

# War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850

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French Emigration  
to Great Britain  
in Response  
to the French  
Revolution

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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

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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.

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# 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> At Falkirk, Captain Borthwick, from the 71st Regiment of Foot, wedded an “Emigrant Lady of the ci-devant Nobility of France”.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, a gang of French pickpockets and its bewigged leader, “French emigrant” Lordonnier, emptied the pockets of the capital’s wealthy.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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".<sup>8</sup>

"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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> The presence of Britons in Paris during the Revolution was the subject of meticulous studies.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup> 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, print-outs 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> In this book, integration is not perceived as the adaptation and assimilation of migrants to conform to their host society.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> Emigration fell within an existent transnational system of influence, illustrated by the Huguenot Refuge in Great Britain and the Jacobite exile in France.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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”.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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)enforcing *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.<sup>29</sup> 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-energizing and re-imagining of communities’.<sup>30</sup> 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 refugeddom 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: Weidenfeld 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 (XVIIe-XVIIIe 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 Mémoires 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.