# “In the Bosom of our Cities”: British Influence on French Urban Geography

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In 1781, Guy Jean Baptiste Target, “the leading advocate of the Paris bar” made the following claim when defending the property rights of an English widow during the American War of Independence: the English live peaceably “in the bosom of our towns; calm social intercourse has not been unsettled by hostilities; soldiers from the two countries fight; citizens sustain their amicality, and the King’s humanity offers Europe the new and happy spectacle of harmony among private persons at a time of official conflict.”[1] That Britons had for long lived in French cities is borne out by the French regional press which, in its miscellaneous nature, constitutes an archive that records the presence of citizens from across the Channel and their shaping influence on daily life and urban geography. Through announcements and advertisements, the *affiches* proffer evidence about the English names of streets, buildings and districts. Since hotels, shops, gardens and factories were often designated English, this naming shows that, to a degree, French real estate was owned by Britons whose economic activity enhanced property values and created distinctive landmarks. As adverts show, the cultural functions discharged by English hotels, shops, gardens and factories reached deep into the countryside, confirming that settlement of Britons entailed social integration. British communities influenced consumerism in France by importing England’s agrarian and industrial revolutions.

Evidence of this influence on French cities in the *affiches* meets the historiographical challenge Philip Benedict voices in "French cities from the sixteenth century to the Revolution: An overview" (Benedict 7-68). According to Benedict, cities in the *ancien régime* affected daily life more than their small, unstable populations suggest. While most of the populace lived in the countryside where much wealth was generated, cities were where it was displayed. In the mid-eighteenth century, the migration of administrative élites and nobility into cities sped up, urban development being shaped by patterns of aristocratic culture which knit urbanity to aesthetic and social refinement. New luxury trades formed round urban elites so that city neighbourhoods created

informal institutions in the absence of urban governance. Although towns were centres of noble residence and modish consumerism before 1700, Benedict insists this was more so when agricultural profits of bourgeois landowners quickened and were diverted to towns and when industries owned by merchants left cities and were replaced by trades catering to fashionable consumers. If urban renewal was initiated by the demolition of city walls required by the Crown, it was exploited by nobles who built townhouses and promenades as arenas of display, thus emblematising social hierarchy and rank differentiation in imitation of the Parisian *beau monde*.

Still, as the *affiches* reveal, consumption of luxury goods depended on foreign trade; British manufacturers, merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen and artisans were in this respect instrumental. Another factor is that port cities grew twice as fast during the eighteenth century–in terms of population and economic activity–as inland towns. Even so, tax revenue in Angers and other hinterland places grew quickly as a result of levies on international trade (Benedict 45-46). Given Benedict's challenge, the following analysis of how British residents influenced the urban geography of provincial cities considers how much trade with Britain changed the taste of urban élites through the mediation of English residents and visitors. Hence, the *affiches* of provincial cities indicate that when Parisian retailers of luxury items, such as jewels, cosmetics, wigs, clocks and porcelain, set up regional shops, they came face-to-face with the stylish goods of British competitors. Newspaper advertisements by domestic and British tradespeople attest to lively commercial rivalry. Customer services, retail techniques, new kinds of credit for purchasers, along with wholesale methods from Britain's financial revolution, figured as much in the advertisements as did imported consumer and producer goods themselves. Since shops selling British goods and operated by British tradespeople became important landmarks in Lyon, Bordeaux and elsewhere, whilepermeating communities with general cultural influence, one can demonstrate how British commerce affected institutional and public life in French cities. Benedict's challenge to French historians to study the rise of consumer society–because élites and luxury trades were identical–obliges one to relate urban changes to foreign economic influences and international as well as to national politics.

In 1750, the first year for which we have extant copies of the *affiches* of Lyon, Madame Legendre, a perfumer, advertised a depilatory wax available at her shop on rue Galande at the corner

of the rue des Anglois (24 February 1750). This street name registers the presence of Britons in the city and serves as a coordinate by which to direct customers. In the 1760s, however, the *affiches* manifests more significant institutional effects of British commerce and culture on Lyon's urban geography.

North-east of the Town Hall where aldermen regulated trade, a quarter grew up around "the London Exchange" on St. Catherine Street, one block to the north of the place des Terreaux on the south side of which the Town Hall had been built and on which cafés and shops served as a rendez-vous for merchants. The London Exchange was distant from the Exchange built in Vieux Lyon in 1749 as a centre for business and trade. But the *affiches* shows that the official exchange did not feature as prominently in the city's daily life as the London Exchange which decidedly formed the centre of a neighbourhood based on commerce, industrial production and fashionable consumption. The radiating influence of the London Exchange was the wider because urban space was at a premium in eighteenth-century Lyon; there was little space for expansion because of the constricting presence of religious institutions and aristocratic townhouses. In 1785 Lyon took in hardly more space than it had in the mid-sixteenth century since when the population had doubled to 140,000 (Gravejat 198). This growth was absorbed not by new districts but by heightening and refashioning old buildings that increased population density and thrust together the bourgeois and lower classes (Gravejat 200). The London Exchange was a refashioned building and, with others in the vicinity, joined domestic accommodation, work spaces, warehouses and shops. This conjuncture was rendered important by the sluggish local economy. Lagging behind Bordeaux, Lyon was burdened by municipal debt, loss of employment and problems in the silk trade. As an institution, the London Exchange symbolizes wishes to address these problems.

As an edifice, this building was advertised as large and modern; it had five stories, with large rooms and apartments, capacious attics and cellars as well as 'souillardes' (rinsing-rooms) and toilets. The building may have had single owners, but leasehold ownership was shared by residents and non-residents who rented out sections of the building as apartments and shops for which there was a strong, if variable, demand. On 5 November 1760, a widow, "*Madame la veuve Duverney*," residing on the third floor, offers shops and apartments for rent on the following St. Jean-Baptiste Day. The lead-time of seven months implies that her rental agreements are long-term and that demand for leases

is keen. She does not mind if renters take the shops and apartments separately. In the event, she seems not to have rented all her spaces, for, on 14 May 1761, she advertises for immediate rent a shop on the street and an eight-room suite on one level with two bathrooms, cellars and attic. The Duverney family likely retained its property in the Exchange after this widow's death, since on 7 September 1768, M. Duverney, a non-resident , advertises the rental of three shops on the ground floor, a room on the fourth floor along with a cellar. Owning property in the London Exchange was desirable in economic and social terms. The son of the Servants, a merchant family living there, on 26 March 1761 listed for rent a room and office on the second floor, stressing that the latrine was for the exclusive use of renters. As merchants and property-owners, the Servants did well; nine years later, on 21 November 1770, they sought a head gardener for their château fifteen miles in the Dauphiné: he was to be an unmarried man of thirty-five to manage orchards as well as a kitchen garden. A horticultural expert, he must know how to graft and espalier trees and bushes and to cultivate mulberry trees, no doubt for silk manufacture. The Servants close their advertisement with the notice that their company office is to be found close to the Change de Londres.

Advertisements in the 1760s and 1770s reveal the London Exchange remaining popular as a residential and commercial property with the merchant community. Giving the building as their address, MM. Jean-Jacques Aunant and Compagnie sought a two-seater carriage with two horses in a condition to take them speedily to and from Geneva (29 July 1767). Non-resident and resident businessmen continued to rent out property in and nearby the Exchange. M. Rigolet, a "Marchand Fabricant" living on rue sainte Catherine, listed for rent three shops and an apartment on the third floor (30 December 1768). MM. Chapeau-rouge and Compagnie, négociants in residence, had for rent two fine shops in the "maison de la Charité" on the "place des Carmes" (10 July 1771).[2] M. Claude Bourne, whose address was on rue du Bât-d'argent, offers potential renters an ensemble of five large rooms, a rinsing-room and two shops on the first floor, with three rooms on the third floor, a cellar and attic, and another bedroom on the fifth floor. Renters might take this property whole or in part (6 November 1771). Six weeks later, now giving his address in the London Exchange, he advertises a first-floor apartment of five rooms with closets decorated with mirrors and paintings along with two shops and three rooms on the third floor and four rooms on the fourth floor. These spaces are available six

months later, on Saint Jean-Baptiste 1772 (28 December 1771). That apartments in the London Exchange offered gracious living and attractive business quarters is clear from an advert of 6 May 1772 which announces a large shop along with a rear shop in the apartment on the first floor which also has five rooms on the same level as well as cellars and attics. The social and economic value of the Exchange appears in its attracting demand for modern fashionable shops and apartments in nearby buildings. Thus, an apartment for immediate rent, consisting of three rooms, one of them huge, with partitions, rinsing-room, cellar and attic, is said to be close to the place des Terreaux opposite the London Exchange (23 December 1761). Three months later (31 March 1762), a suits on the second floor of a building opposite the Change de Londres is listed as having six rooms, closet and rinsing-room, two cellars and an attic, with two rooms on the fourth floor, with a rinsing-room and two attics above, along with three shops, two of them in the front of the building. This ensemble is available the following year on St. Jean-Baptiste, the early notice implying much about the terms of contracts on which leases were sold. Apartments' size, stylishness and distinctiveness conferred by the district and proximity to the London Exchange leads to colourful terms in adverts. An apartment for rent on the second floor of a building beside the Change de Londres on the hill, la Glacière, with three rooms, a mezzanine floor, a cellar and attic is called 'very smiling' ("très-riant": 15 March 1769).

Apartments in and near the London Exchange lived in and rented out by merchants and négociants must have been fit to accommodate families, servants and workers. Advertisements suggest that manufacturers in the cloth trade lived and worked in and near the London Exchange. Suites with workrooms and offices with pleasant terraces overlooking la Glacière, the hillside centre of the silk trade, were often featured in the *affiches*. One notice, placed by occupants of the first floor of the London Exchange on 19 September 1770, offered for rent two fine shops and a large work-room giving onto a beautiful terrace for the enjoyment of residents and three rooms on the fourth floor. Saying that the London Exchange is situated at the corner of rue Sainte Catherine and "la montée de la Glacière," the occupants have for sale money chests, scales and tools of the cloth-maker's trade. In all likelihood, the shops and rooms were rented without the equipment, for these cloth-making occupants of the first floor again put up for sale the next month small, medium and large scales, chests, cupboards, and a range of manufacturing equipment (24 October 1770). Cloth-makers were

also landlords in nearby buildings. M. Combe, a landlord and stocking-merchant with a shop on the place des Terreaux, advertised an apartment of three rooms with cellar and attic in a building close to the London Exchange, specifying that it overlooked the Gardens of the Capucins (9 January 1771).

To this point, evidence from the *affiches* of Lyon illustrates that the London Exchange was a cynosure for the community in terms of property transactions, fashionable residences and elegant shopping during the 1760s and 1770s. Reasons why French residents, merchants and artisans regarded this building highly may be advanced in respect of British influence on the silk trade in Lyon, the city's openness to the technology of Britain's industrial revolution, and the availability of consumer goods based on British modes of production. It appears that, early in the period, the silk-trade valued English-style scales for weighing large amounts of silk (1 July 1761), also preferring English-style iron coffers for safeguarding money (3 March 1762).[3] When Mr Mason, an Englishman, under royal licence established an English factory for the manufacture of brass and iron mesh, he produced grillwork of from ten to sixty filaments an inch, fine for protecting domestic food from flies and insects and for keeping goods in shops, books and papers in libraries, and animals in cages. Of greater import to silk merchants and manufacturers were his steel combs (17 July 1771).[4] Trade in silk processing embraced English operatives. A factory printing calico at Oullins in Lyon’s outskirts was set up by a Mr Bradley, according to the *affiches* of 15 May 1765.[5] He printed linen and cotton with the techniques and colours of India, also offering his dyeing and printing services to manufacturers of raw silk. M. Palleron, a French dyer of silk in Lyon, claims to have discovered hwo to dye silk black in a finer way than that of Genoa, while selling raw silk dyed black in the manner of England (28 October 1767). The retail trade in Lyon was familiar with English cloth and clothes. M. Catalan, an upholsterer with a shop on the place des Jacobins, sold calicos from a new English factory suitable for furniture and apparel because of the solidity and beauty of their colours (22 May 1766). By then, a shop on the Quai de Saint Antoine sold hats from the English factory granted a royal licence to operate at Grigny (28 December 1765).

To prove further the institutional role of the London Exchange, one may add that French artists offering to enhance domestic life associated themselves with foreign training. M. Voisin, visiting Lyon to sell medals and plaster plaques of Roman emperors and French monarchs along with other decorative items, presents himself a moulder from the Academy of London ("ci-devant Mouleur à

l'Académie de Londres": 4 November 1762). He implies that his moulds are more desirable because he made them in London.[6] Visiting aristocrats also tied London to luxury goods. When, on behalf of an English lord with a large family, an advert calls for a big house in an elegant quarter of the city, the rental request, which stipulates the need for a garden, coach house, stables and modern conveniences, confirms the cultural prowess afforded by consuming English goods (5 February 1767).

Two landmarks in the same quarter as the London Exchange attest the influence of English people and goods. When the master of a boarding-school would secure employment for a student as secretary to a nobleman or in an office, he directs potential employers to his premises on rue du Bât-d'argent vis-à-vis the Cheval Anglois (11 October 1769). To this master, the inn was a landmark in his district. While the buying and selling of horses in France conveys appreciation of Britain's superior animal breeding, this inn's name is testimony to a more general wish to appeal to visitors and tourists. A second, often cited landmark in the *affiches*, is the English Shop that opened on the first floor of new premises built by M. Tolozan on the grand square of the Place du Plâtre (23 May 1770). This square, east of the Place des Terreaux, gave onto the Rhône on the quai St. Clair. The Tolozan family who built two mansions on the quai Saint-Clair and the place du Plâtre (Wahl 7) was the most prominent in Lyon. Louis Tolozan de Monfort was born there in 1726, the son of Antoine Tolozan, a peasant from the Dauphiné who arrived on clogs and with 24 sous in his purse (Wahl 6). The father's story is one of rags to riches; he made a fortune in the silk trade in which he established the family name. Louis Tolozan was not only a merchant and manufacturer of silk but also a banker, squire and proprietor of the fief of Monfort. He served as director of alms from 1763 to 1767 and later, upon leaving his bank and enterprises to successors whom he financed, he was city treasurer from 1776 to 1784. Becoming provost of merchants in January 1785, he presided over the silk industry (Wahl 33). But over much more. For the provost and four alderman who comprised the city government administered the police and justice in the name of the king (Wahl 9).[7] In 1789, when the patriotic payment to the Revolution was fixed at a quarter of income, Louis Tolozan was inscribed for 20,000 livres, by far the largest contribution from the 400 members of his community. So, when the English Shop linked itself to the Tolozans, it located itself close to Lyon's economic and social power.[8]

The goods in that English Shop were luxurious. Its first advertisement in May 1770 offers a

range of English jewellery. The following August, it heralds strings of pearls together with diamonds in the form of earrings, necklaces and hair ornaments of high fashion (20 August 1770). Business will have been good since a year later the shop moved from the first floor of Tolozan's mansion to its ground floor in the courtyard (20 November 1771). By then, it had become a service centre. Contact with proprietors wishing to rent out country houses was made through the shop (18 September 1771). Again, it expanded its imports to include domestic furniture, including blue, green and unpainted straw armchairs, dressing tables, writing tables, chests of drawers, commodes, iron cooking stoves and harnesses for carriage horses (1 May and 2 October 1771). It offered all sorts of games and speciality items as New Year's gifts (28 December 1771; 30 December 1772). It also reminded refined customers that they had left behind belongings, such as inscribed parasols (17 October 1770).

The urban development of Bordeaux differs from that of Lyon, although the effect of British commerce in the two cities is comparable. Referring to Bordeaux in his *Review* for Thursday, 18 July 1706 (III 342), Daniel Defoe voices a truism when he writes "that Town has a great Deal of *English* Blood in it; the *English* were Masters of it above 300 Years, and of all the Country round it, and their Progeny are blended there with the *French*, as they are with all the rest of the World at home." In asserting that familial and commercial ties between England and France remain firm during the War of Spanish Succession, Defoe holds that British and French blood has been mingled for centuries, an inter-cultural legacy binding Bordeaux to England. As *The True-Born Englishman* (1700) witnesses, Defoe opposed notions of genetic and racial purity. Yet, his cross-cultural stance was limited since he was an apologist for William of Orange and the Protestant Act of Settlement, motivated by anti-Catholicism and Huguenot sympathies. What Defoe does not say that Bordeaux was home to several 'nations,' as the European merchants and négociants living outside the city walls by the end of the seventeenth century were called. One 'nation' was the Irish community which soon enhanced the local economy of the vignoble, the wine trade and banking as a result of Jacobite immigration. Irish institutions such as the Catholic College and the Irish regiment created and sustained by the Dillon family flourished in Bordeaux until the Revolution. The ennoblement of Irish families along with the fact the Lynch family contributed a long-serving mayor is testimony to the heavier impact of contemporary British society on Bordeaux than Defoe conceded, an impact heavy because political, economic and religious conflicts

in Britain were imported and tempered by Bordeaux's ethnically diverse mercantile community.[9]

The city's urban development was affected by German, Dutch, Flemish, Anglo-Saxon, Swiss, Russian as well as Irish merchants who had officially to reside in the outskirts. A hindrance to communication and development within the city was the Château-Trompette, a fortress modernised by Louis XIV to coerce loyalty from the Bordelais. With cannons threatening ships on the Garonne, the castle controlled wine exports, the route across the river to the north of France, and, therefore, the livelihood of citizens. The castle otherwise impeded economic activity by cutting the city into three parts, blocking communication between the old city within the medieval walls to the south, the Saint-Seurin quarter to the west, and the district of the Chartrons to the north to which the 'nations' were restricted (Desgraves 21). Economically vital since they were the redistributing agents for French goods to northern Europe, the nations enjoyed unusually liberal living conditions, appointing their own chief magistrates and consuls. Since their economic energy drew thousands of immigrants from the rest of France and attracted the financial expertise of Portuguese Jews, the merchant communities influenced intendants in the eighteenth century to modernise the city by undoing the constraints of its medieval walls and offsetting the blockading effects of Château-Trompette (Desgraves 34). Intendants Boucher, Tourny and Dupré de Saint-Maur changed the city's lay-out, patiently outfacing the resistant opinions of the Jurade and the Parlement. In the sixty years before the Revolution, Bouchy supervised the construction of the Bourse and the Place Royale, breaching the medieval walls; Tourny further developed the city's facade on the Garonne, created the allées that bear his name, and widened principal streets; Dupré de Saint-Maur began the demolition of Château-Trompette.

In the 1770s, the completed Grand Théâtre defined a district in which merchants who had flourished in the West Indies trade rivalled one another in building sumptuous hôtels (Desgraves 36). Trade and social refinement had begun to be linked by 1755 when the completed Place Royale with its Hôtel des Fermes and Bourse established fashionable public spaces in Bordeaux's new commercial centre (Desgraves 166). Stone benches invited citizens to take in the elegant buildings and river scenery undisturbed by the port's bustling activities. Tourny, like his predecessor in replacing medieval gates with triumphal arches and spacious squares, opened up wide cours and airy promenades (Desgraves 37). His most important decision was to integrate the Chartrons into the city; he did this

by making the allées de Tourny lead into the Jardin Public which in 1746 opened in the faubourg Saint-Seurin. He wanted the garden to contribute to the health and entertainment of the Bordelais, at the same time planning the garden so that merchants would conduct business there. It was to be a second bourse, one for the evening ("C'est en quelque façon une seconde Bourse, une Bourse du soir," Desgraves 353). The route linking the city, the garden, Saint-Seurin and the Chartrons bypassed Château-Trompette. In the Chartrons itself, Tourny embellished the quai with an elegant facade and extended the Chemin de Roi so that the main road from Bordeaux to Paris cut through the Chartrons: thus, interior and exterior routes made the Chartrons vital to the city (Desgraves 39).

These urban changes might not have developed but for the city's growing maritime and commercial rank. In 1681, it had become the entrepôt for Caribbean tobacco; in 1684, a reduced excise on sugar favoured this major import; the Chamber of Commerce was established in 1705; Bordeaux received a monopoly on the slave trade in 1710; letters patent authorised the port to arm ships for the West Indies trade in 1717 and permitted it to export, import and re-export goods in a tax-favoured situation. Its shipbuilding was advanced by other measures; fourteen vessels were built in 1754 with thirty-four completed in 1782 (Desgraves 33).[10] Throughout the century, Bordeaux was a dynamic place: it had the fastest growing population in France, moving up from 45,000 in 1715 to 110,000 in 1790. In these years, the wine trade grew by fifty percent, and colonial trade rose by twenty times to represent a quarter of French commerce (Doyle 1974: 2; Butel & Poussou 21-24). The British community numbering more than three hundred persons when the Seven Year's War started impelled this urban dynamism: many were Anglo-Irish; half were Protestants, half exiled Jacobites. Eighty-eight family heads were active in trade– twenty-five as company owners and twenty-seven as managers (Butel & Poussou 24). Although obliged by creed and trade to reside in the Chartrons, these Britons, along with merchants and tradesmen from other nations, changed Bordeaux by infiltrating the city. Britain's monopoly on first growth wines had long encouraged nobles to develop estates and *chais*, and imported modes of British business altered dining customs by meals served at tables with twenty covers (Butel & Poussou 169-71, 188, & 71). However, the British community through marketing producer and consumer goods influenced daily life beyond the modes of aristocrats and merchants. Bordeaux's newspapers reveal the city took in many kinds of British residents and visitors, such as

medical doctors, industrialists, and teachers.[11] Members of the Parlement employed four hundred and fifty servants many of whom were British. Of the eight thousand servants in Bordeaux during the American War of Independence, many had crossed La Manche (Butel & Poussou 40).

Prior to the Revolution, British visitors could not but be impressed by Bordeaux's large-scale redevelopment; they confirmed its European reputation and cultural vitality. Mrs. Craddock and her husband, who toured France between 1783 and 1786 observing industrial innovation, in June and July of 1785 stayed at the refurbished Hôtel d'Angleterre on the Cours de Tourny.[12] They admired the stylish white-stone houses with balconies overlooking the Cours and facing Europe's grandest theatre. In the summer heat, they found the promenade on the quai des Chartrons deliciously refreshing. From their hotel windows, they enjoyed, along with thousands of spectators, a grand military parade the agreeable manoeuvres of which were overseen by the Duke and Duchess de Mouchy, the Intendant and his wife (Balleyguier 201-15).[13] In the region to study the vignoble– the cultivation of vines, the structure of soils, and the classification of estates–Thomas Jefferson attributed the wine trade's success to British merchants.[14] The commerce, wealth and magnificence of Bordeaux exceeded Arthur Young's expectations. He faulted the quai because, although lengthy, it lacked order, arrangement and magnificence: ships could not dock, and the shore was sloping, muddy, and obstructed by barges. He admired the Place Royale but was more impressed by the Chapeau Rouge, the merchant quarter with its grand houses of white stone, the building material favoured in the city, even in the outskirts where tradesmen built small houses in the four or five years following the peace of 1783 at the end of the American War of Independence. Plans for extending Chapeau Rouge into the area to be left vacant by the razing of Château-Trompette excited him, as did the future construction of a square, new streets, and 1800 houses. His enthusiasm for "private exertion" creating prosperity led him to blame the French Court and Britain's merchants for sponsoring wars which hindered the city's development, the building boom at a stand for fear war might be resumed.[15]

But, if wars did sporadically impede the signs of Bordeaux's urban development, economic and cultural forces spurring this development had been present for years. The tastes of British residents had been long catered to by merchants and tradesmen who either imported products from Britain or imitated the manufacture of such products in local factories and workshops. In turn, these caterers and

suppliers extended their services beyond the British community, modifying the supply of goods and services in the city and its hinterland. The existence of hotels, shops and factories owned by Britons evidences their influence not only on urban geography but also on culture in general.

Hotels in Bordeaux rivalled one another in appealing to Britons. M. Batut, hotelier and caterer, opened his Grand Hôtel d'Angleterre on the Place du Chapelet, west of the Grand Théâtre and south-west of the Allées de Tourny in 1781. He expected to receive guests of the first quality for meals or lodgings. He provided for individual diets, taking pensioners for a month or a year. His hotel had a coach house, stables and a wide range of facilities (10 May 1781). Remarkably, Batut opened his hotel before the peace was signed, even if actual hostilities in the American War of Independence were ceasing. Batut was in competition with the Hôtel d'Angleterre on the grand cours de Tourny nearby and a little to the north-west. Founded in 1777, the hotel while continuing to operate was offered for rent in October 1785. Described as a modern building close to the Jardin Royal, it had two stories plus finished attics, an underground kitchen, an office, a wine cellar and a small cellar, courtyard and well; on the ground floor its staircase with iron railings was notable, as were its large dining room giving out over the garden, its stable, coach house, corn-loft, several panelled and nicely laid-out apartments. The same floor plan appeared on the second storey, with several bedrooms on the attic level (30 May 1785). This hotel, like Batut's, hosted English visitors in the American War, as clear in an advertisement for a four-wheeled English coupéd carriage with four springs (9 August 1781).

Over the years, horses and carriages used by persons arriving in the city and the Chartrons were put up for sale at the Hôtel d'Angleterre (e.g. 16 June 1785 & 22 November 1787), Stevens, the hotelier, making it a transportation centre. Theodore Martell, a prominent négociant in the Chartrons, made available for inspection there a nearly new, attractive carriage (16 March 1790). The hotel's integration into the local economy is evident when Stevens rented out space to London négociants for temporary shops (3 July 1787). This and other advertisements placed by Stevens in the *Journal de Guienne* show that he kept in close touch with the community through the newspaper. As a transportation centre, the hotel placed adverts on behalf of British residents and visitors who sought carriage seats for specific destinations. An Englishmen, claiming to be well-known and intent on setting out for Nantes and the Orient, asked to share a carriage (2 June 1787). The hotel's integration

into the economy is confirmed by how Stevens made it serve as an employment exchange; he operated as an agent for potential employers and for job-seekers. One visitor wished to hire a fifteen- to eighteen-year-old apprentice cabinet- and artificial flower-maker and train him in English modes (11 February 1788). Another wanted to hire a fully certificated, native English male servant (24 February 1788). Yet another wanted a personal attendant able to shave and speak English whom he intended to take to Dublin (11 July 1789). One young unmarried English woman used the hotel as a contact place when she advertised her services as a governess or lady's companion (31 March 1787). The hotel, partly because of its proximity to the Jardin Public and its location at a major axis of communication between the old city and the Chartons, informally gained institutional status. Its function as a cultural centre was recognized by municipal officers when they called a meeting of foreign négociants in Bordeaux to meet there next day at four o'clock in the afternoon to discuss how their status had been affected by the Revolution (19 January 1790).

The location of the Hôtel d'Angleterre between the Jardin Public and fashionable districts around the Grand Théâtre and Bourse indicates that the policy of containing Britons and British goods within the Chartrons failed. That négociants, merchants and tradesmen operated beyond the Chartrons and into the old city is symptomatic of the reach of British economic and cultural influence. The operation of British merchants and tradesmen in the Chapeau Rouge along with the location of factories and warehouses inside the medieval walls and in Bordeaux's hinterland shows that economic demand and fashion were forces harnessed by Britons. As much as in Lyon, shops became unofficial institutions for conveying British industrial, commercial and aesthetic standards to the Bordelais. The miscellaneous range of goods in English shops in the 1780s heightens the meaning of British industrial provenance. While English shops continued to flourish in the Chartrons, their reach into the main business districts increased property values and accelerated development in central neighbourhoods.

According to adverts in the *affiches* and *Journal de Guienne*, English shops arose and flourished between July 1776 and October 1781, the period of actual fighting in the American War. The adverts of M. Tessa, an optician, during and after the war convey the power of English goods to structure the conduct of French shopkeepers and the tastes of French consumers. M. Tessa sold imported luxury goods at shops in the Bourse and the Place Royale before moving to the Rue Richelieu on the quai

south of the Bourse. On 1 January 1778, he announced, as just arrived from London, moroccan leather wallets decorated with penknives and scissors, fruit baskets, cruets, sugar bowls, coffee and tea pots, writing desks, candle-holders, soup spoons, ladles and warming plates. He extended his goods later that year when he offered for rent or sale fairy lights for holiday illuminations along with other novelties from London, such as large vases and crystal goldfish bowls (22 October 1778). Three years later, when he had for sale more fairy lights made of coloured English glass and advertised raw imported English silk, he called his premises the English shop (15 November 1781). After the Eden Treaty of 1786, Tessa widened the range of the optical and marine instruments he sold by importing Ramsden of London's products: telescopes, opera glasses, binoculars, microscopes and lenses (17 October 1787). Always alert to novelty, he imported lamps for purifying air in hotels, offices and shops (6 November 1787). His widow continued to import–unimpeded by the Revolution– all kinds of stuffs and hardware along with hydrometers, barometers and thermometers (19 February 1790).

M. Tessa's 'English shop' evidences Bordeaux's growing retail dependence on British goods. Afer 1776, the sale of producer and consumer goods was often marked by Englishness that stood for the equation of utility and luxury, efficiency and style. The desirability of English tools appears in many adverts. Lathes for cabinet-makers and toolkits for smiths and clock-makers are said to excel because English (24 September & 29 October 1778). Craftsmen eagerly imitated British manufacturing styles: a locksmith offers English-style furniture locks and a jeweller sets diamonds in the latest London as well as Paris modes (23 November 1780; 13 September 1781). English foodstuffs were increasingly available. The Irish shop in the Chartrons emphasizes the Englishness of foodstuffs when listing Gloucestershire and Cheshire cheese, mustard and London bottled beer (5 July 1781). Such goods were aimed not simply at British residents; nobles were invited to provision grape-pickers with English cheese (6 September 1781). When M. Bernière took on "l'*Hôtel du Prince de Galles*" on rue Capdeville in Saint-Seurin, he heightens its appeal by stressing its spacious rooms, pleasant gardens and terraces, and diverse fine food and wine by saying that he worked as a "Cuisinier en Angleterre" (1 August 1786).

While Bernière's hotel shows British goods and services reaching into the medieval city, John Howison's shop, situated in the building on the Chapeau Rouge near the Grand Théâtre out of which the *affiches* operated, exemplifies the reach of Britons and British goods into the heart of the city (15

October 1787). He sold clothing materials for ecclesiastics and ladies alongside eye-glasses by Dolland of London and high-quality English razors (21 October & 17 November 1787). One of his adverts offers English pencils, Whitechapel needles, London bedspreads and industrial loads of tin-plate, while another lists English boots, buckles, lacquered candlesticks, Irish flannel, and sideboards decorated with images taken from paintings by West and Gainsborough (20 & 29 December 1787). In selling beer and porter in bottles and barrels alongside tin cooking pots (2 May 1788), he ignores official restrictions on French retailers. Howison's marketing is otherwise aggressive: in an announcement of tableware, including knives with ivory handles, silver-plated cutlery, scissors and razors, he offers 15% discount to clients paying cash, while in another offering textiles, pottery, chinaware, men's outfittings such as boots, swords, saddles and bridles, he admits that, since he buys up the stock of failed shops, he is not restricted by reserve prices (25 July & 30 October 1788).

Howison's aggressive retailing practices together with the English provenance of his goods signal the cultural impact of competition between English shops and imitation of them by French retailers. Mr. Murphy operated an English shop on St. Catherine Street which marketed all sorts of merchandise, its success driving up the price of houses nearby (5 June 1787; 29 May 1788).[16] Spencer and Company had an English shop on the Chapeau Rouge in M. Barthez's house. Being located among residences of the wealthiest merchants, it unsurprisingly sold engravings by Hogarth and Woollet as well as the finest crystal and chinaware (9 November & 11 December 1787; 22 April 1788). The English shop of M. Milhas on the Chapeau Rouge sold flannel, cottons, wool stockings as well as oven-proof pottery and anchors (22 April 1788; 24 January & 15 March 1789). Competition among English shops was heightened in the Chartrons. M. Constantin's shop sold Cheshire cheese, and in hers Mrs. Connell stocked superfine chinaware: plates, terrines, oval and round serving dishes, white and coloured coffee cups, and many stuffs, including luxurious oriental cloths (10 February 1788; 21 February 1788 & 24 January 1790). The influence of English shops is illustrated by the increasing diversification of their goods. In his English shop on the Place de la Comédie, Mr. Sykes sold Wedgewood's thermometer on which he wrote an essay for the newspaper, recommending its utility to distillers (3 March 1788). When Mr. Maynard assumed Sykes's shop at the start of the Revolution, he increased his English goods, making sure, however, to stock up on French products so as to appeal to rural customers (24 July 1789).

The official wish to block English imports by sponsoring 'English factories' in France manifested itself in Bordeaux, but in the end this policy sped the marketing of English goods by tightening bonds between English industrialism and consumerism which further boosted urban development. As early as 1764, Madame Brabant opened a factory to produce English wall-paper outside the city near an ample water supply. She aimed to staff her spacious factory with a designer, engraver, dyer, metal-worker and wood-worker whom she hired locally and lodged at the plant. Her shop which catered to persons of taste ("doit la consommation aux personnes de bon goût") was situated on the quai Bourgeois near the Porte du Caillou, one of the gates south of the Bourse created to open up the old city to the port (26 April 1764). A few years later, English merchants set up factories in Bordeaux. James Wilson, an Englishman, established a wall-paper factory in the Chartrons for the production of paper and velvet wall-hangings in the English mode, appealing to the taste of négociants, making sure to enhance his factory's reputation through aggressive pricing (23 April 1772). The following month, Duras, another Englishman newly arrived in the city, announced his factory on the square near to the Porte Dauphine. Bent on exploiting the housing boom in the city, he offers distinct wall-hangings for the whole range of rooms and domestic spaces, including ceilings. His coverings include gold and silver tissues, Chinese materials and Chinese patterns. Some of his papers have Indian designs and others presenting rural landscapes have the embossed appearance of stucco. At no extra charge he himself hangs his own coverings. His advertisements not only acknowledge the encouragement given to him by Messieurs les Jurats but also emphasize the health benefits of wall-coverings in protecting against dust and fleas. He matches the designs of his wall-hangings to coverings for furniture and draperies. Each of his products is numbered and marked with a fixed and unvarying price (7 May 1772). When he repeats his advertisement the following December, Duras claims to have made a breakthrough in lowering production costs which he passes on to customers; not only has he lowered prices but he is having made in England a newly invented machine which will enable him to produce wall papers of all kinds at lower costs than anywhere in Europe (10 December 1772).

In that it was neither an industrial centre like Lyon which regarded itself as a rival to the capital nor a rapidly growing port like Bordeaux which was vital to the national economy, Dijon offers a third, distinct example of a British community's influence on urban geography. Despite its small size, Dijon

achieved regional and international prominence in the pre-revolutionary era. Between 1730 and 1770 it was "une ville moyenne" with never more than twenty-three thousand inhabitants (Ligou 143-44). Far from permitting urban functions to be limited by its medieval walls, the city exploited them creatively to appeal to residents and tourists. That the city's creativity was not impeded by a static population is clear when it became the capital of Burgundy and enjoyed a flourishing institutional life. Since it was an administrative, legal and political centre and home to the Parlement, twenty percent of Dijon's inhabitants worked directly or indirectly "au service de l'État" (Ligou 150). A bulwark of educational and cultural tradition, the city gained a Faculty of Law in 1723 and a bishopric in 1731 (Ligou 161 & 157). Its many seminaries, renowned Jesuit college, and famous Academy of Sciences, Arts and Belles-Lettres gave Dijon a conservative institutional tone, informing daily life with "une forte culture classique" (Bourée 214).[17] However, municipal policies exploited the city's physical advantages as a transportation centre, in this way binding it more closely to the capital and opening it up to visitors, especially those on the Grand Tour to Italy. That Dijon was at the crossroads of "sept routes royales" gathered importance because of transportation advances in the industrial age: improvements in roads, carriages, horses, canals and "coches d'eau" moved Dijon closer to Paris in the years between 1765 and 1780, the journey each way falling from six to three days (Braudel III, 316-17). As many as 5,000 Britons resided in Paris in the 1760s. Many of them visited Dijon and environs in the 1770s and 1780s (Black 1985: 4-5 and Lough 11, 25, 131-35, 152-53, 161-63). Burgundy had a reputation among Britons as an inexpensive, agreeable place in which to live. When, on 20 December 1757, John Carmichael, a Jacobite, wrote from Fontaine Gaillarde near Sens to James Edgar, an agent for the exiled Jacobite Court, to request credit from his "Royal Sovereign" to provide for his family, he underscores his frugality by saying that he has "taken a house and a small farm in Bourgogne where the ground is not very dear" and where he expects, once clear of the debts incurred from furnishing his home, soon to be self-supporting (Tayler 224). Earlier, on one of his European trips, Edward Southwell the younger, an educated and experienced traveller who became secretary to the Council of Ireland in 1730 and was elected MP for Bristol in 1739, recorded his impressions of Dijon in October 1725. The rebuilt Logis du Roy, the Palais with its Chambre du Parlement, the churches of St John, St Michael and St Stephen along with the marble tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy impressed him with their architectural and

sculptural beauties, and he was also taken with "the first vintage of all France" (Black 1985b: 47-8). While, on his stay in Dijon from January to May in 1731, Joseph Spence upheld most of Southwell's positive views of institutional and church architecture, he found the city "handsome," its streets "broad and well paved," its walks "grand, and those on the ramparts very agreeable" (Spence 34). Among the 150 people of fashion who attended concerts and masquerades even in Lent, Spence came into contact with Jacobite exiles (Spence 35-6). Although the number of British residents was not large, their impact on the social and cultural life of the city was considerable. In 1730, no less than sixteen English families were in residence (Mead 239). By the Revolution, this number reached fifty, including prominent aristocratic clans (Giroux 215).[18]

According to Claude Courtépée, Dijon's promenades made the city distinctive in the minds of citizens and visitors (Courtépée II, 87). The relation between the spaces outside and on the city walls was visually and socially stimulating. Citizens could enjoy the fresh air in the shade offered both by the allées formed by hundreds of chestnut trees and by the arbours of linden trees while leaning on the parapet to take in the varied and extensive prospect of the plain, the river, the city and its fauxbourgs. From the turn of the eighteenth century, Dijon's civic pride was associated with the conversion of its ramparts into public spaces. The section between the Saint-Pierre gate and the river Ouche, an 852 metre-long portion of the south and southwest walls known as the *Beau Mur* ou *Beau Rempart*, received special attention in the city's maintenance budget (Marc 10). 1716 saw the "bastion d'Ouche" built up with soil, Mayors Labotte and Baudinet subsequently planting the bastion with large trees in the form of a star, called the *Quinconce*, in the middle of which a Vauxhall or English-style pleasure garden was eventually built. This Vauxhall was inaugurated on 3 June 1769. It consisted of a large open-air hall surrounded by loges. Dancing started at five p. m. to the music of a large symphonic orchestra, and, following a magnificent fireworks display at midnight, the hall was illuminated by thousands of lanterns visible to those outside on the promenades. The dancing went on until three a.m. (Marc 31-32). When M. Ferry, director of the theatre and the city's entertainment director, first named Dijon's summer fêtes Vauxhall, his initiative testifies to the city's longstanding openness to English visitors as well as its conformity to a widespread cultural trend of anglomania (Micault 206). The original pleasure park, Spring Garden, opened on 2 July 2 1661 at Lambeth, soon taking on the name of Vauxhall, the

district of London in which Lambeth finds itself (Rudé 73). This popular name rapidly became the generic title for pleasure gardens in and beyond England. While the opening of Dijon's Vauxhall followed hard upon the one opened by M. Terre at St. Cloud in Paris, that the generic name reached Dijon in the same summer as it did Paris is an important measure of Dijon's openness to English cultural modes.[19] This is reinforced when it is noted that an English circus visited Dijon and performed in the Jardin de l'Arquebuse in 1769, the same year its Vauxhall was inaugurated.[20]

The conversion of the ramparts into promenades and the seasonal operation of the Vauxhall show that the municipality's officers were keen to exploit the wealth of British residents and visitors. The competition for the directorship of the Vauxhall and for lesser posts, such as the privilege of teaching dancing and holding dances there, confirms this economic acuity. When in 1775 M. Virot, a firework-maker in town, won the privilege of a ten-year term of managing the Vauxhall, he shrewdly invested in the elegant building of a refreshment hall and a covered walk. He decorated his coffee-house highly and made sure to supply ample and diverse liqueurs and bonbons (Micault 274).[21] It was to the financial benefit of M. Haitray, a dancing master, in 1787 to win the exclusive right to organize balls and banquets in the Vauxhall, the approval issued by no less than the Marquis de Gouvernet, the province's commandant-in-chief (Marc 31-32). The cultural significance of Dijon's Vauxhall, as with other Vauxhalls across France, is that it was integrated into political and ceremonial life. When in 1777 Dijon welcomed the king's brother, Louis-Stanislas-Xavier, Comte de Provence, it sanded and carpeted streets, fired canons, rang the city's bells, feasted him and closed his day with a visit to Vauxhall at 11:30 in the evening (Micault 280-81). On the occasion of the Prince de Condé's visit in 1778, Dijon decorated the ramparts with "pyramides de lampions" and illuminated the covered walk in the Vauxhall with "une double bordure de pots à feu" to protect the huge crowds from injury (Micault 284). On subsequent visits, the Vauxhall was the culmination of the Prince's days (Micault 291 & 318).

In *Le Mercure Dijonnois*, Claude Micault's descriptions of public spectacles, ceremonies and rituals in and beyond the Vauxhall make it clear that English residents and visitors were often full participants. For example, he reports that when the wife of an Anglican gentleman, a certain "madame Clartie," bears a son in 1768, the baptism is attended in pomp by the noblest local dignitaries: it is heralded by "une descharge de canon," while a regiment of the watch and a troop of soldiers go before

the Duke of Burgundy's carriage which is attended by a company of horse guards (Micault 199). Up to the Revolution, English residents and visitors of social standing initiated events and dignified major occasions with their presence. Micault records that in March 1785 "tous les Anglois qui étoient à Dijon" gave a ball to honour all the city's married and unmarried ladies, that "l'assemblée fut brillante," and that the Dijonnaises, responding warmly to the English, "firent parfaitement bien leurs honneurs" (321). When to celebrate "l'ouverture de la vendange de Dijon" in 1787 M. de Montigny held a large supper and magnificent ball, its splendour was confirmed by the attendance of thirty-two local ladies and by "une partie angloise et beaucoup de jeunes miss" (333).[22] When the Prince de Condé arrived unexpectedly early in Dijon on 10 November 1787, ten of the fifteen ladies presented to him were English. That evening among the two hundred guests attending the dinner put on by the Intendant for the Prince the same ten English ladies were among the thirty women present (Micault 333-34). Even when English patrons mishandled the social codes involved with diplomatic and aristocratic functions, their *faux pas* illustrate, if amusingly, the license they were regularly afforded. When, on March 11, 1776, "mylord Craunn, de la maison de Monrose" gave a fête at the Intendance, comprising a supper, a ball, and "un grand jeu," he made the mistake of indiscriminately inviting many "bourgeoises" as well as women of quality.[23] The latter, hearing the former had been invited, would not go, while the former, refusing to demean themselves by staying away, went, thereby reducing the brilliance of the fête (Micault 277).

While English nobility was readily welcomed by Dijon's high society, the presence of all English residents and visitors benefited a wide range of the citizenry and property owners. Where English people resided was significant and well-known enough to possess advertizing appeal: when Abbé Roux, chaplain of the Sainte Chapelle, offered for rent a residential pavilion owned by his order in the district of Saint Nicolas, he clinched his advertisement in the *Annonces et Affiches de Dijon* by declaring that the property was "où demeuroient des Anglois" (14 April 1770).[24] In the early years of the Revolution, property in the environs of the city was promoted enthusiastically for being associated with Englishness. Thus, an English garden called St. James in the Fauxbourg d'Ouche behind the General Hospital with its pavilion, coach house, stables and outbuildings was presented as desirable because of its walled enclosure planted with fruit tree and poplars (28 September 1790). Similarly, in the

commune of Saint-Martin-du-Mont, a pond called "des Anglois" was put on the market without having its name changed (30 November 1790).

The clearest indication of the lasting effect of English residents on the sale and rental of real estate is apparent in the listing of houses and apartments on the ramparts of the Vauxhall. Even with the approach of political turbulence and the cessation of the Vauxhall at the Revolution, citizens who had developed properties giving on to the ramparts did not soon drop the name of the pleasure garden from the advertisements which they placed in the *affiches*. Thus, a merchant candlemaker offers two large gardens one with access into the ramparts and the other into the rue Maison Rouge. The latter had a hot house. The former was a fine summer house composed of two large salons with two small rooms, a kitchen with an earthen floor and a cellar (19 May 1789). Apartments on streets close to the ramparts were advertised on the assumption that English occupiers were available: one landlord on the rue du Chaignot offered three partially furnished apartments suitable for lodging burghers or English people ("propres à loger des Bourgeois ou des Anglois": 20 April 1790). Even after the Revolution when the English were supposed to have left, property development still took place given the advantageous reputation of the ramparts and the Vauxhall. One newly built small house on the rampart with a charming garden led to by a promenade of linden tress was put up for sale on 16 August 1791. Even in 1793, the year that the Vauxhall was dismantled, adverts of property nearby were common: several apartments with gardens giving on to the ramparts of Vauhall were advertised on 26 February 1793; they boasted good views from galleries overlooking gardens and one had a billiard room. Such adverts did not completely cease when citizen Piget, who had won the right to dismantle the Vauxhall, sold as building materials the planks of oak, rafters, casements with window panes, and rooms and closets garnished with floor tiles and covered with roofing tiles which he despoiled along with the plum, apple and cherry trees "en plein vent & en quenouilles" which he had removed (19 March 1793). Later several gardens with flower beds and vegetable plots giving on to the ramparts became available. They had clearly been developed with a keen sense of the English appreciation for outdoor living, gardening, and exotic fruit trees such as pomegranate and orange. Galleries overlooking parterres and orchards figure prominently in such adverts (4 June 1793 & Tridi brumaire de l'an troisième).

## NOTES

1. "Les Anglois vivent paisiblement dans le sein de nos villes; les communications de la paix n'ont pas été troublées par les hostilités: les soldats des deux pays se combattent; leurs citoyens se rapprochent, & l'humanité du Roi donne à l'Europe le spectacle heureux & nouveau de la concorde entre les particuliers, au milieu des divisions publiques" (*Journal de Provence*, Vol 1: Mélanges [1781] 169).

2. In his advert, M. Rigolet says that a M. de Vial owns the Change de Londres, thereby suggesting that, while the building may have had one title-holder, property in it was likely by way of leasehold.

3. *Affiches de Lyon*: No 26: mercredi 1 juillet 1761: "On demande à acheter une bonne Balance à l'Angloise propre à peser de 150 à 200 marcs; on remettroit en échange une grande Balance à peser des soies, & une plus petite à la Françoise, propre à peser 120 à 150 marcs" (p. 108); No 9: mercredi 3 Mars 1762: "Une caisse de fer à l'Angloise, propre pour fermer de l'argent; une grande balance & une petite aussi à l'Angloise, avec leurs poids, bonne l'une & l'autre pour peser la soie" (p. 34).

4. *Affiches de Lyon*: No 29: mercredi 17 Juillet 1771: "Le Sieur Mason, Anglois, Pensionné du Roi, vient d'établir une Manufacture à l'Angloise, où il fabrique des Grillages en fils de laiton & de fer, depuis dix jusqu'à soixante fils par pouce, utiles pour Magasins, Bibliotheques, Cages, & Gardemangers, où les mouches ni autres insectes ne peuvent pénetrer; enfin pour toutes sortes de Tamis d'une grande utilité pour tous les grains, drogues, épiceries, farines, &c. Il donne avis à MM. les Marchands & Maîtres Fabricants en étoffes de soie, que sa demeure qui étoit ci-devant dans la maison de M. Barmont, rue de la Vieille Monnoie, est maintenant dans la maison de M. Roux, rue Royale, dans l'allée du Serrurier, au quatrieme étage, où il fabrique les Peignes d'acier pour toutes sortes d'étoffes en soie" (p. 136).

5. *Affiches de Lyon*: No 20: mercredi 15 mai 1765: "Le sieur Bradley, Indienneur, a établi sa Fabrique d'Indienne à Oullins, près de Lyon. Il indienne pour tous ceux qui s'adressent à lui; sur toile soit de lin soit de coton, en véritables couleurs des Indes & à nouveaux desseins. Il fait indienner aussi sur toile de lin ou de coton, des Mouchoirs façon de la Compagnie des Indes, en rouge, véritables couleurs des Indes, qui résistent à tout lavage; & des Mouchoirs ordinaires, en bleu, à deux faces, au plus juste prix. Il avertit MM. les Fabricants qui voudroient faire fabriquer des Etoffes en soie cru, propres pour indienner, qu'il les indiennera, soit en Mouchoirs façon des Indes, ou en Robes à

desseins du meilleur goût & en bon teint" (p. 84).

6. It is noticeable that Ledit Sieur Voisin operates out of the house of a merchant on the place des Jacobins (" Il est logé chez M. Lasage, Marchand Faiancier, place des Jacobins").

7. "Mais Lyon est surtout ville municipale et bourgeoise. Les bourgeois comme ceux de Paris, même lorsqu'ils ne possèdent pas la noblesse personnelle, sont plus que des roturiers, ile ne payent ni les tailles ni less accessoires. Le prévôt des marchands et les quatre échevins qui composent avec lui le Consulat ne président pas seulement à l'administration de la cité, ils en ont la police et le commandement pour le roi" (Wahl 9).

8. The Tolozan name symbolized the powers of the bourgeoisie: "Cette riche bourgeosie, dans les mains de laquelle sont les gros capitaux, le haut commerce, la fabrique, la banque, qui possède la plupart des immeubles de la ville, avec des maisons de campagne, des fermes, des chàteaux, des seigneuries dans tout le pays d'alentour, est la véritable aristocratie, la classe régnante" (Wahl 7). No wonder that Louis Tolozan became an object of hate and destruction in the Revolution (Wahl 95): attacks on him symbolised of resistance to the consulat. Early in the Revolution, he retired to his chateau at Ouillins. Clearly, Tolozan's role in commerce and municipal government made him the leader of a privileged urban élite: "le corps municipal tel qu'il est constitué ne représente qu'une oligarchie: les quelques douzaines de familles, nobles ou bourgeoises, qui tiennent le haut commerce et la banque, occupent les principales charges de justice et de finance et la plupart des bénéfices ecclésiastiques, et qui sont vraiment les familles consularies de Lyon" (Wahl 16).

9. The presence of ennobled Irish families was widespread in France. The *affiches* of Angers makes clear, for instance, the economic and cultural influence exerted by Lords Southwell and Walsh. They were owners of estates which not only created significant local employment but encouraged the importation of luxury goods. When the property of Southwell was put on the market the range of this influence was apparent (Angers: 22 April 1785; 2 and 16 December 1785; and 7 July 1786). Again, when the Irish regiments were disbanded at the Revolution, Lord Walsh who had recruited and financed one for years, emigrated, his reluctant departure revealing how great had been his influence on local culture: (Angers: 12 and 26 June 1788; 4 May, 15 May, and 31 August 1790).

10. Ship-building in the city accounted for one out of every five registered French vessels ("Bordeaux:

An Eighteenth Century Wirtschaftswunder" [Crouzet 1996: II, 45]). Crouzet's article downplays the importance of institutional changes in Bordeaux; the city shared with twelve others the privilege of exporting to the colonies with customs exemptions. Bordeaux's ability to export agricultural goods, including flour, wine and brandy, from its hinterland and to reexport salted beef from Ireland explains for Crouzet its competitive advantage (46-49).

11. I follow Jean Sgard (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Journaux* (Paris: Universitas, 1991), in calling the Bordeaux newspapers the *affiches*. The actual titles are: *Annonces, Affiches et Avis* (1758-59); *Annonces, Affiches, Nouvelles et Avis divers pour la ville de Bordeaux* (1760-63); *Annonces, Affiches, et Avis divers pour la ville de Bordeaux* (1764-84).

12. The Cradocks were typical tourists in including factories which manufactured luxury items. They inevitably took note of English workers and manufactuerers in France. When they visited the glass factory at Sèvres on 7 June 1784, they encountered a compatriot, one of the workshop heads, who got angrier and angrier about his fellow workers and France. This skilled worker had been persuaded to immigrate on the promise of being well recompensed for revealing all his manufacturing secrets. But, since English law proscribed him a traitor and banned him from returning to his native land, the factory defaulted on its promise and disparaged his skills and his work (Balleyguier 39-40). A happier Parisian visit was to Mr. Arthur's factory which produced exquisite wallpapers. Mrs Cradock admired the illusions produced by papers imitating flower-embroidered tissue, stone sculptures and ornamented glassworks (Balleyguier 72). The Hôtel d'Angleterre was founded on 12 April 1777. It was directed by Stevens and Jacob, two Englishmen. It was praised by Arthus Young as well as by Mrs Cradock. Frederick Augustus, son of George III, travelling under the name of Count Delphios, stayed there in 1791 and addressed the municipality on 30 May in the hope that commercial ties between Bordeaux and England would remain strong. In 1793, the hotel was renamed the Hotel Franklin, reverting to an earlier appellation (Desgraves 346).

13. The Intendant and his wife were executed on 27 June 1794. The Revolution, as Crouzet, explains was hard on the economic life of Bordeaux.

14. Thomas Jefferson, "Memoranda taken on a Journey from Paris into the Southern Parts of France, and Northern of Italy, in the year 1787," in vol. 18 of *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Andrew

A. Lipscomb (Washington, D.C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903), 122-26.

15. Arthur Young, *Travels During the Years 1787, 1788, & 1789; Undertaken More Particularly With A View Of Ascertaining The Cultivation, Wealth, And National Prosperity Of The Kingdom of France*. 2nd. ed. (London: W. Richardson, 1794; rpt. New York: AMS, 1970), I, 60-61.

16. Trade with England was known to have a strong impact on property values. For example, one advertisment for the sale of fine large house in the Chartrons which was rented out in 1761 for 1350 livres with the condition that the rent would increase to 2500 livres on the day that "la paix avec l'Angleterre sera publiée" (16 Aril 1761).

17. Bourée reports that there were "seize monastères d'hommes et de femmes" in Dijon (209).

18. Henri Giroux, "La Vie quotidienne aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Histoire de Dijon*, ed. Gras, p. 215. Other provincial cities had significant numbers of English residents. According to Horace Walpole, in 1787 there were sixty English families resident in Nice: Richard Faber, *French and English* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 113.

19. The cultural origins of Vauxhall Gardens are likely bicultural: the original Vauxhall may have been founded by a Frenchman, Français de Vaux or may have been established on the location of the château of a Norman baron called Faulk de Brand (Marc 30-31). In his edition of *Le Mercure Dijonnais*, Dumay cites M. Fyot de Mimeure, *Notice sur la ville de Dijon et ses environs* (Dijon: Gaulard-Marin, 1817, p. 20) as saying that the pleasure gardens "conserva [le nom de Vauxhall] tant que les Anglais nous apportèrent leur argent et leur personnes; quand la Révolution nous en priva, il prit le nom de Tivoli à l'imitation d'un établissement de ce genre dans la capitale ..." (206).

20. For this and a description of other popular entertainments, such as jugglers and puppeteers, see Perrenet 15-16. He insists that the Vauxhall was so named to honour the established number of English visitors coming to the city.

21. The opening of the Vauxhall was one settings for the public rejoicings over the re-establishement of the Dijon Parelement by the young Louis XVI in 1774. Virot's name is given as Viret in the notice in the *affiches* for 28 May 1776 on the occasion of that season's forthcoming opening of the Vauxhall on Sunday, 2 June.

22. Marc-Antoine Chartraire de Montigny was the "trésorier général des États de Bourgogne," a

powerful, authoritative individual who was nicknamed "le vice-roi de Bourgogne" (Bourée 206).

23. To Henri Giroux, Milord Craun's "fête" was not peculiar in including gambling; some inhabitants of Dijon counted on winning large sums from foreign visitors (1973-75: 202).

24. *Annonces et Affiches de Dijon* (Dijon: Jacques Causse, 1770-76): 14 avril 1770. Hereafter cited as *AA*. On Dijonnais publishers, see A. Ronsin, "La librairie et l'imprimerie en Bourgogne d'après une enquête de 1764," *Annales de Bourgogne* 32 (1960): 126-37.