



WAR,  
CULTURE AND SOCIETY,  
1750–1850

# French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe

## Connected Histories and Memories

*Edited by*  
Laure Philip · Juliette Reboul



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# War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

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Laure Philip • Juliette Reboul  
Editors

# French Emigrants in Revolutionised Europe

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War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

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## 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.

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active threat to the new nation and refugees from the Revolution's excesses, preoccupied every government that held power between the fall of the Bastille and the Restoration of the monarchy, and in the process established the émigré and the refugee as enduring political actors.

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du 12 Mars 1814' composed by 'Jacques Dejernon, ex-Maitre de Pension a Bordeaux, natif de Pau, volontaire royal du 12 mars 1814' and printed by the Imprimerie de Moreau in Bordeaux. Angoulême and his court officials Guiche, Etienne de Damas-Crux and Comte Francois d'Escars, always wore the Brassard de Bordeaux in 1814–1815

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Fig. 13.2 Jacques Dejernon, Portrait of Louis XVIII between the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême'. (All images are from the author's private collection) This picture was reproduced above Dejernon's lists of royalists in 'Précis historique du 12 mars 1814', who had served in Bordeaux in 1814 and 1815 either in the Garde nationale, or in the Garde royale, or as 'Volontaires royaux', with accounts of the events of those years. Angoulême revisited Bordeaux in March 1815 with his wife. They helped make it a bastion of popular royalism and opposition to Napoleon, but thereafter resided in and around Paris

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## CHAPTER 1

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# Introduction

*Laure Philip and Juliette Reboul*

‘They have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing’: the chevalier de Panat’s barbed witticism has become a sort of cliché and self-fulfilling prophecy in scholarship on the French emigration.<sup>1</sup> This is partly due to the fact that the phenomenon has long been analysed within the narrow confines of counter-revolutionary political agendas (whether *ultramontains*, legitimist, or *monarchiens*) or the émigrés’ nostalgia for their homeland. By contrast, the present volume aims to highlight the multiple connections and interdependencies between the French emigrants, their hosts, and the revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries who never left France. It argues that all participated to differing degrees in the production of cultural objects and the generation of political decisions and symbols surrounding the emigration, as well as the evolution of feelings and ideologies. Indeed, the impact of the roughly 150,000<sup>2</sup> French emigrants on their host countries and their homeland upon their return remains a subject that warrants much analysis, as does the question of the influence of the host societies on the French emigrants themselves.

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To the editors' knowledge, there are no recent synoptic studies of the manifold repercussions of emigration across Europe, much less on the world beyond.<sup>3</sup> In the past, however, there have been only a few genuine and serious attempts to further an international agenda (though rather Western European). This was mostly influenced by Baldensperger's 1924 comparative analysis of the ideological changes and renewal of sensibilities in the literature of emigration, which he described as depending upon cultural aspects specific to each host country.<sup>4</sup> The historiographical and epistemological conditions to further these efforts were not yet in place and, unfortunately, the study of emigration seems to have subsequently stagnated. At least until the 1990s.<sup>5</sup> In the past couple of decades, a multitude of micro-studies of French emigrant communities in a few specific locations, as well as several biographies of émigrés of varied backgrounds, were published or undertaken in academic circles.<sup>6</sup> This resurgence was made possible by a combination of factors. Scholars in the field of emigration have been slowly filling several archival and literary gaps and absences: physical,<sup>7</sup> historiographical, and especially epistemological. To complement the research undertaken in major national archives and libraries, as well as on émigré literary successes, many scholars are now investigating smaller libraries and archival repositories throughout Europe and even beyond. By unearthing documents previously unseen, they allow for the cross-referencing of various ancillary sources containing snippets of emigrant experiences. This had the direct consequence of filling some historiographical voids when direct records had not been kept. Louis XVIII, Calonne, and Chateaubriand are now sharing centre stage with lesser-known and sometimes anonymous ideologues, soldiers, clergymen, women, children, and even domestic servants. Though not as publicly influential as the political and literary leaders of the emigration and counter-revolution,<sup>8</sup> their unassuming but powerful role in shifting private thoughts and mores is slowly being revealed.<sup>9</sup> Since many epistemological conditions permitting scholarly renewal are now established and the methodologies of connected histories and cultural transfers have been well defined, we now have the ability to think what was unthinkable a few decades ago.<sup>10</sup> Thus it is now possible to turn our focus away from elites to the masses, whilst simultaneously moving from the impact of emigration in European capital cities to its influence on geographical fringes. We can discuss the émigré public sphere dominated by male figures while recognising the French emigration as the heterogeneous migratory movement it was: the experiences and writings of women and

other minorities are finally perceived as meaningful. Therefore, rather than replacing studies of public émigré figures and those on the legislative, political, and social impact of emigration on France and major European exile hubs such as London or Coblenz, the new and sustained focus on geographical margins and lesser-known or anonymous actors in the movement allows us to complete and fill many gaps in the narration of the emigration.

In the editors' opinion, the recourse to theories and concepts used in different disciplines in combination with a collaborative approach will be crucial in the renewal of the scholarship on emigration and to the analysis of connections between migrants and hosts in general. It is hoped that this collection exemplifies the aforementioned shift in sources, methods, and interests. The volume itself is the result of an international conference held in the Netherlands in the summer of 2017.<sup>11</sup> It is not very often that scholars studying the topic of emigration come together to share their findings and discuss the future of their research topic: in fact, it had been almost 20 years since the publication of the last collective volume in English, which focused solely on the topic of the French emigration and was edited by Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel.<sup>12</sup> The 2017 conference and ensuing volume aimed to encourage research projects that transcend traditional conceptions of the French emigration via active collaboration and interdisciplinary approaches. We can only regret that the editors were not able to include other analyses and studies by many talented researchers focusing on different geographical locations, different sources, and different concepts.<sup>13</sup> However, this volume offers an invaluable collection of chapters that will be used as a starting point for further historical and critical research on the French emigration, as well as the literary innovations it generated.

## 1 HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS ON THE TOPIC OF THE FRENCH EMIGRATION

It could be argued that renewed scholarship on the emigration has grown out of attempts to expand its traditional chronological boundaries, which are usually set between the flight of Louis XVI's brothers in summer 1789 and their final return in 1815. The end date has sometimes been prolonged to 1825, with the legislation on the *milliard des émigrés*. As for the phenomenon's inception, some see Calonne as the first émigré *malgré lui* (reluctant) when he departed for London in 1787

after being accused of despotism.<sup>14</sup> This is however highly contested. Taking into account the organic relation between emigration, counter-revolution, and counter-Enlightenment, we could even theorise that emigration, as an ideological phenomenon, predates the Revolution. Counter-revolution and counter-Enlightenment can be seen as ‘polysemous’ words,<sup>15</sup> determined by a variety of discourses and personal agendas. Exiles and European counter-revolutionaries recuperated many of the counter-Enlightenment arguments, moderate and vindictive, while using enlightened rhetoric to their advantage. Most obviously, Edmund Burke’s *Reflections* was praised as a counter-revolutionary work by French counter-revolutionary advocates because it echoed counter-Enlightenment themes, whilst championing the idea that, unlike France, Britain had successfully ended its revolution and kept its monarch and ancestral traditions alive.<sup>16</sup> Yet, the idea of an ‘Ancient constitution’, common to many counter-revolutionary discourses, can be associated to a will to reform. In that, counter-revolutionary declarations by émigrés should be seen in the continuation of previous discourses, enlightened and counter-enlightened.

The contestation of the chronology of emigration influenced (and was influenced by) a renewed perception of its geography. The historiographical stakes of shattering the disabling compartmentalisation of emigration as a singularly French phenomenon are immeasurable, allowing researchers to escape the national (sometimes nationalist) narratives that have dominated scholarship on the French Revolution and the European counter-revolution. The French emigration is no longer seen as wholly French, and its reception in host countries the exclusive concern of governments and elites. The (counter-)revolutionary diaspora encompasses various local, national, regional, and global issues, some of the entanglements of which are explored in this volume. Recent historiography on emigration has moved away from traditional studies of its impact in a select number of European nations (mostly Britain and Germany).<sup>17</sup> Like the French Revolution itself, emigration had a global impact from the West Indies and North American territories to Australia. These facets of the historiography of emigration, however, remain under-explored.<sup>18</sup> While there was a sporadic émigré presence in the Ottoman Empire, Siberia, China, and India, the impact of French revolutionary legislation (including that on emigration) in the non-European space, in particular in Asian trading ports, demands greater attention. A truly transnational perspective on emigration must comprise more than a collection of disparate

case studies that, while traversing several countries and continents, still fails to illuminate how the experiences of men and women in exile, of migrants and hosts, are interconnected. In an essay on the scales of history, Philippe Minard advised historians to ‘embrace a contextual approach that can be broadened to a planetary scale, and to shed light on all the exchanges, movements, transfers and *métissage* that normally disappear behind the blinders on the nation-state perspective’.<sup>19</sup> Studying various geographical scales simultaneously allows scholars to transcend the teleological nature of the concept of the nation-state and its thorny association with fixed territorial boundaries.

This revised geography takes into account the physical locations where encounters between the French migrants and their hosts occur; but also the intangible intellectual, emotional, and creative spaces that were born of the migrants’ and hosts’ shared experience of exile. First, detailed local and regional case studies on communities of French émigrés contribute to reframing and enriching debates on host-migrant relations and connections: the marginalisation and rejection by patriotic crowds and nationalist policies that are often described by French migrants in literary documents and retrospective narratives is complicated by the study of sources contemporary to their migration. These often demonstrate the existence of connections between migrants and hosts. Second, the plurality of individual experiences of emigration clearly demonstrates the complex relation of migrants to the new construct of the nation, especially as physical borders are in flux and the political becomes woven into the emotional. Including alternative geographies of exile—both physical and imaginary—not only serves comparative purposes but brings much-needed insight to the study of transnational exchanges that transcends fraught debates over the concept of the nation. As shifting geographies resulted from successive (and sometimes contradictory) legal decrees in France and in the host countries, subjective and emotional attachment to regional/national entities were consistently challenged and altered. This led to a profound questioning of embedded feelings of marginality, otherness, patriotism, and assimilation from the viewpoint of both the émigré and the host communities, whether welcoming or hostile. Émigré prose, fictional or not, repeatedly alludes to a fantasised idea of the nation.<sup>20</sup> This nation appears to be community imagined from abroad, made of sensorial and symbolical spaces and interiorised expatriate identities rather than a territorial reality. This meaning-making and even identity-building dimension of the exile should not be left exclusively to literary scholars since it represents a vital

part of the puzzle: that of the human agency in experiencing and narrating the exile from the perspective of both the émigrés and their hosts.

The connections highlighted in the title of this volume reflect the fundamental evolution of historical and literary understandings of the French emigration. While much remains to be done, much has changed since the bicentenary of the 1789 French Revolution. The history of emigration and the literary criticism of émigré works certainly profited from new research agendas, the introduction in the discipline of important heuristic concepts such as transnationalism, trauma, or gender, as well as the establishment of new methodologies such as that of cultural transfers. These have had a drastic impact on the volume's quality, and the complexity of research questions about a topic that has traditionally been considered too obsolete or politically charged to warrant fresh analysis. An important first step was taken by our predecessors with Palgrave Macmillan. When they edited the first volume in English on the French emigration 20 years ago, Kirsty Carpenter and Philip Mansel initiated what was deemed a first wave of revisionism.<sup>21</sup> The strength of their work was in the European scale of their project and the explicit socio-cultural approach taken by their contributors. Together, the chapters combined studies of highly visible public figures with the emigration's forgotten majority. Significantly, four of the original contributors have also contributed to this volume.

Carpenter and Mansel's predominantly British reflection on emigration was published at the same time as works from German and French scholars on émigré relations with and integration into their host countries, as well as the existence (or absence) of cultural transfers. This refers to the importation of cultural products from one culturally defined environment to another, followed by their evolution and adaptation to suit their new context.<sup>22</sup> For example, Thomas Höpel and Karine Rance, who systematically studied self-narratives of French noble émigrés in Germanic countries, determined that émigrés who sojourned in Germany facilitated very few cultural transfers to their hosts.<sup>23</sup> Returned migrants, however, proved greatly influenced by the cultural influences of their host environments.<sup>24</sup> Lately, the methodological debate testing out the intellectual cultural transfers, as opposed to a more prosaic connected history, actually opened up new perspectives by broadening the extent of what was to be seen as an exchange, a change visible in many of the chapters presented in this volume.<sup>25</sup> While the emigration's cultural impact varied, it is now seen as the location of many successful creative

and lucrative opportunities, going in both directions; for instance, as the exile went on the issue of securing livelihood became inescapable. Many émigrés were forced into socialising with their hosts, taking jobs in teaching, cooking, or the confection of garments for their hosts. The study of ‘contact points’ has brought out new and fruitful discussions in the history of emigration.

A second beneficial shift originates in literary studies. Scholars in the field have ventured into the memorial and literary landscape of emigration, at times employing literary criticism to illuminate questions of trauma and refuge. Trauma studies developed closely with medicine and psychology in the second half of the nineteenth century: the very concept of trauma did not exist in 1789. This does not mean that speaking of trauma in the case of the Revolution and exile victims is anachronistic. The last two decades have seen a redrawing of trauma studies, away from the idea that to merely hear about someone’s traumatic past is to understand it. In speaking of the ‘paradigm of trauma’, Roger Luckhurst admitted that ‘an aesthetic of unspeakability or unrepresentability would fail to register how cultural forms have actually responded to our torturous times’.<sup>26</sup> Trauma is thus a useful analytical tool for the history of emigration: Katherine Astbury directly applied clinical stages of recovery from trauma studies to the works of the émigré author René de Chateaubriand. This method allowed her to explore the impact of the emigration on prose fiction.<sup>27</sup> The notion of memory, and therefore the analysis of the narration of traumatic memories, has also been critiqued. Karine Rance successfully introduced a new methodology, based on Ricoeur’s three temporalities, to better understand retrospective self-narratives, distinguishing between the particulars of an event, the private reconstruction of traumatic memories, and the necessity to adapt a memory to different audiences’ horizons of expectations when publishing.<sup>28</sup>

Examining the novels, memoirs, and essays of the French exiles is no longer strictly used to confirm political leanings: scholars have slowly started to reconsider the émigré texts like versatile sources as a means to delve into the cultural impact of the emigration. Perhaps because of the revalorisation of the diversity of the European literary landscape,<sup>29</sup> and the renewed interest for middlebrow and forgotten literature, often overlooked émigré texts have been resurrected and deemed worth reading. Their historical anchorage gives them a distinct tone and hybridity found nowhere else: their deeply meaningful contribution to the revolutionary literary culture is now recognised in its own right.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, the memoirs

of ex-exiles, previously studied solely to collect information about public figures and major political events, are now considered a rich source for gender studies, the history of ideas, sociology, and many other fields. Henri Rossi stated that the period between the ‘two revolutions’, 1789 and 1848, saw an explosion of published memoirs, attesting to the creative power engendered by the collapse of the *Ancien Régime* and exile.<sup>31</sup> The prolific nature of this period has only recently been matched by editorial efforts to publish unknown books and memoirs of the emigration, many of them by women.<sup>32</sup> The émigré writer or protagonist, rather than being reduced to nostalgic sterility, is increasingly perceived as a driver of and inspiration for the literary developments of the second half of the nineteenth century, such as Romanticism and the beginnings of the social and realist novel.<sup>33</sup>

The concept of gender has perhaps inspired the most important changes to social and cultural history, and consequently that of emigration, although much remains to be done. Scholars have charted the evolution of gendered representations at the turn of the eighteenth century throughout Europe.<sup>34</sup> Unsurprisingly, the first emigration studies massively underrepresented women migrants in comparison to men. This changed in the last two decades when some literary scholars successfully applied gender studies to the analysis of female émigré authors and their works. They showed that the prose of these émigrées articulated demands for reformed gender roles and a softening of paternal authority.<sup>35</sup> Although many scholars have debated the issue of the evolution of gender roles during the French Revolution, from the Enlightenment’s co-ed *salonnières* to the Empire’s patriarchal backlash, no study has attempted to investigate gender within the context of the emigration. The experience of exile exposed men and women to unfamiliar social practices and gender norms just as the end of the *Ancien Régime* sparked a dramatic redrawing of familial, matrimonial, and social relationships. Meanwhile, the recent multiplication of studies of masculinity attests to a need to balance out the female-centric approach that has dominated gender studies so far, and to thereby challenge normative representations of virility across time and place.<sup>36</sup> The emigration’s historiography has yet to consider the evolution of gender roles and behaviour in relation to the émigrés’ contact with other societies and the impact that exile had in shifting pre-revolutionary traditions and representations of both women and men.<sup>37</sup>

## 2 WHAT IS BEHIND A NAME?

The aforementioned historiographical and epistemological shifts gave rise to a recurrent question in the making of this volume: what should one call the population that left France during the Revolution? Naming conventions can reflect the deeply held identity of those labelled, as well their stereotypical perception by outsiders. The variety of terms used during/since the Revolution and, consequently, throughout this volume—ranging from émigrés, refugees, asylum seekers, and exiles to the most neutral option, emigrants—testifies to the heterogeneity of the group that left France and the variety of perspectives adopted to study it.<sup>38</sup> Ultimately and after much debate, the editors felt that imposing the use of a name or a category would be limiting, even counter-productive as it would shackle the renewal of perspectives and approaches they were so intent to promote from the beginning of this venture. It is difficult today to erase the partisan undertone of the term ‘émigré’, which featured in the French legislation of the early 1790s with the intention of legally and politically marginalising all absentees.<sup>39</sup> It was consequently used in nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship, both anti- and pro-revolutionary.<sup>40</sup> For some, the noun ‘émigré’ defined a group of people who had left France to plot the overthrow of the *New Régime*, and who functioned as a convenient aristocratic and clerical scapegoat for all revolutionary ills. For others, émigrés were heroes to be celebrated, the unsung martyrs of a noble and chivalric counter-revolutionary cause.

For those legally defined as such, however, being placed in this category had serious and sometimes fatal ramifications. Accordingly, many contested this status very early on. This challenge was primarily legal, with many trying to have their names removed from the émigré lists drawn up by successive French governments.<sup>41</sup> Many have correlated émigrés’ political leanings to his/her date of emigration, with the ultras having left France quickly and the constitutionalist departing around the summer of 1792. Yet, becoming associated to a political group was sometimes involuntary, and projected on the émigré by his/her compatriots abroad. This rhetoric of association/dissociation did not strictly map onto reality: some constitutionalist *monarchiens* left before the inauguration of the French Republic and some *ultras* left France relatively late.<sup>42</sup> Thus the émigré was not only a legal construct but a rhetorical and symbolic one. As a result, depending on when and why people left, as well as their perceived political loyalties and socio-economic interests, different waves of migrants were

excluded from and/or shunned established émigré communities. Their shared experience of exile and collective proscription for having left France during the Revolution was not enough to forge a common identity and many deliberately avoided the companionship of fellow Frenchmen while in exile. Later, during the *Directoire*, aspiring returnees were eager to eschew the label's reactionary overtones and to distinguish themselves semantically from the emigration's ultra-royalist holdouts. In her recent dissertation, Kelly Summers points out that 'to escape the negative connotations of the term émigré, which ascribed a wilful treachery to all who had fled, prominent figures including Stäel, Constant, Roederer, and Lally-Tollendal began to substitute the word "*fugitif*", often drawing explicit parallels to France's original refugees, the Huguenots'.<sup>43</sup> By positioning themselves as involuntary refugees akin to the Huguenots, individuals who fled after the September Massacres cast themselves as the victims of terrorist repression rather than counter-revolutionary villains. Others were excluded from the group because of real and perceived political or socio-economic differences: in Britain, domestic servants who left France to accompany their employers were sometimes denounced as Jacobins; many were refused charity if they could not prove their loyalty to the *Ancien Régime*.<sup>44</sup> For all of these reasons, Jean-Clément Martin was right to warn against thinking of the emigration as ideologically united.<sup>45</sup>

Shifting the perspective to that of the émigrés' host nations and communities, the use of a political and legislative 'émigré' category has little purchase since the community was first and foremost a foreign import. A study of several hundreds of civilian British sources from the late 1790s showed that the term 'émigré' was in fact seldom used in the British Isles to describe the newly arrived population. The word 'emigrant' was preferred.<sup>46</sup> Being an émigré also meant different things to different audiences: at opposite ends of the spectrum of potential reactions, authorities and populations in the host countries could see migrants as victims of the Revolution in need of support, or as potential political agitators.<sup>47</sup> In Britain, for instance, the public opinion was divided about the French exiles. Caricature prints diabolised the French as skinny cannibals and/or frivolous Catholics eager to bring the revolution across the Channel; meanwhile destitute émigrés received financial support from the government on the grounds of Christian charity and a shared feeling of horror for the political unrest happening on the Continent.

The term 'refugee' raises different issues. While partly anachronistic, given its Huguenot origins, it simultaneously invokes a situation familiar

to many today. It has been employed by certain scholars to describe the emigration from 1792 onwards as thousands fled the violence of the Terror and the revolutionary wars.<sup>48</sup> The term refugee began to surface in Thermidorian debates about reforming the emigration system, and it began to chip away at the stereotypical perception of émigrés as an undifferentiated bloc of traitors.<sup>49</sup> Used as a heuristic concept rather than a legal category, the term refugee certainly allows for the renewal of scholarship as it brings to the fore the interrelations of political, socio-economical, and cultural consequences in forced migration. This varied terminology offers the opportunity to situate the history of the French emigration within broader studies on the ‘Age of Refugees’, the ‘*Siècle des exilés*’ (the century of exiles), or the ‘Age of Emigration’ introduced by Friedemann Pestel in this volume,<sup>50</sup> thereby facilitating necessary and welcome possibilities for comparative studies. Most importantly, it sees the French emigration as a series of epiphenomena with their own peculiarities, while highlighting the many connections between French emigrants and other exilic populations before, during, and since the Revolution.<sup>51</sup>

### 3 CONNECTING GLOBAL HISTORIES AND MEMORIES OF THE FRENCH EMIGRATION

Bringing together the research of 13 scholars inspired by the aforementioned concepts and employing these new methodologies, this volume interrogates the intersection between emigration and asylum, the infighting between exiles’ nostalgia for the homeland and their gratitude towards the host country. The chapters have been grouped around four themes. The first section discusses the challenges posed to local host communities by the French emigration. The second then turns to consider the cultural impact emigration had in host countries and the literary production triggered by these interactions. The third explores some of the many global entanglements born of French revolutionary emigration, and the final section highlights some of the problems posed by the return and reintegration of the émigrés. These four sections reflect a new appreciation for the impact that emigration had on individual trajectories, cultures, and societies, as well as on nascent nations and national sentiments. However, many questions asked in these chapters override the structure. Several contributors mention the question of cultural transfers, for instance, whilst the spectre of a return is alternately touched upon throughout the volume as

a private wish, an emotional and political problem, a logistical challenge, and the actual experience of homecoming.

The first part of this volume brings to the fore ways of understanding the often-paradoxical relationship between French emigrants, host societies, and local governments. Departing from Greer's seminal statistical study on the incidence of the French emigration, Mary Ashburn Miller, Matthias Winkler, and Sydney Watts all propose alternative chronologies based on the lived experiences of both migrants and host communities, thus contesting categories imposed both by French legislation (which applied to not only French territory but that of Sister Republics) and by the hosts' legislative response to the influx of foreigners.<sup>52</sup> Each of these case studies suggests that while legal and political categories defining an *émigré* led to the categorisation of exiles as others, aliens, and foreigners (and therefore constant objects of suspicion), studies of individual and local strategies of identification and integration suggest a richer and more complex relationship between the emigrants to their home and host countries. Some fought to be recognised as contributing members of the French Republic; others imagined a new French nation in exile; many actively sought to be socially, economically, and culturally integrated in their host society. Alongside studies of the legislation surrounding emigration, questions of integration, adaptation, and the reinvention of the self-challenge notions of personal consent and political will are at the core of what it means to be an *émigré*, an emigrant, a refugee, or even an immigrant.

Did one become an *émigré* by chance or by choice? Defining what makes an *émigré* is central to Chap. 2, 'The Impossible *Émigré*', by Mary Ashburn Miller. She brings a novel perspective to the inconsistencies and sometimes ludicrous consequences of French policy on emigration in its annexed territories, in particular the Belgian ones. The conception of the French nation as a contractual body of willing citizens is undermined by the lived experience of migrants. Ashburn Miller's case study of the unfortunate Louis Anné, a Brussels resident, demonstrates the depth of the gap between highly theoretical legislation and the reality of age-old economic migrations as the new French Republic invaded its neighbouring countries. This chapter marks a new milestone in the study of the relation between emigration, citizenship, and the making of modern nations. Also dealing with legislation, this time from the perspective of the host country, Matthias Winkler takes the focus on the French emigration further east, to the Habsburg dominions. In Chap. 3, 'Interaction and Interrelation in

Exile’, he compellingly proposes to relativise the importance previously given in the historiography to clashes between the exiles and their hosts with micro-studies of local encounters and contact points. Thanks to his use of the heuristic concepts of interrelation and transfer, Winkler successfully demonstrates that while the exile should be seen as a ‘mutual challenge’ for both émigrés and hosts which led to the implementation of local legislation against or pro-emigration, émigré/host interactions should be analysed in terms of cultural interpenetration and as creative processes. The importance of contact points as the location of identity formation and self-reinvention is further explored in Chap. 4, ‘The Jersey Émigrés’, by Sydney Watts. Her examination of the island as a liminal and ambivalent space deepens the debate over the capacity of governments to impose the legal and political categories that define the émigré population, which she challenges by pointing to the sheer uncertainty and subjectivity of migrants’ experiences on the island. While these three chapters study three distinct regions, the micro-studies they present challenge a historiography that traditionally sees emigrants as they are defined by the authorities. By placing the individual and émigré/host contacts at the core of their discourse, they humanise a group often seen as homogeneous.

The second section assembles four chapters arguing that social encounters between the emigrant community and its host societies engendered both tensions and traumas but also a rich cultural output. They were ambivalent spaces where claims of cultural authority and authenticity were challenged on a daily basis. Kirsty Carpenter, Juliette Reboul, Laure Philip, and Clare Siviter examine various under-explored cultural aspects of the emigration, from the political conundrum of educating children in exile while sustaining the hope of a quick return home, to the long-term influence of émigré-host encounters on literary creations and the formation of transnational counter-revolutionary identities. In these, the imaginary boundaries between the self and the other were often blurred, resulting in the creation of hybrid cultural objects.<sup>53</sup> From these studies emerges a highly heterogeneous network of European actors and agents involved, voluntarily or not, in the circulation of ideas and the institution of cultural transfers: teachers and school administrators, writers and novelists, actors, publishers and readers.

The children of the emigration, or the *petits émigrés* as Madame de Genlis wrote, are both an absent and a fascinating group of migrants in the scholarship. In Chap. 5, ‘Émigré Children and the French School at Penn’, Kirsty Carpenter focuses on the pedagogical and financial challenges

encountered by various administrators of the school for émigrés boys created in 1792 by Edmund Burke in Buckinghamshire. She argues that this unique institution is a valuable angle from which to observe the tensions between the British and the French. How could one teach émigrés the English language whilst preserving French tradition and a French (counter-revolutionary) identity? In studies of refuge, the choice to leave is often perceived as ‘an individual investment decision. Family members other than the household head are not always explicitly considered.’<sup>54</sup> Understanding the intellectual formation of the youngest in exile opens the door to the question of the intellectual impact of emigration on identity formation in the nineteenth century. This long-term approach is precisely how Juliette Reboul seeks to comprehend the influence of the literature of emigration and counter-revolutionary theories on European mentalities. In Chap. 6, ‘Counter-Revolutionary Transfers?’, she surveys approximately 40 catalogues of British private libraries printed between 1795 and 1830 with the aim of creating a methodological basis for a larger study on the European influence of émigré literature and the literature on emigration. With her bottom-up approach, she deftly shifts away from the traditional literary microcosm made of vocal émigrés. The focus is instead the penetration of émigré and exilic ideas into the homes of the host society. The ultimate argument of her chapter is that titles by French exiles need to be thought of as constitutive of the much larger nexus of texts produced after 1789 in order to comprehend the reception and mutation of exilic counter-revolutionary ideas and practices in the British Isles (and, as her sample expands, throughout Europe) from the 1790s onwards. Zooming in on the novels and memoirs of three émigré women who had been exiled in London, Laure Philip delves into the traumatic images and the melancholia conveyed through these texts in Chap. 7, ‘The Trauma of the Emigration in the Novels of Three French Émigrées in London?’. Her literary analysis brings a fresh look to the study of private and gendered experiences of exile whilst it contends that key traumatic episodes of the emigration are creatively reworked through prose fiction. Philip argues that fiction writing provided solace for these émigrées-turned-authors during or after the exile. In detangling the layers of fictionalised, embellished, and at times traumatic memories, one can get a better understanding of the cultural impact the emigration had on the sentimental novel and these women’s individual stories. From émigré novels to émigré theatre, Clare Siviter revisits the theatrical cultures of Mannheim and Hamburg during the emigration in Chap. 8, ‘Playing the Nation?’. She compellingly