.

⁹¹⁰ Thomas Anacreon Moore, *M.P.: or the Blue-Stockings* (London: J.Clawes, 1811); *MP*, 10 September 1811.

⁹¹¹ Thomas Morton, *Education: a comedy* (London: Davidson, 1813); *MP*, 28 April 1813.

1801, Monsieur de Rebourquil wrote to his friend Adam Gordon concerning the advantageous union between Mademoiselle de Grammont and Lord Ossulton, son of the Earl of Tankerville.⁹¹² He concluded the letter sharing his hope that ‘ils se fassent beaucoup de ces alliances entre vos meilleures familles et les nôtres’ [there would be plenty of these marriages between your best families and ours]. Mixed aristocratic marriages were traditional amongst European elites, as the closure of the group to a chosen minority reinforced their dominance over society as well as their political weight. In Rebourquil’s letter, the opposition between ‘ours’ and ‘yours’ highlighted the separation between the two communities, and, paradoxically, the French royalists refusal to assimilate within the British aristocracy. Female emigrants were more likely to settle in the home country of their husbands than male heirs to a French name. In a society that aimed to function under the rules of *ancien régime* France, a married woman’s identity was legally subordinated to her husband’s. There were obviously a few exceptions: Madame de Boigne separated from her husband, and chose an allegiance to her family and *Patrie* rather than one to the legal head of her new household.

The formation of a mixed household however took on another significance in non majority-identified circles. It was sometimes associated with the revolutionary notion of regeneration. As the Comte de Jarnac became the grandfather of a Franco-Irish boy, he received a letter from his friend, constitutional General Dumouriez.⁹¹³ Since 1804, Dumouriez and Jarnac had rejected the Empire; they had however never been satisfied with the Princes in exile. After an initial revolt against the ‘degenerated’ and ‘monstrous’ French court, Dumouriez explained:

⁹¹² WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD /1172, M. de Rebourquil to Adam Gordon (1 January 1801).

⁹¹³ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/55, Dumouriez to Comte de Jarnac (23 August 1810).

J'apprends en arrivant ici, mon Cher Comte, que vous voila grand-père et qui plus est d'un male ce dont je me réjouis. C'est une bonne race de notre haute noblesse qui ne s'éteindra pas et qui n'aura que changé de sol par l'émigration. Cette transplantation ne peut que lui donner une nouvelle sève.

[I am learning upon my arrival, my dear Comte, that you are the grandfather of a male, a situation I am delighted with. It is a good race of the highest nobility that will not die and would have been pricked out in an other soil with emigration. Transplantation will renew its sap].

To further Dumouriez's arboricultural metaphor, mixed marriages, in which the groom was an emigrant, allowed for a French noble family to root and thrive in the host country and amongst its landed society. Such birth kept French noble names alive. Following this logic, failure of birth (and in particular male birth) complicated the task of emigrants in transmitting their names, culture and battle to posterity.

In Great Britain, the increasing presence of children in emigrant circles – those who left France at a very young age or were born in exile – challenged both the emigrant and host societies. The form and substance of the French and Catholic education system was highly contested between the emigrants and their hosts. Unless secluded, these children were probably more vulnerable to the differentiation between their cultures of filiation and affiliation, between the cultural behaviours transmitted by their family and the habits of the host country.⁹¹⁴ As the end of emigration was unforeseen, emigrant parents and ideologues considered carefully the social integration of the next generation. Would they be French or English subjects? Should they be ready to return to France or attempt to

⁹¹⁴ Marie-Rose Moro, *Parents en exil. Psychopathologie et migrations* (Paris: PUF, 1994), p.24.

assimilate in their host community? How could one instill in children an attachment to a homeland they barely knew or had never seen?

The aristocratic and clerical response was unanimous: emigrant aristocratic children shall be raised as the true future leaders of France; the noble code of honour would be enforced in French educational institutions. The French Catholic Church in exile would obviously provide them with an education. Regarding Penn School, Burke was attempting to promote the social inclusion of emigrant children by teaching them English; his opponents bishop St. Pol de Léon and Abbé Maraine endorsed the exclusion of these children from the British society. Indeed, St Pol de Léon had refused to engage any British teachers, as French priests were ‘essential to the morals and religion of the boys’.⁹¹⁵ Burke’s judgements on both clergymen were extremely strong. Providing the boys with a mere French education would ‘ruin’ them.⁹¹⁶ He considered the absence of English lessons at Penn as a ‘condemn[ation] to a universal exile, and to be perpetual Vagrants without a possibility of being in a state of effectual communication with the natives of any country’.⁹¹⁷ In another letter he questioned the sanity of the French clergymen:

I really consider the idea of forcing the miserable French Boys to be foreigners here, is a little less than downright madness; and the educating them as ecclesiastics, when we have nothing for them, by any possibility, but some chance of their struggling in some parts of these dominions, in a military line, is I think no less so!⁹¹⁸

Despite his efforts to bring ‘a good dash of English education’ at Penn School, Edmund Burke considered that only a Catholic clergyman should fulfil the role of the English teacher.⁹¹⁹ Furthermore, Penn pupils should all be Catholics. When

⁹¹⁵ *Burke*, ed. by Copeland, X, pp.9-11: Burke to Letter to Walker King, 14 May 1796.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, X, p.5, letter to the abbé Maraine, 2 May 1796.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, X, pp.16-20, to the Marquess of Buckingham, 24 May 1796.

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, X, pp.20-21, To the Rvd Thomas Hussey, 25 May 1796.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, X, pp.39-42, To Lord Buckingham, 1 June 1796.

Madame Tiballier, an American citizen married to a Frenchman, forced her son's way into the Catholic establishment, Burke compelled her to disclose the child's religious identity.⁹²⁰ She refused. Burke considered her conduct 'abominable' and concluded that he would not 'breed the child of any Protestant in the Roman Catholic Religion'. While Burke considered Catholicism as the response to the secular Revolution, the French bishops imagined Gallicanism as a solution to exile. The reception of a Gallican and ultra-royalist education is difficult to assess in the absence of testimonies from Penn pupils. Once again, Walsh provides us with some interesting directions. As a teenager in the emigration, he was sent to Monsieur de Barentin's school of administration, created after the disaster of Quiberon.⁹²¹ The school prepared two hundred emigrant students to the role of magistrates in case of a royalist Restoration in France. He later regretted that his education was not as varied as the one of a 1830s child – prepared to affront 'des revers de fortune et de nouvelles saturnales révolutionnaires [reversal of fortune and new revolutionary saturnalias]'.⁹²²

Because they aimed to form the elites of Restoration France, Penn and Barentin's schools were not representative of the majority of emigrant schooling systems based in and around London. Many ecclesiastical schools accepted boys and girls from both French and British descent. Indeed, their advertisements and tracts targeted an encompassing Catholic population.⁹²³ These schools' reputations were international, as British parents from the colonies allegedly sent their children to French boarding school rather than British ones. Despite the mixed backgrounds of the students, these schools displayed an important emigrant identity. The Princes

⁹²⁰ Ibid., X, pp.191-192; To Walker King, 21 December 1796 and p.232.

⁹²¹ Walsh, pp.103-104.

⁹²² Walsh, p.121.

⁹²³ LMRO, MRA/426.

and the clerical elites of emigration were present in all ceremonies. These schools received mixed appreciation from the British community. While some considered them as ‘a place, when the union of the different nations must remove every liberal feeling of national animosity’⁹²⁴, others considered the reunion of Catholics as a long-term threat on British security. In May 1800, the *Sun* published an article on Catholic families sending their children in monastic institutions:

What is allowed in generosity and charity to unfortunate Refugees may become a permanent establishment, which would be so much the more dangerous as it would be the means of cementing a connection between Catholics and Emigrants.⁹²⁵

This school for conspiracy was however rather minoritarian at that time, and Jacobitism had become a sub-form of conservatism in response to the French Revolution.⁹²⁶

The behaviour of the Gallican clergy and some members of the French aristocracy highlight the fear that emigration would pervert the emigrant youth. While very few contemporary documents illustrate that fear, self-narratives insist on the problems related to the acculturation of the emigrant youth. Children literature had been important to teach them the values emigration stood for. For the elder generations, emigration had cursed the French noble youth. ‘Unoccupied’ and ‘untalented’, they had little to aspire to. The products of an enlightened century, many adults in emigration despaired at their children’s lack of interest for reading philosophy. Whilst they considered reading as an entire part of education, the youth was more interested in ‘les chevaux, la mode, les petites intrigues, mais n’ouvraient

⁹²⁴ *MP&G*, 8 September 1801.

⁹²⁵ *Sun*, 23 May 1800.

⁹²⁶ James Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: reaction and orthodoxy in Britain, c.1760-1832* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

jamais un livre' [horses, fashion, intrigues, but would never open a book].⁹²⁷ While the Comte de Jarnac's son refused to read and improve his mind, his father expressed his disappointment in failing to create an enlightened being.⁹²⁸ Like many of his young emigrant fellows, Louis-Guillaume was more attracted to the British trend of Dandyism. He was also one of the very few emigrants who converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism. The only two cases of religious conversions found during this research were his and teenager Fanny Krumpholz. Both were educated in an environment isolated from the rest of the emigrant community. Despite being the son of an Irish protestant mother and an unreligious father, Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot was baptised as a Catholic. He emigrated to Ireland with his father in September 1789, was raised with the children of the Duke of Leinster at Cartonlodge and married one of his daughters.⁹²⁹ The date of his conversion is unknown. Fanny Krumpholz was the daughter of a famous bohemian harpist.⁹³⁰ After he died, the devout Catholic Duchesse de Bourbon raised the young girl and sent her to a Catholic convent. In 1792, the Duchesse asked the Earl of Hardwicke to protect the young Fanny. He brought her to London where she was raised with his children. For many years, Fanny received letters from her ducal benefactor, who exhorted her to pray, confess and receive communion in a Catholic environment.⁹³¹ She was to avoid any Protestant rituals. According to her own children, Fanny converted at the age of sixteen in reaction to a Catholic priest who prevented her from attending a

⁹²⁷ *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p.318.

⁹²⁸ CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie* 729MI/57, Jarnac to his son (23 February 1799).

⁹²⁹ Reboul, p.94.

⁹³⁰ ESRO, *Archives of the Stapley, Wood and Davidson*, HIC/1059b, 'account of the life of Fanny Krumpholtz written by her daughter'.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*, HIC 1048-1056.

Protestant mass.⁹³² The circumstances around her conversion are indeed hinted at in a June 1800 letter from her friend Juliette Gros.⁹³³ In exiled situation, religious conversions are often considered as a shift of convenience as opposed to an emotional and psychological shift.⁹³⁴ Certainly influenced by her particular circumstances, Fanny Krumpholz seemed however to have consciously chosen to convert to Anglicanism to fully integrate within their new environment.

Were naturalisations the sign of a rupture with emigration?

Despite the assimilation of outliers Fanny and Louis-Guillaume into the British society, the original objectives of emigration seem unchanged almost two hundred years after the return to France of the last royalist emigrants. Emigrants left France in response to the French Revolution, returned to their homeland when they felt that the ties that linked them to emigration had gotten loose and finally restored the Monarchy in 1814. They appear to have never intended to settle in their host country. As such, the host country should appear in contemporary discourse as a country which resources they took but in which they failed to invest or root. This is at least the uncomplicated purpose of emigration carried on by most retrospective narration of exile. However, a large amount of documents written by French emigrants in Great Britain reveal a strong individual and emotional attachment to their host country. This attachment transcends the professional, marital or cultural investment of the migrant in the host country. The last part of this thesis deals with national membership and the birth of a discourse on Britain as a new homeland and a place where emigrant projects could blossom.

⁹³² Ibid., HIC1059B.

⁹³³ Ibid., HIC 1054, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (21 June 1800).

⁹³⁴ James T. Richardson, 'The active vs passive convert: Paradigm conflict in conversion/recruitment research', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 24: 163-79.

Kirsty Carpenter reports that ‘102 French citizens made applications for British naturalisation’ between 1793 and 1832.⁹³⁵ This low number hides a completely different demographic. First, it does not take into account those migrants who obtained limited citizenship through denization. It also discounts the many domestics who had left France in the 1790s and remained at the service of the English masters who employed them. If, nowadays, naturalisation appears as the completion of one’s assimilation into a host country, demanding membership in a national community presented then little advantages to working class migrants who would not be given the right to participate in elections. Secondly, women could not apply for naturalisation. The Comtesse de Feuilleide, Jane Austen’s cousin, returned to England in 1790 with Françoise Bignon, a French maid who remained in London until her death in the 1830s.⁹³⁶ As a woman and as a working class individual, she was doubly excluded from the participation in the British public sphere. Secondly, this number ignores post-revolutionary movements. Several emigrants returned to France but divided their time between France and the British Isles. Hence, Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot would return to England every year, on holiday with his wife and children, raised in-between the two cultures. In addition, like for the Huguenot community, there is no obvious relation between the Anglicisation of a name and the process of assimilation.⁹³⁷ The English-sounding rendering of a name was almost always the result of an administrative mistake by non-French speaking administrators, and not automatically approved by the emigrant.

The official documents studied by Kirsty Carpenter report that two categories of emigrants applied for naturalisation – ‘those who had married British women and those whose professional interests retained them in Britain. Often the two

⁹³⁵ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.166.

⁹³⁶ Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: a life* (London: Penguin, 2000).

⁹³⁷ Gwynn, p.203.

coincided'.⁹³⁸ Letters contemporary to the emigration highlights the existence of deeper motives leading to the choice to become naturalised or denizen. Naturalisation was not always thought of as a contract of citizenship. Disenchantment with the counter-revolutionary leaders was one of them. In 1803, the Duc de Coigny wrote a letter to Wickham concerning the Duc and Duchesse de C***.⁹³⁹ After a few years on the Continent, the couple had arrived in England, where the Duc took an oath of allegiance to the British crown in exchange for a certificate of denization. As such, he enjoyed the right to buy properties in England but would not hold any political rights. He was also not subjected to the *Aliens Act* and could not be deported. Coigny reports that the Duc had the 'projet de vivre et de mourir tranquille dans cette terre hospitalière avec l'espérance de ne jamais importuner ni demander au gouvernement anglais [the aim to live and die peacefully in this hospitable land, with the hope to never bother or claim from the English government]'. French correspondences often reveal that demands for naturalisation resulted from an individual compromise between the purposes of emigration and the circumstantial financial needs of migrants. An early document from the Comte de Lisle to Lord Sheffield, dated from May 1792 states:⁹⁴⁰

Il est extrêmement urgent pour moi d'être constaté anglais pour pouvoir ici toucher mes revenus comme étranger et payer mes créanciers dans une résidence de six mois.

[It is very urgent for me to be approved English to receive here my allowance as a foreigner and pay my creditors within the next six months]

He then adds that he could get 30.000 pounds when becoming British. De Lisle furthermore felt that as the grandson of a British subject he should by law be

⁹³⁸ Carpenter, *Refugees*, p.166.

⁹³⁹ ESRO, 38M49/8/125/13.

⁹⁴⁰ CCA, *Stanley of Alderley Records*, DSA/33, Comte de Lisle to Lord Sheffield (May 1792).

recognised as a British subject. The ‘ethnic’ argument was often used in cases where impoverished emigrants were looking for financial relief. In the late 1790s, a petition to George III by a French emigrant reminded him that ‘two of my ancestors, Sire, nearly six centuries ago, bore in turn one of the three crowns which now for the glory and happiness of the British Empire and the whole world, adorn in Glory the reverend head of your majesty’.⁹⁴¹ While authors of such claims emphasised their ethnic belonging to the British nation, they however showed little interest for the host country’s language, as it was shown in a previous chapter, or its political system. Rallying Britain was rarely related to political participation. It is extremely rare to find examples like Régnier’s letter to Grenville, in which he affirmed having studied the British Constitution, and worked towards serving what he considered as his new ‘homeland’.⁹⁴² Naturalisations and denizations clearly do not always reflect a project of rupture with the homeland or sedentarisation in the host country. On the contrary, this administrative momentum is to be considered as opportunistic and circumstantial.

The attachment to Great Britain as a host country appears at first to obey the same rules. Gaillard, in a letter to Lord Stafford, pleaded for the creation of an emigrant army under his direction.⁹⁴³ He staged his feeling of belonging by emphasising that his ‘zeal for the cause and devotion to England’ was related to the country being ‘at the moment my true homeland’. The flattering attachment to England or Great Britain was superficial and materialistic. The British government was a source of financing for *émigré* militaries. During this research, not a single document showed that Great Britain was thought of as a Nation in which emigrant

⁹⁴¹ HRO, *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/1/10, petition from a French nobleman to George III (c1790s-1800s).

⁹⁴² HRO, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/17, Régnier to Grenville (20 March 1806).

⁹⁴³ HRO, *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/1/8, Monsieur Gaillard to Lord Stafford (8 february 1793).

would belong, assimilate and participate. It was however thought of as a *Patrie*. A letter from the Comte de Vaudreuil to Adam Gordon, date September 1799, differentiated the two notions: ‘au milieu d’une nation sensible, hospitalière, pleine de vertus et d’urbanité, nous y avons trouvé une second patrie et [...] de vrais amis [in the midst of a sensitive nation, hospitable, full of virtues and urbanity, we found a second homeland and [...] true friends]’.⁹⁴⁴ While the French emigrants could not integrate within the British nation, they could however live happily as a foreign minority alongside their hosts.

In July 1801, Fanny Krumpholz was forced to follow her benefactors in Ireland where Hardwicke had just been named Lord Lieutenant. While she was desperate to stay in England, her friend Juliette Gros mocked her Englishness in a first letter.⁹⁴⁵ Fanny then received a second letter: ‘Que regrettes-tu? Je ne le devines pas à moins que ce ne soit par [amour] pour Londres, et de fait, c’est en quelque sorte ta patrie’.⁹⁴⁶ While the first letter refers to England, the second one identifies London as Fanny’s *Patrie*. The same localised meaning of *Patrie* appears under the pen of Louis XVIII’s courtiers. The Comte Descars dreamt about returning to ‘the very comfortable asylum of Holyrood’, which he had left for Surrey.⁹⁴⁷ He described the castle as ‘un pays auquel je suis attaché par un sentiment qui ne s’atténuera jamais’. Rebourquill felt ‘entièrement naturalisé dans votre paradis terrestre’ during his stay in the Scottish castle of Burn.⁹⁴⁸ *Patrie* and happiness are often associated with the idea of building and gardening. This might partially explain the success of Delille’s poem *Les Jardins*. The troubleless garden

⁹⁴⁴ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Comte de Vaudreuil to Adam Gordon (10 September 1799).

⁹⁴⁵ ESRO, *Archives from the Stapley, Wood and Davidson families*, HIC1057, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholtz (27 July 1801).

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid., Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (19 September 1801).

⁹⁴⁷ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Comte Descars to Adam Gordon (2 September 1799).

⁹⁴⁸ WSRO, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, M. de Rebourquill to Gordon (7 July 1800).

becomes a metaphor for a place where one could retire from politics, a distraction from their own misery. Both those who intended to continue the counter-revolutionary fight and those who intended to settle used the metaphor. In June 1800 after a year of hopes and negotiation for the Princes' return to France, the Bishop of Arras was disillusioned:⁹⁴⁹

Je voudrais bien y être encore et faire usage de la petite serpette dans les jardins d'Holyrood, attendus que de bons arbres produisent au moins de beaux et bons fruits, tandis que sur le sol que nous labourons péniblement depuis plus d'une année, nous ne récoltons que des illusions.

[I wish I was still there and use the pruning knife in Holyrood's gardens, as it is expected that healthy trees will produce nice and tasty fruits, while we only harvest illusions from the soil we have laboriously been ploughing for more than a year]

On the contrary, the Comte de Jarnac, avid reader of Voltaire, made his own the writer's formula that one should cultivate his garden. Secluded from the rest of the French nobility in emigration, he spent his days transforming his garden in Twickenham. For the courtiers however, this garden remains the location of short and medium-term projects; and despite associating Gordon's domain to the Eden, Rebourquil thought his stay should not last.

The heterogeneous assemblage of emigrants present in Great Britain in the early 1790s had transformed into a narrowly defined faction of *émigrés* by the end of the 1790s. While the majority of emigrants returned to France and assimilated to the French Nation, the return was not as straightforward for those whose integration within the British community was better. Well-resourced and English-speaking migrants were more likely than their impoverished and monolingual counterparts to further their asylum or decide to settle in England. The majority of repatriates came

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172, Bishop of Arras to Adam Gordon (15 June 1800).

from economically disadvantaged and marginalised backgrounds; they were neither integrated in the self-identified *émigré* community or within Britain. On the other hand, the majority-identified *émigrés* who stayed in emigration until 1814 had the financial resources and social connections to organise themselves politically, and survive as a marginalised group in a host country. In their case, exile was a durable solution.

CONCLUSION

The history of emigration should not only deal with the deeds of the Princes in exile or the defeats and victories of *émigré* regiments throughout Europe; nor should it only be a debate considering the definitions of the Counter-Revolution by conservative and ultra-royalists thinkers. The history of emigration is also the history of the several structural and circumstantial processes that led to the emergence and acceptance of, as well as opposition to, an *émigré* culture throughout emigration and beyond. The *émigré* and the refugee are constructed social categories, influenced in majority by the opposition to the Revolution and revolutionary politics, the castigation by the French laws, but also the interconnection between migrant population and host country. This study aimed to understand what in the relationship with the British State and population modified emigrants' perceptions of themselves, their fight and their exile; it also aimed to understand what the emigrant population brought with them in Britain and to what extent they participated in influencing and transforming their host society.

The first possible conclusion to this thesis is that there is no emigrant-type: the emigrant figure is plural. The experience of emigration in Britain led to the strengthening of complex, heterogeneous, and multiform identities within the displaced group. The British administrative and charitable response as well as their consumer expectations about emigration gathered the emigrant group under the political and ethical categories of 'alien' and 'refugee'. Yet, the treatment received by foreigners depended on many variables. The imbalanced British treatment of foreigners furthered pre-emigration cultural, political, social and financial differences. The British differentiation between accepted established emigrants and political/social outsiders led on one hand to the marginalisation and exclusion of a majority of migrants, and on the other hand, to the definition and isolation of a shrunken core *émigré* group around the

French *ancien régime* establishment. The presence of emigrants in Britain also had several consequences on the host country. By naming emigrants refugees, it embodied charity against the French revolutionary system; by considering them as aliens, it defined the limits of its inclusion. Indeed, as a topic in political and public spheres, emigrants involuntarily participated in a wider debate between Radicalism and Loyalism. Through them, British loyalist groups reaffirmed the supremacy of the British Constitution over any other political regime. Yet, the British loyalist response to emigration was multiple. Presented as the noble and clerical victims of the French Revolution, they allowed partisans of an aristocratic constitution to define the established and Anglican boundaries of the regime; to other loyalists, the emigrants were potential threats because of their nationality.

Marginalised at home and in the host country, socially stratified within their own group, emigrants were forced to develop relational strategies with their host country. These strategies were themselves deeply enmeshed with evolving migratory projects – in some cases, exile exacerbated differences with the host country, in others, it exacerbated differences with the group. Yet, in all cases, the daily challenge to one's cultural and habitual situation profoundly metamorphosed the migrants' identities and aspirations. Whether difference was embraced or rejected, the extent to which one questioned his habits depended on a variety of personal circumstances. As *ancien régime* elites received larger allowances, they were able to live a semi-autarkic life separated from everyday contingences; less well-off migrants were forced out of their traditional cultural environment to adapt their behaviours to what was expected of them. Professional identity played an important role, as military orders and the honour code forbade many to settle while civilians forced to work had to comply to urban consumer expectations to thrive until returning home. Some professional categories have even

been active carrier of cultural transfer – those involved in the book trade, artists and artisans, language teachers. Age was a significant variable: while exile had been chosen by the eldest generation, the youth in emigration had little political culture at first and grew up in an in-between environment. Because of the reduced space they had in the public sphere, women were less likely than men to pronounce highly politicised discourse. Young women in particular were often expected to abandon their birth land to start a married life in Britain.

There is little doubt that the behaviour adopted by emigrants in Britain and the repatriated behaviour are dissimilar. There is also little doubt that the emigrant figure in British discourse evolved. Yet, it is in the evolution and in the dissimilarity that the historian is able to see cultural transfers. The methodology of cultural transfers was defined in the introduction to this PhD as the analysis of the exportation by emigrants of ideas generated in Great Britain, in order to understand the appropriation and consecutive transformation of these same ideas within their new cultural frames. The concept of emigration was defined in France in the opposition between Revolutionaries and Counter-Revolutionaries. Reaching England, the flight of these political exiles took on a different meaning when approached from a British point of view. It strengthened the notion of national cohesion and, some might say, a shared experience of Britishness. In British discourse, the emigrant-figure was gradually deterritorialised to transform into an allegorical figure of refugeedom and victimhood. Being pitied, relieved, accepted, or castigated in the host country consequently strengthened the emigrant groups' discourse and feeling of victimisation. The retrospective discourse on emigration was certainly grounded on this relational experience, but in the same time renewed by new experiences that allowed emigrants to reinvent their past and create a new present. And yet, emigrants' retrospective discourse and post-emigration political

behaviours carried in themselves the signs of transfers in situations as varied as renewed aesthetic compositions, the introduction of a new vocabulary borrowed from the English language, nineteenth-century laws on political asylum in France, or the emigrant's interpretations of their own history.

Appendices

Memoir writers.

Name	Other names	Birth	†	Sex	Social Category	Profession in 1789	Date of emigration	Arrival in England	Departure from England	Final Return to France
Andigné	Louis-Marie-Antoine-Fortune de la Blanchaye	1765	1857	M	2	Soldier	1792	1794	c.1795	1795-1804/1814
Arnault	Antoine-Vincent	1753	1834	M	3	Actor	1792/12	1792/12	1795	1795
Bertin	Marie-Jeanne ou Rose	1747	1813	F	3	Craft	1793/10	1793/10	1794	1794
Boigne	Adèle d'Osmond	1781	1866	F	2	Child	1790	1792	1804	1804
Bouillé	Louis-Joseph-Amour	1769	1850	M	2	Soldier	1791/07	1792/12	1802	1802
Chateaubriand	François-René	1768	1848	M	2	Soldier	1792	1793	1800	1800
Contades	Erasmus-Gaspard	1758	1834	M	2	Soldier	1795/01	1795><1804	1815	1815
Ducrest	Georgette	1789	unknown	F	3	Child	1789	1789	Unknown	1801
Dumas	Matthieu	1753	1837	M	2	Soldier	1793/02	1793/02	1793/12	1793-1794/1799
Gauthier de Brécý	Charles-Edme	1753	1836	M	2	Soldier	1793	1796	1802	1802
Genlis	Felicité	1746	1830	F	2	Nihil.	1791/10	1791/10	1792/11	1800/08

Lage de Volude	Stéphane Fuchsmberg d'Ambli mont	1764	1842	F	2	Nihil.	1791/06	1796/05	1796/06	1800/09
Lameth	Théodore	1756	1854	M	2	Soldier Deputy	1793/02	1793/02	1793	1793-1794/1799
La Tour du Pin	Henriette Lucy Dillon	1770	1853	F	2	Nihil.	1791	1797	1799	1800
Marcillac	Louis	1769	1824	M	2	Soldier	1791/03	1793	1793	1800s
Montgaillard	Jean-Gabriel, M.Roques, comte de	1761	1841	M	2	Soldier	1792	1792/09	1793/1794	1796
Rohan-Chabot	Charles, comte de Jarnac	1740	1802	M	2	Soldier	1791/09	1791/09	X	X
Stael	Germaine (Necker)	1766	1817	F	2	Nihil.	1792/09	1793/01	1793/07	1794/1814
Tilly	Alexandre	1764	1816	M	2	Soldier	1792/08	1792/08	1797	1808
Vigée-Lebrun	Elisabeth	1755	1842	F	3	Painter	1791	1802	1807	1810s
Villeneuve	Louis Gabriel	unknown	unknown	M	2	Soldier	1791	c.1795/01	c.1795/01	unknown
Walsh	Joseph-Alexis	1782	1860	M	2	Child	1790-1791	c.1792/09	1802/08	1802/08

Memoir publishers.

Name	Title	Compositi on	First Publicati on	First Edition	Edition used	Dat e	Responsibl e for 1st publication
Andigné	Mémoires du Général d'Andigné	1803	1900	Plon	Plon	1901	scholar
Arnault	Souvenirs d'un Sexagénair e	1830s	1833	Duffey	Duffey	1833	author
Bertin	Mémoire de Mademoise lle Rose Bertin sur la reine Marie Antoinette	Apocryphe?	1824	Bossange	Bossange	1824	unknown
Boigne	Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne	1843	1907	Plon	Mercure de France	1999	Other
Bouillé	Souvenirs et fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps	1828	1906- 1911	Picard	Picard	1906 - 1911	scholar
Chateaubria nd	Mémoires d'Outre- Tombe	1809-1841	1849-50	Pénaud Frères	GF Flammari on	2007	author
Contades	Souvenirs du Comte de Contades, Pair de France: Coblentz et Quiberon	unknown	1885	Dentu	Dentu	1885	grandson/ scholar
Ducrest	Mémoires sur l'Impératric e Joséphine	1828	1828	Ladvocat	Mercure de France	2004	Commisionn ed
Dumas	Souvenirs du général comte Mathieu Dumas	1830s	1839	Gosselin	Gosselin	1839	son
Fabry	Mémoires de mon émigration	unknown	unknown	unknown	Champion	1933	scholar
Gauthier de Brécy	Mémoires véridiques et ingénues de la vie privée, moral et politique d'un homme de bien	1830s	1834	Guiraudet	Guiraudet	1834	author
Genlis	Mémoires de Madame	1825	1825	Ladvocat	Mercure de France	2004	author

	de Genlis						
Lage de Volude	Souvenirs d'émigration de Madame la Marquise de Lage de Volude, dame de S.A.S, Madame la Princesse de Lamballe, 1792-1794.	1792-1803	1869	Auguste Herissey	Auguste Herissey	1869	family
Lameth	Mémoires	1830-40s	1913	Fontemoin & Cie	Fontemoin & Cie	1913	scholar
La Tour du Pin	Journal d'une femme de Cinquante ans	1820	1907	Chapelot	Mercure de France	2006	Descendant
Marcillac	Souvenirs de l'émigration à l'usage de l'époque actuelle par le Marquis de Marcillac	1822	1825	Baudouin Frères	Baudouin Frères	1825	author
Montgaillard	Mémoires secrets de J.M.G de Montgaillard, Pendant les années de son émigration	1803-1804	1804			1804	Author
Rohan-Chabot	Mémoires	c.1802	Not published	X	X	X	X
Stael	Dix Années d'exil	c.1811	c.1811	unknown	Garnier	1906	Descendant
Tilly	Mémoires du comte Alexandre de Tilly	c.1804-5	1804-105	unknown	Mercure de France	1986	scholar
Vigée-Lebrun	Souvenirs	1835-1837	1835-1837	H.Fournier	H.Fournier	1835-1837	author
Villeneuve	Mémoires sur l'expédition de Quiberon	1795	1819	Le Normand	Le Normand	1819	author
Walsh	Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans	1845	1845	Bureau de la Mode	Bureau de la Mode	1845	author

Middlemen in classified adverts.

Name	Address	house	type	year
Anderson, Book	Horlborn Hill		Book trade	1797
Apothecary	Hight Street, St		Shop	1794
Archley, shoemaker	High holborn	148	Craftsman	1792
Baker, watch maker	King street	5	Craftsman	1791
Bank Coffee House			Coffee house	1795
Bishop of Leon			French	1794
Boyer, master of			Schoolmaster	1791
Broker shop	Cecil street	14	Finance	1795
Count of Lowendal	Strand	10	French	1794
Cousin	Jermyn Street	134	private	1793
de Boffe	Gerrard Street	7	Book trade	1792
de Boffe	Gerrard Street	7	Book trade	1792
Dore, dancing	Tottenhamcourt	40	private	1790
Dr Thompson	Kensington		Schoolmaster	1793
E.W.Shepherd	Newsqure,	6	private	1793
Edwards, Book	New Bond street		Book trade	1794
Eglise des Grecs	Crown Street		Church	1790
Fan Warehouse	Leadenhall street	143	Shop	1790
Fencing academy	Strand	431	Schoolmaster	1791
French school	Shelborne lane	140	Schoolmaster	1797
G.G and J Robinson	Paternoster Row		Book trade	1796
George Jefferies,	Strand	76	Craftsman	1792
George livery stable			Stables	1792
Goslin,	Sutton street	2	Craftsman	1796
Grenier's Hotel	Jermyn Street		Hostel	1790
Harlowe	Pall Mall		Book trade	1792
Harris, Hoberdasher	Bridge street		Shop	1797
Hill's glover	Pall Mall		Craftsman	1790
Hollyland's Coffee	Strand		Coffee house	1794
Hooockam's	New Bond street		Book trade	1790
Hyder's Libery	Park Lane		Stables	1794
Jerusalem Coffee	Cornhill		Coffee house	1790
John Nodin	Leadenhall street	2	private	1791
Legrain, Mr	Carnaby Street	4	private	1796
LeTellier, perfumer	Pall Mall	106	Craftsman	1791
Lewis's, Taylor	Castle Court	3	Craftsman	1797
Lloyd Book trade	harley street		Book trade	1797
émigré	Broad street		Schoolmaster	1797
M. Savier	Brunswick street		private	1796
M. Winus, Baker	Swallow Street		Shop	1796
Marsh	Fleet Street	49	private	1791
Masey, man's	Oxford street	115	Craftsman	1791
Mayer	Dover Street	18	private	1792
Messrs Philipps and	berkeley square		Shop	1796
Mills,	Bedford Row		Shop	1793
Mitchell, stationer	New Bond Street	8	Book trade	1791
Morning Chronicle			Newspaper	1793
Morning Post			Newspaper	1793
Mr Agassix and	Fenchurch Street		private	1793
Mr Angier's	East Place,	11	Schoolmaster	1796
Mr Baker's Coffee	Royal Exchange		Coffee house	1795

Mr Cunningham's	St James's Street		Hostel	1793
Mr Deputy Nichols	Red Lion		private	1793
Mr Evans	Bishopgate	65	private	1796
Mr Evrats	Great Castle	9	private	1795
Mr Flack	Maidenlane	40	private	1797
Mr Fox	Mary le bone	11	private	1794
Mr Guner, Piano	Broad Street		Music seller	1796
Mr Hogg's shoe	Jermynstreet	25	Craftsman	1796
Mr Longwortley	Bennett Street	25	private	1793
Mr Middleton	Strand	262	private	1793
Mr Smith	Wells street	37	private	1800
Mr Steward,	Piccadilly	168	Craftsman	1796
Mr. Bouquet	High Holborn	169	private	1796
Mr. Burgess,	Oxford Street	110	Craftsman	1797
Mr. Charles	St Martin's Lane	100	private	1793
Mr. Cross	Paddington		private	1794
Mr. Gallini	Hanover Square		private	1793
Mr. Le grain	Carnaby Street		private	1794
Mr. Sass. Boarding	King Street	13	Schoolmaster	1797
Mr. Mercer	Plumtree street	21	private	1796
Mrs Bonnet	Hemming's row	2	private	1793
Mrs Cans, China	Poland Street	62	Shop	1796
Mrs Fisher, French			Craftsman	1795
Mrs. Dugard	Princess Street	4	private	1796
N-York Coffee	Sweeting's Alley		Coffee house	1796
Noble, ironmonger	Charing cross		Craftsman	1793
Oracle (office)			Newspaper	1791
Owen, Book trade	Piccadilly	168	Book trade	1794
Pantheon			Theatre	1790
Phelow, appraiser	Strand	322	Shop	1793
Queen's head coffee	Gray's Inn		Coffee house	1792
Ramon, hairdresser	Bedford Row		Craftsman	1793
Robinson, Book	Paternoster row		Book trade	1795
Routh, boarding			Schoolmaster	1794
Sewell	Cornhill	32	private	1796
Storey's gate coffee	Great George		Coffee house	1790
Streaton, perfumer	Bear street	13	Craftsman	1791
T.A John's Coffee	Cornhill		Coffee house	1796
Thomas Riggs,	Brown's building,		private	1790
Thompson, Dr.	Kensington		private	1792
Vandergucht	Lower Brook-	20	private	1791
Westley's stationer	Strand	201	Book trade	1794
Wettement	Portman Square	7	private	1792
White, Book trade	Fleet Street		Book trade	1794
Wiltshire's Original	Haye's Court		Shop	1794
World (office)			Newspaper	1790
Yeates, grocer	Tottenham court	53	Shop	1791

Mapping the book trade.

status	name	adresse
Bookseller	Allen and West	15, Paternoster Row
Bookseller (Music)	Andrews Hugh	129, New Bond Street
Bookseller	Axtell, Thomas	1, Finch Lane
Bookseller	Baldwin.R and J. Bew	Paternoster Row
Bookseller	Booker, Thomas	56, New Bond Street
Bookseller (French)	Boosey, Thomas	4 Old Broad Street, Royal exchange
Bookseller	Cadell and Davies	141, Strand
Bookseller	Cadell.T	141, Strand
Bookseller	Coghlan, James Peter	37, Duke Street, Grovesnor Square
Bookseller	Conchy (de)	New Bond Street
Bookseller (French)	de Boffe, Joseph	7, Gerrard Street
Bookseller (French)	de Boffe, Joseph	10, Nassau Street
Bookseller	Debrett	179, Piccadilly
Bookseller	Dilly, Charles	22, Poultry
Bookseller (French)	Dulau, Arnaud	37, Soho Square
Bookseller	Edwards, Richard	142, New Bond Street 87, Strand (opposite Southampton Street)
Bookseller	Elmsley, Peter	45-46, Pall Mall
Bookseller	Harlow, Elisabeth	Pall Mall
Bookseller	Herbert, Isaac	100, New Bond Street
Bookseller	Hookham, Jordon	15, Paternoster Row
Bookseller	Kirby and Co	9, York Street
Bookseller (Auctionners)	Leigh and Sotheby	93, New Bond Street
Bookseller (French)	L'Homme, Louis	16, Great Russell Street
Bookseller	Lewis, Thomas	168, Piccadilly
Bookseller	Owen, J.	91, Royal Exchange
Bookseller	Richardson, W	1, York Street, St James Square
Bookseller	Ridgway, James	62, Saint Paul's churchyard
Bookseller	Rivington, Francis and Charles	32 Cornhill
Bookseller	Sewell, John	
Booksellers	Shepperson, John and Thomas	
Booksellers	Reynolds (Messrs)	137, Oxford Street
Bookseller	Stace	11, Haymarket
Bookseller	Stockdale, John	181, Piccadilly
Bookseller	Symonds, Henry Delahoy	Paternoster Row
Bookseller	Wright, John	169, Piccadilly
Bookseller	Yeates, Alexandre	22, Queen's gate, Pimlico
Print seller	Matthews, John	438, Strand
Printer	Allen, Michael	15, Paternoster Row
Printer	Baylis, T	Greville Street
Printer	Coghlan, James Peter	37, Duke Street, Grovesnor Square

Printer	Cox, John Lewis & Thomas Baylis	75 Great Queen Street
Printer	Cox, John Lewis, Son & Thomas Baylis (nos 1-80)	75 Great Queen Street
Printer	Da Ponte, Paolo	15 Poland Street
Printer	Downes, Joseph	240, Temple Bar (Strand)
Printer	Glindon, W	Coventry court, Haymarket
Printer	Harper, Thomas Jr. Schulze, G/ Schulze and Dean (nos 224-)	4, Crane Court. Fleet Street 15 Poland Street
Printer	Spilsbury, William & Charles	57, Snowhill
Printer	Vogel, J.B.G	13 Poland Street
Publisher	Hookham and Carpenter	15, Old Bond Street
Stationer	Booker, Thomas	56, New Bond Street
Stationer	Brookes.H	8, Coventry Street
Stationer	Debrett.J	179, Piccadilly
Stationer	Knight, Francis	38, Saint James's street

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