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THOMAS BISKUP

GERMAN COURT AND FRENCH REVOLUTION:
ÉMIGRÉS AND THE BRUNSWICK COURT AROUND 1800

The *émigrés* of the French Revolution represented the greatest influx of migrants Germany had seen since the arrival of the Huguenots in the late 17th century, but unlike the latter, they appear, as a whole, not to have secured a place in German historical consciousness as only a few *émigrés* fitted the big narratives of political historiography. For historians of the French Revolution, only the politically active or morally reprehensible *émigrés* had long been relevant, and the same is true for much of German historiography particularly of the 19th and early 20th centuries: here only those *émigrés* that played a role in the defeat of the German monarchies at the hands of revolutionary and Napoleonic France, or illustrated the supposedly dubious ›national character‹ of the French, could be given a place in the story, and ›Coblentz‹ and the *émigrés* became almost synonymous¹. Even historians of migration have only recently discovered the *émigrés*, who had not settled down in Germany in the long run and for whom there had also been no place in what one might well call the Whig interpretation of emigration; i.e. the image of religious and political refugees fleeing tyrannical monarchs or dictators as martyrs of tolerance and democracy, from the Huguenots of the 17th century to the German refugees of the Metternich era and the German emigration of the 1930s². In Germany, historians interested in the wider field of Franco-German relations and cultural exchange have only over the last two decades begun to reassess the movement of the *émigrés*, to detach them from the narratives of national and ideological history they have been pressed into, and to consider them as a cultural phenomenon in its own right³. Here, the movement of the *émigrés* has been described as a ›temporary migration‹, as most French-

- 1 Christian HENKE, Coblentz: Realität und symbolische Wirkung eines Emigrantenzentrums, in: Daniel SCHÖNPFLUG, Jürgen VOSS (ed.), *Révolutionnaires et émigrés: Transfer und Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland 1789–1806*, Stuttgart 2002 (Beihefte der Francia, 56), p. 163–182. See also Irmgard HÄRTIG, *Émigrés français en Allemagne pendant la Révolution et l'Empire*, in: *Émigrés français en Allemagne, Émigrés allemands en France, 1685–1945* [Ausstellungskat.], hg. vom Goethe-Institut und dem Ministère des Relations extérieures, Paris 1983, p. 47.
- 2 This still shines through in Klaus J. BADE (ed.), *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Munich 1992, e.g. in the editor's introduction, p. 25.
- 3 Thomas HÖPEL, Katharina MIDDELL (ed.), *Réfugiés und Émigrés: Migration zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1998 (Comparativ, 5/6); Thomas HÖPEL, *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution in Preußen 1789–1806: Eine Studie in vergleichender Perspektive*, Leipzig 2000 (Deutsch-französische Kulturbibliothek, 17), and Bernward KRÖGER, *Der Französische Exilklerus im Fürstbistum Münster (1794–1802)*, Mainz 2005 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abt. f. Abendländische Religionsgeschichte 203).

men at no stage loosened their contacts to France and established themselves in Germany, but only considered it as a temporary place of refuge⁴. In particular, it is now being asked to which degree this »temporary migration« contributed to cultural transfer between France and Germany between the later 18th and the early 19th century, and the process of integrating the *émigrés* of the French Revolution into the burgeoning field of migration studies has only started⁵. Thus scholarly attention has increasingly shifted to the relationship between the *émigrés* and their host countries but as far as Germany is concerned, larger states such as Prussia and Saxony so far dominate the field. Little is known about smaller German territories which had to manoeuvre particularly carefully between revolutionary France on the one hand, and increasingly dominating Prussia and Habsburg on the other. With the North German principality of Wolfenbüttel, or, as it was known at the time, the duchy of Brunswick, one such territory is at the centre of this article⁶. Apart from short remarks in the general histories of the emigration⁷, two or three pieces of local history⁸ and a few studies on individual refugees⁹, the Brunswick *émigré* colony has remained a particularly dark spot in the generally underexposed picture of the refugees of the French Revolution, although the principality, with its then around 200 000 inhabitants, sandwiched between the electorate of Hanover in the West and

- 4 Karine RANCE, Die Emigration des französischen Adels in Deutschland: eine »vorübergehende Migration«, in: HÖPEL, MIDDELL (ed.), *Réfugiés und Émigrés* (as in n. 3), p. 158.
- 5 Raingard ESSER, Migrationsgeschichte und Kulturtransferforschung, in: Thomas FUCHS, Sven TRAKULHUHN (ed.), *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen. Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500–1850*, Berlin 2003 (Aufklärung und Europa, 12); HÖPEL, *Emigranten der Französischen Revolution* (as in n. 3), p. 34–38. Fundamental is still Hans-Jürgen LÜSEBRINK and Rolf REICHARDT (ed.), *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbuch – Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, 2 vol., Leipzig 1997 (Deutsch-französische Kulturbibliothek, 9).
- 6 Officially, no such thing as a »duchy of Brunswick« existed before 1814 although the heads of the Wolfenbüttel line of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg held the title of duke. To avoid lengthy definitions, I will in the following use the term »principality of Brunswick« for all their possessions. For the administrative structure, see Peter ALBRECHT, *Die Förderung des Landesausbaues im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel im Spiegel der Verwaltungsakten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Brunswick 1980 (Braunschweiger Werkstücke, Reihe A, 16), p. 9–18.
- 7 Kirsty CARPENTER, Philip MANSEL (ed.), *The French émigrés in Europe and the struggle against the French Revolution*, Basingstoke 1999, rather focusses on Britain and Western Europe. For the few remarks on Brunswick in older historiography, see Henri FORNERON, *Histoire générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution Française*, vol. 1, Paris 1884, p. 268–276, 418–419; Ghislain de DIESBACH, *Histoire de l'émigration 1789–1814*, Paris 1975, p. 296–302.
- 8 Heinrich MACK, *Sitzungsberichte des Geschichtsvereins*, in: *Braunschweigisches Magazin* 9 (1903), p. 45–47; Paul SANDER, *Französische Emigranten in Deutschland: Untersuchungen über die politische Tätigkeit und das tägliche Leben der Emigranten im Rheinland und im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, Phil. Diss., Brunswick 1939. Important material is provided by the seminal study of Selma STERN, *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, Hildesheim 1921 (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hannover, Oldenburg, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe und Bremen, 6), p. 246–253.
- 9 Rüdiger Robert BEER, *Der Marquis de Castries: Gegner und Gastfreund Karl Wilhelm Ferdinands, Herzogs zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, in: *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1975), p. 121–170; Ingrid HENZE, *Zwei Grabsteine französischer Emigranten in Helmstedt: D'Aligre und de Limon-Hallwin*, in: *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 73 (1992), p. 25–50; Wilhelm BRINGMANN, *Louis XVIII. von Frankreich im Exil: Blankenburg 1796–1798*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1995 (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 651).

Prussia in the East, had been the destination of a large number of high-ranking Frenchmen: among them were the Archbishops of Reims and Bourges, the Maréchal de Castries, the Duchesse de Chalais, the Princesses de Marsan and Rohan, the Comte de Puységur, the former minister of war, Baron Grimm, who should be counted as an *émigré* despite his German origins, and de Limon, the author of the so-called Brunswick manifesto signed by the very Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand who later offered him asylum.

Rather than just providing an analysis of the social composition and interaction with the locals of the Brunswick *émigré* colony, however, this article will in particular attempt to bring the history of *émigrés* together with the history of German courts. Recent historiography has been working hard to liberate at least part of the *émigrés* from the court associations they have been suffering under both in contemporary commentary as well as in later historiography; it seems difficult, however, to assess the reception of the Brunswick *émigrés* without considering their role as transmitters of an aristocratic urbanity so appreciated by Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand. Their arrival coincided with a strengthening of the French aspects of Brunswick court life between 1794 and 1806, and by integrating the *émigrés* into an analysis of this particular cultural, diplomatic, and fiscal constellation, it is in particular hoped that the article can also shed light on the role of courts in the history of Franco-German cultural transfer ›after 1789‹.

Here, the later 18th century is usually considered a caesura as the double impact of the ›rise of German culture‹ and the French Revolution are held to have pushed French language, literature and theatre out of the major position they had previously held at German courts for good. In particular, 19th- and early 20th-century historians writing the story of the emergence of classical German literature from Lessing to Goethe, upheld the Weimar court's support for German literature as a model of patriotic cultural patronage, and excused Frederick the Great's continuing preference for the French as the eccentricity of an ageing genius¹⁰. Without the nationalistic slant, more recent historiography has confirmed that from the 1760s on, most French court theatres were being replaced by German ones, and the correspondences between German princes and eminent French *hommes de lettres*, built on a shared understanding of deference and an appreciation of classical literature, ceased when a new, and more challenging, generation of *philosophes* came to the fore¹¹. The

10 A classic in this respect is Heinrich von TREITSCHKE, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: Bis zum zweiten Pariser Frieden, Leipzig 1879 (Staatengeschichte der neuesten Zeit, 24), p. 81–82, 86–103.

11 Étienne FRANÇOIS, *Les échanges culturels entre la France et les pays germaniques au XVIII^e siècle*, in: Michel ESPAGNE, Michael WERNER (ed.), *Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIII^e et XIX^e siècle)*, Paris 1988, p. 35–47, here p. 35–36; Jochen SCHLOBACH, *Französische Aufklärung und deutsche Fürsten*, in: Werner SCHNEIDERS (ed.), *Aufklärung als Mission/ La mission des lumières. Akzeptanzprobleme und Kommunikationsdefizite/Accueil réciproque et difficultés de communication*, Marburg 1993 (Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert. Supplementa, 1), p. 175–194; Ute DANIEL, *Hoftheater. Zur Geschichte des Theaters und der Höfe im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 100–101; Martin FONTIUS, Jean MONDOT (ed.), *Französische Kultur – Aufklärung in Preußen. Akten der Internationalen Fachtagung vom 20./21. September 1996 in Potsdam*, Berlin 2001; Brunhilde WEHINGER, *Geist und Macht: Zum Briefwechsel zwischen d'Alembert und Friedrich II. von Preußen*, in: Günter BERGER, Franziska SICK (ed.), *Franzö-*

French Revolution and the wars, propaganda and financial constraints that came with it appear to have only accelerated this process¹². Thus, while courts, rulers and their advisers are at the centre of many studies on Franco-German cultural transfer prior to the 1780s, they fade into the background in the historiography on the following decades, overshadowed by the novel political culture and military impact of revolutionary France.

In general, little is known about courts in this period when with the representatives of ›enlightened absolutism‹, such as Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick, even princes themselves appear to have turned their back on lavish court entertainments, apparently signalling the decline of the early modern princely household, soon to be replaced by modern bureaucracies and ministerial responsibilities¹³. Even the resurgence of interest in the history of courts in the last decade or two has rather bypassed this ›age of revolution‹ although all German courts surviving the onslaught of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and the greed of their more powerful German neighbours, remained the centres of power and patronage throughout the period; indeed, even in France, a court was established again by Napoleon only a decade after the end of the Bourbon monarchy¹⁴.

I.

In the first years of the revolution, most *émigrés* had stayed in the western regions of Germany, hoping for a quick victory of the counter-revolution and a subsequent return to France¹⁵. The North German territories had thus remained largely free from *émigrés*. When their hopes were crushed in 1792–1793, the »Décret concernant les émigrés« of 28th March 1793 banned them from France altogether, and the revolutionary armies invaded Germany, they moved south, north and east for a safer refuge. Thus, for example, the Princesse de Marsan arrived in Brunswick in 1793, and was given accommodation by the duke in his Wolfenbüttel Palace¹⁶. However, larger groups of *émigrés* seem to have reached the principality only in 1794 and

sisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im *Ancien Régime*, Tübingen 2002 (Cahiers de lendemain, 3), p. 241–261; Jean MONDOT, Jean-Marie VALENTIN, Jürgen VOSS (ed.), *Deutsche in Frankreich. Franzosen in Deutschland 1715–1789*, Sigmaringen 1992 (Beihefte der Francia, 25).

12 Michael JEISMANN, *Das Vaterland der Feinde: Studien zum nationalen Feindbegriff und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich 1792–1918*, Stuttgart 1992 (Sprache und Geschichte, 19), p. 27–160.

13 This lack of studies has recently been lamented again by Ute DANIEL, Hof, Hofleben, in: Helmut REINALTER (ed.), *Lexikon zum Aufgeklärten Absolutismus in Europa. Herrscher – Denker – Sachbegriffe*, Vienna et al. 2005, p. 308–314. A rare exception to the rule is Marcus VENTZKE (ed.), *Hofkultur und aufklärerische Reformen in Thüringen: Die Bedeutung des Hofes im späten 18. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, Weimar 2002. It needs to be noted, however, that a history of the Brunswick court in this period can only be written with difficulty as much of the relevant archival material has not survived.

14 Philip MANSEL, *The eagle in splendour: Napoleon I and his Court*, London 1987.

15 HÄRTIG, *Émigrés français* (as in n. 1), p. 46.

16 Undated list of the functions the Wolfenbüttel Landdrost von Rodenberg had been charged with in connection with the *émigrés* since 1793, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (in the following: NStA Wolfenbüttel), 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 30.

1795, when French troops had conquered the Austrian Netherlands, Germany left of the Rhine and the Dutch Republic. Thus three phases of the emigration to Brunswick can be distinguished: first, the years between 1789 and 1794, when only a few individual French, Belgian and Dutch refugees chose Brunswick as an asylum, or were allowed to enter. Second, the peak of the emigration between 1794 and 1798, when Brunswick became a safe haven for more than 800 refugees of the French Revolution, as it formed part of the neutralised North and the duke particularly welcomed emigrant Frenchmen in his dominions. The third phase are the years between 1798 and 1806, when their numbers decreased again. After the peace of Campo Formio, the ducal government had to expel most *émigrés*, and after Napoleon's amnesty of 1802, some returned to France by their own choice. A surprisingly large number, however, stayed on, and on a smaller scale the *émigré* colony continued to exist until Napoleon occupied Brunswick in the course of the Prussian war in 1806.

They were by no means the first immigrant community in the principality of Brunswick, which had been attracting ›useful‹ immigrants and refugees since the 16th century, including non-Protestant and non-German ones, and the Brunswick court had for a long time had a particularly cosmopolitan tradition¹⁷. Indeed, the lack of a larger domestic nobility had made it necessary for the dukes to ›import‹ foreigners, from both other German and non-German states, to make court life appropriately splendid and fill higher positions in the administration. Among the more recent ›foreigners‹ who rose to eminence at the Brunswick court was the leading minister of the 1780s and 1790s, Féronce von Rosenkreuz, who was of French descent himself¹⁸. Until the 1710s, Duke Anton Ulrich had aspired to elevating his territory to a major power in North Germany in intense rivalry with Hanover, succeeding at least in marrying his grand-daughter to the future Emperor Charles VI, and although many male members of the dynasty later sought to compensate for Brunswick's declining political weight by joining the Imperial or Prussian armies, the court of Brunswick long remained one of Germany's most splendid ones. Outshining its neighbours with concerts, opera and theatre performances as well as an extraordinarily high number of foreigners, its European composition reflected the continuing aspirations of the dynasty, which provided marriage partners for the royal or quasi-royal houses of Hanover, Hohenzollern, and Orange until the 1790s¹⁹. Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand's mother, after all, was Frederick II ›the Great's‹ sister Philippine Charlotte, his consort Augusta was George III's sister, and his own daughter Caroline married the Prince of Wales, the future George IV, in

17 Otto von HEINEMANN, *Geschichte von Braunschweig und Hannover*, vol. 3, Hanover 1857, p. 162–267; Volker BAUER, *Die höfische Gesellschaft in Deutschland von der Mitte des 17. bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1993 (*Frühe Neuzeit*, 12), p. 73–76.

18 F. SPEHR, Féronce von Rotenkreuz, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, hg. von der Historischen Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 6, Berlin, ²1968, p. 717–719.

19 Gerhard GERKENS, *Das fürstliche Lustschloß Salzdahlum und sein Erbauer Herzog Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, Brunswick 1974 (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Braunschweigischen Geschichte*, 22), in particular p. 32–37. The high number of foreigners was also emphasised by Catherine II ›the Great‹ of Russia, who was a frequent visitor to the Brunswick court in her youth, see Erich BOEHME (ed.), *Katharina II. in ihren Memoiren*, Leipzig 1916 (*Memoiren und Chroniken*, 2), p. 13.

1795. Since the late 16th century, and in line with other Protestant territories, such as Brandenburg-Prussia, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel, the Lutheran dukes of Brunswick had also pursued a policy of religious tolerance to increase the population of their dominions and satisfy local demand for much-needed specialists in trade and crafts²⁰. Until the mid-eighteenth century, various groups of Catholic, Reformed and Pietist foreigners settled down in Brunswick, and the government was keen to support them according to mercantilistic principles²¹. In particular, the reformed refugees from France and the Palatinate had a reputation for being pious and well-behaved, hard-working and loyal to their new lords²².

The *émigrés* of the French Revolution are usually held to have not fitted into this pattern of immigration, which had been characterised by a mutual understanding of tolerance and support on one side, and long-term integration into Brunswick society and economy (while often maintaining separate corporations) on the other²³. They were mostly aristocrats without particular commercial or technical skills, and it was well-known that they were only waiting for the Revolution to end to return to France. Brunswick, having long overcome the aftermath of the Thirty Years War, certainly did not need large groups of immigrants; at the end of the 18th century, the problem here as elsewhere in Germany rather became how to cope with the increased population, as the intensifying crisis of poor relief shows²⁴. The notoriety aroused by the behaviour of the more aristocratic *émigrés* did not help. In particular in those areas where they appeared in large numbers, they had made themselves unpopular; on the upper Rhine, for instance, Condé's army provoked bitterness and behaved like an occupying army²⁵. The supposedly frivolous life style, economic wastefulness and political foolishness of the emigrated Frenchmen became a cliché spread by the press even to those areas where no *émigré* had ever set foot, and throughout the 1790s, their bad reputation preceded them wherever they went²⁶.

20 ALBRECHT, Förderung des Landesausbau (as in n. 6), p. 343–349, 573.

21 Ibid. p. 570.

22 A small number of French immigrants lived in the city of Brunswick, Stadtarchiv Braunschweig (in the following: StA Braunschweig), Älteres Magistratsarchiv, C VIII 71, fol. 303. More important than the Huguenots were, however, reformed immigrants from other German states: in 1749, an entire village, Veltenhof, was populated with *Reformierte* from the Palatinate; Franz SOBKOWIAK, Veltenhöfer Familien seit 1750. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pfälzer Auswanderer im Land Braunschweig, Wieblingen 1998, p. I–II; Thomas KLINGEBIEL, Aspekte zur Ansiedlung von Hugenotten in den norddeutschen Territorien, in: Frédéric HARTWEG, Stefi JERSCH-WENZEL (Ed.), Die Hugenotten und das Refuge. Deutschland und Europa, Berlin 1990 (Einzerveröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 74), p. 74, 78.

23 Saskia SASSEN, Migranten, Siedler, Flüchtlinge, Frankfurt-on-Main 1996, p. 50, highlights the break in the perception of refugees as well as in immigration policy around 1800.

24 Ludwig HÄNSELMANN, Johann Anton Leisewitz und die Armenpflege in der Stadt Braunschweig. Bremen 1879; Peter ALBRECHT, Die Braunschweigischen Armenanstalten. Ein Beitrag zur städtischen Armenpolitik in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (1796–1853), Diplomarbeit, Hamburg 1962.

25 Jürgen Voss, Oberrheinische Impressionen aus Memoiren und Tagebüchern französischer Emigranten der Revolutionszeit, in: Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 132 (1984), p. 213–226.

26 See, e.g. [Anonymus], Auszug eines Schreibens aus Karlsruhe, d. 15. April 1791, in: Berlinische Monatsschrift, 1/1791, p. 562–566; for the image of the *émigrés* in literature in general, see Harro

Hence, when the Austro-Prussian campaign of 1792 turned into a disaster, the allied armies were driven back and large numbers of *émigrés* fled to central Germany, the ducal government swiftly acted to prevent them from entering Brunswick, and issued a decree advising the authorities not to allow any person of French nationality into the country that did not arrive for specific purposes²⁷. Until then, only a few refugees had arrived; they could be treated like other foreigners and no specific measures had been necessary. This policy was quite in line with the measures taken by other German states in October or November 1792, which kept the *émigrés* outside their borders or, if this could not be achieved, subjected them to close surveillance²⁸. In contrast to these, however, Brunswick opened its borders again after 1794. Crucial here was the duke's stance, which cannot sufficiently be explained by an increasing ›conservatism‹ brought about by the revolution, or the aristocratic solidarity and sense of chivalry mentioned in the *émigrés'* memoirs, in the older literature or in regional studies; other rulers, after all, were also keenly aware of their rank and its duties but still happy to expel the *émigrés* from their territories as soon as possible²⁹.

II.

Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand (1735–1806) had succeeded his father Carl I in 1780, but had shaped policy since the early 1770s³⁰. As a celebrated representative of ›enlightened‹ rule, he was credited with the political stability, social harmony and material prosperity his principality was famous for³¹. In particular, he had rendered his principality debt-free through a strict policy of cost-cutting, while additional income

ZIMMERMANN, Die französischen Emigranten in der deutschen Erzählliteratur und Publizistik um 1800, in: *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 12 (1984), p. 305–354.

- 27 »Zirkularreskript« of 9 November 1792, StA Braunschweig, C VII 269, fol. 6; see also Hermann VOGES, Der Einfall des französischen Generals Custine nach Deutschland im Jahre 1792 und die braunschweigische Regierung, in: *Braunschweigisches Magazin* 31 (1925), p. 90–95.
- 28 For Prussia, Saxony and Münster, see Peter VEDDELER, Französische Revolutionsflüchtlinge in Westfalen 1792–1802. Emigrantenpolitik zwischen Vorurteil und Solidarität, in: HÖPEL, MIDDELL (ed.), *Réfugiés und Émigrés* (as in n. 3), p. 183–184; Thomas HÖPEL, Französische Emigranten in Preußen und Sachsen. Umgang mit Immigranten als Indikator für den Standort einer Gesellschaft im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. 194, 196.
- 29 HENZE, Zwei Grabsteine französischer Emigranten (as in n. 9), p. 37, 40; BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 163; DIESBACH, *Histoire de l'émigration* (as in n. 7), p. 297; Henri Marie Ghislain Comte de MÉRODE-WESTERLOO, *Souvenirs du Comte de Mérode-Westerloo*, Paris 1864, p. 79–80; Karine RANCE, *Les mémoires de nobles émigrés partis en Allemagne: Coblenz, ou prédire un échec advenu*, in: SCHÖNPFLUG, VOSS (ed.), *Révolutionnaires et émigrés* (as in n. 1), p. 221–233, rightly emphasises how in retrospect, the perspectives of emigrated Frenchmen changed in the assessment of aristocratic solidarity and hospitality.
- 30 STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), from p. 65. The most recent survey of his reign is Peter ALBRECHT, *Das Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus (1735–1806)*, in: Horst-Rüdiger JARCK, Gerhard SCHILDT (ed.), *Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte. Jahrtausendrückblick einer Region*, Brunswick 2000, p. 575–610.
- 31 Peter ALBRECHT, Die braunschweigische Wirtschaft am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums* 1 (1994), p. 29–46; the image of Brunswick as a model territory in travel reports is examined by ID., Braunschweig als kultureller Mittelpunkt in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: Paul RAABE (ed.), *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge: Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek* 9 (1994), p. 31–54.

was generated by hiring out Brunswick soldiers to the British during the American War of Independence³². Even as hereditary prince, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand had been the driving force of this new financial policy, which particularly affected court-related outlay³³. Like many German territories, Brunswick had been hit by a severe financial crisis after the Seven Years' War, and was even threatened with state bankruptcy in 1768–1769³⁴. Among the first steps taken to reduce the debt burden were the dismissal of the Italian *Directeur des spectacles* Nicolini, the closure of the opera, and the dissolution of the court orchestra³⁵. Also, valuable artefacts of the famous ducal collections, among them part of the dynasty's *Rüstkammer*, were auctioned off; a process going on well into the 1790s³⁶. As elsewhere, the French court theatre also suffered under the financial crisis, and the French comedy was closed down in 1769³⁷.

To make up for these losses, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand and his father managed to attract some of the most prominent representatives of the German Enlightenment, who made the city of Brunswick the centre of Enlightenment culture in North Germany and a focal point of the German public sphere³⁸. Among them were Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Joachim Eschenburg, the important transmitter of English culture, who were appointed to the positions of librarian of the famous Ducal Library and professor of the Collegium Carolinum respectively; Lessing's »Emilia Galotti« was first staged on the occasion of Duchess Philippine Charlotte's

32 Paul ZIMMERMANN, Beiträge zum Verständnis des zwischen Braunschweig und England am 9. Januar 1776 geschlossenen Subsidienvtrages, in: Jahrbuch des Geschichtsvereins für das Herzogtum Braunschweig 13 (1914), p. 161–176. For a recent reassessment of these subsidy treaties in general, see Peter H. WILSON, War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677–1793, Cambridge 1995, p. 74–97.

33 It needs to be kept in mind, however, that it is never quite clear before the 19th century what exactly constitutes »court expenses«; Jeroen DUINDAM, Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780, Cambridge 2003 (New Studies in European History), p. 304.

34 Walter DEETERS, Das erste Jahrzehnt des braunschweigischen Finanzkollegs von 1773–1785, in: Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch 56 (1975), p. 101–120.

35 Ralf EISINGER, Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte im Überblick, in: ID. (ed.), Braunschweiger Theaterzettel 1711 bis 1911, Brunswick 1990 (Literarische Vereinigung Braunschweig, Bibliophile Schriften, 37), p. VII–XXVI, p. XIII; Fritz HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte, Wolfenbüttel 1905, p. 206–209, 210–227.

36 Alfred WALZ, Das Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus (1735–1806), in: Das Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum und seine Sammlungen: 1578–1754–2004, Munich 2004, p. 156, and 250 Jahre Museum. Von den fürstlichen Sammlungen zum Museum der Aufklärung [Ausstellungskat.], hg. vom Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Munich 2004, p. 220–221.

37 HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 208. On the closure of French theatres in favour of German ones during or following the Seven Years War, see DANIEL, Hoftheater (as in n. 11), p. 100–101.

38 Ernst HINRICHS, Aufklärung in Niedersachsen: Zentren, Institutionen, Ausprägungen, Göttingen 1990 (Vortragsreihe der Niedersächsischen Landesregierung zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung in Niedersachsen, 70), p. 18–22; ALBRECHT, Braunschweig als kultureller Mittelpunkt (as in n. 31). A short survey of Brunswick Enlightenment culture is provided by Christof RÖMER, Aufklärung im Lande Braunschweig. Facetten und Phasen, 1735–1789, in: Rainer RIEMENSCHNEIDER (ed.), Bilder einer Revolution: Die Französische Revolution in den Geschichtsschulbüchern der Welt. Images d'une révolution, Frankfurt-on-Main, Paris 1994 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, 78), p. 629–639.

birthday in 1772³⁹. With the eminent educationalists Joachim Heinrich Campe and Ernst Christian Trapp, a younger generation was brought in in the mid-1780s, mainly with a view to reforming the principality's educational system, but the friend of Mirabeau, Jakob Mauvillon, also a Carolinum professor, also belonged to their circle. Even after this particular reform project had been brought down by conservative opposition from church and estates, Campe's journalistic projects and publishing house contributed crucially to bolstering Brunswick's eminent position in the German Enlightenment, and thus also to enhancing the duke's prestige as patron, in the public sphere⁴⁰. All these *Aufklärer* served in various functions as advisers to Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, who also assembled them around his dinner table, mirroring a general trend towards polite yet more informal sociability at German courts in the second half of the century.

In this group, the French Revolution was welcomed warmly, and the fate of the *émigrés* was being viewed with indifference or even contempt, as they appeared as the decadent representatives of a rotten regime⁴¹. The duke himself seems to have shared this assessment: in conversations with the writer Johann Arnold Ebert, he discussed the events in France approvingly, and as late as early 1792 he agreed with the aims of the constitutional party in France, considering a real representation of the nation as the only recipe for a recovery of France⁴². There in turn, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand enjoyed enormous prestige, which stemmed from his military successes as a Prussian general, ›enlightened‹ credentials, and well-known preference for French literature and conversation, which he shared with his revered uncle Frederick the Great, as whose true heir in military and cultural matters he liked to be considered. Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand had visited Paris in 1766 and met d'Alembert and Helvétius, corresponded with a number of *philosophes*, including Diderot, and in Brunswick he often invited Frenchmen to the ducal palace. Mirabeau, an admirer of the duke's, spent several weeks in Brunswick in 1786 and 1787, and Benjamin Constant served as a ducal chamberlain between 1788 and 1794. Such indeed was his reputation in France that as late as January 1792, the French government offered Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand the post of supreme commander of the French army in the

39 Wolfram MAUSER, »Ich stehe für nichts«. Zur Uraufführung von G. E. Lessings »Emilia Galotti« am Hoftheater zu Braunschweig, in: 300 Jahre Theater in Braunschweig 1690–1990 [Ausstellungskat.], hg. von der Stadt Braunschweig, Brunswick 1990, p. 177–194.

40 Hanno SCHMITT, Pressefreiheit, Zensur, Wohlverhalten! Die Braunschweigische Schulbuchhandlung zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution, in: Holger BÖNING (ed.), Französische Revolution und deutsche Öffentlichkeit. Wandlungen in Presse und Alltagskultur am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Munich 1992 (Deutsche Presseforschung, 28), p. 341–368. Id., Schulreform im aufgeklärten Absolutismus: Leistungen, Widersprüche und Grenzen philanthropischer Reformpraxis im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel 1785–1790, Weinheim 1979 (Studien und Dokumentationen zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte).

41 Carsten ZELLE, Der Freiheitsschwärmer: Die Französische Revolution im Spiegel von Johann Arnold Eberts unveröffentlichten Briefschaften, in: Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch 71 (1990), p. 39–54; Hans-Ulrich LUDEWIG, Das Collegium Carolinum und die Französische Revolution, in: Walter KERTZ (ed.), Referate beim Workshop zur Geschichte der Carolo-Wilhelmina am 3. Juli 1989, Brunswick 1990 (Projektberichte zur Geschichte der Carolo-Wilhelmina, 5).

42 STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), p. 183.

imminent war against Austria⁴³. However, the duke, who had been in Prussian military service since the Seven Years' War, and had been appointed Prussian Field Marshal in 1787, took up the command of the allied army that was to invade France. Here, he soon recognised the *émigrés'* contribution as a danger rather than assistance, and the manifesto threatening Paris with destruction, drafted by de Limon and published under the duke's name in July 1792⁴⁴, made matters even worse as it made him appear as a vengeful reactionary and associated him with the political cause of the *émigrés*⁴⁵. Tired of the intrigues in his staff, and convinced that he could not achieve victory any more, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand resigned from his army command and returned to his principality in February 1794.

There, as in Germany as a whole, the political climate had changed significantly since his departure two years before⁴⁶. Most, though not all, of those who had welcomed the events of 1789 turned away in horror when the monarchy was brought down, the king executed, and a rule of terror established. Ebert, who had so enthusiastically discussed the Revolution with the duke in 1789, now accused the French of having deceived the world, as they had *spoken of humanity, but murdered their own brethren*, and now set out to *devour the world*⁴⁷. Although the duke seems to have shared this view, and grew increasingly pessimistic about the course of European politics in general in his later years, he continued to support the controversial group of publicists around Campe, who did not refrain from defending the French republic. Denounced as the »Brunswick Jacobins« in the conservative press of the 1790s, their activities had been viewed with suspicion by Emperor Leopold II as well as the Berlin government from 1791, and Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand had had to limit the freedom of the press and reign in Campe officially⁴⁸. However, with the latter's publishing house remaining a corner stone of the late-mercantilistic policy to establish Brunswick as a major publishing centre, the duke clandestinely continued to support Campe throughout the 1790s, granting him continued freedom of the press in one of those special unofficial arrangements characteristic of many smaller German states⁴⁹. Reduced in his European aspirations after the failed campaigns of

43 Ibid. p. 185–191; Gerd BIEGEL, 6. Februar 1794. Rückkehr von Herzog Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand aus Frankreich und die Geschichte von Braunschweigs Stiftung, Brunswick 1994 (Veröffentlichungen des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums, 74), p. 71–75.

44 Already immediately after its publication, the duke's authorship was doubted; [Anonymus], Schreiben an den Herzog von Braunschweig, in Beziehung auf sein angebliches Manifest gegen Frankreich, datirt den 6ten Aug. 1792, in: Historisch-politisches Magazin, nebst litterarischen Nachrichten 12 (1792), p. 369–378.

45 Carl Friedrich PÖCKELS, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand: Ein biographisches Gemälde dieses Fürsten, Tübingen 1809, p. 198–203.

46 Rudolf VIERHAUS, Die Revolution als Gegenstand der geistigen Auseinandersetzung, in: Roger DUFRAISSE (ed.), Revolution und Gegenrevolution 1789–1830: Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung in Frankreich und Deutschland, Munich 1991 (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, 19), p. 251–266.

47 Quoted in BIEGEL, 6. Februar 1794 (as in n. 43), p. 119–123.

48 SCHMITT, Pressefreiheit, Zensur, Wohlverhalten! (as in n. 40).

49 Gerd BIEGEL, Herzog Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand und Joachim Heinrich Campe: Begegnung zwischen Fürst und Unternehmer im Braunschweig der Aufklärung, in: Hanno SCHMITT (ed.), Visionäre Lebensklugheit: Joachim Heinrich Campe in seiner Zeit (1746–1818), Wiesbaden 1996

1792–1794, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand now focussed on his principality again, dedicating himself to domestic policy and re-fashioning the court to his taste. It is in this context that the reception of the *émigrés* needs to be seen.

III.

The first larger groups of *émigrés* arrived in the principality in the summer and autumn of 1794, when the defeat of the Austrian armies had made their more western quarters insecure, and only a few months after the duke had returned to Brunswick⁵⁰. The majority of the refugees was accommodated in the capital and in the neighbouring town of Wolfenbüttel. The peak of the emigration seem to have been the years 1796 and 1797, when the number of *émigrés* in the city of Brunswick alone reached almost 500, and c. 250 in Wolfenbüttel⁵¹. By then, the Comte de Provence had also found refuge in Blankenburg, which was a territory of its own right and belonged to the duke of Brunswick in his capacity as prince of Blankenburg. There, another 80 to 100 *émigrés* formed the French court in exile⁵². Having been on the move for some time after his expulsion from Verona, Provence could not remain on Prussian territory after the peace of Bâle. Expelled from Prussian Quedlinburg, the pretender to the Bourbon throne was finally allowed to stay in nearby Blankenburg in private quarters, and under the name of a Comte de Lille, for 18 months, although the duke, in yet another balancing act designed to accommodate diplomatic pressures from both Prussia and France, declined to put the local palace at his disposal to avoid anything resembling official recognition⁵³.

It is important to recognize, however, that these high numbers include not only French, but also a large proportion of Belgian and Dutch refugees, some of whom had

(Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 74), p. 89–112; Angela KLEIN, *Campe und die Zensur im Fürstentum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, *ibid.* p. 125–126.

50 In a decree of 17 November 1794, all arriving refugees were obliged to register with the authorities. As a result, detailed lists for the three towns of Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel and Blankenburg were produced. There, control was relatively tight, but it is difficult to say how many refugees found accommodation in the villages, as no comprehensive list of refugees in all the dominions of the duke of Brunswick exists. Thus, one can only estimate their number, which was probably between 800 and 900, not 2000, as claimed by MÉRODE-WESTERLOO, *Souvenirs* (as in n. 29), p. 80–89, and repeated by FORNERON, *Histoire générale* (as in n. 7), p. 418. The lists in the NStA Wolfenbüttel and the StA Braunschweig confirm the numbers given by MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* (as in n. 8), p. 46, and SANDER, *Französische Emigranten* (as in n. 8), p. 45–47, see below.

51 Some *émigrés* also found accommodation in Kloster Dorstadt (MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* [as in n. 8], p. 46), Wenden, and Peine (SANDER, *Französische Emigranten* [as in n. 8], p. 45). The exact numbers for Brunswick are 403 in early 1795 (StABS, C VII 269, fol. 7–14) and 497 in 1797 (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1902, fol. 77–86), plus another 88 from Brabant in an undated list (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1902, fol. 89–92). In Wolfenbüttel, there were 100 *émigrés* in November 1795 (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 1–3), 87 in July 1796 (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 4–5, 21–22) and 247 in September 1796, of whom 135 were French (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901); French entrepreneurs are listed separately (»Fabricants français«, NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 28–29). – There are a further two undated lists, one of which gives the number 360.

52 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1902, fol. 13–18; see also BRINGMANN, *Louis XVIII.* (as in n. 9), p. 153–159.

53 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 30–33, 1 Alt 22, 1902, fol. 2–20.

arrived in Brunswick as early as 1789, following the Belgian revolt against Joseph II⁵⁴. In the mid-1790s, the Dutch Stadholder and his court also found refuge in Brunswick, and with them many other refugees from the Netherlands. For the Dutch, Brunswick was something of a natural destination, as the duke was a close relative of the Stadholder's and had, in his function as a Prussian general, suppressed the revolution of the ›Dutch Patriots‹ in 1787; in 1790, his son Carl Georg had married Louise of Orange. By 1795 no less than 55% of the 403 refugees in the city of Brunswick were Dutch or Belgian, which highlights yet again how closely the French Revolution and the anti-absolutist rebellions of the late 1780s were connected⁵⁵. Despite their numerical strength, however, these refugees remained in the shadows of the French *émigré* colony, the majority of which was formed by the higher nobility, the higher clergy and their servants. The lower clergy was less well represented in Brunswick, and seem to have preferred Catholic territories like Münster, where they could find accommodation in monasteries and count on the solidarity of the population⁵⁶.

Within months after the *émigrés*' arrival, an entire *émigré* network had emerged, including *salons*, a lending library, and restaurants run by *émigrés*, one of which was conveniently situated opposite the Catholic Church⁵⁷. The Catholic faith was indeed an important element of cohesion among the *émigrés* in a Protestant environment, and the Catholic Church in Brunswick provided a meeting point for Frenchmen of all classes⁵⁸. Within this French network, many *émigrés* tried to continue to live their lives as they had done in France, though on a more modest scale. Characteristic is the example of the young Comtesse de Bueil, who had arrived in Brunswick in 1798 with Baron Grimm, and largely moved in French circles that soon formed around eminent personalities like the Baron Grimm or the Abbé Deslisle⁵⁹. The children and young men and women were educated by French teachers and emigrated clergy, and Communion was celebrated by emigrated bishops. The younger *émigrés* also organised common events among themselves, such as theatre plays or outings into the countryside⁶⁰. The *émigrés* also kept up contact with Frenchmen in other German territories as well as their families in France⁶¹. Within

54 MACK, Sitzungsberichte (as in n. 8), p. 46.

55 StA Braunschweig, C VII 269, fol. 7–14; Timothy C. W. BLANNING, *The origins of the French Revolutionary Wars*, London 1986.

56 VEDDELER, *Französische Revolutionsflüchtlinge in Westfalen* (as in n. 28), p. 187; KRÖGER, *Der Französische Exilklerus* (as in n. 3).

57 The lending library, for which the *émigré* Paul Esprit Richeteau de la Coindrie held a ducal license, existed from at least 1792 to 1800; Britta BERG, Peter ALBRECHT, *Presse der Regionen Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel, Hildesheim – Goslar. Kommentierte Bibliographie der Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Intelligenzblätter, Kalender und Almanache sowie biographische Hinweise zu Herausgebern, Verlegern, Druckern und Beitragern periodischer Schriften bis zum Jahre 1815*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 2003 (Deutsche Presse. Biobibliographische Handbücher zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen periodischen Presse von den Anfängen bis 1815, 3.1–3.2), p. 952.

58 Katharina Freifrau von BECHTOLSHEIM (geb. Gräfin Beuil), *Erinnerungen einer Urgrossmutter, 1787–1825*, hg. von Carl Graf OBERNDORFF, Berlin 1902, p. 92.

59 BECHTOLSHEIM, *Erinnerungen* (as in n. 58), p. 64–92.

60 Charles Albert COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, *En émigration: souvenirs tirés des papiers du Comte A. de la Ferronays (1777–1814)*, Paris 1901, p. 29–30.

61 Jean VIDALENC, *La caisse d'émigration 1797–1807*, in: *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 42 (1969), p. 43.

this network, mutual help and assistance was given, but also social control exerted, as the position of the *émigrés* was always precarious and the benevolence of their hosts had to be secured⁶². Tolerated as refugees, the French had to abstain from political action to avoid embarrassing their hosts on the diplomatic stage, and to fit into the duke's conception of courtly sociability. Those *émigrés* that remained tied to their political cause had to live in obscurity in Brunswick, like de Limon, or seek refuge elsewhere⁶³. Brunswick remained the destination of highly aristocratic but politically inactive *émigrés*, the faction an anonymous German pamphlet of 1798 classified as the group of French seeking tranquillity and peace above all⁶⁴. The veritable audiences held by persons of high rank, and the visits paid and returned after dinner, contributed to this establishment of an aristocratic society in exile organised along hierarchical lines, at the top of which stood the Archbishop of Reims (Talleyrand's uncle) and the Maréchal de Castries. The latter was the unofficial secular head of the Brunswick *émigrés* community⁶⁵, both due to his rank and former position at Versailles and his close relations with the duke, whom he had known for many years: having faced each other as commanders of opposing armies during the Seven Years' War, they had later repeatedly met in Aix-la-Chapelle and Paris, and fought together in the campaign of 1792⁶⁶. Having been among the first to leave France in summer 1789, de Castries came to Brunswick in August 1796 with a large entourage, including both his wife and mistress, and was put up in the ducal palace in Wolfenbüttel, which had been the official ducal residence until the court had moved to Brunswick in 1753⁶⁷. While de Castries, the archbishop, and other privileged *émigrés* held court in the Wolfenbüttel palace, the less well-connected *émigrés* had to make do with private and often shared lodgings, and many lived in poor conditions⁶⁸. Occasionally, donations came forward from the local population, be it in the shape of money or free accommodation⁶⁹. The Belgians who had left their homes in 1794, when it was clear that they would not be able to return soon, had been able to make preparations for their exile, and thus counted among the wealthier refugees

62 Gottfried Philipp Freiherr von BÜLOW, Beiträge zur neuern Braunschweigischen Geschichte in Erinnerungen aus seinem Leben, Brunswick 1833, p. 47–48, points out that the *émigrés* kept up a kind of »Polizey« among themselves.

63 Expelled from Vienna, and rejected by Prussia, De Limon – one of the most aggressive publicists of the emigration – died in Brunswick in 1799; see HENZE, Zwei Grabsteine französischer Emigranten (as in n. 9), p. 42–49.

64 [Anonymus] Betrachtungen eines Oberbeamten am Rhein über die französischen Emigranten in Deutschland, s.l. 1798, p. 54; BECHTOLSHEIM, Erinnerungen (as in n. 58), p. 65.

65 Indeed, de Castries was almost the official head as was instructed to keep a survey of the colony, see (undated) list of *émigrés* (NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 20).

66 BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 135–136, 161.

67 StA Braunschweig, CVII 269, fol. 9–13. After de Castries' death in January 1800, the duke had an epitaph erected in the Catholic Church in Brunswick: BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 164; the text of the epitaph, which has not survived, is quoted in René de CASTRIES, Le maréchal de Castries (1727–1800), Paris 1956, p. 280.

68 COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, En émigration (as in n. 60), p. 29. The Comtesse de Mailles, the duchesse de Caylus, the princesses Marsan and Rohan, the duchesse de Chalais, the princesse de Montmorency, and the former minister of war, Puységur, also lived in the palace, NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 1901, fol. 1–5, 21–22.

69 SANDER, Französische Emigranten (as in n. 8), p. 51.

in Brunswick⁷⁰. Some French *émigrés* had also managed to save part of their fortunes over the years and now supported their countrymen⁷¹.

Crucial, however, were donations from the Russian court and, above all, the duke himself, which in turn appear to have strengthened the hierarchy of the *émigré* colony. The archbishop of Reims acted as an intermediary of Baron Grimm's, who administered the funds provided by Catherine II to support needy *émigrés*. Via Grimm, the archbishop recommended fellow-Frenchmen to the Russian court, who then received their payment from Grimm. These payments continued even after Russian attempts had failed to bring Prussia back into an anti-French coalition with the help of Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand, who was considered an *eminence grise* at the Berlin court⁷². While the archbishop used his international contacts, de Castries served as a mediator between the *émigrés* and the duke, who preferred not to act publicly as a benefactor, but spent enormous sums through German and French intermediaries⁷³. De Castries was also a channel of communication in the duke's delicate relations with the French court in exile in Blankenburg, as Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand avoided official contacts with the Comte de Provence⁷⁴. Indeed, Louis XVIII, as Provence styled himself after the Dauphin's death, had only been allowed to enter Blankenburg through the mediation of de Castries in the first place. Most of the duke's specified donations went to prominent aristocrats like the Comte de Puységur or the Princesse de Marsan, who were important enough to inform the duke of their needs and wishes at court or through intermediaries. In these cases, the ruler went as far as to deal in person with the obtaining of firewood, beds, furniture, or tableware⁷⁵. The many payments to lesser figures were usually arranged by

70 The Simonis family from Vervier in Liège arrived with an entourage of 27 persons, including a businesspartner, StA Braunschweig, C VII 269, fol. 7; see also MACK, Sitzungsberichte (as in n. 8), p. 47.

71 COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, En émigration (as in n. 60), p. 48–49. D'Aligre, formerly president of the Paris parlement, also supported his fellow-countrymen, having managed to transfer some money to England before his departure from France; HENZE, Zwei Grabsteine französischer Emigranten (as in n. 9), p. 37, 40.

72 VIDALENC, Caisse d'émigration (as in n. 61), p. 35, 40, 44–45. Payments to Brunswick *émigrés* went on until 1806. On the pensions received by the Comte de Provence, the above-mentioned Vicomte de Belsunce and others received pensions from Russia, see BRINGMANN, Louis XVIII. (as in n. 9), p. 150–155, 219–223. On the duke's role in Russian diplomacy in the mid-1790s, see STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), p. 288–290.

73 Apart from de Castries, these intermediaries were the Landdrost von Rodenberg in Wolfenbüttel and *Kammerdirektor* Fredersdorff in Blankenburg, later also the Comte de Gallatin, the *émigré* d'Herman and the Brunswick general von Riedesel: NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 30–33, 37–40, 45–50; 1 Alt 22, 1973, fol. 40; 1 Alt 22, 1974, fol. 11, 13–15, 20, 33. Montjoie cooperated with Rodenberg in the case of Provence; 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 30–33. See also VIDALENC, Caisse d'émigration (as in n. 61), p. 55.

74 Requests for better accommodation, for furniture from the ducal palace in Blankenburg, etc. were sent via de Castries; see, for example, the letter by the duke to *Kammerdirektor* Fredersdorff of 16 April 1797, NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1902, fol. 2. Mirroring his ducal protector's reserved stance, de Castries, however, insisted on maintaining a distance to Provence and repeatedly declined an official function at the Blankenburg court; BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 163.

75 In September 1800, for example, the duke repeatedly wrote to Rodenberg about the purchase of coal and firewood for the de Puységur family, whom he had met at court and who had complained about their situation; NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, 45–47.

Frenchmen of higher rank⁷⁶. With the eminent French aristocrats and clergymen thus using their privileged access to ruling monarchs to secure favours and money both for themselves and for their lesser compatriots, the Brunswick *émigré* community benefitted enormously from functioning along these hierarchised channels of communication. The chances for an *émigré* resident in Brunswick to receive a donation were better than almost anywhere else in Germany, and the donations individuals received were much higher than elsewhere in comparable cases⁷⁷. The reputation Brunswick gained in *émigré* circles was indeed such that it attracted impostors taking on the identity of deceased French aristocrats to cash in on ducal and Russian support, and in July 1796 the further influx of *émigrés* had to be limited⁷⁸.

IV.

By subsidising the *émigrés* rather than expelling them, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand continued established practices in the reception of immigrants, helping those willing to set up their own business and thus contribute to the local economy, while integrating suitable aristocrats into his court. Licences to open factories or run businesses were readily granted, and the duke subsidised them and monitored their development in person⁷⁹. This, however, was no special favour, as Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand supported enterprising businessmen irrespective of nationality, religion or political outlook. The French entrepreneur Thouvenôt established a tapestry factory in the ducal palace in Wolfenbüttel⁸⁰, which provoked local criticism of this »desecration« of a symbol of dynasty and country⁸¹. Characteristically, however, the duke did not hesitate to have the theatre and other parts of the former residence pulled down to make room for the factory but, weighing up utilitarianism and considerations of rank, refrained from expelling de Castries when asked by Thouvenôt to put the entire palace at his disposal to expand his successful business⁸². In his efforts to make Brunswick a major publishing centre, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand subsidised the pro-revolutionary Protestant *Aufklärer* Campe as well as the royalist Catholic *émigré* Antoine-François-Philippe Du Bois De Cours, Marquis de La Maisonfort, who arrived from Hamburg in 1795. Maisonfort's Société littéraire et typographique de Bronswic, opened in 1797, was granted the monopoly for the printing of all foreign-language books in the principality but failed commercially despite generous ducal subsidies and close links to the successful Hamburg publisher Pierre-François Fauche. Maisonfort's weekly »L'abeille ou le Journal littéraire et politique de

76 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1974, fol. 11, 13, 20.

77 VIDALENC, Caisse d'émigration (as in n. 61), p. 45.

78 Ibid. p. 53–54. The edict of 27th July 1796 is reprinted in SANDER, Französische Emigranten (as in n. 8), p. 40.

79 »Fabricants français«, NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 28–29.

80 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 1–3; 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 28–29.

81 Letter by Christina Trapp to Elisabeth von der Recke of 17 March 1795, NStA Wolfenbüttel; I owe this information to Dr. Günter Scheel, Wolfenbüttel. PÖCKELS, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 45), p. 149, emphasises the duke's utilitarian stance in this matter.

82 BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 162–163; HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 254.

Brunsvic« lasted no longer than nine months⁸³. The *émigré* press tried to fit into the long tradition of French-language periodicals in Germany, which continued well into the 1790s, but the success of these enterprises varied enormously from one territory to another. Already Claude Le Beau's »Gazette de Brunswick« (1753–1773) had only been able to survive for two decades due to massive ducal subsidies, and later attempts to set up some French-language journal or almanach failed repeatedly.⁸⁴ In contrast to similar projects in Berlin, where the Huguenot colony had long maintained their own press, or to Gotha, centre of Grimm's French-language correspondence network, such journalistic experiments could count on little interest outside the court in Brunswick, which with its thriving publishing culture and lively associations, was one of the centres of the new urban »aristocracy of culture« based on the German language⁸⁵. In general, few Frenchmen built up long-term projects, such as a soap factory and a cotton spinning mill in Wolfenbüttel, or hotels and restaurants in Brunswick⁸⁶. As elsewhere, most *émigrés* chose professions which did not require specialist knowledge, trying to make a living by teaching French, dancing or drawing; some resorted to handicraft or laundering jobs⁸⁷. Economically, however, at least part of Brunswick's population rather profited from the *émigrés*: few were wealthy or enterprising enough but most sufficiently supported by the duke or the Russian court to spend money on consumer goods, rented accommodation and even property⁸⁸. In the towns, rents and prices increased, and the income of landlords, merchants, artisans and workers with them, to new heights⁸⁹. Also, the war had redirected some of the European trading routes to the peaceful neutrality zone, and Brunswick was an »island of prosperity« in 1790s Germany⁹⁰. Through his support for the *émigrés*, the duke reinforced this trend by indirectly subsidising the local economy while remaining in the background as their benefactor to avoid diplomatic troubles and local criticisms.

Access to the court, where French was still the dominant language, was encouraged by the ducal family, which, with its British and Dutch marriage connections, had a particularly European character by the standards of smaller German territo-

83 Britta BERG, *Zeitungen und Zeitschriften aus Braunschweig, einschließlich Helmstedt (bis 1810) und Wolfenbüttel (bis 1918)*, Hanover 1995 (Braunschweiger Werkstücke, 93), p. 35; BERG, ALBRECHT, *Presse der Regionen Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel* (as in n. 57), p. 346–351, 973, 1038–1039. *Maisonfort* left the principality again in 1803.

84 *Ibid.* p. 87–90; Annett VOLLMER, *Presse und Frankophonie im 18. Jahrhundert: Studien zur französischsprachigen Presse in Thüringen, Kursachsen und Rußland*, Leipzig 2000 (Deutsch-französische Kulturbibliothek, 16), p. 273–275. The fortunes of the French bookseller and French lending library that set up shop in 1787 remain unclear.

85 »The love of French calenders is very limited here«, a publisher wrote already in 1771; quoted in BERG, ALBRECHT, *Presse der Regionen Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel* (as in n. 57), p. 106. The term *Bildungsadel* has in this context been aptly coined by ALBRECHT, *Förderung des Landesausbaues* (as in n. 6), p. 33, who here followed Bülow's description of social life in 18th-century Brunswick.

86 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 28–29.

87 The Abbé Delhoste taught French, *Bilderdijk und de la Belle* drawing, a Chevalier Duplessis gave lessons in dancing, etc.; BECHTOLSHEIM, *Erinnerungen* (as in n. 58), p. 65–67; SANDER, *Französische Emigranten* (as in n. 8), p. 51–53.

88 *Ibid.* p. 47–48. See VIDALENC, *Caisse d'émigration* (as in n. 61).

89 ALBRECHT, *Braunschweigische Wirtschaft* (as in n. 31), p. 29–42.

90 *Ibid.* p. 29; BÜLOW, *Beiträge* (as in n. 62), p. 47.

ries. Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand's consort Augusta arranged special receptions for the *émigrés*, and their more prominent representatives were presented to the ducal family. Had his contacts to France been dependent on correspondences and the exchange of visits prior to 1792, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand now went to great lengths to integrate the suddenly available French aristocrats into his court as far as possible. Not only high aristocrats like the princesse de Montmorency or de Castries were regularly invited to court on occasion of high festivals⁹¹. Sunday court receptions were open to all who had been presented once before, and to the masqued part of Friday court balls, *émigrés* as well as the local bourgeoisie were admitted⁹². The Marquis de Montjoie and the Marquis de Gallatin, serving as intermediaries in the duke's dealings with other *émigrés*, were appointed chamberlain and *Legationsrat* respectively⁹³. Trying to make the most of the *émigrés'* qualifications, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand generally sought their advice in their particular fields of expertise: the Marquis de la Pallu was employed to compile a list of engravings in the ducal *Kunst- und Naturalienkabinett*, while the eminent natural historian and art collector de Burtin, one of the refugees of the Belgian rebellion, spent several years cataloguing the ducal collections to provide advice on their further development⁹⁴. The number of foreigners at the Brunswick court was now higher than ever but as the case of the Princesse de Montmorency highlights, conflicts arising over grace and favour were dealt with irrespective of ›national‹ affiliation⁹⁵. To provide the new arrivals with essential information on their novel courtly environment, the *émigré* de la Coindrie, founder of Brunswick's new French lending library, published an »Almanach Français de Bronswic« from 1796, which contained genealogical lists and a history of the House of Brunswick as well as descriptions of the principality; characteristically, it proved more successful than Maisonfort's weekly »Abeille« with its less specific information on literary and political news from the whole of Europe⁹⁶. In 1800, a French theatre was established, which retained the central place of French culture at the court when due to diplomatic pressures, the public role of *émigrés* had to be scaled back temporarily. Aspiring to combine military and musical talents like Frederick the Great, and playing the violin himself, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand was strongly interested in music as a court entertainment, and had already rebuilt an orchestra led by Charles Louis Maucourt; here, the young Louis Spohr became first acquainted with the flowing ›French‹ style of violin play, which came to dominate in

91 BEER, Marquis de Castries (as in n. 9), p. 163; MÉRODE-WESTERLOO, *Souvenirs* (as in n. 29), p. 79–80; DIESBACH, *Histoire de l'émigration* (as in n. 7), p. 297.

92 COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, *En émigration* (as in n. 60), p. 31, 50; STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), p. 253–254.

93 *Ibid.*

94 For de la Pallu, see 250 Jahre Museum (as in n. 36), p. 223; de Burtin's manifold activities around the ducal collections are detailed in WALZ, *Das Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (as in n. 36), p. 163.

95 The Princesse de Montmorency had hurt Duchess Philippine Charlotte, the duke's mother, and was in consequence banned from court and sent to Wolfenbüttel (but, crucially, not expelled), from where she tried to get back into favour by showering the duke with petitions and using friends at court; NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 37–42.

96 BERG, ALBRECHT, *Presse der Regionen Braunschweig/Wolfenbüttel* (as in n. 57), p. 359–361.

the 19th century⁹⁷. From 1800 to 1807, the French theatre company of Aurore Bursay was allowed use of the Hagenmarkt Theatre, the former Ducal Opera House⁹⁸. In contrast, the theatre on the Burgplatz, where various German theatre companies had been performing for more than two decades, had been pulled down in the previous year. Its site was handed over to the publisher Friedrich Vieweg, whose move from Berlin complemented Brunswick's publishing scene⁹⁹. The fate of the Burgplatz and Wolfenbüttel theatres highlights yet again how the duke's economic utilitarianism was only checked by considerations of rank and preference for French culture.

Having secured the services of renowned singers as well as incorporating most members of the French theatre of Frederick the Great's brother Henry in 1802, Aurore Bursay was particularly well-suited to cater for the duke's musical and literary taste, and was given a virtual monopoly in theatre affairs; indeed, German theatre companies had to pay her a fee when producing a play in Brunswick. Over the years, the duke came to pay all production costs out of his own purse, a practice mirroring his covering of the *émigrés'* expenses but standing in stark contrast to previous practice: opera and theatre companies performing in Brunswick in the 1780s had remained entirely dependent on the fluctuations of Brunswick's trade fairs as ducal support was limited to a much-needed redecoration of the opera house in 1783¹⁰⁰. Playing three times a week, Bursay's Société française de Brunswik was able to stage 283 different works in 1500 performances in just over five years, covering the entire range from vaudevilles to tragedies, and from ballet to operas. The programme was dominated by French plays of the classical era but also more recent plays by Diderot and Marivaux were performed. Modern opera complemented the programme, such as Grétry, Gluck and Mozart (all performed in French, even the »Magic Flute«), but also the great successes of 1780s Versailles and Paris, Guillard's and Sacchini's »Oedipe à Colone«, and »Tarare«, on which Salieri and Beaumarchais had cooperated¹⁰¹. Corneille and Racine had already been performed at Carl I's French theatre, and by compiling an attractive programme of old favourites and new pieces, Bursay's company offered a modernised version of the combination of French classicism and urbane wit, which so many German princes appreciated in »French culture«, and which had formed the bedrock of cultural transfer at 18th-century courts¹⁰². Visiting

97 Ibid. p. 126–128; Ronald DÜRRE, Louis Spohr und die »Kasseler Schule«. Das pädagogische Wirken des Komponisten, Geigenvirtuosens und Dirigenten in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, Phil. Diss., Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg 2004, p. 66–67.

98 StA Braunschweig, Inv. H. V 254, fol. 725–728. 300 Jahre Theater in Braunschweig (as in n. 39), p. 259, 318–319. See also HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 261–263, 281.

99 Thomas JENTZSCH, Verlagsbuchhandel und Bürgertum um 1800: dargestellt am Beispiel der Buchhändlerfamilie Vieweg, Frankfurt-on-Main 1992, p. 204–207.

100 EISINGER, Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. XIV; HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 261–268.

101 Through his German wife's family, the Bursay company's director of music, Le Gaye, also had social connections with Louis Spohr, see DÜRRE, Louis Spohr (as in n. 97), p. 77, note 116.

102 SCHLOBACH, Französische Aufklärung und deutsche Fürsten (as in n. 11), rightly emphasises that the reception of French culture by German princes was based on classical French literature rather than Enlightenment thought. The mixture of opera, operetta and plays the Bursay company offered

members of other German courts commented favourably on the course Brunswick court culture was taking but also members of Brunswick society followed closely what they thought were exciting developments¹⁰³. After all, Bursay's company was flexible enough to perform French and German plays on alternating nights, a practice later continued at the Cassel court of Napoleon's brother Jérôme, and with the introduction of subscription concerts by the company's director of music, Le Gaye, in 1802, the Société française successfully reached out beyond the court¹⁰⁴.

V.

It is probably due to the combination of political restraint, internal social control, and economic benefits that there was much less hostility towards the *émigrés* in Protestant Brunswick than in Catholic South Germany¹⁰⁵. The *émigrés*' voluntary or enforced abstention from politics was mirrored by what one might (albeit with care) call an increasing, and often enforced, depoliticisation on the German side in the later 1790s, which in combination with a yet again changing perception of republican France seems to have formed the basis for peaceful co-existence and a limited degree of social interaction. Politically active people like Campe resigned, or were forced to retreat by tightening censorship, from the political stage, refrained from political commentary and dedicated themselves to other, mostly scholarly, projects¹⁰⁶. Young careerist civil servants like Bülow also turned their back on politics again after a flash of political interest grown of sensationalism in 1789¹⁰⁷. After the Thermidor had returned France to a more moderate republican government, and after the Peace of Basle had removed North Germany from the war zone, it became possible to appreciate France again as the source of sophisticated art and literature, music and fashion¹⁰⁸. When the Mar-

was dominant at German court theatres in the 18th and early 19th centuries, see DANIEL, Hoftheater (as in n. 11), p. 132–157.

103 On the occasion of a visit to the related court of Brunswick in October 1804, a lady-in-waiting of Hereditary Princess Amalie of Baden highlighted the »rich court« and »French theatre [which] had replaced the German one«, both of which contributed much to the pleasure of her stay; Karoline von FREYSTEDT, *Erinnerungen aus dem Hofleben von Freiin Karoline von Freystedt*, hg. von Karl OBSER, Heidelberg 1902, p. 34–35. The fascination of a member of the Schwarzkoppen family with the French theatre is documented in the 17 volumes of his diary, shown at the anniversary exhibition 300 Jahre Theater in Braunschweig (as in n. 39), p. 319, and preserved in StA Braunschweig, H III 9, Nr. 15.

104 Karl August UNICO von LEHSTEN-DINGELSTÄDT, *Am Hofe König Jérômes: Erinnerungen eines westphälischen Pagen und Offiziers*, hg. von Otto von BOLTENSTERN, Berlin 1905, p. 18, 22; Werner FLECHSIG, *Musik*, in: Richard MODERHACK (ed.), *Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte im Überblick (Quellen und Forschungen zur Braunschweigischen Geschichte, 23)*, Brunswick 1979, p. 320.

105 According to Bülow, the leading circles of Brunswick society rather admired the *émigrés* for quickly adapting to their new situation; BÜLOW, *Beiträge* (as in n. 62), p. 48–49; STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), p. 251.

106 Campe, for example, dedicated himself to his German dictionary; Helmut HENNE, *Braunschweigische Wörterbuchwerkstatt – Joachim Heinrich Campe und sein(e) Mitarbeiter*, in: SCHMITT, *Visionäre Lebensklugheit* (as in n. 49), p. 215–224.

107 BÜLOW, *Beiträge* (as in n. 62), p. 46.

108 Gerhard WAGNER, *Von der galanten zur eleganten Welt: Das Weimarer »Journal des Luxus und der Moden« (1786–1827) im Einflußfeld der englischen industriellen Revolution und der französischen*

quise de Laranderie commuted to Paris once a year, she not only brought back news and souvenirs but also the latest fashion designs¹⁰⁹. Many *émigrés* appear to have found their place on the periphery of this society where, as Bülow notes, politics was never allowed to dominate conversation¹¹⁰. Contacts with Germans, of course, usually remained within the same social stratum, and the older *émigrés* appear to have been more reluctant to mix with the locals than the younger ones.

In Wolfenbüttel the *émigrés* met particularly well the social demands of local society, where they regularly frequented the houses of the administrative elite¹¹¹. There, the principality's consistory and a few other institutions had remained despite the departure of the court, and in particular the younger government officials enjoyed the presence of the French, and the colour they brought to the declining former residence. When the young lawyer Friedrich Carl von Strombeck applied for a position at the *Justizkollegium* in Wolfenbüttel, he considered the presence of the *émigré* community an important locational factor, as they offered the opportunity to widen his horizon (and improve his French)¹¹². The family of Gottfried Philipp von Bülow received French visitors almost on a daily basis, and Bülow himself became a close friend of the Villeneuves and Beauvals¹¹³. The older and more prominent *émigrés* had their own circles, where they in turn received the locals. Bülow recalled even decades later how impressed he was by the mere presence and delicate conversation of an archbishop of Reims or a *Maréchal de France*¹¹⁴.

The situation was different in the much larger capital, where power and influence were at stake. Here, the *émigrés* generally remained more among themselves. The social life of the city's upper classes was more institutionalised than in Wolfenbüttel: it was dominated by the court on the one hand and associations like the Great Club, which had been established in 1780 and provided a meeting place for the nobility, higher state officials and local notables, on the other. To make contacts with their peers and promote their projects, *émigrés* like the commercially and socially active Marquis de la Maisonfort became visiting members of the Great Club¹¹⁵. The

Revolution, Hamburg 1994, p. 39–59. After 1795, North German artists, such as the young Berlin architect Friedrich Gilly, also took up study trips to France again; see Klaus-Jan PHILIPP, *Rendez-vous bei Boullée: Pariser Architektur im Urteil deutscher Architekten*, in: Reinhard WEGNER (ed.), *Deutsche Baukunst um 1800*, Cologne 2000, p. 109–128.

109 BECHTOLSHEIM, *Erinnerungen* (as in n. 58), p. 79–80. Similar is the case of Louise Bayeux, a member of the de Castries household, VIDALENC, *Caisse d'émigration* (as in n. 61), p. 43.

110 BÜLOW, *Beiträge* (as in n. 62), p. 46.

111 They even frequented the houses of the more radical *Aufklärer*: the widow of Mauvillon as well as Ernst Christian Trapp let rooms to emigrated aristocrats and associated with them socially. NStA-Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 6; 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 8. On Trapp's life, see Ulrich HERRMANN, Ernst Christian Trapp (1745–1818), ein braunschweigischer Schulreformer und politischer Publizist, in: *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 52 (1971), p. 163–181.

112 Friedrich Karl von STROMBECK, *Darstellungen aus meinem Leben und aus meiner Zeit*, vol. 1, Brunswick 1833, p. 144.

113 BÜLOW, *Beiträge* (as in n. 62), p. 64–65.

114 *Ibid.*

115 Among the French members of the Club were the Ducs de Montmorency and de Guiche, the Comtesse de Mérode, the Baron de Pujol and the General de Chamborant; Maisonfort became a member in April 1797; Ludwig HÄNSELNANN, *Das erste Jahrhundert des Großen Clubs in Braunschweig*, Brunswick 1880, p. 53, 58, 60.

increasing role of Frenchmen at court did, however, not remain without critics, who were afraid of a possible retaliation by the French government as well as jealous of the *émigrés*' position at court¹¹⁶. The arrival of a large and potentially influential group of courtiers such as these aristocratic *émigrés* was bound to mix up the existing power structures and cause unrest at court, in particular as the landed gentry and the social climbers forming the court's inner circle had difficulties holding their ground against the French aristocrats, who epitomised the sophistication so appreciated by the duke¹¹⁷. Here, the French aristocracy was on home ground, and using the opportunities provided as it would later do at Napoleon's court¹¹⁸. Minister von Wolffradt remarked that there were so many Frenchmen at court that it looked like Versailles¹¹⁹. In particular the appointment of Montjoie caused anger; quite in line with a court critique invariably linking the morally corrupting atmosphere of a court and sexual favours, he was accused of gaining the duke's ear by providing a French mistress after the death of the German Fräulein von Hertefeld, which later even provoked rumours of a French conspiracy¹²⁰. Obviously, at least some of the duke's German advisers feared that the *émigrés* would rob them of their influence after decades of loyal service¹²¹.

That these conflicts were sometimes articulated in national stereotypes, and in particular retrospectively after the Napoleonic invasion of 1806, should not, however, obscure the fact that national resentment against the French can only rarely be found in 1790s and early 1800s Brunswick. As elsewhere in Germany, feelings of solidarity were still being dominated by categories like community and dynasty, rank and professional affiliation, not a ›German nation‹. Of course, further down the social ladder, local tradesmen and artisans often overcharged or even cheated the *émigrés*, but this was common practice with all non-locals, German and non-German¹²². The few reported conflicts with the locals were of a professional or financial nature, and as the Brunswick *émigré* colony generally tried hard not to put off their hosts, most conflicts appear to have arisen between the *émigrés* themselves, or with their servants¹²³. When defining the place of *émigrés* in Brunswick society, one must

116 In particular after 1803, when the independence of the principality was thrown into question after the French occupation of neighbouring Hanover, it was feared that the French would take revenge on the hosts of so many *émigrés*, see BÜLOW, Beiträge (as in n. 62), p. 70–71.

117 BÜLOW, Beiträge (as in n. 62), p. 64–65.

118 Philip MANSEL, *The court of France, 1789–1830*, Cambridge 1988, p. 55–89.

119 Quoted in MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* (as in n. 8), p. 47.

120 After the defeat of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstedt in 1806, some courtiers accused Montjoie and the duke's mistress of having betrayed Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand's battle plans to Napoleon, see BÜLOW, Beiträge (as in n. 62) p. 71; MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* (as in n. 8), p. 47. On the topoi of court critique in the later 18th century, see Wolfgang MARTENS, *Der patriotische Minister: Fürstendiener in der Literatur der Aufklärungszeit*, Cologne 1996 (Kontext: Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit, 1), p. 349–356.

121 In particular, von Wolffradt, Pockels and *Kabinetts-Sekretär* Petersen; BÜLOW, Beiträge (as in n. 62), p. 63.

122 ALBRECHT, *Förderung des Landesausbaues* (as in n. 6), p. 573.

123 For example, the Comte O'Mahony was brought to court by his (French) cook in May 1799, who had not received his salary; MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* (as in n. 8), p. 47; in 1806, there was a public brawl in the theatre between Montjoie and a book seller called Chefneux; StA Braunschweig, C VII 269, fol. 32–43.

also bear in mind that this society remained strictly segmented despite increasing possibilities for members of various (upper) strata of society to meet sociably in associations and at court. To be sure, the *émigrés* did form a community recognised, and regulated, as such by the authorities; for most of them, Brunswick was only a temporary asylum, and they kept the perspective of a return to France¹²⁴. Those who stayed on after 1815, like the Abbé Delhoste, were often simply stranded there, unable to make it back to France because they were too old or too poor or had no relations left in their home country¹²⁵. When N. de Chastinet died in 1847 aged over 80, he was still only characterised as a *French émigré* in the obituary, although he had spent half a century in Brunswick¹²⁶. The few that did successfully settle down in the long run rather belonged to the bourgeoisie like the Simonis family from Liège, which had already arrived with an intact household, capital and a businesspartner, or Charles Natalis from Verdun, who established himself as a hotelier and whose family survived into the 20th century¹²⁷. If one notes, however, that the aristocrats Maisonfort and Montjoie were not fully accepted by Brunswick's landed nobility, one must bear in mind that this was no particular *émigré* fate but a condition shared by other ministers and courtiers brought in by the duke, and belonging to Germany's highly mobile elite moving from one territory to another: the Brunswick nobility, after all, was highly exclusive, and did not even accept leading minister Rosenkreuz into their ranks. The great and the good of the *Bildungsadel* assembled in the Great Club also kept their reserve *vis-à-vis* the younger, and more ›radical‹ group of *Aufklärer* around Campe and Trapp who had entered ducal service in the mid-1780s under controversial circumstances¹²⁸.

VI.

The arrival of the *émigrés* in Brunswick did not signal a break in the perception or treatment of foreigners; neither did it bring about a change of domestic policy, say in a more ›conservative‹ direction. It rather fitted into long-term patterns of the interdependence of fiscal policy and court culture, as the continuation of reform policy throughout the 1790s and early 1800s demonstrates. The latter culminated in the reorganisation of poor relief in the early 1800s but its epitome was the so-called ›debt edict‹ of 1794, which rounded off more than two decades of economical financial policy¹²⁹. Cutting court expenditure and generating additional income had indeed

124 RANCE, *Emigration* (as in n. 4), p. 161.

125 In 1817/18, Delhoste wrote to Montsoreau, an old acquaintance from the Brunswick days who had by then long returned to Paris, to arrange the pension Louis XVIII had promised him to be sent to Brunswick, as he could not collect it in person due to age and illness; StA Braunschweig, C VIII 71, fol. 315–317.

126 Quoted in SANDER, *Französische Emigranten* (as in n. 8), p. 62.

127 StA Braunschweig, C VII 269, fol. 7; for the Natalis family, see MACK, *Sitzungsberichte* (as in n. 8), p. 47.

128 Rosenkreuz conspicuously failed to marry into the local nobility and purchase a *Rittergut*; see SPEHR, *Feronce von Rotenkreutz* (as in n. 18), p. 719; ALBRECHT, *Förderung des Landesausbaues* (as in n. 6), p. 26–34.

129 STERN, *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand* (as in n. 8), p. 214–221; HÄNSELMANN, *Johann Anton Leisewitz* (as in n. 24); ALBRECHT, *Die Braunschweigischen Armenanstalten* (as in n. 24).

paid off: by 1780, the upward trend in revenues had already eased the situation, and after 1785, Brunswick was virtually running a surplus economy¹³⁰. To guarantee the duke's policy beyond his death and prevent his successors' return to the old sins, the 1794 edict not only made the future raising of loans dependent on the estates' approval, but also took the form of a family contract (*Hausvertrag*), thus representing an unprecedented self-restriction of a German monarch¹³⁰. For the Brunswick *Aufklärer*, this edict was a new proof of the ability of ›enlightened‹ monarchy to solve essential problems like ›public‹ credit, which had brought down the French monarchy, without jeopardising law and order, and it inspired similar solutions in Saxe-Coburg, Baden, and Bavaria¹³¹. Most importantly in the context of this article, the edict was a sign of a regained financial independence, which allowed the duke to finally loosen the tightened belt of court and personal expenditure again in the following years without incurring new debts. Even the sale of artefacts from the ducal collections seems to have stopped after 1794¹³². Free from any war burdens after the establishment of the neutrality zone, the duke could thus have his share in the *Kammerkasse* increased to pay for donations to *émigrés* as well as for the refurbishment of his palace¹³³, and in 1801, he established a *Dispositionskasse* specifically to provide for donations and entertainments such as the newly-established French theatre¹³⁴.

The arrival of highly aristocratic *émigrés* from 1794 thus was an asset to the duke rather than a burden; his predecessors, after all, had also brought in non-local noblemen, who had the additional benefit of remaining wholly dependent on the ruler. The abolition of the opera and French theatre in the previous decades had been imposed by the financial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, and was not due to a particularly anti-courtly conception of government, or suddenly growing preference for German literature. Irrespective of political events in France after 1789 and, in particular, 1792, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand continued to appreciate the art of French conversation culture as the bedrock of European elite communication, and his support for those emigrated French-speaking aristocrats and writers fitting this bill, as well as for the Bursay theatre company, appears to confirm recent findings that the discussion of philosophy or even political projects was not central to the reception of French literature and theatre by German princes in the 18th century¹³⁵. Indeed, the

130 DEETERS, Finanzkollegium (as in n. 34), p. 119.

131 Hans-Peter ULLMANN, Staatsschulden und Reformpolitik: Die Entstehung öffentlicher Schulden in Bayern und Baden 1780–1820, vol. 1, Göttingen 1986 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 82), p. 623. Eschenburg remarked on his private copy of the debt edict: »O our prince, in vain/ your fatherly love believes that your edict preserves your grateful country from future debts./ On the contrary, this edict makes it deeply indebted to you«; Eschenburg papers, StA Braunschweig, H VIII A, Nr. 1070, fol. 33a.

132 The last sale of valuable pieces is documented for 1794; 250 Jahre Museum (as in n. 36), p. 220–221.

133 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1973, 1974.

134 NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1978, 1979, 1980. Payments to various *émigrés* continued at least until 1805, 1 Alt 22, 1975, 1976; 1 Alt 22, 1978, 1979, 1980. All this does not appear to have burdened the budget seriously; see also BÜLOW, Beiträge (as in n. 62), p. 47.

135 SCHLOBACH, Französische Aufklärung und deutsche Fürsten (as in n. 11). On the close relationship of the art of French conversation and German courtly habitus, see Martina DRESCHER, Robert DION, Konversationsbücher als Instanzen des Kulturtransfers, in: BERGER, SICK (ed.), Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer (as in n. 11), p. 187–205, in particular p. 205. On the role of conversation

case of Catherine II and her close intellectual companion Grimm, who worked so closely together in supporting *émigrés* in Brunswick and elsewhere, demonstrates how in the last quarter of the century, this aristocratic conversation culture had become increasingly separated from ›the Enlightenment‹ it is so often associated with. After all, Grimm had long been critical of the radicalisation of Enlightenment thought after c. 1770; shying away from pursuing a path which was leading the *philosophes* ever further away from their aristocratic patrons, he rather preferred to establish ever-closer relations with German princes and the Russian tsarina¹³⁶. In defending this model of a symbiosis of writer and prince against the perceived dangers of materialism and atheism, Grimm continued a model of literary *politesse* into the 1790s which led into an exile granted by ruling monarchs, and shared by French aristocrats. In Brunswick, this model of a close relationship of *Aufklärer* and ruler had been epitomised by Johann Friedrich Jerusalem, the enlightened Lutheran theologian who had died in 1789 after having been a permanent fixture at the courts of dukes Carl I and Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand for nearly five decades¹³⁷.

Rather than representing a break with the past, the reception of the *émigrés* in 1790s Brunswick thus appears to fit into long-term patterns of cultural transfer, which in turn were heavily dependent on finance: the case of Brunswick highlights yet again the important role the financial pressures incurred during and after the Seven Years' War played for the decline of (expensive) French and the trend towards (generally cheaper) German-speaking theatre at German courts in the second half of the 18th century¹³⁸. As the fortunes of the travelling German theatre companies performing during Brunswick's trade fairs in the 1770s and 1780s demonstrate, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand had been reluctant to spend any money on a permanent theatre until the financial situation allowed it again¹³⁹. Mirroring the enormous fluctuations of court expenditure characteristic even of the largest European courts, the Brunswick court was enlivened again in the characteristic mixture of German and French elements as soon as the principality's finances allowed it¹⁴⁰. The duke's support for the *émigrés* on the one hand, and his continuing reform policy on the other, were thus not as inconsistent as has been maintained¹⁴¹; rather, one depended on the other, and although the French Revolution had only confirmed the duke's realisa-

in the correspondence of Frederick II and French *philosophes*, see WEHINGER, *Geist und Macht* (as in n. 11), *ibid.*, p. 248.

136 Jochen SCHLOBACH, Grimm in Paris. Ein Kulturvermittler zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: MONDOT, VALENTIN, VOSS (ed.), *Deutsche in Frankreich* (as in n. 11), p. 186–189.

137 Gotthardt FRÜHSORGE, Der Gelehrte als Hof-Mann, in: Klaus POLLMANN (ed.), *Abt Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem (1709–1789): Beiträge zu einem Colloquium anlässlich seines 200. Todestages*, Brunswick 1991 (Braunschweiger Werkstücke, Reihe A, 81), p. 43–51.

138 DANIEL, *Hoftheater* (as in n. 11), p. 100–101, who, however, does not consider Brunswick.

139 The ongoing dispute with Lessing over the latter's meagre salary in the 1770s has to be seen in this context, see Gerd BIEGEL (ed.), *Lessing in Braunschweig und Wolfenbüttel*, Brunswick 1997 (Forschungen und Berichte des Braunschweigischen Landesmuseums, 4).

140 DUINDAM, *Vienna and Versailles* (as in n. 33), p. 304. Even Pockels, who generally judges the *émigrés* harshly, admits that the duke's cultural preferences were behind the expansion of the court, rather than any malicious French influence; POCKELS, *Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand* (as in n. 45), p. 47–48.

141 SANDER, *Französische Emigranten* (as in n. 8).

tion that stabilising the fiscal basis of legitimate dynastic rule was paramount, economy largely remained a function of court-related outlay.

That the impact of the *émigrés* remained limited to a temporary stimulation of economic, cultural and social life in Brunswick, is due to French intervention in 1797–1798 and, crucially, 1806. The French government had long taken offence at the continued, and very public, presence of so many and so prominent *émigrés* in Brunswick, and repeatedly intervened to have them expelled¹⁴². When attempts to appease the French after the peace of Campo Formio in 1797 failed, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand again used his tried and proven small-power tactic of submitting publicly to foreign pressure with token concessions while tacitly continuing the old course¹⁴³. To be sure, many *émigrés* did leave the dominions of the duke, most importantly the Comte de Provence¹⁴⁴. Behind the smoke screen of decrees specifying the conditions of the expulsion between November 1797 and October 1798, however, steps were taken which allowed as many *émigrés* as possible to stay on, exempting all those from the expulsion who were too old or too sick for the journey, who had acquired property in the principality, established themselves as entrepreneurs or invested money in local enterprises, thus characteristically combining humanitarian and utilitarian aims¹⁴⁵. Those *émigrés* who had to leave received financial support for travel costs, and were allowed to delay their departure for many months¹⁴⁶. Although, in addition, many representatives of the older generation died in the years around 1800, among them de Castries and de Limon, a reduced *émigré* community continued to exist until 1806¹⁴⁷. Those *émigrés* who had no official function at court had to cut their ties with the ducal family at least temporarily but the new theatre established at exactly this point made sure that court culture retained the distinctly French character that had been given such a boost after 1794.

An end was made to this in 1806 by French newcomers of a very different kind: Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand died of wounds suffered as Prussian commander-in-chief at the battle of Jena and Auerstedt, his lands were incorporated into the newly-created kingdom of Westphalia, and his court was dissolved¹⁴⁸. Always dependent on subsi-

142 BRINGMANN, Louis XVIII. (as in n. 9), p. 235–237.

143 Rodenberg had been sent to the French ambassadeur in Berlin, Caillard, to ask at least for a postponement of the expulsion, but returned with empty hands; NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1901, fol. 30–33.

144 COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, En émigration (as in n. 60), p. 53–54; BRINGMANN, Louis XVIII. (as in n. 9), p. 246f.

145 On 18 November 1797, the first edict expelling all *émigrés* in the country was issued. This does not seem to have had an immediate effect, as in January 1798, a second edict had to be published which demanded the expulsion of all *émigrés* without a special permit within four weeks. On 19 October 1798, this edict was renewed again. They are all reprinted in SANDER, Französische Emigranten (as in n. 8), p. 41–45; COSTA DE BEAUREGARD, En émigration (as in n. 60), p. 54.

146 Ibid. p. 53, »des sommes énormes« are mentioned; this kind of support was also given to the *émigrés* returning to France after Napoleon's amnesty in 1802: NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1979.

147 See the list of continuing payments to *émigrés* in NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, 1975, 1976; 1 Alt 22, 1978, 1979, 1980.

148 Dorothea PUHLE, Das Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel im Königreich Westphalen und seine Restitution, 1806–1815, Brunswick 1989 (Beihefte zum Braunschweigischen Jahrbuch, 5), p. 24–36. Ulrike STRAUSS, Die »Franzosenzeit« (1806–1815), in: JARCK, SCHILDT (ed.), Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte (as in n. 30), p. 691–712.

dies, Bursay's theatre company left Brunswick in 1807, and moved to Jérôme's Casse court although some members of Le Gaye's orchestra formed a new, municipal orchestra in Brunswick¹⁴⁹. Needless to say, 19th- and early 20th-century narratives steeped in nationalism considered Bursay's move as opportunistic at best and treacherous at worst, and certainly as the logical consequence of an on-going French encroachment on German politics and culture before the ›national rising‹ against Napoleon shook off the shackles of foreign oppression for good¹⁵⁰. In this context, the revival of French court culture in Brunswick, which the *émigrés* instigated at a time when German literature and music were just entering into their ›classical‹ period, appeared as a dead end¹⁵¹. In Brunswick as elsewhere in Germany, however, such categorisations along ›national‹ lines had only really gained force with the so-called Wars of Liberation 1813–1815, in which Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand's son and heir Friedrich Wilhelm played a prominent role and lost his life, and after years of the exploitation of regional resources for the benefits of the French Empire¹⁵². Anti-French war propaganda then came to contrast the model of the virile, ›German‹ warrior with the image of the effeminate, unmilitary Frenchman, who had only gained his position by deviously exploiting all-too-trusting Germans, and a direct line was begun to be drawn from the pre-revolutionary court of Versailles to Napoleonic rulers such as *König Lustig*¹⁵³. The *émigrés* were integrated into this story as a link between the old France and the new, and even in Brunswick, the experiences of the 1790s began to be overshadowed by the ›Coblentz syndrome‹ in the following decades¹⁵⁴. This article, in contrast, has tried to demonstrate that the reception of the *émigrés* in Brunswick should be seen in the particular diplomatic and financial constellation of a German territory where a strict fiscal policy had finally allowed a francophile ruler to shape the court to his taste to an unprecedented degree in the decade of the French Revolution. After the *terreur*, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand was able to take up again the particular courtly strand of the reception of French conversation culture which had been so important for Franco-German cultural transfer in

149 FLECHSIG, Musik (as in n. 104), p. 320.

150 HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 294–297; Erich ROSENDAHL, Geschichte der Hoftheater in Hannover und Braunschweig, Hanover 1927 (Niedersächsische Hausbücherei, 1), p. 38; Heinrich SIEVERS, Albert TRAPP, Alexander SCHUM, 250 Jahre Braunschweigisches Staatstheater: 1690–1940, hg. von der Braunschweigischen Landesstelle für Heimatforschung und Heimatpflege, Brunswick 1941, p. 80–82.

151 HARTMANN, Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte (as in n. 35), p. 261, 268. Even the usually balanced STERN, Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (as in n. 8), p. 255–256, notes with regret that the duke favoured French literature and theatre rather than doing the right patriotic thing and supporting fledgling German talent.

152 Indeed, despite the dukes' reform policies, considerable sections of the elites even welcomed the dissolution of the principality and the establishment of the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1807 as an opportunity for the country as well as for themselves, and began to turn against the French only after 1811; PUHLE, Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (as in n. 149), p. 37–41, 325–330.

153 JEISMANN, Vaterland der Feinde (as in n. 12), p. 27–160; Karen HAGEMANN, ›Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre‹: Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege (Krieg in der Geschichte, 8), Paderborn 2002, p. 24–45.

154 MACK, Sitzungsberichte (as in n. 8), p. 47; HÄRTIG, Émigrés français (as in n. 1), p. 47; similar findings with reference to Westphalia in VEDDELER, Französische Revolutionsflüchtlinge in Westfalen (as in n. 28), p. 192.

the previous decades, and to continue it into the early 19th century. It merits further investigation if this was really as unusual in the context of 1800s Germany as has been maintained, or if Jérôme's much-maligned Cassel court, as well as French elements introduced at the courts of other Napoleonic satellite states, should not rather be integrated into this story¹⁵⁵.

155 The Cassel court seems to have deliberately combined French and German elements, for instance in alternating German and French plays; see LEHSTEN-DINGELSTÄDT, *Am Hofe König Jérômes* (as in n. 104), and HARTMANN, *Sechs Bücher Braunschweiger Theatergeschichte* (as in n. 35), p. 294, 302–303. In particular with a view to the pending anniversary of Jérôme's arrival in Kassel, a major reassessment of the cultural aspects of Westphalian rule is now in progress; see Helmut BURMEISTER, Veronika JÄGER (ed.), *König Jérôme und der Reformstaat Westphalen: Ein junger Monarch und seine Zeit im Spannungsfeld von Begeisterung und Ablehnung*, Hofgeismar 2006 (Hessische Forschungen zur geschichtlichen Landes- und Volkskunde, 47), and the exhibition due to open at Cassel's Museum Fridericianum in March 2008; Thorsten SMIDT, *König Lustik!? Jérôme Bonaparte und der Modellstaat Königreich Westphalen*, in: www.museum-kassel.de.