French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution

Juliette Reboul

War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

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For Mark, Patrick and Sophie

Series Editors' Preface

The century from 1750 to 1850 was a seminal period of change, not just in Europe but across the globe. The political landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions fought in the name of liberty—most notably in the Americas and France, of course, but elsewhere, too: in Holland and Geneva during the eighteenth century and across much of mainland Europe by 1848. Nor was change confined to the European world. New ideas of freedom, equality and human rights were carried to the furthest outposts of empire, to Egypt, India and the Caribbean, which saw the creation in 1801 of the first black republic in Haiti, the former French colony of Saint-Domingue. And in the early part of the nineteenth century they continued to inspire anti-colonial and liberation movements throughout Central and Latin America.

If political and social institutions were transformed by revolution in these years, so, too, was warfare. During the quarter-century of the French Revolutionary Wars, in particular, Europe was faced with the prospect of 'total' war, on a scale unprecedented before the twentieth century. Military hardware, it is true, evolved only gradually, and battles were not necessarily any bloodier than they had been during the Seven Years War. But in other ways these can legitimately be described as the first modern wars, fought by mass armies mobilized by national and patriotic propaganda, leading to the displacement of millions of people throughout Europe and beyond, as soldiers, prisoners of war, civilians and refugees. For those who lived through the period these wars would

be a formative experience that shaped the ambitions and the identities of a generation.

The aims of the series are necessarily ambitious. In its various volumes, whether single-authored monographs or themed collections, it seeks to extend the scope of more traditional historiography. It will study warfare during this formative century not just in Europe, but in the Americas, in colonial societies, and across the world. It will analyse the construction of identities and power relations by integrating the principal categories of difference, most notably class and religion, generation and gender, race and ethnicity. It will adopt a multi-faceted approach to the period, and turn to methods of political, cultural, social, military, and gender history, in order to develop a challenging and multidisciplinary analysis. Finally, it will examine elements of comparison and transfer and so tease out the complexities of regional, national and global history.

Acknowledgements

None of this would have been possible without the help and support of my three mentors at the University of Leeds: émigré expert Prof. Simon Burrows who believed in this project, the enlightened Prof. Russell Goulbourne who provided me with intensely knowledgeable observations, and, not the least, Dr. Kevin Linch whose supervising skills, knowledge and kindness are beyond praise. I am thankful to Prof. Alan Forrest and Prof. Malcolm Chase for their encouragement to publish my doctoral thesis. I am forever indebted to Karine Rance from the Université Blaise Pascal in Clermont-Ferrand, who introduced me to the research on emigration and cultural transfers and wrote some the best literature on the question. Special thanks to GIS wizard Vincent Hirribarren, social historian John Chartres, past and present academic and administrative staffs in the History and French department at Leeds, members of the *Eighteenth-Century Studies* group, the short-lived *French Revolution Studies* group and the *Historians workshop*.

Thank you to the fantastic staff in the various libraries and archives visited in the course of this research, whether in Birmingham, Chester, Chichester, Leeds, Lewes, London, Southampton, Winchester or Paris. My gratitude goes to the University of Leeds and the Economic History Society for contributing to my research.

This book is dedicated to all my family, friends, colleagues and students who discussed, read or bore with my obsession with the study of emigrants and refugees.

Contents

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

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

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

Secondary Sources

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

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Introduction

The year 1798 was coming to an end. In London, a destitute French Comtesse was brought to bed with triplets in the house of a baker from Welbeck Street.[1] Recently evacuated from Germany with her family of fourteen, the new mother relied upon the benevolence of British aristocrats and local shopkeepers. In Wiltshire, the emigrant Chevalier Henry Roquemont "sacrificed to the hymeneal altar" of a local maiden, Miss Charlotte Freeman of Appleshaw.[2] At Falkirk, Captain Borthwick, from the 71st Regiment of Foot, wedded an "Emigrant Lady of the ci-devant Nobility of France".[3] In the same months of winter, the curiosity of many young London heiresses was piqued by the nocturnal encounters between a beautiful "French émigrée" and an unnamed British Duke.[4] Meanwhile, a gang of French pickpockets and its bewigged leader, "French emigrant" Lordonnier, emptied the pockets of the capital's wealthy.[5] A French emigrant cook brought his English employer to court for unpaid wages whereas an underage English maid sued the émigré Comte de Carrière from Lisle Street for illegal employment and ill treatment.[6] On the literary scene, aspiring writer Maria Wild sent the *Evening mail* a painful poem, *The Emigrant,* and the first edition of Lucy Peacock's bestseller, *The Little Emigrant,* reached the country's bookshelves to inculcate the youth with charitable values.[7] This short collection of anecdotes from winter 1798–99 tells a tale of emigrant-British private intertwinement. However, nine years after the first departures from France, and despite daily reminders of their presence in the British Isles, the identity of the

French emigrants still challenged the British political and public spheres. In the midst of a heated debate on the administration of foreigners, William Windham, Pitt's Secretary at War, rose from his seat in the House of Lords and reminded his fellow politicians that "it was a very common error to call all foreigners Frenchmen, and all Frenchmen emigrants".[8]

"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.[9] In this reactionary caricature of the French Revolution, the protagonist embodied the leitmotiv of Great Britain as a benevolent refuge. Set during the 1793 *Terreur,* this novel, the first of a series, staged a bloodthirsty French mob, dulled by its adoration for the Guillotine and tricked by a charitable and witty English contender. An epitome of altruism, Sir Percy Blakeney lived to save unfortunate French nobles, predominantly despairing widows and orphans, from the terrorist First Republic by escorting them to a Londonian haven. French and British literature on the Revolution strongly contributed to the durable myth of a noble, devout, and counter-revolutionary émigré. These characteristics were meliorative or pejorative depending on the author's political affiliation. In fact, the antagonisms and attractions between revolutionary France and Great Britain have, ever since the Revolution, been a permanent feature of scholarly and fictional discourse on Franco-British relations in revolutionary and Imperial times. An unsuspected consequence, the importance of emigrant-British relations and of the exchanges that took place between the emigrants and their host was understudied. The impact the French Revolution had on the British Isles has been extensively researched in political and social modern historiography as well as in literary criticism.[10] The presence of Britons in Paris during the Revolution was the subject of meticulous studies.[11] Despite a large amount of individual biographies, the stay of the emigrant population in the British Isles between 1789 and 1815, and its interactions with the host society, remains a comparatively understudied field in rigorous scholarship.[12]

This book aspires to challenge a sweeping yet common interpretation of emigration in the British Isles as an exilic communitarian process and a wasteland in terms of cultural exchanges. It is still too soon to conclude that emigrants in Britain had almost exclusively been the vehicles for transfers towards France.[13] Twenty-five years of emigrant-British cohabitation have not simply transformed the emigrant ideals: it may have

played a significant role in several aspects of emigrant and British lives. This exploration of emigration in Britain initially ambitioned to interrogate the British roots of émigré discourse on the French nation using the methodology of cultural transfers.[14] This methodology would have assisted in the analysis of the exportation by emigrants of ideas generated abroad, in order to understand the appropriation and consecutive transformation of these same ideas within renewed French cultural frames. Conversely, the analysis of British essays on emigration would have highlighted the peripheral, yet fundamental role played by these migrants in furthering their host's sense of national cohesion in the era of the French Revolution. However, the foreign roots of national imagination are often hidden and buried away by retrospective collective memories in the search of a unifying truth.[15] Unearthing emigrant-British connections required a strong empirical ground based upon documents contemporary to emigration produced by actors of all sorts. These sources highlighted a complex process with transnational crossings between the emigrants and British society in ideological and practical domains.[16] Despite their apparent banality, it was obvious that these crossings were actively participating in the creation and evolution of emigrant identities. The research on cultural transfers turned into that of an emigrant-British connected history. Transcending the limits of national comparison, the focus on connected history allowed for the examination of meanings, acceptations, as well as contestations, generated at the various intersections between cultural spaces.[17]

The scholarship on emigration in Great Britain has mostly focused on emigrant public discourse and retrospective narratives produced by the financial and intellectual establishment of the French Restoration. Studies of the British response sought out records generated by the British elites, successive governments, and charities. Many emigrant sources and sources on emigration are still unknowingly held within British archives and libraries in southern England and episodically northern counties. These "islets of foreign memories" are rarely used to narrate the history of emigration.[18] Yet, they connect both the French and the British memories of the phenomenon. Classified adverts, passports, addresses and administrative forms filled by French migrants or British civilians, open letters and private correspondence, caricatures, printouts of parliamentary legislation translated and distributed to the exiled population, anti-emigration pamphlets and charitable calls are amongst many sources narrating the mindset of the host towards the migrant

population, and the latter's concern with its place at home and in the British society. In this book, these sources have been examined in terms of relation, interaction, and circulation between the migrant and British cultures.[19] This allowed a study of multi-layered integrations and interpenetrations between the migrant and host groups. The sociological concept of integration is a much-debated term.[20] In this book, integration is not perceived as the adaptation and assimilation of migrants to conform to their host society.[21] The self-inflicted cultural exclusion professed by some emigrants in retrospective self-narratives is in itself a form of integration, noticeably autarkic and 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 host culture, is not necessarily an attempt to assimilate with the British society. Here, integration is used as a concept of general sociology regarding one individual or a minority group's social and sociable connections in relation to a larger group, be it the British and French States, or the wider host or emigrant communities.

The focus on connections and transfers dictate that the traditional geographical limits of the subject (France and Britain as national spaces) and conventional chronological restrictions (July 1789–November 1815) be exceeded. Had the narration been set between the decision of the King's brother to emigrate on 15 or 16 July 1789 and the Bourbon Second Restoration of November 1815, this study of emigration would be confined to the strict boundaries of its existence as an intrinsically French political phenomenon. Such chronological limits ignore the significant pre-revolutionary Franco-British relations, the evolving British reactions to the Revolution, and the long-term impact of emigration on the emigrants and their host society. In the *Making of the Modern Refugees,* Peter Gatrell argued that "refugees [go] into exile as persons enmeshed in relationships"; this book argues emigrants and their hosts came out of exile enmeshed in new and renewed relationships.[22] The adoption of a long-term approach sees emigration as a historical moment when the possibility for cultural exchanges increased due to cohabitation, without dismissing pre-existing connections. Existing feelings of Anglophilia, Gallomania, and their phobic counterparts, played a determining role in emigrants' and hosts' behaviours towards the others.[23] Emigration fell within an existent transnational system of influence, illustrated by the Huguenot Refuge in Great Britain and the Jacobite exile in France.[24] Many migrants had relatives, friends, or even customers, on the other side of the Channel; some had visited the British Isles before

1789. French and British elites had met in the cosmopolitan Salons of the European Republic of Letters.[25] Upon their return in post-Revolution France, emigrants stayed influenced by their sojourn in the host country. Recent literary criticism has in fact successfully demonstrated how foreign experiences encouraged the production of transformed emigrant and host identities.[26] In *Les Ombres de l'Histoire,* Michelle Perrot declared that "each change constitutes a trauma" and henceforth participates to "transform the mores, habits, values and dreams of a population".[27] Thus, this study of the French displaced population in Britain aims to understand how a group represents itself with regards to its home and host countries, and how opinions in the host society are challenged and renewed by the confrontation with a migrant population. The history of emigration cannot be reduced to Chateaubriand's short-term identification of a "lost generation", condemned to survive in an un-renewed and profoundly French *ancien régime* world.[28] In the medium and long term, the history of emigration is also the history of many crossings, creations, and metamorphoses. Hence, this book is divided around three main interrogations regarding the emigrants' ways of being and belonging during their exile and after they returned to France through their memories, practices and ambitions.

The two following chapters, entitled 'Emigrés, Refugees and Emigrants' and 'Britain and Britons in Emigrant Retrospective Self-Narratives' focus on the dialectic between history and memories. They interrogate the long-term construction and evolution of collective memories on emigration with the analysis of self-narratives and historical reinterpretations of the emigrant-British cohabitation. The dominance of national memories in the historiographical debate on emigration is complicated by the existence of rival revolutionary and counter-revolutionary memories within the French and British national frames. Chapter 1 retraces the debate on emigration in the British Isles in France and in Britain from the early years of the Revolution to the twenty-first century. It then proposes new research angles and sources. Chapter 2 interrogates the description of the interactions between French emigrants and the British host society in returned emigrants' self-narratives written between the late 1790s and 1850. It argues that all descriptions of the host country are biased and anachronistic, and offers a reconstructed vision of emigrant-British relations partly based on political affiliation.

The second part of this book discusses the public image of emigration, as perceived by the host and migrant communities. It scrutinises a wealth

of sources contemporary to emigration and seeks to understand the ideological preoccupations of the migrants and their hosts. Chapter 3, named "Discursive Constructions of the Emigrant Figure in Loyalist Britain", deals with the British legislative definition of emigration and the definition by the host's public discourse of what constitutes a French emigrant. It seeks to understand the evolving definition of 'alien' and 'refugee' as political, social and humanitarian categories in an increasingly Loyalist and patriotic British context. Aspects of the financial dependence of the emigrants on the host community are discussed in Chap. 4. In "British Charities and the Émigré Ideological Pursuit of Social Inequality", it is argued that the British relief policies played a significant role in furthering divisions in the emigrant group by (re)inforcing *ancien régime* ideals of aristocratic distinction. It interrogates the British public and governmental motives behind the relief policies. To what extent was charitable generosity linked to a conservative and counter-revolutionary notion of natural social order? The relief distributed to migrants by charities and the British State was insufficient to non-aristocratic migrants; it was refused to many political outsiders. Many resorted to work. The study of commercial transactions and the inventory of emigrant professions are inadequate to seize the preoccupation of the displaced group and the expectations of the British clientele of what a French emigrant should be. Therefore, Chap. 5, "Marketing the Trauma of Displacement in Classified Adverts" assesses emigrant promotional culture by analysing the rhetorical tactics of identification and victimisation used by emigrants in a sample of announcements from London newspapers. The emigrant identification as a victimised group and their influence on the British memory of the Revolution are finally dealt with in Chap. 6. "Speaking, Reading and Publishing as a French Emigrant in a British Context" examines the linguistic and literary choices as well as the publishing strategies chosen by the emigrant community to influence their host's view on French events and the emigration. This chapter emphasises the role of writers, translators, booksellers and libraries in the circulation, adoption and rejection of diverse exilic projects.

The final part of this book discusses the underlying question of the return to France and that of the reassessment of shared exilic endeavours on the short and medium term. It considers the investments, hopes and deceptions encountered by the French exiled in Britain. Ultimately, these chapters interrogate "what lies under the surface of politics and what will last", a fundamental question asked by Jean-Clément Martin

in 2005.[29] Chapter 7, "Settling Preoccupations and Investment of the Host Territory" attempts to interrogate, with the few sources available, the housing strategies of the emigrant community and their dispersal in the British Isles. The sociology of migration argues that migrant dispersal is 'concomitant with the processes of community formation' and 'the re-invigorating and re-imagining of communities'.[30] It is suggested that the peculiarities of the emigrant dispersal and the failures of the Counter-Revolution allowed for the transformation of exilic projects, leading on one hand to the formation and strengthening of an émigré nation in exile, and on the other to the rejection of the émigré project by some members of the community. In Chap. 8, "The Disenchantment of the Emigrant World", we will observe various marital and educational survival strategies, life-changing choices, as well as ethical choices made by emigrant individuals confronted with the reality of exile and ideological disappointment.

Notes

1. *General Evening Post*, 17–20 November 1798; *Saint James's Chronicle or British Evening Post*, 1–4 December 1798. St. Domingue heiress Amable de la Toison de Rocheblanche (1767–1801) married Gustave de Sparre (1750–1813) in 1787. They both died in exile in London.
2. *Whitehall Evening Post* (*WEP*), 20–23 October 1798; *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (*MP&G*), 23 October 1798. Roquemont, later styled Rockmont of Appleshaw, died in exile in 1807 (NA, Kew, PROB 11/1466/252). Born in Saint Omer, he might have been an officer in the Armée de Condé.
3. *MP&G*, 27 November 1798. The bride was Madame d'Alian.
4. *Courier & Evening Gazette*, 11 March 1799.
5. *WEP*, 7–9 March 1799; *Oracle & Daily Advertiser* (*O&DA*), 9 March 1799.
6. *O&DA*, 11 December 1798; *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 22–25 March 1799.
7. *Evening Mail*, 2–4 January 1799; *London Chronicle*, 12–14 February 1799.
8. *WEP*, 19–21 April 1798.
9. Emma Orczy, *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (London: Greening, 1907).
10. General studies: H.T. Dickinson (ed.), *Britain and the French Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989); Colin Jones (ed.), *Britain*

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

11. Paul Gerbod, 'Visiteurs et Résidents britanniques dans le Paris révolutionnaire de 1789 à 1799', in *Paris et la Révolution*, ed. Michel Vovelle (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989), pp. 335–51; Marc Belissa and Sophie Wahnich, 'Les crimes des Anglais: Trahir le Droit', *AHRF* 300 (1995): 233–48; David Erdman, *Commerce des Lumières: John Oswald and the British in Paris, 1790–1793* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986); Simon MacDonald, 'British Communities in late eighteenth-century Paris' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2011).
12. Amongst the most important studies on emigration in the British Isles: Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814* (Duffolk: Royal Historical Society, 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.
13. Karine Rance 'L'Historiographie de l'Emigration', in *Les Noblesses françaises dans l'Europe de la Révolution*, ed. Philippe Bourdin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 355–368 (p. 361). She ironically stated that the only thing emigrants brought back from Great Britain was the 'Spleen', loosely translated in English as a romantic feeling of suffering.
14. Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999).

15. The sociological research on twenty-first century immigration and refugeedom has phrased similar concerns as Michel Espagne's. Stephen Castles and Mark Miller demonstrated how denying the 'role of immigrants in nation building has been crucial to the creation of myths of national homogeneity' in *The Age of Migration,* 3rd edn. (Basingstoke: 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. Robert W. Strayer (ed.), *The Making of the Modern World. Connected Histories, divergent Paths, 1500 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).
18. Espagne, p. 94.
19. Werner and Zimmerman, pp. 37–38.
20. Jenny Phillimore and Lisa Goodson, 'Making a Place in the Global City: The Relevance of Indicators of Integration', *JRF* 21: 3 (2008): 305–325 (p. 308).
21. Beate Collet, 'Pour l'étude des *modes d'intégration* entre participation citoyenne et références culturelles', *Revue Européenne des sciences sociales* 44: 135 (2006): 93–107.
22. Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 288.
23. The literature on Franco-British relationship in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is immense—the historiographical 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: 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 on this subject demonstrating various receptions to otherness and the intricacy of transnational networks: Lise Andries and others (eds.), *Intellectual Journeys: the translation of ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013) and Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (eds.) *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010).
24. On the Huguenots: Bernard Cottret, *Terres d'exil: l'Angleterre et ses réfugiés (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Aubier, 1985); Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot*

Heritage: The history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001). On the Jacobite communities in France: Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile. The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004); Patrick Clarke de Dromantin, *Les Réfugiés Jacobites dans la France du XVIIIe siècle* (Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2005).

25. Marc Belissa and Bernard Cottret (eds.), *Cosmopolitismes, Patriotismes: Europe et Amériques, 1773–1802* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 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 : Oxford University Press, 1998).
26. Damien Zanone (ed.), *Le Moi, L'Histoire—1789–1848* (Grenoble: ELLUG, 2005); Natalie Petiteau, *Ecrire la Mémoire. Les Mémorialistes de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012).
27. 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.
28. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Essai Historique, Politique et Moral sur les Révolutions anciennes et modernes, considérées dans leurs rapports avec la Révolution Française* (Londres, 1814), pp. 427–428; See also Jean-Claude Berchet, 'Les Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe: Une autobiographie symbolique', in *Le Moi*, ed. Zanone, pp. 46–47.
29. Jean-Clément-Martin, 'Introduction', in *La Révolution à l'oeuvre: perspectives actuelles dans l'histoire de la Révolution française,* ed. Jean-Clément Martin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005), pp. 10–11.
30. Maggie O'Neill, *Asylum, Migration and community* (Bristol: Policy, 2010), p. 5.

CHAPTER 1

Émigrés, Refugees and Emigrants

'Refugee', '*Émigré*', émigré', and 'emigrant', 'exile', 'counter-revolutionary', '*fugitifs*' and '*aristocrates*': the vocabulary chosen to label French migrants in revolutionary times unquestionably reflects the describer's political position on emigration. A teleological figure, the 'émigré/refugee' still unconsciously serves the purposes of national histories. In the modern English-speaking academic world, the migrants who left France during the Revolution are often designated as 'refugees'.[1] In the absence of a legal definition of refugeedom contemporary to emigration, this conception bears a moral (perhaps moralising) bias. The migration is simplified in the terms of 'helplessness and loss' and emigrants stand as 'traumatised object[s] of intervention'.[2] Representations related to the noun 'refugee' incriminate the situation migrants had to flee: French migrants are commonly, yet simplistically, thought to have fled the institutional violence of the Jacobin Terror. The word émigré poses a different problem. It possesses its own entry as a common noun in English dictionaries as 'emigrant of any nationality, especially a political exile'.[3] However, it is often italicised, as is the use with foreign words, or capitalised in Anglophone history and literary criticism. These typographic uses supply the French emigration of 1789–1815 with a legendary status: the English language had similarly seized and adopted the French word *Refuge* used to describe the exiled Huguenot population.[4] In contrast, the French historiography uses émigré as a common noun and an adjective to study migrants' military, political, and intellectual relations to their home country.[5] This vocabulary further reveals the influence of national traditions and historiographies on the describer's understanding of the French

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Revolution. In 2009, writing on the evolutions of research on the French Revolution since the 1989 bicentennial celebrations, Colin Jones deplored the lack of exchanges between historians from different intellectual cultures.[6] He contrasted the French heirs to the socio-economic inquiries of the *Annales* to the Anglo-American Cultural Studies. A similar observation holds when it comes to the history of emigration. With noteworthy exceptions, Anglophone academia studies the emotional, literary, and artistic dimensions of emigration with subjects related to charities or romantic literature.[7] French and German historians have mainly focused on its practical, social and economic facets with research on the noble and ecclesiastic estates, the repossession of émigré lands and properties by the State or the 1825 *Milliards des émigrés*, when the Bourbons regime restored its partisans into their unsold properties.[8]

Adopting a terminology rid of prejudices gives way to new approaches, combining both historiographical traditions.[9] In this book, the group is referred to neutrally as 'exiled', 'emigrant', or 'displaced'. Since the Revolution, 'exile' describes the refractory clergy facing deportation after protesting against the mandatory 1790 clerical oath to the French Constitution.[10] 'Exile' has also been used in lieu of emigration to describe a heterogeneous migrant group.[11] It is also an umbrella term used by Simon Burrows in his *French Exiled Journalism* to cover the nexus of lay emigrants, clerical exiles, and francophone individuals in London, engaged against the revolutionary and imperial governments. 'Emigrant' and 'displaced' seem devoid of prejudices on the migrants' and host's political projects, consigning emigration to the geographical displacement of the French population. Refugee, émigré, and counter-revolutionary, all refer to three different intentions related to emigration. Refugee (and even sometimes immigrant) can be used when the perspective of the host society is discussed, and émigré when the perspective derives from the dialectic between revolution/anti-revolution. Counter-revolutionary is used when referring to the military and ideological dimensions of emigration; it is also an appropriate adjective to describe a heterogeneous nexus of opponents to different phases of the Revolution. With these technical and linguistic grounds set, this chapter endeavours to describe, as concisely as possible, the evolution of the historiography on emigration in Great Britain. Starting with up-to-date empirical knowledge, it then follows a slippery road, summarising and questioning 200 years of revolutionary, anti-revolutionary, counter-revolutionary, and 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 European interests for transnational academic subjects and collaborations, the passage from partisan memories on emigration to the academic and rigorous discourse on this subject in the past fifteen to twenty years allows for a profound modification in the choice of sources and methodologies used to analyse this phenomenon.

Overview

Most historians agree that emigration started in the aftermath of the fall of the Bastille, when the Comte d'Artois—brother to Louis XVI—and the family de Condé left France.[12] It is estimated that 150,000 French individuals (i.e. 1% of the French population in 1789) searched for a haven in Europe, North America, and parts of Asia in the 1790s and 1800s.[13] In spite of continuous departures, different waves of exodus have been identified. Mostly motivated by politics until 1792, departures between 1792 and late July 1794 have been linked to fear and political radicalisation. Migration trends reversed after *Thermidor*. Several emigrants returned to France, in waves, during the Directory, the Empire, and until 1815 when the Bourbons regime was reinstated. It is difficult to assess the incidence of emigration to the British Isles. Emigrants moved back and forth between the British Isles, France and other exilic places; several British administrative sources have allegedly disappeared when the *Alien Office*, the agency set up in 1793 to administer the presence of the French population on the British territory, became part of the British Foreign Office.[14] Historian Kirsty Carpenter inferred from British administrative sources that an average of 12,500 French migrants per year were in England, with as many as 20,000–25,000 at the high-point of 1792.[15] Dominic Aidan Bellenger's unique contribution in assessing the incidence of clerical emigration in the isles indicates that by September 1792, 2500 exiled clergymen and women stayed in England and in Jersey.[16] By December 1792, that number had risen to almost 7400. In 1800, 5621 clerics were settled in the British Isles. However, by 1815, the population had dropped to just 350 individuals. Yet, the overall incidence of emigration in Britain is not quantifiable. The number itself strongly depends on individual identification as an emigrant, on the

proximity to a particular political group, on one's connection with the émigré establishment, as well as on the host country's recognition of the individual's status and identity as a political migrant.

Recent historiographical efforts highlight the political and sociological heterogeneity of the displaced group. When many cautious aristocrats left France alarmed by the Grande Peur of July and August 1789 and for a few years after, Great Britain was still considered a tourist destination. In 1789 to early 1792, the French noble bathing in Bath or Tunbridge Wells might not so much have fled as travelled expecting a quick return to a political status quo in France.[17] French tourists discovered the British capital, the constitutional and liberal magnificence of which had been described by their enlightened predecessors. This phenomenon was known as *émigration à la mode* [fashionable emigration] or *émigration joyeuse* [merry emigration].[18] Meanwhile, in July 1790, the French National Assembly adopted the *Constitution Civile du Clergé*. This bill subordinated the Catholic Church to the French State. By November 1790, the clergy was bound to take an oath to protect the Constitution. In protest, several non-juring clergymen and nuns left France; few came to Jersey. The first constitutional measures against noble and clerical departures focused on the financial consequences of emigration. French authorities feared these migrants would transport, hide and invest their fortunes abroad. Emigration was only criminalised in French legislation after Louis attempted to flee, like a '*vulgaire émigré*' [low class émigré] on the 20–21 June 1791.[19] On 13 September 1791, as he reluctantly signed the Constitution, an amnesty of two months was given to the emigrants. Ultimately, the King condoning the Constitution reinforced the gap between the French monarch and warring counter-revolutionary nobilities. The emigration process intensified. Countless officers and ideologues exited France and gathered along the eastern Rhineland in the *Armées des Princes* and *de Condé*. War broke out in continental Europe in April 1792. London took a neutral stance. It rejoiced in seeing its principal military and economic challenger weakened.

It was not until September 1792 that Great Britain began to attract emigrants escaping war and the *Massacres de Septembre* that inaugurated the new Republic. Many amongst the *Normand* and *Breton* civilian population exiled themselves in the Channel Islands and in its mainland, as several border dwellers searched for a haven across the French frontiers.[20] Others civilians who had left France earlier abandoned

the counter-revolutionary communities in continental Europe as the émigré and Coalition armies suffered crushing defeats. Confronted by an unprecedented flow of impoverished migrants, the British civil society created charities to help the cleric and lay French population.[21] This assistance indubitably appealed to the weakened exiled population. In Britain, the declaration of war was imminent. Pitt's government enacted legislative paraphernalia including the infamous *Aliens Act*, supported by purposeful organisations and governmental offices. By February 1793, Great Britain joined the first counter-revolutionary Coalition. It is probably then that the French population in the British Isles was the most diverse. The years 1792–1794 witnessed the arrival of the middle class, many artisans and artists, and some low-paid labour. In London, the demand for French goods had been high for two centuries. Hence, the city attracted those who directly suffered from the French economic crisis and had lost much of their wealthy clientele to emigration. This population was amongst the first to return to France. From 1793 to 1815, Great Britain probably hosted a larger proportion of noblemen than the rest of continental Europe. Donald Greer estimates that, among those who left, 17% were noblemen and women, 25% clergymen and women, and 51% professional men and women; but departures from eastern and southern regions amplified the ratio of peasant and proletarian transborder migrants.[22] These regional outliers excluded, the First and Second estates represent approximately 63% of the emigrant population, a low estimate of the division in estate of the French population in the British Isles between 1789 and 1815. However, these numbers hide a rich diversity including wealth, connection to the host country, mentality, and political association.

Following the declaration of war of April 1792, those who left France were essentially perceived as enemies of the French nation. The definition of nation had endured continuous restrictions since 23 October 1792, when Republican legislators attempted to define rules to access French nationality.[23] Reinforced by its military victories, the Republic banished in perpetuity those who, crossing the geographical and political boundaries, had metaphorically become aliens to the revolutionary project. Laws voted between 28 March and 5 April 1793 decisively identified the migrant group with the enemy. The so-called émigrés lost their French citizenship. Their possessions became national properties. Meanwhile, the political structure of the emigrant population in

the British Isles was further renewed to the rhythm of measures taken by the French Republic. Great Britain hosted constitutional *Monarchiens*, a few Republican Generals, some *Girondins* and *Fédéralistes* and others who had progressively been declared national enemies.[24] It was simultaneously host to ultra-royalists planning coups against the Republic. The end of the *Terreur* in July 1794 and the consecutive Thermidorian reaction critically harmed emigration, previously weakened by diverging migratory projects. Returns to France related to a less restrictive revolutionary rhetoric on national affiliation.[25] The most restrictive laws against emigration were not abolished before the general amnesty of 1802. Yet, the fugitives of 1792–1793 did not fear repercussions and many returned immediately. The new French order was accepted by default, especially since the assuagements of the demands of the Second counter-revolutionary European coalition.[26] Louis XVI's brothers were held responsible for failing the emigration project. The Catholic and military preoccupations of many migrants were further outdated by the 1801 Concordat between Bonaparte and the Vatican and the 1802 Treaty of Amiens between Paris and London. Noble and clerical emigrants in the United Kingdom deserted the ultra-royalist Bourbon court and the French bishops.[27] By 1802, 1000 emigrants had not been amnestied. However, the number of French living abroad as a consequence of the Revolution was much higher. Meanwhile, a new wave of migrants reached the British Isles. England retained its status as a gateway to France for those returning from distant lands, such as Louis-Philippe and his brothers. Napoléon exiled others like Madame de Staël.[28] As Britain remained the only European territory not conquered by the Imperial armies, it was perceived until 1815 as a haven of choice.

The latest research on the political and social diversity in emigration in Great Britain creates a stark contrast with the leitmotivs on the phenomenon. This raises questions about myth's construction and its influence on historiography. To paraphrase Eric Hobsbawm, 'part of the History of [emigration] is what the nineteenth century made of it'.[29] The development of historical knowledge depends on collective memories. Remembrance is not so much an individual process as it is a social phenomenon.[30] Narrations and studies on emigration in the British Isles are complicated by the interdependences between the diverse familial, political and socio-economic memories and national histories condoned by the French and British States, through strategic mediums such as education, celebrations and commemorations.[31]

From Nation-Centric Perspectives on Emigration to Comparative Studies

The construction of French and British memories on emigration started with the Revolution. In France, anti-emigration policies worked in tandem with the reunion of archives in national and departmental centres.[32] By virtue of the decrees of 9–12 February and 30 March 1792, émigrés and refractory priests' papers were seized and confiscated. Feudal titles and notarial acts of property acquisition, household spending, and private correspondences were instrumental to a discourse justifying the necessity of a Revolution against a corrupt aristocracy. This documentation reflected pre-revolutionary inequalities and discriminations favouring privileged classes. A pro-Jacobin and Republican tradition shaped the image of the aristocratic traitor to the nation who sinned when he fled the motherland and fought alongside foreign nations.[33] From a Republican and revolutionary perspective, the relation to the host country was irrelevant but the association with Britain particularly incriminating. Likewise, private information on French migrants was kept in British family archives. The documentation produced by the British administration was obviously hidden to the public. The British collective imagination on the French emigrants took after contemporary fictions and propagandist essays and artefacts. In Britain, anti-revolutionary and exilic literature printed in French and in English delighted in the staging of noblemen thrown into the torments of exile, poverty and even beggary in the midst of foreign countries and societies.[34] By 1800, representations of emigration in the British imagination mirrored the ambient conservatism's obsession against Jacobinism.[35] The French emigrant became, by antithesis, a refugee, eighteenth-century second-rate counterpart to the Protestant Huguenot saved by British altruism. Coherent and cohesive in each national imagination, these sources made all foreign sources on emigration obsolete.

Following the Revolution and the fall of the Empire, conservative memories have dominated the early nineteenth century. For Jean-Clément Martin, the Counter-Revolution had an impact equivalent to that of revolutionary movements in defining nineteenth-century European cultures, politics, and societies.[36] European monarchies designed historical narratives to explain the Revolution in an effort to create social stability. In France, an ideological divide between the Legitimist project, Constitutionalism, and Bonapartism, further

complicated the conflict between counter-revolutionary and revolutionary memories.[37] Collective memories on the host country depended on party dogma. Legitimist theories perceived British Constitutionalism as a threat; Bonapartism had been defeated by London's anti-Imperialist efforts. Only the constitutional faction looked upon it as a political ally and model.[38] The Restored Bourbon Monarchy developed an anti-British ideology, in which the host-country became one of the influential instigators of the Revolution. Many resented the British military presence in France between 1815 and 1818 as an invasion.[39] The imperialist and economic tensions between the Bourbons and London furthermore biased the Legitimist opinion on Great Britain. As will be discussed in the next chapter, partisans of the Bourbon monarchy who had lived in Britain publicly dissociated themselves from their hosts. In 1825, the legislation on the *Milliard des émigrés* re-established some migrants into their pre-revolutionary properties.[40] Self-narratives on emigration flourished and justified the authors' demands for compensation. The legitimist corpus on emigration identified the émigré-type—a collective being defined by its nobility, religious zeal, and loyalty to the Bourbon cause beyond exile. It vulgarised the theories championed by Louis de Bonald and Joseph de Maistre.[41] This theoretical system partly blamed the British constitutional influence, the Protestant religion, and the prominent English and Scottish freemason networks for the fall of the *ancien régime*. On the long term, this vision drifted towards moralising the relationship between the two countries. Hence, in 1838, legitimist journalist Alfred de Nettement published an article in the *Revue de Bruxelles* in which he praised the beneficial aspects of emigration in England.[42] He controversially argued that the émigré presence had allowed for the renewal of Catholicism in England. This narrative transformed the relations between the émigrés and their British hosts, reinterpreting every event through the lens of nineteenth century Legitimism.

Before the Revolution of 1830, the French liberal and anglophile opposition to the regime asserted that emigration had been politically segregated, insisting on successful relations between constitutional émigrés and their British hosts. This memory stated that constitutional monarchists and moderate revolutionaries had been exiled by a radicalised French State despite their efforts to build a modern and reformed system of governance. Using self-narratives from military officers and administrators, constitutionalist historians fabricated the notion that legitimists fled to Germanic countries, and liberals, 'émigrés of freedom', found a haven

in the British Isles. In 1825, François Mongin de Montrol explained that the adoption of the *Milliard* would be a calamity; the legitimist emigration was indeed responsible for 'thirty years of war outside and the anarchy and Terror inside'.[43] The young Adolphe Thiers denounced the aristocratic and 'presumptuous' émigrés in his *Histoire de la Révolution* published between 1823 and 1827.[44] Constitutional narratives further despised the term émigré to which they preferred *émigrant*. In the fierce battle for political and cultural domination, legitimist authorities silenced the anglophile and constitutionalist memory of the emigration. By extension, they condemned their recollections on Great Britain as a host country. Disapproving the *Terreur Blanche* and the repressive politics of the Bourbons against ex-revolutionaries, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans and his court chose to exile themselves again in England after 18 August 1815.[45] Guizot, anglophile and leader of the *Doctrinaires* liberal group, was dismissed from his chair in History in the Sorbonne in 1822.[46] He had been teaching the theory of representative government and the benefits of English liberties. The memorial landscape on emigration and Britain as a host country changed after the Revolution of 1830. It is during the reign of Louis Philippe that the Franco-British dialogue climaxed with the Entente Cordiale (1841–1846). Louis-Philippe was all the more eager to differentiate his late flight from the early departures by the Bourbons. He reminded France that he had participated in the 1792 victory of Jemappes against the counter-revolutionary armies. Now minister, Guizot related the failure of the Bourbon Restoration to their incapacity to understand the profound modification that France had undergone in 1789. Like the Chevalier de Panat in 1796, he claimed that ultra-royalists had 'neither learned' from their experience in emigration 'nor forgotten'.[47] But, the increasingly conservative Orléans government failed to appease the nationalist claims emerging from its left.[48] The Bonapartist and Republican opposition rejected emigration as a whole. To do so, they borrowed the rhetoric developed by the Jacobin and Imperial propaganda on the foreigner and Britain.[49] They argued that France had lost its hegemony over Britain since 1815. The profoundly Anglophobe historian and Republican at heart, Michelet, considered that the Coalition between Pitt and the noble and clerical emigration in Jersey and England had been a threat to the Republic.[50] The entire emigration was condemned for warmongering and judged guilty of anti-French conjurations.[51] The moment London welcomed émigrés, it became an enemy of the French Nation.[52] His fellow historian Etienne Cabet rejected the

Orleanist reading of a dual emigration. In his view, anglophile and constitutionalist émigrés were perhaps more guilty than the ultramonarchists because they had intrigued in revolutionary ranks until September 1792.[53] Hence, up to the mid-century, memories and histories on Great Britain were plagued by partisan discourse. Whether Britain was thought of as friend or foe, propagandist description of the British reception of emigrants only served contemporary agendas.

Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, facts were not relevant in partisan narrations of emigration and the portrayal and characterisation of the emigrant figure took a different turn. Emigration was not part of the national agenda since the last departure in 1815 and little new was published about the French presence in the British Islands. In 1837, Thomas Carlyle published *The French Revolution*.[54] He attributed the outbreak of the French Revolution to the decay of the French aristocracy and the loss of religious beliefs. Assimilating the first émigrés to the French *Seigneurs*, or 'highest *Seigneurs*' who had lost their privileges, he corroborated the notion that emigration had been aristocratic, unconstitutional, and reactionary.[55] To this first emigration, he substituted a second one: 'the high-flyers have gone first, now the lower flyers; and ever the lower will go, down to the crawlers'.[56] He quoted sources similar to those of the French liberal historians. Carlyle's focus was not the relation between France, the emigration and Great Britain. Yet, his *French Revolution* influenced the transformation of the French emigrant figure in post-1840s British fiction. London was then confronted to the eruption of the Chartist movement.[57] Conservative and anti-Chartist commentators feared the violence of a revolt of the labouring poor in their own country, a situation thought as similar to that of France in the late 1780s.[58] The anti-Chartist discourse resurrected fantasies on the Jacobin *Terreur* and the poor French noble refugees sheltered in England. Charles Dickens published *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1859. The novelist mentioned reading Carlyle's *History* 'five hundred times', and carrying the volumes with him as he wrote his counter-revolutionary epic.[59] The story of French aristocratic emigrant Darnay and his love for the young Lucie Manette was significant in the construction of a British public understanding of the Revolution and the *Terreur*. The English Sidney Carton became a popular fictional hero as he sacrificed his life on the altar of the Guillotine. The popularity of the novel extended until the twenty-first century, and still serves as a reference to describe Franco-British relations.[60] Thackeray's 1847–1848 *Vanity Fair*

presents a different view on the emigrants in Britain. The anti-hero Becky Sharp introduced herself in the early pages of the novel as the daughter of a French woman, from the illustrious noble *Gascogne* family of the Entrechats. Growing up in the 1790s, the young orphan passed for the heiress of a French aristocrat impoverished by the Revolution in France. Her friends later discovered the truth: she was the daughter of an opera singer. Whether her mother had arrived in England in response to the French Revolution had little importance. She dared to step out of the place society had given her, and henceforth embodied the impostor. In Victorian England, the identity of the emigrant was reduced to that of a noble refugee, a symbolic victim of all revolutions, revolts against the establishment and anarchical movements. By the mid-nineteenth century and like in France, British memories of emigration participated in a wider political discourse justifying a conservative social hierarchy.

Back in France, many historians and critics of the last decades of the nineteenth century challenged the then prevailing opposition between republican and royalist memories. Great Britain bore little importance in this renewed battle of historical memory. After 1870, legitimist and constitutionalist partisans gathered under the same banner to fight a common republican enemy, whose policies were based on the rejection of the Monarchy and a strong anticlericalism. Confusing History and stories, self-involved royalists and descendants of émigrés proudly published edited emigrant testimonies, coupled with programmatic prefaces. These publications celebrated counter-revolutionary heroes and the military emigration.[61] Historians like Henri Forneron did not engage with sources contemporary to the Revolution. Despite his knowledge of the British context, his *Histoire générale des émigrés* is based on the analysis of post-revolutionary narratives.[62] This vision of emigration became a decontextualized reflection on late nineteenth-century French Royalism and Republicanism. Unlike many, the royalist historian Ernest Daudet attempted to understand the particular relationship between emigration and its host countries. He distinctively used sources kept in the British Library.[63] Yet, his *Histoire de l'Emigration pendant la Révolution Française* remains a military and political history of the Counter-Revolution with an Anglophobic bias. For instance, the chapter on the battle of Quiberon opens with an unchallenged letter by Artois complaining about London's anti-French agenda in the Counter-Revolution. Meanwhile, the *République des Professeurs* reinvented the

historical profession, imposing a positivist and critical reading of primary sources.[64] By the beginning of the twentieth century, the influence of the host country in shaping emigrant identities was finally questioned and sources renewed.[65] This evolution came from literary studies. In 1906, Paul Hazard published a seminal article on the émigré publishers of the Journal *Spectateur du Nord*.[66] This study on the intellectual relations between France and Germany, in 1797–1802, influenced his friend and fellow pioneer in comparative studies, Fernand Baldensperger, into undertaking a vast study on the transformation of ideas during the emigration.[67] He theorised the introduction of a renewed romantic sensibility in Restoration France initiated by returned emigrants, through the critical examination of their religious, political, and philosophical attitudes. His efforts took into account the contextual diversity of host countries. It allowed emigrant research to step out of the political sphere to enter the cultural and literary spheres. In the case of Great Britain, he declared that the influence of English philosophy in returned emigrant thoughts was evident in the 'explicative doctrines' on the causes and development of the Revolution. He emphasised the importance of Burke's *Reflections* that he believed was used as a *bréviaire* or prayer book by returned emigrants. While Royalist propagandists were unable to renew their ideological take on emigration, Republican scholars developed modern and innovative questions on the relations between emigrants and their hosts.

This renewal of sources and methodologies developed in parallel with the popularisation of new media, but had little effect on changing popular opinions on the subject of emigration. From its earliest days in France and in Great Britain, the silver screen took over the popular topic of the Revolution, and by extension that of the French emigration in the British Isles.[68] The cinematographic career of Dickens' and Orczy's characters in British and American movies popularised a vision of an *ancien régime* decayed nobility victimised in 1793. Amongst several of these movies, a 1941 propagandist version of the *Scarlet Pimpernel*, starring Leslie Howard, *Pimpernel Smith*, transfigured the emigrant into the victim of Nazi Germany.[69] In lieu of saving noblewomen from the Guillotine, Horatio Smith, a British archaeologist, rescued anti-Nazi democrats from concentration camps.[70] In the 1960s, anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela was even nicknamed the 'Black Pimpernel'. This 'palimpsestic memory' of emigration created

and/or reinforced in the English-speaking popular culture the partisan topos of the French refugee confronted by a totalitarian Republican regime.[71] In the meantime, French and British historiographies somewhat forgot 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 emigrants.[72] The enrolling of French officers in British armies has been of particular interest in traditional military history. In an attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of the armed emigration, the Vicomte Grouvel explained in many details how the British government raised *émigré* troops between 1792 and 1794, and how *émigrés* integrated the armies of York.[73] In the rare academic studies on emigration, British and other foreign archives were still overlooked. When, in 1951, American sociologist Donald Greer challenged through statistics the stereotype of the *émigré*-aristocrat, he used French departmental archives. In 1961, 1963 and 1967, Marc Bouloiseau published guides to the foreign sources on French emigration and the Counter-Revolution.[74] Despite tens 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.[75] They all related to the military emigration and the Counter-Revolution. However, sporadic academic studies on emigration and biographies of émigrés in Great Britain using foreign sources appeared in the second-half of the twentieth century. In 1963, Jean Vidalenc published a picturesque examination of emigration, *Les Émigrés français*, a non-partisan synthesis on revolutionary legislations on emigration, migratory waves, and the lives of the émigrés in their host countries.[76] He used sources from the British Public Record Office and the Daudet archives. In the 1960s and 1970s, Baldensperger's student, Hélène Maspero-Clerc devoted her career to Jean-Gabriel Peltier's exiled journalism in London.[77] While her thesis allowed major academic reinterpretations of the emigration, the subject remained unpopular in academia. For the major part of the twentieth century, the history of emigration, and consequently that of the emigration in the British Isles, was considered a minor subject. The discourse of apologists of the aristocratic Counter-Revolution crept into popular culture while major scholarly contributions to the history of emigration in the British Isles remained sporadic.

Towards a transnational history of emigration

The 1989 celebrations of the bicentenary of the French Revolution came along with the development of several new research angles. At the time, a historiographical and epistemological feud divided the historians of the Revolution, roughly distributed between a French institutionalised Republican conception of a popular Revolution and the revisionist upholders of a bourgeois Revolution skidding off course in 1793.[78] Having been concerned with sterile politically driven debates for two centuries, the entire scholarship on emigration unquestionably benefited from these arguments. Accordingly, new historiographical trends furthered the analysis of emigration with the use of new sources, a better analysis of European Counter-Revolutions and the role emigration played in it. It came along with a detailed sociology of the nobilities and clergies in the Revolution, and a new focus on emigrant-host countries' relations. For the history of French emigration in Great Britain, this first meant a renewal of sources. The chair of the History of the French Revolution in la Sorbonne, Michel Vovelle, supervised several students on the subject, amongst whom was Kirsty Carpenter.[79] In her thesis, she examined the sociological, geographical, and financial organisation of emigration in London, making a remarkable analysis of the archives from the French Refugee committees kept in the British national archives. 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.[80] In a series of article and a monograph, he proceeded to reveal a semi-autarkic exiled world, composed of major editorial figures like Peltier, Montlosier, l'Abbé Calonne, and several other French contributors infatuated with France and their French identity. In 1997, a conference organised at London's *Institut Français* by Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel interrogated the relations between emigrants and hosts in many European countries, revealing a wealth of emigrant experiences.[81] In France, Great Britain, and the USA, studies of émigré literature and literature on emigration became significant at postgraduate levels in faculties of French and English studies. Literary critiques examined self-narratives and novels written by emigrants.[82] They also analysed sources written and printed in Britain by British poets and essayists.[83] These studies revealed the multifaceted role played by British authors, such as Hannah More, Coleridge, Burney, Wordsworth, in shaping an idealised image of the French emigrant. Along with these new

sources, the historiography of emigration in Great Britain benefited from a renewed interest in religious, noble, and military leaders of the emigration and the counter-revolution. The work of Court historian Philip Mansel was very important in determining the relationship between the French Royal family and the British governments.[84] This renewed interest also allowed for the journeys and works of Parisian and provincial emigrants with lesser political importance to resurface.[85] Unfortunately, and though they had been a majority in emigration, the Third Estate in Great Britain and in other European places in response to the French Revolution has rarely been the subject of studies.[86]

Following the bicentenary, the role of emigration in the European Counter-Revolution was also reassessed. Along with Jean-Clément Martin, historians agree that the Counter-Revolution, and by association emigration, was never uniquely identified. The emigrant population was the sum of political, social and cultural 'shades' resulting from diverse personalities siding willingly, or not, against successive French governments.[87] Furthermore, the debate on the British responses to the French Revolution shifted from a binary examination of the Burke/Paine controversy to that of radical and loyalist popular expressions.[88] While in agreement by the end of 1792 on what the British response to the Revolution should be, Edmund Burke, William Pitt, and the loyalist crowd, adopted dissimilar views on the management of emigration. Burke's writings are, perhaps wrongfully, considered fundamental in shaping the early British debate on the French Revolution. His early role in the defence of French emigrants in the British Isles was a consequence of his defence of aristocratic governments in general.[89] Historian Jennifer Mori hints that as far as Pitt was concerned, he refused to assist emigrants until the turning point of autumn 1792, and that despite optimistic hopes for revolutionary France, he was forced to resort to an 'ideological war'.[90] The study of British governmental and military responses to the Revolution and Empire arguably eclipses the importance of the emigrants' presence and lobby in shaping the British counter-revolutionary debate.[91] Simon Burrows responded to this historiographical deficiency by examining the governmental subventions received by émigré Journals, and the British State's use of French journalism as an instrument of propaganda after 1803.[92] As for Elisabeth Sparrow, she successfully demonstrated the considerable lobbying power of the French emigrant aristocracy and clergy in manipulating London's foreign policy and its spying agency.[93] In the last decade of the twentieth century, the

study of emigration in the British Isles became a subject in its own right and an unavoidable topic in historical studies on the British responses to the Revolution.

However, the major methodological breakthrough in studies on emigrant-host relations came from the collaboration between German and French scholars.[94] With a focus on transnationalism and emigrant-German cultural transfers, their first conclusions converge in demonstrating the crystallisation of émigré ideals around aristocratic and *Ancien Régime* values. Christian Henke established that Coblenz had become the political centre of emigration between 1792 and 1794.[95] The place was symbolic of the French counter-revolutionary identity, allowing little space for foreign influence in the group's cultural redevelopment. The diplomatic relations between the French emigrants and German cities had been mediocre. Thomas Hopel showed how the behaviour of the 5000 French officers in Coblenz, a town of 8500 inhabitants, reflected the inadequate behaviours of the French Princes, who claimed the superiority of their own administrative and judiciary structures over Coblenz' legitimate ones.[96] Local communities rejected the French military officers and civilians, seen as a religious disruption in Protestant states and an economic burden. Furthermore, policies in Westphalia, Saxony, and Prussia, prevented the emigrants from settling, making exchanges and transfers difficult. Karine Rance confirmed that the emigrants' identity politics were retrospectively perceived as a weakness and a cause for the failure of counter-revolutionary armies.[97] Matthias Middell went as far as stating that the history of emigration in Germanic states could be understood as the 'history of the failure of the process of cultural transfers'. As a result, the importation of Romanticism in France by returned emigrants is often thought of as the only emigrant cultural innovation imported from Germany.[98]

Germanic and British contexts are not easily comparable. Historically, the Germanic States and Great Britain had different relations with France. These differences were furthermore amplified by their governmental reactions to revolutionary developments. Great Britain was neither invaded nor formally defeated by the revolutionary and Imperial armies. While it entered the war later and despite a few pacific interruptions, it spent two decades fighting with France. The constitutional character of Great Britain, the so-called openness of its elites, and its unique consumer revolution, undoubtedly had a different effect on emigrant-British relations. Kirsty Carpenter has hinted at the existence of strong

emigrant-British inter-influences. She refers, in particular, to one hundred naturalisations, the presence of British pupils in emigrant schools and the evolution of migrants and hosts in bi-national social circles. For lack of an existing methodology and despite these remarkable examples, her study falls short from examining the connected formation of new migrant and host cultures. It excessively respects the integrity and identity of *ancien régime* and Georgian cultures. At the time of writing, the research on emigrant-British cultural exchanges and transfers is still in its early stages. Despite circumstantial differences, the methodological framework and the choice of sources analysed to determine the existence of noble and maybe clerical emigrant-German transfers is very relevant to renew a scholarship in which the transfer will not be identified with an artistic creation or reaction, but stands as collective and individual ideological innovations. In this, cultural objects are not duplicated or fused in a new and foreign environment; they are profoundly renewed.[99] The methodology of cultural transfers argues that a transfer is only possible when a group has identified itself as a nation.[100] It is nowadays accepted that a nation is essentially integrated and limited by a collective imagination.[101] In the context of the French emigration in Great Britain, these cultural spaces absolutely cannot be defined as French or British: there is no such thing as a French or a British homogenous response to the Revolution and emigration. Was there in the emigrant community in Great Britain, between 1789 and 1815, a cohesive sentiment of belonging to a national community? No. The group is too heterogeneous in terms of political and socio-economic backgrounds, gender, age, and profession, to be perceived as a uniquely defined entity with a single migratory strategy. Understandably, the main task of this book will be to identify the vehicles and locations allowing transfers to happen between the emigrant community and the British one.

Some scholars defined integration as a socially inclusive approach emanating from a State and its public society towards or against minorities.[102] Elisabeth Sparrow and Kimberley Berryman have highlighted the mediating role of the British State in segregating the French migrants from the British citizens with the implementation of the Alien Office in charge of the surveillance of French emigrants and foreigners and the parliamentary vote on the *Aliens Act* in 1793.[103] In this book, the text of the 1793 *Aliens Act* provides a point of departure to examine the influence of political decisions in the formation and evolution of British and emigrant identities alike.[104] A few letters related to the implementation

of the act and addressed to the government are kept in the National Archives[105]; many newspapers and columns discuss it. Southampton possesses a collection of post-1793 lists of passengers arriving by boat in Britain, drawn as per the legal requirement of the act.[106] The Record Office at Winchester keeps bundles of passports, memorandums, and other testimonies of the administrative treatment of French emigrants in Southern England.[107] In the London Metropolitan Archives, the author of this book spent much time examining the administrative documents put together by the overseers of the poor and signed by emigrants and British landlords alike, the Foundling Hospital, some baptism and burial parish record offices, as well as notarial archives.[108] Successive British governments and charities have furthered played an instrumental role in the formation of emigrant identities, feeding and hosting the migrants at first, then providing them with allowances.[109] Records of French emigrants, and in particular the *Treasury Record of the French Refugees Relief* Committee, have not been consulted as they had already been analysed by Kirsty Carpenter.[110] However, and since Edmund Burke was particularly influential in the administration of charities as the special intermediary with the French aristocratic committee in London and the Bishop of St Pol de Léon, the examination of his published correspondence was complemented by the study of some manuscript sources held at Sheffield's Record Office.[111] The public reception of emigrants was also a very important part of this work. Newspaper articles and open letters, calls for or against charity, Grub street caricatures, pro- and anti-emigration pamphlets, helped recreate a coherent, yet diverse, landscape of attitudes towards emigration.

Other scholars have defined integration as a strategy chosen by the migrants to mimic the host society, take part in its public life, or, conversely, adopt behaviours marginalising them from their hosts.[112] Emigrants' settlement and housing strategies, their professional situation, their inclination to meet members of the host society or to live in culturally autarkic communities, to get acquainted with local cultures and the English language, are all modalities of integration. Due to the defined scope of this investigation, the consultation of emigrant private archives kept in France was not prioritised.[113] Émigré journals published in London have also rarely been referred to. Simon Burrows' work has already and clearly demonstrated how the exiled intelligentsia developed exclusive cultural politics as part of their anti-revolutionary programme, with the affirmation that *Ancien Régime* arts were aesthetically superior to revolutionary culture and the British cultural productions.[114]

However, sources used in this book include some major institutionalised cultural productions by the political, artistic and aristocratic elites in emigration, and after their return to France. One of the greatest issues in selecting French ego-documents was the question of representation. While being readily available and used in traditional scholarship, *Mémoires* seemed inadequate in representing the heterogeneity of emigrant experiences. Yet, a small corpus of publications by twenty-two ex-emigrant *memorialistes* who had been exiled in the British Isles tries to be consistent with the sociology of emigration (including their age, gender, political situation and socio-economic background). Compared to the wealth of contemporary sources by emigrants, they revealed several retrospective constructions on the matter of relations between emigrant and host communities. Private diaries and correspondences of major and minor figures, both French and British, paint a divergent portrait of emigration and migrant strategies, in which the hostility between host and migrant is not as predominant as in the *Mémoires*. These ego documents provided privileged pieces of information on emigrants' experiences of exile, their reception by the host society, and the social circles in which migrants actually evolved.[115] The diaries of John Grainger, provincial gentleman established near Chichester, revealed that between 1793 and his death in 1797, he shared many cups of tea and pints of beer with hundreds of emigrants visiting the region. In the same archives, the Goodwood papers underlined the amicable relations between Artois, his courtiers and Lord Gordon.[116] The letters of Fanny Krumpholz, a protégée of the Orléans family, reveal ambiguous feelings regarding her national affiliation to France as she leaves London for Dublin.[117] A clergyman settled in the industrial north shares this feeling, as it appears in his will kept in Birmingham.[118] These documents highlight the existence of migratory strategies fluctuating according to political events but also (and arguably mainly) to private circumstances. Once again, they present a group intrinsically divided in its intentions.

Hence, in this book, 'the cast of supporting characters about whom we know nothing' is regarded as equally important as the leaders of emigration and the Counter-Revolution.[119] Much credit was given to contemporary anonymous sources by individuals presenting themselves as French having left their homeland in response to revolutionary events. Thanks to computerised data mining, 600 classified adverts written by and for alleged emigrants between 1789 and 1798 were systematically collected. Since these sources were not signed, their authentication was hardly possible. In the absence of contextual information

linking the migration of the author to the Revolution, classified adverts simply containing the word *emigrant* were rejected. The English word *emigrant* could signify both the French emigrant in London or the British migrant to North America. Also rejected were the adverts containing the adjective *French* on its own or a family name unrelated to the emigration. The selected adverts form a highly heterogeneous corpus, in size, format and content. They allowed a serial analysis on migrants' strategies and hosts' expectations, connecting material exchanges to the creation of a victimised migrant identity. Furthermore, a systematic analysis of foreigners' addresses given in adverts, together with the administrative lists of foreigners gathered by the overseers of the poor, gave the opportunity to interrogate the settlement of the émigrés in Great Britain.

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Is it acceptable to declare that, between 1789 and 1815, the emigrant community in Great Britain included Louis XVIII and the anonymous emigrant advertiser, the young exiled maid and the officer withdrawn from politics, the emigrant landlord and his lodger, the exiled master and his domestic, the professor and the tailor, the ultra-royalist and the constitutionalist? Emigrant experiences and British experiences of foreigners exposed in this book are not some folkloric illustrations of a foreign community. Ultimately, they are used to understand the evolution of a community whose boundaries have been enlarged or restricted throughout its existence and beyond the return of those who have at some point personally identified, or been identified by others, as emigrants, émigrés, or refugees. The abbreviated and simplified history of retrospective fictional and scholarly narrations of emigration in the British Isles exposed in this chapter demonstrated that the emigrant community and its relations to its host society have been decontextualized, recycled and transformed to adhere to diverse propagandist agenda from the early days of the Revolution until the last decades of the twentieth century. The next step in this search for the evolution of emigrant identities is to examine, in detail, the manner in which retrospective narratives have shaped the exclusive émigré-persona, and proposed a vision of emigrant-host relations so dissimilar to that revealed by contemporary sources. It is best illustrated by the words of those who returned from Great Britain and publicized their views on the host country.

Notes

1. Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Kimberley Berryman, 'Great Britain and the French Refugees, 1789–1802: the administrative response' (unpublished doctoral thesis, 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*, eds. Debra Kelly and Martin Cornick (London: Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2013). Mansel refers to the family d'Artois and Bourbons as 'Royal Refugees'. Ironically, in this case, the name 'refugee' refers to both the French situation and their financial situation: indebted in London, d'Artois fled to the sanctuary of Holyrood.
2. Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8; Prem Kumar Rajaram, 'Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee', *JRF* 15:3 (2002): 247–264 (p. 248). See also Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman (eds.), *L'Empire du traumatisme: Enquête sur la condition de victime* (Paris: Flammarion, 2011).
3. 'Émigré', *Oxford English Dictionary online* [accessed 23 February 2014].
4. 'Refugee', *Oxford English Dictionary online* [accessed 23 February 2014].
5. Jean Vidalenc, *Les émigrés français, 1789–1825* (Caen: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Caen, 1969); Karine Rance, 'Mémoires de nobles émigrés dans les pays germaniques pendant la Révolution Française' (unpublished doctoral thesis, 2001).
6. Colin Jones, 'Twenty years after', *FHS* 32:4 (2009): 279–687.
7. Margery Weiner, *The French Exiles* (London: J. Murray, 1960); Kirsty Carpenter, *The Novels of Madame De Souza in Social and Political Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Kate Astbury, *Narrative responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Legenda, 2012); Alan Davidson, 'The Iconography of an Émigré Musician: Henri-Pierre Danloux's 1795 Portrait of Jan Ladislav Dussek, *Early Music* 37: 2 (2009): 175–186.
8. Bernard Bodinier and Eric Teyssier, *L'Évenement le plus important de la Révolution. La Vente des biens nationaux* (Paris: Société des études robespierristes et Éditions du CTHS, 2000).
9. Allan Potofsky searched for a neutral perspective in 'The "Non-Aligned Status" of French Emigrés and Refugees in Philadelphia, 1793–1798", *Transatlantica* 2 (2006). See also his 'Emigrés et réfugiés de la

Révolution française aux Etats-Unis', in *Réfugiés/exilés aux Etats-Unis*, eds. Catherine Collomp and Mario Menendez (Paris: CNRS, 2003), pp. 33–50.

10. Dominic Aidan Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: An Historical Introduction and Working List* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986); Bernard Kroger, *Des Franzosische Exilklerus im Furstbistum Munster, 1794–1802* (Mainz, 2005).
11. Roger Dupuy, *La Noblesse entre l'Exil et la Mort* (Rennes: Edition Ouest France, 1988).
12. Some have argued that emigration predated the Revolution. Calonne is sometimes considered to be the first émigré as he left France in 1787. His counter-revolutionary discourse dates from after 1789.
13. 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 en Europe*, ed. Jean-Clément Martin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes), pp. 133–141.
14. It might be possible to make up for this loss with a systematic search for local administrative source in regional record offices. For instance, many administrative sources were found in the London Metropolitan Archives and in the Hampshire Record Office.
15. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 40.
16. Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp. 3–4.
17. Charles Robert, *Les émigrés bretons réfugiés à Bath en Angleterre sous la Révolution* (J. PLihon and L. 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).
18. Vidalenc, p. 65
19. Mona Ozouf, *Varennes. La mort de la royauté* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 409.
20. François Xavier Plasse, *Le Clergé français réfugié en Angleterre* (Paris, V. Palmé, 1886); Alphonse Martin, *Le Clergé Normand avant, pendant et après l'exil en Angleterre* (Evreux: Impr. De l'Eure, 1892).
21. Kirsty Carpenter, 'Les émigrés à Londres, 1792–1797', (unpublished doctoral thesis, 1993).
22. Greer, pp. 132–138.
23. Mike Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: the treatment of foreigners, 1789–1799* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Sophie Wahnich, *L'Impossible citoyen: l'étranger dans le discours de la Révolution française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997);

Marc Belissa, *Fraternité Universelle et Interêt national (1793–1795): les Cosmopolitiques du droit des gens* (Paris: Kimé, 1998).

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25. Jennifer Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 99–119. Emmanuel de Waresquiel, 'Joseph Fouché et la question de l'amnestie des émigrés (1799–1802), *AHRF* 372 (2013): 105–120.
26. Martin, 'Introduction', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. Martin, pp. 7–8.
27. Bellenger, 'The Ideology of Isolation', in *Exiled Clergy*, pp. 112–125; Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814* (Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society, 2000), pp. 179–221.
28. Munro Price, *The Perilous Crown: France between Revolution, 1814–1848* (London: Macmillan, 2007); Michel Winock, *Madame de Stael* (Paris: Pluriel, 2012).
29. Eric Hobsbawm, *Echoes of the Marseillaise: Two centuries looking back on the French Revolution* (New Brunswick: Ruygers University Press, 1990), p. xi.
30. Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).
31. Stephen Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution. The Historians' Feud, France 1789/1989* (NY: 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, 1989).
32. Sophie-Anne Leterrier, 'L'Histoire en Révolution', *AHRF 320* (2000): 65–75.
33. Antoine de Baecque (ed.), *La Caricature révolutionnaire* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1988).
34. Mathew. O. Grenby, *The Anti-Jacobin Novel: British Conservatism and the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Stéphanie Genand (ed.) *Romans de l'Emigration* (Paris: H. Champion, 2008); Astbury.
35. Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution, 1789–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 37. Kevin Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution: literary conservatism in Britain, 1790–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

36. Martin, *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, p. 8.
37. René Rémond, *Les Droites aujourd'hui* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2005); Bertrand Goujon, 'Monarchies postrévolutionnaires, 1814–1848', in *Histoire de la France contemporaine*, ed. by Johann Chapoutot (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2012).
38. Pierre Rosanvallon, *La Monarchie Impossible* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), pp. 7–8; Antoine Becquet and Bettina Frederking (eds.) *La dignité de roi. Regards sur la royauté au premier XIXème siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).
39. 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).
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43. Mongin de Montrol, pp. 314–315.
44. Adolphe Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution* (Paris: Lecointe et Durey, 1823–1827).
45. Price, pp. 109 and 119.
46. Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, pp. 16–19.
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48. Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p. 816.
49. Sylvie Aprile and Fabrice Bensimon (eds.), *La France et l'Angleterre au XIX^{ème} siècle: échanges, representations, comparaisons* (Paris: Créaphis, 2006).
50. Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (Paris: Ed. de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1939), T. II, pp. 606–612; *Les Femmes de la Révolution* (Paris: A. Delahays, 1855), p. 133.

51. Pierre-François Tissot, *Histoire complète de la Révolution française* (Paris: Silvestre, 1835).
52. Tissot, IV, p. 126; Paulin de Champrobert, *Le Comte d'Artois et l'Emigration* (Paris: V. Magen, 1837).
53. Etienne Cabet, *Histoire populaire de la Révolution française de 1789 à 1830*, Vol. II (Paris: Pagnerre, 1839–1840).
54. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896–1899).
55. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 158.
56. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 222.
57. Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution*, p. 152; Eric Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, p. 21.
58. Fabrice Bensimon, 'L'Echo de la Révolution française dans la Grande-Bretagne du XIXe siècle', *AHRF* 342 (2005): 211–237; Hobsbawm, *Echoes*, p. 22.
59. Charles Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).
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61. René Bittard des Portes, *L'Exil et la Guerre. Les Emigrés à la cocarde noire en Angleterre, dans les Provinces belges, en Hollande, à Quiberon* (Paris: Emile Paul, 1908); Regis L'Estourbillon de la Garnache, *Les Familles françaises à Jersey Pendant la Révolution* (Nantes: imprimerie de V. Forest et E. Grimaud, 1886). Joseph Turquan, *Les femmes de l'Emigration, 1789–1815* (Paris: Emile Paul, 1912). See also Plasse.
62. Henri Forneron, *Histoire générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: Plon, 1890), Vol. I, p. vi.
63. Ernest Daudet, *Histoire de l'Emigration pendant la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1904–1907). These sources are referred to as 'Communications reçues d'Angleterre' in the preface of the first volume.
64. François Dosse, Christian Delacroix and Patrick Garcia (eds.), *Les Courants historiques en France, 19ème-20ème siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), pp. 54–55.
65. Christian de Parrel, *Les Papiers de Calonne. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Contre-Révolution* (Cavaillon, 1932); Marc Bouloiseau, *Le sequestre et la vente des biens des émigrés dans le district de Rouen (1792-an X)*, (Paris: 1937).
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67. Fernand Baldensperger, *Le Mouvement des Idées dans l'Emigration Française* (Paris: Plon, 1924).

68. Pascal Dupuy, 'La diffusion des stereotypes révolutionnaires dans la literature et le cinema anglo-saxon (1789–1898), *AHRF* 305 (1996): 511–528; Sally Dugan, *Baroness Orczy's The Scarlet Pimpernel: A Publishing History* (London: Routledge, 2016).
69. *Pimpernel Smith*, dir. by Leslie Howard (British National Films, 1941).
70. Karine Rance has observed a similar trend 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.
71. The expression is borrowed from Max Silverman, *Palimpsestic Memory. The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone fiction and film* (Oxford; New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).
72. Duc de Castries, *Les Hommes de l'Emigration, 1789–1814* (Paris: Taillandier, 1979); La vie quotidienne des émigrés (Paris: Hachette, 1966); Gislain de Diesbach, *Histoire de l'Emigration, 1789–1814* (Paris: Grasset, 1975).
73. Robert François de Grouvel, *Les Corps de troupe de l'émigration française,* T.1: Services de la Grande-Bretagne et des Pays-Bas (Paris: Les Éditions de la Sabretache, 1957). Jean Pinasseau, *L'Émigration militaire. Campagne de 1792. Armée royale* (Paris: A. Picard, 1971). John Sherwig, *Guineas and Gunpowder: British Foreign Aid in the Wars with France* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 137–138; 140. The latter did not give details of the financial aid received by French royalists.
74. 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): 77–123. Mademoiselle Robinet created her immense general indexation of about 100,000 émigrés at the same time (Paris, CARAN, BB[1]62–96 (1792–1807)).
75. Bouloiseau, 'Sources'.
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CHAPTER 2

Britain and Britons in Emigrant Retrospective Self-narratives

The prolific writer of autobiographical narratives, Joseph Alexis Walsh, published his *Souvenirs* in 1845. He stated "*On ne passe pas dix ou douze ans dans une terre, quelqu'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; one feels deeply heartbroken upon departure]".[1] His perception of repatriation as a second uprooting is unique in emigrant self-narratives. Walsh descended from an Irish Jacobite family settled in Angers since 1685, exceptionally active in the mid-eighteenth century Scottish uprising, that had made its way up France's military nobility while amassing a fortune in the West Indies.[2] In 1790, his father joined the counter-revolutionary armies across the borders; the eight-year old boy followed the rest of his family to the Netherlands, where he attended the English Jesuit College in Liège.[3] In January 1793, the College was repatriated to England.[4] Walsh grew up exiled in Great Britain, and returned to a pacified France in 1802.[5] After the Restoration of 1815, he became a fervent advocate of Legitimist theories. Following 1830, he took the position of editor in chief of *l'Echo de la Jeune France*, a self-styled journal of improvements by Christianity. Drawing on the failures of Ultra-Monarchism under Charles X, this conservative press organ targeted a young-adult audience in favour of revised Legitimist theories. This explains that many of Walsh's statements in his *Souvenirs* stand out from the usual Legitimist nationalist propaganda.

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_2

Hard-core Legitimism had regularly denounced British charitable, political, and military efforts in 1793–1815, as machinations to weaken France.[6] This propaganda impacted on the narration of up to twenty-five years of a relatively uneventful cohabitation between exiled Frenchmen and the British host society. Despite 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 majority of the texts examined in this chapter include anecdotes about the writer or an acquaintance, as well as stories on the emigrant group in the host country. These explored, explained and emphasised the boundaries between the righteous self, as an individual and an emigrant, and the unscrupulous others, a cast comprising political opponents, foreigners or entire States. 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 conspicuously underlined and displayed identity differences in their narratives? Until Karine Rance's thesis on self-narratives of noble émigrés in Germany, the genre had been used as an unambiguous and under-contextualised key source to describe emigrant lives between 1789 and 1815. Hence, the 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 homogeneous compilation of self-narratives. The ambiguities of the genre, sorted under the umbrella terms *Émigré* memoirs or *mémoires d'Emigration*, were not fully questioned. These terms are often misleadingly used to describe a few passages or chapters in a longer and more complicated text, encompassing pre-revolutionary stories as well as tales of returned emigrants in Restoration France. The use of these examples structured and preserved the aristocratic identity of exile at the time of the Revolution. Reduced to stereotypes, the emigrant group, and by opposition the host too, displayed a cohesive identity in the eyes of the observer. Such reading, based on the imperviousness of identities, in particular of national identities, undermines the diversity of migrant experiences and the role of cohabitation in reshaping emigrant and British cultures. Therefore, it is imperative that the historian using self-narratives as primary sources interrogates the impact of the writing and publishing contexts on narrative strategies. Having defined an investigative method, this chapter

will then examine particular instances of narrative discourses on the emigrant-British relationships, in chronological and topical terms. It argues that these discourses borrow from earlier patriotic and cosmopolitan topoi in French literature while being influenced by early nineteenth century discourses on the *patrie* and the nation. It will finally underline the retrospective construction of a historical-national consciousness in returned emigrant discourses.

Challenging Memory

Karine Rance proposed a strict methodology to study émigré self-narratives. It is based on the recognition of three determining comprehensive moments: the process of emigration, the writing context and that of publishing.[7] Emigration writing is based on the traumatic experience of relocation. The concept of trauma is evidently anachronistic to emigration; yet it is now considered in social science as a timeless analytical category.[8] In the seminal *Mémorialistes de l'exil*, François Jacob and Henri Rossi introduced the notion that relocation at the time of the French Revolution was at once geographical, social, economical, intellectual and ethical.[9] Self-narratives deal with this traumatic past as an act of remembrance. But, when the time to write comes, this same past has become illusionary, as well as anachronistic, and the author amnesic.[10] Madame de la Tour du Pin mentioned she had little method, and that, aged fifty, her memories were strongly diminished.[11] Discussing the relevance of the title *Souvenirs*, the dramatist Arnault insisted in his preface on the partiality and subjectivity of the act of remembrance. He aimed to present the reader with what he remembered of himself and of others.[12] He suggested the use of the English word 'Reminiscence', as a collection of personal anecdotes, would be better than the almost scientific French *Mémoires*.[13] Bouillé went even further by suggesting that the history of emigration had "*dégénérée en commérage* [degenerated into gossip]" and became fictionalised.[14] The difficulty to remember seems furthermore increased by refuge and uprooting. 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 pain, as I was unable to lift it]".[15]

All the self-narratives presented in this chapter were written after their authors returned to France, with the exception of that of the Comte de Jarnac who died in London in 1812.[16] The earliest narratives considered were written in the 1790s, the latest in the 1850s. This lapse of time

causes a first problem in narrative consistency between the experience and the memory of the experience occurring decades later. Following Paul Ricoeur's precepts, Karine Rance demonstrated that at the time of writing, emigrant authors of self-narratives were still the same individuals, *Idem* (the invariable same), but yet different or *Ipse* (the variable same).[17] While writing, the memoir writers reminisced about their participation in emigration, but the sum of the experiences they had between their exile and the writing process contributed to the formation and transformation of their memories. Since their return to France, emigrants' personal situations and the structures influencing their behaviours and thoughts had further been subjected to continuous changes. Their relationship with their British friends, benefactors, and allies had changed too. Moreover, memory is inevitably tainted by the context of its production. The previous chapter established that the memory of emigration was the subject of a propagandist battle in Restoration then Orleanist France. The émigré group was a political outsider from the moment it left France to its successful return in 1815. Following the Restoration of the Monarchy and the Congress of Vienna, this same group regained its socially dominant position in France. Its relation to the then host country turned from that of a recipient of benevolence and strategic ally to that of a challenger in a renewed European political context. This is why self-narrations should be read as a reinvention of the émigré/emigrant public persona.

A similar awareness of the publishing context is required when studying self-narratives, especially in the absence of original manuscripts.[18] Publishing modifies the status of self-narratives by offering to a large public a private manuscript allegedly and initially destined for close relatives and friends. The anthropologist and specialist of the social production of nationalist memory in traumatic situations, Liisa Malkki insists 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".[19] In other words, the act of editing is not innocent. In this sample of self-narratives, publishers and editors have often felt authorized to modify manuscripts and first editions in the absence of the latter, in light of political, literary and historiographical fashions. 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.*[20] Her publisher, Ladvocat, had much expertise in publishing *Mémoires.* According to a claim posterior to the Comtesse's death, Ladvocat had pushed the novelist to add several

comments and extracts to her manuscript for commercial reasons.[21] Georgette Ducrest, her niece, maintained the *Mémoires* were initially 160 pages. Ladvocat's edition includes 10 volumes, each containing between 350 and 420 pages.[22] The publisher's unscrupulous methods were not unknown to Ducrest herself, as she had accused him of having added apocryphal letters attributed to Joséphine Bonaparte to a manuscript she sold him.[23]

The example of Madame de Genlis gives further evidence that some self-narratives had a life beyond their author's. In 1855, Georgette Ducrest produced a revised and abridged edition of her aunt's narrative. Her publisher, Gustave Barba, specialised in illustrated best sellers.[24] Ducrest was ruined at the time of publication; her husband, the harpist Bochsa, had fled to London after a corruption scandal. She might have paid off her debts with this new edition. She admits she did not consult her aunt's original manuscript. Instead, she extracted the 160 pages she considered original from Ladvocat's edition. She also changed the title to *Mémoires de Mme de Genlis sur la Cour, la Ville et les Salons de Paris.* The title chosen by Genlis and Ladvocat set the narration as a reflection on the self and its experience of times of historical significance. This new and commercial title suggested it was a corpus of gossips on the elite of a recent past. Worthy of note, Ducrest and her aunt did not share similar political views. After she returned to France in August 1800, Genlis presented herself as a constitutional monarchist and had not associated publicly with the Imperial court.[25] Her niece had first supported Bonaparte and served Joséphine, before offering her services to the Restored monarchy.[26] All these elements should cast doubt on the authenticity of the text she edited. Yet, and as the rest of the chapter will argue, these retrospectives and altered memories should not be categorised as true or false, but studied for what they are: retrospectively and strategically constructed memories on emigration with a purpose to explain and justify the choices made by and imposed on their writers at a crucial historical moment.

Emigrant Didacticism

Whether examined as single literary objects or as an intertextual corpus, one of the most obvious characteristics of emigrant self-narratives is their didacticism. It appears in inventories and repetitions, variations on these repetitions, lists of names, places and situations, as well as several references and quotations. Collectively and individually, emigrant narrations

create an order, what Liisa Malkki has designated as a "fundamental cosmological sense".[27] Finding the place of Britain in the emigrant cosmology necessitates a synchronic and a diachronic reading of the *Mémoires* and *Souvenirs*. Grouped by topic, narrative passages relating to emigration in Great Britain highlight the exiles' feelings of difference and victimisation—rarely admiration. They also reveal influences at stake in the evolving political construction of the émigré-type in the nineteenth century. Far from being alien to writers' narrative strategies, the use of topoi might in fact conceal the representation of a chronological development in the relations between the emigrant community, as portrayed, and the British society. These same retrospective passages on the stay in Britain will be read in a second time in the chronological order in which they happened to unearth the genesis of identity discourses.

The first narrations of emigration in Great Britain were erudite. They included precise military journeys and seemingly chronological relations of decades-long exiles in Europe. Akin to travel literature, these self-narratives were exemplary of a practice "valued for its literary and philosophical dimensions".[28] As such, descriptions of Great Britain as a host country mobilised commonplaces. The experience of a foreign country was rationalised through conscious and unconscious references to eighteenth-century cultural, literary, philosophical and even scientific productions. This discourse was partly inherited from that of cosmopolitan pre-revolutionary Salons, frequented by the eldest generation of the emigrant writers and foreign visitors.[29] Those who had been adults in the 1770s had witnessed the birth of a patriotic vocabulary based on the growth of national consciousness following the Seven Years War.[30] An undifferentiated list of complimentary and derogatory national stereotypes highlights the returned emigrants' understanding of their world. Several seem directly inherited from eighteenth-century patriotic prejudices. These stereotypes were often worded by simple and uncommented remarks, embedded in the body of the text. The playwright Arnault simply used the derogatory term "English Roastbeef".[31] The Marquise de La Tour du Pin and Théodore de Lameth fled France 'very badly dressed'.[32] The first was disguised as an English Lady; the second was garbed in a British commoner costume. A patriotic anecdote reported by Walsh states that the Opera dancer Didelot would not let anyone but a French tailor stitch his costumes.[33] Another commonplace since the Seven Years War was that of the superiority of French beauty. Libertine courtier Tilly and Versailles' official portraitist, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, both alluded to this.[34] British customs

and cultural habits were in fact often attacked in narratives. Returned writers favoured allusions to the presumed insularity of their hosts, hinting at the absence of continental manners in Britain. Vigée-Lebrun was in Bath with her friend Madame de Beaurepaire in the late 1790s. She cast herself as the victim of a situation in which two elderly and provincial noblewomen treated them with "*une morgue gothique*" [gothic arrogance].[35] This literary cliché could be altogether interpreted as the aesthetic posture of an artist trained in classical portraiture and the determined affirmation of the painter's *ancien régime* identity. It is a posture of victimisation in which the painter presents herself as persecuted by vile xenophobia. In fact, in the 1790s, the Gothic Genre was heavily used as a "hostile symbol of all things French: Catholicism, fashion and enthusiasm".[36]

Commonplaces sometimes mutated into an ethnological discourse on types designated as 'the French' and 'the Briton'. A commonly used method of description was opposition through comparison. Like Madame Vigée-Lebrun, many commenters have disserted on the difference between French cheerfulness in exile and British gloominess. Walsh mocked the English aristocracy, spending its wealth on tea and *Spleen* [melancholy].[37] He went as far as stating that *"du sein de leur opulence et de leur comfortable home"* [within their wealthy environment and comfortable home], the British elites would envy the impoverished emigrants for their *joie de vivre* and resilience in distress. This is not without reminding Isaac Cruikshank's 1792 etching *French happiness; British miseries,* where poverty in revolutionary France is contrasted to abundance in constitutional Britain.[38] However, in the discourse of the returned exile, the situation is reversed, and happiness transformed into a national symbol transcending exile and poverty. Using a similar rhetorical device, libertine Alexandre de Tilly described his host country in a twelve-page pseudo-scientific passage entitled a "lesson in antithesis".[39] He aimed to demonstrate by logic the superiority of the French character:

> *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 often self-conscious and rationalising. Hence, the hyperbole was rarely used to describe the host country and society. Théodore de Lameth's narration is scrupulously didactic; however the description of his arrival in London sets a change in his tone. London was grandiose, and he could not praise its judiciary system enough: "*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 a respect for the forms! Such care in favour of the accused! Such a desire in the legal mechanisms to see the defendants first as innocent!]".[40] It is unclear whether this description was that of an idealistic and anglophile revolutionary or that of an exile from the Terreur. Lameth had been close to the General Lafayette and member of the moderate *Feuillants*. He had been involved in projects to save Louis XVI and denounced the September massacres. He took refuge in London between October 1792 and January 1793, and returned to France in a last-ditch attempt to save the king. Lameth was the only author in the corpus examined who reported being threatened with a trial. He described the situation as such: his landlady Mrs Stuart was abused by her husband.[41] Lameth ran to rescue her. He explained that as a Frenchman, he could not bear witnessing a defenceless woman being strangled. Still, this anecdote was used to introduce a lesson on the superiority of English jurisprudence.[42]

Direct conflicts between the emigrants and the British population were rarely mentioned in retrospective self-narratives. When stated, they ranged between inhospitality and xenophobic statements. The Marquis de Bouillé, famously Anglophobic, criticised the coldness of his English acquaintances. His father had welcomed them in his home in France; these contacts would not repay his hospitality when the Bouillé family was left impoverished in London.[43] The ultra-royalist dramatist Arnault pointed to daily insults tolerated by the French community in London.[44] Britons' inhospitality and discourtesy had been common stereotypes in continental Europe before the French Revolution.[45] Constitutionalist and cosmopolitan writers described a very different experience of their British host. Horace Walpole warmly welcomed his old friend Rohan-Chabot de Jarnac and his son at Strawberry Hill.[46] The d'Osmond family spent several blissful weeks in Yorkshire, invited in the household of Sir John Legard.[47] During her first stay in England, Madame de Staël often met with her mother's friend, the British historian of the Roman Empire, Edward Gibbon.[48] In all the self–narratives studied, emigrants

were rarely portrayed as victims of xenophobic and physical violence. If so, the violent behaviours reported always originated from the British side. For instance, the dramatist Arnault narrated in a colourful scene how a drunken Englishman attacked him on the carriage back to Dover.[49] 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, possibly 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.[50] On another occasion, a British theatre porter mimicked the French king *à la lanterne* in front of the dramatist.[51] This time, the scene resembles a post-1792 etching by Thomas Rowlandson, *A Frenchman plundered*, in which several pickpockets robbed an elegantly dressed French nobleman as he makes his way out of King's theatre.[52] The closeness between Arnault's memory and popular English prints might indicate that emigrant memoir writers invented their own tropes. British memoir writers have also referred to violence towards the French emigrants: the courtisan 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 followed by a whole gang of tars, on our way to the inn. They called us Mounseers, German moustache rascal and bloody Frenchmen".[53] In this particular case, they were not attacked because they were French but because they spoke a foreign language and wore foreign clothes.[54]

In self-narratives, violence mostly originates from an anonymous mob. The English mob described by returned emigrants differs from the pre-revolutionary description of English crowds. In pre-revolutionary France, Jean Jacques Rutledge's *Le Babillard* and Louis-Sébastien Mercier's notorious *Tableau de Paris* contrasted the Parisian crowd with popular London.[55] Both texts describe a so-called English Plebeian. While the Parisian people are referred to as an unenlightened mass, Londoners are considered moderate and their patriotic feelings enlightened. Post-emigration narratives challenge this perspective. It can be argued that the returned emigrants' view of the London mob reflected their own prejudices about the French revolutionary crowd: massive, anonymous, violent and bloodthirsty. The trauma of emigration and counter-revolutionary discourses had shaped their characterisation of all popular gatherings.

Amongst description of violence, boxing comes as a leitmotiv in returned emigrant literature. A passage in Vigée-Lebrun illustrates this: she describes the sport as a "horrid sight"; she compared it to historical times of "barbarism and extermination".[56] In comparison, a Franco-American traveller in England in 1811 named Louis Simond and the translator Auguste Defauconpret who had reached London in 1815 praised the nobility of the sport and its egalitarian status.[57] In the mirror of emigrant self-narratives, the mob appeared as an antagonistic reflection of the self.

The underlying portrait of the emigrant-victim emerges behind the description of encounters with British communities. The portrayal of an isolated, misunderstood and suffering self underlined the dignity and heroism of the writers. In their narratives, French writers are always beyond the suspicion of intolerance or wrongdoings. Many moderate and Constitutionalist royalist writers went to great length to distance themselves from the royalist émigrés and the crowd of courtiers gathered around the heirs to the crown, whom they accused of disrespecting their hosts. Depiction of the latters' shameful behaviour in Britain, while their home country was engulfed in a political and social crisis, demonstrated by contrast the moderates' 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 swore in front an Englishman.[58] Yet, Boigne declared, the behaviour of a minority did not affect the outstanding reputation that the silent majority of emigrants had built in Britain.[59] Madame de La Tour du Pin left London and the émigrés (read Legitimist aristocrats) to meet with French nobles from lower ranks and lesser political influence. These accusations and the moralising tone used by some returned emigrants derive from the necessity to justify their actions as individuals and as a group to future generations. Emigrants had presented themselves as the victims of Providence, a succession of wrong choices and the violence of the *sans-culotte*; in their narratives they also presented themselves as the victims of a decaying French leadership and aristocracy. Exhibiting their honourable acts and modesty in exile, these writers aimed to convince themselves and their readers that they were just the innocent victims of an uncontrollable fate.

Old and new tropes were often reinforced with a comprehensive and logical narrative structure. It underlined the evolution of the relations between the emigrant and British communities. The chronology adopted

in narrating the French emigration to Great Britain resembles that of a French classical tragedy in five acts: first, authors exposed their decision to choose Britain as a shelter. They later described their arrival on the British shores and the first encounters with customs officers and villagers in southern 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 stories always ended with an apprehensive repatriation to France, or a departure to another host country.

The examination of self-narratives does not single out one factor or a set of factors explaining the choice of Great Britain as a haven for emigrants. Because of the heterogeneity of the group and the lengthy timeline, choice and chance often played equal parts in the writers choosing Britain as their destination.[60] Some emigrants had pre-existing links with the host country. Jacobite descendants, such as the La Tour du Pin, Boigne and Walsh, had living relatives and an established support network in the British Isles. Despite these links, Great Britain had been a second choice for all three of them: the Walsh family had first gone to the Netherlands and La Tour du Pin to the United States. A few financial pulls were also mentioned: Gauthier de Brécy had participated in the rebellion in Toulon.[61] As such he was entitled to a pension from the British State with the condition that he would relocate from Italy to England. Britain was a centre for counter-revolutionary politics and cultures: the Marquis de Bouillé and his father arrived in London to publish counter-revolutionary pamphlets. While he decided against the journey to Britain and went to Ypres instead, the abbé de Fabry, a refractory clergyman from Saint Omer, made arrangements for his departure to London around September 1791.[62] He was familiar with the English language and literature, and had translated in France "the volume of Mr. Burke"—presumably the 1790 *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. The majority of the authors who had been officers in the *ancien régime* armies crossed the Channel to form new regiments and launch an attack on France following the failure of the *Armée des Princes* and *de Condé*. Seven noble officers, amongst them 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. Put together, self-narratives also highlight a large spectrum of relations with British culture before the Revolution. A correlation between liberal politics and exile to Great Britain prevails in self-narratives by civilians. However, emigrant's prejudices might not have been the sole basis in choosing a shelter. It would, in fact, be presumptuous 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. However, all *Monarchien* and moderate memoir writers who took shelter in England extensively discussed the pre-revolutionary amicable, philosophical and intellectual relationship with their British peers. Describing a cancelled attempt to take shelter in England, Madame de Genlis spoke about her "particular taste" for this country.[63] Lameth was 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]".[64] 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 explaining the choice of their shelter country. They furthermore leave little room to chance, in spite of the urgency to find a shelter in times of violent repression against the Counter-Revolution.

The miscellany of reasons cited in self-narratives reflects diversity in how emigrants have retrospectively perceived their participation in emigration. In fact, the reasons to take shelter in Britain, as given by returned writers, might be the product of politically motivated systems built during and after emigration, justifying the author's posture and decisions at a crucial moment. Rohan-Chabot first arrived in Ireland in October 1789 to settle matters concerning his Irish wife's estates. He joined the counter-revolutionary armies on the continent in late 1791 and, discouraged by Legitimist politics, returned to the British Isles in 1793. The starting date of his emigration differs between his private letters and his *Mémoires;* this, perhaps, exposes a migratory project fluctuating according to his audience as well as political and personal circumstances. The 1791 date indicates that military duties were his motivation. Yet, Rohan-Chabot had not returned to France since 1789 despite his statements that he had applauded the early years of the Revolution. The lines between personal journey and political exile are

often blurred in self-narratives, and many, amongst those who came to Great Britain, present their departure from France as apolitical. Madame de Genlis never used the word emigration to define her sojourn in Great Britain. She preferred the word "voyage" [travel]. Similarly, military officers, often writing in the early years of the Restoration, went to great length in affirming they did not flee France. Instead, they inferred that their choice to leave was conscious and in obedience of their code of honour.[65] In doing so, they further distanced themselves from the failures of the Legitimist project: like Rohan-Chabot, four other military writers said they arrived in Britain in early 1793, before the French counter-revolutionary armies were defeated. Chateaubriand famously affirmed, yet in retrospect, that he understood the counter-revolutionary fight was doomed.

The description of arrivals in Great Britain is quite revealing about the emigrant's relations with their hosts. Ominous and symbolical storms are aplenty in self-narratives; many emigrants lost their lives in the Channel, and the shipwreck survivor's personal fate was compared to that of mythological heroes. First encounters with the British population often reinforce the feeling of oppression distilled throughout by the writers, at present described in narratives as refugees. The Gauthier de Brécy family were unusual in being welcomed with a gift of sugar, tea and Champagne by a military acquaintance working for the British customs.[66] Often, the encounter with customs officers or small town populations represents the first conflict between an anonymous British crowd and French noble emigrants. Local populations were accused of exploiting emigrants with the complicity of unprincipled administrators. Arnault reported that he had to pay the British smugglers who brought him to England from France a high price to insure their fidelity.[67] Collectively, self-narratives emphasise the administrative battles faced by emigrants, especially after the British Parliament voted the Aliens Act on 7 January 1793 forcing all foreigners to register at customs. French traveller Jean-Pierre Grosley had praised the British customs in the 1770s; in the 1780s La Rochefoucault considered that it would be impossible for anyone to "receive and look after strangers better than the English generally do".[68] After 1793, British immigration policies played an important role in shaping émigré and refugee identities. The *Aliens Act* was not per se commonplace in emigrants' self-narratives but it was perceived by those fleeing France as an additional humiliation. Rarely named, it was 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. She stated:

> *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.*[69]
>
> [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.*[70]
>
> [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]

In his accusation, d'Andigné spared the British government from being associated with these plebeian thieves. The government put an end to the scheme as soon as it was uncovered. This comment as well as the relative silence on the *Alien Acts* by emigrants could be the sign of the

emigrants' acceptance of Pitt's policies in response to Terrorist France. Some perceived the activities of the Aliens Act favourably as it facilitated the dismissal of revolutionary spies. 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.[71]

Their first difficulties overcome, the majority of writers set off to London. At that point in the narration, the discourse on the host's reception of emigrants often converts into a highly politicised critique of the British relief system. With no exception, self-narratives refer to emigrants reaching September 1792 as indigent. Several paragraphs highlight the distress of the emigrant population, with allegorical cases of dying women and children. Many hoped to receive financial help from the British relief Committee to French refugees. The French revolutionaries were always held responsible for the emigrants' misery. However, some writers affirmed that Great Britain had a particular interest in being hospitable and generous to the newcomers.[72] 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. After seeing contemporary documents, it remains unclear whether this debate took place during the emigration, or whether it was a political creation of the Empire and later the Restoration. This absence might relate to the difficulty for returned emigrants to admit they received 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 rejected British charity and pitied the émigrés who were forced to "beg the enemy of their fatherland" to survive.[73] Georgette Ducrest, the author of this comment, was most certainly less than five years old when her parents' left London. Born in emigration in November 1789, she admits that her first memories date from after 1794 at which time she seemingly had left the British Isles. She could not have possibly remembered the *émigré schilling*, not to mention 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. "*George III acquittait, au nom de la nation et de la royauté, la dette de Jacques II* [George III repaid James II debt, in the name of the Nation and Royalty]": the asylum given

to the French displaced by the Revolution was a reciprocal and fair repayment for the protection offered by the French monarchy to the Jacobites after the Glorious Revolution. With this sweeping statement, Ducrest transformed history. Wilfully ignorant of British politics, she regarded James' Jacobites and George's Hanoverians as one entity for they were British. Similarly mistaking territory with nation, Bouillé denounced British charities as a governmental plot, intended "to compensate the individuals for the evil deeds targeting the complete body of the nation", a probable reference to the beginning of the war with France.[74] Arnault called in freedom as many left for the continent: he described a boat full 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]".[75] Once again, Walsh provides a dissonant voice in 1845 by affirming that memoir writers had invented a collective lie. He personally praised England for being charitable towards those he felt the French Revolution had persecuted, dispossessed and proscribed.[76] Like other rhetorical devices used by migrants, lies about receiving British charity could certainly be grounded on political agendas and the returned emigrants quest for national respectability. But, the pride of aristocratic men and women who went from riches to rags and back to riches should not be underestimated. Admitting to having received financial help would put an end to the emigrant myth of natural aristocratic social dominance by demoting the establishment, especially since the benefactor was France's main financial, military and imperial competitor in the nineteenth-century. It would also be an acknowledgment of the French aristocracy's subordination to their post-revolution main competitor.

Emigration was often represented as a component of the Anti-Revolution in self-narratives. As such, the cohabitation between emigrant and British populations was peaceful in 1792–1793, but threatened by the accumulation of defeats by the First Coalition against the Republican armies. 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.[77] Present in almost all self-narratives, narrations around Quiberon eclipsed all other stories of emigrant-British military collaborations pre- and post-1795. Seven of the writers examined in this corpus participated in the attempts to invade France's

western shores. Most of the civilian writers declare they lost a family member or a close relation in the Republican repression following the setback of the counter-revolutionary armies. Memoir writers give two interpretations of Quiberon, placing the blame on the émigré regiments or the British government. Rohan-Chabot and Madame de Boigne condemned the patrician émigrés for their inability to overcome their aristocratic prejudices and accept an alliance with the popular element of the Vendée insurrection.[78] Others blamed the British government for conducting a "Machiavellian plot" and setting aflame a civil war in France, when, following the fall of the *Terreur*, the country had been somewhat pacified.[79] In an ultimate *ancien régime* fantasy, the constitutional monarchy was pitted against an aristocratic regime: Pitt's alleged manipulative behaviour, as an allegory of governmental actions, was contrasted with military officer Lord Moira's noble and commanding conduct. In a fit of rage, Bouillé wrote:

> *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.*[80]
>
> [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.]

Following this extract, the writer drew a comparison between the noble émigrés in Quiberon and the legend of El Cid, the Spanish national hero. Exiled by his fellow countrymen, El Cid returned home to inflict a series of major defeats on the Almoravid dynasty. Marcillac and Montgaillard made similar accusations in their self-narratives, with the latter using a particularly Anglophobic tone to condemn the "intrigues" of England's agents.[81] This notion of a civil war also appeared in Walsh. He did not clearly condemn the British government; he simply emphasised the sadness of soldiers on the move, "gone to fight against Frenchmen", against "fellow countrymen".[82] In this national-centric understanding of the Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Great Britain was dispossessed of its quality as a host to 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 symbolizes the irreconcilable rupture between the French aristocracy, the constitutional monarchists and the British hosts. In many self-narratives, it heralded, and directly preceded, the emigrant departure from Britain, exasperated by the repeated failures of the French counter-revolutionary leaders and/or the perceived duplicity of the British government. Narrations of the journey from London to Dover are often short, and authors, or perhaps editors, often highlighted this rupture with formal chapter breaks. Some writers resented the growing British fascination with the French Revolution and Directoire. This was felt as a political abandonment by Bouillé, who was infuriated by the tactlessness of the British public honouring 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 is a reminder of the most macabre and shameful age in the annals of this war and those of England]".[83] Those who decided to stay or reached London after Quiberon, like Madame de Staël or the duc d'Orléans, continued to praise Great Britain in their writings, sparking contempt amongst Legitimist hardliners who considered them corrupted and bribed.[84] Military defeats, ideological failures, bankruptcy and the length of the exile were factors increasing the marginalisation of the emigrant population in Great Britain. However, most bitter arguments used to justify the process of national identification seem to have been built retrospectively. Psychoanalysis demonstrates that the traumatism of exile and failed relocation reactivates age-old prejudices and phantasms about the alien, in this case Britain as the natural enemy.[85] In some way, Great Britain was imagined as the allegory of all that was not France. Retrospectively, the alleged attitude of the host country excused the failure of the emigration project and the impossibility to construct a cohesive national project representative of counter-revolutionary hopes. The style and arguments used by the defeated Frenchmen differed from previously known travel literature: descriptions of Britain and British attitudes towards the French were not based on the past journey; they were not even an evaluation of the 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 into an elaborate mythico-history in which all personal responsibilities were eliminated.

Leaving a Patrie, Returning in a Nation?

An émigré collective figure reflexively emerges out of this discourse on Britain as a host, as that which the British were not. In their quest for respectability in Imperial and Restoration France, the malaise of returned French emigrants was retrospectively translated into an obsession with their homeland. Experiences of the host country related to an inner suffering, linked to the separation from home. Emigrants' self-narratives could be compared to modern versions of the *Odysseus*, an analogy emigrants themselves have contemplated.[86] France was transformed in a mythical original location. Exaggerated assessments, misrepresentations as well as narrative omissions on the British reception of French emigrants contributed to create a stark contrast between France as a horizon of expectation and a foreign island that could not live up to the emigrants' hopes. In the mythico-history of emigration, descriptions of Great Britain, its mores and inhabitants served as narrative ploys to better revere the home country. On its own, the analysis of stereotyped discourses on the British community and that of the evolving relations between emigrants and hosts minimizes the influential role of post-revolutionary ideologies on identity discourse. The relation between the French emigrant community and its host as described in self-narratives cannot be defined without studying that of returned emigrants' vision of France and reinsertion in their home country. In self-narratives, home is alternatively referred to as nation or *patrie*. Here is not the place for a general exegesis of the two concepts and their derivatives: patriotism and nationalism. However, the definition of nation and *patrie* by returned emigrants must be replaced within their original context. By 1789, both *patrie* and nation had taken a central and lasting place in French political culture. Historian David Bell believes *patrie* relates to the emotional attachment to a territory and political loyalty, and nation refers to "a group of people sharing certain important binding qualities".[87] For Eric Hobsbawm, the French Revolution led to the assimilation of nation with the State and sovereign people.[88] This democratic definition of nation is later replaced during the Empire by the deterritorialised notion of a *Grande Nation*. To what extent were the emigrants' uses of the two notions enmeshed in reactionary and oppositional cultural and political practices? Were the uses of nation and *patrie* in emigrant self-narratives remnants of *ancien régime* and aristocratic definitions, defined

by Jay Smith as a reactionary "hierarchic patriotism", or had they been renewed during and by the emigration?[89] On the contrary, had they absorbed the revolutionary and imperial meanings?

Any attempt to define a collective emigrant definition of *patrie* and nation would reveal a labyrinthine construction, with *ancien regime*, anti-enlightened and enlightened foundations, borrowing from multiple and often clashing political and social references. Both words even seem interchangeable in many cases. However, political trends have certainly dictated the quantitative and semantic use of the terms *patrie* and nation. Their uses are intricately related to the necessity for a writer, an editor or a publisher to obey certain social, political and literary trends. Personal politics played an important role in writing the mythico-history of emigration. The use and rejection of certain concepts were a consequential part of the construction of the diverse legends around emigration. The word nation was more widely used than *patrie* when the author of a self-narrative had returned to France before the Restoration and the works were published soon after this return. 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 Assembly, against the aristocratic *Noirs* and the constitutionalist *Monarchiens*.[90] The quantitative prominence of nation was strongly linked to the elites of the *ancien régime* reintegrated after 1804 in the Napoleonic system. One exception to this quantitative rule is the Comte de Montgaillard. He used *patrie* at least thirty-nine times and referred to nation only twelve times in his *Mémoires Secrets*. Montgaillard had been a Republican agent in the early years of the Republic and had only spent six weeks in Britain from August 1792. He returned to emigration in the late months of 1794, and was refused shelter in London as an ex-collaborator of Robespierre. The self-narratives published under the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X reversed this quantitative balance, as many authors preferred the term *patrie* to nation, reminiscent of Napoléon's *Grande Nation*. Following the 1830 Revolution, trends reversed again, and the use of nation occupied the predominant place in self-narratives, perhaps linked to the Orléans regime attempt to create, in its early years, a communal history based on national cohesion. Yet, the definition of *patrie* and nation differ grandly between each text and authors made little attempt to define extremely volatile concepts.

When memoir writers refer to *patrie*, it was usually understood as the territorial reality of France as opposed to foreign countries. The geographical scope of one's *patrie* might be limited to the local and regional environment where emigrants were born and their family originated. This traditional acceptation of *patrie* was complemented by a traditional definition of nation, as the social body formed by a population. For instance, in Tilly's *Mémoires* or in Dumas's *Souvenirs*, the British public were very often identified as the British nation.[91] The familiarity and filial love located in the *patrie* was contrasted in Marcillac with the "*humiliation, dédains, jalousies, privations de toute espèce* [humiliation, spite, jealousies and privations of all sorts]" experienced by emigrants in foreign countries.[92] In 1825, Marcillac associated the localised *patrie* with personal wealth and family, as well as the notion of "*bonheur de la vie* [happiness of life]".[93] Following enlightened and voltairian traditions, it was also the place where one could be happy.[94] *Malheureux* [unhappy] 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.[95] Bouillé assimilated his nostalgia to the "*maladie du pays* [home sickness]".[96] The *patrie* was often transformed into an allegorical figure, embodying the emigrant family and their mindsets. The constitutionalist abbé Lambert related *patrie* to an allegorical beloved mother in the early years of the Restoration.[97] For Montgaillard, the *patrie* expressed emotional feelings, being either *heureuse* or *malheureuse*.[98] In many Restoration memoirs, the *patrie* was the victim of an illness in pre-revolutionary times and beyond. Lambert's maternal *Patrie* was beset by a "maladie grave [grave illness]".[99] Fabry remembered howling over the "*maux* [evils/sorrows]" oppressing his *patrie*.[100] Contades also referred to the "*maux*" that tore apart his unhappy *Patrie*.[101] The notion of a *patrie* in need of cure and regeneration traditionally belonged to the Enlightenment and the Revolution, with emigrants and aristocrats being assimilated to a national cancer. However, the association between *patrie* and illness in Restoration self-narratives was likely to be related to the recent publications of de Maistre and Bonald. In Andigné for instance, the *patrie* and its traditional and historical institutions had been blown away by the "*esprit révolutionnaire* [revolutionary spirit]" and all hopes left to only Providence, a word borrowed from counter-revolutionary writings.[102] In the 1820s, political divergences

between a Legitimist *patrie* and a constitutionalist one emerged, especially so as Charles X and his *Ultra-Montain* government reinterpreted the *Charte* in a manner colliding with liberal values. Legitimist writers like Villeneuve and Bouillé related *patrie* with a Roman-Catholic God and the Bourbons; this reactionary meaning of *patrie* was defined by a vertical relationship between the monarchy, aristocrats, the church and the French subjects. Patriotism was therefore assimilated to the attachment to a territorial entity whose legitimate and historical rulers (God, the King, the aristocracy) possessed authority over the country' inhabitants. On the contrary, constitutionalists and former Bonapartists who rallied to Louis-Philippe related their filial love of the *patrie* to a contract with the King, who remained the *primus inter pares.*[103] Dumas declared being altogether attached to his *patrie* and, independently, faithful to the king. Meanwhile, a deterritorialised and transnational definition of *patrie* appeared. To Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *patrie* was the place where one felt one belonged; the first edition of her *Souvenirs* included a letter dated 1801 in which she declared having found amongst all her hosts (including Great Britain) a new *patrie.*[104] *Patrie* was similarly dissociated from a territory in Walsh's definition. It was a moral homeland, a place where one would share with his neighbours opinions, customs, feelings and common principles.[105] In this instance, Catholicism was the basis of this *patrie,* and Walsh infers his closeness with Irish Catholics.

In both Vigée-Lebrun and Walsh's acceptations, *patrie* shares with nation the importance of imagination in its definition, as a community in which one's belonging transcends territorial realities. From the earliest self-narrations of emigration to the latest ones, the meaning of nation spread from the natural association of people living in the same territory, in the more conservative texts, to the product of a political will, *id est* the people represented in Parliament, in Constitutionalist ones. In Legitimist leaning narrations, the nation resembled the *ancien régime* aristocratic ideals as an ensemble of people governed by its natural elites. Madame de Lage de Volude linked it to "honour, sacrifice and the King".[106] In Gauthier de Brécy, the rightful nation was faithful and proud to love its kings.[107] Andigné considered himself as belonging to the "*partie la plus saine de la nation* [the healthiest part of the nation]", marking a shift in the revolutionary principle stating that the nation was indivisible.[108] The relation between the sovereign and its subjects was considered as natural in tenants of aristocratic values, in opposition to the idea of a social

contract proposed by their opponents. In this acceptation, the nation was separated from the government of the State. This was a clear ideological opposition to the revolutionary collating of State, Nation and People. This might explain why the expression 'British Nation' always refers to public opinion in Bouillé's narrative, and never to the British government or Parliament.[109] In Constitutionalist leaning texts, the definition of nation by returned emigrants borrowed from the revolutionary and Imperial vocabulary. On the contrary, the Orléanist Lambert insisted that nation corresponded to the "*peuple assemblé*", the people assembled as a political force. In Genlis, nation corresponds to both the "*peuple armé*" and "*coalisé*", armed and united to defend the territorial *patrie*. After a brief sojourn in England in 1793 and a successful career in Imperial France, Mathieu Dumas felt entitled to combine revolutionary symbols and Napoleonic vocabulary.[110] Montgaillard also referred to the *Grande Nation*.[111] A direct association of nation and shared habits was present in the earliest memoirs, and intensified in the 1830s. 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 contrasted French loyalty, seen as a characteristic national feature, to the British devious and belligerent nature.[112] Human characteristics and feelings, such as shame and hatred, often qualified the term in self-narratives. It possessed its own taste, "*genie* [genius]" and "*esprit* [spirit]". If the nation was gifted with feelings, one could have "*le sentiment de la nation* [the feeling of belonging to the nation]".[113] The definition of a French nation was at the core of self-narratives. The description of Great Britain was secondary and anecdotes about the host aimed to reinforce the superiority of the author's political project.

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"*L'honneur est tout, il n'y a que lui dans le monde* [Honour is everything, there is nothing else in the world]" affirmed the emigrant Comte de Tilly.[114] In many of the self-narratives studied, the eighteenth-century noble concept of honour, and its correlative "imperative of concealment", still battled against the democratic concept of virtue, as the "imperative of truth-telling".[115] In fact, a great threat to historical truth lies behind the anecdotal evidence given in self-narratives. Replaced within their original ideological frames of reference, retrospective narrations of emigration reveal the complex dynamics of identity construction

at stake in writing about the self and its place in history. The examination of prejudices, repetitions, and chronological topoi, as well as the significance of semantic definitions of *patrie* and nation, reveals that stories about emigration are not what they declare to be. Writing about emigration and the host country equates to taking a position in nineteenth century politics. Importantly, this short chapter revealed the existence of renewed prejudices, new semantics and a novel tendency towards nineteenth-century nationalism within a group that is often perceived as stuck in an unrenewed and perpetuated *ancien regime* world. A similar study could be done on British nineteenth century memories of the French emigrant presence, to comprehend how the emigrant figure was retrospectively used to outline political and social ideologies. The rhetorical devices used by British memoir writers and authors of fictions would probably be similar to those used by French writers. By studying the link between memoir and political ideology, this chapter on the recollection of emigration and the host country in the first half of the nineteenth century has replaced stories of emigration in a French national context. The next chapters will attempt to explain the significance of foreign encounters in constructing identities at the time of the French Revolution. It is time to introduce the notion that the British government and public opinion have played a key role in the creation and development of emigrant and host identities.

Notes

1. Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans* (Paris: Au Bureau de la mode, 1845), p. 45.
2. Richard Hayes, 'Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France: Part XXI', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 36 (1947): 343–349.
3. Walsh, p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 24.
5. Ibid., p. 389.
6. Philippe Darriulat, "L'Affaire Pritchard, un paroxysme de l'Anglophobie française?" in Sylvie Aprile and Fabrice Bensimon, eds, *La France et l'Angleterre au XIXe siècle: échanges, représentations, comparaisons* (Paris: Créaphis, 2006), pp. 226 and 228.
7. Karine Rance, 'Mémoires de Nobles français émigrés en Allemagne pendant la Révolution française: vision retrospective d'une experience", *Genèses,* 30 (1998): 5–29. See also, Natalie Petiteau, *Écrire la Mémoire: les Mémorialistes de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2012).

8. Ronen Steinberg, 'Trauma before trauma. Imagining the effects of the Terror in post-revolutionary France', in *Experiencing the French Revolution*, ed. 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): 121–164.
9. François Jacob and Henri Rossi, *Mémorialistes de l'Exil: Émigrer, Écrire, Survivre* (Paris: Harmattan, 2003), p. 9.
10. Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'illusion biographique', in *Raisons pratiques* (Paris: Seuil, 1994); Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte Autobiographique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).
11. *Mémoires de la Marquise de la Tour du Pin: Journal d'une femme de Cinquante ans*, ed. Christian de Liederke Beaufort (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), p. 10.
12. Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un Séxagénaire* (Paris: Dufey, 1833), p. vi.
13. A similar suggestion was made in: Philip Dwyer, 'Public Remembering, Private Reminiscing: French Military Memoirs and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *FHS*, 33 (2010): 231–258.
14. *Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps, par le Marquis de Bouillé*, ed. P.L de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906–1911), p. 2.
15. *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond. Récit d'une tante*, ed. Jean-Claude Berchet, 2 vols (Paris: Mercure de France, 1999), I, p. 10.
16. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Rohan-Chabot*, 729MI/54, *Mémoires de Charles-Rosalie de Rohan-Chabot*. For a list of the self-narratives used in this book, see Appendix 1 and 2, 'Memoir writers' and 'Retrospective self-narratives and editorial choice'.
17. Karine Rance, 'Identité Narrative et Ipséité', in *Identité, Appartenance et Revendication Identitaire,* ed. Marc Belissa (Paris: Nolin, 2005), pp. 385–393. See also Paul Ricoeur, *Soi-même comme un autre* (Paris: Seuil, 1996).
18. 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 prioritised volumes published during the lifetime of the author, as it is expected that they would have had a certain control on their publication.
19. Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and Exile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 57.
20. Félicité de Genlis, *Mémoires inédits sur le Dix-Huitième siècle et la Révolution française depuis 1756 jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1825).

21. Georgette Ducrest, 'Avant propos', in *Mémoires de Mme de Genlis sur la Cour, la Ville et les Salons de Paris*, ed. Georgette Ducrest (Paris: Gustave Barba, 1855).
22. Volumes 9 and 10 are a collection of texts written by Genlis.
23. *Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine par Georgette Ducrest*, ed. by Christophe Pincemaille (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), pp. 27–28.
24. *Genlis*, ed. Ducrest (Paris, 1855).
25. *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, ed. Didier Masseau (Paris, 2004), p. 396.
26. *Ducrest*, ed. Pincemaille p. 51. Another edition of Genlis: *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis,* ed. Jean-François Barrière (Paris, 1857). Barrière was an Historian of the French Revolution and, like Madame de Genlis a moderate royalist. He had been forced to retire from his administrative career after 1848. The one mainly used in this book is that of Didier Masseau, specialist of eighteenth-century literature. He extracted 6 volumes from Ladvocat's edition and created chapters to facilitate the modern reader's experience of the text (pp. 37–38).
27. Malkki, p. 55.
28. Daniel Roche, *Les circulations dans l'Europe Moderne* (Paris: Fayard, 2011), p. 19.
29. Marc Belissa and Bernard Cottret (eds), *Cosmopolitiques, Patriotismes. Europe et Amériques, 1773–1802* (Rennes: Les Perséides, 2005).
30. Edmund 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), pp. 59–110.
31. Arnault, p. 398.
32. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 213; *Mémoires de Théodore de Lameth*, ed. Eugène Welvert (Paris: Fontemoing, 1913), p. 220.
33. Walsh, pp. 125–126.
34. *Mémoires du Comte Alexandre de Tilly*, ed. Christian Melchior-Bonnet (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986), p. 269; Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs* (Paris: Fournier, 1835–1837), III, p. 201.
35. Vigée-Lebrun, III, p. 227.
36. Angela Wright, *Britain, France and the Gothic, 1764–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 69.
37. Walsh, pp. 63–64.
38. Isaac Cruickshank, *French happiness; British Misery* (London: S.W. Forbes, 3 January 1793).
39. *Tilly*, ed. by Melchior-Bonnet, pp. 270–272.
40. *Lameth*, ed. by Welvert, p. 229.
41. Ibid., p. 228.
42. Ibid., pp. 228–230.
43. *Bouillé*, ed. by Kermaingant, II, p. 104.
44. Arnault, p. 394.

45. Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Characters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 228–229.
46. CARAN, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57.
47. *Boigne*, ed. by Berchet, I, pp. 127–133.
48. Michel Winock, *Madame de Staël* (Paris: Pluriel, 2012), pp. 84–85.
49. Arnault, p. 398.
50. UK, British Museum, James Gillray, *Politeness* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 1779).
51. Arnault, p. 394.
52. Thomas Rowlandson, *A Frenchman plundered* (London: R. Newton, W. Holland, after 1792).
53. Harriette Wilson, *Memoirs of herself and others* (London: T. Douglas, 1825), p. 399.
54. Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748–1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2000), p. 17: 'French was employed as a collective term for anyone of foreign nationhood'.
55. Raymonde Monnier, 'Tableaux croisés chez Mercier et Rutlidge: le people de Paris et le plebeien anglais', in *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*, 339 (2005): 1–16.
56. Vigée-Lebrun, III, p. 128.
57. Louis Simond, *Voyage d'un Français en Angleterre dans les années 1810–1811*(Paris: Treutel & Wurtz, 1816), p. 169; Auguste Defauconpret, *Quinze Jours à Londres à la fin de 1815* (Paris: Emery, 1817), pp. 134–135.
58. *Boigne*, ed. Berchet (1999), I, pp. 141, 151.
59. Ibid., p. 142.
60. 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.
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63. *Genlis*, ed. Masseau, p. 99.
64. *Lameth*, ed. Welvert, p. 22.
65. Rance, 'Mémoires de nobles émigrés'.
66. Gauthier de Brécy, p. 278.
67. Arnault, p. 374.
68. Pierre-Jean Grosley, 'Londres' (Lausanne, 1774), in ed. Jacques Gury, *Le Voyage Outre-Manche—Anthologie de voyageurs français* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1999), pp. 67–70; Norman Scarfe, *Innocent Espionnage: The La Rochefoucauld Brothers' Tour of England in 1785* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), p. 207.

69. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 316.
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71. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, III, p. 103.
72. According to Walsh, p. 50.
73. *Ducrest*, ed. Pincemaille, p. 37.
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75. Arnault, p. 399.
76. Walsh, p. 50.
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79. *Andigné*, ed. Biré, pp. 105–113; *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, II, p. 442.
80. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, II, p. 399.
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97. *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. Gaston de Beauséjour (Paris: A Picard et fils, 1894), p. 159.
98. Montgaillard, pp. 40, 164.
99. *Lambert*, ed. Beauséjour, p. 159.
100. *Fabry*, ed. d'Hauterive, p. 75.
101. *Souvenirs du comte de Contades, Pair de France: Coblence et Quiberon*, ed. Gérard de Contades (Paris: E. Dentu, 1885), p. 75.
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104. Vigée-Lebrun, pp. 119–120.
105. Walsh, p. 47 ('La religion, c'est la première, la plus grande des patries').
106. *Souvenirs d'Emigration de Madame la Marquise de Lage de Volude*, ed. Baron de la Morinerie (Evreux: A. Hérissey, 1869).
107. Gauthier de Brécy, pp. 241–242.
108. *Andigné*, ed. Biré, p. 177—chapter on the Chouans, as a 'nation à part' as opposed to the *patriotes*.
109. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, II, pp. 420, 425, 472.
110. Dumas, T. III. p. 562.
111. Montgaillard, p. 1.
112. *Andigné*, ed. Biré, p. 337.
113. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant.
114. *Tilly*, ed. Melchior-Bonnet, pp. 156–157.
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CHAPTER 3

Discursive Constructions of the Emigrant Figure in Loyalist Britain

In 1795, a minor poet and moralist, Thomas Bellamy, decided to publish his complete works at his own expense. He included *Anticipation of fancy*, a text written in June 1793.[1] This tale of a Franco-British friendship evolving between the French *ancien régime* and autumn 1792 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!"[2] Homonyms to the Comte and Comtesse involved in the 1785 scam known as the Affair of the Diamond necklace, these de la Mottes were nonetheless described as the principled antithesis of the infamous couple. In this work, a fictional Frenchman praised his British shelter:

> 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!

This emphatic monologue certainly participated in a wider exercise on defining Britishness at the time of the French Revolution. The British nation and community were broadly defined by constitutionalism, (Anglican) religiosity and generosity as it graciously offered protection to unfortunate and

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embittered exiles. Britain was essentially opposed to the French Republic and a Jacobin mob identified as tyrannical, atheist and undignified. This abstract further identifies the grandeur and munificence of the British nation by confronting it with a pathetic French emigrant, perhaps shamed by his involvement in a failed aristocratic and absolutist fantasy.

The British novelist infers that the emigrant should be forever grateful and indebted to his generous host. Yet, the previous chapter demonstrated that many returned emigrants had not felt welcome in Britain. Memoir writers have described the burden of the British administration and revealed the shame the emigrant community experienced in being subordinated to British interests. Many amongst those who wrote about their experience were resentful towards their host country. How can one explain the disparity between Bellamy's ode to the generous nation and the returned emigrants' tales of victimhood? The response strongly depends on which viewpoint is adopted. The historian Marita Gilli asked two fundamental questions when considering the reception of aristocratic émigrés in Switzerland and Germany.[3] Should the emigrant group behave as an autarkic nation with its own rules, or should it obey the laws vetoed by its host society? Were these foreigners "individuals to honour", or the contagious "carrier of a terrible gangrene" that could devastate the happy status quo of the host community? In response, this chapter interrogates the discourse on emigration held in the British Parliament and that of many journalists and social commentators. It asks how these discourses participated in the construction of the modern categories of alien and refugee in Britain. Besides, it questions the various interests vested in categorising the heterogeneous emigrant group as deserving refugees, as threats to the national security, or as popish unrepentant aristocrats. Ultimately, this chapter explores how the legal definition, as well as definitions in the public and private spheres of a French emigrant category, influenced the numerous ways Britons imagined themselves as a nation.

Foreigners and the British Struggle Against Political and Social Deviance

The British political context played a decisive role in the manner in which emigrants have been received and perceived in the British islands. In autumn 1792, the British loyalist response to the French Revolution had seemingly supplanted radical opinions.[4] Until then, Whig politician Edmund Burke had mostly been isolated in his denunciation of

France's abolition of social distinctions. He found an unexpected ally in popular conservatism. The author of the elitist and counter-revolutionary *Reflections upon the Revolution in France* shared with popular loyalism "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".[5] Throughout the country and since the July 1791 Birmingham riots, a Church and King organised movement had surfaced. It concretised in November 1792 when John Reeves formed the *Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers.* This movement praised parliamentary monarchy, seen as the custodian of liberties and private economic prosperity. It denounced British dissenters, radicals and so-called Levellers, symbolically excluded from the British nation because of their religious and political identities.[6] In the early 1790s, Pitt encouraged the formation of the Loyalist association movement because the politicisation of the middle and lower classes were beneficial to the increasingly conservative programme of his government.[7] Popular fears of revolutionary incidents reached their peaks when, by late September 1792, a large population of foreigners landed in the South and Southwest ports of England. On the continent, the Duke of Brunswick's counter-revolutionary armies threatened to march towards Paris, and many in Britain anticipated that revolutionaries would seek refuge in England out of panic. Rumour had it that revolutionary agents, spies and even assassins were travelling amongst the emigrant crowd.[8] Bow Street police officers were ordered to "carry out investigations in towns, on the main roads from the coast to London"; the government fortified the Tower of London, brought the army in the metropolis and armed a loyalist militia.[9] Evan Nepean, the Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, sent out threatening letters to Britons suspected of "harbour[ing] French emigrants in [their] house[s]".[10] Whilst the British government possibly overemphasized the revolutionary threat, the anxiety it fostered allowed the Parliament to pass the *Aliens Act* on 7 January 1793 and the *Traitorous Correspondence Act* on 15 March 1793.[11] A new Alien Office was subsequently installed at n°20 Crown Street.[12] The office served as a secret service agency dealing under the disguise of a civil administration regulating foreign populations present in Great Britain as per the requirements of the *Aliens Act.*[13] The *Westminster Police Bill* voted earlier in June 1792 and the Customs and Post Office provided the *Aliens Act* with additional tools instrumental to the surveillance of foreign populations.

The 7 January 1793 *Aliens Act* is often considered in legal scholarship as the first official immigrant registration system.[14] Its novelty is questionable with regards to previous British attempts to regulate immigration.[15] So is the claim that it is an immigrant registration system per se, as it only accounts for foreigners arrived after January 1792, chiefly the French and other foreign populations displaced by continental wars and the fear of Jacobin repression. In fact, the 1793 *Aliens Act* is inseparable from the context of the fear of a revolutionary outbreak in Britain and the British preparations to enter the European conflict. It belongs to the extensive paraphernalia surrounding the creation of an administrative 'alien' category.[16] The British legislative situation is comparable to that of France. Historians Sophie Wahnich and Michael Rapport both examined the relationship between revolutionary France and foreign nationals present on French territory.[17] 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 of access to French citizenship.[18] In Great Britain, the existing legislation on naturalisation and denization was not modified. However, as in France, foreign individuals were discursively and legally assimilated to potential threats and designated as aliens, along with those who disagreed with the government's politics, such as the radicals, religious dissenters and, later in the 1790s, some petty criminals. In fact, it is significant that the formulation of the *Aliens Act* never mentions the French emigrant population by name.

The 1793 *Aliens Act* contained forty-three clauses. They related to passports, weapons and the administrative surveillance of foreigners. The everyday life of foreigners in Britain was regulated from the moment they set foot on British shores. The first two clauses of the act compelled captains of vessels to report the names of all foreigners disembarking in British ports.[19] All those reaching Great Britain after 10 January 1793 should fill in and sign a written declaration stating their names and ranks. 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*, complied with the law when he declared to the authorities at Southampton the name of all the passengers on board *Le Puissant*.[20] An overzealous officer, he listed the names of all male, female and underage civilians along with those of his own naval personnel. Clause 5 of the *Aliens Act* explicitly exempted foreign mariners to declare their arrival.[21] When *Le Puissant*

berthed in Southampton in the midst of the armed conflict in January 1795, all its passengers and staff were regarded as potential threats to British security. Perhaps the naval personnel registered by Ferrand were, in fact, joining the émigré regiments preparing for the expedition to Quiberon. Officially registered with the British administration, they could proceed to join the counter-revolutionary regiments stationed in the city equipped with a governmental laissez-passer. The presence of civilians and militaries was problematic for many local administrators who expressed their concerns regarding practical inconveniences. The governors of the Channel Islands and port towns showed little enthusiasm for the Act. They perceived it as yet another administrative burden. 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 passport or a certificate.[22] Advocates of the *Aliens Act* would argue that two men described by the press as French Jacobins had attempted to infiltrate Moira's regiments stationed at Cowes only a month earlier.[23] No soldier recognised them. They could not produce a passport. 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".

The presence of foreign soldiers and regiments on British soil was in fact in complete contradiction with clause 6 and 7.[24] It was illegal for foreigners to import weapons in Britain. 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 to England after the American war. It was returned on ministers orders].[25]

Dramatist Beaumarchais is often considered a victim of clauses 25–31, which stated that an "alien caught smuggling such weaponry could be jailed or deported".[26] The celebrated author of the *Mariage de Figaro* illegally imported weapons in England but was imprisoned in London for debts. He returned to France voluntarily. The disarmament of

foreigners had been a key debate in the autumn 1792 and continued to be throughout the 1790s. On 22 December 1792, as the details of the *Aliens Act* were debated in Parliament, Edmund Burke, then MP for Malton, threw a dagger on the floor of the House of Commons. The affected gesticulation of the politician inspired a few political satirists. James Gillray represented the dramatic scene in *The Dagger Scene or the Plot discovered*, an etching exhibited by Hannah Humphrey on 30 December.[27] Since the publication of his *Reflection*, Burke had been represented as the Don Quixote of the aristocratic cause, or the judge of a loyalist inquisition. In the *Dagger Scene*, he is almost triumphant. With the emphatic tone characterising him in satirical imagery, he declares that three thousand daggers had been secretly manufactured in Britain and that the French Republic had sent nineteen assassins to help the godless Levellers. The dagger is stained with fresh blood. To the right of the philosopher, Charles Fox trembles behind his tricorn. The Irish poet Sheridan whispers in his ear that they should "farewell their hopes of Levelling Monarchs". Sitting on the opposite bench, William Pitt and Henry Dundas pray God to have pity on them. By their inaction, the PM and his minister have endangered their homeland. A second representation of the scene, by an anonymous artist, represents Burke intimidating Fox with the dagger. Burke purposefully steps on the title page of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* while holding in his left hand a page where the word ALIENS is capitalised. His rival protects his heart under the amused eyes of loyalist MPs and the alarm of Foxite Whigs.[28] The disarmament of foreigners was also debated in Parliament in winter 1798 when William Windham had to remind the public sphere that not every foreigner was a French emigrant, and that the *Aliens Act* primarily meant to deal with populations that had reached the country in response to the radicalisation of the French Revolution. A few months before Windham's discourse, Daniel Michaut, a Frenchman from Birmingham, was taken into custody. The Police had found 400 swords and sabres in his house.[29] 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 newspapers, Michaut's profession as a jeweller and watchmaker in Greek Street, Soho, suggests he probably was the descendant of a Huguenot. Michaut was eventually released. This minor news item reflects a widespread anxiety caused by the clauses related to foreigners and weaponries. Government and public opinion could not agree on the differing rights and duties

bestowed to foreigners and French emigrants. While some newly arrived foreigners of rank engaged in the Counter-Revolution were allowed to carry weapons, other non-nationals who had settled in Britain long before 1793 were considered threats. In the words of William Windham as reported by the press, "the Nobles, the Clergy and the rich proprietary of ancient France" were "entitled to asylum and support".[30] As time went on, the *Aliens Act* threatened any foreigner unable to claim a direct connection with European aristocracies.

The only modern side to the 1793 *Aliens Act* resides in clauses 8–11 and is arguably modelled on French legislation.[31] All aliens having arrived after 1 January 1792 were to carry a passport at all time, with the exception of the foreign domestics and servants of "natural born subjects" and alien merchants. These passports were the first official documents in Great Britain that systematised the identification of individuals through physical description stating the age and size of their owners. An administrator from the borough of Romsey in Hampshire stitched together several papers on which he had copied the name, description and residence of 72 Frenchmen as stated in their passports.[32] Each name is clearly followed by the size of the individual, and signed by the passport holder. Such rules might have been directly inspired by revolutionary French legislation as foreigners in France were coerced into carrying a passport after January 1792.[33] The Jacobin Republic began drawing lists of émigrés in November 1792 in an effort to control and limit the displacement of political dissidents within national territory. This was exactly the aim of the British government when implementing a legislation on foreigners. Pitt's administration was able to manage and control even the shortest journey undertaken by a foreigner from one town to its neighbouring city. One hundred and seventy passports belonging to French ecclesiastics are currently kept in Winchester where the British government was renting a manor for the French emigrant clergy.[34] These passports were issued and received by the mayor of Winchester in accordance with the clauses stating that the "chief magistrate of a town" should sign emigrant passports. Each of these handwritten passports stated the name, occupation, date and place where the passport had been signed and the place where it was "passed unto". Failure to carry a passport was punished by various sentences according to clauses 12, 13 and 15 of the *Aliens Act*. Foreigners were threatened with fines, imprisonment and extradition. Despite all these administrative safeguards, passports were easily forged. In 1810, a circular from Whitehall informed

several of its offices in London that French prisoners of war were likely to steal passports from French emigrants and "extract by a Chemical process the Names and Descriptions of places and persons originally inserted in writing in the blanks in their own hand".[35] 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". Remarkably, this short notice concedes that by 1810, and despite several parliamentary duplications of the *Aliens Act*, emigrants in Britain were granted such a degree of autonomy that they could write their own passports.

The 1793 text gave provision to hamper foreigners in their movements and settlements. According to clause 18, the British government was entitled to restrict the settlement of aliens to certain parts of the country and forbid their access to other parts of the territory.[36] On 4 February 1793, the Parliament voted an extension to the *Aliens Act*. Foreigners entering Britain after January 1792 could not settle further than fifty miles away from Cornhill, in the city of London.[37] W. Fawkener, a magistrate working at the Alien Office, reproduced the text.[38] Recent arrivals 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.

Reasons of public security were once again invoked. Imposing a limitation on foreigners' movements allowed the government to group all suspicious populations in an area within the reach of the Alien Office's spies and the London Police. In 1796, the French in the Channel Islands were repatriated towards the British mainland.[39] While Ireland was threatened with internal insurrections and invasions, a privy council at Dublin castle in September 1796 also led to the proclamation that no aliens (except naval merchants) would be allowed in Ireland without the Lord-Lieutenant's permission.[40] Throughout the period, local administrators might have been fairly complacent with the emigrant population. In 1798 the renewed *Aliens Act* reiterated that the foreign populations it concerned should "shift their quarters from places distant from the sea, in conformity with the *Aliens Act*, passed for that purpose".[41]

A few emigrants felt they were denied the comfort of a stable settlement and contested the parliamentary decision. Forty-eight emigrant soldiers asked for an exemption from the *Aliens Act* to remain in Romsey in the North of Southampton.[42] They argued that they had been living there since 1793 and had integrated with the local population. A few months after Britain put an end to the Amiens peace treaty, the access to the coast was once again restricted and emigrants had to move again.[43]

The 1793 act went as far as controlling the home address of each emigrant. Clauses 19 and 24 demanded that landlords give an account of the names and residence of their foreign lodgers. In 1796, French emigrants in London were required to confirm their addresses with the Alien Office.[44] In March 1798, the *Aliens Act* was amended again and 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 therof 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.[45]

Some newspapers reported that the "numbers of foreigners who, in compliance with the late Act, have appeared at the different Police Offices is very great".[46] One journalist even 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".[47] As historian John Barrell noticed, "private life itself [had become] the proper object of intrusive authority of the loyalist public and the state".[48] The Alien Office and the Police could count on local populations to act as domestic spies. In the name of a constitutional war against radicalism, the government's concern for national security encouraged bigotry and xenophobic excesses.

What was the public perception of this Act? Pitt and his ministers sustained regular accusations of abusing the provisions of the *Aliens Act* by their political opponents and by some in the emigrant population. Throughout the 1790s and until 1815, the act had its share of detractors. They were concerned with the impracticalities of the act, the future of their foreign acquaintances in Britain, and fears that the constitutional monarchy was turned into an unconstitutional regime under

Pitt's government. In its early years, much criticism against the *Aliens Act* was based upon humanitarian concern. On 21 December 1792, the Marquess of Lansdowne expressed in the House of Lords his fear that the bill "would lay 8000 persons, refugees, to slavery in this country".[49] He opposed the passing of the act as an attack of the Habeas Corpus. 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".[50] In 1793, Taylor, a radical politician, spoke against the expulsion of French emigrants as it was condemning them to a certain death.[51] Edmund Burke dismissed his reservations, stating that the Foxite group was protecting those who would be threatened once the bill passed.[52] However, the majority of the responses to the successive *Aliens Act* were positive. In 1793, the Home Office received letters from Norfolk and Bath confirming the local promulgation and due observance of the act.[53] In a letter to a Lord, perhaps Pitt, a Briton "uncultivated in politics", not far from the foot of Snowdon, congratulated the minister on the passage of the act.[54] Loyalist newspapers praised the government. They argued that the act was a legitimate method to separate the good from the bad foreigner. 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".[55] The *London Packet* insisted that the act would be "attended with beneficial effects, in discriminating between the innocent emigrants and concealed instruments of a foreign invasion".[56] The *Lloyd's Evening Post* published the following lines on 11 January 1793:

> 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.[57]

The usage of numbers in British propagandist discourse was performative—400 revolutionaries were leaving for France while Burke was accused by the Foxite group of excusing 400 other migrants

from complying with the *Aliens Act*.[58] Reporting on this, the *Courier* dismissed the accusation by affirming that they "had no intention of starting an insurrection". Interestingly, 400 weapons were found at Michaut's residence five years later as the Parliament debated once again the presence of foreigners in the British Isles.

Welcoming 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 foreign criminals. British historian John Dinwiddy wondered whether the Home Office had not been feeding information to journalists to further its own propagandist motives.[59] The historian rightfully noted three types of aliens susceptible to be threatened by the Aliens Act, and other laws, such as the Treacherous Correspondence Act.[60] Some were suspected of working as agents of the French government. Stories, such as the following are numerous: 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 enclosure of several letters".[61] Some foreign nationals sustained objectionable political views; most governmental threats, arrests and deportations were, in fact, politically motivated. In 1793, the Comte de Valence, a Republican General close to Dumouriez, defected from the French armies and searched for haven in Britain. A French relative of his sent a letter to a British MP asking that he be granted leave to remain:

> *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 one of the early founders dégouterait 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]. [62]

Despite his attempts to reinforce the French Monarchy after Varennes, *Feuillant* Alexandre de Lameth was ordered to leave Great Britain in May 1796. He had been one of the early founders of the *Clubs des Jacobins*.[63] An emigrant named 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.[64] Timothy Caswell petitioned for granting leave to remain to the Duc d'Aiguillon, 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, Britanny (1758) and also the circumstances of the Duke's emigration".[65] The last type of foreigners subjected to the *Aliens Act* were the socially undesirable. The legislation was used as an excuse to deport or imprison any undesirable and socially deviant foreign individual by the end of the 1790s. In 1800, a French Count and his wife were charged under the *Aliens Act* "with obtaining money under false pretence, by pretending to tell fortune and foretelling future events".[66] In 1798, Nicholas Renier was deported with four other French emigrants for two criminal offenses: they had used hair powder without being licensed and had been heard pronouncing seditious words.[67] Later that year, Peter Dupont who was described by the press as a French emigrant was taken under custody and deported for the crimes of gambling as well as prostituting his (British) wife.[68] In November 1797, the Duke of Portland had taken an order that "all foreigners, hereafter found in a gaming house, shall be immediately sent out of the Kingdom".[69] While hair powder was being taxed and gambling prohibited, the conservative *Saint James's Chronicle* proposed that "gamesters of all descriptions" should be obliged to "become emigrants".[70] Emigrants reportedly deserted gambling houses for fear of deportation rather than by respect of the law.

Is it possible that the governmental policy and the anti-French discourse held in the public sphere participated in the marginalisation and alienation of French migrants? The *Aliens Act* was not as vicious as some of the local legislation upheld by certain Germanic cities where Jews, tramps and *émigrés* were banned.[71] However, the act and certain journalistic comments were symbolically violent at a time when forced seclusion and deportation were the principal strategies in force against social deviance. The psychological effect of the Aliens act on emigrants is striking in the case of the Chevalier Charles de Blin.[72] He landed in England with his family in 1793. The Chevalier had been an aide de camp to Dumouriez and thus was considered dangerous by the British authorities. He was jailed. Interviewed by a doctor, Therese de Blin, his wife, was convinced that prison had transformed him. Unable to speak English, this "foreigner of some rank" was denied the right to communicate with other Francophone inmates. De Blin soon "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". He was transferred to St Luke's hospital where his condition continued to deteriorate.

Naming the Alien

Governmental and journalistic responses to the arrival of a large French population misrepresent the variety and evolution of private reactions to this population in Britain. The British public experienced the displacement. In fact, it can be argued that the seemingly innate connection between British-born populations and the British territory was disrupted by the arrival of a foreign outsider.[73] "Who are they? Who are they? Where do they come from? When will they go?" lamented an elderly English Lady as she met several small groups of French emigrants during her routine Sunday visit to Hyde Park.[74] To her, the familiar and peaceful British landscape was suddenly altered. The journalist reporting the symbolic encounter explained that the emigrant community had "come to England (that region of bliss) for shelter" as their country was "without a head, without a government". He added they were in the park "for air, exercise and health". This attempt at normalising the presence of French emigrants in Britain as early as September 1792 is significant of the larger cultural redefinition of the French persona in the 1790s and 1800s. To the question "Who are they"? the following paragraphs will substitute that question with who are the French emigrants to their British host? The terms and expressions used by private individuals to name the French emigrant population, or those assimilated to the emigrant community first expose some British attitudes to the foreign communities in Britain. This chapter will then discuss iconic representations of the French displaced population. Very few caricatures directly relatable to the emigrant community in the British Isles have been produced in Britain and especially after September 1792. However, the few emigrant figures etched by Isaac Cruikshank or Thomas Rowlandson suggest a critical evolution in the British representation of the French nobility and clergy. The image of the French in British caricature and popular comedy had been set and standardised before 1789.[75] He appeared sometimes as a baboon, a dog barber, other times as an effeminate aristocrat and a *parvenu*. The French noble persona was as archetypal: "old and corrupt, last link maintaining alive all political and obsolete anachronisms

but consistently a *bon viveur*".[76] British caricatures and popular vocabulary on emigration cannot be examined solely through the analytical lens of eighteenth century British attitudes towards the French. They must be examined in relation to French revolutionary events and the formation and evolution of loyalist and counter-revolutionary thoughts in Britain.

A list of words and expressions qualifying emigrants, or the emigrant community, provides clues as to their perception by the British public [Table 3.1]. This random sample is made up of private archival sources written by British individuals, as well as printed texts relating private opinions and sermons professed in public between 1789 and 1800. Sources by professional journalists and legal advisers, as well as fictional sources and classified adverts, were not taken into account. The nouns, adjectives, and expressions are classified under four categories. Many names refer to the British perception of the French political situation; others refer to the French as a foreign national population. Some terms were used to qualify the religious situation of the French emigrants in Britain. Finally, a few terms illustrate the emigrants' social and professional status in pre-revolutionary France. Unsurprisingly, the noun emigrant dominates this list. Émigré was only used in five instances, and mostly when the source was written in French. The historian Edward Gibbon supposedly introduced the term in Britain in 1792; however, it seems its use was not widespread in Britain to discuss civilian matters. It was used in this sample as a means to describe the counter-revolutionary armies and the Bourbon court in exile. Refugee is the second most used term in this list. Whereas emigrant and émigré emphasised the importance of France as a home country and the population's political stance against the Revolution, the word refugee refocuses the debate on the host country welcoming a group forced out of France. According to historian Jennifer Heuer, the term *réfugié*, used in the context of the Thermidorian reaction of 1796–1797, "echoed the term of *religionnaire fugitive*", used to describe Protestants who had left France for religious reasons.[77] Exile was mainly, but not exclusively, used to refer to the clergymen and women deported from France after they refused to take the oath to the *Constitution civile du clergé*. Although numerically insignificant in this list, the words banished, asylum, sufferer or victim belong alongside refugee and exile in the lexical field of pity. The adjective French and the nouns French and Frenchman were obviously very common. On their own, they are a geographical reference. However, the adjective took on particular significance as it qualified a noble title

Table 3.1 Expressions and terms used by private British individuals to refer to the French emigrant population between 1789 and 1800

Names referring to the individuals and groups of individuals who left their country in response to the French Revolution	Emigrant (noun)	31
	Refugee (noun)	13
	Émigré (noun)	5
	Exile (noun)	2
	Emigrant (adjective)	2
	Banished (adjective)	2
	Sufferer (noun)	2
	Victim (noun)	2
	Wanderer (noun)	2
	Asylum (noun)	1
	Person in distress	1
Names referring to French individuals or groups of French individuals 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 (adjective)	1
Names referring to the individual's or groups of individuals' religious situation	Roman catholic (adjective)	7
	Romish	3
	Clergy (adjective)	3
	Clergy (noun)	3
	Papist (noun)	2
	Popish (adjective)	2
	Catholic body	1
	Christian (noun)	1
	Members of the church of Rome	1
	Catholic (adjective)	1
	Brethren (noun)	2
Names referring to the individuals' or groups of individuals' social status	Priest (noun)	21
	Officers (noun)	11
	Noble/ of some rank (adjective)	2
	Gentilhomme/ Gentleman/ Lady (nouns)	2
	Nobleman (noun)	2
	Condean (adjective)	1
	Planter (noun)	1

or an ecclesiastic role. A correspondent 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".[78] In this context, the adjective French enhanced the plight of the individual or the group; it reinforced the idea of misery and loss. In other instances, the use of the adjective French was more playful. In September 1790, the *Public Advertiser* published an anonymous open letter stating that in Plymouth "all the Counts and Marquises that had for some months past taken up residence here, have taken French leave of us" as they joined the armies of the Princes and Condé on the continent.[79] Finally, the vocabulary referring to the religious situation of the emigrants was twofold. Some denounced the presence of a foreign Roman Catholic population in Britain with derogatory words such as romish, papist and popish. Others emphasised the unity of Catholicism and Protestantism with the use of Christian or Brethren.

This synchronic analysis of the terms and expression used to refer to the French population in the British Isles hides the evolution of their uses following the patterns of British political evolutions. In 1789 and until mid-1792, the subject of emigration seems to have been mainly discussed in politically established circles. The moderate and conservative British aristocracies considered the emigrant situation as a reversed mirror of their own condition. The noun refugee is used very early in the upper class of British society: Lady Elisabeth Foster and Lord North both used it in August 1789 in their private correspondence to Lord Sheffield.[80] On the contrary, in radical spheres, the vocabulary used to describe emigrants was particularly violent. In his *Observations* [on Burke's] *pamphlet on the subject of the French Revolution*, Benjamin Bousfield, MP for Cork, contrasted the Huguenot "refugees", "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".[81] French revolutionary newspapers would have used a similar vocabulary to describe the flight of the country's aristocracy. Popular politicised attitudes to emigration were similar. On 29 July 1790, Isaac Cruikshank published *Salus in Fuga: La France se purge petit à petit*.[82] Safely standing on the cliffs of Dover, Charles Alexandre de Calonne contemplates the distant French shores and encourages his fellow countrymen to look behind them as "*tous les laches et fripons sont ici en sûreté* [all the cowards and scoundrels are safe here]". With his right hand, he protects the obese Comtesse de la Motte who observes France through a telescope. The Comte de la Motte hides behind his wife. Both exhort ex-minister Calonne to take

the lead of emigration. Behind this group, a couple of fashionable aristocrats, possibly Madame de Vassal and her lover, the Marquis de Bièvre, are heading to London. They smile and laugh at de Bièvre's puns.[83] A third Frenchman bows down to kiss the grass of Dover. In Boulogne, the Duchesse de Montmorency-Luxembourg pushes her reluctant ducal husband in a rowboat. Sickened by the *sans-culotte* army on her heels, their daughter runs towards the boat. A grumpy British smuggler, very John Bull-like, advises the family not to "shit on his boat". Mocking the *emigration à la mode*, the cartoonist notes "*la peur et les eaux font déjà leurs effets* [Fear and waters already have an effect]" as a group of five other emigrants, amongst which the family de Polignac, are fleeing to Spa. These particular emigrants were regarded as the symbols of all the wrongdoings of *ancien régime* aristocrats. To the politically aware Briton, they would embody the failure of France's absolute system as well as the successes of British liberties. This image associates emigration with aristocracy in the mind of the early 1790s British window-shopper and collector. For art historian Pascal Dupuy, this caricature should also be read as a form of warning to the British aristocracy, at a time when the debate on luxury denounced fashion's eccentricities.[84]

A definite discursive shift happened in September 1792 when emigrants reached the British Isles en masse. The subject of emigration was discussed in various circles, with all parts of the British society now confronted with the displaced population. The French were still considered foreigners and Catholics; but at the same time, they were seen as impoverished, distressed and wretched. Two discursive trends emerged: on the one hand, the *Aliens Act* introduced the administrative vocabulary in everyday conversations. Documents written by members of the public for an administrative readership privileged terms directly borrowed from the *Aliens Act*. The terms alien and foreigner are predominantly used in documents drafted by British private landlords. The emigrant lodgers' lists are remarkable because they refer to the system of estates, regimental engagements and professions more than any other private documents. Thirty-six landlords mentioned the social situation of their tenants; however, seven such declarations were written in French and might have been from the hands of emigrant tenants. Private landlords might have considered references to the social status of emigrants as a justification for their presence in their house—after all, the Aliens Act also controlled those British subjects who associated with suspicious foreigners. Yet, these lists give away the influence that French emigrants had on the

political imagination of their British connections. On the other hand, charitable voices popularised the word refugee and associated emigration with the rhetoric of pathos. 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. As dissonant political voices were increasingly silenced after 1792, the French emigrant became an almost unassailable figure. 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".[85] To cut the controversy short, Cobb transformed his French aristocratic villain into the then less contentious character of a Jewish money broker.[86] Sporadic denunciations of the privileged treatment of French emigrants, in particular the Catholic clergy and the aristocracy, existed, but xenophobic discourses were a minority discourse after 1792. The blame mostly fell upon the British government and establishment for failing to adopt protectionist measures for the British population. As emigration lost its influence in the counter-revolutionary fight and many emigrants who had settled in Britain returned to France, charitable voices faded away. This sample shows that by 1800 the vocabulary used to describe French emigrants became increasingly neutral.

The representation of the emigrant figure in caricatures followed a similar pattern of normalisation after autumn 1792. Changes in the portrayal of French clergymen are compelling. On 23 October 1792, a French decree stated that all emigrants should be tried and condemned to death. A few days later, Isaac Cruikshank drew *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late decree, that all who returns shall be put to death*.[87] The French clerical exiles in this caricature come across as impoverished. A clergyman hides his face in despair; another one clasps his hands and raises his eyes to the sky. An anonymous etching: *The importation of French priests*, subtitled *the blessings of liberty* is quite striking.[88] In this etching, a group of clergymen disembark from a sailboat. A distressed priest falls on his knees and prays. A second clergyman angrily curses the sky while another attempts to stop him. In the centre of the image, a fourth man, unable to stand straight, points a finger towards his mouth while holding a bone with his other hand. These French clergymen are clearly starved and emaciated. Some have lost their clothes; others are injured. In both these etchings, the priests have been deprived of their

Catholic attributes: no golden cross, bishop mitres, white collars, or extravagant behaviour could allow the viewer to mock their religion. Post-1792 representations of the French civilian emigrant population also privileged anonymity. In November 1792, Thomas Rowlandson produced two cartoons: *A French Family* and *An Italian Family*.[89] Both etchings have been studied as the illustration of the daily life of French emigrants in their British refuge, with the second one referred to as *The Concert*.[90] In all likelihood, only the *French Family* represents the intimacy of a French emigrant home in Britain in 1792. The representation is softer than Gillray and Cruikshank's gruesome images of the cannibalised French nobility under the Republic, or that of cadaveric emigrants. According to art historian Vic Gatrell, Rowlandson considered 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".[91] In this etching, an elegant French couple and their three children are dancing to the sound of the violin of a fifth one. A man sitting on a chair plays the drums for two entertained dogs. The circumstances of the protagonists in this scene are revealed through a series of details. The clothes are of an *Ancien Régime* style, and not the revolutionary garb usually presented in anti-Jacobin cartoons. In fact, the protagonists' clothes and headdresses are very similar to that worn by Gillray's emigrants. They are just slightly worn out. Possible signs of their aristocratic status are scattered around a sordid room. Atop a mattress pushed up the wall sits what looks like a French officer's coat. A topos in the representation of French effeminate noble mores, a mirror suspended on the wall could be the sign of some aristocratic vanity.[92] On the right side of the etching, a scrawny cat climbs up a cupboard. It contains a *cafetière* or *chocolatière*, perhaps a luxury for an impoverished emigrant family. Furthermore, Rowlandson had represented French dancers in other occasions and with noticeable differences. The dancers in *A French Family* do not compare with the deviant, overtly sexualised, and defecating ones from his representation of *French dancers at a morning rehearsal*.[93] A French family is an ambivalent portrayal of emigration, in which the viewer is left to wonder whether emigrants celebrate their safety, away from the dangers of the French Jacobin Republic, or whether their glee is a sign of recklessness and of their 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?

Behind the Depictions of Emigrants, a Portrayal of British Values

The legislation, the words and the images designating the emigrant community can be seen as metaphors for the British condition. Behind the regulation and the pathos hid the affirmation of British loyalist and counter-revolutionary values confronted to the threat of a radical insurrection and the international influence of the French Revolution. Specialists of the British caricature at the time of the French Revolution have demonstrated how artists like Cruikshank, Gillray or Rowlandson participated in reinforcing both a counter-revolutionary and a loyalist sentiment in Britain.[94] These last paragraphs will demonstrate how literature on emigration, and in particular, printed Anglican sermons, widely advertised and circulated amongst middlebrow readers, participated in the cultural transformation of the imagination of Anglican Britain as a generous realm towards the distressed and a religiously superior nation. Linda Colley has argued that Protestant identity was "the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible".[95] Conversely, Paul Langford demonstrated how difficult it was to determine how divisive religion was by the late eighteenth century: "it is arguable that it was political strife which exacerbated sectarian conflict, rather than vice-versa".[96] He argues that from the 1760s, several legal and practical concessions to the Roman Catholics and other dissenters in Britain were made as notions of equality and tolerance became widely accepted. Despite a strong popular Anglican patriotism, Catholicism in Britain became, in the late years of the century, a lesser taboo with the Acts of Catholic emancipation of 1778 and 1782.[97] This might explain, in part, the caricaturists' portrayal of French clergymen and the apparent low occurrence of abusive slurs against the emigrants' religion. But the discourse of the established Anglican Church on emigration and Roman Catholicism is enlightening on this matter. Three sermons by English clergymen—the vicar of Blakewell, the rector of Droxford and the vicar of Hygh Wycombe—unmistakeably aimed to popularise the notion that despite ritual differences, Protestant and Catholic communities were one large Christian community. However, for a wealth of political reasons,

this discussion on Christian brotherhood suggested the existence of a Christian hierarchy topped by the Church of England.

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.*[98] His sermon against revolutionary France resonated with Christian piety. He compared the "impious" revolutionaries to the exiled priest, "sufferers for conscience sake". The sermons started by comparing the Protestant faith to the emigrant and exile's faith. The 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 burst of patriotic pride worthy of Edmund Burke, Wake argued that the French Revolution became anarchical when the revolutionaries expelled the "thrones of the earthly sovereign" and "the altar of God". In May 1793, James Chelsum, rector of Droxford and chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, published *The Duty of Relieving the French Refugee Clergy.*[99] 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".[100] The displaced French clergyman ought to be praised for his "exemplary and grateful conduct, and for [his] pious and Christian spirit of contentment and resignation".[101] Chelsum remained prudent—"their god" was not the Anglican god.[102] While the Anglican religion was always referred to Christian in this specific sermon, the assimilation of Catholicism to Christianity was not mentioned before its eleventh page. The rhetorical techniques used by Reverend William Bell of High-Wycombe are similar in every detail to those used by Wake and Chelsum.[103] In these three sermons, oecumenical Christianity was heralded as a counter-revolutionary necessity in order to fight Jacobin atheism and the cult of the Supreme Being. The oecumenical direction of the counter-revolutionary fight was also referred to in later French emigrant discourses and possibly derived from this discourse. In 1794 and 1795, the Comte de Jarnac and the General Gaston proposed the creation of French regiments under British pay. The General Gaston's army would be named "Christian army".[104] 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.[105]

Yet, the sermons preached by the Anglican Church contained strong patriotic elements. In all three sermons, the Catholic emigrant and the exiled priest were defined by established Anglican pastors as "brethren". This was not a rhetorical novelty. As the head of the Anglican Church, George III had made the Catholic emancipation a touchstone of British loyalism.[106] Notions 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 discourses throughout the eighteenth-century.[107] As a matter of fact, the abolitionist movement used the same vocabulary in anti-slavery campaigns.[108] In this, the reference to a Brethren Christian proudly emphasised the "moral stature" conferred to the British nation as it fought slavery in the name of an enlightened modernity. Similarly, the use of "Brethren" in the counter-revolutionary debate reinforced the moral stature of Britain as a nation united against Republican and Terrorist France. Murray Pittock has argued that "British unity was conditionally achieved in the face not so much of a Catholic, as a deist and revolutionary France".[109] Yet in these three sermons, the figure of the impoverished Catholic emigrant brethren is a prop assisting in the affirmation of the superiority of the Anglican Church and British constitutionalism. The Anglican Christian had learned "Christian liberality and Christian charity", and henceforth he knew to "love", "receive and cherish" the "exiled and afflicted stranger".[110] 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 and the King as the head of the Anglican Church. Beyond the sermons lay the notion that the British Constitution would prevent the excesses of the French Catholic aristocracy and clergy that led to the rejection of religion.

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In the name of an ideological war against Jacobin France and British radicalism, the public response and various private British reactions to emigration produced and regulated identities. First, definitions by the British host of the French emigration evolved throughout the 1790s and 1800s phrasing the expectations of the changing public opinion and reflecting the development of emerging national and international situations. Until autumn 1792, French emigrants are individualised. After September 1792, the perception of emigration changes. The administrative and

dominant political discourse struggled to differentiate those who had migrated in response to the French Revolution from political dissenters. Public opinion blissfully amalgamated foreign populations settled in Britain before the Revolution and the emigrant community. Radical views were denounced as un-British. Emigrant and foreign populations in Britain became the collateral victims of a generalised politics of intimidation regarding Radicalism. Neither British nor revolutionary, the French emigrant population in the British Isles lingered in an undefined in-between throughout the 1790s. On the one hand, the French emigrant was stigmatised by the host community via "powerful [legislative and discursive] weapons used by the later to maintain their identity, to assert their superiority".[111] The established Church and London's influential loyalist public opinion subtly questioned and condemned the role played by fanatic counter-revolutionaries, emigrants unable to rethink their behaviours or the alliance between the *Ancien Régime* and Rome. On the other hand, the emigrant became an anonymised object of charity and pity. The other identities regulated through the discussion on emigrants were those of the good and the bad British subject. Ultimately, the definition of emigration ensured the theoretical and practical demarcation between loyalists and dissenters. As testified by the returns to the overseers of the poor and the *Aliens Act*, a good Briton hosting a foreigner accepted governmental intrusion in his home to protect the Nation against Levellers and French Revolutionaries. Contrary to the corrupt Briton, he was faithful to the Constitution and prepared to momentarily renounce his liberties for the sake of the nation. The good Briton was a charitable and generous individual, forgiving of the sins of a fellow Christian. In the next chapters, this book will discuss the impact that British legislation and identity discourses had on the renewal of counter-revolutionary identity politics, as well as their acceptance, transformation and rejection amongst the emigrant community. This book now turns towards the long-term role of relief charities on the identification of an aristocratic émigré nation.

Notes

1. 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* (2004).
2. Bellamy, p. 113.

3. Marita Gilli, 'Images negatives de l'aristocrate émigré en Allemagne et en Suisse dans quelques oeuvres littéraires', in ed. Philippe Bourdin, *Les Noblesses Françaises dans l'Europe de la Révolution* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 559–594 (p. 579).
4. Harry Dickinson, 'Popular conservatism and militant loyalism', in ed. Harry Dickinson, *Britain and the French Revolution, 1789–1815* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989); Mark Philp ed., *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Emma Vincent MacLeod, *A War of Ideas: British Attitudes to the Wars against Revolutionary France, 1792–1802* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 196.
5. Paul Langford, *Public life and the propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. v.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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, 1952, pp. 358–360, 363–364. Wilkinson discusses how the public opinion and the press anticipated these measures.
9. Clive Emsley, *British Society, and the French Wars, 1793–1815* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 15.
10. NA, Kew, HO 42/21, and cited in Dozier, pp. 38–39.
11. Emsley, *British Society*, pp. 15-16.
12. Elizabeth Sparrow, *Secret Services: British Agents in France, 1792–1815* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 23.
13. Elizabeth Sparrow, 'The Alien Office, 1792-1806', *The Historical Journal,* 33 (1990), pp. 361–384; Jennifer Mori, *William Pitt and the French Revolution, 1785–1795* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), p. 92.
14. NA, Kew, Regulators of the Aliens Act 1793: http://www.movinghere.org.uk/search/catalogue.asp?RecordID=77088&ResourceTypeID=2&sequence=1. 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 untouched in Linda Colley's study on xenophobia and Anti-French sentiments.

15. See mostly: Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen. The Controversy over immigration and population, 1660–1760* (Newark, DE, 1995).
16. Sparrow, *Secret Services*.
17. Michael Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: the Treatment of Foreigners* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Sophie Wahnich, *L'Impossible citoyen: L'Etranger Dans le Discours de La Révolution Française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).
18. Wahnich, *Impossible Citoyen*, pp. 217–234. In this, she also demonstrates how French émigrés became a constitutive part of the foreign category.
19. Aliens Act, clauses I and II, pp. 31–32.
20. SAS, Southampton, D/LY 28, January 1795: État des sommes qui ont été payées aux gens de Mer et passagers du dit vaisseau.
21. Aliens Act, clause V, pp. 33–34.
22. NA, Kew, HO 42/28/131, 20 Feb 1794, Folios 327–328.
23. *Saint James Chronicle or British Evening Post* (SJCorBEP), 28–30 January 1794. The Chevaliers de Guienne and de Limerac (assumed names) were caught stealing amongst the Royalists' armies.
24. Aliens Act, clause VI and VII, p. 34.
25. *Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma Vie et de mon Temps par le Marquis de Bouillé*, ed. P.L. de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906), p. 102.
26. *Public Advertiser* (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.
27. James Gillray, *The Dagger Scene or the Plot discovered* (London: H. Humphrey, 30 December 1792), British Museum.
28. Anonymous etching, *The dagger drawing orator* (December 1792), British Museum.
29. *Mirror of the Times* (MT), 14–21 April 1798. He is named Mouchette in the *Express and Evening Courier*, 17–19 April 1798.
30. *Morning Herald*, 25 April 1798.
31. Aliens Act, clauses VIII to XI, pp. 35–38.
32. HRO, Winchester, *Romsey Borough Council,* 97M81/4/21, French refugees billeted in Romsey, 1794–1796.
33. Wahnich, *Impossible Citoyen*, p. 42.
34. HRO, Winchester, *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.

35. LMA, London, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace*, MRA/80, Circular (December 1810).
36. Aliens Act, clause XVIII, p. 41.
37. In *L'Immigration Française en Grande Bretagne* (Paris: Harmattan, 2000), Claude Gamblin wrongly attributed this clause to the January text.
38. '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.
39. Dominic A. Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986), p. 108.
40. *Telegraph*, 8 September 1796.
41. *Sun*, 17 May 1798.
42. HRO, Winchester, *Romsey Borough*, 97M81/4/22, État de M.M. les officiers royalistes francois qui reclament aupres du gouvernment des exemptions pour resider a Totton et Romsey Hunts ou ils sont depuis leurs arrivee en Angleterre.
43. CCA, Chester, *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).
44. LMA, London, *Middlesex Sessions: county administration*, MJR/Misc.5, List of aliens returned by housekeepers, list of aliens who made a declaration, list of departures (1796).
45. *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post* (LPorNLEP), 6 July 1798.
46. *Whitehall Evening Post*, 14 July 1798.
47. Ibid.
48. John Barrell, *The Spirit of Despotism: invasions of privacy in the 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 246.
49. *Morning Post*, 3 January 1793; *Morning Chronicle*, 4 January 1793; *Morning Herald* (MH), 5 January 1793; *SJC or BEP*, 20–22 December 1792.
50. Quoted in Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 37.
51. *MH*, 5 January 1793.
52. *True Briton*, 5 January 1793.
53. NA, Kew, HO 42/24/118, 28 January 1793, fols 287–288 and HO42/28/95, 9 February 1794, fols 228–229.
54. NA, Kew, HO 42/27/272. fols 812–814. Letter to my Lord (unidentified), 1793.
55. *PA*, 5 January 1793.
56. *LP or NLEP*, 9 January 1793.

57. *Lloyd's Evening Post* (LEP), 11 January 1793. See also *PA*, 5 January 1793.
58. *Courier*, 3 January 1793.
59. John Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain, 1780–1850* (London: Hambledon, 1992), p. 155.
60. Ibid., p. 153.
61. *MT*, 30 December 1797.
62. CCA, Chester, *Stanley of Alderley Records*, DSA/33, Anonymous and undated letter.
63. *LEP*, 2–4 May 1796. See also, *General Evening Post* (GEP), 3–5 May 1796.
64. *MT*, 7–14 July 1798.
65. NA, Kew, HO 42/24/19, 1793, January 5. Folios 42–42. Letter from Timothy Caswall of Davies Street, Berkeley Square (Mayfair, Westminster).
66. *LP or NLEP*, 24 October 1800. Identified as Count Urboy in the LP or Comte Urvoy in the Courier de Londres.
67. *GEP*, 2–23 January 1798.
68. *LEP*, 16–18 July 1798; *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (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.
69. *Morning Post & Gazetteer*, 29 November 1797.
70. *SJC or BEP*, 28 November 1797.
71. Fortuné d'Andigné, *Mémoires du Général d'Andigné*, ed. Ed. Biré (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1900), p. 94.
72. LMA, London, *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.
73. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 'Beyond «Culture»: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992): 6–23 (p. 10).
74. *PA*, 19 September 1792.
75. Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the foreigner* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), pp. 31–39; 200–224.
76. Pascal Dupuy, 'La caricature face a la noblesse francaise sous la Revolution', in Bourdin, pp. 513–534 (pp. 514–515).
77. Jennifer Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 106.
78. *So dearly loved, so much admired: letters to Hester Pitt, 1744–1801*, ed. Vere Birdwood (London: HMSO, 1994), p. 165.

79. *PA*, 4 September 1790.
80. ESRO, Lewes, *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).
81. Benjamin Bousfield, *Observations on the Right Hon. Edmund Burke's Pamphlet, on the subject of the French Revolution* (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1791).
82. *Salus in Fuga: La France se purge petit à petit* (London: S.W. Fores, 29 July 1790), Bibliothèque nationale de France (Bnf).
83. De Bièvre had left France in July 1789. He had authored the article 'Kalembour' in the 1777 *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie*.
84. Dupuy, in Bourdin.
85. *Sun*, 22 February 1796.
86. *Star*, 26 February 1796.
87. Isaac Cruikshank, *Emigrant Clergy Reading the late decree, that all who returns shall be put to death* (London: S.W. Fores, 1792), British Museum.
88. *The Importation of French priests, or the blessings of liberty* (London: J. Stratford, 1792), British Museum.
89. 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 or 1787.
90. 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'.
91. Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), p. 45.
92. Dupuy, in Bourdin, p. 515.
93. Thomas Rowlandson, *French dancers at a morning rehearsal* (unknown, 1790–1810), British Museum.
94. 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.
95. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 54.
96. Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 93.

97. 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.1714–1780: 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.
98. 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, 1793).
99. James Chelsum, *The Duty of Relieving the French Refugee Clergy stated and recommended. A Sermon* (Winchester, 1793).
100. Ibid., p. 8.
101. Ibid., p. 11.
102. Ibid., p. 7.
103. William Bell Williams, *The Good Samaritan; or Charity to strangers recommended. A sermon preached for the French refugee clergy* (High Wycombe, 1793).
104. *Evening Mail*, 7 June 1793.
105. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/54, Proposition dated from 4 March 1794 to raise an emigrant cavalry regiment.
106. Langford, *Public life*, p. 83.
107. Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London charity in the eighteenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 22.
108. David Turley, *The culture of English antislavery* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 33.
109. Murray G.H. Pittock, *Inventing and resisting Britain: cultural identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685–1789* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p. 173.
110. Chelsum, p. 6.
111. Norbert Elias, *The Established and the Outsiders* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2008), p. xviii.

CHAPTER 4

British Charities and the Émigré Ideological Pursuit of Social Inequality

In October 1806, the Duchesse de Piennes wrote an emotional letter in which she threatened to poison herself.[1] It was probably addressed to PM Lord Grenville, but was eventually directed to William Wickham who was once in charge of the *Alien Office*. She urged the government to double the £300 pension she was receiving (roughly the equivalent of a middle-income household).[2] Without her annuity doubled she would act upon her threat. This was a common menace amongst emigrants and a genuine risk accounted in numerous articles on emigrant suicides in Europe.[3] "*Privée de tout ce qui est nécessaire, sans voiture, sans laquais* [sic] [deprived of all necessary things, carriage-less and servant-less]", Madame de Piennes 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). In 1806, the Duchesse had already been arrested over five times and thrown as many times in a sponging-house for debts.[4] Several nineteenth-century essays on UK law and familial debts cited legal cases involving the Duchesse as examples in which both insolvent husband and wife were alien to Great-Britain.[5] These essays reported that the Duchesse and her husband 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 travelled to Sweden to create a counter-revolutionary regiment named *Royal Suédois* with the help of his friend Fersen.[6] Still in London in 1810, the Duchesse probably

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_4

returned to France around 1814–1815.[7] More than fifteen years into the Revolution, she was still living an aristocratic life *à credit*.[8] Daniel Roche reminds us that "wealth always led to nobility" in France; yet living a noble life had been "dependant on wealth".[9] With £600 a year, she assured she could live in "comfort" (an English word that had entered the French language during emigration according to the Duc de Lévis).[10] Her claims fall within a counter-revolutionary conception of rights, in which the nobility, or rather the exiled aristocracy, 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.[11] The Duchesse's inability to reconsider her aristocratic consumerism was not exceptional amongst emigrants. Sources show that this attitude was common in the early years of emigration. Speaking of a fellow exile, the Archbishop of Aix wrote in 1793, that he was more familiar with debts than debtors.[12] Cézar 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".[13] Were these behaviours and claims the signs than 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?[14] 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?

In traditional scholarship, British sources on emigrants' finances originated from administrative and associational archives. Indeed, the arrival of thousands of French exiles in Britain had set in motion a long-lived charitable effort and its propagandist baggage. Detailed descriptions of anonymous poverty in the aftermath of September 1792 were also a focus of British and French Romantic literature, with scores of fictional and poetic publications on the emigrants in Britain. This literature often reported sordid images of starving children and stirring descriptions of decrepit French officers wandering in the streets of the British metropolis, driven to madness by the loss of their loved ones.[15] A famous passage from the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* depicts Chateaubriand sucking water off wet fabric, chewing herbs and bits of paper to calm a relentless sensation of hunger.[16] Influenced by these texts, scholars have conservatively narrated and commented upon under-contextualised tales of poverty,

Britain's charitable relief and its generous elites. The aristocratic ladies of 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.[17] Many historians concentrated on patrician benevolence and the elite subscribers of Relief committees. They however, failed to relate this benevolence to a society of aristocratic spectacle, in which old domineering social relations were continued. Kirsty Carpenter's explanations for aristocratic motivations behind the emigrant relief feel perhaps 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".[18] Henceforth, in her explanation, the organisation and continuance of the relief resulted from friendship rather than a Smithian inter-aristocratic solidarity. Far more disturbing is the use of national determinations by French royalist historian De Diesbach's to explain why Britain was the only country in Europe to provide French emigrants with allowances.[19] To him, British high society was by nature more imaginative and empathic towards the poor and proud noble emigrants than the exclusive and uncharitable Germanic aristocracy. Many archives kept in county record offices conflict with the widespread vision of a pathetic population in exile and a benevolent society. Many newspaper articles highlight the sociological and chronological inconsistencies between these romantic and fanciful tales and the reality of benevolence. "Love, kindness and natural affection" bore little weight in front of the governmental necessity to promote civil order and maintain the historically inherited division of society in classes.[20] In fact, Dominic Aiden Bellenger is perhaps the only historian to relate the Relief organised by the French clerics to loyalist politics and the Portland Whigs, the significant Protestant tradition of charity and the government's newly inclusive politics towards Catholics.[21]

This chapter argues that ideals of benevolence were deeply ingrained in the British public opinion, and that a widespread and renewed sense of political loyalism and social conservatism benefited French émigré lobbyists in the long term. The great outcry of autumn 1792 initiated a first type of response within the Anglican public sphere with the organisation of relief committees for the emigrant clergy and laity.[22] War had not yet been declared; the government was not officially involved.

Raised by British charities, the reliefs were distributed by the Bishop St-Pol de Léon from the house of his Catholic lodger in Nassau Street. The work of the Committees seems to have been institutionalised by the government between December 1793 and the year 1794. The budget allowed to French emigrants was hence restricted and dependent on the Exchequer, and the lists of lay and clerical recipients were closed to newcomers on several occasions. While not a charitable act per se, the British government salaried a large number of French officers prevented by their profession from receiving any other type of allowances.[23] The humanitarian relief project turned into a governmental administration. Ultimately, this led to the implementation of an unequal and ambiguous relationship between British donors and the French who were indebted to their benefactors. Many sources highlight that this asymmetrical rapport evolved into the stigmatisation and marginalisation of the French emigrant population, regarded as either intrinsically victimized or parasitic. In the late 1790s, the number of French emigrants in Britain had fallen due to repatriation. The nature of the relief turned into a counter-revolutionary allowance, and sources show that the amount received by emigrants had ceased to be equally distributed. Finally, this chapter argues that the often-praised relief committees furthered and strengthened the French *ancien régime* inequalities and contributed to the petrifaction of counter-revolutionary and pro-aristocracy imaginary amongst those receiving the highest relief sums.

A Code of Unequal Relationship

Throughout the early 1790s (and until 1796 according to the sources consulted), the relief of French emigrant leaned upon an existing network of benevolent individuals, Catholic then Protestant after 1792. The problems raised by the influx of poor migrants in Britain were in many ways similar to those of the British poor.[24] Landowners and propertied Englishmen, their wives and daughters, traditionally participated in charitable subscriptions.[25] The Anglican episcopate presented the relief of the poor and distressed as a religious priority, regardless of the Catholic obedience of the refugees. Like many of his fellow countrymen, "Christianus", an active contributor to the *Diary or Woodfall Register*, considered the civilian organisation of an emigrant relief to be a "moral emergency" in the early days of September 1792.[26] Britain needed to feed and lodge the destitute Frenchmen and contain the spread of

diseases endemic to all refugee contexts. In May 1793, whooping cough and measles had devastated the west London emigrant society.[27] Bad weather conditions and a poor diet killed many infants and, throughout emigration, 700 to 1000 exiled clergymen.[28] On 19 September 1792, a journalist in the *Public Advertiser* warned that "change of food and liquor often disturbs the interior part of man and woman"[29]; 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".[30] In the same paper, 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".[31] The emigrant situation 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 for a *lettre de crédit:* his banker, the descendant of a Huguenot refugee, took pity on a group of French migrants he often received and entertained at home.[32] By the beginning of 1794, London bankers refused any such transfers. A young British woman, Elizabeth Pattison wrote to her brother William stating 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".[33] An emigrant reported that the British Parliament had passed a bill preventing French money to be exchanged in England much to the despair of French exiles with no possessions but bills of exchange worth thousands of pounds.[34] The Marquis Alexandre de Breteuil, Condean officer and veteran of the 1793 campaign by the Duke of York, was indeed expecting between £8000 and £9000. His London bankers continuously refused the exchange arguing that the transfer fell under this Act. Not all French emigrants lived in poverty; however, those who had money in Britain often favoured their families and relatives over their emigrant creditors.[35] The emigrant situation in Britain was still delicate three years after the great public outcry of 1792, and a few subscription campaigns were organised. Living in squalid conditions, the poorest in emigration were still in need of basic necessities, such as food, clothes and a bed.[36] Poverty, wars and counter-revolutionary defeats had orphaned many children. Many women had been widowed following the émigré defeat at Quiberon in July 1795. 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".[37] In August 1796, a French servant to the Chevalier de la Boijette, Julie, brought her child to the Foundling hospital. Neither she nor her employer had the means to raise a fatherless child.[38] Once again this year, the *Committee for the relief of the French refugee clergy and laity* asked for further public donations following the evacuation of Holland and Flanders.[39] 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. From the viewpoint of the host, the pre-revolutionary *ancien régime* social distinctions had faded away before the commonality of poverty, hunger, illnesses and madness.

Emergency trumped the complexity and historicity of the French emigrant population. Arguably, public and governmental early hospitalities towards the emigrants were based on a fundamental inequality as it consigned the entire group to unhistorical poverty. The humble and beseeching letters received by Burke, Portland, Grenville and Wickham reinforce the notion that emigrants were indebted to their hosts.[40] The regulations and principles of committees created to relieve 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 the French clergy by a group named the Wilmot Committee did not predate the urge for relieving the French lay population. 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.[41] 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 Arundel.[42] Following these meetings, he asked that "books be immediately opened" and "the several bankers be requested to receive subscriptions".[43] However, the lay Committee lacked formal administration. The Wilmot Committee, in charge of clerical matters, was more organised and shone from the patronage of Edmund Burke. In mid September, the author of *The Case of the Suffering French Clergy*

Refugees in the 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".[44] The week preceding its first gathering, the meeting was in fact advertised every day 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 significance of these meetings' locations, from the first one in September 1792 to 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 were related to established and popular loyalist politics. From December 1792, the *Crown & Anchor* was housing John Reeves' original *Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republican and Levellers*.[45] A Tory stronghold in the nineteenth century, the *Star & Garter* attracted aristocratic clubs in the 1790s. Furthermore, these locations relate early emigrant charities to masonry.[46] In 1796, the Committee for the relief of the French refugees was run from a house adjacent to the Mother lodge of English Masonry, with an address in n°10 Queen Street.[47] Several French lodges created in London before 1789 and involved in the organisations of charitable concerts for the benefits of the emigrant population were meeting at the *Crown & Anchor*.[48] The relation between emigrants and masons went awry sometimes in the following years, as some lodges received the order to refuse emigrant invitations.[49] If the reliefs were indeed associated with masonry, the denunciation of the *émigré schilling* in retrospective Legitimist self-narratives might be part of a wider rhetorical system in which English politics and masonry were vilified.

The first known manifesto of the Wilmot Committee was published on 21 September 1792[50]:

> 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 call was completed by an incentive list of fifty-nine subscribers. Aristocratic names, established politicians, wealthy manufacturers and members of the clergy shared the spotlight with Buckingham, Burke, Wilberforce and the Bishop of London. According to Bellenger, Wilmot's intention never was to "give the committee an ultra-political dimension"; yet, the bulk of significant subscribers seem to have been close to anti-Jacobin politicians Burke or Portland.[51] The dozens of advertisements placed by the two Committees in newspapers don't mention politics. Historians enjoy discussing how radical politician Fox contributing £10 to the relief was a sign that the Committee was apolitical.[52] The attitude of Fox and the Foxites during the debate on the *Aliens Act* demonstrates that their contributions were humanitarian and not, as some would want it, feigned patriotic gestures. Wilberforce, hero of the anti-slavery movement, allegedly subscribed "so as to cancel his embarrassment at the National Convention awarding him honorary citizenship".[53] However, his contribution was the logical continuation of his anti-slavery fight as so-called refugees were likened to slaves. 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 now including the names of Portland and Sheffield.[54] The list of subscribers of the Thomas's Committee and that of Wilmot's were often similar. In fact, the two organisations were complementary for a few months. They seem to have merged into a *Committee for the Relief of the French Refugee Clergy and Laity* around December 1793. Wilmot was still a named chairman of the Committee in 1796, but Thomas was not a member of its board. Until their merger, the rules of each Committee remained fundamentally exclusive. French clergymen were forbidden to apply for Thomas' relief unless they produced a certificate signed by Wilmot's.[55] The Committee for the relief of the laity aimed first to relieve women and children; it was only later, at the end of September 1792, that the Committee added old and infirm men to its list of beneficiaries.[56] Public perception of poverty "conventionally drew a distinction between the impotent poor and the able-bodied"; the émigré soldiers forced into retirement were finally

allowed a small pension.[57] The allowance system invented by the Bishop St-Pol de Léon was adopted as the official one.[58] Somewhat egalitarian, it categorised the emigrant population according to administrative criterions rather than the hierarchical ones imposed by the historical aristocratic domination. 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.[59]

Despite the indiscriminative system professed by St-Pol de Léon, the anti-Jacobin prejudices of the members of the Relief Committees impacted on the identity of those who applied for the scheme. George Thomas insisted that applicants should be introduced by an established Briton as "no-one will be deemed a proper object of notice who does not present to the Committee, or cause to be presented to them by some respectable well-known person, a state of her or his case […]".[60] Apparently innocent, this initial ask privileged the candidature of influential emigrants and those with conservative and loyalist ties. This inequality was immediately reinforced by demands 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".[61] Henceforward indebted to a guarantor—an employer, a friend, a neighbour or an administrator—the French emigrant was further marginalised in the British society. An article in the *Public Advertiser* explained that discrimination in the distribution of reliefs was a necessity: "there can be no harm in delaying the subscription till their conduct is apparent; over-haste may be productive of evil".[62] In the same manner that the *Aliens Act* related foreigners to potential threats, charities were suspicious of fake refugees. The anti-Jacobin relief committees instituted rules that resembled what Sophie Wahnich called the Republican "hospitality as a code of unequal relationship".[63] 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.[64] It was proposed that in accordance with the law, "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 was

less of a relief from poverty in exile than it was a reward for their counter-revolutionary and anti-Napoleonic public stance.

The Generous Nation?

The relief of the emigrant clergy and charity generated a shift amongst the British population from the moment war with France was declared. 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. Many pointed out that the reliefs had been conceived as a temporary assistance. Perhaps the emigrants ought to earn their bread rather than beg for it, as stated in Bentham's utilitarian prescriptions on paupers' management? A second point of discontentment was the fact that the reliefs were not directly distributed by the State. Thomas James Matthias believed he was "pretty accurate when [asserting] that the annual revenue of £200,000 passes through the hands of the Bishop [St-Pol de Léon]".[65] Yet, the governmental *laissez-faire* was respectful of the emigrant's national integrity according to the upholders of this practice. Some also blamed the French aristocracy and the Catholic Church as their feudal mentality had led to their exile. In March 1794, an article from the *Oracle and Public Advertiser* thought necessary to warn the relieved emigrants of the obligation they were into "conduct themselves in such a manner as may make [the British people] approve".[66] A few days later, a private contributor to 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".[67] Arguments by both supporters and opponents of the reliefs related to a larger debate between patriotic and cosmopolitan ethics themselves complicated by new national and European contexts.

Subscriptions lists clearly contradict the notion that Francophile elites and those they emulated were pro-relief while the middling sorts and lower classes rejected the emigrants. 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 visited the new mother and gave her a purse, or the Comtesse's landlord, an English baker to whom "she was obliged for his Humanity"

after he fed her through her pregnancy.[68] Aristocratic donations amount to just over half of the sums raised for the year 1793.[69] The aristocratic and clerical anti-Jacobin elites were named members of the committees, paid in large lump sums and influenced the vote of pro-emigrant legislation and budgets: yet, their public role was an inherited social behaviour. Their wives, daughters, and privately educated heirs also publicised their generosity as part of the Committee's adverts or in individual public notices.[70] Oxford University made a first donation of £500 and printed Bibles to distribute for free to the emigrant population; rival Cambridge seemingly send smaller yet more regular payments.[71] This posture is mocked in a print by Richard Newton entitled *Sturdy Beggars collecting for the emigrant French Clergy*.[72] Published in late September 1792, it depicted George III and Caroline in a room crowded with noblemen and clergymen. The royals carry a box engraved with the words 'Refugee relief'. Caroline delivers a speech to a reluctant aristocracy. She compares unfortunate foreigners to the "poor of this land of milk and honey sing[ing], danc[ing] and enjoy[ing] every blessing under heaven". A sea of praying Anglican clergymen turns its back to the King. He begs "Your Offerings in the honour of God! Open your purse and give liberally. Be bountiful like your great Master. Feed the hungry and cloth the naked". A clergyman protests that he cannot afford helping as his curate costs an "exorbitant thirty pounds". Many years later, Bouillé contrasted the impoliteness of the English nobility and gentry with the generosity of the London shopkeepers.[73] Members of the middleclass and artisans have, in fact, been a reliable and consistent source for fundraisers. A list of subscribers in the *World* included a "poor person", "two work people", "a workman", "a protestant servant".[74] The East India Company raised £105 amongst its employees.[75] The generosity of shopkeepers is confirmed by the analysis of middlemen lending their addresses to emigrants who advertised their services in newspapers. These small businessmen proved vital in the economic integration of the emigrant population.[76] 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. All 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 might have "supplied information on job vacancies" and "extended credit" for small purchases or unpaid rent.[77] Donations poured in from all parts of the country. A few local journalistic accounts show that inhabitants of Portsmouth, Liverpool and Hull contributed to the relief and offered their services to the emigrant population. Villagers from the southern ports and industrial midlands held fundraisers for the emigrants: 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".[78] 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 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".[79] The reliefs also received the proceedings from the sales of books and sermons on various topics, from the death of Louis XVI to that of Inns and Alehouses.[80] At last, the advertising relief committees highlighted in several occasions how grateful the emigrants were. Indeed, amongst the subscribers were also 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.[81]

The Relief Committee's propaganda was reinforced by a self-congratulatory discourse, sprinkled with a dash of hyperboles and superlatives. Britain was publicly hailed as "a seat of benevolence", a "happy isle, blessed with peace and benevolence".[82] The charitable response to emigration was deemed without historical and moral precedents. A correspondent of Lord Sheffield, John Trevor, estimated that "the English have done themselves immortal Honour by this truly generous and compassionate conduct".[83] French receptors of the reliefs flattered this belief. The Comte de Botherel, second to St-Pol de Léon in Jersey, published in the *World* an open letter in English.[84] He declared 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 posterity". Charity was turned 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"; charity was yet an "additional proof

of the unbounded generosity and true Christian Charity of the British nation".[85] London newspapers published several poems and odes to the British benevolent character echoing the words of famous pamphleteers Hannah More and Fanny Burney.[86] In February 1794, the anonymous *Ode to a pretty French Emigrant* narrated the story of a young French girl imprisoned by an evil Jacobin.[87] She escaped her gaoler to find love and freedom in the arms of a British lover, a not so subtle metaphor for bountiful Britain. Other poems transformed the emigrants into young orphans adopted by a generous British mother.[88] This munificent mother was of course Britannia, the figure of British Liberty. The collective charitable effort was presented as a means towards national cohesion; benevolence was the social bond uniting Britons. In this righteous imaginary, those who rejected the emigrant reliefs were publicly shamed. They were cast out of the British, Christian and sometimes human community. Hence, when in 1796, the Foxite Duke of Bedford refused to contribute to yet another fundraiser for the emigrant clergy, patriotic newspaper *The True Briton* launched a ferocious attack on "a man whose diffuse humanity is so much interested for the happiness of all mankind that he cannot feel the least concerned for the miseries of any individual".[89]

The Foxite group and those sharing the values of the Revolution were not the only ones feeling concerned. The most significant argument by opponents of the relief related to the development of pauperism amongst British nationals. War with France had already impoverished Britain.[90] "Who was the enemy against whom Britain was at war? Was it the French Convention or the French Nation?" asked Michael Wagner in a paper on British elites and the preparation for war.[91] Some questioned the ethics of helping a national enemy; others wondered whether the reliefs were not a costly incentive for more emigrants to travel to Britain and in contradiction with the *Aliens Act*. A 1794 caricature in two compartments from Isaac Cruikshank, *A General Fast in Consequence of the War*, represented two dining families.[92] In Lambeth, a fat parson, the archbishop himself, and two portly ladies sit around a table abundantly dressed. A footman enters, carrying poultry. The words "Abstain from Worldly Lusts not given to Feasting & Gluttony", are framed on the wall and surmounted by the etching "Is this a fast that I have Chosen". The second compartment represents Spitalfields—dressed in rags, a mother and father struggle to feed their two infants. Seen in the background, a manufacturer has closed. The father might be a British weaver forced out of employment because of the war. He has pinned two posters on his

wall. On the first, the three columns of a *List of subscribers for Emigrant Clergy* are full and the funds raised totalled at [£]10 000. Only one name is entered in the poster titled *Subscriptions for families in distress in consequence of the war*. A few days before the print was published, "N.R" noted in the *Saint Jame's Chronicle* that "the funds arising from the ordinary parochial taxes no longer supports" the native poor.[93] He was adamant that "charity [ought] to begin at home". A month before, a representative of the Wilmot Committee expressed in the papers his chagrin at the "harsh refusal" he was met with. 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".[94] These arguments reappeared following the 1795–1796 crisis of subsistence. The *Gallante Show*, a 1797 pamphlet, 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,
> 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![95]

Despite the spelling and grammar of this text mimicking popular dialects, nothing in this source or others indicates that the rejection of the emigrant reliefs altogether came from popular classes. Like the proponents of relieving the emigrants, opponents to the charitable effort abused uncontextualised patriotic arguments. Early arguments took after eighteenth century imaginations of what being French meant. The expression "to take a French leave", coined during the Seven Years war, illustrates this.[96] This anecdote was published in the *Public Advertiser*: a British man comes to a French emigrant doctor who demands an advance on his payment, but does not examine his patient.[97] 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". A poem written by O. preceded this anecdote:

> 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.

British responses to the relief highlight the existence of two equally loyalist conceptions of Britain. Proponents of the reliefs aimed to exert a sense of community, an "autolegic energy" through benevolence.[98] This could be considered as an "anglican loyalism" as it was led and formulated by the Church. As expressed by Burke in his *Reflections*, it involved the conviction that all earthly politics and decisions were ordained by God. Its vocabulary was borrowed from cosmopolitanism, hence apparently disrupting the patriotic character of loyalism. But this cosmopolite philanthropy was implicitely 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, not for what they were, but for what they represented: the refugee, the victim of a regime described and commonly thought of as oppressive. The second (and in appearance more popular) loyalist conception of the nation was based on nativism. The rejection of emigrants found its roots in an inherited patriotic discourse renewed by the war. It aimed to manage and flatter popular expectations of governmental and elites' duties towards their fellow Britons. These conflicting loyalisms had two consequences on the emigrant population: it felt marginalised and it was able to develop a sense of victimhood. Elevated to the rank of refugee-victim by one group and further castigated by the other, émigré ideologues were able to add a new dimension to their counter-revolutionary martyrology.

Lobbying for Ancien Régime Distinctions

The yearly State budget allocated to the French population was preserved until 1814 despite growing opposition to the reliefs, the multiple economic crises and the short-lived peace treaties between Britain and France. Immigration historian Gérard Noiriel considers that

nineteenth-century charity and the distribution of relief participated in a form of "elementary domination".[99] Successive British governments believed that the financial control of emigrants was beneficial to national security. If the French Princes were to return victorious to France, they would perhaps feel indebted to Britain. Importantly, the incorporation of the reliefs into the *Alien Office* permitted a double system of surveillance on the French, with the interpenetration of public politics of benevolence and the creation of new police surveillance techniques.[100] The Relief Committees decided who was fit to receive financial help; the overseers of the poor counted emigrant individuals and the *Alien Office* ultimately spied on them on a daily basis. Relieving and consequently indebting the emigrants, Britain attempted to control their behaviour, influence their political decisions and force them into adopting conformist attitudes. However, the French aristocratic and émigré lobby also had fundamental political and societal interests in the reliefs. An association of French legitimist noble and religious leaders acted under the name of the French Committee. It aimed to maintain its hegemony over the French exiled population through St-Pol de Léon and other middlemen of a lesser stature. It is towards French lobbying techniques that the final part of this chapter turns, exemplified first with their incredibly exclusive strategies in the creation of an émigré school and then through the role they played in re-establishing *ancien régime* distinctions in the distribution of emigrant State allowances.

The correspondence between Burke and St-Pol de Léon on the subject of the *Penn School* best illustrates the backlash between British funding bodies, trustees of charities and French recipients of public benevolence.[101] In April 1796, Edmund Burke opened a school for the sons of emigrant officers employed by the British army. He financed the project and lent a private property in Beaconsfield to house the school. Burke hoped to be reimbursed by the Treasury once the project was taken over by the British government.[102] The school had four trustees, eminent politicians and board members of the Wilmot Committee: Buckingham, Portland, Grenville and Burke himself. Burke aimed to collaborate with the French Committee. As the principal trustee of this venture, he was responsible to the British State and public, as well as the emigrants whose interests he served.[103] By the opening day, the relations between Burke and the French Committee were tense. Burke's correspondence highlights a series of disputes and diplomatic incidents over

the administration of the school. Should clerical decisions be taken by those who were funding the School or by French émigrés? On 2 May 1796, Edmund Burke wrote to the future head of the school, the Abbé Maraine.[104] The letter was a response to Maraine's use of the word "contract" to qualify the appointment of masters and the selection of pupils. Burke refuted the legitimity and legality of a term he considered "highly fraudulent" in education matters. Maraine's letter, Burke said, was questioning the "ownership" of the School. The French Committee trampled on basic rules of hospitality: school matters were the responsibility of the British government which was financing it. This original misunderstanding quickly grew into a larger conflict. A few days later, Burke was expecting the first pupils to reach Penn. They did not show up. Burke accused St-Pol de Léon of holding the children up in retaliation for his letter to Maraine.[105] To his friend Walker King, he described a picaresque scene: 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 his home.[106] They wanted to remind him that *Penn* was an émigré school. This image is a strong symbol of the military emigrants' ambivalent allegiance to the French monarchy and the British crown. Burke threatened to resign from his position as a trustee.[107] On 22 May, he learnt that the French Committee had accepted applicants without consulting him or any other trustees.[108] Left with the task to refuse unsuccesful applications, he was further infuriated to learn that St-Pol de Léon had informed the unlucky applicants that the French Committee was not in charge of nominations. In a long rant to Buckingham, Burke declared: "the bishop de Léon tells the applicants that the selection is to be made by certain Lord commissionners", yet St-Pol de Léon never mentioned their existence.[109] Burke accepted the list chosen by the French Committee in an effort to cut the argument short. The early days of *Penn School* demonstrate how the elites of emigration used British private and public resources regardless of the benefactors' intentions.

The role played by the French Committee and the Princes in exile in the distribution of the relief is also telling of how French aristocratic interests defined the British government's charitable policies. The Duchesse de Piennes felt entitled to a larger pension because there were precedents. Exceptions to the egalitarian rule defined by the St-Pol de Léon in the early 1790s were plenty by the 1800s. For

instance, emigrants exiled on the continent could claim "to be placed on the Emigrant lists" from which they had previously been "precluded".[110] The French Committee lobbied Grenville into paying the pensions of French grand vicars on the Continent. Unlike the counter-revolutionary militants in Toulon who had been granted a small allowance in 1794, relieved clergymen would not have to move to Britain. The French Committee argued that the Gallican clergy was an undivisable entity. Those in charge of relieving the French clergy in Britain had duties towards the group, notwithstanding the location of the individuals. In 1806, St Pol de Léon sent a memorandum to Wickham.[111] He insisted that the bishops of Boulogne and Nancy were due a pension from the British State, but could not travel from the Continent because of their age and poor health. By October 1806, both were allowed a first £10 with an additional £10 each.[112] A second exception to the 1790s equal distribution of reliefs had critical consequences on how the emigrant group represented itself. Why would Monsieur de Barentin be entitled to a relief of £100 when Melle Mélanie Parant, though on the same list, only received £4 in September and October 1806?[113] Gender certainly played a role, but is an inadequate explanation for the extreme gap between the two allowances. Regular petitions to the British State demanding exceptional rises in individual allowances metamorphosed the relief into a counter-revolutionary tool allowing the reproduction of French *ancien regime* social distinctions in a foreign context. Despite being granted by the British government, additional payments did not follow an administrative logic. They followed French aristocratic rules. Hence, a Comte or Marquis having served in the British army could receive a treatment between £5 and £17 a month, while a Baron or a Chevalier were only entitled to sums between £3 and £10.[114] A magistrate would receive (without additional treatments) between £7 and £13 per month depending on his importance in pre-revolutionary France.[115] Bouillé retrospectively considered that the politics of distinction imposed by the French Committee were one of the many causes for the failures of the leaders of emigration: "*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]".[116] The British relief reinforced the identity politics of émigré leaders by allowing the financial

marginalisation of non-titled and non-legitimist migrants. Furthermore, French advocates of an aristocratic system were incapable of accepting a gift with the conditions that their relationship with the benefactor would be asymetrical. In 1806, Louis XVIII wrote a will.[117] In it, he asked that his closest collaborators continue to receive a regular allowance from the British government after his death. Yet, as a King exiled in a foreign country, he was faced with a dilemma. If the British government was to pay a pension to French subjects without the French King serving as an intermediary, his "serviteurs" would be formally indebted to a foreign nation. However, refusing the British interference (and financial help) would condemn his collaborators to poverty in exile. He came up with a solution. The last list he would send to Grenville would determine how allowances should be distributed after his death. "*Cela ne génera personne […] et Charbonnier sera maitre chez soi* [no one would be bothered […] and a man's home will remain his castle]".

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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.[118] 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 means to consolidate the English constitution (read aristocratic constitution). In the long term and after the primary emergency, challenging the French social distinctions could indirectly have called into question the very idea of the historical inegality between classes in Great Britain. As a consequence, the relief, as practiced by the British government, allowed for the preservation and identification of an émigré circle distinguished from the rest of the emigrant population in Great Britain. By allowing for social distinctions, the British government transformed the counter-revolutionary exile of the French *ancien régime* elite into a durable solution. Moneyed 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 highlight 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.

Notes

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5. Clancy.
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10. Duc de Lévis, in ed. Jacques Gury, *Le Voyage Outre-Manche: Anthologie des Voyageurs français de Voltaire à Mac Orlan du XVIIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1999), p. 773. See also in the same volume, Bombelles, p. 769 and 774.
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13. HRO, Winchester, *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/2/42, Cézar de la Figanière to Duke of Portland (23 September 1794).
14. Pierre-André Bois, 'Synthèse des travaux de l'atelier', in *Révolutionnaires et Émigrés – Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland, 1789–1806*, eds. Daniel Schonpflug and Jurgen Voss (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), p. 247.
15. Harriette Wilson, *Memoirs of herself and others* (London: T.Douglas, 1825), p. 22.
16. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 2007), Livres IX à XII, pp. 111–114.

17. D'Haussonville, quoted in Gislain de Diesbach, *Histoire de l'Émigration, 1789–1814* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1984), p. 288.
18. Kirsty Carpenter, 'London: Capital of the Emigration', in eds. Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel, *The French Émigrés in Europe and the Struggle against the Revolution, 1789–1814* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 43–67 (p. 60).
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20. Donna Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 6.
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27. HRO, Winchester, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (20 May 1793).
28. Dominic A. Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: An Historical Introduction and Working List* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986), p. 47.
29. *Public Advertiser* (PA), 19 September 1792.
30. Oracle, 10 December 1792.
31. *PA*, 9 January 1793, quoted in Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 37.
32. Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Mémoires d'un sexagénaire* (Paris: Duffey, 1833) pp. 384–385. His banker was probably Paul James Lecointe from Devonshire Square. See also NA, Kew, C13/10/20.

33. Penelope Corfield and Chris Evans (eds.), *Youth and Revolution in the 1790s: Letters of William Pattinson, Thomas Amyot and Henry Crabb*, (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), pp. 53–54, Elisabeth Pattinson to William Pattison (12 February 1794).
34. HRO, Winchster, *French Émigrés letters*, 109A02/2/27, Marquis de Breuilpont to a Duke (c.1793).
35. HRO, Winchester, *Carnavon of Highclere Papers*, 75M91/A6, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (10 and 17 March 1793).
36. BL, London, *General Reference Collection*, 4532.h.3.(1.), 'The Committee are extremely concerned…'.
37. Ibid.
38. LMA, London, *Foundling Hospital*, A/FH/A/09/024/002/1, Depositions in French and translation, admission of child to Foundling Hospital (31 August 1796).
39. BL, London, 'The Committee…'.
40. HRO, Winchester, *Wickham family*, 38M49/1 and *French Émigrés letters,* 109A02/1-2; Sheffield.
41. *World*, 11 September 1792.
42. M.H. Port, 'Thomas, Sir George, 3rd Bt. Of Dale Park, nr. Arundel, Sussex', in *History of Parliament*. www.historyofparliamentonline.org.
43. *Morning Chronicle* (MC), 12 September 1792.
44. Edmund Burke *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, eds. Thomas Copeland et al., 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958–1978), VII, p. 213: Burke to Walker King (16 September 1792).
45. Kevin Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution: Literary Conservatism in Britain, 1790–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 19; Clive Emsley, *British society and the French Wars, 1793–1815* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 16.
46. Sources indicate that in 1810, freemasons were asked by the London mother lodge to refuse all invitations from the *émigré* communities.
47. BL, London, 'The Committee…'.
48. MLF, London, *Records related to the Building of the Freemasons' Hall and Tavern*, FMS MINS/1/4, Hall Committee Minute Book.
49. MLF, London, *Historical Correspondence*, Box 5 HC 5/D/1, Johan Arram to EH (24 June 1813) and EH to John Arram (28 June 1813).
50. *Evening Mail* (EM), 19–21 September 1792.
51. Bellenger, 'Fearless resting place', p. 217.
52. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 36; Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p. 16. Fox had already opposed the *Aliens Act* which he considered a threat to British liberties.
53. Margery Weiner, *The French Exiles, 1789–1815* (London: J. Murray, 1960), p. 64.

54. *MC*, 26 September 1792.
55. *MC*, 27 September 1792; *Saint James's Chronicle or British Evening Post* (SJC or BEP), 27 September 1792.
56. *PA*, 29 September 1792.
57. Chris Evans, *Debating the Revolution: Britain in the 1790s* (London: Tauris, 2006), p. 96.
58. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 46.
59. 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.
60. *MC*, 27 September 1792; *SJC or BEP*, 27 September 1792.
61. Ibid.
62. *PA*, 26 September 1792.
63. Sophie Wahnich, *L'Impossible Citoyen: L'Étranger dans le Discours de la Révolution Française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), p. 39.
64. NA, Kew, PRO T93 5, p. 89, quoted in Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p. 19.
65. Thomas James Matthias, *A Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham chiefly on the subject of the numerous emigrant French priests and others of the Chruch of Rome, resident and maintained in England at the public expense, by a layman* (London, 1796), p. 8.
66. *Oracle and Public Advertiser* (O&PA), 4 March 1794.
67. *O&PA*, 25 March 1794.
68. *SJC or BEP*, 1–4 December 1798 and *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 2 December 1798.
69. NA, PRO T93 8.
70. *EM*, 21 December 1792; *DWR*, 21 January 1793.
71. *London Evening Post*, 9 November 1792; *EM*, 21 December 1792; *DWR*, 21 January 1793.
72. Richard Newton, *Sturdy beggars collecting for the émigrant French clergy* (London: William Holland, 30 September 1792), British Museum.
73. *Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma Vie et de mon Temps par le Bouillé*, ed. P.L. de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906), II, p. 104.
74. *World*, 28 September 1792; *SJC or BEP*, 28 September 1792.
75. *DWR*, 10 August 1793; *World*, 31 October 1793.
76. Appendix, 'Middlemen between emigrants and employers in a sample of classified adverts published in London between 1789 and 1800'.
77. Joyce Ellis, *The Georgian Town 1680–1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 113.
78. WSRO, Chichester, *Parish Registers*, Par/28/1/1/3, Register of Baptisms and Burials for the parish of Bramber.

79. BAA, Birmingham, *Report on the Archive of the Archbishop of Birmingham,* A323, Letter from Robert Berkeley to [Rev. Joseph Berrington] (24 April 1793).
80. *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'.
81. *World*, 28 September 1792; *MC*, 1 October 1792, *DWR*, 21 January 1793.
82. *PA*, 19 and 24 September 1792.
83. ESRO, Lewes, *Correspondence from the archives of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield*, AMS5440/202, [John Trevor] to Lord Sheffield (15 December 1792).
84. *World*, 12 July 1793. There were also a few monuments built in London and in Winchester, and several pamphlets, books and prints printed.
85. *PA*, 24 September 1792; *Sun*, 3 May 1793.
86. 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, 1793).
87. *SJC or BEP*, 6 February 1794.
88. *EM*, 2–4 January 1798 (Poem—the Emigrant, Maria Wilde).
89. *True Briton*, 2 January 1796.
90. *EM*, 21 December 1792.
91. Michael Wagner, 'Lutter contre la Révolution, Impérialisme et balance des pouvoirs: les elites britanniques et la guerre contre la France révolutionnaire', in ed. Jean-Clément Martin, *La Contre-Révolution en Europe: XVIIIe-XIXe siècle: Réalités Politiques et Sociales, Résonances Culturelles et Idéologiques* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001), pp. 175–182 (p. 175).
92. Isaac Cruickshank, *A General Fast in Consequence of the War* (London, 14 January 1794), British Museum.
93. *SJC or BEP*, 2 January 1794.
94. *MP*, 2 December 1796.
95. *La Curiosité or the Gallante Show* (London, 1797), pp. 36–40.
96. Edmund 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).
97. *PA*, 15 December 1792.
98. Gilmartin, *Writing against Revolution*, p. 20.
99. Noiriel, p. 45.

100. Gérard Noiriel, *Réfugiés et Sans-Papiers: la République face au droit d'asile, XIXe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 2006), p. 50.
101. For a discussion on education at Penn School, see Chap. 9.
102. Copeland et al. (ed.), IX, pp. 20–21.
103. Ibid., pp. 4.
104. Ibid., pp. 3–6.
105. Ibid., pp. 9–11.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., pp. 13–14.
108. Ibid., pp. 14–16.
109. Ibid., p. 18.
110. HRO, Winchester, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/16, Note on the Bishop of Boulogne case (13 March 1806).
111. 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.
112. Ibid., 38M49/8/125/26, Indications génerale et recapitulation approximative du montant additionel des demandes faites au nom de monsieur le Comte de Lisle.
113. 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.
114. 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 generaux (September 1806; October 1806).
115. Ibid., 38M49/8/125/59-60, État de distribution de traitement des magistrats (September 1806; October 1806).
116. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, II, p. 342.
117. HRO, Winchester, *Wickham family*, 38M49/8/125/12, Copy of a note from Louis XVIII to Lord Grenville.
118. Alan Forrest, *The French Revolution and the Poor* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. ix.

CHAPTER 5

Marketing the Trauma of Displacement in Classified Adverts

Sébastien Érard reached London by the end of the year 1792. The protégé of the Duchesse de Villeroy in Paris, this young harp and pianoforte manufacturer worked under the patronage of Louis XVI. In 1788, he created *Érard Frères* with his brother Jean-Baptiste, who preserved the French company throughout the 1790s. In the British capital city, he built a successful and celebrated establishment. Two years after the debut of his British career, Sébastien had an address on 18 Great Marlborough Street. The London accounts for his harp manufacturer reveal the extent of his Franco-British clientele, from his arrival in London to the mid-nineteenth century.[1] Until 1815, the names of young and unidentifiable English misses appeared together with those of British aristocrats in his accounts: the harp n°115 was bought by the Duchess of Devonshire, n°148 by Lady Newborough, n°150 by Lady Warwick and n°307 by the Duchess of Leeds.[2] His French clients were indistinctly immigrants and emigrants, professional and amateur musicians, such as the Vicomte de Marin or the Chevalier de St-Georges, who had both arrived in London around 1792.[3] The renowned Madame Krumpholz figured as his favourite ambassador. She introduced "into all the most fashionable circles […] his new patent pedal harp".[4] She furthermore possessed several harps from his London manufacturer.[5] The demand for Érard's harps was such that they were often sought after for second-hand use in advertisements for "handsome prices".[6] Sébastien probably returned to France for a short while in 1796 where the house *Érard Frères* registered three

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_5

patents. He finally repatriated to his homeland in 1814 to look after a bankrupt French business, while his nephew became the British head of the family's harp empire. Érard's success rested upon a strict control of his inventions. By 17 October 1794, he had registered his first British patent for *Improvements in Pianofortes and Harps* (n°2016).[7] 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.[8] In 1798 and 1799, having learned about the existence of counterfeits infringing on his first patent, Érard promised 100 guineas to "whoever would bring information about the culprit", and upon the conviction of the criminal(s).[9] Neither French nor British by 1815, Érard's transnational success had survived the Revolution and the Empire. By comparison, *Cousineau and son*, his rivals and protégés of Marie-Antoinette, never encountered the same success in London despite their products being regularly imported in 1780s Britain by the music shop *Longman and Broderip*. Cousineau advertised his presence in London at least twice in April 1792 and in January 1793.[10] Unlike Érard, he simply proposed to "repair and make complete any harps of his manufactory". Érard's entrepreneurial mind hardly seems to exemplify the general emigrant relationship towards work and industrial creation throughout exile and beyond. Memoir writers who acknowledged working in emigration went back to an idle life upon their return; distinguished inventors such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the son of a French emigrant engineer, had little impact in post-revolutionary France's industrialisation.[11]

Érard's successful enterprise sets the example of the relocation of the Parisian luxury market to London in the early 1790s. The harp manufacturer could be classed as a political exile, endangered by his association with the aristocracy, and an economic migrant as he was forced by financial necessity to follow his patrons into exile and recreate a customer base abroad. This harp business would probably not have thrived in any other European host country. The expectations of the eighteenth century British market had been completely transformed by a unique consumer revolution and the aristocratic consumption of French goods was emulated in lower circles.[12] In a society where French products were often accepted as luxurious but necessary, researching the relation between the emigrant-seller and his clients—British and emigrant—provides a window into the expectations of both groups. A handful of letters between French emigrants and members of the British social establishment highlight the importance of

a pre-revolutionary aristocratic network when looking for a position. 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, a French priest and son to one of his stewards.[13] Henry Pelham wrote to Lord Sheffield to find employment in the army for the Vicomte de Blangy and a civilian appointment for his servant Louis Ambroise Joron.[14] The emigrant relation to work and to their clientele is better illustrated by the hundreds of classified adverts that appeared in the 1790s in the commercial columns of London newspapers. Advertising was rarely used in France where the availibility of products had been publicised through specialised fashion and trade journals.[15] 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. Moreover, these 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".[16] Classified adverts by emigrants both strategise and legitimise the trauma of emigration. Collectively, adverts first narrate the experienced loss of the *ancien régime* civilisation in France and the relocation of its remains to London. They describe the disappearance of the French nobility as a dominant cast, to better unfold the trauma related to refuge and loneliness in a welcoming yet alien country. This chapter explores how traumas related to the experience of the French Revolution and displacement became selling arguments. To what extent was the exiles' narration of victimhood in adverts intertwined with British counter-revolutionary expectations? How did the British 1790s debate on aristocracy, and the French nobility, in particular, influence the pro-emigration beliefs of British readers of classified adverts?

The Relocation of the Parisian Luxury Market in London

Emigrant fictional publications and retrospective self-narratives abound in stories of fashionable noble emigrants forced to work.[17] The majority of advertisers identified themselves as gentle or noble individuals and

went without professional qualifications. 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 offered their services out of necessity to feed their wives and children.[18] 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.[19] Coming from a society "underpinned with deep and persistent anti-commercial prejudices", noble emigrants could have felt threatened with *dérogeance,* the loss of nobility.[20] They had been taught that certain activities, such as shop keeping or manual professions, were demeaning. Until 1796, adverts placed by and for "emigrant[s] of fashion" regarding the auctioning of French libraries, French wines and art collections at Sotheby's or Christie's were not a rare sight.[21] Nobles wary of decorum but lacking earthly possessions turned private hobbies and their education into professional skills. Noblemen taught French and other disciplines to the children of the British nobility and high bourgeoisie; some worked as translators like Chateaubriand.[22] 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 before the Revolution; a non-resident male tutor would earn £84 a year, by teaching one hour a day.[23] Some advertised themselves as musicians.[24] A few, like the Marquis de Lubersac, painted miniatures of French royalties as well as portraits commissioned by British 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"?[25] Many defied the threat of *dérogeance* and embraced careers as craftsmen: the grandson of Feuquières worked as a shoemaker; Madame de Guéry and Monsieur de Raymond prepared ice creams.[26] Many noblemen and women had experience in trade—some retailed wine and spirits like two French gentlemen "selling Claret, Chateau Margot, Champagne" in 1792.[27] Arriving in England in 1790, Henri de Bourbel entered into a jewellery and coal trading partnership with emigrant Bernard de Senecé.[28] However, the company went bankrupt as Senecé returned to France before 1802. The only employment 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, 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".[29]

A quarter of the advertisers in the sample of classifieds studied were skilled artisans, artists or domestics. They had been working closely with the Parisian nobility and the court of Versailles. Despite having left France at the time of the Revolution, these advertisers might not have considered themselves as political migrants, but rather 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 after a short stay abroad, she argued in front of the *Directoire* that she had left France for commercial purposes.[30] Moreover, she relentlessly tried to have her name removed from the French émigré lists drawn by the Republic. Her argument invoked historical cross-Channel dealings: between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, a large number of continental artists and skilled craftsmen had been invited to immigrate to England and "fertilis[e] the whole field of consumption with fresh ideas".[31] Memoir writers and historians alike have long excluded these populations from the émigré community. The 1793 *Aliens Act* granted several privileges to foreign merchants and importers, even if they had reached the British territory after the 1st of January. The 1798 re-enactment of the text, the definition of emigration by the British Relief Committee and the aristocracy of emigration further narrowed the British perception of emigration to the French nobility and clergy. In 1799, only 9% of the recipients of emigrant relief were artisans.[32] But the percentage of French third estate migrants in Britain could have been much higher during the heyday of emigration between 1792–1795. In fact, the study of promotional culture and representational strategies provides a fantastic opportunity to reintegrate this marginalised population, not in the politicised émigré group, but amongst the population that left France in response to the Revolution. Amongst those who publicised their arrival in London after the outbreak of the Revolution were several *marchandes de mode*, milliners, embroiderers, clothes and corset makers, perfumers as well as one or two retailers in the luxury trade. All had occupied key positions in the divided world of textile and fashion.[33] The French fashion industry had been threatened by the Terror, the depreciation of the *assignat* and the institution of maximum prices.[34] Another difficulty in classifying this population

under the emigrant category resides in the fact that until the declaration of war between France and Britain, many artisans travelled in and out of England, and still imported several products from Paris. Yet, by the end of 1792, several had fixed addresses in London. The advertisers themselves often blurred the lines between economic migration and emigration. For instance, two adverts published in November 1794 and January 1795 publicise a series of twelve concerts to raise a subscription in favour of the French emigrants.[35] In charitable concerts, theatrical performance and ballets, the performing artists were indifferently pre-1789 and European migrants and political emigrants.

The classification of domestic servants under the emigrant category is likewise problematic. Like other French migrants having reached Britain in the wake of the French Revolution, valets, coach drivers, maids and cooks were advertising their services in British newspapers. Some had followed their employers in emigration and were now looking for solvent British employers. Others were emancipating themselves, opening their own restaurants and taverns in London. Chateaubriand praised these faithful domestics who fed the emigrant community in London visiting their establishments.[36] However, ancillary fidelity beyond exile was probably a fictional matter.[37] As members of the lower social *ancien regime* classes, domestics were often distrusted. Criminal cases of French noblemen robbed out of their possessions by their valets were sensationalised in London newspapers. The proceedings of the Old Bailey's give factual accounts of French ancillary crimes in London. In September 1793, a French secretary named Michael Anceaume was tried for the theft of gold ornaments belonging to his employer the Vicomte de Vaux.[38] The secretary revealed during his trial that he had, in fact, received the jewellery from the Vicomte's daughter, as a token of her love. He was acquitted. In 1798, John Passard, "an emigrant" was arrested after he robbed his employer, the Comte de Jarnac.[39] 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 the case of robberies. Noble emigrants abused the *Aliens Act* to avoid paying their servants wages. In a letter to Mr Atkinson in Whitehall, the Comte de la Prade accused his valet, Joseph Sonnerat, of being a Jacobin.[40] La Prade had been arrested several times after he refused to pay his valet's wages. Despite being often associated with the sans-culotte movement in counter-revolutionary discourse, domestic servants had rarely been involved with revolutionary matters, according to George Rudé.[41] In

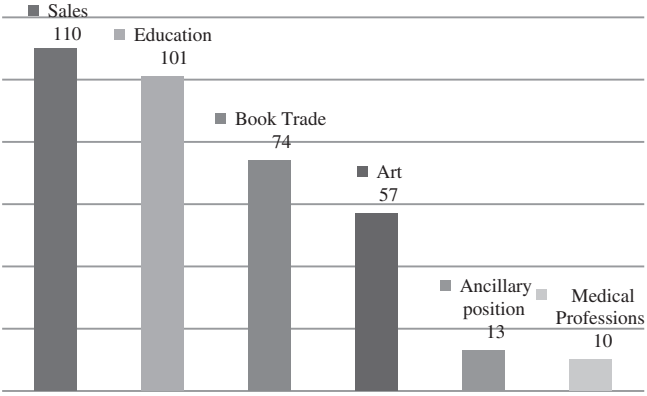

Fig. 5.1 Professional distribution of the emigrant advertisers according to trade advertised in a sample of 365 classifieds printed in English newspapers between 1789 and 1800

fact, Cissie Fairchilds made a strong case concerning the anti-revolutionary positions adopted by domestic servants, as the new French legislations were ambivalent towards them and emigration shrunk the ancillary job market.[42]

All in all, the services and goods advertised by individuals identifying themselves as French emigrants or associating with the *ancien regime* in London newspapers were very similar to the ones recollected in self-narratives (Fig. 5.1). They were neither original nor innovative compared to the services proposed in other host countries.[43] Neither are they really different from the ones proposed by French immigrants in pre-revolutionary London. However, the emigrant professions advertised might differ from those of the Huguenot community, who targeted both a luxurious and cheap market, and produced both in quantity as well as in quality.[44] The economic impact of the Huguenot refugee was fondly commemorated, and many hoped the new migrants would emulate their predecessors. For a while and in the early years of emigration, the French *main d'oeuvre* and know-how was thought of as a potential boost for the British economy. In September 1789, an anonymous contributor to the *Saint James's Chronicle* rejoiced at the prospect of propertied Frenchmen, manufacturers and businessmen immigrating to England, "where commerce and the arts are cultivated".[45] It was imagined that, once again, the reduction of imports

from France and the manufacturing secrets carried by fleeing migrants to England could "play a profound part in [reversing] the English-French balance of trade".[46] Possibly descending from Refuge families, silk weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green offered situations to French emigrants.[47] A manufacturer designated as Mr. Dyde begged "leave to observe that he has engaged and brought over several French embroiderers".[48] Critics of the government and the upper classes denounced the financial windfall of a cheap migrant labour force, undercutting the wages of local workers. Months before the war broke out, concerned British subjects turned to the press to condemn 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".[49] Those newly arrived were pressed by pecuniary necessity, and a recurring selling argument in emigrant adverts was that their "terms will be moderate, in consideration of the distressed situation of [their] native country".[50] In times of war against France and recession, some disputed the right for French and other foreign workers to work in Britain. Some suggested that French milliners should be repatriated, as they were stealing British jobs.[51] Businesses sought the services of French-speaking employees, specifically Protestant ones or natives from Switzerland, Germany or the Netherlands.[52] Schools reassured prospective parents on the subject of the religion of their French tutors.[53] The emigrant education would not contradict the Protestant faith of their pupils, a fear expressed by Hannah More and several British essayists throughout the 1790s. Some employers resigned themselves to employing French Catholics. A correspondent to the Knollis family struggled to "bring [himself] up to the resolution" of employing some emigrant priests in Winchester "comfortably accommodated in one house in this city, watching and praying for the hour to return home to their godly vacations".[54] Pressed by public opinion, the British Parliament discussed bills to prevent French workers from taking employment in Britain. The historian Clive Emsley quotes an article in the *Times* that 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".[55] He also cites a letter from Thomas Parker, stating that teachers should be required to subscribe to a declaration established by the law, and get a license for keeping a school.[56] In fact, a law had been voted in 1791 compelling "Papists and persons possessing the Popish religion" to sign an oath upon the inauguration of Catholic schools or chapels in England.[57] Between 1791 and 1811, in the county of Middlesex

alone, a minimum of fourteen priests, six schoolmasters and sixty-six other Catholic individuals took the oath.[58] The declaration by famous emigrant schoolmasters and clergymen Letellier, Rouelle and Carron are still kept in the London Metropolitan archives.

The morality and probity of emigrants were also questioned, especially in regards of financial dealings. A key part in the editorial manipulation of public opinion, minutes of trials reported in newspapers and a few open-letters reveal the existence of an emigrant underworld. The fabrication of fake *assignats* by emigrant priests encouraged by the Alien Office is a commonplace in the history of political emigration.[59] The emigrant population also circulated counterfeit English currencies. Joseph Gallet, described in the press as a French Emigrant, committed suicide in prison after he was arrested for forging £1 bank notes.[60] Bernard Huet was a veteran from Quiberon who benefited from governmental reliefs. In 1798, he 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".[61] Condemned to death, he was eventually pardoned as the Parliament discussed the re-enactment of the *Aliens Act*.[62] Contraband was another irk used to demonstrate how emigrants were a burden on local economies. For instance, the *True Briton* made an example of a French emigrant arrested for smuggling French gloves in England, "denying the thousands of individuals the reward of that industry produced by their own manufacture".[63] Female prostitution, or at least sexual promiscuity, was a favourite theme in the denunciation of the mores of the French population. The *Morning Post and Gazeteer* denied a Miss Courtois the right to pretend to the name of French emigrant; others known prostitutes were referred to as "daughters" of emigrants but not as emigrants themselves.[64] The morality of French women working in the fashion industry was questioned. In 1800, James Gillray published *The Man of Feeling, in search of Indispensibles*, subtitled *a scene at the little French milliners*, a suggestive play on the title of Henry Mackenzie's 1771 sentimentalist novel.[65] In French milliners' shop *Le Magasin de Lancastre*, a porcine looking Prince of Orange, in exile in London since 1795, forcefully grabs the ankle of two milliners in search of an indispensable, a novelty pocket. Ten young-looking milliners observe the scene, some visibly amused, as another woman enters the room. Her face is partly hidden with a large hat, but her undergarment and both her ankles are exposed to the viewers. These uninhibited women depicted by Gillray are

perhaps noble emigrants, as the manufacture of straw-hats was "a feature of the emigration and [was] probably the best-known product of *émigré* labours in London".[66] Despite vilifying campaigns against French emigrants supported by populist politicians and parts of the British press, advertisements written by individuals selling services and who identified themselves as French emigrants were only published once or twice in the span of a few weeks, yet sometimes simultaneously in several newspapers. This could indicate that the French emigrants advertising their services in London, Middlesex and Surrey, were employable.

Nobility, Anonymity and the Usurpation of Identity

Why then would a British employer privilege emigrant products or hire the services of a French emigrant? Part of the response lies in the advertisers' strategic use of status symbols and their capacity to manipulate consumer tastes.[67] Emigrant advertisers often presented themselves as the custodians of a vanishing French *art de vivre*, under threat of disappearing along with Versailles, the court society and the aristocratic system that had fascinated the British elites of the eighteenth century. Imports of French goods to Britain were limited by the increasingly tense relationship between Paris and London, war and, in 1806–1814, the continental blockade. In their advertisements, emigrants proposed an alternative choice. They proclaimed having brought the fashionable and aristocratic Paris to London. French emigrants catered to the urbane and polite lifestyle of the British elites and the population they emulated. Consumerism in England was "so rampant and the acceptance of commercial attitudes so pervasive" that the displaced population manipulated consumers into thinking they needed French emigrant *nouveautés* and products representative of the *ancien régime*.[68] Despite governmental attempts to regulate fashion and Frenchisms through sumptuary laws, French aristocratic fashions remained necessary to the accomplishment of a polite persona.

Such a selling argument functions if the reader of classified adverts associates the advertiser with the *ancien régime* civilisation, and his arrival to London with emigration. In the sample studied, the majority of emigrant advertisers posting between 1789 and 1800 referred to the date of their arrival in Britain. For instance, skilled emigrants privileged the catch-formula "recently arrived from Paris" or a derivative. In 1793, milliners Mrs Desbouillon and Mademoiselle Picot, from 22 Cavendish

square, were "lately arrived from Paris" while a rival, Mademoiselle Binet "from Paris", had "just arrived at n°34 Golden Square".[69] 'Messrs Roubaud and co., "MANUFACTURERS of the best perfumery, LATELY ARRIVED from PARIS" capitalised the information of their recent arrival.[70] One might be Raybaud, perfumer from the Rue Saint Honoré who catered to the aristocratic families Fleury and Kinsky until 1792.[71] This advert indicates he had become a grocer: in his shop, he was selling perfumes and ointments, as well as anchovies and macaroni. On their own, these chronological references did not function as references to aristocratic consumption practices. The mention of a recent arrival, frequent in all announcements by French individuals in the eighteenth century, was often associated with a noble French clientele. Classifieds paid for by Mme Desbouillons and Mademoiselle Binet are directly addressed to London's wealthy ladies, described as the counterpart to their Parisian clientele. Mondelet, a corset maker, published at least six advertisements between March 1791 and April 1792 in which he alluded to affluent Versailles customers.[72] The argument of royal patronage, by Louis XVI or Marie-Antoinette was only used thrice in this sample. By comparison, and throughout the period, references to the Princes in exile and other leaders of the Counter-Revolution are non-existent in these classifieds. In the *Morning Herald* dated 7 November 1789, "Mrs. Mayer, Mantuamaker to the Queen of France" publicised her services for the first time.[73] This advertisement appeared exactly a month after the King and Queen of France were forced to return to Paris from Versailles. Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette had already been executed when the two other adverts were circulated. In March 1794, a French physician promoted the "EAU de Cents Fleurs", a vegetable-based ointment that the late Queen of France allegedly used.[74] Before his departure from France, the unnamed advertiser had been "in the habit of friendship with Monsieur Bouvard, first physician to Marie-Antoinette". He had inherited the recipes upon Bouvard's death. The week following the fourth anniversary of Louis XVI's execution, a former courtier from Versailles boasted about the merits of an aphrodisiac. He had received the recipe from the physician of the late King of France.[75] In fact, emigrants had advertised several aphrodisiacs.[76] And this particular recipe, worth £5, would "restore diminished vigour after excessive pleasures". The royal card was likewise popular with British traders and influenced French emigrant consumption. 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.[77] By the end of October 1793, a British publisher commemorated the recently executed Queen of France by printing a portrait of the deceased French royal couple.[78]

The relationship between the advertiser and the French exiled nobility was also significant when selling services. Along with selling court attires, many advertisers sold a fashionable identity to the British nobility and the increasingly affluent middle classes. Advertisers regularly presented themselves as the displaced true elites of France. Classified adverts for private French tuition perfectly illustrate this phenomenon. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, knowledge of French was considered fundamental to the art of conversation and politeness. British sons would polish their education through on lengthy sojourn in France; French governesses would educate the daughters of respectable families. The radicalisation of the French Revolution, the declaration of war from February 1793 and the Republican defiance towards their British enemy held up the practice of the Grand Tour. In his October 1789 declaration of neutrality, the Duke of Leeds expressed his "concern about the safety of British tourists in France" and advised against young British aristocrats and gentlemen visiting enlightened Parisian *Salons* or more conservative and aristocratic social circles.[79] Though she probably arrived in Britain before the Revolution, a Madame de la Chesnaye saw a business opportunity as early as December 1789.[80] Promoting her newly opened French school in Chatham, she responded to a new demand "as the present trouble in France must deter parents from sending their children there for education". Michèle Cohen argues that "far from declining, the fashion for learning French actually increased after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars".[81] She explains this proliferation by the presence of the French nobility in England.[82] However, the study of classifieds clearly reveals that the market was flooded with teachers of all sorts and ranks. Myths constructed around emigration allowed many French emigrants of lesser nobility, as well as middle-class emigrants, to embody the values of *ancien régime* culture. 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 advertised was extensive, French figured in almost every advertisement for teaching [Table 5.1]. Two female advertisers prided themselves on their Parisian accents; a native of Paris boasted about his ability to speak French "with the utmost purity".[83] In 1796, "three emigrant ladies of good breeding", residing in the area

Table 5.1 Academic curriculum proposed by French emigrant advertisers in a sample of 101 advertisements printed in English newspapers between 1789 and 1800

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

of Richmond, offered to take in students.[84] Their future employer was told the women were "morally reliable" by birth, and that their offspring would not be taught by a person of lesser status.[85] In the *Times* dated 27 March 1794, an emigrant went as far as promising his patrons a "pronunciation quite free from all the defaults unavoidable for any person born or educated *en province*".[86] The academic status of the advertiser, his affiliation to a Parisian university and his departure from France in the wake of 1789, could sometimes be presented as the tokens of his expertise and morality. 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".[87] For those amongst the potential British employers who were not convinced yet, the acclaimed British Relief Committee gave its blessings to those teachers who would be recommended by the Abbé de Grand Clos, grand vicar to St-Pol de Léon.[88]

In most of these classifieds, the emigrant advertisers could not underline an academic affiliation or a Parisian identity. Why would a British person employ someone without these credentials? "A French refugee advertises blue veins and natural eyes-brows" wrote an anonymous advertiser, conceivably toying with the myths surrounding the French aristocracy in December 1791.[89] This cynically reminds one that advertisers simply had to display a noble identity to find a position. Many classifieds were published anonymously and 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 (Fig. 5.2). Those who did were mainly artists, musicians or artisans whose reputation was national or international. A fencing master named J. Goddard attracted an audience by publicly challenging the chevalier St-Georges to a duel in the *Morning Chronicle* dated 22 March 1793.[90] Erard or the dentist Dubois de Chemand used their names with a view of transparency. Having fled France around 1792, Nicolas Dubois de Chemant published several lengthy advertisements for his patented false teeth in the late 1790s and early 1800s.[91] Manufactured by Wedgwood, the teeth and dentist became the objects of derision in popular culture. Thomas Rowlandson portrayed Dubois de Chemant in *A French dentist shewing a specimen of his artificial Teeth and False Palate* in 1811.[92] The grinning inventor presents a potential client with his latest dentistry innovation, fitted in the mouth of a grotesque woman.

Two thirds of the emigrant advertisers chose to remain unidentified; 60% of male advertisers and 67% of women kept their identities secret. Half of these anonymous advertisements provided initial letters and an address. Hence, Madame M.C., a former employee from the manufacturers in Lyon, was selling tambour embroidery from her domicile in 211 Oxford Street.[93] 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 their own initial letters. The male preference for complete anonymity appears further 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 personal address; instead, they gave the name and address of a middleman. This middleman was always British; he was most probably a generous neighbour or a wealthy benefactor—he might even have been the descendant of a Huguenot. The address given sometimes corresponded to a pub or a coffeehouse; other times it was a local shop.

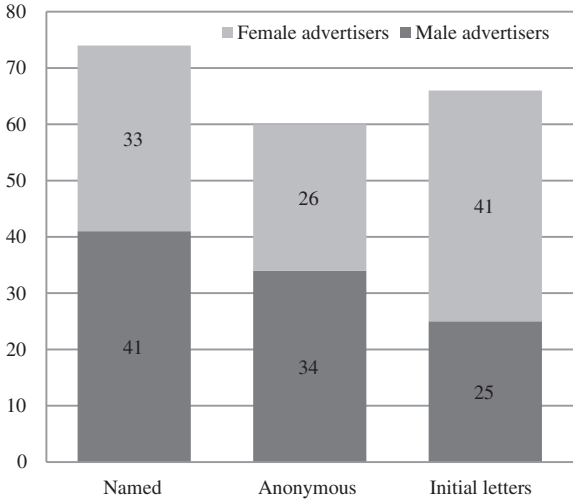

Fig. 5.2 Methods of identification used by male and female emigrant advertisers between July 1789 and December 1800

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.[94] 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 *dérogeance* 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. In fact, some memoir writers have insisted, on this account, on the strict separation between the workspace and the sales space. The French exiled nobility would not be caught performing shameful menial work.[95] Nevertheless, the latest research on the economic survival of noble emigrants in Europe demonstrates that the idea of employment was not necessarily thought of as degrading in these circumstances.[96] As noble military emigrant De Bourbel married into the English provincial gentry, he also adopted its indiscriminative and open-minded behaviour towards work.[97] 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.[98]

Anonymity protected; it also nourished false representations of emigration as a noble process. Thirty-seven percent of the advertisers presented themselves as noble; only 9% as clergymen and women. More than one third of the advertisers are difficult to place on the social ladder. If it is relatively easy to recognise the incorrect use of "Lady" by working class women, the terms gentleman and gentlewoman remain ambiguous especially when they were used without further qualification. Classified adverts were published in English for British employers and buyers; yet the advertiser was French. In English, the term gentleman had long described a member of the small nobility evenso it came to designate a larger part of the English population in the eighteenth century; 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 the word, 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. From what we know, the advertiser could as well be a British person, tugging the charitable heartstrings of his fellow countrymen. 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".[99] Emigrants Victoire de Combeste and Charles Gallimant also attempted to defraud the Duke of Northumberland pretending to be a poor French General of his acquaintance.[100] 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.[101] 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. There, he impersonated noble refugee du Maurier.[102] Anonymity in adverts as well as anonymity in a foreign land eased the usurpation of identity—a common practice in pre-1789 France.[103]

Victimisation as a Marketing Device

Emigrant advertisers used to their advantage the trauma of the symbolic disappearance of the French nobility as a dominant social class as early as August 1789. Early that month, the French National Assembly abolished Nobility and its privileges. The debate on dominant classes became central in British political discourses and public opinion. Loyalist elites in Great Britain were profoundly shocked by the revolutionary upheavals. More than 4000 pamphlets on the issues of reformation and revolution appeared in England between 1789 and 1802.[104] This debate culminated in 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.[105] Counter-revolutionary and loyalist politics played a secondary role in the emigrants' choice to privilege certain newspapers [Table 5.2]. They mostly advertised in 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.[106] Théodore de Lameth and several other moderates referred to 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. However, 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. This leads to questioning the extent to which the narration of traumas related to forced displacement and uprooting in the text of classifieds flatter the expectations of a self-styled charitable British establishment? Some emigrant advertisers linked their condition as foreigners to the revolutionary and belligerent events in France and continental Europe. Yet, the strategy of victimisation was the least used in classifieds. Before 1792 and after July 1794, the emigrant advertisers referred to "troubles" and "disturbances" in France.[107] The word Revolution appeared a few times, but never regularly.[108] These references bore little detail on the advertisers' journey or their political positions. However, the classified adverts

Table 5.2 Number of classified adverts by and for French emigrants published in English newspapers between 1789 and 1800

Title of the newspaper	*Number of classified adverts 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	>10 and <15
London Chronicle	
Morning Post and Daily Advertiser	
Morning Post and Fashionable World	
Oracle	
Public Advertiser	
Argus; Bath Journal	>1 and <10
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	

appearing between these two dates differ by their number, their size and the precision of the details given by the advertisers (Figs. 5.3, 5.4). 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.

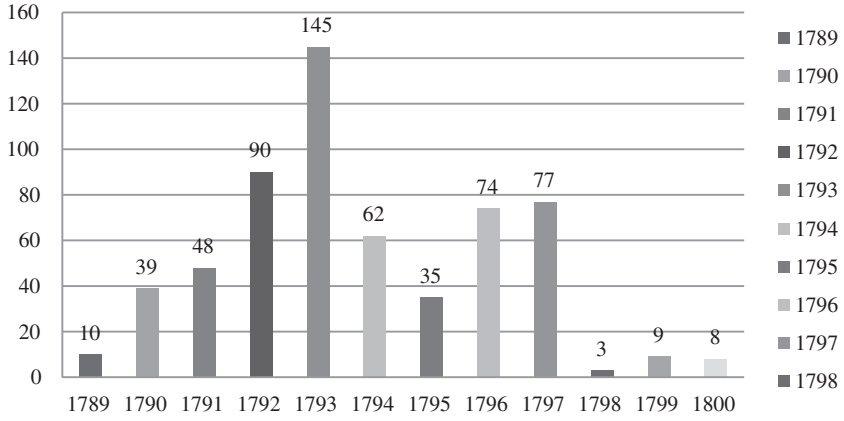

Fig. 5.3 Classified adverts published per year between 1789 and 1800

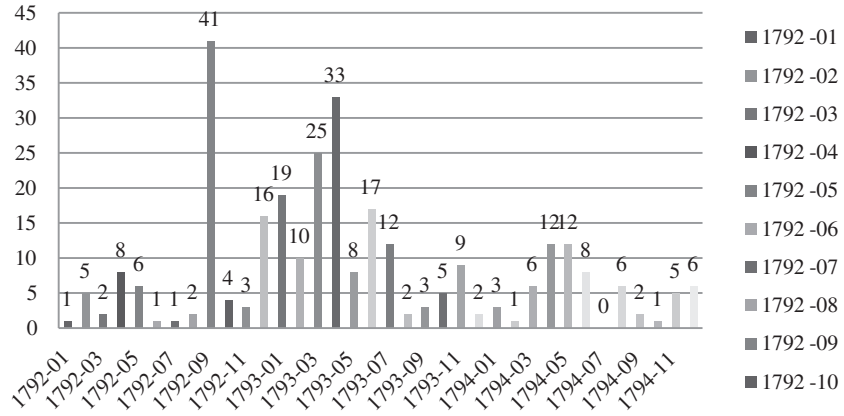

Fig. 5.4 Classified adverts published per month between January 1792 and December 1794

In the same period, numerous biographical details made their way into the texts of the adverts. New terms, directly borrowed from the vocabulary used by the Relief Committees, helped market emigration: "refuge", "exile", "poor" and "shelter" reinforced the emigrant selling arguments. A few advertisements described the psychological distress

of the emigrant. The charitable vocable "refugee" was brandished as a badge publicising the misfortunes of the advertiser. Yet, 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.[109] For any supplementary line, the advertiser had to spend an extra 6 pence. A comparison between the addresses given in classified adverts throughout the period and the ones of the Relief Committees revealed large sociological discrepancies between the emigrant advertisers and those receiving charities.[110] Only 3% of the advertisers gave addresses in the poorest areas of emigration as compared with 20% for the beneficiaries of 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.

The principal change following September 1792 in the classified texts came in the shape of specific references to contemporary politics. In March 1793, a French Gentleman wrote about the confiscation of his properties by the French Republic.[111] 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. According to Paul Langford, the "propertied mind" was a cultural habitus in eighteenth-century Britain: a man humiliated by the destitution from his properties was a man enslaved.[112] 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.[113] Often, the advertiser played on the duality between his established status before his departure from France and his misery in exile. It referred to the loss of identity, the terrible condition of the stranger in a foreign land, and the migrants' incapacity to express their 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".[114] A second advert from February 1793 was striking by its excessive pathos: a young provincial bride left France in search of her husband who had disappeared.[115] It was implied he joined either the Condé or the Princes' armies. Having arrived in England, the poor creature was "in the state of the most complicated distress", "destitute of money and friends" and "without change of apparel" as an innkeeper in Dover retained her little possessions until

her debts were settled. This woman did not speak English and was "upwards five months gone into pregnancy". A response to the expectations of an anti-Jacobin readership, this text almost resonates as a propaganda piece, a plea for a King and Church, counter-revolutionary and humanitarian strike against the Jacobin enemy. The description of miseries and the atrocities of exile would be enough to justify war and the envoy of British soldiers to fight against pitiless enemies.

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This systematic examination of advertisements recreates the portrait-type of the emigrant jobseeker in and around London. These short texts reintegrate into the debate on emigration those whom politics, social status and finances had cast aside. Many artists, artisans and entrepreneurs were simultaneously political migrants and economic refugees. Post-1789 emigrant and French promotional discourses inevitably turned into a daily propaganda. The display of a noble identity and the narration of traumas related to emigration in classified adverts were not only the product of the French experience of exile. It resulted from individual and collective strategies that placed British expectations at the core of the public emigrant discourse. If the products and services sold by emigrants certainly convey the notion of a strong social immobility in exile, they were related to aristocratic, luxurious and loyalist British consumption by commercial necessity. These short texts participated in the formation of an emigrant collective identity centred 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.[116] Twenty-five years do not compare with two centuries and the emigrant relationship to professionalization was mostly in the mode of emergency. Yet, this book argues, with Michel Espagne, that "the modifications that a group can bring to a host context are transmitted via their social activity, their profession".[117] The British clientele's and the exiles' identity formation in response to their expectations might certainly have influenced émigré theories, as well the way emigrants behaved and were perceived. The previous chapters have highlighted how the British and exiled French establishments promoted 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, losing 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. 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, 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 identification allow for cultural transfers to happen?

Notes

1. Royal College of Music, London, *Érard (Maison Londres)*, Registre des ventes de harpes (vol. 1).
2. Ibid., pp. 29, 37, 39, 77.
3. Georgette Ducrest, *Mémoires sur l'impératrice Joséphine: ses contemporains, la cour de Navarre et de la Malmaison*, ed. Christophe Pincemaille (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), p. 37.
4. *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.
5. Royal College of Music, London, *Érard*, Registre, vol. 1, p. 68.
6. *Morning Herald* (MH), 11 May 1799; *Morning Post & Gazetteer* (MP&G), 8 December 1800.
7. 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, 2011), pp. 16–23.
8. 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).

9. *Morning Chronicle* (MC), 2 March 1798; *Times*, 10 May 1799.
10. *MH*, 13 April 1792; *MC*, 12 January 1793.
11. R.A. Buchanan, *Brunel: the life and times of Isambard Kingdom Brunel* (London: Hambledon, 2002).
12. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The birth of a consumer society: the commercialisation of eighteenth-century England* (London: Hutchinson, 1983).
13. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Baron de Breteuil to Adam Gordon (7 September 1796).
14. ESRO, Lewes, *Correspondence from the archives of John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield*, AMS5440/201, Henry Pelham to Lord Sheffield (1792).
15. Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: gender, fashion and commercial culture in old regime France* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2004), p. 27.
16. Arlette Farge, *Le Goût de l'archive* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), pp. 122–123.
17. For longer lists of employed French noblemen and women, see: Gislain de Diesbach, *Histoire de l'Emigration: 1789–1814* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1975), Claude Gamblin, *L'Immigration française en Grande-Bretagne: 1789–1815* (Paris: Harmattan, 2000) or Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).
18. *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'.
19. HRO, Winchester, *Wickham family,* 38M49/8/125/21–22, Comte de Lantilly (21 March and 10 April c.1806); 125/23, Comte de la Chapelle on behalf of Comtesse de Cossé Brissac (9 April 1806).
20. William Doyle, *Aristocracy and its enemies in the age of revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 17; Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *La noblesse au XVIIIe siècle: de la féodalité aux Lumières* (Bruxelles: Complexe, 2000).
21. *Times*, 12 June 1792; *World*, 26 April 1794; *Oracle & Public Advertiser* (O&PA), 13 January 1795; *Morning Post & Fashionable World,* 16 February 1795; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 16 February 1796.
22. François René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), Livres IX à XII, pp. 101–114.
23. Lawrence Stone, *The Family: Sex and Marriages in England, 1500–1800* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), p. 384.
24. *Ducrest*, ed. by Pincemaille, p. 36.
25. This letter is quoted in *Mémoires sur l'Emigration (1791–1800)*, ed. Vicomte de Lescure (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877), p. xviii.

26. Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de cinquante ans* (Au Bureau de la mode, 1845), pp. 121–122.
27. *Public Advertiser* (PA), 21 June 1792.
28. ESRO, Lewes, *Archives of the Spence and de Bourbel families,* AMS/5214, Senecé's lawyers to Bourbel (5 aout 1801).
29. *Times*, 8 November 1796.
30. Rose Bertin, Mémoires de Mademoiselle Rose Bertin sur la Reine Marie Antoinette (Paris: 1824).
31. Joan Thirsk, 'Luxury Trades and Consumerism' in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris*, eds. Robert Fox and Anthony Turner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 257–262 (p. 257).
32. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 202.
33. 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, 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).
34. Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences: une histoire du vêtement, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p. 299.
35. *O&PA*, 19 November 1794 and *MC*, 13 January 1795.
36. Chateaubriand, p. 116.
37. *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, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).
38. *The proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Reference number: t17930911-27: www.oldbaileyonline.org.
39. *London Chronicle* (LC), 28–31 July 1798; *Star*, 30 July 1798.
40. HRO, Winchester, *French Émigrés letters*, 109A02/2/29, Comte de la Prade to Mr Atkinson (12 January 1794).
41. 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.
42. Cissie Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies. Servants and their Masters in Old Régime France* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 229–244.
43. Amandine Fauchon, 'Réseaux familiaux et construction identitaire d'une noblesse d'épée: l'example de l'émigré Albert-François de Moré', in ed. Philippe Bourdin, *Les Noblesses françaises dans l'Europe de la Révolution* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 397–411.

44. Irène Scoudouli (ed), *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).
45. *Saint James Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (SJC or BEP), 26–29 September 1789.
46. Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton: Sussex Academy Press, 2001), pp. 85–86.
47. *SJC or BEP*, 15 September 1792.
48. *Star*, 6 April 1793.
49. *Evening Mail*, 26 September 1792.
50. *Sun*, 18 September 1793.
51. *Times*, 15 and 21 February 1793.
52. *Star*, 5, 7 and 9 April 1792; MH, 6 and 9 April 1792.
53. *MH*, 12 July 1791 and 19 May 1792; *World*, 25 March 1790.
54. HRO, Winchester, *Knollis and Banbury family*, 1M44/69/4, Letter from an anonymous correspondent.
55. Clive Emsley, *British society and the French Wars, 1783–1815* (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 20.
56. Parker to Nepean, 31 December 1792, cited in Ibid., p. 20.
57. LMA, London, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace*, MR/RH/001/09; 21 and 41–46.
58. Ibid., MR/R/H/1/57.
59. Jean Bouchary, *Les Faux-monnayeurs sous la Révolution française* (Paris: M. Riviere et Cie, 1946), pp. 64–70.
60. *LC*, 23–26 September 1797.
61. *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, Reference number: t17980214-70.
62. *Mirror of the Times*, 5–12 May 1798.
63. *True Briton* (TB), 15 November 1797.
64. *MP&G*, 12 December 1797; MP, 8 January 1810.
65. James Gillray, *The Man of Feeling, in search of Indispensibles—a scene at the little French milleners* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 12 February 1800), British Museum.
66. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 69.
67. Eric Jones, 'The Fashion manipulators: Consumer tastes and British Industries, 1666–1800, in *Business Enterprise and Economic Change*, eds. Louis P.Cain and Paul J. Uselding (Kent: Ohio, 1973), pp. 198–226.
68. McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, p. 13.
69. *MC*, 12 and 17 January 1793; *PA*, 10 February 1791.
70. *Times*, 8 June 1793.
71. Natacha Coquery, *L'Hotel aristocratique: le marché du luxe à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1998), p. 388.

72. *Morning Post*, 29 March and 2 April 1791; *World*, 11 April 1791; *MH*, 15 February 1792.
73. *MH*, 7 November 1789.
74. *Star*, 7 March 1794.
75. *MH*, 1 February 1797.
76. *MC*, 15 November 1794.
77. *World*, 30 January 1793.
78. *World*, 25 November 1793.
79. Jennifer Mori, *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution, 1785–1795* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), p. 67.
80. *SJC or BEP*, 17 December 1789. As it was not developed in the ad, and despite her French and ennobled name, Madame de la Chesnaye might in fact be a British subject married to a French immigrant or the descendent of a French immigrant in the British Isles.
81. Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routlege, 1996), p. 99.
82. Cohen, p. 71.
83. *MC*, 30 January 1794 and 6 December 1794; *Oracle & Daily Advertiser,* 20 February 1800.
84. *Morning Post & Fashionable World*, 29 November 1796.
85. Bridget Hill, *Women alone: spinsters in England, 1660–1850* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 54. See also Cohen, p. 71.
86. *Times*, 27 May 1794.
87. *World*, 1 December 1789; *Oracle*, 29 September 1792; *TB*, 16 November 1793; *Daily Advertiser*, 15 November 1796.
88. *World*, 25 November 1793.
89. *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, December 1791.
90. *MC*, 22 March 1793.
91. *MC*, 19 June 1795.
92. Thomas Rowlandson, *A French dentist shewing a specimen of his artificial Teeth and False Palate* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1811), British Museum.
93. *MC*, 8 April 1793.
94. *Sun*, 18 September 1793.
95. Carpenter, *Refugees,* pp. 68–69.
96. See Fauchon.
97. ESRO, Lewes, *Archives of the Spence and de Bourbel families,* AMS5029-5133, Family correspondence.
98. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 32.
99. *TB*, 17 January 1795 and *MC*, 17 January 1795.
100. *LC*, 28 November 1797.

101. *MP&G*, 11 April 1801.
102. Daphne du Maurier, *The glass-blowers* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963).
103. Jacques Cuvillier, *Famille et patrimoine de la haute nobles française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Harmattan, 2005) p. 17; Doyle, p. 16.
104. Amanda Goodrich, *Debating England's Aristocracy in the 1790s: Pamphlets, Polemics and Political Ideas* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), p. 14.
105. Mori, *Britain*, p. 41.
106. Robert Dozier, *For King, Constitution and Country: The English Loyalists and the French Revolution* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p. 29.
107. *World*, 28 January 1790; *SJC or BEP*, 21 February 1792; *Times*, 26 February 1800; *World*, 13 May 1790.
108. *World*, 22 May 1790; *Morning Post & Daily Advertiser*, 25 May 1791.
109. 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.
110. See table 'Les Émigrés à Londres' in Carpenter, *Refugees*.
111. *M H,* 19 March 1793.
112. Paul Langford, *Public life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 60.
113. *TB*, 16 November 1793.
114. *MC*,4 February 1793.
115. *MP*,, 18 February 1793 'A CASE OF PECULIAR DISTRESS'.
116. Gwynn, p. 93.
117. Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts Culturels Franco-Allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999), p. 27.

CHAPTER 6

Speaking, Reading and Publishing as a French Emigrant in a British Context

On 22 February 1793, Fanny Burney wrote to her father that Madame de Staël had invited her to "study French and English together".[1] On her father's advice, Fanny first refused the emigrant's suggestion. The linguistic "game" (as historian Michel Winock recently styled it) eventually became an epistolary exchange: the francophone essayist wrote in a rather ungrammatical English and the British novelist responded with a somewhat shaky French.[2] Dr. Burney's reluctance towards Staël was not exceptional in 1793. Germaine de Staël had reached Dover on 20 January 1793, a day before Louis XVI was executed at the *Place de la Révolution*. Under the amused yet wary eyes of the local gentry, she moved into Juniper Hall in Mickleham (Surrey) with a party of constitutionalist emigrants.[3] Exiled away by the new French Republic for their *Monarchien* ideals, the group was moreover ostracized in their host country. Despite their vocal Anglophilia and interests for British literary societies, the inhabitants of Juniper Hall raised the suspicion of apprehensive British liberal elites, such as Dr. Burney and the Pittite government. British elites distrusted them in favour of the then more respectable ultra-royalist emigrants gathered in London and Richmond. Together, they condemned the group's early engagement with the Revolution. In 1814, twenty-one years after Burney wrote to her father, exiled in England for the second time, the Baronne came to the remarkable conclusion that she "had become European".[4] A Parisian at heart in the 1780s, the cosmopolite *salonnière*'s lengthy exile had contributed to her redefining her cultural identity and national consciousness through

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_6

social conversation and literary encounters. French historian Daniel Roche notes that Staël'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".[5] Seemingly anecdotal, Madame de Staël's journey from a curiosity for the English language and culture to her claiming a supra-national identity could be the visible and extreme sign of a complicated, underlying and heterogeneous cultural transformation within emigrant groups between 1789 and 1815. Was Staël's interest in British high culture an exception due to her political ideals and perhaps her sex? 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 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?

Many proud authors of self-narratives have highlighted the existence of an autarkic French community. Some curious English nobleman or woman, perceptibly thrilled at the idea of spending an evening in such refined company, could at times disrupt this otherwise close community.[6] Emigrants meeting British individuals were similarly belittled in retrospective narratives. For instance, Madame de Coigny was "*beaucoup plus répandue dans le grand monde anglais que dans la société des émigrés français où elle recontrait d'anciennes animosités* [(She was) more popular in the English High Society than in the French émigré society, where she was received with ancient animosities]".[7] Furthermore, the recent scholarship on émigré print culture has convincingly demonstrated that emigrants involved in the British and continental book trade publicly and persistently disregarded their host cultures.[8] Sociologist Nina Glick-Schiller calls for the differentiation between a discourse "of belonging" and ways of "being".[9] In the émigré case, the discourse of belonging was displayed in public identity performances demonstrating the emigrant's conscious association to a French and monarchic culture. Studying the emigrant ways of being might, on the contrary, highlight transcultural social relations and daily practices, where the emigrants' cultures were unconsciously and spontaneously modified by contact with a British cultural object. Hence, the public nation-centric positioning has to be challenged by the examination of intercultural connections that remained (by choice or unconsciously) private. Several retrospective narratives refer to intercultural locations within both private and public spheres.

These were sociable locations—emigrants and British sat together in coffeehouses and taverns, private homes and salons. Theatres are often mentioned in sources from France and Britain. Yet, these sources reveal little of what was said. An intercultural locus is not just a physical place—it refers to a space in which objects from different cultures meet. The clothing articles, millinery work and embroidery produced by the emigrant communities participated in the modification of British fashion.[10] Aesthetic tastes changed: many galleries in London were created with paintings and sculpture auctioned by emigrants; Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun visited Kaufmann, West and Reynolds, and was fascinated by British landscapes.[11] British audiences listened to the latest works of Pleyel or Jarnowick, who both emigrated to London from Paris after 1789 and were actively involved in emigrant circles.[12] Food and drink habits were modified: while tea had been a luxury in *ancien régime* France, Chateaubriand and the Comte de Jarnac drank it while reading or writing; Arnault made a nightly ritual of meeting emigrants around a warm cup.[13] Brillat-Savarin believes that emigrants imported the "beafsteaks" and the "Welsh rarebit" to France.[14] While insignificant in appearance, these intercultural spaces participated in the slow modification of emigrant and British daily habits.

Conducting a systematic study on these anecdotal intercultural spaces is difficult because of the multiplicity, heterogeneity and uniqueness of each example. Yet, literary and linguistic encounters like the one between Germaine de Staël and Fanny Burney are good examples of interconnected spaces present 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".[15] Books and plays are "carrier groups" and "vehicle of transfers"[16]; and so are Anglophone and Francophone individuals, authors, translators, spectators or readers. This chapter attempts to find connected spaces, where pre-revolutionary habits and the experience of otherness would gradually and subtly redefine cultures in French and British communities. It argues that the encounter between French emigrants and their hosts' cultures played a significant and lasting role in the definition of emigrants' and British cultural frames with regards to the Revolution in France and beyond. A few pages briefly discuss the languages used in Franco-British conversations and the existing scholarly discussion on the impact of British literature on the emigrant experience. This discussion on emigrants' linguistic strategies and reading

habits first differentiates private and public identities, then introduces questions on the francophone and emigrant book trade in Great Britain.

Linguistic Strategies

The knowledge of the host language is nowadays commonly perceived as the first sign of social integration to the host community in migrant situations. The corpus of retrospective narratives indicates that only a few emigrants tried to learn English and that the youth were naturally drawn to the host's language. In his *Souvenirs*, Walsh complained that the youth spoke better English than their elders.[17] In fact, the Anglophone youth sold to British warehouses the emigrant goods produced by those who could not comprehend English. 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.[18] Genlis and Walsh narrated the stories of young emigrants learning English.[19] These didactic (if not fictional) stories concluded that Restoration youth should be taught English as a second language in case of a new forced exile. Documents contemporary to emigration confirm that the young émigrés spoke English. Fanny Burney wrote in her diary: "Monsieur de Lally has just received by a private hand, a letter from his daughter, now eleven years old (…) half in French, half in English, which language he has particularly ordered she may study".[20] The letters from the Comte de Jarnac to his Franco-Irish son Louis-Guillaume offer a unique example of an intra-familial correspondence written in English and in French. While the letters from Louis-Guillaume have disappeared, his father's responses sometimes allow for a partial reconstruction of their discussions. The Comte de Jarnac often reproached his son for the use of the English language in writing endearments. In this particular case, English came to replace French in private relations. Arguably, speaking the host's language was not a necessity for many emigrants; the exile was lived on the mode of emergency and the European establishment spoke French.[21] Several professional advertisements published in London newspapers hint at the incapacity of the advertisers to speak English. Paradoxically, ignoring English could be financially rewarding as many boarding schools and concerned British parents advertised positions for non-English speaking tutors. Finally, publicly ignoring English was used as a deceitful pretext: during his trial for forgery, Bernard Huet swore to the judge he did not understand English.[22] Asked to testify, his landlord stated that he and

Huet had always conversed in English. Once again, alternative sources question the emigrant social marginalisation and their use of a powerful and influential rhetoric of victimisation. Linguistic marginalisation might be yet another tool in this discourse.

Various sources indicate that the use of French or English in public discourse was part of a strategy. For instance, the correspondence between French emigrants and the Alien Office, or other bodies of government kept in the Wickham papers, was in English or in French.[23] In the early 1800, the Demoiselles de Sainte-Hermine sent Wickham a letter and a petition in French.[24] They had just lost their parents and begged that their father's benefits would be directed to them. The Marquis de Sainte-Hermine had been receiving an annual compensation of 120 guineas as a retired officer. The two orphans argued that they had "*l'honneur d'appartenir à sa majesté britannique*": they could pride themselves in belonging to the British crown. In March 1806, Régnier wrote in French to Lord Grenville.[25] He stated that he had been naturalised as an English subject in the first line of the letter. The use of a foreign language was not in complete opposition with the claim to be a subject of the English crown. In *Nations and Nationalism*, Eric Hobsbawm insisted that the "ethnolinguistic criterion of nationality", i.e. the intrinsic correlation between language and citizenship, was a fairly recent phenomenon that appeared in the contexts of the American and French Revolutions.[26] Amongst those who corresponded in English with the Alien Office was Bertrand de Moleville, the ex-"French Minister in the Navy and Colonies department".[27] His demand for a raise in his monthly allowance was written in the third person. Yet, the level of in this argumentative letter indicates that Moleville was present during its formulation. The letter discussed his personal and financial situation between October 1792 and March 1806, his professional and contractual engagement besides the government since May 1803 as well as the reception and influence of his *Histoire de la Révolution de France* in England. The Comte de Moustier, *ministre plénipotentiaire* in England in 1783 and frequent visitor to the British Isles since 1772, also chose to communicate in English with Grenville.[28] The bundle of letters kept in the Wickham papers 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 favoured English. Using the French or English language in administrative correspondence might have been an intentional choice. Speaking in French might have

reinforced the idea that the emigrant asking for financial help was a refugee in distress; the use of English perhaps emphasised, in the mind of the intended reader, the intricacy between the personal politics of the sender, the counter-revolutionary cause and the British government's stance against revolutionary France.

Whether the writer was French or British, the majority of correspondences carried on by adults and found during this research were 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 as in the case of the Jarnac family. In his remaining correspondence with the Highclere family, maintained between 1793 and 1801, the archbishop of Aix only once used an entire formulation in English.[29] In 1793, he ended a letter with 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 or 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 has 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".[30] Likewise, many ultra-royalist French emigrants corresponded with Lord Adam Gordon by the end of the 1790s and until their repatriation around 1814.[31] Most letters were written in French, a few in English.[32] In different occasions, English sentences and words were used in lieu 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* [*missing word*] by your proper heart, that my good heart is always in good health and in good spirit".[33] The next sentence was mostly written in French—yet Artois had underlined the English adjective "comfortable".[34] Two letters from Rebourquil follow a similar pattern, where a French sentence was punctuated with English words. On 22 August 1800, Rebourquil used "improvements" in lieu of the French

amélioration to describe the modifications brought to Gordon's domain of Burn.[35] A second letter from Rebourquil to Lord Adam Gordon, dated from Edinburgh, 7 October 1800, described a scene occurring in a Scottish tribunal court.[36] He wrote that losing his 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 come up with an equivalent in French, or because the cultural situation described in the letter did not have any equivalent in a French *ancien régime* context. In some occasions, emigrants refused to translate some words, in fear of losing their exact meaning.

The Emigrant Reader, Spectator and Writer

Emigrants in the British Isles spoke English; a few sources establish that some were also avid readers of British literature. Defining the influence that British literature had on the emigrant imagination is key to understanding the aesthetic and cultural transformations observed in emigrant groups in post-revolution France. Unfortunately, due to a shortage of sources, the emigrant reader is difficult to define. Books were expensive commodities and buying a novel was equivalent to spending one or two week's supplies for the average European family.[37] Private libraries were rarely mentioned in emigrants' ego-documents. A letter by the Comte de Jarnac to his son mentions his wish to purchase "the fifty volumes of Voltaire, at a total price of five pounds".[38] Occasionally, émigré journals would print advertisements from individuals wishing to sell or buy books.[39] Most sources on the matter indicate that emigrants borrowed books from their British friends and relatives. This matches with accounts in retrospective self-narratives.[40] For five years, Sir John Symmons employed Gauthier de Brécy as a personal librarian.[41] The principal task of the emigrant was to create a catalogue of all French and English books in the British gentleman's library. He was furthermore allowed to loan books to the emigrant community.[42] He made a point that all books lent to emigrants would be duly returned before he returned to France. Other memoir writers remembered using the services of the British commercial and circulating libraries. However, the Marquise de la Tour du Pin mentioned that the price of a subscription was prohibitive for the average emigrant.[43] Nevertheless, proprietors of circulating libraries did facilitate access to their emigrant readers for a steep price. In a translated

version of a counter-revolutionary pamphlet from 1793, the bookseller and publisher Hookham inserted the following advert for his reading rooms named 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.[44]

A normal subscription at Hookham's was two guineas per annum. Since it was thought they would soon return home, emigrants were encouraged to spend double the amount paid by a British member of the library for a reduced service. This advert might also have targeted a generous British audience. Both the Marquise de la Tour du Pin and Madame de Genlis were gifted a subscription to a library. While she stayed in Bury, Madame de Genlis allegedly received from M. Paradise, whom she identified as one of the directors of the British Museum, the books she had been asking for.[45] She does not mention whether she had to pay for the services. Madame de la Tour du Pin received a yearlong subscription to Hookham's library from her eccentric bluestocking friend Lydia White.[46] One day, she received a box with her name on it. On opening the parcel, she found ten volumes with a catalogue of twenty thousand others, in English and in French.

The occasional catalogue of emigrant libraries in existence is of limited relevance in understanding the average emigrant's reading habits. Calonne's library was sold by auction in London on 27 July 1803.[47] Yet, the minister's library is exceptional because of his role in the Counter-Revolution and his wealth and social position before and during emigration. French historian Cyril Triolaire examined one of the only known remaining reading diaries from an emigrant in Britain.[48] Marc Antoine François de Gaujal spent many years in England and Ireland from 1796 to 1800. He conscientiously reported in his diary what he had read or seen at the theatre. He had learnt English from Pope and Thomson before his arrival in Britain while still stationed in Germany. Gaujal considered that "*pour voyager avec fruit chez un peuple, on doit parfaitement connaitre sa langue et son histoire* [The exact knowledge of a people's language and history allows for a fruitful trip]".[49] Triolaire is right when stating that 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. Yet, considering Gaujal's reading practices as exceptional when so few contemporary sources describing, 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", and when so, they were derided.[50] Some literary productions by emigrants present the renewal of classicism as a direct rejection of British literature. It can be argued that the rejection of the literary canons of the host country played a significant role in Legitimist circles that proposed a moral and aesthetical regeneration of France by the obedience to French classical canons. An anonymous poem *Les Héros de l'Emigration*, subtitled *L'Eloge de la Besace* is typical of this.[51] The poem denounces the daily practices of the emigrants in Britain, and the fatal influence British literature had on the French national character while adopting a classical form. It revolved around the six canonical parts of a discourse defined by the *Académie Française* and imitated Greek epic poetry. The title of the poem is an obvious link between the emigrant condition and the cynic poet Crates who praised poverty and stateless wandering.[52]

More than any other dramatist, reading Shakespeare was an inherited commonplace in French discourse on British culture. Peltier wrote one major article on Shakespeare in which he noted the "dramatist's poor taste, but recognised his sublime genius".[53] Unsurprisingly, Shakespeare is about the only dramatist mentioned in retrospective self-narratives. A Shakespearian play was a must-see for all French travellers to London and theatre was an educative tool to learn English for children and adults alike. In Bath, Madame de Genlis and her little protégées attended several representations by a troupe of comedians playing both tragedies and comedies.[54] According to Madame de Genlis, if tragedy was relatively easy to understand, comedy proved difficult due to the prominence of colloquialisms and proverbial sentences. The playwriter Arnault recalled going to Drury Lane every time Shakespeare was played.[55] Both the novelist and the man of theatre with a printed copy of the play shown on stage in order to follow the text "*où nous lisions ce que notre oreille ne nous faisait pas comprendre* [where we read what our ear would not let us understand]".[56] Genlis boasted that with this method, she could master the English language in less than six weeks. The Comte de Jarnac wrote to his son that he had seen every single representation of Macbeth with actress Sarah Smyth.[57] His liking for Shakespeare equalled his desire for

the lead actress. Arnault compared the nobility of John Kemble playing Henry v to reports on the late David Garrick's acting.[58] Sarah Siddons was greatly appreciated by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Retrospective comments were very rarely critical of dramatic interpretations, but mentioned classical distaste for the combination of tragedy and comedy. Dramatist Arnault even compared Shakespeare's theatre to a "*série de bouffonneries*", a farce carried by a grave circumstance.[59] Arnault's disapproval for Shakespearian theatre can only be surpassed by his outrage when hearing the French monarchy mocked on a British stage as French heiress Catherine learnt English vulgarities in *Henry v*.[60] While in emigration, an acquaintance of Gauthier de Brécy attempted to translate *Richard III* in French.[61] According to the memoir writer, he adapted the play to fit within the French aesthetic canons hence betraying the original text. Reading Shakespeare, or rather retrospectively insisting that one had read Shakespeare, was more of a social and cultural statement on the place of the self in Restoration France than a comment on the host's culture.

The few titles gleaned here and there in archives, manuscripts and later self-narratives indicate that the French in exile read British philosophers, pre-revolutionary novels and a few contemporary best sellers. Constitutionalist parents and emigrant scholars used French and British literature as an educative tool, either in moralising their children or as an introduction to understanding the host society. Writing in the late 1790s, the Comte de Jarnac listed a few French and British titles aimed at the education of his adolescent son.[62] For instance, he considered Fielding to be a worthy guide in all things moral. Jarnac and his son were personally acquainted with Gothic novelist Horace Walpole whom they visited for several days at Strawberry Hill. Nothing, however, indicates that they read his novels. Fanny Burney claimed that Lally-Tollendal's daughter wrote, in a letter to her father, that she had just learnt by heart his translation of Pope's *Universal Prayer*.[63] When she was still the young Adèle d'Osmond, the Comtesse de Boigne spent several hours studying Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.[64] Chateaubriand considered reading and learning about the English culture a compulsory part of his studies. Nevertheless, he did not provide much information about the British authors and titles he had been reading while in exile.[65] To the despair of their parents, some young emigrants favoured contemporary British novels. Walsh remembers exchanging books with the daughters of a Protestant clergyman while on holiday in Stock.[66] The children swapped a Catholic book for the infamous *Monk* by Matthew Lewis and Ann Radcliff's *The Mysteries of*

Udolpho. Both books were the first English novels Walsh had ever read. Like Shakespeare however, gothic literature had been a commonplace in French self-narratives and correspondences from before the emigration. These two particular titles were considered metaphors for the French Revolution. Radcliffe's novel expressed the fears of the excesses of the Revolution.[67] *The Monk* was harshly criticised by contemporaries for its intolerable anti-social and anti-religious discourse.[68] The confession of this guilty literary pleasure interrogates Walsh's own literary techniques when describing his hosts in his self-narrative. While his school was technically in Lancashire, Walsh relocated it, for narrative purposes, to the Scottish borders.[69] The pupils would be visited at night by Charles I "*cet autre royal décapité [this other beheaded royalty]*". He had once slept in the castle and allegedly cried in front of a red damask bed in which he was said to have slept. The influence British literature had on the emigrant population was probably more complex than the simple mimicking of gothic topoi. In his acclaimed 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. Recent efforts by Kate Astbury clearly demonstrate that the classical tradition was transformed during emigration by the emigrant reception of British fiction in the 1790s, and that emigrant productions blend in traditional conceptions of French literature and elements of Gothicism.[70] In this study, emigrant self-narratives were impossible to categorise. Early narratives borrowed features from pre-revolutionary and enlightened literature. They also contained passages that borrowed from British romanticism. On the other hand, the later ones, usually classified under the label of romantic literature, were filled with attempts at rationality.

Publication, Translation and Advertisement of Émigré Literature in London

It is unnecessary to evaluate again how France served as a unifying anchor in emigrant pamphlets, fictions, and journals distributed amongst a community dispersed in several geographical, political and social locations.[71] It would furthermore be presumptuous to pretend to revolutionise the many studies linking the topic of emigration in 1790s' British 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.[72] Familial connections between emigrants and the British literary

world are well known: Fanny Burney married the General d'Arblay and one of Charlotte Smith's daughters wedded some lesser emigrant. However, the practical interconnection between emigrant 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.[73] The study of French emigrant and counter-revolutionary publishing strategies and how their ideological and literary productions influenced their host might offer new perspectives on the construction and definition of a transnational counter-revolutionary identity in the 1790 and in the early years of the nineteenth century. In a few years, the combination of the two themes could indeed prove a leap in the research on the emigrant and émigré discursive roots of modern discourses 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, in the long-term, collective memory on the French Revolution. It might also allow for a better understanding of how these literary images returned and were integrated within later émigré identity discourse. For instance, it has been reported that Edmund Burke drafted his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* inspired by the descriptions of popular violence in counter-revolutionary volumes by Mounier, Lally-Tollendal or Calonne.[74] In return, the Anglo-Irish philosopher influenced counter-revolutionary and conservative French visions of the Revolution, and, in particular, that of de Maistre.[75] 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 regarding the transnational circulation of emigrant publications. The emigrant and French counter-revolutionary book trade did not emerge ex nihilo, but rather developed within the two-century-old frame of francophone press traditions in London.[76] While emigration and the Revolution became primary concerns for the British government and societies, the in situ readership of the London francophone press appears to have increased. To what extent was the composition of the readership modified? Were readers of francophone publications mainly emigrants? Did an established and loyalist reader of francophone books replace the enlightened and cosmopolitan British reader of the seventeenth and eighteenth century?[77]

Throughout the period, the London francophone book trade catered to various readerships. Alongside traditional major Francophone book specialists, a plethora of large and small generalist booksellers retailed

and sold émigré propaganda. Without distinction, at least fifty booksellers, bookseller-publishers and print sellers, as well as four stationers took part in the *émigré* book trade.[78] Their names and addresses have been identified in the front pages of a few surviving volumes authored by French emigrants, in classified adverts and thanks to a few ego-documents. This list goes beyond the traditional stockists of French books 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 1808, Nassau Street) and Dulau whose address remained 37 Soho Square.[79] 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. Thomas Boosey, from Old Broad Street, near the Royal Exchange, is often recognised as the third main bookseller involved in the émigré book trade. L'Homme, Conchy, Debrett and the exiled Peltier contributed, to a lesser extent, to the emigrant book trade in London. The other retailers that circulated emigrant publications in the English capital often had traditional links to francophone literature. They remained minor participants in the emigrant and counter-revolutionary book trade throughout the period studied. In classified adverts, their names would appear as the third of fourth within a list of bookshops, always after those of De Boffe, Dulau and Boosey. As non-specialists, they perhaps present a strong case in favour of the existence of emigrant-British cultural transfers. Indeed, providing they sold part, or all, of their emigrant stocks, these minor retailers participated in the diffusion of counter-revolutionary ideals and emigrant stories outside of the expected emigrant circles. They might have offered a French and counter-revolutionary product to a population for whom France and French affairs were not a primary concern.

Booksellers were active carriers of transfers, and so were the translators and reviewers of French publications. They participated in advertising and vulgarising French counter-revolutionary ideals in Britain. The three professions systematically chose which aspects of the French counter-revolutionary culture to import in Britain. Consequently, they also decided which ones to reject. By filtering the access to francophone counter-revolutionary and emigrant productions, they played a major role in the formation of British public opinion on emigration and the Revolution. Unfortunately, translators and reviewers often remained anonymous. One known translator, conservative historian John Gifford, translated Lally-Tollendal's *Defence of the French Emigrants* in 1797. The

translation was preceded by an introduction supporting the French émigré fight. One reviewer accused Gifford of "transgress[ing] the limits of prudence and propriety; […] such violations of truth are never justifiable; and still less are they laudable".[80] A second reviewer praised the "judicious" translator "giv[ing] his own estimate of the *newest* French constitution".[81] Some books have been published in bilingual editions, intended for an emigrant and British readership. This is the case of a 1795 play titled *L'Emigrant à Londres*, known to the Anglophone readership as *The Emigrant in London*. It contained a list of subscribers, clearly highlighting British benevolent readers. The fictional diary *Journal d'un émigré français de quatorze*, translated as *Journal of a French Emigrant* was also a bilingual edition published in the same year.[82] Note, on the latter title, the translation from the political denominator émigré to that of the more neutral emigrant. To my knowledge, these two works have only been published in a bilingual edition. Other authors published directly in English. Louis-Eustache Ude, cook to Louis XVI and an emigrant, directly wrote his cookbook in English.[83] *The* French Cook*, subtitled the Art of Cookery*, aimed to introduce the art of cooking—described as a French national attribute—to 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.[84]

The ingredients used depended on British weather conditions, the prices of products and the host's palate.

Political and non-political works were modified to suit ideologies or marketing strategies. Coincidently, announcements published in London newspapers for émigré and emigrant books and their English translations influenced the formation of the host's interest in counter-revolutionary ideals. They might also have participated in modifying the perception of the Revolution. Not all émigré and emigrant volumes were advertised. A low 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.[85] 174 of these adverts concerned counter-revolutionary books and newspapers printed and published in London. The remainder advertised the arrival

Table 6.1 Books published in London vs those imported from the continent and Paris in a sample of 241 classified adverts printed in English newspapers between 1793 and 1800

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

of counter-revolutionary volumes from continental Europe and revolutionary books and pamphlets imported from Paris. These adverts were addressed to French readers, but also to the British public. The large proportion of translations advertised correlates with this claim. However, due to the anonymity of adverts, it is impossible to know whether the advertisements of chosen publications in Anglophone newspapers was motivated by the market's demands, or by the author's wish to create a market for emigrant and counter-revolutionary values in Britain. British interests for émigré political literature fluctuated. It probably depended on several variables amongst which were the increasingly overwhelming presence of emigrants in Britain and the state of political and military relations between France and Great Britain [Table 6.1]. In this sample, between 1793 and 1795, the number of advertisements for French counter-revolutionary books printed in London increased, and settled at an average of thirty books advertised per year until 1797. Comparatively, very few imported revolutionary and counter-revolutionary books were advertised in London newspapers. However, in 1795, the number of advertisements for imported francophone books dramatically increased. Most of these imports were emigrant pamphlets, ego-documents, histories and political comments from emigrants residing in continental host countries.

A closer look at advertising trends reveals a relationship, but no direct correlation, between the increased supply and demand for original and translated émigré ideological discussions, and the prevalence of the themes of emigration and exile in British pamphlets and fictions. The first years of emigration in the British Isles sparked little interest for

the topics of emigration and counter-revolutionary emigrant writers as per the number of advertisements paid for by 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 1793, at least fourteen classified adverts for émigré pamphlets, seven of which were for translations, had been inserted in London newspapers for the year 1793. As a comparative measure, 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.[86] This catalogue only included titles retailed by De Boffe at the beginning of the year. It does not mention those sold out nor the number of copies still in stock. The catalogue mentions existing copies for twenty-eight titles published between 1789 and 1792. Only four titles from the year 1793 were named, perhaps implying that other productions for this year had sold out.[87] There is a definitive coincidence between the lack of copies for books published in the year 1793 and the increased public awareness for émigré literature thanks to British newspapers. This is also a period when the emigrant character enters British literature. That year, Hannah More published her *Address in Behalf of the French Emigrants* while Fanny Burney's *Brief Reflections relative to the Emigrant French Clergy* were regarded as a commercial success. Using the example of Charlotte Smith, critics Michael Wiley and Toby Benis agreed that in the early 1790s, the émigré character in British fiction was not yet an allegorical, but rather a spatialised and contextualised persona.[88] Geography and nation were instrumental to Smith's early novel; they were also major themes in émigré literature. The development of the emigrant character in British literature might also be partly explained by the increasingly numerous and rapid translations of émigré titles in Britain. In 1794, ten advertisements for émigré titles, out of a minimum of nineteen, were for translated versions of the texts. For the first time since July 1789, only a few days separated the advert for the French original version of a title from the announcement of a translation. For instance, the French version of Montgaillard's *Etat de la France au mois de Mai 1794* was advertised in London newspapers on the 28th of July 1794. Its translation was marketed on the 7th of August.[89] In 1795 however, only five advertised titles out of twenty-two were translations. Yet, the nature of several books printed and advertised in London presented little interest in translation. Lists of victims of the Terror, almanacs and calendars were aimed at a French consumer and could be understood in their original language. The amount of adverts for émigré books, translated or not, declined until

1800. While many French emigrants lost faith in their political leaders and returned to France, the counter-revolutionary publishing trade probably lost its British readership; emigration was old news. Meanwhile, the number of British pamphlets on emigration declined. The emigrant character in British fiction was deterritorialised, to better metamorphose into a metaphor for the exiled romantic poet.

Connected history has argued that "transfers of literary, philosophical, and aesthetic models are often linked to processes of cultural legitimization".[90] Competing with the mesmerising creations of the Revolution, emigrants and loyalist translators involved in ideological literary productions resorted to what Catriona Seth qualified as a "last resource weapon".[91] The themes embraced in émigré books and pamphlets advertised in London newspapers were clearly linked to a strategy of public victimisation. It was coupled with the demonization and denigration of an émigré-British shared enemy. Titles advertised in London newspapers between 1789 and 1800 can be broadly arranged under three categories: biographies, essays on war and essays on the emigrant-British relationship since 1789. All three aimed to influence and transform the British debate on the French Revolution, as well as to create a pro-emigration sentiment in the host country. Biographies and essays on individuals advertised were tributes to counter-revolutionary martyrs and heroes, and denunciations of revolutionary foes. Six titles were advertised after the trial and beheading of Louis XVI. Amongst these were Malouet's monarchien *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 royal couple was frequently referred to until 1800, and this especially after the publication of Clery's *Journal du Temple*.[92] Its 1789 translation, *Journal of occurrences at the Temple during the confinement of Louis XVI, King of France* was advertised at least five times in a period of three months.[93] Clery soon became a reference amongst members of the British gentry. In her diary, Frances Williams-Wynn mentions that a French Duke

> 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.[94]

Publications like Clery's allowed the émigré circles to diffuse phantasmagorical projections of revolutionary events amongst their hosts.

References to the King's execution and the repetition of gruesome details confirmed in the mind of French royalists and their British readership "the regression of the revolutionary man to the state of barbarism".[95] Some émigré biographers chose to praise the lives of their British champions. Following his death in 1797, Burke was celebrated in the French exiled community as a hero of the emigrant cause. Dulau and De Boffe reprinted and patroned the translation of several speeches and essays of his under the English title *Three memorials on French affairs written in the years 1791, 1792 and 1793*. Advertisements for this publication subconsciously highlighted the strong connection between the émigré political lobby and British loyalist politics. At a time when emigrants were defecting from the counter-revolutionary cause, it was more necessary than ever to find political support amongst the British hosts. Enemies of the counter-revolution were castigated by the émigré London book trade. This is particularly visible in publications advertised around 1798–1800: Robespierre, Philippe-Égalité and Bonaparte were lambasted in London's émigré publications. A joint sale of *Conjuration du Duc d'Orléans* and *Conjuration de Robespierre* by Galart de Montjoie likened the two revolutionary figures. Orléans, and by association his family, was presented as an ambitious traitor, "thirsty with revenge".[96] The book was first printed in London in 1796, and reprinted in 1798. As for Robespierre, Stéphanie Genand reminds us that in emigrant and 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".[97] A limited number of sources suggests that despite being published in London, ambivalent characters like Dumouriez might have had a lesser impact on the British reading of the Revolution and emigration than ultra-royalist literature. For instance, in October 1797, Lady Holland read Bouillé's *Memoirs related to the French Revolution*.[98] This reading set her opinion on the French General, seen by Bouillé as an able negotiator and "skilful general" yet a "wicked" character.[99] The familiarisation, on the part of the British readership with royalist heroes and persecutors, influenced their vision of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary figures and events.

The other two categories advertised (essays on the Franco-British wars and dissertations on emigrant-British relations) targeted a British readership. At times, they were even dedicated to British individuals or the entire community. D'Ivernois' *Reflexions sur la guerre, addressées à Mr. Pitt* was advertised five times in a span of nine days at 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*. In 1796, the translated version was advertised at least five times. In this response to a previous address to Pitt by Staël, d'Ivernois urged for the military defeat of a financially weakened French Republic.[100] On 10 February 1794, the translation of the *Histoire du Clergé pendant la Révolution française* by Barruel was advertised as "a work dedicated to the English Nation". Both French and English versions were preceded by the acknowledgment of the host's generosity.[101] The transnational aspects of the émigré counter-revolutionary fight were furthermore emphasised in several open letters. In 1793, Swiss-born François-Pierre Pictet published an anti-revolutionary manifesto sold at De Boffe. It was titled *A Letter to a foreign nobleman on the present situation of France with respects to the other states of Europe*. In July 1797, Colonialist Charmilly hailed Bryan Edwards, MP and supporter of the slave trade, in his *Letter to Bryan Edwards on his historical survey of the colony of St Domingo*. Charmilly considered that, in international matters, the publication in English was mandatory as explained in the advertisement prefacing his 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.[102]

To get hold of the British public attention, emigrants and émigrés had to communicate in English. This direct dialogue with the British public opinion, unfettered by linguistic constraints, sanctioned D'Ivernois, Charmilly or Barruel's attempt at seducing the host society into financing emigration as a political and military counterforce to the Revolution. Written or translated in English and advertised in British newspapers, the emigrant's way of belonging became interconnected with the British society's negative perception of the Revolution, its main characters and its events.

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The knowledge of the English language and the habit of reading foreign literature were not the emigrant's prerogative. The French book trade in London pre-existed the counter-revolutionary book trade. However, emigration marked a shift in the history of Franco-British cultural encounters because of the political context in which it happened. In

the affirmation of counter-revolutionary identities, language and literature became politicised by emigrant individuals and the community. The choice of speaking or not speaking English, that of seeking the host's cultural productions or trying to influence their political philosophies, were symbolic postures. They allowed emigrants to present themselves at times as victims, allies, friends and superiors. In exile and beyond, emigrants' linguistic strategies participated in the justification and fortification of the counter-revolutionary fight. The most vocal amongst the emigrant community normalised their strategies of representation, and enforced the marginalisation of those who, like Germaine de Staël, were consciously involved in Franco-British exchanges. Beyond this, the details of publication and advertisement strategies, the fundamental role played by translations and translators, the numerous books read and written, as well as the letters penned by migrants and hosts, certainly made obsolete the insinuation by some émigré writers that they survived in a culturally autarkic world, in which French and aristocratic values prevailed. In fact, while these sources confirmed that France was the focus of all emigrant public discourses, they also demonstrated that the frontiers between emigrant and British cultures were definitely blurred by linguistic innovations, literary interpenetrations and a wilful system of transnational political influence. There is no doubt that the emigrant book trade in London participated in what Kirsty Carpenter called the British "enduring fascination for the Counter-Revolution".[103] Every emigrant and counter-revolutionary title published, sold, advertised, translated and read in the British Isles modified the host's debate on the Revolution and Counter-Revolution. On the other hand, British eighteenth century literature, and its developments in response to the French Revolution, had an undeniable impact on French readers and those who discussed literary styles and forms. Whether adopting or rejecting British literary novelties, the emigrants came to redefine their own styles and interests in their literary productions. Putting aside this inquiry on the display of emigrant public identities, it is now time to discuss and question the multiple emigrant private relations to their home and host country.

Notes

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3. *Burney*, ed. Ward, III, p. 16.
4. Madame de Staël, *Letter to Karoline von Berg*, quoted in Angelica Goodden, *Madame de Stael, The dangerous exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 1.
5. Daniel Roche, *Les Circulations dans l'Europe Moderne: XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2011), p. 350.
6. Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de cinquante ans* (Au bureau de la mode, 1845), p. 69.
7. *Souvenirs et fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps par le Marquis de Bouillé*, ed. P.L. de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906), II, p. 345.
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12. Georgette Ducrest, *Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine: ses contemporains, la cour de Navarre et de la Malmaison*, ed. Christophe Pincemaille (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), p. 38; Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp. 200–201; Walsh, p. 156.
13. François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 2007), Livres IX à XII, p. 111–112; Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire* (Paris: Dufey, 1833), I, p. 384; France, CARAN 729MI/57, Letters from the Comte de Jarnac to his son.
14. Jean-Antoine Brillat-Savarin, *La Physiologie du Goût*, (Paris: Tessier, 1834), pp. 169, 246 and 313–317.
15. Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts Culturels Franco-Allemands* (Paris: PUF, 1999), pp. 28–29.
16. Ibid., p. 27.

17. Walsh, p. 64.
18. Lucy de La Tour du Pin, *Mémoires de la Marquise de la Tour du Pin: journal d'une femme de cinquante ans*, ed. Christian de Liedercke (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), p. 316.
19. Stéphanie-Félicité du Crest de Genlis, *Mémoires* ed. Didier Masseau (Paris: Mercure de France, 2004), p. 328; Walsh, p. 129.
20. Burney, T. 6, p. 90.
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22. *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 7 January 1798.
23. HRO, Winchester, *Whickham family*, 38M49/1 and 38M49/8/125.
24. Ibid., 38M49/8/125/7-8, Memorial respecting the Demoiselles de Sainte Hermine and suite.
25. Ibid., 38M49/8/125/17, Regnier to Lord Grenville (20 Mars 1806).
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28. Ibid., 38M49/8/125/66, Count de Moustier (December 1806).
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31. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, 1173 and 1174.
32. Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/1, Comte de Sérent to Lord Adam Gordon (6 March 1796).
33. Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/10, Artois to Lord Adam Gordon (26 September 1799).
34. The sentence reads: "N'oubliez jamais que cette dernière condition m'est nécessaire pour que je puisse me trouver comfortable quelque part".
35. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172/22, Rebourquil to Lord Adam Gordon (5 August 1800).
36. Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172/29, Rebourquil to Lord Adam Gordon (7 October 1800).
37. Reinhard Wittmann, 'Une Révolution de la lecture à la fin du XVIIIème siècle?', in *Histoire de la Lecture dans le monde occidental*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 2001), pp. 335–392.
38. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac to his son (27 January 1813).

39. Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society), p. 77.
40. Eléonore-Adèle d'Osmond de Boigne *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond: récit d'une tante*, ed. Jean-Claude Berchet (Paris: Mercure de France, 1999), I, pp. 129–130; *Genlis*, ed. Masseau, p. 328.
41. Charles-Edme Gauthier de Brécy, *Mémoires véridiques et Ingénues de la vie privée, morale et politique d'un homme de bien* (Paris: Imprimerie Giraudet, 1834), pp. 274–276.
42. Ibid., p. 289.
43. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 332.
44. "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 & Carpenter, 1793), p. 105.
45. *Genlis*, ed. Masseau, p. 328
46. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 332.
47. *Catalogue of a Library of Books, the Property of Mons. De Calonne, Deceased, to be Sold by Auction, July 27, 1803* (London, 1803). In their *British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800: A Union List* and the following unpublished volume, bibliographers A.N.L. Munby and Lenore Coral mention the sale of at least eighteen private libraries of French emigrants.
48. Cyril Triolaire, 'Les reflets théatraux d'une emigration plurielle. L'itinéraire militaire et culturel du jeune baron de Gaujal', in ed. Philippe Bourdin, *Les Noblesses Françaises dans l'Europe de la Révolution* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 459–476 (p. 460).
49. Quoted in Triolaire, p. 465. Full reference is FRANCE, AD Aveyron 17 J 29, Marc Antoine François de Gaujal, *Notes sur mon emigration.*
50. Burrows, "Cultural Politics of Exile", p. 168.
51. *Les Héros de l'Emigration ou l'éloge de la besace* (Paris: Surosne, 1801).
52. Crates wrote 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 (besace) in Greek.
53. Burrows, "Cultural Politics of Exile", p. 168.
54. *Genlis*, ed. Masseau, p. 327.
55. Arnault, pp. 388–389.
56. *Genlis*, ed. Masseau, p. 327.
57. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac to his son (8 June 1812).
58. Arnault, p. 391.
59. Ibid., pp. 388–389.

60. Ibid., pp. 390–391.
61. Gauthier de Brécy, p. 283.
62. CARAN, Paris, 729MI/57, Comte de Jarnac: *Documents for the Education of my son*.
63. Burney, T. 6, p. 90.
64. *Boigne*, ed. Berchet, I, p. 129.
65. Chateaubriand, Livres IX à XII, p. 164.
66. Walsh, p. 179.
67. Orianne Smith, *Romantic Women Writers, Revolution and Prophecy: Rebellious Daughters, 1786–1826* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 130.
68. L. Andrew Cooper, *Gothic Realities: The Impact of Horror Fiction on Modern Culture* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2010), p. 46.
69. Walsh, p. 28.
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74. Olivier Ritz, 'Metaphors of popular violence in the revolutionary debate in the wake of Edmund Burke', in *Representing violence in France, 1760–1820*, ed. Thomas Wynn (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), pp. 35–47.
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78. See Appendix 'The Counter-Revolutionary book trade in London'.
79. 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 Elémentaires, 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).
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81. *British Catalogue, and Quarterly Theological Review* (London, 1798), vol. 11, p. 204.
82. *The Emigrant in London: a bilingual edition; Journal d'un émigré français de quatorze ans/Journal of a French Emigrant, fourteen years old: edition bilingue* (London, 1795).
83. Louis-Eustache Ude, *The French cook or the Art of Cookery developed in all its various branches* (London, 1813).
84. Ibid., p. iii.
85. The adverts were found in the Burney Collection via word-recognition software (OCR). The names mined corresponded to those of the four most important émigré booksellers and publishers: De Boffe, Boosey, Dulau and L'Homme.
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88. Wiley, p. 16; Benis, p. 298.
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90. 'Introduction' in eds. Lise Andries, Frédéric Ogée, John Dunkley and Darach Sanfey, *Intellectual Journeys: the Translation of Ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), p. 8.
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CHAPTER 7

Settling Preoccupations and Investment of the Host Territory

In January 1797, a frozen cadaver was found in the North York moors between Pickering and Whitby.[1] After the coroner's inquest, the press revealed that the deceased was French emigrant vicar Jean-Jacques La Vieuville.[2] He had been one of two hundred and fifty clergymen from the diocese of Evreux who had found a haven in Great Britain.[3] The tragic demise of this "wander[ing] Minister of God" in a hostile and isolated environment could certainly illustrate the romantic notions of melancholy, placelessness and solitude in exile.[4] Yet, the coroner discovered a passport amongst the different papers found on the corpse. It had been signed by the authorities in Whitby and approved of La Vieuville's journey to Sheffield in accordance with the *Aliens Act*. There was no French emigrant community settled in the seaside town of Whitby; nor was there any in the South Yorkshire industrial town according to the Relief lists drawn after 1796.[5] It is hence unlikely that La Vieuville set off to Sheffield in order to preside over the religious affairs of a community of his fellow countrymen. Why then would a lonely emigrant priest attempt the dangerous journey through the North York Moors in the middle of winter? Historical scholarship on emigration has been concerned with the structures and demographics of emigrant settlement in Great Britain. It rightfully identified clusters of lay and clerical French exiles in London's various districts and in the English southern ports and islands. Kirsty Carpenter produced a precise map of French emigrant centres in England using addresses provided by the British relief lists for the year 1796.[6] Collectively, most sources gathered for this book corroborate and

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_7

reinforce the predominance of London and its suburbs in the incidental dispersal of French exiles in the British Isles throughout the period. Many archives or newspaper articles fortify the idea that Jersey, Guernsey and Edinburgh were emigrant provincial centres, while Winchester became a clerical nucleus and the region surrounding Southampton a centre for émigré regiments. Besides, the majority of the addresses found in emigrant correspondence and administrative documents strengthened Kirsty Carpenter's and Jean Vidalenc's conclusions on émigré settlement patterns in the City of London and Westminster.

This chapter will argue that the domination of the national scale and the search for undeviating social structures have led researchers to omit the importance of alternative geographical references and individual exilic strategies. Like La Vieuville, many French exiled clergymen were inclined to settle in remote regions. By the late 1790s, in Yorkshire alone, a handful of French exiled priests (and one imposter) inhabited small towns like Hull or Wakefield, and villages like Wetherby.[7] Additionally, a few among those growing up as emigrants, like Fanny Krumpholz or Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot, son of the Comte de Jarnac, saw opportunities in their host country that their parents could, or would not see. These observations question the consistency and evolution of the migratory projects of the emigrant community throughout exile. In his study of twentieth-century refugees, Peter Gatrell has argued that "the history of displacement is by definition a history of place".[8] Perhaps, at least in the case of the French emigration, would it be more accurate to say it is the history of the varying relations between an individual, French and British communities, and several places, real and imagined. Confining the emigrant settlement to static geographical locations hides the various forms and evolutions of emigrants' relations to their host and home countries. Several scenarios were proposed by returned exiles and historians alike to explain the emigrant settlement patterns: the dispersal of foreigners in Britain was contained by the predicaments of State legislation; the British monarchy and several charities had bought and rented mansions on behalf of the emigrant clergy.[9] Self-narratives and archives from charities established how the emigrants' choice of settlement resulted from various reasons pre-existing emigration, such as politics (Legitimists lived in Richmond; Constitutionalists settled in Twickenham), finances or familial connection. Yet, explanations by pre-revolutionary circumstances deny any historicity to the relation between settlement and the creation of identities.

These explanations do not reflect the influence and fluctuation of the emigrant's desire to return home to his choice of settlement. They don't take into consideration the evolution of counter-revolutionary programmes, or those of individual relationships built in exile. Place has to be thought of in relation to the development of exilic projects and strategies; geography is indubitably linked to the social construction of émigré personal projects.

This research into emigrants' relationships to French and British spaces points to three settling tendencies: the host country was, at times, thought of as an emergency-location, a resignation-location and the location for self-discovery and identity regeneration. This is, in fact, a pattern common to most exilic experiences, and these three tendencies have been described in sociological scholarship as rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of incorporation.[10] It is important to state, at this point, that all French emigrants did not experience these three tendencies, regardless of whether they dwelled in the British Isles for a short or lengthy period. Similarly, incorporation does not imply that individuals chose to cut all ties with their home country and rebuild a new identity in their host country. Incorporation also resulted in the construction of stronger social ties within the émigré community itself. Using the notions of emergency, resignation and incorporation as frames of reference, this chapter seeks to understand how emigrant mentalities progressed between the original choice to settle near the Channel or in London in the early 1790s, and their increasing interest in British provinces and colonies in the late 1790s and early 1800s.

Distance and Time as Markers of Emergency and Resignation

Emergency refers to the project of the migrants, but neither to the distance from the home territory nor to the time spent in a particular place. The distance to the home region played a significant part in the original dispersion of civilian and military migrants in the British Isles along with ideological and military strategies, and the necessity to survive in a foreign environment. However, many sources indicate that by the late 1790s, distance was not an absolute indicator of the emigrant's desire to return to France. The close distance between the first emigrant settlement and the French territory denotes a certain emergency—that of fleeing France, as well as that of a prompt return should the situation at home turn to

the emigrants' advantage. The choice to reside a short distance from home reflected the finite nature of individual emigrant projects. Scores of documents reveal that the Channel Islands and port cities hosted large numbers of emigrants throughout the 1790s.[11] Historically, the British Channel Islands have served as a traditional haven for all sorts of French migrants and other political asylum seekers. In July 1791, a contributor to *the Saint James's Chronicle* wrote:

> 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.[12]

A mandatory passage for all migrants from, or towards, the continent, these hubs hosted a highly heterogeneous emigrant population. Taken apart from the rest of the émigré community, civilian emigrants might be likened to transborder refugees. As previously mentioned, 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.[13] Hence Southampton had become, since 1793, a haven for many officers and a "popular ground for émigrés regiments".[14] The Bédée family was amongst this crowd. Their name features on a list of fifty-seven noblemen and their addresses held at archives in Southampton.[15] "Madame Caroline de Bédée, a French Lady" resided in Bugle Street. Her age, "28 years old", should allow us to date this source to the year 1790; she was born in 1762. It can't be. Whether the administrator mistook her for a younger woman or she lied, the *Aliens Act* had not yet been implemented and foreigners were not required to register with local authorities. Furthermore, in 1790, the Bédées were still living in Jersey, where Caroline was tutoring in French.[16] Nonetheless, this list highlights the prominence of southern England, and Southampton in particular, as a military settlement for émigré officers and regiments. Besides the Bédées, twenty French military officers and nine naval officers also lived in Southampton. Four names belonged to relatives of these officers. Traditionally, women followed their husbands to the battlefield. Administrators in Romsey, a town in the north of Southampton, produced two comparable lists.[17] Seventy-one naval officers and mariners figured on the first one. The second bore the name of forty-eight French royalist officers. There were no civilians on either list. Some names overlap between the two Romsey lists. The occupation of ports by émigré regiments symbolised a military emergency, likened

to that of Coblenz in Germany or Turin in Italy. This military emergency was accompanied by a religious emergency. According to Bellenger, at the beginning of 1793, 500 priests resided in the ports and 2200 in Jersey; by the end of 1795, the French clerical population was more dispersed but "those on the mainland still lodged principally in the ports".[18] Their role was to offer religious support to the displaced population on their way in or out of Great Britain. They also blessed the soldiers leaving to fight against the French Republic.

Yet, after the defeat of Quiberon and, as it became apparent that the émigré project would fail, these costal locations could not be likened to emergency-locations. The forty-eight emigrants who lived in Romsey and wrote to the Alien Office asking for a leave to remain in their homes might, in fact, have grown attached to their adoptive city. It could be argued that by the late 1790s, the distance between the French territory and the place where the emigrant settled had ceased to be a sign of their attachment to their country of birth. On the contrary, for some emigrants, the larger the distance from the French territory, the stronger was the attachment to the French nation seen as a political project. Hence, the Comte de Puisaye and a group of forty veterans who escaped from Quiberon put together a project for the British government with the view of establishing an émigré colony near Toronto in Canada.[19] Their aim was to recreate a perfect 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. In this project, the unknown and un-colonised territories would allow the group to recreate a community based on *ancien regime* hierarchy without the social, legal and financial constraints associated with life as a French émigré under the rules of a foreign State. Location was circumstantial in this ideological system, as the émigrés ultimately believed that they personally embodied the true France. Finally, and though they left England to flee debtors, the Comte d'Artois and his aristocratic court probably shared the conception that territory and nation were separated when they moved to Scotland.

The expression of a changing political emergency from the beginning of the 1790s to the late years of this decade transpired in emigrant renting and buying practices. In her self-narrative, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun discusses her housing arrangements upon her arrival in London in the 1800s.[20] Worn out by many years of exile, the painter first stayed at the hotel Brunet, in Leicester Square. From there, she immediately searched for cheaper accommodation and a private apartment that she could rent for an undefined period of time. She finally settled in a humid

and murky home in Maddox Street.[21] Comparing the émigré population in Germanic countries to the Huguenot diaspora in these states, Karine Rance deduced that the former rented their houses in a foreign country for ideological reasons.[22] Therefore, the comparison between this statement, confirming the need for the emigrant to settle, and known emigrant renting practices in continental Europe raises a question about the recurrences and reasons behind emigrants moving houses. Because of the legislative amendments made to the *Aliens Act* in 1796 and in 1798, landlords in Britain were required to report the names of their alien tenants to the overseers of the Poor, the administrators who gave money, food and clothing to those in distress. Very few of these administrative documents appear to have survived. Yet, a close examination of the 1798 *Returns of the Aliens for the parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John the Evangelist in Westminster, as well as the one of the parishes of the City of Westminster and Saint Ann* reveal heterogeneous renting practices [Table 7.1]. The returns had been written on single sheets of paper, and contained an oath by the landlord, a list of foreigners living on his premises and a signature. Often, they also provided the length of the emigrant's stay at a particular address. Amongst the foreigners registered in Saint Margaret and Saint John, thirty-one individuals are clearly identified as people having left France in response to the French Revolution. In Westminster and Saint Ann, 137 lodgers had been designated as French emigrants by their landlords.[23] This small sample determines that two thirds of the lodgers effectively moved in within the two years preceding the returns of the aliens. Yet, these lodgers often

Table 7.1 Duration in years of time spent in one address by French emigrants as reported to the overseers of the poor in two London parishes in July and 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

declared being officers of the counter-revolutionary armies, and were henceforth forced to move according to regimental orders and military campaigns. In fact, the returns could also be interpreted as a sign that some soldiers were stably settled in London following the colossal émigré defeats of 1796. Civilians moved as well. But this was not for fear of taking root outside of their home country. Various sources related a change of address to varying financial and familial situations in emigration. For instance, in the *Notices relative to Aliens for the City and Liberty of Westminster* from July 1798, a French emigrant indicated he had moved into a larger apartment after the birth of his last child.[24] Unexpectedly for such a short and formal document, he added that he had married a British woman and had three children, "all born in London". The birth of an infant was also invoked by the Marquise de La Tour du Pin to justify her moving into a new and larger house in the western suburbs of London.[25] Edward's birth encouraged the family to upgrade from a ground floor, two-bedroom apartment in London to a small house in Richmond. After finding a secure employment as a librarian, Gauthier de Brécy moved out of his first apartment in London into a small "*maison entière*", a house he and his family would occupy by themselves.[26] It appears that emigrant civilians had renting practices aligned with those of their British counterparts in London, trading their premises up and down according to personal circumstances rather than as an act of political strategy.[27] Other relocations mentioned in emigrant sources were beyond the will of the emigrant lodger. Hence, the Comte de Jarnac was forced 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:

> *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.*[28]
>
> [I paid £50 to Mr Toury, and will only pay the remainder when I want—he will sell the furniture first, and then the house; he allowed me to stay in as I please without paying a rent—a freedom I will not abuse].

Finally, a significant third of the emigrants counted in this sample lived in the same house for longer than two years. Most of them were civilian families, single women, tradesmen and clergymen. In Great Britain, perhaps unlike the rest of Europe, emigrant renting practices cannot be entirely considered as ideologically or strategically motivated.

Challenging the Descriptions of an Autarkic Émigré Community

The study of settlement strategies and housing practices revealed heterogeneous projects in the emigrant community, whose relation to the home country changed due to various individual and external circumstances. This, in turn, questions the affirmation by returned emigrants that they survived in autarkic communities, almost physically separated from the British population. For instance, the role of the relief committees and French associations in helping emigrants find housing has been contested in a few returned narratives.[29] At present, there are not enough sources to question the control of these associations in lodging migrants. Another common claim in self-narratives was that emigrants in London would often share their apartments and create emigrant clusters by moving to the same areas. The study of the emigrant geographical dispersal in London is enlightening on this matter. London is a refuge reached in emergency and the site where emigrant resignation is the most visible. It was a city where one could further the counter-revolutionary fight by lobbying the government or publishing pro-émigré pamphlets. The distribution of refugee reliefs was centralised in the British metropolis and many migrants might have relocated to London to present themselves to the relevant authorities. For the impoverished emigrants, it offered significant employment opportunities that would allow them to survive and thrive. In fact, all the announcements by emigrant advertisers collected for this research had been printed in London newspapers. Focusing in on the city, several areas of emigration seem to be distinguishable. With its Francophone background, Soho was a prime location for those arriving in London. Indeed, the majority of addresses given in classified adverts were for domiciles in London's own *Little France*. This district was also the epicentre of the émigré book trade. Many, like the Marquis de Bouillé in 1792, came there to take advantage of the local publishing industry.[30] Soho was the epicentre of emigration, a mandatory and temporary stepping-stone before resettling somewhere else in the capital. From there, historians have observed a movement towards the peripheries of London. Necessity forced the poorest to the South and East of the city; those with financial means relocated to the West. The poorest would move to St Pancras, Somers town and Saint George's Fields. Here lived the widows of Quiberon, the elderly and

the war wounded. Those financially comfortable would upgrade their housing for addresses in Marylebone, Richmond and Hampstead.[31] For instance, the Marquise de La Tour du Pin left London for Richmond.[32] She partly blamed the cultural behaviour of the entire émigré community in London for her choice to leave the city while it might in fact have been a common relocation in her social circles. A similar move was made by the wealthy families of Artois in 1795, the Orléans Princes in the early 1800s, and Louis XVIII around 1807. Once again, the emigrant community modelled its behaviour on British social practices.

The model theorised by Jean Vidalenc and Kirsty Carpenter to explain the underlying structures behind emigrant settlement patterns conceals many variations in the individual housing strategies and the varied evolutions of emigrant migratory projects. Individual sources tend to demonstrate that the emigrant dispersal in London resulted from opportunity rather than a shared exilic experience. They even disparage claims of the existence of a predominant émigré autarkic community. A small sample of Returns of the housekeepers for the year 1796 and the aforementioned Returns of the Aliens for 1798 demonstrate that in the second half of the 1790s, a majority of the landlords concerned with the legislation on aliens rented to single French emigrants or families [Table 7.2].[33] In this sample, when two adult emigrants shared an address, they were often related. "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.[34] The Marquis and the Chevalier de Sarlabous

Table 7.2 Dispersal of the French emigrant population as reported to the overseers of the poor in three London parishes in 1796 and 1798

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

both resided at n°37 Camomile Street, east of Bishopgate.[35] Monsieur and Madame de Noircame lived in Chapel path, "second door from Bethel Chapel", in St. Pancras.[36] It was rare for more than two emigrants to live together apart from families with children and groups of priests. Clergymen James Francis Brunet, Peter John Baptiste Houvard, Jerome Francis Beuzeulin du Hameau and Charles Frederick Hersan were registered by their landlord as being domiciled in 19 Porter Street, south of Seven Dials.[37] Their names had been anglicised by the landlord. Finally, in this sample, the only landlord who hosted more than five seemingly unrelated emigrants was French *Capitaine* Paul de Gouvello from Brittany.[38] He was now "Captain to King George III's service" and had apparently bought a house in 18 Queen Street in Soho in the early days of 1798. He lodged four French exiled priests, two French officers and two of his own relatives. As a landlord and political migrant, he might have felt it was his duty to help his fellow exiles. Despite a concentration of addresses in Soho, the dispersion of emigrant houses made it particularly difficult to identify the existence of actual clusters. The addresses collected in administrative documents, in classified adverts, in correspondences and self-narratives were scattered around London. Admittedly, the number of addresses collected for this research is too small, and can only allow for partial conclusions.[39] With this sample of address, there are no signs of émigré microenvironments in London. A relatively small number of addresses were situated on the same street, or adjacent streets, like those of Pierre Navarre, Lewis Francis de la Mare and Nicolas Jean Saingevin who respectively resided in number 4, 14 and 16 Baker's building in Old Bethlem.[40] Lastly, this collection unsurprisingly confirms the concentration of French emigrants around Soho Square. It was in the streets between Oxford Street, Ruppert Street, Shaftesbury Street and Tottenham Court Road that the majority of emigrants living in colocations resided.

In the absence of a perceptible French microcosm, the imagination and construction of an autarkic community might have derived from the prevalence and prominence of émigré cultural centres. These were cultural centres like a private Salon or a bookshop, religious meeting points like the few Catholic Churches and hospices created by the exiled cleric community, or sociable institutions, such as hotels and *cafés*. In fact, the intellectual and political elites in exile would meet in francophone bookshops in the West End or in Soho.[41] Emigrants living next to Saint Paul's could buy their books at Allen & West, Symonds or Rivington.

Cadell & Davies, and John Matthews provided those from the Strand with French literature. In Bond Street alone, six booksellers and stationers advertised for French books. Thirteen bookshops situated in the area of Jermyn Street, St James's Street, Pall Mall and Leicester Square were also involved in the francophone and émigré book trade. It can be argued that religion, and not language, was a far more important factor of national integration for the emigrants in London.[42] Diaries, novels and ideological pamphlets, all contemporary to emigration, as well as self-narratives and theoretical books from the *Restoration,* demonstrate the importance of a shared religious experience in the construction of a faith-based émigré identity. Often, emigrants returned to France with a regenerated faith. This is exemplified by a letter from Lady Holland from 19 June 1800.[43] The British aristocrat described Madame de Genlis' religious practices as transformed by emigration, so that she was convinced that "Bourbon monarchy and Papal Catholicism" were "indispensible to the salvation of mankind". In the early years, emigrant masses and ceremonies were conducted in Catholic chapels in embassies. Sometimes a Protestant temple would agree to receive a Catholic congregation. More than any other district, the urban development of Somers town benefited the French Catholic community. Under the leadership of the abbé Carron, emigrants invested in this relatively new district where they could build for their own purposes.[44] The abbé had spent some time in Jersey, and in 1796 had moved to Tottenham and then to Somers town. Throughout his time in London, he worked to provide the poorest in emigration with a series of social and religious services. He set up a hospital and several schools, and in 1808, built the Church of Saint Aloysius in Phoenix Road, next to Clarendon Square. Today, there are very few emigrant vestiges in London. The burial grounds at Saint Pancras were covered by new constructions in the twentieth century; the rare churches built for the French clergy have long since disappeared. However, they had been destinations of pilgrimage for some returned emigrants after 1815.[45] The late 1790s clearly see emigrants investing in their host country. This may be a sign that they had renounced the counter-revolutionary fight. It might also be that of a temporary resignation as the counter-revolutionary momentum was suspended. Arguably, raising subscriptions to build a church in the host country participated in reinvigorating the social links between French emigrants and directly participated in the construction of an émigré imagined nation.

The Host Country as the Location for Self-Reinvention

Collective investments in the host country bolstered the sense of togetherness. What was the meaning of individual investments? The immense majority of emigrants encountered during this research rented their apartments. However, a few individual emigrants bought properties in the British Isles. Only two titles deeds proving the existence of emigrant landlords were found during this research; this does not mean that these are the only ones.[46] Several emigrants subscribed to insurances to protect their belongings. The names of fifty-two people apparently assimilated into the French emigrant community appear in the Sun Fire insurance archives for the years 1792–1814.[47] The list separates the owners from the lodgers in a domicile, inferring that some emigrants could have owned property in the English capital city. The aforementioned returns to the Overseer of the poor for 1798 implied that Paul de Gouvello was the owner of 18 Queen Street in Soho.[48] In the eighteenth century, British legislation made it difficult for foreigners to invest in real estate on British soil. An alien could obtain a land three different ways: first, an emigrant could choose to become naturalised, or choose denization. In this case, the property would not be passed on to the heir of the landlord. The second means to acquire real estate in Britain was to marry an heiress. This is what the Chevalier Henri de Roquemont and the Comte de Jarnac did. Jarnac, who had married an Irish woman before the Revolution, spent many years and resources in a lengthy trial against his in-laws to secure ownership of some Irish properties. Both methods might have been perceived as a public rupture with the émigré establishment and a personal renouncement to return home in the near future. The last method used by emigrants to secure property in Britain was that of using trustees. Hence, a national advertising campaign to raise a subscription to lodge the "suffering French Clergy refugees in the British Dominions" resulted in the purchase of King's Manor in Winchester.[49] In the long term, this particular method was insufferable to "old-fashioned Tories" who sanctified the relationship between a land and its historical inhabitants.[50] The author of an anonymous memorandum (probably written around 1800) disapproved of the sedentarisation of French emigrants.[51] He wrote "these establishments are merely a temporary asylum for the refugee emigrant", adding that they had made "various purchases of houses and situations". He concluded his note with the following: "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". In this text, emigration is taken out of its political context. Yet, the author questioned the evolution of the emigrant project when confronted with the failure of the counter-revolution. He feared emigration would metamorphose into a movement of immigration.

In the meantime, the French emigrant population discovered the British Isles. In the early 1790s, emigrant journeys were mostly practical and short. A rare source, a bundle of passports from February 1793 to May 1794, issued and received by the mayor of Winchester "as chief magistrate of the town under the Aliens Act", are kept in Hampshire.[52] All had been delivered to French priests, with the exception of one.[53] Fifty-seven of these passports had been carried by clergymen on their way to Winchester; nineteen had been delivered in Gosport, nineteen in Southampton and nine in Portsmouth. Only nine passports were delivered in London, Westminster and the county of Middlesex. Meanwhile, the authorities in the Hampshire town issued one hundred and ten passports allowing exiles to leave the city for a short period. Sixty-two passports were for London, twelve for Dover, seventeen to Portsmouth and Gosport, four to Southampton and three to Jersey. Other destinations included the neighbouring towns of Bishop Waltham and Salisbury. In the early 1790s, these destinations were all emergency locations. However, it is very unlikely that exiled clergymen would attempt the journey to France in these years; yet, from these ports, they could also embark for other European havens. Perhaps some priests travelled to the southern ports to fulfil their Christian duties and welcome the newly arrived Catholic emigrants.

In the mid-1790s, these short and purposeful trips were replaced by longer journeys. The development of an emigrant tourism in Britain could be seen as the continuation of pre-revolutionary noble practices, when French individuals would visit fashionable English destinations. In fact, in the early years of the French Revolution, departures from France and stays in English Spa towns had often 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".[54] However, there might be something particular to emigrant tourism. The emigrant champion Prince of Wales sojourned in Brighton. Consequently, it became a highly fashionable destination for the emigrant community. Perhaps related to this and fifteen miles away from the port city, in Cuckfield, John Grainger from

Bridge House received courteous visits from dozens of anonymous French gentlemen and women between May 1793 and his death in 1797.[55] At times, he accommodated visits by emigrants up to fifteen times a month. These visits might demonstrate that emigrants adopted British sociable practices. Several letters sent from the English and Scottish countryside also reveal that some in the French community were invited to visit the country houses of the wealthy British establishment.[56] Regarding civilians, these touristic journeys can be interpreted as the sign of political resilience. However, the Princes and their court might have mixed pleasure and business when travelling to remote castles in the North of England and Scotland as shown in the correspondence kept in Chichester.[57] Tourism might have been a way for the establishment in emigration to strengthen its diplomatic and financial networks in Britain in preparation for future counter-revolutionary strikes. Finally, many emigrants went on summer excursions thereof imitating a British craze: Gourbillon later spoke of his excursions in the countryside as an infectious English "national itch".[58] Destinations changed between the early years of emigration and the later ones. Between 1789 and 1795, emigrants mirrored the journeys of earlier travellers in Britain. On their way to London from Dover, they would stop at Canterbury.[59] In the British capital, they would visit the Tower of London, Saint Paul's cathedral and the poet's corner in Westminster Abbey.[60] Chateaubriand acted as a *cicerone* in the City of Westminster.[61] Some would travel to the Cotswold and visit Stratford-upon-Avon, where Shakespeare was born. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun seized every occasion to admire beautiful English landscapes.[62] Gauthier de Brécy visited Windsor.[63] Later in the decade, emigrants journeyed towards the North of England. Émigrés visited natural sites—lakes and mountains—and picturesque ruins, and Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun compared the British landscape to that of Switzerland. The most audacious emigrant tourists visited Birmingham's industries, Liverpool's ports and Newcastle's coalmines.[64] In self-narratives, reconstructed memory and the time elapsed played an important role in the portrayal of touristic sites. The British landscape was appreciated through collective cultural constructions, as many emigrants had read travel literature from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[65] British weather conditions impacted the returned emigrants' recollections. In later memoirs, the clouds and ambient humidity were associated with the romantic notion of melancholy. Descriptions of British urban and rural landscapes resembled anthropological works in which emigrant authors dissociated themselves from the object they observed. The emigrants' idea of

English countryside was a bucolic one, whose inhabitants were faceless and represented simple happiness.[66] It reminded them of *ancien regime* France. A few early narratives related the health and simplicity of English peasants to the political necessity of adopting a constitution.[67]

While some travelled to escape the failures of the counter-revolutionary leaders, others moved away from emigrant centres to escape the community as a whole. The study of emigrant clusters had enforced the notion that the French emigration in the British Isles was essentially an urban phenomenon. Yet, it also had a rural component. Accounts of an emigrant presence in rural parts of England are scarce but nonetheless existent. Regional newspapers sometimes mention the presence of French emigrants in the countryside. More time needs to be spent in local archives and register offices to confirm their presence. Louis-Martin Delaistre, a French priest resided in the rural village of Ashley in Staffordshire, a few miles southwest from Stock-on-Trent.[68] His remoteness led him to invest time and money in his host community.[69] The former rector of Mont l'évêque settled in his countryside residence around 1794. There, he presided over a small local Catholic community. While he died in 1813, he made arrangements in his will in the early 1800s.[70] This will testifies to the complete integration and assimilation of Delaistre in his host community. It also gives evidence of the priest's fundamental choice to avoid the émigré community in Britain. The fact that some unnamed French heirs would lawfully inherit his French possessions is about the only reference to Delaistre' past in France. The four remaining pages of the will discuss Delaistre's British estate and possessions. In the nineteen years he spent in Ashley, Delaistre had acquired a large quantity of land. The will stated that the "encouragement [he] met in good generous England and [this] on exertion [had] enabled [him] to secure here a little property". Upon his death, Mary Cartledge, a local parishioner and his benefactor, would receive the priest's estate. 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. Geographically and mentally separated from the French counter-revolutionary community, Delaistre might be one of many such migrants who embraced their present in a rather welcoming host society.

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In the long term, the emigrant investment of the host territory contributed to shaping an émigré nation; it influenced the construction of a counter-revolutionary mythology in which the host was at times friend and foe. However, in the short and medium term, the relation between emigrants and the British territory evolved in correlation with the victories and difficulties faced by counter-revolutionary politics. At first experienced in the mode of emergency, the territory was increasingly perceived as a space where emigrants could invest until they returned to France. Housing practices testify to the resignation of many emigrants as they improved the state of their accommodation by renting for longer periods of time, or even buying properties in England. All in all, in the later period of their exile, emigrants in Britain invested in their host territory by adopting their British host's behaviours and, for the moneyed ones, leaving the hassle of London for a quieter suburban life. First a sign that emigrants were "learning nothing" as the Chevalier de Panat once put it, the development of tourism in some emigrant circles in the later 1790s indicates that emigrants acknowledged the reality that exile could not be lived as an emergency and that a potential return to France necessitated the renewal of a transnational counter-revolutionary network. Finally, financial investments in the host country either reinforced émigré identity politics or, on the contrary, increased the gap between individual emigrants and the rest of the community. Karine Rance, proposed to study the long-term objectives of emigrants through the analytical concepts of *rupture* and *maintien*, seen as the disintegration of the relationship with the home country as opposed to the upholding of traditional home values in exile.[71] 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. In the context of the French emigration in Britain, this notion should be

further developed and challenged. The last chapter of this book will now interrogate the impact of local environments, neighbourhoods and families in the creation of various emigrant identities and the evolution of migratory projects. Daily interactions and confrontations with the host community might have facilitated innovations and the renewal of host and migrant identities.

Notes

1. *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 8 January 1797.
2. *True Briton*, 21 January 1797.
3. Dominic A. Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: An Historical Introduction and Working List* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986), p. 255.
4. William Wordsworth, 'Exiled French Clergy', *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, etc., 1822).
5. Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 191. Carpenter identified three emigrant clusters in the North, in Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle. Bellenger (p. 4) found up to 200 priests in Scotland and 300 in Ireland.
6. Carpenter, *Refugees,* p. 191. Since she used 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.
7. *Morning Post & Fashionable World*, 3 April 1797; *Hull Packet*, 1 December 1801.
8. Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 289.
9. Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy,* pp. 75–79.
10. Van Gennept, *Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960); Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, memory, and national cosmology among hutu refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 6–7.
11. In 1796, two years before emigrants were asked to move 10 miles away from all shores, Southampton, Gosport, Brighton, Eastbourne, Dover, Sandwich and Ramsgate all possessed a large French civilian community according to Carpenter, *Refugees* (p. 191).
12. *Saint James's Chronicle or British Evening Post*, 5 July 1791.
13. This has been studied by Kirsty Carpenter, with the NA, Kew, *Bouillon Papers*, HO69, WO1, PC1, PC1. Furthermore, several memoirs attest for a French counter-revolutionary presence in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey. In Summer 2017, at a conference in Nijmegen (Netherlands),

Sydney Watts demonstrated the importance of local studies to 'uncover the local pressures that shaped the émigré experience of nobles and commoners from various regions of France, and how social networks helped or hindered their passage and resettlement'. In a paper entitled 'Brittany's Emigres in Jersey: Social Identity and Community Coherence', she introduced new sources to examine the exile of up to three thousands Bretons that stayed in this British island.

14. 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. Miles Taylor (London: Tauris, 2007), pp. 1–14.
15. SAS, *Town's Clerk Misc. Papers,* SC/TC BOX 4/14/7, *Alphabetically indexed list of French émigrés with ages and addresses.*
16. 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.
17. HRO, Winchester, *Romsey Borough*, 97M81/4/21 and 22.
18. Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p. 4. See also, SAS, Southampton, SC/TC BOX 4/14/7.
19. Maurice Hutt, *Chouannerie and counter-revolution: Puisaye, the princes, and the British government in the 1790s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 269–323.
20. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs* (Paris: Fournier, 1835–1837), III, p. 157.
21. Ibid., pp. 160–161.
22. Karine Rance, L'émigration française en Allemagne: une migration de maintien', *Genèse,* 30 (1998), 5–29 (p. 16).
23. LMA, London, *Westminster Sessions of the Peace*, WR/A/004, Returns of Aliens residing within the Parishes of Saint Margaret and St John the Evangelist, Wesminster, made to the overseers of the said Parishes to the 1st day of September 1798.
24. LMA, London, *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).
25. *Mémoires de la Marquise de La Tour du Pin: Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans*, ed. Christian de Liedercke (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), p. 325.
26. Charles-Edme Gauthier de Brécy, *Mémoires véridiques et ingénues de la vie privée, morale et politique d'un homme de bien* (Paris: Imprimerie Giraudet, 1834), p. 273.

27. Joyce M. Ellis, *The Georgian Town, 1680–1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 111.
28. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/54, Comte de Jarnac to his son (23 February 1799).
29. Lady Jerningham found a house for her niece, Madame de la Tour du Pin. Charmilly's British wife used her connections in London to find housing for Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and several others (III, p. 157–158).
30. *Souvenirs et fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps par le Marquis de Bouillé*, ed. P.L. de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906), II, p. 100.
31. Carpenter, *Refugees*, pp. 62–99.
32. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 320.
33. LMA, London, *Middlesex sessions of the Peace,* MR/A/001: Returns of Aliens and *Middlesex Sessions: County administration*, MJR/MISC/5.
34. Ibid., MR/A/001.
35. Ibid., MJR/MISC/5.
36. Ibid., MJR/MISC/5.
37. Ibid., MR/A/001.
38. Ibid.
39. All addresses have been verified on a copy of Horwood's 1798 Map of London. It might be possible to add to these the addresses given to the relief Committee and gathered by Kirsty Carpenter to recreate a map of the emigration in London.
40. LMA, MJR/MISC/5.
41. Appendix, 'The Counter-Revolutionary book trade in London'.
42. 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 ed. Philippe Bourdin, *Les Noblesses Françaises dans l'Europe de la Révolution* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 369–378 (p. 371).
43. *The journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, ed. by the Earl of Ilchester (New York: Longmans Green, 1908), pp. 110–111.
44. Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, pp. 106–109.
45. From 1815, Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot travels every year from Paris to London to visit his father's grave.
46. LMA, London, *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.
47. LMA, London, *Records of Sun Fire Office*, MS 11936.
48. LMA, London, *Returns of the Aliens*, MR/A/001.

49. *Morning Chronicle*, 27 September 1792. See also HRO, Winchester, *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.*
50. Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 48.
51. HRO, Winchester, *Mildway of Shawford, Twyford*, 46M72/F9B, Anonymous memorandum.
52. HRO, Winchester, *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.
53. It was delivered to a French officer named Jean de Gardera.
54. *English Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*, 31 Dec 1789/ 2 January 1790.
55. WSRO, Winchester, *Grainger Family Archives*, Add Mss 30726-30728, Diaries of John Grainger for the years 1793–1797.
56. WSRO, Winchester, *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 Septembre1799),
57. WSRO, Winchester, *Goodwood Estate Archives.*
58. Gourbillon, in ed. Jacques Gury, *Le Voyage Outre-Manche*: *Anthologie des Voyageurs français de Voltaire à Mac Orlan du XVIIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1999), pp. 359–360. Gourbillon visited Oxford, Birmingham, Liverpool.
59. Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire* (Paris: Duffey, 1833), I, p. 383.
60. Duc de Levis, in Gury, p. 173; Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp. 161–165.
61. *Chateaubriand. Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. by Jean-Marie Roulin (Paris: Flammarion, 2007), pp. 106–110.
62. Vigée-Lebrun, III, pp. 191–192.
63. Gauthier de Brecy, p. 285.
64. La Tocnaye, in Gury, p. 516, Simond, in Gury, p. 547.
65. Alain Corbin, *L'Homme dans le paysage* (Paris, 2001).
66. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 330.
67. Joseph-AlexisWalsh, *Souvenirs de cinquante ans* (Au bureau de la mode, 1845), pp. 182–183; Simond, in Gury p. 449; Bombelles, in Gury, p. 431.
68. Alastair Ager, ed., *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration* (New York: Castell, 1998), p. 9.
69. Delaistre's name appears in Bellenger's *Exiled Clergy* under the spelling Laistre.
70. BAA, Birmingham, A62 and 63, Will of the Rev. Louis Martin de Laistre (6 December 1810).
71. Karine Rance, 'L'émigration française en Allemagne', pp. 5–8.

CHAPTER 8

The Disenchantment of the Emigrant World

The 1795 play *The Emigrant in London* opened on a scene with protagonist *La Jeunesse*, the servant of a French nobleman, waiting for his employer in a public house. The thirsty domestic accosts a waiter "with a broken English":

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?[1]

La Jeunesse's speech is traditional of the comic, ignorant and dishonest French servant, a conventional character in French classical comedy and the 'butt for the wit of their superior'.[2] In appearance humoristic, the uttering of an uncertain national allegiance when faced with exile and misery was not accidental. As a heroic French officer who participated in émigré military campaigns in Europe, the servant's master could not have pronounced that sentence. It would have been un-noble, uncounter-revolutionary and hence un-French to trade a revered national identity for a drink. It would also be unmanly. In 1801, emigrant novelist Charlotte de Bournon-Malarme wrote about a female emigrant who had declared she wished she had been born a foreigner before praising the Empire.[3] Mentioned in public by a servant and a woman, these

J. Reboul, *French Emigration to Great Britain in Response to the French Revolution*, War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-57996-2_8

sentences hid a rather common question amongst the emigrant community. Was the belief in a counter-revolutionary nation worth the sufferings of exile and poverty? In the real world, alcohol often loosened many emigrant tongues. Some drunken Frenchmen reaffirmed their solidarity to Bourbonism, others recognised that their heart belonged to their homeland whatever 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".[4] He was punished for a speech in which he had praised the French expedition to Ireland in winter 1796–1797. The inebriated man had also cheered at the news of a potential second Irish expedition by General Humbert. A few months after the peace treaty of Amiens and as Napoléon struck all but a 1000 emigrants from official émigré lists, Monsieur de Membre attacked Monsieur de Sainte Victoire with a pewter mug during a heated political argument.[5] As per the journalist reporting the anecdote, the ex-guard of Louis XVI and the ex-Mousquetaire had been dining in a tavern renowned as a political forum in the emigrant community.

These amusing anecdoteson identity transgressions reveal a transformation in emigrant mentalities. As the emigrant stay in a foreign land was prolonged, the initial ideological choice between Revolution and Counter-Revolution metamorphosed into the question of the location of national loyalty. For some, king and nation had ceased to form a single entity. Monarchism, and in particular Bourbonism, was just an ideological choice amongst many other political systems.[6] The question associated with the return ceased to be 'how' and become 'when'. By the mid-1790s, the dauntless and irreproachable émigrés from 1789–1792 had been replaced by anxious exiles uncertain of their futures as individuals and as a group. For most, emigration had never been thought of as a viable long-term solution. In France, by 1796–1797, several pro-emigration apologists claimed that émigrés had been forced out of their country by violence; many legislators differentiated between men and women, the latter being 'political nonentities' who could not have committed a crime against the nation when leaving France.[7] Napoléon Bonaparte's role as a general, and later as a Consul, was essential in the normalisation of relations between the emigrants and the French state with regards to the former's reintegration within a society divided into several political parties.[8] Under the Directory, Consulate and Empire, a series of powerful legislative gestures and the many French military victories against European Counter-Revolutionary coalitions modified

the return conditions of the French exiles.[9] Meanwhile, the French 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'.[10] Louis XVI's brothers failed to gather under a united front the diverse strands of counter-revolutionary ideologies; they repetitively engaged in military fiascos. 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".[11] Exiled journalists, and especially constitutional monarchists, renegotiated their positions.[12] Montlosier and the Abbé Calonne merged their newspapers into a single pro-bonapartist journal, "thus contribut[ing] to both the intellectual and moral failure of Bourbonism and to the emotional and political triumph of Bonapartism".[13] Following the 1801 Concordat, the Catholic emigrant community and the French clergy in exile had to choose between Rome and the Bourbons. A majority of the London bishops refused the Pope's demand to resign from their *ancien régime* bishopric.[14] 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".[15] The radicalisation and Gallicisation of courtiers and bishops surrounding the Princes had a deterrent effect on the majority of exiles who could not recognise the original objectives of emigration in this new discourse.

In fact, refugee sociology distinguishes two categories of political exiles. The first one, known as the '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'.[16] While the majority-identified refugees composed the core of voluntary migrants before 1792, they seemingly became a minority within the emigrant population as the émigré project started to collapse. Following the examination of emigrants' geographical investment of their host country, this last chapter deals with the metamorphosis of the migrants' identities and the decline of the unsteady cohesion of the French emigrant community in Great Britain. For this, it will examine the psychological, intimate and familial adjustments made by individual emigrants throughout their stay as they became disenchanted with the political and ideological visions of their leaders. Desperation, pessimism and

the loss of faith in the Counter-Revolution converted into diverse resolutions, from an acute blindness when it came to the transformation of France into a modern society, to the proactive acceptation that the host country could be a new home.

Failed Repatriations, Isolation and Despair

Historical scholarship rarely examined the conditions of emigrant departures before 1815.[17] Around 1797, British newspapers started to give weekly reports of successful emigrant returns. By 1802, it was very common to read that, in several British ports, packets and boats were "filled with emigrant passengers" and other comments on the scale of emigrant departures.[18] British attitudes towards the repatriation of French emigrants to France were enthusiastic, especially in times of peace. Between 1800 and 1802, several optimistic rumours concerning Napoléon Bonaparte's policy of forgiveness circulated in the United Kingdom. The days preceding 14 July 1800 saw a tale that the First Consul would symbolically burn the émigré lists in a bonfire to celebrate the return to Peace and the reunification of the French Nation.[19] In December 1801, a second rumour held that Bonaparte had allowed the return of the entire French "emigrant nobility" in France.[20] A minority of British voices rejoiced at the departure of "popish emigrants", some regretting that their retreat was so unhurried.[21] The *Albion and Evening Advertiser* blamed British charities and the government's benevolent policies in this tardiness, "because the assistance they receive from the government places them above absolute indigence, by which those on the Continent suffer so severely".[22] Emigrant hopes of a successful repatriation were fed with numerous articles of famous repatriated emigrants reintegrated in the French elite circles and counter-revolutionary officers being struck from the émigré lists. Sometimes, British journalists narrated the stories of emigrants who, returned to France, were reinstated into their pre-revolutionary estates after a faithful servant had bought and taken care of properties until the return of their *ancien régime* rightful owner.[23]

However, many cases of repatriation were in fact unsuccessful. At times, the failure to return took place even before the departure. The first pragmatic consideration to take into account was the cost of the return journey. Some sold their belongings at auction to fund their return; others simply could not afford to return home. Besides, the *Aliens Act* gave the British Administration complete power over foreigners' movements

within the country and, henceforth, on those who were trying to exit Great Britain. The same newspaper that complained about the slow rate of returns explained that if so few emigrants had left Britain, it was because the Alien Office had only distributed six hundred passports allowing for a return to France, including eighty for priests.[24] In 1797, three adolescent deserters from an emigrant regiment in the York Hussars were caught trying to cross the Channel.[25] Failing to present a passport stamped by the British Authorities, they were consequently thrown in jail. This anecdote puts the enlistment of many male emigrants in the British armies into perspective. The financial incentive to enlist under British command for men who were refused the civilian relief certainly surpassed their political motivations.[26] In May 1800, a French emigrant was apprehended in Dover. He was trying to leave the country "without permission to embark from this port".[27] These clandestine returns were treated as threats to the British national security, especially because the repatriates were able-bodied men. Like the French prisoners of war in Britain, these emigrants joining France were capable of bearing arms against their British hosts. If successful in reaching France, the emigrants were confronted with their next potential failure. They were simply not welcomed by their fellow countrymen. This information was mostly reported in conservative loyalist and governmental British newspapers. In 1797, a group of emigrants who had embarked for their homeland were forced to turn around after a series of "unsuccessful attempts to land in France".[28] Many English captains testified that homecoming Frenchmen were "received with inhumanity by their countrymen".[29] Furthermore, newspapers circulated stories of emigrants returning from other European havens being arbitrarily executed upon crossing the border with France.

Meanwhile, some emigrants began to feel inadequate in Britain. By the late 1790s, the community had progressively lost the sympathy of the fashionable British aristocracy and that of many politicians. With the death of Edmund Burke in 1797, the emigrant community lost its most fervent defender. As previously discussed, the public failed to back up charities, and several subscriptions raised in favour of the emigrants proved unsuccessful. Indeed, the same fashionable men and women who had publicly affirmed their support for the émigré cause in the early 1790s were now showing their sympathy for ex-revolutionaries and newcomers in French politics. The host community welcomed those displaced by the *Terreur Blanche*. Though these new arrivals often had played minor roles in the Revolution, they embodied the nemesis

of many emigrants. In 1797, a newspaper reported that a French emigrant lady fainted after seeing Pierry, a man identified by the journalist as one of the deputies at the national assembly who voted for the death of Louis XVI and "caused [her] family to be massacred at Paris and [herself] to be thrown in prison".[30] Diarist Mary Frampton mentioned a similar rumour in her private journal: as one of the members of the Directory was seen in the Strand, a "French lady whose father, mother and brother he had murdered" fainted.[31] 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".[32] Stunned, the latter shut the door in front of the intrusive visitor with the following words: "Do I look like a regicide?" In 1800, a mean-spirited British Lady of fashion was teaching a male interlocutor that the English etymology of the word emigrant was "a compound of three English words—a meagre rat".[33] Lady Holland expressed her distaste for the Comte d'Artois, described as "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".[34] The situation was however condemned by the most conservative British journalists who saw a strong injustice in the treatment of the emigrant population. When 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".[35] Following the cruel rules of fashion, emigration had been *à la mode* amongst the English elites until a new French trend naturally replaced it.

The emigrant feeling of inadequacy might have been worsened for some by a low social and financial integration into the host country. In the early 1790s, hopes of a fast return home had discouraged French emigrants from integrating within the British society; by the end of the decade, some had become excluded by default. Without falling into the trap of a psychologising reading of inadequacy and exclusion in exile, it is important to differentiate with psychiatrists the common acculturative stress from the "immigrant chronicle and multiple stress" also known as Ulysses' syndrome.[36] 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 familial separation, 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 self-harm. The suicide of the emigrant identified by the British press as the Comte de Melfort was only reported because the press mistook him for the British Duke of Melfort.[37] Despite carrying in her pocket a letter narrating her distress in emigration, the death of a French female drowned in the Thames was ruled as an accident.[38] The British press took a particular interest in two suicides, the first for its violence and the second because of its resemblance to English educational and moral literature. In both cases, the deceased was considered as unstable or "melancholic" by the examining coroners. In July 1800, sixty-year-old Captain B. Kellerie shot himself in the head twice in a public park, in front of young and impressionable children.[39] 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 *A Harlot's Progress*. In January 1810, Miss Paris voluntarily overdosed on opium.[40] The young woman, presented as the orphaned "daughter of a French emigrant of Rank", had left her boarding school to marry a British navy officer. She then eloped from the marital home and lived as a prostitute before being rescued by a religious organisation. The moral and ethical difficulties in adopting new behaviours, nostalgia for what they had lost in France, and the asymmetrical relations emigrants had with their host society led to the long-term financial, social and psychological marginalisation of a number of French emigrants.

Familial Regeneration and Dynastic Strategies

By 1802, instances of the expressions "French emigrant" and "refugee" decreased in newspapers. Yet, British journalists continued discussing titled emigrant's whereabouts and the political decisions of public émigré personae. Removed from the public eye, part of emigrant community in the British Isles had, by all appearances, grown increasingly tight and organised in the late 1790s. It sustained its own schools, churches and hospitals. However, it can be argued that those who stayed despite mass repatriations were either the most radically engaged against the new French authorities, or individuals who had distanced themselves with the émigré group to better integrate within their host community. A study of the lifestyle and familial strategies behind the prolongation of exile in the late 1790s might help understand the significance of these emigrants' choice to stay

in the British Isles. As time passed, the emigrant community was confronted with new ethical choices if it was to survive as a nation in the long-term: should its members marry and give birth in a foreign country? The important gender imbalance in the emigrant community must be pointed out at this point. It first emerges from the lists of the Overseers of the Poor. Furthermore, the men registered with local administrations presented themselves as officers. Hence, they were statistically likely to be in their forties or older.[41] Some had wives and children waiting for them in France.[42] Others could not afford to marry. Then, there was the question of who could they marry? What would be the social impact of marrying and having children with a member of the host community? Would the emigrant second generation be better off with a Gallic and Catholic education, or should they be taught skills to adapt and thrive in their host country?

Much information concerning the marriages and birth of emigrants helped by St-Pol de Léon are available in the archives examined by Kirsty Carpenter. It is otherwise difficult to find traces of both in British archives, as there was no civil registry at the time. Church registers are useless, as standardised baptism and marriage records were only introduced to British parishes in 1813.[43] It is furthermore difficult to differentiate the descendants of French immigrants from French emigrants. At least one French exiled priest registered the baptism of newborns, the name of their parents and those of their godparents. Louis Benjamin Robin had been in the British Isles for three years when he opened in 1795 what is considered to be the first parochial register of Catholics in England.[44] Yet, he was the only emigrant to dwell in the Cheshire town of Macclesfield. As a result, emigrant marriages and birth are difficult to quantify. However, several wedding bans were published in newspapers. When reported, marriages were both endogamous and exogamous. Until 1795, endogamous marriages and pregnancies seemed overtly connected to hopes of counter-revolutionary military victories and the desire for an imminent repatriation. In eighteenth-century military circles, a soldier "focused on his patriotic duties, while his wife […] submits to her own national sacrifice by parting from him".[45] On 26 December 1793, the Comte de Fauchecourt married Madame de Saint Germain, a widow.[46] 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

and hero of the counter-revolutionary martyrology, 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* [Here, you would only marry an émigré; there, he would be triumphant]".[47] The comment is probably apocryphal, but significant of emigrant hopes and familial strategies in 1795. A similar strategy was applied to pregnancies. Also in 1795, the British Relief Committee asked for subscriptions to help eighty pregnant French women lying in after their husbands left for Quiberon. Later in the decade, Bouillé sent his pregnant wife 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* [so that, at least, the child she would give birth to, would not be marked at birth with the seal of emigration]".[48] In this, emigration was perceived as a failure. All these stories are emblematic of the symbiotic relationship between the emigrant sense of honour and the French territory.

Throughout this period, finances and social distinction remained the most important pulls on both endogamous and exogamous marriages. Amongst the French emigrant community, *Créole* women were highly sought after. The rich planters of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Saint-Domingue had managed to save some of their colonial fortunes, in part thanks to the British invasion of the three islands. Hence, the Marquis de Duras gained a fortune in marrying Mademoiselle de Kersaint in November 1797, as did Edward Fitzjames by wedding Betsy de la Touche.[49] Bouillé almost broke off his engagement with Mademoiselle de Sérent when he learnt from her brother that the British-dominated part of Saint-Domingue could be evacuated.[50] British heiresses made up for their nationality with important dowries. In 1797, a Miss Fagnani, the daughter of a Marquis, was engaged to a "French Emigrant, not in the most affluent circumstance".[51] The fiancée reportedly inherited the enormous rent of £10,000 from a British gentleman named George Selwyn.[52] In 1798, the aforementioned Henry Roquemont espoused Miss Freeman of Appleshaw, whose worth was £25,000.[53] In 1806 Oxford, a Chevalier Dustervalm, "French Emigrant", married Miss Parry, heiress to a fortune of £20,000.[54] Young female emigrants were also introduced to rich British families. Juliette Gros, friend and correspondent of Fanny Krumpholz, 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]".[55] In 1798, the marriage of Adèle d'Osmond and *East India Company* veteran de Boigne was the talk of the town.[56] In fact, the financial benefits of emigrant women marrying Englishmen were doubled in the late 1790s. Financially stable, these women were eligible to regain their familial properties in France, as French law would recognise them as foreigners and no longer as émigrées.[57] In a society where social distinction and appearance ruled the elite sociability, endogamous and exogamous marriages functioned as a vector of financial and social integration within the highest circles.

The British viewpoint on marrying into the emigrant community evolved throughout the period. Commonplace mentions of French sexual and adulterous mores were aplenty. The young Countess Granville complained about Artois's courtiers: "Puységur is a little too *dévoué aux dames* […]. Lord help them! Their only *héros de roman* are the Baron de Roll and the Duc de Castries".[58] A few days after writing this letter, she was forced 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".[59] Newspapers circulated scandalous stories of French husbands prostituting their wives, exiled teachers eloping with daughters of local genteel families and emigrant tutors impregnating young English girls. The fiercest attacks targeted the Catholic clergy. In 1804, Louis Darnley, "French emigrant priest" in London was "capitally convicted for an unnatural crime".[60] Reports of the priest's homosexuality were as outrageous as that of the pregnancy of a female emigrant in the Yorkshire town of Wetherby.[61] She had fooled the locals into thinking she was an exiled priest. The imposture was unveiled as she was brought to bed with a child. The *Morning Post and Fashionable World* sarcastically reminded its readership: "the French clergy are prohibited from marrying by their religion".[62] Anti-popish newspaper *True Briton* thought it funny to conclude: "this will finish our Protestant Divines with an additional argument against celibacy of the Catholic Clergy".[63] Yet, by the late 1800s and early 1810s, marrying into the emigrant community was normalised in some social circles. Emigrant in-laws were still not desirable 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".[64] 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 childhood friend Isabella,

daughter of the Duke of Leinster, the bride's family perceived it as a "bad marriage", something to be "reconciled to".[65] Yet, marrying an emigrant was not considered a disgrace in less opulent and provincial families, as well as in non-titled families. In fact, 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 an emigrant mother and her son in an unknown spa town.[66] A fraudulent British provincial gentleman threatened the son, Monsieur de Rosier, with deportation under the *Aliens Act*. In the final scene, Rosier, who has been granted leave to remain, marries an English girl. Her father blesses the wedding: "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 provincial English subjects.[67] The family of Villars' second wife rejected him for being an emigrant: "the marriage almost broke the [bride's father and main landlord in the village's] heart". However, in the final scene, Rosine is made the sole heiress to her in-laws' fortune and marries her British lover.

In a male exilic project, mixed marriages cannot be interpreted as signifiers of an ideological rupture. Neither were they the sign and vector of the groom's integration within British society. Marriages were, in fact, considered opportunities to maintain a high social status despite exile. For some, it was also a means to build strong ties with those in charge of British State affairs. In established emigrant circles, a mixed marriage participated in a system of dynastic planning. Monsieur de Rebourquil wrote to his friend Adam Gordon in January 1801 on the subject of the advantageous union between Mademoiselle de Grammont and Lord Ossulton, the son of the Earl of Tankerville.[68] Rebourquil concluded the letter hoping that "*ils se fassent beaucoup de ces alliances entre vos meilleures familles et les notres*' [there would be plenty of these marriages between your best families and ours]". Aristocratic mixed marriages were traditional in European elite circles. Closing the aristocratic group to a chosen minority reinforced the group's dominance on the rest of the population. The opposition between "our" and "your" in Rebourquil's letter highlighted the separation between the two aristocracies, and, paradoxically the French royalists' refusal to assimilate within the British aristocracy. Unlike their brothers, female emigrants were expected to settle in their husbands' home country. In this aristocratic society and as the role of women in the émigré public sphere shrank, a married woman's

identity was legally subordinated to her husband's. In non-majority identified families, a mixed household took on a different significance, sometimes associated with the revolutionary notion of regeneration. In 1810, the Comte de Jarnac became grandfather to a Franco-Irish boy. He received the congratulations of his friend, the General Dumouriez.[69] Jarnac and Dumouriez had both rejected the Empire and the Princes in exile. Dumouriez' letter started with a condemnation of the "*dégénérée* [degenerated]" and "*monstrueuse* [monstrous]" émigré court. He continued:

> *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 another soil with emigration. This transplantation can only renew its sap].

To further Dumouriez's arboricultural metaphor, mixed marriages in which the groom was an emigrant allowed for a French family to take root and blossom in the host country. These births kept alive those French noble names threatened with extinction.

Disagreeing on marital matters, ultra-royalists and constitutionalists could not see eye to eye when it came to the education of their children. The matter was further complicated by calls in Britain to integrate emigrant children into British society and educate them in the wonders of Constitutionalism. Emigrant parents and ideologues where confronted by many dilemmas and questions: would their children be French or English subjects? Should they be trained as the next leaders of France, or be given skills that would allow them to survive in their host country? How to instil in a child the attachment to a homeland he or she barely knew, or had never seen? The French ultra-royalist response was unanimous: the noble code of honour would be enforced in French educational institutions and provided by the Catholic clergy in exile. This was the subject of a prolonged fight with the founder of *Penn School*. There, Burke attempted to promote the social inclusion of emigrant children by teaching them English. Yet, St-Pol de Léon and his help, the Abbé Maraine, had refused to hire British teachers, as French priests

were regarded as "essential to the morals and religion of the boys".[70] Burke felt that a French education would "ruin" the boys.[71] This was 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".[72] Burke went as far as questioning the sanity of both 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![73]

Despite his efforts to bring "a good dash of English education" at Penn School, Burke also promoted social exclusivism. He felt that a Catholic Anglophone Clergyman should be responsible for English lessons and that all pupils should be Catholics.[74] When the American spouse of a French man forced her son's way into Penn, Burke compelled her to disclose the child's religious conviction.[75] She refused. Burke considered her conduct "abominable" and concluded that he would not "breed the child of any Protestant in the Roman Catholic Religion".

Meanwhile, the French bishops imagined Gallican education as a long-term solution to exile. Once again, Walsh provides us with some interesting directions. As an emigrant teenager, he was sent to Monsieur de Barentin's school of administration.[76] It had been created after the disaster of Quiberon. The school prepared two hundred emigrant students to take up positions as magistrates in a future Bourbon State. Reminiscing about his childhood in emigration, Walsh expressed regrets as he had not been given the skills to affront "*des revers de fortune et de nouvelles saturnales révolutionnaires* [reversal of fortune and new revolutionary saturnalias]".[77] Nevertheless, the education dispensed at *Penn* and Barentin's School was not representative of the schooling of emigrant children. In fact, several emigrant schools for boys and girls taught French and British pupils, as highlighted in their advertisements.[78] The reputation of these schools was international. Some British parents reportedly sent their children from the colonies to these schools. Yet, and despite the pupils' mixed background, these schools still displayed an important émigré identity. The Princes and the Catholic clergy establishment sponsored many ceremonies. As a result, the British community

was apprehensive of the proximity between French and British children. Some considered these schools as "a place, when the union of the different nations must remove every liberal feeling of national animosity".[79] Others feared the empowerment of the Catholic community in the British Isles, because many British students in émigré schools might belong to the Church of Rome, and as such would threaten the British religious status quo. In May 1800, the *Sun* published an article on British Catholic families and the renewal of monasticism in the British Isles:

> 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.[80]

These conspiracy theories were few. In fact, the French Revolution had quashed the Jacobite desires for a Restoration, and Jacobitism turned into a branch of political conservatism.[81]

The exclusive education delivered by the clergy in exile reflected parents' fear that their children would be perverted by emigration and the prolonged contact with their host. Migrant children are vulnerable to the differences between the cultural behaviours transmitted by their families and behaviours in their host country.[82] Few documents contemporary to emigration illustrate this fear. Yet, it is clear that some parents despaired at their progeny's distaste for philosophical matters. After her return to France, Madame de La Tour du Pin wrote that the youth was more interested in "*les chevaux, la mode, les petites intrigues, mais n'ouvraient jamais un livre'* [horses, fashion, intrigues, but would never open a book]".[83] The Comte de Jarnac made a similar reproach to his son.[84] He felt he had failed as a father. Louis-Guillaume did not like reading. He was interested in all things fashionable, and frequented dandy circles. Importantly, Louis-Guillaume de Rohan-Chabot was also one of the very few emigrants who openly converted to Anglicanism. Though his mother was Irish Protestant and his father irreligious, the young man was baptised as a Catholic. Only two cases of religious conversions were unearthed during this research, his and that of teenager Fanny Krumpholz. Both children had been isolated from the emigrant community. Louis-Guillaume was raised with the children of the Duke of Leinster at Carton lodge from 1789 onwards.[85] The devout Catholic

Duchesse de Bourbon took the orphaned Fanny Krumpholz in after her father died.[86] The girl was educated in a Catholic convent. In 1792, the Duchesse asked the Earl of Hardwick to take the young Fanny under his protection. She was raised in London with his children. Fanny received several letters from her French benefactor, in which she was exhorted to pray, confess and receive the communion in a Roman Catholic Church.[87] A letter dated from June 1800 hints at her conversion.[88]A memorandum on Fanny written by her children states that she had converted to Anglicanism at age sixteen in reaction to the interdiction by a Catholic priest to attend a Protestant ceremony.[89] In exiled situations, religious conversions are often considered as a shift of convenience as opposed to an emotional and psychological shift.[90] However, both the conversion of Louis-Guillaume and that of Fanny Krumpholz respond to their particular familial circumstances and the rejection of the émigré group. It is clear from marital practices and educational policies that while some perceived their host as a means towards repatriation, others saw it as an escape from the increasingly isolated position of emigrants in Great Britain.

Were Naturalisations the Sign of a Rupture with Emigration?

The case of these two teenagers is barely representative of the emigrant community. The scale of the emigrant repatriation up to 1815 seem to signify that while emigrants had individual financial, professional and familial ties to their host country, they refused to integrate as a group within their host community. Nonetheless, a large amount of sources from the hand of French emigrants reveal the existence of individual and emotional attachment to the host country. These final paragraphs will discuss the significance of national membership in exile, as well as the evolution of a discourse in which Britain was perceived as a new homeland and a place where emigrants could thrive. Kirsty Carpenter reports that "102 French citizens made applications for British naturalisation" between 1793 and 1832.[91] This number does not take into account those who obtained limited citizenship through denization. It also discounts those who, *domestics* like some servants, left France in response to the revolution, but stayed in England after 1815. Nowadays, naturalisation is seen as the pinnacle of a migrant's assimilation in a host country.

However, in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, becoming a member of the host community presented little advantage to some migrants, in particular as the right to vote was conditional to crossing a particular wage threshold. Furthermore, the emigrant women who stayed with their British husbands after the Restoration could not apply for naturalisation. Jane Austen's cousin, the Comtesse de Feuillide returned to England in 1790 with Françoise Bigeon, a French maid.[92] The latter remained in London until her death in the 1830s. As a woman and as a working class individual, she was doubly excluded from participation in the British public sphere. It is worthy to note here that there is no correlation between a change in one's exilic project and the anglicisation of one's name.[93] In this research, when a name was anglicised, it always appeared as an administrative mistake made by non-French-speaking overseers.

Naturalisation was not necessarily considered a contract between an emigrant and the State. The papers studied by Kirsty Carpenter uncovered two categories of emigrants who applied for naturalisation: "those who had married British women and those whose professional interests retained them in Britain. Often the two coincided".[94] Letters contemporary to the emigration highlight the existence of deeper motives, amongst which was the disenchantment with Counter-Revolutionary leaders. In 1803, the Duc de Coigny wrote a letter to Wickham on the subject of the Duc and Duchesse de C***.[95] The couple had reached England after many years on the continent. 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'espèrance 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]". Furthermore, demands for naturalisation and denization could have hidden a financial compromise. A letter from the Comte de Lisle to Lord Sheffield, dated from May 1792, stated:

> *Il est extrêmement urgent pour moi d'être constaté anglais pour pouvoir ici toucher mes revenus comme étranger et payer mes créanciers dans une residence 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][96]

He then added that he was entitled to £30,000 upon receiving his new citizenship, perhaps inferring that he could finally use his letters of credit in Britain. De Lisle felt that as the grandson of a British subject he should, by law, be recognised as a British subject. This ethnic argument was, in fact, 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".[97] In this letter, citizenship was also unrelated to politics. The case of Régnier is the only one found in this research where a man newly awarded a British status studied the British Constitution, to serve a country he called his new "homeland".[98] For all intents and purposes, naturalisations and denizations were not the sign of a rupture with the émigré ideology. On the contrary, they appeared opportunistic.

Furthermore, the act of tallying naturalisations is ignorant of various forms of attachment for the host country. In a letter to Lord Stafford, Monsieur Gaillard pleaded for the creation of an emigrant army under his direction.[99] He affirmed that his "zeal for the case and devotion to England" was related to the host country being "at the moment my true homeland". This flattering attachment to England or Great Britain was superficial and materialistic as the British government was the main source of financing for the émigré regiments. The emigrants did not think of Great Britain as their nation. It was, however, thought of as their *patrie*. A letter from the Comte de Vaudreuil to Adam Gordon, dated from September 1799, differentiated the two notions: "*au milieu d'une nation sensible, hospitalière, pleine de vertus et d'urbanité, nous y avions trouvé une seconde patrie et […]de vrais amis* [in the midst of a sensitive nation, hospitable, full or virtues and urbanity, we found a second homeland and […] true friends]".[100] In July 1801, Fanny Krumpholz followed her benefactors to 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.[101] 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* [What

is upsetting you? I cannot guess it unless it is your love for London, and in fact, it is your homeland in a way]".[102] While the first letter refers to England, the second one identifies London as Fanny's Patrie. A similar localised meaning of *Patrie* appears under the pen of Louis XVIII's courtiers. The Comte Descars dreamt of returning to "the very comfortable asylum of Holyrood", which he had left for Surrey.[103] He described the castle as "*un pays auquel je suis attaché par un sentiment qui ne s'atténuera jamais* [a country I am attached to by a feeling that will never diminish]". Rebourquil felt "*entièrement naturalisé dans votre paradis terrestre* [completely naturalised in your terrestrial paradise]" during his stay in the Scottish castle of Burn.[104] In the emigrants' words, the English *patrie* was often associated with dreams of monumental constructions and gardening. As Delille's poem *Les Jardins* became a commercial success, many considered the undisturbed garden as a metaphor for a territory where one could retire from politics, a distraction from their own misery. Those who intended to further the counter-revolutionary fight and those who intended to settle in this new *patrie* both used this metaphor. Secluded from the rest of the French nobility, the Comte de Jarnac, an avid reader of Voltaire, literally cultivated his own garden in Twickenham. The Bishop of Arras was disillusioned after spending a year negotiating the return of the Princes in France.[105] In June 1800, he wrote:

> *Je voudrois 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].

Gardening, as an act and a metaphor, was seen as an escape from worldly matters. More than anything else, it required patience, whether as a sign of rupture in one's exilic project, or one of ideological resignation.

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By the late 1790s, the heterogeneous collection of emigrants from the early years of emigration had become a narrowly defined faction of

émigrés. Legally ostracised by their host and the establishment in emigration, the majority of emigrants returned to France and attempted to reintegrate the new French Nation. The repatriates came from economically disadvantaged and politically marginalised groups. Those with financial resources and familial connections in the host country had the means to maintain their political exile throughout the years. They used their private lives to sustain the counter-revolutionary fight, with marriages, birth and education perceived as means towards the restoration of the Bourbons on the French throne. These strategies turned exile into a durable solution. In turn, emigrant inadequacy in the host country and their increased marginalisation from the majority-identified group led many to find alternative solutions. More research within French and British archives might reveal, in time, new cases of French emigrants who felt that a rupture with their original homeland was the only response to what they saw as the failures of their nation.

Notes

1. *The Emigrant in London*, Act 1, Scene 1.
2. Fairchilds, p. 230.
3. Charlotte de Bourbon-Mallarme, *Le Temps passé ou les malheurs de Mademoiselle de Mo…émigrée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1801), p. 40, quoted in Michel Delon, 'Violence in the novels of Charlotte [de] Bournon-Mallarme', in *Representing violence in France 1760–1848*, ed. Thomas Wynn (Oxford: Voltaire Foudation, 2013), pp. 251–262.
4. *Oracle & Public Advertiser*, 9 March 1798.
5. *E. Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor*, 13 June 1802; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June 1802.
6. Karine Rance 'L'historiographie de l'émigration', in *Les Noblesses Françaises Dans l'Europe de La Révolution*, ed. Philippe Bourdin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), p. 363.
7. Jennifer Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830* (Ithaca: Cornelle University Press), p. 108.
8. Jean-Clément-Martin, 'Introduction', in *La Contre-Révolution en Europe: XVIIIe-XIXe Siècles: Réalités Politiques et Sociales*, ed. Jean-Clément Martin (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001), pp. 13–14.
9. Natalie Petiteau, 'La Contre-Révolution endiguée? Projets et realisations sociales impériales', in *Contre-Révolution en Europe*, ed. Martin, pp.

183–192 (p. 184). The ratification of the 15 July 1801 *Concordat* with Pope Pius VII and the 26 April 1802 general amnesty pardoning all but 1000 intransigents seem to be a consequence rather than a cause of emigrant repatriation.

10. Dominic Aiden Bellenger, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789: An Historical Introduction and Working List* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1986), pp. 112–113.
11. Simon Burrows, *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814* (Suffolk: Royal Historical Society), p. 230.
12. Ibid., p. 183.
13. Ibid., p. 230.
14. HRO, Winchester, *Carnavon of Highclere papers*, 75M91/A6/38, Archbishop of Aix to Earl Carnavon (2 December 1800). Birmingham.
15. Bellenger, *Exiled Clergy*, p. 112.
16. Egon F. Kunz, 'Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory', *International migration Review* 15 (1981): 42–51.
17. At the time of writing this manuscript, doctoral student Kelly Summers was examining the condition of repatriation of a group of émigrés who landed in the West coast of France.
18. *Morning Post &Gazetteer*, 12 March 1801.
19. *Whitehall Evening Post* (*WEP*), 10–12 July 1800.
20. *Hull Packet*, 1 December 1801.
21. *Lloyd's Evening news*, 4–7 August 1797.
22. *Albion and Evening Advertiser*, 13 September 1800.
23. *Saint James's Chronicle or British Evening Post* (*SJC or BEP*), 25–27 July 1797.
24. *Albion and Evening Advertiser*, 13 September 1800.
25. *WEP*, 31 October–1 November 1797.
26. Rance, 'historiographie', p. 360.
27. *London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 7–9 May 1800.
28. *True Briton*, 9 October 1797.
29. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 15 May 1802.
30. *Lloyd's Evening*, 22 February 1797.
31. *Journal of Mary Frampton, widow of Charles Wollaston*, ed. Harriot Georgiana Mundy (London, 1885) (3 March 1797).
32. *SJC or BEP*, 13–15 September 1798.
33. *Oracle & Daily Advertiser*, 10 October 1800.
34. *The Journal of Elisabeth, Lady Holland*, ed. by Earl of Ilchester (New York, 1908), pp. 50–51 (1st March 1800).
35. *Cobbett's Annual Register*, 30 June 1802.

36. Joseph Achotegui, 'Emigrar en situación extrema: el Síndrome del inmigrante con estrés crónico y multiple', *Norte de Salud Mental* 21 (2004): 39–52.
37. *Morning Chronicle*, 8 August 1811.
38. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 11 July 1801.
39. *London Evening Post* (*LEP*), 4–7 July 1800.
40. *Morning Post*, 8 January 1810.
41. The prosopographical work of Pinasseau on military emigrants demonstrates that the medium age for emigrant officers in 1791 was 47.4 years.
42. Heuer, p. 99.
43. LMA, London, *Saint Pancras Parish Church, Euston Road, Camden*. These registers highlight the presence of many French emigrants in its burial grounds, but no birth.
44. BAA, Birmingham, Macclesfield Alban Catholic church.
45. Jeannine Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage and the British Army in the long eighteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 2.
46. *Public Advertiser*, 20 January 1794.
47. Joseph-Alexis Walsh, *Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans* (Au Bureau de la Mode, 1845), p. 69.
48. *Bouillé*, ed. Kermaingant, II, p. 473.
49. *SJC or BEP*, 28 Novembre 1797; *Mémoires de la Marquise de La Tour du Pin: Journal d'une femme de Cinquante Ans*, ed. Christian de Liedercke (Paris: Mercure de France, 2006), p. 317.
50. *Souvenirs et fragments pour server à l'histoire de ma vie et de mon temps, par le marquis de Bouillé*, ed. P.L. de Kermaingant (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1906), II, p. 312.
51. *True Briton*, 15 April 1797.
52. *Gentleman's magazine*, Vol. 69, p. 183.
53. *WEP*, 20–23 October 1798.
54. *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 13 October 1806.
55. ESRO, Lewes, *Archives of the Stapley, Wood and Davidson families*, HIC1056, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (13 July 1799).
56. *LEP*, 15–18 June 1798.
57. Heuer, pp. 111–112 and 114.
58. *Letters of Harriet, countess Granville, 1810–1845*, ed. F. Leveson-Gower, 2 vols. (London, New-York: Longmans, Green, 1894), I, 6 October 1811.
59. Ibid., 11 October 1811.
60. *LEP*, 13–16 April 1804.
61. *General Evening Post*, 1/4 April 1797.
62. *Morning Post & Fashionable World*, 3 April 1797.

63. *True Briton*, 3 April 1797.
64. Paul Langford, *Public life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689–1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), p. 3.
65. *Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*, p. 355.
66. Thomas Anacreon Moore, *M.P.: or the Blue-Stockings* (London: J. Clawes, 1811); *Morning Post*, 10 September 1811.
67. Thomas Morton, *Education: a comedy* (London, 1813); *MP*, 28 April 1813.
68. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, M. de Rebourquil to Adam Gordon (1 January 1801).
69. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie*, 729MI/55, Dumouriez to Comte de Jarnac (23 August 1810).
70. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. Copeland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), X, pp. 9–11: Burke to Letter to Walker King, 14 May 1796.
71. Ibid., X, p. 5, letter to the abbé Maraine, 2 May 1796.
72. Ibid., X, pp. 16–20, to the Marquess of Buckingham, 24 May 1796.
73. Ibid, X, pp. 20–21, To the Rvd Thomas Hussey, 25 May 1796.
74. Ibid., X, pp. 39–42, To Lord Buckingham, 1 June 1796.
75. Ibid., X, pp. 191–192; To Walker King, 21 December 1796 and p. 232.
76. Walsh, pp. 103–104.
77. Walsh, p. 121.
78. LMRO, MRA/426.
79. *MP&G*, 8 September 1801.
80. *Sun*, 23 May 1800.
81. James Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: reaction and orthodoxy in Britain*, c.1760–1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
82. Marie-Rose Moro, *Parents en exil. Psychopathologue et migrations* (Paris: PUF, 1994), p. 24.
83. *La Tour du Pin*, ed. Liedercke, p. 318.
84. CARAN, Paris, *Fonds Jarnac-Lasteyrie* 729MI/57, Jarnac to his son (23 February 1799).
85. Juliette Reboul, 'La branche Jarnac de la famille Rohan-Chabot, 1740–1848', unpublished master diss., Clermont-Ferrand, 2010, p. 94.
86. ESRO, Lewes, *Archives of the Stapley, Wood and Davidson*, HIC/1059b, 'account of the life of Fanny Krumpholtz written by her daughter'.
87. Ibid., HIC 1048–1056.
88. Ibid., HIC 1054, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (21 June 1800).
89. Ibid., HIC1059B.
90. James T. Richardson, 'The active vs passive convert: Paradigm conflict in conversion/recruitment research', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 24: 163–179.

91. Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Émigrés in London, 1789–1802* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 166.
92. Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: a life* (London: Penguin, 2000).
93. Like in the Huguenot Community, as demonstrated in Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), p. 203.
94. Carpenter, *Refugees*, p. 166.
95. ESRO, Lewes, 38M49/8/125/13.
96. CCA, Chester, *Stanley of Alderley Records*, DSA/33, Comte de Lisle to Lord Sheffield (May 1792).
97. HRO, Winchester, *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/1/10, petition from a French nobleman to George III (c. 1790s–1800s).
98. Ibid., *Wickham family,* 38M49/8/125/17, Régnier to Grenville (20 March 1806).
99. Ibid., *French Émigrés Letters*, 109A02/1/8, Monsieur Gaillard to Lord Stafford (8 February 1793).
100. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Comte de Vaudreuil to Adam Gordon (10 September 1799).
101. ESRO, Lewes, *Archives from the Stapley, Wood and Davidson families*, HIC1057, Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholtz (27 July 1801).
102. Ibid., Juliette Gros to Fanny Krumpholz (19 September 1801).
103. WSRO, Chichester, *Goodwood Estate Archives*, GOODWOOD/1172, Comte Descars to Adam Gordon (2 September 1799).
104. Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172, M. de Rebourquil to Gordon (7 July 1800).
105. Ibid., GOODWOOD/1172, Bishop of Arras to Adam Gordon (15 June 1800).

Conclusion

The archives and publications surveyed during the redaction of this book give a foretaste of the remarkable potential of emigrant sources and sources on emigration kept and hidden in British repositories. While a lot remains to be discovered on the subject of the French emigration in the British Isles, this volume offers an overview of subjects and sources for the historian and literary critic to grab, explore and exploit. British newspapers are still bursting with unused articles and opinion letters by benevolent British individuals or enemies of the emigration, with charitable calls, advertisements, reviews of emigrant books, concerts and plays. There is no doubt that other provincial archives hold information relevant to the subject, whether private correspondences between emigrants and Britons, unpublished diaries, or wills left behind by emigrants who died in Britain. A systematic study of different sales books, such as those kept by Érard's might reveal emigrant buying practices; a focused study on birth, marriage and death registers in the British Isles could unearth new demographic information on the French exiled population. With new efforts in bibliometrics, it will be possible to analyse with precision the catalogues of book stocks printed by booksellers such as De Boffe or Dulau. Along with a close examination of the presence of emigrant books in catalogues of private libraries, subscription and circulating libraries, these might allow for the assessment of the incidence and impact of emigrant literature in Britain, while renewing the existing corpus of counter-revolutionary books known to researchers in this field.

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The current improvements in digital humanities and geographic information systems will allow for the generation of interactive maps using emigrant addresses, or can be used to retrace emigrant journeys throughout Europe thanks to the documents they produced as well as those created by local administrations. Until then, this book has ascertained that the history of emigration in Britain should not be confined to the deeds of the Princes in exile, the examination of papers produced by the émigré establishment, or the study of émigré-British coalitions. Nor should it simply be a debate on the definitions of a counter-revolutionary programme by conservative and ultra-royalist thinkers. The history of emigration in the British Isles is also that of several structural and circumstantial variations within the displaced group that led to the emergence, acceptation of, and sometimes opposition to, a dominant émigré culture.

This study aimed to understand what factors participated in modifying the emigrants' perception of themselves as a group in relation to the British State and their host community. It also sought to explain the influence emigrants, as individuals and as a community, had on the transformation of their host society. The first conclusion to this study is that there is no emigrant-type. The emigré-figure is the fictional creation of strong ideological discourses. The British administrative and charitable response to the French emigration during this period created the emigrant-refugee, as opposed to the figure of the alien Jacobin and that of the British political and religious dissenter. In this, the emigrant community involuntarily participated in the wider debate between Loyalism and Radicalism as Christian brethren, impoverished aliens, traumatised neighbours, financial burdens and social parasites. Consumer expectations of what it meant to be displaced by the Revolution strengthened the pathetic image of a traumatised Christian and noble creature in exile. Whether they were perceived as potential threats, or as individuals to honour, the presence of strangers on the British soil forced Westminster and the British population to reconsider the terms and limits of the British national imagination. This fictional other, sometimes presented as the deserving victim of a terrifying enemy, allowed loyalist groups to reaffirm the supremacy of British Constitutionalism over all other political regimes. For successive conservative governments and the English and Anglican establishment, the presence of the emigrant population in Britain considered as the victims of popular vindications justified and demonstrated the fairness of their aristocratic reading of the British parliamentary system.

In the long term, French émigré lobbies used this aristocratic distinction to further restrict access to the financial and social benefits of the British relief system. Yet, the reality of displacement was plural and multiform, and the host's imbalanced treatment of foreigners furthered existing cultural, political, social and financial differences between different members of the community. The British differentiation between the good refugee and the threatening foreigner led, on the one hand, to the marginalisation and exclusion of a majority of migrants. On the other hand, it isolated a shrunken core émigré group hungry for *ancien regime* distinctions.

Marginalised at home and in their host country, and victims of the inevitable stratification of their community, emigrants were forced to develop and imagine new relational strategies with their host country. The professionalization of emigrants, their investments, marriages, the way they educated their children were all deeply enmeshed with evolving migratory projects. Exile might have exacerbated differences with the émigré ideology; it also emphasised individual differences with the hosts. Whichever, daily challenges to one's cultural and habitual situation profoundly metamorphosed the emigrants' identities and aspirations. Yet, whether the difference with the host 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. Age was a significant variable: while exile had been chosen by the eldest generation, the youth in emigration families 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 engage in highly politicised discourse. Young women, in particular, were often expected to abandon their land of birth to start a married life in Britain.

Finally, there is little doubt that the behaviour adopted by emigrants in Britain and the repatriated emigrants' behaviour are dissimilar. There is also little doubt that the emigrant-figure in British discourse evolved throughout the centuries. It is, however, in the evolution and in the dissimilarity between the day-to-day reality and retrospective narrations that

the historian is able to see cultural transfers. The methodology of cultural transfers was defined in the introduction to this book 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. Some professional categories have been revealed as active carriers of cultural transfer: those involved in the book trade, the artists and artisans, those who taught French and those who spoke English; hopefully, more will be exposed in future research. What is certain is that 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 and transformed into an allegorical figure of refugeedom and victimhood. In return, being pitied, relieved, accepted, or castigated in the host country consequently strengthened the émigré discourse and feeling of victimisation. The retrospective discourse on emigration was based on this relational experience, but at the same time, renewed by experiences that allowed emigrants to reinvent their past and create a new present. Emigrants' retrospective discourses and the policies implemented in Restoration France 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, the definition of laws on political asylum in France, and the emigrant's interpretations of their own history.

Appendix

A.1 Memoir writers

Name	*Dates*	*Sex*	*Profession in 1789*	*Departure in emigration*	*Arrival in the British Isles*	*Departure from England*	*Return to France*
Andigné, Louis-Marie-Antoine-Fortune de la Blanchaye	1765–1857	M	Soldier	1792	1794	c.1795	1795–1804/1814
Arnault, Antoine Vincent	1753–1834	M	Actor	Dec. 1792	Dec. 1792	1795	1795
Bertin, Marie-Jeanne dite Rose	1747–1813	F	Fashion	Oct. 1793	Oct. 1793	1794	1794
Boigne, Adèle d'OSmond	1781–1866	F	Child	1790	1792	1804	1804
Bouillé, Louis-Joseph-Amour	1769–1850	M	Soldier	Jul. 1791	Dec. 1792	1802	1802
Chateaubriand, François René	1768–1848	M	Soldier	1792	1793	1800	1800
Contades, Erasme-Gaspard	1758–1834	M	Soldier	Jan. 1795	1795; 1804	1815	1815
Ducrest, Georgette	1789 – ?	F	Child	1789	1789	Unknown	1801
Dumas, Matthieu	1753–1837	M	Soldier	Feb. 1793	Feb. 1793	Dec. 1793	1793–1794/1799
Gauthier de Brécy, Charles-Edme	1753–1836	M	Soldier	1793	1796	1802	1802

(continued)

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A.1 (continued)

Name	*Dates*	*Sex*	*Profession in 1789*	*Departure in emigration*	*Arrival in the British Isles*	*Departure from England*	*Return to France*
Genlis, Félicité	1746–1830	F	Education	Oct. 1791	Oct. 1791	Nov. 1792	1800/1808
Lage de Volude, Stéphanie Fuchsamberg	1764–1842	F	Nihil.	Jun. 1791	May 1796	Jun. 1796	1800/1809
Lameth, Théodore	1756–1854	M	Ex-Soldier/ Deputy	Feb. 1793	Feb. 1793	1793	1793–1794/1799
La Tour du Pin, Henriette-Lucy Dillon	1770–1853	F	Nihil	1791	1797	1799	1800
Marcillac, Louis	1769–1824	M	Soldier	Mar. 1791	1793	1793	1800s
Montgaillard, Jean-Gabriel	1761–1841	M	Soldier	1792	Sept. 1792	1793/1794	1796
Rohan-Chabot de Jarnac, Charles	1740–1802	M	Soldier	Sept. 1791	Sept. 1791	X	X
Stael, Germaine	1766–1817	F	Nihil	Sept. 1791	Jan. 1793	Jul. 1793	1794/1814
Tilly, Alexandre	1764–1816	M	Soldier	Aug. 1792	Aug. 1792	1797	1808
Vigée-Lebrun, Elisabeth	1755–1842	F	Painter	1791	1802	1807	1810s
Villeneuve, Louis-Gabriel	?	M	Soldier	1791	c. Jan. 1795	c. Jan. 1795	?
Walsh, Joseph-Alexis	1782–1860	M	Child	1790–1791	c. Sept. 1792	1802/1808	1802/1808

A.2 Retrospective self-narratives and editorial choices

Name	*Title of selected publication*	*Composition*	*1st known publication*	*Edition used in this book*	*Responsibility for 1st known publication*
Andigné	Mémoires du Général d'Andigné	1803	Plon, 1900	Plon, 1901	Scholar
Arnault	Souvenirs d'un Séxagénaire	1830s	Duffey, 1833	Duffey, 1833	Author

(continued)

A.2 (continued)

Name	*Title of selected publication*	*Composition*	*1st known publication*	*Edition used in this book*	*Responsibility for 1st known publication*
Bertin	Mémoires de Mademoiselle Rose Bertin sur la reine Marie-Antoinette	Apocryphal?	Bossange, 1824	Bossange, 1824	Unknown
Boigne	Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne	1840s	Plon, 1907	Mercure de France, 1999	Other
Bouillé	Souvenirs et fragments pour server aux Mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps	1828	Picard, 1906–1911	Picard, 1906–1911	Scholar
Chateaubriand	Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe	1809–1841	Pénaud Frères, 1849–1850	Garnier Flammarion, 2007	Author
Contades	Souvenirs du Comte de Contades, Pair de France: Coblentz and Quiberon	unknown	Dentu, 1885	Dentu, 1885	Family; Scholar
Ducrest	Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine	1828	Ladvocat, 1828	Mercure de France, 2004	Scholar; commissioned
Dumas	Souvenirs du Général Comte Mathieu Dumas	1830s	Gosselin, 1839	Gosselin, 1839	Family
Fabry	Mémoires de mon émigration	unknown	unknown	Champion, 1933	Scholar

(continued)

A.2 (continued)

Name	*Title of selected publication*	*Composition*	*1st known publication*	*Edition used in this book*	*Responsibility for 1st known publication*
Gauthier de Brécy	Mémoires véridiques et ingébues de la vie privée, morale et politique d'un homme de bien	1830s	Guiraudet, 1834	Guiraudet, 1834	Author
Genlis	Mémoires de Madame de Genlis	1825	Ladvocat, 1825	Mercure de France, 2004	Author
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	Auguste Herissey, 1869	Auguste Herissey, 1869	Family
Lameth	Mémoires	1830–1840s	Fontemoing & Cie, 1913	Fontemoing & Cie, 1913	Scholar
La Tour du Pin	Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans	1820	Chapelot, 1907	Mercure de France, 2006	Family
Marcillac	Souvenirs de l'Emigration à l'usage de l'époque actuelle par le Marquis de Marcillac	1822	Baudoin Frères, 1825	Baudoin Frères, 1825	Author

(continued)

A.2 (continued)

Name	*Title of selected publication*	*Composition*	*1st known publication*	*Edition used in this book*	*Responsibility for 1st known publication*
Montgaillard	Mémoires secrets de J.M.G de Montgaillard pendant les premières années de son émigration	1803–1804	1804	1804	Author
Rohan-Chabot	'Mémoires'	c.1802	X	X	X
Stael	Dix Années d'exil	c.1811	1818	Garnier, 1906	Family
Tilly	Mémoires du comte Alexandre de Tilly	c.1804–1805	Unknown	Mercure de France, 1986	Scholar
Vigée-Lebrun	Souvenirs	1835–1837	H. Fournier, 1835–1837	H. Fournier, 1835–1837	Author
Villeneuve	Mémoires sur l'expédition de Quiberon	Late 1790s	Le Normand, 1819	Le Normand, 1819	Author
Walsh	Souvenirs de Cinquante Ans	1845	Bureau de la Mode, 1845	Bureau de la Mode, 1845	Author

A.3 Middlemen between emigrants and employers in a sample of classified adverts published in London between 1789 and 1800

Name	*Address*	*Type*
Agassix & Wilson, Mssrs.	Fenchurch Street	Private individuals
Angier, Monsieur	11, East Place, Vauxhall Road	Academy
Archley	148, High Holborn	Shoemaker
Baker, watch maker	5, King Street	Watch Maker
Baker's Coffee House	Royal Exchange	Coffee House
Bishop of Leon		French individual
Bonnet, Mrs.	2, Hemming's Row	Private individual
Bouquet, Mr.	169, High Holborn	Private individual
Boyer, master of Christ hospital		Schoolmaster

(continued)

A.3 (continued)

Name	*Address*	*Type*
Broker	14, Cecil Street	[Bank]
Burgess, Mr.	110, Oxford Street	Shoemaker
Cans, Mrs.	62, Poland Street	China Shop
Charles, Mr.	100, St Martin's Lane	Private individual
Cousin	134, Jermyn Street	Private individual
Cross, Mr.	Paddington Green	Private individual
Cunningham, Mr.	St James's Street	Hostel
De Boffe	7, Gerrard Street	Bookshop
Dore, dancing master	40, Tottenham Court	Private individual
Dugard, Mrs.	4, Princess Street	Private individual
Edwards	New Bond Street	Bookshop
Eglise des Grecs	Crown Street	Church
Emigré (unnamed)	Broad Street	School/Teacher
Evans, Mr.	65, Bishopgate	Private individual
Evrats, Mr.	9, Great Castle Street	Private individual
Fencing Academy	431, Strand	School
Fisher, Mrs.		French Mantua Maker
French school	140, Shelborne Lane	School
Flack, Mr.	40, Maidenlane	Private individual
Fox, Mr.	11, Mary le bone Street	Private individual
Gallini, Mr.	Hanover Square	Private individual
George's Livery Stables		Livery Stables
Goslin	2, Sutton Street	Watchmaker
Grenier	Jermyn Street	Hostel
Guner, Mr.	Broad Street	Piano forte and harp maker
Harlowe	Pall Mall	Bookshop
Harris	Bridge Street	Haberdashery
Hill	Pall Mall	Glover
Hogg's, Mr.	25, Jermyn Street	Shoe Warehouse
Hollyland's Coffee house	Strand	Coffee house
Hoockam	New Bond Street	Bookshop
Hyder's Livery Stables	Park Lane	Stables
Jefferies, George	76, Strand	Goldsmith
Jerusalem Coffee House	Cornhill	Coffee house
Legrain, Mr.	4, Carnaby Street	Private individual
Le Tellier	106, Pall Mall	Perfumer
Lewis	3, Castle Court	Tailor
Lloyd	Harley Street	Bookshop
Longwortley, Mr.	25, Bennett Street	Private individual
Lowendal, Count of	10, Strand	French individual
Marsh, Mr.	49, Fleet Street	Private individual
Masey	115, Oxford Street	Mercer
Mayer	18, Dover Street	Private individual

(continued)

A.3 (continued)

Name	*Address*	*Type*
Mercer, Mr.	21, Plumtree Street	Private individual
Middleton, Mr.	262, Strand	Private individual
Mills	Bedford Row	Hardware store
Mitchell, stationer	8, New Bond Street	Stationer
Morning Chronicle (office)		Newspaper
Morning Post (printer)		Newspaper
New-York Coffee House	Sweeting's Alley	Coffee house
Nichols, Deputy	Red Lion Passage, Fleet street	Private individual
Noble	Charing Cross	Ironmonger
Nodin, Jean	2, Leadenhall Street	Private individual
Oracle (office)		Newspaper
Owen	168, Piccadilly	Bookshop
Pantheon		Theatre
Phelow	322, Strand	Appraiser
Philipps & Finch, Messrs	Berkeley Square	[Apothecaries]
Queen's Head coffee house	Gray's Inn	Coffee house
Ramon	Bedford Row	Hairdresser
Riggs, Thomas Esquire	Brown's Building, Kensington	Private individual
Robinson, G.G. and J.	Paternoster Row	Bookshop
Routh	Boarding School	
Sass, Mr.	13, King Street	Boarding School
Savier, M.	Brunswick Street	Private individual
Sewell	32, Cornhill	Private Individual
Shepheard, E.W.	6, New Square, Lincoln's Inn	Private Individual
Smith, Mr.	37, Wells street	Private individual
Steward, Mr.	168, Piccadilly	Perfumer
Storey's Gate coffee House	Great George Street	Coffee house
Streaton	13, Bear street	Perfumer & Hairdresser
T.A. John's Coffee House	Cornhill	Coffee house
Thompson, Dr.	Kensington	School teacher
Vandergucht	20, Lower Brook-Street	Private individual
Westley	201, Strand	Stationer
Wettement	7, Portman Square	Private individual
White	Fleet Street	Bookshop
Wiltshire's Original Medicinal Warehouse	Haye's Court	Warehouse
Winus, Mr.	Swallow Street	Baker
World (office)	Newspaper	
Yeates	53, Tottenham court	Grocer

A.4 The counter-revolutionary book trade in London

Status	*Name*	*Address*
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
Bookseller	Elmsley, Peter	87, Strand (opposite Southampton Street)
Bookseller	Harlow, Elisabeth	45–46, Pall Mall
Bookseller	Herbert, Isaac	Pall Mall
Bookseller	Hookham, Jordon	100, New Bond Street
Bookseller	Kirby and Co	15, Paternoster Row
Bookseller (Auctioneers)	Leigh and Sotheby	9, York Street
Bookseller (French)	L'Homme, Louis	93, New Bond Street
Bookseller	Lewis, Thomas	16, Great Russell Street
Bookseller	Owen, J.	168, Piccadilly
Bookseller	Richardson, W.	91, Royal Exchange
Bookseller	Ridgway, James	1, York Street, St James Square
Bookseller	Rivington, Francis and Charles	62, Saint Paul's churchyard
Bookseller	Sewell, John	32 Cornhill
Booksellers	Shepperson, John and Thomas 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

(continued)

A.4 (continued)

Status	*Name*	*Address*
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.	4, Crane Court, Fleet Street
Printer	Schulze, G./ Schulze and Dean (nos 224-)	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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Hull Packet.
Jackson's Oxford Journal.
Lloyd's Evening Post.
London Chronicle.
London Packet or New Lloyd's Evening Post.
Mirror of the Times.
Morning Chronicle.
Morning Herald.
Morning Post.
Morning Post and Daily Advertiser.
Morning Post and Fashionable World.
Morning Post and Gazetteer.
Morning Star.
Mirror of the Times.
Oracle Bell's New World.
Oracle and Daily Advertiser.
Oracle and Public Advertiser.
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