



The Return of the Emigrés: Bordeaux, 12 March 1814

Philip Mansel

The entry of the Duc d'Angoulême into Bordeaux on 12 March 1814, amid applauding crowds, three weeks before the deposition of Napoleon I in Paris, was not only a rare success for the émigré government of Louis XVIII but also the only time in French history that a change of regime started in a provincial city. It suggests that the history of cities and diasporas can be as important as national histories. Louis XVIII later called it 'the happiest event of my life'.¹ On 29 September 1820, he named the heir to his throne, the posthumous son of his murdered nephew the Duc de Berry, not—like previous Bourbon heirs—Duc de Bretagne, or de Bourgogne, but Duc de Bordeaux.² The economic factors behind Bordeaux's welcome to Angoulême were confirmed by the words on a banner at a reception at the *Chambre de Commerce* in Bordeaux to honour the birth: 'illo duce, quo non commercium?' ['With him as Duke, where will trade not reach?'].³

In the eighteenth century, thanks above all to the sugar, slave and wine trades with the Caribbean, England and the Baltic, Bordeaux had become the first port of France. The splendour of the quays and the *Place Royale*,

P. Mansel (✉)
Society for Court Studies, London, UK

constructed in 1743–1747, and of the *Grand Théâtre* from 1773 to 1780, is a tribute to its prosperity. The English economist Arthur Young wrote in 1787: ‘much as I had read and heard of the commerce, wealth and magnificence of this city, they greatly surpassed my expectations ... the theatre ... is by far the most magnificent in France. At Bordeaux they think it [the French commercial treaty of 1786 with England] a wise measure that tends equally to the benefit of both countries’.⁴ His words help explain the popularity of the Bourbons in Bordeaux in 1814. They were more than a dynasty. They were symbols of peace and prosperity.

Bordeaux was also distinguished by the number and prominence of foreign merchants, often of English or Irish extraction, and sometimes Protestants. Some names are still famous in the wine trade: Hennessy, MacCarthy, Lynch.⁵ Bordeaux belonged to France, but also to Europe and the Atlantic. For Bordeaux as for many other French cities, the revolution was an economic catastrophe. The population fell from 100,000 to 60,000. A third of the houses were empty. The foreigners left. After 1806 Napoleon’s continental blockade worsened the situation. The French economy, and above all French ports, entered into a slump.⁶ Bordeaux was ready for change.

In preparing the royalist *journée* of 12 March 1814, the three key characters were an émigré, the Duc d’Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVIII; a *Bordelais* and former émigré, Count Lynch; and a British general, the Duke of Wellington. Born in 1775, elder son of the Comte d’Artois, Angoulême had fought in émigré forces from 1792 until 1801. In 1795 he was serving in the *hussards* de Choiseul. In 1797, he commanded the *Régiment noble à cheval* in the *Armée de Condé*.⁷ At the exiled court of his uncle Louis XVIII at Mitau in Courland (now Latvia) in June 1799, he married his first cousin, the daughter of Louis XVI Marie Thérèse Charlotte. Then he returned to the *Armée de Condé* to command the *Régiment noble à cheval* again during 1800–1801.⁸ After the dissolution of the *Armée de Condé*, he shared the exile of Louis XVIII. From 1807, they lived in England, generously pensioned by the British government, which kept the Bourbons in reserve as a weapon against Napoleon. Almost his entire life had been spent outside France. Showing that the emigration was not a monolith but a diaspora in constant evolution, by 1804 he had become a moderate. He supported the grant of nobility to all officers; recognition of the sale of the *biens nationaux*; a general amnesty; the abolition of conscription; and a ‘rien qui dénote la haine ou la vengeance’ [‘nothing which denotes hatred or vengeance’].⁹

The second key figure was Wellington. Partly educated before 1789 at the *Ecole royale militaire* d'Angers, he spoke French and knew how to avoid the unpopularity normally attached to foreign invaders. From the moment the British army, victorious from the Peninsular war, entered France on 31 October 1813, it rarely pillaged and always paid for supplies. Wellington wrote: 'the French exert themselves to get us intelligence. In no part of Spain have we been better, I might say so well, received.'¹⁰

Count Lynch is the least known of the three. Of Irish and Jacobite origin, he was a rich landowner and former *Président* at the *Parlement* de Bordeaux. Imprisoned under the Terror, briefly an émigré in London, he had been appointed mayor of Bordeaux in 1808. His royalism was reinforced by the frequentation of royalists in Paris, by the degradation of the French economy, and by his detestation of Napoleon's despotism.¹¹ Filled with the 'sacred fire of religion and loyalty', Lynch would consider Louis XVIII, as he wrote in 1814, 'the image of the divinity on Earth'.¹²

The entry of the Duc d'Angoulême into Bordeaux on 12 March 1814 teaches distrust of nationalist narratives and official documents. Until the deposition of Napoleon by the Senate on 2 April, Wellington frequently, and sometimes harshly, denied all commitment to the Bourbons.¹³ In London the official policy of the government was, with its allies, to make peace with Napoleon. Ministers would later claim that the Bourbons had left England against their consent. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Castlereagh was present at the congress of Châtillon between the allies and the French Empire from 7 February to 11 March. The Secretary of State for the Colonies Lord Bathurst had written to Wellington on 18 January that towards the Bourbons there was 'no engagement whatsoever on the part of this country'.¹⁴

But these were letters written to be shown to Britain's allies or to the Whig opposition in parliament; and in order to be able to drop the Bourbons with good conscience if events turned against them. The British government was playing a double game, a metaphor it often used. In a private letter to Castlereagh, the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool wrote of 'the Bourbon game'.¹⁵ From the Foreign Office, Edward Cook also wrote to Castlereagh, after Bordeaux had declared for the Bourbons: 'I have no doubt now that, were the whole game played, it would succeed ... will you send to Monsieur?'¹⁶

The restoration of the Bourbons had been a secret 'game' of the British government, and the Prince of Wales (later George IV), at least since the arrival of the Comte d'Artois in London in 1799 and his first meetings

with William Pitt. Only their restoration, believed Pitt and his colleagues, would restore the political balance in Europe and return France to its frontiers of 1789. On 19 June 1811, the entire French royal family, including Louis XVIII, had been the guests of honour of the Prince Regent at the stupendous party with which he inaugurated his regency. The British government helped finance the distribution of Louis XVIII's 1813 declaration of Hartwell. Castlereagh had influenced its content in secret meetings with the king's confidential advisor, and *Grand Maître de la Garde-robe*, another émigré former officer in the *Armée de Condé*, the Comte de Blacas.¹⁷ Liverpool and Castlereagh, like their predecessors, often saw Artois in London, and heard him renew his promises to return to the French frontiers of 1789.¹⁸

From the moment of his entry into France, Wellington utilized local royalists and former émigrés as sources of information. For example, Monsieur Mailhos, a Bordeaux royalist, came to his headquarters to advise him about the situation inside Bordeaux in December 1813. To encourage the arrival of a Bourbon in France, Wellington sent to London an émigré officer called the Comte de Gramont. Gramont was the grandson of Marie

Antoinette's detested favourite the Duchesse de Polignac, and had been brought up in England by the Polignacs' friends the Duke and Duchess of

Devonshire. He had served in the émigré units the *Régiment de Roll* and the *Chasseurs britanniques*, before joining the British army, in the Prince of

Wales' favourite regiment the 10th Hussars, in 1805. The Gramonts, moreover, had possessed estates in Béarn, precisely the region invaded by Wellington's army in January 1814. Gramont saw not only Liverpool and

Castlereagh in London, but also Louis XVIII in Hartwell House, outside Aylesbury, where Gramont's father served the exiled king as one of his *capitaines des gardes*.¹⁹ Thus Wellington in 1813–1814, like Castlereagh in

London since 1812 or earlier, while claiming not to be interfering in French politics, was in reality pursuing a secret pro-Bourbon policy. He

wrote to Lord Bathurst on 21 November 1813 that Bonaparte was detested: 'if Great Britain would stand by him [a Bourbon] I am certain he would succeed'.²⁰ He wrote again on 10 January: 'if you cannot make peace with him [Napoleon] in the winter we must run at him in the spring; and it would be advisable to put forward one of the Bourbons in that case.'²¹

In 1808, and again in 1810 and 1811, the British government had prevented Artois and Angoulême from joining the war against Napoleon in Spain. In January 1814, however, after some hesitation,²² it gave them passports under assumed names; embarrassing in Spain, they could be useful in France. Furthermore, public opinion and the Prince Regent

supported them.²³ On 16 January, a friend of the Regent better informed than most official dispatches, Lord Yarmouth, wrote: ‘Bunbury [Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies] is gone to Lord Wellington ... to arrange for the appearance of a Bourbon there, and to say much on this subject which Government are too much afraid of Whitbread [a Whig MP in the House of Commons] to put on paper.’²⁴

Artois and his sons Angoulême and Berry left England with British passports, and full powers to act in Louis XVIII’s name, on 22 January.²⁵ On 2 February, incognito under the name of Comte de Pradel, Angoulême arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz on the Atlantic coast, next to the Pyrénées. The mayor, described as ‘un homme tout à nous’ [a man totally on our side], received him well.²⁶ On 10 February, Angoulême was officially received, as a prince rather than incognito, by Wellington at his headquarters. The Judge Advocate-General Francis Larpent attached to headquarters, was unimpressed by ‘the little duke’ (referring to his shortness), but noticed that he seemed ‘much pleased with his prospects’.²⁷

Angoulême was accompanied by Gramont, who was received with joy on the former family estates near Bidache: ‘while some clasped his knees and others implored him to take possession of his heritage, others stood weeping with joy’, asking for ‘old times and old landlords’.²⁸ Angoulême made contact with royalist agents. Emigration and distance had destroyed neither their networks nor their effectiveness. On 22 February, Angoulême sent Wellington two men from Bordeaux, praising ‘your attachment for our cause’.²⁹ On 6 March, according to Angoulême, Wellington told him: ‘yes without difficulty, I will assign to you the government of the occupied territory.’ The alliance between Angoulême and Wellington was shown both by Angoulême’s coordination of his movements with Wellington, and by the political authority ceded by Wellington to Angoulême in areas occupied by the British army.³⁰

Bordeaux was the third element, with the émigré government and the British government and army, which made Angoulême’s entry on 12 March 1814 a triumph. It had the dynamism and independence of an international port ready to defy the national capital, and an Anglophilia based on nostalgia for the city’s past trading links with England. In contrast, a royalist attempt at Rodez in Auvergne in February and the plots discussed at the château of Souffiron by Timothée de la Clergerie and the Chevalier de la Roche-Aymon led to nothing.³¹

In 1810, when the Napoleonic empire appeared to be at its apogee, a royalist network in Bordeaux created in 1798–1799, the *Institut Philanthropique*, had entered into contact with two émigré representatives

of Louis XVIII, his envoy in London the Comte de La Châtre (commander of the Loyal Emigrant regiment in British service in 1793–1802) and his chief adviser the Comte de Blacas. The intermediaries were three merchants from Bordeaux: MM. Julien Péfaut de La Tour, Perrin and Rollac.³² Confirming the émigré government's support, La Châtre paid Perrin £300 in travel expenses. Blacas saw the messengers from Bordeaux and remained in correspondence with them.³³ Like the arrival of Mailhos at Wellington's headquarters in December 1813, the initiative came from Bordeaux. In London on 12 March 1813, Taffard de Saint-Germain, a former *parlementaire* of 'absolute devotion', had been appointed Louis XVIII's representative in Bordeaux.³⁴ A royalist called Ferdinand de Bertier, according to his own account, helped coordinate the agents of Louis XVIII, Bordeaux royalists and former émigrés like Comtes Maxence de Puysegur and Alexandre de Lur-Saluces, and his own Catholic royalist network, the Chevaliers de la Foi.³⁵

In Bordeaux, Taffard and the royalists began to infiltrate the National Guard, as other royalists were doing in Paris at the same time. Like the director of a modern electoral campaign, Taffard prepared his party emblems: white cockades and white flags. In addition he enrolled 800 Bordelais (perhaps workers needing money), in a secret *Garde Royale Bordelaise*, distinct from the National Guard.³⁶ On 11 November 1813, the prefect of the Gironde wrote to the minister of police, 'workers are being enrolled for the king'. There were some arrests, but the chiefs were spared.³⁷

The best known Bordelais royalist was Monsieur Lainé, born in Bordeaux in 1768. As a representative in the *corps législatif* in Paris, on 13 December 1813 he had launched an unprecedented attack on Napoleon, which angered the Emperor and impressed public opinion. Expressing the growing discontent which would help the Bourbons recover the French throne in 1814, he denounced the 'odious scourge' of conscription and continued: 'commerce is destroyed, industry is dying and there is not one Frenchman who does not have in his fortune or his family a cruel wound to heal ... It is time that nations breathed again.'³⁸ Lainé retired to Bordeaux. For him as for many others in the city, as he wrote in private notes on 20 February, 'the character and interest of the Bourbons guarantees to the French the free exercise of their industry and that fortunate freedom of trade, which before 1790 had brought prosperity to all the working classes of society'.³⁹ Therefore, in some of the middle class, the period 'before 1790' had not left exclusively bad memories. Some remem-

bered the booming international trade of the reign of Louis XVI. The Empire had become unpopular because of economic decline, as well as military defeat; even the Emperor had admitted in his furious reply to Lainé that the French had not forgotten ‘the Bourbons’.

Events in Bordeaux would show that in 1814 French nationalism could be weaker than royalism and desire for peace with Europe. In February and March, Bordelais, émigrés and Wellington renewed contacts. On 19 February, another former émigré and Vendée leader the Marquis de La Rochejacquelin left Bordeaux in disguise with further news for Wellington. On 27 February, Taffard and Lynch met in Bordeaux. After his victory over the French army at Orthez on 27 February, Wellington wrote on 4 March from Saint-Sever to Lord Liverpool in favour of the Bourbons: ‘any declaration from us would, I am convinced, raise such a flame in the country as would soon spread from one end of it to the other and would infallibly overturn him. I cannot discover the policy of not hitting a man as hard as one can and in the most vulnerable place’.⁴⁰

On 6 March at Saint-Sever, Georges Bontemps Dubarry, another former émigré and Bordelais royalist, and a friend of Taffard de Saint-Germain, suggested to Wellington that he should advance on Bordeaux. On 7 March, Bontemps Dubarry wrote to General Beresford, who commanded Portuguese and British forces under Wellington, ‘there is a large party at Bordeaux in favour of the Bourbons’.⁴¹ Beresford often saw royalist agents and on 11 March wrote to Wellington: ‘the sentiments and opinions of the people of all classes in proportion as we advance are obviously stronger in favour of their ancient Princes and violent against Buonaparte.’ Wellington then ordered Beresford to advance on Bordeaux. He was ready to follow French royalists’ advice in deciding British army movements.⁴² Meanwhile between 4 and 10 March, French authorities and troops, most of whom remained loyal to Napoleon, had evacuated Bordeaux.⁴³

On 12 March in Bordeaux, the city’s change of allegiance proceeded according to plan, without mistakes and without bloodshed. Towards midday, Beresford appeared at the head of his troops at the Porte Saint Julien of Bordeaux. The mayor was there to meet him. Seeing Beresford advance towards him, Lynch took off his *tricolore* cockade, put on a white cockade,⁴⁴ and said: ‘It is in a city of His Majesty our King and the ally of yours that we have the honour to receive Your Excellency.’⁴⁵ Lynch had declared for Louis XVIII under the physical protection of a foreign army, supported by a ‘sacred band’ of royalists inside Bordeaux, to whom Taffard had given an ‘ample provision of white cockades’. The two sides had

obtained what both had long desired: French royalists won foreign protection from reprisals if their demonstrations failed; the British a royalist demonstration without a public official commitment on their part.

Lynch later wrote that the cry of 'Vive le roi!' was repeated far beyond his hopes by the people. Another witness, M. Ferrère, wrote that they returned from the gate 'in the middle of a diabolical noise [*bruit d'enfer*] from an innumerable populace and cries to the heavens of 'Vive le roi'.⁴⁶ These royalist accounts are confirmed by British sources. On the same day, Beresford wrote to Wellington in a private letter: 'the whole town came out to meet us ... The mayor was very frequently interrupted in his short discourse with cries of 'à bas les aigles!', 'vivent les Bourbons!' and he finished by stripping himself of all the colours and insignia of Buonaparte and putting on the white cockade and scarf; and everybody appeared instantly in white cockades and they have declared openly against Buonaparte.'⁴⁷

Beresford told Lynch in the Hôtel de Ville that he neither ordered nor forbade the display of white flags. He said that England was only waging war on Bonaparte, not on France. There were cries of 'Vive le roi!' and 'Vivent les Anglais!'⁴⁸ The proclamation published that evening by 'the mayor of Bordeaux to his fellow citizens' is a European, French, Bordelais and royalist document. It ignores issues of revolution, emigration and nationalism and emphasizes freedom, the economy and the benefits of international peace. 'Bordelais! I can assure you that the firm intention of His Majesty is to favour industry and to bring back among us that impartial freedom of trade, which before 1789 had spread prosperity among the working classes ... The sea which had been useless for you will bring friendly flags back to your port.' The mayor cited the example of Amsterdam, which had also revolted against Napoleon in favour of its former dynasty, the House of Orange, on 15 November 1813, said that the 'rivalry of nations should cease', praised Wellington as 'the liberator of peoples' [Portugal and Spain as well as France] and denounced Napoleon as 'the scourge of nations'. He assured that all liberal institutions would be maintained and the sale of national properties guaranteed. This day will make Bordeaux 'forever famous and fortunate among cities'.⁴⁹

Angoulême arrived at 4 pm, accompanied by Gramont and his Premier *gentilhomme*, Comte Etienne de Damas-Crux, who had commanded an émigré regiment, the *Légion de Damas* in 1792–1801 before entering his household. Acting like a political candidate in an election, Angoulême also, like Lainé, appealed to popular hatred of despotism, war and high taxation: 'no more tyrant! No more war! No more conscription! No more

vexatious taxes!’ After a *Te Deum* in the cathedral, he went to the town hall and finally to the royal palace, where Napoleon had stayed in 1808. According to M. Defermon, the inhabitants ‘are intoxicated with the joy of seeing him’. The ‘sacred band’ of royalists obliged them ‘without violence’ to wear the white cockade. ‘Not one balcony, not one window, which was not filled with women’, wrote another Bordelais, the young writer Edmond Géraud.⁵⁰ The white flag flew above every building.⁵¹

There was little hostility to Angoulême as a Bourbon or an émigré. The issues of 1814 were more important than the divisions of 1789–1802. Lynch wrote of ‘this adorable prince. Everyone wants to see him, to touch his clothes, the harness of his horse’. In contrast to Napoleon and his ‘mameloucks’, Angoulême said ‘he could not be better guarded than by the people’. On 13 March, when Angoulême went to the Grand Théâtre, there was a ‘delirium of happiness’. The orchestra played both French and British tunes: ‘Vive Henri IV!’ and ‘God Save the King!’

In 1814 Bordeaux was reconnecting to Europe as well as the Bourbons. Doubtless the Anglo-Irish origin of the mayor (who spoke in English to British officers on 12 March⁵² and had a brother in London), helped his relations with Wellington and Beresford, who were also Anglo-Irish. In Bordeaux so detested were Napoleon’s wars that foreign soldiers and returning émigrés were more popular than French soldiers. In cabarets, according to the diary of Edmond Géraud, foreign troops drank and smoked with Bordelais ‘à qui mieux mieux’. For Géraud, Napoleon was not a man but a tiger. He preferred the English and Portuguese soldiers in Bordeaux, who were ‘as calm as nuns’, to the ‘brigands of the grande armée’.⁵³ ‘The regularity and excellent conduct of the troops astonish the city and even myself’, wrote their commander Lord Dalhousie to Wellington.⁵⁴ Bordeaux later presented him with a sword of honour, which is still in the possession of his descendants today.⁵⁵

A royal guard was organized in 11 companies of foot and horse. In a white uniform, ‘emblem of the purity and fidelity of its sentiments’, it guarded the prince and maintained order.⁵⁶ ‘But,’ wrote Angoulême to Wellington, ‘there is more ardour to be officers than soldiers’.⁵⁷ Angoulême and Lainé, who became prefect, organized the civil administration. ‘Our little government’, as Lynch called it, also started its own newspaper, the *Mémorial Bordelais*.⁵⁸ Angoulême issued a proclamation on 15 March renewing his promises of peace; the end of conscription and ‘odious taxes’; guaranteeing the sale of *domaines dits nationaux* and freedom of religion (there were many Protestants in Bordeaux); and asking for an end to ‘tout esprit de parti’.⁵⁹

Eyewitnesses, such as Edmond Géraud, Defermon, Ferrère, Lynch and Beresford, noticed three factors:

- Following the joy of 12 March, fear of a peace treaty between Napoleon and the allies, after which the Emperor could have punished the royalists, returned. On 14 March, Beresford wrote to Wellington: 'I am far from being sure that the majority of the respectable merchants and people have declared for the white cockade.' A large part of the former National Guard continued to wear the tricolour cockade, suggesting that they preferred Napoleon to the Bourbons. Beresford wrote on 19 March: 'the good example of Bordeaux does not spread at all and to judge by their long and sour faces I would imagine they had already repented the step. You cannot conceive the terrors and alarms under which all descriptions of people tremble at present.'⁶⁰ It was these 'terrors and alarms', which had often paralysed action by royalists and émigrés before 1814.
- The popularity of the duc d'Angoulême. He did not put a foot wrong. Among his 'touching words' were 'to be a Bordelais is impressive enough' and 'since 12 March everyone is noble in Bordeaux'.⁶¹ When he invited merchants to dine with him at his table, 'from that moment the entire city was royalist'.⁶²
- Relative absence of class tension. Royalism attracted nobles, bourgeois and workmen. Philippe Ferrère spoke of the presence in the royalist crowd on 12 March of 'the lowest class of society ... they were workmen and labourers in the costume of their condition, most wearing the livery of their poverty'.⁶³ Angoulême's council included former émigrés, such as Etienne de Damas, Lynch, the comtes de Puysegur and Lur-Saluces, and non-nobles who had not emigrated, such as Lainé and Ravez.⁶⁴ Past loyalties were less important than present attitudes.

The precise importance of Bordeaux in the restoration of the Bourbons is difficult to judge. On 17 March, Talleyrand wrote from Paris to the Duchesse de Courlande: 'If peace is not made, Bordeaux becomes a factor of great importance in politics. If peace is made, Bordeaux loses its importance'.⁶⁵ The entry of the Duc d'Angoulême on 12 March was the unequivocal event that the allies needed to dare to support the Bourbons publicly. At Dijon on 28 March, Metternich, Castlereagh and other European diplomats drank to the health of the mayor of Bordeaux before that of Louis XVIII.⁶⁶

Bordeaux, however, was not an isolated incident. The unpopularity of the Napoleonic Empire and the popularity of the returning Bourbons and their foreign allies were evident in Paris itself. The allied armies advanced on Paris when they were convinced, by intercepted letters of the strength of royalist feeling in the capital.⁶⁷ On 31 March, after Napoleon's army had been defeated and Napoleonic authorities had left the capital, foreign troops and sovereigns were acclaimed on the *boulevards* by crowds of Parisians. Many Russian officers considered they were watching a great people finally breathing freely.⁶⁸ Some Parisians shouted: 'A bas le Corse! A bas le tyran! Vive notre libérateur!'⁶⁹ A British eyewitness, Lord Charles Stewart, confirmed in part by accounts written on the same day by the French foreign minister Caulaincourt to Napoleon, described the allied entry to his brother, Lord Castlereagh: 'All Paris seemed to be assembled and concentrated on one spot.' Alexander I and Frederick William III were 'positively devoured' amidst cries of 'Vive l'Empereur Alexandre! Vive le Roi de Prusse! Vivent les Rois libérateurs!' Lord Charles Stewart also wrote: 'Nor did the air alone resound with these peals; for, with louder acclamations, if possible, they were mingled with those of Vive le Roi! Vive Louis XVIII! Vive les Bourbons! A bas le tyran! The white cockade appeared very universally, many of the National Guards whom I saw wore them.'⁷⁰ Russian accounts also confirm the frequency of cries of Vive Louis XVIII! Vivent les Bourbons! as well as Vive Alexandre Ier!⁷¹

Among the allies were more returning émigrés, such as Count Pozzo di Borgo, who had not seen France since 1792. He had become an Aide de Camp and councillor of Alexander I, had helped write his proclamations in France and, as Russian ambassador in Paris, would remain a key figure in French politics and European diplomacy from 1814 until 1831.⁷²

For a time Alexander I and his soldiers, known to some as 'les cupidons du Nord', remained popular in certain quarters of Paris. Except in some of the poorer, outlying suburbs, nationalism was not as strong as love of peace.⁷³ The sister of Chateaubriand, Madame de Marigny, praised the Tsar in her journal: 'good, affable, generous ... The Parisians are mad about him' [en raffolent].⁷⁴ As in Bordeaux, defeat was seen by some as a blessing, which reconnected France and Europe; her brother's best-selling pamphlet of April 1814 was called: *De Buonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes pour le bonheur de la France et celui de l'Europe*.

The former leaders of the emigration, the Comte d'Artois and Louis XVIII, were also welcomed back, although by no means unanimously, in 1814. On 12 April 1814, escorted by royalists (including former émigrés such as Chateaubriand), English diplomats and officers, and Napoleonic

Marshals, Artois entered Paris, wearing the uniform of the Paris National Guard. Lady Burghersh, Wellington's niece, claimed that he was cheered with 'the most violent acclamations ... a degree of enthusiasm which I never saw in England for anything', although another English eyewitness called T. R. Underwood was more sceptical.⁷⁵ In a state of extreme exaltation ('non jamais on ne pourra peindre cette ivresse'), Madame de Marigny, who was present, thanked God for having preserved 'the family of Saint Louis', and the Allies who had returned them to France.⁷⁶

On 3 May Louis XVIII himself, with his niece and their cousins the former émigré leaders the Prince de Condé and the Duc de Bourbon sitting in the same carriage (an honour which those princes would not have received before 1789), entered Paris in their turn. Although many French soldiers were hostile, the king and his party were acclaimed in the streets of Paris and in Notre-Dame by civilians with delirious cries of 'Vive le Roi'. Desire for peace, lower taxes, freedom, prosperity and a constitutional regime (all promised the day before in the king's *Déclaration de Saint-Ouen*) were stronger than nationalism, resentment at defeat, or memories of the divisions of 1789–1802.⁷⁷

Like Bordeaux and Paris, Toulouse also welcomed foreign troops. When Angoulême had entered the city on 27 April 1814 with Wellington, followed by British, Spanish, and Portuguese officers, according to an English witness:

Thousands of Country People crowded each side of the road for a League before we reached Toulouse and absolutely deafened us with acclamations so that we could hardly hear the thunder of Artillery or the bells of churches ... windows and even the house tops were crowded full of ladies, waving handkerchiefs, clapping hands and calling with all their might Vive le Roi and Vive les Bourbons.⁷⁸

Thus the events of 12 March in Bordeaux, 27 April in Toulouse and 31 March, 12 April and 3 May in Paris suggest that in 1814 emigration and nationalism were not dominating issues. Returning émigrés were cheered if they were thought to be bringing tangible political and economic benefits. Bordeaux in particular shows that returning émigrés, like Angoulême, Gramont and Damas, knew how to respond to the realities of the moment. It was not the return of the émigrés in 1814 which was unpopular but some émigrés' subsequent actions and attitudes, and for some Frenchmen, the return of the King in 1815, after the defeat of Waterloo, 'in the baggage-train of the foreigners' (Figs. 13.1 and 13.2).



Figs. 13.1 (r and v): The *Brassard de Bordeaux*. (All images are from the author's private collection) The Order of the *Brassard de Bordeaux* was founded by Louis XVIII on 6 September 1814, at the request of his agent in Bordeaux Taffard de Saint-Germain, to reward the royalists who had served in Bordeaux in March 1814. As a royalist rallying sign, they had worn a white 'brassard' or arm-band, which was probably a reminiscence of similar arm-bands worn by émigrés serving in the Armée de Condé in the 1790s. This illustration shows the insignia of the Order: a white arm-band decorated with a gold sun-burst enclosing two entwined L's, for Louis XVIII, and the legend 'Bordeaux 12 March 1814'. It comes from a 'Précis historique 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



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

NOTES

1. *Moniteur Universel*, 4 October 1820, 1385
2. *Ibid.*, 15 October 1820, 1389
3. Abbé Moulard, *Le comte Camille de Tournon*, 3 vols, (Paris: Publisher, 1927–1932), 3: 216.
4. Laurent Coste, *Histoire des maires de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: Dossiers d'Aquitaine, 2008), 223; 238; Arthur Young, "Diary for 26 August 1787," in *Travels in France*, second edition (London: Bohn, 1889), 67; 69.

5. Camille Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, 2 vols. (Bordeaux: Feret et fils, 1895), 2: 541.
6. Paul Butel, *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Bordeaux, des origines à nos jours* (Bordeaux: Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie, 1988), 142–48.
7. Vicomte de Guichen, *Le Duc d'Angoulême* (Paris: Émile Paul, 1909), 27–29.
8. Guichen, *Duc d'Angoulême*, 75–84.
9. Angoulême, “Note of 13 August 1804,” in Guichen, *Duc d'Angoulême*, 111.
10. Wellington to Lord Bathurst, 21 November 1813, in Duke of Wellington, *Despatches*, (13 vols. John Murray 1834–39), 11: 303; 305.
11. Comte Lynch, *Correspondance relative aux événements qui ont eu lieu à Bordeaux dans le mois de mars 1814* (Bordeaux: Lavigne jeune, 1814), 13.
12. Lynch, *Correspondance*, 30, 41.
13. cf. Wellington to Angoulême, 29 March 1814, in Duke of Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda*, (15 vols. London: John Murray, 1858–72), 8: 609.
14. Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1812–1815* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1925), 488–90; Bathurst to Wellington, 18 January 1814, in Wellington, *Despatches*, 11: 519–20.
15. Liverpool to Castlereagh, 19 March 1814, in Webster, *Foreign Policy*, 528.
16. Edward Cook to Castlereagh, 22 March 1814, in Viscount Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, (10 vols. London: H. Colburn, 1848–53), 9: 382–83.
17. see Philip Mansel, “Un Adversaire de longue haleine: Louis XVIII et la maison de Bourbon en 1810,” in *1810: Le Tournant de l'Empire*, ed. Thierry Lentz (Paris: Nouveau Monde Edition, 2010), 173.
18. Liverpool to Castlereagh, 29, 30 December 1813, in Webster, *Foreign Policy*, 510–13; Note by Brooklands, Private Secretary of Lord Liverpool, of conversation with the comte d'Artois, 4 January 1814, FO 27/105, National Archives, Kew.
19. John Mollo, *The Prince's Dolls: Scandals, Skirmishes and Splendours of the First British Hussars 1739–1815* (London: Leo Cooper, 1997), 38: 154–55.
20. Wellington to Bathurst, 21 November 1813, in Wellington, *Despatches*, 11: 303, 306; ‘Memorandum from the interior, 20 December 1813’, in *ibid.*, 11: 381.
21. Wellington, *Despatches*, 11: 436.
22. On 6 January, the government had briefly refused to give passports to the princes: Blacas to Mailhos, 6 January 1814, Archives Privées.

23. Elizabeth Sparrow, *Secret Service: British Agents in France 1792–1815* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 399.
24. Lord Yarmouth to General Taylor, 16 January 1814, in *The Taylor Papers*, ed. Ernest Taylor (London: Longmans Green, 1913), 123.
25. Louis XVIII to Wellington 14 January 1814, in Guichen, *Duc d'Angoulême*, 130. He called Angoulême 'un Bourbon armé contre l'oppresser de la patrie'.
26. Comte de La Barthe to Comte de Blacas, 16 January 1814, in Ludovic de Contenson, "Un Agent royaliste en 1814", *Revue de Paris*, 1 juillet (1910), 155.
27. Francis Seymour Larpent, "Diary for 10 February 1814," in *Private Journal* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2000), 384.
28. Mollo, *Prince's Dolls*, 159.
29. Angoulême to Wellington, 22 February 1814, in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 589.
30. Angoulême to Duchesse d'Angoulême, 6 March 1814 (intercepted), in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 621–22.
31. Ferdinand de Bertier, *Souvenirs inédits d'un conspirateur*, (Paris: Perrin (1990), 159, 383; cf. Tableau de la garde royale du Périgord, 11 September 1816, Archives Privées.
32. Philip Mansel, *Louis XVIII* (Perrin, 2004), 175.
33. M. J. S. Rollac, *Le Royalisme prouvé par les faits ou exposé authentique des causes et des résultats de la journée de Bordeaux au 12 mars 1814*, Second ed. Paris: (Imprimerie d'Abel Lanoe, 1820), 25, 87–88.
34. Rollac, *Royalisme prouvé*, 28.
35. Bertier, *Souvenirs inédits*, 153; 177; 386; 389.
36. Rollac, *Royalisme prouvé*, 36, 44–46.
37. Laurent Coste, 'Bordeaux et la Restauration des Bourbons', *Annales du Midi* CV (1993), 34.
38. Emile de Perceval, *Le Vicomte Lainé*, (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, 2 vols. 1926) 1:214n, 218–9n.
39. Laine, "Notes of 20 February 1814," in Perceval, *Vicomte Lainé*, 1: 231–33.
40. Beresford to Wellington, 4 March 1814, in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 637.
41. Bontemps Dubarry to Beresford, 7 March 1814, in Wellington, *Despatches*, 11: 558.
42. Rollac, *Royalisme prouvé*, 29: 41.
43. Coste, "Bordeaux," 37.
44. The same gesture, but in reverse, as Lavallette removing his white cockade to put on a tricolour cockade at the beginning of the Hundred Days out-

- side the gates of Grenoble one year later, on 6 March 1815. The two cities represented two aspects of France, royalist and Bonapartist.
45. Lynch, *Correspondance*, 24–25.
 46. Coste “Bordeaux,” 39; Rollac, *Royalisme prouvé*, 46, 48; cf. Jean Barennes, “Le 12 mars à Bordeaux d’après les souvenirs de Ferrère,” *Revue d’histoire de Bordeaux*, no. 6 (November 1914), 376.
 47. Beresford to Wellington, 12 March 1814, in Wellington, *Despatches*, 11: 577n.
 48. Beresford to Wellington 13, 14 March 1814, in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 646, 648–49.
 49. Maire de Bordeaux [Comte Lynch] Proclamation, Bordeaux: Imprimerie André Brossier, 1814, passim.
 50. Edmond Géraud, “Diary for 13 March 1814,” in *Un Témoin des deux Restaurations: fragments de journal inédit* (Paris: Librairie Marpon et Flammarion, 1893), 82, 84.
 51. Jacques Defermon, *Précis historique du 12 mars* (Bordeaux, 1814).
 52. The Hon. Claud Vivian, Richard Hussy Vivian, first Baron Vivian: a Memoir, (London: Isbister 1897), p. 218, Colonel Vivian to Mrs. Vivian, 16 March 1814.
 53. Géraud, “Diary for 13 March 1814,” in *Deux Restaurations*, 81: 84.
 54. Dalhousie to Wellington, 25 March 1814, in Wellington *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 696.
 55. Larpent, “Diary for 10 July 1814,” in *Private Journal*, 571.
 56. Archives Privées. Tableau de corps désigné sous le nom de garde royale, à pied, de Bordeaux, 1814.
 57. Angoulême to Wellington 16 March 1814, in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 653; Dalhousie to Wellington, 18 March 1814, in *ibid.*, 8: 668.
 58. Perceval, *Vicomte Lainé*, 1:233, 246; Lynch, *Correspondance*, 33: 38.
 59. *Proclamation de Son Altesse Royale le Duc d’Angoulême* (Bordeaux 1814), passim.
 60. Beresford to Wellington, 14, 19 March 1814, in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, 8: 649; 668; cf. Géraud, “Diary for 13 March 1814,” in *Deux Restaurations*, 85.
 61. Géraud, “Diary for March 1814,” in *Deux Restaurations*, 88; 90–91; 98; 101.
 62. Géraud, “Diary for 13 March 1814,” in *Deux Restaurations*, 87–88.
 63. Barennes, ‘Souvenirs de Ferrère’, 376
 64. Perceval, *Vicomte Lainé* 1:266; ‘Précis historique du 12 mars 1814’, in Archives Privées.

65. Talleyrand to Duchess of Courlande, 17, 20 March 1814, in *Talleyrand intime d'après sa correspondance avec la Duchesse de Courlande*, (Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1894), 162; 170.
66. Webster, *Foreign Policy*, 239; 243.
67. Mansel, *Louis XVIII*, 174.
68. General Comte de Langeron, *Mémoires* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1902), 478; Baron de Lowenstern, *Mémoires* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 2 vols. 1903), 2:373; 381; 388.
69. "Account by General Fabvier," in Comte de Caulaincourt *Mémoires* (3 vols Paris: Plon, 1933), 3:91n.; Langeron, *Mémoires*, 478.
70. Charles Stewart to Castlereagh 1 April 1814, in Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondance*, 9: 419–420; cf. Caulaincourt to Napoleon I, 31 March 1814, in Caulaincourt, *Mémoires*, 3: 88; 102n, and "Account by General Fabvier," in *ibid.*, 3: 90n–91n.
71. Alexander Mikarberidze ed., *Russian Eyewitness Accounts of the Campaign of 1814* (London: Frontline 2013), 247, 276, accounts by S. Khomutov, Pavel Pushin.
72. Philip Mansel, *Paris, capitale de l'Europe* (Paris: Perrin, 2003).
73. Mansel, *Paris*, 51.
74. Madame de Marigny, "Diary for 5 April 1814", in *id.*, *Paris en 1814*, (Paris: Emile-Paul, 1907), 67.
75. Letter of Lady Burghersh, 13 April 1814, in *The Letters of Lady Burghersh*, ed. Lady Rose Weigall (London: J. Murray, 1893), 227–28.
76. Madame de Marigny, "Diary for 12 April 1814," in *Paris en 1814*, 77–80; cf. T. R. Underwood "Diary, 12 April 1814," in Marigny, *Paris*, 275–76.
77. Mansel, *Paris*, 39.
78. "Undated Account by Major Edwin Griffith," in Mollo, *Prince's Dolls*, 189.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barennes, Jean. "Le 12 mars à Bordeaux d'après les souvenirs de Ferrère," *Revue d'histoire de Bordeaux*, no. 6 (November 1914): 371–381.
- Bertier, Ferdinand de. *Souvenirs inédits d'un conspirateur*. Paris: Perrin 1990.
- Butel, Paul. *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Bordeaux, des origines à nos jours*. Bordeaux: Chambre de commerce et d'industrie, 1988.
- Castlereagh, Viscount. *Memoirs and Correspondence*. 12 vols. London: H. Colburn 1848–53.
- Caulaincourt, Comte de. *Mémoires*. 3 vols. Paris: Plon, 1933.
- Contenson, Ludovic de. "Un Agent royaliste en 1814." *Revue de Paris* (1 Juillet 1910): 140–160

- Coste, Laurent. "Bordeaux et la Restauration des Bourbons." *Annales du Midi* CV (1993): 27–43.
- Coste, Laurent. *Histoire des maires de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux: Dossiers d'Aquitaine, 2008.
- Defermon, Jacques. *Précis historique du 12 mars*. Bordeaux, 1814.
- Géraud, Edmond. *Un Témoin des deux Restaurations: fragments de journal inédit*. Paris: Librairie Marpon et Flammarion, 1893.
- Guichen, Vicomte de. *Le Duc d'Angoulême*. Paris: Émile Paul, 1909.
- Jullian, Camille. *Histoire de Bordeaux*. 2 vols. Bordeaux: Feret et fils, 1895.
- Langeron, General Comte de. *Mémoires*. Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1902.
- Larpent, Francis Seymour. *Private Journal*. Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2000.
- Lowenstern, Baron de. *Mémoires*. 2 vols. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1903.
- Lynch, Comte. *Correspondance relative aux événements qui ont eu lieu à Bordeaux dans le mois de mars 1814*. Bordeaux, Lavigne jeune, 1814.
- Mansel, Philip. "Un adversaire de longue haleine: Louis XVIII et la maison de Bourbon en 1810." In *1810: Le Tournant de l'Empire*, Paris: Nouveau Monde Edition, 2010 edited by Thierry Lentz, 163–178.
- Mansel, Philip. *Louis XVIII*. Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2004.
- Mansel Philip. *Paris, capitale de l'Europe*. Paris: Perrin, 2003.
- Marigny, Madame de. *Paris en 1814*. Paris: Emile-Paul, 1907.
- Mikarberidze, Alexander, ed. *Russian Eyewitness Accounts of the Campaign of 1814*. London: Frontline, 2013
- Mollo, John. *The Prince's Dolls: Scandals, Skirmishes and Splendours of the First British Hussars 1739–1815*. London: Leo Cooper, 1997.
- Moulard, Abbé. *Le comte Camille de Tournon*. Paris: 3 vols. 1927–1932.
- Perceval, Emile de. *Le Vicomte Lainé*. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honore Champion, 2 vols. 1926.
- Rollac, M. J. S. *Le Royalisme prouvé par les faits ou Exposé authentique des causes et des résultats de la journée de Bordeaux au 12 mars 1814*. Paris: Imprimerie d'Abel Lanoe, 2e ed. 1820.
- Sparrow, Elizabeth. *Secret Service: British Agents in France 1792–1815*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999.
- Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de. *Talleyrand intime d'après sa correspondance avec la Duchesse de Courlande*. Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1894.
- Taylor, Ernest, ed. *The Taylor Papers*. London: Longmans Green, 1913.
- Vivian, The Hon. Claud, *Richard Hussy Vivian, first Baron Vivian: a Memoir*, London: Isbister 1897
- Webster, Charles. *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1812–1815*. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1925.
- Weigall, Lady Rose, ed. *The Letters of Lady Burghersh*. London: J. Murray, 1893).
- Wellington, Duke of. *Despatches*. 13 vols. London: John Murray 1834–9.

Wellington, Duke of. *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda*. 15 vols. London: John Murray 1858–72.

Proclamation de Son Altesse Royale le Duc d'Angoulême. Bordeaux: Imprimerie de Lavigne jeune, 15 March 1814.

Moniteur Universel, October 1820

Young, Arthur. *Travels in France*. Second ed., 1889.

ARCHIVAL REFERENCES

FO 27/105, National Archives, Kew, Papers about the British government's relations with Louis XVIII in exile.

Private archives. Papers of the Comte de Blacas. Documents relating to Bordeaux, March 1814.

Private archives Jacques Dejernon, Précis historique du 12 mars 1814.